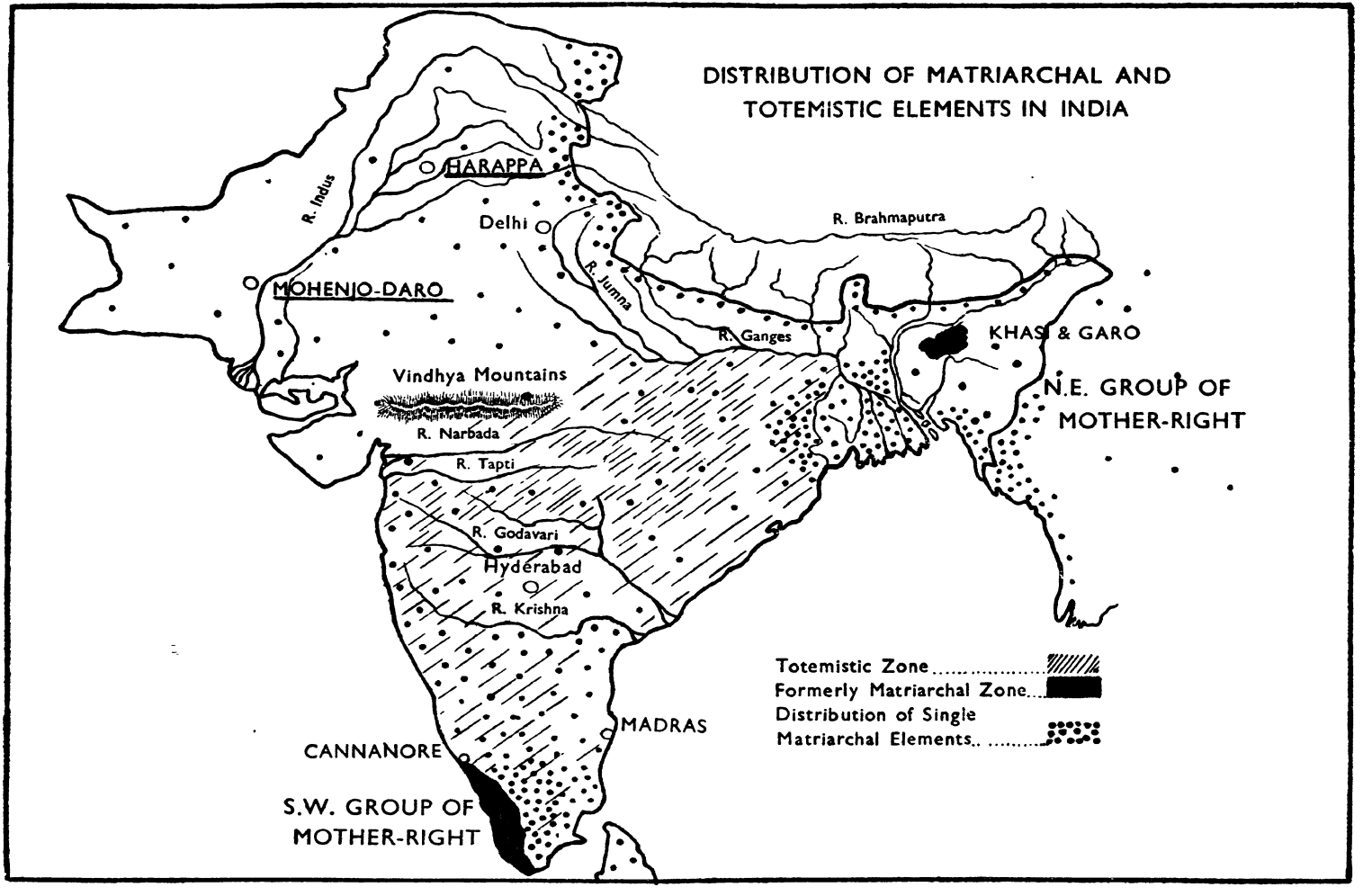
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the Chancellor of the Osmania University,
the distinguished promoter of science and learning in India.


DISTRIBUTION OF MATRIARCHAL AND TOTEMISTIC ELEMENTS IN INDIA
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Formerly Matriarchal Zone
Distribution of Single Matriarchal Elements
MADRAS
CANNANORE
S.W. GROUP OF MOTHER-RIGHT

Osmania University Series

MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA

BY

BARON OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS, Ph.D.

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INTRODUCTION

THE author of the monograph, *Mother-right in India*, has asked me to write an introduction. I do this with great pleasure, but I will confine myself to the utmost possible brevity, thus enabling the reader to approach this vivid source of information as directly as possible and without delay.

Being thoroughly acquainted with the history of the book, as well as with its contents, I give my assurance that it will be both suggestive and inspiring to the scientifically trained reader.

The author has bravely undertaken to investigate the entire complex of problems grouped round the question of the Matriarchal System in India, and has handled the analysis of it in the full light of cultural and historical ethnology. As a historian he bases his conclusions on well-proved testimony and on a wide range of books which he has utilized with equal diligence and consideration. New light has thus been thrown on the much-discussed phenomena of child-marriage, hypergamy, disregard of unmarried girls and widows, the burning of the latter, the caste-system, and even the religious significance of vegetarianism in India. It is an important and, I do not hesitate to say, a decisive word which Ehrenfels contributes to the explanation of these and similar basic problems of Indian culture and sociology.

The author himself lays stress on the fact that final explanations should not and could not be expected in the discussion of many side-issues, and that ample room is still open for further scientific discussion and investigation, especially of ethnographic field-investigation, still so important in many parts of India.

W. KOPPERS.

FRIBOURG (SWITZERLAND),
May 12th, 1940.

PREFACE

FEW problems of ethnology have been subject to so many preconceived interpretations, if not unscientific prejudices, as that of the Matriarchal System and the cultures which it has produced.

The evolutionary conception of history involved the remnants of an almost animal-like barbarity with the system of matriarchy, which differed from our own order of things. A romantic school of sociologists hoped they had found in matriarchal culture the ideal, and at the same time the " natural " source, of all human civilization.

The reduction of both these exaggerations to the impartial and scientific acknowledgment of the great historical importance of matriarchy to human history, both in its primitive and highly advanced stages, is one of the achievements which modern sociology owes to the culture-historical method of ethnology. The Viennese school, founded by the Fathers W. Schmidt and Professor W. Koppers, provided the system of investigation by which the following essay was carried out. It has been my aim to build up a culture-historical framework, on which further investigation into the problem of the matriarchal cultures of India can be based and thus carried out systematically on a wider plan.

In the course of this work I was led, by unexpected results and discoveries, to suggest an interpretation of some of the basic Indian cultural characteristics from the newly attained outlook on the rôle played by matriarchal cultures in India. These discoveries appear to be grouped round two main hypotheses : (*a*) the higher age and advanced conditions of one of the matriarchal cultures of India, as compared to the later patriarchal invasions of pastoral nomads (the Aryans) ; and (*b*) the affinity and culture-historical relation between the matriarchally determined city-civilization of ancient India on the one side, and the Near East on the other.

Apart from these main results, the following memoir contains also some other achieved results and, so to say, by-products of investigation, but offers still more problems to be solved and ways to be taken in future. If their discussion, however, should succeed in fecundating further investigation (practical ethnographic as well as theoretical ethnological) this would mean the fulfilment of the ambitions of the author, who is fully aware of the incompleteness and the manifold blanks which such a first attempt as the present one is bound to exhibit.

It is a pleasant though, under the present circumstances, somewhat melancholy duty to acknowledge the great amount of indebtedness

which I owe to many authors, teachers and helpful friends in connection with the compilation and publication of this book. For many of them are no more among the living, and as regards a number of others, I do not know whether or where they are living.

To my late father who was professor of philosophy I owe first and foremost not only my education in philosophy and scientific methodology, but also the ardent craving after truth ; truth alone above all and everything, which he planted in my heart since early childhood. He gave me also the fundamental suggestions which led to the study of Mother-right, a subject to which he too had already devoted some study in publications connected with his eugenic investigations, and which was also brought nearer to me by the ever-loving and at the same time powerful mental energy of my own mother.

My father's friend and colleague at the University of Prague, the late Professor M. Winternitz, helped me as an Indologist and friend of India in my first attempts to approach the problem, which later on I handled as a follower of the Viennese School of Ethnology. There it was especially Professor Father W. Koppers and Professor Baron R. Heine-Geldern whose lectures and rich personal communications step by step led to my carrying on and completing the present work. Dr. B. Malinowsky, the professor for ethnology at the London Univefsity inspired me through his world-famous books and personal communications on the problem of matriarchy.

The number of ethnographic scholars, especially British and Indian, on whose diligence and research this study was based, is too large to be recorded in details. The bibliography will have to fill the gaps in my present acknowledgement of gratitude in which a few of the most important names claim mention here with due expression of indebtedness.

There are first of all the authors of the various Census Reports, Mr. E. A. Gait, Dr. B. S. Guha, Dr. J. H. Hutton, Mr. N. Kunjan Pillai, Mr. H. H. Risley and others ; the great archæologist Sir John Marshall ; the compilers of the Castes and Tribes series, the late Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer (whom I had the honour of meeting personally, shortly after I had settled to work on this study), Mr. R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, and Dr. Siraj ul Hassan and especially Mr. Edgar Thurston and Mr. K. Rangachari. The ideas and arguments of Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, the late Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar and Dr. G. Slater have influenced and promoted the course of my own thoughts, which have been also deeply impressed by two feminists, the late Baroness Antoinette Tinti and Mrs. A. Askenazy. My colleagues and the assistants of the ethnological institute of the Viennese University, especially Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. J. Häckl, Dr. H. Simbriger, Dr. F. Steiner and Dr. Zdenko Vinski have helped me in many ways, in never failing comradeship and the spirit of scientific co-operation.

My wife, and literary co-worker since 1925, has assisted considerably in the planning and laying-out of the book, and Count and Countess Infus Coudenhove-Kalergis in the completion of the manuscript as well as by productive criticism. Baroness Marianne Schey advised me in the preparation of the English text, which was revised very kindly by Professor E. E. Speight.

The Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., the Chancellor of the Osmania University and the Hon'ble the Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung, the Vice-Chancellor, have taken a vivid interest in the main results of this book and made its publication possible through their well-known and generous patronage of progressive science and learning.

Professor Qazi Mohammad Hussain, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, and Mr. Pillai, Director of the Govt. Press, Hyderabad, kindly devoted their interest to the technical side of the publication.

To each one of all these, as well as to many others, I owe my thanks, the adequate expression of which I find it difficult, to convey the deep gratitude of both a scientific and a personal nature.

OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
June 24th 1940.

MOTHER-RIGHT IN INDIA

A. INTRODUCTION

I. The Problem of the Theme

Father W. Schmidt and Professor W. Koppers, the well-known ethnologists of Vienna, now in Switzerland and elsewhere, laid stress on the central position of matriarchal cultures of India.[1] They connected the matriarchal Indian culture areas more with the Austro-Asiatic peoples, than with India's western neighbours, as was only natural before the discoveries of Mohenjo-Daro and of Harappa.

These excavations, and Sir John Marshall's summary of their archæological results, have changed the outlook on the history especially of the more highly developed strata within the matriarchal culture-circle of India, and brought about two fundamentally important facts:

(*a*) The predominance of the *pre-Aryan* element in the cultural structure of what we call "Hinduism,"[2] and

(*b*) The *matriarchal* character of this advanced pre-Aryan civilization to which present-day and medieval India owes so many elements, impulses and cultural moulds.[3]

Sir John adds two more facts to these fundamentally important ones, the very *old age* and *uniform cultural tradition* of the Indus-civilization, when he summarises: ".... Five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind, if not other parts of India, as well, were enjoying an *advanced* and *singularly uniform* civilization of their own, closely akin, but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt"[4] and, when he says: "One thing stands out clear and unmistakable, both at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, that civilization...at these two places is not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil with

1. *Volker und Kulturen*, Regensburg 1924, see specially pp. 259-264.

2. *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, London 1931, see p. 110/I. seq, 107/I. seq. and Preface, p. vii.

3. op. cit., p. 51/I. seq., also 48/I., and Preface, p. vii. Compare also Gerda Hartmann: *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gottin Laksmi*, Leipzig 1933 and Sten Konow: A European Parallel to the Durga Puja, *JAsSBe*, p. 315/XX. n.S., whose suggestions, though directed to another idea, still prove Marshall's thesis on the cult of the mother-goddess in the Indus-civilization.

4. op. cit., Preface, p. v.

many millennia of human endeavour behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes of society were initiated and developed."[1]

The latter remark also points to the key-position of the *higher strata* of Indian mother-right within the more advanced civilizations of the later Neolithic and the Bronze Age, as mentioned above.

But the more *primitive strata* within the matriarchal mother-rights circle of India, are not the less important from the culture-historic point of view, as Menghin supposes them to have been the originators of the agricultural hand-axe industry, "Faustkeilkultur," which spread all over the world in the Neolithic period of the older Stone Age.[2]

The exploration of these older strata within the Indian mother-right and their survivals was commenced, and will be greatly supported, by Heine-Geldern's comparative studies of the head-hunting and the Megalithic cultures of the East Indies on the one hand, and the Siva-Sakti cult or other mother-right remnants, as well as the Megalithic traces of the Eastern and Central parts of India, on the other.[3]

The problem of the culture-history of mother-right in India cannot be understood thoroughly without taking into consideration that, and why, the specifically *Indian* caste-system has intermixed with and (mutually) permeated the different types of matriarchal cultures (among themselves), as also the matriarchal and patriarchal groups in alternation.

Draupadi, for instance, was married in a polyandric form to the five Pandava Brothers; the heroes of the Mahabharata were not only dependent on their mothers, but also obeyed their orders.[4] All the more may these characteristics be considered as survivals of matriarchal traces even in the old Aryan civilization,[5] since Koppers has proved the matriarchal character of the so-called "southern elements" of the Vedic ASVA-MEDHA (the horse-sacrifice) and the existence of matriarchal traces in the mythology and religion of the early Aryans, in contrast to their purely patriarchal social order.[6]

1. op. cit., Preface, p. v.

2. *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, Wien 1931, p. 258 seq.

3. Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma und ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien, *MAG.* 1917, p. 1 seq, and Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd im westlichen Hinterindien, *MAG.* 1921, p. 105 seq.

4. See also G. J. Held: *The Mahabharata, an Ethnological Study.*

5. As also Winternitz suggested in a letter to the author, dated Prague 26-1-35, in which he says "Ob die Verherrlichung der Mutter, die wir im altindischen Epos und auch in Gesetzbüchern finden, irgendwie als ein Ueberbleibsel eines uralten Mutterrechtes anzusehen ist, diese Frage mochte ich weder bejahen, noch verneinen, aber ich halte sie jedenfalls der Erwähnung wert."

6. Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde, *Anthropos* 1935, pp. 1-31, Lectures at the Vienna University and personal communications.

The process of adoption of the matriarchal, i.e., the so to say indigenous Indian and pre-Aryan religious elements, by the Aryans, and their spreading under Aryanized disguise, promoted by the missionizing capacity of the Aryan language and sociology, is going on even now and will be discussed later. (See *Sitala Devi and Village Goddesses*, Chapter 6/II, 1).

Similarly the subsequent Central Asiatic-Arabic and European conquests strengthened the patriarchal tendencies of their Aryan foregoers, in the main, but in some respects counteracted this tendency considerably, which again complicates the culture-historic picture. As these two waves of foreign intrusion in India took place relatively late, it is comparatively easy for us to differentiate here between old and new elements. But the astounding fact that patriarchal immigrants often support single elements of the very old matriarchal cultural tendency, as proved in the below-mentioned examples, can teach us a lesson as regards the circumstances in older, i.e., prehistoric, aspects of the same problem.

Thus the permission to remarry, given to Muslim widows, or the, at least theoretical (though practically only too often neglected !), right of inheritance of the Muslim daughter and divorce of the Muslim wife[1] in the midst of Brahmin society, would rightly give us the impression of old matriarchal survivals, were it not that we can, in this case, trace back these institutions to the Holy Book of Islam. On the other hand it cannot be decided whether the puberty-rites of Muslim girls in the South of India,[2] somewhat differing from those of their Hindu sisters, are merely the outcome and transformation of the old Semitic conception of ritualistic impurity of menstruating women, as already mentioned in the Mosaic Law-book of the Holy Bible,[3] or whether they are the results of the old Indian tradition, the influence of which is specially strong in the Dravidic South. The same holds good with regard to the prominent position of the mother's brother in the Muslim society of Southern India, which again has parallels in old Arabian History.[4]

Again nobody will doubt that the progressive example—given by the then purely matriarchal Nayar girls, who were the first Indian

1. *Encyklopädie des Islam*, §§ " Mirath " and " Nikah."
Nanjundayya and L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer : *The Mysore Castes and Tribes*, p. 320/IV. seq. Compare also H. A. Rose : Customs in the Transborder Territories, *JAsSBe*, 3/LXXIII.

2. Russell : *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 254/I. Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit., p. 202/IV. seq.

3. Book of Moses III, 15/19. Compare also *Encyklopädie des Islam*, §§ " Haid " and " Idd " and Qur'ān II : 228, LXV : 4 and II : 222.
See also Bernhard Stern : *Medizin, Geschlechtsleben und Aberglauben in der Turkei*, Berlin 1924, p. 151.

4. Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit., p. 334/IV., and *Encyklopädie des Islam*, § " Khal."

ladies in the nineteenth century to study at universities,[1] was due to the good standing of women in the matriarchal society of Kerala. But the general prevalence of girls' education in the South, as compared to the North, of India may perhaps be also due to the stronger influence of European cultural ideals and the good influence of Christian mission-schools for girls, an influence also extending to widen women's careers in Southern India.[1] Probably both the causes, i.e., matriarchal tradition and Christian influence, worked together in the same direction. These few instances of Islam and Christianity supporting mother-right tendencies are all the more interesting to note, as generally the patri-archal impact of Western civilizations, be it from the Near East or from Europe, on the contrary even *accentuated* the tendency of Aryan culture to destroy the old Indian mother-right and its tradition, remnants and survivals.[2]

These modern examples of the complicated process within the mutual permeation of cultural tendencies in Indian mother-right circles are easily explainable, as the single elements of the mentioned complexes can be reduced to historically known data. These examples have therefore been mentioned here merely to show the traps waiting for the culture-historic investigator who is out to differentiate ethnological strata which have permeated and influenced each other in prehistoric times. They have also been adduced to show how dangerous it would be to construct hard and fast rules of quasi-naturally working psychol-ogic laws within the process of mutually social permeation, which can better and more impartially be studied by the historic method of the Viennese school of ethnology.

The intricacy of the historic problem of mother-right in India finds a geographical parallel in the distribution of matriarchal elements of this subcontinent.

Certain distinct elements of probable, or certain, matriarchal descent are to be found *all over India* and within *all* different ethnic, cultural, linguistic, racial and religious groups, although in very various degrees.

1. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, p. 412/V.

2. The mutual increase of the patriarchal tendency to deprive women of their independence seems to work quasi-automatically, as soon as a second patriarchal invasion enters an originally matriarchal culture-area, which had already once been conquered by a first patriarchal wave. Thus the Muslim conquest of India added to the comparatively bad position of Northern Brahmin ladies the originally un-Islamic seclusion of women, which was exaggerated and deformed in the notorious Purdah-System, unknown to the non-Indian Muslim world. Similarly the English conception of " decency " in women's dress not only abolished the matriarchal women's dress of the Nayars, but forced upon them an amount of conventional clothing, which transgresses even the limits of British fashion. Thus the Nayar-women, who formerly proudly left their breasts uncovered, are now forced to veil themselves in the tropical climate more than do the European women in their relatively cool homes. The trend to mutually over-emphasize patriarchal tendencies seems to work quasi-automatically, as soon as two or more different patriarchal culture-waves meet in a formerly matriarchal area.

To a *living unit*, a matriarchal "quality of form,"[1] these elements seem to be joined only in the *north-east* (Khasi and Garo hills) and in the *south-west* (Kerala) of modern India (see the Map). The difference between these groups is marked: the South-West being represented by the highly advanced Nayars, and similar military and land-owner castes, as also by different depressed classes (in former days even slaves!) who, too, seem far from being in an originally "primitive" state of organization.[2] The North-East is represented by peasants, who are not only generally different from the ruling as well as from the serving peoples in Kerala, but whose peculiar type of mother-right too, seems to differ considerably from that in south-west India. Besides these differences, it must also be mentioned that the process of Hinduization ("Aryanization" under Brahmin influence) is comparatively younger and less absolute in the north-east group than in the south-west of India.

The mutual relations of the aforesaid groups and single elements and the connecting links traceable between them and non-Indian mother-right groups as well as prehistoric, archæologically discovered cultures—these are the main questions which we have to discuss here.

II. The Sources

The scientific literature on the topic of Indian ethnology is rich compared to that of other highly civilized regions, such as China, Europe or the Near East, but poor compared to that of typically ethnographical interest, such as Africa or Melanesia. The periodical reports of the census of India are the basis on which various monographs and a number of compilations on the "Castes and Tribes" of the different parts of India are built up.[3]

British government officials and their Indian co-operators started this work of ethnological, anthropological and archæological investigation, which soon after was most fortunately continued by a great number of private and official efforts on the part of Indian scientists, who combined theoretical interest with personal experience, and relation, so characteristic in the folklorist. This healthy synthesis, will, we may hope, prove example-giving to other advanced and highly cultured nations in the midst of which there are still ethnologically interesting data to be investigated, as for instance is the case of Arabia Saudiyya,

1. I use the term "quality of form" (Gestaltsqualität), which my father has introduced into the terminology of psychology (see bibliography). Thus I try to differentiate between single mother-right elements on the one hand and mother-right culture-circles (or cultural strata of matriarchal character) on the other, which all to the Viennese school of ethnology, signify something more definite than I mean to denote at the present moment.

2. Though one, relatively less important, group of S. W. Indian mother-right comes very near to the primeval culture (Schmidt's *Urkultur*) as will be shown in Chapter B/3, 2.

3. See bibliography sub Abbreviations.

China, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Liberia, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, Turkey and many others.

Even the most advantageous subjective interest of the investigator, resulting in the combination of ethnology and folklore, still comprises a dangerous source of partiality. The members of the ruling classes are usually born and bred to a certain contempt for, if not resentment against, the subdued and often indigenous remnants of the prehistoric population in their motherland. Similarly they are taught to accept as true such sagas, mythologies and traditions as seem to support the often incorrect theory that the ruling classes of the population in their motherland is indigenous, or has, at least, been in the country for a very long period.

The drawbacks of this constellation must naturally influence the relations between the highly educated, but exclusive Brahmin caste, the members of which contribute the lion's share to India's scientific endeavour, and the still deeply humiliated Depressed and Backward classes, especially in the south of India, among which the majority of ethnologically interesting tribes and castes are to be found. An intimate contact between the two groups at least seems to be checked by the rules and regulations of the caste-system, and thus to counteract this intimate personal relation which Malinowsky rightly described as the *conditio sine qua non* for thorough ethnological research.[1] We should expect Indian Muslims, who are not bound by religious caste restrictions, to be in the front line of ethnology. Unfortunately here it was, at least until recently, that the lack of interest in all pre-Islamic culture of India kept Indian Mussalmans from the study of folklore.

This attitude in the investigator proved specially disadvantageous in the case of matriarchal circles, as their sexual morality was in discord not only with that of the Aryans and their Brahmin cultural heirs, but also with that of the Muslims and the subsequent European conquerors. The matriarchally organized peoples therefore began to hide, and later to abandon, their own moral rules as something not in keeping with their highly advanced cultural standard, which was appreciated even by purely patriarchal observers.[2] As the educated members of matriarchal castes learned that, from the ethnological point of view, polyandry and mother-right are related to each other, they even went still farther and sometimes tried to explain away any relation of their caste to matriarchal culture, or at least its most outstanding features. It is only natural that under these conditions a scientist, however thorough and conscientious otherwise, would possibly overlook matri-

1. Dr. Bronislav Malinowsky, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, especially Preface, pp. 15 and 16 of the German translation.

2. A. Aiyappan, Polyandry in *MAN*, No. 337/1932 and No. 155/1934. Compare also *Malabar Marriage Commission Report*, p. 83, cited from Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit., p. 38/II.

archal traces, if these were considered undesirable by his caste-fellows. This holds specially good with regard to the sexual sphere, puberty rites of girls and similar topics. We shall therefore have to be provident even in cases in which our authorities themselves belong to a caste, at present, or formerly, matriarchal.

A really unprejudiced attempt, made to assimilate and to absorb the whole of the cultural atmosphere in all parts of India which are still matriarchal could possibly bring forward, shortly before they are definitely abandoned, most important cultural facts, which we seek in vain in the otherwise extremely valuable compilations and monographs on the "Tribes and Castes" of different parts of India.

The author was, unfortunately, unable to visit the library of the British Museum in London before finishing this paper, a drawback for which a short, nine months' visit to India could not, of course, make up, but which latter, after all, proved helpful in many other respects.

B. THE MAIN PART

I. Definition

(*a*) *Mother-right.*—This sociological entity based upon a privileged position of women, will be differentiated from the complex or complexes of matriarchal culture-circles. Mother-right in the sense of this definition means inheritance in the female line, with regard to relationship as well as to property.[1] Inheritance from the mother's brother to her son, i.e., his nephew, is also to be regarded as a matriarchal, though patriarchally influenced, form of inheritance in the female line. Consequently it is possible that men become owners, or at least guardians, of a matriarchal joint-family's property, or political rulers in a matriarchal state. His heirs are, in the case of matriarchal survivals, his sister's sons, not his own sons, who are regarded as foreign to their father's clan or family.[2] Thus also this form of inheritance will be considered as matriarchal.

(*b*) *Matriarchal culture-circles* will be regarded, following Gräbner[3] and Schmidt and Koppers[4] as a primary social structure, dependent on the economic rôle of the women as the first agriculturists. The important position of women can easily be explained as being developed from the originally bilateral social system in the primeval culture (*Urkultur*).

1. W. R. H. Rivers: "Mother-right" in *Encyclopœdia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 851/VIII. Schmidt and Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen*, p. 257. Fritz Gräbner: *Methode der Völkerkunde*, "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Ozeanien" *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, p. 28/XXXVIII, and "Ethnologie" in *Anthropologie*, p. 543/1923. seq.

2. Rivers, op. cit., p. 857/VIII, and Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit., p. 258.

3. Gräbner: "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten" op. cit. p. 31, where he first established the matriarchal East-Papuan Culture-circle (*Ostpapuanischen Kulturkreis*).

4. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit., p. 256.

Gräbner formerly divided the matriarchal culture-circle into what he called the dual or two-class system, and the Melanesian bow-culture (*Melanesische Bogen-Kultur*), which he considered the younger.

Koppers now holds a different point of view, as explained in his (as yet unpublished) lecture at the Vienna University in the summer of 1936. This view may be considered as the present status of culture-historic-ethnological research in regard to the matriarchal culture-circles, and is here summed up as follows.

The matriarchal culture-circle is now considered to have extended over a longer period, commencing earlier and lasting longer, in the course of evolution. We have therefore to distinguish three, instead of only two grades within the complex of the mother-right cultures.

The first and oldest of these three strata has not yet developed the dual system. Women here not only invented systematic tilling of the soil, but also put this into practice, which can by no means have been an easy task, as conservatism was so strong in primitive society, especially in the primeval culture-circle, that some remnants of these pre-agricultural groups have been preserved to the present day. In consequence of the tilling of the soil the peoples of this first matriarchal culture-circle gave up roaming in the forest and became the first settlers. The square-house, too, belongs to this group, in which the custom of a matrilocal marriage must have been easily developed from the bilateral system of the primeval culture-circle, where patrilocal and matrilocal marriages seem to have alternated, as F. Schebesta has reported of the African Pygmies. In mythology the idea of the moon as culture-hero and primary ancestor seems to have been conceived at that time, as also the first attempts at men's organization but probably not yet definitely with an anti-feminist tendency. In regard to religion, the conception of the water of life (elixir), the central position of the human blood, the observance of women's menstruation, the moon's-phases and the puberty rites of girls, must already have existed here. It was from these sources, that there may have been developed rain-charms, religious observation of moon-phases and also of menstruation and, specially among the initiates of the men's clubs, the idea of the perpetual change between life and death, the resurrection of the soul and finally the idea of salvation. The conception of the eternal soul, dwelling in the skull and the bones, may have developed the double burial from the simple earth-grave of primeval culture. Ergologically the square-house, perhaps also the square-shield, the use of bow and arrows, the root cudgel and spiral earthenware as also grass-skirts and a tendency to ornament in art with a preference for curvilinear patterns, may be considered as characteristic for this first stage of the matriarchal culture-circles.

According to the present state of investigation, Koppers considers

the dual system as belonging to the second degree of matriarchal cultural evolution, though Gräbner classifies it in his "Older form of mother-right." Still, the two-class organizations are not to be considered as essential, but rather as accidental features in this "second mother-right circle," perhaps influenced by the totemistic conception of society. This influence may also have been at work in the introduction of the visiting marriage, of polygyny (polyandry and polygamy) and of the dominant position of the mother's brothers in social and religious life. Similar influences may also be traceable in the now abundant lunar mythology, the evolution of the human blood-sacrifices, secret men's organizations with a decidedly anti-feminist tendency, and also in the wide-spread superstitions, belief in omens and ancestor-worship. Betel-chewing, narcotics, perhaps the use of the split-drum and swine-breeding was probably invented by this group of mother-right.

The third grade of the matriarchal culture-circle can be defined as the swine-breeders and edible root cultivators equivalent to Gräbner's Melanesian bow-culture. Here evolution seems to have divided into two different branches, the more primitive branch III/*a*, and the more progressive III/*b*, the former being restricted to Melanesia and surrounding territories as far as Africa and South America, the latter extending over the Neolithic town-civilizations of Central and Western Asia and North Africa.

Branch III/*a* further developed swine-breeding, root cultivation knee-helve axe with divided sheath the so-called Melanesian hatchet, the round-axe later on lake dwellings and the ergological characteristics of Gräbner's Melanesian bow-culture. The matriarchal joint-family system was developed here, probably under foreign patriarchal influence, perhaps even by the nomadic herdsmen's culture-circle. The religious importance of the skull led to head-hunting and the use of skull-corvars.

The far more progressive branch III/*b*, seems characterized by the cultivation of rice and millet respectively. The first organization of a relatively dense population of agriculturists probably accentuated the democratic tendency of matriarchal sociology and the typically matriarchal form of religiosity, thus preparing the ground for the evolution of the aforesaid town-civilizations at the end of the later Stone Age and the Chalcolithic period. Here the lack of the horse among the domesticated animals, the lesser importance of religious buildings compared to secular ones, and the cosmogonic principle in the scheme of larger towns, seems prominent. Heine-Geldern considers that this type of towns built according to the compass-card, so typical in the South-Eastern colonial Hindu-Buddhistic culture, belongs to the astrological and space-determined conception of life, as opposed to the Megalithic

and time-determined idea.[1] Simbriger, in accordance with Dankert's ethnomusical studies, holds that the pentatonic system, the evolution of harmony and its five-degree principle, as also the use of the Pan-pipes, are due to these town-civilizations, based upon branch III/*b* of matriarchal culture-circles.

The hypothetical four grades of matriarchal cultural evolution in India, explained in Chapter B/4 and B/5, approximately agree in this system. The underlying, primeval or U-group seems to have preserved the earlier stages of the aforesaid grade I, but to have been affected later by many highly progressive cultural influences, even by patriarchal Hinduism (Brahmanism). My hypothetical Pulayan, or PUL-group would more correctly correspond to the aforesaid matriarchal grade II, and my Parayan, or PAR-group to the grade III/*a*, were it not that both the Indian prototypes have been highly influenced by more progressive civilizations, as will be explained later. My last, or NAY-group, named after the well-known Nayar caste of south-western India, not only comprises the evolution of branch III/*b* in the aforesaid sense of the definition, but also seems connected with the highly progressive and matriarchally determined town-civilization of the Indus valley, as will be shown in Chapter B/9, 3. (See p. 14.)

This hypothetical classification of matriarchal strata, as used for the scheme of this sketch of mother-right in India, thus seems to fit in with the world-wide conceptions, as formulated by Koppers, *after* my scheme was finished. Besides, it also seems, seen from the local Indian point of view, that the second strata of matriarchal culture-circles have been more decidedly influenced by patriarchal ideas and conceptions of life than even the subsequent last stage of matriarchal evolution during the Chalcolithic Age of western Asia, though single patriarchal elements are obvious there also. This last epoch of matriarchally determined culture flourishing on Indian soil will be shown in Chapter B/7 to have been the basis on which the Buddhistic branch of India's civilization must have been built up.

(*c*) *Single cultural elements of matriarchal character.*—Those characteristics of sociology, religion or ergology which can historico-ethnologically be proved to have been peculiar to matriarchal culture-areas and to have spread exclusively within their sphere of influence, will be classed under this heading. The following list of such elements is, it must be understood, valid for local Indian conditions only, and should neither be considered as complete even for India, nor as always and absolutely applicable to non-Indian civilizations. These elements are :

(*i*) *Social elements.*—Inheritance of property and descent in

1. Lectures of Heine-Geldern : " Die Hochkulturen Südost-Asiens," lecture at the Vienna University summer-term 1935.

the female line,[1] prominent position of the mother's brother in social or religious life,[2] polyandry, permission of divorce in monandric marriages, sexual freedom of girls before marriage, or comparatively insignificant punishments, which can be recognized as only recently introduced, for sexual intercourse with caste members,[3] puberty rites of girls,[4] a special form of cross-cousin marriage, forcing, or at least making it desirable for a boy to marry the daughter of his mother's brother,[5] the couvade.[6]

(*ii*) *Religious elements.*—Goddesses or female ancestors, creating the particular caste or tribe as social unit, ancestor-worship generally,[4] female temple servants, priestesses or dancing girls, rain-or fecundity-charms,[7] perhaps double burial[8] and all the different mythological figures, customs and rites in so far as they clearly exhibit matriarchal traces.

Besides these, we find certain elements, the matriarchal meaning of which only seems intelligible if specifically Indian circumstances are taken into consideration. Among them the following are prominent: remarriage of widows and divorced women, certain forms of the levirate wedding, economic independence of women and girls' education on similar lines with boys' education are cultural features which, in India, must be considered as matriarchal survivals, unless they date back to Islamic, Hebrew-Christian or Zoroastrian influences. Worship of the goddess of contagious diseases and certain forms of animal sacrifice, where decapitation is prominent, the importance of blood or the colour red in religious observances, to a certain extent

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1. Rivers, op. cit. p. 851/VIII., and Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 257.

2. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 258, and Rivers, op. cit. p. 851/VIII, and
Gräbner: *Ethnologie* op. cit. p. 545 and
Malinowsky, op. cit. specially p. 3 and 5 and nearly all authors on mother-right themes whatsoever.

3. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p.312, compare also
Johann Jacob Bachofen: *Das Mutterrecht* and
H. L. Morgen: *Ancient Society.*

4. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 128, 276.
Gräbner: "*Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten....*" op. cit.

5. F. G. Richards: "Cross-Cousin Marriage in India" in *MAN*, p. 194/1924 and
Rivers, op. cit. p. 858/VIII., compare also G. J. Held: *The Mahabharata, an Ethnological Study*,and
G. K. Bose: "The Nokrom System of the Garos in Assam," in *MAN*, No. 54/1936. especially p. 45.

6. Rivers, op. cit. p. 858/VIII., and Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. 291. seq.

7. The matriarchal character of such practices can be recognized in each single case and manifests itself often with so much clarity, that we can rely on the observations of the describing ethnologists. Compare in this connection Briffault: *The Mothers*, p. 9-16/III, 44/III and 196/III.

8. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 123, 305 and 580 as also
Gräbner in his construction of what he, and also Foy, called the "Melanesian bow-culture" (*Melanesische Bogen-kultur*).

perhaps also Megalithic cultural elements, will be thus classified. On the other hand, hatchet agriculture cannot be considered as pointing to matriarchal influence on Indian soil, which has been tilled for at least five millenniums. Thus also the other ergological characteristics, prominent in matriarchal culture-areas of Southern Asia, cannot be used to indicate a certain culture-circle, when we consider the intensity of trade and traffic in India during at least three thousand years.

B/2

II. Alphabetical Register of Matriarchal Castes and Tribes

The great number of matriarchally influenced castes, or those exhibiting mother-right survivals, on the one hand, and on the other the special structure of the Indian caste organization, based upon conglomeration of regional, occupational, religious, traditional, linguistic, racial and many other principles crossing or alternating with each other, make it impossible to paint a picture of all the castes and tribes separately. It has therefore been necessary to group them according to the different hypothetical matriarchal strata or grades, as mentioned above. It is not even possible to enumerate the arguments for the classification of each single caste or tribe in this or that group in the limited space of this short sketch. Hence the matriarchally influenced social groups within the two aforesaid territories (see Chapter A/I): (*a*) the North-Eastern region, i.e., the Khasi-Garo hills of Assam and (*b*) in the South-West (Kerala), including the neighbouring parts of Southern India, must be considered as the basis on which the subsequent deliberations have been built up (compare the Map). Comparison of those castes, designated by abbreviations in the following index to model castes, described in the Chapters B/3, 1, B/3, 5, on the one hand, and to those other social groups, exhibiting similar cultural elements in the register, on the other, will prove valuable for our purpose. Stress must be laid upon the fact that members of castes, mentioned in this register, are often matriarchally organized, if residing within the mother-right territory of Kerala; but patriarchally in the rest of Southern India, not to speak of the Northern provinces. On the other hand geographical data are necessarily inexact, as neither does any caste or tribe usually occupy a district alone, nor are the members of most of the castes, (with the sole exception of the orthodox and conservative members of the Nayar and some jungle tribes), confined to one region only, but are scattered over vast parts and provinces of the Indian subcontinent.

The attempt made to co-ordinate single castes or tribes in the hypothetical four matriarchal cultural strata-circles as described above, must not be taken to be final. It is rather meant to suggest this working hypothesis to those who intend investigating the culture-history and culture-configuration peculiar to India in direct contact with the indigenous

population, especially of Malabar and the Khasi hills, where the results of culture-historic methods of ethnology have not yet been applied.

The following index, moreover, cannot claim to show all social groups which one might rightly expect to find represented here. It merely gives a short review of the more important castes and tribes in the south-western matriarchal territory of India and of their really significant cultural elements, seen from the viewpoint of matriarchal investigation. Such elements, if found in the main territory of totemistic culture or in the Hinduistic patriarchal area are treated in Chapter B/6, II and B/7 and those of Assam in Chapter B/3, III.

The first part of the index shows the usual name of the caste or tribe, in case of doubt preferring the first name, used in the Census of India. If second caste-names are absolutely different, they are mentioned in brackets. Next comes an abbreviation in capital letters, indicating the social position or, the culture-circle in which my research hypothesis classifies the respective group. Explanations of the abbreviations are given below. The chief language and traditional occupation of the caste are mentioned in the same part if they still have any significance, but left out if they are so manifold and various as to detract from the clarity and simplicity aimed at in this register.

The second part contains the matriarchal cultural elements in abbreviations. Social elements are enumerated in a certain sequence, first religious follow, and finally various other elements are mentioned. A question-mark not only signifies doubt in the reliability of the scientific sources, but more often lack of sufficient proof for the suggested interpretation of survivals, remnants, etc. If mother-right remnants, survivals or elements have been abandoned only since the beginning of the twentieth century, or even after the Great War (compare Nayar and Tiyan castes), they have still been included in this register.

The third part contains the scientific sources in abbreviations which are also explained below. Arabic figures denote the quoted pages, Latin ones the quoted volumes.

Data of this register must be used carefully and only in connection with the mother-right territories. Generalizations should be avoided on account of the above-mentioned special structure of the Indian caste-system. As a result of its manifold and progressive process of division and the continuous creation of new subcastes,[1] one and the same caste is sometimes organized matriarchally in Kerala and patriarchally

1. Risley *CENSI* 1901, p. 238/I B. cites Sir Densil Ibbetson : *CENSI* 1881 : "..... it is a tribe or section of the tribe that alone can improve its position....."

in the territories east of the Western Ghats and north of the Gangali river.[1] On the other hand it also happens that patriarchally organized castes, whose main domicile is outside Kerala, extend further into the matriarchally organized south-west coast of Malabar and that these members have, to a certain extent, accepted matriarchal customs, thus separating and often establishing themselves as new subcastes.[2]

The alphabetical register is meant not only to substantiate the subsequent explanations, to give at least some idea of the social and religious structure of castes which could not be separately described here and to be of service to future practical exploration, but also to impart to the reader a visual idea of the number and distribution of the different matriarchal elements in each single caste of the South-West group.

Abbreviations

U—indicates some relation to the primeval culture (Father Schmidt's *Urkultur*). This Indian U-group approximately agrees with the 1st grade of matriarchal evolution as described above.

PUL—indicates some likelihood of relations to the Pulayan or Cheruman, a caste of depressed class peoples, formerly agricultural slaves who, before they were enslaved by several cultural waves, seem to have corresponded to the already defined II-nd grade of matriarchal cultures, as will be shown in Chapter B/3, 3. Cultural relations to the next, the PAR-group, prevail, hence it was the caste-name Pulayan, instead of Cheruman, which was intentionally chosen as abbreviation.

PAR—indicates cultural relations to the Parayan, a group which, before it had been enslaved by probably later arrivals, must have corresponded to the branch III/*a* of the aforesaid matriarchal evolution, and which must have been relatively highly cultured, compared to the representatives of this cultural strata in other countries. The couvade, as generally a perhaps independently evolved tendency towards the patriarchal system of society and towards black magic, seems prominent in this group.

NAY—indicates a more or less loose relation to branch III/*b* of the matriarchal evolution according to our definition. The well-known aristocratic, feudal and formerly matriarchally organized Nayars, a caste of land-owners, warriors and a highly cultured intelligentsia, gave the name to this group, although it also comprises degraded castes, which

1. J. A. Saldanha in *JAnsBo*, p. 283/VII. and
N. Kunjan Pillai *CENSI* 1931, p. 371, 380/XXVIII. and
Edgar Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, p. 302/II. and
E. A. Gait *CENSI* 1911, p. 238/I. and
Nanjundayya and Ananthakrishna Iyer, op. cit. p. 246/III., as also the same authors in several other places.
2. Thurston, op. cit. p. 455/IV. and
Logan in *Manual of Malabar* cited from Thurston, p. 459/IV.

I suspect to have seen much better days before the Aryan intrusion and the spreading of patriarchal Hinduism in India, and also other groups who advanced in social status, perhaps not before one or three centuries, but kept the matriarchal system until recently. The relations between this group and the town-civilization of the Indus valley will be shown in Chapter B/9, 3.

JTR—Jungle tribes.

DC—Depressed Classes, the so-called Untouchables or Harijans.

BC—Backward Classes, whose social position is a little higher than that of those mentioned above.

T—Totemistic organization, worship of totems or other cultural characteristics pointing to relationship with totemism. The names of these castes have been italicized in the same way as Dr. Hermann Niggemayer did in cases of castes with matrilineal descent, in the caste-register of his study on *Totemismus in Vorderindien*, published by *Anthropos*, Mödling bei Wien 1933, p. 407 seq. As my study on mother-right in India provides so to say the counterpart to Niggemeyer's valuable article on totemism, I have also tried to accommodate the caste-register in outward form to Niggemeyer's, so that both taken together will give an easily comprehensible picture of the manifold social groups which have now been studied and compared at the Viennese school of ethnology.

ML—Matrilineal inheritance of property or relationship, also if traced from the mother's brother to his nephew.

TM—Totemistic relations traced in the female line.

Mlc—Matrilocal marriages, or survivals of the same, such as the widely practised Indian custom of a young wife's return to her parent's house for her first confinement. The socially important position of a son-in-law, reminiscent of the so-called *Nokrom* among the Garos (see Chapter B/3, 1) as described by E. A. Gait, Census of India, 1911, p. 236/I, deserves special mention in this connection.

Min—The minorat.

MU—Maternal uncle, who plays an important rôle in the social or religious life of the caste or tribe concerned.

PA—Polyandry, survivals or remnants of the same.

Frat. PA—Fraternal polyandry or remnants.

Lev—The levirate in one or other form.

SeF—Sexual freedom of girls or married women.

Mes—Puberty rites of girls (or married women, where child-marriage has been introduced) and special observation of the menstruation.

Seclusion in huts, *pandals* specially constructed for this purpose, ritual baths and a final coming-of-age ceremony, are the main characteristics of the puberty-rites for girls in south-western India. These feasts often have the character of caste functions in which girls and women of allied families play a not yet clearly recognized rôle. These festivities may for the time being be considered to have some relation to the Talikettu Kalayanam of the Nayars and will perhaps some time indicate some relation to ritual defloration.

WiM—Widows are permitted to remarry.

Div—Divorce, specially if applied for by the wife and if her re-marriage is permitted.

BrP—Bride-price, very often only paid symbolically.

Serv—Serving marriage.

CrC—Cross-cousin marriage in different forms. This element is not always registered.

Men—Menarikam, i.e., the best bride for a boy is the daughter of his mother's brother. Absence of this syllable does not necessarily indicate absence of the custom.

Meg—Megalithic culture-elements in a form which seems important for the problem of mother-right in India.

Couv—The couvade, or similar institutions.

Religious Elements

MG—Mother-goddess or prevalence of female deities and female ancestors pointing to pre-Aryan, but often Hinduized mythological figures.

PG—The smallpox goddess or the goddess of any other contagious disease.

Bas—Basavis or Devadasis are dedicated to the deity or to certain shrines and temples as temple servants, dancing girls, or in similar functions which may have originated in their former active participation in the religious service.

Myth—Mythology pointing to present or former prevalence of matriarchal religious conceptions.

Hs—Human sacrifice or its remnants and survivals.

Bl—Burial of the dead, instead of the Hindu form of burning the body. In India burial can therefore be considered to point to a pre-Aryan, possibly matriarchal culture.

FP—Female priests, if their active part in the religious service is more markedly pronounced, as is the case of Basavis or Devadasis.

Ca—Decapitation prominent in sacrifice, specially in the cock sacrifice.

Buff—the bullock sacrifice is specialized in a certain form, which will be explained later, as probably pointing to a matriarchal culture-circle.

Var—Various other elements support the conception of the present or former connection of the group concerned with some matriarchal culture. Seclusion of women in a separate hut during and after child-birth is, if mentioned at all, registered under this heading, as this culture-element cannot be regarded as unmistakably matriarchal.

Italicizing of the abbreviations signifies the intensity of the indicated cultural element.

Special circumstances are sometimes mentioned in a few explanatory words.

Abbreviation of Book-titles quoted in the Alphabetical Register.

Gait.—E. A. Gait: *Census of India* 1911, Vol. I, Calcutta 1913.

Iyer.—H. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer: *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, 4 vols., Mysore 1928-33 & 1935.

Iyer *Coch.*—L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer: *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, 2 vols., Madras 1909.

E. Th.—Edgar Thurston & K. Rangachari: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 vols., Madras 1909.

E. Th. *E. N.*—Edgar Thurston: *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras 1906.

E. Th. *O. S.*—Edgar Thurston: *Omens and Superstitions in Southern India*, London 1912.

Pillai.—N. Kunjan Pillai: *Census of India* 1931, *Travancore*, Vol. XXVIII, Trivandrum 1932.

Risley.—H. H. Risley: *Census of India* 1901, Vol. I/B. Calcutta 1903.

Russell.—R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hiralal: *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, 4 vols., London 1916.

Saldanha.—T. A. Saldanha: Balis and Totems in Kanara *AnSBo* p. 382/VII, and 382/VIII.

Subraman.—N. Subramaniya Aiyar: *Census of India* 1901, *Travancore*, Vol. XXVI, Trivandrum 1903.

Thyaga.—V. R. Thyagaraja Aiyar: *Census of India* 1911, *Mysore*, Vol. XXI, Bangalore 1912.

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The Caste-Register

(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
AGASA (MADIVALA) Tulu (Telugu)—washermen of Kanara. (Mysore).	T, ML. TM. Mes, WiM, CrC, MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 3/II, 27/II. Saldanha 382/VII. E. TH. 16/I, 325/I.
AMBATTAN (VELIKATTHALA NAYAR) NAY. Malayalam (Tamil). Barbers of Travancore.	ML, Var.	Pillai 380/XXVIII. E. Th. 41/I.
AMPALAVASI.—NAY ? Tamil—mostly patriarchal. Malayalis—mostly matriarchal. Temple-servants of Travancore.	ML.	Pillai 371/XXVIII.
ARAYAN (MALA ARAYAN)—Jtr. Cochin.	ML, (exception), Var (the couvade), Meg, see also sub MALA ARAYAN.	Gait 258/I. Pillai Vol. XXVIII. E. Th. 187/IV.

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(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation, (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
BADAGA Peasants of the Nilgiri Hills.	T, Min, MU ? PA ? SeF, Mes, Serv, Meg, Var.	Gait 244/VI. E.Th. 63, 106/I.
BADHOYI. Ganjam.	Mlc, MU.	E. Th. 126/I.
BALIJA. Telugu—merchants.	MU, SeF, (formerly in one group) Mes, Meg, MG.	Iyer 183/IV. E. Th. 134/I and 138/II.
BANAJIGA (LINGABALIJA) Kanarese merchants—also in Mysore.	MU, Mes, Bl.	Iyer 110/II. E. Th. 146/I. Thyaga 161/XXI.
BANJARA (LAMBADI)-NAY. Buffalo-drivers—also in Mysore.	Lev, Mes, WiM, Div, Serv, CrC, MG, Bl, Var, see also sub LAMBADI.	Gait 246/I. Iyer 154/II.
BANT—NAY. Tulu. Formerly soldiers of South Kanara.	ML, TM, Mes, Div, MG, Var.	Gait 245, 253/I. Saldanha 387/VII. E. Th. 152/I.
BAVURI (KHODALU)—DC, PAR. Ganjam.	T ?? MU ? Mes, Meg, MG, Var.	Pillai 431/XXVIII. E. Th. 155/I.
BEDAR (BOYA) PAR. Kannada (Telugu). Peasants, Hyderabad, Mysore, Kurnool, Bellary dist., Kapaladurga.	T ? ML (relics), MU, SeF, Mes, WiM, BrP. MG, Bas, Var.	Iyer 208/II. E. Th. 180/I. Thyaga 150/XXI.
BESTHA—PAR. Telugu—fishermen. Deccan, Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem.	ML (relic), Mes, WiM, BrP, Bas, Var.	Iyer 247/II. E. Th. 218/I. Thyaga 150/XXI.
BAIGA—Jtr. PUL. Formerly prim. Dravid. now Hindi. Central Provinces.	BrP, Serv, MG, Var.	Russell 76, 81, 85/II.
BHATRAZU—NAY ? Bards, genealogists, secularised Brahmins. Kanara, Mysore.	Mes, MG, PG (Double burial relics).	Iyer 259/11.

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(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
BHONDARI. Barbers. Oriya, Ganjam, Bombay.	T, MU, Lev, Var.	E. Th. 230/I.
BILI MAGGA. Corrupt Tamil. Weavers and traders of Mysore and South Kanara.	TM, Mes, MG, Bl.	Iyer 284/II & 278/II. Saldanha 387/VIII.
BILLAVA—PAR ? Tulu. Toddy drawers of Mysore and South Kanara.	ML, TM, MU, Mes, BrP, SeF, CrC, PG, Bl (partly), Var.	Gait 243, 253/I. Iyer 288/II. E. Th. 247/I. Saldanha 387/VIII.
BRAHMAN. *See* Chapter B/6, II.		
BONTHUK (B. SAVARA). Oriya, Kistna and Guntur dist.	T, MU, Mes.	E. Th. 258/I.
BUDUBUDIKI. Beggars, fortune-tellers and peasants. Mysore, Mahratta country.	SeF, Mes, BrP. MG, Bl.	Iyer 553/II.
CHAKKILIYAN—DC. Tamil. Leather-workers. Tamil country	T(relics ??), MU, Mes, Var.	Pillai Vol. XXVIII. E. Th. 2/II.
CHAKKYAR (AMPALAVASI) NAY ? Temple-servants of Travancore.	ML.	Pillai 372/XXVIII.
CHALIYAN. Malayalam weavers, etc., in Malabar.	ML, Mes, Var.	Gait 238, 254/I. E. Th. 12/II.
CHENCHU,—Jtr. U. Telugu. Kurnool, Nellore, Hyderabad.	T, Lev ? Three-grade wedding, SeF, Mes, Myth, Bl.	Iyer 231/II. E. Th. 39, 235/II.
CHERUMAN (PULAYAN of the South)—DC, PUL. Malayalam agric. labourers of South Malabar.	ML, Mlc, MU, PA ? SeF, Mes, BrP, Meg ? MG, Bl, Var.	E. Th. 68/II. Pillai 161/XXVIII.

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(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation, (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
CHETTI.—BC. Traders, Madras Presidency.	ML partly, Period. marriages.	Gait 258/I. Pillai 372/XXVIII. E. Th. 93/II.
CHRISTIAN (SYRIAN)—NAY. Kerala.	ML, Mlc-(relic), MU, BrP.	Iyer 51/III.
DANDASI. Ganjam.	T ? MU, Var.	E. Th. 109/II.
DARZI. Tailors of Mysore.	MU ? Mes, Var. MG, Bl.	Iyer 83/III. Thyaga 165/XXI.
DASARI. Begging Yogis of Mysore.	Mes, CrC, Couvade ? Var., Bl.	Iyer 106/III. E. Th. 118/II.
DEVADASI—NAY ? Tamil country.	ML, MU, Bas, Var.	E. Th. 125/II.
DEVADIGA. Tulu. Temple-servants and peasants of South Kanara.	TM, Var.	E. Th. 153/II.
DEVAGA. Telugu (Kanarese). Hyderabad, Mysore.	T, (in the Telugu country) MU, Mes, MG, PG, Bl.	Iyer 125/III. Thyaga 173/XX. E. Th. 164/II.
DOMB- PAR ? Dravid. acrobats and agriculturists of Mysore and Vizagapatam.	T ? MU, SeF, Mes, BrP, CrC, Couvade, MG, PG, Bas, Var.	Gait 258/I. Iyer 147/III. Niggemayer Caste-register. E. Th. 173/II. Thyaga 166/XXI.
DUDEKULA (MUSLIM). Telugu, Kanarese. Cotton cleaners, etc.	ML (relic ?), Mes.	E. Th. 195/II.
ERAVALLAR,—Jtr. Kerala, Coimbatore.	Mes, Var ?	E. Th. 210/II.
GADABA. Munda speaking agricultural labourers of Vizagapatam.	T, Lev, Serv, Meg. MG, Var.	E. Th. 244/II.
GANDHALI.	MG, Bl.	Iyer 249/III.

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GANGADIKARA OKKALU. Mysore.	T, Mlc. (relic), MU, SeF, Mes, BrP., WiM, MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 179/III.
GANIGA. Peasants, Oil-traders of Mysore.	T, MU, Mes, MG, Bl.	Iyer 189/II. E. Th. 266/II. Thyaga 154/XXI.
GAUDA. Peasants & Cattle-breeders of South Kanara.	ML, Lev.	E. Th. 296/II.
(KADU) GOLLA.—PUL. Kannada, Telugu. Forest inhabitants, Labourers, etc. Mysore.	T, ML (relic ?), Mlc (relic ?), MU, Mes, BrP. MG, PG, Myth, Bl. Var.	Iyer 209/III. Thyaga 166/XXI.
GUDIGARA. Kanarese. Wood-carvers & painters.	ML (Kanara), MU, Mes.	Iyer 149/III. E. Th. 302/II.
GURUKKAL—NAY ? Tamil (partly). Travancore.	ML, SeF.	Gait 328/I. E. Th. 309/II.
HADDI. Oriya.	T, Mes, CrC. MG.	E. Th. 313/II.
HALEPAIK—NAY ? PAR ? (Tiyas of Mysore). Toddy-drawers. Mysore, S. Kanara.	T, ML, TM, SeF, Mes, WiM. Bl.	E. Th. 320/II. Saldanha 387/VIII.
HALLIKAR OKKALIGA. Peasants of Mysore.	MU, SeF, Mes. MG, Bl.	Iyer 274/III.
HANDI YOGI—PAR Mysore.	Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, MG, Myth ? Hs ? Var.	Iyer 493/III.
HASALAR—U ? South Kanara & Mysore.	TM, SeF, Mes. Bl, Var.	Iyer 296/III.
HELAVA. Mysore.	ML, among Bas, Mes, WiM. MG, Bas.	Iyer 315/III.

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HOLEYA—DC, PAR. (PARAYAN of Kanara). Agr. labourers from Mysore to Nilgiri Hills.	TM, ML, Mlc, Min, MU, SeF, WiM, Div, BrP, CrC. MG, Var.	Iyer 332/III. Gait 236/I. E. Th. 329, 345/II. Thyaga 167/XXI.
IDIGA—PAR Telugu, Kannada in the West. Agr. labourers of Mysore.	Min (relic), MU, SeF, Mes, WiM. Div, BrP. MG, PG ? Bl, Var.	Iyer 364/III.
IRULA—Jtr, PUL ?? U ? Corrupt Tamil. Nilgiri, N. & S. Arcot, Chingleput.	MU, SeF, Mes, Meg. MG, PG, Var.	Gait 253/I. Iyer 384/III. E. Th. 372/II.
JAINS. Mysore.	ML, MU, Mes, PG, Var.	Iyer 433/III.
JALARI Telugu fishermen Ganjam, Vizagapatam.	MU. MG.	E. Th. 442/II.
JANGALA. Mysore.	SeF, Mes, Div.	Iyer 469/III.
JATAPU. N. Madras.	T ? CrC, MG, Buff.	E. Th. 455/II.
JETTI. Mysore.	Mes, MG, Hs, Var ?	Iyer 474 /III.
JOGI. Telugu country.	T, MU, PA (relic ?), Mes, MG, Bl.	Iyer 419/III. E. Th. 494/II.
KABBERA. Kanarese peasants & fishermen. Mysore (Bellary dist.).	SeF, Var. (rain-making charms).	E. Th. 1/III. E. Th. *O.S.* 306.
KACHA GAULIGA. Mysore (Bombay).	T, Mes, WiM, Div. MG, Bl.	Iyer 509/III.
KADIR—Jtr, U. Anamalai and Coimbatore.	Mes, Div, Serv, Meg. MG, Var.	Iyer 2/II. E.Th. 6/III.
KAIKOLAN—DC, PAR ? Tamil and Telugu weavers.	MU, CrC. MG, Bas, Var. (hook-swinging)	E. Th. 31/III.

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KALLAN—PAR. Madura.	ML, MU, PA, CrC, Couvade, Bl, Var (Boomerang).	E. Th. 73/III. & 477/V.
KAMMALAN—BC, PUL ?? Malayalam craftsmen of Malabar.	ML (partly), PA, Var. MG, PG, Bl (double-burial).	E. Th. 125/III. Pillai 164/XXVIII.
KANNAKAN. Tamil. Arcot, Chingleput.	MU, Mes.	E. Th. 150/III.
KANIKAR—Jtr, PUL. Malayalam and Tamil. S. Travancore.	MU, Mes, SeF (in myth). MG, Var (differing cult. elem.)	Pillai 405/XXVIII. E. Th. 138, 162/III.
KANIYAN. Malayalam. Malabar, Cochin.	PA. MG, PG.	Pillai 164/XXVIII. E. Th. 178/III.
KAPPILIYAN. Kanarese peasants. Madura, Tinnevelly.	T, MU, PA, relic ?, Mes, CrC, Var.	E. Th. 215/III.
KAPU or *REDDI.* Telugu. Telugu-country, Hyderabad peasants.	T, MU, PA (fraternal) SeF, Mes, CrC. MG, Bas, Var.	Gait 244/I. E. Th. 230/III.
KARE OKKALU. Mysore, N. Kanara.	T, Mes. MG, Beg.	Iyer 504, 505/III.
KARNA SALE. Telugu, also Tamil country.	T, Mes.	E. Th. 150/III.
KAVATI—DC. Barbers of Travancore.	ML (relic).	Pillai 383/XXVIII.
KAYALAN (Muslim). Madras, Tinnevelly.	Mlc.	E. Th. 267/III.
KELASI. S. Kanara.	ML, TM, Hs, (in myth.), Var.	E. Th. 268/III.
KILLEKYATA—PAR ? Fishermen of Mysore.	Mlc, MU, SeF, Mes, WiM, Div, BrP. MG, Mlc of Bas, Bl, Var.	Iyer 520/III.

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KOLAYAN. South Kanara, North Malabar.	Mes (consecration *before* puberty).	E. Th. 299/III.
KOLIYAN. Madura, Tanjore.	Mes.	E. Th. 302/III.
KOMATI—PAR ??? Telugu. Great merchant-caste in Telugu country, Bombay & C.P.I.	T, ML-relics, Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, BrP, CrC. MG, Var.	Iyer 543/III. E. Th. 306/III. Richards in *Man* 1914.
KOND (KHOND)—T ? Dravida language. Ganjam, Vizagapatam.	MU, PA ? SeF, Div, BrP, Hs, Bl, Var.	E. Th. 356/III. E. Th. *E.N.* 12, 13.
KONGA VELLALA. Trichinopoly peasants.	T, MU, SeF, CrC. Var.	E. Th. 417/III.
KORAGA—PAR ?? South Kanara Basket-makers.	ML, Couvade, MG, Ca, Var.	E. Th. 424/III.
KORACHA (KORAVA)—DC, PAR (Wandering) thief-caste in south India.	T, Mlc (relic), MU, PA, formerly, SeF, Mes, WiM, Div, BrP, Couvade. CrC, Meg. MG, Frat. PA, Hs, Var.	Iyer 587/III. E. Th. 438/III. Thyaga 169/XXI. Pillai 395/XXVIII. Gait 235/I.
KOTA. Mountaineers in Nilgiri & Gudalur.	SeF, Meg. MG.	E. Th. 3/IV.
KOTTAI VELLALA. Tinnevelly.	ML.	E. Th. 33/III.
KOTTE OKKALU. Mysore, North Kanara.	TM (ML).	Iyer 1/IV.
KOI (KOYAS) Godavari (hills).	MG, Ca, Var.	E. Th. 37/IV.
KRISHNAVAKAKKAR—BC, PAR ? Shepherds of S. Travancore.	ML, MU, Fraternal PA ? Lev.	Pillai 373/XXVIII. 432/XXVIII. E. Th. 74/IV.

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KSHATRIYA of S.W. countries. —NAY. Malayalam partly.	ML, MU, Mes (partly)	Iyer 52/II. Pillai 374/XXVIII. E. Th. 83/IV.
KUDAN—DC, PUL. Agric. labourers.	ML, MU, Frat. PA (relic), SeF. Var.	Gait 241/I. E. Th. 91/IV.
KUDIYA—Jtr, DC, PUL. Corrupt Tulu. South Kanara.	ML, Var (Marriage between parents & children).	Gait 252/I. E. Th. 96/IV.
KUDUMI—BC; PUL. ?? Mahratti. Travancore, coast.	ML, Mes, Bl.	Pillai 347/XXVIII. E. Th. 106/IV.
KUMBARA—PAR ?? Telugu & Tamil. Potters—Mysore, Madras Presidency South Kanara.	T, ML (MU), Mes, WiM, Div, BrP. MG, Bl. Var.	Iyer 10/IV. E. Th. 113/IV.
KUNCHITIGA. Mysore. Agriculturists, merchants.	Mes (WiM), BrP. MG, Bl.	Iyer 17/IV.
KUNNUVAN. Tamil country. Most important peasant caste.	ML, Bas, SeF, CrC, (Var).	E. Th. 119/IV.
KURAVA—DC, PAR ? Tamil & Malayalam. Peasants, Travancore.	ML, Men, BrP, Couvade, Bl.	Pillai 383 & 431/XXVIII. E. Th. 122/IV. E. Th. *E.N.* 548.
KURICCHAN. Wynaad, hunters.	ML with patrilocality, BrP.	E. Th. 125/IV.
KURUBA—PAR ? Kannada (Telugu) Shepherds, weavers, peasants. Mysore, Madras.	Mlc (relic), MU, SeF, WiM, BrP, Couvade ? Meg. MG, Hs ?? Frat. PA, Var.	Iyer 27/IV. E. Th. 133/IV. Thyaga 170/XXI.
KURUMBA—Jtr, U ? Mysore, Nilgiri, Malabar hills.	Frat. PA, SeF, Mes *without* puberty-signification, Meg, MG, PG, Bl, *Var.*	Iyer 70 & 86/IV. E. Th. 155 & 170/IV.

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KURUKAL (AMPALAVASI) Travancore.	ML.	Pillai 372/XXVIII.
LADAR— NAY ? Mysore (horse-dealers).	Mes & Couvade-like linked MG.	Iyer 77/IV.
LAMBADI (LAMBANI) further see Sub BANJARA.	BrP, Couvade,	Gait 258/I. Russel 32/II. E. Th. 207/IV. Thyaga 171/XXI.
LINGAYAT. Kanarese. Mysore.	Mes, WiM, BrP, CrC. Bl. *Var.*	Iyer 98 & 118/IV. E. Th. 237/IV.
MADIGA—DC, PAR. Kanarese, Telugu. Peasants and leather-workers in Telugu country.	ML by Bas, MU, Mlc-relic, SeF, Mes, CrC. MG, PG, Bas, Bl, Buff, Var.	Iyer 138 & 145/IV. E. Th. 145/IV. Thyaga 171/XXI.
MALA—DC, PAR. PARAYAN of Telingana. Peasants and other workers. Telugu country.	T, ML ? Mlc (relic), SeF, CrC, Mes, Couvade. Hs in myth., Bl, Buff, Var.	Gait 247/I. E. Th. 329/IV.
MALAPANTARAM—Jtr, U. Travancore. (Rajamparam).	Mes, monogamy by U group in mountains, else polygamy. Monogamy, mother-right elements ? Bl.	Pillai 396/XXVIII. Pillai 163/XXVIII.
MALAPULAYAN—Jtr, PUL. Travancore.	PA (relic), Mes, BrP. Bl, Var ?	Pillai 402/XXVIII.
MALASAR—Jtr, U, PUL ? Tamil, Malayalam, corrupt form. Cochin, Coimbatore.	ML relic in BrP, SeF, Traces of Meg ? MG, PG.	Iyer *Cochin* 28/I. E. Th. 394/IV.
MALAYALI—Jtr, PUL. (MAL *NAIRS*). Mountain-tribe of Salem dist.	ML, Frat. PA ? SeF, Mes, brides are taken forcibly ? MG, PG, Bl, Myth. Var.	Iyer *Cochin* 29/I. E. Th. 406 & 435/IV.
MALAYARAYAN—Jtr, PUL. Corrupt Malayalam. Travancore.	ML, Frat. PA, Mes. Bl. Var.	Pillai 403/XXVIII. E. Th. 388/IV.

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MALI Uriya peasants, gardeners.	ML in BrP, CrC.	E. Th. 440/IV.
MANDADU CHETTI. Corrupt Kanarese. Malabar (Wynaad, Nilgiri).	Frat. PA, Serv.	E. Th. 144/IV.
MANNAN—Jtr, PUL. Tamil, Malayalam. Malabar, Travancore.	ML, PA, SeF, Mes, Serv, Men, brides are taken forcibly ? MG, PG, Var.	E. Th. 350/IV. Pillai 400/XXVIII.
MAPPILA (MUSLIM)—NAY. Malabar, Minicoy, Maladiven, Laccadiven.	ML in N. Malabar, Maladiven, Laccadiven, not in S. Malabar, Mlc (partly), Se F (relic).	E. Th. 455/IV.
MARAKKAN—DC Travancore.	ML (partly)	Pillai 383/XXVIII.
MARAVAN—DC, PAR ? Dravid. Madura, Tinnevelly, peasants.	TM (ML), MU, SeF, Mes, CrC, MG, Var.	Pillai 384/XXVIII. E. Th. 22/V.
MEDA—DC, PAR ? Workers, Mysore, Tamil country.	T, Mlc (relic), SeF, Mes, WiM, BrP, MG, Var.	Iyer 197/IV. E. Th. 52/V. Thyaga 172/XXI.
MOCHI. Mysore.	ML (relic ?). MG, PG, Bl.	Iyer 206/IV.
MOGER—PAR ? Tulu speaking fishermen, South Kanara.	ML, TM, SeF, BrP. PG.	Saldanha 508/X. E. Th. 65/V.
MONDARU. Mysore.	PA, MU, Mes, WiM, BrP. MG, Bl.	Iyer 217/IV.
MORASU. Conjeeveram.	MU, SeF, Mes, BrP. Myth. *Var.*	Gait 260/I. Iyer 228/IV. E. Th. 73/V.
MUDUVAR—Jtr, PUL. Nomad. mountain-peasants of Kerala, Madura, Coimbatore.	ML, PA, MU, SeF, WiM, Div. MG, *Var.*	Gait 243/I. Pillai 399/XXVIII. E. Th. 92/V.
MUKA DORA. Telugu. Peasants, merchants Vizagapatam (Madura ?).	T, Mlc (relic), MU, CrC.	E. Th. 104/V.

