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THE
TRAVANCORE
TRIBES AND CASTES

VOLUME II

BY

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M. A.,

Corresponding Member of the Societa Italiana Di Anthropologia E Ethnologia; Officer in Charge of the Ethnographic Survey of Travancore

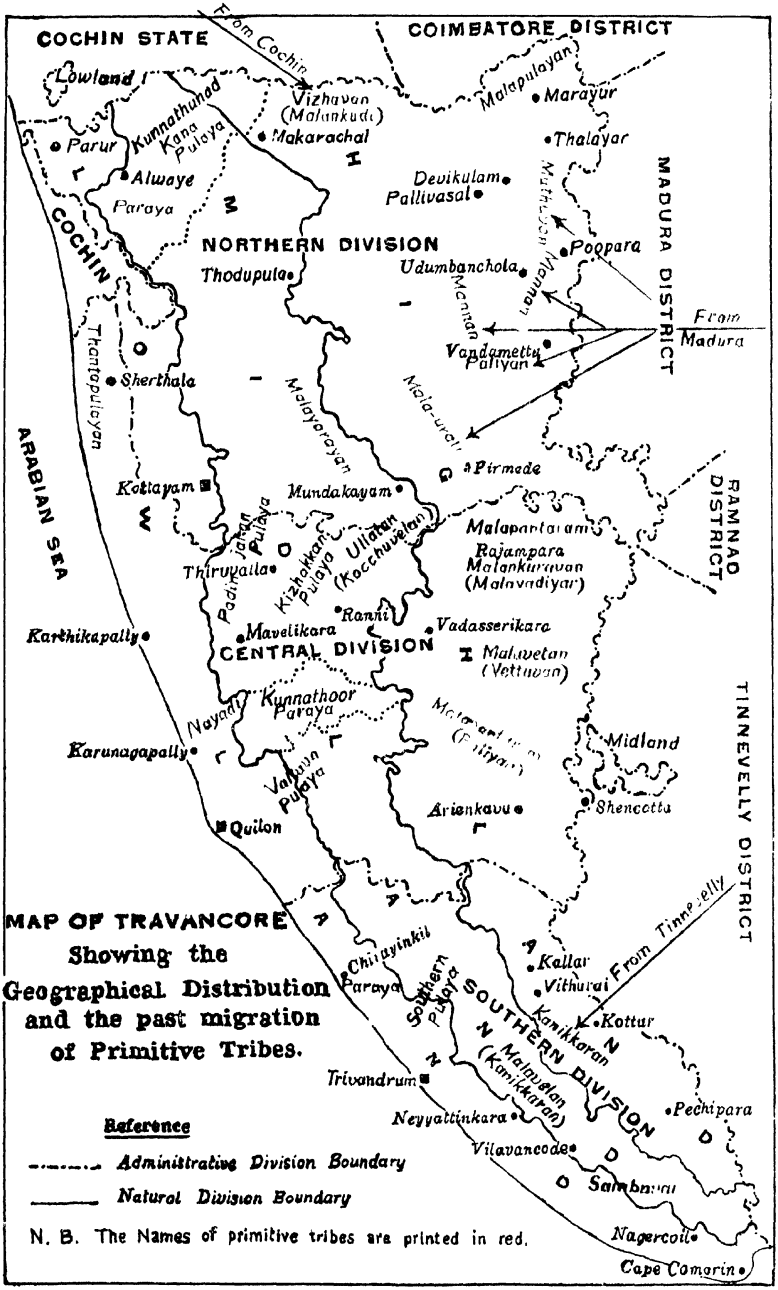
with a **FOREWORD** by

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and an **INTRODUCTION** by

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Trivandrum:
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1939



Litho. T. A. P. W., Trivandrum

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The author was placed on special duty in September 1937 to complete the ethnographic survey of the Proto-Australoid element in the population of the State. The survey was completed in August 1938. The present volume includes a descriptive account of the Muthuvan, Nāyādi, Paliyan, Parayan, Pulayan, Ullātan, Ūrāli and Vishavan tribes. It also includes a chapter on the "Physical Anthropology of the Primitive Tribes." The author has here tried to indicate the position of the tribes among the general aboriginal population of India. As His Excellency the late Lord Brabourne said in 1937, "Science is the search for truth, and establishment of facts must precede the drawing of inferences from them".* An effort is here made to present the maximum of factual material with as little theoretical speculation as possible. The author reserves his conclusions on the study of the tribes to the third volume.

In his Ethnographic Survey of India, Mr. R. E. Enthovan said that the publication of volume I of the "Mysore Tribes and Castes" seemed to bring to its termination the great work planned by Sir Herbert Risley as Census Commissioner of India in 1901.† The year 1937 witnessed the publication of the first volume of "The Travancore Tribes and Castes," which Mr. Enthoven considers "a valuable contribution to the great work set on foot by Risley". The publication of the second volume is due to the generosity of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Chitra Thirunal. The author desires to acknowledge his profound gratefulness to the Dewan, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., whose encouragement and

* The Anthropological Society of Bombay—Jubilee Volume—Presidential Address by the late Lord Brabourne, page 18.

† Do. do. The Ethnographic Survey of India by R. E. Enthoven, page 54.

sympathetic suppo , stood him well in the arduous task of publication.

The author further takes this opportunity of recording his deep sense of gratitude to Professor J. H. Hutton, of Cambridge for his appreciative Foreword and Baron von Eickstedt for his valuable Introduction. To Dr. J. H. Cousins, he is very grateful for editing the manuscript and for going through the letter-press of the volume. His thanks are also due to Dr. U. Sivaraman Nair for the valuable help he rendered in the statistical presentation of the measurements and in the preparation of numerous charts to elucidate them. The author also desires to express his deep obligations to Mr. M. K. Nilacanta Aiyar, Chief Secretary to Government, who was uniformly helpful to him in the various stages of the publication. It is through the hearty co-operation of the numerous tribal chiefs that he was able to make this record of their customs and manners, and his thanks are specially due to them and to Mr. P. Raman Pillai, the Conservator of Forests for his unstinted help in this direction. The chief value of the present work lies in the assembling for the first time of the material collected by the author personally in the course of a decade.

Lastly, his sincere thanks are due to the Superintendent of Travancore Survey for the careful preparation of the charts, and the Art Printing Press for the neat printing of the maps. It is through the hearty co-operation of Mr. P. E. Mathew, the Superintendent of the Government Press, and his staff that the volume has come out so well. His personal interest was a pleasing feature at all stages of the work.

Karamanai,
Trivandrum,
May 1939.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

FOREWORD

BY

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

FOREWORD

It is an accepted dogma of biologists that acquired characterestics cannot be inherited, but the existence of inherited tendencies is generally admitted, while no one would deny the influence of environment; so it is perhaps not surprising that the son of Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is to be found following in his father's footsteps and producing an account of the tribes and castes of Travancore. The Dewan Bahadur was one of that band of anthropologists who worked with Sir Herbert Risley in 1901. *Longa ars, Vita brevis.* He is now, alas, no longer with us. But his son who took up his torch with an account of the Travancore Hill Tribes for the 1931 Census for which I was responsible is now in 1938 accomplishing yet another item in that comprehensive survey which Risley envisaged.

It is fortunate for ethnographers that the Travancore State, which includes in its population some of the most primitive tribes of the peninsula, tribes in some cases less changed perhaps by external contacts than those of any other Indian State, should be blessed with so generous and broadminded a

ruler as His Highness the Maharaja and so far-sighted a Dewan as Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Money spent on the investigation of the customs and habits of tribes, even when they are so few in numbers and of no account politically, is very far from wasted if the administration of these tribes is made easier and better, more satisfactory to the administrators and more acceptable to the administered. It is not every government however that recognises this and is willing to set aside the necessary funds.

And so, when any Government finds a servant intimate enough both with its tribes and castes and with current anthropological science to write a detailed account of their customs and society, it is fortunate not only for that government and for its tribes and castes, but also for ethnographers again, and we shall look forward with anticipation to the succeeding volumes which are to complete the series which Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer has so happily begun and so happily continues in this second volume.

Cambridge,
August 1938.

J. H. HUTTON

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INTRODUCTION

BY

BARON EGON VON EICKSTEDT

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THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA.

Mr. Krishna Iyer follows his famous father, once Nestor of Indian anthropologists and ethnologists, in presenting ethnological works of value and importance to Indian science. It is a hearty pleasure for me to be allowed to write an introductory article to his new work. His work is mainly, but not only, directed towards ethnology, the science of the culture of ethnic units, and it appears therefore fitting that I should prefer a topic dealing with the science of man himself, with anthropos as the bearer of all culture, and thus with anthropology or the biology of hominids. To satisfy, however, those readers also who are mainly interested in literature, I selected as special topic a historical subject: the development of Indian anthropology. We shall see how slowly the great Indian races (that is, the zoological groups of man in the Indian sub-continent, not its peoples or nations) have been recognised, and how they were studied, named, and classified.

Rules of Scientific Nomenclature

Classification in biology is not a private matter of ease and fancy, but has to be done according to some old and international rules and regulations by all those who claim to be serious scientists. It is a pity that in anthropology these rules have often been forgotten, so that there exists now a multitude of names for practically each great somatic group of man, the so-called "synonyms." But there is only one valid name: that name which the first describer gave to the new form

he found. This name is called the "trivial name with right of priority." Of-course any popular names may be used and are used often as well in zoology as in anthropology, but these names are without the right of priority and generally are not or should not be used by serious scientists. In this case biology knows only recommendations, but in the case of latinised forms there are no exceptions. Usually it is a trivial name with the right of priority which is latinised according to the rules of binary (or ternary) nomenclature, and no biologist who wants to be taken as reliable, ever would dare to change such a valid Latin name. The application of the rules of priority and ternary nomenclature goes back to 1758, the year of the publication of the Xth edition of Linnes "Systema naturæ."

These same rules are binding in biological anthropology too of course. Or is the science of man less important and less scientific than other branches of human knowledge? On the contrary, it is one of the most important sciences. It cannot be treated scientifically and cautious enough. For on man everything depends. His shape and soul, inseparably tied together during his life, show many aspects. But these aspects obey certain inner rules of heredity and hormons, and therefore we find distinct geographical type-groups, which we call races, and we see in these races a variability of shape from thick-set pyknics to slender asthenic types. And the ways of behaviour and reaction follow the living type, in some individuals more closely to the typical average of a group, in others, less, but always there is a connection. Therefore, anthropology, bio-anthropology, is one of the most interesting and valuable sciences. In fact, two sciences are at the basis of all which is of importance and value for man—the science

of living forms of man: anthropology, and the science of the thinking of man: philosophy. And it is strange and regrettable enough that mankind up to recent times knew practically only about the last one and has—in doing sociology or medicine—forgotten the first one, has forgotten himself, the bearer of all thinking and all value.

Thus it may not be without interest to see how in India the progress of a science which everywhere was the stepchild of culture, slowly grew up in one of her most fascinating branches, in raciology. This is not identical with racism, of course. It is the comparative natural history of the zoological groups of mankind. Such a group or zoological race is characterised by a great number of individuals with a typical combination of many normal and hereditary traits both of body and behaviour. It is always several such races, such biological types of forms, which constitute a people, nation, or tribe. These form a linguistic, a political or a small social unit, but not zoological units. All indeed are at the same time biological units—but of this we have not to treat here. The difference between a people and a race therefore is that the people show many different zoological types of same and very near descent, but the race exhibits only one single zoological type of same and more distant descent. Both have same descent—no wonder that often they are confounded or the people, this group of same descent, language and history, called "race". If you like, call it at least "historical" race, as French historical writers did in the beginning of the last century, and opposed it thereby to the "zoological" race. But if we use the word in this article, it will always denote a zoological type only, and not a historico-linguistical unit. To distinguish these two related but

different groups, people and race, scientific raciology applies now more and more the biological termination-id. Of course you can say Nordic or Nordid race, and there will be no misunderstanding, but you cannot say Indian instead of Indid, for in the first case a historico-linguistical unit is meant; in the second a zoological type, which is most characteristic of it. Besides this main type of Indids, there are in India also Veddid types in the interior, and Melanid types in the south-east, and a few subtypes more. Let us see how these types were slowly recognised, in literature described, and finally correctly named. This naming is intimately connected with the history of research and discovery in the great subcontinent which is as varied as interesting, nay, fascinating.

Indian Races in Olden Times.

India was already fairly well known to classic writers, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ktesias or Strabo and Mela, and later as well to Arabian travellers and geographers. But of her many inhabitants and races practically only those of the north were known somewhat more intimately. The Dekkan was practically unknown, the south had been seldom considered. There is only one very interesting note of Herodotus (III, 102) in which he speaks of dark-coloured and curly-haired warriors from the south of India. This is the first time that the special type of the Tamils, the Melanid race, is mentioned. In more recent times it is the racial classification of O. Goldsmith which first mentions them again (1779 Vol. II, 213). But there was not yet, of course, a special name for this type according to ternary nomenclature.

The knowledge about India in the 18th century was based on reports of travellers as Acosta (1606), Hamilton (1787) and Tavernier (1676), later Orme (1805) or

Grose (1772). There are also Le Gentil and Bernier (1699), who give a good and well-meaning description of the inhabitants of northern India, *i. e.*, the Indid race. Meiners (1813) finally is already in a position to describe somatic and psychological details of the Indids. But still there is not yet a special name which would separate the racial type group and the national culture group. This is only given by Bory de St. Vincent in 1825 who at the same time latinises it in full correctness as Homo sapiens indicus. Meiners was also the first to speak of "two distinct varieties of man in India", by which he understood what we call to-day Indids and Melanids, and he adds "not to speak of the primitive people of the interior". He guesses a third variety therefore, but he does not yet dare to describe it, as in fact the knowledge published up to his time by Forster (1796), a German naturalist, and Blunt (1803), a keen and adventurous British officer, is very meagre indeed.

But soon there are more detailed notes about the "third variety": Buchanan (1807), Forbes' excellent report of 1813, the nice booklet of Harkness on the "Neilgerry Hills", the fine works of Herber (1824), then Malcolm (1823), and Stirling (1825). So Ritter in 1835 is the first to be able to present a general description of the somatic type. But he never has been in India himself. Therefore he confounded the northern light-skinned Gondids with the southern dark-skinned Malids and believed that both may have relations to the black Andamanese or even to Australians. It is well known that these ideas have been taken up in more recent times, the first one *e. g.*, by Earl (1854), the last one by Huxley (1870). But there have never been found real Andamanese Negritoes in India, though one of the basic elements of the Malids and the Negritoes

may well have a common root; and there have never been Australians in India, though in India as everywhere races went in their process of development through an "australiform" stage. But the characteristic of a certain old stage of descent must not, this is obvious, be confounded with those of a recent biological type.

In Ceylon, the three fundamental types of south-western Asia (Indids, Veddids, Melanids) have been recognised much earlier. The Veddas were already known in Roman times, especially by Palladius, who was their captive for 6 years, and in the late Middle Ages some "cosmographers", later Knox in 1681 or Ribeiro in 1685 knew as well about three different types in Ceylon, as the old Singhalese chronicles (Parangi Hatane or even the Mahavamsa). But in India herself this took still a long time. Quite a peculiar situation arose there by certain linguistic discoveries of a most astounding nature to which finally all anthropological and biological phenomena were fitted.

The Discovery of Sanscrit

During the beginnings of historism which characterised the scientific development in the first half of the last century in Europe, India unusually attracted the attention of European scholars. This was the result of the discovery of the relationship of Sanscrit to European languages. Sanscrit appeared, from the position of literary tradition, a much older branch of this newly discovered great circle of Indo-European languages than any other European language. Still anthropology had only small advantages thereby, on the contrary, it was largely pushed to the background by a growing literary interest.

This shows already that the history of scientific advancement and anthropological studies in India cannot be considered without taking into account the development of linguistic research. For in the middle of the last century everything which concerned man and his culture was anyhow brought into connection with these great philological discoveries. Bopp in 1816 established a structural connection between the European and South-west Asiatic languages which was completed by the publication of his epoch-making Comparative Sanscrit Grammar in 1834. Similar relations, however, had been guessed already by Coeurdoy in 1767, Sir William Jones in 1786, and W. Schlegel in 1808. From that time all which concerned India was assigned to the Aryan or non-Aryan categories, and great importance was attached to this classification in Europe in science, culture, and even in politics. This intellectual movement is still in progress, its capacity has not been exhausted, and its history as one of the great revolutionary ideas and discoveries has yet to be written.

Thus, in the middle of the last century, Europe, especially northern Europe, saw its linguistic, cultural and racial influences extending beyond the confines of geographical Europe to the boundaries of the biologico-racial Greater Europe, and could now vie in antiquity with ancient civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia as a potent cultural factor. This greatly strengthened European self-consciousness. At the same time, the term Aryan, which originally meant only the Indo-Persian Eastern group of Aryan languages, was now taken up by the Europeans as a title for themselves. As early as two decades after the discovery of the Indo-Persian Aryan and his Sanscrit, his name was most popular in Europe, and Sanscrit was taught for many decades even in European schools.

But these two, the real Aryan and his Sanscrit, were undoubtedly Indian, not European. Self-consciousness thus grew also and is still growing in India. For Indian Sanscrit proved to be an old pattern of Indo-European (or, as it was originally called according to landmarks, of Indo-Germanic) and it was also much older than the intrinsic proper Indo-Germanic languages of Europe (with some small eastern exceptions). Moreover it was widely spoken by old high cultural folks, when Europe could not yet exhibit anything similar (save exceptions in the south). The claim of Europe, nevertheless, to be the original and presenting part (Western Europe as original home) or at least to have a direct blood-relationship (Eastern Europe as the primitive home) was welcome in India too, as it closely knit the Indian people to the world-ruling Europe. India, a blood-relative, the cultural predecessor and intellectual teacher of Europe, ex India lux! And so India and Europe eagerly set the ball rolling, and the idea grew up thereby to be a strong social and finally a world-moving factor. Yet the aspects widely differed here and there.

The philological advance following the discovery of Sanscrit was in brief as follows. Between 1828 and 1858, B. H. Hodgson published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a series of papers on the difference between the Aryan tongues and those which Hodgson called Dravidian, first disclosed at that time. This term "Dravidian" naturally included at first all the non-Aryan tongues, and there followed a broadly generalised bifurcation of all cultural phenomena in Europe as in India. Bishop Caldwell's foundation of the South-Indian languages in 1856 soon gave the term "Dravidian" a definite content. About the same time

Müller (1853) showed the Mundari to be a proper group. But only as late as 1906 W. Schmidt showed also the connection of Mundari with languages in Indochina. Vinson added valuable supplements, and finally Grierson in 1927 followed with an almost complete review of the Indian languages showing their manifold multiplicity.

The latter half of the nineteenth century thus witnessed the antithesis, Aryan-Dravidian. Even in Geology, the Indian Cambrium beds were soon divided into an Aryan and a Dravidian "era". No wonder all this found expression in Anthropology. Aryan language was believed to correspond with an Aryan race. Max Müller's protest was of no avail. He said that we may as well speak of a shortheaded grammar as of an Aryan race. The obvious bifurcation was soon applied to the languages as well as the people and races, as in the work of Campbell in 1877 and even in 1900 Risley looked wholly from this point of view. And yet there were, as we will see, many errors and defects in this view.

Indian Anthropology up to Lassen.

It is obvious that a truly anthropological investigation, a biological study of man himself, could only advance very slowly under these circumstances. Only scant attention was paid to somatic differences of Indian hominids. But the chief group, the Indids, the Homo indicus (Bory 1825) was already well known for a long time in England as well as abroad (see, for example, Goldsmith and Meiners) and the Melanids—the second important racial type of India—were after all taken at least as a variety already by Goldsmith, or even Herodot. They being known, the decisive factor in science were not the civilised peoples of Indid or Melanid race, but the jungle-dwellers, the "third variety". The riddle of

the racial structure as well as that of language origin could be solved only by their study. But this solution had to wait for another century.

The second edition of Lassen's excellent book in 1867 clearly shows the stagnation of which Indian anthropology suffered. Lassen abridged the entire historico-ethnological knowledge of the Indology of his time, which was one of impetuous advance and ardent interest in all Indian Sanscritic questions. But also he knew only the twofold divison of Aryan and non-Aryan, and was not aware of the morphological multiplicity of types in these two linguistical groups. However he believes "to have a sufficient knowledge of somatic types". A fateful view! As sources of information regarding the Gonds, Stirling and Frye and Blunt of 1795 (!) are still his authorities. To all of them, the primitive non-Aryans were "quite dark, they have broad foreheads, small reddish (!) and deep sunken eyes, thick lips, dirty and black teeth, dark hair, sometimes also red and curly, broad breast and long legs" (1876, p. 428). This fantastic description was completed by an information about the Mundarians as being "in their youth of ten beautiful like Apollo". Oraon, Bhil and Sora are as superficially known. Herodotus' "dark Indians" who denoted the Melanid race, were confounded by Lassen with the jungle tribes, though Goldsmith in 1779 had already correct views. His description of the Aryan Indian finally was still taken from the in fact excellent-statements of Bory in 1827.

But it is not without interest to note that the name Nishada, which was used for certain purely linguistic questions by Max Müller was now applied by Lassen to the non-Aryan peoples, as this idea has been taken up recently by Chanda again. Lassen says that India

proper is inhabited by two great "groups of nations, the Aryan, who occupies the whole of Hindustan and a part of Northern Dekkan, and the Nishada, who is found in the Dekkan to the south of the Aryan province".

But Lassen does not permanently use this classification, as he occasionally combines the Nishadas and the Dravidians alone, so that at length a threefold division—the only possible and logical one—is already indicated. Of course the discovery of the Munda (1854) already pointed to it. Thus Lassen finally, at the end of his second edition of 1876, differentiates between an Aryan, a Dravidian (Dravida-Nishada), and a Vindhya group (Vindhya-Nishada). The idea of a threefold classification becomes here quite apparent. But Lassen and his contemporaries did not notice that the physical differences of the races did not at all correspond to a linguistic division in Aryans, Dravidians, Mundarians, but much more to the natural divisions in northern plains, central jungles and south-eastern plains. Moreover Lassen failed to recognize that the central jungle province sheltered Mundarians as well as old Dravidians. The two were different racially and culturally from the real civilized Dravidian or Dramil, that is, Tamil, and the Veddahs of Ceylon appeared to him simply as wild Singalese because they spoke a corrupt Singalese. Their special racial type remained unknown to him. Indeed biological anthropology was still in her infancy.

Dalton and the Sarasins.

It was Dalton who inaugurated in 1872 a decisive progress in Indian anthropology. His excellent account of the tribes of Assam and Chota Nagpur included a very new and careful description of the physical appearance of these tribes. For example, the fundamental

Veddid element was very well seen among the Oraons, the strong palaemongolid influence with the Juangs, the north-melanid and the mongolid race among the Hos and the Oraon: "The Oraon youths, though with features very far from being in accordance with the canons of beauty, are of a singularly pleasing class, their faces beaming with animation and good humour... They are a small race, averaging five feet two inches, but there is perfect proportions in all parts of their form. They must on the whole be regarded as a dark-complexioned and a by no means well favoured race. Their characteristic features are excess of jaws and mouth, thick lips pushed out by the projection of the jaws and teeth. The forehead is low and narrow, but not as a rule receding. The eyes have nothing very peculiar about them, often bright and full with long lashes and straight-set, sometimes small and dim but not oblique. There is the indentation usual in the Turanean races between the frontal and nasal bones. The colour of the majority is of the darkest brown." Concerning the Hos: "In features the Hos exhibit much variety. Many have high noses and oval faces, and young girls are sometimes met with who have delicate and regular features, finely chiselled straight noses, and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom so large, so bright and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindu maidens; but I have met strongly marked Mongolian features, and some are dark and coarse like the Santals. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine erect carriage and long free stride." Juangs: The predominating physical characteristics of the Juangs, as I saw them massed in their village, appeared to me to be great lateral projection of the cheek bones or zygomatic arches and general flatness of feature, forehead upright but narrow and low, projecting over a very depressed nasal bone, nose of the pug species, alæ spreading,

mouths large and lips very thick, but upper jaw rarely prognathous, though the lower jaw and chin are receding. Hair is coarse and frizzly, prevailing color a reddish brown, from 27 to 29 inclusive, of the color table... I observe that some of them had oblique eyes of the Indo-Chinese type, but in this feature there was considerable variety." (1872, p. 249, 190. 157.)

In terminology however, Dalton did not make a new departure. He knew of course, like Lassen, that the Nishadas of the old Vedas can only be seen in the primitive jungle tribes and that they are to be identified with Mundarians as well as Dravidians. Therefore he avoided the term Dravidian and spoke instead of the "pre-Aryan". But also he is still far from seeing that these people could be even pre-Dravidians, and this in spite of his knowledge of the Mundarians, following Campbell (1869) the originator of the idea, he gives on the contrary to these Mundarians the name Kolarians and thereby does not wish to denote the language, but the race *i. e.*, the type, while he considers the Oraon as a "Dravidian race". This proves that he firmly believes: certain physical features must be identical in certain linguistic groups. But in reality one must equate Oraon=Old Dravidians+ Veddids, Munda = Mundari + Veddid — northmelanid, Hos = Mundarian + north melanid. Unfortunately, the term "Turanean" began also to appear about this time, which Max Müller used for a west Mongolian family of languages, V. Holder for the Alpine race, French investigators for the primitive Europeans, and which now was uncritically transferred also to the primitive Indian. This is the counterpart of the assigning of the jungle races to the "Celtic type" (Heber on the Bhils 1828, p. 267), and of the uncritical fitting of the Homo alpinus of Lapouge in the new Indian anthropology of which we have to speak later on.

Dalton is therefore instructive in two respects: in providing fundamental somatic facts based on observation, and in showing the futility of struggling through linguistic errors and mistaken nomenclatures to establish a clear anthropological classification.

The next important advance in Indian racial problems is given only 15 years later, namely in the researches of the two Ceylon investigators, the cousins Sarasins. Their important contribution on the Veddas in 1893 had a bearing not only on Indian anthropology, but represents a marked advance in anthropology in general. We shall now turn to the historical position of the Sarasins and later render a connected account of the time from Dalton to the Sarasins.

The Sarasins, stimulated by Virchow (1880), interested themselves in the investigation of the controversial question of the Veddas, whose position was clarified. This marked at the same time a distinct advance in the problems of race in the Indian continent itself. The Sarasins recognised that "As the nearest relatives of the Veddas of Ceylon a few tribes leading an independent life in the wild mountainous regions and some slave castes" have to be considered. "They appear to be fragments of an old population, which probably in much earlier times extended throughout the whole of India. But our comparative investigation on the Veddas and Tamilian elements shows that it is improper to mix up these stocks of low stature, as generally is done, with a "Dravidian" population. They seem rather the remnants of a *Pre*-Dravidian race, and we may, to have a clearer designation of this group, classify them under the name of the veddaic tribes".

Now finally we see the predravidian layer of Indian races clearly recognised, and it gets the name of the

veddid group, a name which can claim all rights of priority. Moreover, the name is well chosen, as the original Sanscrit-speaking Indians used this term to denote hunting tribes of the forests. Moreover, a clear distinction was now made for the first time between the Melanids and the Veddids, or as the Sarasins still said, between "the dark-skinned Dravidas and the Kolarians". The unclear Dravida-Nishada group of Lassen was thus dissolved and the connection between the north and the south Melanids established. The correctly latinised form of the veddid race appears a little later when Haeckel in 1898 applies the scientific regulations of zoology in general also anthropology, the zoology of man.

Besides, the Sarasins considered these Veddid races as the progenitors of the Indian races of today, "because the higher forms must originate somewhere from the lower, and the progress of the deep-saddled veddid nose to the high nose-bridge of the Indids of the plains can be clearly seen in India." It is, however, less clear, and indeed misleading, when it is further said "that the Dravidians (Melanids) are of Australian connections. In fact there are in India still some very few and very seldom remnants of a primitive stage of humanity, which sometimes got the unlucky designation of "Australian layer". In fact, the type of the Australians shows most typically the traits of this primitive stage of development. But a layer is not a race. Many races may show the characteristics of a certain stage. There is no racial connection between India and Australia. The Sarasins correct themselves later in this very sense (1905, p. 132), but the dangerous idea had already caused a lot of harm. On the other side, it is very lucky that the Sarasins divided the great epochs of India's racial history in a veddid or Pre-Dravidian, a Dravidian and an Aryan epoch. For thus it was clearly said,

that these Pre-Dravidians are of veddid race. The idea was later also accepted by Thurston (1909—I) and became fairly general in English literature.

Further Contemporary Studies.

We have now shortly to treat of the authors from Dalton to the Sarasins during the last third of the nineteenth century. This period begins with a growing interset in sociological—not bio-anthropological—works as they are typical for the British investigation of cultural phenomena. A first impetus was given by the famous expeditions for the cruel Meriah sacrifice, which Macpherson and Campbell (1863—1865) directed. Great interest was also stimulated by the Bhil expedition of Sleeman (1849) and Wilson (1855) so that Latham (1859), later Justice Campbell (1867), and Hunter (1868) tried already to find out an all-India enthnological classification. The nice initiative work of Harkness (1832) on the Todas of the Nilgiris was followed by the well-done publications of Metz (1857), Marshall (1870), Mateer (1883) for Malabar, Hislop (1866) on Inner India, Forsyth (1870), Rousselet (1875), and Ball (1885). In 1868 appeared Watson's and Kayes' collection of the original photographs of various north-Indian primitive races. The first generalisation of the results of these writers is Rowney's description of the Indian jungle-people in 1882. Dutt and Mantegazza followed. Rowney also deals with somatic characters, but he speaks of a general "Dasyu" race, without being able to distinguish Veddids, Kolids and North-Melanids, and without being aware of the Malids of Travancore.

At his time however there were already short accounts of Malser and Irula with some rough measurements by Fryer and Shortt (1863, 1868), and shortly

later the first scientific anthropological research in India was done here by Jagor with the Kānikkar, Kurumbar, Veddas and others (1879, 1882). Soon in 1888 Fawcett's work on the Savaras or Ganjam appeared which accentuated the mongolid strain there. Later, the same author published his memoirs on the Nambudiris, the Nayars, the Kurumbers, and others (1901). In 1892 Risley published his "Castes and Tribes of Bengal" with two volumes of human measurements, and Thurston followed in 1909 with a series of monographs and finally his great work on South Indian Ethnology. In his racial classification he followed the views of the Sarasins and Schmidt, being often quoted instead of them in English literature as the originator of the classification applied in his books.

Troll (1890) and Ujfalvy (1889) published measurements, the latter on the people of the Himalayan regions, where he finds a "Homo-himalayensis". This is insufficiently described, so that the name does not count in scientific nomenclature. Further surveys are found in the Census reports of 1901 and were published by Waddel (1899), Holland (1901 and 1902), Gray (1905), B. Hagen (1906) and Annandale (1906). The interest in physical anthropology thus clearly begins to grow and begins partly to detach itself from the more cultural sphere of ethnological studies. Various Gazetteers and Manuals appeared now which contain sometimes excellent morphological observations. Great ethnographical contributions are compiled by Crooke (1896), Sherring (1906), Enthoven (1907), Iyer (1910), Rose (1911), Russel (1916), Roy (1916, 1925, 1937), Griggson (1936) and Robertson's Kafiri book (1896), and Rivers' Todas (1906). They contain many valuable facts for anthropology too.

Special mention in this time deserve however the works of Schmidt (1896) and Lapicque (1905), then also by Deniker (1900), Risley (1908), Keane (1911), and Giuffrida Ruggeri (1912) which must be considered somewhat closer.

Schmidt, Lapicque and the Negrito Problem

Emil Schmidt, anthropologist of Leipzig University, made a survey of the tribes in Ceylon and South India in 1889—1890, and published some books and articles on them which contain many good observations (1894, 1897—1910). The unlucky question of a so-called Dravidian race, which was introduced by Caldwell in his comparative study of languages by equalizing race and language, was more or less correctly answered by him. He first discovered that the linguistic groups in India did not coincide at all with uniform racial groups, and he dealt with the problem from purely somatic point of view. He isolates in this way four groups:—

"1. Narrow-nosed, fair-skinned Indians;
2. broad-nosed, fair-skinned Indians;
3. narrow-nosed, dark-skinned Indians;
4. broad-nosed, dark-skinned Indians."

This classification was accepted partly by Deniker (1900), and later also by Sergi (1908) and Giuffrida Ruggeri (1912). It clearly distinguished the primitive types from the anatomically progressive groups, and it divides also already the Veddid group into its Gondid and Malid wing. Only the names were lacking. The too small basis and inner contradiction of Risley's classification (1892) was now apparent. An error however is, that Schmidt agreed with Kollmann in that his platyrhine group should be a deteriorated type. But he sees that in South India the racial form-groups are

in clear relations to the great natural geographical units, he brought as the first scholar a large number of photographs which were without methodological reproach, and in his posthumous work of 1910 we have one of the first really scientific contributions to Indian anthropology.

Lapicque was also a well-trained anthropologist, who travelled in South India. But he had some preconceived ideas: He intended to find the "Negroes of Asia", of whom Earl (1855) and Allan (1879) had spoken. An earlier Indian anthropologist, Campbell (1866), even believed that all aboriginal people belonged to this group and said, "I take it that the general physical type of all the purest aboriginal tribes is that which is commonly known as Negrito." He did so by misinterpreting that excellent observer, Dalton, who said, "The Oraons have more of the African type of feature and I have seen amongst them wooly heads".

But de Quatrefages (1895) went even further and, as Skeat and Blagdon (1906, I, 24) have justly remarked, introduced a real "Pan-Negrito-Theory". He relied on vague early reports and even classical Greak writers for his statements, and particularly on a picture XXIX in Dalton which appeared to show him in two typical Santal heads such narrow tufts of hair "as those of any Negrito, and one of them is a true Mincopi, while the other is nearer like the Aëta." But Dalton himself declared that exactly these heads are not typical. In the same way de Quatrefages misconstrues a technically bad reproduction at the end of the article of Fryer (1868) on the Malser and says: "the woman on the right is a genuine Aëta". He follows Samuells in stating that the natives of the Wynad are Negritoes, and he agrees with Roubeaux in the view that the Gond and Patua also

belong to the same race. As evidence, he gives a pretty sketch, which clearly demonstrates that his view is erroneous. Topinard therefore soon opposed this view, and Callamand (1878), who had measured the skulls of Maravars, said unmistakably. "Not by the cranial form, not by the hair, not even by the waist of the dark people of India, can they be regarded as the representatives of a Negrito race, who by a wild stretch of imagination were made to be the veritable aborigines of India. Nobody yet could find woolly hair in India." However the question requires caution.

At any rate, Lapicque started with these impressions in 1905. He was not yet thoroughly convinced of the conclusions of de Quatrefages. He examined 800 individuals among the Pallar, Vellalas, Parayas, and Cherumars, and writes as follows. "I arrived at the conception of a primitive race close to the Negritos but characterised by dolichocephaly. That Negro race is not Arch-Dravidian (Thurston), it is on the contrary Pre-Dravidian. Their prototype is characterised by black complexion, short stature, long head, and platyrhine nose. The observations of my predecessors also go to confirm this view". Here Sarasin's conception of the Pre-Dravidian is first found in a French work, from which Thurston, a friend of Lapicque, came to know it. We see that Lapicque at first thought that he had discovered real primitive Negroes in South India. In his conclusions a year later, he is however more cautious. On the one side, he turned away entirely from the Negrito theory and says: since long one announced the existence of small crispy-haired wild people in India whom one even believed to be allowed to identify with negritoes. In reality there does not exist in these mountains or anywhere in India any evidence that there ever has been a race comparable to the Andamanese or any other

Negritoes." But on the other hand he writes: "one can find groups with distinctly negro faces. A primitive negro was anterior to the Dravidians. One must call him Pre-Dravidian or Paria Negro".

This is a direct contradiction to the views he expressed beforehand. Therefore it is easily comprehensible why Lapicque has been quoted as well against as in favour of the Negrito theory.

In regard to nomenclature, it is new that the term "Pre-Dravidian" does not stand for the Veddids in the Sarasin sense, but represents the Melanids. Later on, Thurston again emphasised the old Sarasin view, and in modern English works, where this dubious name often appears, it generally designates the Veddid layer only. The reason for this confusion is easily found: Veddids as well as Melanids predominantly speak Dravidian dialects.

Let us briefly conclude the Negrito problem. No new light was thrown on it by Keane (1909), who says of the primitive people of South India, "They belong to the Negrito race, which formed a substratum throughout the peninsula, though now mainly submerged by the later arrivals of the Kolarians, the Dravidians, and the Aryans." His racial form-groups are obviously only linguistic groups and in the question of origin, he sharply took up the position of the old Negrito theory. Immediately after, he tones down however and says, "The inference seems obvious that these Dravidians and Kolarians are a blend in diverse proportions of Asiatic intruders with the true black indigines of the peninsula. In other words, they acquired their Negroid characters by secular interminglings with the Negrito aborigines." Here only the *mixture* with the Negritoes is considered.

Most authors could not help in these contradictions but by ascribing to Lapicque and Keane the opinion that in India, especially in South India, genuine Negroes or Negritoes are in evidence. Some however are near also to the opinion expressed by the writer of these lines, namely, that genuine Negritoes are no more found in India or took part in the building up of the population, but that an old negrito-like strain has found a place among the racial components of what is now the Melanid and the Malid races (1928, 1930). Recently L. A. Krishna Iyer has taken this same position(1936). On the other hand, Datta thinks that this view is an "anthropological obscurantism" (1935), following thereby the opinion of Guha (1935). According to the latter, the South Indian has a "truly Negrito strain": "Whatever might have been the original type, there can at any rate be no doubt that this was Negrito". But Risley (1892) had already denied this view, because it is inconceivable how primitive Andaman islanders or any other genuine recent Negrito tribe could have taken possession of India by their own weak power. The theory however of the early existence of a dark racial component akin to the Negritoes seems to me to explain adequately the present facts.

Genuine Negro frizzly hair therefore naturally never has been found in South India, but spiral hair, the relation of which to the hair-forms of other contact races like the Melanesids had already been pointed out in 1929 by the author. The "problem" probably could only arise because the distinguishing words, spiral, woolly or frizzly, had been applied in a vague manner.

The Beginning of the New Century

In racial classification, Deniker was the first trying to harmonise the old two-fold arrangement (Aryan and

Dravidian speakers) with Schmidt's new view (four somatic groups). That is impossible of course. So Deniker accepted only a northern "Aryan" Indo-Afghan race, and splitted up his "race mélano-indienne ou dravidienne" into two, namely, a platyrrhine and a laptirrhine one. The first corresponds to all the veddid groups including the light-coloured northern Gonds, who do not fit at all into it, the latter embraces both dark-coloured Tamilians and light-coloured Telugus. His error is that he still inclines to the Caldwellian idea, according to which the Dravidian is both a somatological and linguistic group at the same time, and that he could not decide the question in favour of mere biology, *i. e.*, of Schmidt. But it is important to note that Deniker for the first time introduced the "Mélano-Indian" group, which was later accepted by Pöch as "Schwarzinder" and by v. Eickstedt as Indo-Melanids. Hence Deniker can claim precedence in the matter.

Risley had already in his Ethnology of Bengal (1892) followed the usual "racial" classification into Aryan and Dravidian and believed that he could recognize a corresponding distinction of somatic types. But when his "Census of India" appeared in 1903, the investigations of Schmidt were already published, and when his book of 1908 appeared, also the results of Lapicque and Thurston were available. Unfortunately Risley knew little of forerunners of his and their works, and less even of the prior works of Jagor, Fawcett or the Sarasins. Only Dalton was known to him. Hence he merely extended the philological classification under certain somatometrical—not somatological ! —aspects. He was right in seeing that the light coloured Indian group, the Homo indicus of Bory 1825, falls into two parts, one of high stature spread mostly in the Punjab,

and one of medium stature prevailing in the Doab and other provinces. He also saw the mongolid influence in Bengal and a special subtype in the west, in the Bombay Presidency, which was particularly characterised by its high cephalic index. But the unfortunate idea of a Dravidian somatic group as opposed to an Aryan one destroyed the possibility of getting a valid racial classification. For this group cut through all races and at the same time embraced parts of nearly all. Schmidt had noticed this already earlier, and soon many others like Thurston (1909), Keane (1911), Chanda(1916), and Giuffrida Ruggeri (1917) got aware of it. Moreover those which were believed to be linguistically as well as racially the most typical, were untypical even in linguistic respects, as *e. g.*, Richards accentuates: "The typical jungle tribe of South India does not speak a typical Dravidian tongue, but a grotesque caricature of it" (1917, 261).

Risley's final classification of Indian races runs as follows:—

1. Turko-Iranian type;
2. Indo-Aryan type;
3. Scytho-Dravidian type;
4. Aryo-Dravidian type or Hindustani type;
5. Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type;
6. Mongoloid type;
7. Dravidian type.

The abstractness of this system which pays so little heed to the facts, or to the works of forerunners, is indeed surprising, because Risley, from the beginning of his Indian career in Midnapur, had the best opportunity to observe all real form-groups. That he could not recognise natural units and therefore had to take refuge to artificial calculations (like many anthropologists of

the day), is shown by his denial of Mongolid elements in Inner India: "The hypothesis of the north-eastern origin of the Kolarians depends on the fancied recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the people of Chutia Nagpur". These words are of course directed against Dalton, who was an excellent observer of natural facts and who was the first to see the palaemongolid strain among the northern jungle tribes.

It is easy to understand that, as we saw, soon there arose critics against Risley's so-called Dravidian race, as the multiplicity of racial types in this linguistic group was already known at his time. But there were also critics against his brachycephalic western group, the "Scytho-Dravidians." The criticism in this latter case, however, was not about the contents of the group, but only about the significance of the name.

Reminiscences and Further Constructions

This is a mistake which one finds fairly often with authors unfamiliar with the regulations of scientific nomenclature: a name has not to propagate a theory, but only to enable the identification of the object. Crooke (1899) and others were certainly right when they said that the Scythians never had a strong influence among the western Indian population, and that probably they even were not at all shortheaded as these. But Risley remains the first to describe this new type, and it is to him that the right to name it fully belongs. It was correctly latinised as "Homo brachymorphus" by Giuffrida-Ruggeri (1912) and accepted by von Eickstedt and others. Moreover it must be recognised that, in spite of the defects of his training, Risley dedicated himself to his self-chosen mission with great devotion and in his errors only fell a victim of the low standard

of anthropological research in his time. At his time there was no well-equipped department of anthropology in any British University, as in fact, to-day. Crooke (1897) himself later fell into the over-atomistic error to try and establish a new all-Indian race by one single feature, namely the cephalic index. It would of course be a fantastic enterprise to unite all individuals with the same index all over the world into one "race."

Further classifications of the Indian types were attempted by Giudffrida-Ruggeri in 1912, 1913, 1917, and 1921. He latinised many names, which is laudable, but he did not in any way consider his predecessors which is unscientific. Thus countless non-valid synonyms originated, but also some more or less valid names, namely for India, the Homo Indo-europaeus brachymorphus, which corresponds to the western brachytype of Bombay or Risleyan Scytho-Dravidian, and the Homo indo-europaeus dolichomorphus indo-afghanus, named after Deniker, for the north indid group. It is a pity that Giuffrida-Ruggeri very often changes his views in his various works, and that obscure circumlocutions and incomplete quotations are frequent. Thus, his theory of racial layers in India, borrowed essentially from Keane, could not be reconciled with his own racial classification and the "Pre-Dravidian" of the Sarasins and the connection between the Veddas and the primitive folk of India were treated in the text, but not given a place in nomenclature etc.

The beginning of the twentieth century had unfolded the fact that philological speculations were no longer tenable in racial classifications. Races were now treated as races, as typological units, and men were measured and treated not only as exhibits of a linguistic phenomenon, but as men. Also the research in culture began

to break away from the study of Sanscrit, and slowly one perceived that the aryanising of India, though an event of enduring significance in the linguistic sphere, was in the cultural sphere only a transitory process with an inner dynamic of its own, which gradually brought the original people and also the old races almost completely to the top again. So a thin Aryan culture veneer alone remains today over the true old Indian culture which does not know the worship of the Aryan gods, but teaches the worship of its own and old Dravidian gods. This was clearly seen by Slater (1927), seen especially in South India, which always had been only superficially Aryanised. The same phenomenon was seen by Goetz (1929) in his historical investigation and by v. Eickstedt (1936) in the cultural sphere.

For the south, there are particularly the works of Oppert (1893) on linguistic and archæological history and for the north the works of Chanda (1916) which are worth to be mentioned. Chanda also carried out anthropological surveys and produced valuable studies on the subject. He shows by old Indian texts that blond individuals were still frequent in India up to the second century a. C. and picked up again the name of the "Nishada race" introduced by Lassen. In this group he included the Indian as well as the Indo-chinese Veddids, and he attributes to it the Mundari or Monkhmer language—which surely is an error, as Monkhmer must be regarded to have been originally a south-west Chinese tongue. Moreover the Veddids got already their valid name by the Sarasins a quarter of a century before, and re-naming is unscientific. It was also an error that he traced the Homo alpinus of Lapouge (1899) as far as India, because this name from the beginning (Linne 1756) designated only the real Alpines of central Europe and not (as Ripley in 1900

used it) the broad Eurasiatic short-headed zone in general. But the tendency to trace European races down to India has gained strength in recent times, expressing itself partly in Mitra's book (1927) in simple transference. This is a weak antithesis to the old view of Indo-Aryan superiority which we had treated above. But now there are also many Indian and European investigators who consider it as well more correct as more worthy to give India her own and old races, so clearly shown to everybody with open eyes, and not to imitate or transfer European races in plain contradiction to natural facts.

Besides Chanda there are found many authors of Indian prehistory who try to find connections with anthropology: N. K. Dutt, V. Rangacharya, Viswanatha, Srinivasa Iyengar and B. T. S. Iyengar. Other remarkable names are those of v. Heine-Geldern (1928—1935), Mitra and Marshall (1937), also of Friederichs and Müller (1933), who rectified the material published by Sewell and Guha(1932). But space is wanting to appreciate them all. It is interesting however that Richards (1917) tried to harmonise Ripley and Risley. He also sees with Elliot Smith (1915) connections between the Dravidians and the Mediterranians in culture and gives a survey of certain problems of Indian anthropology though with little regard to the literature on the subject. In his racial classification he belongs to those who want to transfer European types to India, namely Alpines and Nordics.

Similarly, Guha (1936, 1938) announces a pigmented Nordic element in North-West India (the Homo indo-afghanus) and regards the old Homo indicus of Bory 1825 as plain Mediterranian and the western Hindu as Alpine. But complexion as well lips, nose, forehead and

eyes, traits by which races are as well characterised as by measures, were not considered by him. Thus the similarity of the race-zones was stressed, but the splitting up of races as such was veiled (1936).

Among other notable contributions, we may mention the works of Biasutti (1925) for the extreme north, those of v. Eickstedt (1920, 1923, 1924, 1926) for the Doab, J. Das, A. and B. K. Chatterjee for Bengal, and the Iyers, father and son (the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and L. A. Krishna Iyer), as well as Hornell (1920), Aiyyappan, and L. Cipriani for the south. Further certain ethnic groups were anthropologically treated by B. C. Basu, Biswas, H. C. Chakladar, J. C. Ray Choudhury, Dixon (1912), B. A. Gupte, J. H. Hutton (1929), J. P. Mills, Joyce (1912), J. Karvé, R. Koller, C. S. Roy, S. S. Sarkar and C. S. Venkatachar; biostatistical investigations were carried on by Mahalanobis in Calcutta, and physiological by E. Mason, surveys of the racial history were published by v. Eickstedt (1931, 1933 and 1934) and Niggemeyer (1933). Besides, contributions were made by the Portugese out of Goa, where Fonsca Cardoso (1896), E. Mascarenhas (1924), and A. da Silva Correia (1928) had worked. Since 1927 there exists also a scientific journal edited by S. C. Roy, the name of which is "Man in India", but the contents of which deal mainly with "Culture in India", though with some anthropological contributions too. Finally an anthropological department is founded by Prasad and Guha at the Indian Museum in Calcutta which hence is the centre of Indian anthropological efforts.

From 1926 to 1929 an Expedition from the Leipzig Saxon State institute, led by Baron von Eickstedt, worked in India. This was the greatest expedition

which ever studied a foreign country from only the bioanthropological point of view. It had to try and solve, according to the state of knowledge at that time, the following problems:—

1. What anthropological role is played in modern India by the so-called jungle tribes; how far did and does their expansion reach, what somatical characteristics and which types do they exhibit?

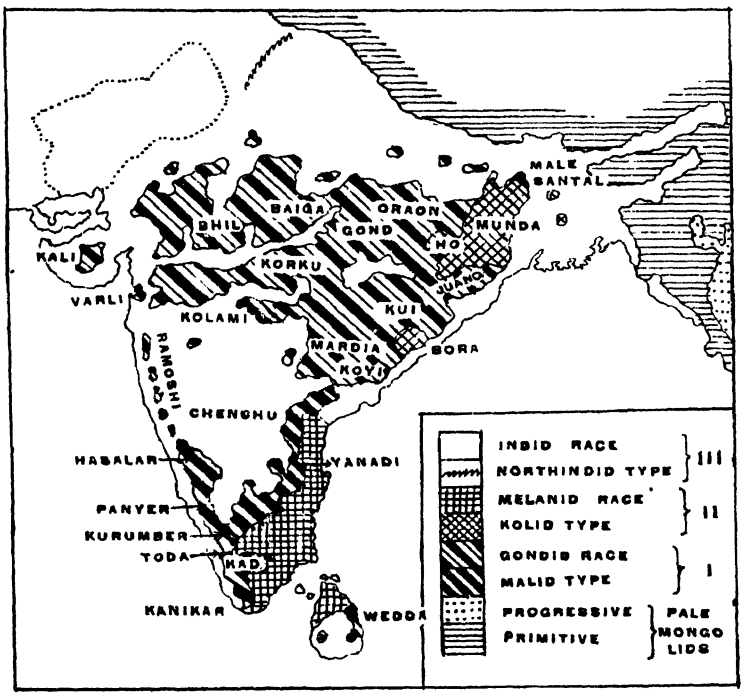
2. Can genuine Mongolid admixtures be found in the north-west Dekkan, of which racial components are these composed, and which linguistic and cultural relations do they show?

3. Do the dark South Indians show an admixture of Negro or Negrito traits, and what is their biological relation to the northern Indian groups?

4. Which typological racial division can be got after this for the whole sub-continent, and in which relation do the great typological units stand to the linguistic and cultural facts, particularly to the Dravidian languages and those who originally spoke them?

An attempt to answer these questions requires the evidence of anthropological material from all jungle tribes, all more important plains groups and of Negritoes, Veddas, and Indochinese tribes. Therefore 51,000 kilometres were travelled, 80 tribes and nations visited, 1,16,000 measurements taken from 3,771 individuals and 7,500 type photos and 4,200 pictures of the cultural and natural environment made, to which 2,000 ethnographic objects with corresponding observations were

RACES AND TRIBES OF INDIA



LITHO, T. R. P. WORKS, TRIVANDRUM

added. First results were published in a series of reports (1927—1930), some particular questions in various articles (1927—1936). The answers to the above questions were shortly as follows:—

1. The jungle tribes of India present the key to the great historical and cultural problems in India. In spite of their decay in the last century they are still very numerous and spread in a very considerable but scarcely populated area. This is shown in a *map*. This map presents the first classification of races of India based on living material of the natural type groups and their distribution. It tries to be in strict accordance with the rules of biological working and nomenclature. There have been found three great and main biotypological groups, *i. e.*, three main races and some sub-races or sub groups. These are:—

i. *The Indid race* (the Homo indicus Bory of 1825) with the sub-races of *(a)* the Indids proper (Grace-Indids), *(b)* the north-Indids (the Homo indo-afghanus of Deniker 1900 and Giuffrida-Ruggeri 1912) and *(c)* the Brachids (the Homo indicus brachymorphus of Giuffrida-Ruggeri 1912, or the Indo-Scythian of Risley 1893). Less clear and much less important are the three sub-groups of Brachids, the Maharatta West Brachids, the Bengal-Orissa East Brachids and a tall Brachid group in the Doab. Among the Indids proper there are particularly the Keralid type in Malabar, the very mixed singhalid type, and a Central Indian type.

ii. *The veddid race* (the Homo veddalis of Haeckel 1898 and the Sarasins 1893) with the sub-groups of the light-coloured square-built North-Gondids predominant in the North Dekkan, the light-coloured grace and slender South Gondids predominant in Central India, and the very dark contact-form of the Malids in South India, to which the very mixed Veddas proper of Ceylon more or less belong.

iii. *The Indo-Melanids* or, shortly, Melanids (corresponding to the "race indienne mélanienne type leptorhinien" of Deniker 1899 after Schmidt 1892). They are found in the plains of South India, particularly among the Tamils as the Karnatic sub-race, and in the north among the Hos of the north-western forest region as the Kolid sub-race. But there are some types of this race also among the lower castes of the Doab and elsewhere. A detailed description of these groups with their measures has been given already elsewhere (1929, 1931, 1939).

2. A mongolid element is obvious among various races of the North-west Dekkan. It appears to be connected with modern or earlier Munda speakers and points to the palæmongolid racial element). This race was **therefore** investigated in Burma and on the Chinese-Burma borders (1931), recently (from 1937 to 1939) also in Indochina and China (1938, 1939). The palæmongolid element is not evenly distributed among the corresponding tribes of India, but single traits are appearing here and there according to Mendelian

heredity. This points to a very recent admixture. This result harmonises with the conclusions of racial history, after which the inroads of palæmongolid tribes must have occurred between 3000 and 1000 B. C.

3. South-India on the other side shows a biologically harmonised and therefore historically very old component of the circle of the Negrid main race. This element has brought about a fully harmonious contact-form, namely the Melanid race; this in particular, among the middle class Tamil population but—of course—not among the lowest and highest classes, which show recent admixture in the upper classes or remnants of the Malids in the lower strata. These Malids are mountain dwellers of predominantly veddid type, but with a completely harmonised dark component (cf. Panyer, Kurumber, Kadar, a. o). Thus there are various stages of typological concentration. None of them show any admixture of modern Negroes or Negritoes, but all of them show more or less the influence of an old proto-negritid component since long entirely sucked up.

4. By number and expansion, the most important race of the population of the Indian sub-continent is the Indid race. It is the inheritor of the culture of Mohenjodaro and the representative of the Dravidian and typical "Indian" soul. Its north-western wing and its central section have been submitted to strong foreign influxes from Central Asia before as well as after the Aryan period. The Aryan influence

> prevailed throughout in the linguistic sphere, but hardly in the cultural one. With the Aryan language came probably some few elements of Nordic race which have been since entirely amalgamated, and later, the so-called Scythians, the Huns a. o., finally the Islamic invasions which brought a strong proportion of the Orientalid race, the centre of which is Arabia. The Indid race is at its root related to the second great race in India, the Veddid, which represents the original form and archetype. The constant pressure of the Indids from the north let in very remote times to the creation of the Melanid, the pressure of the Veddids to the creation of the Malid type. The language of the supposed proto-Negritoes and the original Veddids must be considered as lost.

On the other hand the Palaemongolid-Mundarian invasion from the north-east had led to a far-spread linguistic mundaryanisation of all the Veddids. At about the same time—2 D Mill. B. C.—the originally Dravidian Indids, whose descendants adopted the Aryan language, pushed over the Melanids, who in their turn adopted Dravidian idioms for which they are now the typical representatives. So race and language do no more in India in any way coincide. Races remained, but languages were shoven southward, similar as in Europe, where northern Indo-Germanic languages were pushed over the original japhetitic languages in the centre and east. The disturbing results of the idea of a Dravidian "race" are therefore easy to understand. The Dravida speakers of to-day are no more the same as 4 millenniums ago. At that time they were of Indid race, to-day they are prevailingly of Melanid race.

In this way a preliminary clarification of the more important problems regarding the classification and history of races could be suggested and has been published and tried to be proved in a series of articles. The main publication is still awaited.

Modern Indian authors

A further and more recent treatment of the race types of India was given by Ghurye (1932). Unfortunately, he used mostly linguistic terms for his biological types, but more or less a parallelisation is possible, though it is not complete:—

Ghurye: physical types.. v. Eickstedt: natural race-forms

1.	Indo-Aryans	=	Indids,
2.	Pre-Dravidians	=	Weddids,
3.	Dravidas	=	Melanids,
4.	Westerners	=	Westbrachids,
5.	Mundas	=	Kolids,
6.	Mongoloids	=	Palæmongolids.

It appears that the Saxon State Institute Expedition stimulated also anthropological field work in India, for we find Guha engaged in this work from October 1929 in connection with the Census of 1931 (published 1935). These investigations especially led to a research among the more accessible groups of the Indian culture areas, so that they form to a certain degree a useful supplement to the works of the Saxon State Institute Expedition which mainly worked in the jungles. But it must be noted that the material collected by Guha has been worked up by special statistical methods, namely the so called C. R. L. (Reduced coefficient of racial likeness). This, as is well known, leads to a classification not of the natural races and the establishment not of a similarity of these, but to statistical types and to the

working out of the similarity of certain statistical values. The natural coherence of the characteristics is left out and a small and purely subjective selection of measures used. Of course there is mostly, but not always, a certain connection between natural types and statistical types. So we can more or less identify these artificial groups with certain natural biological types, though their geographical boundaries cannot fully coincide and finer morphological differences disappear.

Thus the statistical types, symbolised by letters, roughly correspond to the following natural races:—

A = Indids,
B = Brachids,
C = North Indids,
D = Veddids,
E = South Indian proto-Negrids,
F = Palæmongolid element, and
G = Marginal Indian Mongolids.

The great and important group of Melanids is lacking because it cannot be isolated by the methods used.

Some Necessary Corrections

In respect of nomenclature, Guha, as we have seen, used symbols for his statistical groups which is laudable, but he gives them partly and at the same time names, which are already used for natural races of Europe, and this is not allowed after the regulations of scientific nomenclature. It is therefore also a mistake, if he blames the present author for having a predilection for new names. In fact, the reverse is the case. For example, the designation of the Indid race which Guha considers as new, is far from being new, is more than a hundred years old and has been correctly latinised already at that time. It has been

introduced by Bory in 1825, similarly the Veddids date of 1895, the Indo-Melanids of 1897, and the Brachids of 1912. Further, Guha overlooks the fact that different statistical methods of computation give slightly varied results, which are hardly of any biological importance, so that his criticisms of some very old material of mine are not valid. Also his statement of the Indo-Brachid problem is not satisfactory. He says that the Indo-Brachids should be treated not as a type or sub-race, as done by me, but as a race (an unimportant question). But at the same time, he asserts that I have refused to recognise them, a statement which is self-contradictory, because, if I had classified the Brachids differently, I should have certainly known about them. The author further pretends that I should have said to have been the first white man in Little Andaman, an assertion which of course would be entirely wrong and which I never said or published. It is true that Mr. R. B. S. Sewell spread this rumour, but it originated in his fancy. Notes in the "Times of India" of 1929, which he explained in this sense, are of the editor, not of myself, and they are clearly said and shown as such. It was only at the Congress of the Indian Science Congress Association in 1938 that I heard of these rumours. Dr. Guha was moreover so kind to inform me that his other mistakes concerning my scientific results are based on misunderstandings on account of the foreign language. So I will not insist upon further points.

The Valid Names of Indian Races.

Let us now conclude this short survey. It is no more difficult to find and fix the names of the Indian races according to the rules of priority and ternary nomenclature. They are now at hand as a by-result of our investigation into the history of bio-anthropological research in India. There is no uncertainty about the

valid names of her main races. With the minor biological groups, there may be sometimes a doubt as to the interpretation of a sentence or a description, but also here in nearly all cases the meaning is clear. Some subgroups are not yet named, and I myself hesitated to do so, with those which are not yet thoroughly known and studied. When, however, a certain type had been carefully described in form and distribution, there was no doubt that it had to get also its correct name. The following list therefore tries to give a concentrated survey of the present state of knowledge and nomenclature of the human racial types in India.

The valid ternary nomenclature of the Indian race types.

I. *Homo sapiens indicus Bory 1825, 294* (i) = *Indids*:

(a) Homo s. i. indogracilis Eickstedt 1937, 185 ex 1931, 269 (gi) = Grace-Indids [3—4 subtypes, *e. g.*, Keralids and Himalayids];

(b) Homo s. i. indoafghanus Giuffrida-Ruggeri 1912, 141 ex Deniker 1900, 339 (ni) = North-Indids [2 subtypes: prevailing among Punjabis and Todas];

(c) Homo s. i. indobrachimorphus Giuffrida-Ruggeri 1917, 165 (bi) = Indo-Brachids [3 subtypes: West Brachids (Bombay), East-Brachids (Bengali–Orissa), Central-Brachids (Doab a. o.)].

II. *Homo sapiens veddalis Haeckel 1898, 748 ex Sarasins 1893,* I *354 (v)* = *Veddids*:

(d) Homo s. v. ceylonensis Sergi 1908, 543 ex Sarasin 1893, 85 (w) = Veddaids. (Biddades of Palladius about 350 A. C., Bedas of Knox 1681) [very mixed type of Malid parentage];

(e) Homo s. v. gondicus Eickstedt 1937, 185 ex 1931, 269 (go) = Gondids [2 subtypes: North Gondids among Oraons etc., Central Gondids among Mardias a. o.]

(f) Homo s. v. malicus Eickstedt 1397, 185 ex 1929, 72 (ma) = Malids [with harmonised proto-negritid elements];

III. *Homo sapiens indomelanicus Eickstedt 1937, 185 ex Deniker 1900, 470 (im) = Indomelanids*

(g) Homo s. i. karnaticus Eickstedt 1937, 185 (kar) = Southmelanids (prevailing among Tamils) [Schmidt's and Pöch's leptorrhine "schwarzinder"];

(h) Homo s. i. kolidus Eickstedt 1937, 185 ex 1931, 278 (kol) = Northmelanids (main type of Mundas) [Tickell 1840 and Campbell 1876];

IV. *Foreign Races*:—

Homo sapiens europaeus Linné 1785, I 21 (partim) (n) = Nordids

Homo sapiens dinaricus Lapouge 1899, 230 ex Deniker 1897, 300 (d) = Dinarids

Homo sapiens alpinus Lapouge 1899, 230 ("ex" Linné 1758 I 27) (al) = Alpins

Homo sapiens pelagius (meridionalis) Fischer 1829, 3 ex Bory 1827, I 114 (m) = Mediterraneans

Homo sapiens palaemongolicus Eickstedt 1937, 185 ex 1934, 205 (pam) = Palæmongolids

Homo sapiens arabicus Bory 1828, 288 (or) = Orientalid race.

Some Rules of Scientific Nomenclature

Art. 15. The purpose of giving a name to a taxonomic group is not to indicate the characters of the history of the group, but to supply a means of referring to it.

Art. 16. Each group with a given circumscription, position and rank can bear only one valid name, the earliest that is in accordance with the Rules of Nomenclature.

Art. 17. No one may change a name (or combination of names) without serious motives, based either on more profound knowledge of facts or on the necessity of giving up a nomenclature that is contrary to the Rules.

Art. 59. A name or epithet must not be rejected, changed or modified, merely because it is badly chosen, or disagreeable, or because another is preferable or better known.

At the end of this short paper it may be still mentioned that the above correct names and our research into the history of bio-anthropology in India is only an outcut of a more extensive investigation into the history of research and nomenclature of the races of the whole world, the results of which have been published in (936 pp., F. Enke, Stuttgart 1932—33); "Die Forschung "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschhseit" am Menschen" (1000) pp., F. Enke, Suttgart 1937 ff.) and "Geschichte der anthropologischen Namengebung und Klassifikation" ("Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und die gesamte Forschung am Menschen": V, 209—282; VI, 36—39, 151—210, 1937). There also full bibliographic quotations of the books mentioned above, and other more, can be found. They have been left out here to save space in an article which has to display only a special question in a special part of the world. May this short note be useful for workers in Indian anthropology and may it be considered as a modest contribution to the scientific development of the "forgotten science of man" in one of the racially most interesting parts of the world.

Hanoi (Indochina), v. E.
December 1938.

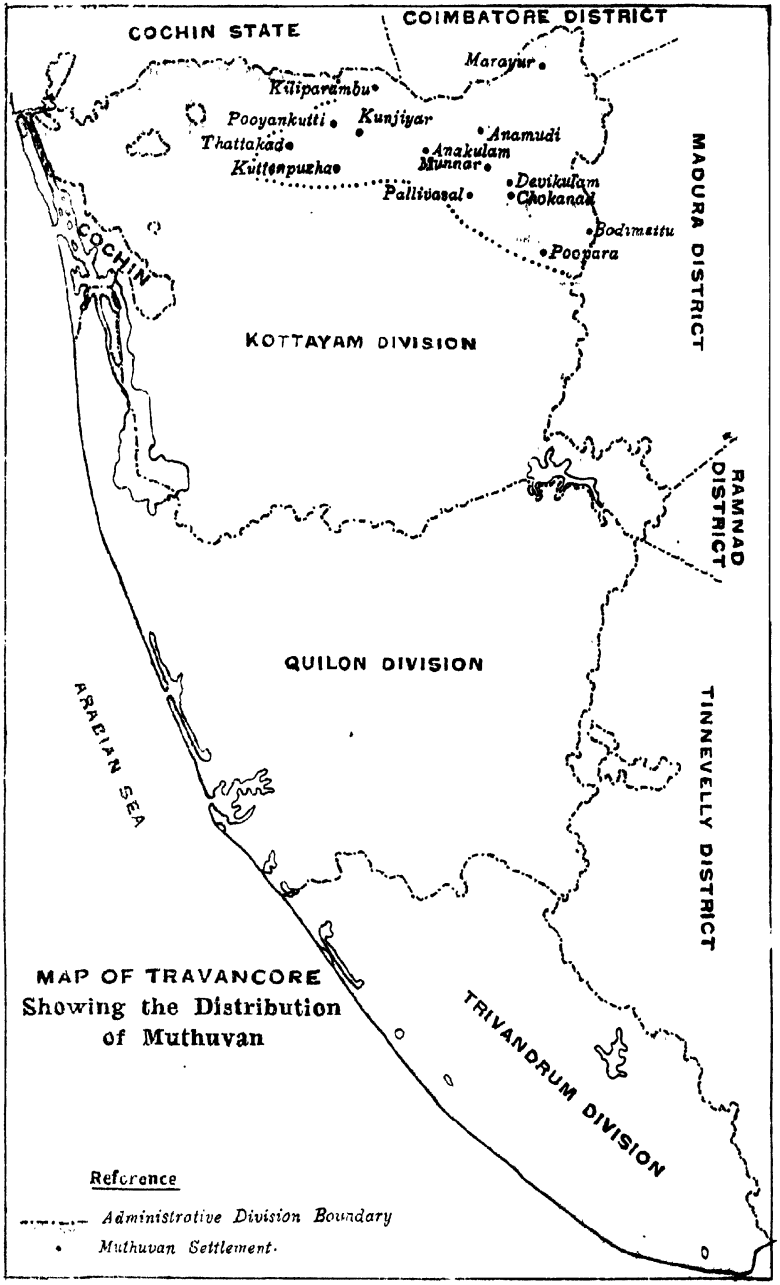
ERRATA

Page 40, line 21—*for* "Amonium" *read* "Amomum."

Do. line 25—*for* "malabaricum" *read* "malabarica."

Page 101 line 3—*for* "matrimonial" *read* "matrilineal."

Page 344 .. 33—*for* "Ruggle" *read* "Ruggles."



Litho, T. A P. W., Trivandrum.

MUTHUVAN

INTRODUCTION—POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE — AFFINITIES — HABITATIONS — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — POLYANDRY — LEVIRATE—ADULTERY — DIVORCE — SEXUAL MORALITY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—NAMING CEREMONY—DESCENT—INHERITANCE—ADOPTION — TABOO — CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIP—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—VILLAGE GOVERNMENT —FUNERAL CEREMONIES — RELIGION—FESTIVALS—ANCESTOR-WORSHIP — FOLKLORE — OCCUPATION — WEAPONS — DIETARY OF THE TRIBE — DRESS — ORNAMENTS —DAILY LIFE — HOSPITALITY — LANGUAGE — FERTILITY —DISEASE — APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

The Muthuvans are found on the Cardamom Hills, the Kannan Devan Hills, in the Anjanad Valley, and in Mannānkandom, Anakulam, and Pooyamkutty of Todupuzha taluk. There is one Muthuvan village on the British Anamalais and another in the Zamindari forests of Bodinayakanur in the Madura district. Removed from the stress and strain of the outside world by chains of wooded hills, they have not been corrupted by intercourse with the people of the plains, and have preserved many of their primitive customs and manners.

G. P. T. LINO. 678. 250. 1-5-1939.

Population

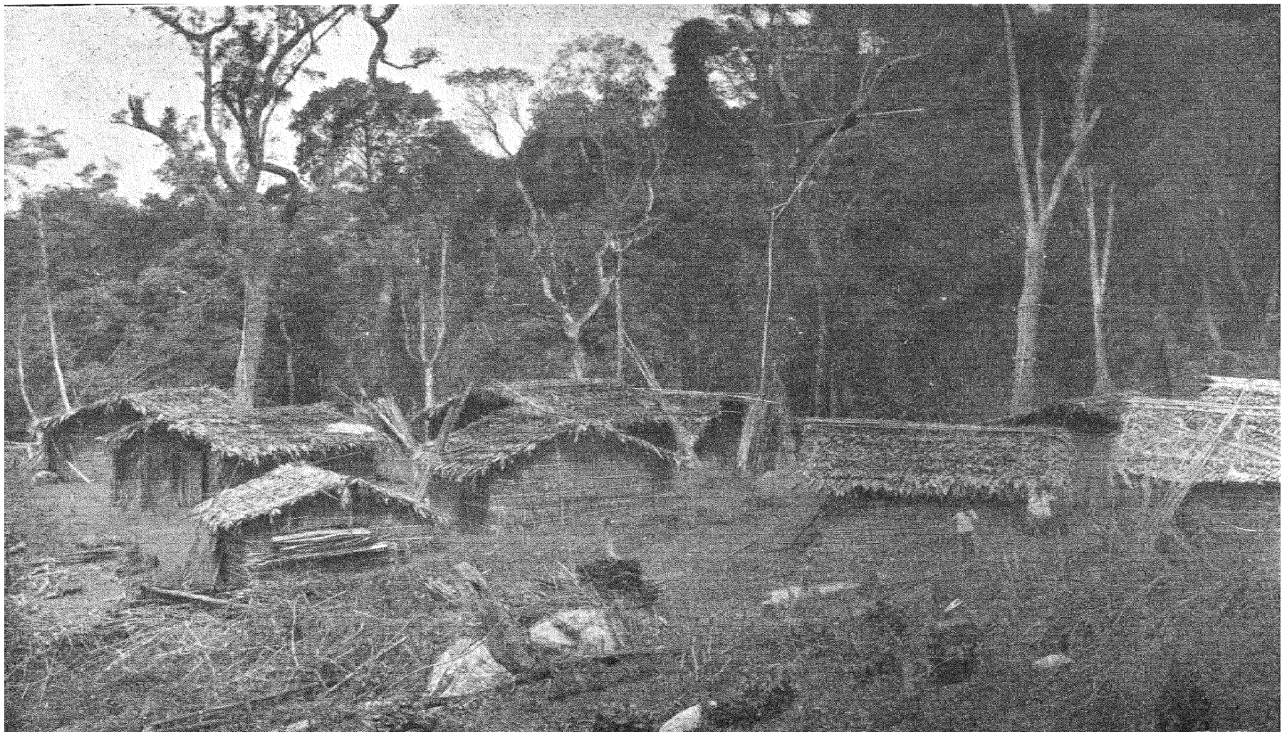
The Muthuvans were returned in the last Census as 1,301. A comparative statement of their population is given below:—

Year of Census.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1901	808	409	399
1911	379	195	184
1921	257	122	135
1931	1,301	649	652

The figures for 1931 show a considerable increase over those for 1921. My observation of the Muthuvans shows that the return for 1931 is correct. There were 649 males and 652 females. Females exceed males. In 1931, they were classified for the first time as 1,238 Hindu and 63 under tribal religion.

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The Muthuvans believe that they originally lived in Madura and that they were driven to the hills by internal dissensions. It may possibly have been at a time when the Pandyan Rajas entered the south, or when the Telugu Naickans took possession of Bodinayakanur in the fourteenth century. The Muthuvans who came to the High Ranges of Travancore *via* Bodinayakanur carried their children on their backs up the ghats, and hence came to be known as Muthuvans, which literally means, 'those who carried something on their back.' Another version is that they got their name because, when they left Madura, they carried with them on their backs, or muthuku, the goddess Meenakshi.



A VIEW OF A MUTHUVAN HAMLET,

Affinities

In his 'Races of Man', Deniker mentions the hill-men of the Anamalai Hills (the Malayans, the Kadars, and the Muduvans) and those inhabiting the Travancore and Cochin Hills as belonging to the uncivilised Dravidians, but modern anthropologists differ from his view. Dr. Keane points out that there is good evidence to prove that "the first arrivals in India were a black people, most probably Negritos, who made their way from Malaysia round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan foot-hills and thence spread over the peninsula without ever reaching Ceylon."* Thrust back by later migrations of invaders from the plains that once were theirs, these aborigines took refuge in the recesses of the hills and came to be known as 'Pre-Dravidians.' At present there are no distinctly Negrito communities in the land, nor has any clear trace of a Negrito language been discovered. But distinctly Negrito features not only crop up continually in all the uplands from the Himalayan slopes to Cape Comorin, but the uplands also abound in megalithic monuments which help us to some extent in unravelling the history of their remote past.

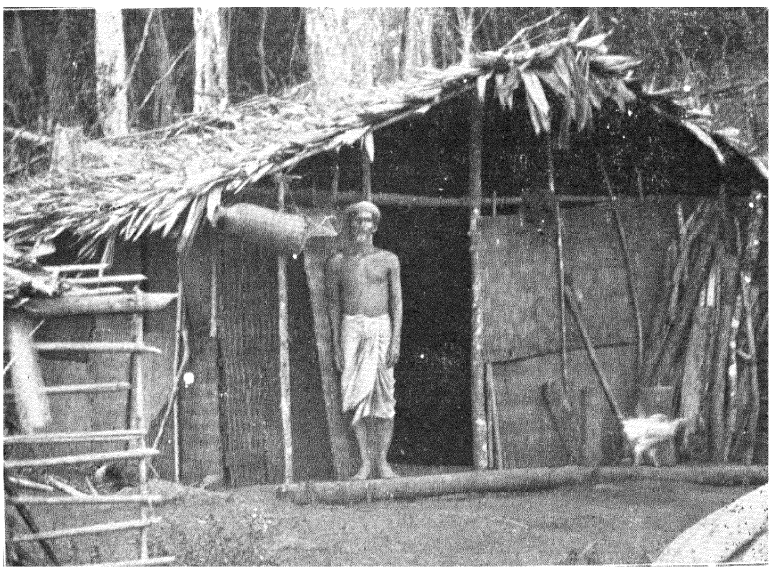
It may be interesting to point out that the Cardamom Hills of Travancore abound in megalithic monuments. Dolmens, menhirs, and alignments are largely in evidence. In his 'Megalithic Culture of Indonesia', Mr. Perry points out that, all the world over, megalithic monuments exhibit such similarities of structure and associations that they must have been the work of a people showing a common culture, who, according to Dr. Rivers, were also sun worshippers. Beyond Indonesia, which includes, among other areas, Assam and

* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K., The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, P. 2

Burma, megalithic monuments are found in the region of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Todas of the Nilgiris, the Muthuvans, the Malapulayans, the Malayarayans, the Mannāns, and other hill-tribes of Travancore.

Further, it is pointed out that the reality of stone-using people is evidenced by the use of stone for graves by some of the hill-tribes. In Watubela, the dead are buried and a stone is planted at the head and at the foot of the grave. This custom finds its counterpart not only among the Kabui Nagas of Assam, but also among the Muthuvans, the Paliyans, the Malayarayans, the Ullātans, and the Ūrālis. The survival of this custom among the hill-tribes of Travancore lends support to the idea that there was a movement of stone-using people, not only throughout Indonesia as far as Assam, but, through Assam, as far as Cape Comorin.

The Muthuvans of the present day exhibit no interest in megalithic monuments. Dr. Keane observes that the Negritos have been absorbed or largely assimilated by later intruders, and as of these there are four separate stocks, we call the Negritos the 'submerged fifth.' Looking into the Sanskrit literature of the remote past, we find ample confirmation of this view. The Epic and Puranic legends contain accounts of the physical characteristics of the aborigines (Nisadas). They are described as having "a dark skin, short stature, and broad nose." The Muthuvans fit in with this description, and these traits in no small measure show themselves among them. They are short in stature with an average of 61·4″. They are long headed and have an average cephalic index of 73·8. They have a short flat nose, the average nasal index being 88·4. Their complexion varies from dark to dark brown.



A TYPICAL HUT.

Habitat

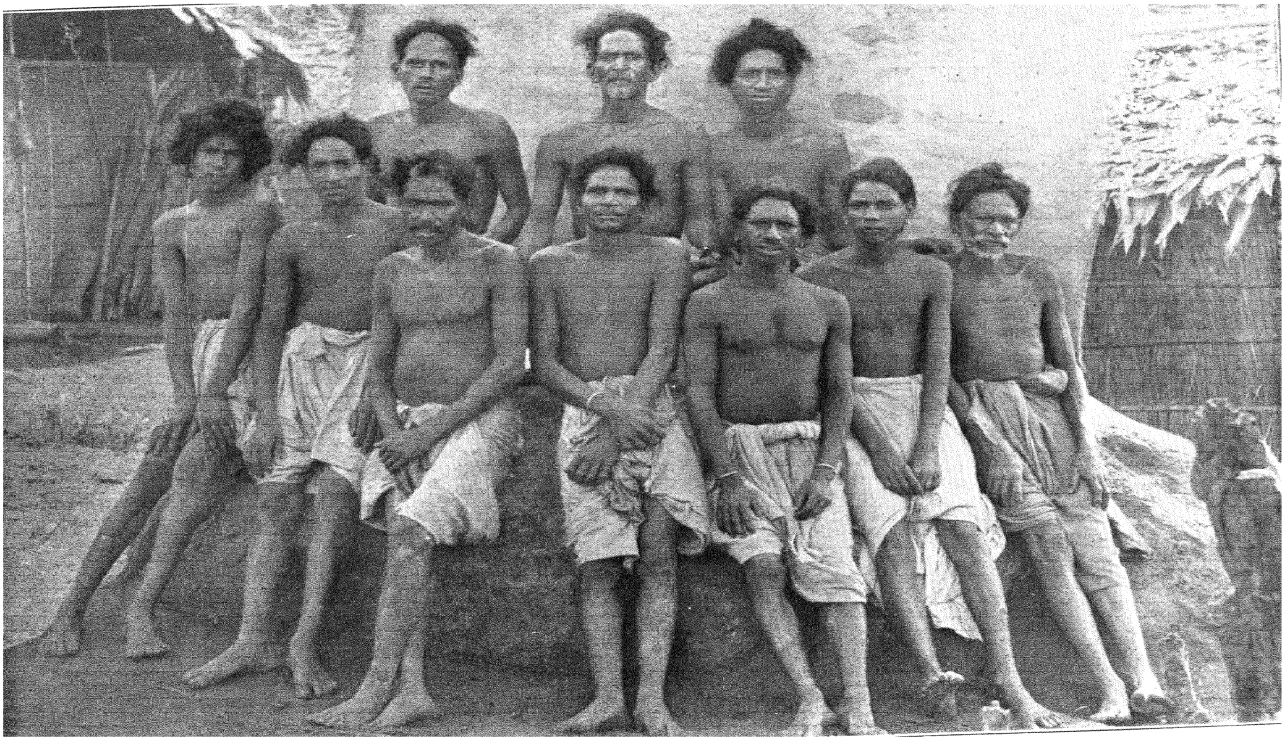
Barring a few, the Muthuvans are found in localities from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea level. The average rainfall of their habitat varies from 100 inches annually in Poopara to 160 inches in Deviar and Pooyamkutty. As the above altitude is above fever level, the Muthuvans look hale and hearty. The villages have no permanancy owing to their nomadic agriculture. They are scattered about on the hills. The choice of a site is governed by the practical necessities of life. The idea of defence seems to be the first motive for the grouping of huts into villages called kudis. The number does not exceed ten in a village, which is often located on high ground with well-beaten tracks leading to it. The huts are small and rectangular in shape, 12 ft. x 10 ft. in dimensions, with only one door in front. Each hut has only a single room with a hipped roof to which a narrow verandah is added in front. It is made of junglewood poles, reeds, and grass, and is neat in appearance. On the western slopes, the buildings are of a rougher type, the materials used being similar to those referred to above. By the side of their dwellings they have an enclosure for penning cattle at night. Each village has a common place of worship, a thatched shed, a chāvadi (council-hall), and separate dormitories for boys and girls. In Kudakad, the dormitory is a neat thatched shed 20 ft. x 12 ft. in dimensions. The walls have no windows. Their only furniture is a mat or two of reeds on which they sleep, and the fire, which occupies one corner of the hut, represents "that most precious luxury of all, the sum total of human happiness." They make fire by means of the chakmuk (flint and steel method).