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MUKKUVAN—DC, PAR ? Malabar fishermen.	ML, Mlc (relic), SeF, Mes, BrP, two-grade marriage, Couvade(relic ?) MG, Bl, Var.	Gait 236/I. E. Th. 106/V.
MUSLIM (South). Malayalam (partly), Mysore, Kerala, etc.	ML, Mlc (relic), MU, Mes. MG (Fatima), Var.	Iyer 279/IV.. Pillai 390/XXVIII.
MUTRACHA. Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah, N. Arcot, (watchers, soldiers).	T, Mes.	E. Th. 127, 130/V.
MUTTAN. Malabar merchants.	SeF (relic). MG.	E. Th. 131/V.
NADOR. N. Kanara.	TM.	Saldanha 255/IX. Niggemeyer, Caste-register.
NADU GAUDA. Mysore.	ML, SeF ? WiM.	Iyer 297/IV.
NAGARTHA. Kannada, Telugu. Mysore (merchants).	Mlc (relic), Mes, Var.	Iyer 402/IV.
NALKE. S. Kanara (Devil-dancers).	TM, else : Father-right. (Var).	Niggemeyer, Saldanha. E. Th. 141/V.
NAMBUTIRI BRAHMIN. Kerala.	(ML) (partly), PA, Couvade ? MG, Myth., Bl, ! Var	E.Th. 152, 175, 183/V.
NAMPIYAR (AMPALAVASI) Malayalam, Tamil. ravancore.	ML.	Pillai 372/XXVIII.
NANCHINAD VELLALA. Travancore, Cochin.	ML (mixture), MU ? SeF. MG.	E. Th. 244/V.
NANGUDI VELLALA. Tinnevelly.	ML ? Mlc. MU.	Gait 238/I. E. Th. 246/V.
NATTUKOTTAI CHETTI Sivaganga, Ramnad (merchants).	Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, CrC. Myth, Var.	E.Th. 249, 265, 268/V.
NATTUVAN. Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese. Mysore.	ML by Bas. ML (relic), Mes, BrP. MG, Bl (Var).	Iyer 422/IV.

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NAYADI—DC, PUL ? PAR ?? Malabar, Cochin peasants.	PA (relic ?) Mes, Couvade-(relic ??) Meg. Ca, Var ?	E. Th. 274/V.
NAYAR—NAY. Malayalam. Kerala (Land-owners, noblemen, officers, officials, scientists).	ML, Mlc, PA, MU, Sef, Mes, Meg. MG, MG-ancestor-veneration. PG, Myth, Hs (relic), Ca, Var.	Aiyappan 288/XXII (*Man*). Iyer *Cochin* 47/II. Manon 42/XX (*Man*) Pillai 162/XXVIII. Pisharoti 101/XXIII. (*Man*). E. Th. 283/V & other authors.
NAYINDA. Telugu, Kannada. Barbers—Mysore.	T, Mlc (relic), Lev (prohibited) SeF, Mes, WiM, BrP. Bl.	Thyaga 172/XXI.
ODAR. South Kanara.	MU. Bl (partly).	E. Th. 421/V.
ODDE (*WUDDERS*). Telugu. North Arcot.	T, PA (formerly), a wife of 7 husbands was honoured, Mes, BrP, Meg ?? MG, Ca, Bl, Var ?	E. Th. 422/V.
OKKILIYAN (VAKKALIGA) Tamil. Peasants of Madura, Coimbatore.	Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, BrP, CrC. Bl,Var.	Gait 260/I. E. Th. 438/V.
PAIDI. Vizagapatam dialect.	BrP, CrC, Meg ? MG, Var by sacrifice.	E. Th. 454/V.
PALLAN—DC, PAR. Wet cultivators. Madura, Trichy, Tanjore, Tinnevelly, Salem, Coimbatore.	ML, MU, PA (relic ?) Couvade, Meg ? Var.	Gait 254/I. Pillai 431/XXVIII. E. Th. 472/V.
PALLI (VANNIYAN).	Mlc (relic), SeF, Mes. MG, Hs in Myth, Var, also in sacrifice.	E. Th. 1/VI.
PALIYAN—Jtr, PUL ? U ? Tamil. Food Collectors. Madura, Tinnevelly, Travancore.	ML, Brother-PA, MU, Mes, Serv, Meg ?? Bl, Ca, (Var).	Pillai 401/XXVIII. E. Th. 401,461/V.

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PANAN—DC, PAR. Tamil. Madura, Tinnevelly.	ML. (clan), Frat. PA, Mes. Hs (hint), Myth, (Var).	Pillai 385, 431/XXVIII. Iyer *Coch* 176/I. E. Th. 29/VI.
PANCHALA Kannada and other languages. Artisans at Mysore.	Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, BrP, Var.	Iyer 452/IV.
PANIYAN. Labourers and fishermen, Mysore.	BrP ? Var ?	E. Th. 57/IV.
PARAVAN—DC. S. W. coast.	ML (mix-system).	Pillai 358/XXVIII. E. Th. 140/VI.
PARAYAN—DC PAR. (MALA, MADIGA, HOLEYA). Great worker-caste, S. India.	ML (not everywhere !), Mlc (relic), MU, Mes, two-grade marriage, CrC, Couvade, Meg, MG, PG, Bl, Buff, Var.	Iyer *Cochin* 76/I. Pillai. E. Th. 77/VI. E. Th. *Om. Sup.* 305 *Madras Gov. Mus. Bull.* and other authors.
PARIVARAM. S. Kanara, Trichy, Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore.	SeF, Mes. MG, Bl.	E. Th. 156/IV. Iyer 472/IV.
PATTANAVAN (KARAIYAN) East coast from Kistna to Tanjore.	MU. MG.	E. Th. 177/VI.
PATTARIAS (SALIYAN). Malayalam. Travancore (formerly weavers, now peasants and dealers).	ML (partly)	Pillai 377/XXVIII.
PATVEGARA. Kanarese. Silk-weavers. S. Canara, Mysore.	TM, Mes. Mg.	Iyer 477/IV. Niggemeyer. Saldanha 387/VII. E. Th. 187/VI.
PISHARATI (AMBALAVASI) Malayali (partly) Kerala.	ML (partly), MU, SeF.	Pillai 371/XXVIII. E. Th. 199/VI.

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POROJA. Mountain-peasants. Ganjam, Vizagapatam.	T ? CrC, SeF, Meg ? MG, Ca, Var.	E. Th. 207/VI.
PODUVAL.	ML (partly) two-grade-marriage	E. Th. 204/VI.
PULAYAN—(CHERUMAN) DC, PUL. Malayalam (partly). Workers (very depressed). North Kerala, " Cheruman of the North. "	ML (clan-membership) ML (mix-system in heredity problem,) MU, SeF, BrP, WiM, Mes. MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer *Cochin* 98/I. Pillai 161/XXVIII. Subramany 342/XXVI. E. Th. 45/II.
PULLUVAN—DC, PUL. Malayalam. Kerala (astrologers).	SeF, Mes, CrC.	Pillai 385/XXVIII. E. Th. 226/VI.
PUSHPAKAN (AMPALA-VASI) Central Travancore.	ML.	Pillai 372/XXVIII.
RACHEVAR—NAY ? Telugu. Also Mysore (Kshatriya).	Mes. PG.	Iyer 482/IV.
REDDI (KAPU) —PAR ? Telugu. Mysore (peasants).	T, ML (relic), Mes, BrP, WiM. MG, Bl, Var.	Gait 244/I. Iyer 489/IV. E. Th.
SADARU—PAR ??? Mysore (peasants and dealers).	T ??? Mlc (relic,) MU, Mes, WiM. MG, Var.	Iyer 526/IV.
SALAHUVA VAKKALU. Mysore, miners.	Mes. Bl.	Iyer 536, 552, 557/IV.
SALE (PADMA SALE) Mysore (weavers).	T, Mes, BrP, MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 559/IV.
SAMANTAN—" NAY " Kerala (princes).	ML, MU. Var.	Pillai 374/XXVIII. E. Th. 283/VI.
SANI. Dancing Girls. Ganjam, Vizagapatam Godavari.	Bas, Var.	E. Th. 292/VI.

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SATANI Temple-servants. Mysore.	Mes.	Iyer 587/IV.
SHIVALLI BRAHMIN. South Kanara.	T (Traces ?) see also sub Brahmin, general.	Saldanha 282/VII. Niggemeyer. E. Th. Iyer.
SHOLAGA—Jtr, U. Mountain-tribe, Coimbatore.	MU, SeF (3 types of marriage) Mes. MG, PG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 595/IV. E. Th. 379, 382/VI.
SONDI.	Mes.	E. Th. 396/VI.
SUDUGADU SIDDHA. Mysore.	MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 600/IV.
SYRIAN CHRISTIAN—NAY. See sub CHRISTIAN.		
THANDA PULAYAN—DC, PUL. Very suppressed workers. Kerala. Sub-group of PULAYAN (N. Kerala).	MU, WiM, CrC, Ca, Myth. points to U connection. Var.	Pillai 406, 411, 417. 431/XXVIII. E. Th. 9, 49/VII.
TIGALA. Gardeners. Mysore.	MU, SeF, Mes, ? BrP, WiM. MG, PG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 609/IV.
TIRUMALPAD—NAY. Princely family. Travancore.	ML, SeF, Var.	Gait 242/I. E. Th. 33/VII.
TIYAN—DC, NAY ? Compare VALAK (IZHAVA) PAR ??? KATTALAVAN NAYAR, Land-owners, toddy-drawing caste, etc. Kerala, specially North Malabar.	ML, Mlc, (formerly), MU, PA (also brothers ?) SeF, Mes, & Var. in marriage, Couvade. Var, MG, Ca. Myth.	E. Th. 392/II, and 36/VII. Pillai 382, 431/XXVIII. Risley 142/I.

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(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation, (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
TODA. High-mountain shepherds. Nilgiri.	ML, Frat. PA, SeF, two grade-marriage, Div, Couvade, Var.	Gait 245/I. E. Th. 117/VII. Rivers.
TOGATA. Telugu country. (Mysore) weavers.	T, Mlc (relic), Mes, WiM, BrP, Var. MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 630/IV. E. Th. 170/VII.
TOREYA. Kanarese, Tamil. Peasants. Tamil country.	T, Mlc-relic, MU, Mes, WiM, CrC. SeF. MG, Bl, Var.	Iyer 637/IV. E. Th. 178/VII.
TOTTIYAN. Telugu. Peasants. Tinnevelly, Tanjore.	PA, MU, CrC.	Gait 244/I. E. Th. 184/VII.
TSĀKALA. Telugu country. Washermen.	T, MU, Mes.	E. Th. 197/VII.
UNNI. Travancore.	ML.	Gait 238/I. E. Th. 221/VII.
ULLADAN—Jtr, PUL ??	ML (partly) PA (relic ?) Meg ?? PG ?	Pillai 404/XXVIII. E. Th. 214/VII.
UPPARA—PAR ?? Telugu country. Mysore. (workers, peasants).	T, Mlc (relic) ? MU, Lev (prohib.) SeF, Mes, WiM, BrP, CrC, MG, Var.	Iyer 646/IV. E. Th. 238/VII. Thyaga 175/XXI.
URALI—Jtr, PUL ? Malayalam. Travancore, Madura, Trichinopoly.	ML, MU, PA, SeF, Mes, BrP (relic), Couvade ? Meg ? Var. MG ? Var.	Iyer *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.* Jan. 1935, p. 97. E. Th. 242/VII. Pillai 401/XXVIII.
VADA. Telugu. Ganjam, Vizagapatam (fishermen).	T ? MG, PG, Ca, Var.	E. Th. 258/VII. Niggemeyer.
VAKKALIGA (MORASU VAKKALIGA) Kanarese. Agric. labourers, etc., Mysore.	T, ML (relic), BrP, Var.	Thyaga 175/XXI.

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(1) Caste-name, & abbreviations, (2) Chief language, (3) Caste-occupation, (4) Homeland.	Matriarchal culture-elements	Quoted books in abbreviations
VALAYAN—DC, PAR. Madura.	MU, PA (relic), SeF, Mes, Div. Bl, (Var) ?	Gait 245/I. E. Th. 272/VII.
VANNAN—DC. Tamil, Malayalam. Washers. Tamil country, Kerala.	ML. MG, PG, Var.	Iyer 3/II. Pillai 431/XXVIII. E. Th. 315/VII.
VARIYAR (AMBALAVASI). Kerala.	ML.	Pillai 372/XXVIII. E. Th. 326/VII.
VEDAN—Jtr, PUL ?? PAR ? Tamil. Hunters, worker-slaves, soldiers Travancore, N. Arcot.	ML ? (Couvade). Var.	Pillai 165/XXVIII. E. Th. 331/VII.
VELLALA—DC, PUL ? Tamil country, partly N. Malabar but not T. Compare REDDI.	ML (partly), MU, SeF, Mes (partly). MG, PG, Var.	Pillai 378/XXVIII. Risley 129/I B. E. Th. 361/VII.
VELUTEDAN Kerala, washers of the Nayar.	ML. SeF.	Gait 238/I. E. Th. 389/VII.
VETTUVAN—Jtr, PUL. Hunter and agr. labourers. Salem, Coimbatore.	ML (relic), SeF, Mes. MG, PG, Myth, Var.	Gait 243/I. Pillai 403/XXVIII. E. Th. 394/VII.
VILLAS Travancore.	ML.	Pillai 373/XXVIII.
VISHAVAN (MALANKUDI). Nomadic peasants. Travancore.	ML (partly), SeF, Mes. Bl.	Pillai 402, 418/XXVIII.
WODDA. Earthworkers. Mysore, Hyderabad.	T, ML (relic), Lev-prohib. SeF, Mes, WiM, BrP. MG, Bas, Bl, Var.	Iyer 666/IV. Thyaga 176/XXXI.
WYNAAD (Terr. group of CHETTI), Malayalam. Nilgiri, Malabar.	ML, MU, Frat. PA, SeF-(prohib two-grade marriage?) Div. Bl.	E. Th. 413/VII.
YANADI—Jtr, PUL ?	T ? (Lev.) MU, SeF, Mes, Div. Bl, Var.	Gait 243/I. E. Th. 416, & 388/VII.
YERKULAS Erkulas found in Hyderabad State basket-makers, etc.	Couvade.	Russell 608/IV. E. Th. *E.N.* 548.

III. Description of some Model Castes

The matriarchal peoples of the North-East group of Assam have not been included in the alphabetical caste-register, as their social and cultural structure, generally, differs too widely from the general type of the South-West group. Hence this :

(*a*) *North-East Group*

will be described here first.

1. THE KHASIS, speaking Austro-Asiatic languages and numbering[1] approximately 180,000, are the most important representatives of the North-East group of Indian mother-right observers, combining a sense of independence and activity with a conservative adherence to their relatively old form of mother-right, so characteristic of these hillmen.

Their territories are the Khasi hills, and east of them the adjoining Jaintia hills in the eastern central part of Assam, between the Brahmaputra and the Surma.

The Khasi as a higher unit comprise the following minor groups or tribes : The actual Khasi, the Synteng or (*Panr*), War, Bhois and Lynngam, the latter inhabiting the western Khasi hills. Each of these tribes is divided into two to six principally endogamous sub-groups, which are composed of exogamous units or clans as Gurdon puts it,[2] all clansmen tracing their descent to one and the same female ancestor. Her name is *Ki jawbei Tynrei*, mother of the root. She is also called *Ka ngap* or honey, the sweet, the benevolent one. The clan descending from her, is called *Shi kur*, being divided into sub-clans or *Kpoh*, which are composed of *Iing*, i.e., household units. Three generations of females constitute the essentially important members of such a household.[3] The husbands matrilocally live in their wives Households, or, as among the Synteng and Jowei, under the system of the visiting marriage, reside at their mothers' houses.[4] Even today the husbands are called " children of somebody else " or " begetters," whereas only the children of one and the same mother are members of the same clan. It is astonishing that under these circumstances husbands are addressed as Lord by their wives, though in a sense they remain foreigners, even after death their ashes finding no place in the family grave of their wives and children.[5]

1. W. Schmidt : Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, p. 132, 128 and Buschan: Illust. Völkerkunde, p. 727.

2. Gurdon : *The Khasis*, p. 62.

3. ,, ,, p. 63.

4. ,, ,, p. 76, p. 82-84. and Waddell in *JAsSBe*, 66/1906, cited from Dr. Chr. Fuier v. Heimendorf, dissertation.

5. Gurdon, op. cit. p. 82.

Private property is inherited according to this conception, daughters being their mothers' heirs, the youngest sister getting the lion's share in the shape of the family house, its main pieces of furniture and the mother's jewellery.[1] Neither sons nor brothers inherit.

In the state organization masculine tendencies are more prominent. Usually a *S'iem* presides over a Khasi state. He is the nephew or other male relative of the *Ka S'iem Sad.* She is now merely the high priestess, but seems to have formerly delegated governmental power only temporarily to men. Yet here also, descent is traced in the female line.[2] Characteristically enough the male heirs inherit according to the majorat principle, contrary to the minorat in the case of the female inheritance of private property, which is always inherited in the female line, with one exception only, that of property personally acquired by men. In this case the young couple establishes a new home, after the birth of one or two children, in the house of the wife's mother ; an unmistakable remnant of matrilocality.[3]

The political organization is absolutely democratic.[4] The *S'iem* is accompanied by six *Lyngdohs* (priests), the *S'iem Durbar* (council) and the heads of 24 *Mantri* clans. The mutual influence of these three instances, also in the question of inheritance, is complicated and varies according to local customs.[5] According to the importance of the male element in the state organization, it also exercises its influence in the election of the *Ka S'iem Sad,* the high priestess, where the male *Lyngdohs* (priests) and the male heads of the 24 *Mantri* clans play an important rôle. But in case the high priestess is not elected, inheritance is traced according to matriarchal principles. Similarly each male priest must be assisted by a priestess or *Ka doh blei* also *Ka lyngdoh,* as the male priest is theoretically only a delegate of the female priestess.[6]

The patriarchal principle also exercises its influence in everyday family-life, where the father plays a more important rôle than the mother's brother, though the former belongs to a foreign clan and the latter to the family. "The father takes care of the daily questions, the mother's brother only comes in if life and death is concerned" says a Khasi proverb.[7]

The Khasi religion again, shows markedly matriarchal traces. The creative force is usually a female deity. The same holds good in the case of various spirits and demons, approached in cases of need by the

1. Gurdon, p. 83.
2. Gurdon, p. 68.
3. Gurdon, p. 67.
4. H. H. Risley, op. cit. p. 198 seq.
5. Gurdon, op. cit. p. 71.
6. Gurdon, p. 121.
7. Compare also Malinowsky, op. cit. p. 3 and 5.

Lyngdohs, or simply by old, experienced people. Ancestor-worship and shamanistic rites markedly prevail at these ceremonies.[1] The small-pox-goddess is specially interesting as similar deities are to be found in the rest of India.[2] (See alphabetic caste-register) The disease itself is called "kiss of the goddess" among the Khasis. A pot, filled with water stands before the sick person's room, in which each visitor washes his feet respectfully. Smallpox is sometimes transmitted to children intentionally.

The ancestress of the Khasis, *Ka mei ka nong hukum*, generally known as the *Khasi Eve*, is their prominent mythological figure. She taught her two sons the sport of competition shooting, so important in Khasi social life, which, according to them, has "always been."[3] The egg-throwing oracle is another religious or semi-religious custom, generally executed by the interrogator's maternal uncle.[4] Human sacrifices seem to have been chiefly dedicated to the mythological snake-monster *U Thlen*,[5] which, in the disguise of Kali, required victims from Hinduized rajas till the end of the nineteenth century. Murder, committed for the purpose of such sacrifices, waspunished by a fine of Rupees five only, and the payment of a pig, a usual addition to a fine.[6] The domesticated swine was, according to Khasi mythology introduced by Ka Jaw Jaw, one of their ancestresses, who, after different adventures, also invented the smelting of iron, and imported this knowledge and a herd of swine into the Khasi hills.[7]

Head-hunting was formerly practised. Gordon holds the custom of fixing the sacrificed cock's head on the point of a sword to be a head-hunting survival.[8] Decapitation of the sacrificed cock probably deserves mention in this connection.[9]

The Khasi form of double burial is rather unusual. The body is burnt by the maternal relations of the deceased; the bones being afterwards collected under the supervision of an old woman and then buried in the *mawshings* or *keirus*.[10]

1. Gurdon, p. 105.
2. „ p. 106.
3. „ p. 55 and
   P. Stegmuller in *Anthropos* 1925, p. 615.
4. Dr. C. Becker: "Eierwerfen der Khasi," *Anthropos* 1917, p. 494.
5. S. G. Mitra: "Recent instance of the Khasi custom of human sacrifice," *JAnSBo*, p. 196/XIII.
H. Yule: "Notes on the Khasi Hills and peoples," *JAsSBe* 628/XIII.
6. Gurdon, op. cit. p. 92-94.
7. „ p. 64.
8. „ p. 97 and
   Heine-Geldern: "Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd im westlichen Hinterindien," *MAG* p. 105/1921.
9. Gurdon, op. cit. p. 116-119 and C. Becker op. cit. p. 899.
10. „ p. 134 and H. H. Risley op. cit. p. 200 seq.

The Khasi women participate in the dances, richly decked,[1] and their gaiety and activity in everyday life, and their courage have often been mentioned as distinguishing them from their Hinduized sisters in the surrounding plains.[2]

Among the various taboos, the *sang* of the Khasis, approximately equivalent to the *gana* of the Nagas, prohibition of marriage within the clan and the use of the left hand when offering or taking things, deserve mention, both probably being the effect of patriarchal (totemistic) influences. Milk is never drunk, a custom reminiscent of the East-Asiatic conception of milk as an excrement.

The unquestionably totemistic character of the Khasi clan-organization[3] seems organically united with the matriarchal quality of form, so prominent in the social, religious and mythological feature of the Khasi civilization. This assertion cannot be made with regard to the aforementioned elements in the governmental constitutions, which, contrary to the far more progressive ones of the Nayar (see Chapter B/3, 5) seem to be more patriarchally determined, although even here descent of the ruling males is traced through the females.

The religious and mythological conceptions of the Khasis seem related to that type of Megalithic culture, which again is a connecting link between the North-East group of Indian mother-right observers and the Ho, Munda, Kiranti of central India on the one hand, and the Naga hills as well as certain groups of the S. W. on the other.[4]

Polyandry, so prominent a feature in most of the Indian matriarchal groups, seems to be entirely absent. Still, caution may be advisable regarding this assertion, as 30 menhirs surrounding the image of a Khasi woman near Subtinga are regarded as memorials of her 30 husbands, thus pointing to the existence of polyandry in former days.[5]

Neither the first, nor later menstruations seem to be celebrated or otherwise taken notice of: a marked difference to the usual custom not only in the mother-right territories, but even in many other parts of India. Before basing any hypothesis on this *conclusio ex silentio*, it will be advisable for the private life and daily customs of Khasi women to be studied more thoroughly, if possible by a lady, or a Khasi male-ethnologist.

2. THE GAROS, living in the direct neighbourhood of the Khasis, are culture-historically and ethnologically allied to them, but not linguisti-

1. Gurdon op. cit. p. 157.
2. „ p. 92-94.
3. „ and Niggemeyer "Totemismus in Vorderindien" *Anthropos* p. 612/1933.
4. Risley, op. cit. p. 200 seq.
5. „ p. 193/I B and
Gurdon, op. cit. illustration.

cally, as they do not speak the Austro-Asiatic Khasi, but Tibeto-Burman languages.[1] Here again membership of the *machong* or *mahari*, the matriarchal clan, is traced through the female line, though the totemistic character of these clans is more accentuated than among the Khasis. Thus, e.g., members of the *Rangsam machong* are named after the husband of their mythological ancestress, a brown bear, as " children of the bear," not after their ancestress herself.[2]

The Garo nation is divided into 12 tribes. Two phratries extend over their whole territory ; a third one exists among the Akaves only. These phratries or *katchis* are theoretically, but not practically, exogamous. The *katchis*, moreover, are composed of the above-mentioned matriarchal clans, the *machong*.[3] Theoretically, among the Garos as among the Khasis, a man can never inherit, and owns nothing, except what he has earned by personal labour. But practically, the husband is in full possession of the wife's property and this, it seems, to a greater degree than among the Khasis. This is a fact not insignificant in illustrating the culture-historic relationship of these peoples, who, speaking an entirely different language, are yet so closely related in matters of sociology and religion.

Marriage is matrilocal but shows traces of what might be considered as a survival of a former different system. The matriarchal clan of the husband delegates a *Nokrom*, usually the son of the newly married husband's sister, who is expected to supervise his maternal uncle's position in the foreign clan and to protect him against any injustice he may meet with from his wife's people. Moreover the husband is automatically married to his wife's heiress in the case of her death, thus practically remaining the possessor of her property, even as a widower.[4] Polygamy is theoretically not limited at all, and practically often confined to three wives. The Nokrom, again, usually marries the youngest, i.e., the inheriting, daughter of his maternal uncle's wife, whom he has to " protect," thus practically inheriting his possessions. In the case of his maternal uncle's death, the Nokrom marries the widow, i.e., his mother-in-law, as a second wife. Failing this, the refused widow has the right to disinherit her youngest daughter, to adopt another girl of her *machong*, and to expel the young couple. But usually the marriage of the Nokrom to his mother-in-law is a mere formality, enabling his wife to inherit.[5] The Nokrom is the youngest sister's son

1. P. W. Schmidt : *Sprachenfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* p. 132, 128 and Buschan : *Illustrierte Volkerkunde* p. 727.

2. A. Playfair : *The Garos*, p. 65, and
Fürer v. Heimendorf, op. cit. and
Niggemeyer, op. cit. (Caste-register.)

3. Playfair, op. cit. p. 64.

4. ,, p. 72 seq.

5. J. K. Bose : " The Nokron System of the Garos of Assam," *MAN* No. 54/1936.

in a family, thus usually becoming the chief of a clan, as soon as his wife, (the youngest daughter) inherits. His elder brother willingly obeys his commands, just as the youngest among a number of sisters who have polygamously married one man, inherits the family property.[1] The principle of the minorate, therefore, can be said to be excessively stressed.

There is much in the matriarchal institution of the Garos, contrary to those of the Khasis or the South-West Indian castes, that gives the impression of having been artificially and mechanically taken over from a foreign source. Virginity and chastity of the Garo boys may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection. The Garo bridegroom has to wait for the bride's proposal, which, on the other hand, is carried out by her father or another male relative of hers. If she finally approaches him personally, he has to hide himself, and, as among the Machis, even to refrain from any intimacy, when she first spends a night with him.[2] Though we, members of a decidedly patriarchally organized society, should always be careful in our verdict on what seems to us "natural" or "unnatural" in the psychology of matriarchally organized peoples, still the chastity and shyness conventionally required of the bridegroom, seems to be the result of the appliance of patriarchal sex-ideas on men, instead of on women, under the influence of a foreign matriarchal system, for the mother-right ideology, more often than not, leaves sexual freedom before marriage to *both* sexes. Moreover, the fact that the male relations of the bride carry out the proposal also seems to strengthen the view that the Garo were originally patriarchal and have later on taken over matriarchal views, which they have mechanically connected with their patriarchal feelings and institutions.

The religion of the Garos is related to that of the Khasis. They also believe in a chief creative deity, among many others of minor importance. This deity is called *Tatara Rabuga*, and has ordered two minor deities to create the world. All deities are given several names, which include the technical term for father, as well as for mother.[3] Among them, *Susima* is of special interest, as she causes blindness and lameness. The moon is her symbol, pigs, fowl and liquids are offered to her as sacrifices. *Asima Dingsara* is the mother of this "disease-goddess," whose name it is better not to mention, as *Susima* does not like it. *Asima Dingsara* once had two daughters, equally beautiful, i.e., the moon and the sun. One day, when the mother had left, Sister Sun threw dirt on Sister Moon, which the latter did not remove from her face, as she intended thus to prove her innocence and her sister's fault. But unfortunately, the offended one found no satisfaction, as is usual in

1. J. K. Bose : "The Nokron System of the Garos of Assam," *MAN* No. 54/1936.
2. Dalton : *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* p. 62, cited from Playfair, op. cit. p. 67.
3. Playfair, op. cit. p. 80.

the world, consequently the moon is pale and its surface seems dirty to this day.[1]

Ancestor-worship and double burial, as well as the *megalithic* buffalo-sacrifice on the forked sacrificial pole, erection of megalithic memorial stones and the pig-sacrifice are characteristic features in the Garo religious life.[2]

Slaves were killed, on the occasion of the burning of their lords' bodies. Male and female servants are tied to the leg of their deceased master, till the moment of cremation, even to-day.[3] This custom is especially interesting, as any such hints, pointing in the same direction, are missing altogether in the *sati* of the Hindu widows, which seems to prove that these two forms of killing a dead man's subjects (women or slaves) sprang from entirely different sources. (Compare Chapter B/6, II, 4).

Head-hunting was practised in single cases, even as late as 1876. Playfair considers this a connecting link between the Garos and the Nagas.[4]

Summarizing, we may state that the single mother-right elements of the Garos seem not to be elevated into a solid 'quality of form,' as among the Khasis. They often give the impression of something foreign, which has been mechanically adopted. Totemistic clan-organization and totemistic ideas also command the general mentality and sociology of the Garos to a very great degree.

Father W. Schmidt rightly considers that all this tends to support his opinion, that the peoples speaking Austro-Asiatic languages are related to a comparatively old mother-right culture-circle, to which the Tibeto-Burmanese speaking peoples, including the Garos, did not originally belong.[5]

The lack of polyandry, puberty-and menstruation-rites is, seen from the Indian point of view, just as surprising as in the case of the Khasis, already mentioned: all the more so, as polyandry is a living social institution among the Tibetans, to this day. The above-mentioned close connection with totemism[6] is another separating feature between the mother-right of the North-East and the South-West group of India. On the other hand the goddess of contagious diseases, the decapitation and the blood sacrifice, as well as all the main matriarchal elements, constitute specially connecting links between both the groups.

1. Playfair, op. cit. p. 81.
2. ,, p. 87-96.
3. ,, p. 110.
4. ,, p. 23, 78, 79 as also Heine-Geldern: *Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd im wesil. Hinterindien* op. cit. p. 105.
5. Lectures of Father W. Schmidt on Mutterrecht at the Vienna University, winter-term 1933.
6. Compare Niggemeyer, op. cit. (Caste-register).

Traces of Megalithic civilization have been observed in both the Indian matriarchal centres, as will be shown in Chapter B/8.

(*b*) *South-West Group*

The five tribes or castes, which are briefly described below, belong to the South-West group of Indian mother-right observers, (see the Map) each of them representing one grade of the above-mentioned working hypothesis, as has already been more clearly explained in the list of abbreviations of the caste-register. The two first model castes only belong to one group, though differing in degree of foreign influence.

One might perhaps hold that the culture-historic differences between the single castes and tribes in this part of the country are too insignificant a basis for this classification of cultural evolution. But the geographical and other environmental circumstances of this region at least partially dispel these doubts.

Kerala, the piece of land between the south-western coast and the Western Ghats, is a narrow fertile strip of coast, exceedingly suitable for agriculture and gardening, especially for the growing of rice and coconuts. A very dense population seems strikingly isolated here from the rest of India, by the barrier of the Malabar hills or Western Ghats. The dense shady jungles at the foot, and the cool meadows at the top of these mountains, barren and shut off from the plainsmen, gave shelter and subsistence to the shy jungle-tribes, remnants of the old race of the Weddide peoples[1] who may, at one time, have populated great parts of the world. Here the primitive jungle-tribes lived in a sort of splendid isolation, during later following periods; surrounded by highly civilized peoples, being themselves restricted to the small chain of mountains and jungles, where a culture has left traces resembling the most primitive, primeval culture. *Jhum*, or *Kumari*,[2] and the mountain agriculture of the Badaga[3] symbiotically living with the cattle-breeding Todas,[4] are the only forms of agriculture in these hills, on both sides of which large towns, complicated State organizations, huge temples, not to mention a highly developed agricultural system and, on the west coast, even mercantile relations to western Asia, Africa and Europe, have existed for at least two thousand years.

Thus Kerala, by force of geopolitical and environmental necessity, became a typical cultural backwater, which, in contrast to the adjoining Western Ghats, has developed a high grade of civilization of its own. The Western influences of Asia, Africa and Europe contributed their

1. Eickstedt: *Reisen in Suddravidischen Ländern* p. 133 seq.
2. Forest burning to make room for cultivation.
3. Gait CENSI 1911, p. 244/I. and Thurston op. cit. 63, 106/I. seq.
4. „ „ p. 245/I „ „ p. 117/VII.

own characteristic features to this isolated cultural entity and thus created in Kerala a most interesting blend of very old civilizations, obsolete in the rest of India, united to many foreign cultural elements, which, in former days scarcely reached the country beyond the Malabar hills. The amalgamation of cultural differences and features belonging to different degrees of evolution, must, under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the relatively small size of the country, have been strong. Still differences are to be found. It is the task of modern culture-historic ethnology to realize their significance, even if they seem unimportant at first sight. And this is the task before us. The only exception to this rule is made by the jungle tribes, who, as described above, do not really belong to Kerala proper and consequently show a marked cultural primitiveness, compared to the peoples of the fertile plains. But as these jungle-tribes constitute a probably integrating and basic entity of the cultural configuration of mother-right in India, they will also be represented by the description of the—

1. KADIRS.—This tribe, numbering about 1,300, is ethnologically one of the most typical and relatively pure jungle-tribes of the country, though anthropologically differing from the other, more Weddide peoples, by its markedly Negritoid type. They chiefly inhabit the Nelliampathi and Kadasseri mountains in Cochin and the Anamalai hills in the Coimbatore district.[1]

The first impression of a negroid, but at the same time pygmy-form racial type is accentuated not only by the negroid woolly hair, but also by their size. The men are seldom as tall as 158 cm. the women not even 150 cm. The skull index is 72. 9, nasal index 98. The complexion is very dark.[2]

The language of the Kadirs is a corrupt form of the Tamil, mixed with Malayalam elements, probably indicating a former language of their own, which has unfortunately not been preserved.