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The Muthuvans of Pooyamkutty are divided into six clans, Mēlākūttom, Kānakūttom, Pūthānikūttom, Thūshanikūttom, Kanayāttukūttom, and Ellikūttom. The clans are exogamous. Members of the Mēlākūttom and Kānakūttom clans consider that they are superior to the four remaining clans, and do not intermarry with them. A descriptive note of the clans is given below:—

1. *Mēlākūttom*:— This clan includes the Vākas or chieftains of the Muthuvans. It is said to be superior to all the other clans, and members of the Mēlākūttom can only marry from the Kānakūttom clan. The headman is chosen from this clan, and he has a Mantri of the Kānakūttom clan, who receives him ceremoniously, levies fines, and pays him. The Mēlākūttom has three sub-clans, the Mēlāka, the Mūthākka and the Chennāpra. A man of the Chennāpra sub-clan can marry a woman from the Kānakūttom and Pūthanikūttom, but a man of the Mēlāka and Mūthākka sub-clans can marry a woman only from the Kānakūttom. The Mēlāka is superior in status to the Mūthākka, which in turn is superior to the Chennāpra. Kiliparambu is the headquarters of the Mēlāka, and Pooyamkutty, of the Mūthākka. The Chennāpra sub-clan is found in Kunjiyar and Deviar. In the case of incestuous unions among the Mēlāka or Mūthākka, the fine imposed by the Mantri of the Kānakūttom clan is paid to the Chennāpra elders.

2. *Kānakūttom*:— This clan is inferior to the Mēlākūttom, but its members enjoy the privileges of marriage with those of the Mēlākūttom. It is divided into the sub-clans of Edavura, Nāttayan, Vēlimuthuvan, Panichēri, Vellipura, Perumbicheri, Thekkada and Kōrmuthiyan. The Vēlimuthuvan is higher in status



A MUTHUVAN MALE GROUP

than the other sub-clans. Members of this clan levy fines and give them to the Mēl-Vāka.

3. *Thūshanikūttom:*— The members of this clan are found largely in Anjanad and Poopara and are vassals of Vāka. They do all manual labour for him. When Vāka visits them, a fowl is killed and a good meal is given to him and his followers. Like the Kānakūttakars, they cannot collect fines. The clan is divided into the sub-clans of Nedumpuram, Ambrāman, Mūppukārani, Vellāri, Thalavāri, and Valyathalāri. The Ambrāman and Valiyathalāri are superior to the other sub-clans.

4. *Kanayāttukūttom:*— The members of this clan are also vassals of Vāka. Their functions are identical to those of the Thūshanikūttom, but they enjoy the privilege of putting up an elevated thatti for Vāka to sit on. They also give good food to Vāka. The clan includes the sub-clans of Pottanāl, Mūppan, Kollarachandrāndi, Patalāka, Neduni, Poramala, Pandāram, and Nedungadan. The Mūppan is superior to all the other sub-clans. Then follow the Nedungadan and Patalāka.

5. *Ellikūttom:*— Members of this clan have their own Vāka at Kiliparambu. It includes the sub-clans of Ediyaran, Valathrāka, Pālimūthāka, Kōsarapāni, Elayavanduthan, Neduvathu Vanduthan, and Elayāka. An Ellikūttakār may marry a woman from the Kanayāttukūttom, Thūshanikūttom, and Pūthānikūttom, but not from the Mēlākūttom and Kānakūttom.

6. *Pūthanikūttom:*— Members of this clan are largely found in Kunjiyar. It includes the sub-clans of Kaiyinganom, Pulikadu, Chōttam, Kerimbiyam, Perunkunnu, Thāniyam, Anacheri, and Kidathādan.

Kerimbiyam, Kidathādan, and Chōttam sub-clans are superior to the others, and the wishes of the members of these sub-clans are carried out by the members of the other sub-clans of the same clan. The Thāniyam is the lowest.

In the Poopara Range there are only three clans, the Thūshanikūttom, Kanayāttukūttom, and Ellikūttom. The Mēl-Vāka of the Mēlākūttom clan is recognised as their chief, and he is still the recipient of fines. Among the Muthuvans of Deviar valley, there are four clans, Mēlākūttom, Thūshanikūttom, Ellikūttom, and Kanayāttukūttom.

Origin of the Clan System

The Muthuvans of Pooyamkutty do not throw any light on the origin of the clan system. It is said that the Muthuvans formerly went to pay their respects to the Karthas with water in bamboo tubes. By accident, a Kartha woman drank water from one of the tubes, and was excommunicated. She was taken away by a Muthuvan of the Nāttayam sub-clan and married. The children born of the union belonged to the Mēlākūttom. Later on the Kartha is said to have gone to enquire into their condition, and presented a sword, bangle, and silk to the boys, who came to be known as the Mēl-Vāka of the Muthuvans. The Kānakūttom arose from one who carried raw fruits on his hand. The Pūthānikūttom refers to the descendants of a man who carried flowers. The Kanayāttukūttom arose from one who carried a kana or stick. The Thūshanakūttom refers to the descendants of one who came from Thūshanam, a place near Marayur. The Ellikūttom refers to the descendants of one who came from an illom in the north.



A MUTHUVAN FEMALE GROUP.

The children of a man take after the clan of the mother. The husband is responsible for the maintenance of his wife and children. The debts of children are a charge not on their father, but on the uncle. Similarly, a man's debts as well as his property are inherited by the nephew. It is also worthy of note that a man's sons are named after the maternal grandfather, and daughters after the maternal grandmother or aunt. The bonds of clanship are strong among the Muthuvans. If a man of the Kānakūttom clan dies, all the clansmen contribute their mite to meet the funeral expenses for sixteen days. All the clansmen in the hamlet and outside observe pollution for sixteen days. Again, the needy member of a clan is helped by his fellow clansmen with seed for the next cultivation and some paddy for his sustenance. An incidental advantage of clan responsibility is the absence of paupers.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

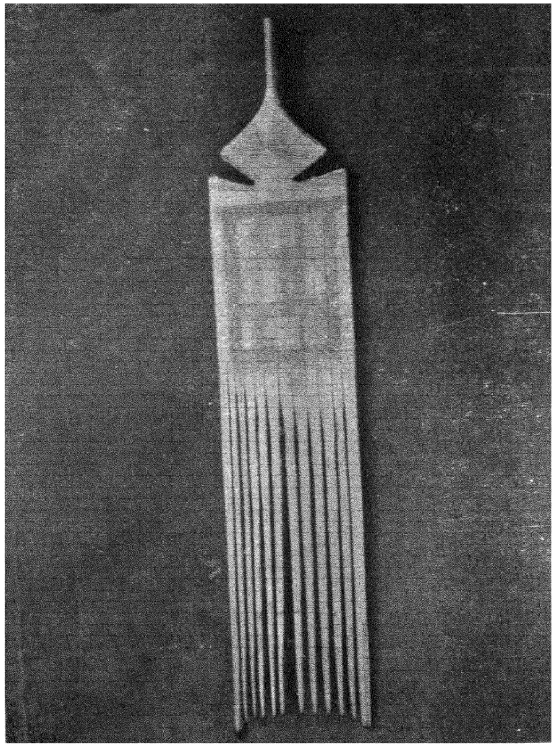
Marriage generally takes place after puberty. The marriageable age in the case of males is between 18 and 20, while it is above 12 with females. A man marries outside his clan. The orthodox form of marriage is between cross-cousins, *i.e.*, between children of brother and sister. In case there is a paucity of marriageable girls in a hamlet, a man goes to remote hamlets like Bodimettu to marry a woman. Such paucity has also been the cause of men marrying widows older than themselves. In such cases, all the formalities of marriage are gone through. Sexual licence before marriage is neither recognized nor tolerated and unmarried youths are subjected to a certain measure of discipline.

Marriage Customs in Anjanad

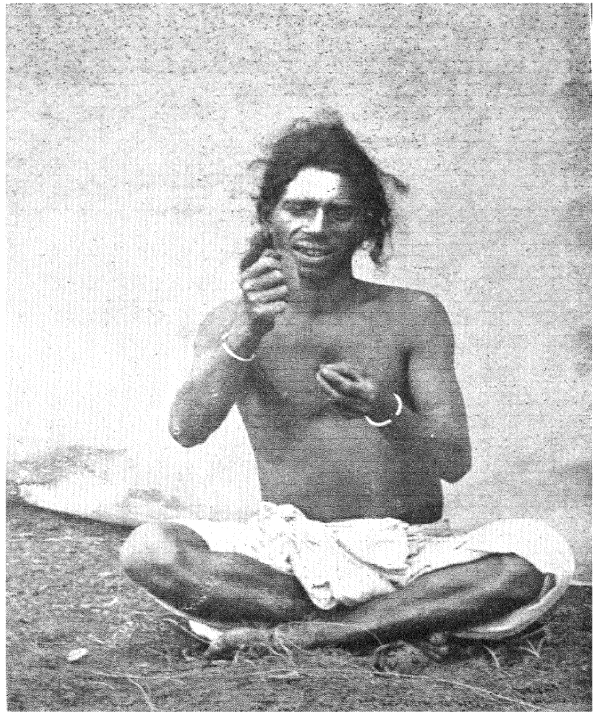
Marriage is found in its simplest form among the Muthuvans of Anjanad. In the hamlet of Kudakād, the boy's father seeks the hand of the girl for his son from her father. If the marriage is agreed to, the bridegroom-elect goes to the jungle. It is said that the day of the capture of the bride-elect is announced to the girl's parents. On that day the bride hides herself in the same bush accompanied by other married and unmarried women. The bridegroom's brothers go after the bride in the jungle. They lay hands on the bride and ask her to follow them. She does so with her friends, who leave her after giving her some encouraging words. The brothers take her to her husband, who presents her with a comb, a coloured cloth, bangles, ear-rings, rings, and nose-screw, which are purchased in Munnar. They live in the jungle for three nights, but go home daily for food during the day-time. At night, the brothers make their bed between the bride and her husband. After three days, the couple return to the husband's home.

Marriage Customs on the Cardamom Hills

On the Cardamom Hills a marriage is often arranged by friends or more often by cousins on the mother's side of the bridegroom, who request the hand of the girl from her parents. Should they agree, the consent of even the most distant relatives is obtained. If everyone is agreeable to the union, an auspicious day is fixed, when the parents of the bridegroom go to the village with all their friends and relations. The marriage ceremonial takes place in the evening after six, and is very simple in form. The bridegroom goes with his best man and bride's-maid, generally his younger



A TYPICAL COMB.



A MUTHUVAN MAKING FIRE BY FLINT AND STEEL.

brother and sister, to the bride's hut, when the parents of the bride are absent at the chāvadi (village council-hall). The object is two-fold. The parents of the bride cannot be spectators of the ceremonial. Further, they purposely absent themselves in order to give the bridegroom and bride a free hand. The bridegroom presents the bride with ear-rings, generally of brass, glass bangles, cloths, and a comb of golden bamboo made by himself. The presentation of the comb forms the essential part of the ceremony and is always worn by the bride on the back of the head above the knotted hair. The assembled guests are feasted at night. The bridegroom's party then retire with the bride to a hut usually erected for the occasion. There they spend three nights. The married couple are very coy by nature. The best man and bride's maid are meantime engaged in bringing them to more familiar terms. The elder brother or sister of the bride is prohibited from visiting the hut. No one stays in the hut to keep them company for the night. On the fourth day the party goes to the bride-groom's village, where the guests are treated to a feast. The married couple spend the night in the newly erected hut. The marriage may now be said to have reached its consummation. The bride's parents retire to their hamlet the next day.

Marriage Customs in Deviar Valley

Among the Muthuvans of Deviar Valley, a man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle. A girl is married either before or after puberty. A man's younger brother with parental approval moots the marriage question with the girl's father (uncle). If his assent is obtained, the girl is caught on the way and taken to an ērmādom (tree-house) about half a mile from the hamlet in the cultivated area. Here she meets

her fiancee who presents her with strings of beads, bangles of brass, a cloth of ten cubits length; and a comb of golden bamboo. The brother keeps watch over the ladder. The girl is taken to his house by his brother, where she is made to do domestic service. The husband goes home after three days. A separate shed is erected for the couple about 100 yards away from the hut. After two months, he takes her to his uncle's hut, remains there for one or two months, and returns to his village.

Marriage Customs in Pooyamkutty

Among the Muthuvans of Pooyamkutty a girl is married either before or after puberty. The fewness of girls is responsible for marriage of girls before puberty. In the case of the marriage of a girl before she comes of age, the consent of the father and uncle is sought by a man's brothers. Any day is suitable for the marriage. The bridegroom and party go to the bride's hut in the morning. The guests are well fed. The bride's parents move away from the hut in the evening. The bridegroom and his best man, the bride and her maids alone remain. The best man hands over a cloth, bangles, and rings to the bride. The husband presents her with a bamboo comb of his own making and a cord to tie her hair into a knot. The guests are treated to a feast at night. The married couple alone remain in the hut for the night. All repair to the husband's hut the next morning, where also a sumptuous feast is given. The bride's party depart. The married couple may continue to remain in the husband's hut for five or six days. They then go to the wife's hut, where the husband continues to remain until she attains puberty. On her attaining puberty, a day is fixed for

the nuptial ceremony and a feast given. The couple remain in the new shed for the night. In the case of the marriage of a girl after she comes of age, the same ceremonial is observed. The married couple remain with the husband's parents for a year or two, and then live separately.

Marriage by Capture

When a girl's parents do not favour a match with a man who seeks her hand, she is taken away by force at a favourable opportunity. They live together in a secluded part of the forest for some days. Meanwhile, they are being searched for. They are found and brought back to the village. The man is tried by the village panchayat, and is let off with a fine of one rupee. The marriage is then allowed to run its course with the consent of the two parties.

In the Deviar Valley the girl is waylaid by the man and his comrades, and taken to a remote hamlet. He informs the members of his clan of his action, and seeks their help and protection. When the girl's party come in quest of her, they are pacified and clashes are averted. The girl's relations then take them back to their hut. During the period of capture, the elements of marriage like the presentation of strings of beads, cloth, and bamboo comb are gone through.

The system of marriage by capture is found in its more primitive form among the Khasis of Assam, the Maoris, and the Tartars of Central Asia. It was practised in a more refined form among the primitive Slavs. It was also customary in Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and in parts of Germany, where men would carry off those whom they loved and afterwards enter into treaty for them with their parents.

Polygamy

Polygamy is rare, but in the code of polygamous etiquette, the first married is the head wife, from whom the others take orders. If they are friendly, they remain in the same hut. If not, they are put in different huts in the same village or different villages. A Muthuvan marries a second time to beget a son.

Polyandry

Among the Plateau Muthuvans, cases of polyandry are occasionally found. Fraternal polyandry does not exist. On the Cardamom Hills, they are monogamous and express general abhorrence of both polygamous and polyandrous conditions.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder brother, but there is no ceremony. In Pooyamkutty he presents her with a pair of cloths and looks after her children. In the Deviar Valley and Anjanad, a man of the Edavur sub-clan does not marry the wife of his deceased brother, because he feels some delicacy in so doing. She can be married by a man of the Vēlimuthuvan, Panicheri, and Nāttayam sub-clans of the same clan, as members of these sub-clans are reckoned as brothers. On the Cardamom Hills, the remarriage of a widow by the brother of her deceased husband is not permitted. She can marry anyone with this exception. The same ceremonies are gone through. The ear-rings and bangles which she discarded on the death of her former husband are now replaced.

Adultery

Adultery is rare among the Muthuvans. When a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan,

the village council meets under the presidency of the Mēl-Vāka. Fearing blows, the culprits tell the truth. The adulterer is fined Rs. 2-8-0, and the adulteress one rupee which is recovered from her brother. She is made to swear that she will not again go astray.

If a man commits adultery with a woman of a different clan in the jungle in Deviar Valley, the Mēl-Vāka sends men in search of them. They are brought back. The woman speaks the truth, but the man does not. The panchayat meets in the chāvadi. Ultimately the offence is proved against them. The Mēl-Vāka fines them up to Rs. 2-8-0. The clansmen collect the fine among themselves and pay the amount. Similarly, the fine inflicted on the woman is collected and paid by the clansmen. There has been an instance of a man who was found guilty of incestuous union. Ramaswamy of the Kānakūttom clan was found guilty of adultery with a woman of the same clan and was fined twenty-five rupees. The Kānakūttakars do not partake of food with them.

Divorce

A man may divorce his wife at will, but it is seldom resorted to except in cases of infidelity. Barrenness is not regarded as a reason for divorce. It seems more usual to take a second wife in such cases. A woman has not the same privilege, but she makes her husband so unhappy that he gladly allows her to leave him. A woman who is divorced is free to marry again.

Sexual Morality

In married life the Muthuvans maintain a high standard of conjugal fidelity. In the case of the unmarried young men and women, no sexual liberty is allowed, and they are kept in such thorough discipline

that they lead a pure life. In married life, should a man commit adultery, he is heavily fined. On the whole, the Muthuvans lead a simple and pure life.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty at the age of fifteen, she is lodged in a separate shed for three days to protect her from the gaze of men. The idea is to get rid of the material taboo substance, the uncleanliness by which the body has been permeated. On the fourth day she baths in the stream, accompanied by girls of the same age. The maternal aunt and nāthune do not accompany her. On returning home, she wears a new cloth 16 to 18 cubits long. All are feasted. In the case of pre-puberty marriage, the husband and wife live separately, but premarital connections are permissible.

In the Deviar Valley when a girl attains puberty after marriage, the seclusion-shed is put up by the husband and others. Pollution lasts for five days. The expenses are shared by the husband and the girl's parents. Pollution ceases after a bath on the sixth day.

Menstruation

A woman in menstruation remains in a seclusion-shed for three to six days until the discharge ceases.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

No special diet or customs are obligatory during pregnancy on the husband or wife. A man refrains from cohabiting with his wife after the sixth month of pregnancy. When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a separate shed about 100 feet away from the hut to avoid the proximity of men. When

labour sets in, all the married women of the village go to assist in the confinement. After the confinement, the baby is washed as soon as possible, but no ceremonies are gone through. Pollution lasts for thirty days. During this period no man approaches the seclusion-shed, for the simple reason that all the men are conversant with magic and witchcraft and will lose the efficacy of the art if they approach it. Food is generally carried by women, the mother or sisters, and it consists of rice or ragi.

Twins are supposed to bring luck, while monstrosities are reported with a view to being killed. It is said that babies with defective limbs are left in the open for a few days to die, and are then buried. This view seems to be confirmed by the absence of any physically defective Muthuvan. It is said that childless couples are dieted to make them fruitful, the principal diet being the flesh and soup of the black monkey in the case of men and a decoction of various spices in the case of women.

Naming Ceremony

No ceremony is performed on the occasion of naming. A man's children belong to the clan of the mother. Naming is done after the members of the mother's clan on the 31st day or after one year. In the case of a male child, the name of the maternal uncle is given. A female child is named after the maternal grandmother. The Muthuvan males are known by Vellachetty, Sangappan, Kumarappan, Panikan, Pavanan, Sīrangan, Komali, Karinkunju, Nariyan, Thevanan, Sivanāndi, and Pāndithevan. Females are known by Karuppāyi, Kannanji, Pēchi, Ethilu, Kuppi, Muthukammal, Vellathayi, Mangal, Chembi, and Rāmāya. Males are known by the pet names of Dharman, Manivillu, Kanji, Mylan, Chinnathambi and

Nīlan, while females are known by Vella, Thangal, and Elangal. They owe some of their names like Vellachetty and Pāndithevan to contact with the Tamil Chetties and other castes of Madura.

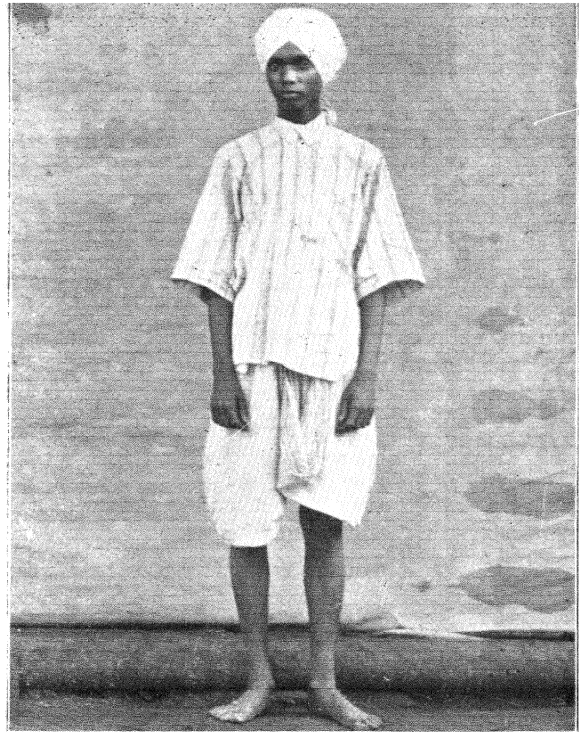
Both boys and girls have a small patch of hair on the back of the head till they attain the age of puberty. This practice is said to arise from the belief that they will get sick if their hair is allowed to grow earlier. When a boy is about to come of age, which is generally between 16 and 20, his uncle's sons come and say that his hair should not be cut. He is allowed to grow his hair two years earlier, when the maternal uncle's son smoothens his head with castor or gingily oil. The parents purchase a new pair of cloths, five to six cubits in length, which is tied into a turban round the head by the maternal uncle's son in the presence of the village folk. This is emblematic of his passing into man's estate. The next day all the villagers are feasted. In the case of a girl, the age of puberty is between 12 and 15. She is allowed to grow her hair after she attains her tenth year. Here the uncle's daughter comes forward and says that the hair should not be cut. The smoothening of hair on the head is done by the maternal uncle's daughter.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is reckoned in the female line. If a man belongs to the Kānakūttom clan, and his wife to the Mēlākūttom clan, the children belong to the Mēlākūttom clan, the clan of the mother. Inheritance is in the female line. A man's property devolves on his elder or younger sister's son, with this reservation that, if he has a younger brother, the property goes to the nephew after his demise. The nephew inherits



A GROUP OF MUTHUVAN BOYS.



A MUTHUVAN BOY PASSING INTO MAN'S ESTATE.

all the cattle. The son gets nothing. In his absence, the niece inherits the property. If the deceased has debts, it is incumbent on the nephew who inherits the property to clear the debts also.

When a man dies, all relations go to offer condolence to the bereaved family. On the 31st day, when the ceremony in honour of the dead is over, his eldest nephew in the absence of the younger brother gets all the valuable property, namely, bill-hook, blanket, brass vessels, cattle and money, if any. Only cooking earthenware vessels are left behind. The sons only get what may have been given by the father in his life-time.

If a man has no younger brother or nephew, the property goes to his younger sister, but never to his sons. Daughters have no claim on the property of the father, nor does a wife get anything out of her husband's earnings. A widow goes and lives with her brothers. The younger children may live with the younger or elder brother of the deceased, if they are disposed to look after them. Otherwise, the widow lives with her brother who looks after her children also.

In regard to chieftainship, the title goes to the younger brother or to the nephew in his absence. In the absence of the son, it goes to the niece's son. The Muthuvans say that matriarchy came into existence through the Arakal or Mangat Karthas of Todupuzha. It has been suggested that in olden times the natural guardian of the children was not the father but the maternal uncle. This inference is based on a nephew's succeeding to his mother's brother in rank and property. Even where the succession is through females, the father is the head of the family. "The house of the family is the father's, the garden is his; the rule and

government are his," Dr. Codrington says of the people of Melanesia, and the description is exactly true of the Muthuvans of Travancore also, among whom the father exercises absolute authority over his family during his life-time.

Adoption

The Muthuvans on the Cardamom Hills do not practise adoption. If a woman is childless, the husband marries another wife to beget a child. If she also is sterile, he bows to his fate. On the West Coast, a man adopts the child of his sister, as it is of his clan, and as its adoption would prevent the extinction of his family.

Taboo

No primitive custom has so increased the gaiety of civilised peoples as the common taboo between a man and his mother-in-law. The taboo also extends to a woman and her father-in-law. Among the Muthuvans a man after marriage avoids his wife's father (uncle) and mother (aunt) and does not directly converse with them. He also avoids his wife's elder sister with whom he cannot converse, but he can freely talk with her younger sisters. A man never mentions the name of his uncle. Should he desire to make any reference to him, he mentions the name of the place where his uncle lives.

Classificatory System of Relationship

The system of relationship among the Muthuvans is of the type called classificatory. An account of the kinship terms as it obtains among them is given below:—

I. Relations through father

1.	Great grandfather	Mōthappan
2.	Great grandmother	Mōthamma
3.	Grandfather	Muthan
4.	Grandmother	Muthi
5.	Father	Appan
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Valiappan
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Valiamma
9.	Father's elder brother's son	Annan or Thambi, if younger
10.	Father's elder brother's daughter	Akka, or Thanga, if younger
11.	Father's younger brother	Kunjappan
12.	Father's younger brother's wife	Kunjamma
13.	Father's younger brother's son	Annan, or Thambi, if younger
14.	Father's younger brother's daughter	Akka, or Thanga, if younger
15.	Father's sister	Vēppa
16.	Father's sister's husband	Māma
17.	Father's sister's son	Sankārai
18.	Father's sister's daughter	Kuttāl

II. Relations through mother

1.	Great grandfather	Mōthappan
2.	Great grandmother	Mōthamma
3.	Grandfather	Muthan
4.	Grandmother	Muthi
5.	Mother's brother	Māman
6.	Mother's brother's wife	Vēppa
7.	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Cheri-amma, if younger
8.	Mother's sister's husband	Valiappan or Kunjap-pan, if younger

III. Relations through wife

1.	Wife	No name
2.	Wife's father	Māma
3.	Wife's mother	Vēppu
4.	Wife'e brother	Aliyan
5.	Wife's brother's wife	Akka, or Thanga, if younger
6.	Wife's sister	Nāthunni
7.	Wife's sister's husband	Annan, or Thambi, if younger

IV. Relations through husband

1.	Husband's father	Māman
2.	Husband's mother	Vēppu
3.	Husband's brother	Aliyan
4.	Husband's brother's wife	Akka, or Thanga, if younger
5.	Husband's sister	Nāthunni

In regard to the foregoing terms we note:—

1. The father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother, and the mother's mother:—Muthan and Muthi are the names given to the grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Mōthappan and Mōthamma are the names given to the great grandfather and the great grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

2. Māman is used to denote the father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, wife's father and husband's father. Vēppu is the name given to their wives.

3. Aliyan is the name given to the wife's brother and husband's brother.

4. Nāthune denotes the husband's sister and wife's sister.

It is significant that members of the same clan call others of the same age brothers and sisters. Māma is used to indicate elders also. Those women who are of the same age as one's mother are called Amma.

Social Organization

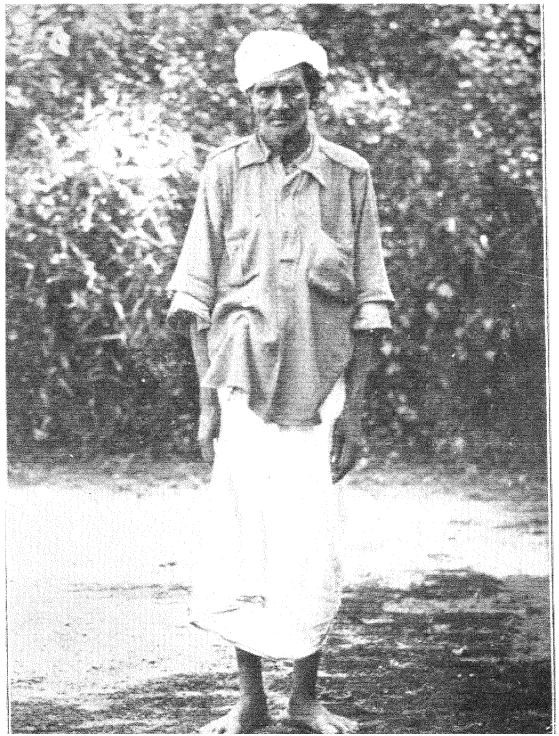
The Muthuvans offer to some extent an example of a 'natural family'. A tract of a few miles square forms the jurisdiction of a small group of families, the members of which, besides making their living by hunting, fishing, gathering honey, and the like, have advanced a step further than the Malapantārams in that they have taken to nomadic agriculture. Living as they have been in high forest, there have been many factors which fostered the growth of communal life. Those have been ably summed up by Westermarck. "Man in the savage state even when living in luxuriant

countries is brought to the verge of starvation in spite of his implements and weapons. If the obstacle from insufficient food-supply is to be overcome, gregariousness would be of great advantage. Living together, the families could resist the dangers of life and defend themselves from their enemies much more easily than when solitary." This probably is the origin of corporate life as evidenced by the village system of the Muthuvans.

Gregariousness has its effect on the external organization of the village, where the individual thinks in terms of the village in all matters exclusive of his family affairs. Survivals of communal life are found even to this day in their daily life and customs. The joint clearing of the jungle for cultivation, the existence of dormitories for the unmarried young, the participation of all the village folk in funeral ceremonies, and the existence of a village council-hall for the adjudication of village disputes, bear ample evidence of the fact that the Muthuvans still appreciate the advantages of communal life. As the members of each village increase, other villages are founded in the neighbourhood, but association is maintained with the parent village in all matters except residence and cultivation.

Village Government

The Muthuvans of Neriamangalam have a simpler village organization. In Pooyamkutty, Parishakuthu, and Kunjiyar, the Mēl-Vāka alone counts. Kiliparambu forms his head quarters. He has now nominal jurisdiction over the Muthuvans of Poopara and Anjanad. The jurisdiction of the Mēl-Vāka extends over a tract of land bounded by Pōthidukku in the north, Cheriyar in the south, and Anamudi in the east. Inferior in



MUTHUVAN HEADMAN (MEL-VAKA)



A MUTHUVAN TEMPLE.

status to the Mēl-Vāka is the Mūthākka. Pōrkukudi forms his headquarters. His jurisdiction extends over the tract of land bounded by the Cheriyar in the north and Nedumpara in the south. To the south of Nedumpara the Gopuramannān has jurisdiction over the Muthuvans. Both the Mēl-Vāka and Mūthākka belong to the same clan, the Mēlakūttom. The members of the Ellikūttom clan have their own Vākas, the Pālithrākka and Valathrāka who enjoy the same status among them as the Vākās of the other Muthuvans. When a man commits adultery with a woman of his own clan, all the Vākas meet. The Mēl-Vāka has the most highly raised platform (thatti) to sit on. The Mūthākka has his seat a little lower. Still lower are the seats for the Pālithrākka and Valathrākka. A white cloth over a blanket (Vellakarumpadam) is spread for all of them. If a fine of Rs. 2-8-0 is inflicted, the Mēl-Vāka gets Rs. 1-8-0 and Mūthākka, one rupee. The fine cannot be in whole numbers. The Mēl-Vāka is in the height of his grandeur when he heads the procession annually for founding a new hamlet.

On the Cardamom Hills, each village has its own headman. Village affairs are regulated by a council of elders. Their supreme lord is the Mēl-Vāka, to whom all important matters are referred in case they cannot be settled locally. References are also made to the Mūpan, a dignitary lower in rank. If his decision is not satisfactory, the Mēl-Vāka is appealed to, and his decision is final. The office of Mēl-Vāka and Mūpan is hereditary, and descends to the nephew. Under the Mūpan comes the Talayari who exercises jurisdiction over a group of two or three villages. Then follow the Kularan and the Sundarapandi, who are equivalents of village chiefs. The office is hereditary and descends to the nephew.

When a man commits an offence, a panchayat (orumura) is held in the village chāvadi. If he is not amenable to the discipline of the village chief, the Talayari is invited. The Kularan or Sundarapandi spreads a mat over which is laid a 'Vellai Karimbadam' or white cloth over a blanket for the Talayari. The Talayari and the village headman take their seats, while the other village folk sit at a respectful distance from them. The accused stands with folded hands before the council of village worthies. After reviewing the pros and cons of the offence, the Kularan and Sundarapandi ask the Talayari what punishment should be inflicted. He orders a fine which does not exceed ten rupees. The orders of the panchayat extend over breaches of marriage laws, disputes over inheritance, and petty thefts. An aggrieved Muthuvan always submits his case to the village tribunal for decision. A person on conviction is liable to the following scale of punishment:—

1. Theft of ragi .. up to Rs. 6
2. Defaming the village chief .. up to Rs. 3
3. Adultery .. up to Rs. 10

In the case of the last offence, Mr. Reade's remark that, among savages, it is the seducer who suffers, not the victim, holds good. Formerly caning was an item of punishment, but now it takes the form of a fine, or of banishment in the case of the incorrigible. An aggrieved Muthuvan seldom takes the law into his own hands.

Funeral Ceremonies

When a man dies information is sent round to all the neighbouring villages. All the mourners go and take part in digging the grave. The grave-yard where their ancestors are buried is about a mile from the hamlet, as it is believed that the spirits of the deceased may

do harm to the men and children in the hamlet. The grave is dug waist deep in the case of men, and about breast deep in the case of women, the reason being that men feel brave and free from evil, if the corpse is laid north to south, and that women consider that they will be free from danger, if the corpse be placed deeper in the ground. In the case of women, the dead are buried with their ornaments except those made of silver, the underlying idea being that the family will become extinct if silver is buried with the dead. In the case of men also, silver ornaments are removed, but the chakmuk, bill-hook, fishing rod, and tobacco are buried with the dead. These are, according to Frazer, the kindlier modes of barring the dead by providing for the personal comforts of the poor ghost in his long home.

The chief mourner, generally the nephew, divests himself of all personal ornaments and turban soon after the death of the person, and can put them on only on the 31st day. This holds good in the case of sons and brothers of the deceased. Even those Muthuvans who attend the funeral have to remove their turbans on reaching the hut of the deceased and can put them on only after the next day's ceremony. A new cloth, purchased by the nephew or son of the deceased, is wrapped round the body, and the corpse is carried by those present and gently lowered into the grave with head facing the north. Some grains are then strewn over the corpse. The following prayer is then made. "You are passing away. Guard us who are living." The grave is then filled with earth, and a small stone is placed at the head and feet to mark the burial spot. A thatched roof is erected over it without any side-wall. All the mourners then take a bath and return home.

The next morning, the chief mourner as well as men from neighbouring villages assemble. Half a padi of rice is cooked in a pot by an unmarried man and the cooked rice is put in equal quantities on three plantain leaves in front of the hut of the deceased. All the men stand round the offering, and after the chief mourner offers his prayers to God, all the rest pray to the following effect:—"May God protect us and our cattle from danger. Oh! Ancestors, shield us from danger".

After these prayers are over, the offering is partaken of by all: they are also treated to a feast. In the evening, all the assembled men are feasted on a grander scale. Pollution lasts for thirty days, and all Muthuvans go to present condolence to the relations of the dead during this period. On the 31st day, the same ceremony is gone through as on the second day, and followed by feasting. Friends and relations disperse to their houses the next day. Two or three Muthuvans are sumptuously fed by the chief mourner on the 31st day in honour of the dead, after which nothing is done to propitiate the spirit of the dead.

In Deviar Valley, the medicine-man first conceives that the grave represents the body of Surya (the sun) and passes a whiff of air through the hollow of his hand. After the grave is filled with earth, he conceives it to be the skin of Surya and passes another whiff of air through the hollow of his hand. He then forms the impression that the stone planted at the head is the head of the sun and passes another puff of air through the hollow of his hand. He then conceives that the stone planted at the foot is the big toe of the sun and passes another puff of air. The idea is that the sun is guarding the dead, and that no wild animal may do

any harm to the dead, if these ceremonies are properly performed. If not, it is said that the tiger will taste the flesh of the dead and kill the people of the village. Pollution lasts for sixteen days in Deviar and Pooyamkutty.

The practice of planting stones on graves is attributed to the movement of a stone-using people through Indonesia to India, and is marked by discontinuous distribution. In Watubela a stone is planted at the head and foot of the grave. The Kabui Nagas inter their dead, and plant a stone at the head and foot of the grave.

Religion

The Muthuvans are animists. Animism characterises tribes very low in the social scale of humanity. The objects of worship are the unknown powers, impersonal and elemental in their character, abiding in some material objects and capable of detaching themselves from them. The Muthuvans of the Cardamom Hills worship the sylvan deities, Kōttamalaswami and Vadagunāthaswami, who are supposed to have taken up their abode on the crests of hills. At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by mortals. The hills where they are supposed to reside are regarded with reverence, and their propitiation consists in a respectful attitude on passing by their reputed haunts.

Influence of Hinduism

The Muthuvans show signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion and have adopted some of the forms and rituals of Hindu worship. Among superior divinities, they worship God Subramania under the name of Palaniandavar. In each village a thatched shed is put up away from the habitations. Inside this is

placed a bamboo thatti on which are set a cane and a bundle of peacock's feathers. These are emblematic of God Subramania. The priest is an elderly man, generally the headman, and he need not lead a celibate life. He baths in the morning, goes to the temple, burns camphor and frankincense, and prays for the protection of the villagers and cattle from wild animals and from disease. God Subramania is regarded as a beneficent deity, who confers boons, protects the helpless, and avenges the wronged. They also worship the Hindu Goddess Meenakshi Ammal and her husband 'Sokaru' who are supposed to abide in the Chokkanād peak. Propitiation here also consists in a respectful attitude when passing by their haunts. They also worship malevolent deities like Karuppuswami, Māriamma and Kāli, who cause drought, disease, and death. They are propitiated to avert disasters. Lastly, the sun is reverenced by the Muthuvans. It is probable that the worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of their religion. The Muthuvan worships the sun every morning by raising his hand to his forehead.

Divination

One method by which the gods of the Muthuvans are believed to be prevailed on to intervene in human affairs is divination. During the frenzy into which diviners fall, they are believed to be inspired by gods, and to reveal the causes of divine displeasure and the ways for averting it. Each diviner is believed to be inspired by one deity. The practice of divination plays an important part in festive occasions.

Festivals

The Tai Pongal is the most important festival of the Muthuvans, and it is celebrated on the eve of their shifting to a new hamlet. On the Cardamom Hills it is

generally celebrated on the Tamil New Year Day, or on a day between the 1st and 15th of Tai (January 28), preferably on a Monday or Tuesday, in honour to Kadavul, Vīrachandrārayar, Palaniāndavar, Kāli, and Māri. They do not employ priests of other castes to perform the ceremony. They remain celibate for three days before the festival. On the morning of the appointed day, all the village folk bath, and, wearing a new cloth, muster before the temple in front of which a shed is erected for the occasion. A padi of raw rice is cooked in equal quantities in five separate pots, one for each deity. In the absence of honey, jaggery is added. The pongal cooked in three pots is placed on plantain leaves separately on the bamboo thatti inside the temple along with cocoanuts, plantains, betel leaves, and arecanuts. The first three deities are propitiated. The pūjari or the oldest person in the village attends to the ceremonial. Prayer begins at noon; camphor and frankincense are burnt, and prayers are chanted to the following effect:—"May all cattle and children live well." The pūjari works himself into a trance, and, if satisfied with the offerings, utters the following:—"Long live the King who rules over us. May he protect us, with nothing wanting. If he does so, we shall propitiate him once a year." If the pūjari is not satisfied with the offerings, he informs them accordingly, and another pongal is offered as soon as possible.

Worship of Kāli and Māriamma

After the propitiation of the three gods described above follows that of Kāli and Māriamma, who are supposed to rule over minor divinities and demons. The two remaining potfuls of pongal are placed on a plantain leaf along with plantains, cocoanuts, betel leaves,

and arecanuts. A pot of turmeric water is brought from each house and set in front of the offerings. The priest may be different and may even at times be a woman. He or she works himself or herself into a frenzy and pours all the turmeric water over his or her body. Fowls are sacrificed. The pūjari bites the neck of the fowl, drinks the blood, and throws the carcase on the ground. He then utters the following prayers:—"Oh Earth, Sky, Moon, and Sun, keep guard over us, as our kings do. You must protect us without anything lacking." If the priest does not get into a frenzy, the fowls are sacrificed and the blood is dropped on a ball of rice which symbolises Karuppu, a malevolent deity. The same prayers are repeated, and all return home in the evening. The offerings are distributed to all the village folk.

In Neriamangalam the Muthuvans shift to a new locality on the last Monday in Vrischigam (November-December). The pongal offerings are made to Kadavul, Palaniāndavar, Kōttamalaswami, Kāli, Vadagunāthar, Chokkanāthar, and Karuppuswami. The offering for Karuppuswami is placed at a distance. The pūjari says, "Accept this offering. We will make you one annually." The offering is distributed to children. The Vākas who are present sit on elevated thatties. After the propitiation comes dancing in which men and women take part to the beat of the tom-tom.

Ancestor-worship

On returning home, a pongal is offered in honour of their ancestors (Mūthākal). About two padis of rice are cooked in a pot, and the pongal is set by the side of cloths, strings of beads, rings and bangles. The cloths are intended to propitiate the male ancestors, and

the beads, rings and bangles the female ancestors. Prayers are offered to the following effect:—"Oh Earth, Heaven, Moon, and Sun, as you protect us, so should our kings. Oh parents, grandparents and their ancestors, protect us. We shall propitiate you similarly next year." This finishes the day's festivity, and the village folk have their feast last in the evening.

Vadagumathaswami

A pongal ceremony is begun in honour of this deity during Margali (December–January) or Tai (January–February) on a Friday. All the Muthuvans are invited. It is generally performed during fat years, when they get bumper crops which can stand the strain of heavy feasting and hence it is not an annual affair. It lasts for eight days. The ceremonial portion corresponds to what has been given above.

Worship of the Sun

The Muthuvans worship the sun both morning and evening. "Oh God, we live in the jungle. We are ignorant of everything. Protect us." In these words, they pray sitting with folded hands. In the morning, their prayer is in the open, facing the east. At night, they pray before going to bed. The moon is also worshipped.

One of the functions of religion is to restore man's confidence, when it is shaken by crises like hunger and illness. The Tai Pongal is an effort to overcome such a crisis by propitiating the above deities so that they may enable them to lead a prosperous life.

Agricultural Ceremonies

The Muthuvans read the hand of God in the changing aspects of nature, and propitiate Him in all the

stages of their agricultural operations. When they start jungle clearing in Tai (January—February) on the first Monday, an offering of raw rice is placed on seven leaves on an elevated thatti in honour of Palaniāndavar. The pūjari prays:—"Oh God, may no mishap come to us. If we get ill in any manner, we have no one but you to protect us." The offering is then distributed to all. The pūjari first begins the clearing. As local spirits may be disturbed in doing so, he utters some incantations to keep them away.

The sowing of seed is done in Panguni (March—April) on the second Monday. A measure of rice is cooked and offered on seven leaves on a thatti. The following prayer is then offered:—"Oh God, save us from elephants, pigs and panthers."

Before the harvest, a handful of sheaves of corn is taken. The pūjari makes the following prayer:—"Oh God, I shall propitiate you with offerings, if no harm comes to our crops." The bundle of corn is tied to the roof, the corn facing the east. Harvesting then begins.

On the last Monday in Tai (January—February), an offering is made to the Goddess Mīnākshi in the morning. The pūjari collects twenty measures of paddy. The rice obtained therefrom is powdered and put in twelve leaf tubes which are placed on the ground in front of the deity. Honey is then poured into the twelve tubes. All the gathering then stand with folded arms, and the pūjāri offers the following prayer. "Oh Mīnākshi, hailing from Madura, I am making this offering to you. Accept it and go". The offering is then distributed to all.

Ceremonies connected with Rain fall

It is the prerogative of the pūjari to see that the rain falls in proper quantity in due time, and that the earth brings forth her increase in due season. If the rain is scarce, a small quantity of raw rice is placed on a leaf in the area of cultivation in the morning. The pūjari bathes and makes the following prayer:—"Oh God, my cultivation is being ruined for want of rain. It would be a good thing if it rained." It is said that this propitiation ordinarily brings rain. It is observed that they have no ceremonial means of stopping an excess of rainfall.

Folklore

Earthquake is believed to be caused when the Goddess removes the earth from one shoulder to another owing to its weight. Thunder is said to be caused when the Devas roll a stone. Lightning is said to be caused when the Wind-God and Varuna roll a stone. The solar eclipse is caused when the serpent coils round the sun. The rainbow is identified with the bow of Arjuna. The red hue is identified with the string and the blue with the stave.

Occupation

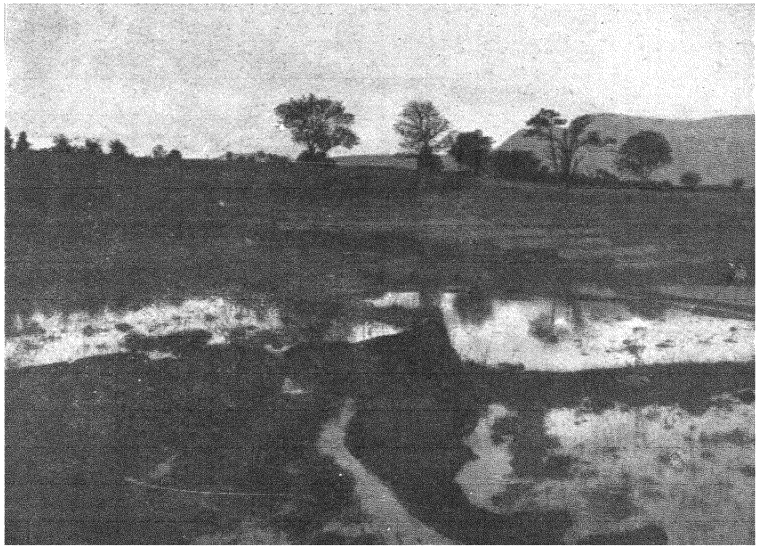
1. Agriculture a. Nomadic

The Muthuvans are nomadic agriculturists, but their environment has made them hunters and trappers too. Rarely do their thoughts go beyond an annual bumper crop. Ragi is their staple food on the Cardamom Hills, and rice in Neriamangalam and Anjanad. According to them, land brought under cultivation loses its fertility after two years. The whole village cultivates the land in one block. On the Cardamom

Hills, after the pongal festival in Tai (January—February), they migrate to a new settlement. The first thing they do is to garner their crops in a tree-house in the vicinity of the site for the new village. They then go, bag and baggage, and build huts in a convenient locality, till the completion of which they take shelter in a rock-cave. They then shift to their respective dwellings. In the evening, an offering is made to the spirits of ancestors by each man in his own hut. "Oh Ancestor-spirits, accept this rice offering and go. Let not elephants, panthers, and bears come near us." The headman then goes round the area and allots land to each man for cultivation. The choice of the site is governed not only by the factors of the locality, but also by the prophetic sayings of the priest during the pongal festival. They bow to his oracular utterances, which are to them as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and they abandon any locality of which he disapproves. They collectively clear the land with their bill-hooks for the headman, and then for themselves. Widows are assisted by the village folk in erecting the huts and clearing land for cultivation.

The day previous to the commencement of the jungle-clearing, all the men remain secluded in a shed after bathing. The next day, the pūjari cuts three reeds. If the water inside the reeds is clear, they clear the jungle. If otherwise, they abandon the area. Similarly, if they meet with a rat-snake or a rat on the way, they consider it an evil omen, and do not clear the area. It is also inauspicious to see a man coming with flowing hair and wet clothing.

The jungle is cut with a bill-hook about the beginning of January and the debris is allowed to dry till March, when the area is burnt. The seed bed having



TERRACED CULTIVATION IN ANJANAD.

been prepared with mammatty, the women sow 'Muttukeppai', a variety of ragi which is harvested earlier, and seeds of pumpkin with the onset of the south-west monsoon in June. They then sow ordinary ragi broadcast. When rainfall is sufficient, hill-paddy is also grown. In the damp climate of the High Ranges, weeds grow rapidly and women attend to the weeding and tending of crops with the sickle. While the crop is ripening, the men are busy protecting it from the ravages of wild animals for which small look-outs are built on trees, well out of the reach of elephants.

The crop is harvested with a small sickle by women during September. If there is no rain, they perform another 'Kumbidal.' The invocations are supposed to please the Rain God who blesses them with enough rain. The ordinary ragi is harvested in November. Small temporary granaries are erected for the crop. After the harvest is a period of plenty, when they despise work. They go from village to village, spend their time in feasting and merriment, and exhaust their stock in three or four months, thereby landing themselves in destitution. Most of them go for cooly labour to neighbouring cardamom estates and earn a daily wage of six or eight annas each.

b. Terraced Cultivation

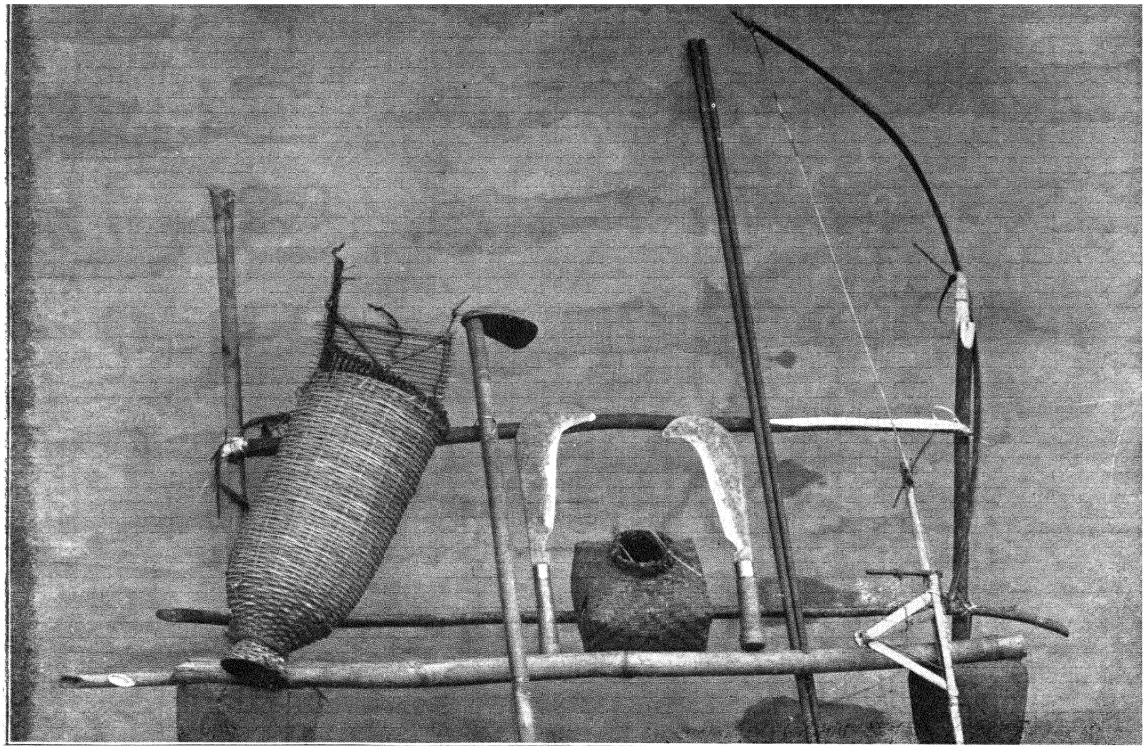
The Muthuvans of Anjanad have terraced cultivation. Ward and Conner speak of 'numberless little glades, some adapted to rice cultivation, scattered along the hilly table that overlooks the valley, whose inhabitants are never tempted to settle within this little space. According to Semple, a mountain environment often occasions a forced development in the form of agriculture among people who otherwise still linger on the

outskirts of civilization. This is true of the Muthuvans of the Anjanad Valley. Here the rainfall is low and the soil clayey, so that the soil wash is not appreciable. Hill slopes are cut down and made into terraces from ten to thirty feet broad. The terraces are so arranged that the water flows from one to the other. The terraced fields are owned by individuals. They divert the waters of the Manalar and irrigate their fields. In India, terraced cultivation is found in the Himalayan uplands, Kashmir, Bhutan, and Assam; and outside India, in Tibet, China, Japan and Peru.

The prudent among the Muthuvans are copying the ways of the cardamom ryots on the Cardamom Hills, and have resorted to cardamom cultivation in small blocks of one to ten acres. This has enabled a few of them to tide over their wants and difficulties.

2. *Snaring*

The question of food brings to the fore their adeptness at trapping and hunting. They catch rats, squirrels, porcupines, mouse-deer and other animals. The snares are of three kinds. The commonest one is the triangular snare which is used by other hill tribes in Travancore. It is set in fences and is most effective. It consists of a triangle of bamboo the base of which is extended to form a bow. The side nearest the bow is double. Through this is passed a noose which is set in such a way that any animal or bird trying to get through the triangle releases the bow and is caught by the noose against the double side. Another is a bent sapling from which a loop of fibre hangs on what appears to be the ground, but which is really a little platform on which small game tread and find themselves caught by both their legs and hanging in mid air.



MUTHUVAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS.

They are clever at catching ibex which are driven towards a fence with nooses, set at proper points, which cause the beasts to break their necks.

3. *Hunting*

Being a good shot, the Muthuvan formerly killed sambur, ibex, monkeys, jungle squirrel and others at ease, and ate the spoils of the game. Being deprived of guns, they are now prevented from recklessly destroying game as they did in the past. Bison flesh is taboo to them, because one who ate it died. Similarly, bear is taboo to them, as they do not like its flavour and odour. It is a common primitive belief that to eat of any particular animal gives one the qualities of that animal. They go hunting from Dhanu (December) to Meenam (March), when they are free from agricultural work and when they have not much to eat. At least two go together, but the number may go up to ten. They remain celibate the previous day.

When a Muthuvan kills an animal, he takes the spoils of the game to the village. The carcase is suspended over fire for the removal of the hair. It is then washed and cut to pieces. In the case of a blackmonkey, the liver, hands, and feet are cut into thin slices and are then pierced on five thin stakes. These are then roasted by being suspended over fire and are placed on a leaf. The following prayer is then made to the deity who presides over the hunt:—"Just as my parents, grandparents, and their ancestors went in quest of food and lived by the spoils of the chase, may I be blessed with the same luck. If I am lucky, I shall offer you a share of the spoils before they are tasted by any one else." The slices are then equitably distributed among those present and the

remaining portion of the carcase is divided equally among the village folk. It is interesting to note that an analagous custom is prevalent among the Lhota Nagas of Assam.

4. Fishing

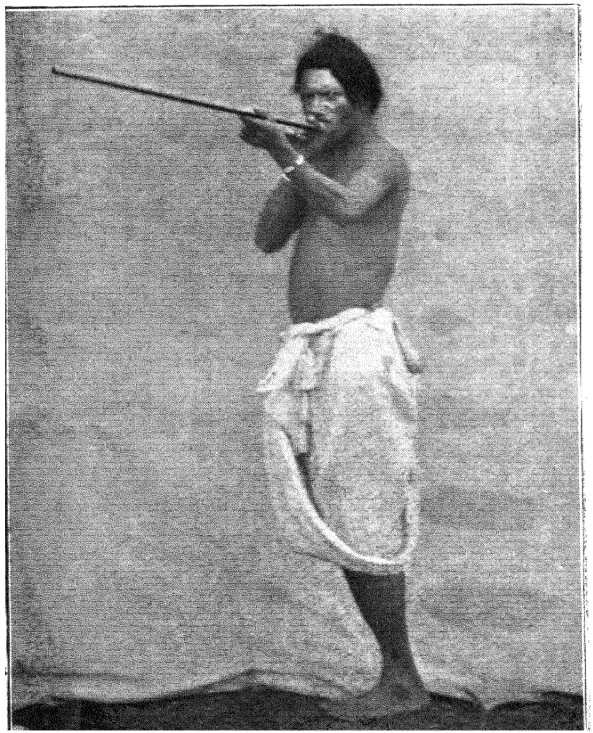
The Muthuvans are adept at catching fish in well made cruives which are set where there is running water. Fishing with rod and line is also practised. They also catch fish by poisoning the water. The water strained from the powder of Curcuma augustifolia (kuva) is used. It stupefies the fish, which are then caught.

5. Collection of Minor Forest Produce

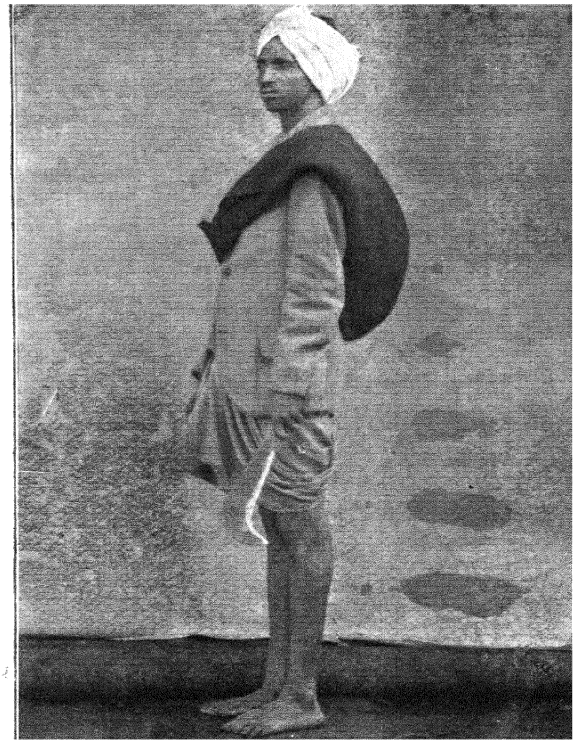
The Muthuvans are denizens of the hills, and their services are indispensable for the collection of minor forest produce which form the property of the Government. The Forest Department employs them for this purpose on a daily wage of six annas, which they receive in cash or rice and other provisions from contractors to whom the right of collection is leased. The collection is made in summer and the daily wages hardly suffice to make both ends meet. The following are some of the produce collected by them:—

1. Inchi (Amonium zingiber)
2. Manchal (Curcuma longa)
3. Kunkilium (resin of Canarium strictum)
4. Cheeyaka (pod of Acacia concinna)
5. Mattipal (juice of Ailanthus malabaricum)
6. Honey and wax
7. Wild cardamoms.

The Muthuvans are not so adept as the Mannans at tree-climbing and collecting honey.



A MUTHUVAN BLOWING A BLOW-PIPE.



A MUTHUVAN ON THE MARCH.

6. *Industries*

Living as the Muthuvans do in the high forest where cane and reed abound, they have attained a certain measure of proficiency in making fine articles out of them. They make mats, baskets, and sieves out of reeds (Ochlandra travancorica) and sell them to the people of the plains. These are made by women. Men make rattan boxes. The cane is well seasoned before it is used.

7. *Livestock*

The wealth of the average Muthuvan is locked up in his cattle which consist more of buffaloes than of cows. Their life on the hills seems to have made them into finer animals, and they are in a way semi-wild. The cattle are only milked in the morning. The milk is boiled and drunk. Being by nature very hospitable, they offer a cup of milk to all visitors as do the Somalis of Africa. After milking the cattle, they drive them to the village grazing ground; a Muthuvan takes them back in the evening and leaves them in the pen close to their habitations.

Weapons

The Muthuvans on the West Coast use bows made of bamboo, and arrows made of reed. The string is made of the fibre of Ficus. Children are taught the use of the bow at the age of ten. By the time they attain the age of fifteen, they have become experts. But the old enthusiasm for the bow is passing away. They do not use the pellet-bow. They also use the muzzle-loading gun which they get from Pollachi. Boys are allowed to handle it at the age of eighteen.

Blow-tube

The Muthuvans kill small birds by a blow-tube made of reed, which they call thumbithāra or mānāmbuki. The hollow reed is fifty inches long with a diameter of a quarter of an inch. The dart is five inches long, pointed at one end, and is winged. The dart is propelled by the breath, and covers a distance of 50 to 75 feet. Small birds which do damage to their crops are killed by them. The blow-tube may have been invented wherever long large reeds grow. It is found among the Malays, and Canixana Indians of South America.

Diet

Ragi is the staple food of the Muthuvans on the Cardamom Hills, but a dish composed of vegetables boiled with salt and chillies is always taken along with it. Rice is an article of luxury to them. But in Neriamangalam rice is their staple food. They eat all kinds of lizards, rats, ibex, sambur, fowl, and fish. The flesh of the black monkey (Semnopithecus johni) is much esteemed. Women do not eat jungle sheep. In times of want they fall back on kuva (Curcuma augustifolia). Both husband and wife collect it from the jungle with a digging spud. The rhizomes are rubbed on hard rock and the scrapings are put in a hollow in a rock and water is poured over them. After half an hour, the sediment settles down. The water is strained away to remove its bitterness and fresh water is added. This process is repeated thrice. The flour is mixed with water and boiled. The resulting jelly is taken as food. The flour obtained from one day's collection lasts for two days.



A MUTHUVAN WOMAN WITH BABY
RESTING ON HER BACK.

The Muthuvans on the west coast are fond of alchohol. They extract a juice from a wild palm (Caryota urens) which grows on lower elevations. After allowing the juice to ferment, they drink it freely. The beverage is known by the name of 'tippilikal.' The Muthuvans on the Cardamom Hills are not addicted to this beverage owing to the paucity of the palm. Those on the west coast are addicted to opium also.

Utensils

Food is cooked by women in earthenware vessels purchased from the adjoining British Indian villages on the plains. Provisions are stored in bamboo tubes which are also used for carrying water. Leaves are used as plates. Some of the well-to-do Muthuvans use copper and brass vessels.

Dress

Men wear a loin-cloth, six to eight cubits in length. It is hitched up short to facilitate freedom of movement. They also wear a turban five to six cubits long. A blanket is invariably tied on the back. Ordinarily it serves as a hold-all to carry all their indispensable belongings, but, being rain-proof, it also serves as a rain coat when necessary. They have now taken to the use of coats and shirts.

Women wear a cloth 16 to 18 cubits long. After being brought round the waist and tucked in, it is taken over the body and two corners are knotted on the right shoulder. A woman carries her baby on her back, and a portion of the outer end is so tied as to give a safe berth to the baby.

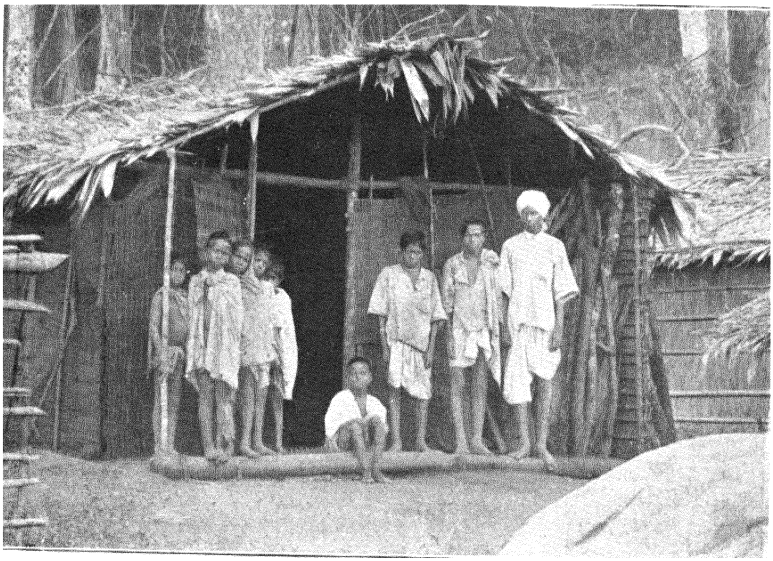
Ornaments

Men wear ear-rings which may be rarely made of gold with bits of glass set on them. They put

silver and brass rings on the fourth digit of the hand, and sometimes a bangle on each arm. Women go in for beads. Strings of them adorn their necks, white and blue being the favourite colours. Rings for the ears and fingers are the same as those of men. They put four brass or glass bangles on each wrist, while a round armlet or two is worn above their elbow. Mettis (brass rings) are worn on the second toe of the right foot. The patterns of jewellery are similar to those seen on the women of the plains. The articles are carried to them by pedlars from the plains. Unmarried women wear less jewellery than the married ones, and widows wear none.

Daily Life

The members of a family get up early in the morning, the wife being the first, to make the fire, set the pot to boil, and open the door. Besides, she cowdungs the floor and cleanses the family utensils. The morning meal is at nine. The father and children take food from the same leaf. When a boy comes of age, he eats separately. The father and other elderly male members go out either to attend to their other work in the field or to the neighbouring estates to eke out their livelihood, and return in the evening. The women follow with babies on their back, catch fish or crabs, dig up roots with the spud, and return in the evening. All domestic work is done by women. They are the purveyors of fuel. They grind ragi, cook food, and serve it. They take food after the men are served. They talk sitting together. The paternal personality dominates in all domestic matters. They have their supper at seven, after which they go to bed. Children up to ten years of age sleep with the parents. Boys over that age sleep in a



A BACHELOR HALL.

bachelor-hall. There is a separate dormitory for girls in the charge of an elderly woman. The existence of such dormitories has a salutary effect on their morals. The ordinary routine of the day may be broken by visits of people from other villages or by an occasional meeting at the chāvadi to adjudicate village disputes.

Hospitality

Men from other hamlets exchange visits after harvest when they have plenty to eat. They do not prolong their visits for more than two days, lest their work should suffer. They go out at other times also and remain with the members of their clan generally. Hospitality is not denied to the members of other clans. Visitors are well received and sleep in the chāvadi.

The Muthuvans are very correct in their behaviour to others. A nephew goes on bended knees before his uncle when they meet. He catches the right foot of his uncle with his right-hand. The uncle blesses him with his hand over his head, saying, "You must be as patient as the Earth and Sky. May you be crowned with success in your clearing of land and sowing of seed."

Language

The habitat of the Muthuvans is at the junction of two distinct linguistic areas represented by Tamil in the districts of Madura and Coimbatore on the east, and Malayalam in Travancore on the west. They therefore speak a blend of both languages, Tamil preponderating over Malayalam on the east and *vice versa* on the west. A few can now read and write Tamil. The following are samples of their language:—

1. Korangathi .. Cooked rice
2. Vei karai .. Come on, youngsters.

Owing to their inaccessibility, only faint streaks of the light of knowledge are available to them. Education is the only effective lever to raise them from their ignorance.

Fertility

The fertility of the Muthuvans varies with the locality. A comparative statement is given below:—

Locality.	Number of families.	Average size of family.	Average birth rate.	Average survival rate
1 Neriamangalam and Pooyamkutty .	25	4·5	4·1	2·5
2. Deviar and Pallivasal .	25	5·3	3·6	3·3

On lower elevations at Pooyamkutty in Neriamangalam Range, the average size of the family is 4·5. The average birth rate is 4·1 and average survival rate 2·5. Infant mortality is very high, being 40 in 25 families. There are 31 boys and 32 girls. On higher elevations, at Deviar and Pallivasal, where the climate is healthier, the average size of the family is 5·3. The average birth rate is 3·6, and average survival rate 3·3. One noticeable fact is that infant mortality is low, being 9 for 25 families. There were 50 boys and 33 girls. There are more males than females in the High Ranges, and fecundity is greater on higher elevations under healthy environment.

Disease

The improvement of communications has brought the Muthuvan into contact with the dregs of low-country men with the result that their morals have been affected.



MUTHUVAN MALE GROUP (POOYAMKUTTY)

Instances of leprosy and yaws are found among the Muthuvans of Neriamangalam. Small-pox is another dreaded disease which carries away a large number. When the disease appears among them, they desert the hamlet, bag and baggage, leaving the patients to take care of themselves.

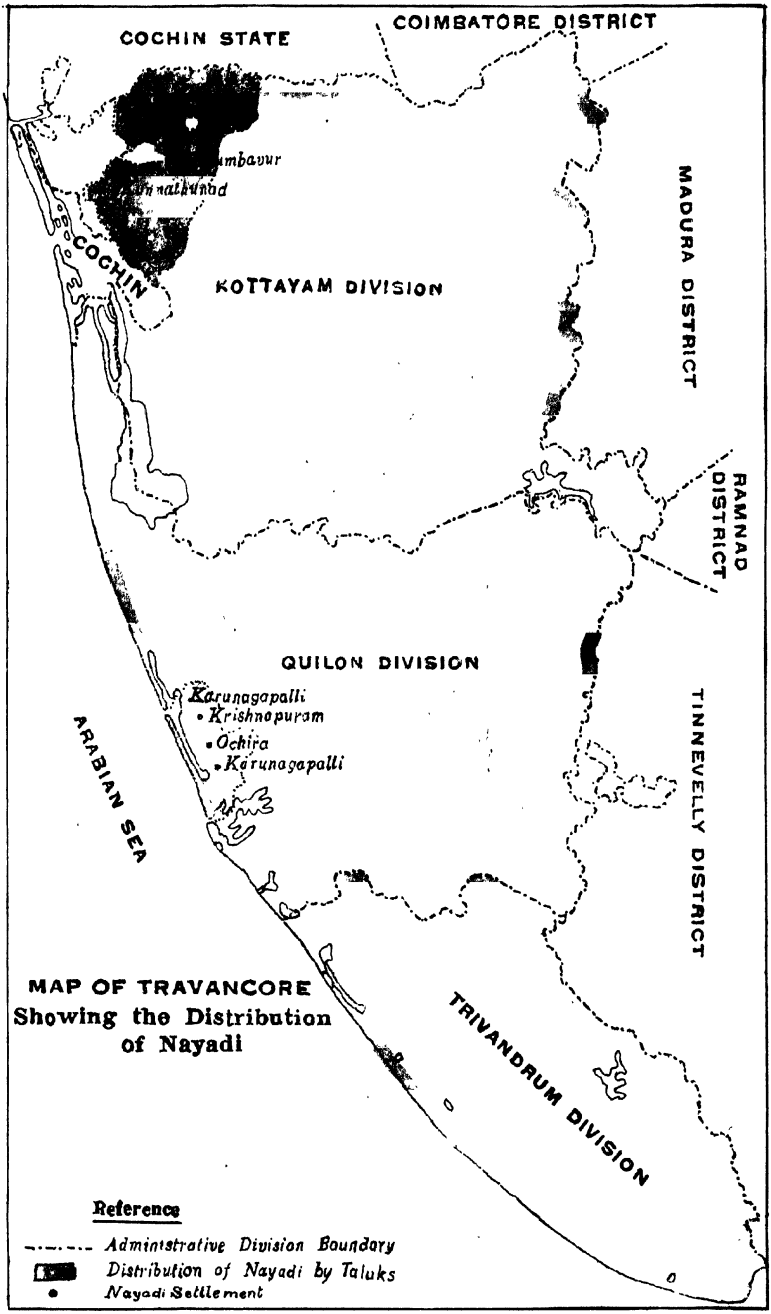
Appearance and Physical Features

The average Muthuvan enjoys a better physique than most of the other hill-tribes. When he is within the tyranny of the jungle in Deviar, his average stature is 154·0 cms. but when he gets beyond this area in low country or high altitudes, his average stature rises to 157·3 cms. (61·5″). His average chest is 77·1 cms. and the average chest in relation to stature 100 is 49·5. He is dark brown in complexion and his hair is black and wavy. He has a long head, the average cephalic index being 72·5. His forehead is receding and the brow ridges are prominent. His nose is short and platyrhine, the average nasal index being 88·71. The average facial index is 84·9. His average span of arms is 161·0 cms. and the average relative to stature 100 is 103·4. He allows his hair to grow all over the head, and ties it behind as a tuft.

Conclusion

Sturdy in limbs and erect in bearing, the Muthuvan can endure great fatigue and carry heavy loads on the back with ease. His economic condition is rosier than that of other tribes. The advent of European planters and cardamom ryots has excited his imagination, and he has not been slow to grasp the advantages of stable cultivation. He has made a beginning by opening up some cardamom gardens which enable him to tide over

his wants in summer. Nomadic agriculture is still his mainstay. Only a few of them are able to read and write. With increased facilities for education, the opening of Co-operative Credit Societies requires careful consideration, as it would save them from the clutches of usurers. These changes may tend to their material and moral progress.


COCHIN STATE
COIMBATORE DISTRICT
mbavur
nalkunad
COCHIN
KOTTAYAM DIVISION
MADURA DISTRICT
RAMNAD DISTRICT
QUILON DIVISION
Karunagapalli
Krishnapuram
Ochira
Karunagapalli
ARABIAN SEA
TINNEVELLY DISTRICT
TRIVANDRUM DIVISION
MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution
of Nayadi
Reference
Administrative Division Boundary
Distribution of Nayadi by Taluks
Nayadi Settlement

NAYADI.

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — TRIBAL ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—EARLY HISTORY—THE NAYADI ENVIRONMENT—NAYADI HAMLET—DOMESTIC GOODS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — WIDOW MARRIAGE — ADULTERY — DIVORCE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH — INHERITANCE — FAMILY — KINSHIP — FUNERAL CEREMONIES—RELIGION—MAGIC—OCCUPATION —DRESS—ECONOMIC LIFE—FERTILITY—APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES—SOCIAL CONDITION—RECLAMATION OF THE NAYADIS—RECLAMATION OF THE NAYADIS IN MODERN TIMES—ESTABLISHMENT OF NAYADI COLONY IN TRAVANCORE.

Introduction

The Nāyādis are found in the Karunāgapalli and Kunnathunād taluqs of Travancore and in the rural and jungly tracts of Cochin State and Malabar. Dr. Ayyappan states that Dr. Kunjan Pillai suggested to him that Nāyādis of Travancore might have wandered into the State from the adjoining Cochin territory.* But Dr. Ayyappan states that there are only Ullātans and not Nāyādis in the adjoining southern part of Cochin, and rejects the idea of the latter having come from Cochin to Travancore, and thinks that they may be really Ullātans. Karunāgapalli taluq is about 60 miles to the south of Cochin State, and contains no Ullātans; these are found in the taluqs to the

* Ayyappan—Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar—p. 6.

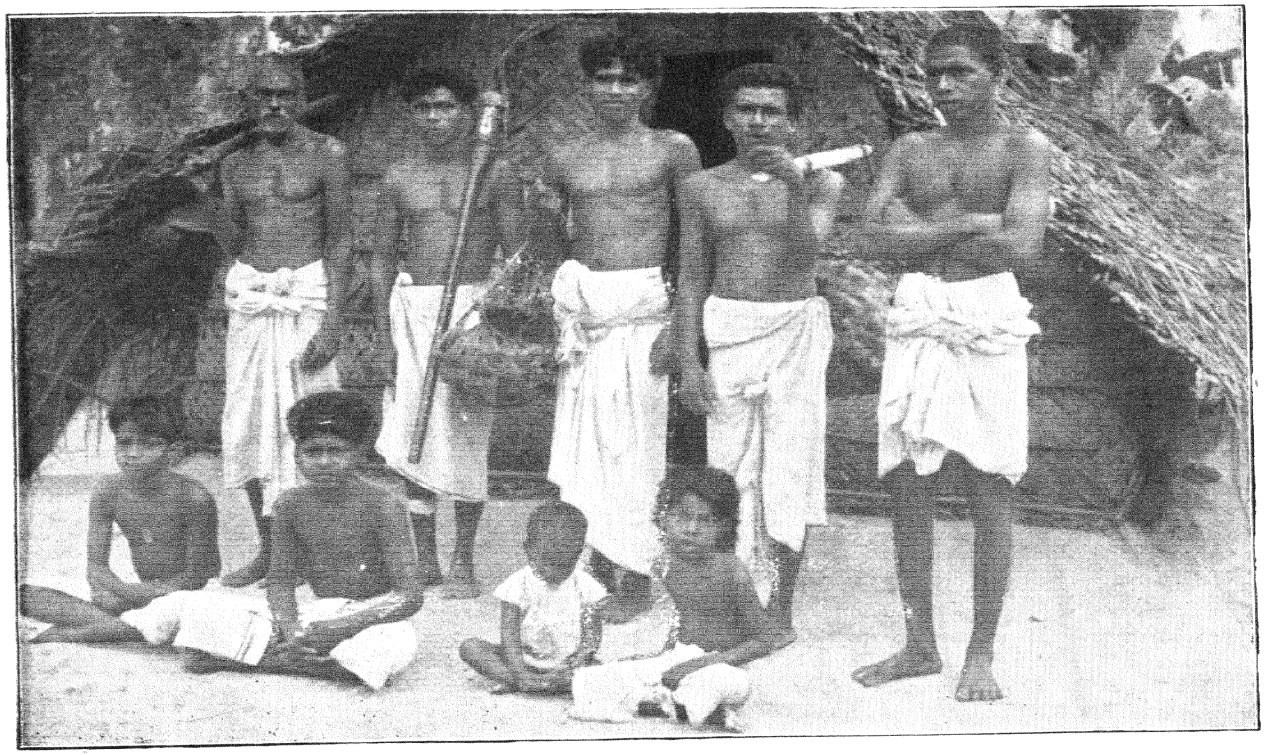
north and east of it. The Nāyādis have neither interdining nor intermarriage with the Ullātans, and say that their ancestors came from the hills towards the west; that the hill-tribes and themselves were offspring of the same mother, and that one branch wandered towards the coastal region and settled down in Karunāgapalli. As proof of this, the Nāyādis state that, as they did in the past, they collect honey even to this day, that it forms one of their means of subsistance, and that they do not like to be called by any other name. In North Travancore the Parayas and the Pulayas call them Ullāta, but only high caste men can call them Nāyādi or Nāti. A Nāyādi would take offence if he were called Nāti or Nāyādi by a Paraya or Pulaya.

Population

The Nāyādis of Travancore were returned at the last census as 144. Including those in Malabar and Cochin State, they numbered 709. The subjoined table will show their distribution.

Locality.	1921			1931		
	Total	Males.	Females	Total.	Males.	Females.
Travancore .	182	109	73	144	64	80
Cochin State .	119	...	...	152	76	76
Malabar .	417	200	217	413	209	204

The Census of 1921 discloses the fact that in Travancore males exceeded females; but in 1931 females outnumbered males. While the sexes were balanced in Cochin State in 1931, the figures for Malabar indicate



A NAYADI MALE GROUP.

that females were less than males. The Nāyādis of Travancore are recorded as Hindu and were found distributed in 1931 as follows:—

Name of Revenue Division.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1 Central Division (Karunagapalli) .	127	53	74
2. Northern Division (Kunnathunad) .	11	7	4
3. High Range	6	4	2

Karunāgapalli is a coastal taluq; the Nāyādis number the largest there, and females exceed males.

Tribal Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The word 'Nāyāḍi' means hunter and may mean that the Nāyādis were skilful hunters. The author of the Jāthinirnayam says that the Parayas, the Pulayas, the Nāyādis, and the Ullātans formed the Chandālas of the plains. Kēralolpathi classifies them as one of the sixteen hill-tribes of Malabar. They are called Nāttunīchanmar. The author of Kēralolpathi confers on them a rank just above the Ullātans. In Karunāgapalli where there are no Ullātans, the Nāyādis claim superiority over the Pulayas and Parayas, who had to stand at a distance of sixteen feet from them. Further they neither interdine nor intermarry with them. In North Travancore the Nāyādis recognized the superiority of the Parayas and the Pulayas, and stood at a distance of twenty feet from them. In the Hindu hierarchy of castes in Malabar, they are placed

on the lowest rung. "They present a scene not seen in any other part of India, wild amidst civilized inhabitants, starving amongst cultivation, nearly naked, they wander about in search of a few roots, but depend more on charity, which the traveller is surprised at their clamourous impetuosity in soliciting, ascending the little slopes that overlook the village or road. Whatever charity they receive is placed on the ground where they stand, but on observing that their petitions are heard, they return from the spot, so that they may not defile by their presence those coming to their relief."* The Nāyādis of Karunāgapalli do not eke out their livelihood by soliciting alms like those of North Travancore. They are more self-reliant, and depend on their own efforts for their livelihood.

Early History of the Nāyādis

The earliest reference to the Nāyādis is in the Kēralolpathi wherein they are mentioned as the last of the Chandālas. Visscher says, "The Vedden and the Niaddy are also bushmen who hunt wild beasts and subsist upon their flesh as well as upon herbs and roots; so that there are many among these castes who never tasted rice."† Buchanan recorded in 1803, "They are reckoned so very impure that even a slave will not touch them. They absolutely refuse to perform any kind of labour. The only means that they employ to procure a subsistence is by watching the crop to drive away wild hogs and birds. They have scarcely any clothing and everything about them discloses want and misery."‡ It is also said that "the Naddi are a caste of hunters and have no occupation, and they go about with

* Ward and Conner—Memoirs of Travancore Survey—p. 133.

† Visscher—Letters from Malabar—p. 129.

‡ Buchanan—Mysore, Coorg and Malabar—Vol. II, p. 413.

their bows and arrows, and are obliged to accompany the Naira, Gentes, and Christian hunters.'"* The Nāyādis of Karunāgapalli do not now exhibit any signs of having been hunters. They have now no weapons with which they could hunt and destroy wild animals. The only link with their past jungle life is the collection of honey. In North Travancore they accompany hunters to rouse game. In Karunāgapalli taluq they do not appear to have ever suffered from the disabilities of the slave castes, the Parayas and the Pulayas. Unapproachability does not appear to have stood in the way of their contact with high-caste Hindus. They have been and are leading an independent existence by the collection of honey and fuel or by their labour. Though they lead a life of want and misery, and do not accustom themselves to a life of regularity and industry, they do not practise abject beggary, as do the Nāyādis of North Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar.

Nāyādi Environment

The Nāyādi habitat in Karunāgapalli is not significant by the existence of a large number of dolmens, as is Malabar, but is an area containing many isolated serpent groves, where images of Nāgarāja and Nāga Yakshi are found. The Nāyādis claim to have come from the highlands of Travancore towards the west owing to stress of population, and they now live in isolated groups near areas adjoining the sea-coast in Karunāgapalli in the midst of the Nayars, the Izhuvas and the Muhammadans. The only vacant spots untouched by man are the serpent groves containing serpent shrines. The serpent shrines are objects of veneration to all the Hindus, including the Parayas and

* Kerala Society Papers—Vol. II. p. 433.

the Pulayas. Every Hindu would shudder at approaching a serpent grove in a state of pollution. It would be an act of desecration to do so or to destroy any vegetation in a serpent grove. But the Nāyādi is not disturbed by such qualms of conscience. He is driven by desperation to the necessity of occupying the serpent groves and destroying all vegetation and the deities installed therein. He is therefore found occupying small patches of land which were once serpent groves in the midst of a predominantly Hindu population. Beggary in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore is imposed on the community by the deprivation of all sources of food supply; but in Karunāgapalli they are not subject to the disabilities of unapproachability unlike the Parayas and the Pulayas, and do not appear to have ever been one of the slave castes. They are more resourceful than the latter. During rainy weather, which makes outdoor activities difficult, the Nāyādis are in difficulty for their livelihood. Outside Travancore, it may be true that the custodians of orthodoxy are their oppressors both socially and economically. It has to be said to the credit of the Nāyādi in Karunāgapalli that he is more self-reliant and is not subject to the tyranny of the higher castes or the stigma of unapproachability.

Nāyādi Hamlet

The Nāyādis of Karunāgapalli taluq are found scattered in groups of three or four houses built on the debris of what were once serpent shrines. They cleared the area of trees, and converted it into arable land fit for habitation. Each hut is 12½ feet by 10 feet in dimensions. In front is a thalam (verandah which has a thatched wall in front). The verandah leads into the main room, which is used both for cooking and sleeping. The roof and sides of the room are thatched with



NAGA IMAGES FROM A SERPENT GROVE.

plaited cocoanut leaves which have to be renewed annually. The floor is almost on a level with the ground. For women in menses there is a common seclusion-shed into which they are just able to crawl. A common place of worship exists to the north of the huts underneath a pala (Alstonia scholaris) or arecanut tree. A stone is planted underneath the tree, and makes the material substratum of their religious life. In North Travancore the Nāyādis live on the edge of extensive rice fields. The huts are mostly square and somewhat apart. Here straw is used for thatching, handfuls being spread out on the frame-work of the roof to about three or four inches in thickness. Junglewood posts are used for the frame-work of the roof. There is a mud wall all round about three feet in height.

Domestic Goods

Furniture is scanty. The utensils for cooking and carrying water are earthenware. Liquid food is taken with ladles of cocoanut shells with a thin splice of bamboo for handle. The hearth consists of stones placed so as to form a triangle. Unlike the Nāyādi of North Travancore, they do not use umbrellas in Karunāgapalli. Of tools, they have an uli which consists of an iron piece sharp at one end fitted into a wooden handle. It is used for the collection of honey. They have also an axe for felling trees or scooping out boats. They have no bill-hook.

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The most important sociological division of the tribe is the illom or kūttom. They are subdivided into the following clans:—

1. Kodayathu illom
2. Mechur illom

3. Valia Kōdayari illom
4. Chāramangalathu illom
5. Vailāttillom
6. Kātturillom

The Mechur and Valia Kōdayari illoms are superior to the other clans. In each hamlet there are two or three clans. The mother retains her clan after marriage. The children take after the clan of the mother. Each clan has a headman or Mūppan, who is also the medicine-man. His presence is necessary at all ceremonies pertaining to marriage or death. The Mechur and Valia Kōdayari illom Mūppans meet to settle disputes.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Girls are married after they attain puberty. Kettukalyanam existed formerly. The tying of the tāli (marriage badge) was done formely by the nephew, but this custom has now become extinct. When a boy now reaches the age of marriage, the Mūppan, his uncle, and father visit the girl's house and seek her hand from her uncle and father. If they agree, the boy's uncle presents the girl's uncle with ten chuckrams and four leaves of tobacco. A similar courtesy is exchanged in the girl's uncle giving an equal amount and tobacco to the boy's uncle. The gifts are distributed among the Mūppans of the clans of the boy and girl. The girl's parents feast them. The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed with the help of the Kaniyan. On the marriage day the bridegroom-elect goes to the bride's house with his relations and Mūppan. He presents the bride with a pair of cloths which she dons. An exchange of ten chuckrams and four leaves of tobacco is made between the parties. Those present are feasted, and the bridegroom returns with the bride to his

house where the bride's party are treated to a feast. The bride's uncle then says, "We leave our girl. Take care of her." The bridegroom's Müppan then says that the girl will be taken care of so long as she lives. The Nāyādis are monogamous.

Widow Marriage

Widows remarry, but there is no abatment of ceremonial. A man may marry the widow of his elder brother.

Adultery

When a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, the Müppans hear and decide the complaint. The Müppan declares that the guilty persons are excommunicated. When the offence is committed with a woman of a different clan, the Müppan fines them twenty chuckrams, four leaves of tobacco, and one bundle of betel leaves. They are then allowed to marry.

Divorce

When a man wishes to divorce his wife, the Müppans of the different clans meet. He places before them his complaint about his wife. If their differences cannot be reconciled, the woman is sent to her home, but no money is claimed by either party. The grown-up children remain with the father, while the younger ones remain with the mother, who is free to marry again.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is removed to a seclusion-shed for seven days in Karunāgapalli. She must not see the light of day, and remains indoors. She bathes on the eighth day and a small feast is given to women.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

A pulikudi ceremony is observed in the seventh month of pregnancy. On a Sunday the pregnant woman is given some ghee by her aunt. It is called Neykudi kalyanam or the ceremony of administering ghee to the pregnant woman. Four women are feasted. When she is about to become a mother, she is conveyed to a seclusion-shed. Women assist in the delivery. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. She enters her home after a bath on the seventeenth day. She enjoys rest for three months. It is said that when a woman is attended by female relations for delivery, her husband massages his own abdomen and prays to the mountain gods for the safe delivery of his wife. He offers his thanks to them as soon as the child is born. This custom is not observed in Travancore.

Inheritance

Inheritance has been in the female line. Sons now succeed to property of the father which consists of the hut, utensils, and weapons. Chieftainship descends to the nephew, if there are no brothers.

Family

Kīcheri kavu was a serpent grove about 30 years ago. It was registered in the name of Mundi Karambi, and bears evidence of long occupation by the cocoanut trees growing in the area. Mundi Karambi had one son (Narayanan) and a daughter (Karambi) who enjoyed the property. Narayanan left for his wife's house and Karambi married Krishnan who stays with her in Kīcheri kavu. They have six children. The family now consists of father, mother, and children. The property is in the name of Karambi. The husband lives with his wife in her home.



NAYADI UTENSILS.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Nāyādis is of the type called classificatory. A list of kinship terms, together with forms used in direct address, is given below:—

1. Relations through Father

1.	Great grandfather	Valia appūppan
2.	Great grandmother	Valia ammūmma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Father	Aschan
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Valiachan
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Pēramma
9.	Father's younger brother	Kochachan
10.	Father's younger brother's wife	Kochamma
11.	Father's sister	Ammāvi
12.	Father's sister's husband	Ammāvan
13.	Father's sister's son	Aliyan
14.	Father's sister's daughter	Chēttathi or 'Anujathi if younger.

2. Relations through Mother

1.	Mother's father	Appūppan
2.	Mother's mother	Ammūmma
3.	Mother's brother	Ammāvan
4.	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
5.	Mother's brother's son	Aliyan
6.	Mother's brother's daughter	Chettathi or Anujathi if younger.

3. Relations through Husband

1.	Husband's father	Ammāvan
2.	Husband's mother	Ammāvi
3.	Husband's sister	Chēttathi
4.	Husband's brother	Chēttan or Anujan if younger.

4. Relations through Wife

1.	Wife's father	Ammāvan
2.	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
3.	Wife's brother	Aliyan
4.	Wife's sister	Chēttathi or Anujathi if younger

In the foregoing list, it may be observed:

1. Appūppan and Ammūmma are the names given to the grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

2. Ammāvan is the name given to the father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the husband's father, and the wife's father, and Ammāvi, to their wives.

3. Aliyan is the name given to the father's sister's son, the mother's brother's son, and the wife's brother. A wife does not mention the name of her husband to others. A nephew does not talk with his uncle.

Funeral Ceremonies

The Nāyādis bury their dead about forty feet to the south of their habitations. The grave is dug breast deep by the members of the clan of the deceased. The nephew is the chief mourner. He wraps the corpse in a new cloth. It is then lowered into the grave

which is then filled with earth. Pollution lasts for sixteen days for the nephew, and ten days for the son and mother. On the tenth day a quarter measure of rice is cooked, and three balls of rice are placed on a leaf over the feet of the dead at the burial ground. The nephew claps his hands thrice; crows then fly to the spot and eat the balls. The chief mourner then returns home after bathing, when a feast is given to the relations.

Religion

The Nāyādis worship ancestor-spirits. In the case of unnatural deaths, a Kaniyan's service is requisitioned. He transfers the spirit of the deceased to an image of sandalwood, which is buried in front of a pāla (Alstonia scholaris) or arecanut tree. A small slab of stone is placed over it. A light is kept burning every evening. The spirit was formerly propitiated by offering a sacrifice of fowls at night with the following prayer:—"We can do only thus much. Please accept it and protect us." They have now given up the offering of fowls and instead place a vessel of water mixed with saffron and chunam, fried rice, plantain, and molasses before the spirit. After offering the above prayer the water is poured out. The Mūppan officiates as priest, and the offering is repeated annually.

Magic

When a man suffers from any illness, he seeks the services of a medicine-man, who makes out the cause of illness and invokes the aid of a spirit, Kandakarnan, as follows:—"Oh Kandakarnan of 1,000 faces, 2,000 hands, 3,000 eyes and three and a half crores of hair, with flaming torch in your left hand, may my

ailments like smallpox be cured and evil spirits destroyed". So saying, the medicine-man throws some holy ash over the sick person who is said to be cured of his illness. It is said that this method of curing disease and casting devils is borrowed from the higher castes.

Occupation

1. Hunting

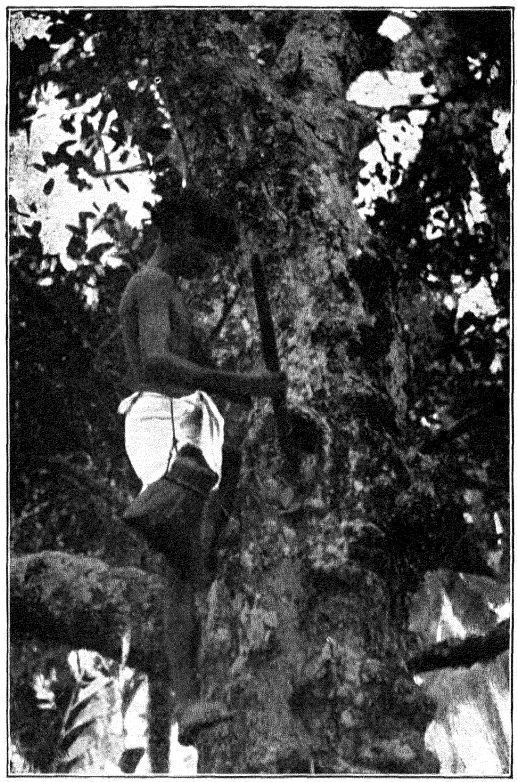
The Nāyādis are said to have been skilful hunters at one time, and excellent shots. They used to accompany the Nayars on their hunting expeditions as beaters. They used to catch toads, tortoise, deer, and other animals with the help of dogs and beat them to death. They do not now hunt animals in the forests in North Travancore, owing to strict forest protection.

2. Collection of Honey

The old men of the Nāyādi collect honey in March, April, and May in day time from the hollows of trees. A Nāyādi climbs the tree and makes a hole by means of a kothu-uli for the insertion of his hand. He takes out the comb regardless of stings and drops it into a vessel made of the spathe of the arecanut tree. A man collects about half a measure of honey daily. He gives half the collection to the owner of the tree and sells the remaining quantity for four annas, which hardly suffices for his livelihood. Now that big trees are becoming scarce, the Nāyādis are at their wit's end as to where to obtain honey. Those in North Travancore also collect honey in day time in the same manner. This occupation is likely to disappear for want of trees in the course of time.

3. Scooping out Timber for Boats

Young Nāyādis are engaged by Marakans (a fishing caste) for scooping out boats of mango for use at sea



A NAYADI OPENING THE HOLLOW OF A TREE FOR HONEY.

or on the backwaters. The Nāyādi is fed and given four annas as daily wages. They are also engaged for felling trees.

4. *Collection of Fuel*

While the collection of honey is the prerogative of man, the collection of fuel is made by women, young and old. A bundle of fuel fetches an anna. Women also collect medicinal herbs and sell them in the market.

5. *Rope-making*

In North Travancore the Nāyādis collect fibre from the bark of trees in the jungle. The inner fibre is dried in the sun and split into thin fibres which are spun into rope, which is used for drawing water from the well. The rope fetches about an anna. They also make rope-net bags (uri) which they sell for an anna.

6. *Agriculture*

A few Nāyādis are engaged in agriculture. They own five cents of land each in Karunāgapalli where they raise plantains, tapioca, and other produce. They are at times employed in ploughing, sowing, and reaping in North Travancore. The tie of the land is loose with the Nāyādis, unlike the Pulayas, who are agricultural labourers.

7. *Begging*

The Nāyādis of North Travancore live on what they receive as alms. It is the privilege of the Nāyādi to beg, and it is the duty of others to give. They have little of the material things of this world, neither land nor raw materials for industrial pursuits. The demand for their labour is very unsteady. In times of distress the women in Karunāgapalli beg for alms in Hindu

houses, unlike the Pulayas and Parayas, who are not allowed to approach them closely.

Diet

The Nāyādi food is kanji (rice gruel) which they take in the early morning. They go out for work after food, and return in the evening. They make their purchases with the money they get by the sale of the produce. They eat rice and fish at night. Babies are fed on rice from the sixth month. They eat the flesh of fowl, goat, and tortoise, but abstain from eating cow's flesh.

Dress

It is said that the Nāyādis "generally cover their nakedness by tying round the waist low strings of leaves and plants."* The men now wear a loin-cloth which reaches to the knee and put on an upper cloth at times. Women wear a loin-cloth reaching to the ankle, and put on a jacket in some cases. The lobes of the ears are dilated to contain wooden plugs which serve as thodas (ear-rings). Strings of beads and shells used to adorn their necks but they do not wear them now. Virgins do not wear any ornament.

Economic Life

In North Travancore, the Nāyādis are on the land of their masters in a few cases. The men earn a measure and a half of paddy, and the women get a measure and a quarter. When they work outside, men get three measures, and women one measure, as daily wages.

Fertility

The Nāyādis, though few, are increasing in number. The average size of the family is 5·0. The average

* Padmanabha Menon, K. P.—The History of Kerala. Vol. III. p. 530.

birth-rate is 3·7, and the average survival rate, 3·0. There are twelve male and twelve female children in eight families.

Appearance and Physical Features

The Nāyādis are dark in complexion and short in stature. The average stature for men is 152·56, and women 147·4 cms. The average chest girth is 75·5 cms. The average span of arms for men is 157·5 and women 150·0 cms. The average cephalic index is 77·9, and nasal index, 77·22. They are healthy in appearance.

Social Condition

In Kerala the superiority or inferiority of a lower caste depended on considerations of nearness and utility to the upper classes. Being the Chandālas of the plains, the Nāyādi could not approach the habitation and members of the higher castes in former times. They polluted the Brāhman by approaching him within a distance of 300 feet, and the latter had to bathe, remove the sacred thread, and take panchagavyam. They had to stand at a distance of twenty-two feet from the Parayas and Pulayas in North Travancore. If a Paraya were polluted, he let out blood from the small finger or from his gum and drank three mouthfuls of liquid cowdung. Only then pollution ceased. The Temple Entry Proclamation (1936) has performed a miracle. Unapproachability has vanished.

Reclamation of the Nāyādis

"The Nāyādis are a wandering outcaste abject race so impure that hardly a slave will touch them. Roving about in small companies or dragging about a miserable existence in wretched hovels, they live by

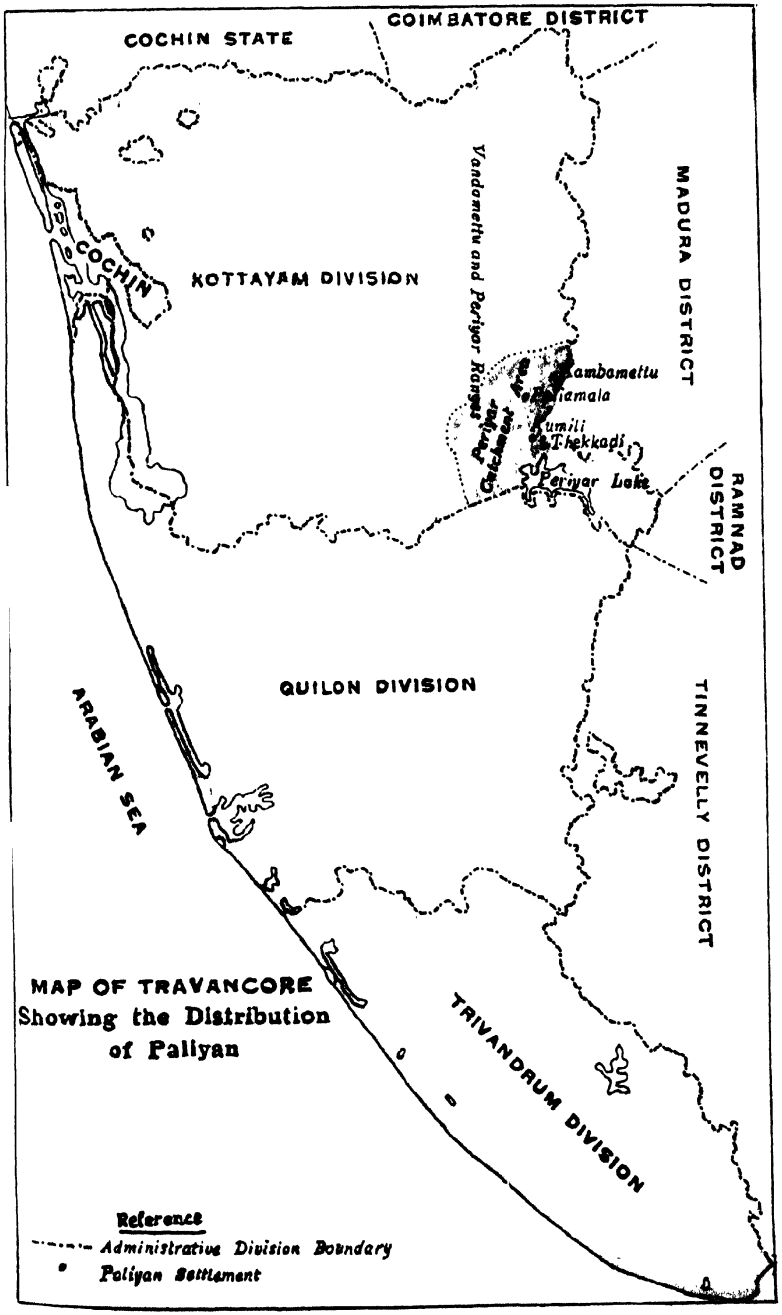
watching crops, and protecting them from wild animals. They refuse to do any manual labour, though they do not object to act as beaters for sportsmen."* "The tribe" says Buchanan, "will be useless to others and will exercise no influence in the country. They should be bodily removed to some place where they would be compelled to work for their subsistence."† Logan drew attention to the fact that some have escaped from this degraded position by conversion to Islam. In the scale of pollution, the Nāyādi holds the lowest place, and consequently labours under the greatest disadvantage, which is removed with his change of religion. According to him Muhammadanism has had "a marked effect in freeing the slave caste in Malabar from their former burthens."‡ A serious attempt was made by Conolly to establish a colony of Nāyādis and he gave them land to cultivate. "After a time, the Government handed over the experiment to a German Mission, who sent them to a resident school-master, and thus succeeded in converting and baptising three of them. The Moplas were determined on proselytising this set of people, and suddenly all but the three who had been baptised left the Mission, and were received into the Mopla community, where they speedily became converts to Islam."§

Reclamation of the Nāyādis in Modern Times

The Nāyādis have been a source of annoyance to the public by their forceful habit of howling for charity at the top of their voice. Their low economic condition

* Francis Day. The Land of the Perumals p. 333.
† Francis Day. The Land of the Perumals p. 333.
‡ Thurston—Ethnographic notes in Southern India p. 447.
§ Francis Day.—The Land of the Perumals p. 369.

and nomadic habits attracted the attention of the Cochin Government which introduced Conolly's plan for reclamation of the Nāyādis. To ameliorate the condition of the Nāyādis of Travancore, two colonies may be established on the model of the Nariculam colony established for the Sāmbavars of South Travancore. Suitable lands may be acquired and the Nāyādi prevailed upon to settle down there. Each Nāyādi may be given a small patch of inalienable land for raising food crops. Huts may be built to plan. Vocational education may be imparted. Manual training in weaving and matting may be given. The establishment of such colonies might usher in an ordered life to the Nāyādis and wean them from their lazy habits.


COCHIN STATE
COIMBATORE DISTRICT
MADURA DISTRICT
RAMNAD DISTRICT
TINNEVELLY DISTRICT
COCHIN
KOTTAYAM DIVISION
Vandamettu and Periyar Ranges
Kambamettu
Periyar Lake
QUILON DIVISION
ARABIAN SEA
TRIVANDRUM DIVISION
MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution
of Paliyan
Reference
Administrative Division Boundary
Paliyan Settlement

Tribal Name and Traditions of Origin

The Paliyans of Vandanmet state that they formerly lived in Nelliyāni, Paliyādi, and Tāmarakulam near Gudalur in Madura district, when a Pantāram told them that they would find it congenial to go and live on the Cardamom Hills in Travancore, which were uninhabited, and that they accordingly came and settled down in Vandanmet. Sinnamala, Periyamala, Sinnasundan, and Periasundan were their early forerunners on the hills. The Paliyans of Periyar came from Vandanmet.

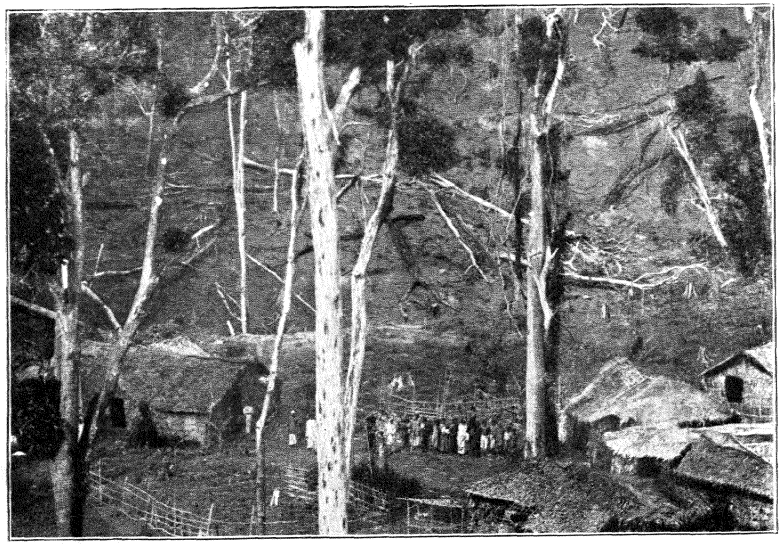
Another tradition current among them is that a Kallar of Madura had two wives. When some dissensions arose, his children by the second wife fled to the hills (Sankurandamalai) fearing molestation. Those who did not fall victims to the low-country marauders came to be known as the Paliyans. In memory of their connection, the Kallars of Madura refrain from doing any harm to the Paliyans. These two tribes interdine, but do not intermarry. A Kallar will not allow a Paliyan to depart without feeding him. The Paliyans pride themselves on their being called Kāttukallars (Kallars of the hills), as the Kallars are known as Nāttukallars (Kallars of the low-country).

When the Varayilkizhu Mannān formerly ruled over Sankurandamalai, he married a Paliyan woman. Of this union were born a large number of children. There are now twenty families belonging to this group. Some of them are at Puliamala. Out of these, fifteen families joined the London Mission at Anakara. The pure Paliyans do not marry women from among those of Mannan extraction, nor is interdining practised.

Marriage Customs

Marriage takes place after a girl attains puberty. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. The boy's parents moot the marriage question to the girl's father and settle the match. There is no dowry. Before marriage a man serves his uncle for six months. He helps him in jungle clearing, erecting the hut, and other kinds of work. As soon as the girl attains puberty, he goes back to his hut. Marriage is thus based on service, and is celebrated immediately after a girl attains puberty. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are considered auspicious days for marriage.

On the day of the marriage the bridegroom's parents and other relations go to the bride's hut to invite them for the ceremony. The tāli, clothes, pan-supari, and fruits are handed over to the girl's mother. The bride is attired in a new coloured cloth by the bride-groom's sister. All proceed to the bride-groom's hut in the evening. The bridegroom is presented with three cloths. The uncle ties one round the bridegroom's loins, another is thrown over his shoulders, while the third is tied round his head. At dusk the tāli is placed on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, and his sister ties it. The married couple then bow to the elders. Feasting follows. Dry reed torches provide the lighting. The couple remain in the bridegroom's hut for three days. On the third day the clothing of the couple is immersed in turmeric water. They bathe in the stream and return home. The couple remain with their parents until a child is born, when they set up a separate home. A number of girls of and above twenty years of age now remain unmarried for want of suitable adult husbands.



A PALIYAN HAMLET.

Polygamy

A man marries more than one woman, when the first wife is sterile. But polygamy is rare owing to the dissensions that would arise between the two wives.

Polyandry

Younger brothers are said to tacitly enjoy the wife of the elder brother.

Adultery

When a woman commits adultery, the villagers meet together in a sort of council. The husband tells them that he has divorced his wife. So saying, he leaves her and marries another. Morality is said to be very loose among them.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a shed a little away from their habitations. Pollution lasts for fifteen days and she should not look on the face of a man during this period. She can freely move about only at night. Some women keep her company. On the sixteenth day, she bathes and returns home with a pan of water on her head. In this she cooks rice which is served to all the women of the hamlet. She is free from pollution after they partake of the food.

Menstruation

During menstruation a woman is confined to a seclusion-shed for five days in Vandanmet and seven days in Periyar. During this period she can neither cook food nor go to the jungle, as her going to the jungle would imperil the crops. On the sixth day, she bathes in Vandanmet. It is only on the seventh day that she can touch the vessels of the house after bathing.

Child-birth

No ceremony is attached to pregnancy. When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate shed. Women keep company with her and assist in the birth. Pollution lasts for six days. On the seventh day she takes an oil bath and comes home. The baby's uncle provides a hammock of cloth for it on that day. All the village folk are feasted. Women cook the food for women, and men for men.

Naming Ceremony

The giving of a name to the baby is done on the seventh day. The name of the paternal grandfather is generally given. The name may also be that of any deity they worship. The males are called Nallavan, Chadayan, Thadagan, Karuppannan, Lingam, Nāgan, and others. The females are named Nāhamma, Mīnakshi, Karuppāyi, Vellachi, Pēchi, and others. If a child is born to a woman by a member of another community, it is called by the name of the father. Thus, Pachu Pillai, Rowther, Chettiar are names given to children after their father.

Taboo

A man cannot talk with or touch his mother-in-law. The aunt does not call the nephew by his name. A man can talk with his uncle. He cannot talk with his uncle's wife.

Inheritance

Inheritance is in the male line. If a man has no son, his property devolves on his brother's son. Failing this, it goes to his daughter. The son succeeds to the chieftainship. In the Periyar Range, the son and the nephew divide the property equally.

Kinship

Among the Paliyans the terms of relationship are classificatory. The terms of relationship and their vernacular equivalents are given below:—

I. Relations through Father

1.	Great grandfather	Pīppāttan
2.	Great grandmother	Pīppātti
3.	Grandfather	Pāttanar
4.	Grandmother	Pātti
5.	Father	Appa
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Periyappa
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Periyatha
9.	Father's elder brother's son	Anna, or Thambi, if younger
10.	Father's elder brother's daughter	Achi, or Thangachi, if younger
11.	Father's sister	Māmi
12.	Father's sister's husband	Māma
13.	Father's sister's son	Machinan
14.	Father's sister's daughter	Mathini

II. Relations through Mother

1.	Great grandfather	Pīppāttan
2.	Great grandmother	Pīppātti
3.	Grandfather	Pāttanar
4.	Grandmother	Pātti
5.	Mother's brother	Māman
6.	Mother's brother's wife	Māmi
7.	Mother's sister	Periyātha, or Chinnātha, if younger.

III. Relations through Wife

1.	Wife	No name
2.	Wife's father	Māma
3.	Wife's mother	Māmi
4.	Wife's brother	Machinan
5.	Wife's brother's wife	Akka, or Thangachi, if younger
6.	Wife's sister	Mathini
7.	Wife's sister's husband	Anna, or Thambi, if younger

IV. Relations through Husband

1.	Husband's father	Māman
2.	Husband's mother	Māmi
3.	Husband's brother	Anna, or Thambi, if younger
4.	Husband's sister	Mathini

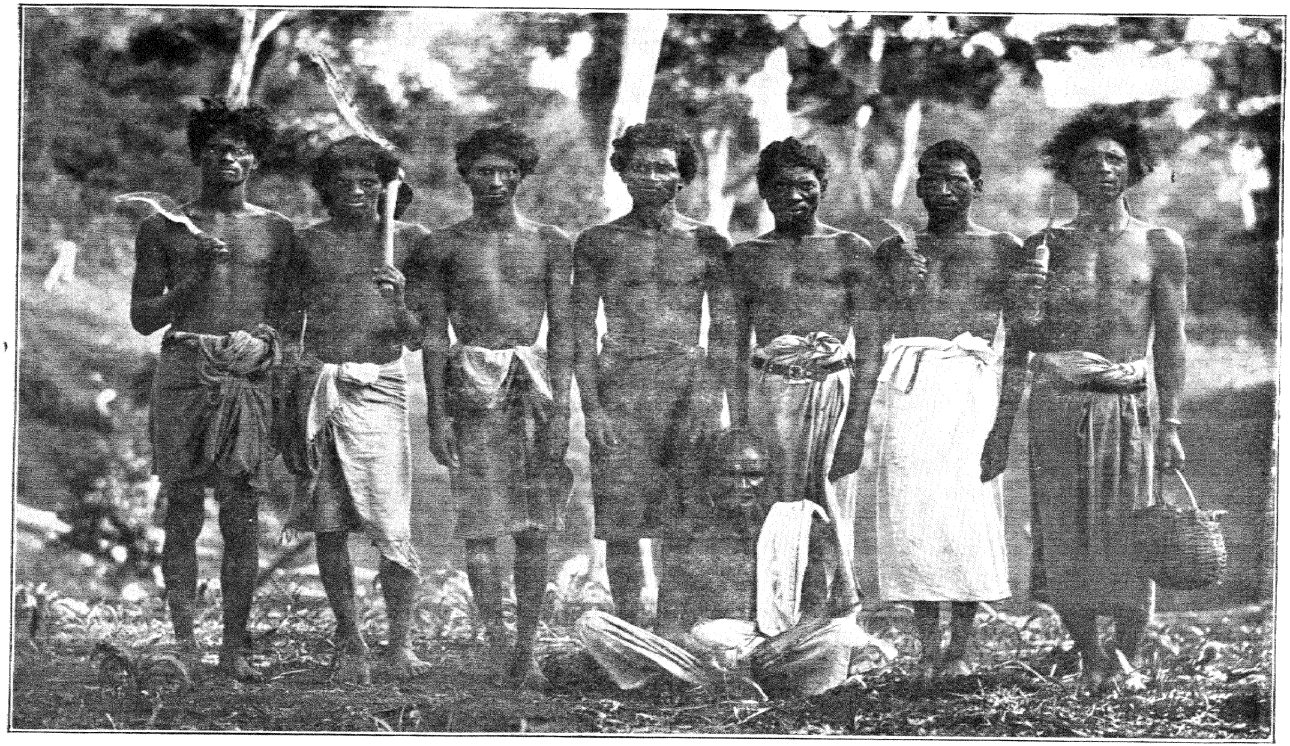
In the foregoing terms of relationship, we observe:—

1. The great grandfather and the great grandmother. Pīppāttan and Pippātti are the names given on both the paternal and maternal lines. Similarly Pāttanar and Pātti are the names given to grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

2. The father's sister's husband, mother's brother, husband's father and wife's father. Māman is the name given to all the above persons and māmi, for their wives.

3. Machinan is the name given to the father's sister's son and the wife's brother.

4. Mathini is the name given to the father's sister's daughter, the wife's sister, the husband's sister and the husband's brother's wife.



A PALIYAN MALE GROUP.

Social Organization

Each hamlet has a Kānikkāran or headman. He is assisted in his work by the Valia Elandari, Vīna Māriya, and Thandakaran. The Valia Elandari and Vīna Māriya see to the good behaviour of the boys and girls of the hamlet and help those in need by giving them free labour. They see to the erection of the hut for the Kānikkāran, and avail themselves of free labour for putting up their own huts and for work in the field. The Thandakaran collects men and gets through all the work.

When a man misbehaves, the council meets, and the Kānikkāran admonishes the man and orders that he should behave properly in future. If a man commits adultery, the offence is heard by the council. The culprit was formerly punished with being kept in a kind of stocks (Kuttamaram). This form of punishment has now been given up. A man is fined from one rupee to two rupees for disobedience of orders.

Religion

The Paliyans worship a deity of the rock which stands on an eminence. The worship is in the month of Medom (April-May) annually. Women are debarred from attending the ceremony, as they are considered to be impure, and their presence would imperil the crops. An offering of cocoanut, plantains, and pansupari is made. Ear-rings and neck-laces of beads are presented for the consort of the deity. Frankincense and camphor are burnt. The priest makes the offering and all the men stand in respectful attention. The following prayer is then made. "May no harm be done to ourselves, our families, and our crops by elephants and other wild animals."

Māriamma

Māriamma is the goddess of small-pox. She is propitiated in Medom (April—May) for the welfare of the families and to shield them from small-pox. An offering of cocoanut, fruits, and pansupari is made. Frankincense and camphor are burnt. All the male members of the hamlet remain in the jungle for a whole day before the ceremony so as to be free from any contact with women.

Funeral Ceremonies

When a man dies, all the relations assemble and loudly lament the loss. A bier is made and the corpse laid on it covered by a new cloth purchased by his brother-in-law. Others also cover it with a new cloth. About 100 yards from the hut, the bier is lowered to the ground and the corpse bathed. A mark is put on its forehead. It is again placed on the bier, covered with cloths, and carried to the grave-yard, which is about a mile from the hamlet. This is done to obviate the harm that evil spirits may do to the women-folk. The grave is dug loin-deep for males. It is deeper for females, as they are timid. A few grains of rice are thrown into the mouth of the corpse and a mat of reed is spread in the pit. The corpse is placed on it, and covered with a mat over which earth is thrown, and the grave is then filled up. A stone is planted at the head and foot. Pollution lasts for eight days. All the mourners bathe on the third day. On the eighth day all bathe, and an offering of rice is made to the spirit of the departed. "Oh ancestors, may the children, the family of the deceased, and all others be happy." The soul is said to go to Heaven. "The habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes originated in the selfish but



A PALIYAN FEMALE GROUP.

not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment.''*

Occupation

The Paliyans are migratory agriculturists. They shift their cultivation annually. They clear the jungle in January, and burn the debris in March. They then collect the brushwood and burn it. After the clearing is over, the headman allocates the area to each man, who puts up boundary marks to identify his area. They sow ragi broadcast, and hoe the soil with a small spade (mammatty) in May. Both men and women do so. Men have no sexual connection with their wives for four days during the period of sowing. There is a similar restriction during harvesting. Any breach of this taboo entails harm to the crop. Rain sets in from the end of May. The crop is harvested in September. A Paliyan on an average obtains from ten to twenty kalams of ragi. They also raise tapioca, cholam, bean, sweet potato, and melon. Both husband and wife work together at all times. Their ragi lasts for six to nine months. For the remaining months they supplement their requirements by manual labour in cardamom estates. All the men clear the land of the headman and harvest his crop free.

Agricultural Ceremonies

Before clearing the jungle in Makaram (January-February) the Paliyans make an offering of cocoanuts, fruits, and pansupari. Frankincense and camphor are burnt. A goat is sacrificed and its heart is cut into

* Frazer, J. G.—On Certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the soul—J. R. A. I-1885—p. 64.

slices and roasted. Offerings of the slices of the heart, cocoanut, fruits, pansupari, and pongal are made, and all pray, "Oh jungle deities, Padmanabhaswami and others, may there be happiness to our families, and may there be no diminution to our crops." After prayer, the pūjāri (priest) cuts the jungle first, and is then followed by others. They do the clearing for the headman first, and then for the priest. The ancestor-spirits are also worshipped on the occasion. Separate offerings are made to these.

When the crop is harvested in September, the ragi is dried, powdered and cooked. The offering is made to the sylvan deities with the following prayer, "May we enjoy good health for the future, and may we have no diminution to our crops."

Hunting

The Paliyans supplement their food-crops by going occasionally hunting in the early morning. When an animal is killed the skin is removed and the liver is taken out, cut up into slices, and pierced on to seven stakes. The slices are then roasted. Frankincense and camphor are burnt, and the following prayer is offered to the hunting deities:—"May we be blessed with game at all times. May our children receive your protection without any loss. May we be blessed with game hereafter, when we go anywhere." The slices are then partaken of by those who are present. The flesh is divided equally among all the men, who then return home. The flesh on the back of the animal is given to the man who shot it.

Habitations

The huts of the Paliyans are of the same pattern as those of the Mannāns. They are 20 ft. x 12 ft. in



A PALIYAN WOMAN PREPARING RAGI.

dimensions and are made of reeds. The roof is thatched with leaves of reeds. The walling is of the same material. The floor is on a level with the ground. The huts have only one entrance in front. They have always fire in one corner of the hearth. They have given up the chakmuk and have taken to use of safety matches. They sleep on a raised thatty on mats made of reeds. They use earthenware vessels.

Diet

The Paliyans are fond of the flesh of animals like the sambur, the black monkey, the wild boar, the jungle squirrel, the pigeon, the porcupine, the turtle, and others. They do not kill the bison, as it is believed to offend their gods. They also eat fish, crabs, and rats. Ragi is their staple diet. They powder it, and boil it in water until a jelly is formed. A long stick forms the ladle. The vessel is kept in position by a forked stick over the fire. They also eat rice which they get from the cardamom estates in return for their labour. They eat cholam and other vegetables. They drink arrack and toddy when they can afford them. Ganja is indispensable to them daily.

Daily Life

The Paliyans get up at daybreak. The women cleanse the vessels and prepare the morning food. The men take their food at 8, and go out for work in the jungle or for the collection of wild berries or roots. They return home in the evening. Women have the food ready and they take their supper at 8. They eat ragi both morning and night. When their resources are exhausted, the whole family moves for work on cardamom estates, where men earn six annas, women

five annas, and children three annas daily. They lead a life of plenty after the harvest. When the husband is engaged in jungle clearing, the wife works in the cardamom estates and earns wages for the upkeep of the family.

Education

The London Mission Society has established a school for the Paliyans at Anakara in Vandanmet. Fifteen families are said to have joined the Christian faith about ten years ago. There are however only five houses now at Anakara. The remaining families are said to have gone back to their old faith because they could not make a living at Anakara. Parents impart education to their children. The father shows the boys how to clear the jungle, burn the debris, and hoe the soil. Children obey their parents implicitly. The mother teaches the girls how to cook food and manage the household. The boys are taught how to use the pellet-bow.

Family

Women are treated with consideration, and they enjoy more freedom which brings them into contact with low-country men. This association is the cause of their moral degradation. There are two or three sterile women in each village. Syphilis and yaws exist among them. Women do not take part in religious observances owing to the impurity that is attached to them.

Fertility

The Paliyans are one of the few tribes who show an improvement in the average size of the family, average birth-rate, and average survival rate. The

average size of the family is 5·5. The average birth-rate is 4·6, and the average survival rate is 2·3. The improvement in the survival rate may be due to the salubrity of the climate in the high ranges. There are cases of sterility in each hamlet. In 8 families at Periyar, two unions were sterile.

Appearance and Physical Features

The Paliyans are brown-black in complexion. They rank next to the Kurumba Pulayas in stature. The average stature is 157·32 cms. The average stature of 7 females is 151·2 cms. They have long heads, the average cephalic index being 74·46. The forehead is receding and the brow ridges are prominent. They have short flat noses, the average nasal index being 83·68. The lips are thick and everted. The eyes are dark. The hair is black and wavy. It is curly in some. The average facial index is 84·9. The average circumference of chest is 74·9, and average span of arms is 167·3.

Conclusion

The Paliyans are good singers like the Mannāns. They are lazy and try to carry on with the minimum of labour.

PARAYA (SAMBAVAR)

INTRODUCTION— POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—AFFINITIES—SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE PARAYAS.

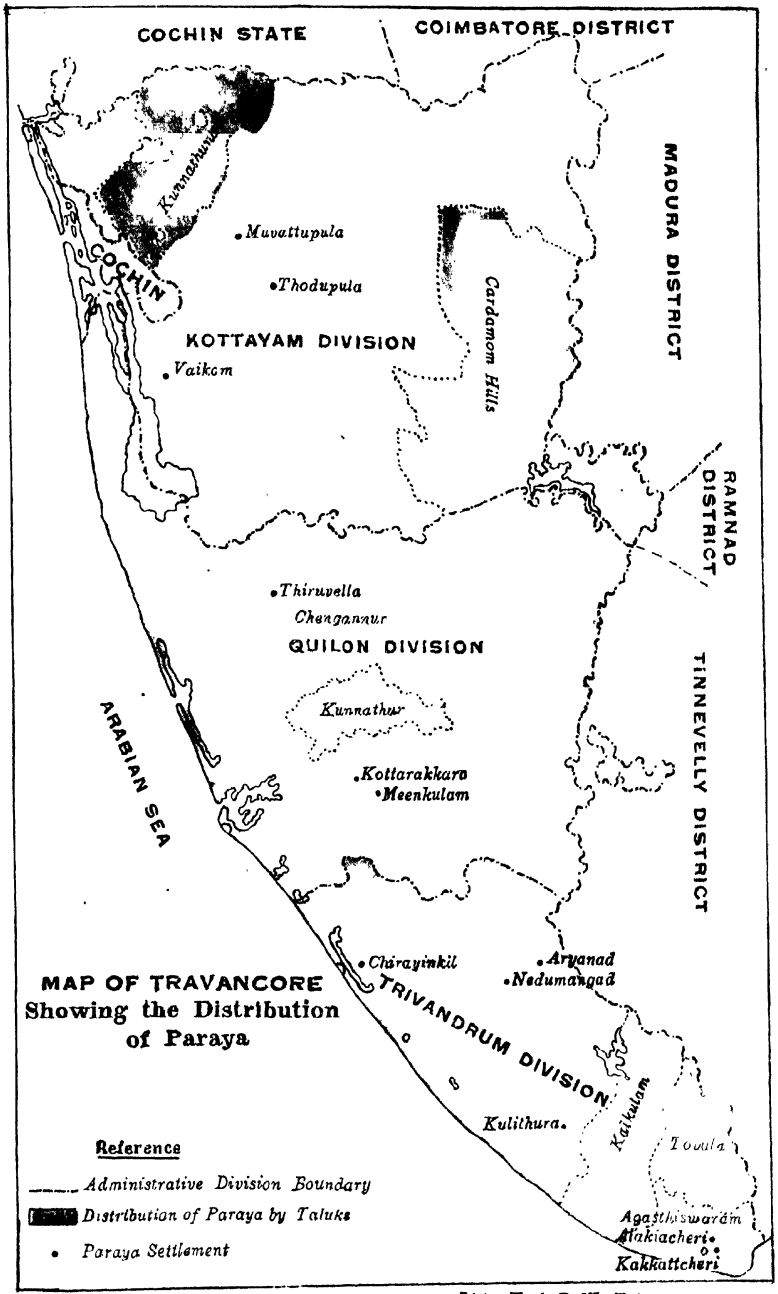
Introduction

The Parayas are found in the Thovala, Agastiswaram, Eraniel, Kunnathūr, and Kunnathunād taluqs, and on the Cardamom Hills of Travancore. They rank next to the Pulayas among the agrestic serfs and are known as Sāmbavar in South Travancore. According to Ward and Conner, "they form a considerable number of slaves and are divided into Perrom Pariyar north of Kodungallor and Monnay Pariyar south of that place. They are inferior to those of the other coast and reckoned so very vile that their contact will entail the most alarming contamination. Their taste for carrion has doubtless caused this prejudice which goes so far as to suppose that they exhale a foetid odour. The death of a cow or bullock is with the Parriyars a season for jubilee."*

Population

The Parayas were returned as 142,364 in the census of 1931, of whom 72,158 were males and 70,206 females. The figures for 1931 also show that 70,684 were Hindu and 71,680 were Christian. They are one of the major communities in South Travancore from whom converts

* Ward and Conner—Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States—1863, p. 162-163.



MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution of Paraya

Reference

——— *Administrative Division Boundary*

Distribution of Paraya by Taluks

• *Paraya Settlement*

Litho, T. A. P. W., Trivandrum

were largely drawn. The subjoined table will show their distribution in the Revenue Divisions of the State :-

Revenue Division	Total	Hindu		Total	Christian	
		Male	Female		Male	Female
Southern	17,498	8,682	8.816	39,886	19,729	20,157
Central	22.050	11,218	10,832	8,882	4,516	4,366
Northern	12,552	6,514	6,038	17,513	8,839	8,674
High Range	18.584	9.816	8,768	5,399	2,844	2 555

The Christian Parayas exceed the Hindu Parayas in the southern and northern divisions of the State. The largest number of conversions in the southern division is due to the exertions of the London Missionary Society, the Luthern Mission, the Salvation Army, the Brother Mission, and the Roman Catholic Church. The number of females to 1,000 males of the Hindu Parayas is 993, but the disparity is one less among the Christian Parayas among whom the number of females to 1,000 males is 994.

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

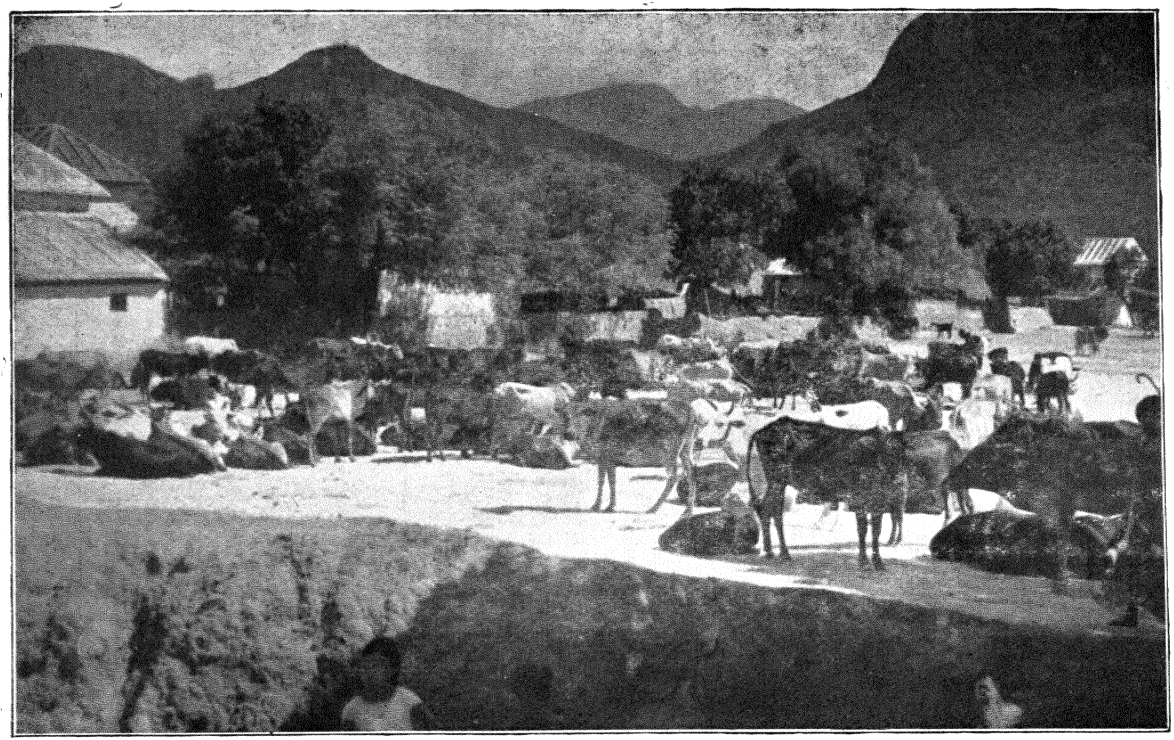
The word 'Paraya' is derived from the word 'para' a drum. The Parayas take delight in drum-beating, and are generally called on to act as drummers at marriages, funerals, and village festivals by the surrounding high-caste Hindus for whom they have been from a remote period the agricultural labourers. There have been among them also weavers, cobblers, and weavers of grass mats. Gustav Oppert says that the Pallans, the Pallis, and the Parayans were men of the hill-country though some deny this, for they appear in no way connected with the hills, nor do they possess

any trace of hill-deities in their worship.* Further, in old Tamil works, the word 'Pulayan' is used to denote those who are now called Parayas. Francis shows by an inscription that they were known as such in the eleventh century. The word 'Parayan' also means an outcaste from every caste. The Parayan calls himself the 'elder' Brāhman, claiming in this manner precedence over the Brāhman. The Brāhmans on the other hand ascribe the origin of the Parayan and other low-castes to the connection of Brāhman women with low-caste-men, or to the curses which sages like Viswamitra were so fond of uttering against anyone who was unfortunate enough to cross them in their desires. The legend of the curse of Viswamitra against Vasishta, his famous Puranic rival, is very interesting, as it describes the origin of some wild tribes like the Sabaras and the Pulindas of the Puranas. According to a Puranic legend, Vasishta was the son of Urvasi, and the husband of a Chandala woman of the Chakkili (shoe-maker) caste, who was reborn as a Chandali. She bore him 100 sons, 96 of whom disobeyed their father, and were on that account accursed to the Panchama (fifth caste), while the four others remained as Brāhmans."† "However despised a position the Paraya and the Holeya occupy in the place where they live, they have preserved, and still cherish as the Mhar and the Bhar do, the memory of former greatness, and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. Political revolutions, about which we know nothing, have most probably been the cause of their subversion by other kindred Dravidian tribes."‡ There

* Ananthakrishna Aiyar, L. K., The Cochin Tribes and Castes, p. 68.

† Ananthakrishna Aiyar, L. K, The Cochin Tribes and Castes Vol. I, pp. 68-69.

‡ Perry, W. J. The Children of the Sun, pp. 115-116.



A VIEW OF A SAMBAVAR HAMLET.

are instances to show that they were at one time in a flourishing state and that they possessed privileges which they could not have gained from the Brāhmans. They are allowed to take part in the pulling of cars of the idols along with the Brāhmans in the car festivals of Conjeevaram, Kumbakonam, and other places. Their touch is not supposed to defile the rope. Some among them have become famous as saints and poets. The great Saivite saint 'Nanda' is well known. The Temple Entry Proclamation of 1936 has lifted the bans against the Parayas in Travancore.

"It is said that the Pariahs are closely connected with the Paravas, the pearl-fishers of the Polynesian type of the south who also claim high rank in the past. The Parayas are unable to bring forward serious evidence in support of the contention but the existence among them of a complicated caste system with a division into right and left hand castes points to some social order that has long been superseded. The Parayas possess certain privileges which they could not have possibly gained for themselves from orthodox Hinduism. These seem to be survivals of a past in which the Parayas held a much higher position than they do now: or at any rate show that they are as ancient in the land as any Dravidian (Mudaliar, Pillais) whom the Parayas call Tamils, a name which he does not apply to himself."*

In Cochin and Travancore, the Parayas are found in rural parts, and may probably be the descendants of those of the Tamil districts who may have immigrated to the parts in very early times. In Vaikam they are believed to be the descendants of a high caste Hindu

* Perry, W. J. The Children of the Sun, p. 116.

who suffered social degradation for eating meat, while in Kunnathunād and Mūvāttupuzha, they are supposed to be the descendants of Pakkanar.

Affinities

The Parayas are dark in complexion, strong and muscular in build. Their average cephalic index is 78·4 among the Sāmbavars of the South, while it is 76·95 among the Parayas of the north. The average nasal index in the south is 84·83, while in the north it is 81·52. "Thurston has recorded that the average cephalic index of the Parayas is 76·5 and nasal index 80·0. Hornell has attempted to explain the brachycephalic character of the Paravar, Shanan, and Parayan of the Tinnevelly district as due to Polynesian immigration in South India bringing the outrigger canoe and cocoanut with it prior to or soon after the arrival of the Dravidians. Dr. Guha thinks that it is not necessary to postulate a Polynesian racial drift to explain the brachycephalic character of some of the Tamil castes. Brachycephaly is not confined to the coastal Tamils, but is dominant among all the higher castes, and runs north-westwards through the entire Canarese country into Maharashtra and Guzrat, and cannot be explained by supposing the presence of Polynesian blood only. Its presence among the Dravidian speaking peoples is apparently the result of the same racial movements which brought it in the western and eastern parts of Upper India.†

Sub-divisions

The Parayas are divided into the following endogamous sub-divisions‡

† Hutton, J. H., The Census of India, Vol. 1, Part III A. p. 38.

‡ Subramania Iyer, N., The Travancore Census Report, 1901, p. 378.

1. Champa Parayar
2. Pola Parayar
3. Pāndi Parayar
4. Jintalla Parayar
5. Tīnta Parayar
6. Vēl Parayar

It may be enough to recognize two broad sub-divisions, the Tamil-speaking Sāmbavar of the south and the Vēl Paraya or Paraya, to use a simplified name, to the north of Kuzhithura who speak Malayalam. An account will now be given of the customs and manners of the two sub-divisions.

I. SAMBAVAR

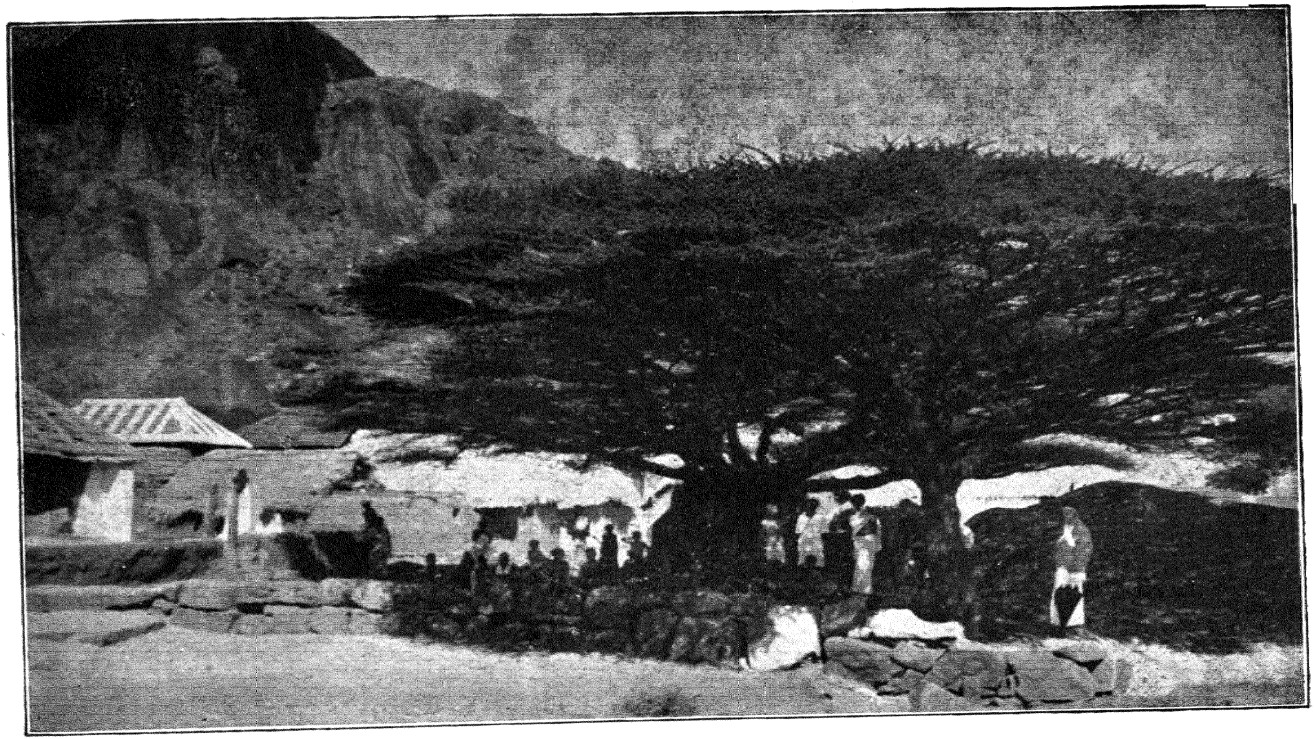
INTRODUCTION—HABITATION — DIET—DRESS—ORNAMENTS — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — WIDOW MARRIAGE — SORORATE — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — PREGNANCY RITES AND CHILD-BIRTH — INHERITANCE — FUNERAL CEREMONY — RELIGION — OCCUPATION.

Introduction

The Parayas of Thovala, Agastiswaram, and Kalkulam are known as Sāmbavar. They form the backbone of agriculture in Nānjanad, which owes its fertility to the waters of the Kōthayar and the Paraliar rivers. Here the monsoon is but slightly felt, and the region experiences a series of drizzling showers. The Sāmbavar talk Tamil.

Habitation

In Nānjanad the hamlets have the compact united form common in the eastern districts. The huts are huddled together in very compact areas, as Nānjanad has extensive paddy fields with hardly any raised ground for habitation. In Alagiacheri in Thovala, the way to the village is narrow and leads first to the temple with an open ground in front, where two shade-bearing trees (Acacia planifrons) stand with expansive crowns. On each side of the narrow path, a narrower path branches with huts on each side of it. The streets are parallel and each street has six to twelve huts which are low-roofed and thatched with palm leaves. The huts are ill-ventilated and have only a door in front. There are a hundred huts in the village, thirty of which belong to Christian Sāmbavar. Difference of religion does not keep father, son, and other relations apart. Missionary influence is least only



A NEAR VIEW OF A SAMBAVAR HAMLET.

in this hamlet in this taluq. Most of the other hamlets have a preponderance of Christian Sāmbavar for whom impressive churches have been built by the Salvation Army, the London Missionary Society, and other bodies by the side of Sāmbavar shrine. The Sāmbavar are wanting in sanitary consciousness. The streets are unclean. The Kakkāttu cheri contains over 300 huts compressed in an area of about three acres. The paths are narrow and filthy, and the houses are mostly low-roofed and one-roomed, and have no window. Paddy flats surround the hamlets and do not permit of any expansion to relieve congestion. The Government have been sympathetic to the opening of colonies like that at Narikulam in the Agastiswaram taluq to enable them to lead a cleaner life.

Diet

The Sāmbavar live on rice, ragi, cholam, payaru, gram, and other articles which they cultivate. They eat carrion and drink toddy. The high nutritive content of their food materials and the dry climate of their habitat account for their robust constitution.

Dress

The Sāmbavar are poorly clad, except the well-to-do. The men wear a loin-cloth and put on an upper cloth. Converts wear coat and shirt. The women wear a long coloured cloth and put on a jacket.

Ornaments

The men wear hardly any ornaments. The women have ear ornaments, brass bangles, and garland of beads and shells.

Marriage Customs

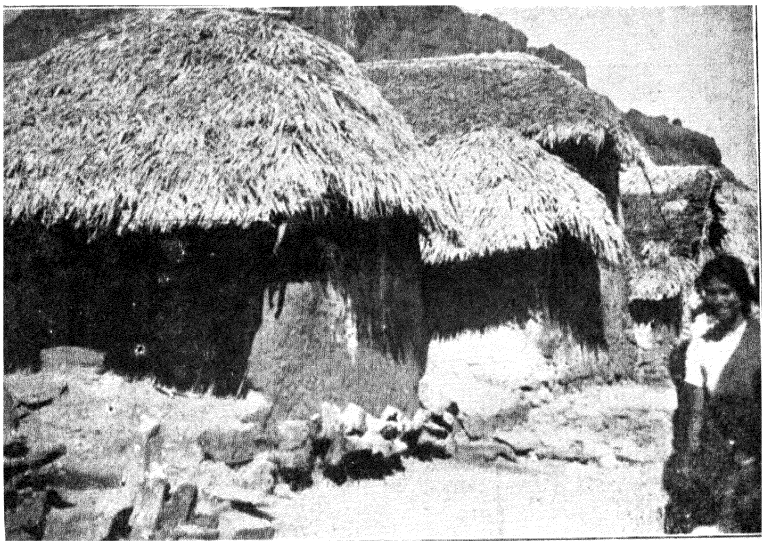
A Sāmbavar girl is married after she attains puberty, which is between the age of twelve and fifteen,

when she will be in a position to discharge her household duties. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. The boy's father moots the question of marriage to the girl's father, and they consult an astrologer as to the agreement of the stars. In case of agreement, the boy's father and the girl's father contribute a rupee each and go to a toddy shop, and seal the marriage pact over a bowl of toddy. They then proceed to the girl's hut where the boy's party are feasted. The terms of the marriage are settled. November and March are auspicious months for marriage.

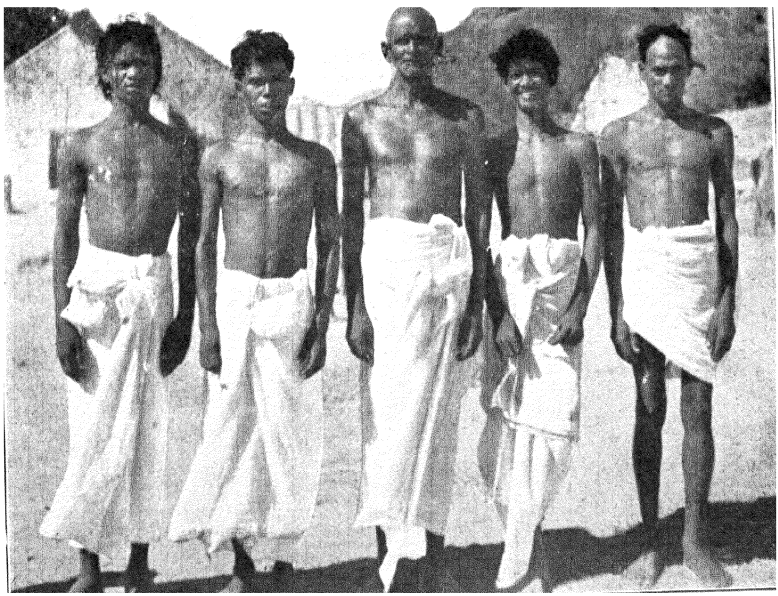
The marriage takes place in the girl's house. The bridegroom-elect and his party arrive at the village of the bride-elect a day before the marriage. The bride is presented with cloth and ornaments which would cost about 500 fanams (about 71 Rs.) on a modest scale. A man has to qualify himself for marriage by earning sufficient money to meet the expenditure. This prolongs the age of marriage for men. The bridegroom is presented with a pair of cloths and five rupees. At the auspicious moment, he places the tali round the bride's neck and his sister ties it. The gathering is treated to a feast, after which they play on the drum and the pipe for an hour or two. The married couple then go to the husband's hut in the evening with the bride's relations and are feasted at night. The married couple go to the bride's hut the next morning and remain there for two days. The cloths are meanwhile washed and the couple are sent back with a present of two rupees to the son-in-law.

Polygamy

A Sāmbavar may marry more than one woman in Thovala, but they are generally content with one. A man



SAMBAVAR HUT.



A SAMBAVAR MALE GROUP.

may marry a second time if the first wife is sterile. The wives may be kept in two houses to avoid quarrels. Polyandry is unknown.

Widow Marriage

Widow remarriage is freely allowed a year after the husband's death. If she has children, she remains in her deceased husband's family along with her children. A man may marry the widow of his deceased elder brother, and he takes care of her children.

Sororate

A man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. There is less ceremony on this occasion. Wives are the chattels of their husbands, and have no personal property. A man may divorce his wife at will.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept in a separate shed for twenty days in Thovala. She enters home after a bath on the twenty-first day, when women are feasted.

Pregnancy Rites and Child-birth

An offering of a quarter measure of rice, plantain, cocoanut, and milk is made to Muthalamma praying for the safe delivery of the pregnant woman. When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a temporary hut. Pollution lasts for 41 days in Thovala, but those in pollution are not debarred from attending to their agricultural work. During this period the mother cannot touch any vessels, and has to be fed by others. Her diet is rice gruel in the morning, and boiled rice in the evening. She is given arrack on the eleventh day. Pollution ceases on the fortysecond day after a bath. The husband defrays the expenses of

the delivery of his wife for fifteen days, and the parents meet them during the remaining period. It is said that, "after the confinement of a Paraya woman, the husband is starved for seven days, eating no cooked rice or other food, and lives only on roots and fruits and drinking only arrack and toddy."* This custom is prevalent among the Parayas of the north.

The naming ceremony falls on the twenty-eighth day. Arumugham, Sāmban, Mādaswāmi, Aravala, Esaki, Muthu, Sundaram, and Shanmugham are names given to males. Pēthi, Karuthāl, Pulamādi, Māriamma are some of the female names.

Inheritance

Inheritance is in the male line. In the absence of sons, property devolves on daughters. In their absence it devolves on the children of a man's brother or sister.

Funeral Ceremony

The dead are buried or cremated. The burial ground is about half a mile from the village. Burial is resorted to when there is scarcity of fuel. The dead body is smeared with oil and turmeric, washed, and dried by the son and nephew. It is then carried to the burial ground. In the case of an old man, a pit is dug four and a half feet deep and the corpse is allowed to rest in a sitting posture. A few grains or rice are thrown and water poured into the mouth of the corpse before it is lowered into the grave. The son goes round the grave with a pot of water on his head and breaks it. The corpse is lowered into the grave with betel box and other belongings and covered with earth. Pollution lasts for fortyone days. The ornaments of the wife of the deceased are removed on the burial day

* Mateer, Native Life in Travancore, p. 550.



A SAMBAVAR FEMALE GROUP.

by a widow. During the period of pollution relations bring eatables like bread and cocoanut, and place them where the man died. The women weep over the loss of the dead and partake of the eatables. On the forty-first day the son gives a white cloth to his mother. All are treated to a feast. The brother of the widow consoles her by the removal of the veil which has been put over her head, and gives her two annas. In the case of cremation the funeral pyre is lit by the son and the ceremonial is the same as described above.

Religion

In almost every Sāmbavar village in South Travancore may be seen a shrine which is nothing more than a small building with a few rough stones in the centre. When a calamity befalls a village, when pestilence, famine, or cattle disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of Hindu villagers turn for help. It is worshipped for the happiness and prosperity of the villagers. The main function of the village deity is the guardianship of the village, but many of them have other powers in relation to disease and calamity. They symbolise the facts of village life, such as cholera, small-pox, and cattle disease. They are with few exceptions female. At Alagiacheri in Thovala the temple is at the entrance to the hamlet. On the north-eastern side of the enclosure to the temple is Mādan. The image consists of a small pyramidal erection or obelisk, two to four feet in height, built of brick and stuccoed. The *Sanctum sanctorum* contains an image of Uchmakāli and Bhadrakāli. At the northern end of the hamlet is Thīyottukaran (a small stone pillar) who helps in the removal of harm done by spirits. Māriamma is placed at the north-eastern end of the hamlet in an enclosed space.

The leading feature is the worship of the female principle in nature. All over South India the village deities are mostly female, but some of them have male attendants who are supposed to guard the shrine and carry out the commands of their goddesses. They were formerly worshipped with animal sacrifice. The chief minstrants are drawn from the villagers.

On Tuesdays offerings are made to male and female deities. They consist of cocoanut, plantain, cooked rice, and pansupari. If the offering is made at night, a fowl is also sacrificed. The priest then chants the following prayer:—"May our country be prosperous. May the royal family flourish. May there be a bumper harvest all over the country. May there be a sufficient rainfall. May we be protected from all hardships."

Worship of Mādan

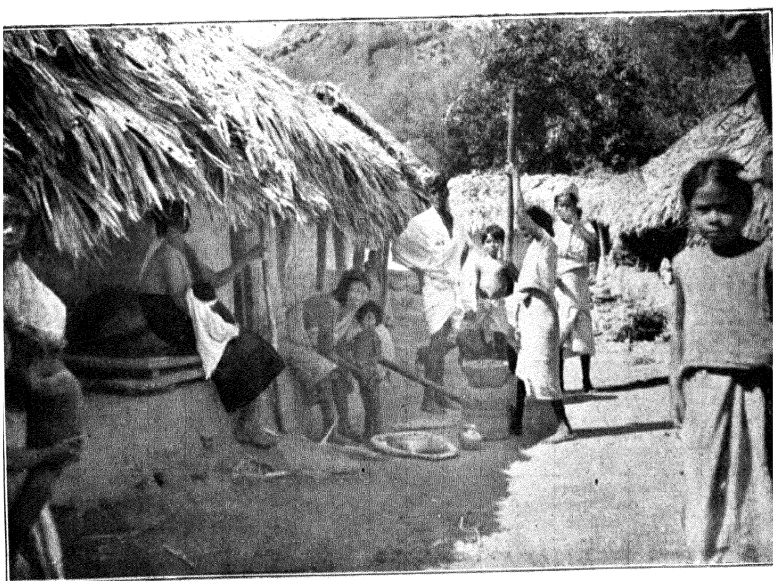
In Medom, offerings of cocoanut, plantain, molasses, gingily cake, fowl, goat and arrack are made to Mādan at midnight on a Friday in the presence of all the village folk. The deity is installed alone away from all other deities, and is given an offering of goat and fowl. The following prayer is then offered. . "Oh God, take care of us. May we enjoy a good harvest. May no sickness visit us."

Māriamma

Māriamma is superior to the Sapta Kanyagas in her power, but worse in temper. She is vindictive but inexorable, and difficult to propitiate. Her special function is the prevention of evil coming from outside the village of which she is the guardian. No animal sacrifice is offered at the shrine of this goddess. Offerings of boiled rice and plantain are daily made to her for the prosperity of the village.



MADAN.



SAMBAVAR WOMEN HULLING PADDY.

Ancestor-Worship

Besides the above deities, there are a large number of spirits of diverse kinds whom the villagers worship. The worship of ancestor-spirits plays an important part on New Moon day every month. Offerings of cocoanut, plantain, rice, molasses, and incense, and camphor are made by a Pantāram who officiates as priest. He says, "You have run your life without trouble. We are in difficulties. Be gracious to us, as other deities are." The offerings are then thrown into water. The worshippers bathe and return home.

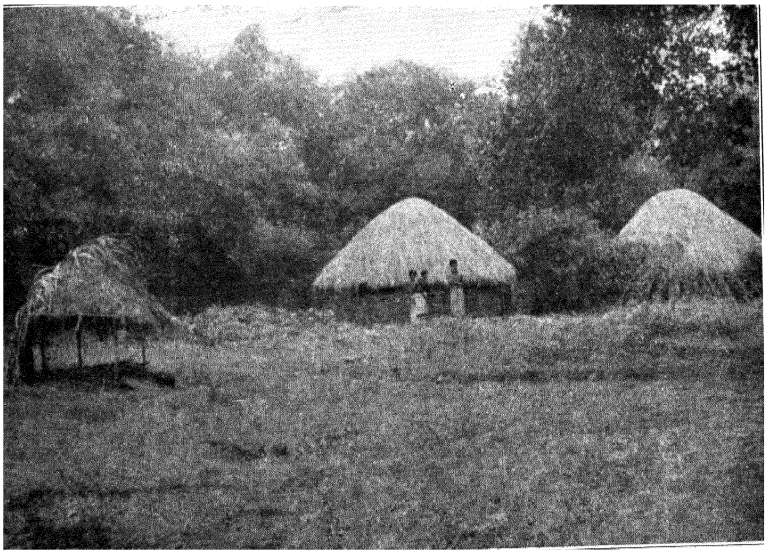
There is no ecclesiastical calendar regulating the form of worship of village deities or festivals. Where there is a shrine in a hamlet, offerings of rice, fruits, and flowers are made daily by villagers who have made vows. In many places offerings are more usual after harvest when people are at leisure and well off. Sacrifices are made whenever there is an epidemic. The Sāmbavars are now losing faith in their deities owing to missionary influence. Churches are established in each hamlet by the London Missionary Society, the Salvation Army, and the Brother Mission, and the influence of Christianity percolates into Hindu homes.

Occupation

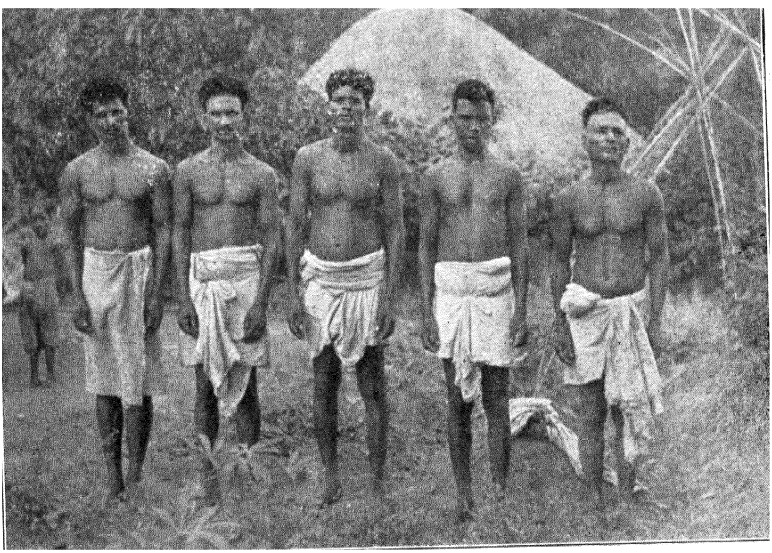
The Sāmbavar form the backbone of agriculture in Nānjanad, and their services are hired by the landed class. According to Ward and Conner, the wages were so trifling that even the poorest ranks found it more advantageous to labour in their own account for a portion of the year. They were given one tenth of the gross produce of the extent of land cultivated as hire.*

* Ward and Conner, The Memoirs of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States, p. 62.

They cultivate paddy fields, clean ponds, and till the ground, but will not use buffaloes to assist in this purpose as they are defiled if they touch them. They have no objection to the use of bullocks. In Thovala they raise crops of cholam (Andropogon Sorghum), thuvarai (Cajanus indicus), kadalai (Cicer arietinum), paruthi (Gossypium herbaceum), samai (Panicum miliare), payaru (Phaseolus Mungo), ragi and other grains on land on pattom. All cultivation expenses are incurred by them, and they give one fourth of the produce to the owner of the land after harvest. In the case of paddy, half the produce is given to the owner. When they go out for work, the men earn six chuckrams and the women four chuckrams a day. They make no baskets of reed, as do the Parayas of the north.



A VIEW OF PARAYA HABITATIONS.



A PARAYA MALE GROUP.

II. PARAYA (VEM PARAYA)

INTRODUCTION — ENDOGAMOUS SUB-DIVISIONS — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — POLYANDRY — LEVIRATE— SORORATE—ADULTERY—PUBERTY CUSTOMS— MENSTRUATION — CHILD-BIRTH — INHERITANCE — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—KINSHIP—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—RELIGION —AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES — HABITATIONS — DIET— DRESS — ORNAMENTS — OCCUPATION.

Introduction

The Vēm Parayas are found north of Kuzhithura, principally in the taluqs of Kunnathūr, Tiruvalla, Kunnathunād, and on the Cardamom Hills of Travancore. They were also known as Champa Parayar as they formerly ate cow's flesh. They now abhor eating it, and wish to be known as 'Vēm' or 'Vēl' Paraya. The name is derived from 'Vey' (Reed) with which they make baskets, mats, sieves, and other articles. This is still their main vocation, though they also go out for agricultural work, but only if bulls are available for ploughing. Buffalo is taboo to them, for if they touch it they have to bathe, drink two mouthfuls of liquid cowdung, and starve for the day. The Pulaya being free from this taboo, the Vēm Paraya would say that the Pulaya and the buffalo are identical. The Vēm Parayas talk Malayalam. I propose to use the term Paraya in what follows.

Endogamous Sub-divisions

The Parayas are divided into three endogamous septs:—

1. The Minniketti Paraya

2. The Mōthiramketti Paraya
3. The Tāliketti Paraya

The Minniketti Parayas are those who use as a marriage badge a minne of gold, the size of a paddy grain, given by their masters. They consider themselves superior to the other two septs, and neither interdine nor intermarry with them. The latter had also to stand at a distance of twenty feet from the Minnikettis. Should the Paraya be polluted by one of the other two septs, the Perum Parayan (headman) and the elders meet and fine the culprit ten chuckrams. The polluted man bathes and drinks liquid cowdung mixed with milk; pollution then ceases. This custom has almost vanished.

The Mōthiramketti Parayas are those who use a ring of brass as a marriage badge. They consider themselves superior to the Tāliketti Parayas, with whom they neither interdine nor intermarry. The former used to keep the latter at a distance of twenty feet.

Internal Structure of the Sept

The Minniketti Parayas of Pathanapuram are divided into the following clans:—

1. Kānjiram illom
2. Thachan illom
3. Pūnjeri illom
4. Pey illom
5. Velli illom
6. Thazhakara illom
7. Konchi illom
8. Kōvani illom
9. Mylai illom
10. Vayyōtan illom
11. Cherunātan illom
12. Nedungād illom.