Food is generally gathered in the forests, even jhuming, the only form of agriculture, being rare. Small villages consisting of 10 to 12 leaf-huts are often erected and left again, following the nomadic custom.[3] These huts are erected by the *women*, who seem very proud of their work. Similarly fire, which is very seldom lighted, is tended by women.[4] The economic activity of men seems restricted to hunting and collecting forest produce, which has led to what one might call proletarian dependence on the forest administration, which now determines the life of

1. Iyer op. cit. p. 1/I. and Thurston, op. cit. p. 6/III.
2. „ „ p. 29 /III.
3. Thurston op. cit. p. 29/III. seq.
4. Iyer p. 4/I.

this once exceedingly free and independent forest tribe. Besides cardamom, sago and wax, honey is specially esteemed. Edgar Thurston and Wallace point to the method of tree climbing, as characteristic, both of the Kadir and the Dayak of Borneo.[1] Similar to the jungle-tribes of Malakka and Indonesia, the Kadirs do not know any other form of home-made vessel than the trunk of bamboo. Any earthenware pots they may possess have been purchased from traders.[2] The digging-stick and the bamboo-bow, approximatiely 165 cm. in length, and radially feathered arrows are the chief implements of the Kadirs. Besides this, men carve pretty bamboo combs which are greatly valued as wedding presents for the women, similarly as they are a protection against black magic among the Semang and Senoi of Malakka and the Aëta of the Philippines. The pattern of the bamboo combs in these places so distant from each other, are also said to have a great resemblance.[3]

The piercing of ear and nose, as well as the filing of teeth, is also customary. The Kadirs wore practically no garments until the end of the nineteenth century, thus enduring the dangers of tropical climate much better than they now can. The introduction of clothes unfortunately contributes, as so often in other parts of the world, greatly to the decrease, if not final annihilation, of this innocent and peaceful forest tribe.

The dog is the only domestic animal accompanying the Kadirs on the lonely paths of his jungles.

Kadir sociology betrays the marks of different and opposing foreign influences. Sons, as well as nephews, can inherit.[4] During menstruation and childbirth, seclusion in a hut, specially built for the purpose, is strictly observed.[5]

Marriage of boys with paternal relatives is banned, and the Indian menarikam-system, i.e., marriage of a boy to his maternal uncle's daughter, is preferred. Serving marriage,[6] combined with patrilocality, points to patriarchal influence on customs originally matriarchal, which is emphasized to a certain extent by the custom of easily repeated divorces, otherwise unusual in Indian life.[7] The maternal uncle is predominant as the chief of a small group, the father as the head of a family; a constellation which might be interpreted as the result of later matriarchal influence in an originally patriarchal society, in opposi-

1. Thurston, p. 15/III.
2. Iyer, p. 4/I.
3. Thurston, p. 27/III.
4. Iyer, op. cit. p. 10/I.
5. ,, p. 5/I.
6. Thurston, p. 18/III.
7. Gait, p. 245/I.

tion to the aforementioned hypothesis. The prohibition of remarriage of a widow seems merely the outcome of some indirectly exercised Hindu-Brahman influence.[1] The bridegroom, on the other hand, presents not only parents, sisters and brothers, but also the maternal uncle of his bride, with wedding gifts.[2]

Among the invisible gods, stone-images and avenging deities who cause a thief stomach-ache are worshipped.[3] These conceptions as well as the dolmens and Kistvaens described by Ananthakrishna Iyer,[4] the religious importance of Monday[5] and specially the worship of the Hindu goddess Kali,[6] point to foreign influence in the Kadir religion. Yet it is possible that an old pre-Aryan and pre-Hindu deity has preserved her existence among the Kadirs in the disguise of the goddess Kali. It is the natural result of the essential character of Hinduism, that social entity so emphatically determined by religion, that the chief influence exercised on non-Hindu jungle tribes, should be of a religious nature. The blood-sacrifice of decapitation, as practised by the Irulas and other jungle-tribes, e.g. (whom I have classified among the U-group), also appears to me to be foreign to these peoples, something acquired in the course of superficial Hinduization.[7]

The existence of some matriarchal elements in the whole structure of Kadir life may also be rightly considered characteristic of a great number of other jungle-tribes in southern India. The lack of direct succession in the female line is perhaps only due to the poverty in private property of the Kadir ergology and also to the lack of any social organization, other than small, nomadic village units. In this connection Heine-Geldern points out the strange relationship, even fraternal intimacy, that often prevails between the Hindu Rajas, who are otherwise so exclusive, and the absolutely primitive jungle tribes.[8] Thus certain Vedda clans have become satellites, life guard officers, sons-in-law and finally ancestors of influential aristocratic families at the courts of Singhalese kings in Ceylon, without even breaking off the intimate relations with their Vedda cousins, outside in the jungles.[9] Similar relations seem to have existed between the Bhils of Central India and the Rajput newcomers. To this day the Oguna Bhil fixes the royal

1. Iyer, p. 9/I.
2. ,, p. 6/I.
3. Thurston, p. 21/III.
4. Iyer, p. 2/I.
5. Thurston, p. 24/III.
6. Iyer, p. 11/I.
7. Thurston, p. 376/II. and 435/IV., and Nandjundayya-Iyer, p. 304, 393/III.
8. Heine-Geldern : Lectures on " Volker und Kulturen Indiens ", Vienna University, winter-term 1935/36. especially the lecture of 10/I. 1936.
9. Eickstedt : *Die historische Stellung der Veddas in der Fruhbesiedelung Ceylons* p. 51, 73. seq.

mark on the forehead of the Rajput chiefs and holds his arm, when he leads him, the newly invested chief, to the throne.[1] The awkward, twofold cultural position, so characteristic in the Gond of Central India, who are related to jungle life as well as to their short but splendid history as a ruling race, can perhaps also be regarded as typical in this respect.[2] Similarly the cultural customs of the south-western jungle tribes in India, as sketched in the example of the Kadirs, should neither be looked upon as an undisturbed picture of the oldest and most primitive civilisation on the Indian soil, nor as a mere product of the manifold primitive, progressive and highly civilized influences brought to bear upon them in the course of the Ages.

If this brief culture-historic sketch of the Kadir tribe may be considered to a certain extent as a prototype for the other jungle tribes in the south-west area, the—

2. TODAS can be said to occupy a different position. The markedly North Indide racial type to which they belong,[3] sufficiently explains this. Moreover the Central Asiatic, almost Alpine, method of cattle breeding,[4] and the very complicated social system of the Todas, as described in Rivers' valuable monograph, make it impossible to rank these mountain herdsmen among the other jungle-tribes, even though they have more in common with them than with the more advanced agriculturists or even with the agricultural slaves of the plains. On the other hand, the Todas have some social characteristics which seem to prove them related even to the most advanced caste, i.e., the Nayars of the south-western mother-right group, as, e.g., ritual defloration[5] which was formerly connected to a certain extent with puberty rites, or the custom of polyandry.[6] But the essential differences in the whole cultural structure of Toda life, based on a non-totemistic clan-system and two endogamous classes,[7] makes it impossible to put them on the same level, even with the representatives of the most deteriorated form of what we call the NAY group. The riddle of the cultural origin of this small group of herdsmen within definitely different surroundings cannot be solved before the relations have been studied that possibly exist between the Toda method of cattle-breeding and the Toda milk ritual on the one hand, and similar forms in East Africa, e.g., among the

1. Russell: *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 280/II.
2. ,, ,, p. 44/III.
3. Eickstedt: *Die Rassenkunde und Rassen-gaschichte der Menschheit*, p. 160.
4. Thurston, p. 134/VII.
5. ,, p. 141/VII. and
Rivers: *The Todas*, p. 503. This eminent specialist in the Toda question even believes in their having emigrated from Malabar to the Nilgiri Hills. Compare p. 698-702.
6. Thurston, p. 142/VII. and Rivers, p. 513-516. seq.
7. ,, p. 140/VII. ,, p. 505, seq.

Batutsi in Ruanda, on the other, who too may have been culture-historically related to the Indus-civilization, as Professor Amschler has suggested.[1]

Another step could be taken towards solving the Toda problem if those of their traditional and social features that appear absolutely foreign to India, were studied and compared to primitive civilization in the East. The death duties, ghost-houses and the ritual of the milk-cellar should be mentioned in this connection.[2]

Though it is impossible to attempt any solution of this problem, in the limited space of this review, still one possibility, as suggested by the aforementioned relations, might be considered. The racial type of the Toda as also the little statuettes of riders which they use,[3] suggest their north-western origin, their obvious relations to the Nayar group can possibly be supposed to result from a former common fate. It is possible, that the Nayars, coming from the centres of the Indus-civilization, brought with them some mountain herdsmen, who, after having settled down in the Nilgiri hills, revived their old system of Alpine grazing, adopted the cultural features of the very primitive inhabitants of the hills and were finally merged into this civilization. The symbiosis between the Todas and Badagas[4] as also the Kotas[5] rather speaks for, than against, this hypothesis.

However this may be, the Todas at any rate must be considered as belonging to the primitive tribes of the mountains in the south-western area of Indian mother-right, without being part and parcel of the average jungle-tribe type of that region.

3. PULAYAN or CHERUMAN.—The character of a community of slaves, deeply degraded for generations[6] makes it probable that here the remnants of a society are to be found, which was primitive, compared to the civilized conquerors, at the time of their advent, but still too far advanced in agriculture to retire to the hilly jungles, as did the tribes of the cultural strata sketched in the former paragraph. Surprisingly enough, the Pulayan hold themselves superior to the Parayan, another caste of deeply degraded depressed class peoples who, nevertheless seem to belong to a much higher grade of civilization. A Pulaya or Cheruma has to cleanse himself in five different basins and to let blood from his

1. In the discourse of F. Schumacher at the Ethnological Institute of the Vienna University on Nov. 30th 1936 and the subsequent remarks of Prof. Amschler on the cattle-breeds of Mohenjo-Daro. Prof. Amschler of the Vienna High School of Agriculture is a well-known specialist on breeds of domestic animals.

2. Thurston, p. 165/VII and Rivers p. 503 and p. 38-123.

3. ,, illustration, p. 137/VII.

4. ,, p. 63/I.

5. ,, p. 3/IV.

6. ,, p. 50/II. and N. Kunjan Pillai, op. cit. p. 431/XXVIII.

body, in order to regain ritual purity after having touched a Parayan.[1] This pride is reminiscent of that characteristic in many jungle-tribes (whose relationship with the Hindu Rajas has been mentioned in Chapter B/3, 2). Moreover ergological, general sociological and traditional elements, described below, will also make it appear probable that the Pulayan or Cherumam stand between the jungle-tribes and the following ethnological group. Racially they might be considered as more related to the pygmy type.[2]

Edgar Thurston mentions the following data :

Average height of men	..	157.5	of women	..	147.8
Nasal index	Do	..	78.1	do	..	77.0
Cephalic index	Do	..	73.9	do	..	74.8

The complexion is markedly dark.[3] Yet racial marks in a caste so widely spread as the Pulayan-Cheruman, prove little, as most of the officially endogamous Indian castes are, in reality, typically mixed ethnic groups and vary in racial type from region to region. Neither can this caste be restricted to one group linguistically, as each of the different Dravidian dialects of the South is spoken by the Pulayans in one or another of the various districts.

Tradition believes them to be descendants of the original population of southern India, which, after being conquered by the Chola kings, preferred slavery and labour to starvation in the jungles.[2] This tradition marks the difference of their reaction to that of the real jungle-tribes in similar tragic circumstances. The word Cheruman or Cherumakka means " sons of the soil." Cheruman Perumal, the name of a former king of the Malabar coast, according to one version, means " the Great One of the Chera people."[4] Moreover this caste owns certain privileges in some shrines and temples of the female deity Bhagavati,[5] hardly fitting in with their present degraded and depressed position. Anantha-krishna Iyer, too, accepted these privileges as further proof that this caste once held a ruling position.[6]

Their slavery before the middle of the nineteenth century was not even, as in other cases, bound to the soil. The Tampurans or slave-owning castes, on the contrary, possessed the Pulayan-Cheruman as private property.[7] The women of the Thanda-Pulayan, a conservative

1. Iyer (*The Cochin Tribes and Castes*) p. 86/I.
2. ,, op. cit. p. 88/I.
3. Thurston, op. cit. p. 91/II.
4. ,, ,, p. 45/II.
5. Thus., e.g., in Sarkkaray where a Thanda is even the priest. Thurston op. cit. 11/VII.
6. Iyer op. cit. p. 89/I. and also Thurston, p. 47/II.
7. ,, p. 90/I. and ,, p. 51/II and 20/VII.

sub-group, used the grass skirt as their only garment, till the beginning of the twentieth century. The material was taken from the Thanda, a water-plant (*Isolepsis articulata Nees*),[1] or, according to Thurston, *Scirpus articulatus*.[2]

The line of inheritance may be through the male or female line, i.e., to the nephew. Lack of property and the influence of partly patriarchally, partly matriarchally organized Tampurans, the owners of the slaves, diminish the importance of these regulations.[3] More important seems the fact that the first son belonged to the mother's slave-owner, not the father's, and this, it seems, even when the slave-owners were patriarchally organized.[4] A Pulaya mother or mother's brother had the right to sell a child under certain circumstances for fourteen to seventeen rupees and it was the mother who was entitled to redeem her child from the slave's lot for the sum of Rs. 4-8-0 even if this did not suit her slave-owner.[5] Yet we have reports from Cochin, where matriarchal sociology formerly prevailed among the ruling classes, of a Pulaya child as belonging to the father's, not the mother's slave-owner.[6] But generally, relationship among the Pulayan themselves is traced through the female, not the male line.[7]

The sambandham form of marriage, as is usual in southern India, is connected with very few formalities. The husband generally visits his wife, whereas the wife must have the leave of the Thamar, the slave-owner, if she intends visiting her husband.[8] Another form of marriage includes patrilocality. The bridegroom, in this case, makes friends with another young man, who, in the bridegroom's name, asks for the girl's hand. The bride has to cry loudly before going to the bridegroom's house.[9] Ananthakrishna Iyer believes the ritualistic male friend of the bridegroom to have sexual rights with the bride. These traces of polyandry, taken with the disinclination of the bride to follow the bridegroom to his home, are matriarchal in themselves and seem to point still more in this direction, as the maternal uncle of the ritual bridegroom's friend also plays an important part in the whole affair. A girl in Cochin usually has two or three lovers before marriage, a further reminder of former polyandric customs, though the marriage itself seems to be strictly monogamous.[10] Polygamy is often practised among the

1. Iyer op. cit. p. 89/I. and also Thurston, p. 47/II.
2. Thurston, p. 19/VII.
3. Iyer, p. 111/I.
4. Thurston, p. 68/II.
5. Iyer, p. 92/I.
6. ,, p. 100/I.
7. Pillai p. 385/XXVIII.
8. Iyer p. 102/I. and Thurston, p. 69/II.
9. ,, p. 105/II ,, p. 75, 80/II.
10. ,, p. 105/I.

Thanda Pulayan. A widow may be remarried, but never to her husband's brother ; a curious fact, as the ritual bridegroom's friend is rather reminiscent of fraternal polyandry.[1] Adultery is severely punished.[2]

A girl's first menstruation is celebrated with a certain amount of luxury. The girl remains secluded in a menstruation hut for seven days. A feast is arranged by the mother on the first and the last day. Seven girls accompany the initiated one, bathe with her in oil and water, and afterwards paint their faces yellow. Musicians of the Parayan caste play a priest-like rôle at these ceremonies and also exorcise devils, if such are found in the initiated girl.[3] A bride-price is paid at marriage.[4]

The maternal uncle as mentioned above, plays an important rôle if marriage is celebrated in the patrilocal form. Moreover he hands the young bride ceremoniously to the bridegroom's maternal uncle,[5] an obvious sign of transition from matriarchal to patriarchal systems.

Old women are less important in the caste organization than the old men, among them the *Vallon valiyan* who supervises the morality of the caste, the *Kuruppan* or writers and the *Vadikarran*, the policemen of the caste community.[6]

Religion does not only recognize deities, but also spirits, demons and the souls of the deceased. Kali and Bhagavati are the most important (female!) deities, but testify at the same time to the high degree of Hinduization in religion and mythology of the Pulayan, Bhagavati being worshipped as a sort of caste-goddess or ancestress.[7] The cock-sacrifice is also much practised by the Cheruman,[8] as in all Kanara.

Bodies are buried, not burnt. The chief mourner is sometimes the nephew, but sometimes the son, who piles a small heap over the grave, using it as a place of worship for 17 days.[9] Another case of matriarchal and patriarchal tendencies in alternation coming to the fore!

A sort of cudgel dance is executed by men, whereas a dance in honour of Bhagavati is danced by women .[10]

Though the matriarchal culture-elements of this caste seem to differ but little from those of the Parayan caste next described, yet the general

1. Iyer p. 107/I.
2. ,, p. 105/II. and Thurston p. 75, 80/II.
3. ,, p. 99/I. and Thurston, p. 65/II.
4. Pillai, p. 161/XXVIII.
5. Iyer p. 106/I.
6. ,, p. 111/I.
7. ,, p. 112/I.
8. Thurston, p. 80, 83, 86/II.
9. Iyer, p. 116/I.
10. ,, p. 124/I.

appearance and culture-historic relations of the Pulayan-Cheruman may be said to show a closer relationship to those of the jungle-tribes than is the case with the next group, the representatives of what we have called branch *a* of grade III in matriarchal evolution,

4. THE PARAYAN or MALA in Telugu and *Holeya* in the Kanarese language.[1] They constitute the most widely spread among the depressed classes, or " untouchables " who, at the same time, have to bear the most degrading and revolting humiliations which the caste-system has invented. Sonnerat reported at the end of the eighteenth century that they must hold their hands before their mouths when speaking to a caste Hindu or else he would be defiled ; that they have to leave the road on meeting a caste Hindu ; that separate doors are built in the houses of high-caste men when the labour of a Paraya is necessary in them, as he may not raise his eyes for fear his glance might fall on the cooking pots, which would then be defiled and consequently have to be broken. Some of these degrading humiliations are not absolutely abolished even yet, and are also applied to those members of the caste who have been converted to Christianity.[2]

An attempt to define the Paraya race does not seem very promising, as their long contact with highly progressive civilizations, be it as rulers, be it as serfs, their great number and the wide territory they inhabit in southern India and even beyond the South, have propagated race-mixture too much to allow any general characterization, valuable for all the different Paraya groups. Nor is any particular Dravidic language, or any one of the south Indian districts peculiar to this caste. Though they are now scattered as labourers and serfs all over the country, they still preserve a tradition according to which they have not only been, like the Pulayan, sons of the soil, but also had the function of a sort of Elder Brahmins in this part of the country. There is much in favour of this tradition. Their great number alone, of over two millions, to which some hundred thousand Christian Parayan may further be added, supports such a hypothesis ; all the more so, as the present lords of the Parayan, the Nayars and Brahmins, are far fewer in number and consider themselves descendants of immigrants arriving later. Moreover the knowledge of the Paraya population concerning the village boundaries and forgotten landmarks, and of the soil and landed property generally, is respected by the whole village, so that they are often asked as witnesses in quarrels over such matters.[3] Besides this, the Parayan also enjoy a relatively great number of religious and even social privileges,

1. Clayton : *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, p. 67, 80 and Thurston, 79/VI.
2. ,, p. 77/II.
3. Iyer, p. 70/I. and Thurston, p. 86/VI.

which, according to Thurston, they have certainly not been given by the Hindu Brahmin society.[1] A small number of these very numerous privileges, may be mentioned here. The bridegroom of this deeply degraded and usually very poor caste, is allowed to ride on an elephant during a marriage procession, like a Raja. The villages Govindanallur and Andapet are inhabited by Parayan only, even the village mayors being Parayan. Moreover, these, one might say ghettos, of the Parayan, usually attached to the caste-Hindu villages, exhibit a marked independence. Brahmins, visiting such quarters, are often soundly beaten by the Parayan. "These facts taken together, seem to show that the Parayan priests (Velluvan), and therefore the Parayans as a race, are very ancient, that ten centuries ago they were a respectable community and that many were weavers. The privileges they enjoy are relics of an exceedingly long association with the land....."[2]

Parayan dwellings often comprise several houses and a courtyard. Ornaments on the verandah are often of a symmetrical design, like those of caste-Hindus, and adoptions even of Brahmins into the Paraya-caste occur.[3] The Holeyas, i.e., the Kanarese Parayan, have the right to enter the Aiyangar temple in Melkotta during three days of the year.[4] Mahatma Gandhi's several years' fight for the opening of the temples to the Harijans, throws light on the importance of this time-honoured privilege of the Bailur Holeya, which they enjoyed long before the commencement of Gandhi's campaign. At the great Siva feast of Tiruvalur in the Tanjore district, the chief of the Parayan rides an elephant with the statue of the deity, the Yak-tail as a token of honour in his hand. Once a year, too, a Paraya becomes the ritual husband of the statue of the deity in Sriperumbudur.[5] The Paraya poet Tiruvalluvar and his sister Avvei were greatly honoured in the tenth century.[6] It is probably even true that, as H. A. Stuart reports in the Census of India 1891, the Valluvan, priests of the Paraya caste, were employed in this function at the court of the Pallava kings, not only before the immigration of the Brahmins, but even some time later.[7] The Parayan, and with them some similar, now depressed groups, may rightly be considered as having had a much higher cultural, social and political standing in former days ; this distinguishes them notably from the primitive agriculturists, of what we have called the second grade of matriarchal evolution in India, one representative of which was described in the Pulaya caste. The internal structure of Paraya sociology and religion on the other hand, as shown in the brief description that follows,

1. Thurston, p. 83/VI.
2. ,, p. 87, 88/VI.
3. ,, p. 88, 89/VI.
4. Iyer, p. 69, 70/I.
5. Clayton, op. cit. p. 60, 61.
6. ,, p. 59, 60/V.
7. ,, p. 59/V.

would hardly suffice to separate the two groups and to make them representatives of what we call two different grades in the matriarchal cultural-evolution. This lack of sufficient difference, however, may be explained as the mere outcome of the depressing slavery to which both groups fell a prey. Taking into consideration the great difference of history, tradition and former occupation, the still visible differences in sociology and religion may, under these circumstances, be considered sufficient as a basis for the aforesaid scale and the choice of the Pulayan-Cheruman and Parayan-Mala-Holeya, respectively, as its representatives.

Inheritance among the Parayan is partly traced through the female line, according to the Marumakkathayam-system.[1] This might of course have been taken over from the matriarchally organized land-owners. On the other hand, the fact that we find very old matriarchal traces, already dying out under later patriarchal influences in the Paraya custom, speaks against this hypothesis. Thus marriage is patrilocal ; yet a matriarchal survival may be found to exist in the custom of a young mother's return to her parent's house in the seventh month of pregnancy for the birth of her first child.[1] The remnants of the bride-price,[2] too, make it probable that a very old form of mother-right (compare the bride-price of the Pulayan, described above !) was extant in southern India, long before the Nayars brought their exceedingly advanced matriarchal civilization.

The maternal uncle must agree to a proposed marriage, it is he who holds the young bride in his arms, during the marriage ceremonies and who presents her with a ring. The mother, not the father, fixes the exact date when the real matrimonial life of the young couple is to begin.[3]

A certain form of what I should call " double marriage " practised among different castes in Kerala, seems also to indicate the transition from former, very old matriarchal to later, but also old, perhaps pre-Nayar patriarchal, at any rate pre-Brahmin patriarchal, ideas. According to this custom, a young couple may live together without any ceremony. Their children are considered legitimate. But if these come of age and start matrimonial life, the parents celebrate a sort of what we should call " silver wedding."[4]

Polyandry, according to the Rev. S. Mateer,[5] existed till the beginning of the twentieth century, but has died out, according to Ananthakrishna

1. Thurston, p. 101/II. and Iyer, p. 76/I.
2. ,, p. 74/I.
3. { Clayton, op. cit. p. 68.
   { Thurston, p. 95, 99, 103/VI.
4. ,, p. 96/VI. and Iyer p. 68, 69/I.
5. ,, p. 135/VI.

Iyer, as this form of marriage was punished as criminal by the authorities.[1] On the other hand the Parayans themselves consider secret conjugal relations of a girl before marriage a crime,[2] and punish adultery severely. Virginity tests by ordeals in boiling oil have been reported.[3] Remarriage of widows is permitted, but none of the deceased husband's brothers must be married by the widow.[4] A negative leviratic marriage, so to speak, widely spread in Kerala, which may be due to the abhorrence of the former rule of fraternal polyandry, which is so great, that even the marriage of a widow to the person who was formerly her second polyandric husband, was later altogether prohibited. The Paraya women have now to share the miserable lot of the depressed classes, but, as we have seen above, this does not seem always to have been the case for either sex.

Puberty rites of girls are similar to those of the Pulayan, described above. At the final ceremony the initiated girl sits in the middle of her parents' courtyard, flowers and betel-leaves before her, and is presented with gifts by the festival guests.[5] Similarly, after birth, the mother is considered polluted during one week, at the end of which the ritual oil and water bath takes place.[6] During this first week after delivery the husband has to observe certain restrictions. He has to live on roots, fruits and toddy only, and should not eat rice.[7] This custom is reminiscent of the couvade and seems again to support the hypothesis of a very old mother-right which must have existed in the oldest form of Paraya society, but which was patriarchally influenced even before the advent of the more matriarchal and far more highly civilized NAY-group. These patriarchal tendencies in the Paraya society neither have anything in common with Hindu Brahmin society, nor are they characteristics of the PUL-group already described.

Thurston believes that, as among other Dravidic peoples, the sun-god[8] and a chief goddess Athal,[9] are the central figures in their religion. In practical life, the importance of three categories of divine mothers prevails.[10] These are (*a*) the Ammas, represented by seven stones or bricks, which are posted on platforms under a margosa tree, in a way suggestive of Megalithic influence. They are worshipped collectively.[11] (*b*) The *Grama devatas*, i.e., single, individualized mothers, who are considered identical

1. Iyer, p. 74/I.
2. ,, p. 68/I.
3. Thurston, 91, 92/VI.
4. Iyer, p. 74/I.
5. Clayton, p. 66-68.
6. Iyer, p. 74/I.
7. Thurston, p. 136/VI.
8. ,, p. 68, 132/VI.
9. Iyer, p. 80, 81/I.
10. Thurston, p. 104, 105 and 123/VI.
11. ,, p. 105/VI. seq.

with the *Grama devata* of the Hindus in the same village and have one single statue each in the shrines of the Parayans. Each one of these is supposed to be a separate individualized sister, not as the Ammas, different representations of one and the same abstract being. (*c*) Mariattal and Gangammal, two goddesses of contagious diseases, such as cholera and specially smallpox. These deities suggest special relations to the North-East group of Indian mother-right, with which the whole habitus of the PAR-group seems to agree to a certain extent. (See Chapter B/3, 1.).

Besides these two afore-mentioned and subdivided groups of religious beings, many pseudo-religious ones, such as spirits, ghosts and goblins, the notorious Pey and Pisasu, also play an important rôle. Ancestor-worship is practised in the form of sacrifices before burning lights and supplication in praying posture.[1] Rain-making seems to be specially practised among the Telugu Paraya, the Malas, who, for this purpose use a frog, over which they pour water with various ceremonies.[2] The Velluvan or dasaris, exorcists and priests of the Mala have a great influence, even on the Brahmins of the country, though their position is not hereditary but merely depends on their real power to cure hysterical diseases, to " exorcise devils, appease demons " and the like. They also bless the young couple at marriage.[3]

The decapitation sacrifice, as practised by the Parayan,[4] again points to some relation with the North-East group of Indian mother-right. It is widely spread among the different castes within the PAR-group and is enumerated in the caste-register under the heading of Ca in clear cases, otherwise under that of Var., i.e., "various elements." Still more significant for a relatively far advanced (and again decayed) civilization, is the Oti cult, a sort of black magic, which may recall the human sacrifice, as dedicated to U Thlen among the Khasis, described in chapter B/3, 1. The adepts of this cult, it is said, must have gone through different trying ordeals, before they are introduced to its mysteries, which are supposed to give them the power of making themselves invisible by transformation into the shape of a bull, a dog or a cat, or to execute materialization—or translocation—phenomena even with human beings. This practice is said to have been especially applied to pregnant women, whose embryo is needed for black magic medicines. Alcoholic drinks, meat, oil extracted from human embryos, and bones of human skulls are important for these practices.[5]

Bodies are buried, not burnt, and again the nephew or the son may be the chief mourner, as among the Pulayan.[6]

1. Iyer, p. 83/I. seq.
2. Thurston : *Omens and Superstitions*..... p. 305.
3. Iyer, p. 80/I. seq.
4. Thurston : *Tribes and Castes*.... p. 49/VII and p. 86/VI.
5. Iyer, p. 76/I.
6. ,, p. 84/I.

Buffalo races are held on the 9th day of the month Ayilam at the end of September or the beginning of October. The animals are decked with flowers and little bells. The benevolence of the female deity Bhagavati and the preservation of the bull's vigour and health is supposed to be thus procured.[1] A. C. Clayton lays stress on the fact that he has never found any vestiges of totemistic organization among the Parayan[2] an assertion which I can support from all I have had the opportunity to study on Paraya life.

A short summary of these facts leads us to the conclusion that the Parayan must once have seen much better days, that as early as that time the matriarchal elements and traces of an older mother-right among them must have already been disturbed by patriarchal influences, as, seems proved by customs similar to the couvade or patrilocal marriage with matrilocal survivals, which, again, differ from those visible in the NAY-group of Indian mother-right. Moreover the matriarchal elements and survivals in the Paraya social structure themselves, differ greatly from those characteristic of the Nayar caste and the co-ordinated ethnological groups. Among the Parayan, no equivalent can be found for the Nayar usage of the Talikettu Kalayanam, nor for ritual defloration. Polyandry, serpent-cult and the matriarchally organized joint-family system seem to have been much earlier suppressed among the Parayan than in Nayar life. On the other hand, virginity tests by ordeal, some features of black magic and the Oti cult, as also shamanist rites of the Parayan, are all foreign to the Nayar and suggest some culture-historic relations of the former to the culture-area of Siberia on the one side and Melanesia on the other. Also Megalithic cultural features must have had a share in the complicated and often overlaid civilization of the Parayan.

Although these facts favour the conception of our working hypothesis, namely that each of the three groups up to now described in the examples of (*a*) the Kadirs and Todas (*b*) the Pulayan-Cheruman and (*c*) the Parayan-Mala-Holeya, also each belong to one stratum of Indian mother-right, we have still to bear in mind, that this conception is not yet absolutely borne out. It may also be that these three stages of matriarchal organization have been gradually evolved on Indian soil, one from the other, and have been merely more or less purely preserved according to the greater or lesser conservativism or progressiveness of the different castes and tribes. But the geopolitical, environmental and historic situation of Kerala, as sketched in Chapter B/3, 2 makes this latter hypothesis improbable. The pressure of the mere geopolitical situation of south-western India makes it almost impossible that such differences as exist between these three groups could have been preserved, if all three groups had originated from the same indigenous source, and none of them immigrated from outside. On the other hand the lack of more striking differences than those existing

1. Iyer 84/I.
2. Clayton, op. cit. p. 85.

should not surprise us too much, when we consider that the pressure of the Hindu Aryan caste-system which, for at least two and a half thousand years, has exercised its influence on the more and more impoverished and enslaved masses, was added to the equalizing tendency of the geopolitical situation of Kerala. Under these circumstances the depressed classes, even if belonging to two different culture-strata, cannot be expected to have preserved more of their original cultural features than they have actually done.

In whatever way this question may finally be decided, one thing stands out clearly and unmistakably ; that is the marked gulf between the matriarchal traces, survivals and remnants of all the aforesaid three groups, collectively, (and naturally each one of them separately), and the next to be described, the prototype of Indian mother-right, i.e., the Nayar caste and the co-ordinated NAY-group.

5. THE NAYARS are the feudal land-owners, a privileged, highly educated class of Kerala, though considered by the immigrated Brahmins to belong to the Sudra caste probably on account of their having preserved the traditional matriarchal system and some other national peculiarities till after the Great War of 1914-18. They inhabit the strip of land between the coast of Kanara and Cape Comorin. They were not only knights and warriors, but also ruling kings in Kerala till the beginning of European rule, as Duarte Barbosa reports in the sixteenth century.[1] Their everyday life was so much determined by the soldier's profession, that time and again Indian and European observers, unfamiliar with ethnology and the existence of matriarchal culture-circles have sought an explanation for matrilocality and polyandry in the fact that the soldier has to leave his home too often to enable him to be the head of the family or to keep up monogamous or polygamous matrimonial relations, like other Indians. They thought the specially intense relations between the Nayar mothers and children, or sisters and brothers, also to be the outcome of the father's military occupation. It cannot be shown for the moment that these explanations, born of an entirely patriarchal mentality, must be wrong in the face of the real facts and circumstances of former Nayar life.

Let us first consider the peculiar connection between land-owning rulers and warriors, and the matriarchal system of society, which, outside India, can only be found in a similar form among the Naches in the lower Mississippi valley of south-eastern North America,[2] where they constitute a matriarchal kingdom, ruling a patriarchal group of subjugated peoples. A situation similar to that of the Nayars ruling over the three less matriarchally organized groups, described above, as also over some patriarchal castes.

1. Duarte Barbosa : *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar,* cited from Thurston p. 288/V.

2. John R. Swanton : " Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico ", in 43. *Bul. Bur. of American Ethnology.* Washington 1911.

The Nayars are, also numerically, a relatively important group of far more than 110,000 individuals, speaking Malayalam, i.e., a south-western Dravidic language. Racially they belong to the Indide group and form the " Keralide type " according to Eickstedt's terminology.[1] A very long face, also among the women, and an unusually long, pronounced and straight nose, characterizes them. These features seem less important if the continuous race mixture is taken into consideration, which has been going on for centuries between the Nayars and the Nambutiri Brahmin immigrants from northern India. More important is the fact that the Nayar women, whose beauty, self-respect and elegance is proverbial, represent, also racially, a far healthier type than do the Brahmin girls, i.e., the patriarchally ruled women of the same country. The praise of the beauty and elegance, the intelligence, cleanliness and progressiveness of the Nayar men, but specially of the Nayar women, is prominent in all the literature on southern India, and is repeated by each unprejudiced visitor to this day. But as these qualities are due, partly to race mixture, partly to the well-known environmental influences of a ruling, sporting and active class, we can hardly hope to profit much in respect to anthropological definitions regarding the question of the original home of the Nayars.