The Perum Parayan of the Pūnjeri clan is said to be responsible for the clan division. The Thachan and Pūnjeri clans are superior to all the other clans. Regarding the origin of the clan names, it is said that the Pūnjeri illakars are descendants of ancestors who came from Poonjar, the Thazhakara illakars, of those who came from Thagazhi in Mavelikara; and the Vayyōtan illakars, of a female baby picked up on the way. The Cherunātan illakars are said to be descendants of those who came from Cherunad near Chenganur; and the Nedumgād and Mylai illakars, of those who came from Nedumangad and Mylai respectively. Thus most of the clan names are derived from names of places. Again, Thachan and Pūnjeri illakars can marry only a woman of Pey illom, Kānjiram illom, Cherunātan and Vayyōtan illoms.

In Kunnathunād, the Parayas have an elaborate system of clans. Thachan, Thavania, Kānjiram, Kannaya, Mottai, Erāla, Thevati, Vēvāli, Vēmba, and Edanātan kuttoms are found among them. The Thachan and Thavania kūttoms are brother clans. Similarly, Kānjiram and Kannaya kūttoms, Erāla and Thevati, and Vēvāli and Vēmbu kūttoms are brother clans. A man of the Thachan kūttom may marry a woman of any clan other than Thavania kūttom. The Perum Parayan may be of any clan. Capacity and tact in managing the clansmen alone count.

The clans are exogamous and derive their descent exclusively through the females. Since the bride is taken to live with her husband wherever his residence may be, the clans are spread all over the area. Their civilization is based on the clan. The idea of the family appears to be a new-comer to the field, and to be struggling with the clan for influence. Its entrance into

the social life of the tribe as a patrilineal institution must be accounted for by the rule that on marriage a wife goes to her husband's dwelling and makes her abode there. He does not go to that of her kindred. Again, the woman is generally married by purchase, as among the Pulayas, the Malankuravans, the Malavētans and others. The payment of a bride-price transfers to the husband the exclusive possession of the wife, and the right of the children that may be born of the union. But the transfer of the children involves more than their possession and control. It involves the reckoning of descent from the husband and his forefathers instead of from his wife and her foremothers. The Parayas have not abandoned the old reckoning. All their clans count their descent through the mother. A woman retains her clan after marriage, and children take after the clan of the mother. As Hartland puts it, a clan is 'a natural mutual aid society.'* All the members of a clan contribute the funeral expenses of a clansman. Members of the same clan observe death pollution for sixteen days. "The clan is still the pillar of their social structure." The father as the head of the new institution of the family is recognized as the ruler of the household. Though the children are his, and remain with him, they do not belong to his clan; and his control over them, even while the mother is part of the household, is overridden by the claims of her clan exercised through her brothers. When a boy is to be married, the uncle plays an important part in the settlement of the match and the amount of the bride-price to be received or given. The nephew also succeeded to his uncle's property. The family was

* The Frazer Lectures, 1922 to 1932, The Evolution of Kinship.—An African Study by Sidney Hartland, p. 10.

continued only through the mother. All rank and property descended through her. In short, "birth sanctified the child".* Matrimonial descent is now fighting a losing battle. The Parayas are becoming patrilineal. The recognition of paternity reacts on the whole conception of kinship, and consanguinity begins to be substituted for social kinship as the basis of society.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Among the Parayas of the Chirayinkil and Kottarakara taluqs, a girl is married both before and after puberty. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. His uncle and father moot the marriage question to the girl's uncle and father. If agreement is reached, the marriage date is fixed. The bride-price ranges from three to seven rupees. On the marriage date the bridegroom and his party go to the bride's hut, and his uncle pays the bride-price to the girl's uncle. The bridegroom presents her with a pair of cloths and a jacket. All the gathering are treated to a feast. The bride's mother ties four chuckrams to her cloth. The bridegroom then goes with his wife to his hut where her relations are feasted. The bride's parents visit them on the seventh day with sweets, and the married couple visit them for a couple of days.

Marriage ceremonies are more elaborate among the Parayas of Kunnathunād. They observe the kettu kalyanam for girls below ten years of age. The molayan (bridegroom-elect), his uncle, parents and relations go to the girl's hut, and the girl is presented with a pair of cloths. The molayan ties the tali, facing east. All

* The Frazer Lectures, 1922 to 1932, The Evolution of Kinship:—An African Study by Sidney Hartland, p. 15.

are treated to a feast and given pansupari. If the molayan does not want the girl, he is sent with a rupee. If he wants her after she attains her age, he pays ten chuckrams (about six annas) to the girl's uncle who will see her parents in order to settle the day of marriage. On the day of the marriage the molayan goes to the bride's hut with his uncle, parents and relations. The bridegroom's uncle pays the bride's uncle ten chuckrams, twenty-one chuckrams to her parents, four chuckrams to his brother-in-law, and six chuckrams to the Perum Parayan. The bridegroom presents the bride with a pair of cloths and all the gathering are feasted. The bride's uncle and Perum Parayan address the molayan's Perum Parayan as follows:—"Do not deprive the molachi of her hair and breasts. Do not leave on her any permanent mark by thrashing her. If she goes astray or if she is wanting in attention to her work, inform us immediately. Refrain from any action which will disfigure her ears or neck. You may make her submissive to you by thrashing her below the loins and above the knee. If the molayan is found guilty of any wrongful act, the bride-price will not be returned to you. If the molachi is found guilty of any wrongful act, the bride-price shall be returned to you, provided you conform to the rules current among us." The molayan's Perum Parayan then says, "You should see that the molachi is submissive to the parents of her husband. We will inform you if she is otherwise." Then the molachi's uncle and Perum Parayan say, "Do not spoil the molachi. If you do, you will lose her and the money." After these exchanges the molayan goes to his hut with his wife, where her relations are feasted the next morning.

The marriage ceremonies take a tortuous course among the Parayas of Pathanapuram. The boy's uncle,

father, and Perum Parayan go to the girl's hut to settle the marriage. They give eight annas and pansupari to the girl's uncle. When the marriage is settled, all go to the toddy shop and seal the marriage pact over a bowl of toddy followed by a feast. A few days hence the girl's uncle, father, and Perum Parayan visit the boy's parents and make merry with toddy. The girl's uncle and others agree to the bride-price of ten rasis (one rasi is six annas) and two rasis for toddy. They are then feasted. On the day of marriage the bridegroom and party go to the bride's hut, when the bride-price is handed over to the Perum Parayan. The presentation of a pair of cloths forms the essential part of the ceremony. Feasting follows. The bridegroom then takes his wife to his hut where her relations are feasted. On the seventh day the married couple are invited to the wife's hut where they are feasted. Omission to inviting on that day would prevent the couple from visiting the wife's parents.

Polygamy

A Paraya may marry more than one woman if his first wife is sterile; the wives remain in different huts to avoid discord. They work, earn their wages, and the husband idles away his time. There are men with three wives now.

Polyandry

Fraternal polyandry prevails among the Parayas of Chirayinkil. Owing to their low economic condition, brothers cannot afford to marry separately. The children are treated as common.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder brother, but the elder brother cannot marry the widow

of his deceased younger brother. There is no presentation of cloth in the ceremony.

Sororate

A Parayan cannot marry the sister of his wife in her lifetime. He may do so after her death, but there is no ceremony.

Adultery

In the event of a case of adultery within the clan, the elders meet. The Perum Parayan fines the culprits four chuckrams each. The offence is condoned with the warning not to repeat it. The Perum Parayan purchases toddy for the amount and prays, "Oh Ancestor Spirits, who revelled in toddy, may there be no repetition of the offence. May the culprits lead a cleaner life." He then drinks the toddy. When a man commits adultery with a woman of a different clan, the offence is not treated so seriously. They are warned and directed to marry, if agreeable to do so.

Puberty Customs

When a girl in North Travancore attains puberty, she is lodged in a seclusion-shed. Pollution lasts for twelve days. During this period she remains indoors. If men see her, she is said to become bloodless and emaciated in appearance. If she sees a man, he is said to get black spots in his face. There is no restriction in diet. She bathes on the thirteenth day and breaks a cocoanut. Pollution ceases and she returns home. A few women are feasted. In Pathanapuram pollution lasts for seven days. On the eighth day holy water got from a temple is mixed with toddy and liquid cowdung. On her return from her bath, the girl is sprinkled with the water and pollution ceases. The

Perum Parayan, the uncle and father of the girl, and others make themselves merry by drinking toddy provided by the girl's uncle and father. A feast follows.

Menstruation

When a woman attains menses, she remains in a seclusion-shed for three days. She enters home on the fourth day after a bath, but can enter the kitchen only the next day. It is only after the eighth day after a bath that a man cohabits with his wife.

Pregnancy Rites

In the Kottarakara and Chirayinkil taluqs, a vayathu pongal is celebrated in the seventh month of pregnancy. The rice hulled out of 5¼ measures of paddy is cooked in a new pot, and offered along with tender cocoanut and plantain. A lighted lamp is placed in front of the offering on a leaf. The Perum Parayan prays, "Oh God, may no calamity befall our hamlet." In North Travancore tamarind juice is administered by the mother to the pregnant woman. The exorcisor then drives out the devil, if any. An offering of rice, fried rice, paddy, cocoanut, fowl, and toddy is made on a leaf at dusk. A ball is made of powdered paddy. The exorcisor then prays in torch light, "Oh Spirit, who has taken its abode in this person, accept the offering made to you and leave the body."

In Pathanapuram there is a Kāppukettu ceremony (tying of thread with a ring in it) in the fifth month. The Perum Parayan ties it round the wrist of the pregnant woman and prays as follows:—"Oh Gods who preside in all directions, Oh Mountain Deities, be witness to my prayer. Guard over this woman on whom I tie this thread round the wrist." This ceremony is done

in the parent's hut. The Perum Parayan, the uncle, father, and others make themselves merry with toddy. A feast follows. In the seventh month the husband gives tamarind juice to his wife in the presence of the Perum Parayan, who then removes the kappu from the wrist for which he is given four chuckrams. All are treated to a feast, and the pregnant woman is taken by her father to his home.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to a seclusion-shed in North Travancore. Pollution lasts for sixteen days after which she bathes. During the period of pollution the husband lives on toddy and beaten rice. Naming is done on the seventeenth day. Unlike the Sāmbavar of South Travancore, names are chosen from the maternal line. But a change is now coming over this custom by the choice of names from the paternal line.

Inheritance

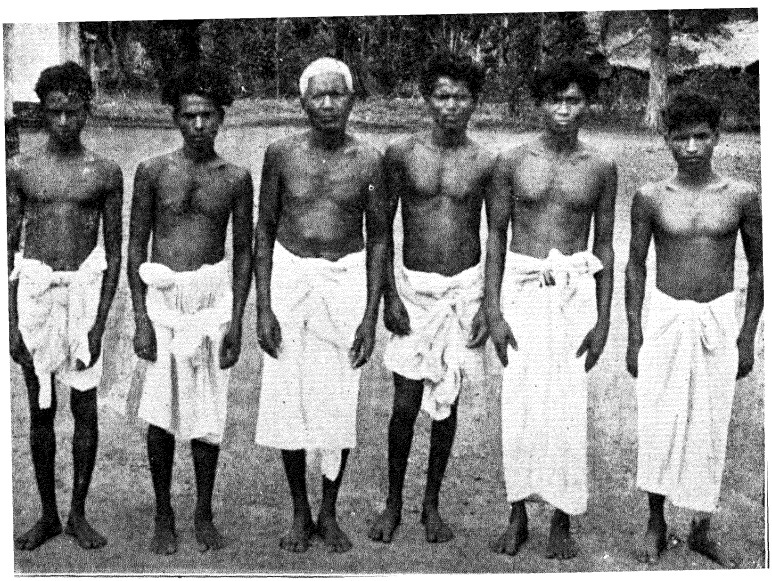
Inheritance was in the female line. It is now becoming patrilineal owing to surrounding influences.

Social Organization

The Parayas have a headman called Perum Parayan. He is the master of the ceremonies in times of adversity. He enquires into all caste disputes; and settles them. He has an assistant named Mūnnāman to help him in his work.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Parayas is of the type called classificatory. The terms of relationship and their vernacular equivalents are given below:—



A PARAYA MALE GROUP IN KOTTARAKARA TALUK.

I. Relations through Father

1.	Great grandfather	Valia Appūppan
2.	Great grandmother	Valia Ammūmma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Father	Appan
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Pērappan
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Pēramma
9.	Father's younger brother	Chittappan
10.	Father's younger brother's wife	Chittamma
11.	Father's sister	Ammāvi
12.	Father's sister's husband	Ammāchan
13.	Father's sister's son	Machambi
14.	Father's sister's daughter	Chēttathi or Anujathi.

II. Relations through Mother

1.	Grandfather	Appūppan
2.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
3.	Mother's brother	Ammāchan
4.	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
5.	Mother's brother's son	Machambi
6.	Mother's brother's daughter	Chēttathi or Anujathi.

III. Relations through Husband

1.	Husband's father	Ammāchan
2.	Husband's mother	Ammāvi

3.	Husband's sister	Nāthūne
4.	Husband's brother	Chēttan or Anujan, if younger.

IV. Relations through Wife

1.	Wife's father	Ammāchan
2.	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
3.	Wife's brother	Machambi
4.	Wife's brother's wife	Akkachi.

In the foregoing list, the following points may be observed:—

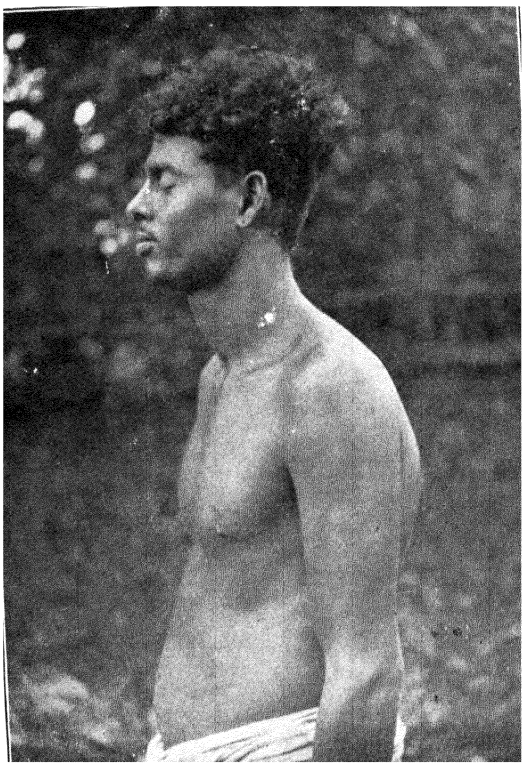
1. The father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother, and mother's mother:—Appūppan and ammūmma are the names given to the grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Among the Sāmbavar, Pōthi and ātha are corresponding names for the grandfather and grandmother on both lines.

2. Father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the husband's father, and wife's father:—Ammāchan is the name given to all the above persons and ammāvi, to their wives. The corresponding names among the Sāmbavar are māman and athai.

3. Machambi is the name given to father's sister's son, wife's brother, and mother's brother's son.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried. The grave is dug five feet deep. The corpse is washed, dried, smeared with ashes, and covered with a new cloth. A few grains of rice and cocoanut are thrown into the mouth and the Perum Parayan prays, "Oh God, lead on to heaven the spirit of the dead." Pollution lasts for sixteen days, and is observed by both son and nephew. On the seventeenth



PERUMPARAYAN.

day pollution ceases after a bath, and those present are treated to a feast. In former times the nephew alone observed pollution. The wife and children did not. This has now changed. The son now performs the ceremony and the nephew joins in it.

Religion

The Parayas worship Mūrthi, Chāthan, and ancestor-spirits on the 28th of Makaram, New Moon day in Karkatakam, and on Onam day in Chingam. An offering of fried rice, beaten rice, plantain, sugar, toddy, and arrack is made with the following prayer:—'Oh God, who controls human destiny, be favourable to us by accepting this offering on behalf of other deities.'' In Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, no vestiges of their ancient greatness are seen as seen among their brothren of the Tamil districts.

Agricultural Ceremonies

During Kanni and Medom the Perum Parayan makes an offering of beaten rice, plantain, tender cocoa-nut, and toddy to the ancestor-spirits, and prays, "O Ancestors, accept these offerings." At the time of harvest a similar offering is made to propitiate the ancestor-spirits. In March they propitiate Bhagavathi with a kathirkala (wooden bull) covered with ears of corn to ward off the evil influence of deities like Māri-amma. It is placed before the deity, and prayers are offered to be saved from misfortune.

Habitations

The huts of the Parayas are beyond ordinary village limits. Unlike the Sāmbavar huts, they are not huddled together. Each hut has a small patch of land surrounding it. The huts are one-roomed and

have only one opening. The roofing rests on four props of junglewood posts and is thatched with straw six inches thick. In North Travancore the wall is about four feet high. Laterite stones in mud form the walling. About 100 feet from the hut is a seclusion-shed for women in menses. It serves the purpose for a group of huts. Tapioca is cultivated in the small patch of land surrounding the hut.

Diet

The Parayas live on rice and tapioca. They also eat carrion and beef, and drink toddy, all of which they are gradually giving up.

Dress

The Parayas are poorly clad. The men wear a loin-cloth which is three cubits by two cubits. They also have a small upper cloth. The women wear loin-cloth and have begun to wear jackets.

Ornaments

Women used to wear a necklace of beads, but they have now given up wearing this owing to the labours of the Kerala Hindu Mission. A string carrying the marriage badge now adorns their neck. They have no other ornament.

Occupation

The Parayas are ingenious in wicker-work. Reed forms the material for their labour, and both men and women make mats, baskets, and umbrellas. Fine splints of reed are made and woven by men and women. In making baskets, they start from the centre of the bottom, coiling and warping the splints as they proceed from the split pieces, so as to bind them to the preceding

turn, drawing the splints between the spirals. When the splint is exhausted, the end is tucked up behind the spiral and another one started in the same manner, but so carefully joined as to escape detection. The sale of these articles in the market forms their main means of subsistence. They also do agricultural work. Women collect grass and sell it in the market at two chuckrams per headload. Most of them continue to work under their old masters. Men Parayas obtain three chuckrams and women two as daily wages besides morning and noon meals.

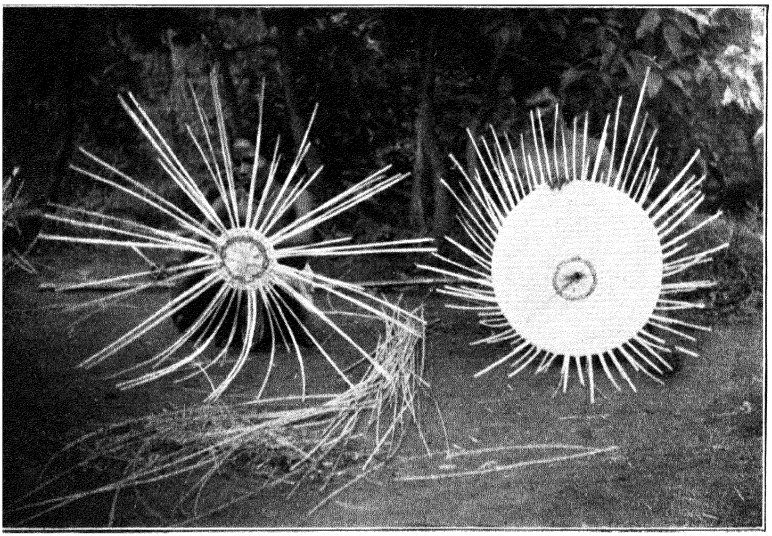
III. GENERAL

SOCIAL CONDITION—AMELIORATIVE MEASURES—NARIKULAM COLONY — FERTILITY — APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES — CONCLUSION.

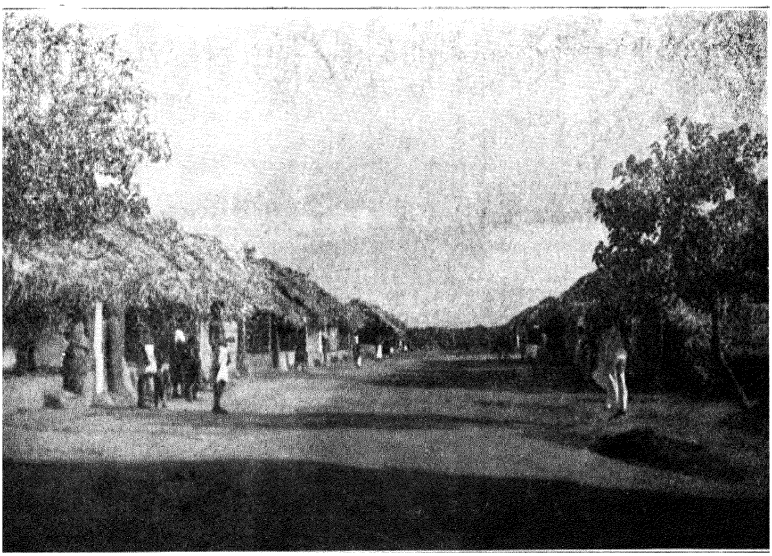
Social Condition

The Parayas occupy a low position in the social scale, next to the Pulayas, and their approach was considered defiling by the higher castes. They live beyond the ordinary village limits of the higher castes, and have separate wells and tanks for their exclusive use. They are superstitious, and are steeped in poverty and ignorance. Their welfare did not engage the serious attention of the high caste Hindus, with the result that the Christian Missionaries stepped into the field and started social and evangelical work among them. The Salvation Army, the London Missionary Society, the Lutheran Mission, and others contributed to their uplift.

The process of conversion went on with great celerity without any attempt being made to arrest it. Social reformers realised gradually that the depletion of the Hindu community could be arrested only by reforming their own social and religious customs and by giving equal opportunities and equal treatment to all within the fold of Hinduism. A general awakening for their amelioration become perceptible from the beginning of this century. The Parayas themselves began to vie with one another in their attempt at social and material improvement notwithstanding the opposition of orthodox Hindus.



PARAYA INDUSTRY.



NARIKULAM SAMBAVAR COLONY.

Ameliorative Measures

As a result of the labours of the Sāmbavar Elevation Committee set up by Government in 1923, a large number of wells have been dug and several roads to Sāmbavar hamlets have been constructed in the taluqs of Thovala, Agastiswaram, and Kalkulam. Conservancy stations were opened in several of the Sāmbavar villages in Shencotta and South Travancore. Almost all recognized institutions have been thrown open for their education. They are allowed full remission of fees. Education has made such rapid strides that there are Sāmbavar members on the legislative bodies of the State.

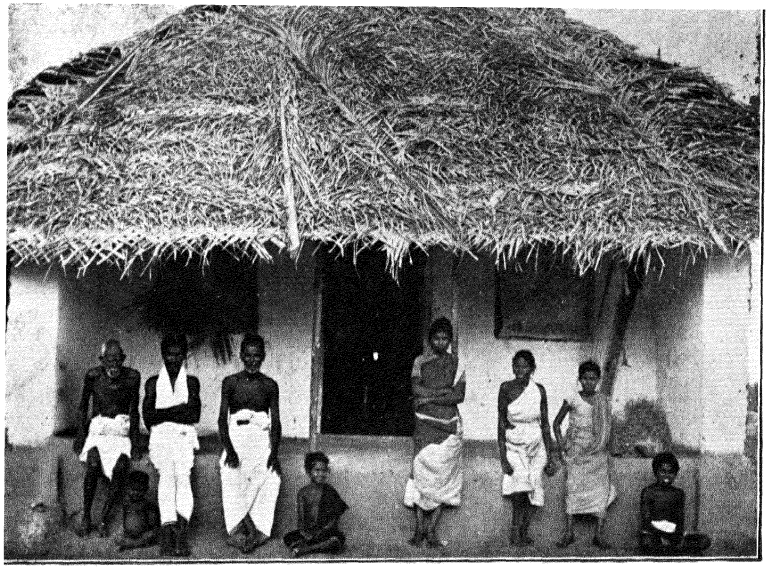
The Government of Travancore have thus contributed not a little to the improvement of the Parayas. Uplift work is now being done through the Protector of the Backward Communities. Towards the end of 1112 (1937), a scheme was drawn up for carrying on intensive and systematic ameliorative work among the backward communities and an advisory committee was appointed. Government sanctioned the term 'Backward Communities' being used instead of the former term 'Depressed Classes' in all official communications. Uplift work mainly consists in the selection of lands suitable for registry to the members of the backward communities in different centres, establishment of colonies of landless families among them, provision of wells, approach roads, common buildings, burial grounds, popularization of industries, and organization of thrift societies among them. The Kerala Hindu Mission and the Kerala Provincial Board of the All India Harijana Seva Sangh are given grants for general ameliorative work. The high watermark of progress was reached when the Temple Entry Proclamation came into force in November 1936. New colonies have been founded

for them at Narikulam and Menankulam where dwelling houses for 33 and 15 families were constructed respectively on an approved plan. Government subsidised them by means of grants-in-aid. A brief description of the Narikulam colony is given below.

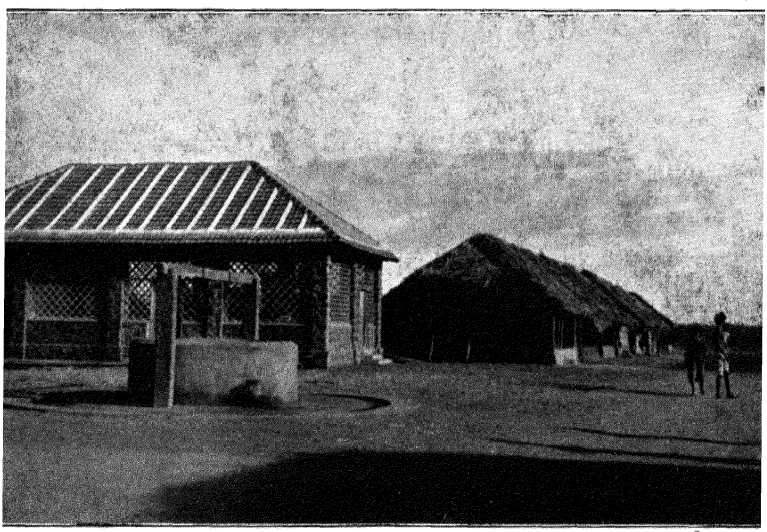
The Narikulam Colony

With a view to enabling the Sāmbavars to lead a clean life free from want, Government have opened a colony for them in Narikulam in Agastiswaram taluq. It is about three acres in extent and each Sāmbavar is given about seven cents of land and a loan of 25 rupees to put up a hut. There are 33 huts in the colony built in two rows north to south separated by a roadway of 40 feet in width. The huts are equidistant and are 20 by 20 feet in dimensions. Each hut has a verandah six feet broad which leads into a roomy hall and kitchen, and has a backyard where they grow some vegetables. The colony has a common well and a common hall. The colony is a model of its kind, and is founded on a breezy area. The founding of such colonies should create in them a sanitary conscience and enable them to lead a clean healthy life. It will be the first step towards solving the difficulties of the Sāmbavar. It may be supplemented by the introduction of suitable vocational education in harmony with their environment. The products of human labour must be easily marketable.

The ameliorative work carried on by Government is supplemented by the work of the Kerala Hindu Mission. Though the Mission is doing commendable work, it requires a more stimulating programme, an army of disinterested workers, and larger public support to do more substantial work among the people.



A MODEL HUT IN THE COLONY.



A COMMON HALL AT NARIKULAM

As a result of the external and internal forces at work, a marked change has come over the life and conditions of the Parayas. As a result of the Temple Entry Proclamation of 1936, untouchability and distance pollution have vanished, and they are in a new era of progress, prosperity, and enlightenment.

Fertility

The Sāmbavar of Thovala indicate that they have a higher rate of fertility than the Parayas in the north. Figures taken from twenty families in Thovala show that the average size of the family is 4·2. The average birth-rate is 3·5, and survival rate, 2·5. Their environment, climate, and food are favourable factors for increased fertility. Their figures compare very favourably with those of the Parayas in the north. It is observed from a study of 19 families of the latter that the average size of the family is 3·1. The average birth-rate is 1·5 and survival rate, 1·1. The low survival rate is due to their low economic condition and reduced vitality. A higher rate is observed among those of Pathanamthitta taluq, where the average size of the family is 4·7. The average birth-rate is 3·9 and survival rate, 2·7. Here they live in the highland region of Travancore in garden houses free from congestion.

Appearance and Physical Features

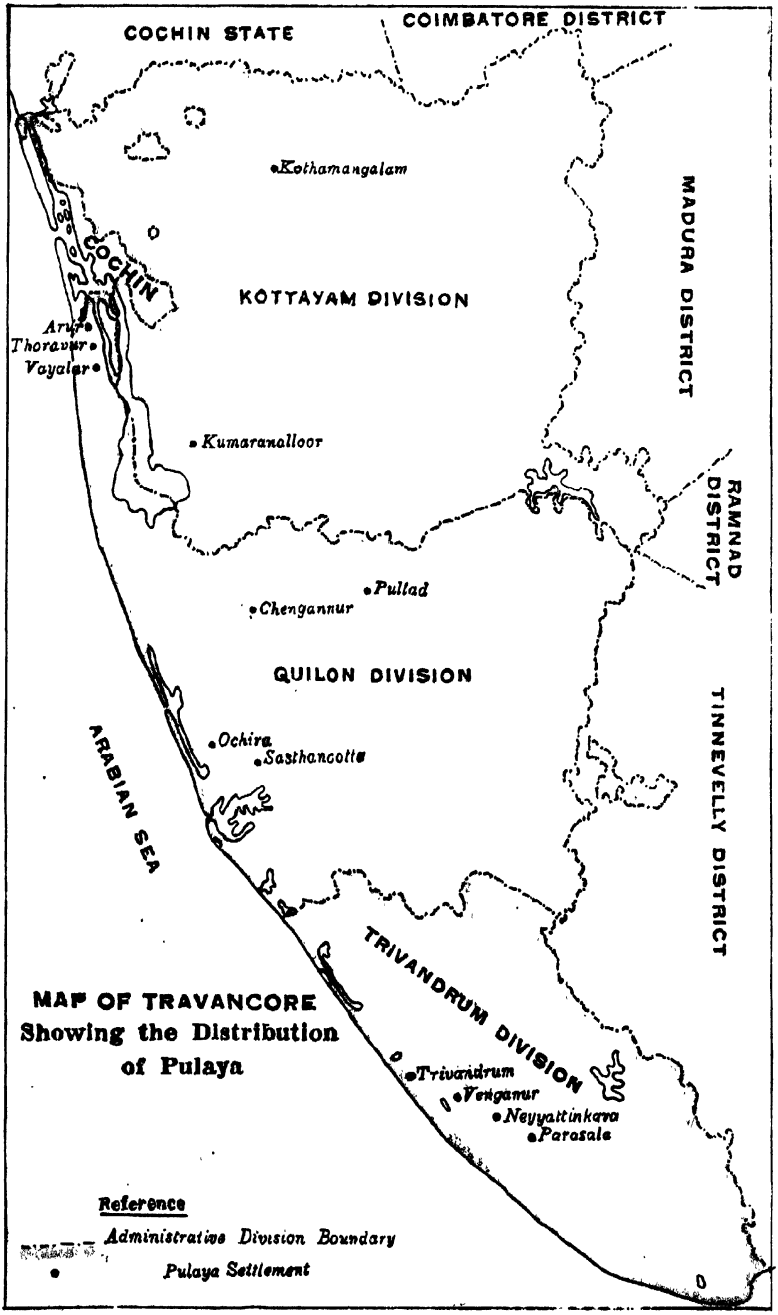
The Parayas are dark in complexion with black hair which tends to be curly in some. Those in South Travancore are robust and broad-chested. Their average chest girth is 79·5 cms. while in the north it goes down to 76·5 cms. Similarly, the average stature in the south is 164·33 cms. which is the highest figure among the tribes of Travancore. According to Davenport, excessive tallness is the result of excessive activity

in the pituatary gland, the factors for tallness being mostly recessive, owing to absence of inhibition to prolonged growth.* In the north the stature goes down to 152·4 cms. The disparity in chest girth and stature is due to the difference in food and factors of locality. In the south they live in a drier healthier climate, and ragi, cholam, and rice form their food. They have a higher nutritive value than tapioca and rice in the north. The average span of arms in the south is 171 cms. while in the north it is 157·5 cms. The average cephalic index in the south is 78·4, while it is 76·95 cms. in the north. The average nasal index in the south is 84·83, while it is 81·52 in the north. They have receding forehead. The brow ridges are prominent.

Conclusion

The Parayas are a patient, industrious class of people. The occupation of a large majority is agricultural labour. They are dependent on their masters for subsistence and are faithful to them.

* Ruggles Gates—Heredity in Man, p. 50.


COCHIN STATE
COIMBATORE DISTRICT
Kothamangalam
MADURA DISTRICT
COCHIN
KOTTAYAM DIVISION
Aroor
Thoravur
Vayalar
Kumaranalloor
RAMNAD DISTRICT
Pullad
Chengannur
QUILON DIVISION
Ochira
Sasthancotta
ARABIAN SEA
TINNEVELLY DISTRICT
TRIVANDRUM DIVISION
Trivandrum
Veiganur
Neyyattinkara
Parasale
MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution
of Pulaya
Reference
Administrative Division Boundary
Pulaya Settlement

PULAYA

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE — SOCIAL DISABILITIES — SLAVE TENURE — ABOLITION OF SLAVERY — SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE.

Introduction

The Pulayas form a tribe of agricultural labourers which are distributed all over Travancore north of Nanjanad, but are rare in the Tamil districts of the South. They live in a state of economic dependence practically amounting to serfdom or as land-workers in areas near the jungles, and among more highly developed people of Malabar. With the surrender of their weapons and the freedom of the forests, they sank to the bottom of the social scale. They are probably the earliest inhabitants of Kerala; and must have been Tamil-speaking, as the earliest form of the Malayalam language is Kodum-Tamil. Dr. A. H. Keane remarks "that the fact that these and other low tribes speaking Dravidian Malayalam is very curious, and finds its analogue to the broken English of the Negroes of North America and elsewhere. He also says that, judging from their short stature, low forehead, and high cheek bones, the Pulayas belong to the Negrito race, which once formed a substratum throughout the Peninsula, though mainly submerged in the later arrivals of the Kolarians, Dravidians, and Aryans."*

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* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K., The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I. pp. 18—20.

Population

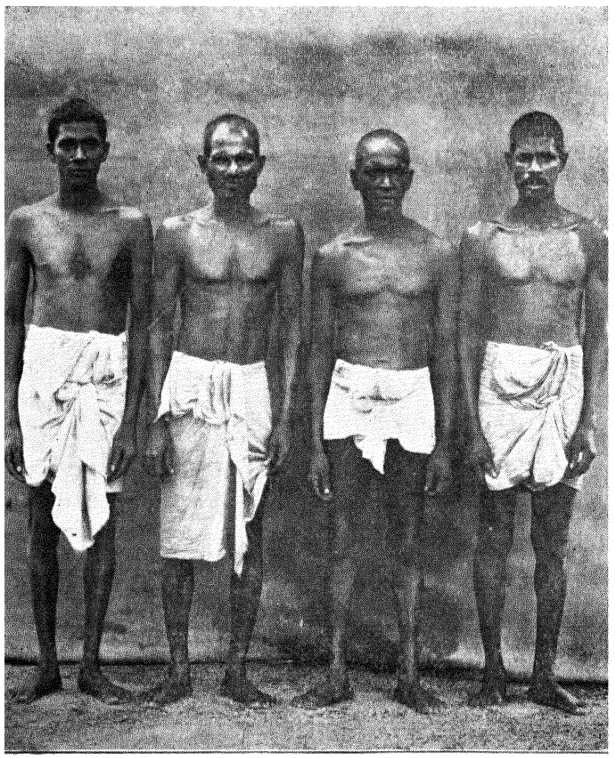
The Pulayas were returned as 90,598 in the Census of 1836 and were entered as one of the four slave tribes. Since then, they have considerably increased in number. The sub-joined table will indicate the pace of increase in population.

Year of Census.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1901	2,06,503	1,05,519	1,00,984
1911	1,85 314	93,235	91,979
1921	1,96,184	99,420	96,764
1931	3,65,150	1,83,815	1,81,355

The table given below will show their distribution in the Revenue divisions of the State:—

Revenue Divisions.	Hindu.			Christian.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total	Male.	Female.
Southern .	31,210	15,612	15,598	42,182	21,170	21,012
Central .	87,337	43,830	43,507	36,362	18,631	17,731
Northern .	85,694	42,319	45,375	77,580	39,465	38,115
High Range .	3,096	1,785	1,311	1,689	1,003	686

"It has been stated that the tendency of the tribes is for the females to outnumber the males and the Marumakkatayis have on the whole more females than males, but the average excess is only 6 per 100 against 57 in



A THANTAPULAYA MALE GROUP

the case of the primitive tribes."* The Pulayas unfold a different version, and the number of females per 1,000 males is 987. The population of Hindu Pulayas in 1931 is 207,337, which is 5·7 per cent. more than that of 1921. This small number is due to their being depleted by conversion to Christianity. The Christian converts returned at the last Census are 157,813.†

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The Pulayas form the lowest of the old slave tribes living in miserable huts or mounds or raised embankments in the vicinity of their employment. The word 'Pulaya' means 'Polluted man', and expresses the idea of caste impurity. In British Malabar, they are generally known as Chēramar or Cherumakkal, meaning a short sized people. "It is also supposed that the word, 'Cherumakkal' is a corruption of Chēramakkal and this name they have come to own, it is said on the idea that they are the original inhabitants of the land."‡ They are said to correspond to the Holeyas of the Canarese districts, whose name has a similar origin, but which Lewis Rice derives from 'hola' a field.

The worship of Sri Padmanabha in Trivandrum is intimately connected with a Pulaya. Once it is said a Pulakalli (Pulaya woman) who was living with her husband in the Ananthankadu (jungle) suddenly heard the cry of a baby. She rushed to the spot and found to her surprise a child lying on the ground protected by a cobra. She took pity on the child and nursed it

* Kunjan Pillai, N., The Travancore Census Report for 1931, Part I p. 133.

† Kunjan Pillai, N., The Travancore Census Report for 1931, Part I p. 341.

‡ Subramonia Iyer, N., The Travancore Census Report for 1901, Part I p. 341.

like her own. The appearance of the snake intimated to her the divine origin of the infant. As soon as the Raja of Travancore heard of it, he built a shrine on the spot where the baby was found and dedicated it to Sri Padmanabha.

According to another tradition, the Pulayas formed an influential community during the time of Chēraman Perumals, and held sway over several parts of the country in former times. A Pulaya is said to have ruled over the hill now known as Pulayanārkotta on the banks of the Vēli lake four miles from Trivandrum. The Pulayas round Trivandrum assert even today that in former times a Pulaya ruled and had his castle not far from the capital of Trivandrum. Similarly, a Pulaya princess, Kotha by name, is said to have ruled over Kokkōthamangalam in Vellanad Pakuthi of Nedumangad taluq. Again, Pulaya chieftains are said to have ruled at Aikara, Kuttanad, and other parts of Travancore. Aikara Yajamanan, a descendant of the Pulaya Chief, still commands great respect from the Pulayas of North Travancore, where he is their acknowledged chieftain. Aikaranad still remains as a place name suggesting some truth in the ancient tale. Mateer holds, "that it is impossible to believe that any of this unfortunate race could have been within the last few centuries in possession of independent authority. He therefore suggests that the chieftains referred to above were perhaps the headman of the Pulayas appointed by the Travancore Government to be responsible to others in all matters of business. It may be possible that there was a time when they posed as a ruling race holding independent authority, at any rate over their own community with territorial sway."*

* Padmanabha Menon, K. P., History of Kerala, Vol. II, pp. 480-481

Social Disabilities

The Pulaya had occupied a very low rank in the social scale. The treatment that he received at the hands of the high-caste Hindu from very early times was very unsympathetic. Writing sixty-seven years ago, Mateer said, "He cannot use a public road. He should never approach a Brahman nearer than 96 paces, and must remain at about half the distance from the Sudras. He cannot enter a Court of Justice. As he cannot enter a town or village, no employment is open to him except that of working in rice fields and such kind of labour."* They had no access to the bazaars and markets even to purchase their necessaries. They were not allowed to wear any valuable ornaments nor use upper garments to cover their nakedness. They could not educate their children. They were slaves.

Slavery

"In former times, slaves were let or transferred at the choice of the owner, were offered as presents to friends or gifts to temples, and were bought, sold, and mortgaged in the same manner as the land on which they dwelt or as the cattle or other property of their owners. The price of a slave varied from six to nine rupees."† In some parts of the country as much as eighteen rupees were given. Cases of horrid and aggravated cruelty in the treatment of slaves by their masters, especially of those who attempted to escape, were once numerous. Indeed one of the usual clauses in the deed of the transfer of slaves was, 'you may sell or kill him or her.

* Mateer, The Land of Charity, 1871, p. 46.

† Do. Do. 1871, p. 43.

The latter privilege has now of course ceased.'* The higher castes viewed their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation, and even towns and markets would be considered defiled by their approach. According to Ward and Conner, the Sherummakkal are attached to the glebe, but real property, in absolute market value not much above the cattle, united with them in the same bondage and greatly below them in estimation.†

The Pulayas were regarded with capricious indifference by their masters. "Whether Brahman, Nair, or Christian, all agreed in their oppression. They experienced little sympathy in sickness, when they were left to nature. They were never guilty of any violence to their masters, to whom they were absolutely obedient from the sluggish apathy of their character which rendered them ever mindful of their lot. In case of indigence, a Pulaya uncle and mother might sell a child for about fourteen to seventeen rupees, and if a higher price had been given, it would have been of no use to them, as the proprietor would take away the surplus. The eldest son was the property of the owner, but the mother had the right of redeeming the first child for 4½ rupees whether the possessor liked it or not.‡ They were employed in agriculture, and their services were repaid in grain, the wages being three measures of paddy for a man, two for a woman, and one for a child. Harvest to them was a period of comparative plenty.

* Thurston, Ethnographic Notes in Southern India, p. 449.

† Ward and Conner, The Memoirs of the Travancore and Cochin Survey, p. 160.

‡ Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K. The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, p. 91.

Slave-tenure

In ancient times, slaves were held on three kinds of tenure. According to Francis Buchanan, there were three modes of transferring the usufruct slaves. The first was jemn or sale, where the full value of the slave was given and the property was entirely transferred to a new master who was in some measure bound by his interest to attend to the welfare of his slaves. The second manner of transferring the labour of slaves was by kanom or mortgage. The proprietor by this receives a sum of money, generally 2/3 of the value of the slaves and a small quantity of paddy to show that his right over them still existed. He might either resume his property, that is, the slaves whenever he pleased to repay the money borrowed without the payment of any interest. The third method of employing slaves was letting them out on pattom or rent. In this case, for an annual sum, the master lent them to another man who commanded their labour and supported them. The annual pattom or rent was 2¼ rupees and half as much for a woman. "The last two tenures were abominable," says Buchanan, "as they were badly treated and as their diminutive stature and squalid appearance certified to the want of adequate nourishment."

Abolition of Slavery in British India.

In 1792, the East India Company issued a proclamation against dealing in slaves in British India. A person offering a slave for sale was considered a thief. Both the dealer and the purchaser were severely dealt with. Fishermen and Mappillas conveying slaves from place to place by water were to be severely flogged

* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K., The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. I. p. 93.

and fined at the rate of ten rupees for each slave. Vessels used for the purpose were to be confiscated. In 1819, the practice of selling slaves for arrears of revenue was discontinued. In 1843, the Government of India passed an Act by which the right of any person, claiming a slave as jenmam, Kanam, or Panayam could not be investigated at any of the public offices or courts. At the same time it was proclaimed that the Government would not order a slave who was in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant; nor would the Government interfere with the slave's inclination as to where he wished to work. In 1852 and again in 1855, the fact that traffic in slaves still continued was brought to the notice of the Government. The penalties for slave dealing inserted in the Penal Code which came into force on the 1st of January, 1862 inflicted the final blow to slavery in India especially in Malabar.

Abolition of Slavery in Travancore

Various measures for the amelioration of the condition of slaves and ultimately for their emancipation were adopted by the Government of Travancore. On the 21st Vrischigam, 987 M. E. (5th December, 1812 A. D.), Her Highness Rani Gauri Lakshmi Bayi issued a Proclamation abolishing slave trade in Travancore. It prohibited entirely the traffic in human flesh (which had been carried on amongst all castes other than Brahmans) on pain of the severest penalties, confiscation of property, and banishment from the country. This measure, which was introduced by the Rani scarcely a year after her installation, was due entirely to her benevolence and farsightedness. Her Highness thus proved herself considerably ahead of her age, in advance of the

Honorable the East India Company, which had not then adopted any definite prohibition of slave trade. Slave trading nevertheless continued in some form or other, the articles thereof being the slave castes, the Pulayas, the Parayas, the Kuravas, and the Pallars.

Another Proclamation formally abolishing slavery to some extent was issued on 30th Kanni 1029 (14th October, 1855) by His Highness Marthanda Varma. All the children of 'Sircar Slaves' born after the date of the Proclamation were declared free, but all caste distinctions and ceremonies or prohibitions were to be duly respected. No slaves could be sold in execution of decrees or orders of courts. The slave castes could acquire and possess property like others, and could not be legally deprived of property thus acquired and possessed. Persons doing wrong to slaves became liable to the penalties provided in Regulation VI of 1010. The slaves of property escheating to Government were declared free and could not be assumed as part of property escheating. When slaves were sold, parents and children should not be separated except by mutual consent, and no slaves should be sold or given away at a distance of more than 12 miles from their residence. When slaves did any work for the Sircar, they were to be paid wages like other workmen. Slaves not older than fourteen should not be compelled to do work for which they were not fit. All slaves incapable of doing any work by reason of disease or old age were to be looked after and attended to.

The measures embodied in the Proclamation of 1029 did not quite answer the purpose. At the instance of the British Government, another Proclamation was issued by the same Maharaja on the 12th Mithunam, 1030 (26th June, 1854), which gave effect to a more thorough

prohibition of slavery. All Sirkar slaves were declared free as well as their posterity, and taxes hitherto leviable on them were abolished. No public officer should, in execution of any decree or order of court or for the enforcement of any demand for rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person or the right to the compulsory labour services of any person, on the ground that such person was in a state of slavery. No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of any individual as a slave should be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or Magistrate in his property. No person who might have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, should be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person or the person from whom the property might have been derived, was a slave. Any act which would be penal offence if done to a freeman should be equally an offence, if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.

Since the emancipation of all the slave castes by the Proclamation of 1030 (1854), and the removal thereby of all substantial disabilities and oppressions to which they had been subjected, the removal of other minor customary disabilities and restrictions soon followed as a matter of course, and their condition has been one of steady progress and improvement.

In the year 1045 M. E. (1869 A. D.), orders were issued, prohibiting the entry in depositions of terms Adiyan and Kidangal, these being humiliating epithets attached to the low castes in their slavery state, that had become objectionable. Orders were also issued on 26th Meenam, 1045 (8th April, 1869), against their

being not allowed to enter public Kutcheries, which were common to all men; and requiring Peishkars to strictly arrange that no obstacle of any kind should be offered to their free access to such places, and that caste differences should not be allowed to interfere with the conduct of public business. The Peishkars were particularly cautioned to carry out these instructions in all Kutcheries down to the Provarthi Chavadi. Public highways have also been used by the low castes, and, in some places, public schools have also been thrown open to all classes.

These represent the measures taken by Government for the amelioration of the slave castes. Rev. Mateer observed in 1871, "Although legally emancipated, the condition of the slave population remains very much as before; and perhaps it is well that there should be no violent convulsions of society."* They are even now in the same condition of dependence on their masters for maintenance. The extreme conservatism of their masters and their bigoted adherence to caste coupled with the primitive customs of the people and the physical configuration of the soil prevented them from having intercourse with the outside world and caused their utter degradation. The measures adopted by Government have been so well considered and gradual that their social uplift has been accomplished without any convulsions of society. They have begun to feel that they are no longer in a state of bondage.

Other Social Ameliorations

The Sovereigns of Travancore have always been characterised by a genuine desire to improve the condition of the tribes. Untouchability existed in its extreme form of unapproachability for several centuries.

* Mateer—The Land of Charity, 1871, pp. 43-46.

In 1934, the Temple Entry Committee remarked that "within the last fifty years, the idea of unapproachability has been gradually losing its hold on the Hindu Community. Among the Savarnas, the sentiment of unapproachability is almost extinct in ordinary social matters." It was observed that the basis of untouchability was religion and the only place in which to attack it was the temple, the symbol and centre of religious life of the towns and villages.

The Government saw the force of the agitation and issued the following communique in 1934. "Government share the view of the Committee that distance pollution or the theendal must cease and are of opinion that no general public funds should be spent in the maintenance of public tanks, public wells, and chatrams, admission to which is claimed by reason of his belonging to the Theendal caste. They have therefore resolved that all public roads, public tanks, chatrams, etc., maintained by them out of their general public funds be thrown open to all classes of people, irrespective of caste to which they belong."

But the denial to the polluting castes of the right of temple entry has been the cause of much agitation and irritation. The right of temple entry was regarded as the key position in the effort to remove the wider disability of untouchability. Dr. Hutton states that the social bar tends to foster conversion to Christianity and Islam.* Happily the matter was resolved by the Historic Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja Sir Bala Rama Varma on the 12th of November, 1936. It commanded that 'subject to the rules and conditions

* Hutton—Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 485.

that may be imposed, no restrictions shall be placed on any Hindu entering and worshipping at the temples controlled by Us and Our Government.' The rules were published on 24-11-1936. The Proclamation has been applauded as a document of first rate importance and forms a distinct landmark in the annals not only of Travancore but of Hinduism. According to Mr. Gandhi, the credit for this modern miracle is shared by Her Highness the Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, and the issue of the Proclamation must have required on the part of the head of the administration (Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar) "cool courage, tact, and statesmanship." His Highness rid Hinduism in Travancore of one of the worst cankers that was eating into the vitals of Hindu Society and he has earned therefore the name "Protector of the Hindu Faith." The Proclamation will go down to posterity as a Charter of religious liberty.

All walks of life are now thrown open to the Pulayas as freely as to the higher castes, and the State Departments and public schools with very few exceptions have been thrown open to them. The wholesome influence of these changes has awakened in the Pulayas a self-consciousness of their faults and weaknesses, and stimulated in them a desire to work for their own salvation through their own organization.

Sub-divisions of the Pulayas

The Pulayas are divided into the following endogamous groups:—

1. The Thantapulayas (Vettu Pulayas)
2. The Kānapulayas
3. Padinjāran (Western) Pulayas

4. The Kizhakkan (Eastern) Pulayas
5. The Southern Pulayas
6. The Valluva Pulayas.

An attempt will now be made to describe the customs and manners of the above sub-divisions of the tribe.

I. THANTAPULAYA

INTRODUCTION — ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — WIDOW REMARRIAGE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — CHILD-BIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — INHERITANCE — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — KINSHIP — ECONOMIC LIFE — FISHING — COLLECTION OF AMBAL SEEDS—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — RELIGION—UNNATURAL DEATHS — HABITATIONS — DRESS — ORNAMENTS — APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Introduction

The Thantapulayas form a small sub-division of the Pulayas, and are found in South Malabar, Cochin, and in the Arūr, Thoravūr, and Vayalur pakuthies of the Shertala taluq of Travancore. They live along the coastal region in the midst of a vast expanse of wet lands (kari lands). In Shertala taluq, there are two kinds of Pulayas, the Kuruppa Pulayas and the Vettuva Pulayas or Thantapulayas. The former claim superiority over the latter; they neither inter-dine nor intermarry with the Thantapulayas, and they do not allow them to enter their huts. Further, the Thantapulayas, have to stand at a distance from the Kuruppa Pulayas, who, if polluted by them, purify themselves by pouring three handfuls of water over the head. They were returned at the last Census as 795. 386 were males and 409 were females.

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The Thantapulayas have a curious tradition about their origin. The region where they are now found

was once covered with scrub jungle. The owner of this land, an influential and rich Nayar landlord of the locality, attempted to cultivate paddy in this locality. The land was cleared and sown, but most of the seed grains disappeared and the cultivation became a failure. To find out why the grains disappeared, the Nayar gentleman kept watch over his fields at night, and found that, at dead of night, a band of naked men and women appeared on the fields and picked up the grains. He succeeded in catching a man and a woman of this party, while the rest escaped. To the man, the Nayar gave his upper cloth, and the woman made a garment out of the thanta (Scirpus articulatus) which grew there and wore it round her waist. The Thantapulayas came to have that name because of the garment worn by the females made of the leaves of a kind of sedge called thanta which are cut into lengths, woven at one end, and tied round the waist, so that they hang down below the knees, and cover the front and back. The Thantapulayas believe that they are the descendants of this couple. As they were living in burrows, they were also called Kuzhi Pulayas. The thanta grass has been destroyed by the influx of sea-water in the Kari lands, and the women do not now wear the garment. Further, the influence of Christianity is another cause of the disappearance of the garment.

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The Thantapulayas are divided into the following clans:—

1. Kochithara Pulaya
2. Arappu Pulaya
3. Nīndur Pulaya
4. Pānāt Pulaya

5. Kochinal Pulaya
6. Mātaka Pulaya
7. Vēlam Pulaya.

The clan names are derived from the names of places they inhabit. A man cannot marry a woman of the same clan, but is free to marry a woman from any of the other clans. A woman belongs to her own clan after marriage, and the children belong to the clan of the mother. Kochithara Pulayas and Arappu Pulayas are considered to be superior to the members of the other clans. They give some fanciful explanations for some of the clan names. One who gave a tender cocoanut to a Vēlan came to be known as Vēlan Pulayan. Again, a Thantapulaya is said to have taken his son to the Trikunnapuzha temple. The boy was asked not to look at the presiding deity, but he disobeyed, and was flung to a distance by the wind. He fell on the ground where there was a small platform (Kochuthara). He came to be known as Kochithara Pulaya.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Girls are married either before or after puberty. When a girl is about seven or eight years of age, the parents of an eligible boy seek her hand for their son to the girl's father. If he agrees, the marriage takes place after the girl attains puberty. The girl's father informs his master of the proposed marriage. If his consent is given, the boy's father is informed of the fact. The girl's father and himself appear before the master and make a present of some plantains and pansupari. The master allows the celebration of the marriage, and gives them one para of paddy, ten cocoanuts, and eight annas for toddy. All indulge in drinking toddy and enjoy a feast. The day for the marriage is then fixed to take place after Makaram (January).

On the auspicious day fixed for the marriage, all the guests bring a measure of rice as their contribution for the marriage ceremony. The bride-groom's party numbers twentyfive. They bring 200 chuckrams, and the bridegroom's uncle hands over the amount to the bride's uncle. The bridegroom gives a pair of cloths to the bride which she puts on. A conch (Turbinella rapa) or a necklace of beads is tied round her neck by him. All are then feasted. Formerly, a thanta garment was presented to the bride. A cloth has now taken its place.

The bride's uncle then hands over the bride to the bridegroom with the following piece of advice, when the bridegroom's uncle is also present. "I entrust this girl to you. If she is not treated with consideration, I have means to make you answerable for it. I entrust her to you to live with you always."

The married couple go to the husband's hut and remain there for two days. On the third day the bride's uncle, the elayappan, and his wife go to fetch them. The party drink toddy and are treated to a feast. They take the married couple to the bride's hut. Three of the bridegroom's party follow. They also receive the same hospitality. The next morning they go with the married couple to the master and make a present of 51 chuckrams and pansupari. This is called *Tamarupadi* (present for the master). The master gives them a para of paddy and ten cocoanuts which are intended for the bride, who takes them with her when she goes to her husband's hut. Before departure the husband gives four chuckrams each to the parents, the uncle and aunt of his wife. They all take toddy.

In Cochin State, girls are married either before or after attaining puberty, but there is a special ceremony which is performed during a girl's seventh or eighth year. This is called 'thantakalyanam.' It consists in having the girl dressed at an auspicious hour in a leafy garment by a woman, generally a relation or, in her absence, by one selected for the purpose. The relations and friends are treated to a feast of curry and rice, fish from the back-water, and toddy. Prior to this the girl is destitute of clothing, except for a strip of areca bark. Formerly, the girl was taken to her landlord, who gave her some paddy and all the cocoanuts on the tree beneath which she knelt. When the time comes to take her to the hut of the bridegroom, one of her uncles, taking her by the hand, gives her into the charge of one of her husband's uncles. On the third morning her paternal and maternal uncles visit her at the bridegroom's hut, where they are entertained. They then return with the married couple to the bride's hut, where they stay for three days. Pre-puberty coition is usual.

To ascertain whether a match will be a happy one or not, a conch shell is made to spin round. If it falls to the north, it predicts good fortune. If to the east or west, the omens are favourable; if to the south, the omen is very unfavourable.

Polygamy

A Thantapulayan may marry more than one woman. Two wives are usual. They may be kept in the same hut, or in different ones if they prove quarrelsome. They do not marry sisters. Polygamy is favoured because women are an economic necessity and find food for their husbands.

Widow Remarriage

Widow remarriage is permissible. The bridegroom and his parents go to the widow's hut, where they are given a feast. They then return with the woman.

Adultery

When a married woman commits adultery with a man of different clan, the elders meet and ask her husband whether he will have her back. If he answers in the negative, she is sent away with her grain and āmbal (Nymphæa lotus). Her parents refuse to have her, and she is obliged to live with her seducer far away from others, and they are not allowed to take part in gatherings and festivities. It is worthy of note that, when a man is thrashed with a thanta garment, he becomes degraded in position, and is not admitted to their society.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty she is lodged in a room in the same shed for fourteen days. During these days she has to cook her food in a new earthernware vessel. She lives on kanji, or rice water, mixed with cocoanut shavings. Fish and salt are taboo to her. She bathes on the fifteenth day before sunrise and goes home, when she is made to sit facing the east. A medicine-man stands on each side of her, and they sing. The girl passes into a frenzy and rocks her head backwards and forwards. Her flowing hair lashes backwards and forwards to the tune of the beating on a bell-metal plate. The girl faints as a result of the exertion. She is given tender cocoanut water, and she comes back to her senses. Other women keep her company and go through the same process. The girl is then served

with rice, fish, and salt. A song is sung as follows:—"Oh Damsel, rock your head to the best of your capacity to the tune of the beating of the metallic plate." The song is sung until the girl and those that keep her company faint. The medicine-men are paid ten to fifteen chuckrams each. Sometimes the parents are so poor that they cannot have this ceremony performed on the fifteenth day. In such cases the girls have to remain in the hut until the celebration of the ceremony which may take place even two or three months later. They have to abstain from salt and fish during this period.

Menstruation

A woman in menses remains in seclusion for seven days. She enters home on the eighth day after a purificatory bath.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to the same hut. There are women well-versed in midwifery and their help is sought. Pollution lasts for twelve days. On the twelfth day the midwife sweeps the hut and purifies it. It is only then that all the members of the hut enter it and take food. All have their food outside the hut until the twelfth day.

Naming Ceremony

The naming the child is done on the twelfth day. Males are called Kākan, Kurukilan, Adimāthi, Pangan, Mylan and Chōthi; females are called Kāki, Pūthana, Kali, Myla, Kuriyal, Karambi and Kochupen. The names are generally those of the mother's brother or her parents.

II. Relations through mother

1.	Great grandfather	Valiamuthappan
2.	Great grandmother	Valiamuthamma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Mother's brother	Māman
6.	Mother's brother's wife	Māmi
7.	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Elayamma, if younger

III. Relations through wife

1.	Wife's father	Māman
2.	Wife's mother	Māmi
3.	Wife's brother	Aliyan
4.	Wife's sister	Nathune

IV. Relations through husband

1.	Husband's father	Aschan
2.	Husband's mother	Amma

In the foregoing list we observe:—

1. The father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother, and mother's mother. Appūppan and Ammūmma are the names given to the grandfather and the grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Valia muthappan and Valia muthamma are the names given to the great grandfather and the great grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

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2. Māman is used to denote the father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, and wife's father. Māmi is the name given to their wives.

Economic Life

The Thantapulayas are still in a state of economic bondage, and have no land of their own for cultivation. They live by the sweat of their brows. They work for some landlord who allows them small bits of land. The trees thereon belong to the master, but they are allowed to enjoy the produce during their residence there. When not required by their master, they work for others. They work in the rice fields, pumping water, erecting bunds, weeding, transplanting, and reaping. Men, women, and children work together. After the day's hard labour in the sun or rain, they receive their wages. They have to guard their master's fields at night against the encroachment of cattle and the depredations of thieves. In Chingam (August—September) and Kanni (September—October), they have no work. Women catch fish and earn two to four annas by selling them daily. Harvesting begins in Thulam (October—November), and men and women both have work. They earn a measure of paddy as wages for a day. Men and women get the same wages. Threshing begins about the end of Thulam (November). They get one para of paddy for every ten paras threshed. From Vrischigam (November — December) to Makaram (December—January), they have work in the fields and get eight chuckrams as daily wages. A man spends three chuckrams for toddy, one and a half chuckrams on tapioca, two chuckrams for the noon meal, and half a chuckram on pan, and he has only three chuckrams left over in the evening which he takes home. This is supplemented by his wife's wages.

have got incantations written on a palm leaf and buried in the ground near a house by the side of a well.'"*

Unnatural Deaths

When a member of the tribe meets with an unnatural death, a man with a fowl and sword in his hands places another man in a pit which has been dug and walks thrice round it with a torch. After an hour or two the man is taken out of the pit and goes to a distance, where certain other ceremonies are performed.

Worship of Gods in Temples

The Thantapulayas also worship the gods of brāhmanical temples standing at a distance of nearly a quarter of a mile. A stone is set up on the ground, on which they place tender cocoanuts and a few chuckrams. A temple servant takes these to the priest, who sends in return some sandal paste, holy water, and flowers. They also worship demons and the spirits of their ancestors. These are supposed to be present in small brass figures of males and females representing the prētas or ghosts. In May they celebrate a festival which lasts for several days. Chrysanthemum and thumba (Leucas aspera) flowers are used in the performance of worship, and paddy, beaten rice, tender cocoanuts, and toddy are offered to these spirits. There is much singing, drum-beating and devil-dancing by men and women, who on this occasion indulge liberally in toddy.

The Thantapulayas devise various means for warding off the evil influences of demons. Some wear rolls of palm leaf with incantations written on them round their necks. Others hang baskets in rice fields containing

* Edgar Thurston—Ethnographic Notes in Southern India, p. 333.

peace-offerings to the gods, and pray for the protection of the crop. Where there is dense forest, there Mādan and Kāli are supposed to dwell, and are worshipped. The phosphorescence on the surface of the backwater is supposed to indicate the presence of the spirit of their ancestors who continue to fish in the backwaters.

Habitations

All along the coastal region of the Shertala taluq is found a vast expanse of kari lands in the midst of which are found some elevated mounds. On these the Thantapulayas settle down in aggregations of a few families. Their habitations are called mādoms; they are miserable huts supported on wooden posts in the middle of paddy fields, with walls of mud and thatched with cocoanut leaves. They are 15 ft. x 12 ft. in dimensions and are two-roomed.

Dress

The men wear a loin-cloth, 2 x 1½ cubits in dimensions. The women formerly wore a thanta garment which covered their front and back. It has now gone out of use, as the Māppillas and Missionaries under whom they work have compelled them to wear cotton clothes.

Ornaments

Men wear no ornaments. Women wear a necklace of beads which they buy from Muhammadan merchants.

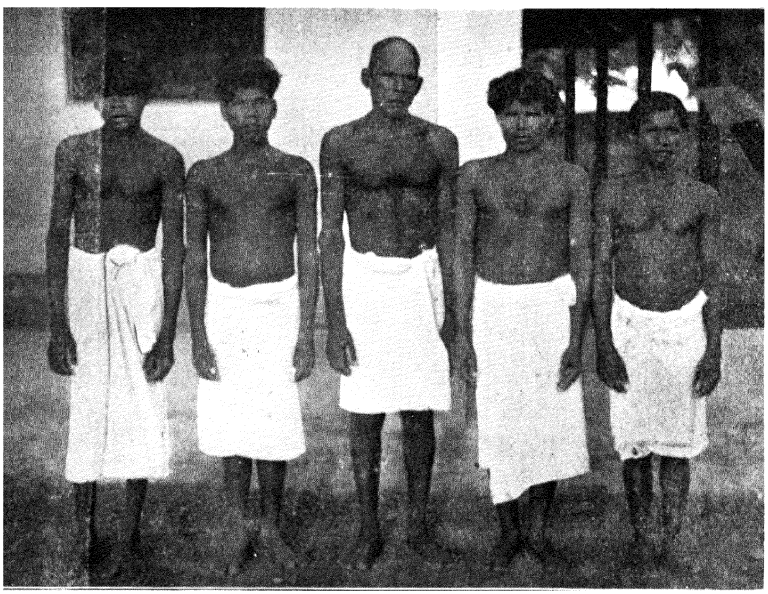
Appearance and Physical Features

The Thantapulayas have a sturdy constitution, notwithstanding their hard life. They are black in complexion. The black pigment acts as an armour to exclude the more harmful short rays, and is much developed owing to the intensity of the light in the

sandy coastal region. They are short in stature. The average stature is 152·53 cms. They have a long head, the average cephalic index being 74·03. The vault of the head is low and the brow ridges are prominent. The nose is mesorhine, the average nasal index being 77·97. They have brawny arms and well developed chests. The average circumference of their chest is 76·8 cms. and the average span of arms is 162·9.

Conclusion

The Thantapulayas do not eat at the hands of the Ullātan or Parayan. They stand at a distance of ninety feet from Brahmans and other high-caste men. Some of them are said to have improved their position by becoming converts to Christianity. Others believe that the spirits of the deceased will be displeased if they become Christians. A number have joined the Catholic faith. The Thantapulayas who hold to their old beliefs and customs are on the decline at present.



A KANAPULAYA MALE GROUP.

II. KANAPULAYA

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE KANAPULAYA —MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—ELOPEMENT— POLYGAMY — LEVIRATE — SORORATE — DIVORCE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — CHILD-BIRTH — INHERITANCE — KINSHIP — FAMILY — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — FUNERAL CEREMONIES —RELIGION — HABITATIONS — DIET — DRESS — ORNAMENTS— OCCUPATION.

Introduction

The Kānapulayas (Vichādan Pulayas) are found in the Kunnathunād and Alangad taluqs of North Travancore. They claim superiority over the Pasu Pulayas of the eastern taluqs, as the latter eat cow's flesh. The Kānapulayas neither interdine nor intermarry with them. Formerly the Pasu Pulayas stood at a distance of sixteen feet from them. This unapproachability even among the Pulayas themselves has now vanished. The Kānapulayas still feel that they are polluted if touched by the Pasu Pulayas. The Parayas are found in the habitat of the Kānapulayas; where the former are found, the Pasu Pulayas are not found for the simple reason that the eating of cow's flesh might bring them into conflict.

Internal Structure of the Kānapulaya

The Kānapulayas in the vicinity of Kōthamangalam are divided into two phratries. Vadavathu kūttom, Mampalli kūttom, Chērakat kūttom, and Adu kūttom constitute one phratry, while Paliyana kūttom, Padathi kūttom, Paruthi kūttom, Nedumattathu kūttom, Norkuttu kūttom form the other phratry. A man can only

marry a woman in a clan of a different phratry. Among the Kānapulayas of Kunnathunād taluq, the following clans exist:— Vellu kūttom, Parpathi kūttom, Parka kūttom, Panathu kūttom, Palli kūttom, Marupathi kūttom, Manthatta kūttom, Nochikkattu kūttom, Pūmeli kūttom, Athripalli kūttom, and others. The clans are exogamous. A man may marry a woman outside his clan. A woman retains her clan after marriage. Children follow the clan of the mother, who can take her children with her in case of any quarrel between her and her husband. The solidarity of the clan is seen in the observance of death pollution for sixteen days, when a member of the clan dies. Pollution does not hinder them from attending to work. The clansmen contribute for the expenses on the sixteenth day. It is worthy of note that the Kānapulayas do not practise cross-cousin marriage.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Among the Kānapulayas, it was regarded as meritorious to marry girls before puberty. The kettukalyanam is celebrated before a girl attains ten years of age. If it was not celebrated before a girl attained puberty, the omission implied loss of caste, and the unmarried girl was given up by the father or maternal uncle to the charge of the priest, whose property she became and who in consequence might sell her if he liked. But immediately on anyone's marrying her, she regained her status and was admitted into the tribe. This custom has almost died out.

As mentioned above, a man cannot marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. The boy's father and uncle go to seek the hand of a girl for the boy. They settle the marriage with the girl's father and uncle and fix the date. On the day of the

marriage, the bridegroom-elect and party go to the hut of the bride-elect who is presented with a pair of cloths. The bridegroom ties the tāli (marriage-badge). The bridegroom's uncle then hands over 57 chuckrams (two rupees). Out of this amount, fifteen chuckrams go to the bride's mother, ten chuckrams to her father, twenty chuckrams to her uncle, eight chuckrams to the Valluvan, and four chuckrams to her brother. All are then feasted. The bride's uncle then hands her over to the bridegroom's uncle saying "Take care of the girl properly. Do not ill-treat her, if she misbehaves. We will set matters right." The bridegroom's uncle replies that he will be answerable, if the girl is ill-treated. The bridegroom then goes to his hut with the bride, where her relations are feasted. After four days, the married couple, the bridegroom's parents, and uncle go to the bride's hut where they are feasted. The number does not exceed five. The married couple then return to the husband's hut where they remain until they have children. "It is said that the mother of a Pulaya bride in Travancore is by a curious custom not permitted to approach the bridegroom on the wedding day or after, lest she should cause ceremonial pollution."* This custom is not in vogue now.

Elopement

Owing to disagreement between the parents of a man and woman, a man may run away with a woman whom he loves, and remains concealed for some time. They are brought back, and the Valluvan fines them to an amount not exceeding twelve chuckrams. The amount is collected by the clansmen, who condone the offence, and the Pulaya is allowed to marry the woman.

* Thurston—Ethnographic Notes in Southern India; page 21.

Polygamy

Polygamy is widely prevalent among the Kānapulayas. Instances of men having five and six wives are observed even now. According to Westermarck, one factor that influences this form of marriage is the numerical proportion of the number of available males and females. Whenever there is a marked or more or less permanent majority of marriageable women in a savage tribe, polygamy is allowed. At the lower stages of civilization, every man endeavours to marry, when he has reached the age of puberty and practically every woman gets married.† Among the Pulayas, the females do not exceed the males. The number of females for every 1,000 males is 973 according to the Census of 1931. The real reason for polygamy is then of an economic or social character. It contributes to a man's material comfort or increases his wealth through the labour of his wives. It also adds to his social importance, reputation, and authority. The use of women as labourers accounts for the tendency to polygamy. Polygamy is gradually declining. The Kānapulayas of the present day are mostly monogamous.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder or younger brother. A woman remains unmarried for a year after her husband's death, and the proposal for marriage is made after one year. After they are married, the children pass on to his care.

Sororate

A man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. He may marry her even during the life time of his first wife.

† Westermarck—The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization—pp. 180—184.

Divorce

Divorce is resorted to when a woman falls to evil ways or when she is in poor health. The husband informs the elders of the clan who ask her relations to take her. A woman who does not like her husband may leave him after paying the amount spent on the marriage, while a man is not entitled to the return of the money, if he leaves her. In the former case, the new husband provides her with the money.

Adultery

Adultery in woman is more severely punished. The offence is very rare, as it is believed that the spirits of the deceased Virgins (Kannis) would wreak their vengeance on the guilty woman. When a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, the elders meet the relations of both parties. The Valluvan conducts the enquiry. If the man is found guilty, and if he agrees to pay a heavy fine, the offence is condoned. He seeks the pardon of all. If he is not amenable to their decision, they will be treated as outcastes. If a man commits adultery with a woman of another clan, the Valluvan imposes a fine of six annas on the culprits. They are then married. The fine is spent on the purchase of pansupari. All chew and depart.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a seclusion-shed which is about twenty-five feet away from the hut. Pollution lasts for fifteen days. During this period, she is confined to the seclusion-shed throughout the day and she is forbidden to play with her friends. On the first day, there is a malapāttu by a Pulayan. As soon as it is over, cocoanuts are broken and the

water is poured over the head of the girl. The broken halves are then distributed among the four Valluvans and seven castemen are invited to take part in the ceremony. They bring some rice, toddy, and vegetables to defray the expenses. Some more water is poured over the head of the girl at the time, and each of the Valluvans is paid one measure of rice. At dawn the mother gives oil to seven Pulaya maidens and the daughter for oil bath. After bath, the girl is neatly dressed and adorned. She stands before a few Pulayas, who play on the drum and the flute to cast devils, if any, from her body. If there is, the girl leaps with frantic movements, and the Pulaya transfers them to a tree by nailing them. The girl is again bathed with her friends who are feasted on their return home.

Menstruation

According to Jagor, a menstruating woman is segregated for seven days in an isolated hut which even her mother does not enter.* Among the Kānapulayas, a woman remains in a seclusion-shed for three days. Though she bathes on the fourth day, she can enter kitchen and cook food only on the seventh day.

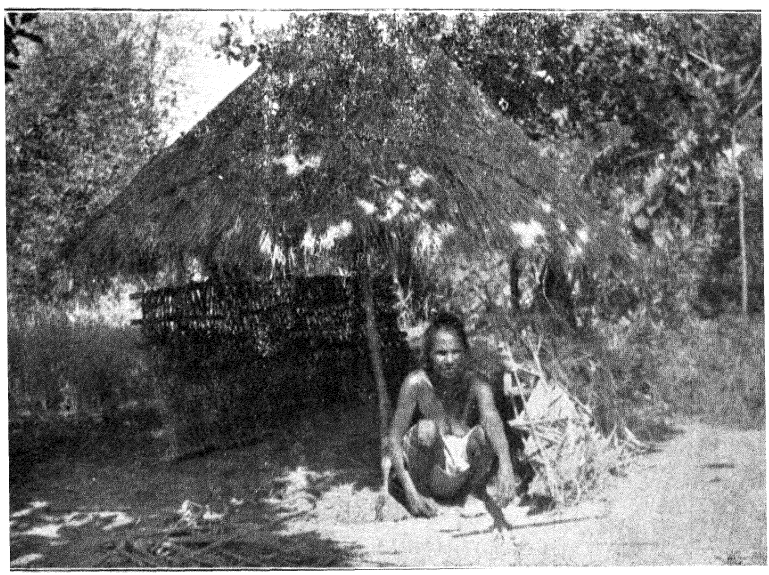
Pregnancy

A ceremony called Vayathu pongal is celebrated in the seventh month of pregnancy in the husband's hut at the expense of the woman's father. An oblation of rice is made to the rising sun and a small feast is given to the assembled Pulayas. The Vēlāthan or Pulaya exorcisor performs various incantations for the safe delivery of the child. A few drops of tamarind juice are poured into the mouth of the pregnant woman.

* Briffault—The Mothers—Vol. II page 38



A KANAPULAYA FAMILY IN FRONT OF THE HUT.



A KANAPULAYA SECLUSION-SHED.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to a seclusion-shed, the approach of which is pollution for the other Pulayas. Pollution lasts for fifteen days. It is the mother who assists in the delivery, but the services of a midwife are availed of in the event of any complication. On the 28th day, the nūlkettu (tying of thread) ceremony is performed, when the aunt ties the thread round the neck of the baby. Pollution then ceases. Names are after gods or of persons in the maternal line. During the sixth or seventh year of a boy or girl, the Valluvan bores the ears with a sharp needle. The wound is healed by the application of cocoanut oil. The caste men are fed. The landlord gives a rupee worth of paddy to meet the expenses. After feasting, they go drum-beating to the house of the landlord and present him with beaten rice. The Valluvan gets eight annas worth of paddy, cocoanut, a vessel of rice, and four annas.

Inheritance

Inheritance was in the female line. Property is now divided equally between son and nephew in the case of self-acquired property. Ancestral property goes to the nephew. In the absence of son and nephew, property devolves on the daughter and niece.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Kānapulayas is of the type called classificatory, but it has certain interesting features arising out of the absence of cross-cousin marriage among them. A list of kinship terms

together with forms used in direct address is given below:—

I. Relations through father

1.	Great grandfather	Pōthi
2.	Great grandmother	Ammūvamma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Father	Aschan
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Valiaschan
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Valiamma
9.	Father's younger brother	Kochaschan
10.	Father's younger brother's wife	Kochamma
11.	Father's sister	Ammāvi
12.	Father's sister's husband	Ammāvan
13.	Father's sister's son	Machunan
14.	Father's sister's daughter	Pengal, if elder, or by name, if younger.

II. Relations through mother

1.	Great grandfather	Pōthi
2.	Great grandmother	Ammūvamma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Mother's brother	Ammāvan

6.	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
7.	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Kochamma, if younger
8.	Mother's brother's son	Machinan
9.	Mother's brother's daughter	Pengal, if elder or by name, if younger.

III. Relations through wife

1.	Wife	No name
2.	Wife's father	Aschan
3.	Wife's mother	Amma
4.	Wife's brother	Machambi
5.	Wife's sister	Mayini.

IV. Relations through husband

1.	Husband's father	Aschan
2.	Husband's mother	Amma
3.	Husband's brother	Machambi
4.	Husband's sister	Mayini.

In the foregoing list, it is observed that:—

1. The father's father, mother's father, the father's mother, and mother's mother:—Appūppan and Ammūmma are the names given to the grandfather and grandmother on both sides.

2. Father's sister's husband and mother's brother:—Ammāvan is the name given to the above persons and Ammāvi to their wives. Cross-cousin marriage does not exist among them. Husband's father and wife's father are known as aschan, and husband's mother and wife's mother, Amma.

3. Machunan is used alike for father's sister's son, mother's sister's son, husband's brother, and wife's brother, and mayini for father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, wife's sister, and husband's sister. A man does not talk with his aunt.

Family

The family consists of husband, wife, and children. The father is the head of the family and exercises his authority over the children. He is responsible for their maintenance. Married boys find a separate home.

Social Organization

The Kānapulayas have a complete village organization. Public affairs are regulated by an assembly of elders who decide caste disputes and punish delinquents. The Aikara Yajamanan is their recognized leader. Subordinate to him are the Valluvans whose jurisdictions extend over particular villages or desams. It is an assembly composed of these heads and chieftains that sit in judgment over the erring Pulayas. In addition to these, the landlords under whom they serve as agricultural labourers exercise a good deal of influence in the settlement of caste and other disputes.

The Valluvan is the headman and priest of the tribe. He prides himself on five privileges:— (1) the long umbrella *i. e.,* an umbrella with a long handle. (2) the five coloured umbrella. (3) bracelets (4) long ear-rings. (5) a box for keeping betel leaves. He is called Vallon or Valiyavan in the Cochin State. He is the supreme judge and law giver and is responsible for the good behaviour of his people. His staff consists of (i) Kuruppan or Accountant who assists the Valluvan in the discharge of duties (ii) Kōmarāttan or Devil-dancer (iii) Kaikkaran or representative of the people

(iv) the Vadikkaran who brings the parties to a suit, keeps order, and inflicts punishment. The Kōmarāttan only exists among the Kānapulayas. We have here a complete picture of village organization on a territorial basis as it existed in the past. It has almost vanished now.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried in a retired spot of the garden itself. The nephew was the chief mourner. Both the son and the nephew now perform the ceremony. Just before death, the dying person is given some gruel. The Kōmarāttan and the Valluvan are invited. After death, the body is washed by a near relative and cocoa-nut oil and turmeric are rubbed over it. Four or six persons carry the corpse to the graveyard. After it is laid on the ground, a penitent prayer is offered to the Sun by those who carried it thither. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. The Pulayas of Malabar observe pollution for twenty-two days, and in the extreme south of that district, for forty-two days. In Cochin State, it lasts for fifteen days.

In the Cochin State, a few plantain leaves with rice flour and paddy are placed near the corpse to serve as food to the spirit of the deceased. The chief mourner erects a mound of earth on the southern side of the hut and uses it as a place of worship for seven days, where he prostrates both morning and evening. On the eighth day, friends, relatives, and Vallon come. The devil dancer blows the conch to find out the position of the ghost. If the spirit is kept under restraint by some deity, the ceremony of deliverance has to be performed after which the spirit is set up as a household deity.*

* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K.—The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. 1 —

Religion

The Kānapulayas worship the Sun in Vrischigam, Kumbham, and Meenam. A quarter measure of rice is cooked in new pots which may number from twelve to hundred and eight. When the rice boils, they pray, "I leave here the offerings that I decided to make in the name of my children even at the sacrifice of a portion of my food. Pray accept."