The Nayars never lived in exclusive districts of their own. Their villas, or palaces, are scattered all over the country, surrounded by the shady tree and palm gardens, and by fields, where the depressed classes had to work as agricultural slaves and serfs. The mothers, later on the maternal uncles or Karanavan[2] of the Taravad, or matriarchal joint-families, living in these manor-houses, ruled like kings or queens, managing the whole estate and representing their people in foreign matters. Anantha-krishna Iyer points to the advantages of this system, when describing (*a*) the willing and unpaid co-operation of old and young, (*b*) the organized, systematic economy in the joint-family and (*c*) the uplifting influence of the women, who in contrast to those in the rest of India, have developed a standard of intellect, character and physical fitness equal to that of the men.[2] Before entering into the details of the internal social organization of the Taravad, the Nayar joint-family, we shall have to consider their position, outside their own community in relation to the other peoples of Kerala, where they formed a relatively small minority.

The Rajas of the separate kingdoms in Kerala exercised an almost unlimited power, not only over the Nayar men, their warriors and officers,[3] but, before polyandry was prohibited, they also had the power to endow such a man with conjugal rights over a Nayar woman, even if she was already married to one husband.[4]

1. Eickstedt, op. cit. p. 161.
2. Iyer, op. cit. p. 47/II.
3. " p. 54/II. seq.
4. " p. 59/II.

The Rajas were supported by three types of parliament, (*a*) the council, chosen by the ruler himself, (*b*) spontaneous assemblies, in the case of gross misdeeds on the part of the Raja, and (*c*) minor councils of the *pramanis* in each *desam*, the local district, still surviving in the assemblies of the village notables.[1] As in the case of the Khasis of Assam (see Chapter B/3, 1) this chiefly male organization of the state had a counterpart in a family organization of definitely matriarchal character. It is this fact which has probably led to the idea of polyandry, matrilocality and female inheritance being an outcome of the military occupation of the men. But the study of the continuous and steadily increasing influence of men, the decrease of matriarchal tendencies in the family and state organization of the Nayars gives sufficient historic proof of the contrary. This proof is also strengthened by the well-known fact that the Brahmin influence, gaining more and more ground, has favoured the patriarchal, and consequently the male, principle among the Nayars. Had the Nayar mother-right been the consequence of the Nayar men's military occupation, it would not have shown traces of continuous and steadily increasing decay at a time when the military occupation of the Nayar knights was still flourishing; furthermore it would not have died out under the influence of the Hindu Brahmins who, obviously, as will be shown later, only benefited by the matriarchal system of the Nayars. How strong, moreover, this Brahmin power was, under whose influence, according to the "military theory" of mother-right evolution, matriarchal institutions would have originated, is shown by the fact that although the Nayars considered themselves the proud knights, landlords and kings of the indigenous population, they at the same time accepted the Brahmin claim to great superiority over them. The Nayars were the Sudras, members of the last class, according to Brahmin terminology. These can obviously not have been the circumstances which developed a matriarchal organization, sharply opposing to the Brahmin conceptions, in this class, once the first of the country; their mother-right tradition must in reality have dated back to a time far anterior to the Brahmin immigration, as will be further shown by the Brahmin mythology itself. Before this can be done, we shall consider the mother-right organization itself, as it existed till the beginning of the twentieth century among the Nayars.

A Taravad, or matriarchal joint-family, comprises all descendants of one common female ancestor.[2] The husband, or husbands of the eldest ruling mother, who later on was represented by the aforesaid *karanavan*, her brother, usually remained in their mother's Taravad and merely visited their wife or wives. If such a Taravad family increased too much in the course of time, so that members numbered a hundred or more, the joint-family was divided into *tavazhis*. Here again the principle of female

1. Iyer, op. cit. p. 54/II. seq.
2. „ p. 47/II.

descent prevailed, as is also shown in the word itself, derived from the roots *ta*, mother and *vazhi*, line or descent.[1]

The construction and outward appearance of a Taravad house exhibit several interesting details. The ground on which it is built should be slightly inclined towards the east. It is confined by a square border-line and divided into four equal parts. The north-eastern and south-western parts of the ground are used for different buildings, the south-eastern corner for the cemetery. In the centre of the south-western corner, the small wood comprising the serpent-grove, so important in Nayar religious life, is situated.[2] The main building and dwelling house faces the east. The guest-room and sanctuary must be so constructed, that the first rays of the sun fall through the entrance door.[3] A big water tank for the repeated and much favoured religious and secular baths is to be found in every Nayar home. Moreover the well is constructed so as to let water flow directly into the kitchen.[3] The main house is surrounded by different smaller buildings and shelters for cattle.

The married woman does not sleep in the common dormitory ; she has one or two rooms of her own, where she can receive her husband, or in former days, her husbands. The fathers showed relatively little interest in the education of their children, a feature not common in other mother-right peoples, which might perhaps really be considered an outcome of the Nayar's military occupation.[4]

Polyandry, the traces of which are still to be found among many castes and tribes of southern India (see the index in Chapter B/2) was not prohibited among the Nayars until as late as the nineteenth century, when it gradually began to be dirsegarded, under foreign influence.[5] The maximum number of legitimate husbands for a noble Nayar lady, according to various reports, seems to have been twelve. Each husband had the right to remain with his wife, in turn, punctually regulated and reckoned from midday to midday.[6] The Portuguese and Dutch travellers of the eighteenth century praise the durability and fidelity of these polyandric marriages ; a fact which again seems to prove that this institution must have been rooted deeply in the oldest tradition and origin of this society, and was not born of a mere momentary situation, such as the prevalence of military occupations in belligerent ages. Logan says : " The Nayar women are as chaste and

1. Iyer, op. cit. p. 49/II.
2. ,, p. 6-17/II.
3. ,, p. 9-10/II.
4. ,, p. 48/II. It must be noted here that it often happens within other matriarchally organised societies, where visiting-marriage is practised and the maternal uncle plays an important rôle, that the father still participates actively in the education of his children. (Compare our notes on Khasi-life, or Malinosky, op. cit. where this relationship among the Trobrianders is thoroughly explained).
5. Iyer, p. 38/II. seq.
6. Thurston, op. cit. p. 107-113/V. and Hamilton's *Travels to the East Indies* cited by the former.

faithful as their neighbours, just as they are as modest. . ."[1] K. Narayana Marar believes that single polyandric marriages are contracted in far removed country-villas even to day, by which the years before the Great War are meant. Ananthakrishna Iyer, too, writes at about the same time that in Ponnani, the Walluvanad taluks, and especially on the Cochin frontier, there are still some polyandric marriages among conservative and orthodox Nayar families[2] whose old traditions have not yet been absolutely changed by Hindu Brahmin and European influence.[3] But officially, polyandry has now been prohibited. More and more young men build houses with money, partly inherited, partly self-earned, thus introducing patrilocality, dividing the old Taravad-property into more and more split *Tavazhis*, a process which, only too often, leads to impoverishment and misery. Thus the matriarchal joint-family system, which was the basis of the cultural tradition of a great, old nation, is being crushed.[4] We must therefore always bear in mind that for the most part, the circumstances described here do *not* exist any more in practical life.

The maternal uncle plays an important part, not only as the *Karanavan* the representative of the formerly ruling mother, but also in many other respects. The *Amma champattu*, the maternal uncle's song, is sung at marriage.[5] Children to a certain degree belong to their mother's brother, whose name occurs in theirs.[6] The eldest daughter of the eldest mother in a house, is of great importance, and formerly ruled as a " prime minister " of her mother. Her brothers too obeyed her orders, as the bond between brothers and sisters was also particularly strong throughout their whole life.[7] Thus we understand that the family was dearer to a Nayar than anything else in the world.[7] This matriarchal majorat system, it seems, shows a marked difference to the minorat system, which we have seen so markedly developed in the North-East group of Indian mother-right. Another difference, which must be considered essential, is the important rôle played by the puberty-rites among all the castes of the South-Western group of Indian mother-right and especially among the Nayars, contrary to the North-East group, where this matriarchal element, as mentioned above, seems to be unknown.

Thirandukuli, the puberty rites[8] of the Nayars, commence with the separation of the girl in a room in which there are a lamp, a brass pot, a bundle of coconut blossoms and other things. The girl holds a *Vālkannāti*, a mirror made of a round brass plate with a handle. The

1. Logan's *Manual of Malabar*, cited from Thurston. p. 36/I.
2. Iyer, p. 83/II.
3. Thurston, p. 313/V.
4. Pillai, p. 382, and also 373, 386/XXVIII.
5. Thurston, p. 323/V.
6. ,, p. 294/V.
7. Iyer, p. 47/II.
8. ,, p. 29/II. seq. and Thurston, p. 316/V.

event proper is announced by the happy shouts of the female relatives. Among many ceremonies, the following deserve special mention. Women of the surrounding houses visit the girl and bring new garments as presents. Relatives, friends and the village-people are invited on the third day. The *Manans* and *Velans*, the washermen, so important in the routine of Nayar life, come on the fourth day. The girl is oiled and washed with water in the next tank, together with her girl friends. The whole party then returns in procession, accompanied by music.[1] A pandal has meanwhile been erected in front of the main building where a luxurious banquet is offered to the guests to the sound of music and gay singing. The *Velans* intone songs from the Puranas and are presented by the guests, chiefly women, friends and relatives with one garment each. Sometimes the girl is led to a neighbouring house. On her return, drums are beaten and shouts of joy are to be heard. In southern districts the feast is often postponed to a more suitable day, ". . . . before the completion of which the girl is prohibited from entering into the kitchen or going to the temple for worship " as Ananthakrishna Iyer reports, in which custom the idea of impurity during menstruation and before its finishing ceremony is clearly perceivable.[2] It might be supposed, that the rôle played by the related and neighbouring women indicates the existence of some former initiation rites. This and similar questions will probably not be clearly answered until an ethnologically trained lady, if possible of Indian origin, has taken up the task of investigating also those customs and rites which are not accessible to everyone and which might contain many elements of great importance for further culture-historic investigation.

The *Talikettu kalayanam*, a ceremony that is something between initiation and marriage, is of special interest to us. The *Manavalan* or ceremonial bridegroom, on this occasion binds the *Tali* or marriage badge around the neck of one, or sometimes more girls. He is not obliged to perform the ritual defloration, but he has sexual rights over the girls round whose necks he has tied the *Tali*, a ceremony comparable to our exchange of wedding rings.[3] As the ceremony is very expensive it takes place once in every ten or twelve years only, and thus the *Tali* is often placed upon grown-up girls and little babies alike. The marriage-garments are torn on the fourth or fifth day after the *Talikettu-kalayanam* ceremony, in order to indicate the separation of the mock marriage. Still a Nayar lady has to observe a fifteen days' death-pollution, or at least to undergo a ceremonial bath, if her former *Tali*-tier, with whom she has usually had no sex-relations whatever, dies. The *Manavalan*, on the other hand, has the right to marry the girl, provided the girl's parents agree to the match. But in this case, a new ceremony, the *sambandham*-marriage,

1. Iyer, illustration, p. 29/II.
2. „ p. 30/II.
3. „ p. 27/II. and " Introduction " by Alfred Haddon, p. XV.

has to be performed. Duarte Barbosa reports that in his days the *Tali*-tier had the duty to perform the ceremonial defloration of the initiated girls. The Nayar men, according to Kerr's translation of Kastenada, and Sir Henry Winterbotham,[1] had to accomplish the same duty for the ladies of the Zamorin, i.e., a ruling Raja, the former thus attaining sexual independence. The *Manavalan* for the Zamorin's wife and the Nayar girls was chosen from the Nambutiri Brahmins, who, for their part, found much pleasure and advantage in this occupation. According to Duarte Barbosa, even people like the Portuguese and other foreigners have been asked by Nayar mothers to deflower a girl ritually, if the *Manavalan* had failed to do so.[1] The *Talikettu kalayanam* ceremony thus seems intimately connected with the defloration complex and the idea of marriage, though only a temporary one, and also with the puberty rites, as a girl is considered impure after the first menstruation until the *Tali* has been tied. In this period, for instance, a girl is not allowed to enter a temple.[2] This conception of ritual impurity during the time after the first menstruation and before the *Tali*-tying ceremony seems to contradict the idea that this ceremony is the mere outcome of Nambutiri Brahmin influence, for the orthodox Brahmins consider a marriage later than the first menstruation of a girl objectionable and therefore the question of religious purity or impurity during the time between the first menstruation and the *Tali*-binding ceremony ("marriage") could not have arisen in Brahmin society. A Brahmin girl, married as late as after puberty, is either boycotted along with all her family, or modern Brahmin society too resigns itself to conditions developed under Islamic and European influence, and silently agrees to the abolition of child-marriage. But a ceremonial impurity between first menstruation and marriage has never existed in the Brahmin ritual, and consequently this conception in relation to the Nayar custom must be considered to point to a former close connection between puberty rites, *Talikettu kalayanam*, and perhaps ceremonial defloration. Similarly the absolutely non-Brahmanic divorce of the *Tali*-marriage, and also the great festivities, processions and elephant riding, which have no place at the *sambandham*, i.e., the real marriage, contradict the widely spread conception of the *Talikettu kalayanam* as a mere outcome or remnant of Hindu Brahmin influences. This interesting feature in Nayar life must rather be considered a relic of pre-Hindu customs, which is ethnologically of the greatest importance. If we have found puberty rites for girls, the majorat system and perhaps polyandry as cultural elements, distinguishing the South-Western from the North-Eastern group of Indian mother-right, then the *Talikettu kalayanam* complex, along with some other elements, seem to separate the NAY-group again from other South-Western mother-right castes. These

1. Thurston, p. 325/V. seq.

2. Iyer, p. 22/II.

separating elements are: (*a*) ceremonial defloration,[1] (*b*) no necessity of chastity in a girl before marriage, and intensive polyandry,[2] (*c*) the tendency to establish the matriarchal joint-family system and the majorat of the daughter. The possibility of such a division within the South-Western group of Indian mother-right, as has already been mentioned in Chapter B/3, 4, can be better discussed, if the other cultural characteristics of the Nayars, and especially the probability of their culture-historic relations to the Indus-civilization, have been taken into consideration.

Sambandham, the real marriage, which was formerly polygamous and polyandric, but has recently become monogamous, probably under European influence, should preferably be contracted with the son of the girl's maternal uncle.[3] But far more freedom of choice is given to the girl than among other Indian high-class peoples. Ceremonies at the *sambandham* form of marriage are less complicated and formal than at the *Talikettu kalayanam*, which fact is very important in respect to the culture-historic position of both the ceremonies. The bridegroom, on a day astrologically favourable, approaches the bride's house, accompanied by his friends and fellow caste-men in a sort of procession. There he is kindly welcomed and seated in a conspicuous place. The *Asan*, the village-schoolmaster, recites from the Ramayana. An informal family feast follows. The bridegroom presents the bride with new garments, and betel is chewed. One after the other, the guests leave, till the young couple remain alone in the room, which has been meanwhile transformed into a sleeping chamber. The young husband has to leave early the next morning and to place a small sum under his wife's pillow, before returning to his mother's house. The husband's mother, in her turn, sends presents and invites her daughter-in-law to her house for a few days. The young wife returns after a short period, and is again presented with various gifts. She is accompanied by elderly women of her mother-in-law's family. From now onward she is allowed to visit her husband everyday, be it an astrologically favourable or unfavourable one, just as he can visit her.[4] Similar visiting-marriages have often been contracted with the younger sons of Nambutiri-Brahmin families.

As Schmidt and Koppers emphasize, it often happens, that the women are particularly suppressed and their situation bad, if pronouncedly patriarchal conquerors invade a formerly matriarchal culture-area.[5] Similarly, in the case of the Nambutiri Brahmins the younger sons of these decidedly patriarchal land-owning and priestly aristocracy, which obviously arrived in Kerala much later than the Nayars, merely gained

1. Compare also Thurston, p. 325/V. seq.
2. Thurston, p. 311/V.
3. Iyer, p. 30/II. seq.
4. „ p. 30/II., 31/II.
5. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 258 and specially p. 271.

all the advantages of the matriarchal marriage system of the Nayar caste, without obliging themselves to fulfil the manifold duties of a Nayar maternal uncle. The Nambutiri men thus enjoyed the happiness of a Nayar marriage, which lays no burden whatsoever on the father's shoulders, but they had not to fulfil the manifold duties towards their sister's children, as Nayar men had to do, as the sisters of the Nambutiri Brahmins lived in a patriarchal system and were moreover often compelled to celibacy. The consequence of this constellation was that Nayar wives of Nambutiri Brahmins had to care for their children alone. The reason that Nayar girls agreed to these marriages, was merely the prestige and the religio-social splendour which the Nambutiri men unfolded. A Nambutiri Brahmin for instance, is not allowed to eat in the house of his own Nayar wife, for fear of ritual pollution, as according to the Brahmins, she belongs to the Sudra caste. No Nayar, with the sole exception of his wife, may approach a Nambutiri Brahmin nearer than six paces whereas a Tiya has to observe a distance of thirty-six, and a Parayan even of ninety-six paces.[1] This extraordinary holiness of the Nambutiri Brahmins is considered justified by their devotion to the study of the Holy Vedas the language of which they learn, though their mother-tongue is also Malayalam, that of the Nayars. Thus we should not be astonished, that the Nayar—

Religion is far more Hinduized and Brahmanized than that of most of the other mother-right castes or tribes in India. Still some features of probably matriarchal origin have been preserved here, though chiefly in Hinduized form. Bhumi Devi, Mother Earth, is supposed to rest during the hot period of the year and to suffer under a sort of menstruation at that time. To her the great *Ucharal* feast is dedicated in January-February, after the harvest is over.[2] Kali and Bhagavati are the Hinduised forms of the Goddesses who cause and cure smallpox and other contagious diseases, just as they do in Assam.

Ancestor-worship plays a prominent part in the Nayar religion. A big room, a sort of house chapel, is dedicated to it in every rich Nayar house. It sometimes only consists of separate shrines; sometimes the ashes of the dead ancestors are placed in rocky caves and worshipped there. The belief in charms, black magic and exorcising devils is widely spread among the Nayars,[3] as it is in all southern India. The serpent-worship or serpent cult, which also prevails in southern India, is peculiarly characteristic of the Nayar caste. The *Nagattan kavu* (*Nagakottas*), i.e., the serpent-chapels and serpent-groves, adjoin all Nayar houses and are so much venerated that women, during their monthly periods, not to speak of depressed class peoples, are strictly forbidden to approach them.[4] A myth, very interesting in regard to the problematic origin of the Nayar

1. Thurston, p. 196/V.
2. Iyer, p. 78/II.
3. ,, p. 81, 85/II.
4. ,, p. 82/II.

civilization and their possible immigration to the south-west of India, relates that Kerala was once unpopulated and uninhabitable for men, and that only the serpent-gods resided there.[1] Another, Hindu or Hinduized legend mentions divine women, who were brought to that part of the country from Indra's world by Parasurama, the hero of the Brahmin civilization in India, for the use of the Aryan immigrants, and that, at the same time, the pre-Aryan women were ordered to give up chastity.[2] Yet another myth traces the origin of the Nayar caste to the unions of Nambutiri Brahmins with the divine, or semi-divine Gandharva and Rakshasa women.[3] The "advent" of these goddesses and fairies has been mythologically connected with the "command" to the indigenous women "to give up chastity." Chastity (in the patriarchal sense of this word) seems to *have* existed among the less civilized peoples of what we have called the PUL-and PAR-groups, but *not* among the Nayars. The Nayar women appeared like fairies or goddesses to the Brahmin invaders some thousands of years ago, as they have done since even to European travellers. Therefore the conclusion seems not out of place that this cycle of mythology indicates a higher standard of Nayar than Brahmin (Aryan) civilization, at the time of the entrance of the latter into Kerala, which must have been relatively late compared to the immigration of the Nayars, not to speak of the ages during which depressed classes must have inhabited the country.

The fact that men are reported to use female dress at funerals,[4] seems to point to the religious activity of women in by-gone days. Megalithic cultural elements at the great July procession, the "saturnalia of Kerala" will be more explicitly described in Chapter B/8, d.[5] A blood-cock-sacrifice and mud-throwing ceremony of this otherwise proverbially clean caste is dedicated to a Hinduized female deity in the form of Bhagavati. The cutting to pieces of sacrificed cocks and goats, may perhaps call to mind the human sacrifice of a certain type, practised among the Khond.[6]

The death of near relatives, as also of the *Manalavan* mentioned above, but also child-birth, causes ceremonial impurity in a woman.[7]

The complicated social construction of the Nayar caste, as organized at present, cannot be described here. Many endogamous, or at least hypergamous groups, i.e., those ordered in upper and lower classes, meet with a number of exogamously co-ordinated units. They are less interesting in this connection, as they probably owe their origin to Hindu

1. Iyer, p. 81, 85/II.
2. ,, p. 39/II.
3. Thurston, p. 284/V.
4. ,, p. 359/V.
5. ,, p. 396/V.
6. ,, p. 394, 400/V.
7. Iyer, p. 44/II.

Brahmin influence. N. Kunjan Pillai says verbally :—" The Nayar, like the other Dravidians, observed no caste-system till they came under the influence of the Aryans " and furthermore asserts : "....caste rules were *not* made rigid . . . till Sri Sankaracharia . . ."[1]

The problem of hypergamy, as a typical outcome of the clash between patriarchal organization and mother-right in India, will be separately discussed in Chapter B/6, II/2.

The Nayar's special interest in, and inclination to, sport and physical culture in general,[2] and archery in particular,[3] which latter custom may remind us of the Khasis, seems of great importance as regards the culture-historic position of this group. It is especially interesting in this connection that they had no cavalry in spite of their great love for elephants and their interest in buffalo-racing.[4] The culture-historic importance of this fact will be discussed in Chapter B/9 3., in connection with the problem of the Nayars' relations to the Indus-civilization where the horse seems to have been unknown.[5]

The same holds good with regard to the cult of the naked body during sport, similar to the classical attitude and that of ancient India, but absolutely dissimilar to that of medieval India. The women, especially of the highest classes, proudly left their breasts uncovered, a custom which has probably much contributed to the health of the Nayar population in the tropical climate of India, as also to the well-known self-confidence, frankness and activity of the Nayar women, who seem well portrayed in the famous bronze statue of a dancing female figure in Mohenjo-Daro.[6] This again, can give us some hints as to the culture-historic origin of the Nayar caste (which will be discussed in chapter B/9, 3). The bath, which is to be found in every Nayar house, and the water-pipe connecting the well with the inner rooms, as mentioned above, must be again called to mind, with the love of the Nayars for baths and bathing ; all of which features seem to have characterized the Indus-civilization, according to the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.[7] Sir John Marshall even considers them a proof of his belief that many characteristics of what we to day call " Hinduism ", and among them the ritual bath, are in reality of a pre-Aryan origin.[8] If this be so, then the aforementioned data, and with them the Siva-Sakti cult, so prominent a feature in matriarchally influenced southern India, which also seems

1. Pillai, p. 376/XXVIII.
2. Thurston, p. 406/V.
3. „ p. 373/V.
4. Iyer, p. 6/II.
5. Marshall, op. cit. p. 28/I.
6. Marshall, op. cit. p. 33/I. especially illustration 6-8/XCIV. Compare this with illustration of Iyer, op. cit. p. 100/II.
7. Marshall, p. 16/I.
8. „ p. 110, 111/I.

to have originated in the Indus-civilization,[1] favour the conclusion, that the Nayars (and with them the NAY-group) are a survival, if not of the Indus-civilization itself, at least of some provincial branches, which must have had their origin in that old culture.

Sivaism. moreover, has unquestioned relations not only with the cult of the goddess, but also with the very idea of matriarchy or at least its remnants. The sect of the Lingayat, the members of which always bear a Saivite lingam symbol on their bodies, owes its origin to the decidedly pro-feminist movement of Basava and Ramaya,[2] who gave many privileges to the women of their followers, foreign to the orthodox Hindu castes, and even permitted remarriage of widows.[3] Similarly it was, according to a tradition, the prayer of a *woman*, a sister, which won the originally puritan and patriarchally organized Jains of southern India to adopt Sivaism.[4] The small figures of ancestors, which, as before mentioned, are not placed in separate temples, but usually in the profane Nayar houses, must be mentioned here as well. This latter feature, and perhaps also the type of figure, again suggest culture-historic relations to the Indus-civilization, where temples must have played a very unimportant rôle, compared to the beautifully constructed secular dwellings.[5] The blood-sacrifice,[6] and perhaps the *kudumi*, the Nayars' asymmetrical manner of wearing their hair,[7] reminding one of the aforesaid female statue of Mohenjo-Daro, must also be mentioned in this connection, and will make it perhaps necessary to consider the origin of the *usnisa*, i.e., the traditional excrescence on the head of the Buddha statues.

It would be out of place here to compare the typical state organization of the Nayars with similar features of East Africa, the East Indies and Indonesia. Still some important suggestions on this topic should not be omitted here.

Heine-Geldern stresses the marked similarity between the fighting methods of the Nayar and Mapilla knights, their determination to die for their Raja's honour or for some other ideal, as for instance in the Mapilla raids, caused by offences against their religion or low-caste co-religionists on the one hand, and the running amok of Indonesia on the other.[8] He also compares the former custom of ceremonially legalized attempts to kill the Zamorin, the ruling Raja, after expiration of a 12 years' period, with

1. Marshall, p. 53-59/I. (Especially 58/I.).
2. Thurston, op .cit. p. 249/IV.
3. Nanjundayya-Iyer op. cit. p. 100/IV.
4. Thurston, p. 428/II.
5. Marshall, op. cit. p. 16/I. seq. and p. 57-59/I.
6. „ p. 96/I.
7. „ p. 34/I. Compare Thurston, op. cit. illustration p. 312/V.
8. Heine-Geldern, lecture on "Völker und Kulturen Indiens" Vienna University, winter-term 1935/36, especially 17/I. 1936.

the ceremonial regicide in Africa.[1] On such an occasion, as late as 1695, the ceremonial would-be murderer (accompanied by his nephew, not by his son, be it noted) reached the Raja's tent. It was due to good luck only that the ceremonial murder was not carried out; if it had, the murderer would have become the murdered Raja's successor.[2] Similarly the Portuguese have already connected the Indonesian running amok with Malabar, the word *amouchi* or *amuco*, according to Yule-Burnell, being derived from the Malayalam term *amer-khan*, meaning *warrior*, especially those warriors who attempt the ceremonical murder of the king, once every twelve years. Moreover Heine-Geldern holds that not only Portuguese etymological, but also historic-ethnological, proofs exist of the close relations between the Malabar coast of India on the one side, and the East Indies and Indonesia, especially Java, the Bugi and Makkasars on the other. As the peoples of Indonesia, among whom the custom of running amok was known, belonged to highly civilized groups, the influence of the Nayars of south-western India is already more than probable. Moreover ceremonial defloration was practised under Buddhist cultural influence in Burma, Cambodia (especially in the old Khmer state) and Siam between the fifth and sixth centuries. Heine-Geldern decidedly lays stress on the fact that ceremonial defloration there was connected with the serpent cult, which we have seen to be so prominent a feature in the very root of the Nayar religion, and which has also been adopted by the Nambutiri Brahmins. All doubts in a cultural connection will be removed by Heine-Geldern's argument, pointing to the fact, that these complexes, especially ceremonial defloration, were unknown in these countries, outside the sphere of the highly advanced and probably recently introduced Buddhist civilization, when he concludes: "Dies gehört ursprünglich wohl demselben Kulturkomplex an, wie Mutterrecht und Polyandrie" (This doubtless originally belongs to the same culture-complex as mother-right and polyandry).[3] He further agrees to Finot's argumentation attempting to prove that ". . . eines der ältesten politischen Zentren Birmas durch Einwanderer aus Nord-Kanara gegründet worden ist" (One of the oldest political centres of Burma was founded by immigrants from North Kanara)[3] and quotes as further support for the same conception the fact that ". . . in einer der vornehmsten Brahmanenfamilien des alten Kambodja, die dem Königreiche vom IX. bis XI. Jahr-hundert eine Reihe der höchsten geistigen

1. Heine-Geldern, personal communications on 9/XII. 1936. Compare also Frobenius, *Indische Reise* p. 26, and the map of the Geographical Distribution of the ritual regicide p. 25. fig. 1.

2. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell: *Hobson Jobson, Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms.* § AMUCK p. 18-23, especially p. 19.

3. Heine-Geldern: review of the book: *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, translated by Pe Maung Tin in *MAG* p. 172 seq.

Würdenträger stellte, die mutterrechtliche Erbfolge . . . " prevailed. (In one of the noblest Brahmin families of old Cambodia, which gave the Kingdom from the ninth to the eleventh century a succession of dignitaries of the highest intellectual standing, hereditary succession according to mother-right prevailed).[1]

The culture-historic relations between southern India and East Africa have been made the object of extensive literature, especially since Frobenius emphasized this point, and so has the geographical distribution of ceremonial regicide. It would therefore lead too far to discuss these possibilities of culture-historic relationship here. Suffice it to mention one interesting instance only, which perhaps has not yet been taken into consideration by all scientists concerned. A Nayar husband used to leave his arms before the door of his wife's private room, when visiting her, thus indicating his presence to her other husbands.[2] Just the same custom is reported by Count Coudenhove and Merker of the East African Masai women, who have polyandric relations with the Elmorao, or generally with foreigners.[3]

Culture-historic relations, in all probability connecting the Indus-civilization, and thus (as will be shown later on) the original Nayar group, with ancient Mesopotamia, southern Arabia, ancient Egypt, the Mediterranean area and Africa in general, will be sketched in Chapter C/1, 1.

B/4

IV. The Model Castes and the Alphabetical Register

The difficulties arising in the co-ordination of the single castes and tribes of south-western India to the four mother-right groups of our working hypothesis, have already been shortly mentioned in the beginning of Chapter B/2 : Alphabetical Caste-Register. The former Chapter B/3, on the model castes, will make it possible to illustrate these difficulties with some data taken from practical life.

The peculiar organization of the caste-system not only causes castes and tribes to be culturally assimilated by conquering immigrants, as is usually the case (compare the Pulaya-Cheruman's relation to the jungle-tribes on the one hand, and the PAR-group on the other), but also the

1. Heine-Geldern, op. cit. mentions as a source : Etienne Aymonier : " La Stèle de Sdokkâk " *Thom. Journal Asiatique*, 9. Serie, Vol. XVII p. 5-52 (1901). Compare with this A. Barth in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* p. 84/II. who thinks he finds Buddhist influence here, but Heine-Geldern does not agree with this explanation.

2. Thurston, p. 309/V.

3. Graf Hans Coudenhove : *My African Neighbors* p. 94 and M. Merker : *Die Masai* p. 117.

opposite sometimes happens, or seems to happen, in India. The Nayars, for instance, would undoubtedly occupy the position of a " first society " in their motherland, had not the Brahmin immigration placed them on the level of " High-class Sudras," thus affecting their whole socio-political and also religious position. It is the peculiar unity[1] of the caste destinies which result in this typical social situation. Similarly the Tiya or Izhava caste (see Caste Register) seems to have undergone such a process under the influence of a common destiny. Perhaps they were once raised to a better social position than they had originally occupied under matriarchal dominance. But later on, when the Brahmin, and still later, when the European patriarchal system of society came to rule in Kerala, their caste destiny was not as much exalted as it really should have been, according to their economic, educational and general socio-political rise during the last century. Another and very important group of examples of this development will be described in Chapter B/7, 2, 3 and 4, where the probability of a downfall of different formerly matriarchal castes, as, e.g., the Banjara, the bard and genealogist, musician, acrobat, dancer, gipsy and many more other castes, will be discussed. For the moment it must suffice to say, that the Banjara, for instance, have been classified among the NAY-group, though they are at present on a socio-political level far beneath that of the Nayars. On the other hand, although the Nambutiri Brahmins consider themselves (as shown above) far superior to the Nayars, it is still necessary to indicate in the caste-register the close relationship existing in at least one matriarchally organized group of them,[2] with the NAY-group, the general cultural atmosphere of which has also been taken over by the Nambutiri Brahmins to a relatively great extent. It will not be possible to decide in each single case of the registered mother-right groups, whether a social unit, now in an advanced socio-political situation, was formerly in a still better, or far lower one than at present, nor will it always be possible to discern which of the now depressed, but formerly perhaps advanced groups, has transported cultural elements of its former highly civilized level into the sphere of the depressed classes, thus changing their culture-historic position altogether.

The complicated culture-historic picture resulting from this situation, has here been explained chiefly with regard to our NAY-group, but must also be applied to the other three mother-right grades, which have been alluded to in the respective chapters concerned (B/3, 2, 3 and 4).

It has not been possible to explain within the limits of this book, which relations connect each single one of the more than 300 castes and tribes (represented in the index), with the different grades of Indian mother-right. Nor can it be attempted to describe the arguments for the classification even of those castes which have been classed in a parti-

1. Ibbetson, *CENSI* 1881 and Risley, *CENSI* 1901, p. 238/I. B.
2. Thurston, p. 175-177/V.

cular grade, as indicated by the affixed abbreviations in the first part of the register. Still the hope may be expressed, that the attempt made to indicate relations between single castes and matriarchal strata in this caste-register will serve as a working hypothesis for further theoretical, but principally practical field work within the culture-area of the different matriarchal circles in India, and will thus be corrected.

B/5

V. Summary of the Culture-historic Results

The problem of the relations between the North-East and the South-West groups of Indian mother-right is in the foreground of our interest. As the relations between mother-right in India on the one side, and Totemism, Hinduism, the excavated Indus-civilization and the Megalithic cultures, on the other, may contribute important data to this question, and as these latter relations will be considered in the following Chapters B/6, B/8 and B/9, we have to postpone the conclusions concerned with this complex. At this moment the relations can only be summarized, resulting directly from the comparison of the North-East group (described in Chapter B/3, 1) and of the South-West group (described in Chapters B/2 and B/3, 2 to 5). Stress must again be laid on the relations between the single castes, marked with abbreviations, in the index and Koppers' strata of mother-right, as roughly sketched in Chapter B/1, b.

The socio-religious, economic and political organization of the North-East group, based entirely on a relatively high form of agriculture and a complicated state-organization which still has not reached the level of a city-civilization, exhibits, if any, relations with the two middle groups of the South-West, and among them more to the PAR-than to the PUL-group, as has been shown in the respective chapters. Patriarchal tendencies, which must have influenced the PAR-group at a relatively early time of evolution (couvade, patrilocality, sometimes chastity, etc.) and which are visible in the Khasi state-organization, the Oti cult and similar features in the Parayan, who must have once seen much better days, and human sacrifice to U Thlen among the Khasis,—these are a few of the outstanding parallels between the two groups. Perhaps absence of polyandry, which can be considered a prominent feature under the special circumstances, especially of the Parayan, who were slaves under a decidedly polyandric matriarchal class, may still be added. The same absence is conspicuous in the Khasi and Garo,[1] as polyandry was widely spread in the neighbouring Himalayan area but not among them.[2] The Megalithic representations of thirty husbands of a Khasi woman in Subtinga[3] are no more proof of polyandry than some remnants of this custom among the Parayan mentioned above.