The Kānapulayas believe that spirits of ancestors exercise a great influence on their family. They make offerings of rice, beaten rice, fried rice, cocoanut, toddy and arrack to ancestor-spirits during Kanni and Makaram, and pray, "Oh ancestors, be well disposed to us." They also worship Parakutty, Karikutty, and Chāthan. They are also devout worshippers of Kāli whose aid is invoked in times of danger and illness.

Habitations

The dwellings of the Kānapulayas are neat huts formed of junglewood posts with walls of mud or laterite stones and thatched with straw. They are generally situated by the side of paddy flats or nestle under trees along their borders, so that they may watch the crops after the toil of the day is over. The floor is slightly raised from the level of the ground and is damp in rainy weather. The cooking is done inside the hut. The surroundings are neat. A few mats form their only furniture, and a few pots, their utensils. A wooden mortar and a few pestles are also found in their huts. About 25 feet away from the hut is the seclusion-shed, where women in menses remain.

"The Pulayas knew how to make fire by friction of wood as well as stone. They take a triangular cut of stone, and one flat oblong size. They hit one another with the maintenance of coir and cotton; then fire sets in immediately; also by rubbing the two barks frequently with each other, they make fire."* This custom does not exist now.

Diet

The Kānapulayas live on rice only for a few months in the year after harvest. At other times, they live on fruits and roots. They eat flesh. Toddy is their favourite drink. Men and women refresh themselves with it after their hard labour.

Dress

The only clothing of the Kānapulaya is a piece of coarse cloth fastened round the loins and a small piece of cloth tied round the head as a head dress. To women as well as men, it was forbidden till 1865 any clothing whatever above the waist. The Pulaya women do not cover their breasts generally, but a change is now coming, and young women put on jackets.

Ornaments

Men wear no ornaments. The women used to wear a number of bead strings and shells round their necks, but the influence of Kerala Hindu Mission workers has been so strong that they have now given up the use of these ornaments. A string alone is now found around their necks. They have also given up the use of bangles.

Occupation

The Kānapulayas are engaged in the agricultural operations of their masters from Edavam (May) to the end of Thulam (November). They are free from work

* Thurston—Ethnographic Notes in Southern India—page 468.

in Vrischigam (November—December), but are engaged again in agricultural operations in Dhanu (December—January) and Makaram (January—February). During February, March, April, they are free from the work of their masters. They then go out for work. Men get four or five chuckrams as daily wages and noon meal. When they work for their masters, the men are given daily 1½ measures of paddy and women, one measure as wages and meal at noon. The women also collect grass and sell headloads of them for two or three chuckrams a load.



A WESTERN PULAYA MALE GROUP.

III. PADINJARAN PULAYA

INTRODUCTION — TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE WESTERN PULAYA — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — LEVIRATE — SORORATE — DIVORCE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — CHILD-BIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — INHERITANCE — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Introduction

The Padinjāran Pulayas are found in the western parts of Tiruvalla and Changanaseri taluqs, while the Kizhakkan (Eastern) Pulayas are found about Pullad, Mallapalli and other pakuthies in the eastern parts of the State. The Western Pulayas claim superiority over the Eastern Pulayas because the latter eat beef.

Traditions of Origin

The Eastern Pulayas claim that they were slaves of Duryodana, while the Western Pulayas claim that they were the slaves of the Pandavas. They formed rival parties in the war of the Mahabharatha. The defeat of Duryodana is said to be the cause of the degradation of the Eastern Pulayas.* It is also said that the Eastern and Western Pulayas are the descendants of two sisters and that the younger lent her bill-hook to a Parayan to cut the flesh of a cow. When the bill-hook was returned, she asked for the koduval kuli (hire for lending the bill-hook). The hire was received in the form of flesh. When the news of the receiving of flesh from the Paraya received publicity, she was declared an

* Padmanabha Menon, K. P.—History of Kerala—Vol. II—p. 482.

outcaste. The Eastern Pulayas are said to be her descendants, and the Western Pulayas, descendants of the elder sister. The Eastern Pulayas thus fell into a degraded position, and had to stand at a distance of 64 feet from the Western Pulayas, and were not allowed to come within 40 feet of the huts of the latter. Should an Eastern Pulaya fail to comply with this rule, the Western Pulaya had to burn his hut, and the Eastern Pulaya has to make good the loss by his labour and payment of cash. The above distance pollution has disappeared since the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation. The Western Pulaya neither interdines nor intermarries with the Eastern Pulaya.

Internal Structure of the Western Pulaya

The Western Pulayas are divided into a number of exogamous clans which are given below:—

1. Vella illom
2. Kārillom
3. Parithi illom
4. Vetti illom
5. Konchillom
6. Thachan illom
7. Ādi illom
8. Nanali illom
9. Olavantha illom
10. Thingal illom
11. Elanāt illom
12. Perikina illom
13. Thala illom
14. Kanni illom
15. Myla illom.

The Vetti illakars are superior to the members of the other clans, because they planted stones as deities in Kavus (groves). Konchillakars come next. In the absence of the former, Konchillakars did this work. The Vetti illakars can marry a woman from all the other clans. They are dying out. A woman retains her clan after marriage. Children take after the clan of the mother. Names for females are chosen from the maternal line, and those of males from the paternal

line. The solidarity of the clan is observed in the fact that all members of the clan help each other at marriages, funerals and on other occasions. Pollution by death is observed by all members of the clan.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A girl is generally married before puberty which is usually attained between the age of fifteen and seventeen. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. Kettukalyanam is rigidly observed before a girl attains puberty. The ceremony may be performed by the son of her uncle or father's sister. In that case she joins him after she attains puberty. If this does not materialise, a man of another clan ties the tāli. Age is no consideration. He may be a boy of five or six years of age. All the other illakars are invited to settle the marriage. The father will inform them that no one has come forward to perform the kettukalyanam of his daughter and requests them to advise him on the matter. He agrees to their choice. The Kaniyan fixes the date for the ceremony. He is paid ten chuckrams. They are given pansupari. When the ceremony is about to begin, the Kuruppan is given one and one-fourth measure of paddy, one chuckram of tobacco, betel and nut. He gives his consent to the marriage. Three measures of paddy and tobacco are placed in the booth for the uncle of the girl who places a tāli and thread over the paddy. The tāli-tier ties the tāli round the neck of the girl with the consent of the illakar. The girl's uncle takes the paddy and tobacco. A feast follows. The expenses are met by the father and uncle of the girl. The clansmen also render some help in the matter. When the girl attains puberty, she is given in marriage to the chosen bridegroom, who has to pay fourteen rupees and ten paras

of paddy to the girl's father, ten fanams (about 1½ rupees) to the Karakar, 12 chuckrams to the Kuruppan, and 12 chuckrams to his machinan (brother-in-law). On an auspicious day, the man gives a muri (cloth), thortu, and jacket to the girl and three rupees to her mother. A feast is given. The Kānapanam to the father, Kuruppan, Machinan, and mother is given after the feast. When the bridegroom goes with his wife to his house, the mother gives her daughter five measures of rice, an aruval (reaper), a mat, and a comb. This is given in return for three rupees given by the man.

In case the tāli-tier does not claim the girl as his wife, she is married to another man outside the clan. The boy's uncle, father and two others go to the girl's house to settle the marriage, when the girl's uncle is present. One of the illakars says that a bride-price of twenty-one rupees should be paid. The bride-groom-elect gives a pair of cloths and jacket which she dons. At the auspicious moment, he ties a tāli. Feasting follows. The girl's uncle then hands over the girl to the boy's uncle saying, "Take care of her without inflicting any harm to her eyes or legs. If the expenditure is small, you attend on her. If it involves large expenditure, inform us." The bridegroom takes his wife to his hut. The girl's father invites the married couple to his hut on the seventh day. They go with seven measures of beaten rice, half a pound of tobacco, and one bottle of arrack along with seven men. They are treated to a feast. The son-in-law then hands over the beaten rice. The couple are then sent back to their home with 15 edangalies of paddy.

Polygamy

A man may marry more than one woman. It is said that some men had seven wives. There are now



A TYPICAL HUT.

men with three wives. The wives live in different huts. They are earning members of the family and are helpful to the husband. It is said that, before a Pulaya dies, he says, "My nephew shall inherit the mortar and pestle, and my youngest wife." He keeps his aunt as his wife. The custom has almost died out. Among the Garos of Assam, it is said that the nokrong (house-supporter), who is usually his sister's son comes to live in his house as the husband of one of his daughters and when he dies marries also his widow.* Such relationship exists between the nephew and uncle's wife among the Bantus.†

Levirate

A man marries the wife of his deceased elder brother. The elder brother cannot marry the wife of his deceased younger brother. In the former case, her children are taken care of by him.

Sororate

A man may marry the sister of his wife in her life time, but he has to meet the bride-price and other incidental expenditure.

Divorce

A man may divorce his wife owing to incompatibility of temper. In such a case, the woman goes to her own house. When she is married by another man, he pays twenty-one rupees, of which seven rupees are paid to her former husband, while the balance remains with her father.

* Hodson, T. C. India. Census Ethnography. 1901-1931 p. 41.

† The Frazer Lectures —1922—1932. Edited by R. E. Dawson, The Evolution of Kinship by Hartland—p. 22

Adultery

Marriage bonds are loose among the Padinjāran Pulayas. When a man commits adultery with a woman of another clan and disappears with her, they are brought back. The elders meet and the Kuruppan enquires into the complaint. If it is found that the man is guilty, he is fined ten fanams and a quarter pound of tobacco. The offence is condoned and they are married. The man has to pay twenty-one rupees the least to the woman's father.

Puberty Customs

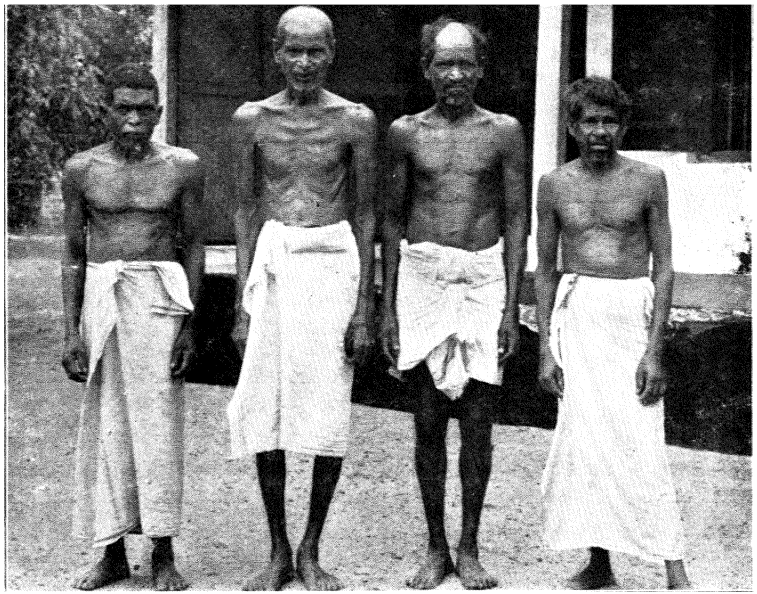
When a girl attains puberty, she is kept in a seclusion-shed for three days without being seen by any man. On the fourth day, she bathes, in the company of women, and enters her home. Beaten rice and toddy are distributed among them. Both the husband and father of his wife collect rice and provisions and have a feast after fifteen days.

Pregnancy Customs

In the seventh month there is a pulikudi ceremony, in which the uncle gives some tamarind juice to his niece. On the seventh day, they have a kolam thullal to remove evil influences. The expenses of this are met both by the husband and her father. The thullal is held at night and three men take part in it.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to a seclusion-shed. Pollution after the birth lasts for sixteen days. The husband lives on toddy and beaten rice for ten days, and must take no other food. On the seventeenth day the mother bathes and enters the home.



WESTERN PULAYA CHIEFTAINS.

Naming

Males are named Thēvan, Azhakan, Chōti, Daivathan, Kunjola, Kandola, and Keliyan, and females, Azhaki, Ōma, Olaki, Māla, Pūma, Thaliri, and Kuliri. Male children are named after members in the paternal line, and female children, after members in the maternal line.

Inheritance

Inheritance was formerly in the female line. Property now devolves on sons and nephew.

Social Organization

The Pulayas have a Valluvan for a group of Karas. Under him comes the Kuruppan. There are two Kurups for each Kara, Elankallur Kuruppan and Baghavathi Kuruppan. The former is the head of a Kara. The Baghavathi Kuruppan maintains order and settles dispute in the presence of Elankallur Kuruppan. Then comes the Kaikaran who holds the umbrella of the Kuruppu. The Madikaran manages the feasting in a ceremony. Then come the Vītadiyanmars four in number. There is a Vellāthan (medicine-man) for each kara.

IV. KIZHAKKAN PULAYA

INTRODUCTION — INTERNAL STRUCTURE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — ELOPEMENT — LEVIRATE — SORORATE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — CHILDBIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — INHERITANCE — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — RELIGION — ANCESTOR-WORSHIP — AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

The Kizhakkan (Eastern) Pulayas are found in the eastern portion of Thiruvalla and Changanaseri taluqs. They are lower in social status than the Western Pulayas, as they had to observe a distance pollution of sixty-four feet with the Western Pulayas. They had to observe the same distance in the case of the Parayas. In the event of pollution, the Western Pulaya had to bathe in water and pour the juice of the pola, (leaf-sheaths) of plantain (Musa paradisiaca) over the head; the pollution then ceased. The Eastern Pulayas poured water over the head. It was said that, if a Paraya did not pour water over his head when polluted, the vessels would break. With the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation, distance pollution vanished.

Internal Structure

The Eastern Pulayas are divided into the following clans:—

1. Thachan illom
2. Konchi illom
3. Kanna illom
4. Vayana illom
5. Ammara illom
6. Kata illom

7. Velli illom
8. Teyya illom
9. Puliya illom
10. Thingal illom
11. Nannara illom
12. Olavantha illom.

The clans are exogamous. A woman retains her clan after marriage. Children retain the clan of mother. Members of the Thachan, Konchi, Puliya, and Vayana illoms are said to be superior to other illakars. The Valluvan and Kuruppan are chosen from the Thachan and Konchi illoms. The solidarity of the clan is seen in the observance of death pollution for sixteen days by all the clansmen.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Eastern Pulayas observe a Kettukalyanam before a girl attains puberty. On the auspicious date, the tāli-tier or future husband ties the tāli and he is given a cloth and ten chuckrams. When the girl reaches the age of marriage, the boy's uncle and father seek the hand of the girl to her father and uncle and reach a decision. After seven days, the boy's uncle and father distribute two pounds of tobacco, betel leaves and nuts between the uncle and the father of the girl. The match is made and the date of the marriage fixed. On the day of marriage, a feast is given at the house of the bridegroom in which the bride's relations take part. They then proceed to the bride's hut in the evening with eight paras of paddy, three pounds of tobacco, a pair of cloths, and thirty chuckrams (about one rupee one anna). They are given provisions with which they cook and eat. The next morning the bridegroom ties a necklace of beads round the bride's neck. All are treated to a feast. The uncle receives the paddy and tobacco, which was brought the previous evening. He gives two measures of paddy and two annas to the bride's father. Each clansman receives a measure of

paddy. The uncle gets six annas. The married couple proceed to the bridegroom's hut after the function. Pre-puberty coition is common among them. The Eastern Pulayas are generally monogamous. The custom of a man marrying the youngest wife of his uncle does not obtain among them.

Elopement

If a man elopes with the wife of another, the Valluvan may declare them outcaste, if they are of the same clan. The stigma ceases, if the man gives a feast to all the Karakkars and pays a chuckram to each man. As an alternative, he may pay a fine of twenty-four chuckrams (about fourteen annas) to the Valluvan. The woman will be restored to her husband.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his elder brother. The children also pass to his care.

Sororate

A man may marry the sister of his deceased wife.

Adultery

When a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, the elders meet and the Valluvan fines them seven chuckrams (four annas). They are then separated. If a man commits the offence with a woman of a different clan, he is fined four annas and they are allowed to remain as husband and wife. He has to pay eight paras of paddy, tobacco, and thirty chuckrams (about one rupee one anna).

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is confined to a seclusion-shed for seven days. On the eighth day she

bathes. She undergoes purification through liquid cow-dung being sprinkled over her.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to seclusion-shed. Pollution after the birth lasts for sixteen days. If the baby is male, the husband abstains from food for five days. If the baby is female, he does so for seven days. During this period he lives on toddy and beaten rice, provided for him by his sister and nieces. He is not debarred from attending to his work.

Naming

Males are named Azhakan, Daivathan, Kannan, Pālan, Pynkili, Omal, Anchan, Karamban, and Thēthan, while females are called Azhaki, Daivatha, Kuruka, Kuliri, Thaliri, Poliyal, Omathal, and Chembagam.

Inheritance

Inheritance was formerly in the female line. Property is now divided equally between son and nephew.

Social Organization

The Eastern Pulayas have a Kuruppan as their head in a kara. He has a Vadikaran to hold his umbrella. He exercises general supervision over the tribe and is entitled to twelve and a half measures of paddy, one cocoanut, tobacco, and one bottle of toddy on marriage occasions and on the sixteenth day during funeral ceremonies. During the Makaravilakku festival at Aranmula, he is led in procession to the temple to the accompaniment of tom-tom. The Valluvan is a dignitary higher in rank to the Kuruppan who settles all disputes in the kara. The Vadikaran carries out the orders of the Valluvan. There is also a Vēlan who is

an adept in divination and foretells coming events. His help is also sought in case of illness.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried. Formerly the nephew was the chief mourner. Now the son and nephew perform the ceremony. Pollution lasts for sixteen days in the case of the nephew, while the sons and wife of the deceased observe pollution for five days. On the seventeenth day, an offering of rice, toddy, flesh and plantain is made by the Vellāthan to the spirits of the ancestors:— "Oh Ancestor-spirits of diverse denominations, accommodate the spirit of the dead in your fold and accept the offerings made to you. Wish us well and may your interest be marked by increase of our progeny." The offerings are then partaken of. Old men and children are buried ten to fifteen feet away from the hut. A woman who dies in the family way is buried far away, as her spirit is supposed to do harm to them.

Religion

The Eastern Pulayas worship Murthi, Karimkali, Atta Pey, Kali Pey, and other spirits. An offering of a fowl is made to each of them at night on the 10th of Medom (23rd April) by the Kuruppan who makes the following prayer:— "Oh Karinkali, Mūrthi, pray accept our offering, inflict no harm on our family, and remain where you are." All the men take part in the ceremony.

They also worship the youngest of the Sapta Kanyakas who is called Bhadrakali. Bhadrakali is of two kinds, Kīzhu Bhadrakali and Mēl Bhadrakali. They worship only the former and make their offerings

of fowl in Vrischigam and Medom at night. The Vēlāthan (medicine-man) and the members of the clan remain celibate from Karkatagam (July — August) to Vrischigam (November—December). There is a thullal for two days. The Vēlāthan drinks the blood of the fowl. This goddess is worshipped in case there is no casualty in a clan for three years.

Ancestor worship

The Eastern Pulayas worship the spirits of ancestors on returning home after the worship of Mūrthi, Karimkali, and others. They make an offering of arrack, beaten rice, and flesh and pray, "Pray accept the offering made by my illakars, enangans, and Vēlan, after remaining celibate and accord us your protection."

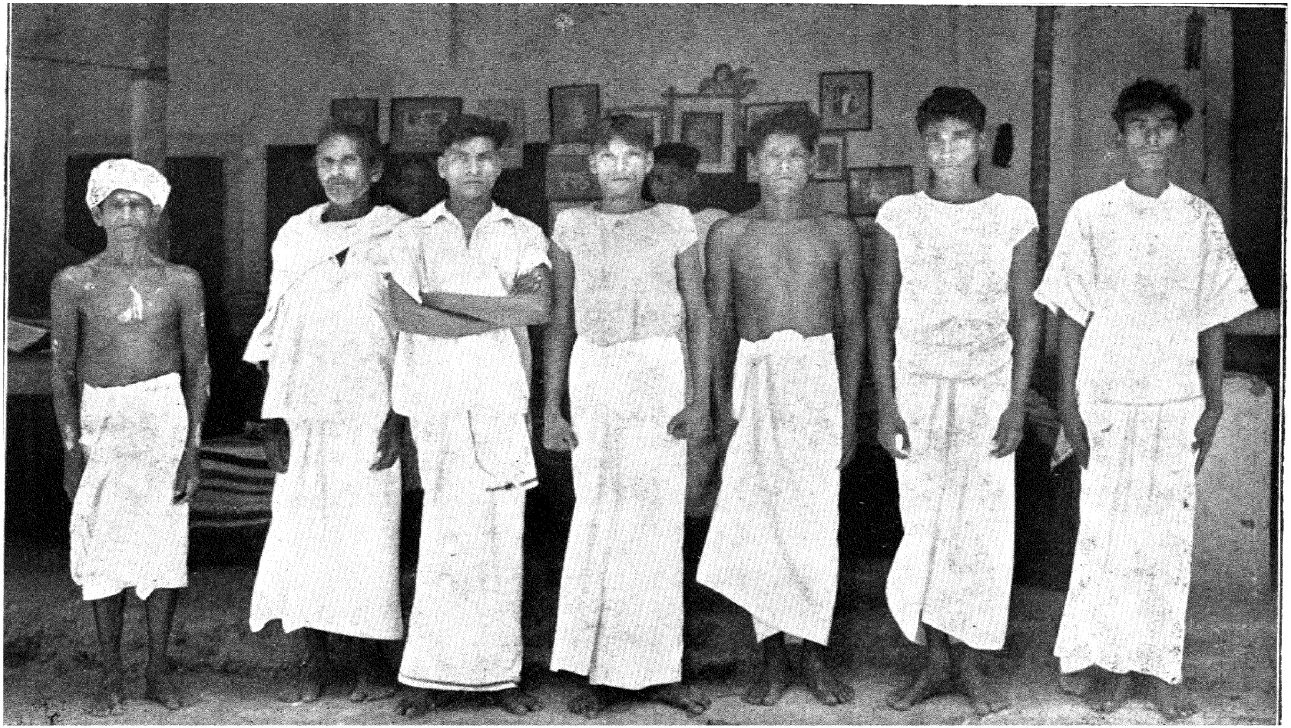
Agricultural Ceremonies

At the time of sowing, the Thala Pulaya observes continence for forty-one days from Kumbham (February). His master brings the seed to the field, and he receives it. The master gives five nazhis of paddy, one cocoanut, and a lamp. The Thala Pulaya contemplates his ancestors and keeps the offerings apart. He then sows the seeds, returns home, and converts the paddy into beaten rice. He also gets some toddy, and places the beaten rice on leaves in memory of his ancestors. Toddy is poured into a leafy cup and placed before the beaten rice on each leaf. He then prays, "Oh ancestor-spirits, when we begin our agricultural operations for the year, we salute you with the tender cocoanut, beaten rice, seed, and fried rice, and toddy given us by our masters. Pray accept them, mitigate our sorrows, remove all danger, and wish us well."

Before harvest, one sheaf of corn is reserved for the ancestor-spirits and Sāsta. The paddy is converted into beaten rice which is taken to a toddy shop and placed on leaves. Toddy is sprinkled on them, and the ancestor-spirits are invoked for their blessings.

Conclusion

The Eastern Pulayas are more commended for their honesty and obedience than the Western Pulayas and are said to be more reliable in work.



A SOUTHERN PULAYA MALE GROUP.

V. SOUTHERN PULAYA

Introduction — Internal Structure — Marriage Customs and Ceremonies — Polygamy — Polyandry — Divorce — Puberty Customs — Menstruation — Child-birth — Inheritance — Social Organization — Funeral Ceremonies — Religion — Ancestor-worship — Worship of Mariamma — Omens — Agricultural Ceremonies — Conclusion.

Introduction

The Southern Pulayas are found in the taluqs of Neyyattinkara and Vilavancode in South Travancore along with the Ina Pulayas. The former claims superiority over the latter. They neither interdine nor intermarry. The Southern Pulayas form the right hand division (Valavar) and the Ina Pulayas, the left hand division (Edavar).

Internal Structure

The Southern Pulayas are divided into a number of clans, Velli illom, Eri illom, Chō illom, Vela illom, Kāri illom, Mānikkam illom, Vayal illom, Mūttillom, and Panni illom. The clans are exogamous. The Kārillakars can marry a woman from all the clans except Eri illom. Similarly, Velli illakars and Vayal illakars can marry a woman from all the clans but Chō illom and Vella illoms. These restrictions however are gradually disappearing. The solidarity of the clans is indicated by the use of brother and sister in calling each other, and ammāvan for elderly men. The Ina Pulayas are sub-divided into the following clans:— Nelli illom, Nanni illom, Thachan illom, Karipodi illom,

Velli illom, Konchillom, Kōl illom, Adi illom, Olavanta illom, and Parithi illom. The clans are exogamous. A woman after marriage retains her clan. Children take after the clan of the mother.

In the Cochin State, Thachan illom and Paruthi illom are found among the Pulayas. In the Chittur taluq of British Malabar, members of the same village do not marry as they believe that their ancestors may have been the slaves of some landlord, and may have descended from the same parents, though their relationship may have been forgotten.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

In South Travancore, girls are married both before and after puberty. A man can marry a woman of any clan other than his own. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. Betrothal also takes place of a girl two or three years old to a boy of six or seven. The uncle plays an important part in the settlement of a marriage. Barring Kumbham (February) and Karkatakam (July), all the months are auspicious for marriage. The parents and uncle of the boy go to the girl's house to settle the marriage. It is said that proposals for marriage are made seven days after a girl attains puberty. In case of agreement the boy's father gives a bride-price (achipanam) of an amount rising to 150 fanams (about 21½ rupees) to the girl's uncle who hands over the amount to the girl's father. A bridegroom-price has also to be paid to the extent of twenty-eight rupees. It may rise to 1,000 fanams (about 142½ rupees). This arrangement is made the same day. Pre-marital chastity is enforced. The date of the marriage is fixed in consultation with the Kaniyan. The marriage takes place in the bride's hut.

The day previous to a marriage, they engage in stick play for which eight men form the quorum. The bridegroom presents the bride with a pair of cloths. He ties the tāli round her neck in the marriage-booth and a feast follows. The married couple then stand in the marriage-booth to take leave of the gathering, when the bride gives betel and nut to the elders, who present her with cash from one fanam to one rupee. This is called Vettilapanam. They then go to the bridegroom's hut, where the bride's party is feasted. On the seventh day, the married couple are invited to the bride's hut by her father. They remain there for a day and return to his hut. They live separately for a month. Pre-puberty coition is tacitly allowed.

Polygamy

Polygamy is becoming rare now. There are a few with two wives.

Polyandry

Fraternal polyandry is found among the Pulayas of Neyyattinkara taluq. They are so poor that they cannot afford to have a wife each and maintain a separate house-hold.

Divorce

Divorce is resorted to when a woman falls into evil ways or when she is unhealthy. A woman may leave her husband after returning the money spent on their marriage. The new husband provides her with the money. A man is not entitled to his money, if he forsakes his wife.

Puberty Customs

In Neyyattinkara taluq, the custom was that, on a girl attaining puberty, she remained for sixteen days

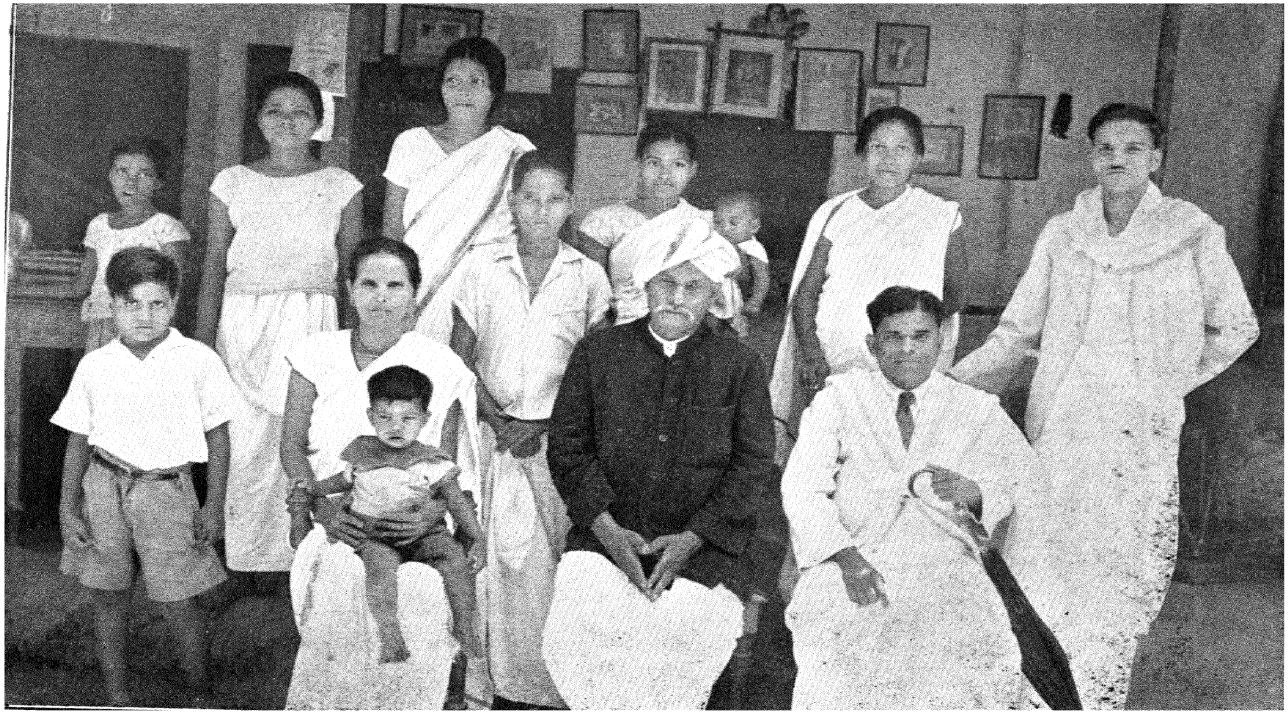
in a seclusion-shed which was about 100 feet from the hut. On the tenth day, the relations brought toddy and beaten rice and all partake of it. They also decide what should be done on the sixteenth day. On the eleventh day, the girl underwent purification by a thalippu (sprinkling of salt water). The girl remained in a nearer seclusion-shed for the next five days. On the sixteenth day, she bathed and underwent purification with salt water. At night there was a dance which lasted the whole night. The women played to the songs sung by the men. Pollution ceased only in the morning. The men received two or three rupees for their pains. This custom has now undergone modification. A woman remains in a seclusion-shed for four days. Girls keep her company. She abstains from meat or fish. She bathes on the eighth day, when she undergoes purification at the hands of a machambi. Feasting then follows for women.

Menstruation

A woman in menses remains in a seclusion-shed for seven days. On the eighth day, she enters home after bathing.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined to a seclusion-shed which used to be put about 200 feet from the main hut. The husband abstained from taking food for sixteen days, but could take toddy and beaten rice supplied by the wife's father during this period. On the eleventh day, she bathed and remained in a shed about 100 feet from the hut. On the sixteenth day, she bathed and entered the hut, when the husband broke his fast. This custom is supposed to help in the delivery, but a midwife (pathichi)



AYYANKALI (PULAYA LEADER) AND HIS FAMILY.

is summoned in the event of complication. The custom has now changed, and a woman remains in a seclusion-shed for sixteen days. On the 28th day is the nūlkettu ceremony, when the aunt ties the thread round the neck and loins of the baby. Pollution then ceases and the woman is free to work.

Inheritance

Inheritance was formerly in the female line. The son now inherits the property of the father owing to civilizing influences.

Social Organization

Owing to Christian missionary influence, the old organization has here died out completely. But through the activities of the Hindu Mission and the Harijan Seva Sangh, the Pulaya community, which had lost its old moorings, is now in a process of reintegration.

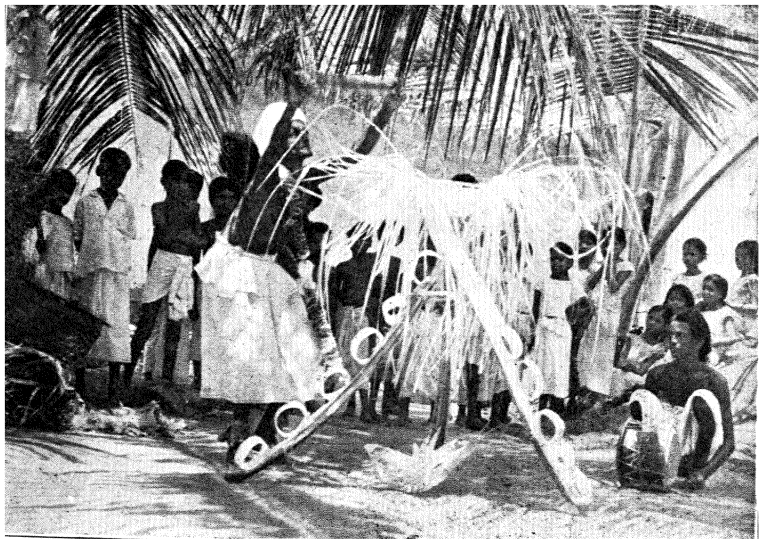
Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried. The son and nephew are the chief mourners. The body is carried to the grave, and laid in it. The walking stick, knife, and other articles belonging to the deceased are also put into the grave, which is then filled with earth. Cremation is coming in owing to change of economic conditions, as they do not get land for burial. They do not perform any ceremony after that of the sixteenth day. After a year, there is a thalippu which removes all pollution. During this period they cannot make any offering to Kannimar. In the event of a person dying of small-pox, the corpse is simply buried. No pollution is observed by son or nephew. The bones of the dead are exhumed at the end of the year, and are buried under a tree near the hut. A light is kept burning every

Friday night. They believe that Marudai is installed there to avoid any harm being done to the members of the family. An offering of cocoanut, fried rice, beaten rice, fowl, toddy, and arrack is made once a year at night, and the following prayer is made:—"Here we offer you a tithe of the receipts obtained by our labour. Pray accept them and protect us and our children for a year."

Religion

The Pulayas of South Travancore worship Mallan, Karinkāli, Mantiramūrthi, Bhadrakāli, and Anchu Thampuran. They have no temples. They instal their deities in a shed called thekkathu. Each of them is represented by a stone. The priest is an elderly man called pūjari. The worship to these deities is given only on auspicious occasions like Sivaratri or Sankramam. In Meenam (April), they perform the Vechūttu Utsavam for which an offering of rice, plantains, tender cocoanut, fried rice, goat, fowl, toddy, and beaten rice is made first to Mallan, Karinkāli, Mantiramūrthi, and Bhadrakāli at night. The priest remains celibate and he abstains from flesh, meat, and alcoholic drink. The ceremony begins at 7 P. M. and ends by 10 A. M. the next day. The priest and his assistants sing songs in honour of the deities to the accompaniment of drum and pipe. Tender cocoanut, plantains, beaten rice, fried rice, and toddy are offered separately to Mantiramūrthi, Karinkāli, Mādan Thampuran, and Bhadrakāli. The following prayer is then made:— "Oh Mallan, Karinkāli, I have made you an offering of fried powdered paddy, tender cocoanut, three betel leaves, small honey, sandal paste, on a tender leaf in front of a lighted lamp and a mirror. Accept it with gladness."



SOUTHERN PULAYA MEDICINE-MAN.

On the termination of this offering, songs are sung in honour of Anchu Thampuran. On the termination of the song, goats and fowls are offered, their blood is let in five receptacles, and fried powdered paddy is thrown on it. The Gods are then sent to their destination. The song refers to the advent of the Pandavas to the hallowed spot, their propitation by sacrifice, and their departure.

Ancestor-worship

The Southern Pulayas worship demons and evil spirits of deceased ancestors (chāvus). The spirits of persons who die before they are sixteen years of age and of virgins receive special attention, as they are believed to haunt the earth with unsatisfied cravings. Mādan and Panchavar are the most popular deities. They have no temples, but raised squares in the midst of groves are used as places of worship. This class of supernatural being is held in mingled feelings of awe and respect, and worshipped by them once a year with diverse offerings.

Worship of Māriamma

The worship of Māriamma, Valia Chāvu, and Adikaram is done after the offerings to Anchu Thampuran. The sundry spirits included under Adikaram are Polikalathu Mallan, Kātholappan Pillai, Kathirmuthu Chāthan, Ponmudi Valiya Chāvu, and others. An offering of tender cocoanut, fried rice, flowers, and rice is made with the prayer, "Accept the offering we have made with gladness and bless us."

In some of the high caste temples, special concessions were formerly given on particular occasions for the Pulayas to worship in them, standing at a long distance. Among such may be mentioned, the temples

at Parasala, Ochira, and Kumaranallur. At Sāstānkōtta in Kunnathur taluq, a special Saturday was set apart for the Pulayas to worship. This was called Pulasaniyazhcha. The Valluvan led the assembled group of men to the vicinity of the banyan tree and offerings of paddy, roots, plantain, game, pulse, and golden thread were made. Professor Oppert speaks of many shrines in South India where similar provision was made to corresponding classes on the east coast. The historic Temple Entry Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja Sri Chitra Tirunal removed at one stroke all age long restrictions placed on them in entering and worshipping at temples controlled by Government.

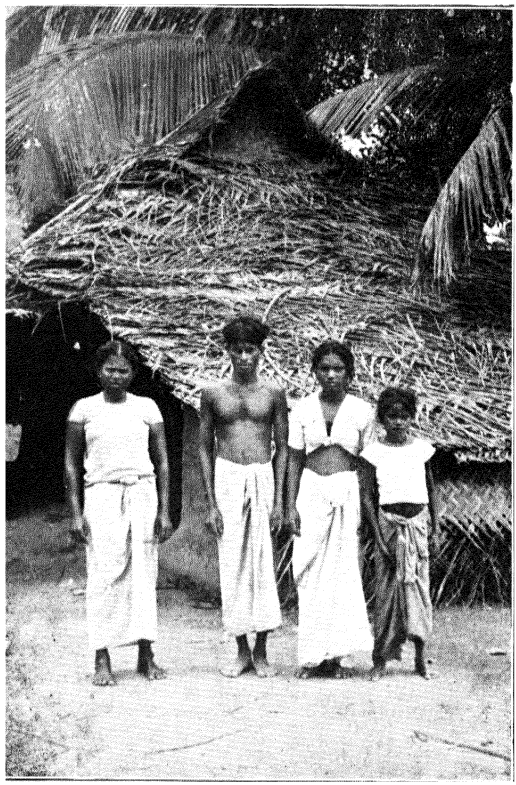
Exorcism is in great favour with the Pulayas and represents to them a sovereign remedy for all diseases. The Kokkara (iron rattle) is the instrument employed by the Pulaya exorcist for driving out evil spirit.

Omens

The Pulayas believe in omens. To see another Pulaya, to encounter an Izhava with a vessel in his hand are regarded as good omens. To be crossed by a cat, and to see a man carrying a bundle of cloths are regarded as bad omens.

Agricultural Ceremonies

The Pulayas are dependents of the landed aristocracy, and their agricultural ceremonies are intended more to placate their masters. Soon after harvest in Makaram (January—February), the agricultural operations begin. If the ploughing is begun the day after harvesting, an auspicious day need not be chosen. If it is started later, the master informs them of the auspicious day. Makam day in Kumbhom (February—



A VALLUVA PULAYA FAMILY.

March) is inauspicious for cattle. Women in menses do not approach land under cultivation. The committal of seeds to the soil is done by the 25th of Meenam (7th of April). The Pulaya carries the seed to the field, places it on the ground, and facing east, he offers the following prayer:— "Oh God, may the agricultural operation that I commence bring a good return and may it protect my master and myself." When the soil is ready for sowing of seeds, he prays, "Oh God, may the fields yield good crop. May the wash brought by the flood be laid over them. May it fertilise the soil and yield a rich crop. May our barn be full of produce." He then sows the seed. The Pulaya has to remain celibate for a week before sowing.

The season of harvest is a period of joy for the Pulayas. When harvest begins, the first sheaves are dedicated to spirits (Peypidi) and are stored on the top of a tree. After the completion of harvest in Chingam (August—September), the sheaves of corn are threshed, and the corn thus obtained is converted into beaten rice. This is taken to a hallowed spot (Peykāvu) and offered after sunset to the spirit. Formerly attention was paid to making this offering to ward off attacks of wild animals, but the custom is now dying out.

The sheaves are carried to the house of the landlord, where they are threshed by the men who are free from pollution. When threshing begins, a few stalks of corn are taken for their Gods and sprinkled with toddy and another man takes some sheaves for the reapers. This is called Aruppukathipūttu. The preservation of seed for cultivation the next year and paddy meant as offering for the deity needs purity on the part of the men. Such observance is said to bring prosperity for the next year.

Festivals

I. Kathirkala

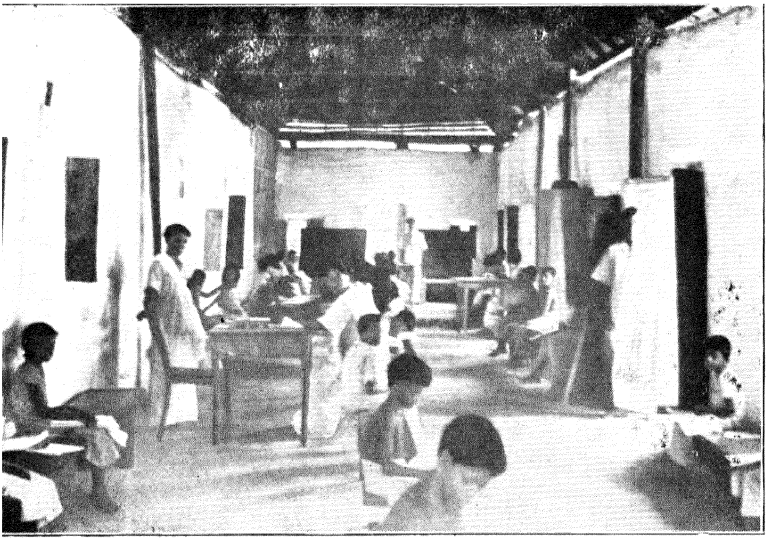
Another class of deities, whom the Pulayas worship, is called Thevaru Thampuran, gods whom high-caste Hindus are in the habit of worshipping at Parasala. The Pulayas are given certain special concessions on festive days at Nedumangad, Kumaranallur and Ochira. Two or three thousand men attend the annual festival in Meenam (March—April). One-third of the whole are Pulayas, the Parayas, and others who came from all surrounding places. They bring wooden models of cows covered with ears of corn. Many of these images are brought each in procession from its own place. The headmen are well dressed with clothes stained purple at the edge. The image on a bamboo frame, accompanied by a drum and men and women in procession, is carried round the temple: all participants amuse themselves for the day.

II. Irupathettum Varachal

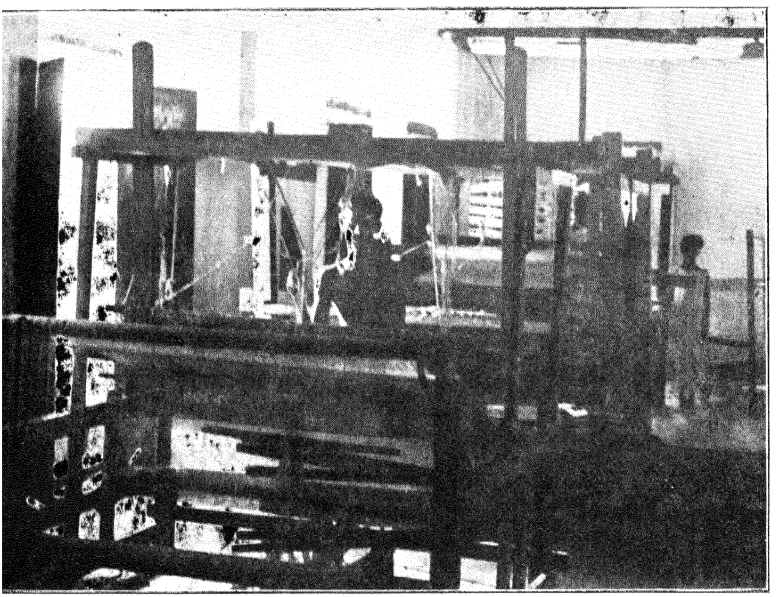
The 28th of Makaram (10th of February) is observed annually with ceremony. The Pulayas finish all work on the 27th evening. Cuttings of Karivilanji climber are thrown over the roofs of buildings and barns, and are tied round cocoanut, arecanut and jack trees. All men are forbidden to do any kind of work. It is a day reserved for hunting. The spoils of the chase are placed before Sasta or Ayiravalli as an offering and then partaken of by them.

Conclusion

The Pulayas of South Travancore have been under such strong missionary influence that over half the population embraced Christianity. The Roman Catholic



A PULAYA SCHOOL STARTED BY AYYANKALI.



A PULAYA WEAVING INSTITUTE.

Church, the Salvation Army, and the London Missionary Society for a long time carried on their work of conversion with much success. But a change has come about since the Kerala Hindu Mission began to work among the Pulayas, and many of them have returned to Hinduism.

VI. VALLUVA PULAYA

Introduction — Marriage Customs and Ceremonies — Polygamy — Levirate — Sororate — Adultery — Divorce — Puberty Customs — Child-birth — Inheritance — Tribal Organization — Funeral Ceremonies — Religion — Conclusion.

Introduction

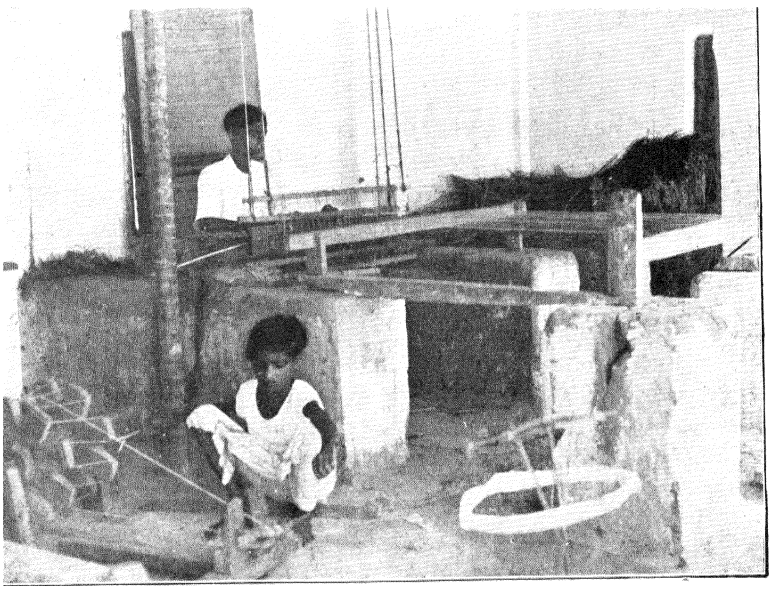
The Valluva Pulayas are found in the Quilon taluq of the Quilon division of Travancore. They are divided into the following exogamous clans.

1. Peringala illom
2. Panikara illom
3. Parithi illom
4. Karivila illom
5. Muttakayam illom
6. Thachan illom
7. Konchi illom
8. Pothiyadom illom
9. Nenmeli illom
10. Panakathan illom.

The Peringala, Parithi, Thachan, and Konchi are Annanthambi illoms, while Panikari, Muttakayam, Karivila, and Pothiyadom illoms are Machambi illoms. The Peringala and Parithi illoms are superior to the others. The Valluvan belongs to the Peringala illom. The children take after the clan of the mother who retains her clan after marriage. There are Valluvans for each clan. The solidarity of the clan is indicated by the mutual help on marriage occasions and in the observance of death pollution for sixteen days.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A girl is married after puberty is attained after the age of sixteen. The boy is about twenty years old. There is no betrothal among them. A man can marry



A PULAYA WEAVING MAT.

a woman from one of the Machambi illoms. The tālikettu kalyanam is not in vogue now. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. The Valluvan, boy's uncle, and father and aliyan go to the girl's house to settle the marriage. October, January, and March are auspicious for marriage. They present four chuckrams and a leaf of tobacco to the girl's uncle. If he agrees, the day for the marriage is fixed. It is considered as settled after a revel in toddy. A feast is now taking its place. On the marriage day, the bridegroom and party go to the bride's hut. The bridegroom presents her with a pair of cloths. Feasting follows. The bridegroom's uncle then pays twenty-one fanams (three rupees) to the bride's uncle and says, "Accept the ten rasis, and hand over your girl to us." The girl's uncle says, "Do not do any harm or injury to her limbs. Do not starve her." So saying, he hands over the bride to the bridegrooms's uncle. The bridegroom goes to his hut with his wife, where her people are either feasted or given pansupari and sent away.

Polygamy

A Valluva Pulaya may marry more than one wife. There are a few with three wives. The practice is, however, gradually dying out.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder brother. An elder brother may marry the wife of his deceased younger brother.

Sororate

A man cannot marry the sister of his wife in her life time. He may do so only after her death.

Adultery

When a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, the Valluvan inflicts a fine of not less than ten fanams. If the man pays the amount, they are allowed to live away from one another in the locality. Where a man commits adultery with a woman of another clan, a fine of five chuckrams (three annas) is inflicted and they are made to marry. He has to pay the bride-price or achipanam.

Divorce

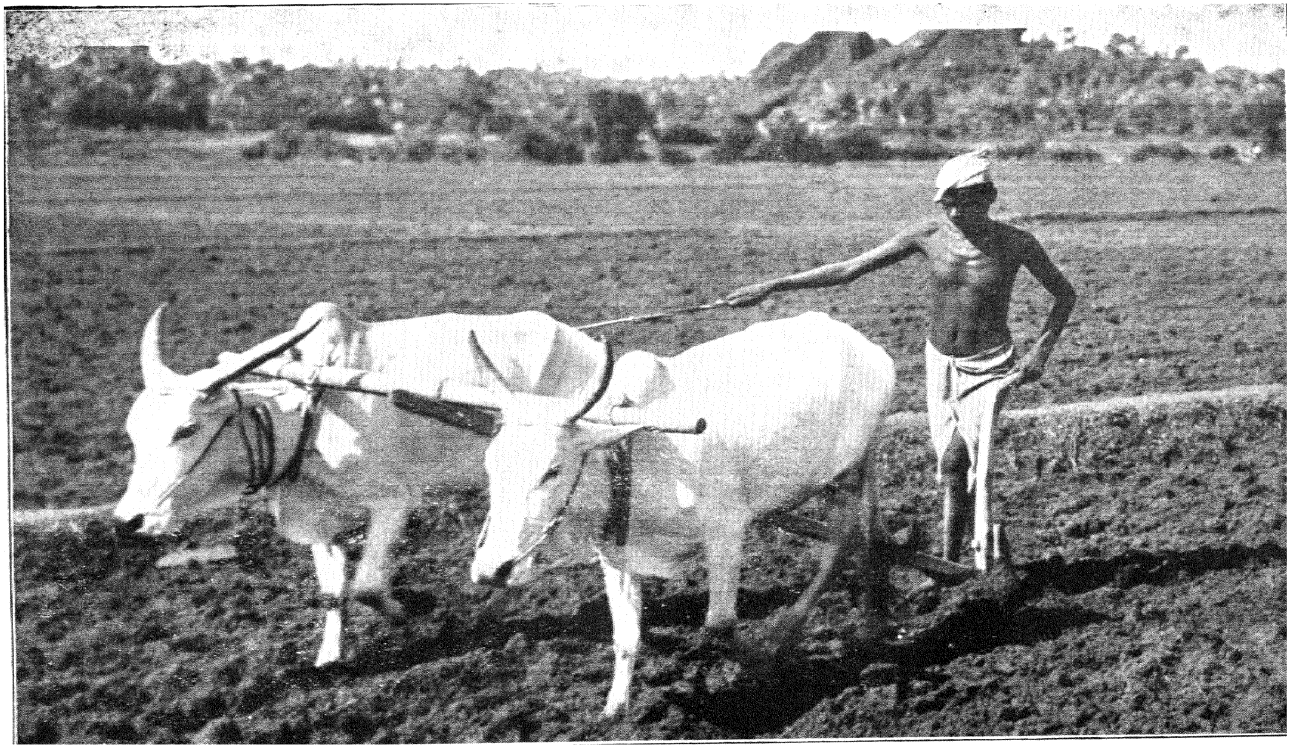
If a woman is guilty of adultery, the husband sends her away to her home, but he cannot get back the achipanam. If a man is guilty of the same offence, and his wife leaves him, he has to provide her with oil, cloth, and other necessaries, but he can stop this supply on her marrying another.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains her puberty, she used to be confined to a seclusion-shed for sixteen days. The seclusion-shed has disappeared and the period of pollution has been reduced to three days. On the fourth day, she bathes and the women are feasted. Formerly the girl had to remain in the seclusion-shed until the money was collected to meet the expenditure of the ceremonies when pollution ceased.

Child-birth

When a woman was about to become a mother, she was confined to a seclusion-shed till about eight years ago, and the husband lived on toddy during the period of pollution. This has been given up and he lives on rice. The seclusion-shed has vanished. Pollution now lasts for twelve days. Naming takes place on



A PULAYA PLOUGHING THE FIELD.

the fourteenth day. Old names are supplanted by names given among the higher-castes.

Inheritance

Inheritance is now in the male line.

Tribal Organization

The Valluva Pulayas have a headman called Valluvan. He used to have an assistant called Ganapatikaran. This dignitary has now vanished. The chieftainship passes on to the nephew.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are either buried or cremated. The nephew and son are the chief mourners. Both purchase a new cloth (kōti) to wrap the dead body. Pollution lasts for sixteen days for the nephew, while the son and wife, being of a different clan, observe no pollution.

Religion

The Valluva Pulayas worship Murthi, Esaki, and Kali. They also worship spirits of ancestors.

Conclusion

The Valluva Pulayas are found in the lowland region of Travancore and have come under the civilizing influence of higher-castes.

VII. GENERAL

Economic Condition of the Pulayas — Social Progress — Education — Occupation — Fertility — Appearance and Physical Features.

Economic Condition

To enable the Pulayas to gain economic competence, Government has bestowed attention on securing more land for them. The revised Puduval rules dated 31-3-1921 provided for the assignment of land on concessional terms to the members of the Backward Communities. In 1924,Government appointed a Protector of Depressed Classes who was entrusted with the task of looking after the interests of these communities. In their order dated 2-8-1924, Government granted concessions to the members of families of the Backward Communities and to Co-operative Societies consisting of the members of such classes in the matter of the assignment of Government land.

Social Progress

The Pulayas occupied a very low rank in the social scale. They were a polluting tribe; even other polluting castes and tribes were polluted by them. They stood at a distance of ninety feet from Brāhmans and sixty-four feet from the Nayars. A Kuravan was polluted by the touch of a Pulaya. They are at the mercy of all caste men above them, but abstain from eating food given by the Vilakkathalavans, Mannāns, Pānans, Vēttuvans, Parayans, Nāyādis, and Ullātans. They were polluted by the Pula-Cherumans, the Parayans,



A GROUP OF PULAYAS AT WORK.

the Nāyādis, and the Ullātans. When defiled by the touch of a Nāyādi, a Cheruman used to bathe in seven tanks and let a few drops of blood out of his fingers.

Though slavery was abolished in 1855, the Pulayas are still attached to their lands, but cannot now be sold or treated as chattel. But their slave mentality is bred in the very marrow of their bones. They say 'Adiyan' for I, 'Karikadi' for rice, and 'Madom' for hut. The old men among them still say that they were better off in the days previous to the abolition of slavery, for they were then well fed, married, and looked after by their masters, while they are now left to shift for themselves, what with fragmentation of holdings among the Nayars, the Izhavas, and with the apathy of the holders of small plots of land. They are satisfied with two and a half measures of paddy doled out to them as daily wages. But they are slowly changing and they have begun to understand that they are no longer in a state of bondage under their masters.

"Conversion to Muhammadanism" says Mr. Logan, "has had a marked effect in freeing the slave castes in Malabar from their former burthens. By conversion, a Cheruman obtains a distinct rise in the social scale, and if he is bullied or beaten, the influence of the whole Muhammadan community comes to his aid."* Various Christian missionary bodies carry religious and social work in Travancore. Among them are the London Missionary Society, the Salvation Army, the Church Missionary Society, the Brother Mission, and Luthern Mission. There is no part of Travancore where there is no mission at work. The converts are largely drawn

* Thurston—Ethnographic Notes in Southern India—p. 447.

from the Parayas, the Pulayas, and others who were till recently treated as untouchables. It is not surprising that they are easily moved by the offer of freedom from social servility and the better prospects held out by Christian Missionaries. The work of the missionary bodies in fact opened the eyes of the higher castes to the consequences of their past neglect of the outcaste communities.

The Humanitarian Society in 1920 devoted special attention to the social, moral, and material condition of the Pulaya in efforts towards the removal of their illiteracy and poverty. The Pulayas themselves began to work for their own amelioration. The Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham was formed by the Pulayas for the improvement of their condition in Neyyattinkara taluq. This was followed by the organization of the Central Travancore Pulaya Sangham which includes within its fold both Christian and Hindu Pulayas. This Sangham has been persistantly agitating to have the caste name 'Pulayan' changed into 'Cheramar'. Under its auspices, more than 700 Karayogams (village associations) have been formed and over 120 Co-operative Societies established in different parts of the country. The Government evinced its interest in their attempts at self-improvement by giving them grants of land and by representation in the legislatures. The combined effect of action by Government, Christian missionaries, and philanthrophic bodies has brought about radical changes in the habits and customs and the mental outlook of the Pulayas.

Education

The Pulayas are backward in education. Government allow full remission of fees in the Vernacular and English schools to those who are backward economically



PULAYA WOMEN HULLING PADDY.

and educationally. The policy of throwing open schools to them was continued vigorously, so much so that at the end of 1929—1930 only twelve schools out of 3,641 recognized institutions were not open to them. The Pulayas have made excellent use of the concessions. The general desire on the part of the average Pulaya to rise to the level of the other communities is growing. It is to the credit of the Pulayas that leaders like Ayyan Kali have opened Vernacular Primary schools for the exclusive use of their community. In the vicinity of the school at Venganur is a weaving institute where coarse cloth is made and sold at cheap rates to the Pulayas. Country mats are also made here from the kora grass. In such an Institution the Wardha Scheme of Mr. Gandhi could be made to work successfully for the ultimate good of the community. The four cardinal points of the Wardha Scheme are (i) that education should be craft centred, (ii) that education should be self-supporting, (iii) that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction, (iv) that higher education should be left to take care of itself. The facilities for learning a craft for obtaining a livelihood are already there. Institutions like this can be made to improve the economic condition of the Pulayas under expert guidance. In regard to representation in the public service, time was when they were completely shut out from Government service. Now there is no department of Government service which is not open to them.

Occupation

I. Agriculture

The work of the Pulayas lies in the rice fields. They take part in every kind of agricultural work, fencing, ploughing, manuring, sowing, weeding, transplanting,

reaping, pumping out water, and putting up embankments for kole cultivation. The cultivation of paddy occupies most of their time. Men, women and children are always seen working together in the master's paddy fields which are guarded at night. They stand in water for the whole day without any fear of illness taking from the backwater heavy slabs of solidified mud by means of sharp stakes for the purpose of putting up embankments. When these are put up, they begin the pumping out of water from the field day and night by means of water-wheels trodden by six or more men. Given toddy, they will work for any length of time. During rainy months they live from hand to mouth, but during harvest, they save something and find means to fritter their savings away. The hard work they do brings a wage of two annas worth of paddy. Some of them work in plantations, where they obtain higher wages.

II. Other Industry

Venganur in Neyyattinkara taluq forms the home of the Pulaya leader, Ayyan Kali, who works for the economic emancipation of the Pulayas. He has opened a weaving factory where about 24 men obtain their livelihood. He sells the cloth made at the factory at cheaper rates for his brethren. He is also training youths in mat making. Ayyan Kali is always on the look out for ways for the economic uplift of the Pulayas.

III. Fishing

The Pulayas catch fish by means of the basket trap (ottālu). This is made of thin stakes of bamboo or reed with a diameter of 2½ feet at the bottom and six inches at the top. The stakes are kept in position by being tied with thin bamboo pieces all round. The net



PULAYA UTENSILS.

is held by the right hand and is suddenly placed over fish in shallow water. The catch is removed through the hole at the top.

Fertility

It is observed from the vital statistics of 54 families that the average size of the family is five. The average birth-rate is 4·1, and the survival rate is 3·0. In 54 families there are 91 males and 68 females. Mortality is high among them. Males preponderate over females.

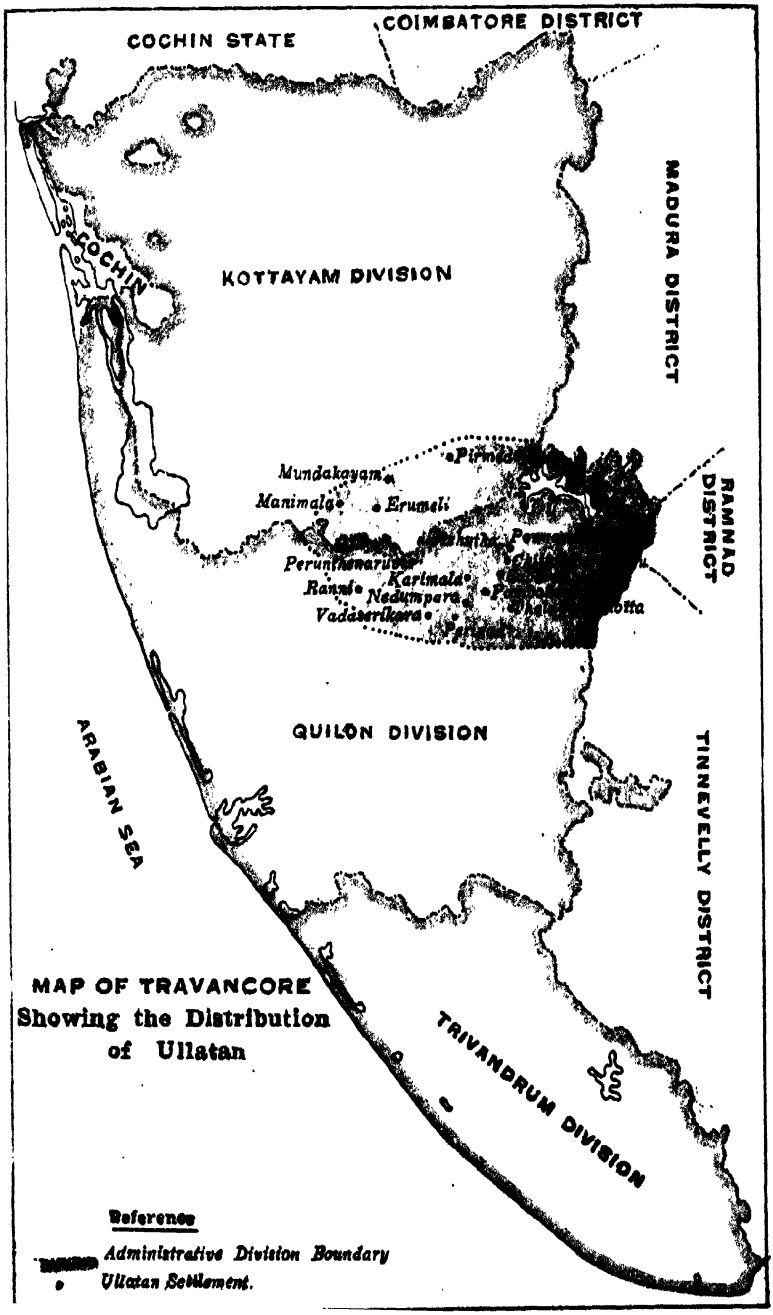
Appearance and Physical Features

The Pulayas are very dark in complexion and short in stature. According to Ward and Conner "they are sometimes remarkable for an extreme darkness of complexion, whose jet hue (which cannot be the effect of exposure) approaches that of an African, but they are invariably stamped with Hindu features, nor bear any traces of a distinct race. The bark (spathe) of the arecanut tree often furnishes their whole clothing, which never exceeds a bit of cloth sufficient for the purpose of decency. The hair allowed to grow wild forms in time an immense mass, whose impurities cannot be imagined without shrinking."* The average stature of low country Pulayas is 153·47 cms. while it is higher (158·84) among the Malapulaya. The increased height growth of the Malapulayas may be due to the influence of environment, higher elevation of their habitat, and better diet. In the case of low country Pulaya, daily hard work in the fields, paucity of nourishing food, and unsympathetic treatment are not conducive to high stature. This is true of the Thantapulayas whose average stature is 152·53. The average circumference

* Ward and Conner—The Memoirs of the Travancore and Cochin Survey—p. 162.

of chest of the low country Pulaya is 76·5, the Thantapulaya 76·8 cms. while that of the Malapulayas is 78·8. The average span of arms is 160·3 among the low country Pulaya and 171·5 among the Malapulayas. They have long head. The vault of the head is low and the brow-ridges are prominent. They are all dolichocephalic. The average cephalic index is almost the same among all the endogamous septs, that is, 74·03 to 74·92. Among the low country Pulayas and the Malapulayas, the nose is broad and flat. The average nasal index is 84·52, while it is 85·54 among the Malapulayas. Strangely the nose is mesorhine among the Thantapulayas, the average nasal index being 78·0. Owing to contact with low countrymen, a few in Neyyattinkara and Quilon have a fair complexion. A comparative statement of their measurements is given below:—

Name of Sub-division.	Number.	Average Stature.	Average Span of Arms	Average Chest Girth.	Average Cephalic Index.	Average Nasal Index.	Average.
Pulaya .	95	153·47	162·0	75·5	74·92	84·52	
Thantapulaya	88	152·53	162·9	76·8	74·03	77·97	
Malapulaya .	32	158 84	171·5	78·4	74·38	85·54	



MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution
of Ullatan

ULLĀTAN

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — POLYANDRY — LEVIRATE AND SORORATE — ADULTERY — DIVORCE — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — INHERITANCE — KINSHIP — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — RELIGION — ANCESTOR-WORSHIP — HUNTING SPIRITS — TRAMP SPIRITS — WORSHIP OF SASTA — AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — OCCUPATION — ECONOMIC CONDITION — HABITATIONS — DIET — DAILY LIFE — DRESS — PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND ORNAMENTS — EDUCATION — FECUNDITY — PHYSICAL FEATURES — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

The Ullātans are found in the Rāni reserve of Central Travancore, and in low country in the taluqs of Meenachil, Changanasseri, Kottayam, and Pathanamthitta. It is recorded that fifty years ago, "they form a true jungle tribe of wild and timid savages. They have no settled villages and civilised clothing, wandering within certain boundaries prescribed to each division, living in one spot till the crop of ragi is reaped, then decamping to another place more likely to be reproductive of the wild roots. They are adepts in the use of the bow and the arrow. They are claimed to be the property of celebrated hill temples or proprietors who exacted service of them."* Conditions have since changed for the better. They do not now

* Mateer—Native Life in Travancore. 1883—p. 29.

use the bow. They do not now change their habitations, though they continue to be nomadic agriculturists inside the reserve.

Population

The Ullātans were returned as 5,121 in the Census of 1931. The subjoined table will show that they are on the increase.

Year of Census.	*Total.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1911	4,115	2,197	1,918
1921	3,407	1,604	1,803
1931	5,121	2,242	2,879

During the Census of 1931, they were first returned as 4,824 Hindu, 77 under tribal religion, and 220 Christians. The above table shows that the population increased by 66 per cent. in 1931 over the population of 1921. It is also seen that the population of 1921 is less than that of 1911 by 707, but it is probable that the return for 1921 was not correct. In 1931 females exceed males by 166 per 1,000.

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The Ullātans to the south of the Pamba river are known as Kātan, or Kāttālan or Kochuvēlan. The Census Report for 1921 shows that the Kātan forms a separate tribe.* As a result of my enquiries, I have found that the Kātan is Ullātan. Those living to the

* M. S. Krishnamurthi Iyer, The Travancore Census Report, 1921, Part II—p. 50.

north of the Pamba river are known by one name, Ullātan. It is said that, "they are the descendants from a Nambudiri woman, who, on being proclaimed an outcaste, said 'Ullātana' meaning that the offence for which she was ostracised was true."*

The Ullātans state that their original home was in Ponthanplavu in the Rāni Reserve. One Ullātan is said to have gone with his wife in Kottathatti, where they multiplied. It is said that Sāsta and a Kāttālan shot an arrow from Pāndy (Madura). Sāsta's arrow fell on the borderland of Travancore and Madura, while the Kāttālan's fell at Thalapāramala. Sāsta had a fancy to stay at Thalapāramala, but the Kāttālan stood in the way. Sāsta permitted him to be at Thalapāramala. The Pāndian Raja, who came in quest of Sāsta, found the Kāttālan in Ponthanplavu, and asked him to remain at Kottāthatti on the understanding that he could enjoy the offerings of ghee, cocoanut and cash made by votaries at Thalapāramala to propitiate Vēerakerala Rakshasa. The Ullātan agreed. The Chief of the Ullātans is known as Kochuvēlan. Even now, he is the recipient of the offerings made by votaries on their way to Sabarimala.

It is said that, "at a remote period, certain Ullāta families from the plains settled themselves at Talpurakkotta near Sabarimala, and even today pilgrims to Sabarimala consider this place sacred. In the low country, the offerings to the same deities as the Ullātans worship were offered by the Vālans. Hence the Ullātans were called by them Kochuvālans. The place near Sabarimala where they once dwelt is known as Kochuvālakudi or the cottage of Kochuvēlan. Most of the

* V. Nagamiah, The Travancore State Manual—Vol. III—p. 416.

Ullātans have now left this place for fear of wild beasts and are now straying in the woods with no fixed abode."*

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The Ullātans who are found in the jungle are divided into four exogamous clans:—

1. Kārānchēri illom
2. Mādapilli illom
3. Kāvattu illom
4. Perakāla illom.

The illoms (clans) take after the names of places. The Kārānchēri illakars came from Kārānchēri. The first two clans form brother illoms and are exogamous to the last two clans. A man of the Kārānchēri illom cannot marry a woman of his clan or Mādapilli illom, but is free to marry a woman from the remaining two clans. A woman retains her clan after marriage, and her children belong to her clan. The rule that 'once a sib (clan) member always a sib member,'† has hardly an exception as a result of marriage. The clans are matronymic and exogamous. The father and son are never of the same clan. A father cannot pass on his chieftainship to his son, but must pass it on to the nearest clan relatives, his sister's sons.

The clans have suffered extinction among the Ullātans of the low country. Contact with civilized men has dismembered the clan system. The clan system remains inside the reserved forests, where they are less open to foreign influence and where they are more tenacious of their old ways.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Exchange of sisters in marriage

* N. Subramania Iyer—The Travancore Census Report, 1901, p. 352.

† Robert Lowie—Primitive Culture—p. 109.

is also prevalent with a view to reducing marriage expenses. A girl is married at the age of seven before she attains puberty. The boy's father visits the girl's parents and moots the marriage question. If they agree, the Kaniyan fixes the day for the tālikettu kalyanam. On the auspicious day, the bridegroom and party go to the bride's hut. He ties the tāli. A feast follows. On the fourth day, the couple bathe in the stream and return home to the beat of the tom-tom. A feast follows. On the fifth day the tāli-tier is sent back to his home. If he seeks the hand of the girl when she attains puberty, she is given to him. He takes her and her relations to his hut, where they are treated to a feast. The girl's relations depart the next day.

If the person who tied the tāli does not seek her hand, the marriage is celebrated in the following manner. The ceremony takes place in the girl's hut and lasts for a day. Disparity in age is no bar to marriage. A woman of twenty may be wedded to a younger man. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom-elect and party go to the bride's hut. The bridegroom's father provides pansupari for four of the girl's party and four of his own. The bridegroom and bride then stand in the marriage booth. The father of the bridegroom places a cloth, a palam of tobacco and ten chuckrams (about six annas) in front of the couple. He then takes the sense of the gathering whether the marriage can go on. When assent is given, the bridegroom takes the cloth and gives it to the girl who goes in and puts it on. She then returns to the booth. All are then given pansupari. A feast follows. The married couple eat in another room by themselves. All then chew pan again.

The married couple and party then move on to the husband's hut. The bride's party are then given pan-supari. A feast follows after which they depart. The bride then remains with her husband in his hut. On the seventh day after the marriage the married and two others go to the wife's hut. After staying two days they return accompanied by the wife's mother or father. After two or three months they live by themselves.

Marriage among Low Country Ullātans

Among low-country Ullātans, the clan system has, as already said, suffered extinction. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. Marriage by exchange of sisters is also in vogue. They also observe the tālikettu kalyanam. Before this ceremony, four relations of the boy meet the girl's relations, and ask whether he would take the girl as his wife after she attains puberty. If the reply is in the affirmative, the girl's parents provide the marriage badge and the cloth for the occasion. The boy ties the tāli and he receives a pair of cloths as gift. They observe Kettu-vālāma for three days. On the fourth day, they bathe and return home to the sound of the tom-tom. The tāli-tier is sent away the same day.

Dr. Day relates another marriage custom. "A large round building is made of leaves and inside this the bride is ensconced. All the eligible young men of the village then assemble and form a ring around the hut. At a short distance sits the girl's father or the nearest male relative with a tom-tom in his hand and a few more musical instruments to complete the scene. Presently the music begins. The young men each armed with a bamboo commence dancing round the hut into which each of them thrusts his sticks. This continues



AN ULLATAN MALE GROUP.

about an hour, when the owner of whichever bamboo she seizes becomes the fortunate husband of the concealed bride. A feast then follows. The ceremony is now complete, whilst there is no divorce."* It is said that the custom prevails among the Ullātans of Kayyurmala, Bharananganam, Meenachil Taluq.

Polygamy

An Ullātan may marry more than one woman. The wives may remain in the same hut without discord.

Polyandry

Fraternal Polyandry exists. The children are treated as common property.

Levirate and Sororate

The Ullātan restricts widow re-marriage to the younger brother of the deceased husband. This is called junior levirate. The woman is not claimed by way of prerogative, because she is inherited as an obligation *i. e.*, the brother-in-law is required to furnish protection and support to the widow and her children. Unlike the Kirgiz, a younger brother does not inherit a widow, if he is a minor. Levirate is found coupled with sororate. An Ullātan may marry his first wife's sister during her life-time.

Adultery

When a woman commits adultery, an Ullātan sends her away to her home before any one comes to know of it. Subsequently the headman is informed of it, and approves of the action. On the other hand, if a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan,

* N. Subramania Iyer—The Travancore Census Report for 1901—Part I—p. 353.

the matter is taken before a council of elders. The offence is proved and the adulterer is given twelve lashes, and the adulteress gets four more lashes on each thigh. The woman is then restored to her husband. They are also fined ten chuckrams each with which they buy pansupari, and after chewing it, depart. This custom is not found among clanless Ullātans of the low-country.

Divorce

Divorce is common. It may be due to incompatibility of temper. The husband represents his grievances before a council of four, who advise him to leave his wife in her parental home without molestation. When a woman dislikes her husband, she tells him so and goes to her parental home.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty she is lodged in a seclusion-shed put up by her husband fifty yards to the north of the hut. Pollution lasts for nine days. Her nāthūne (husband's sister) keeps her company. The girl's mother carries food to them. The husband continues to remain in the hut. On the tenth day, the girl is accompanied by other women to the stream for bathing. On her return with her comrades her husband gives her a fanam (Kānapon) as a present and goes back home. All the women are given pansupari and treated to a feast. They then depart. If puberty is attained before marriage, the father's sister's son presents the fanam after bathing. It is not obligatory that he should marry her.

Menstruation

A woman is confined to the seclusion-shed for six days. On the seventh day she bathes and returns home.

In the low-country, a woman bathes on the fifth day and enters the home, but she can touch vessels and cook food only on the seventh day after bathing. They think that women are so unclean that they have to be kept long in seclusion. They fear that, as they have to go past serpent shrines, any pollution may bring them harm.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

During the seventh month of pregnancy, seven or eight women gather, and the nāthūne administers juice of tamarind leaves to the expectant mother. They are then treated to a feast. All chew pansupari and part. When the girl is about to become a mother, she is confined to a seclusion-shed. Her aunt, mother and others keep her company and assist her in the delivery. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. For nine days the husband cannot look at the shed. He sees the baby on the tenth day, and takes a plunge in the stream. On the seventeenth day the mother takes a bath in the stream with about fifteen other women. The baby is bathed in hot water. All the women are given pansupari and treated to a feast.

Naming Ceremony

The naming ceremony is performed on the 28th day on the hills, and on the 16th day in the low country. A loin-string of 28 iron cylindrical tubes is tied round the baby, and an iron anklet is also put on. The ornaments are made of iron to obviate harm from a bird. If a bird flies over the head of a baby, it is believed that the baby will gradually sink in size and die. The iron tubes round the loins are intended to nullify the evil effects of the bird. All the relatives attend the naming ceremony. The most elderly of them takes the sense of

the gathering as to what name should be given. The name of the uncle or maternal grandfather is generally given. In the case of a second baby, the paternal grandfather's name is given. Among low-country Ullātans names are given along father's line. The baby's uncle first calls him by the name decided upon. The gathering disperses after a feast.

Kumaran, Rāman, Eravi, Kōntha, Kanda and Kēlan are some of the names given to males. Chakki, Kōtha, Elayachi, Karambi and Narayani are some of the names given to females. A man does not call his wife by name. An uncle's name is taboo. A man avoids his mother-in-law. Similarly, an elder brother does not talk with the wife of his younger brother. Brother and sister avoid each other. All regulations are intended to remove the temptation to sexual intercourse between persons whose union is repugnant to the moral sense of the community.

Inheritance

"The Ullātans are Marumakkathayis,"* but a change has now come over this custom. Half of a man's property goes to his son and half to his nephew. If there is no nephew, the whole property devolves on the son. In the absence of a son, the property goes to the brother's children after a consideration of the claims of his daughters. A widow gets one-third of her deceased husband's property which consists of brass vessels, plates, copper vessels, implements and ornaments. In the low country the property devolves on the son. Half the property goes to the wife of the deceased. Chieftainship goes to the nephew generally,

* N. Subramania Iyer—The Travancore Census Report for 1901—Part I—page 353.

but when he is unfit, it devolves on the son. The tendency of the times is for chieftainship to go to the son in preference to the nephew.

Kinship

The terms of kinship are of the type called classificatory. A statement is given below:—

I. Relations through father

1.	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2.	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Father	Aschan
6.	Mother	Amma
7.	Father's elder brother	Perappan
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	Peramma
9.	Father's younger brother	Chittappan
10.	Father's younger brother's wife	Kochamma
11.	Father's elder brother's son	Chēttan or Anujan, if younger
12.	Father's elder brother's daughter	Pengal or by name, if younger
13.	Father's sister	Ammāvi
14.	Father's sister's husband	Ammāvan
15.	Father's sister's son	Aliyan
16.	Father's sister's daughter	Chēttathi or Anujathi, if younger.

II. Relations through mother

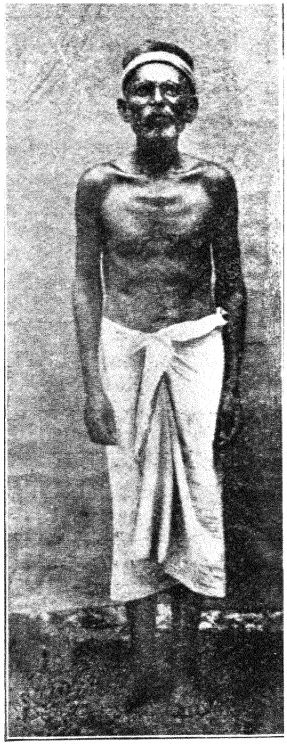
1.	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2.	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3.	Grandfather	Appūppan
4.	Grandmother	Ammūmma
5.	Mother's brother	Ammāvan
6.	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
7.	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Kochamma, if younger.

III. Relations through wife

1.	Wife	No name
2.	Wife's father	Ammāvan
3.	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
4.	Wife's brother	Aliyan
5.	Wife's sister	Chēttathi or by name, if younger
6.	Wife's brothers's wife	Pengal
7.	Wife's sister's husband	Chēttan or by name, if younger.

IV. Relations through husband

1.	Husband's father	Ammāvan
2.	Husband's mother	Ammāvi
3.	Husband's brother	Aliyan
4.	Husband's brother's wife	Pengal or by name, if younger
5.	Husband's sister	Chēttathi or by name, if younger.