1. Playfair, op. cit. and Gurdon, op. cit.
2. Gait, *CENSI* 1911, p. 216, 235, 239, 244/I. seq.
3. Risley, op. cit. p. 199/I. B.

The intensive prevalence of menstruation ceremonies in all the South-Western groups, and the supposed absolute lack of them in the North-East group, seems to denote a marked difference between both the entities. Still it might be the case that the PAR-group adopted the menstruation-ceremonies from the NAY-group, or that remnants of former puberty rites among the Khasis and Garos will be discovered later on.

Relations between the North-East group and the Nayars have been mentioned in several cases. Still they should not be overestimated, as they can possibly have originated in the environmental situation of a ruling class which both the groups have in common. This may also be the case with regard to archery, which is a ceremonial custom among the Khasis, but a mere sport among the Nayars. Still the possibility remains that both the groups have been more or less influenced by one common cultural source, i.e., the Indus-civilization, as represented in the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. This possibility is more explicitly discussed in Chapter B/9, 3 and 4.

It has been mentioned several times that the relations of the religious conceptions of both the groups to the female aspect of the Hindu deities show that they must have had much in common. Heine-Geldern's article on *Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd im westlichen Hinterindien sowie den Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien*[1] and W. Schmidt's reply to the same[2] are concerned with this problem, as well as, though in another form, Koppers' *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus.*[3] The belief in a common origin, at least of the religious side of the different stages and local groups in Indian mother-right, visible in all these theories, has been strengthened by Sir John Marshall's[4] later published results of the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, although at the same time directed to another geographical, i.e., north-western origin. Here again we must refrain from definite conclusions, until the problems of mother-right in relation to totemism, Hindu civilization and Megalithic cultures have been discussed, as will be done below. Still it may be mentioned here that the importance of Megalithic elements in Indian mother-right circles and the decapitation sacrifice perhaps connected with the same, seems to favour the conception of matriarchal cultural influence coming from the north-east and directed towards the south-west. This influence seems to fit in with the relationship that might have existed between the Khasi-Garo group and the South-Western PAR-group and furthermore agrees with this working hypothesis, which found the PAR-group to be older and to belong to a more primitive stage of mother-right evolution than

1. *MAG* 1917, p. 1. seq. and 1921 p. 105. seq.
2. *Anthropos* 1919/20, p. 1138-1146.
3. *Anthropos* 1921/22, p. 442-458.
4. Marshall, op. cit. especially 110/I.

does the NAY-group. This possibility, or perhaps probability, as will be more explicitly discussed in Chapter B/8, which is concerned with Megalithic culture and mother-right, must still be mentioned here as this conception must be kept in view during discussion of the relationship between mother-right and totemism in India, which is the subject of the following chapter.

B/6

VI. Matriarchal Elements in the rest of India

I. Totemistic Territory

Totemism and mother-right meet in the North-East and the northern part of the South-West, i.e., Kanara, as has been indicated in the caste-register and in Chapter B/3, 1 (on the North-Eastern group of mother-right).

Between these two points of contact, far removed from each other, lies the vast space of Hindusthan and the Central Indian plateau partly occupied by the primitively organized totemistic tribes, partly by the great mass of Hindus and Hinduized castes.

Niggemeyer defines the territory of totemism proper, as surrounded by a northern border-line, running in a semi-circle from Gujerat to Allahabad, along the Ganges till its mouth and southwards to the line from Mahé to Madras,[1] which perhaps would be better defined as a line from Cannanore to Madras. He furthermore stresses that southward of this line no totemistic traces are to be found between the west-coast and the Western Ghats, *i.e.*, our South-Western mother-right territory, and that eastward of the Western Ghats, in the plains, only nine totemistic groups have been discovered by him, and these also have been found to be immigrants from the North.[2] (See map.)

Totemistic organizations, are naturally not to be found in a compact mass, even there, but, like the mother-right in its Indian areas, mixed with castes and immigrated individuals belonging to caste-Hinduism. These latter were more or less influential and spread their conception of life rapidly among the totemistic peoples. The former are found in their original organization more in those territories where primitive social circumstances have been partially preserved, as for instance, Chota Nagpur and Central India.[2] This geographical situation shows that more intensive relations between the two entities, mother-right and

1. Niggemeyer, op. cit. p. 583.

2. „ „ p. 583-584.

totemism in India, exist chiefly in the north-east, in Assam, than in the south-western zone of mother-right. Kanara, where both these entities also meet, is a part of the west coast where immigration from, and cultural contact with, the totemistic area adjoining it in the East, have always been easy. The third region of mutual contact, Madura in the extreme south of India, is of little importance from the culture-historic point of view, as Niggemeyer proves their resident totemistic groups to have immigrated recently only, when he states :

"The Toreya (Thurston, 176/VII) and Vakkaliga (Thurston, 438/V) are Kanarese, who originally lived in Mysore. The Odde (Thurston, 422, 424/V) are Telugu and derive from Orissa. The Kaverie (Thurston, 263/III) are identical with the Telugu trade-caste of the Baliya ; by these names will be designated the members of this caste who settled in Tamil country. Similarly the Medara (Thurston, 52/V) are a wide-spread caste of bamboo-workers found in Telugu, Kanarese and Oriya territory. The Konga Vellala (Thurston, 417/III and 387/VII) have only the name in common with the great Tamil farming caste, the Vellala. They differ from them in every respect. Thus the Vellala know nothing of Totemism, whereas the Konga Vellala are totemists, and therefore point to a northern origin. Among the Marawar (Fawcet : *Kondayamkottai Marvars*, p. 61) the mother-right totem-descent suggests a connection with the mother-right totemist region of Kanara. How striking the appearance of totemism is here in the further south is referred to by Thurston at one place."[1] "A curious feature in connection with the Saliyans is that, *contrary to the* usual rule among Tamil castes they have exogamous sept." (Thurston, p. 277/IV).

Descent of the totem is traced through the female line in most of the cases within the region of contact between mother-right and totemism. Niggemeyer concludes from these facts that the matriarchal form of totemism in southern India as well as in Assam has been developed as

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1. "Die Toreya (Thurston, p. 176/VII) und Vakkaliga (Thurston, p. 438/V) sind Kanaresen, die ursprünglich in Mysore gewohnt haben. Die Odde (Thurston, p. 422, 424/V) sind Telugu und stammen aus Orissa. Die Kavarei (Thurston, p. 263/III) sind mit der Telugu-Handels-kaste der Balija identisch ; mit diesen Namen werden die Mitglieder dieser Kaste bezeichnet, die sich im Tamilen-Land niedergelassen haben. In ähnlicher Weise sind die Medara (Thurston, p. 52/V) eine weitver-breitete Bambusarbeiterkaste, die sich in gleicher Weise im Gebiet der Telugu, Kanaresen und Orya findet. Die Konga Vellala (Thurston, p. 417/III und p. 387/VII) haben mit der grossen Bauernkaste der Tamil, den Vellala, nur den Namen gemeinsam. Sie unterscheiden sich von ihnen in jeder Beniehung. So kennen die Vellala keinen Totemismus, während die Konga Vellala totemistisch sind und daher eher nach Norden weisen. Bei den Marawar (Fawcet : "Kondayamkottai Marvars," p. 61) legt schon die mutterrechtliche Totemdeszendenz eine Verbindung mit dem mutterrechtlich-totemistischen Gebiet von Kanara nahe. Wie auffällig das Auftreten von Totemismus, hier im äussersten Süden ist, spricht Thurston an einer Stelle aus :

a mere product of the contact between " pure mother-right and patriarchal totemism,"[1] a conception which must be supported from the point of view of mother-right investigation in India.

The next question to be discussed is whether matriarchal elements are, or are not, to be found in the centre of totemistic territories. Before proceeding to this problem, we must however recall, that totemism does not occur in the classical mother-right area of south-western India, (with the sole exception of totemistically influenced Kanara) as Niggemeyer definitely states,[2] and as our alphabetical caste-register has also proved, (see Chapter B/2), whereas in the North-East totemism and mother-right seem to be closely connected, or, more correctly, even organically mixed (see Chapter B/3, 1.).

The reverse situation, i.e., lack of any matriarchal traces and elements in the totemistic area of India, cannot be affirmed. Before considering the very centres of totemism from this point of view, we shall have to analyse its southern regions, which border on the mother-right area. Here it is chiefly Mysore and the adjoining territories which are of importance in this connection, as has already been shown in the caste-register, where many castes of this district have been mentioned, tracing totemism in the male line, but still showing different single elements of mother-right, according to our definition given in Chapter B/1, 3.

Thus we find among the following castes and tribes prevalence of a prominent position, either socially or religiously, of the

MATERNAL UNCLE: Dandasi,[3] Darzi, slightly marked only,[4] Domb,[5] Gangadikara Okkalu,[6] Ganiga,[7] Golla,[8] Halikar Okkaliga[9] Holeya,[10] Idiga,[11] Jains of Mysore,[12] Jalari,[13] Jogi (Telugu),[14]

1. Niggemeyer, op. cit. p. 586.
2. ,, ,, p. 585.
3. Thurston, p. 110/II.
4. Nanjundayya & Iyer, op. cit. p. 83/III.
5. ,, ,, p. 147/III., 149/III.
6. ,, ,, p. 179/III. seq.
7. ,, ,, p. 192/III.
8. ,, ,, p. 209/III.
9. ,, ,, p. 274/III.
10. ,, ,, p. 333, 334/III.
11. ,, ,, p. 364/III.
12. ,, ,, p. 104/III.
13. Thurston, p. 443/II.
14. ,, p. 497/II.

Kapu (Reddi),[1] Kilekyata[2] Komati,[3] Khond,[4] Koracha,[5] Kumbara,[6] Kuruba,[7] Madiga,[8] Maravan[9], Mondaru,[10] Muka Dora,[11] Sadaru,[12] Tigala[13] Toreya,[14] Tottiyan,[15] Tsakala,[16] Uppara.[17]

PUBERTY-RITES of GIRLS are celebrated among the: Bili Magga,[18] Budubudiki,[19] Darzi,[20] Dasari,[21] Domb,[22] Gangadikara Okkalu,[23] Ganiga,[24] Golla,[25] Haddi,[26] Halepaik,[27] Halikar Okkaliga,[28] Hasalar,[29] Helava,[30] Holeya,[31] Idiga,[32] Jains of Mysore,[33] Jalari,[34] Jangala,[35] Jetti,[36] Jogi (Telugu),[37] Kacha Gauliga,[38] Kapu (Reddi),[39] Kare Okkalu,[40]

1. Thurston, p. 237/III.
2. Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit. p. 524/III.
3. ,, ,, p. 543/III.
4. Thurston, *Ethn. Notes* p. 8, 9.
5. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 593/III.
6. ,, p. 9/IV.
7. ,, p. 42/IV.
8. ,, p. 145/IV.
9. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*.... p. 40/V.
   Pillai, op. cit. p. 384/XXVIII.
10. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 220/IV.
11. Thurston, p. 104/V. seq.
12. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 529/IV. seq.
13. ,, p. 611/IV.
14. Thurston, p. 178/VII.
15. ,, p. 191/VII.
16. ,, p. 201/VII.
17. ,, p. 239/VII.
18. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 282/II. (Mysore T. and C.)
19. ,, p. 553/II.
20. ,, p. 90/III.
21. ,, p. 107/III.
22. ,, p. 147, 149/III.
23. ,, p. 179, 180/III.
24. ,, p. 192/III.
25. ,, p. 208/III.
26. Thurston, p. 316/II.
27. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 288/III.
28. ,, p. 274/III.
29. ,, p. 302/III.
30. ,, p. 314/III.
31. ,, p. 337/III.
32. ,, p. 364/III.
33. ,, p. 116/III.
34. Thurston, p. 444/II.
35. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 469/III.
36. ,, p. 482/III.
37. Thurston, p. 497/III.
38. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 609/III.
39. Thurston, p. 234/III.
40. Nanjundayya and Iyer, 505/III.

Karna Sale,[1] Killekyata,[2] Komati,[3] Koracha,[4] Kumbara,[5] Kunchitiga,[6] Kuruba,[7] Ladar ? Couvade-like custom, occasionally the wife's puberty,[8] Madiga,[9] Mala,[10] Maravan,[11] Meda,[12] Mondaru,[13] Muka Dora,[14] Mutracha,[15] Nagartha,[16] Nattuvan,[17] Nayinda,[18] Patvegara,[19] Reddi,[20] Sadaru,[21] Salahuva Vakallu,[22] (Padma) Sale,[23] Saniyasi,[24] Satani,[25] Tigala,[26] Togata,[27] Toreya,[28] Tsakala,[29] Uppara,[30] Wodda.[31]

GODDESSES (often smallpox goddesses) are much revered by : Bili Magga,[32] Budududiki,[33] Darzi,[34] Domb,[35] Gadaba,[36] Gangadikara Okkalu,[37]

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1. Thurston, p. 253/III.
2. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 524/III.
3. ,, p. 559/III.
4. ,, p. 587/III.
5. ,, p. 10/IV.
6. ,, p. 23/IV.
7. Thurston, p. 143/IV.
8. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 77/IV.
9. ,, p. 145/IV.
10. Thurston, p. 365/IV.
11. ,, p. 40/V.
12. ,, p. 57/V. and Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 197/IV.
13. ,, p. 220/IV.
14. Thurston, p. 104/V. seq.
15. ,, p. 130/V. seq.
16. Nanjundayya and Iyer, 402/IV.
17. ,, p. 425/IV.
18. ,, p. 438/IV.
19. ,, p. 479/IV.
20. ,, p. 512/IV.
21. ,, p. 529, 530/IV.
22. ,, p. 552/IV.
23. ,, p. 564/IV.
24. ,, p. 576/IV.
25. ,, p. 587/IV.
26. ,, p. 615/IV.
27. ,, p. 630/IV.
28. Thurston, p. 178/VII.
29. ,, p. 201/VII.
30. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 645/IV. seq.
31. ,, p. 666/IV.
32. ,, p. 284/II.
33. ,, p. 550/II.
34. ,, p. 94/III.
35. ,, p. 45, 60, 141/III and Thyagaraja Aiyer op. cit. p. 116/XXI.
36. Thurston, p. 250/III.
37. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 183/III.

Ganiga,[1] Golla,[2] Haddi,[3] Hallikar Okkaliga,[4] Helava,[5] Holeya,[6] Idiga[7], Jains of Mysore,[8] (as Sitala devi), Jatapu,[9] Jetti,[10] Jogi (Telugu),[11] Kacha Gauliga,[12] Kapu (Reddi),[13] Kare Okkalu,[14] Killekyata,[15] Komati,[16] Khond,[17] Koracha,[18] Kumbara,[19] Kunchitiga,[20] Kuruba,[21] Kurumba,[22] Ladar,[23] Madiga,[24] Marawan,[25] Meda,[26] Mochi,[27] Moger,[28] Mondaru,[29] Nattuvan,[30] Patvegara,[31] Sadaru,[32] (Padma) Sale,[33] Saniyasi,[34] Sudugadu Siddha,[35] Tigala,[36] Togata,[37] Toreya,[38] Uppara,[39] Wodda.[40]

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 193/III.
2. ,, p. 213/III.
3. Thurston, p. 316/II.
4. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 275/III.
5. ,, p. 316/III.
6. ,, p. 342/III.
7. ,, p. 370/III.
8. ,, p. 443/III.
9. Thurston, p. 455/II.
10. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 474/III.
11. Thurston, p. 495/II.
12. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 511/III.
13. Thurston, p. 247/III.
14. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 505/III.
15. ,, p. 529/III.
16. ,, p. 530, 552/III.
17. Thurston, p. 348/IV.
18. ,, p. 434/III and Iyer, p. 585/III. and p. 607/III.
19. ,, p. 117/IV.
20. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 24/IV.
21. Thyagaraja Aiyer, p. 170/XXI.
22. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 71/IV.
23. ,, p. 78/IV.
24. Thurston, p. 300-307/IV.
25. ,, p. 43/IV.
26. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 201/IV. and Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 127/XXI.
27. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 208/IV.
28. Thurston, p. 68/V.
29. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 557/IV.
30. ,, p. 427/IV.
31. ,, p. 480/IV and Thurston, p. 187/VI.
32. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 533/IV.
33. ,, p. 561/IV.
34. ,, p. 579/IV.
35. ,, p. 601/IV. seq.
36. ,, p. 618/IV.
37. ,, p. 632//IV.
38. ,, p. 638/IV.
39. Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 175/XXI.
40. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 668/IV.

The following *various elements* of matriarchal character, according to our definition in Chapter B/1, c, are to be found among the:

Budududiki: survivals of sexual liberty,[1] and the bride-price,[2] Dandasi: decapitation blood-sacrifice of the cock,[3] Darzi,[4] Dasari: uncertain remnants of the couvade, ceremonial significance of the Monday,[5] Domb: the bride-price,[6] dedication of Basavis,[6] sexual freedom,[6] the couvade,[7] Gadaba: serving marriage,[8] shamanist rites and ceremonial torturing of the sacrificed buffalo, a feature which Father Rahman believes to be co-ordinated to the "Freimutter rechtlichen Kulturkreis," (corresponding to our "mother-right culture-circle, degree III/a," to which the PAR-group is held to belong,[9] an element which he further connects with the hook-swinging ceremony of southern India. Gangadikara Okkalu: remnants of matrilocality,[10] the bride-price and sexual liberty,[11] Golla: remnants of matrilocality,[12] and even matrilineal descent,[13] the bride-price,[14] and different elements, specially in mythology,[15] Haddi: in cross-cousin marriage, the union with the maternal uncle's daughter is permitted,[16] Halepaik: remarriage of widows, which, on the other hand, is in this part of the country not to be considered as necessarily deriving from matriarchal cultural impulses.[17] Hallikar Okkaliga: remnants of sexual liberty,[18] pregnant women or victims of leprosy are buried, not burnt, a custom which again shows simply that it is not derived from Hinduism, not necessarily from mother-right sources.[19] Hasalar: remnants of sexual freedom,[20] decapitation sacrifice

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 555/II.
2. ,, p. 553/II.
3. Thurston, p. 109/II.
4. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 90/III.
5. ,, p. 106, 108/III.
6. ,, p. 148/III.
7. Gait, op. cit. p. 258/I.
8. Thurston, p. 249/II.
9. F. Rahmann op. cit. p. 150, 151 and Ramadas: "The Gadabas" in *Men in India* p. 160-173/XI. (1931).
10. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 181/III.
11. ,, p. 177, 185/III.
12. ,, p. 209/III.
13. Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 166/XXI.
14. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 208/III.
15. ,, p. 231/III.
16. Thurston, p. 315/II.
17. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 289/III.
18. ,, p. 272/III.
19. ,, p. 275/III.
20. ,, p. 302/III.

of the cock and burial,[1] Helava : matrilineal descent and matrilocality, among dedicated Basavis,[2] widow remarriage is permitted, but not with the deceased husband's brother,[3] Holeya : inheritance through the female line among some groups,[4] remnants of matrilocality,[5] the bride-price,[6] remnants of sexual liberty,[7] burial.[8] This caste is mentioned here, although it belongs virtually to the Parayan. As matriarchal castes outside the mother-right territory often accept the local customs, the mother-right elements here seem interesting. Idiga : remnants of the minorat,[9] the bride-price,[10] sexual liberty[10] ancestor-worship,[10] and burial,[11] Jains of Mysore : inheritance through the female line among laymen.[12] Jangala[13] Jetti : remnants of human sacrifice?[14] Jogi (Telugu): remnants of polyandry ? and burial,[15] Kabbera : remnants of sexual liberty,[16] rain-making charms,[17] Kacha Gauliga : divorce and widow-remarriage,[18] burial,[19] Kapu (Reddi) : fraternal polyandry,[20] remnants of sexual liberty,[21] rain-making,[22] Kare Okkalu : burial,[23] Killekyata : minorat,[24] matrilocality of Basavis, divorce and widow-remarriage,[24] sexual liberties and bride-price,[25] married persons are buried,[26] Komati : matrilocal-remnants,[27]

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 304, 305/III.
2. ,, p. 315/III.
3. ,, p. 314/III.
4. Thurston, p. 329, 345/II.
5. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 341/III.
6. ,, p. 332/III.
7. Gait, op. cit. p. 247/I. and Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 168/XXI. and Thurston, p. 331/II.
8. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 344/III.
9. ,, p. 369/III.
10. Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 168/XXI.
11. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 373/III.
12. Thurston, p. 426/II.
13. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 469/III.
14. ,, p. 482/III.
15. Thurston, p. 489/II.
16. ,, p. 1/III.
17. ,, *Omens and Superst.* p. 306.
18. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 510/III.
19. ,, p. 511/III.
20. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes* p. 240, 241/III.
21. Gait, op. cit. p. 244/I.
22. Thurston, *Om. and Sup.* p. 306, 307.
23. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 505/III.
24. ,, p. 526/III. seq.
25. ,, p. 520/III.
26. ,, p. 531/III.
27. ,, p. 546/III.

bride-price.[1]—Khond : Polyandry remnants,[2] divorce,[3] sexual liberties,[4] bride-price,[5] Megalithic sacrifices[6] Koracha : widow-remarriage, divorce, sexual liberties,[7] bride-price,[8] the couvade,[9] burial,[10] Kumbara : matrilineal descent in the Telugu country,[11] widow-remarriage,[12] bride-price,[12] burial,[13] Kunchitiga : widow-remarriage, bride-price,[14] burial,[15] Kurba : numerous elements, see caste-register, Kurumba : the same, Madiga, Mala, Maravan and Meda : the same, Mochi : matrilineal descent, burial,[16] Moger : matrilineal descent,[17] bride-price,[18] sexual liberties,[19] mondaru : widow-remarriage,[20] sexual liberties[21] burial,[22] Mukadora : matrilocal remnants,[23] Nadu Gauda : matrilineal descent,[24] remnants of sexual liberties,[25] Nagartha : matrilocal remnants.[26] Nathuvan : matrilineal descent of Devadasis,[27] other remnants of matrilineal descent and burial,[28] bride-price.[29]

Nayinda : too many matriarchal elements to be enumerated here, see alphabetic caste-register, Paniyan : remnants of serving marriage,[30]

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 545/III.
2. Russell, op. cit. p. 558/III.
3. ,, p. 468/III.
4. Thurston, p. 186/III.
5. Russell p. 467/III. and Thurston *Ethnogr. Notes* p. 8, 9.
6. Thurston : *Castes and Tribes* p. 370/III.
7. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 590-599/III.
8. ,, p. 595/III.
9. ,, p. 601/III.
10. ,, p. 609/III.
11. Thurston, p. 113/IV.
12. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 10/IV.
13. ,, p. 13/IV.
14. ,, p. 22/IV.
15. ,, p. 25/IV.
16. ,, p. 208/IV.
17. Thurston, p. 65/V.
18. ,, p. 69/V.
19. Saldanha in *JAnSBo* p. 508/X.
20. Thurston, p. 104/V. seq.
21. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 220/IV.
22. ,, p. 222/IV.
23. Thurston, p. 104/V. seq.
24. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 297/IV. seq.
25. ,, p. 297/IV. seq.
26. ,, p. 411/IV.
27. ,, p. 427/IV.
28. ,, p. 427/IV.
29. ,, p. 426/IV.
30. Thurston, p. 64/VI.

Reddi : see caste register, Sadaru : ditto, Salahavu Vakkalu : burial,[1] (Padma) Sale : the bride-price,[2] this caste belongs to the Lingayat sect, buries the dead,[3] Saniyasi : see caste register, Sudugadu Siddha : burial,[4] importance is given to the lingam and the Monday,[5] Tigala : very many matriarchal elements, therefore see caste-register as well as the cases of the Togata, Toreya, Tottiyan, Uppara, Vakkaliga and Wodda.

Totemism, or at least *some single totemist elements* are to be found among the following of the castes enumerated above.

Bili Magga,[6] Dandasi or Ganjam : totemistic traces,[7] Domb,[8] Gadaba, but partially only,[9] Gangadikara Okkalu,[10] Ganiga,[11] Golla,[12] Haddi,[13] Halepaik, clan relations are traced through the female line, caste coming from South Kanara ?[14] Hasalar : Matrilineal descent, relations to South Kanara,[15] Holeya : the same,[16] Jatapu ?[17] Jogi ?[18] Kapu (Reddi),[19] Kare Okkalu,[20] Karna Sale,[21] Komati,[22] Khond,[23]

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 557/IV.
2. ,, p. 564/IV.
3. ,, p. 566/IV.
4. ,, p. 602/IV.
5. ,, p. 602/IV.
6. Niggemeyer, Caste-reg. and Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 278/II. seq and Thurston, p. 240/I.
7. ,, p. 107/II.
8. Niggemeyer, Caste-reg. and Thurston, p. 177/II.
9. ,, p. 244/II.
10. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 177, 185/III.
11. ,, p. 189/III and Thurston, p. 266/II.
12. ,, p. 290/II.
13. ,, p. 319/II.
14. ,, p. 321/II and Saldanha *JAnSBo* p. 384, 387/VIII. and Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 288/III.
15. ,, p. 298, 302/III.
16. Saldanha op. cit. p. 387/VIII and Thurston, p. 354/II.
17. ,, p. 454/II.
18. ,, p. 469/II.
19. ,, p. 230/, 231/III.
20. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 504/III.
21. Niggemeyer Caste-reg. and Gait, p. 250/I. and Thurston, p. 253/III.
22. ,, p. 314/III. and Niggemeyer Caste-reg.
23. ,,

Koracha,[1] Kumbara,[2] Kuruba,[3] Madiga,[4] Mala,[5] Maravan,[6] Meda ?[7] Mogar, matrilineal,[8] Muka Dora,[9] Mutracha,[10] Nayinda,[11] Patvegara,[12] Kapu (Reddi),[13] (Padma) Sale[14] Togata,[15] Toreya,[16] Tsakala,[17] Uppara,[18] Vakkaliga,[19] Wodda,[20].

Thus matriarchal culture-elements are to be found abundantly in the whole southern region of *totemist territory*, contrary to the reverse case, i.e. the mother-right territory, which shows mixture with totemism only in the north-east and in small areas adjoining Kanara (and partly Madura) where totemism in matrilinear descent has already been noted.

Puberty rites of girls, prevalence of the female deity, predominant position of the maternal uncle, along with various less important elements, among which certain types of sacrifice deserve mention,—these are the chief features of mother-right character in this southern part of the totemist area. Matrilineal descent is rare and of no typical importance any more in this part of the country, and has therefore, if ever occurring, also been co-ordinated to the group of " various elements " here.

1. Thurston, p. 452/III and
   Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 588/III and
   Gait, p. 253/I.
2. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 7/IV.
3. ,, p. 34, 44/IV.
4. Thurston, p. 319/IV. and
   Saldanha, p. 387/VIII.
5. Thurston, p. 347/IV. and
   Niggemeyer, p. 615.
6. Thurston, p. 34/V. and
   Niggemeyer, Caste-reg.
7. Thurston, p. 54/V. and
   Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 172/XXI.
8. Thurston, p. 69/V. and
   Saldanha, p. 387/VIII.
9. Thurston, p. 104/V. seq.
10. ,, p. 130/V. seq.
11. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 432/IV. and
    Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 173/XXI.
12. Niggemeyer op. cit. and
    Saldanha op. cit. p. 387/VII.
13. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 497/IV.
14. Niggemeyer, Caste-reg.
15. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 626/IV. and
    Thurston, p. 172/VII.
16. ,, p. 176/VII.
17. ,, p. 199/VII.
18. Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 175/XXI.
19. Thurston, p. 439/V.
20. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 666/IV. and
    Thyagaraja Aiyar, p. 176/XXI.

Three quarters of the castes enumerated here, are totemistically organized themselves, as this last part showing totemistic elements has sufficiently proved.

This culture-historic configuration of the southern region in the totemist area suggests that relics of a wide-spread mother-right culture have thus survived within the region of totemism, which may once, a long time ago, have driven the matriarchal peoples into their south-western refuge where they still reside, but at the same time have assimilated some of the cultural characteristics of the latter.

If this be so, we should expect at least some survivals of such a formerly existing hypothetical matriarchal culture also within the very centre of the totemist area in India. The following review of matriarchal elements (or their traces) is solely concerned with castes and tribes belonging to this *central area of totemism* in India, aiming to thus throw light upon the question of the existence or non-existence of a former matriarchal culture in this region, i.e. in Central India including the Chota Nagpur plateau, which is an important *centre of totemism.*

Many of the following cultural elements, which are regarded as matriarchally determined or as " pointing to a former mother-right " could not justly be registered as such, were it not that their geographical situation between the two centres of mother-right in India permits the application of the continuity criterion (Gräbner's *Kontinuitätskriterium* suggested by Frobenius' geographical statistic method) and were it not, further, that some of these single elements in themselves suggest appliance of the quality criterion (Gräbner's *Qualitätskriterium* suggested by Ratzel's *Formkriterium*) as will be shown in each single case. A caste to the name of which a capital (T) is affixed, is partly or entirely totemistically organized.

Matrilocality (*matrilocal marriage*) or its traces and survivals, pointing to the former existence of matrilineal descent, are to be found among the following castes and tribes :

Beria (Bedia), a class of poor prostitutes, in which also their menfolk are reckoned. Those of their women who actually practise the traditional caste-profession stand on the same social level as do the married women of the caste, according to Russell who furthermore states :—" They occupy in fact, a more independent position as they dispose absolutely of their earnings, and property on their death is devolved on their daughters or other *female* relatives, males having no claim to it, in some localities at least....A prostitute is regarded as the *head of a family*, so far as the children are concerned."[1] (Italics are mine.)

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 224/II.

Halba (T) practise the Hindu custom of child-marriage. A married child-wife, at puberty, goes over to the husband's house. This custom is called *pathoni* or *going away*, but is not a definite one. " After a fortnight she again goes back to her parents' house and stays with them for another year, before finally taking . . abode with her husband. . . ."[1] (In Bastar the Halba worship animals and plants, after which their exogamous clans are nominated, thus indicating totemism.)[2]

Kaikari, (Bargandi) (T) a wandering basket-maker tribe of the Nimar and Maratha districts, similarly observes patrilocal marriage, after which again, the young wife " . . is . . soon brought back to her relatives."[3] It is only after the expiry of some time that she then finally is taken over in her husband's house by the father-in-law.

Kawar, (T) a primitive tribe numbering about 200,000 and chiefly residing in the mountains of Chattisgarh, celebrates one marriage ceremony in the bride's, and one in the bridegroom's house, after which the young wife returns to her parents' house. She visits her husband, till the girls and boys of the village execute a sexual fertility-rite, in which the latter hit the former, in play, with ropes. After three months, during which such plays are repeated, the young wife finally settles down in her husband's house.[4]

Kurmi, a large and widely spread peasant-caste, performs the ceremony of common rice and milk-eating at marriage in the girl's house and repeats it at the boy's.[5] It is questionable whether this may be accepted as a survival of former matrilocality.

Mang, (T) a low-caste of the Maratha districts celebrates matrilocal marriages, after which the wife visits her husband, returns to her parents' house, again visits the husband several times and finally settles down in his house.[6]

Maratha, (T) the wife returns to her parents' house for the first delivery.[7]

Rajjhar, (T) a low-caste of agricultural labourers, lets the young wife remain three months with her husband, after the expiry of which she returns for one year to her parents' house.[8]

1. Russell, p. 193/III.
2. " p. 168/III.
3. " p. 299/III.
4. " p. 394/III.
5. " p. 65/IV.
6. " p. 187/IV.
7. Risley, p. 95/I. B.
8. Russell, p. 408/IV.

Oraon and *Santal* (T) allow a man whose father-in-law has no sons to inherit his property. On such an occasion the first son of the couple is not named after the paternal, but after the maternal grandfather,[1] a custom which, under the special circumstances of the geographical situation and the decidedly patriarchal character within the castes concerned, may perhaps be considered as pointing to some survivals of matrilocality.

The same holds good with regard to the custom of having the first confinement in the house of the girl's parents, though at first sight one might expect mere practical deliberations to have caused this system. But the reverse severe order, among the Chitari, a painter-caste of the same territory, seems to show that strict patriarchal feelings are in contrast and, opposition to this custom. " A woman's first child should be born in her father-in-law's or husband's house, if possible, but at any rate not in her father's house. And if she should be taken with the pangs of travail while on a visit to her own family, they will send her to some other house for her child to be born."[2] The existence of such a custom, decidedly in opposition to what may be considered practical or natural, proves that there *is* some likelihood of the matriarchal (matrilocal) origin of the custom of the first delivery at the parents' house.

The *maternal uncle's* social or religious importance is found among the following tribes and castes in the central areas of totemism :

Bhunjia : sister's children are treated with special regard,[3]

Chamar : maternal uncle and his nephew co-operate in magic,[4]

Gowari : (T) the son of the father's sister officiates as a priest during marriage,[5]

Gond : (T) the bride's maternal uncle receives the bride-price, provided his son is not the bridegroom.[6]

Halba : (T) the nephew is reverentially treated by his maternal uncle. He usually gets his maternal uncle's daughter in marriage and inherits one or two buffaloes.[7]

Kamar : similar circumstances. " If a man's sister is poor he will arrange for the marriage of her children. He will never beat his nephew, nor let him. . . eat from the same dish from which he eats," a custom which is regarded to indicate the maternal uncle's reverence for his own nephew and to which Russell remarks that this ". . . is held to be a survival of the

1. Gait, op. cit. p. 236/I.
2. Russell, p. 434/II.
3. ,, p. 326/II. seq.
4. ,, p. 421/IV.
5. ,, p. 162/III.
6. ,, p. 71-75/III.
7. ,, p. 145/I.

matriarchate."[1] This is the more important as the Kamar's relations to the important Gond, seems to be beyond doubt,[2] and moreover are stressed by the equivocacy of their mutual clan names.[3]

Kohli: minor importance of the maternal uncle in the marriage ceremonial.[4]

Mali: the bridegroom's maternal uncle takes the bride to the ceremony.[5]

Maratha: minor importance in marriage ritual.[6]

The importance of the mother's brother does not occur, as we have now seen, among many tribes. Still it deserves mention that it is reported of the Gond and the Kamar, closely related to them, who are of importance for the culture-historic picture of totemism in India.