ULLATAN HEADMAN.

In regard to the foregoing, we note:—

I. Great grandfather and great grandmother. Valiappan and Valiamma are the names given to them on both the maternal and paternal lines. Appūppan and Ammūmma are the names given to the grandfather and the grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

II. Father's sister's husband, mother's brother, husband's father, and wife's father. Ammāvan is the name given to all the above persons, and Ammāvi to their wives.

III. Aliyan is the name given to one's father's sister's son, wife's brother and husband's brother.

IV. Chēttathi is the name given to the father's sister's daughter, wife's sister and husband's sister.

Social Organization

The hamlet of Pulikunnu consists of sixteen huts. Each hamlet has a headman called Kānikkāran. The office is hereditary, and now devolves on the son instead of the nephew. The Ullātans render him all kinds of assistance, such as building hut, clearing land for cultivation, weeding, and other agricultural operations. He is the arbiter of their disputes. At the end of every month the villagers meet in a hut and discuss common village affairs. The occupant of the hut provides a feast for all. Each hut has its turn. The head of the Ullātans is known as the Kochuvēlan, who lives in Perunthenaruvi. The Kochuvēlan is an office of hoary antiquity, and was formerly nominated by the Pandalam Raja. His name is bound up with the Sabarimala pagoda. He arranges for the clearance of the road to Sabarimala, and supplies fuel and leaves to the

pagoda during the Makaravilakku festival. In return he enjoys the contribution of votaries at Thalapāramala. He presides over the council of elders when a case of incest or assault happens. The culprits are brought before him and questioned about the misdemeanour. When the offence is proved, their hands are tied to a tree or post, and the man is given twelve lashes by his brother-in-law (Aliyan) and the woman sixteen lashes by her husband's brother. If the case is one of assault, the offenders are fined ten chuckrams each with which is purchased pansupari which they chew and depart. The Ullātans are in the low-country under the domination of their masters.

Religion

The worship of spirits abiding on particular crests of hills is a characteristic feature of the religion of the Ullātans. The existence of an indwelling spirit is recognized. They make an annual offering to Thalapāramala, Udumpāramala, and Chakkipāramala. The offering is made on one of the hills in Mithunam or Karkatakam on a Friday or a Tuesday, during daytime, and consists of fruits, beaten rice, milk, sugar, and molasses. When offering prayers, the priest gets inspired, breaks cocoanuts, and all join in acclamation. He then has an inspired talk with them and says that they will come to no harm. All then make a respectful bow. The priest comes to himself. The Ullātans believe that they live in the jungle without trouble on account of the help they receive from the spirits of the hills.

The Ullātans of the low country are helped by their landlords in the annual offering to the spirits abiding on crests of hills. Offerings of cocoanuts, milk,

ghee, seeds and flowers are made in the beginning of Medam. They prepare payasam (sweetened rice) which is poured on as many leaves as there are men. The following prayer is then made, "May we not incur the wrath of the hills. May there be no loss of lives. We shall propitiate you annually." They then partake of the offerings, drink toddy, and go home.

Ancestor-worship

The Ullātans worship the spirits of ancestors in Karkadakam, Chingam and Thulam. Offerings of beaten rice, sugar and molasses are made. The headman makes the offerings to the spirits in which all take part. The following prayer is then made, "Oh God, oh, ancestors, may you be well-inclined towards us." They place the offerings in the south and do not partake of them.

Hunting Spirit

The Ullātans go hunting in January and February to the jungle early in the morning, in parties of ten or twelve, gun in hand. They drive the game, encircle it, and then shoot it. It is invariably a sambur or wild boar. A portion is set apart for the hunting deity. The remainder they divide equally among themselves. The man who shot the animal gets one of the hind legs as well.

Other offerings are made when they are successful in the hunting operations. They make offerings of flesh of sambur, fruits, beaten rice, fried rice, rice flour and arrack. The headman then prays, "Oh Arupala, Pandārachāvu, father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, pray accept our offerings. May not wild elephants, bear, tiger, panther, snake and pig cross our path. May no harm be done unto us by them. We

make this offering to you according to our means. Pray accept it." All then partake of the offerings.

The headman does not practise the art of magic. There is a medicine-man versed in the black-art. He can cure such ailments as headache, listlessness, pain in the legs, and can exorcise devils. If a man has a head-ache, the remedy lies in chanting a mantram. A mark of holy ash is made on the forehead, breast and shoulders. A loose knot is made of a string and waved in front of the patient, while mantrams are chanted. Suddenly the knot is tightened. If it snaps, it would mean that the spirit has left the man. If not, the process is repeated and the devil is cast out. The exorcist gets three rupees from the patient.

Tramp Spirits

When a man is possessed by an evil spirit, an offering is made to Pandārachāvu (spirit of one who meets with an unnatural death), Arukala, Ānachāvu, Nāyat Arukala (one who was shot dead), Mūrthi and others. The offering consists of vara (powdered paddy), fried rice, sambur flesh, fowl, arrack, toddy and fruits, and is made in front of the afflicted person with the following prayer:—"Oh Arukala, Pandārachāvu, pray come here and accept our offerings and exorcise this evil spirit." The priest gets inspired and holds the tuft of hair of the afflicted person who also goes into a frenzy. He then mutters, "I shall leave the man and go away." All then partake of the offerings.

Worship of Sāsta

The Ullātans worship Sāsta at Sabarimala, which is said to have been in the joint possession of the Pandalam Raja, Kakkāttu Potti, the Perinad folk, and

the Kochuvēlan. The association of the Ullātans with Sāsta is one of hoary antiquity and they lead a celibate life from December to April because the hill-deities and Sāsta will otherwise be offended. During Makaravilakku festival, votaries who go to Sabarimala *via.*, Rajampara, make offerings of cocoanut, ghee, black cloth, silk, cash and goat at Thalapāramala. The Kochuvēlan dons the black cloth and puts the silk on his shoulders, sacrifices the goat, breaks the cocoanut, and pours the ghee over the fire. He gets inspired and utters some words, after which the votaries proceed to Sabarimala.

When the votaries go beyond Thalapāramala, the Kochuvēlan starts for Sabarimala. On the Makaravilakku day the temple authorities and the Perinad folk enquire about the Kochuvēlan. He goes there after bathing. He wears a black cloth, with bells dangling about his loins, and a cap over his head. A cocoanut is given to him in front of Mālikapurathamma. All the votaries offer a cocoanut each. When the number swells to one hundred, the Kochuvēlan blows a conch. He then takes a cocoanut and asks the Karakars whether he may call Thalapāramala. When assent is given, he does so, and begins a thullal, breaks all the cocoanuts, and makes oracular utterances. He says that the few Ayyappans who do not adhere to the observances rigidly will be carried away by a tiger. He then comes to himself. On the 15th of January he returns to Thalapāramala in the early morning before the votaries return from Sabarimala. They break cocoanuts, give one chuckram to the Kochuvēlan and pour ghee over the fire. The Kochuvēlan is the recipient of the offerings. He gets annually about one hundred rupees.

It may be said in passing that, before the Perinad folk pass Thalapāramala for the festival, the Kochuvēlan breaks a cocoanut and gets inspired. He tells them that they will have no trouble on the way. Then only will they proceed to Sabarimala. It so happens that votaries die on the way to Sabarimala. The spirits of these are enclosed at Thalapārakotta. When the relations of the deceased return from Sabarimala the next year to Thalapārakotta, they give ten chuckrams (about six annas) to the Kochuvēlan. He breaks a cocoanut, burns a wick, and places it over the broken pieces of cocoanut. He then waves it in front of Thalapārakotta, and hands it over to the votary, who gets possessed and runs home.

In normal times the Kochuvēlan attends to his domestic work. When he becomes old, he hands over his chieftainship to his son. All the men assemble, and he says, "I am getting old and infirm. I am therefore passing on my chieftainship to my son. You must all obey his behests for our common welfare."

Agricultural Ceremonies

In clearing jungle, the headman makes the first clearing with the following prayer. "Oh Thalapāramala, Udumpāramala, Sabarimala Sāsta, may wild elephants and wild boar do no harm to our crop." They then make an offering of seven cocoanuts and break them. They hoe the soil in March after burning the dry twigs and grass. Women do the weeding about the end of Medam (early May). In Kanni (September—October), they harvest the crop. An offering is made to Thalapāramala, Āzhamala and Paschima Bagavathi. This consists of beaten rice, fried rice, pansupari, eleven cocoanuts, arrack and a fowl. A Malayarayan officiates as priest.

The fowl is killed and a bundle of paddy stalks is placed on the head. He puts an ear of corn and cocoanut on each hand, faces the east, and calls out the names of the hills. He then gets possessed. Cocoanuts are broken. The offerings are distributed to all. The priest gets ten measures of paddy and one bundle of corn sheaves, cocoanuts and ten chuckrams. All then disperse. These offerings are made to ward off damage by elephants and other wild animals. It is said that, if they tie up a few stalks of paddy and call out the names of the hills, wild animals will not come and damage crops.

Funeral Ceremonies

When a man dies in his hut, information is sent round to all his relations, who then gather. The grave is dug breast-deep by the aliyans or brothers of the wife of the deceased. On the hills, the grave-diggers may not carry the corpse, but in the low country, they carry it to the grave. The corpse is rubbed with gingili oil, and then washed with the fibres of the bark of Acacia intsia. A new cloth is fastened round the head and another round the body. It is then covered with a shroud given by the aliyans. The floor of the hut is then swept clean with a view to ridding the house of the chavunni or the spirit of the deceased. The sweepings are put on the bier near the corpse, which is carried round the grave three times and then lowered into it. The sweepings are also thrown into the grave. Pinches of raw rice and earth are thrown over the head and feet once each by the brother, the nephew, and the son of the head-man. The aliyans then cover the grave with earth, and a stone is planted at the head and foot. All the mourners then bathe in a stream. In the low country, small stones are planted round the grave.

Pollution lasts for sixteen days in the Manimala and Rāni Ranges, but it lasts only for three days in Māvati in Poonjar Edavaga. The son makes the offerings to the spirit of the departed in the morning for fifteen days. The offering consists of plantains and fried rice. On the sixteenth day all the relations assemble. The aliyans give cocoanut oil to the brothers, the sons, and nephews of the deceased. The sister of the deceased offers oil to the widow and her nāthūne. They bathe and, on their return, they are given pan which is followed by a feast. They again have pan and disperse. The soul is said to go to Heaven.

The obsequies are performed in the same manner in the case of unnatural deaths. On the sixteenth day, when all assemble after feasting, the spirit of the deceased passes into one of his brothers and nephews. He says that the spirit has not left the place, and asks that it should be installed in a conspicuous place, and be propitiated with a lighted lamp in the evening generally, and on new moon days in Karkatakam and Chingam in particular with offerings of arrack, toddy, fried rice and fruits. In that case, no harm will come to anybody.

Occupation

A. Agriculture

The Ullātans who live inside the reserved forests are nomadic agriculturists. They cultivate a plot of land for three years, and shift to another plot in the fourth year, unlike the Muthuvans who shift annually. They do not change their habitations. They live away from others, surrounded by what they cultivate. Each man cultivates about an acre. The clearing of jungle and the burning are done in common. They render free service to the headman. The headman selects the

area and allots land to each. Each Ullātan demarcates his area with stones or wood. They do not allow other hill-tribes to intrude into their area of cultivation. Both sexes engage in agricultural operations, but there is division of labour. Axe, bill-hook, and sickle are their implements. They purchase them in the market.

It is worthy of note that the Ullātans lead a celibate life during the period of early agricultural operations from Dhanu to Medam (December—April). They avoid sexual intercourse with their wives, since they live in the domain of Sāsta and other hill-deities. Any breach of this injunction is supposed to be visited with punishment. It is said that a woman in menses was touched by her husband, who then went to hoe up the soil. He lost his eyes. It is said that the shadow of such a man, falling on a crop in the field, will not only blight the crop, but will also be detrimental to his life. Similarly, women should not enter the paddy fields after the new moon in Karkatakam, nor are they allowed to touch the crop. Sexual cleanliness is demanded of those who have anything to do with corn. Sexual intercourse and menstrual discharges are looked upon as pollution on account of the mysterious propensities of such matter. The defiling effects are connected with the notion that woman is an unclean being.

In the low country the Ullātans live by the sweat of their brows on the land of their masters.

B. Hunting

The Ullātans supplement their vegetable diet by hunting wild animals in January and February. They kill sambur, wild boar, porcupine, jungle squirrel and wild fowl. They do not eat the flesh of either black or white monkey, rat, vulture, bear, tiger, cow, or bison.

C. Fishing

The Ullātans fish by line and tackle. Small fish are first caught. Then the string is let into the water with a small fish and a large free hook in it. Large fish take the smaller one, and are caught by the hook. They also catch fish in traps.

Economic Condition

Inside the reserved forest the Ullātan cultivates paddy, gram, ragi, tapioca, beans, sweet potatoes and other articles. He gets about 50 paras of paddy, 30 thulams of tapioca, 5 paras of gram, and 8 paras of sweet potatoes. He may own about 100 plantain trees. A family of five members daily requires about 2½ measures of rice and five pounds of tapioca. Judged by this standard, the years's produce does not suffice to keep him from want for the whole year. On weekly market-days, he sells two or three bunches of plantains and gets about a rupee. With this, he purchases salt, chillies, betel, nut, tobacco, and other necessaries. He is thus able to meet his wants.

The Ullātan of the low country lives by his labour. On working days, his food is rice kanji and tapioca in the morning, a noon meal, and some tapioca and coffee in the evening. He is then given three measures of paddy or 2½ chuckrams as daily wages. He has to go starving if he does not work for a few days. An Ullātan woman gets the same ration as a man and 1½ chuckrams as wages.

Habitations

The Ullātan hamlet is of a better type than that of the Kānikkār and the Muthuvan in that the huts are not huddled together and the flooring is raised above

the ground. Each hut is 20 ft. x 12½ ft. in dimensions and faces east or north. There is a verandah in front. Each hut has two rooms. One room is used for cooking food, and the other for sleeping and as a store-room. The hut is built of junglewood posts and bamboo splits and thatched with grass. Bamboo thatti forms the wall. Formerly they made fire by friction with flint and steel. They now use matches. It is said that no one will sit on a mat used by the headman, nor will anyone chew pan taken from his bag. They now use kerosine lamps.

Dietary of the Tribe

The Ullātan eats the meat of sambur, jungle squirrel, wild fowl, porcupine and other animals. He also eats rice, tapioca, gram, sweet potato and vegetables. When his food supply is exhausted, he resorts to wild roots and berries. He does not drink buffalo milk, as his Gods would get annoyed and would not respond to his appeals. There is no taboo against the use of cow's milk. Cooking was formerly only in earthenware vessels but bell-metal vessels are now being used. Generally, he takes kanji in the morning and rice and curry in the evening. During the field season, he eats some rice at noon. The use of cow's milk and curds gives him good health. Milking is done by women, and cattle tending by men. Pregnant women do not eat tapioca or other roots or tubers from the third month, as complications in delivery are feared. The Ullātan indulges in coffee in the morning and at noon. The membranous outer covering of coffee is fried and powdered and used for the purpose. It costs half an anna per measure. He also drinks toddy on religious and ceremonial occasions.

Daily Life

The Ullātan gets up early in the morning. His wife keeps the hut and premises clean. She boils tapioca and prepares coffee. The husband, who goes out early to the field, returns and takes his food with his children. He again goes out to work, while the wife prepares the breakfast of rice kanji, and tapioca which he usually has at noon. He again goes to his work and returns in the evening. He bathes and takes his supper. His wife in addition to her domestic work, goes out to the field for work like hoeing, weeding, and harvesting to help her husband.

Unlike the Mannān, the Muthuvan, and the Kānikkāran, the Ullātan does not go to enjoy the hospitality of his kinsmen in other hamlets; but they are hospitable to anyone who goes to them. Women are not debarred from attending religious and social functions.

Dress

The men wear a loin cloth 3 cubits by 2 cubits. The cloth thrown on the shoulders or tied on the head is also of the same dimensions. When they go out to work they put on a cap made of the spathe of arecanut. Women wear loin cloth 6 x 2¾ cubits in dimensions, folded in two and tied round the loins. Women wear a cloth 3 x 2 cubits over the upper part of the body when they go out to work. They have now taken to the use of jackets.

Personal Appearance and Ornaments

Most of the Ullātan men have a front tuft of hair, but cropping the hair is now the fashion among them. Women tie their hair into a knot behind. Boys wear ear-rings. These used to be made of lead; but they

now wear gold ear-rings. In the case of girls, the ear-lobes are pierced at the age of ten and large ear-rings are worn. Women wear a golden nose-screw in the left alæ. It is said that if the breath of a woman wearing a gold nose-screw falls on her husband he will have longer life. If she is without it, harm may befall him. Women also wear a necklace of twelve cylindrical tubes of silver.

Education

Instruction in agriculture, hunting, and other matters is imparted to boys by the father, who initiates them in jungle-clearing, burning debris, hoeing the soil, sowing, weeding and harvesting. The mother teaches the girls how to hull paddy, cook food, and manage a household.

Fecundity

The average size of an Ullātan family inside the reserve is 4·0. The average birth rate is 2·0, and survival rate 1·4. In a hamlet of 32 families, there are 76 males and 58 females. In the low country, the average size of the family is 5·5. The average birth-rate is 3·5, and the survival rate is 2·4. Infant mortality is heavy everywhere. In 21 families in the low country there are 27 male and 23 female children and 24 deaths of infants. Infant mortality covers about 50 per cent. of the children. In the reserved forests, the survival rate is lower on account of unhealthy conditions.

Physical Features

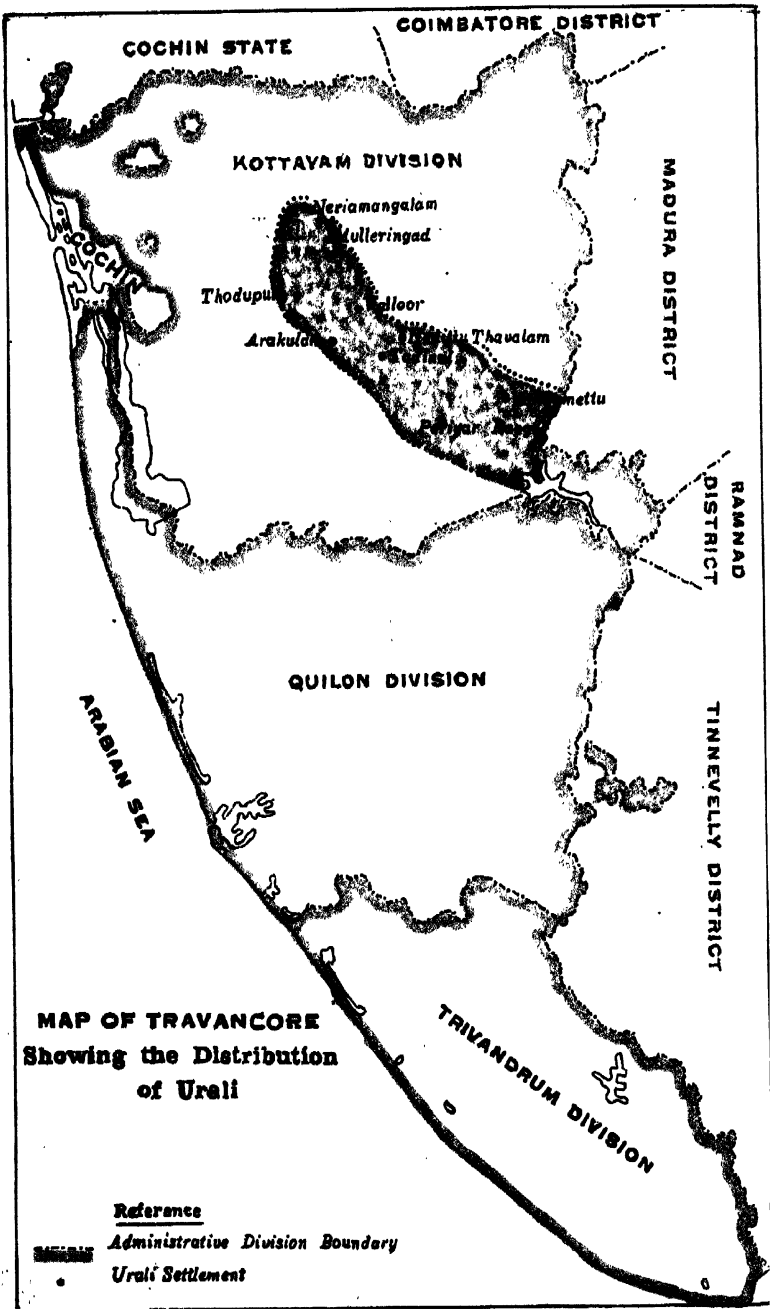
The Ullātans are dark in complexion and short in stature. While their average stature is 153·68 cms. or 60·6 inches inside the reserve, it is higher in low country, where it stands at 154·2 cms. (61·1 inches). They

have a long head, the average cephalic index being 74·10. They have a short flat nose, the average nasal index being 89·11. The forehead is receding and the brow ridges are prominent. They have a prognathous jaw and receding chin. The hair on the head is black and curly. The curly character is more evident in old men. The average span of arms is 162 cms. and circumference of chest 74·0 cms. The average facial index is 81·3. In the low country they have a sturdy build and physique, as they do hard work. Inside the reserve their health is not so good owing to nomadic agriculture.

Conclusion

The Ullātans are recorded as "wearing no clothing, and regard the tiger as their uncle. When one of these animals dies, either naturally or by violence, they shave their heads in token of mourning and eat no cooked food for three days; they may eat no flesh but that of animals which have been killed by tigers, so that the existence of these wild beasts is of great consequence to them".* They no longer observe these customs.

* Jacob Canter Visscher—Letters from Malabar, 1862—p. 129.


COIMBATORE DISTRICT
COCHIN STATE
KOTTAYAM DIVISION
Veriamangalam
Mulleringad
COCHIN
Thodupu
dloor
Arakula
Thavalam
mettu
MADURA DISTRICT
RAMNAD DISTRICT
QUILON DIVISION
ARABIAN SEA
TINNEVELLY DISTRICT
TRIVANDRUM DIVISION
MAP OF TRAVANCORE
Showing the Distribution
of Urali
Reference
Administrative Division Boundary
Urali Settlement

ŪRĀLI

INTRODUCTION — ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — HABITATIONS — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY — POLYANDRY — LEVIRATE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — TABOO ON NAMES — INHERITANCE — KINSHIP — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — RELIGION — FUNERAL CEREMONY — AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES — OCCUPATION — DIET — DRESS — ORNAMENTS — DAILY LIFE — FERTILITY — PHYSICAL FEATURES — EDUCATION — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

The Ūralis are found in the Periyar, Vandanmet, Todupuzha and Neriamangalam Ranges of Travancore. In the Periyar and Vandanmet Ranges, they live at over 3,000 feet above sea-level, and their geographical conditions have condemned them to such isolation that they are one of the tribes least modified by civilization. According to Mateer, they were originally "slaves employed by their Nair master in cultivating rice on the lower slopes of hills. They afterwards migrated to highlands, changing their quarters annually and obtaining good crops of rice from forest clearings."* They call the Malayarayans 'Vāzhiyānmar', thereby acknowledging that the latter once ruled over tracts of land. They numbered at the last Census 916. The subjoined table will show that they had increased in number.

* Mateer —Native Life in Travancore—1885, p. 80.

Year of Census.	*Total.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1901	220	106	114
1911	366	169	197
1921	230	129	101
1931	916	454	462

In 1931 they were classified for the first time under Hindu and tribal religion, 846 being the former and 70 the latter.

Origin and Traditions of the Tribe

The Ūrālis claim that they were the original inhabitants of the hills. Their habitat is strewn with dolmens and alignments which are mementos of their remote past. The dolmens were considered to be treasure-trove, but this idea is only a figment of the imagination. Alignments, known as ambukallu or idālakallu, are said to have been left as a mark to indicate the existence of dolmens.

The Ūrālis say that they were dependants of the king of Madura. It was their duty to carry umbrellas in state processions. In ancient times, many of the parts included in the Todupuzha taluq belonged to the king of Madura. Once when the king came to Neriamangalam, the ancestors of the Ūrālis are said to have accompanied him and were probably left there to rule (ali) that locality (ūr).* This fits in with another account that is current among them.

Formerly there was a chief known as Nedīttu Thampuran ruling over a tract of about four square

* N. Subramania Iyer—The Travancore Census Report 1901—Part I p. 350.



VIEW OF AN URALI HAMLET.

miles of land called Nedīttu in the Arakulam hills of the Todupuzha Range. The Ūrālis were his vassals. They were fond of the sweet toddy drawn from Azhathenga (Arenga Wightii) and used to tap the trees for it. The chief observed the tapping of the palm for some days, and desired to drink some of the juice. He therefore climbed the tree unobserved for a few days and drank the juice. As the Ūrālis were not getting the usual quantity of juice, they grew suspicious, and resolved to keep watch over the tree. They found the chief climbing the tree and drawing the juice. Prāla Ūrāli discharged an arrow at the chief. It did not strike him, but hit the bottom of the bamboo tube containing the juice. He then discharged seven arrows against the chief, but they all missed their aim and struck the bottom of the tube. The chief was much infuriated by the incident. He descended from the tree and said, "May you adiyars (slaves) remain prosperous. May those who aimed at my life suffer annihilation." Nedīttu Tampuran then left for Todupuzha. The Ūrālis consider that they were his vassals, and pay homage to him in his temple at Nedīttu. It is said that Nedīttu Tampuran came from Madura. To this day, the rock where cardamoms are dried is called Nedīttupara. The bridle-path passing by the area is called Nedīttu thadam. These names are reminiscent of his former existence in the locality. The Ūrāli families cursed by the chief are now extinct. There are some Ūrālis to whom the designation of Vēlar was given by the chief. The title is hereditary in one family and descends from father to son, who are reputed to be adept in magic. It is said that the Ūrālis migrated from Todupuzha taluq to higher elevations in the Vandaṛmet and Periyar Ranges.

It is stated that the Mannāns formerly held sway over the Ūrālis, to whom they were a source of terror in the High Ranges. Any Ūrāli who remained in a tree-house on the arrival of the Raja Mannān was caught and severely chastised. The Raja used to be the arbiter of their disputes, and inflicted very curious punishments on the delinquents. One of the items of punishment was that a culprit had a heavy stone placed on his back for a stipulated time, while his hand rested on the ground on two fingers. It was very expensive to seek justice at the hands of Raja Mannān, as it cost a Ūrāli over forty paras of paddy. The Raja Mannān visits them even now, and they supply him with provisions as a mark of respect. Formerly they used to pay a head money of four chuckrams and one para of paddy annually to the Raja Mannān. They ceased making this payment after they passed into the tutelage of the Government of Travancore. They call the Mannāns 'Vazhi Pulayar' and observe pollution if touched by them.

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The Ūrālis of Kallipara hamlet in the Neriamangalam Range have four clans, the Vayanavar kūttom, Kānakūttom, Thūriya kūttom, and Periyila kūttom. They are susceptible to the influence of low-country men. The Vayanavar kūttakars are numerically stronger than any other clan: they marry women from any of the remaining clans.

Among the Ūrālis of the Thodupuzha Range there are four clans the Kānakūttom, Periyila kūttom, Kōdiyari kūttom, and Ennayari kūttom in the Kallidamakkal hamlet. These clans are also exogamous; a man can only marry a woman from any of the remaining

clans. Here also they are susceptible to the influence of low-country men. They cannot remember their clans now.

The Ūrālis of Vandanmet Range have a system of eight exogamous clans. They are:—

1. Ōna kūttom
2. Thūriya kūttom
3. Kōdiyari kūttom
4. Kāna kūttom
5. Vetti kūttom
6. Enniyari kūttom
7. Periyila kūttom
8. Vayanavar kūttom.

The first four clans constitute brother illoms, and a man of the Ōnakūttom cannot marry a woman from any of the three remaining clans. But he is free to marry a woman from the remaining four clans, which constitute brother-in-law illoms. Here they are less under civilised influence than they are in the Todupuzha and Neriamangalam Ranges, and the clan system is in its full vigour.

The origin of the clans is as follows:—

Those who went trudging in the Kānam (high forest) belonged to the Kānakūttom. Those who went clearing the way belonged to the Vetti kūttom. Those who made their way filthy with their excreta belonged to the Thūriya kūttom. Those who swept away the refuse belonged to the Periyila kūttom. Those who numbered the cut stumps on the way belonged to the Enniyari kūttom, and, those who attended a feast on Onam day belonged to Ona kūttom. The clans are exogamous, and children belong to the clan of the mother, and are given names after those of the members of the mother's clan.

The solidarity of the clan is evident in a variety of ways. Members of the same clan consider themselves to be brothers and sisters. If a man dies, all

the clansmen observe pollution for sixteen days in Neriamangalam and seven days in Todupuzha both in the hamlet and the adjoining ones. All the clansmen contribute towards the expenses for the funeral ceremonies on the fifteenth and sixteenth day. If a fine is inflicted on a man for an offence like adultery, the members of the clan collect the fine and pay it for him. If a man has a poor harvest, all the members of a clan help him with seed and paddy.

Habitations

The Ūrāli hut is generally one-roomed. It is 12 feet by 10 feet in dimensions, and is built of reeds and junglewood posts. It is thatched with leaves of reeds. The floor of the hut is on a level with the ground, and has a fire-place in a corner. The huts are not huddled together in the High Ranges. They are isolated and the surroundings kept tidy. Each man has an Anamādam (tree-house) about fifty feet above-ground in which they spend the nights beyond the reach of elephants. Each hamlet has a common tree-house some distance from the habitations. This is reserved for women in their menses, who have also to spend two more days, after a bath, in a second tree-house nearer their habitations. Another separate tree-house serves as their granary.

In the hamlet of Kallidukānmavu in the Todupuzha Range on the northern slope of the hill, the fear of elephants has vanished. The slope is cut and levelled up and the hut is erected on the ground. Each hut is 12 feet by 12 feet. There is separate cooking and sleeping accommodation. The floor is raised from the ground by being built over three rows of piles. It has a fire-place in one corner. In this hamlet some of the Ūrālis have fine pepper-vine cultivations.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Among some uncivilized peoples the simplest way of purchasing a wife is to give a kinswoman in exchange for her. This is prevalent among the Australians.* Among the Ūrālis marriage is by exchange of sisters. No man can have a wife unless he has a sister whom he can give in exchange. A Ūrāli cannot purchase a wife with property of any kind. The age of the girl who is to be given in exchange is of no consideration; she may happen to be even about four years old. Whatever her age, the girl is surrendered to the care of her future husband, who brings her up, carries her on his back in all his peregrinations, and exercises only connubium when she attains her age. Occasionally a girl may be even two years old. Yet the exchange is inevitable. A Ūrāli who has no sister to offer in marriage has often to lead an unmarried life. Formerly a Ūrāli married as many women as he had sisters to exchange. Now a man does not marry more than two wives. This plurality of wives causes a number of young men to remain unmarried. The result is an unequal distribution of women as wives between the males of the community, the old men having more than the young ones, some of whom at times had to do without any. Cross-cousin marriage is also in vogue.

The marriage ceremonial is simple, and takes place both before and after puberty. When a man desires to have his son married, he goes along with two or three men to the girl's hut. If the girl's parents are averse to the marriage, they assume an attitude of reticence. The party tires them out by staying there for the night

* Westermarck—The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas—Vol. 1 p. 382.

in the hope of initiating a talk from the girl's parents, but the latter remain silent. They however provide the party with food, and sleeping accommodation. At daybreak, they talk among themselves about being unable to obtain the girl, and walk away in chagrin.

In the case of mutual agreement, the boy's father and others are received with hospitality. They are given pansupari first, and then served with light refreshments of beaten rice and coffee decoction. After these formalities, the headman and other relations gather. The boy's father then says that he wants the girl for his son, and promises his own daughter in exchange for the marriage. The two parties agree. If the agreement is reached before harvest, they say that the marriage may be celebrated after harvest, and they part after fixing the date.

On the day previous to the marriage, two or three men visit the bridegroom's hut from the bride's hut. The next day, the bridegroom with his sister and party goes to the bride's hut. The bride is given a cloth to wear round her loins, and one to cover her breasts. A feast is given to the assembled guests. There is no other ceremony. The girl to be taken in exchange is also given a loin-cloth and a breast cloth and is taken to her husband's hut the same day.

Sometimes a man and woman by mutual consent elope into the jungle. There they live together until discovered and brought back by their relations. A panchayat is held and they are recognized as husband and wife. There is no fine or feast.

Polygamy

Polygamy was widely prevalent formerly. It is now limited. A man now marries more than one wife

only to assist him in his agricultural operations or for want of progeny by his first wife.

Polyandry

Polyandry is said to prevail where there is a surplus of men. Mateer observes that the Ūrālis practised polyandry like the Todas, but it now appears to have died out.* The Census of 1931 shows there were 454 males and 462 females. In 1921, the figures disclose that there was a shortage of women. Since that time, women have shown a higher survival rate. According to Pitt-Rivers, the maintenance of polygynous institutions in an aboriginal race is one of the best indications of its preservation as a race.† The Ūrālis of the present day do not admit that the custom prevailed among them at any time.

Levirate

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder or younger brother. A man may marry two sisters.

The system of marriage by exchange of sisters is found among the Ullātans and Malavēṭans of Travancore, the Madigas of Mysore, the Bhotiyas of the United Provinces, the Garos of Assam, the Australians, and other backward peoples of the world. It seems probable that this practice was at first a simple case of barter and that it originated in a low stage of savagery, when women had a high economic value as labourers, but when private property was at so rudimentary a stage that a man had no equivalent to give for a wife except another woman. The same economic motive might lead

* Mateer—Native Life in Travancore—1883 p. 80.

† Pitt-Rivers—The Clash of Culture and Contact of Races—p. 268.

the offspring of such unions to marry each other, and thus the custom of cross-cousin marriage would arise and be perpetuated.

It is said that the exchange of sisters by their brothers was probably older than the exchange of daughters by their fathers, since relationship between brothers and sisters, children of the same mother, must have been well-known, and the recognition of that relationship conferred on brothers a degree of authority which enabled them to exchange their sisters or their sister's daughters for other women whom they either married themselves or gave in marriage to their sister's sons.

Adultery

The Ūrālis have a high standard of morals. When a woman commits adultery in the High Ranges, the woman's husband sends her away to her parent's home. The village council does not interfere. If a man commits adultery in the Neriamangalam Range and a fine is inflicted by the village council, the members of a clan collect the fine from among themselves and pay the amount. In some cases, both the offenders are forced to make penitential genuflections from ten to a hundred according to the gravity of the offence.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a tree-house about a hundred yards away from the hut. She cannot see a man. Only women keep company with her. Pollution lasts for seven or twelve days, until the menstrual discharge ceases. If it ceases after seven days, she bathes on the eighth day and moves to a second tree-house nearer to the hut. Here she remains for two days, after which she bathes and returns



GRANARY ON A TREE.

home. Seven jack-leaf spoonfuls of liquid cowdung and oil are poured over her head by her nāthune (husband's sister) or sister in front of the hut. She then enters the hut. All the men of the hamlet present her with a necklace of beads, but there is no feasting. In the hamlet of Kallidukānmāvu of the Todupuzha Range, where the trouble of wild elephants has vanished, the seclusion-sheds are built on the ground. In Thadiyinal, a girl on attaining puberty remains in the first tree-house for four days. After bathing on the fifth day, she enters the second tree-house and remains there for three days. On the eighth day she bathes and returns home. Where cowdung is not available, the girl is beaten with darba grass over the head; pollution then ceases.

Menstruation

During menstruation, the separation of the sexes is prominent among the Ūrālis. A woman during her monthly periods remains secluded in a tree-house remote from their habitations until discharge ceases. Normally, pollution lasts for seven days. Food is cooked by the woman herself in green bamboo tubes. The husband cannot approach the shed nor talk with her. When discharge ceases, she bathes and goes to the second tree-house nearer to their habitation and remains there for two days. On the third day she bathes and goes home. Should a woman go home before the cessation of discharge, it is supposed that the crops will be blighted and that disease will do great harm to the village. It will also provoke the anger of the sylvan deities.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

No ceremony is attached to pregnancy. When a woman is about to become a mother, she becomes

taboo. She goes to the tree-house remote from the habitation. She is not assisted by other women during her confinement. In the High Ranges of Travancore they stand at a distance and give her instructions. Pollution lasts for twenty-one days. During this period the husband refrains from work. No medicine is given to the mother. Chillies are avoided. The woman remains in the first tree-house for ten to fifteen days. She then bathes and remains in the second tree-house for four days in seclusion. She spends another six days in a shed close to the hut. In Thadiyanal a woman is sent to assist in the delivery. The rest stand at a distance.

It may be observed that "the main line of development of ritual is from insulation of evil influences to the conciliation of beneficent powers. The dangers feared are insulated during the process of the function as is the natural course; then at the end of the function, the expulsion of the danger is performed for the last time, and is of a purificatory character. The practice of performing the chief ceremony at the end of a functional crisis was more sure of continuance precisely because the danger is then usually over, and the ceremony cannot be easily discredited."

Naming Ceremony

The naming ceremony falls on the 22nd day, when ear-boring is also done. The children belong to the clan of the mother and names are given after persons in the mother's clan in the High Ranges. There is now a tendency for names to be given from the father's side in the Todupuzha Range. Males are known by Rāman, Mānikam, Kadutha, Eravi, Thēvan and others. Females are called Thēvi, Nīla, Pēchi, Veluppi, Kariki and Kōtha.

Ponmala and Ponni are pet names for girls. On the day of the naming ceremony, a ring is tied round the wrist by a thread. A ring of brass is tied round the loins.

Taboo on Names

A man calls his wife by her name. He does not talk with his mother-in-law, nor does she with him. He does not talk with his sister. If he meets her on the way, she avoids him. A man does not talk with his niece, nor she with him. She avoids him on the way. Lastly, uncle, father and mother are not called by their names.

Inheritance

Among some uncivilized people women are said to be incapable of holding any property. This is true of the Ūrālis. They were formerly Marumakkathāyis. Inheritance is now in the male line. If there is no son, the property goes to the nephew. In the absence of a nephew it devolves on the daughter. Property consists of paddy, brass vessels, and ornaments. Sons succeed to chieftainship. In the absence of sons, the nephew succeeds to the chieftainship.

The ordinary custom of savages is that the dead man's property is inherited by his own children, if kinship is reckoned through his father, or by his sister's children or other relatives in the mother's side, if kinship is reckoned through the female. "The right to inherit a dead man's property was certainly coextensive with the duty of performing his obsequies and offering sacrifices to his spirit."* Among the Ūrālis, it is observed that the nephew is the chief mourner. This indicates the former prevalence of

* Westermarck—The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas—Vol. II, p. 54.

matriarchy among the Ūrālis. Now the children of the dead man inherit his property, because they have been previously in joint possession of it, for, as we know, possession readily leads to ownership.

Kinship

The terms of relationship used among the Ūrālis are of the type called classificatory. The terms of relationship are as follows:—

I. Relations through Father

1.	Grand father	Muthan
2.	Grandmother	Muthi
3.	Father	Appan
4.	Mother	Amma
5.	Father's elder brother	Periappan
6.	Father's elder brother's wife	Pēramma
7.	Father's elder brother's son	Chēttan.
8.	Father's elder brother's daughter	Pengal
9.	Father's sister	Ammāyi
10.	Father's sister's husband	Aschan
11.	Father's sister's son	Aliyan
12.	Father's sister's daughter	Chēttathi, or Anujathi, if younger.

II. Relations through Mother

1.	Grandfather	Muthan
2.	Grandmother	Muthi
3.	Mother's brother	Aschan

4.	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāyi
5.	Mother's brother's sister	Pēramma or Nuna, if younger

III. Relations through Wife

1.	Wife	By name
2.	Wife's father	Aschan
3.	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
4.	Wife's brother	Aliyan
5.	Wife's brother's wife	Pengal
6.	Wife's sister	Chēttathi, or Anujathi, if younger.

IV. Relations through Husband

1.	Husband's father	Aschan
2.	Husband's mother	Ammāvi
3.	Husband's brother	Chēttan, or Thambi, if younger
4.	Husband's brother's wife	Chēttathi or Anujathi, if younger
5.	Husband's sister	Nāthune.

In connection with the foregoing we observe:—

I. The father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother and the mother's mother.

Muthan and Muthi are the names given to grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines.

II. The father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the husband's father, and the wife's father.

Aschan is the name given to all the above persons and Ammāvi to their wives.

III. Aliyan is the name given to one's father's sister's son and one's wife's brother.

Social Organization

The Ūrālis of Periyar and Vandanmet have a headman called the Kānikkāran for a group of hamlets. Each hamlet has a Plāthi or medicine-man, and he is responsible for the good conduct of the men therein. When a dispute arises in a village, the medicine-man informs the Kānikkāran, who goes to the village and settles the dispute, and sees that such instances do not recur. There is no fine. In the Todupuzha Range the office of Plāthi and Kānikkāran is combined in the same person.

Religion

1. The Worship of Sāsta

The Ūrālis worship Sāsta at Arakulam and Aiyappancoil once a year in Dhanu (December—January). Each man gives 1¼ measures of paddy and some cash. The head of the hamlet collects the contributions, which may come to about fifteen rupees. This is paid to the priest, who feeds them for the day. They also worship Sāsta at Sabarimala.

2. Worship of Ancestor-spirits

The Ūrālis offer worship to ancestor-spirits when they return with the spoils of the chase. The heart and lungs of the animal are cut into slices and are placed on a leaf. A gun is also placed by the side of the offering made to ancestor-spirits with the prayer that they may be successful in their next hunt. They then partake of the offerings, and the remaining flesh is divided equally among the village folk. They also worship the ancestors during agricultural ceremonies.

When they have to pass by a shola (forest), they give it a wide berth, as there may be some malevolent

spirit in it. In the event of any sickness, the help of a medicine-man (Plāthi) is sought. Paddy, arrack, and cash offerings are made to the gods by him to propitiate them. This gives relief to the malady. The medicine-man is adept at the black art, and derives his inspiration and learning from unseen powers in the heart of the jungle, where he stays over a week. His dream directs him to the jungle where he gets into communion with unseen powers who endow him with knowledge in the art. He holds the knowledge on oath that he will not impart it to anyone else. If he breaks the injunction, he fails in his art. His learning therefore dies with him. It is said that he can keep wild elephants at a distance by chanting a mantra and throwing a stone on the boundary of the hamlet. He cures small-pox very easily.

Funeral Ceremony

When a man dies, information is sent round. All assemble. A grave is dug a furlong away from the hut. It is about six feet deep for males and breast deep for females. The chief mourner is the nephew, who washes and dries the corpse. The body is then rubbed with cocoanut oil. A new cloth is tied round the loins, and it is covered with another new cloth. It is then placed on a reed mat, tied with the fibre of Helicteres isora, and carried to the grave by the nephew and son. Billets of wood are laid cross-wise in the grave over which plaited bamboo is placed. The sides of the grave are lined with plaited bamboo. The corpse is then lowered into the grave, and plaited bamboo is placed above. A complete coffin is thus formed. The pansupari, implements, and the bill-hook of the deceased are placed in the right arm-pit. Green leaves are then

thrown into the grave and the pit is filled with earth. A stone is placed at the head, another at the foot, and one on each side. Each is about two feet long and one foot broad. The plaited bamboo is used only in the case of males.

In the event of a woman's dying in a tree-house after delivery before pollution ceases, men dig the grave for the deceased and women carry the corpse to the grave and bury it. If men do the carrying, it is said that they will get ill and provoke the wrath of the hill deities.

Pollution lasts for sixteen days. During this period, all the clansmen bathe early in the morning every day wherever they are. On the seventeenth day they are free from pollution after the bath. Cow dung and oil are mixed with water by the sister or nāthune and poured in small quantities over all.

Agricultural Ceremonies

Before jungle-clearing is started in December in Neriamangalam, each Ūrāli contributes one chuckram or more to the plāthi for God Aiyyappan. Cocoanuts, jaggery, and other articles are purchased. An offering is made by them at the Virippu (area for clearing) to ancestor-spirits with the following prayer:—"May we get our crop without undergoing any trouble from birds and wild animals." Before going to the cleared area, cocoanuts are broken and frankincense is burnt before Mulliringad Ayyappan and offerings of cash are made at Ganapathipāra. Next comes Kariyuttu, when seed is sown broadcast. Each man contributes five measures of paddy. The flesh of black monkey is also offered along with arrack. The plāthi then says the following prayer:—"May our cleared area prosper without any difficulty. May we have a good harvest."

All the assembled men partake of the offering. Seed is sown broadcast first by the plāthi, who observes continence for seven days.

During Mithunam Sankranti day (15th of June), they collect Arenga Wightii (Kūntapana). It is cut into slices and put into water. After three days the slices are removed from the water. The water is boiled and offered to the ancestor-spirits with pansupari, tobacco, lime, and bark of Helicteres isora (Kyvan) with a prayer that there may be no failure of crops.

Before harvesting another offering is made in Kanni (September—October). A pandal (shed) is erected in the cultivated area. All the men remain in it for the night. Next morning an offering of kanji (gruel) is given to the spirits of ancestors with the prayer that nothing untoward may happen to the men in the hamlet as well as their crop. All then partake of the offering. After harvesting they hull paddy, prepare, from rice, kanji which is offered to the ancestor-spirits along with arrack, which is a common factor in all the ceremonies. On each of these occasions the men observe continence for three days. The men on an average get 100 to 200 paras of paddy each. They also cultivate tapioca, ragi, plantains, and cholam. The year's produce does not meet their wants. At other times, they depend on Arenga Wightii, jack fruit, and other wild roots and fruits.

Occupation

1. Nomadic Agriculture

The Ūrālis are nomadic agriculturists. They shift annually and cultivate land on a rotation of six years. They begin jungle-clearing in December, complete it in January, and burn the debris in February. Paddy

is then sown broadcast and they hoe the soil in March and April. Women do the weeding and harvesting; all the remaining work is done by men. The men clear the jungle and burn debris jointly. The plāthi clears first a bit and he is followed by the headman and other Ūrālis. The headman then divides the land to each man who tends his cultivation. The men observe continence for three days after the jungle clearing is started. If a man breaks this injunction harm befalls him and his crop.

2. *Elephant-capturing Operations*

The Ūrālis help the Government in elephant-capturing operations. The elephants are caught in pits, which are dug by the side of streams or pools which they frequent during the summer months during the night. The pits are about fifteen feet deep and 14 to 18 feet in diameter above. The width at the bottom is less. The mouths of the pits are covered with split bamboos, boughs, and earth with dry leaves over it. It is generally the young ones that are caught. As soon as an elephant falls into the pit, the Ūrālis inform the local forest authorities. They cut branches of trees and place them across the mouth of the pit, so that the captive may not escape. Tame elephants (decoys) are brought. Strong ropes are passed round the captive's neck, when he lifts his trunk. The pit is gradually filled up till his forelegs are supported. He walks out of the pit between the decoys, who chastise him if he gives trouble. He is then marched to the elephant cage under the care and vigilance of the decoy elephants, where he is gradually tamed by mahouts, and made ultimately useful as a timber-carrier generally. The Ūrālis play an important part in the capturing operations from the fall of the elephant into the pit until it comes out of it.

Diet

The Ūrālis are fond of animal food. They eat the flesh of sambur, black monkey, porcupine, wild boar, and jungle squirrel, which they kill by gun-shot or arrow. They do not eat the flesh of the cow, bison, or bear. Domestic animals like the cow are not killed for food, as they are held sacred in consequence of their utility. The avoidance of bear's flesh may be due to its disagreeable appearance. Pregnant women are tabooed from eating the flesh of porcupine, wild boar, jungle squirrels and fish, and vegetables like tapioca, as they are afraid of abortion. They do not drink milk nor consume any milk products. As Sir William Crooke says, it may be that they regard it as 'an excrement' like the Dravidian tribes of Central India. They do not eat gram or chama, as they fear that they would incur the wrath of the sylvan deities, and get fever.

Living as the Urālis do above an elevation of 3,000 feet in the High Ranges, they are fond of arrack and toddy, for, as Montesque points out, the prevalence of intoxication in different parts of the earth is proportionate to the cold and humidity of the air. It may be that a gloomy temperament and cheerless life will induce people to resort to artificial pleasures produced by drink. They also make a special beverage of tea which is obtainable in the estates in the vicinity. They boil half a measure of water and add tea dust to it. They then add one measure of cold water to reduce the heat. They then separate the dust and drink the decoction thrice a day. It is said that this beverage is very stimulating. The Ūrālis of the Todupuzha Range fry the outer coverings of coffee berries and powder them. They add the powder to boiling water and drink the decoction. They also use ganja in the morning and at night to keep off cold.

Dress

The men wear a loin-cloth of 4 x 2 cubits, and an upper cloth. They have now taken to wearing shirt and coat, owing to contact with the planting community. Women wear a cloth seven to ten cubits long. They have a mārāde (jacket) to cover their breasts. It is tied above the right shoulder, and is 3 x 2 cubits in the High Ranges. Women are now wearing jackets also.

Ornaments

The Ūrālis are fond of jewelry. Men wear ear-rings and brass rings on the fingers. Women wear copious necklaces of beads, also a nose-screw of silver on both sides. A split reed is tied round the head longitudinally, so that the hair may not toss about. They wear one to twelve bangles on both wrists. They also wear anklets of lead or silver purchased from pedlars.

Daily Life

The Ūrālis get up early in the morning. The women clean the hut. Both men and women eat tapioca and drink tea or coffee in the early morning. At noon this is repeated. They have a full meal of rice and curry at night. Men go out to the jungle to work after their morning meal, and may be accompanied by their wives who return home earlier than the men. The men return in the evening. Unlike the Muthuvans, both men and women collect fuel for domestic use. They bathe once in two or three days. Though they appear cleanly in their person, they are dirty in their dress. It is said that a cold climate leads to uncleanliness, because it makes garments so necessary. Poverty, laziness, and their occupations are other causes of this uncleanness.

Women are considered inferior to men, as they are considered impure. They are therefore debarred from attending certain agricultural operations.

Fertility

The fertility of the Ūrālis varies with the locality. In the Neriamangalam Range, the average size of the family is 4·5, the average birth-rate is 2·5 and the survival rate, 2·0. In the Todupuzha Range, where fever is less rampant and the climate healthier, the average size of the famiy is 6·4. The average birth-rate is 4.4 and the average survival rate, 3·5. In 21 families, there were 38 males and 36 females. 18 children died after birth. The males preponderate over the females. In the Periyar and Vandanmet Ranges the average size of the family has received a set-back. It is only 4·9. The average birth-rate is 2·7, and the survival rate 1·9. This may be partly due to the influence of a cold rigorous climate in eliminating all but the most vigorous individuals.

Physical Features

The Ūrālis are dark brown in complexion in the Todupuzha Range, but blondness is noticeable in the High Range. On lower elevations, in Todupuzha, their average stature is 156 cms. (61·4 inches). Their average cephalic index is 73·4 and average nasal index 87·7. The average facial index is 81·8. The average chest girth is 74·2 cms. and its average in relation to stature 100 is 47·5. The average span of arms is 153·5 and the average in relation to stature 100 is 101·6. In the High Ranges their average stature is 157 cms. (61·8 inches). This is due to the fact that stature is often greater in higher altitudes, a fact

which has been ascribed to the influence of a rigorous climate in killing off all but vigorous individuals. This may also be due to the greater activity of the pituitary gland in cool climate at high altitude (3,000 feet above sea level). They are dolichocephalic, the average cephalic index being 70·6. The average nasal index is 86·3. The vault of the head is low and the direction of the brain is backwards. The brow-ridges are prominent and the chin is receding. The eyes are dark. The hair is black and curly (3 curls). The body is hairy and they have well-grown moustaches. They are robust in appearance, and have great lung capacity, massive chests, and large torsos in the High Ranges. This is due to the rarified air found at an elevation of 3,000 feet.

Mr. Thurston speaks of another class of people of the same valley who inhabit the jungles of Dinbhum (Coimbatore District) at an altitude of 1,800 feet. They speak a patois of mixed Tamil and Canarese, and have a number of exogamous septs; but the class of Ūrālis whom we meet in the hills of Travancore speak a kind of corrupt Malayalam. The true origin of these hillmen seems to be lost in obscurity. But judging from ethnological data, and comparing our Ūrālis with those of Coimbatore, Madura, and Trichinopolly, we may be justified in stating that the Travancore Ūrālis are not generally different from the Ūrālis that inhabit the hilly recesses of those districts.*

Education

The initiative to educate the Ūrālis came from the missionaries. "The late Rev. Henry Baker, one of the earliest of C. M. S. missionaries of Kottayam, (1818—1843) devoted his labours in these untrodden

* V. Nagamiah—The Travancore State Manual, Vol. II, p. 353.

hilly tracts of North Travancore not without some reward. His attempts to open a school were attended with some success and after his retirement in 1843, the mantle fell on his son (Rev. Henry Baker Junior) who maintained not unsuccessfully the school established by his father for a period of five years. But the unfortunate death of this missionary brought the school to an untimely close. However, subsequent Christian philanthropists have taken up the work again, and, as a result of it, there are now two schools at Mekkanam under their supervision and attended by a good number of boys. Many of the Ūrālis can now read and write. This represents the work of missionaries outside the reserved forests. Inside the reserved forests the Government have established a school at Ayyappancoil for the benefit of the Ūrālis. The school has seldom a full attendance, as their agricultural pursuits hardly permit them to send their children to school. They are not therefore availing themselves of the benefits of education that are now extended to them.

Conclusion

The Ūrālis excel all the other tribes in point of honesty. They are very exclusive, and do not eat at the hands of the Paliyans and the Mannāns. It is recorded that "they intermarry with the Ullātans, and in some cases with the Muthuvans,"* but this is not admitted by the Ūrālis. The Parayans and the Pulayans have to observe a distance pollution of twelve feet from the Ūrālis. If touched by a Paliyan or a Mannān, they bathe. They eat only at the hands of the Malayarayans. They serve as good forest guides.

* N. Subramania Iyer—The Travancore Census Report for 1901—Part I, p. 362.

VISHAVAN

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — LEVIRATE — ADULTERY — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — CHILD-BIRTH — NAMING CEREMONY — TABOO — INHERITANCE — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — KINSHIP — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — ECONOMIC LIFE — RELIGION — HABITATION — DIET — FISHING — DRESS — ORNAMENTS — DAILY LIFE — EDUCATION — FERTILITY — APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

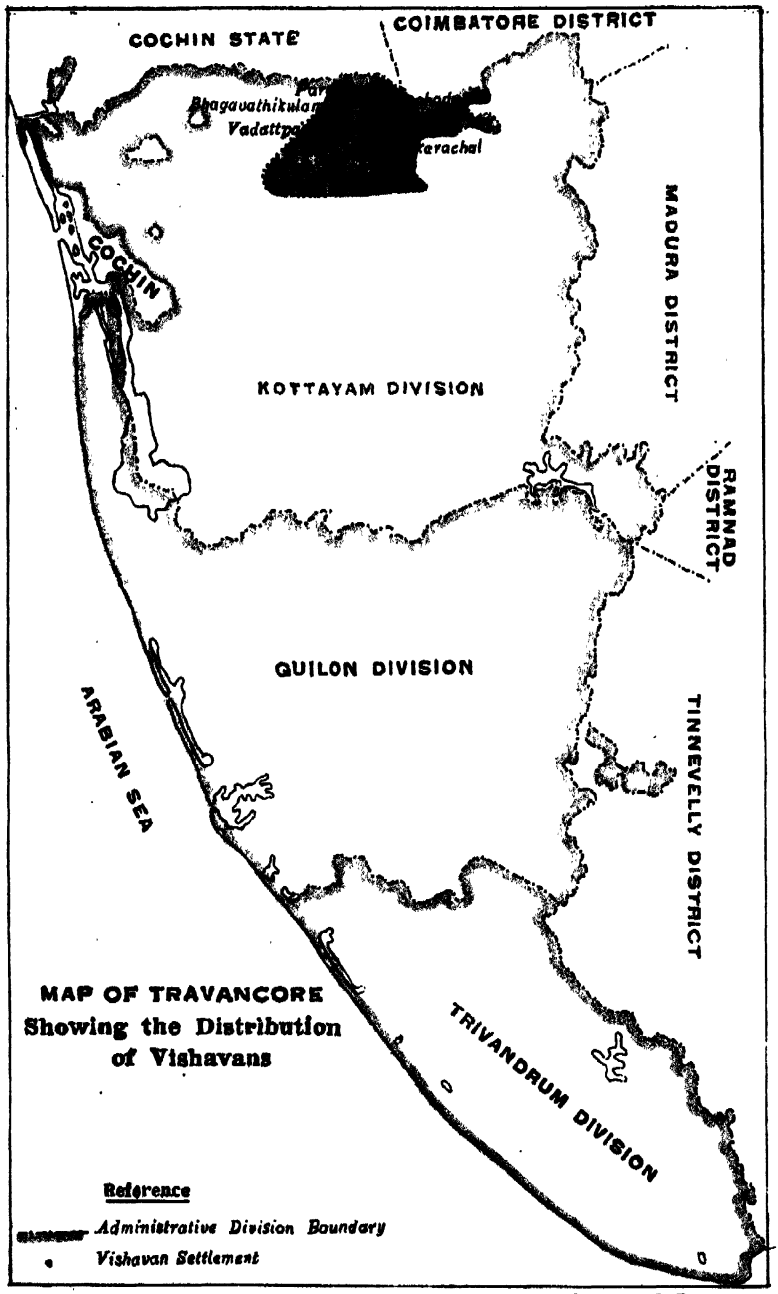
The Vishavans (Malankudi) are found in the hamlets of Pūngunchode, Parna, Perumuzhi, and Payapara in the Idyara Range and on the banks of the Chalakudi river in Cochin State. They live in high forest in the Idyara valley where the average rainfall is about 160 inches annually. They are described as 'a miserable puny race vitiated by the use of opium.'*

Population

The Vishavans were returned during the Census of 1931 as 166. A comparative statement of their population from 1901 is given below:—

Year of Census.	*Total.*	*Males.*	*Females.*
1901	192	97	95
1911	201	98	103
1921	181	72	109
1931	166	81	85

* Ward and Conner—Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States—Vol. I—p. 159.



Litho, T. A. P. W., Trivandrum

The Census of 1931 shows that the population is declining and that the females exceed the males.

Traditions of Origin

While the Vishavans state that they were autochthonous, the names of some of the exogamous clans indicate that they came from Cochin State. For example, the Maringāthukar came from Maringāth near Adirapalli. Some of them still live in Cochin State.

Internal Structure of the Tribe

The Vishavans are divided into eight clans:—

1. Kunnikār
2. Alapānkār
3. Ponneyankār
4. Pōkkankār
5. Maringāthukār
6. Thōnikār
7. Pēzhātikār
8. Krāplikār

Sir Herbert Risley classifies the names of exogamous clans as eponymous, territorial, titular or totemistic. Territorial names are given among the Vishavans, and the clan is named after some village in which its members resided in the past. Thus the Krāplikār are those who came from Krāli, and the Maringāthukār from Maringāth. The first four clan names are derived from places in Travancore; the last four are from places in Cochin State. The Maringāthukār are divided into two sub-clans, Pooyan and Ottapra. The Ottaprakar are found in Cochin State and Pooyankar in Travancore. They intermarry. "The division of the tribe into eight clans is said to bar the marriage of cross-cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively."* Cross-cousin marriage is absent among the Vishavans.

* Frazer—Folklore in the Old Testament—Vol. II, p. 232.

The Pēzhātikār and Pōkkenkār consider themselves superior to the other clans, and the headman is selected from either of these clans. This superiority does not make them clannish in social relations and prevent them from marrying a woman from any of the remaining clans. The members of the first three clans identify themselves as one and are not allowed to intermarry. They are free to marry a woman from any of the five remaining clans. It is significant to note that the clans of Kunnikar, Pōkkenkār, and Thōnikār are found among the Nāttu Malayans of Cochin State.

It is said that the Kartas of Kothamangalam, permitted them to settle in the Idyara valley. They had formerly a chieftain called Valiapandian to whom were given a sword, a bangle, and a silk. The sword was intended to behead wrong doers. The guilty were buried with head above ground and beheaded. He belonged to the clan of the Pēzhātikār. His family has now become extinct.

It is significant that marriage between cross-cousins is prohibited among them. A man is free to marry a woman outside his clan, and has therefore wider choice of a mate. The Vishavans say that prohibition of the marriage of cross-cousins is due to the fact that consanguinous marriages are fraught with danger. This is in accord with the view of Westermarck that such marriages are more injurious in savage regions, where the struggle for existence is keener, than they have proved in civilized society.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Girls are given in marriage either before or after puberty. In the case of a girl who is married before puberty, she is generally about nine years of age and

the husband is twelve years old. The girl remains with her parents till she attains puberty. In the case of post-puberty marriage, the married couple set up a separate house for themselves.

Like the Korwas of Mirzapur, a man cannot marry the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister's husband. The man goes to the girl's hut and hands over a mundu (loin-cloth) and muri (upper-cloth) to her uncle or mother, and solicits her hand. If they agree, the marriage takes place in the bride's hut and lasts for a day. Any day is suitable for it. On the appointed day the bridegroom goes with his parents, brothers and sisters to the bride's hut in the morning. Presents of cloth are made to the bride and her parents. All the guests are treated to a feast. Next morning all go to the bridegroom's hut, where the bride's parents and relations are feasted. The married couple sleep in a separate shed that night. The bride's relations depart to their hamlet early next morning. The boy's parents look to the couple's maintenance until they are able to lead a separate life. The bride's parents do not contribute anything for their maintenance. Pre-puberty coition exists. They are generally monogamous.

Levirate

Remarriage of widows is permissible. The elder brother does not marry the wife of his deceased younger brother, as she is reckoned his sister, nor does the younger brother marry the wife of his deceased elder brother. A man may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife.

Adultery

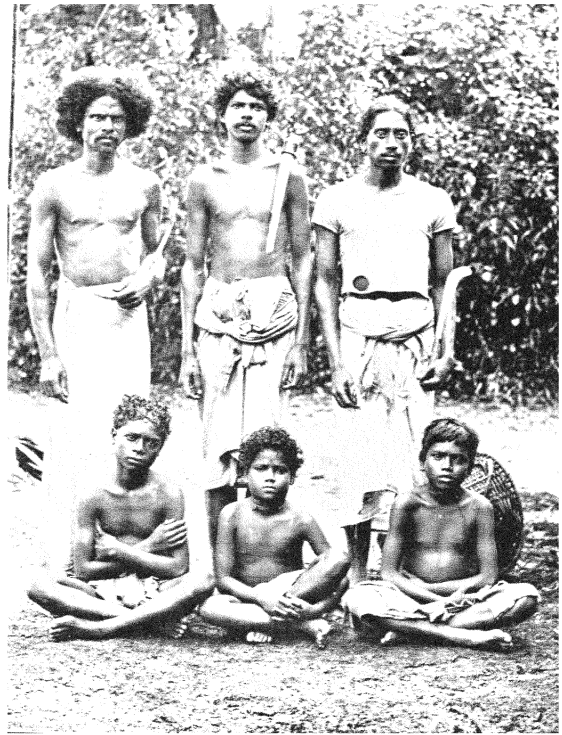
If a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, the village elders meet. The Kānikkāran

says that he should not have committed the offence, imposes a fine of one rupee on each and separates them. If a woman commits adultery, the matter is reported to the headman, who convenes the village council. The woman is asked if she is willing to live with her husband. If she refuses, the union is sundered. The adulterer is allowed to have her, but there is no ceremony. Divorce is allowed where there is no domestic harmony. Both are free to marry again.

Puberty Customs

Girls generally attain puberty at about the age of twelve. When a girl attains puberty she is lodged separately in a shed fifty feet away from the hut. She remains in the shed with her mates for seven days during which time she should not be seen by males. She bathes twice a day unseen by men and then only is served with food. Should she break this taboo, woe be to the hamlet; elephants and other wild animals may come to the hamlet and destroy the crops. On the eighth day the girl is taken to the stream for a bath; all the men and women of the hamlet follow her in procession. The girl is rubbed with gingily oil by her father's sister's daughter. After the bath she is dressed with a new cloth round her loins and another over her head. All the others also bathe.

The party then return in procession to the girl's hut. Women stand on both sides of the girl and men walk in front and behind. On reaching the hut, a mat is spread inside and the girl sits on it along with other women. All the men are feasted. The girl is given two handfuls of rice mixed with molasses by her paternal aunt's daughter, and then all the assembled females are fed. The girl cannot take animal food until she is married, nor can she touch any of the vessels in the



A VISHAVAN MALE GROUP.

hut. If any one marries her on that day, she is at liberty to eat flesh or fish. The function terminates with the distribution of pansupari.

If a girl is married before puberty, and if she remains with her husband and attains puberty, the details of the ceremony described above are performed by her parents, uncle and aunt in the husband's hut. The husband remains in the hut, and provides the girl with a new cloth, but the parents incur all other expenditure. Pre-puberty coition is common.

Menstruation

A woman in menses is considered to be impure for six days. She remains in the seclusion-shed which is about 100 feet away from the hut. During this period she cannot touch any vessel or cook her food. Food is served to her. She cannot go to the cultivated area lest she should blight the crops. On the seventh day she bathes and returns home.

Child-birth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is confined for delivery to a seclusion-shed near her husband's hut. A midwife (Vayathātti) attends on her. Pollution lasts for sixteen days, during which time women attendants remain with her. No male can approach the shed. On the seventeenth day she bathes and goes home with the baby and remains in an adjoining room. After six days she can touch vessels and cook food.

Naming Ceremony

The giving of names is done after a year. The name of the maternal uncle or aunt is given. Males are known by the name of Parangi, Rāman, Kunjan, Moyali,

and Kōtha. Females are known by Kandichi, Lechi, Māppi, and Vellal. The pet name for boys is Thūchan, and for girls, Thūchi. Babies are fed with rice from the third or fourth month.

Taboo

The common taboo between a man and his mother-in-law exists among the Vishavans. Neither the father-in-law nor the mother-in-law holds direct conversation with their son-in-law. The taboo also extends to a woman in her conduct towards her mother-in-law and father-in-law. Conversation between them is conducted through some other person. When a man goes to his father-in-law's hamlet, he does not stay with him, but sends information of his visit through others. They cannot see each other. Similarly, a married woman can neither see her father-in-law nor mother–in–law. Consequently they live separately. There is no avoidance of uncle and father's sister's husband. A man does not talk with his father's elder brother.

Inheritance

A man's property goes to his nephew on his death. Property includes vessels, paddy, land under cultivation, and money. Chakmuk, axe, and bill-hook go to the son. In the absence of a nephew, the property goes to the niece. In the absence of a niece, it goes to the son. In regard to chieftainship, the title goes to the nephew, and is thus retained in the same clan. In the absence of the nephew, the title devolves on the niece, and she manages the affairs of the village.

Funeral Ceremonies

When a man dies, information is sent round, and all the villagers assemble. The nephew is the chief mourner, and he purchases a new cloth to wrap the

body in. The corpse is then laid on a new mat, tied, and carried to the grave which is dug breast-deep east to west about a mile from the hamlet. A platform is raised six inches above ground in the grave. A trellised bamboo is placed on both sides to prevent the earth from falling on the corpse, which is then lowered into the pit. The strings are untied. A bamboo trellis is placed above. The whole is then box-like in appearance. The pit is then filled with earth, and a small fence is put up round the grave to prevent wild animals from doing any damage to it.

Pollution lasts for sixteen days. On the second day offerings of boiled rice are made to propitiate the spirit of the dead on a rock by the nephew, when all the mourners are present. All bathe and return home. The mourners abstain from eating meat and fish for sixteen days. On the fourth day some boiled rice is heaped on a leaf, and the deceased's wife or sister dips the small finger of the right hand in water and makes some rounds with that finger. The women make lamentations during this time. A feast is then given to all. One who has no pollution cooks the food. A feast is also given in honour of the dead on the sixteenth day.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Vishavans is of the type called classificatory. Appāppan and Ammāmma are the names given to grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Similarly, Ammāvan is the name given to father's sister's husband, mother's brother, and wife's father, and Ammāvi to their wives, but not to husband's father who is called 'Appan'.

Social Organization

The Vishavans have a headman who belongs to the clans of Pēzhātikār or Pōkkankār which are considered superior to the other clans. Each hamlet has a Kānikkāran. The office is hereditary and descends to the nephew. He settles all their disputes. All the men of the hamlet clear jungle and do such other work as he requires. Formerly the headman was given ten paras of paddy from each hamlet. This has now been reduced to five paras. The village council is now a loose organization. It meets only to decide cases of adultery.

Economic Life

The Vishavans are nomadic agriculturists. Like the Muthuvans, they shift their area of cultivation annually, and cultivate an area once in three years. All of them clear jungle jointly, and each man's bit is marked by stakes of reeds. The headman first clears the jungle one early morning in January on a Friday, and he is then followed by the others. They set fire to the jungle in March. Women sow seeds broadcast and hoe the soil with the spade. When the monsoon sets in, weeds grow. The headman starts weeding, and is followed by women who weed their respective areas. They harvest the crop in Chingam (August–September). Each man gets 50 to 100 paras of paddy.

Besides paddy, they cultivate ragi, tapioca, and other food plants. When these are exhausted, they rely on kuva (Curcuma angustifolia), Chūndapana (Caryota urens), wild roots, and berries. Hunting supplements their food. They rear fowl also. During some years they are able to live on the produce of their labour.

They also collect minor forest produce like honey, wax, dammer, and cardamoms for the contractor, who gives them in exchange salt, chillies, clothing, and opium.

Religion

The Vishavans worship Māttingal Sāsta. Votaries break cocoanuts when they pass by 'Mād', praying that they may be prosperous and free from danger and illness. They also make offerings of rice to their ancestors. Each man gives one measure of paddy to the headman. This rice is cooked and laid on leaves, and is offered to the spirits of the ancestors. The rice is partaken of by all. They also make offerings of fried rice and arrack on Onam and Vishu days praying that they may be kept out of danger.

Habitation

The Vishavan hut is rectangular in shape and is 20 feet x 15 feet in dimensions. It is built of jungle-wood posts and reeds and thatched with leaves of reeds. It is two roomed, and faces the east. It has a door in front and behind. There is always a fire on the hearth. They make fire by flint and steel (thikathi). A bachelor-hall exists for unmarried youths, and visitors are entertained here. There is also a hut for unmarried girls. Reed torches illumine their huts. Dietz lanterns have now come in. Their surroundings are filthy. Their summer encampments are on the banks of the Idyara river and are temporary. The huts have a lean-to-roof. One side of it is raised from the ground by reed stakes.

Diet

Rice forms the staple diet of the Vishavan. Their annual yield lasts for six to eight months. This is supplemented by ragi and tapioca. They also raise

sweet potatoes, brinjals, melons, and vegetables. Among animals, they are fond of sambur and wild boar. They eat fish. They do not eat the flesh of white or black monkeys, or of bison. They drink arrack and toddy, and eat opium. They are not inveterate smokers. During summer, they go out in parties of four or five hunting with dogs. They also use guns. They divide the spoils of the chase and return home.

They also eat wild roots and berries which they dig by means of the spud. A sharp piece of iron is attached to the end of the rod by means of cane splits. The bill-hook is an indispensable weapon used for a variety of purposes.

Fishing

The Vishavans are fond of fishing. They use a muppalli, or three-pronged iron, fixed at the end of a thin rod ten feet long. They watch the movements of the fish at the edge of a stream and impale it on the muppalli. They also fish by line and tackle with worms as bait.

The Vishavans dexterously cross the Idyara river in canoes scooped out of Kulamavu (Machilus macrantha) wood by an axe or on reed rafts. The oar is made by axe and bill-hook.

Dress

Men wear a loin cloth 4 cubits by 2 cubits. They also use an upper cloth over the shoulders. Women wear a loin cloth, 10 cubits by 2½ cubits, folded in two and tied round the breasts; and a small cloth tied underneath round the loins. They wear no jackets.

Ornaments

Men wear ear-rings of silver and gold set with stones. They wear silver or brass rings on the finger.

Women wear ear-tubes of brass or reeds, the thin splits of which are rolled into a cylindrical ornament. They wear necklaces of beads and a ring on the finger. They also wear a comb of bamboo above the tuft of hair.

Daily Life

The Vishavans get up early in the morning. The wife cleans the hut and premises and prepares the morning meal. They have rice kanji in the morning, and may have fish or meat to supplement it. The husband and wife then go out to the jungle to collect wild roots and berries. The wife returns home earlier than the husband with the fuel. Children stay at home. The evening meal consists of rice and curry. The husband returns home, has his bath, and then takes his supper. They then go to sleep saying "Oh God, may we not suffer from want of food." Women are debarred from participating in religious and social functions.

Education

Boys are taken to the jungle with a bill-hook when they are ten years of age. They are told of the plants and animals seen around them. They are taught how to cut reeds and work like their elders. Girls are taught how to weave mats of reeds when they are eight years of age. The women make excellent mats.

Fertility

The Vishavans show a preponderance of females over males. In 1931 there were 81 males and 85 females. It is observed that there has been a gradual decline in population, since 1911. In the census taken by me of 21 families in 1931, it was found that the average size of the family was 4·6, the average birth-rate 3·4, and survival rate 2·6. Looking into the statistics of children, I notice that there are 25 males and 29 females.

One cause of decline in population may perhaps be the existence of pre-puberty coition. "Early intercourse is injurious to health, and it is not difficult to understand in a general way how, if this is so, the reproductive function is adversely affected."*

Appearance and Physical Features

The Vishavans are of dark complexion and short stature. The average stature is 155·81 cms. (61·3″). They have long heads with an average cephalic index of 74·0. The nose is short and is just below being called platyrhine, the average nasal index being 83·81. The forehead is receding and the eye-brows are prominent. The eyes are dark. The hair is curly in some and wavy in others. It has three spiral curls. Hair grows bushy on the head. The jaw is prognathous and the chin is receding. They have a robust appearance; the average chest circumference is 72·5 and compares unfavourably with the Malapantārams, the Muthuvans, and others. The average span of the arms is 162·7. The average facial index is 80·3, and the maxillo-zygomatic index 66·3.

Conclusion

The Vishavans talk Malayalam. They are employed for the collection of minor forest produce by contractors. The profits of their labours are dissipated in the purchase of that pernicious drug opium. They are ever on the extremes of stupid languor or inebriety. They are declining.

* Carr Saunders—The Population Problem—p. 88.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF TRAVANCORE.

INTRODUCTION — PHYSICAL FEATURES — GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES — POPULATION — EFFECTS OF GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT — ANTHROPOMETRIC WORK IN INDIA — ANTHROPOMETRICAL DATA IN 1931 CENSUS REPORT — PHYSICAL CHARACTERS — DEFINITE CHARACTERS — RACIAL STUDY OF THE TRIBES — THE NEGRITO ELEMENT IN TRAVANCORE — PROTO-AUSTROLOID — CONCLUSION.

Introduction

The Indian Empire comprises three main regions, the Himalayas or the abode of snow, the Middle land or Madhyadesa, as the river plains of Northern India are known in popular speech, and the southern tableland of the Deccan with its irregular high ranges rising out of undulating plains. Each region has its own peculiar characteristic ethnic character, and has contributed a distinct element to the making of the Indian people. The Deccan is one of the most ancient geological formations in the world and has, since the dawn of history, been the home of the aboriginal population of India. Travancore forms the south-westernmost part of the Deccan and bears marks of the impact of all the racial migrations in the region. The State is bounded by the Western Ghats on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Its total length from north to south is 174 miles, its width from east to west is 75 miles at the northern boundary and 30 miles at the southern extremity. It has an area of 7,625 square miles.

Physical Features

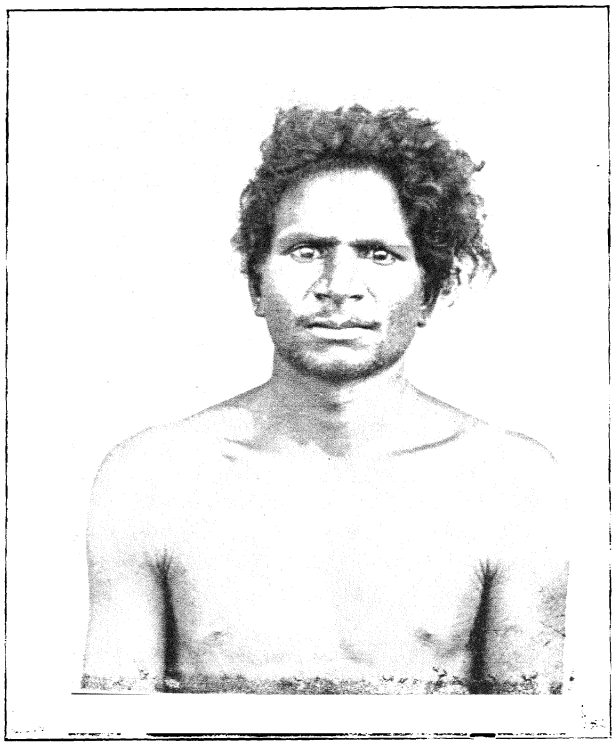
The physical features of Travancore are divided into three distinct belts, each having its own characteristic soil, rainfall, vegetation, and cultivation. They are the Highlands, the Midlands, and the Lowlands. The Highland Division contains a range of mountains with rich fertile lands at the foot, covered mostly with thick virgin forests. Most of the reserved forests are in this division and the portions opened up for cultivation are covered with rubber, tea, and cardamoms. The annual rainfall ranges between 100 inches in the south and 200 inches in the north. Owing to the existence of reserved forests, the lands available for cultivation form 34·6 per cent. of the total area. The cultivated portion is only 13·9 per cent. This region is the most sparsely populated.

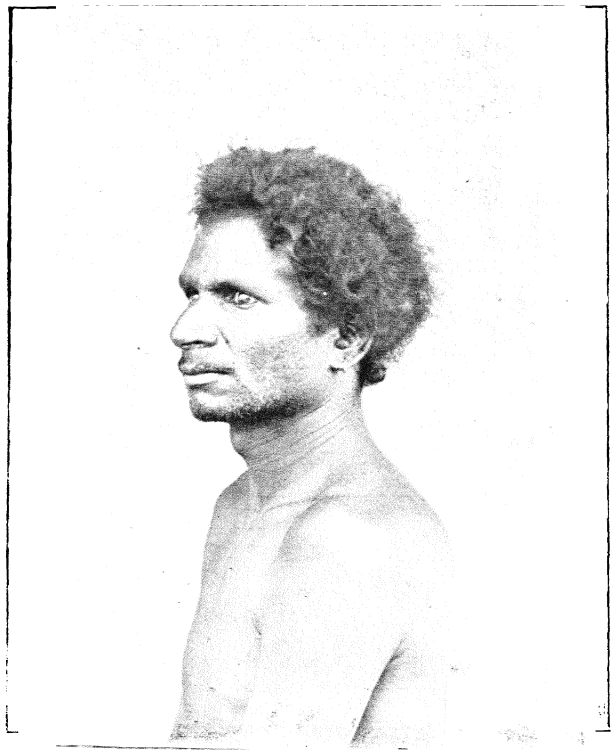
The Midland Division is higher in elevation than the Lowland and is dotted with low hills of varying heights and shapes interspersed with long narrow valleys which are cultivated with paddy. The hill slopes and hills produce cocoanut palm, tapioca, pepper, ginger, rubber, and other dry crops. The rainfall varies from 55 to 140 inches. The soil is fertile.

The Lowland Division consists of flat stretches of lowlands lying along the coast at sea level and composed mainly of recent deposits of sand or sandy loam, and is best suited for cultivation of the cocoanut palm and paddy. The rainfall varies from 35 inches in the extreme south to 110 inches in the extreme north. Practically the whole area has been brought under cultivation.

Geographical Distribution of the Primitive Tribes

The Highland Region forms the home of the undernoted tribes:—





MUTHUVAN MALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.



MUTHUVAN FEMALE

1. *Kānikkār* in the forests of the Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara, Nedumangad, Pathanapuram, Shencotta, and Kottarakara Taluqs.

2. *The Malapantārams* scattered in the higher reaches of the Pamba and Achencoil rivers, and at Thalapara, and Kannapatti of the Shencotta Taluq.