The special veneration of the maternal uncle for his nephew, is a feature which seems foreign, compared to practice in the mother-right area proper, as also to the region of transition (Mysore) as described above. This so to say reverential awe sometimes goes so far, as in the case of the totemistic Halba,[7] that the maternal uncle humbly touches his nephew's feet. Such an attitude could perhaps be understood as the outcome of the clash between two entirely different conceptions of life, as existing in patriarchal totemism and in mother-right cultures, and the consequent misunderstanding of the nephew's right to inherit his maternal uncle's property, as is the case in mother-right cultures, where both uncle and nephew belong to the same family. This system, on the other hand, must have been strange and foreign to the patriarchal system of the totemist tribes, who may have misunderstood this privilege of the nephew as an outcome of his superiority, instead of his relationship as a family-member, and who hence may have introduced the aforesaid reverence for the nephew, which latter feature again is foreign to the mother-right system of society. The geographical situation seems to support this conception. Importance of the maternal uncle is mostly prevalent in the South-Western mother-right area, still prevailing in the southern region of totemism (chiefly Mysore) bordering on the mother-right area, but reduced to a mere misconception in the centre of the totemist area, where the maternal uncle functionally has no importance any more. His former position here can be found out by culture-historic means only.

1. Russell, p. 325/III.
2. ,, p. 323/III.
3. ,, p. 324/III.
4. ,, p. 496/III.
5. ,, p. 167/IV.
6. Risley, p. 97/I. B.
7. Russell, p. 145/I.

The first *menstruation* is regarded as an occasion of ceremonial importance, thus calling to mind puberty rites of girls, among the following tribes and castes of the totemistic central area :

Gond : (T) menstruation plays an important part in a conceptualist belief.[1] More details see under " Sexual liberty."

Halba : (T) seclusion and ceremonial impurity.[2]

Kaikari (Bargandi) : wandering basket-makers observe five days ceremonial impurity and a terminating feast on which occasion a coconut is used, perhaps as a means for increasing fertility.[3]

Maratha : seclusion during four days and ceremonial bath.[4]

Kamar : ceremonial impurity is stressed, but on occasion of each, not only the first, monthly period, also affecting the woman's husband, who is obliged to undergo ceremonial ablutions before entering the jungle, as he would otherwise offend the God.[5]

Koshti : ritual impurity during each menstruation.[6]

Kunbi (the large peasant-caste of the Maratha country) : similarly.[7]

Kurmi : ceremonial impurity and restrictions during each menstruation.[8]

Lodhi (important peasant-caste in the Vindhya hills and the Narbudda district) : puberty rites, including importance of the coconut.[9]

Majhwar : (T) who obviously were related to the Gonds, but separated from them, tattoo their girls at the first menstruation.[10]

Maratha : seclusion during the first menstruation.[11]

Pardhi (a wandering hunter-tribe) : observe a severe seclusion of their women during each menstruation, as has often been noted among the " Low classes " in this area.[12]

1. Russell, p. 72/III.
2. „ p. 196/III.
3. „ p. 300/III.
4. „ p. 203/IV.
5. „ p. 325/III.
6. „ p. 587/III.
7. „ p. 28/IV.
8. „ p. 67/IV.
9. „ p. 118/IV.
10. „ p. 153/IV.
11. Risley op. cit. p. 98/I. B.
12. Russell, p. 364/IV.

Thus we observe the same situation in regard to menstruation as we observed with regard to the maternal uncle's position. Here again puberty-rites decrease proportionally to the distance of the South-Western mother-right area. Here again we find, as in the case of the maternal uncle's position, that the meaning of the ceremony is functionally changed, so to say misunderstood, in the totemistic central area, if every menstruation and the woman's seclusion is considered ceremonially far more important than puberty in itself, or if the husband participates in the wife's impurity : a process quite similar to the couvade. Here again this constellation suggests the assimilation of an old, annihilated matriarchal culture-circle, the single elements of which are misunderstood, functionally changed and deteriorated, whilst taken over by the patriarchally organized (totemistic) newcomers, who still prevail in this part of India.

Remnants of *polyandry* may be considered still to survive in mythology and in the symbolical, sometimes even practical, sexual rights of a boy over his elder brother's wife. The relatively easily attainable divorce for women, and the punishment for unfaithful wives, which is comparatively mild, in contradiction to other Indian usages, may again be regarded as pointing in this direction.[1] Specially so, since both the features are to be found among the aboriginal, non-Hinduized tribes in the central area of totemism, as will be shown below :

The *Beria's* (Bedia) attitude against the occupation of a courtesan (see sub *Matrilocality*) seems to point to former polyandric customs, at least in their culture-geographical environment, where hetærism is not legalized by the officially acknowledged religious or social system.[2]

Bhatriya allow their priests the *jus primae noctis*, a custom which again seems to point in this cultural environment to the former existence of polyandric conceptions of marriage.[3]

Bhuiya : "... have the survival of fraternal polyandry, which consists in allowing unmarried younger brothers to have access to an elder brother's wife."[4] (They have the bachelors' and girls' hall).[4]

Chamar : Mahaprasad-friends exchange wives.[5]

Gowari : (T) believe in several mythological ancestors, who were all husbands of one and the same mythological ancestress. Russell remarks thereupon : " This is apparently a relic of polyandry."[6]

1. Gait, op. cit. p. 244. 245/I.
2. Russell, op. cit. p. 224/II.
3. Gait, op. cit. p. 260/I.
4. Footnote in Mazumdar's Monograph, cited from Russell p. 316/II. seq.
5. Russell, p. 406/II.
6. ,, p. 161/III.

Korku: (T) a bridegroom embraces his elder brother's wife seven times at marriage. " This may probably be a survival of . . polyandry . . "[1]

Oraon: (T) a ceremony is observed which Russell considers to manifest ". . . abolition of the former system of fraternal polyandry . . "[2]

Pasi: allusion to former polyandric conceptions in the now Hinduized mythology. (?)[3]

Santal: (T) allow sexual rights of the younger brother to his sister-in-law, from which Risley concludes: " There seems to be indication that fraternal polyandry may at one time have existed . . "[4]

Sansarkhepathans: the bride is allowed to retire during marriage ceremonies with a young man, who pleases her.[5]

Satnani Chamar: observe a similar feast three years after marriage. The young wife, on this occasion, can retire with one to three men of her choice.[5]

It cannot be attempted here to solve the important question whether or not this form of fraternal polyandry, which has been shown to survive in the totemism-area, is culture-historically related to the one that formerly existed in the mother-right area of the South-West. It can merely be stated that the polyandric survivals have undergone a similar transformation of their functional meaning and importance in the vivid construction of the totemist society, as has been shown to be the case with the maternal uncle and the puberty-rites.

A consistent reduction has been observed with regard to the number of castes, observing the aforesaid customs, compared to those in the southern area of totemism in India. The same cannot be said of the *Bride-price*, which will now be considered in regard to its prevalence among castes and tribes of the totemist central area, and which relatively often occurs, even among tribes which are totemistically organized themselves. This seems to strengthen the theory, mentioned above, that totemism in India shows traces of transition from a formerly matriarchally organized society, to a more and more *patriarchalized* one; by the impact of the patriarchally organized totemist tribes, which must have taken place long before the advent of patriarchal Hinduism (and naturally of Westernization). The bride-price, according to Schmidt and Koppers,[6] is not a mother-right element in itself but indicates, along with serving marriage, the *transition* of a formerly matriarchal society to a patriarchal

1. Russell, p. 557/III.
2. „ p. 306/IV.
3. „ p. 380/IV.
4. Risley, op. cit. p. 145/I. B.
5. Gait, op. cit. p. 260/I.
6. Schmidt-Koppers op. cit. p. 270. seq.

one. The bride-price even indicates that the process of lowering the formerly exalted position of women to an object which has to be paid for, almost like cattle, has already gone very far. The bride-price is to be found as a part of the marriage ceremony among the following castes and tribes within the central area of totemism :

Basor, Binjwar, Bhil, (T)[1] Bhuiya, partly (T)[2] Bhumij (T)[3] Chamar,[4] Dahait, (T)[5] Dhimar, (T)[6] Dhuri,[7] Dumal (T)[8] Gond, (T) still ask for the girl's agreement to the match and the bride-price.[9] Gowari, (T)[10] Mahli[11] Majhvar, (T)[12] Mama,[13] Munda, (T)[14] Nahal, (T)[15] Naoda, (T)[16] Kairvar, (T)[17] Kharia, (T)[18] Kol, (T)[19] Korva, (T)[20] Oraon, (T)[21] Pardhan, (T)[22] Rajjhar, (T)[23] Sansia,[24] Teli, (T).[25]

Serving marriage is found among the following tribes :
Basor,[1] Kawar, (T)[26] Korku, (T)[27] Mahar,[28] Mali,[29] Majhwar, (T).[30]

Sexual Liberty, whether for girls before marriage, or for married women, is found among this group of tribes in a degree which makes it conspicuous in India, where personal independance of girls and women

1. Russell, p. 210, 288, 332/II.
2. ,, p. 317/II.
3. Risley, op. cit. p. 151/I. B.
4. ,, p. 170/I. B.
5. Russell, p. 446/II.
6. ,, p. 504/II.
7. ,, p. 528/II.
8. ,, p. 533/II.
9. ,, p. 73/III.
10. ,, p. 162/III.
11. ,, p. 146/IV.
12. ,, p. 152/IV.
13. ,, p. 157/IV.
14. Risley, op. cit. p. 155/I. B.
15. Russell, p. 260/IV.
16. ,, p. 284/IV.
17. ,, p. 432/III.
18. ,, p. 448/III.
19. ,, p. 511/III.
20. ,, p. 574/III.
21. ,, p. 304/IV.
22. ,, p. 355/IV.
23. ,, p. 407/IV.
24. ,, p. 489/IV.
25. ,, p. 547/IV. seq.
26. ,, p. 394/III.
27. ,, p. 550/III.
28. ,, p. 133/IV.
29. ,, p. 166/IV.
30 ,, p. 152/IV.

is generally very much restricted. The culture-historic relation of this liberty with that observed in the mother-right area, or with genuine polyandry of the South-West, cannot be regarded as proved, hence it is more than doubtful whether this element within the totemistic area can be considered as pointing to a former mother-right. Still this feature should not be overlooked entirely ; hence the registration of the following tribes and castes :

Barai :[1]

Chamar : married women are often allowed to live with other men and then to return to their husbands.[2]

Bhumij : sexual intercourse before marriage is more or less recognized.[3]

Dumal : (T) adultery of women is punished insignificantly, compared to other Indian circumstances.[4]

Gond : (T) sexual intercourse before marriage is permitted. Patrilocal residence of unmarried couples is called *paithu* or *entering*, usually followed by the payment of the bride-price. The marriage ceremony is usually delayed in such a case.[5] Russell describes a form of inducing conception among the Gond women : " If a woman is childless she worships Bura Deo " and fasts till the next menstruation. After bathing, " she walks across a man's shadow.. " and ".. will have a child. It is thus supposed that a woman can be made fertile by a man's shadow, which is the father of the child." Similarly the Gond women believe that they are able to conceive if they pray under a Saj-tree on a Sunday night.[6] Whether the whole complex is really dictated by conceptional ideas, or is the mere outcome of belief in prayers for fertility, cannot be decided from the sources at our disposal. Yet that considerable sexual freedom is given to the Gond women seems to be proved beyond doubt, a remarkable fact considering the importance of the Gond for totemism in India.

Kawar : (T) sexual relations before marriage permitted also for girls.[7]

Kohli : the same institution.[8]

Munda : (T) also.[9]

1. Russell, p. 198/II.
2. „ p. 412/IV.
3. Risley, op. cit. p. 151/I. B.
4. Russell, p. 536/II.
5. „ p. 72/III.
6. „ p. 84/III.
7. „ p. 359/III.
8. „ p. 496/III.
9. Risley op. cit. p. 155/I. B.

Kol · acknowledge the union of a couple, even without marriage. Russell says : " It is also a good marriage if a girl of her own accord goes and lives in a man's house and he shows his acceptance by dabbing vermilion on her."[1]

Nahal : (T) ". . sexual licence before marriage is usually tolerated. . "[2]

Oraon : (T) unmarried girls sleep with widows but find, according to Dalton, as cited by Russell ". . . .their way to the bachelors' hall and in some villages actually sleep there. I, not long ago, saw a *Dhumkuria* in a Sarguja village in which the boys and girls all sleep every night."[3]

Rajjhar : (T) illegitimate relations are considered as " trifling matters."[4]

Teli : (T) the same custom.[4]

Korku : (T) " Occasionally a girl will instal herself in the house of a man."[5]

The *Couvade* has been reported among the following tribes :

Oraon : (T) perhaps in slight allusions ?[6] Sonjhara : (T) six days' observance of the couvade.[7] Yerukala, a wandering tribe from the Madras presidency ![8]

The *Mother* or *earth-goddess* plays an important part in the whole area of totemism. Russell goes so far as to call Devi, her Hinduized form " The earth-goddess who is also frequently the tutelary goddess of the village."[9]

Worship of one or the other aspects of a goddess is found among the following tribes and castes, which, if believing in a smallpox goddess or in another form of a goddess commanding contagious diseases, are marked with PG in capital letters :

Atari (Muslim), PG[10] Barai, (T)[11] Basor, (T)[12] Bhaina, (T)[13] Bhamta, who obviously connect the veneration of Devi and the caste-

1. Russell, p. 512/III.
2. ,, p. 259/IV.
3. ,, p. 303/, 547/IV.
4. ,, p. 409/IV.
5. ,, p. 557/III.
6. ,, p. 307/IV.
7. ,, p. 511/IV.
8. ,, p. 606/IV.
9. ,, p. 54/I.
10. ,, p. 44/II.
11. ,, p. 198/III.
12. ,, p. 211/II.
13. ,, p. 231/II.

profession of their women who are courtesans.[1] Bhuiya, (T) revere the cobra, some of them calling it "mother."[2] Bhunjia, PG.[3] Chauhan, (T)[4] Dumal, (T)[5] Gond, (T)[6] Kamar PG[7] Kawar, (T)[8] Khangar (T) venerate an ancestress.[9] Kharia. (T) ancestress is venerated, child and cobra are mythologically connected,[10] Kohli,[11] Kol, (T?)[12] Kolta, (T?)[13] Kori, (T?)[14] Kurmi, (T)[15] Mahar, (T)[16] Maratha, (T)[17] Munda, (T)[18] Oraon, (T)[19]. Moreover Babo Jamini Mohan states :

> "....throughout the plains of Orissa every village has a tutelary goddess called Gram Devati or Takhurani....generally established under the shade of trees...."[20] where also the goddess Kalijai, the "....tutelary deity of the Chilka Lake .. an incarnation of Kali...." is to be found.[21]

Santal, (T) who, as do the Oraon, dedicate a grove to the goddess, though she is less important than the male deities also residing there.[22] Tamera,[23] Teli (T).[24]

The significant importance, given to the *cobra* naturally recalls the serpent worship in the South-Western area of Indian mother-right and also seems to be connected with the cult of the goddess prevailing in the same region. A thorough study of the relations that perhaps exist between the sacred groves and the serpent worship in the totemist area of India on the one hand, and the serpent-groves of the Nayars and generally the serpent worship of south-western and southern India on the other,

1. Russell, p. 237/II.
2. ,, p. 316/II. seq.
3. ,, p. 326/II. seq.
4. ,, p. 428/II.
5. ,, p. 534/II.
6. ,, p. 89/III.
7. ,, p. 328/III.
8. ,, p. 399/III.
9. ,, p. 440/III.
10. ,, p. 443/III.
11. ,, p. 496/III.
12. ,, p. 513/III.
13. ,, p. 538/III.
14. ,, p. 545/III.
15. ,, p. 881/IV.
16. ,, p. 137/IV.
17. Risley op. cit. p. 97/I. B.
18. Gait, op. cit. p. 236/I.
19. Russell, p. 310/IV. seq.
20. Babu Jamini Mohan in *JAsSBe* p. 81/LXXII.
21. Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 190/LO.
22. Risley, p. 146/I. B. seq.
23. Russell, p. 538/IV.
24. ,, p. 548/IV.

would certainly bring forward many interesting points, but have to be excluded from this short sketch and postponed to a special study. Such a study will have to start with investigations of the following tribes :

Bhuiya, (T)[1] Kaikari, (*Bargandi*) who consider the cobra a tutelary deity and worship it at marriages and on the Nag-panchami day.[2] Khangar, (T) who, according to Risley, chiefly revere the cobra as their God, whom they call Kartal Deo.[3] Kharia, (T)[4] Oraon, (T)[5] Santal, (T) whose sacred groves as those of the Ho, (T) and generally all Gonds, (T)[6] do not seem to exhibit any direct connection with the serpent-cult. The legend of the child under the protection of the cobra's hood, so widespread in the totemist area, will have to be explored with regard to age and origin in this connection. Russell refers to this rather important story shortly as follows :

" Several tribes of the Gonds and Mundas have a legend that their earliest king was born of poor parents and that his mother . . . having left the child under some tree, while she went to work, returned to find a cobra spreading its hood over the child to guard it from the heat of the sun. But such protection would perhaps scarcely seem very important.. It seems a possible hypothesis that the cobra's hood really symbolised the umbrella, the principal emblem of royal rank . . "[7]

It will naturally be necessary to consider the reverse possibility, namely, that the meaning of the umbrella as a royal symbol was originally derived from the mythological importance of the cobra's hood. This hypothesis seems supported by the ages during which the umbrella has been a royal symbol, and the wide geographical expanse in which it is thus regarded.

Among *various elements* (the matriarchal importance of which cannot be considered certain) the aforesaid conceptional beliefs of the Gonds, (T) desiring children, may here be mentioned.[8] Similarly the Kunbi women perform :

" . . . Pradakshana or pilgrimage round a pipal tree, going naked at midnight after worshipping Marothi or Hanuman . . . while all other trees are both male and female, the pipal is only male and is capable of impregnating a woman and rendering her fertile . . "[9]

1. Russell, p. 316/II. seq.
2. ,, p. 299/III.
3. Risley, p. 165/I. B.
4. Russell, p. 443/III.
5. ,, p. 310/IV. seq.
6. Mazumdar : " Some Ethnographic Notes " cited from Dr. Rahman, op. cit.
7. Russell, p. 451/II.
8. ,, p. 84/III.
9. ,, p. 32/IV.

A Kurmi woman, according to Russell: " . . . must not walk across the shadow of a man who is not her husband, because . . if she does so, her next child will be like that man."[1]

The Jhadi Telanga, a small mixed caste of Gond (T), and the low-caste Telugus in the Bastar State, have their children named by a council of old women.[2] The Dhobis (washermen) of the northern part in the Central Provinces regard it as dishonouring to accept the bride-price. At marriages young men dance in women's dress. Russell sees the only reason for this custom in the fear of the evil eye which might violate the bride, and compares this institution with similar usages in Esthonia, Poland and England. Still the possibility must be considered, that here an old remnant of former mother-right still survives.[3] Similar customs among " other low castes " are mentioned by Russell in a very summary form. Thorough investigation will, perhaps, bring forward interesting facts.

The Kahar, a north-Indian caste of palanquin-bearers had female military companies to bear the princes and their ladies into the inner compartments. Intimate relations between the strong and beautiful female leaders of these companies and the rajas are reported to have existed.[4]

The very complicated and difficult question of *Human Sacrifice* in India can, of course, not be discussed here as a whole. Human sacrifice seems less often represented within the South-Western mother-right area, than is the case with certain forms of the later evolutions of Hinduism, which, in their turn, may finally be traced back to the matriarchally influenced Indo-European *ashvamedha, i.e.*, the old Aryan horse-sacrifice (see p. 2).

At some shrines of the Bhuiya (T) human victims are said to have been offered up every third year, even in the nineteenth century.[5] The Birhor (T) remember human sacrifices to a water-spirit in mythology.[6] The notorious human sacrifices of the Khond (T) must naturally also be mentioned in this connection, though their matriarchal culture-elements are not described here again, as this group has also been placed in the alphabetical caste-index, on account of its geographical situation so far south. As the human sacrifices formerly performed by this caste yielded the so to say classical example of this terrible custom in India they had not to be once more described here.

1. Russell, p. 67/IV.
2. ,, p. 238, 241/III.
3. ,, p. 520/II.
4. ,, p. 291, 294/III.
5. ,, p. 310/II.
6. Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 940/XIV.

Human sacrifices to the Goddess Bhattakarika Baremba in Orissa[1] have occurred even in this century according to Sarat Chandra Mitra.

Thus the human sacrifice seems to be rather more intensively represented in the totemistic North than in the adjoining mother-right area of the South-West, whereas it is, together with head-hunting, characteristically represented in the North-East area of Indian mother-right (See chapter B/3, 1.).

The critical examination or registration of various and very numerous mythological, ritualistic or religious elements which have perhaps had some connection with Indian mother-right (as for instance the rain-making charm, performed by naked women in Behar at night,[2] or the remnants of lunar ceremonies in Behar and Bengal.)[3] could not be included in this short review. Further investigation and co-ordination of these features interesting to culture-historic entities would perhaps prove valuable later on.

Non-totemistic tribes have been included in the register of this chapter on the totemistic area. This may seem an unnecessary dilution of the painfully distilled picture of the *totemistic* tribes. Still I think I am justified in adopting these non-totemistic tribes in the registers concerning the totemist area, for the following three reasons :

(1) The Totemist-area of India is a *secluded plateau*, which had so little communication with the rest of India that even the Europeans did not really penetrate into its central forests before the invention of the motor-car.

(2) *Hinduism* itself was brought in a more continuous form into this zone, by the British permeation only ; it had no real home in the totemistic area before. This state of things is the cause that

(3) those few really Hinduized castes and tribes, that resided in this territory before, and those Hindu elements which reached totemistic peoples long ago, are clearly and unmistakably to be distinguished from those which only arrived later.

We therefore have to take into consideration the probability of a very old symbiosis and mutual cultural influence on each other of the single castes and tribes within this territory. As the registers of this chapter do not, in themselves, aim to clear the culture-historic relations between totemism and mother-right in India, but merely to show the *traces* and *remnants* of mother-right in the totemistic *area*, I thought it advisable to include in these registers also non-totemistic groups, so far as they are pre-Hindu

1. Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 76/XV.

2. „ „ „ p. 25/III and p. 384/IV. sub " Harparowri, Behari Womens Ceremony for Producing Rain ", where on page 389/IV the relation to the Earth-Mother is stressed.

3. Sarat Chandra Mitra, *JAnSBo* p. 597/II.

or as their Hinduization seems superficial or at least clearly visible and discernible.

Summary

The result of the above registers may thus be summed up:

(1) Entirely *complete "Qualities of form"* belonging to matriarchal culture-circles, are *not* to be found in the totemistic area of India.

(2) *Single elements,* belonging to, or at least pointing in the direction of *mother-right,* are better represented in the southern region of the totemistic area than in its centre. They seem to prevail in the region of contact between the South-Western mother-right region and the totemistic area, i.e., chiefly in Mysore.

(3) The *number* of these elements decreases, and their functional meaning undergoes a change, the nearer the tribes and castes concerned approach the centre of the totemistic zone, and the further they are geographically separated from the South-Western mother-right area. Polyandric elements, relatively often to be found, do not contradict this statement, as the functional meaning of polyandry, too, has been, or seems to have been, entirely altered in the totemistic area. Whether or not human sacrifice should be co-ordinated with a matriarchally determined culture-circle, cannot be decided here.

The rapid process of Hinduization, since the beginning of this century, will soon have erased all totemistic, matriarchal or other pre-Aryan culture-elements of this area. Many of them have obviously been assimilated, or transposed, into the missionising religio-sociological quality of form known as Hinduism, a process which, as we have seen, continues with much more vigour since modern traffic has made travelling easier, and modern state-organization less dangerous.

The relationship *between* totemism and mother-right in India is another and very important problem before us.

Niggemeyer tried and, I think, succeeded, to prove that (*a*) matrilineal descent within totemistic tribes and castes is not original, but rather some kind of assimilation of matriarchal elements and (*b*) that patrilineal descent within totemism in India is the older and more original form[1].

These results are in conformity with those which investigation of mother-right has reached.

Thus the following situation becomes clear: Single totemistic culture-elements from the central area of totemism spread all over the Indian plateau, but neither reach the extreme South, nor prove able to

1. Niggemeyer, op. cit.

surmount the barrier of the Western Ghats, with the only exception of Kanara, where they reach the west coast, probably on account of geographical circumstances. But even here, an early amalgamation between South-Western mother-right and totemism seems indicated by the matrilinear descent among the totemistic castes and tribes of Kanara.

The central area of South-Western mother-right in India is the small west coast, a typical cultural backwater, isolated from the rest of India by the barrier of the Western Ghats, but on the other hand in active contact with other continents, such as western Asia, Africa, Arabia, south-east Asia and Indonesia.[1]

Mother-right elements, in marked contrast to the totemistic ones, are to be found not only in the regions of contact between both these cultural entities, but even in the *very heart of totemism,* though they are naturally fewer in number than in the zone of contact. The bearers of these single elements are again (contrary to the reverse case of totemistic elements within the mother-right region), *not* immigrated foreigners, but very typically indigenous tribes, and among them even many totemistically organized ones ![2]

From this state of things the conclusion seems permissible that

1. Totemism and mother-right in India belong to two different cultural units,

2. Mother-right in India is older than totemism, and

3. Totemism, whilst advancing in India, must have forced the matriarchally determined civilizations into the cultural backwater of the South-West, but at the same time did *not* prove able altogether to absorb the mother-right remnants and survivals within the totemistic territory.

This last-mentioned fact is of paramount importafce with regard to the culture-historic position of the Nayars and thus of the whole NAY-group. Culture-historic elements pointing to this latest and most highly developed mother-right grade, have not been found within the circles of those tribes and castes in Central India which are of a totemistic character. Totemism has been unable to absorb mother-right elements altogether, as could have been proved before. Hinduization of the totemistic area started only very late. From these facts taken collectively we must conclude that remnants of the older mother-right grades have, but those of the younger, i.e., the NAY-group have not survived, or probably have

1. Heine-Geldern, review of on the book " *The Glass Palace Chronicle* " op. cit. and the there mentioned source " La stèle de Stokhkak " op. cit.

2. Niggemeyer op. cit. p. 584 says : " ....dadurch dass sich die Gruppen mit mehr oder minder deutlich ausgeprägtem Totemismus als durchwegs junge Einwanderer aus dem nördlichen Gebieten dartun lassen, wird es fast sicher, dass diese südlichsten Gebiete Vorderindiens niemals totemistisch waren....".

never existed in the area of totemism. This question will probably find explanation in some culture-historic relations of the NAY-group, other than merely those connected with totemism. This problem will be one of the subjects discussed in Chapter B/7, in connection with the question of the cultural position of the Rajputs and their relation to the NAY-group.

B/6

II. Mother-right and the Hinduized Area

The aim of the short review before us of mother-right in India, is to lay down concrete and clearly comprehensible features of the mother-right complex (chiefly among the primitive tribes) and then to examine the results of this analysis, based on reliable sources, from the culture-historic point of view. It is therefore beyond the sphere of this book to go into the complicated questions of the origin and meaning of mother-right elements *within* the cultural structure of the immigrated, nomadic herdsmen, speaking Aryan languages, who brought the caste-system and Brahmanism, and whose life seems to be sketched in the Early Vedas.

The elements and single features, on the other hand, belonging to these " Aryan mother-right remnants in India " are so numerous, that it has not even been possible to make a complete collection of them within the limits of this work. For this purpose it would have been necessary to study the whole of Sanskrit literature in its relations to (*a*) the mother-right problem in itself and (*b*) general Indo-European traces of mother-right. Furthermore the relations of these two aspects of mother-right remnants, that exist in the usage, folklore, superstitions and finally all the shades within Brahmanism or Hinduism of today, would have had to be thoroughly studied. This great object, promising as it is will better be pursued *after* the outlines of this review of mother-right in India is concluded.

To day and in this place, it can only be attempted to show the direction which further investigation of this huge problem will some time have to take, by giving a few characteristic examples of mother-right within the structure of what we call Aryan India.

A thorough study and knowledge of the primitive and non-primitive, but at any rate pre-Aryan, mother-right culture-circles in India, will considerably help us to understand the meaning of the mother-right elements within the Aryan civilization. Moreover the great danger is imminent that these former traces will have disappeared in a few years, under the influence of rapid Hinduization; especially since the Congress and the Hindi movement add much to the unifying tendencies of modern evolution towards All-India nationalism. On the other hand the literature and folklore of Brahmanism (Caste-Hinduism) will remain open to thorough study for centuries to come. The growing interest of the

highly gifted young Indian historians, archæologists and folklorists promises great success in the further investigation of patriarchal Hinduism, whereas, on the other hand, as has been mentioned in Chapter A/II, the outlook for investigation of mother-right peoples seems not at all favourable in the near future. We therefore must try to save for science what has not yet been lost.

The chief problem of mother-right in caste-Hinduism is the question which of the existing matriarchal elements have been imported by the immigrating Aryans, and which of them have been adopted on Indian soil, *after* immigration. The latter possibility will have to be accepted in far more single cases than the Sanskrit sciences ever believed, before the results of the excavations in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were known. Sir John Marshall points to this problem, which is of paramount importance, when he says that nearly all the features of the Great Indian Culture, which we have been used to consider as Hindu and thus as belonging to Aryan civilization, can in reality be traced back to the pre-Aryan Indus-civilization, with only the great exception of the Brahmin,—the caste,—and the decidedly Vedic complexes in Hindu religion and sociology.[1]

On the other hand, we may rest assured, since the completion of Koppers' fundamental study of the old-Indian horse sacrifice in connection with the question of the original home of the Indo-European stock,[2] that at least some of the mother-right features of the old Aryans, (which Koppers calls the Southern elements), belong, not only to the early Vedas but to the whole of the Indo-European stock. This fact, be it noted, does not imply that these elements were brought to India by the Aryans, in the first place. The possibility must rather be kept in view that these matriarchal Southern elements reached the early Indo-Europeans in their original home, not far from northern India, by the influence of the old Indus-civilization, and were again brought back by them, when some of these Northern herdsmen immigrated to India as the early Aryans.

We cannot hope to solve this problem merely from the point of view of the investigator of mother-right in India. Still the importance of these aspects must at least be mentioned here, before we go into the details of the various examples, showing matriarchal remnants and traces within the Hindu area of India.

B/6. II. I

I. Single Elements

The question of *matriarchal descent* has already occupied the

1. Marshall, op. cit. preface, p. V. and p. 15, 77, 110, 111/I.
2. Koppers: "Die Indogermanenfrage im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos* 1935, p. 1-31.

interest of Sir Denzil Ibbetson (Census of India 1881) and Sir H. Risley (Census of India 1901) who stated that, contrary to the usually observed Brahmin custom :

> " In the Eastern districts the tribe is as certainly not changed at marriage, nor does a boy change it at adoption.....In Sirsa it does not change, for a man always speaks of his wife by her tribal and not by her personal name...."

The same custom is practised among the Delhi Gujars.[1] Similarly, matrilineal descent, or rather its remnants, are held responsible for the Chauhar Gujars calling themselves Gujars, not after their male ancestor, a Chauhan Rajput, but after his wife, a Gujar woman.[2] Risley and Russell again find a relic of the system of matriarchal descent surviving in the belief of the Banias that they descend in the maternal line from a snake-princess, who was married to a Raja. This is decidedly strengthened by a legend, which relates that the Goddess Lakshmi favoured the sons of Agar Sen with the privilege (i.e., something unusual, exceptional) of being called after their father, not after the aforesaid Naga-princess.[3] Moreover the Bania mothers in the Nimar district are not allowed to eat wheat after the birth of a son, before they have undertaken a pilgrimage to the shrine of the caste's tutelary deity in Delhi, whereas wheat is allowed directly after a daughter has been born.[4] Relatives to the fifth degree not only on the paternal, but also on the maternal side, may not be taken in marriage.[5] Similarly Held believes that in (Aryan) India, "..there seems to exist a latent matrilineal organization,"[6] and mentions as an argument for this "....that the Dasapeya ceremony might only be partaken in if a person could mention ten ancestors through the father and through the mother ; according to Laty, IX. 2, 5, even ten female ancestors through the mother " (cited Weber : Ind. Stud. X. 68) "....The stridhana (a wife's peculiar property) did not fall to the son, but to her daughter."[6]

Held, in this connection, points to the fact that G. Przyluski in *Journal Asiatique* 1927, p. 177, proves Gautama to have belonged to the "..... même clan que sa tante maternelle Gautami."[6] and finally mentions the fact that "on the stupa of Bharhut the donators are sometimes mentioned by the mother's *gotra*."[7] He even asks : " Is perhaps *gotra* a name for matrilineal clan ? "[6] with which hypothesis the etymology of the word seems to fit in, as it is derived from the word of which *cow* is the English representative.

1. Ibbetson, op. cit. and Risley op. cit. p. 242/I B.
2. Risley, p. 242/I. B.
3. „ *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, § Agarwala, cited from Russell, p. 138/II.
4. Russell, p. 138/II.
5. „ p. 121/II.
6. Held : *The Mahabharata*.... op. cit. p. 72.
7. „ „ p. 73.

Gait points to another mother-right feature, already in the Mahabharata, where it is reported of the Vahikas, "....whose capital is believed to have been near Sialkot that owing to the unchastity of their women, their sisters, and not their own sons became their heirs."[1]

A still living usage should perhaps be mentioned in this connection. Among the noblest castes of Hindu society, the marriage proposal must not come from the bridegroom's family but from that of the bride.[2] The significance of this institution will become comprehensible as soon as the rôle has been discussed, which the rule of hypergamy plays in the struggle between the patriarchal and the matriarchal principles of India. (See Chapter B/6, II, 2. entirely dedicated to this problem.) Hocart also mentions the importance in caste-Hinduism of maternal relations who, according to Manu, verse 147, seq. 213 and 220 should be the only ones to be treated with the same hospitality as the Brahmins, on the occasion of the funeral feast.[3]

In Beluchistan the belief is often met with, that "....while among animals inheritance follows the father, amongst human beings it follows the mother."[4]

This complex of opinions very likely belongs to the Dravida-speaking Brahui of Beluchistan, to whom we must probably also trace the custom in some secret societies of Muslims in this country (Zikris), of assembling around a fire on each 14th of the Arabian month (on Friday nights). They then pronounce the Muslim creed in an altered form, instead of saying: "There are no gods, besides the ONE and Mohammed is his messenger," they change the second part to: "....and the mother of Mohammed is his prophet."[5]

Similarly, the many tutelary goddesses of castes, especially in Bengal, who have later on been transformed into Hindu deities, seem to belong to a pre-Aryan strata. They point at the same time to the former existence of matriarchal descent, on account of their being not only tutelary, but also primogenitors (ancestresses) of the various castes concerned,[6] which thus trace back their origin, not to a man, but to a woman.