3. *The Malavētans* in the Midland and Highland taluqs of Pathanamthitta, Pathanapuram, Nedumangad, Chirayinkil and Neyyatinkara.

4. *The Malankuravans* in the various parts of the State in the Highland and Midland Divisions.

5. *The Ūrālis* in the Peermade and Thodupuzha Taluqs.

6. *The Paliyans* in the Peermade Taluq.

7. *The Mannāns* on the Cardamom Hills to the south of the Panniyar in the Peermade and Devikulam Taluqs.

8. *The Muthuvans* on the Kannan Devan and Cardamom Hills in the High Range Division.

9. *The Malapulayas* in the Anjanad valley of the Devikulam Taluq.

10. *The Vishavans (Malankutis)* in the Idyara valley of North Travancore.

The Midland Region forms the home of the undernoted tribes:—

1. *The Malayarayans* in the Rani forests of Changanaseri, Minachil, and Thodupuzha Taluqs.

2. *The Ullātans* in the Rani Reserve in the Highland Region and in various parts of the Midland Region.

3. *The Parayas* in the Thovala, Agastiswaram, Eraniel, Kunnathur and Kunnathunad Taluqs, and on the Cardamom Hills.

4. *The Pulayas* in the central and northern taluqs of Travancore.

5. *The Nāyādis* in the Karunagapalli and Kunnathunad Taluqs.

In the Lowland Region, the *Thantapulayas* and other sub-divisions of the *Pulayas* are found.

Population

The primitive tribes were returned in the census of 1931 as 1,28,838, of whom 1,15,151 were Hindus, 10,780 Christians, and 2,907 belonging to tribal religion. Inclusive of the Parayas and Pulayas, 3,93,172 were Hindu, 2,40,273 Christian, and 2,907 belonged to tribal religion. A comparison of the figures at different censuses demonstrates the process of rapid Hinduization taking place among the primitive tribes. The number of animists returned in 1901 was 28,193. This went down to 15,773 in 1911, to 12,637 in 1921, and to 2,907 in 1931. The inference drawn from these figures is that the animists are being depleted and that the numbers they lose go over chiefly to Hinduism and to a small extent to Christianity. "The opening of a large number of estates in forest regions has provided facilities for their coming in contact with the people of the plains. Some of the tribes are coming down to the plains to earn their livelihood. In this way as well as by the penetration of civilized man in the forests, the primitive tribes are being brought under the influence

of the Hindus and Christian missionaries".* A statement of their population as they stood in 1931 is given in table I.

TABLE I.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Hindus.	Christians.	Tribal Religion.	Total.
1	Kanikkaran .	4,565	53	2,041	6,659
2	Kuravan .	87,071	8,158	66	95,295
3	Malankuti (Vishavan) .	166	...	...	166
4	Malapantaram .	100	...	87	187
5	Malapulayan .	254	...	...	254
6	Mala-Ūrāli .	846	...	70	916
7	Malayarayan .	2,807	255	120	3,182
8	Mannan .	1,215	...	61	1,276
9	Muthuvan .	1,238	...	63	1,301
10	Nāyādi .	144	...	...	144
11	Paliyan .	379	23	81	483
12	Paraya (Sambavar) .	70,684	71,680	...	142,364
13	Pulaya .	2,07,387	1,57,813	...	365,200
	Thantapulaya .	795	...	...	795
14	Ullātan .	4,824	220	77	5,121
15	Malavetan { Vetan .	9,496	2,000	241	11,737
	Malavetan { Vettuvan.	1,251	...	71	1322

* N. Kunjan Pillai, The Travancore Census Report, 1931, Part 1, p. 387.

Effects of Geographical Environment

The geographical conditions of Travancore are such that the primitive tribes have had to live "in regions of plenty to-day and poverty to-morrow." "Not because they originated here, but they were driven here by past climatic changes and migrations, remained here, and stagnated here."* Of all the tribes, the Malapantārams, the Muthuvans and the Ūrālis have been least affected by outside influences. The remaining tribes have been subject to extraneous influences, and have therefore received an infusion of foreign blood and new ideas from the more civilized people with whom they have come into contact. This is clearly seen in the Vishavan, the Pāliyan, the Ullātan, the Malayarayan, the Mannān, and Kānikkāran. Owing to the admixture of foreign blood, these tribes are now approaching the composite type of civilized humanity.

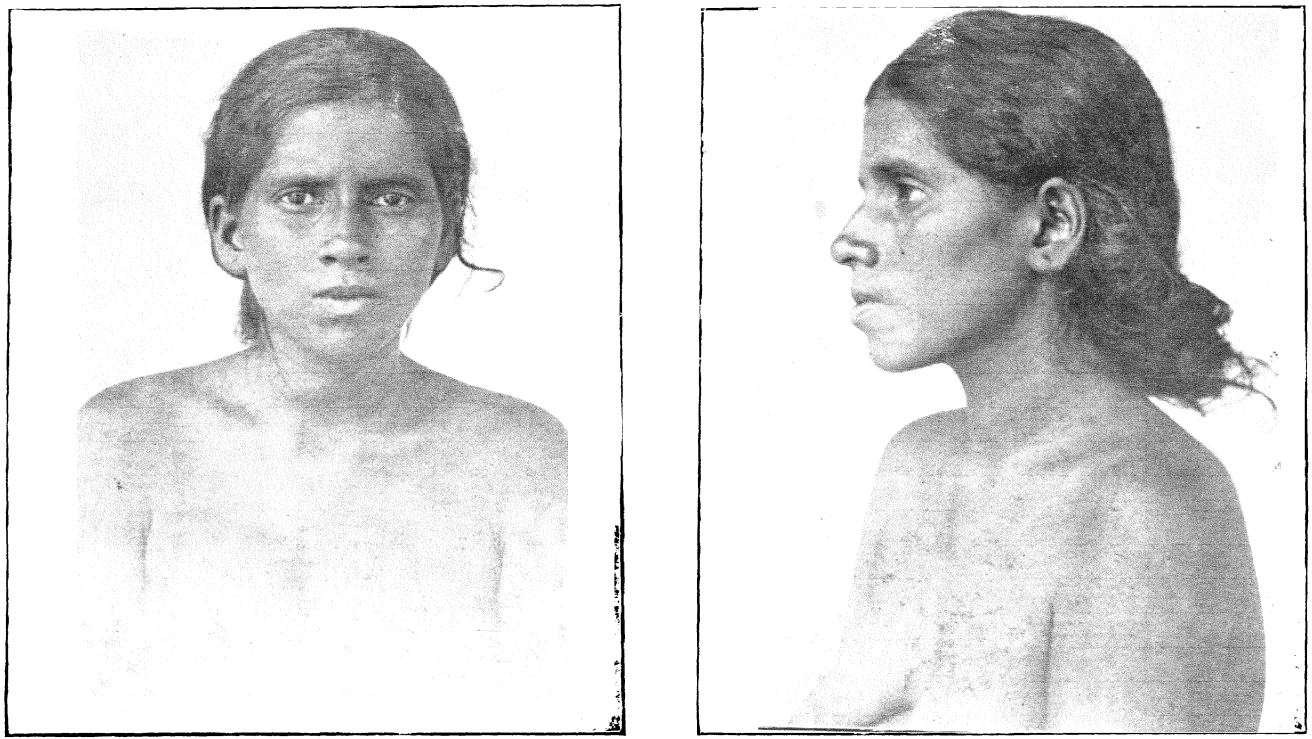
Climate determines the crop that man can grow in a locality. The Mannān, the Muthuvan, the Pāliyan, and the Malapulayan, who live at an altitude of 2,000 to 5,000 feet, cultivate ragi, while the Kānikkāran, the Malayarayan, the Ullātan, the Vishavan, and others who live on lower elevations, cultivate paddy and tapioca. Where climate favours the growth of forests, it prolongs the hunter stage of development and retards the advance to agriculture. The Malapantāram is the only tribe in Travancore in the hunter stage.

The salubrity of high altitudes is favourable to human development. This is exemplified in the Muthuvans, the Mannāns, the Pāliyans, the Ūrālis, and the Malapulayans and the Malapantārams. Their well-developed lungs, massive chests, and large torsos are

* Griffith Taylor—Race and Environment, p. 178.



NAYADI MALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.



NAYADI FEMALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.

due to the influence of the rarefied air at the high altitude at which they live. The average chest girth of the primitive tribes is given in Table II. The alleged backwardness of dwellers in tropical countries is said to be due to excessive heat. Intense heat of long duration combined with a high degree of humidity is unfavourable to human development. It brings about enervation, and creates a craving for stimulants, which induces habits of alcoholism. Further, malaria is a disease of tropical and sub-tropical countries whose climate is characterised by wet and dry seasons. A people devitalised by this disease cannot be expected to be energetic and active. The Kānikkār, the Ullātan, the Malankuravan, and Malavētan are good examples of devitalization caused by tropical illness and they have the lowest average chest girth.

TABLE II.

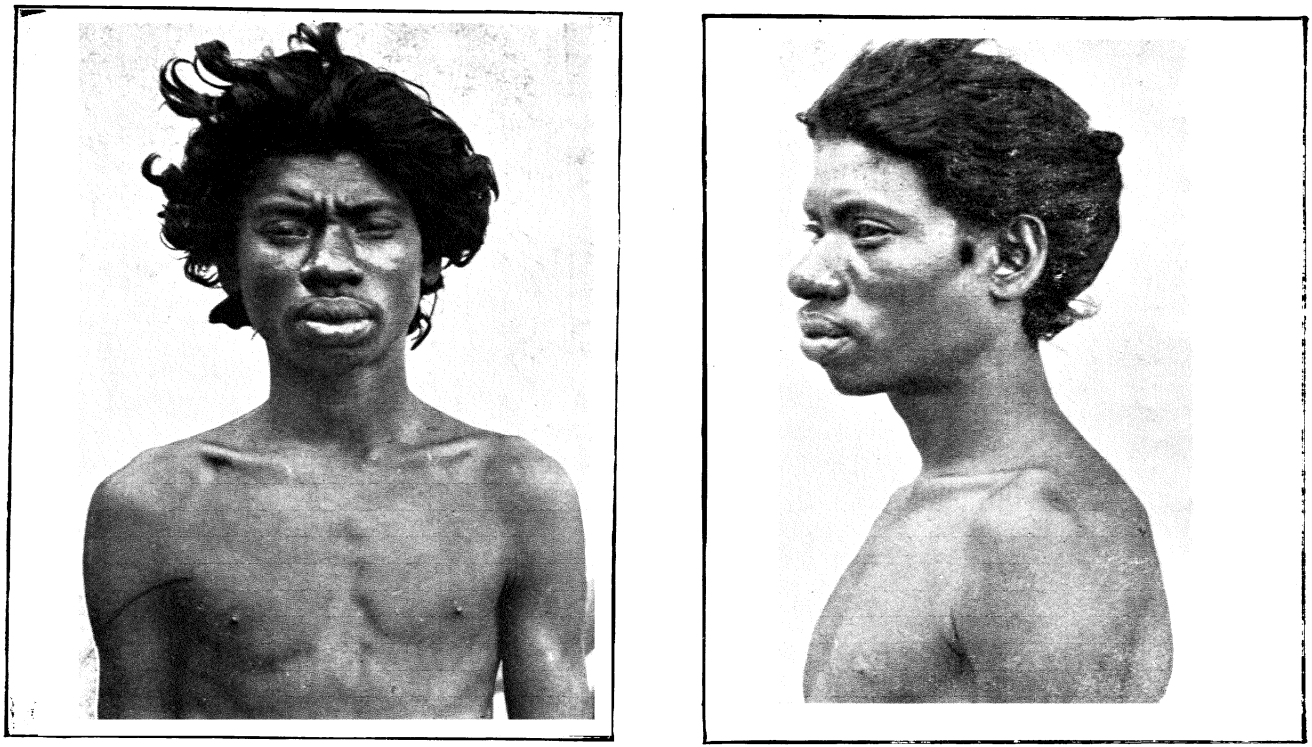
No.	Name of Tribe	Average circumference of chest in Cm.
1	Kanikkaran	74·8
2	Malankuti (Vishavan)	77·2
3	Malapantaram	77·6
4	Malapulayan	78·9
5	Mala-Urali	75·5
6	Malayarayan	77·3
7	Mannan	75·8
8	Muthuvan	77·1
9	Nayadi	75·5
10	Paliyan	75·0
11	Paraya	78·2
12	Pulaya	75·5
13	Thantapulaya	76·8
14	Ullatan	73·8
15	Malavetan	74·0
16	Malankuravan	73·8

Anthropometric Work in India.

Anthropometry was introduced into India by Sir Herbert Risley in his Ethnographic Survey of Bengal. This was the first attempt to apply to Indian Ethnography the methods of systematic research sanctioned by the authority of European anthropologists. Among these methods, the measurements of physical characters occupy a prominent place. "Nowhere else in the world do we find the population of a large continent broken up into an infinite number of exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by the inexorable social law to marry outside the group to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin of an earlier development of caste, the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth now as its most essential and prominent characteristic, and the feeling against such unions is deeply engrained. In a society putting an extravagent value on the pride of blood and the idea of ceremonial purity, differences of physical types may be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence."*

Travancore is one of the States in India in which caste has been most elaborately developed, and the foregoing remarks exactly fit it with special aptness. According to Risley, the analysis of data collected by him among 89 tribes and castes of Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh rendered it possible to distinguish three types, the Aryan, the Mongolian, and the Dravidian. This classification was, at the time, accepted by Flower, Beddoe, and Haddon in England, and Topinard in France. Many additions have since been made to the number of measurements on living subjects by Thurston, Holland, Eickstedt, Guha, Cipriani,

* Risley —The People of India p. 24.



PALIYAN MALE, **FRONT AND PROFILE.**



PALIYAN FEMALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.

Macfarlane, and by the writer in Travancore. Risley's work remains and forms the "keystone of anthropological research in India". The census report of 1901 laid the foundations on which has been since based all work that has been done on the racial composition of India. The results of such work during the last 30 years have so far changed the whole complexion of the problem that a restatement of the whole position is now required, and Risley's conclusions require revision. He recognized three main racial types of India, the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan, and the Turko-Iranian, the latter of which was confined to the North-West Frontier, and the two former of which were modified by two subsidiary elements, the Scythian and Mongolian respectively, by introducing the brachycephalic elements in Eastern and Western India. According to Dr. Hutton, "Risley's deductions were coloured by an erroneous belief in the racial composition of India. In any case, it is necessary to clear the deck by throwing overboard some of his deductions. The Dravidian as conceived by him, has been the first to go, and has been replaced by at least three races, where they recognized only one."*

Anthropometrical Data in 1931 Census Report

In the census of India for 1931, Vol. I, Part III, Dr. Hutton presents a mass of anthropometrical data gathered by Dr. Guha. This is said to be engaging the attention of experts in England. According to Mr. Enthoven, "Dr. Guha's method presents considerable difficulty to the ordinary reader owing to its very intricate mathematical form of presentation. We are given to understand at the beginning of Dr. Guha's report that racial discrimination must be based on the

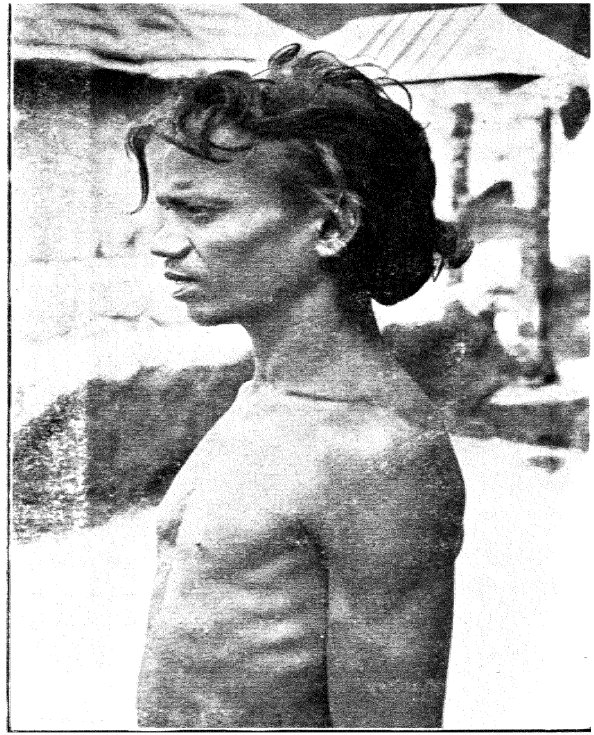
* Hutton,—The Census of India, 1931, 1. Part 1, p. 440.

entire somatic constitution of peoples, especially when the data are limited to a few characters—a simple numerical measure of all the differences is therefore required to show the degree of resemblance or divergence of two races or tribes compared."* Mr. Enthoven also records that "the results of anthropometrical observations recorded in India up to date have been on the whole disappointing, and that the conclusion, which many scholars are apt to arrive at, after considering the data recorded in this connection, is that, on the whole, more progress is likely to be made in tracing racial origins in India from a careful comparison and examination of the contents of heads rather than by measuring their outsides."* Again, Professor Hodson says, "Though the method of Coefficient of Racial Likeness is without doubt the best available criterion of racial divergence, it is nevertheless not an absolute test, but only a rough measure of how far on the given data a significant resemblance or divergence can be asserted. In assigning an equal value to every one of the characters, it furthermore neglects the differences in the relative biological significance of the various characters as measures of racial difference. Other factors such as the systematic observations of non-measurable characters should therefore be duly considered."† Measurements made on individuals belonging to a race or tribe show definite results characteristic of the group. But the question of detecting racial differences based on such characteristics is by no means easy. A detailed analysis of the measurements from the statistical point of view has to be made. On an

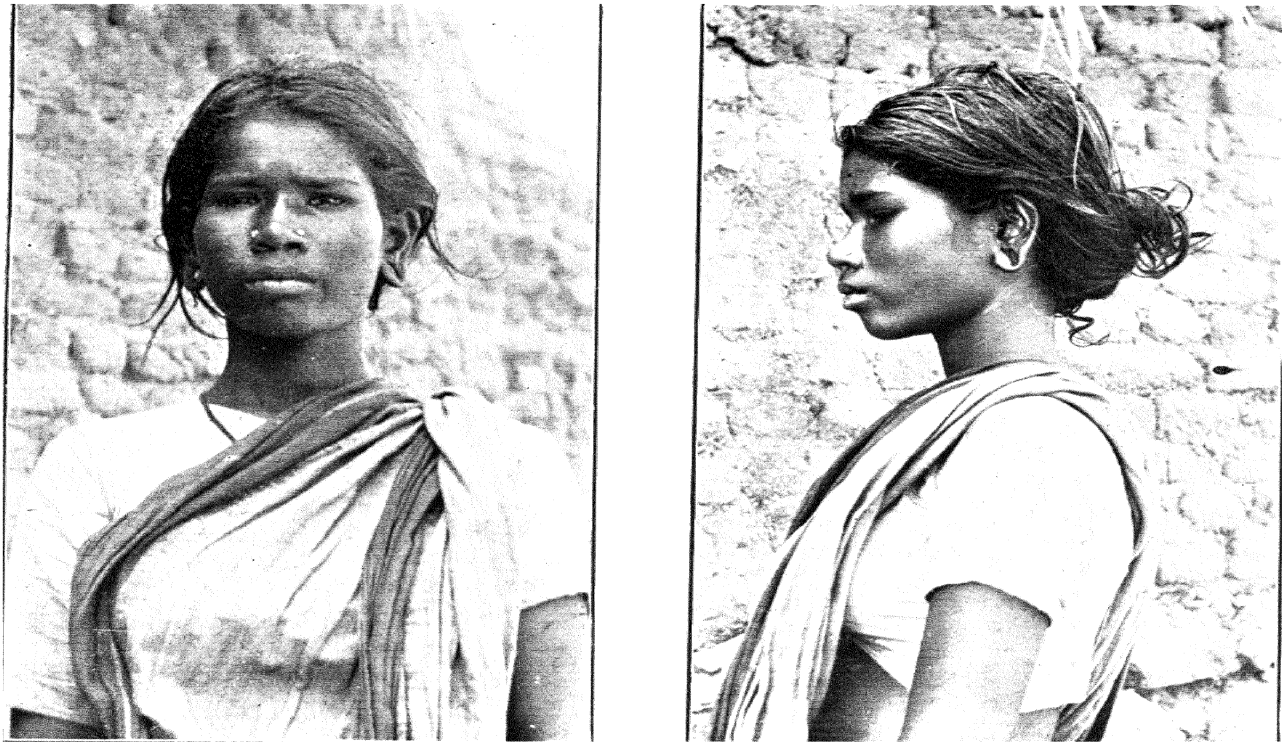
* Enthoven, R E.—The Ethnographic Survey of India published in the Jubilee Volume of the Bombay Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1938-pp. 59-61.

† Hodson, T. C.—Census Ethnography-1901-1931-p. 11.





SAMBAVAR MALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.



SAMBAVAR FEMALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.

analysis of the means, variances and co-variances, the statistician can assert whether the differences between the groups are significant or not. Such an intensive study is beyond the scope of the present paper, and the treatment is limited to a formal application of the fundamental principle that differences between characters are significant if this be greater than about two and a half times the standard deviation.

The material available for the determination of the racial elements and affinities of the Indian peoples may be divided into physical, linguistic, and cultural features. According to Sir William Fowler, physical characters are the best, in fact, the only true tests of race, that is of real affinity; languages, customs, and others may help or give indications, but they are often misleading. It was Sir Henry Maine who first said that the study of the sacred languages of India has given the world the modern science of Philology and the modern theory of race. The belief that linguistic affinities prove community of descent was one which commended itself alike to populations struggling for freedom and to rulers in search of excuses for removing a neighbour's landmark. According to Sayce, identity or relationship of language can prove nothing more than social contact.

Physical Characters

Coming to physical characters, they are of two kinds, definite and indefinite. The indefinite characters include colour; texture of skin; the colour, form, and position of the eyes; the colour and character of the hair; and the form of the face and features.

I. Colour of the Skin

The skin exhibits extreme divergence of colour, and serves, with hair, as a classical basis of distinction

of human races. Anthropologists are agreed that primitive men were much alike and were dark in colour. It is said that colouration of the skin is the conjoint effect of a number of environmental factors working through physiological processes. The pigment of the skin is found in the epidermis, and the influence of light favours its formation. In a cold climate where thermal action is weak, a discolouration of the pigment in the skin and other parts of the body produces a kind of albinism. The Kānikkār, the Ullātans, and the Malayarayans who live at low elevations are darker than the Muthuvans, the Mannāns, and the Paliyans of the High Ranges. Blondeness increases appreciably on high hills. "Waitz long ago affirmed the tendency of mountaineers to lighter colouring from his study of primitive peoples. This may not be entirely due to climatic contrast between mountain and plain. Economic poverty of the environment and poor food supply have also a hand."* Finot thinks that colour is the direct effect of the *milieu.* Woodroff concludes that man is invariably covered with a pigment which acts as an armour to exclude the more harmful short rays and moreover the amount of pigment is in direct proportion to the intensity of light of the country to which his ancestors have proved their adjustment by centuries or millenniums of survival of health and vigour."† The Thantapulayans, who live in the vast expanse of sand along the coastal region, and the Pulayas and the Parayas, who work in the rice fields throughout the day are jet black in complexion. "The intensely dark people are all dwellers in hot countries, and are all very dolichocephalic or long-headed. In

* Semple, E. C—The Influence of Geographical Environment, p. 93.

† Duncan, H. G., Race and Population Problems, p. 31.

almost every case, these dark tribes have lived for untold ages in hot climates and have perhaps hardly varied their climatic environment since their original development somewhere in or near the tropics of the old world.''*

II. Hair

From one end of India to the other, the hair of the great mass of the population is black or dark brown. The Kānikkār have curly hair. ''The Ūrālis have also very curly hair which is also harsh and in some individuals crisp and kinky.''† Curly hair has been noticed by me among the Malavētans, the Vishavans, the Ullātans, the Malapantārams, and the Paliyans. The hair so curls on itself that it seems to grow in separate spiral tufts. Dr. Guha has observed the existence of frizzly hair among the Kadars and the Pulayans of the Cochin State.‡ Dr. Hutton has recently drawn attention to the presence of the Negrito type among the Angami Nagas.$ To him, the Ūrālis seem to suggest the Negrito as much as the Kadar does.

The eyes of primitive man are invariably dark brown. It is highly probable that 'brown' was the primitive eye colour in man. The brown colour seems to have been retained, as it affords protection for the eye against the strong rays of the sun. Rare cases of albinism are noticed among the Kānikkār. Such men have white skin, yellow hair, and dark blue iris.

* Griffith Taylor—Race and Environment. p. 35.

† Hutton, the Census of India, 1931, 1 : India Part III, "Ethnographical". B. p. 11.

‡ Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, 1 : India, Part III, "Ethnographical", A, p. 1.

$ Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, 1 : India Part I, p. 442

Definite Characters

I. Stature

Three characters are selected under the definite head. They are the stature, the proportions of the head, and the nose. Darwin holds that, "changes such as size, colour, thickness of skin, and hair have been produced through food supply and climate from the external conditions in which the forms lived."* "Stature", according to Semple, "is partly a matter of feeding and hence of geographical conditions." It is a feature which reacts very rapidly to changing environment.† In Travancore, the primitive tribes on the hills are generally shorter than those of the plains; but within the hilly regions, "stature is often larger at high than at moderate altitudes, which is ascribed to the influence of rigorous climate in killing off all but vigorous individuals."‡ Sir Arthur Keith says, "The greater activity of the pituitary gland gives the Caucasian his height of stature, bulk of body, prominent chin, strong eye-brow ridges, and pronounced nasalization."§ Improvement in the quality or abundance of food or in other conditions has been supposed to lead on the other hand to increase of stature."¶ This may be true of the Malayarayans, the Ūrālis, and others. The average stature of the primitive tribes of Travancore is given in Table III.

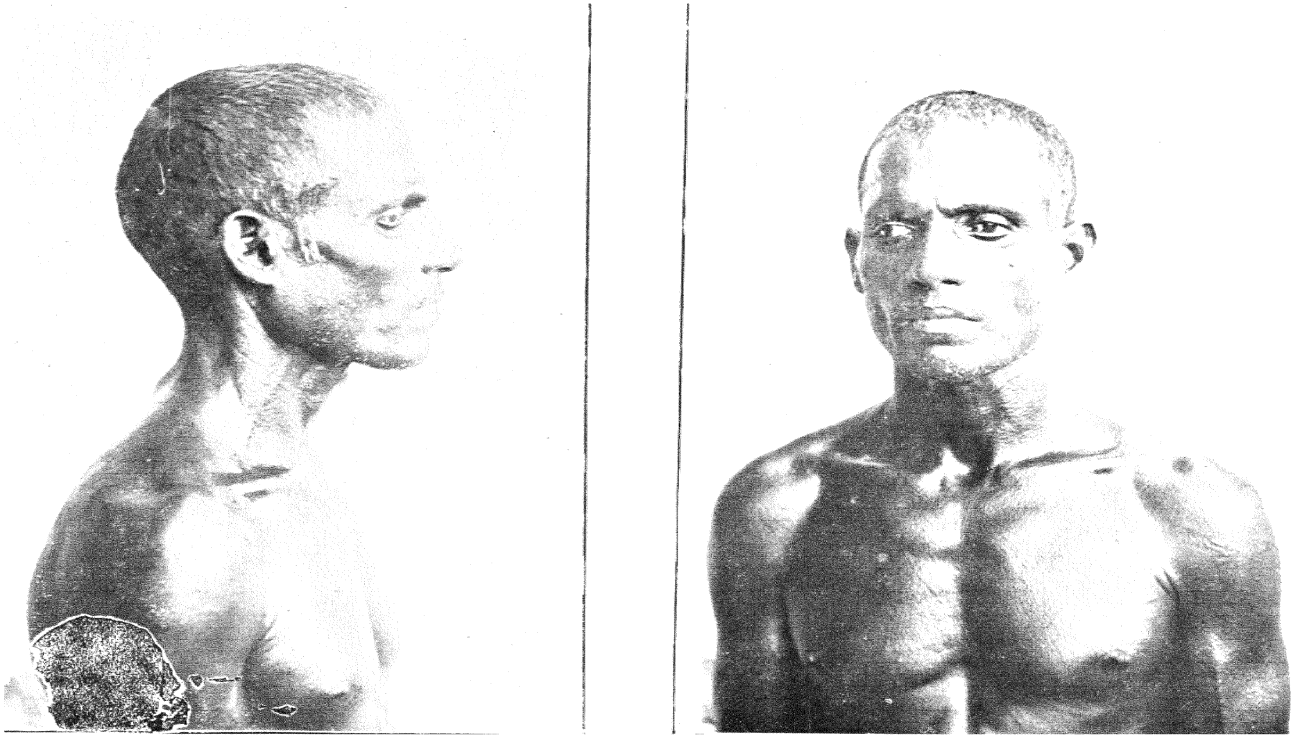
* Semple, E C, The Influence of Geographical Environment, p. 33

† Griffith Taylor.-Race and Environment, p. 38.

‡ Risley, The People of India, p. 31.

§ Duncan, H. G., Race and Population Problems, p. 33.

¶ Ruggles Gates, Heredity in Man, p. 42.



THANTAPULAYA MALE, FRONT AND PROFILE.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Number measured.	Stature in Cms.	Standard Deviation.	Percentage			
					Pygmy.	Short	Medium.	Tall.
1	Paraya (Sāmbavar).	27	164·33	6·66	...	16·67	40·0	43·33
2	Malapulayan .	32	158·84	8·28	18·75	15·63	50·0	15 62
3	Paliyan .	28	157·32	7·60	10·71	42·86	32·14	14·29
4	Mannān .	42	151·90	6·02	23·81	66·67	9·52	...
5	Muthuvan .	90	155·29	7·44	11·11	56·67	31·11	1·11
6	Malayarayan .	132	157·83	6·02	3·76	52·63	38 35	5·26
7	Malapantāram .	57	154·26	5·49	17 54	61·41	21·05	...
8	Ūrāli .	121	155 69	6·51	7·44	53·72	36·36	2·48
9	Vishavan .	21	155·81	5·95	9·52	57·14	28 57	4·77
10	Nāyādi .	16	152·96	6·06	25·00	62·50	12·50	...
11	Ullātan .	88	153·68	4·63	9·09	69·32	21·59	...
12	Malankuravan .	120	153·62	5 86	10·83	70·83	17·50	0·84
13	Malavētan .	63	153·60	5 35	15·87	65·08	19·05	...
14	Pulayan .	95	153·47	6·66	17·89	58·95	22·11	1·95
15	Thantapulayan .	38	152·53	4·69	13·16	78·95	7·89	...
16	Kānikkār .	240	153·42	5·78	16·25	66·25	16·25	1·25

The greater height of the Malapulayas, the Paliyans, the Muthuvans, and the Ūrālis may be due to the more vigorous functioning of the pituitary gland at higher elevations. "Excessive tallness is the result of inherited excessive activity of the pituitary gland, the factors for tallness being mostly recessive due to the absence of inhibition to prolonged growth."* Davenport says that "the rugged hills of Scotland harbour

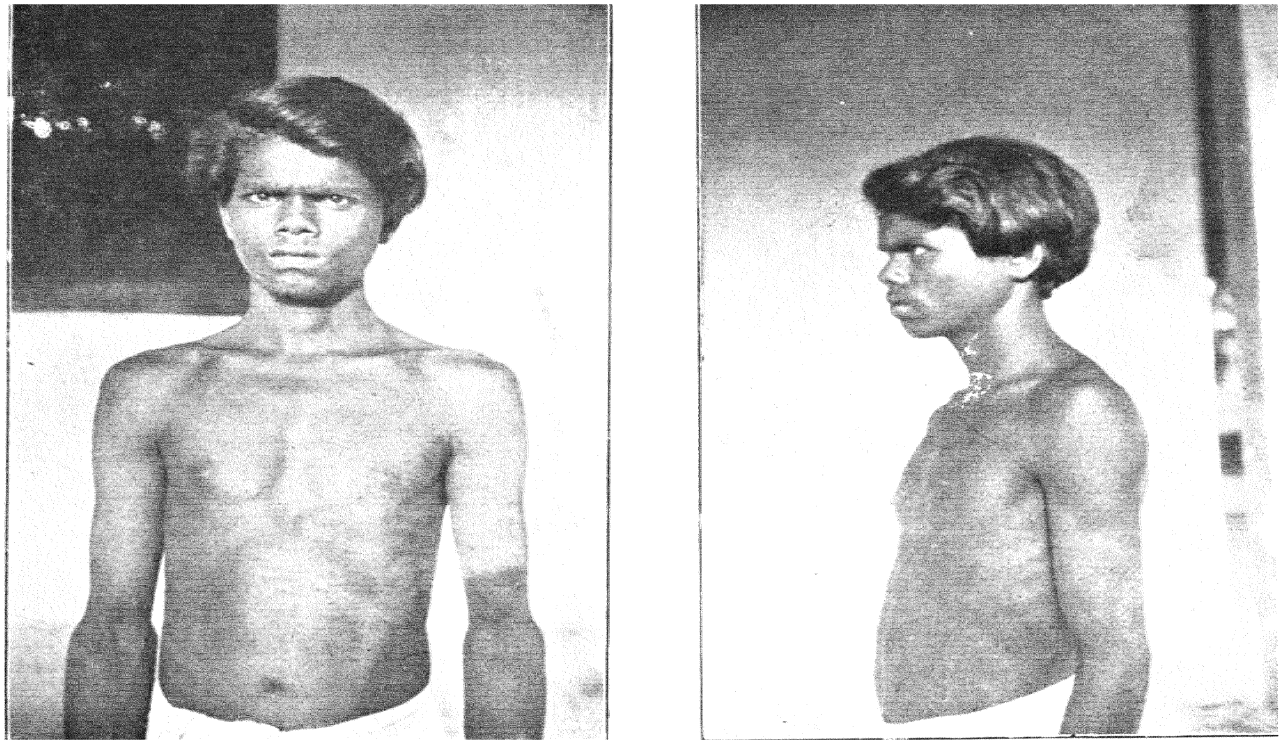
* Ruggles Gates—Heredity in Man, p. 50.

a race that are relatively giants. Conditions in life cannot account for the difference, there is a difference in blood."* The High Ranges of Travancore, whose elevation ranges from 3,000 to 5,000 feet, harbour the Malapulayas, the Paliyans, the Muthuvans and the Ūrālis, who are taller than the tribes in the low country who are devitalised by malaria. The Southern Parayas (Sāmbavars) are the tallest because of the dry healthy climate and high nutritive content of their food. Dwarfing of the type which produces general reduction in size is said to be the result of unfavourable conditions or general inhibition to growth. The effect of a scanty and uncertain food supply is seen in the low stature of the Kānikkār, the Malavētan, the Malankuravan, the Pulayan, the Ullātan, and the Nāyādi, because they cease to grow early. According to Duncan's classification of stature, groups classified as short are between 58¼ and 62¼ inches; medium between 62¼ and 66 inches; tall between 66 and 67¼ inches. Those classified as pygmy are not over 58¼ inches high. Judged by this standard, most of the primitive tribes of Travancore are short. The largest percentage below 58¼ inches is 31·58 among the Malapantārams.

II. Shape of the Head

According to Risley, the prevalent type of Peninsular India seems to be long-headed, short heads appearing only in the western zone of the country. The primitive tribes of Travancore are long-headed with the exception of the Malapantāram, the Nāyādi, and the Paraya. The dolichocephaly is of a primitive type, for the vault of the head is low and the direction of

* Davenport—Heredity in Relation to Eugenics, p. 40.



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the brain backward. They occasionally show a prognathous face. The Malapantārams, the Nāyādis, and the Parayas are mesocephalic. 29·73% of the Malapantārams are dolichocephalic, 64·86 mesocephalic, and 5·41 brachycephalic. It is considered that the basis of the Negrito race was probably brachycephalic or at least meso. The Malapantārams are in the hunting stage of civilization.

TABLE IV.

No.	Name of the Tribe	Number Measured.	Average Cephalic Index.	Standard Deviation.	Percentage		
					Dolicho Cephaly.	Meso Cephaly	Brachy Cephaly.
1	Malavētan	63	73·85	3·29	61·29	38·71	...
2	Malankuravan	120	74.33	3·22	58·33	35·84	5·83
3	Kānikkār	240	74 00	3·33	57·32	38·61	4·07
4	Muthuvan	90	72·50	3·07	76·14	22·73	1·13
5	Ullātan	88	74·10	3·03	62·92	32·58	4·50
6	Ūrāli	121	73 05	2·86	73·02	26·08	...
7	Malapulayan	32	74 38	2·63	54 55	36·36	9·09
8	Pulaya	95	74·92	2·09	47·92	47·92	4·16
9	Paliyan	28	74·46	3·49	50·00	46·43	3·57
10	Malayarayan	132	73·82	3·26	63·36	32 82	3·82
11	Vishavan	21	74 00	2·49	66·67	28·57	4·76
12	Mannān	42	74·27	2·72	53·49	44·19	2·32
13	Thantapulayan	38	74·03	3·66	55·26	39·47	5·27
14	Malapantāram	76	75·95	2·56	29·73	64 86	5·41
15	Nāyādi	16	77·59	2·64	12·50	68·75	18·75
16	Paraya Sāmbavar	30	78·40	3·14	6·67	63·33	30·00
	Paraya	30	76·95	2·97	27·27	57·58	15·15

According to the definition of Quatrefage, the Negritos are brachycephalic. It seems that admixture with a primitive dolichocephalic race has affected the general shape of the head. They have curly hair. They may be the survivals of a Negrito type.

III. Nasal Index

Risley finds in India that the nasal index ranks higher as a distinctive character than the stature or even the cephalic index itself. The nasal index is accepted by all anthropologists as one of the best tests. "According to Topinard, there are two types of nose, the low, broad, and flat. As a rule, the more prominent a nose is, the narrower it is; the flatter it is, the broader it becomes. The depth increases with the prominence, and narrows and diminishes with the flattening and broadening."* The Rig-Veda employs the word 'anasa' or noseless to the Dasyus which designation means 'thieves or demons'. The broad type of nose of the primitive tribes is their striking characteristic. The physical configuration of the country, the vast stretches of fever-haunted jungles, the absence of roads, and the complete social organization of the primitive tribes protect them from the intrusion of foreign influence. Where races with different nasal proportions are intermixed, the index marks the degree of crossing that has taken place. The average nasal index of the sixteen tribes is given in Table V. The Malavētan, the Malankuravan, the Kānikkār, the Muthuvan, the Ūrāli, the Malapulayan, the Ullātan, and the Malayarayan have distinctly platyrhine nose, while the Mannān, the Paliyan, the Pulayan, the Vishavan, and Sāmbavar border on platyrhiny. The remaining tribes are mesorhine. The percentage of platyrhiny is also indicated

in the above table. To sum up, short stature, low forehead, flat nose, and dark complexion are the chief characteristic features of the primitive tribes of Travancore.

Racial Study of the Tribes

The above data collected by me enable me to make a clear racial study of the primitive tribes of Travancore.

TABLE V.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Number Measured.	Average Nasal Index.	Standard Deviation.	Percentage		
					Lepto rhiny.	Meso-rhiny.	Platy-rhiny.
1	Malavētan	63	89·77	7·76	1·61	22·58	75·81
2	Malankuravan	120	90·86	8·22	..	19·33	80·67
3	Kānikkār	240	89·91	7·88	0·43	24·36	75·21
4	Muthuvan	90	88·71	5·75	...	22·86	77·14
5	Ullātan	88	89·11	6·86	..	22·73	77·27
6	Ūrāli	121	86·75	8·69	1·67	44·17	54·16
7	Malapulayan	32	85·54	6·51	...	45·45	54·55
8	Vishavan	21	83·81	6·28	...	47·72	52·38
9	Pulayan	95	84·52	7 96	4 12	40·21	55·67
10	Paliyan	28	83·68	6·94	...	57·14	42·86
11	Malayarayan	133	85·03	8 26	3·76	38·35	57·89
12	Mannān	42	84·72	9·14	4·65	48·84	46·51
13	Malapantāram	76	81·72	9·04	9·23	49·23	41·54
14	Thantapulayan	38	77·97	6·95	8·82	70·59	20·59
15	Nāyādi	16	77·22	7·41	12·50	75·00	12·50
16	Sāmbavar	30	84·83	8·23	6·67	43.33	50·00
	Paraya	30	81·52	7·60	6·06	60·61	33·33

When Ctesias speaks of the small stature, black complexion, and snub noses of India, we feel that the description is precise enough to enable us to study them along with the Dasyus and Nishadas of early Sanscrit literature. The Bhagavatha Purana describes the Nishada as "black like crows, very low statured, high cheek bones, low topped nose, red eyes, and copper coloured hair."* His descendants are distributed over the hills and forests. The Anamalai Hills of Southern India form the refuge of a whole series of broken tribes who are characterised by dark complexion, low stature, and flat nose. Who were these Nishadas?

The Nishadas were reckoned by Sir Herbert Risley as belonging to the 'Dravidian race', occupying the oldest geological formation in India, the medley of forest-clad hills, terraced plateaux, and undulating plains which stretch from the Vindhya Hills to Cape Comorin. He is recognized everywhere by his black skin, his squat figure, and the negro-like proportions of the nose. Risley looked to the researches of Thurston to define and classify the numerous sub-tribes. "In describing the Hindu type, Topinard describes the population of the Indian Peninsula into three strata, the Black, the Mongolian, and the Aryan. The remnants of the first are found at the present time shut up in the mountains of Central India under the names of Bhils, Mahairs, Gonds, and Khonds; and in the south under the names of Yanadis, Maravars, Kurumbas, and Veddahs. Its primitive characters apart from its dark colour and low stature are difficult to discover, but travellers do not talk of woolly hair in India."†

* Chanda, R. P., The Indo-Aryan Race, Part I .p. 5.

† Thurston, "The Dravidian Problem"—The Madras Museum Bulletin, 2, No. 3, p. 197.



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Thurston continues, "that there is much that speaks in favour of the view that the Australians and the Dravidians sprang from a common main branch of the human race. The Veddahs of India and Ceylon, whom one might call Pre-Dravidians, would represent an off-shoot of the main stem. Southern India was once the passage ground by which the ancient progenitors of the Northern and Mediterranean races proceeded to the parts of the globe which they now inhabit. In this part of the world as in others, antiquarian remains show the existence of peoples who used successively implements of unwrought stone, of wrought stone, and of metal fashioned in the most primitive manner. These tribes have also left cairns and stone circles indicating burial places. It has been usual to set them down as earlier than Dravidian. It has been stated that the wild tribes of Southern India are physiologically of an earlier type than the Dravidian tribes."*

Sergi rightly separates from the Dravidian a highly platyrhine type, of a nature less than of median type showing the greatest affinity with the Veddahs, and together with the second type he also perceives a third in the peninsula especially among the Kadars, which type is also platyrhine, and of a low stature, but with short and woolly hair, and a negroid face. They are the remnants respectively of the Australoids and the Negritos who were afterwards more closely placed in relief by Biasutti. The following ethnic stratification is given for India†:—

1. Negritos.
2. Pre-Dravidians.

* Thurston, "The Dravidian Problem," The Madras Museum Bulletin, 2, No. 3, p. 190.

† Ruggeri, The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia, p. 53.

3. Dravidians.
4. Tall dolichocephalic (Mesopotamic) elements.
5. Dolichocephalic Aryans.
6. Brachycephalic Leucoderms.

"Our theory is that the Dravidians are Australoid-Veddahs and are not to be confused with an oriental extension of the Mediterranean race which Risley thinks or with Elliot Smith a Brown race whose anthropological consistency is somewhat equivocal. It would be useful to see what physical characters are presented by the prehistoric skulls of India, especially of the Bayana type which Mr. Mitra refers to as of Pre-Dravidic Veddah type, and those of Adichanallur, which, according to Lapicque, but in a different sense from others, *i. e.*, rather Negroid."* "Ruggeri mentions four skulls from the vicinity of Madras with a head index of 60. Thurston describes them as prognathous and with the receding forehead of the negro rather than of the Veddah. These skulls are of considerable interest in connection with the affinities of the lower Melanesian Negro with the African Negro; for not many links are known in the wide extent separating the two groups."† The Pre-Dravidians were followed by a finer type, although dark skinned, the nose was less wide, and as deep at the roots as in the Veddahs, and the profile much less prognathous, really almost orthognathous. It is the Dravidian type akin to the Ethiopian (not Negroid). "They are found in their purest form in the South Indian jungles. Of these are the Kota, Badaga, and Kurumba peoples of the Nilgiri mountains of South India. They have leptorhine noses (index 75) and are somewhat taller than most of the so called Dravidians

* Ruggeri, The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia, p. 53.

† Griffith Taylor, Race and Environment. p. 181.

with a nasal index from 84 to 94. Richards points out that the Dravidian is more leptorhine than the Pre-Dravidian.*

If we arrange a series of measurements of the jungle tribes in the order of descending nasal index, it may be seen that, as we advance from platyrhiny to mesorhiny, there is an increase in the proportion per cent. of the Dravidian type, which we considered to be mesorhine.

I give below the results of my study based on extensive measurements of the primitive tribes of Travancore (Tables VI and VII).

TABLE VI.

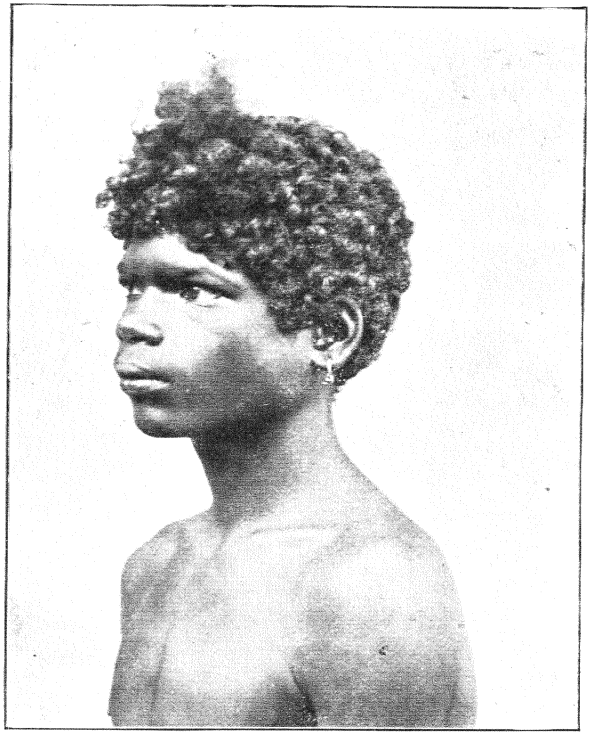
No.	Tribe.		Stature in Cm	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Remarks.
1	Paniyan	25	157·4	74·0	95·1	Recorded by Thurston.
2	Kadir	23	157·7	72·9	89·8	
3	Kuruba	22	157·9	76·5	86·1	
4	Sholaga	20	159·3	74·9	85·1	
5	Irula (Nilgiris)	25	159·8	75·8	84·9	
6	Malavetan	25	154·8	73·4	84·8	
7	Kānikkar	20	155·2	73·4	84·6	
8	Paliyan	26	150·9	75·7	83·0	
9	Ūrāli	57	159·5	74·6	80·1	
	Typical Tribes of Homo Indo-Africanus					
1	Kota	25	162.9	74.1	77 2	
2	Badaga	40	164·1	71 7	75·6	
3	Kuruba of Mysore	50	163 6	77·3	73·5	

* Griffith Taylor—Race and Environment—p. 182.

Comparing the two summaries, one can understand at a glance how the intercrossing of the jungle tribes has the effect of diminishing the platyrhine feature as seen among the Tamil Irulans whose nasal index comes down to 80·4. Thurston expressly notes the physical change that takes place when the tribes leave the

TABLE VII.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Number Measured.	Stature in Cms.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.
1	Malavētan	63	153·60	73·85	89·77
2	Malankuravan	120	153·62	74·33	90 86
3	Kānikkār	240	153·42	74·00	89·91
4	Muthuvan	90	155·29	72·50	88·71
5	Ullātan	88	153·68	74·10	89·11
6	Ūrāli	121	155·89	73·05	86·75
7	Malapulayan	32	158 84	74·38	85·54
8	Vishavan	21	155·81	74·00	83·81
9	Pulayan	95	153·47	74·92	84·52
10	Thantapulayan	38	152·53	74·03	77 97
11	Paliyan	28	157 32	74·46	83 68
12	Malayarayan	132	167 83	73·32	85·03
13	Mannān	42	151·90	74.27	84·72
14	Malapantāram	76	150·75	75·95	81·72
15	Nāyādi	16	152·06	77·59	77·22
16	Sāmbavar	30	164·33	78·40	84·33
	Paraya	30	153·33	76·95	81·52



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jungle and approach the cities. His observation on the nasal index of the Kānikkār is given in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII.

Type.	Average Nasal Index.	Maximum Nasal Index.	Minimum Nasal Index.
Jungle .	84·6	105·0	72·3
Domesticated .	81·2	90·5	70·8

It will be seen that the nasal index of the jungle Kānikkār is higher than that of the domesticated Kānikkār of the plains. This is an instance of primitive short, dark-skinned, and platyrhine type changing as a result of contact metamorphosis towards leptorhiny. A great elevation in nasal index is observed among the tribes of Chota-Nagpur and Western Bengal. "Biasutti includes their habitat in the area where a purer Veddaic substratum has persisted. Denikar recognises that the Veddahs are the remnants of a very primitive population, whose physical type is most approached by a platyrhinous variety of the Dravidian race thus indicating precisely the Santals, the Mundas, the Kola, and the Bhumij. We prefer to confine the Dravidian race to the mesorhine type. In such manner, we confer on the Pre-Dravidians the present numerical preponderance and their importance in the ethnical stratification of India augments proportionately."*

Dr. Eickstedt has thrown new light on the ethnical composition of India. According to him, "the most primitive racial stratum are the Weddids. They probably number over 2,00,00,000, and only a century ago,

* Ruggeri, The First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia, p. 53.

formed one-third of the whole population of India. The Gondids and the Malids are the most important sub-types. The Gondid race is chiefly characterised in the widely spread Gond tribes of Central India. The Malids form the southern sub-type of the Weddids. The type is here more primitive than among the 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 pointed chin. The chin moreover is small, and its profile, particularly in the case of women, extremely retreating. The nose is very broad and low, the steep forehead often overhangs the eyes. The lips are fairly thick, at any rate thicker than is the case with the Gondids. Quite often the face is lightly prognathous. They are extremely dark-skinned, indeed almost black-brown. Dr. Eickstedt's view is that it is not correct without more ado to associate the Malids with the Negritos (as has been done by Lapicque and Keane). Negritos are indeed of small stature even very much more smaller than the Malids, and they have dark skins and curly hair, but they indeed by no means reveal the primitiveness of the Malids. It would be more cautious and more likely correct to assume the existence of a Proto-Negrito element and its fusion into the ancient Indian Weddid aborigines. Dr. Eickstedt thinks that "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 of knowledge."* According to him, "the Malids are only found in the southern forest areas of India. They form a thick

* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K., The Mysore Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, Chap. I: Eickstedt. —The Position of Mysore in India's Racial History, pp. 20-25.

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 over the Nallamalais as far as Krishna, Kānikkār, Malabedar, and Kurumber are characteristic groups in the west, and Irular, Yanadi, Chenchu, etc., in the east."*

The Negrito Element in Travancore

The presence of a Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of South India was suspected by early observers, but definite evidence was lacking. Its existence among the Kadars of the Cochin State was several times advanced by Preuss, Keane, Sergi, and Haddon. The researches of Lapicque among the Kadars convinced him that the existence of 'une race nigre primitive' was incontestable.

Dr. Hutton has drawn attention to the presence of the Negrito type among the Angami Nagas and says, "In the Kadars and the Urālis of the extreme south, occasional individuals with frizzly hair and low stature and negro-like features are very suggestive of survivals of the Negrito race."† "To Dr. Hutton, the Ūrālis seem to suggest the Negrito as much as the Kadar does. The height of the men is about 5 feet, the hair is very curly, but is also harsh and in some individuals crisp and kinky. The features suggest that the basic type is Proto-Australoid with some admixture of Negrito and perhaps Mediterranean. The Kānikkār are also described by him as Proto-Australoid with also some Negrito admixture and being by no means pronouncedly

* Ananthakrishna Iyer, L. K., The Mysore Tribes and Castes, Vol. 1, Chap. I: Eickstedt. .....The Position of Mysore in India's Racial History p. 26.

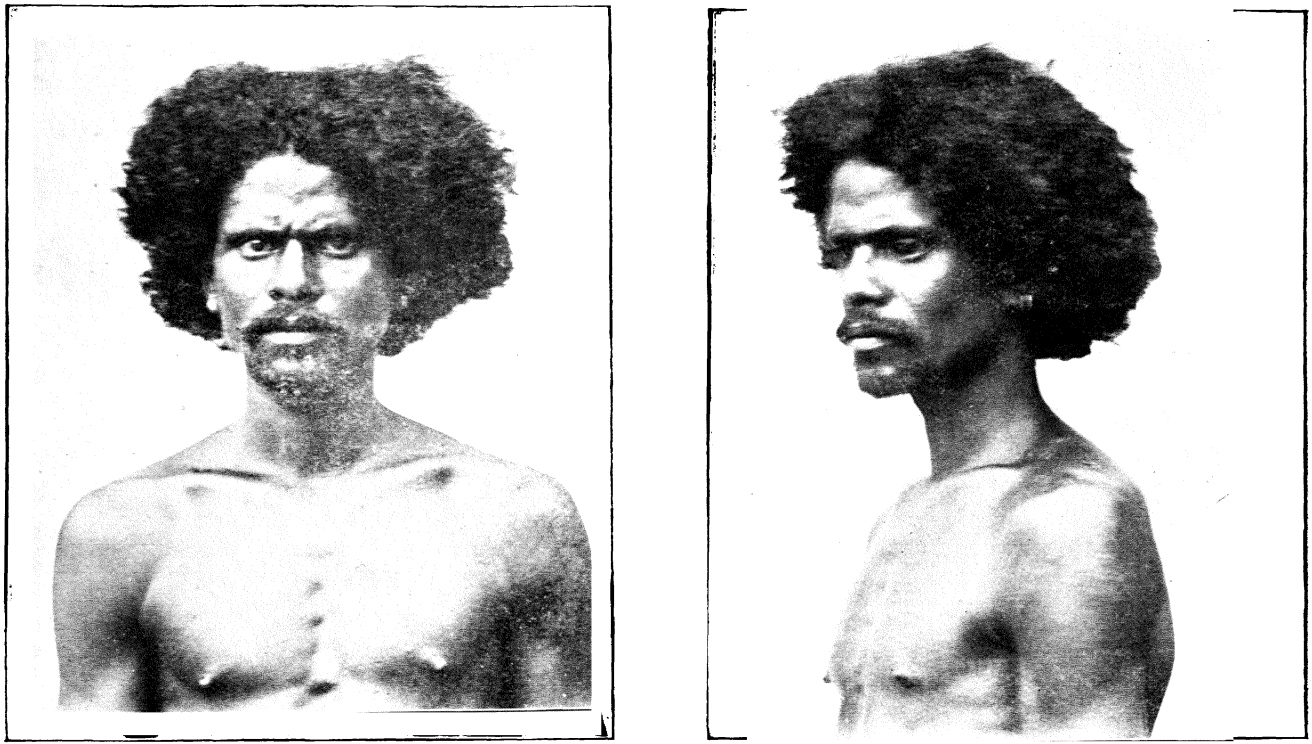
† Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, 1: India, Part I, p. 442.

prognathous.* Spirally curved hair has been observed by me among the Ūrālis, the Kānikkār, the Malapantārams, the Malavētans, and the Vishavans.

Dr. Guha observed the existence of frizzly hair among the Kadars of Cochin State. According to him, the comparatively low values of the C.R.L. found between the Kadar and the Nattu Malayan, and the Yerava, and their divergencies from the Bhil-Chenchu type, coupled with the distinct negroid features in many of the individuals belonging to these tribes, seem also due to the Negrito strain among the latter, though it may appear to be submerged at the present moment. It has therefore to be inferred that the remnants of the Negrito race now found among the Semangs and Andamanese were much more widely spread at one time and extended well into the Indian Continent to the South-westernmost end in Cochin and Travancore.

Quatrefage laid down that the Negritos are brachycephalic. Dr. Guha observes, "though the mean cephalic index of the Kadars was dolichocephalic, among the individuals with frizzly hair, there was a marked tendency for a rise in the index towards mesorhiny as shown by two individuals having 77·34 and 79·29 as the values of their index, which indicated that the basis of the Negrito type was probably brachycephalic or at least meso as in the Semangs, but large admixture with the primitive dolichocephalic race has affected the general shape of their head." He also thinks that the long spirals now seen among most of the Kadars and Pulayans with frizzly hair was probably due to the same admixture. He observed short spirals in two individuals. At the present day, the Negritos are found

* Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, 1: India, Part III, B, Ethnographical, p. 11.



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to be closely similar to the Melanesian type in hair and head form, but judging from the presence of two men with short spirals and high cephalic index, Dr. Guha is of opinion that the original type was not probably unlike that of the Semangs and Andamanese, among whom designs of bamboo combs identical with those used by the Kadar women are found.* A comparative statement of measurements of the Semang, Kadar, and Malapantaram is given below in Table IX.

TABLE IX.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Stature.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Hair.	Colour.
1	Semang (Griffith Taylor) .	1507	77·7	97·1	Pepper corn.	Chocolate.
2	Kadar (Thurston).	1556	79·9	89·8	Short spirals.	Do. brown.
3	Malapantaram .	1547	76·0	78·0	Spirally curved.	Dark.

In Travancore are found the Malapantarams, a jungle tribe in the hunting stage of civilization. In 1935, I measured 63 individuals of whom 22 were dolichocephalic, 50 mesocephalic, and 4 brachycephalic. Their forehead is receding, and the brow-ridges are prominent. The hair is black and looks curly in some. Their average cephalic index is 75·95. The value of the cephalic index of the Malapantarams is that it goes to confirm the theory that the basis of the Negrito type was probably brachycephalic or at least meso as in the Semangs, but that large admixture with the primitive dolichocephalic race has affected the general shape

* Hutton, J. H.,—The Census of India, 1931—Vol I, India—Part III A, p. 1.

of the head. The Malapantarams are surrounded by 'doleph' tribes like the Ūrālis, Malayarayans, and the Ullātans. The presence of a Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of South India thus receives additional testimony from its existence among some of the primitive tribes of Travancore, where it has been observed by Dr. Hutton and myself. The photographs will bear ample evidence to it.

The Negrito appears to have been the first inhabitant of South-Eastern Asia. Traces of his stock are still to be seen in some of the forest tribes of the higher hills of the extreme south of India and similar traces appear to exist in the inaccessible areas between Assam and Burma, where a dwarfish stature is combined with frizzly hair such as appears to result from the recent admixtures of the pure or virtually pure Negrito stock of the Andamans with blood from the mainland of India or Burma. Dr. Hutton observes that it is just possible that the bow is still his invention, judging from its existence among the Andamanese. In Travancore, the bow is still used by the Ūrālis, the Muthuvans, the Vishavans, and the Kānikkār.

Proto-Australoid

The Negritos must have been early displaced or supplanted by the Proto-Australoid who formed one of the major elements in the aboriginal population of India. This dolichocephalic type appears to Dr. Hutton to have had its origin in the west. Sewell reverts to the theory of Australian origins, and, in his account of Mohenja Daro skulls, he definitely associates the Proto-Australoid type with the Australian aborigines on the one hand and with the Rhodesian skull in the other. According to Dr. Hutton, the safest hypothesis seems to be that the Proto-Australoid type in India is

derived from an early migration from the West, and its special features have been finally determined and permanently characterised in India itself. It is represented in the purest form in the Veddahs, Malavētans, Irulas, Sholagas, and similar tribes in the hunting stage of Ceylon and Southern India, and perhaps in as pure a form as any in the nearly related Paliyans of the Palni Hills, whose sole weapon is the digging spud. If we compare the tribes of Travancore with the Veddahs and the aborigines of Australia, we observe that in the shape of the head and the face, form of hair and skin colour, the three are essentially alike, though the Australians are taller and show larger absolute dimensions of head than the other two. It may be observed that the Veddahs are closer to the Australians than to the tribes in Travancore and outside which are the smallest of the three. The shortest and smallest are the Indian tribes, then come the Veddahs, and lastly the Australians. We may assume that all the three belong to the same stock, the Indian tribes retaining the more basic characters. A comparative statement of measurements is given in Table X. It is this type that is primarily

Table X

No.	Name of Tribe.	Stature.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Hair.	Colour.
1	Australian .	162.5	73.0		wavy	Chocolate.
2	Veddah .	157.1	75.1	84.0	wavy	Do.
3	Malavetan .	153.3	73.5	92.5	curly	Dark
4	Muthuvan .	154.2	73.8	88.4	wavy	Dark brown
5	Kanikkar .	152.9	74.2	89.6	spirally curved	Dark.

responsible for the platyrhine and dark-skinned elements in India. "The contribution of the Proto-Australoid to Indian culture may be the introduction of pottery. The presence of the boomerang as well as also of the blow-gun in South India may possibly be credited to them, and in the domain of religion probably totemism."* In North Travancore, the blow-gun is found among the Muthuvans and the Vishavans, as large reeds grow in the locality.

Conclusion

The existence of a Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of South India has received additional evidence in Travancore. It has been observed by Lapicque and Dr. Guha among the Kadars and the Pulayans of the Cochin State, and by Dr. Hutton and myself among the Urālis, and the Kānikkār. Spirally curved hair has been observed by me among the Urālis, the Kānikkār, the Malavētans, the Malapantārams, and the Vishavans. These were followed by the Proto-Australoid (Pre-Dravidian). This type is found among the aboriginal tribes of Central and Southern India, and is closely allied to the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Toalas of Celebes, and the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula. The Malavētans, the Muthuvans, the Kānikkār, and others may be regarded as representatives of this group.

At present there are no distinctly Negrito communities in India nor has any trace of a Negrito language been discovered. But distinctly Negrito features not only crop up continually from the Himalayan slopes to Cape Comorin, but also abound in great megalithic monuments which help us to some extent to

* Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, 1: India, Part I, p. 444.

unravel the history of their remote past. The observations of Dr. Hutton, Dr. Guha, and myself go to show that Negrito features crop up among the Kadars and the Pulayans of Cochin State, and the Urālis, the Malapantārams, the Kānikkār and the Vishavans of Travancore.

It is interesting to point out that Megalithic monuments are largely found on the High Ranges of Travancore. Dolmens, menhirs, and alignments are found in the region of the Ūrālis, the Mannāns, the Malayarayans, and other jungle tribes of Travancore. Mr. Perry points out that, all the world over, megalithic monuments exhibit such similarities of structure that they must have been the work of a people showing a common culture. It is also worthy of notice that the reality of a stone using people is evidenced by the use of stones for graves by some of the hill-tribes even now. The dead are buried and a stone is planted at the head and the foot of the grave by the Ūrālis, the Muthuvans, the Mannāns, and the Malayarayans.

Systematic excavations still await the spade of the archæologist in Travancore. Ward and Conner made the earliest of excavations in the State. According to them, all the tumuli appear to be of a period earlier than the Iron Age.* Mr. Bourdillon once picked up a bronze lamp from one of the tumuli. No skeletal remains have been so far unearthed to bear any direct evidence of the Negrito race in Travancore. Judged by the nature and contents of the objects found, the megalithic remains of the Deccan and South India are said to reveal a uniform culture, and it is considered

* Ward and Conner, Memoirs of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin, Vol. I, p. 19.

that the megalithic remains of Southern India are post-Vedic and later than any similar remains of the Central Indian Plateau, from where the culture would seem to have spread southwards.* The excavations of Mohenja Daro and Harappa reveal that one of the skulls is Proto-Australoid. A correspondence in type is revealed by one of the South Indian skulls, Adichanallur, which is classed as Proto-Australoid by Elliot Smith. The physical characteristics observed in the skulls are found among the existing South Indian tribes and among the Veddahs of Ceylon. While the Pre-Dravidian is their time-honoured appellation, Baron Eickstedt would call them 'Weddid' and Dr. Guha, 'Nishadic', Dr. Hutton has labelled them 'Proto-Australoid' after Sewell. It is but fitting that this designation continues.

* Hutton, The Census of India, 1931, I –Part III, A. p. 68.

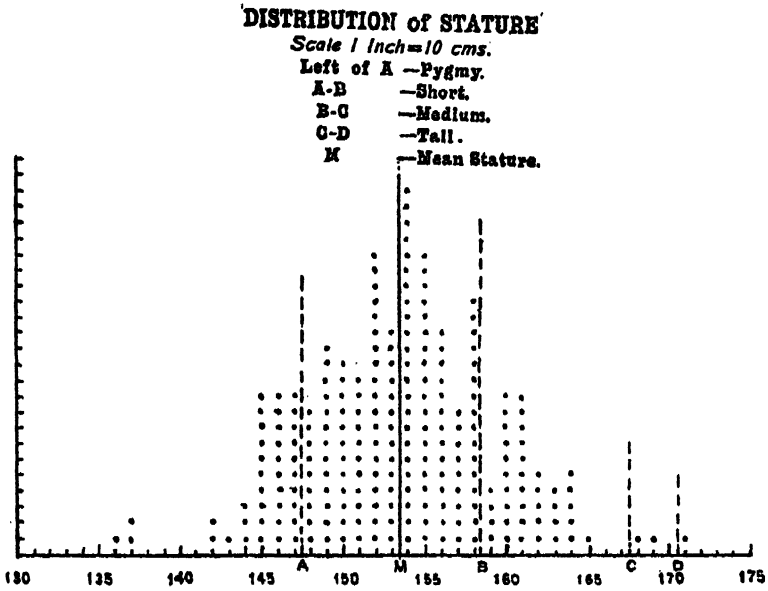


Fig . 1. Kanikkar.

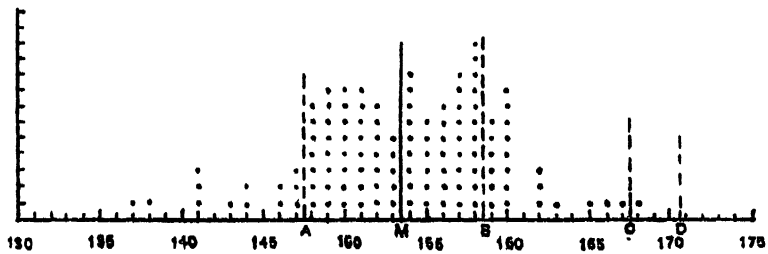


Fig . 2. Malankuravan.

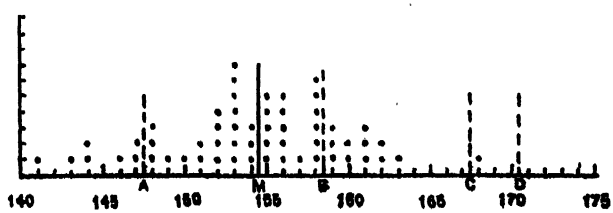


Fig . 3. Malapantaram.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/ 1114

DISTRIBUTION of STATURE

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Pygmy.
A-B —Short.
B-C —Medium.
C-D —Tall.
M —Mean Stature.

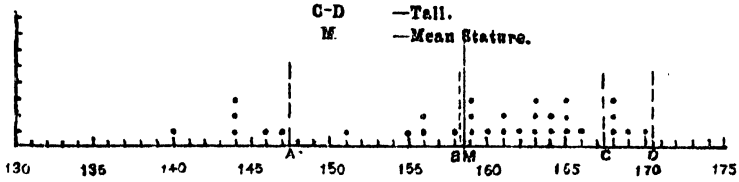


Fig . 4 . Malapulayan.

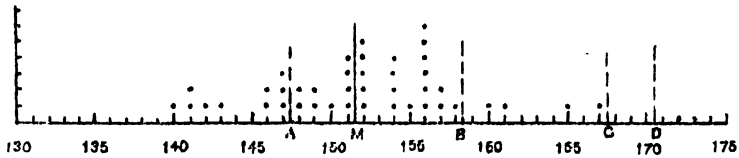


Fig . 5. Mannan.



Fig . 6 Malavetan.

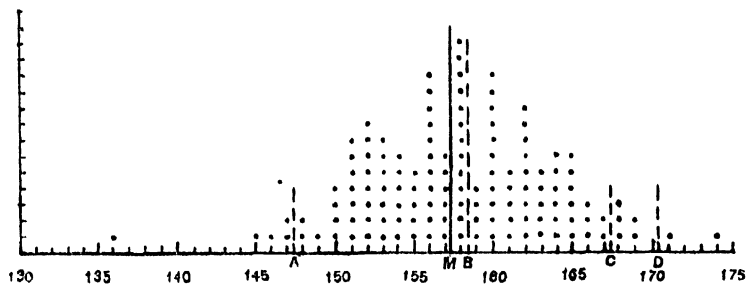


Fig . 7 . Malayarayan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M

DISTRIBUTION of STATURE

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Pygmy.
A-B —Short.
B-C —Medium.
C-D —Tall.
M —Mean Stature.

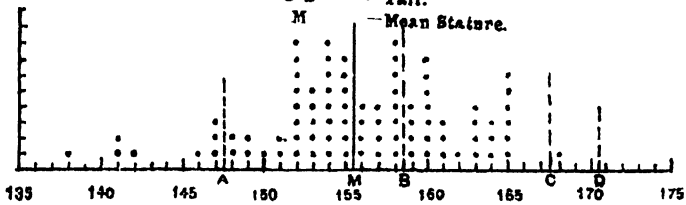


Fig . 8. Muthuvan.

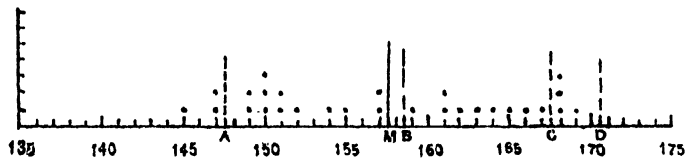


Fig . 9. Paliyan.

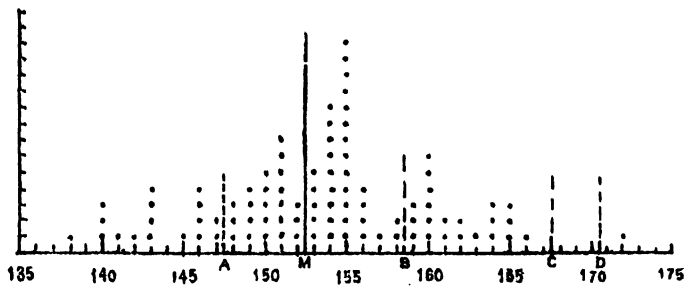


Fig 10. Pulayan.

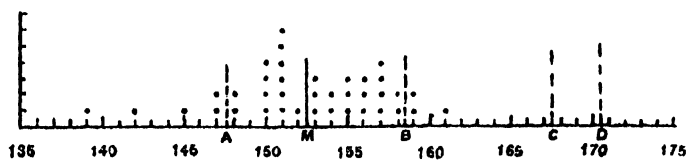


Fig . 11. Thantapulayan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M .

DISTRIBUTION of STATURE

Scale 1 Inch = 10 cms.

Left of A —Pygmy
A-B —Short.
B-C —Medium.
C-D —Tall
M —Mean Stature.

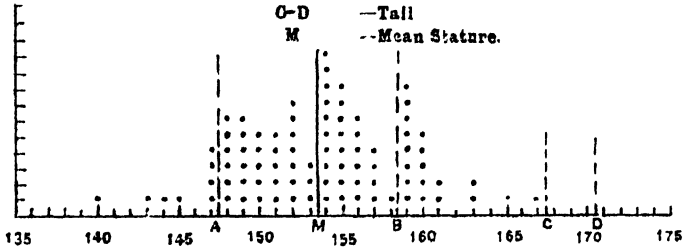


Fig . 12. Ullatan.

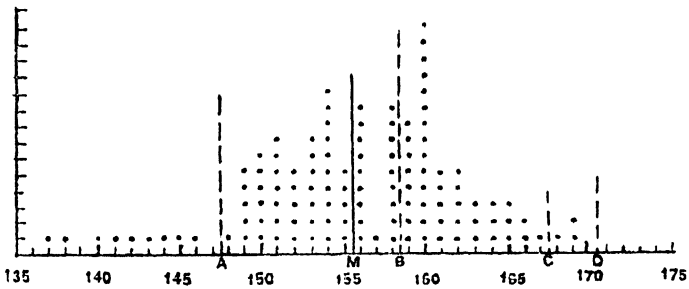


Fig . 13. Urali.



Fig . 14. Vishavan.



Fig . 15. Nayadi.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E.

DISTRIBUTION of STATURE

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Pygmy.
A-B —Short.
B-C —Medium.
C-D —Tall.
M —Mean Stature.

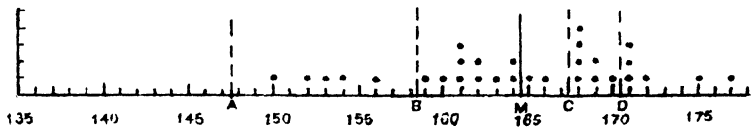


Fig. 16. Sambavar.



Fig. 17. Parayan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M. E.

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Dolichocephalic.
A-B —Mesocephalic.
Right of B —Brachycephalic.

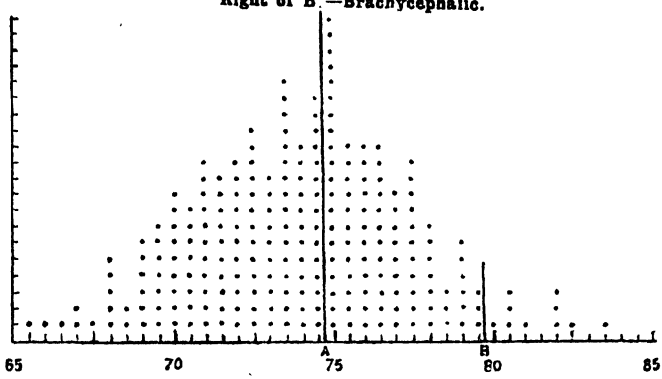


Fig . 1 a. Kanikkar.

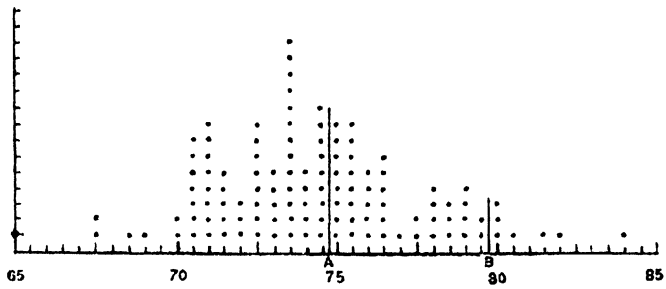


Fig 2 a. Malankuravan.

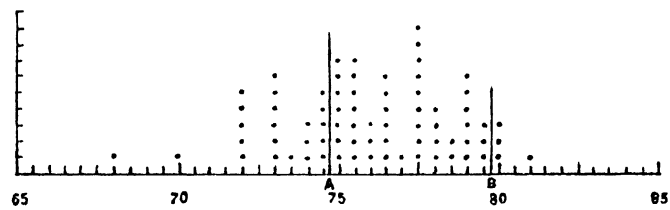


Fig . 3 a. Malapantaram.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Dolichocephalic.
A-B —Mesocephalic.
Right of B —Brachycephalic.

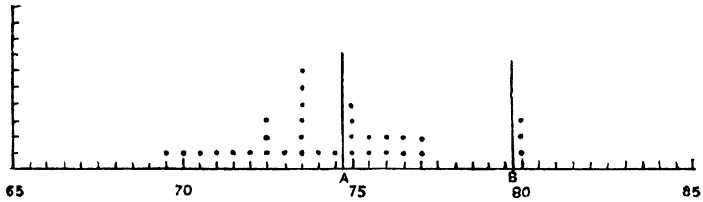


Fig . 4 a . Malapulayan.

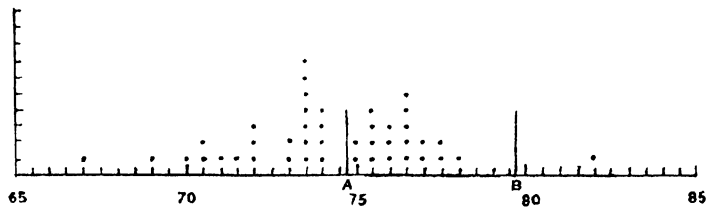


Fig . 5 a . Mannan.

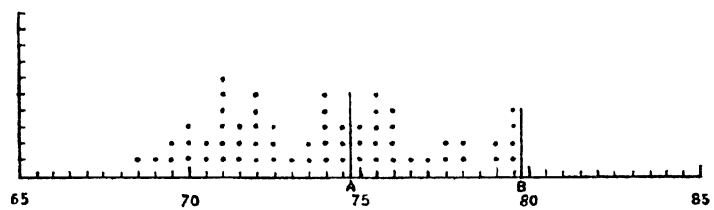


Fig . 6 a. Malavetan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E.

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Dolichocephalic.
A-B —Mesocephalic.
Right of B —Brachycephalic.

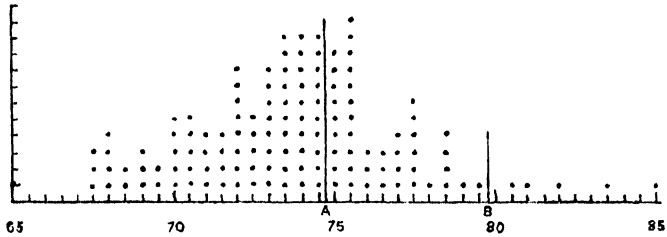


Fig . 7 a . Malayarayan.

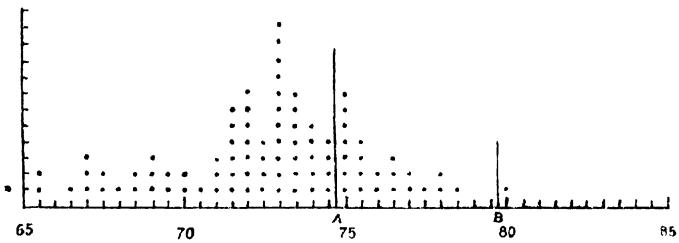


Fig . 8 a. Muthuvan

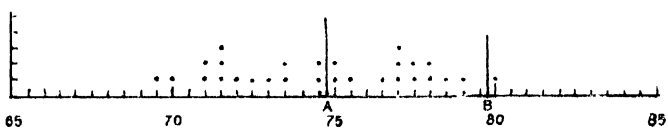


Fig . 9 a. Paliyan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E.

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Dolichocephalic.
A-B —Mesocephalic.
Right of B —Brachycephalic.

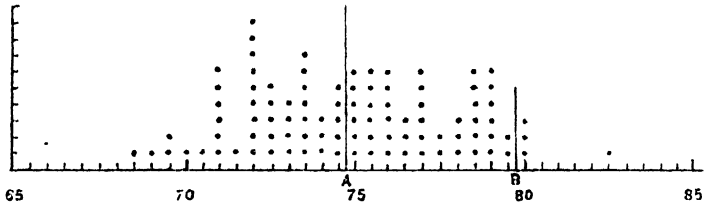


Fig . 10 a. Pulayan.

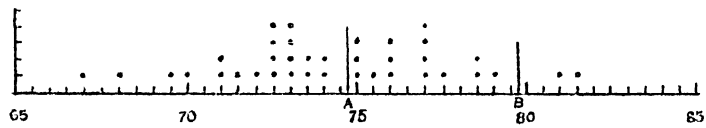


Fig . 11 a. Thantapulayan.

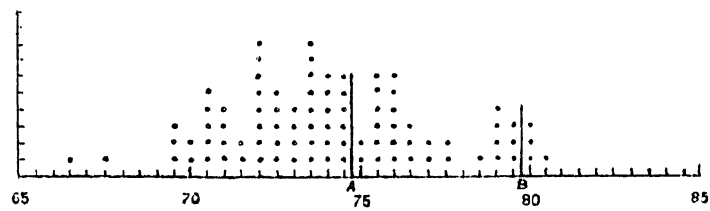


Fig . 12 a. Ullatan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E.

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 inch = 10 cms.

Left of A —Dolichocephalic.
A-B —Mesocephalic
Right of B —Brachycephalic.

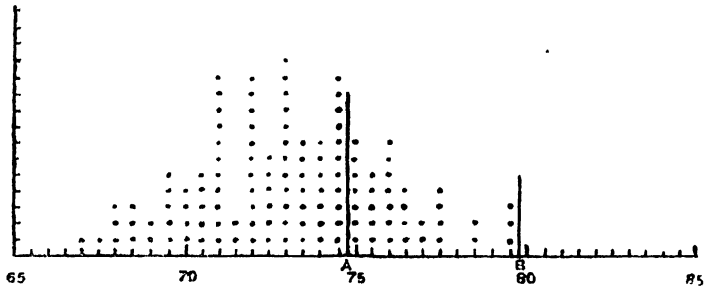


Fig . 13 a. Urali.

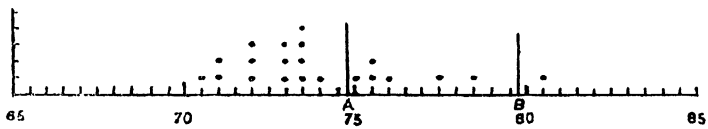


Fig . 14 a . Vishavan.

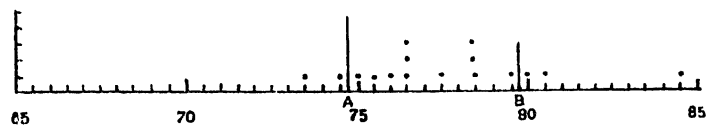


Fig . 15 a. Nayadi.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M. E.

DISTRIBUTION of CEPHALIC INDEX

Scale 1 Inch = 10 cms

Left of A – Dolichocephalic
A-B – Mesocephalic
Right of B – Brachycephalic

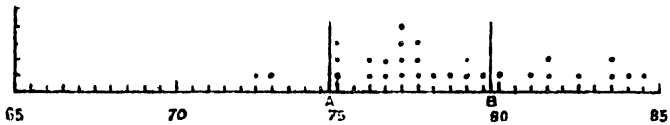


Fig. 16 a. Sambavar.

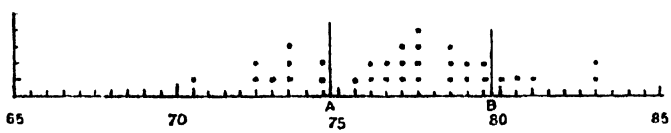


Fig. 17 a. Paraya.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum, 1939 A D/1114 M E

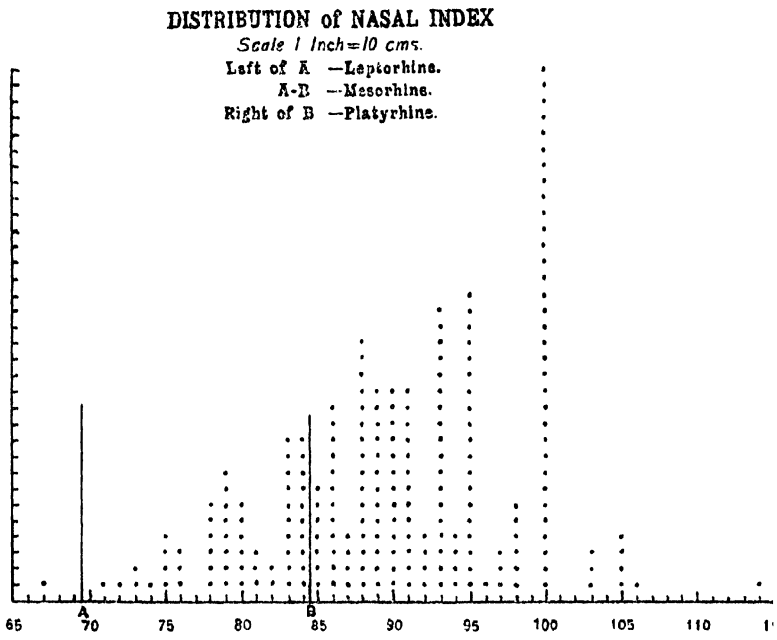


Fig. 1 b. Kanikkar.

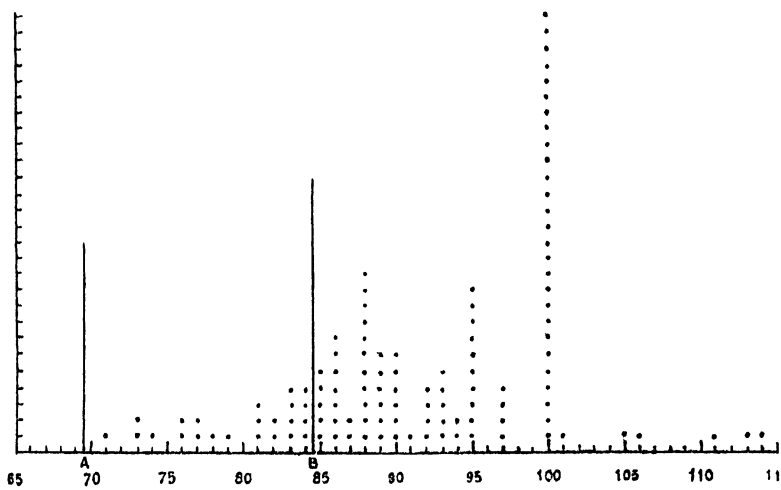


Fig. 2 b. Malankuravan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum, 1939 A. D/1114 M. E

DISTRIBUTION of NASAL INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Leptorhine.
A-B —Mesorhine.
Right of B —Platyrhine.

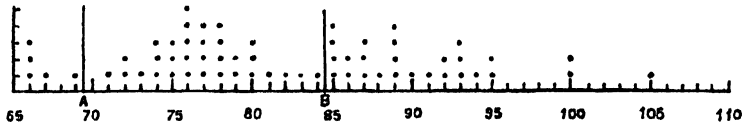


Fig . 3 b . Malapantaram.

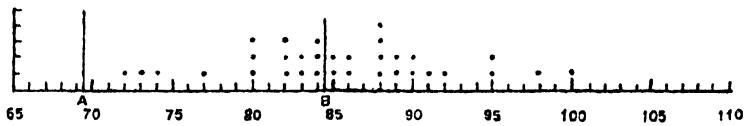


Fig . 4 b . Malapulayan.

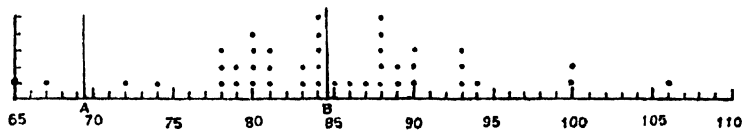


Fig . 5 b. Mannan.

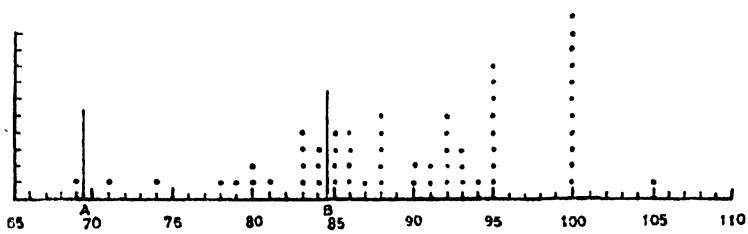


Fig . 6 b. Malavetan.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E

DISTRIBUTION of NASAL INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Leptorhine.
A-B —Mesorhine.
Right of B —Platyrhine.

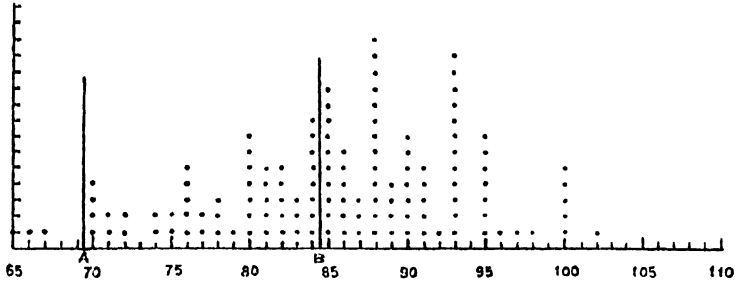


Fig . 7 b . Malayarayan.

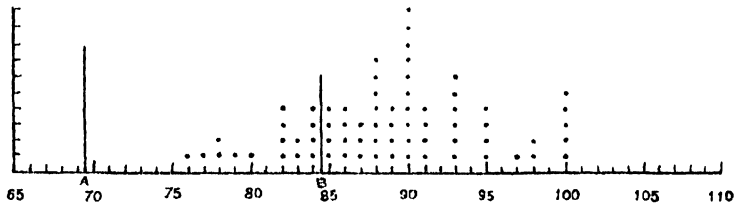


Fig . 8 b. Muthuvan.

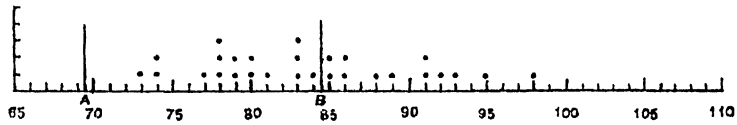


Fig . 9 b. Paliyan.

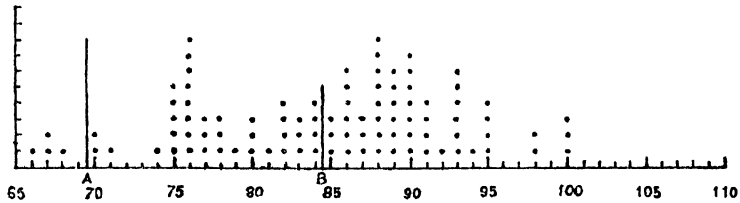


Fig . 10 b. Pulayan.

Litho, Survey Office. Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E

DISTRIBUTION of NASAL INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Leptorhine.
A-B —Mesorhine.
Right of B —Platyrhine

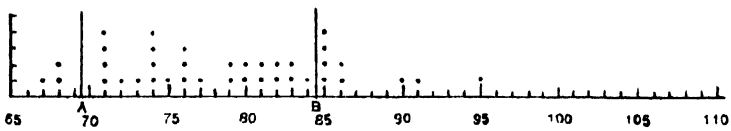


Fig . 11 b . Thantapulayan .

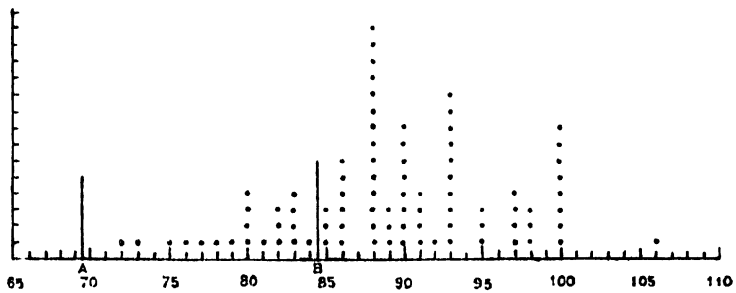


Fig . 12 b . Ullatan.

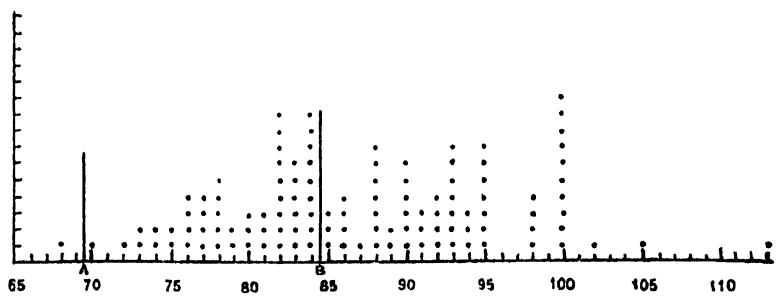


Fig . 13 b Urali.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M . E.

DISTRIBUTION of NASAL INDEX

Scale 1 Inch=10 cms.

Left of A —Leptorhine.
A-B —Mesorhine.
Right of B —Platyrhine.

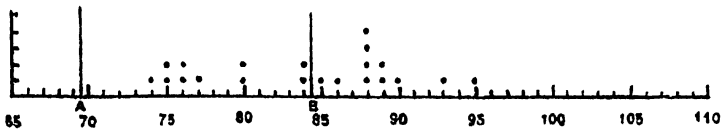


Fig . 14 b. Vishavan.

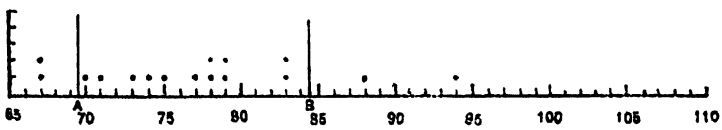


Fig . 15 b. Nayadi.

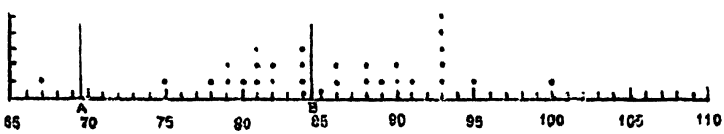


Fig . 16 b. Sambavar.

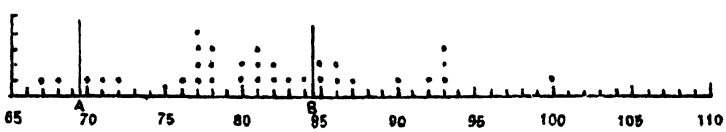


Fig . 17 b. Paraya.

Litho, Survey Office, Trivandrum. 1939 A. D/1114 M. E.

APPENDIX I.

A Pulaya Marriage Song.

പൊലി പൊലിക, പൊലി പൊലിക
പൊലി പൊലിക നാവേ.
പൊലിവെന്ന ചൊല്ലിയാലുമൊട്ടെന്തു പൊലിവേ
പൊലിവെന്ന പൊലിച്ചാപ്പലുണ്ടു പൊലിവും
അരിയെന്ന ചൊല്ലിയാലൊട്ടെന്തു പൊരുളേ
അരിയെന്ന ചൊല്ലിയാപ്പലവങ്ങളുണ്ടു.
തിരിയെന്ന ചൊല്ലിയാലെന്തുപൊരുളേ
തിരിയെന്ന ചൊല്ലിയതെൻറമ്മയ്ക്കാരു
ആകായം ഭൂമിയും പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
ദൈവട്ടോം തിക്കെന്നും പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
ഏഴവം മലനാടും പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
ഇനിയേതു നാവേ തുതിക്കേണമേനേ
കിഴക്കൊരുതിപ്പൂമേം പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
പടിഞ്ഞാറേ അത്തമനം പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
തെക്കൊരു രാച്യമേം പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
വടക്കൊരു രാച്യമേം പാടിത്തുതിച്ചേ
മാർകണ്ട മലനാട്ടിൽ മാർകക്കുവള്ളോൻ
ഒരമ്മയ്ക്കുപേരിമാരിവർ വള്ളോർ
മാർകണ്ട തറവാട്ടിലെ ണ്ടേയവരെ
ആരാണാമൊരു പെണ്ണുമൊണ്ടേയവിടെ
മാർകണ്ട മലനാട്ടിൽ താമതമൊണ്ടേ
ആണുങ്ങളാറുപേരും ചത്തുകെട്ടുപോയേ
ആടിക്കുടമ്മം തള്ളയൊരുത്തിയുണ്ടവിടെ
ആടിക്കുടമ്മം തള്ളയവിടെ താമതിക്കുന്നു
ഒരമ്മയ്ക്കാരുമകനുമൊണ്ടായവിടെ
ആടിക്കുടമ്മം തറവാട്ടിലവരും താമതമൊണ്ടേ

ഏഴവീട്ട തിരുവീട്ടമവിടൊണ്ടേ പിന്നേ
കുന്നപ്പൂതമ്പുരാനുമൊണ്ടേയവിടെ
വിളിച്ചും വിളികേട്ടും നിണ്ണെയവിടെ
കുന്നപ്പൂ തമ്പുരാനെ അന്നഴിക്കുന്നേ
ഒരമ്മ ഒരു മകനും താമതമൊണ്ടേ
ഏഴഴയും ചെറുകാളേയുമുണ്ടേയവിടെ
ഏഴഴയും ചെറുകാളേനേം തീറാനവനേ
ആടികുടുമ്മം തറവാട്ടിൽ അതികാരപുള്ള
ഒരുവന്നും പതിറാണ്ടു ചെറുകാളനോക്കിയേ
ഒന്നുമൊരുത്തനോളമാകയുമേ ചെയ്യ
ഒന്നോടൊന്നും പറയാനുമില്ല
പാരം മനമടുത്താണ്ടെയവനെ
നേരമൊരു നേരമായപ്പൊഴൊണ്ടേ
കാളപയിറാടി നേരവുമായേ
ആടികുടുമ്മം വയലീന്നവൻ കാള അടിച്ചേ
ഒരു കെട്ടു വിറകുമേ ഒടിച്ചുകെട്ടിയേ
അവന്റെ ചെറുകാളേം തടുത്തടിച്ചൊണ്ടേ
തകരാതി പറമ്പകത്തുടെ ചെന്നവനെ
ഓരാപ്പൊയ്ക്കുഴിയേ കാളേയടിച്ചേ
കുന്നപ്പൂരിടകുഴിയേ പോകുന്നവനെ
കുന്നപ്പൂതിരിയെരുത്തിൽ കാളെം കെട്ടിയേ
മേലമ്പുമേലാടിവലിച്ചാച്ചവനെ
കീഴമ്പുകീഴാഴി തള്ളിയടച്ചും
താക്കോലൊളിമറയിൽതാക്കോലൊളിച്ചേ
ഒരുകെട്ടവിറകുമെടുത്തേയവനെ
കുന്നപ്പൂക്കുലിപ്പറമ്പിലും ചെന്നേയവനെ
ഒരുകെട്ട വിറകവൻത്താത്തുവാക്കുന്നേ
കുയിലുപോലെ കുവിവിളിച്ചേയവനെ

മയിലുപോലെത്തേങ്ങി വിളികേട്ടുനിന്നേ
നില്ലെടാ കേളെടാ കൊച്ചിടയാനെ
അനേരത്തുണ്ടല്ലിത്തമ്പുരാനൊണ്ടേ
കൊട്ടയിലേ ഒന്നേകാൽ നെല്ലുമളന്നേ
ഒരു കൈ വേതിലയും ചെന്നെടുത്തവനെ
ചവരി ചെരട്ടയിൽ എണ്ണ എടുത്തും
കുന്നപ്പൂക്കുലിപ്പറമ്പാകംവന്നേ.

ഒരു കൈവേതിലയും വച്ചുകൊടുത്തേ
ചവരി ചെരട്ടയിലെണ്ണയുമെടുത്തു്
അനേരത്തുണ്ടല്ലോ അതിയാകുഴയൻ
കുലിപ്പറമ്പാകം ചെന്നേ അവനെ
കൊട്ടയിലേ ഒന്നേകാൽ നെല്ലുമെടുത്തേ
അവന്റെറ തലപ്പാളയിലൊഴിഞ്ഞേയവനെ
ചവരിചിരട്ടയിലെണ്ണയെടുത്തേ
അവന്റെറ തുളുമുടിയിൽ എണ്ണചരിച്ചേ
കാർകൊണ്ട മഴപോലെ എണ്ണയും തേച്ചേ
ഒരു കയ്യിൽ വേതിലയുമെടുത്തേയവനെ
മൂരുപാട്ടു പാടിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അവന്നു്
അനേരത്തുണ്ടല്ലി അതികാരപുരുതള്ള
അടുക്കളപെരമുറിയും പൂട്ടിയടച്ചു
അവന്റെറ വരപ്പാകം വന്നേ പിന്നവരു്
നീയൊന്നു കേട്ടോടായെൻറുണ്ണിമകനെ
യതവിച്ചു കൊണതോഴം കേളേ മകനെ
നേരെ കിഴക്കടാ ഉതിയനുവള്ളാൻ
പടിഞ്ഞാരാച്ചയ്മേ കുട്ടങ്ങവള്ളാൻ

തെക്കൊരു രാച്യമേ തേവ്യാരുവള്ളോൻ
വടക്കൊരു രാച്യമേ മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
നാലുകരക്കേടാ നാലു കാട്ടി വള്ളോൻ
നാലവും നമ്പിക്കുരുണ്ടെ പിന്നേടാ
എട്ടച്ചനെടമാടമ്പിയൊണ്ടെ പിന്നേടാ
എടകണ്ടമാടമ്പികളൊണ്ടെ മകനേ
നാലുനാട്ടിവള്ളുമ്മാരുമൊണ്ടെങ്കിലെടാ
നിനക്കൊരു പെണ്ണുകിട്ടും പൊന്നരം കിട്ടും
അതുകൊണ്ടു കേളെടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനെ
നാലുനാട്ടി വള്ളോൻറങ്ങും ചെന്നേ പിന്നേടാ
നീയൊരു ആളുംതരക്കി വന്നാലേ
നെല്ലേട്ടിപണമറെച്ചുലവാക്കുമെടാ
കുന്നപ്പൂതമ്പുരാൻ ചിലവാക്കുമെടാ
എന്നാലോ കേൾക്കണമേ എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മി
എൻറെ ചെറുകാളേം തട്ടത്തടിച്ചും കൊണ്ടെ
അതികുമ്മം വയലിലേ തിരിക്കുമ്പോഴമ്മി
ഓമപ്പൂവയിലിലൊരാറുപ്പുകേട്ടേ
കന്നാലിക്കാരവരു കാളച്ചെല്ലേരേ
ഇതെല്ലാം കേട്ടോണ്ടെ എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മീ
എൻറെ ചെറുകാളേം തട്ടത്തടിച്ചോണ്ടെ
ഓമപ്പൂവയലിലേം ചെന്നേയെൻറമ്മീ
ആ നേരം കേക്കണമേ എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മീ
ഒരുമക്കെഴപേരവരോമപ്പൂക്കാരെ
കന്നാലിക്കാരവരുകാളച്ചെല്ലരെ
കണ്ണിക്കുട്ടിക്കടത്തു കള്ളുകുന്നവരെ
ചാട്ടരുട്ടീവല്ലുക്കം കള്ളുകുന്നവരെ
കണ്ണിക്കളത്തിലും ചെന്നേ പൊന്നമ്മീ
കാത്തുകളത്തിലും ചെന്നേ പിന്നമ്മീ

എന്റെ ചെറുകാളേം തട്ടുത്തടിച്ചോണ്ടേ
ആ നേരം ചോദിച്ചവരോമപ്പൂക്കാരേ
ആരാടാ ഏരാടാ വന്നേ പിന്നേടാ
ആടകണ്ണികളത്തി നീ കേറിയോ പിന്നേടാ
കാത്തുകളത്തിലും നീ കേറിയോ പിന്നേടാ
പോ പോടാ പൊച്ചെല്ലാം ചാണകക്കുഴിയി
ചാണകമുത്തുകുനാറി നിക്കാന്തം വയ്യാ
പോ പോടാ പൊച്ചെല്ലാം ചാണകക്കുഴിയി
കണ്ണികൊട്ടികാത്തു കളിയേ പിന്നേടാ
കണ്ണികൊട്ടിക്കാത്തു കളിക്കുന്നവനേ
കണ്ണിക്കളത്തിലവൻ കാത്തുനിൽക്കുന്നേ
ഓമപ്പൂക്കാരവരുമെഴുപേരുമേ
കിഴക്കും പടിഞ്ഞാറുമായ് നിന്നേയവരു്
കണ്ണിതട്ടി വിട്ടവരു ഓമപ്പൂക്കാരു്
നോക്കിഞാടുക്കുന്ന ആതിയീകുഴിയം
പൂറകോട്ട കണ്ണിതട്ടി വിട്ടേയവനു
ഓമപ്പൂക്കാർക്കെഴുവരിക്കും കൊണ്ടേ
തറഭേദം കാണിച്ചോ ആതിയികുഴിയം
നീ ആശാനിക്കണ്ടോടാ കളരികണ്ടോടാ
ആശാന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ നീ കുമ്പിട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടോ
ഓമപ്പൂക്കാരു ഞങ്ങളെഴുപേരെടാ
ആശാനെ കണ്ടേടാ കളരികണ്ടേടാ
ആശാന്റെറ മുമ്പി ഞങ്ങടം കുമ്പിട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടേ
ഞങ്ങടം എഴുപേരും കേളേ പിന്നേടാ
പെണ്ണുകെട്ടിതെഴാമ്മതീരുന്നല്ലോടാ
ഒരുത്തിയാരുത്തമ്മരു ഞങ്ങളായേ പിന്നേ
ആട്ടേപടം പരികാതം ചൊല്ലുന്നവരേ

അവനക്കരക്കുറവും ചൊല്ലിയവന്ന്
ചാട്ടകളത്തിലുമാ ആയ്ച്ചപം ചൊല്ലി
കാത്തുകളത്തിലും അവനാച്ചപം ചൊല്ലി
ഈതെല്ലാം കേട്ടോണ്ടിയതീയികുഴയൻ
മനതുക്കം മുടികേതം കൊണ്ടേയവന്ന്
ഓമപ്പൂവയലിന്ന പോരുന്നവന്ന്
അവന്റെ ചെറുകാളേത്തട്ടത്തടിച്ചോണ്ടു
കുന്നപ്പൂതിരുഎരുത്തുങ്കപോന്നേയവന്ന്
മേലന്മൂമേലാ ഓവലിച്ചടക്കുന്നേ
കിഴമ്പുകീഴാതെളിയടച്ചേടാ
താക്കോലൊളിമറയിത്താക്കോലൊളിച്ചേ
അതികുമ്മം തറവാട്ടി പോന്നേ അവന
അതികുമ്മം തറവാട്ടി വന്നേയവന്ന്
അവന്റെ ഒരു ക്രലിയും എട്ടുത്തുംകൊണ്ടവനെ
കുന്നപ്പൂക്രലിപ്പറമ്പിലണഞ്ഞവനെ
അതികുമ്മം തറവാട്ടിപ്പോകുന്നവനെ
തെഞ്ഞിടഞ്ഞെട്ടഞ്ഞെട്ടിടവായുറി പാടി-
തകരാടിപ്പറമ്പകത്തുടെ പോകുന്നവനെ
വടക്കും വലം വഴിപോകുന്നവനെ
ചുറവും ചുറതായി ചെന്നേയവനേ
അതികുമ്മം വയലൂടെ പോകുന്നവനേ
അതികുമ്മം വയലും കടന്നേയവനേ
കുഴിവാഴ തോട്ടത്തുടെ ചെന്നേ അവനേ
കുത്തുകല്ലു കോവേണി കേറിയവനെ
നടക്കല്ലു ബലിക്കല്ലു കേറിയവനാ
പൊന്നും തിലാറുമുററം ചെന്നേയവനെ
പത്താത്തും പുറത്തവന്റെ എരുത്താന്യം വച്ച്

കാറാടി കാളിതിണ്ണേലിരിക്കുന്നവന്
ആ നേരം ചോദിച്ചു പെറ്റൊരു തള്ള
എന്തെടായേതടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
മിണ്ടില്ലാ ചൊല്ലില്ലായിരിക്കുന്നതെടാ
ഓമപ്പൂ വയലി നീ പോയോ പിന്നേടാ
കന്നാലിക്കാരെ നീ കണ്ടോ പിന്നേ
എന്തെടാ ഏതെടാ യെൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
ആ നേരത്തുണ്ടല്ലീ അതിചീകുഴിയം
എൻറമ്മിപൊന്നമ്മി കേക്കണമെൻറമ്മീ
ഓമപ്പൂ വയലിലേം പോയില്ലെൻറമ്മീ.
കന്നാലിക്കാരെയും കണ്ടില്ലെൻറമ്മീ
നീയെന്ത കേളടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
ഇത്തിര മനമുട്ട നിനക്കൊന്താ മകനേ
അതോ തോ ചൊല്ലാമേ എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മീ
പാരം മനമുട്ടെനക്കൊണ്ടേ എൻറമ്മീ
എന്തരു മനമുട്ടാടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
അതോ തോ ചൊല്ലാമേ എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മ
ഒരുവന്ത പതിറെറാണ്ടാം ചെറുകാള നോക്കി
കന്നപ്പുത്തമ്പുരാണ്ടം ചെറുകാള നോക്കി
ഒന്നോളമൊരുത്തനോളമാകയും ചെയ്തു
ഒന്നോടുമൊന്നെനക്കു പറയാനമില്ല
അതുകൊണ്ടുക്കളയെടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
നിൻറച്ചം കാണ്ണാമ്മാരും കേളേപിന്നേടാ
നിൻറച്ചം കാണ്ണാമ്മാരുണ്ടായ കാലം
ഒരമ്മിക്കെഴപേരുമുണ്ടായനേറടാ
എൻറെ ചെറുപ്പത്തിലേ ചെറുപ്പത്തി
ഏഴാനക്കുട്ടികളെപ്പിടിച്ചു വളത്തി
അതിനുമ്മം തറവാട്ടിനെയ് മടലോല

വെട്ട ക്കൊട്ടത്തു വളത്തി പിന്നേടാ
വെലിമ്മേ ചുളതിപറിച്ച കൊടുത്തേ
ഏഴാനക്കിടക്കീള തീറവിവളത്തി
എടപ്പള്ളി മടത്തിലേക്കു കൊടുത്തുട്ടുമുണ്ടു
നമ്മുടെ തലച്ചേരി തമ്പുരാനേടാ
എടപ്പള്ളിത്തമ്പുരാനായേ പിന്നേടാ
അതിലെ എടചെമ്മിക്കേള മകനേ
കുന്നപ്പുത്തമ്പുരാനുമായേ മകനേ
കുന്നപ്പുത്തമ്പുരാനുമൊണ്ടെ നമുക്കു
നിന്റെ മനമുട്ടനെറുകിത്തരുമേ
ആളുള്ളതിക്കിച്ചെന്നു ആളുതെരക്കിയാ
നെല്ലേറെ പണമേറെ ചെലവാക്കുമെടാ
ഏതനം വരിച്ചങ്ങളൊക്കെ ചൊല്ലിത്തരാമേ
പാരം മനമുട്ട നീ കൊള്ളല്ലെന്റെടാ
കണ്ണി കുടിയെടാ എന്റെയുണ്ണി മകനേ
മനം കൊണ്ടു മനവിയാരം കൊള്ളാതെന്റെടാ
മനതുക്കം മനക്കേതം കൊള്ളാതെന്റെടാ
ചെല്ലെന്നു പേയ്പിളകി പോയെ അവനു
ഉമി ചുട്ടമിക്കരി കൊടുത്തേയവനു
പള്ളക്കു വാലുള്ള പാലുവം കിണ്ടി
പാലുവം മണിക്കിണ്ടി വെള്ളം കൊടുത്തേ
ഉമിചുട്ടമിക്കരികൊടുത്തേയവനു
തൂർപല്ലു തെച്ചലൊന്നതീയി കുഴിയം
തമ്പായി കുളിർവെള്ളം കുലുക്കൊഴിയുന്നേ
വാശുത്തം കൈശുത്തം കൊണ്ടെയവനു
കാററാട്ടം കളിതിണ്ണലിരിക്കുന്നവനു
ആ നേരത്തുണ്ടല്ലോ പെറെറാരു തള്ള
ചൂരത്തള്ളുകയിലേ ചോറുവിളമ്പ;

പിഞ്ഞാണം കിണ്ണത്തിക്കൊട്ടാനമെടുത്തു
കുഴിഓല വട്ടകയിൽ കഞ്ഞീം പകർന്നു
അവനിരുന്ന വലപാകം വച്ചുകൊടുത്തു
കയ്യേറെ വാരിയവൻ വയറേറെയുണ്ടേ
കുമ്പം കുളുക്കുള കഞ്ഞീം കുടിച്ചേ
കുടവയറു വന്നുതെ ചോറു വാരിയുണ്ടു
ഉണ്ടെന്താമിച്ചീം നീക്കിവെച്ചവൻ
തമ്പായി കുളിർവെള്ളം കുലുക്കൊഴിയുന്നേ
വാശുത്തം കൈശുത്തം കൊണ്ടേയവൻ
ഉണ്ണിനു വാമതിരം വെറ്റില തിന്നു
ചുള ചുള ചുളുക്കിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നവൻ
കാറ്റാട്ടം കളിതിണ്ണയി കേറിയവനെ
നാവു ചൊല്ലിന വെട്ടത്തുരിയാട്ടമില്ല
മിണ്ടില്ലാ ചൊല്ലില്ലാതിരിക്കുന്നവൻ
അ നേരം ചോദിച്ചു പെറ്റൊരു തള്ള
എൻറെ മകനേടാ ഉണ്ണിമകനേ
നിനക്കെന്തുപിണഞ്ഞു എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
അ നേരം വാമൊഴി ചൊല്ലുന്നവനെ
എൻറമ്മീ പൊന്നമ്മീ കേക്കണമെൻറമ്മീ
അതികുമ്മം വയലിലിരുന്നപ്പഴമ്മീ
ഓമപ്പൂ വയലിലി വരുകാളച്ചെല്ലേരു
കണ്ണികെട്ടി കാള കളിക്കുന്ന കേട്ടു
ചാട്ടരുട്ടി വല്ലക്കം കളിക്കുന്ന കേട്ടു
അതികുമ്മം വയലിന്നേം പോയ എൻറമ്മീ
എൻറെ ചെറു കാളേം നടത്തടിച്ചോണ്ടു
ഓമപ്പൂ വയിലേലേം പോയ എൻറമ്മീ
കണ്ണിക്കളത്തിലുമേം ചെന്നേ പൊന്നമ്മീ
അവരുടെ കാത്തു കളത്തിലുമേം ചെന്നേ എൻറമ്മീ

എന്നെക്കരെക്കൊറയവരു ചൊല്ലിയേ എൻറമ്മീ
അച്ചേപം പരികാരങ്ങളുമവരു ചൊന്നേ എൻറമ്മീ
ഇതെല്ലാം കേട്ടോണ്ടംപോന്നേ എൻറമ്മീ
പാരം മനതുക്കമെനക്കുണ്ടേ എൻറമ്മീ
എന്നാലേ കേളുടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
നീയൊന്നു കേളടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
തെക്കൊരു രാച്യമേ മുതിയനു വള്ളോൻ
ഉതിയനു വള്ളോൻറ മകളൊരുത്തിയൊണ്ടേ
ഉതിയനു ചെറുകുള്ളിരി ഉണ്ടേ പിന്നേടാ
ഉതിയനു വള്ളോൻറങ്ങു ചെന്നേടാ
ഉതിയനു രായാൻറ വിനയത്തിലൊണ്ടാ
അളുണ്ടെനിനക്കൊന്നിനെ അരുമേപാ ന്നേടാ
പിന്നേ നീ കേളെടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനെ
തെക്കൊരു രാച്യയം തേവ്യാരുവള്ളോൻ
തേവ്യാരുവള്ളോൻറങ്ങും ചെന്നാലെൻറടാ
തേവ്യാരുവള്ളോൻറ വിനയത്തിലെങ്ങാ
നിൻറെ മനമുട്ടറിയിച്ചാലെടാ
തേവ്യാരു വള്ളോൻറ മകളൊരുത്തിയൊണ്ടേ
തേവ്യാരുകളരിയവിടെ ഉണ്ടേ പിന്നേടാ
നിനക്കൊരു പെൺതരും പെൺതരം തരുമേ
നിനക്കൊരു ആളുതരും ആൾതരം തരുമേ
പിന്നേം നീ കേളെടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
പടിഞ്ഞാറേ രാച്യയം കൂട്ടാങ്ങവള്ളോൻ
കൂട്ടാങ്ങവള്ളോൻറങ്ങും ചെന്നാലെൻറടാ
കൂട്ടാങ്ങവള്ളോൻറ വിനയത്തിലങ്ങാ
നിൻറെ മനമുട്ടറിയിക്ക ചെയ്യാൽ
നിനക്കൊരു ആൾതരും ആൾതരം തരുമേ

നിനക്കൊരു പെൺതരും പെൺതരം തരുമേ
പിന്നേം നീ കേളെടാ എൻറുണ്ണി മകനേ
വാടാ വടക്കു മതിരാവും കുന്നേൻ
മതിരാവരച്ചന്തം ഉണ്ടേ എൻറേടാ
നിൻറച്ചൻ കാണ്ണേരും ആയേ എൻറേടാ
മതിരാവും കുന്നേ നാ ചെന്നാലെൻറേടാ
നിൻറ മനമുട്ടറിയിച്ചാലെടാ
നിൻറ മനമുട്ട നെറുകിത്തരുമേ
ഇതെല്ലാം കേട്ടോണ്ടെയിരിക്കുന്നവൻ
എന്നാലോ കേട്ടാലും എന്നെപ്പെറമ്മീ
നാളെപ്പിലരിമ്മേ വേക്കണമെൻറമ്മീ
നാലു നാട്ടിവളേളാൻറങ്ങം പോണയെനിക്കു
കാലമ്മേ കഞ്ഞിതരണമെൻറമ്മീ
മൊറന്നാം പെലരി പിലന്നെൻറ ശേഷം
ഇടമുരുണ്ടു വലമിളകിയതിയുമ്മതള്ള
പായിതെരുത്തവരു കതകേടചാരീ
അടുക്കിള പെരമുറി പൂട്ടു തുറന്നേ
തേവാതി തിരുത്തുലു വലംകൊക്കൊണ്ടേ
കാററാട്ടം കളിതിണ്ണ തുത്തടിക്കൊണ്ടേ
പൊന്നും നിലർമുറം തുത്തുമടിച്ചു
തുത്തുമടിച്ചും വടക്കൊഴുക്കുന്നേ
തുകിലിട്ടും തുകിലിയ മേതുകിലും കൊണ്ടിട്ടു
തേവാതി പൊന്മാളവലം കപ്പിക്കൊണ്ടു
പരിയത്തു പാക്കിണറും ചേന്നേയവരു
പാളയെറിഞ്ഞിട്ടു വെള്ളം വലിച്ചു
കോമളാകത്തെളി നീരു കോരിയെടുത്തേ
ഈറുപല്ലു തേച്ചുലന്നു പെറെറാരുതള്ള

അടുക്കിള പെരമുറിയിചെന്നേവരു്
വെച്ചണ്ണം വെങ്കലമവരു വാരിപ്പെറക്കി
ഇട്ടണ്ണം തിരുതാലമെടുത്തു പിന്നങ്ങു
വെച്ചണ്ണം വെങ്കലോം തേച്ചുമെഴക്കി
ഇട്ടണ്ണം തിരുതാലോം തേച്ചു മെഴക്കി
അടുക്കുള പെരമുറി കൊണ്ടു ചെന്നവരു്
വട്ടത്തിലടുപ്പിട്ടു പെറെറാരു തള്ള
അഗ്നിയാം തീ കൂട്ടി പെറേറാരു തള്ള
വെച്ചണ്ണം വെള്ളരുളിം കരക്കേറി പിന്നെ
കുമാരകത്തെളിനീരു കോരിച്ചരിച്ചു്
അച്ചകൊമ്പനണിതാക്കോലും ചെന്നെടുക്കുന്നേ
അരിയിട്ടും പത്തായം പൂട്ടുതുറന്നു
ചിരട്ടം ചെറു കൊട്ട വലംകൈയിക്കൊണ്ടു്
അകുക്കൊട്ടയൊരുകൊട്ട അരിവാരിയമ്മീ
കുമ്പിളിടം ഇടങ്ങഴിക്കൊന്നമറിച്ചേ
കല്ലരം മുളനാഴിക്കൊന്നു മറിച്ചേ
അരിയാനൊട്ടോന്നേകാലരിമെടുത്തു
അരിയിട്ടും പത്തായം പൂട്ടിയടച്ചു
മുറത്തുകിടന്നുള്ള തങ്കനരലു്
ആചാരിതച്ചിട്ട തങ്കനരലു
കാലിൻറണീവിരളാത്തള്ളിനെറുകി
ആചാരിചെത്തിയിട്ട പൂണനൊളുക്കു്
കൊല്ലനാരുപൂണടിച്ച പൂണനൊളുക്ക
വല്ലം വലങ്കയ്യുളക്കായെടുത്തു
ഒന്നേകാലരിയവരിടിച്ചവക്കുന്നേ
പറയിപറക്കോതകെട്ടിയ പാലമൂമേ
പാലാതിയണി മുറത്തിലരിയതു വാരി

അരിതരിക ഉമിപോകപ്പാററിയരിച്ചു
അടുക്കളപൊരമുറികൊണ്ടതുചെന്ന്
ഒന്നേകാലരിയമ്മീവച്ചുചമച്ചേ
തോട്ടത്തിലിടങ്ങുന്നീപ്പെറൊരുതള്ള
പന്തലിലേപാവനാ നോക്കിപ്പറിച്ചേ
ഏലരാടിപയററച്ചങ്ങാ നോക്കിപ്പറിച്ചേ
അടുക്കളപൊരമുറിയികൊണ്ടതുചെന്ന
കഞ്ഞികറികളമ്മീ വച്ചു ചമച്ചു
കൊല്ലത്തെ കൊന്നുമുളകുംപതം തളിക്കൊണ്ടേ
പാണ്ടിപ്പുരളപ്പും പതന്തളിക്കൊണ്ടേ
കഞ്ഞികറികളെല്ലാം വച്ചു ചമച്ചു
ഉമിചുട്ടമിക്കരിയമ്മീ ചെന്നെടുക്കുന്നേ
പള്ളക്കുവാലുള്ള പാലുവം കിണ്ടി
ഉമിചുട്ടമിക്കരി അവനകൊണ്ടുകൊടുത്തേ
വാലുള്ള മണികിണ്ടിവെള്ളാംകൊടുത്തേ
ഉമിചുട്ടമിക്കരിക്കു പല്ലൊരക്കൊണ്ടേ
ഈക്കിടകുത്തിപല്ലെടുക്കുത്തി
വാലുള്ള മണികിണ്ടി വെള്ളമെടുത്തു
വാശ്രുത്തം കൈശ്രുത്തം കൊണ്ടേയവനു
ഇരുതലപൊരുടിച്ചു വെള്ളിക്കൊരണ്ടി
വെള്ളിക്കൊരണ്ടിയും നീക്കിയെട്ടവനു
വെള്ളിക്കൊരണ്ടിയേലിരിക്കുന്നവനു
അ നേരംഉണ്ടല്ലിപെറൊരു തള്ള
ചുരത്തളകയിലേ ചോറും വിളമ്പി
കുഴ താലവട്ടകയികഞ്ഞിപകർന്നു
പിഞ്ഞാണം കുണ്ണത്തിക്കുട്ടാനമെടുത്തു
അവനിരുന്ന വലപാകം കൊണ്ടതുവെച്ചു

ഉൗണിന വലപാകമായിക്കുന്നേയവന്
കയ്യേറവാരി വയറേറയുണ്ടേ
കമ്പം കളിക്കോളം കഞ്ഞികുടിച്ചേ
കടവ യറുപയ്യാതെ ചോറുവാരിയുണ്ട്
ഉണ്ടെന്നാം മിഞ്ചെഴം മാററിവച്ചവന്
വാലുള്ളമണിക്കിണ്ടി പെള്ളമെടുത്തു
വായിളക്കകൈകഴുക്കിനില്ക്കുന്നവന്
കതകോടുനിരചാരയിരിക്കുന്നവന്
ഉൗണന്ത വാമതിരം പെററിലതിന്ന്
പെററിലത്തഞ്ചിയെടുത്തേയവന്
ഇല്ലിമ്മേവെററഇല നല്ലവെററ
ഇലനല്ലവെററയവനം നോക്കിയെടുത്തു
നാല്പതു വെററിലേടെ നരമ്പുമെടുത്തു
കുറത്തിയാരു ചുട്ടപൊടിനുകൈട്ടി
വെററിലയ്ക്കു തൊടുകുറിയ ട്ടേയവന്
ഏഴുതിരുമടക്കിട്ടു പെററിലതെറുത്തേ
വെററിലതെറുത്തവരലോടക്കൊണ്ടേ
അടുംകമുണ്ടേലെ ഓട്ടം പഴുക്കാ
മുക്കന്ന്യാം കത്തിമുകടപ്പുളന്നേം
വട്ടത്തവെട്ടിട്ട വയിരച്ചൊരുണ്ടി
താലചരിഞ്ഞു ചവരും കളഞ്ഞു
വേരളെടെക്കൊണ്ടവൻ മുമ്പല്ലിക്കൊണ്ടേ
മുമ്പല്ലിക്കൊണ്ടവനണപ്പല്ലിലട്ടേ
അണപ്പല്ലിക്കൊണ്ടവൻ രാകിച്ചവച്ചേ
നാലുംപതംക്രടിവെററിലമുറുകി
പാണ്ടിലരുതടിച്ച പുള്ളിപുകയില
ചാപ്പണം പുയപ്പുകലയെലയ്ക്കുർത്തിന്നു

വെറിലതിന്നവം ചോക്കണ്ണംതുപ്പി
വെറിലതിന്നവന്റെ മേനികൊഴുത്തു
ചൊല്ലെന്ന്യാം പെയ്യിളകിയതിയീകുഴി
പെട്ടിയും പേഴയും ചെന്നെടുത്തവന്
പെട്ടീടേം പേഴയിടേം പൂട്ടുറന്നു
നല്ലരിപ്പുമുണ്ട് നോക്കിയെടുത്ത്
മൂത്തിരച്ചെറുകോടിയൊന്നുനോക്കിയെടുത്തു
മാപ്പിളക്കരയേമുണ്ടു നോക്കിയെടുത്തു
ഈഴപ്പെരുഞ്ചേല താത്തുടുക്കുന്നേ
മാപ്പിളകരയംമുണ്ടു മേകെട്ടുകെട്ടി
തുത്തിരചെറുകോടിതോളത്തുമിട്ട്
കോലരു ചന്ദനമവൻ നീട്ടിയരച്ചു
ശുത്തിരക്കുറിയവം നാലും വലിച്ചു
നമ്പൂരിപ്പൊട്ടവൻ തൊട്ടെയവന്നു
ഇരുമുടിപൊക്കണം കെട്ടുന്നവന്നു
പത്താത്തും പുറത്തിരുന്നപരിയ എടുത്തു
അരമേക്കിടന്നുള്ള വാളുമെടുത്തു
കൊക്കുവളഞ്ഞുള്ളവടിയുമെടുത്തു
ഒറോലത്തുഴക്കുടയെടുത്തേ അവനേ
പൊന്നും നിലാർമുറംകൊണ്ടുവച്ചവന
തൈവം തുണ ചൊല്ലിന്നുകൊണ്ടവന്നു
പതിനെട്ടു ചരണിരുപ്പു കൊള്ളുന്നവന്നു
എന്റെപ്പൂപ്പനമ്മാവന്മാരുമേഴിതുണയേ
മരുപ്പുറദേശം പോകുന്നല്ലവന്നു
എക്കൊരു ചെറുക്കുട്ടിമഴിതുന്നയേ
ഏംപോകും കാര്യത്തിനു മേഴിതുണയേ
എറമ്പത്തു ഞാലിക്കുടച്ചേഴിതുണയേ

മഞ്ഞമണവാട്ടിയെൻ രാസമിന്നോ
എണ്ണമണവാട്ടിയെൻറാണപിന്നോ
ഏംപോകും കാര്യത്തിനു മേഴീതുണയേ
എടപ്പള്ളിഗണപതിക്കുടെഴീതുണയേ
ഏംപോകുംകാര്യത്തിനുമേഴീതുണയേ
മറുകരപുറദേശം പോകുന്നല്ലേനേ
പതിനെട്ടചരണരപ്പമെരന്നും കൊണ്ടവന്ന്
പൊന്നും തിലാർ മുററനിന്നും കൊണ്ടവന്ന്
പത്യത്തേവാർപ്പാവേലവൻെറയാതിരുന്നേ
ആയാനേക്കണ്ടവൻ കൈയെടുക്കുന്നെ
ക്രൂപ്പിത്തൊഴതവൻ ക്രൂടിയിരുത്തുന്നേ
താണവീണനമസ്കരിച്ചിളകിയവനു
എൻെറമ്മീപൊന്നമ്മീകേക്കണമെൻറമ്മീ
ഏതനാരുകരദേശം ഒന്നുപോയിവരട്ടെ
അമ്മീടെ ചൊല്ലാലയോ പോയിവരട്ടേ
അപ്പോൾംപറയുന്നിപ്പെറൊരുതള്ള
എൻെറമകനെയെടാ പൊന്നുമകനെ
മറുകരം പുറതേയം നീപോകുന്നതെടാ
ഇങ്ങനത്തെ ചമയങ്ങൾം ചമയല്ലെൻേറടാ
ആരാൻെറ, കണ്ണുടെ നീ പോകും മകനേ
ആണുങ്ങളൊരുപ്പഴിപോകുമ്പോഴമ്മീ
അടിവെലക്കമുടിവേലക്ക വെലങ്ങരുതെൻറമ്മി
തേക്കിയം തിരിയരിയം കൊണ്ടേ അവന്ന്
കതകോട്ട നിരചാരി മറയുന്നെൻറമ്മീ
തൈവം തുണചൊല്ലിപോകുന്നവന്ന്
വല്ലം വലങ്കാലു മുൻചവുട്ടുന്നു
ഇരുമുടി പോക്കണം തോളത്തെടുത്തു

വാളും പരിചയും എടുത്തേ പിന്നവനെ
കൊക്കുവളഞ്ഞകുത്തുവടിയുമെടുത്തു്
വല്ലോം വലം കാലുമൻചവുട്ടന്നു.
നീയൊന്നു കേളെടാ നീയൊരുപുള്ള
നാൻനാട്ടിവള്ളോന്മാരും വാഴവെട്ടിയേ
വാഴമുറിഞ്ഞു ഇവിടെ വീണിട്ടുമില്ല.
പൂവാഴ കരിവാഴവെട്ടുന്നവന്നു്
എന്റെ മകളെ മാലവക്കുത്തുമുള്ള
അതിയാരു പുള്ള വാഴവെട്ടുകവേണം
ഇതെല്ലാം കേക്കുന്ന അതിയാരുപുള്ള
അവേണി തിരുമുറ്റം ഇറങ്ങുന്നല്ലവനേ
അവനോരു വായ്മൊഴിയെ ചോദിക്കുന്നവനെ
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണമെ ഉദിയന്നൂരച്ചാ
എനക്കോരു വാളുപരിചതരണമെൻറച്ചാ
വാളുംപരിചയൊരു വായിപ്പതരണ
പോ പോടാ പൊപ്പുല്ലേട്ടാ നായിടമകനേ
നെനക്കാരനം വാൾം തരുമോട വാത്തരം തരുമേ
നാൽനാട്ടി — വള്ളോമ്മാരോടുംവാളുചോദിച്ചേ
അതുകൊള്ളാം അതുകൊള്ളാമേ ഉദിയന്നൂരച്ചാ
അവ നേരം ചോദിച്ചു അതിയരുപുള്ള
നീയൊന്നു കേളേടി മതിരാവുമതിരേ
വാളും പരിചയുമെടുത്തുകൊണ്ടാടി
വാളും പരിചയുമെടുത്തുകൊടുക്കുന്നേ
കാളഒഴക്കോലുമെടുത്തു കൊണ്ടാടി
കാളഒഴക്കോലുമെടുത്തു കൊടുത്തു്
ഇനിചെല്ലാം വാങ്ങിച്ചുതിയൊരുപുള്ള
പയ്യെന്നാം പയ്യെന്നാം നടന്നുപോകുന്നോ

കിഴക്കെന്നാം മുറത്തു ചെന്നു നക്കുന്നേ
പൂവാഴകരിവാഴ മെയ്യാട്ടക്കുന്നേ
കാലിന്റെ പെരുവിരളാമണലവൻക്രുദ്ധി
ഇരുത്തവൻ ക്രുദ്ധിഒഴക്കോലു നിറുത്തി
ഈ ലോകം നോക്കിയോ നിക്കുന്നല്ലവനേ
ആനേരം പറയുന്നീയുദിയംപൂവള്ളോൻ
ഉദയംപൂവള്ളോനൊരു പഴമപറഞ്ഞേ
ഒട്ടാങ്ങവള്ളോനൊരു പഴമപറഞ്ഞേ
തോനാതിവള്ളോനൊരു അർത്ഥം പറഞ്ഞേ
വാഴ്യാരുവള്ളോൻ പൊരുളതിരിച്ചു
ആനേരം പറയുന്നേയതിയരുപുള്ള
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണമെന്റെ നാലച്ചന്മാരെ
പഴമ പുതുമയൊന്നും പറയരുതമ്മാ
അർത്ഥം പൊരുളുകളൊക്കെ വ്യാനറികചെയ്യും
കൈകൊട്ടിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവരുവള്ളോന്മാരെല്ലാം
തേവിടാകത്താണോടാനിൻറിചാതരിപ്പു
ആയ്ച്ചപം പരികാതം പറയരുതച്ഛാ
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലോ പെറെറാരു തള്ള
ഇത്തിരേം നാളും ഞീ താമതിച്ചുല്ലോ
നീപോയ കാരിയമൊന്നു കേക്കട്ടെ മകനേ
നാലുനാട്ടവള്ളോന്മാരും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നമ്മീ
എല്ലാരുമെല്ലാരും ഒണ്ടായിരുന്നമ്മീ
മതിരാവുരച്ചും പറഞ്ഞുപിന്നമ്മീ
പൂവാഴ കരിവാഴ വെട്ടുന്നവനേ
മതിരാവു മരിരെനപെൺകൊടുക്കാനൊക്കു
നാലുനാട്ടിവള്ളോന്മാരും വാഴവെട്ടിയേ
വെട്ടിയവാളിന്റെ വായ് തെറിച്ചമ്മീ

കത്തിയ കന്തം മുനയൊടിഞ്ഞമ്മീ
താങ്ങി പുഞ്ചിരി കച്ചിടിനാടൊടിഞ്ഞേ
നാലുനാട്ടിവച്ചേളാമ്മാരും കൈത്തോറുമാറി
ഇളിച്ചു പുളിച്ചവരുപോയിരുന്നമ്മീ
പൂവാഴ കരിവാഴ വെട്ടിയെൻറമ്മീ
മുറിയോട്ട മുറിയറുവീണേ എൻറമ്മീ
മതിരാവുരച്ചം പറഞ്ഞേപിന്നമ്മീ
പൂവാഴ കരിവാഴ വെട്ടിയൊന്നംചൊല്ലി
മതിരാവുരച്ചം ചങ്കുചിടിച്ചേ
മൊഴികൊണ്ടും തരക്കൊണ്ടും പാഞ്ഞെപൊന്നമ്മീ
ഒരുവായി പലനാക്കുണ്ടോ മതിരാപൂരച്ചാ
ഇവയൊക്കെ ചോതിച്ചേച്ചു പോന്നേ എൻറമ്മീ
അയ്യകൊള്ളാം കൊള്ളാമെ പൊന്നമകനേ
നിന്നാലെ ഇവയൊന്നും കഴികയില്ലേടാ
എന്നാലെ ഇതെക്കെക്കഴിയുമെൻറമ്മീ
കഞ്ഞികുടിയെടാ പൊന്നമകനേ
എന്തിനിപ്പം വേണ്ടെൻറെ പെറെറാരുതള്ള
വായേട വായേട പൊന്നമകനേ
നീയിങ്ങോട്ടിനിവന്നിമ്മിണികഞ്ഞികുടി
കഞ്ഞിയും വേണ്ടെനിക്കൊന്നമേ വേണ്ടാ
നെഞ്ചുകുടുകിടാ പൊട്ടുന്നില്ലവൻറെ
എൻറെ മകനെന്നാടാ തുക്കം വരുന്ന
എൻറമ്മീ പൊന്നമ്മീ കേക്കയും വേണ്ടാ
ഇപ്പെണ്ണ ചെറുപെണ്ണനെങ്ങനെ കെട്ടും
പെണ്ണുകെട്ടിപ്പെരുഞ്ചാറുകഴിയത്തുമില്ല.
അപ്പെണ്ണ കെട്ടിയില്ല പോട്ടമകനേ
എൻറമ്മ പൊന്നമ്മീ കേക്കയുംവേണ
പണ്ടത്തെ വഴിവാകും കേക്കട്ടൻറമ്മീ
നമ്മുടെ തംപുരാനുമേതുതന്നമ്മീ

തെക്കം കുറിപടികോട്ടെ വല്യതംപുരാനെ
ആ ഒരു വഴിപാകം കേക്കട്ടൻറമ്മീ
ചെരിമ്മം തറവാട്ടിവാണിരുന്നല്പം
ഏഴച്ചം കാറിണേമ്മാരുണ്ടാരുന്നേടാ
ഏഴാനക്കുട്ടികളെപ്പിടിച്ചു വളത്തി
ചേരിമ്മം തൈവാഴ അവരുതിന്നുവളന്നു
ചേരിമ്മം തൈക്കൊടി അവരു തിന്നുവളന്നു
ചൂണ്ടപ്പനയെല്ലാം തിന്നുവളന്നു
നമ്മെടെതെങ്ങെല്ലാം തിന്നുവളന്നു
ഏഴാനക്കുട്ടികളും തിന്നുവളന്നു
ഏഴച്ചം കാറിണേന്മാരു ചത്തൊഴിഞ്ഞുപോയി
ഏഴാനക്കുട്ടികളേം കൊടുത്തല്ലോ ഏൻ
തെക്കം കുറുവടികൊട്ടക്കൊട്ടത്തിട്ടുണ്ടേടാ
അതുകൊള്ളാം കൊള്ളാമേ പെറെറാരുതള്ള
ഇനി ഏതാനും വഴിപാകം പറയാനുണ്ടോമ്മീ
പാണ്ടികളു പത്തെണ്ണം ചിറമുണ്ടെടാ
അവരെന്തിനു വന്നമ്മീ പറയുകയും വേണം
ഏണ്ണായിരചെവെള്ള യടിച്ചോണ്ടുവന്നു
ഏണ്ണായിരം മാടടിച്ചു മലയാളത്തുവന്നു
ചെട്ടികൾം എട്ടെണ്ണം ഉണ്ടാരുന്നേടാ
ചിറത്തുച്ചെട്ടി ചെറുപാണ്ടിയാൻ
ചിറത്തുചെട്ടി ചെറുപാണ്ടിയാൻ
ചെറുപാണ്ടിയാൻ ഇവിടെ ചിറമുണ്ടേടാ
ഏൻറമ്മീ പൊന്നമ്മീക്കേക്കയുംവേണം.
ഉള്ള വണ്ണമൊക്കെക്കെ പറകയും വേണം
ഉള്ള വണ്ണമൊക്കെപറയുമമമനീയും
ഏന്നെകൊലചെയ്യും പൊന്നുമകനെ
ഏൻറമ്മീ പൊന്നമ്മീക്കേക്കയുംവേണം

എൻറമ്മീ പൊന്നമ്മീ ഏഴും കൊല്ലുകയില്ല.
പാണ്ടീന്നുവന്നാലോ കഞ്ഞികുടിയിവിടെ
അതുകൊള്ളാം കൊള്ളാമെൻറമ്മീപൊന്നമ്മീ
എനക്കങ്ങു പാണ്ടിമേപോകന്നമമ്മീ
എനവിടെ ചെന്നാലവരെങ്കനറിയും
പാണ്ടിപ്പുറപ്പാണ്ടി ചുററിചെല്ലണം നീയെ
പാണ്ടിയകപ്പാണ്ടികേറേണം നീയെ
പാണ്ടീലെ ഉത്തമത്തി കേറേണംനീയെ
വിളികേട്ടിറങ്ങിവരുമല്ലവരു
എവിടെന്നവന്നെന്ന ചോദിക്കുമവരു
ആതിയുമമം തറവാട്ടിന്നുവന്നതുഞാൻ
എന്നു പറയണമെടാ പൊന്നുമകനെ
അതുകൊള്ളാം കൊള്ളാമെ പെറെറാരുതള്ള
ഇനിക്കിറു കഞ്ഞിതരേണമെൻറമ്മീ
കഞ്ഞികൊടുക്കുന്ന പെറേറാരുതള്ള
കഞ്ഞികുടിച്ചല്ലൊ അതിയൊരുപുള്ള
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലൊ മതിരാവുമതിര
പെറമുക്കാനും കൊടുക്കുന്നവനെ
ആനേരം വരുന്നുണ്ടെ മാപ്പിളക്കാരെ
മാപ്പിള ഏഴുപേരും വന്നല്ലവിടെ
പന്തലിക്കേറാനും നേരവുമായൊ
പന്തലിക്കേറാനും നേരമൊട്ടായെ
പന്തപിപ്പാകൊണ്ടു ഇട്ടുകൊടുത്തു
മാപ്പിള ഇണങ്ങുമെ കേറിഇരുന്നു.
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലതിയാരുപുള്ള
ഇരുമുടിമാറപ്പവൻ കയ്യിലെടുത്തു
പന്തലിവന്നവൻ കേറിയവൻനിന്നു
അവൻെറ മമയങ്ങളിട്ടുചമഞ്ഞു

മാപ്പിള ഒരുങ്ങിയൊ നിക്കുന്നവന്ത്
അതിയൊരുപുള്ളയും ഇരിക്കുന്നല്ലുവ ൻ
അനേരമുണ്ടല്ലൊ മതിരാവൂരച്ചൻ
സദ്യകൊടുക്കിനേടാ മക്കശിക്ഷിരെ
പറമക്കരെല്ലാരേം വിളിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നേ
ഇലയും കൊട്ടത്തവരിരുത്തുന്നല്ലുവരെ
ഇലയിട്ട പലഭാഗം ചോറുകൊട്ടത്തു
ചോറു വെളമ്പിയ പലെഭാഗം കറിയുംവിളമ്പി
എല്ലാരുമെല്ലാരും ഉണ്ണതുടങ്ങി
എല്ലാരും നിറകുടം ചോറുവാരി ഉണ്ടു
കുമ്പം തണുക്കോളം കുഞ്ഞികുടിച്ചു
ഉണ്ടൊരുങ്ങി കൈകഴുകിനിലുക്കുന്നവരു
എല്ലാരും സദ്യകഴിയുന്നവിടെ
നാലുകെട്ടെ തഞ്ചാരുകൊണ്ടു
എല്ലാക്കും മെല്ലാക്കും മുറുക്കാൻകൊട്ടത്തു
അനേരമുണ്ടല്ലൊ മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
നാലുനാട്ടിവള്ളോമ്മാരെയും വിളിക്കുന്നുണ്ടവനെ
എൻെറാരു പൊല്ലാലെ വന്നോരുന്നിങ്ങം
എല്ലാരുമെല്ലാരും വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടല്ലൊ
എല്ലാരും കേക്കണമേ നാലച്ചമ്മാരെ
എമ്പാറു വളത്തിട്ട ഒരു മകളെ ഉള്ളെ
അവളെയും മാലവെക്കാൻ ക്രുടിയത്തുമാണ്
പന്തലിവന്നപ്പം ചെറുക്കമ്മാരു രണ്ടു
ഏതുചെറുക്കനെകൊണ്ടേം മാലവപ്പിക്കും
അനേരം പറയുന്നി നാലച്ചൻമാരു
മുത്തു ചാർത്തും ഉള്ളേൻ പെൺകെട്ടുകൊണം
അനേരം ചോദിച്ചു മതിരാവൂരച്ചൻ
നീയൊന്നു കേളേടാ അതിയാരുപുള്ള

നിൻറച്ചൻ കാർണോമ്മാരു എന്നീയെ എൻറോടാ
എൻറച്ചൻ കാർണോമ്മാരുവരുന്നേ എൻറച്ചാ
എട്ടിലിണങ്ങരും എത്തിയേ എൻറോടാ
എട്ടിലിണങ്ങരും വരുന്നേ എൻറച്ചാ
മണ്ണുമലകേറി വരട്ടെ എൻറച്ചാ
കുന്നു കുഴി ഇറങ്ങി വരട്ടെ എൻറച്ചാ
പത്തിക്കരക്കാരും എന്നീയെ എൻറോടാ
പത്തിക്കരക്കാരും ഇപ്പം വരുമേ
തോഴമ്മക്കാരെല്ലാം എന്നിയെ എൻറോടാ
തോഴമ്മക്കാരെല്ലാം ഇപ്പം വരുമേ
മണ്ണുമലകേറി വരട്ടെ എൻറച്ചാ
കുന്നുകുഴിയെറങ്ങി വരട്ടെ എൻറച്ചാ
ആ നേരം പൊതിച്ചേ മതിരാവൂരച്ചൻ
നേരംപോയ് നേരംപോയ് അതിയാരുപിള്ള
നീയൊന്നുകേളേടാ അതിയാരുപിള്ള
നിൻറച്ചൻ കാണ്ണോമ്മാര കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
പത്തിക്കരക്കാരെ കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
മാപ്പിള ഇണങ്ങുന്നേരം കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
ഇപ്പംവരുമച്ചാ മതിരാവൂരച്ചാ
നീയൊന്നു കേളേടാ അതിയാരുപിള്ള
ഏഴരനാഴിക വെള്ളപ്പായലോടാ
നിൻറച്ചൻ കാണ്ണോമ്മാരെ കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
ഇപ്പെണ്ണു ചെറുപെണ്ണു നാ കെട്ടത്തുമില്ല
ഇതൊന്നും പറയരുതു മതിരാവൂരച്ചാ
എട്ടിലൊണങ്ങര കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
പിന്നെങ്ങനകെട്ടുമെടാ അതിയാരുപിള്ള
എൻറച്ചൻ കാണ്ണേമ്മോരിപ്പംവരുമേ
എന്നുപറഞ്ഞവനിരിക്കുന്നല്ലവൻ

നേരമൊരുനേരം തന്നേരമായി
അലറിപെലറി വെളുത്തുള്ളൊരുനേരം
പിററം പെലറി പെലന്നുള്ളൊരുനേരം
ആനേരം വന്നല്ല പൊഴതന്നുരാള്
ആനേരം ചോദിച്ചു മതിരാവൂരച്ചൻ
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണം പൊഴതന്നുരാക്കളെ
എണ്ണപ്പൊഴതിന നേരവുമായി
ആനേരം പറയുന്നു മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
നീയൊന്നു കേളേടാ അതിയാരുപുള്ളെ
നിൻറച്ചൻ കാണ്ണോമ്മാര കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടെ
എട്ടിലിണങ്ങരേം കണ്ടില്ലല്ലോടാ
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണമേ മതിരാവൂരച്ചാ
എൻറച്ചം കാർണ്ണോമ്മാരു വരുമേ എൻറച്ചാ
എട്ടിലിണങ്ങരു വരുമേ എൻറച്ചാ
പത്തിക്കരക്കാരു വരുമേ എൻറച്ചാ
മണ്ണമലകേറി വരട്ടെ എൻറച്ചാ
കുന്നുകുഴികേറി വരട്ടേ എൻറച്ചാ
പോ പോടാ പോപ്പെല്ലാം നായിടമോനേ
നിൻറച്ചാ കരിണേമ്മാരെപ്പം വരുമെ
മതിരാവും പടിപ്പെരക്കു വെളിയിലെറങ്ങു
ഏഴച്ചംകാർണേമമാരില്ല നിനക്കു
എട്ടിലെണങ്ങരും ഇല്ലനെനക്കു
മാപ്പിള ഇണങ്ങരും ഇല്ലനെനക്കു
ഏഴച്ചാ കാരിണേമമാരുപ്പംവരുമേ
ആനേരം ചോദിച്ചു മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
അവൻെറ ചമയങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഇട്ടുചമഞ്ഞു
ചന്ദനഭസ്മാദികളിട്ടണിയുന്നേ
പെണ്ണും പെറുക്കമ്മാരും പോകുന്നല്ലവരു

പല'കപ്പുറമേറിപ്പെണ്ണുങ്ങുനിന്ന്
ആനേരംചോദിച്ചു മതിരാവുവള്ളോൻ
നീയൊന്നു കേളേടാ ആതിയാരുപുള്ള
മതിരാവും പന്തക്കു വെളിയിലെറങ്ങ്
ഇതൊന്നും പറയരുത് മതിരാപ്പൂരച്ചാ
എൻറച്ചം കാരിണേമ്മാർപ്പം വരുമേ
എട്ടിലെണങ്ങരുമിപ്പം വരുമേ
പോ പോടാപോച്ചെടാ നായിടമോനെ
മതിരാവും പന്തക്കു വെളിയിലെറങ്ങ്
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലതിയാരുപുള്ള
എൻറച്ചൻ കാർണേമ്മാർ കാണേണോ അച്ചാ
പണ്ടിയം പാഴ്ചേലവനൊന്നവിളിച്ചാച്ച്
നീലകണ്ടൻ തിരുനാരായണൻ കുഞ്ഞേപ്പനാനേ
കുഞ്ഞേപ്പനാനേത്തളതല്ലിവിട്ട്
എണ്ണായിരം ചെവെള്ള മടിച്ചുവിടുന്നു
ചെടികളെട്ടെണ്ണ മടിച്ചുവിടുന്നു
കൊലയാനമെടെടുത്തു വരുന്നല്ലവന്ന്
കയ്യാലകുത്തിയടിച്ചുവൻ കേറി
തെ വഴതെക്കൊടിയെല്ലാമെടുത്തവൻ വരുന്ന്
മുററത്തു ചെന്തെങ്ങിൽ മടലിടിക്കുന്നേ
പിരിയത്തെ പാർപ്പിലാവിൻെറ കമ്പൊടിക്കുന്നോ
നാലു നാട്ടിവള്ളോമ്മാരും കാണുന്നവനെ
ഓടാനാ ഓടുന്നീവള്ളോരെല്ലാം
പത്തുകുറിപ്പനും ഓട്ടം പിടിച്ചെ
എട്ടിലെണങ്ങരും ഓട്ടം പിടിച്ചെ
അത്തിര വഴിമുറുകപോകുന്നല്ലവരെ
ആതികുമ്മം തിരുകവളെ നെന്നതിക്കുന്നേ
വെട്ടിയിട്ടും ഇളംപാലം തമം കഴിയുന്നേ

കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണമെ പൊഴതനുരാക്കളെ
എണ്ണപൊഴതിനനേരവുമായാ
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കണം വള്ളോൻ കുറിപ്പാ
എണ്ണപൊഴതിനു നേരവുമായേ
മതിരാവു മതിനേനെ കൊണ്ടുവന്നല്ലവരു
പന്തലികൊണ്ടു നിറുത്തിയല്ലവളു
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലൊ മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
അച്ചനേം ആയാനേം വിളിക്കുന്നതുമുണ്ടു
അവരെ വേകത്തി പന്തലിവന്നു
കേട്ടാലും കേക്കേണമേ നാലച്ചമ്മാരു
എണ്ണപ്പൊഴതിനു നേരവുമായേ
എണ്ണകൊടുക്കട്ടെ പൊഴതനുരാക്കളെ
എണ്ണ കൊടുത്തൊരുവള്ളോൻ കുറിപ്പാ
പെണ്ണിനും ചെറുക്കനും എണ്ണപൊലിക്കുന്നു
മാപ്പിള എണങ്ങക്കും എണ്ണപൊലിക്കുന്നേ
പെണ്ണിന്റെ എണങ്ങരിക്കും എണ്ണപൊലിച്ചു
പെണ്ണും ചെറുക്കനും കുളിക്കാനംപോയെ
ആനേരമുണ്ടല്ലൊ മതിരാവും വള്ളോൻ
മുറത്തൊരഞ്ഞാഴി ഇട്ടല്ലവിടെ
പൊന്നുടുരി ആയാമം പണമിട്ടനെരത്തി
തറവാട്ട പണമെല്ലാ മിട്ടനെരത്തി
തറവാട്ടപണമെല്ലാമിട്ടനെരത്തി
പലക കീഴഞ്ഞാഴി അരിയിട്ടനെരത്തി
ചെണപതിക്കു നോമങ്ങളിട്ടനെരത്തി
ഇതെല്ലാം പന്തലിലിട്ടനെരത്തി
പന്തലി തുക്കുവെളക്കു കൊളുത്തുന്നമുണ്ടു
പെണ്ണും ചെറുക്കനും കുളിക്കാനംപോയേ
പെണ്ണും ചെറുക്കനും ഒന്നിച്ചുകേറുന്നു
മന്തിരക്കൊടി ഉടുക്കുന്നല്ലവളെ

പെണ്ണിന്റെ മുകത്തവളങ്ങു വെറയും പൊത്തി
പെണ്ണിന്റെ തലയിലൊരു മുണ്ടുമങ്ങിട്ട്
ചെറുക്കന്റെറ്റുപ്പുകെട്ട മിട്ട ചമഞ്ഞു
പടിപ്പെര കൂളപ്പെര കേറുന്നല്ലരെ
കടിവാഴ്തണലുതഞ്ചി ചെല്ലുന്നല്ലവരെ
ആനേരം കാണുന്ന പെരാറാരു തള്ള
ചിങ്ങവാഴ ഇലത്തുമം വെട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടന്നു
തെറ്റുമ്പ വരുതി വൃത്തത്തിലിട്ട്
നാഴിനെല്ല ഗിറനാഴി കൊണ്ടന്നുവച്ചു
ഇലയിട്ടിലയ്ക്കുത്തു വച്ചവലവരെ
ആവിടൊരു നിലവിളക്കു കൊളുത്തിവയ്ക്കുന്നേ
ആവണി തിരുമുറത്തു കേറുന്നല്ലവരെ
കൊലയാന വലംചുമലെ നന്നിരുന്നല്ലവരെ
തെറ്റുപ്പുപൊലവളകേറിയിരുന്നു.

The above song is sung by the Pulayas of Malanad who were then slaves of the Edappalli Raja. The gist of the song is given below:— There existed a Pulaya clan by the name of Athikuttom about 400 years ago and Mārkakku Vallon was the chief of the clan. Though his wife brought forth seven sons, only one survived and he was known as Athikaru Pillai. When he reached manhood, his mother encouraged him to go in search of a wife. At that time Uthiyaru Vallon Kuttanga Vallon, Thevyaru Vallon, and Mathiravu Vallon ruled over different parts of Malanad. Athikaru Pillai sought the hand of the daughter of each of

the Vallons, but his offer was treated with supreme contempt. Though his repeated failures chilled his enthusiasm to go about in search of a wife, his mother coaxed him to persevere in his adventures. At last he succeeded in carrying away a girl by force from Pāndinad and his mother received her son and daughter-in-law in great pomp.

Though the song is a long one, its contents are interesting. They give an insight into the economic condition of the Pulayas, their customs and manners. Slavery was in full swing and the masters spent money on the marriage of the Pulayas. The system of marriage by capture was in vogue. Girls were given in marriage to those who distinguished themselves in warfare and who were good at the plough. The adeptness of the Pulayas in the use of the different kinds of weapons is vividly described. Women performed their domestic duties with diligence and care. They got 1¼ measures of paddy as daily wages. They carried it in their skull-cap and oil in cocoanut shell.

The song may have been composed during the time of the Thekkumkur and Vadakkumkur Rajas about 400 years ago. Internal evidence goes to show that the Portuguese may have settled down on the west coast and interested themselves in the fortunes of the warring chieftains.

2. *An Edanadan Pulaya Story*

ഏതേതുനാമം ഉരുക്കേണ്ടു ദൈവമേ
ഏതേതു പൊങ്കവിയെ പാടിത്തുതിക്കാം
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ചുങ്കമ്പിരിച്ചുവനിടനാടൻകുഞ്ഞു

വീരിയത്തോടവിടെ വാളാന്തുടങ്ങി
കാരിയക്കാരനിടനാടൻകുഞ്ഞു.
ഇങ്ങിനെ കാലംകഴിഞ്ഞൊരുകാലം
എടനാടനു തോന്നീയൊരായയിതുതന്നെ
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമേനിയെ കാണണമെനിക്കെൻ
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമേനിയെ കാണണമെനിക്കു.
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമേനിയെ ചൊല്ലിത്തരേണം
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമേനിയെ ചൊല്ലിത്തരേണം.
വടക്കു വടക്കു വടക്കുംക്കുർനാട്ടിൽ
പേരോമ്പെരുമാളത്തമ്പുരാൻ കേക്ക
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമേനിയെ കാണുന്നതിനു
എന്തെല്ലാം കോപ്പുകളുവേണമെൻറച്ചാ!
പൊന്നുകൊണ്ടു പൊങ്കുഴവി വേണം മകനെ
പൊന്നുകൊണ്ടു പൊഞ്ഞന വേണം മകനെ
പൊന്നുകൊണ്ടു പൊന്തോലം വേണം മകനെ
പൊന്നുകൊണ്ടു പൊമ്പഴുക്കാ വേണം മകനെ
മേച്ചേരി തെരുവിലെ കണ്ണിലവെറ
കേട്ടോടെ വെറകളും വേണം മകനെ.

This song recounts the courage of a young Pulaya of Edanad who collected toll at Thannirmukku of his own accord. He thinks of paying homage to the Vadakkumkur Raja and ascertains from his father what customary presents should be made to him. The father enlightens his son on the matter.

3. *A Pulaya Planting Song*

നെരംവെളുത്തനേരത്തില്ലുത്തമ്പുരാമ്മനും വിളിക്കുന്നു
എന്റെ കണ്ണനുറങ്ങുന്നോടാ കുഞ്ഞിക്കണ്ണനുറങ്ങുന്നോ?
എല്ലാരിടെങ്കുണ്ടുംനട്ടു കരിനാട്ടും പിടികൊണ്ടല്ലൊ
നമ്മുടെ ഒരു കണ്ടമല്ലൊ ചെല്ലി കുറുകുറുന്നു.
പാത്താളിയമ്പണത്താളിനോമിളിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു വരണം നീ

... ...
... ...

മുത്തിക്കുനിപുത്തുമിമാരുവരമ്പെറമ്പിലടക്കട്ടെ
കുഞ്ഞൊള്ളൊരു തള്ളമാരു ചെറുകോടിക്കുനിരക്കട്ടെ
ഒരു തരപ്പടിപെണ്ണുങ്ങളെല്ലാം നട്ടുനിരക്കു നിരക്കട്ടെ

... ...

ലാകിലാകി പറിച്ചു ഞാറു തിരിപ്പുരും കെട്ടിയെറിയുന്നു
തിരിപ്പണം കെട്ടിയെറിഞ്ഞ ഞാറുകൾം മാറിമാറി മടുക്കു
[ണം
നേരമൊരുനേരമായിതന്നേരവുമങ്ങായപ്പോൾം
ഒള്ളുകേറിയരകുകേട്ടു ഞാറുകൾം തല്ലിത്തുറക്കുന്നു.
ഞാറുകുറുകുറുക ചീരകച്ചെമ്പാവു്
വിത്തെല്ലാം വാരി മതുക്കുന്നു.
മുത്തിക്കുനിമുത്തുമിമാക്കെല്ലാമൊന്നരനെല്ലു ക്കുലിയും
കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങളുള്ള തള്ളമാരിക്കെല്ലാമഞ്ചുനാഴിനെല്ലു ക്കുലിയും
ഒരുതരപ്പെടി പെണ്ണുങ്ങക്കൊക്കയുമിടങ്ങഴിനെല്ലു ക്കുലിയും

.. ..

മുത്തിക്കുനിമുത്തുമിമാരു വെറുകും ചൂട്ടും പെറുക്കുന്നു
കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങളുള്ള തള്ളമാരെല്ലാ മോടിയോടിപോകുന്നു
ഒരുതരപ്പെടി പെണ്ണുങ്ങളെല്ലാം പുതുരംവാങ്ങി നോക്കുന്നു.

This song is sung by Pulaya women at the time of planting paddy in fields. The early call for work, its distribution among the old, middle aged, and young women, their smart planting, and the payment of wages in grain are vividly told. It tells us that old women received 1½ measures, women with children 1¼ measures, and young women one measure of paddy.

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6. Valluva Pulaya		...

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TRIBES

M., *for* Muthuvan

N., *for* Nayadi

Pal., *for* Paliyan

Par., *for* Paraya

Pul., *for* Pulaya

Than., *for* Thantapulaya

Kana., *for* Kanapulaya

I. Pul., *for* Ina Pulaya

P. Pul., *for* Padinjaran Pulaya

K. Pul., *for* Kizhakkan Pulaya

S. Pul., *for* Southern Pulaya

V. Pul., *for* Valluva Pulaya

U., *for* Ullatan

Ur., *for* Urâli

V., *for* Vishavan

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