Another process, probably not unlike the aforementioned one, seems to survive among the Devadasis and Basavis. Matriarchal descent and inheritance of property through the female line is observed by the children of dedicated courtesans who themselves enjoy an extent of freedom and personal independence unknown to Hindu ladies of the same social and

1. Karna Parva XLIV, XLV. cited from Gait, op. cit. p. 235/II.
2. Russell, p. 371/III.
3. Hocart "Maternal Relations in India" *MAN* p. 103/XXIV.
4. Gait, p. 225/I.
5. R. Hughes-Buller, *CENSI* Vol. V. p. 45 (Beluchistan).
6. Risley p. 181/I. B.

cultural level within the grades of the caste-system.[1] On the other hand the general Indo-European custom allowing daughters to inherit in sonless families (*Indogermanische Erbtochterfolge*) may have contributed to the good position of the dedicated Basavis and Devadasis. The equal rights of inheritance accorded to girl-mothers among the Kishtwar in Kashmir,[2] may on the other hand be an indication of the polyandric origin of this custom. Thus the matriarchal and pre-Aryan origin of the Devadasi complex seems *more* probable than the theory attributing it to the nomadic Aryan herdsmen and their *Indogermanisches Erb-Tochterrecht*, as the Devadasi complex is connected with the cult of the goddess and with the importance of the woman, which is a decidedly *religious* custom. Ethnology has often proved that religious customs are stronger and better able than the non-religious, to survive mere social institutions.[3] Moreover E. A. Gait reports, that sometimes the father in Hindu society gives "....his daughter in marriage on the express understanding that she will remain in his house and that any issue she may have will belong to his family," instead of to the bridegroom's family, i.e., the usually patriarchal form, practised among caste-Hindus. This matriarchally determined form of marriage has been reported from Assam, Kashmir and the Kandyan Singhalese of Ceylon, by Gait,[2] three territories then, which can rightly be called cultural backwaters or refuges of pre-Aryan mother-right cultures in India, that have retreated before the advancing creed, language and social order of Aryan Hinduism. To what degree of similarity this form approaches that of the Brahmanized Devadasi or Basavi marriage, becomes clear by comparison of Gait's already mentioned description of the former, with Thurston's report of the latter form of marriage when he says[4] that in some families (usually those without sons, it must be admitted) Devadasis are dedicated, and at the same time get the right to educate their children in their own home. The children of such Devadasis, moreover, are the only ones who can take over their mother's, instead of their father's, family-name and tradition, thus saving it from dying out.[4] Another feature reported by Ananthakrishna Iyer, seems to show how old the respect for dedicated Devadasis was and how deeply rooted it must have been in the whole religious conception of pre-Aryan and even Aryanized India. He describes the Nattuvan of Mysore, a caste of dancing girls and dancing teachers and states: "If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant she is considered inferior in status to Deva Dasis."[5]

1. Thurston, p. 127, 129, 144/II. and
   Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 155/III and
   Fred Fawcett in *JAnSBo* p. 322/II.
2. Gait, p. 236/I.
3. Compare also *Anthropos* 1935 p. 15/XXVI.
4. Thurston, p. 127, 128, 133, 144, 215/II., 314/V. and
   Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 155/III., 147, 152/IV. and 668/IV.
5. ,, p. 426/IV.

This shows that the patriarchal Hindu Brahmin feeling of contempt for illegitimate childbirth had already taken possession of this caste, although such an attitude must have been foreign to the pre-Aryan and non-totemistic mother-right peoples of the NAY-group. On the other hand it is shown here that a similar contempt for the polyandric mode of life, led by the Devadasis, the dedicated courtesans, proved able to preserve its religiously sanctified and comparatively high position, though otherwise it must have been more strongly opposed to the patriarchal Hindu Brahmin conception than mere illegitimate childbirth. It is interesting to note that this last matriarchal form of inheritance, i.e., the Devadasi's privilege, preserved its existence in Hindu society even throughout the whole period of the second patriarchal invasion of India, i.e., the Moghul one, and was only destroyed when the third wave of patriarchal feelings reached India with the Europeans and their machine-culture after the Great War.

But the beginning of this process, this slowly advancing annihilation of all really indigenous Indian, i.e., matriarchally determined, cultural traces must have started long before. Thus, outside the religiously sanctioned class of dedicated courtesans, another type of polyandrically living women within the Hindu Brahmin society soon evolved. These are the so-called dancing girls—musicians and prostitutes—and finally even criminal castes, who probably have once seen much better days and have been more and more humiliated under the influence of a foreign (i.e., patriarchal) conception of life, marriage and honour. The important questions connected with this interesting complex will be discussed in Chapter B/7, 3.

Finally it must be mentioned that Gait considers it to be possibly matriarchal if a son-in-law resides in his wife's family—a custom, widely spread throughout the length and breadth of Hindu-Brahmin India, especially where a family has remained without sons. "A man who resides in his father-in-law's house...." says Gait, "....is commonly known as *ghar jamai, gardi jawae, ghar-damad,* or *khanadamad*...The resident son-in-law occupies a very similar position to that of the Garo *nokrong,* which is admittedly a mother-kin institution" (See our Chapter B/3, 1.).

Gait connects both the institutions with the "....Ladakhi custom (now decadent) of introducing a distant relative, or even a stranger.... this man who is called *farsukh* becomes a permanent member of the family and shares the common wife."[1]

The adoption of the eldest of several sons, by his maternal grandfather, as reported by Gait from the Punjab,[1] seems rather to be related to the Ladakhi custom mentioned above, which is geographically nearer,

1. Gait, p. 236/I.

and generally more closely related to the matriarchal traces in the Himalayan area than to true Indian pre-Aryan mother-right. This conception is also strengthened by remnants of matrilocality, as reported by Dr. Leonhard Adam, who heard about them from Nepalese prisoners of war belonging to the Pun clan, whom he had the opportunity to study in Roumania, during the Great War.[1] A young couple, he says, returns after marriage to the bride's house and remains there for three days. This custom is called *Duran Farkanu.*

This brief compilation of a few instances, showing matriarchal descent or inheritance and matrilocality within the area of Hindu Brahmin society, cannot of course aim either at completeness, or at systematic registration, as has already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

Apart from direct matriarchal descent, inheritance and matrilocality, many other cultural elements are to be found within the area of Hindu Brahmanism, pointing to matriarchal culture-circles and yet not going back directly to the mother-right centres of south-western or north-eastern India, nor even to the totemistic area, where we have found such elements still surviving. These traces, which we shall discuss below, seem to belong to a pre-Aryan culture in India, which must have been more widely spread than now.

The *Mother's Brother* has many rights and has to perform many duties, chiefly at the nephew's and niece's marriage ceremonies.[2] E. A. Gait,[3] as well as Rivers,[4] doubt the matriarchal character of many of these ceremonies, in which a clearly matriarchal aspect is lacking and which, furthermore, are often the same as those performed by the paternal aunt. So we should perhaps co-ordinate this complex with the non-matriarchal cross-cousin marriage existing in India, along with its probably matriarchal *menarikam* form. Still a comparison might be suggested of the widely spread Hindu-custom in which the bride is carried at marriage by her maternal uncle,[5] with similar usages, especially in Polynesia. to which Heine-Geldern has pointed.[6] The old and often discussed problem of the maternal uncle's position in Vedic literature seems too great and complicated a problem to be included in this short review. The interesting position of the mother's brother among the Rajputs,[7] will be discussed in Chapter B/7, 1, which is entirely dedicated to the matriarchal problem within the Rajput community.

1. Dr. Leonhard Adam *A Marriage ceremony of the Pun Clan. . . . MAN* 23/34.
2. Thurston, *Ethn. Notes* p. 2 seq. and Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 349, 362, 398/II.
3. Gait, p. 237/I. where he also cites :
4. Rivers " The Marriage of Cousins in India " in *Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc.* 1897, p. 611.
5. Thurston, *Ethnogr. Notes* p. 2.
6. Heine-Geldern : " Völker und Kulturen Poynesiens," lectures at Vienna University winter-term 1936/37.
7. Russell, p. 280/II. seq., p. 434/IV.

Puberty Rites of girls are by no means unknown among certain groups of caste-Hindus, especially in the south of India.[1] Thus the Aradhya Brahmins of Mysore celebrate the first menstruation with a bath, which is followed on the 16th day by the consummation of the marriage, nominally already contracted long before.[2] The Dikshitar Brahmins, also of the south, even arrange processions and caste-festivities on these occasions,[3] recalling similar ones of the Nayars. (See Chapter B/3, 5.) Also among the Deshast Brahmins, the first menstruation is celebrated, the girl even being seated on a little throne and accompanied by a Maratha maidservant, attending her day and night.[4] Female relatives pay visits, bring presents for the initiated girl and wash her in perfumed oil: all features which we have found characteristic among the Nayars. Consummation of marriage among these child-marriage practising Brahmins, takes place on an auspicious day after the first menstruation, but before the 16th day.[4] The Rarhi Brahmins of Bengal seclude their daughters in a dark room during the three days of the first menstruation, where they are not allowed to see a man's face, and have to observe the same restrictions as a Brahmachari.[5] Very interesting in regard to the Nayar custom, is the report of J. Helène Rowlands[6] on the first menstruation of the Bengali child wife in the middle ages. She verbally speaks of a second marriage on the occasion of which "des cris de triomphe sonnaient de la conque, chantaient des chancons d'amour...." A custom which almost seems copied from the double celebrations of the first menstruation and of the Talikettu Kalyanam among the Nayars. (See Chapter B/3, 5.) The Maratha of the Central Provinces, too, seclude their girls at the first menstruation, celebrate a caste-festivity and make the girls bathe.[7] But in this case the mixture with matriarchal survivals in the totemistic area may also be responsible for the institution.

It would lead too far, systematically to register all the allusions to similar institutions which are to be found in the old Sanscrit and Vedic literature, such as in the Arthasastra of Kautilya,[8] or in the Hindu folklore which still exists.

Polyandric features seem to have been specially stressed in early Hindu life. One of the most famous testimonies of the kind, *i.e.* Draupadi's marriage with the five Pandava brothers, as narrated in the Mahabharata, has been doubted, because ".... a very early text, the Aitareya

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 363/II.
2. „ p. 36/II.
3. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes* p. 340/I.
4. Risley, op. cit. p. 118/I. B.
5. „ p. 192/I. B.
6. J. Helène Rowlands: *La Femme Bangalie* p. 72.
7. Russell, op. cit. p. 203/IV.
8. *Arthashastra* of Kautiliya (German translation J. J. Meyer) p. 648.

Brahmana, III, 23....enunciates the rule, that one wife has not many husbands at the same time."[1]

Mehta rightly remarks of this, that one negative testimony is by no means to be regarded as sufficient to cause disbelief in polyandry altogether. Especially so, since different testimonies, contradicting each other, are often to be found in the old Indian literature. This cannot be expected to be otherwise, as the various writers probably belonged to different shades of culture-historic affinity and relations. Moreover I think, the express negation of polyandry in a country, rather goes to prove the former, or partial, existence of that institution in that country. Were polyandry something absolutely unknown, monogamy would not even have been mentioned. Held, too, criticises the doubts in the polyandric character of Draupadi when he says:

> " Ludwig considers as purely mythical features....the polyandric marriage of the Pandavas.... 'Warum und wodurch veranlasst ein Dichter auf diesen Gedanken kam, wird immer ein Rätsel bleiben' says Ludwig more or less artlessly."[2]

To this criticism must still be added that all figures of an epos should not be understood as exact reports about historical personalities, nor are they even always intended by the author to be thus understood. Whether or not there ever existed a lady named Draupadi and whether or not she actually was married to five brothers at the same time, is not very relevant to the question of the existence of polyandry at the time of, or shortly before, the composition of the Mahabharata. But that the poet came to describe the polyandric marriage of his heroine at all, seems sufficient proof that such an idea was accessible to the creators and the readers (or hearers) of the Mahabharata. This becomes clear as soon as one tries to imagine the world of difference which would preclude any modern Indian author from conceiving a novel or a drama in which the heroine was a modern Indian lady married to five brothers! The Indian mentality of today revolts in sheer disgust even against modern European literature concerned with the mere problem of divorce, not to speak of novels or films concerned with the love-story of a married woman with another man. An objective observer who has once had the opportunity to experience these sentiments in modern Indian society, will realize what a world of difference lies between the present Indian mentality, and that which prevailed in the times of the Mahabharata, especially with regard to sex-relations and matrimonial questions.

E. A. Gait points to the striking similarity between fraternal polyandry, as described in the Mahabharata, and that still secretly surviving in certain regions of northern India. He mentions here the well-known cases of

1. Mehta in *JAnSBo* p. 382/X.
2. Held, op. cit. p. 6.

fraternal polyandry on the border of the Himalayas among the Bhotias,[1] and in Ladakh,[2] as also among the " Kanets and other Sudra castes of the Punjab hills, including Kulu. . . ." and also, though not officially acknowledged, among the Thakkars and Meghs of Kashmir. He says : " According to Crooke, fraternal polyandry was common only a few years ago among the Gujars of the United Provinces, where it has been attributed to the scarcity of women. . . ."[1] He also cites Martens, who considers that polyandric remnants exist in the Aryan and non-Aryan communities of the Central Provinces, as also in the rôle played by the sisters-in-law of the Kirs, an agriculturist caste of Hoshangabad on occasions of childbirth.[2]

Another remnant of polyandry seems to survive in the following institution, also reported by E. A. Gait : " In Iloquapadar in Kashmir, an old man with a young wife will often engage a lusty youth to beget children upon her on his behalf. This custom is known as *Pachhanga*. It was recognized by the early law-writers, who called a son thus obtained Kshatraya."[3]

The aforesaid passage in the Mahabharata, which explained the nephew's inheritance among the Vahikas in the Punjab by the " unchastity of their women," must again be mentioned here.[4] Probably this is to be understood as a report on matriarchal marriages and inheritance, which, seen with purely patriarchal eyes, have been misinterpreted as " unchastity," just as the first European reports on the Nayars' matrimonial life erroneously saw the Nayar women as courtesans,[5] though a report in Ellis's edition of the Kural, calling the Nayar women " mistresses," yet " for the glory of the female character " makes a statement, according to which also among them " uninfluenced and uninterested unions of love, when formed in youth, continues even in the decline of age."[5]

Gait also reports that " Certain Pathans in Beluchistan allow great freedom to their unmarried girls."[6] But this institution seems rather to be more to the Devadasi-complex, and should not be confounded with polyandry proper, but rather considered as its religiously preserved remnant from a time when the general position of women was far better than it is now. Fred Fawcett supports this conception when considering the Devadasis as ". . . .women, who through dedication to a deity, assume masculine privileges. ."[7] Their children are legitimate and, though each may have a different father, the bonds of brother and sisterhood are as

1. Gait, op. cit. p. 239/I.
2. „ p. 240/I.
3. From Mayne : *Hindu Law* 7. Ed. p. 81 cited from Gait, op. cit. p. 235/I.
4. Karna Parva XLIV, XLV. cited from Gait, op. cit. p. 235/II.
5. Kerr *Voyages and Travels* 1811, cited from Thurston op. cit. p. 310/V.
6. Gait. op, cit. p. 243/I.
7. Fred Fawcett in *JAnSBo* p. 322/II.

strong as in any ordinary Hindu family.[1] This feature again recalls the special brotherly and sisterly love which we have found so characteristic in the Nayars. (See Chapter B/3, 5.) Fawcett furthermore stresses that among all the different forms of Hindu marriages, "Basavism.... is the only one, through which all the privileges of the male sex can be assumed by a female" and rightly says: "... the aberration of inheritance to the female line is therefore not so strange when this is borne in mind.... Basavis can perform their parents' obsequies... for both, father and mother... the family name sometimes descends through women for several generations."[2] Thus the connecting link between this form of, so to say, illegitimate polyandry with Basavism seems proved. Basavism again, has already been shown as a relic of mother-right. Therefore we may conclude that the often attempted differentiation between fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry seems perhaps not very important with regard to the question of mother-right in India.

The remnants of polyandry among the Rajputs,[3] and the Jats in the Punjab,[4] will be discussed in Chapter B/7, among the Rajput questions.

The difficulties of mother-right investigations in India have been mentioned several times. The orthodox conception of Brahmanism is in itself opposed to most of the matriarchal institutions. But from the moment that British public opinion too, is in discord with matriarchal conceptions or their remnants (as is the case with regard to polyandry) it becomes decidedly difficult to find traces of old mother-right cultures in India, even if they *are* there. A Muslim Rajput, for instance, once told me, that traces of polyandry have never existed in the Rajput community, neither Muslim nor Hindu, but that they are to be found among the Jats. The reverse assertion again has been made, although we have just cited above two scientifically reliable sources, stating that survivals of polyandry have been found among both the castes. Similarly some Nayars have been found, not only to doubt in the indubitably existing institution of polyandry within the Nayar caste of former centuries, but even in the former existence of mother-right although this system of inheritance has only been abandoned in this age by the well-known "Nayar Regulations," which have served as a model for quite a number of other originally matriarchal castes in Kerala, which accept the patriarchal order under Hindu-European influence.[5] Thus the mother-right investigator in India must always keep in mind the curious mentality of many Indians with regard to tradition and history. Each and everything religiously sanctioned, especially if by the authority of orthodox Brahmanism,

1. Fred Fawcett in *JAnSBo* p. 333/II.
2. „ p. 338/II.
3. Gait, op. cit. p. 240/I.
4. Gait, op. cit. p. 216/I.
5. Kunjan Pillai, op. cit. p. 273 seq. and 277/XXVIII.

is minutely preserved against any innovation. The hard but not very successful fight of even such powerful and influential a personality as Mahatma Gandhi against the depression of the untouchables and for temple-entry for them illustrates the persistence of these religiously sanctioned institutions, even if contradicting the original idea of the very religions concerned. On the other hand usages, customs and institutions not sanctioned by the ruling priestly class of any among the Indian religions, are put aside with a certain carelessness, which, to European eyes, would perhaps seem even to betray a lack of piety. This holds good especially when European public opinion opposes these old and non-religious institutions. We must be prepared to learn sooner or later that under such circumstances many most interesting and valuable facts, especially in connection with mother-right, will not come forward, until folklore, superstitions, omens and all the non- or pseudo-religious usages in the different Indian castes have been described thoroughly and scientifically. This great work of paramount importance to the ethnology and culture-history of India can hardly be done by average European scientists, who are bound to be prejudiced themselves, in some direction or other. It will probably be left to Indian scientists, men and women who have freed their outlook from the dangerous temptation of seeing things as their caste-fellowmen would wish according to the present public opinion. This attitude has jeopardized the scientific desire for truth and nothing but truth, otherwise so decidedly an Indian virtue.

These notes of general importance had to be given here, as it must be understood, that the data, especially of polyandry, and also of other matriarchal elements, would most likely be much more numerous, were it not that in all probability many of them have been suppressed before coming to scientific registration. Therefore methodical deliberations do not allow us to conclude the non-existence of things from the non-existence of examples adduced.

Mother-right traces within the Hindu Brahmin *religion* are so numerous that it would transgress the limits of this sketch to enumerate the single instances. The indigenous, originally Indian and thus non-Aryan village-mothers, earth-goddesses and similar features as well as the female deities within the Hindu Brahmin pantheon, have, to be reckoned under this heading. It will be difficult to decide in each single case, whether such a Hinduized goddess is merely the Aryanized form of a former pre-Aryan, Indian deity, or whether she has been imported (or perhaps reimported!) as a matriarchally determined goddess by the immigrating Aryans. At any rate this second possibility must be kept in view, since Koppers had proved that the matriarchal component (Koppers' *südliche Elemente*) in the Indio-European horse sacrifice is also traceable among the old Iranians, Germanians, Kelts, Romans, Greeks and Slavs, not only in the old Indian Ashvamedha.[1]

1. Koppers " Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen " in *WB*, p. 364/ seq.

The matriarchal traces in the Durga-Kali mythology, especially in the eastern parts of Bengal will have to be thoroughly studied if ever a complete picture is aimed at. Again the publications of Heine-Geldern on this subject and Father W. Schmidt's criticism of the same, which have already been several times mentioned, will be of great use for further investigation in this direction. It is impossible to record the whole question here. Suffice it to mention the existence of the problem. Matriarchal character of the female Hindu deities doubtlessly prevails in the east and south of India. A similar constellation of things seems to exist also in the north. Says Gait : " The worship of the divine mother which is so prominent a feature in the religion of the people, especially in the south of India, probably had its origin in mother-kin."[1]

Similarly Russell stresses the relationship existing between the reverence for the goddess Devi bearing an Aryan name, and the religious life of all caste-Hindus, when he states : " The Hindu caste....worship or pay homage once or twice a year to the implements of their profession ....The occasions are usually the Dasara festival in September and the feast after the Holi festival in March. Both these are festivals of the goddess Devi or Mother Earth, when a fast is observed in her honour, first before sowing the spring crops and secondly before reaping them."[2]

This also seems to hint at the mother-right origin of agriculture.

Probably we have here, a typically indigenous Indian, i.e., pre-Aryan, form of religiosity before us, which was later taken over by the Hindu Brahmin cult. Such a conception becomes all the more probable, as Gerda Hartmann successfully tried to show that Sri originally was a pre-Aryan deity of fertility. She holds that Sri Lakshmi was developed from two goddesses, who were originally worshipped separately and finds support for her assumption in the fact that in the Puranas both the words have been used as synonymous names for one and the same wife of Vishnu. Moreover she rightly believes that the lotus, the symbol of Sri, as also the form of the female statuettes in Mohenjo-Daro go to prove the whole complex related to Saktism and the Lingam cult, two decidedly pre-Aryan entities.[3] N. Kunjan Pillai mentions Saradananda's *tantras* in the Census of India 1931 : " Another feature of the tantras is the higher standard to which they have raised womanhood. Sakti proclaims that in one sense she is manifested more in women than in men. When women are approached with reverence and awe, purity and devotion, they raise men to the standard of Gods ; but when looked down upon with immoral and selfish ends, they bring down men to the level of beasts."[4]

1. Gait, op. cit. p. 236/I.
2. Russell, op. cit. p. 185/I.
3. Gerda Hartmann *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmi.*
4. Pillai, op. cit. p. 349/XXVIII.

The fight of the Lingayat reform movement against the caste-system introduced by patriarchal Brahmanism and aiming at restitution of the pre-Brahmin equal standing of south Indian women with that of men and, along with it, permission of widow-remarriage, independent choice of the husband, and personal freedom, agrees with this mentality.[1]

Held, on the other hand, doubts the pre-Aryan origin of Siva-Sakti stressing that already in Vedic times "....Even in the case of a figure like Dyaus it is not in the first place the sky that is worshipped, but principally the All-Father, the Begetter, together with Prithivi, the Earth Mother.[2]...."

But Russell again, and with more probability, it seems, finds in all the different earth-goddesses of the Central Provinces typically indigenous and pre-Hindu entities.[3] This statement, I think, can rightly be applied to all Indian earth-goddesses who have survived as separate religious personalities to this day.

A hint, pointing in this direction, is given by the significant fact that Sitala Devi, the Aryanized form of the goddess, ruling over contagious diseases, is worshipped even by a so markedly Brahmanized caste as the Bania-Parwar.[4] The smallpox goddess, controlling also other contagious diseases, was found to be organically coherent with different and primitive grades of mother-right in India (see Chapter B/3). Rutan Sanyal Amulaya and Sarat Chandra Mitra report the worship of a special form of this Goddess on occasions in which the women "....take the most prominent part."[5] Russell states regarding the Muslim Atari (Gandhi or Bukekari): "....some of them worship Hindu deities, as Mata, the goddess of smallpox."[6] This makes it highly probable that the goddess really is a pre-Aryan deity, Aryanized only in name, and thus able to have resisted not only the first wave of a foreign religion, i.e., the Vedic cult, but even a second one, namely Islam.

The same holds good with regard to the serpent-goddess of Bengal. She is also worshipped by Muslims and exhibits a probably matriarchal character by the significant similarities to the typical matriarchal snake-worship of the South-Western mother-right area. Moreover Helène Rowlands says on the cult of Padmabati, the snake-goddess of Bengal: "....Les femmes des bonnes familles....l'adoraient comme fille de

1. Thurston, op. cit. p. 249/IV. and
Russell op. cit. p. 244, 304, and 333/I. where the fight of Basava and Ramayya for equal rights of women and the permission of widow-remarriage is described.
2. Held, op. cit. p. 100.
3. Russell, op. cit. p. 54/I.
4. ,, p. 159/II.
5. Amulaya Ratan Sanyal and Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 829/XII.
6. Russell, p. 44/II.

Civa; mais les hommes la laissèrent, considérant qu'accepter cette déésse indigène, cette divinité de basse origine (Laghujati) serait un affront aux dieux superieurs."[1]

This constellation again suggests a culture-historic connection between all the numerous forms of serpent-worship in India and south-east Asia on the one side, and the Matriarchal south-west coast on the other, a suggestion which seems highly favoured by single facts, relating to serpent-worship outside the typically matriarchal districts of India. Russell thus tells us of the natural relations existing between the Nag-Panchami feast of the Barai in the Central Provinces and the economic, personal and sexual independence of their women,[2] Helène Rowlands holds " Candi...une déésse guerrière " to be connected with the chivalrous heroines of Bengal history, suggesting a spontaneously reviving old mother-right. In the Sri Rajamala chronicle of the thirteenth century it is reported that: " ...Chengthompha terrifié par les forces de l'adversaire, abandonna le combat, mais *la reine* rallia les généraux, les soldats et *les femmes* du pays, et dès le lendemain les conduit elle-même au champ de bataille, où, après une longue lutte, ils furent victorieux."[3] (Italics are mine.)

The fact that this tradition of heroic women has been kept alive among the Muslims of Bengal seems again to strengthen our supposition of the very old age and matriarchal origin of the same. Thus Helène Rowlands gives a report of the " ..triste histoire d'une femme muselmane nommée Sakhina, " who, against the will of her father, marries Feroz Khan. After her husband is imprisoned by her father, Sakhina frees him at the head of a great army, after having besieged Khellatajpur for three days. But Feroz Khan does not prove worthy of his wife-heroine. He divorces her, thus provoking a nervous breakdown, which is touchingly narrated.[4] Similarly Helène Rowlands points to the fact that according to the old ballads, women wore daggers and sometimes also bows and arrows " dans la période prē-moderne, " and that in the Dharmamangala a still greater number of belligerent women is reported. Among them, Kanada seems to be a specially interesting feature. She is married by the king but fights with the help of her heroic maid-servant till she becomes the fourth wife of Lansena (Ghanarama: *Dharmamangala*, p. 183, 185).[5]

These historic facts seem to strengthen and also to widen the assumed relationship between head-hunting and mother-right in the western parts of the East Indies and the eastern parts of Bengal, to which Heine-

1. Helène Rowlands, op. cit. p. 177.
2. Russell, p. 195, 198/II.
3. Helène Rowlands, p. 216.
4. " p. 217.
5. " p. 218.

Geldern pointed as early as 1917 and 1921.[1] These facts also support the specially religious connection between old south Asiatic mother-right and Buddhism, which Koppers already suggested in 1921.[2] It will therefore not be out of place to assume a direct descent of these features in the religious, mythological and historic life of old Bengal from the village-goddesses, which have been alluded to in connection with east Bengal proper.[3] The assumption of the great antiquity of these goddesses seems strengthened by a description of Sarat Chandra Mitra: " ...a goddessling, now dubbed with the name of Jaya Durga, " who is worshipped in Kotalipara in the Faridpur district of Eastern Bengal is also reported to have "...no anthropomorphic image...no temple or shrine..". For her the Arahan ceremony is performed, " not by...Brahmans but by some mummers....who strip themselves naked... "[4] Probably it will prove useful to examine the wide-spread worship of the Goddess Durga, riding on the back of a horse or an elephant, arms in her hand, who might be the original mould of the Bengali Bapu, a common votive figure widely spread even in southern India.

Koppers' idea of Buddhism as fomrerly related to old matriarchal religious conceptions, seems again strengthened by a legend which Rajandra Kumar Bhattachariya records, according to which the Primal Energy " Adya Sakti wishes to be incarnated among Buddhists."[5] Bhattachariya moreover says that many Buddhists and Hindus in Chittagong and in the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal " ...believe in the omnipotence of the goddess named Magadesvari " whom the Hindus, according to him, have borrowed from the Buddhists.[5] But the whole complex goes back not only to Buddhism but rather to a very old primitive stratum. This becomes clear by another remark of Bhattachariya, pointing to the fact that in the whole rite, not only animal sacrifices (of black she-goats) are essential, but also the custom of roasting the meat of the sacrifice on bamboo spits.[5] Both these institutions are decidedly non-Buddhist, and point (under these geographical circumstances) to a very old grade of a probably matriarchal culture.

These are a few concrete survivals of former mother-right grades in present Hindu India. To them corresponds a far more important, but less definite group of traces, within the highly advanced and steadily progressive Hindu civilization of our days, which should not be overlooked in this connection.

The very idea of human dignity and loftiness is Sri Mata, the Holy mother also of the modern Hindu. He approaches her with folded

1. Heine-Geldern " Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer...." *MAG* 1917, p. 1 seq. and "Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd...." *MAG* 1921 p. 105 seq.
2. Koppers " Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus " *Anthropos* 1921, p. 456-458.
3. Thurston, p. 448/IV.
4. Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 970/XIV.
5. Rajandra Kumar Bhattachariya in *JAnSBo* p. 821/XII.

hands, although she is not his bodily mother. She is the idea and the ideal of his motherland, of Mother India. Identification with her was the motive at the beginning of Sri Ramakrishna's religious evolution.[1] This powerful and saintly personality (born 1836 died 1886) has exercised and still exercises a great influence on the evolution of modern thought in India and even created an important religious reform movement within the Hindu community.[2]

Gandhi's activities in the political, as well as in the social, sphere have been built up by the co-operation of women to a more than usual extent.[3] The Congress activities travel on the same line, a fact which is especially remarkable, as the economic, social and political position of Indian womanhood has been steadily suppressed since the expulsion of Buddhism from its homeland. But when the genius of original ancient India revives, as seems likely at the present moment, the old position of Indian womanhood too, will be regenerated. Women's careers and participation in public affairs yield a good example of how much things have changed, also in this respect.

Even in minor details we are led to believe in regeneration of old culture-historic traditions. Nationalist girl students of Gujrat on the west coast of the Bombay Presidency started a partly successful propaganda campaign to reintroduce the old Indian lady's dress, i.e., choli and sari only, instead of using European underwear and blouses under the sari, which are impracticable, too hot, and foreign to Indian soil.

The list of these and similar details, pointing to mother-right survivals or mother-right regeneration in old, mediæval, modern and present India could easily be continued beyond the limits of this paper.

But in all these cases, one question stands to the fore: Are these survivals, remnants and regenerations of mother-right really to be traced back to the indigenous, i.e., pre-Aryan culture of India? Or is it possible, perhaps even probable, that they date back to the position of women among the early Aryan immigrants, which was also much better than in the later periods and sometimes even of a matriarchal aspect, according to certain traces in the early Vedas?

This question will be answered, as soon as we know from which main source the matriarchal and the extreme patriarchal elements in Indian life have sprung. And that problem again, depends on the position which three typically Indian institutions occupy with regard to mother-right in India. These three institutions are: hypergamy, child-marriage and sati (burning of widows) or at least prohibition of widow-

1. Romain Rolland: *Das Leben des Ramakrishna* (translated) and Emma v. Pelet: *Worte des Ramakrishna.*

2. Romain Rolland: *Vivekananda* and *Ramakrishnas und Vivekanandas Universales Evangelium* (translated).

3. Mahatma Gandhi, *My Experiments with Truth.*

remarriage and the bad position of widows. These three institutions therefore can be said to be the key to the chief question of mother-right in Hindu-Brahmin and subsequent civilizations of India, and consequently will be the subject of the critical investigation which now follows.

II. Hypergamy

Russell defines hypergamy as "...the rule by which the social estimation of a family is raised, if its girls are married into a class of higher social status than its own. Members of the superior classes will take daughters from the lower classes...but will not give their daughters to them."[1]

Rivers rightly mentioned hypergamy as one of the chief problems to be solved, when the scientific periodical, *Man in India*, was founded.[2] Still the question of the age and origin of hypergamy in India has not been solved.

Russell holds hypergamy to be a compensation for the degrading institution of taking brides forcibly, and finds support for his theory in the fact that terms, denoting grades of relationship, such as "father-in-law and brother-in-law would be regarded as opprobrious".[3] The custom of taking brides forcibly, certainly not belonging to a highly advanced civilization, cannot be regarded as sufficient explanation of the custom of hypergamy, so widely spread, especially among the leading Brahmin class. Moreover it is improbable that such a relatively subordinate fact as is the inferiority complex, resulting from depreciative terms for relationship, should lead to such an important social institution as hypergamy in India really is. It seems more plausible to believe the contrary, namely the origin of the opprobrious terms of relationship under the influence of hypergamy.

Held agrees to Emile Senart's conception of the caste-system, as an outcome of the old Aryan social structure.[4] But he rightly doubts the race-principle being the integrating element leading to hypergamy, as the very idea of hypergamy, i.e., marriage between men and women of another class or group (which is held to be inferior to their own group) opposes the race-principle. Held remarks on this point: "Hypergamy, which connects not only subcastes but also entirely separate castes, fits badly in with Senart's conception of the endogamous caste (which he thought to have had the endogamous tribe for a prototype). He simply calls this phenomenon *bizarrerie* (Senart: op. cit. p. 31.)."[5] Held himself comes to the conclusion: "Hypergamy in our opinion is a phenomenon that accompanies the circulative marriage system."[5] But this explanation too,

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 363/II.
2. Rivers "Kinship and Marriage in India" *MANIND* p. 6/I.
   Risley, op. cit. p. 426/I.
3. Russell, p. 151/I.
4. Held, op. cit. p. 38 and from there cited: Emile Senart: *Les Castes dans l'Inde*. p. 222.
5. Held, p. 61.

seems to fail, as the endogamous caste determines the whole social structure of India, within Hindu as well as non-Hindu society, in totemistic and in matriarchally organized areas. And though hypergamy and endogamous castes belong to two entirely different, even opposing principles, still it is a historical fact that again and again hypergamous subgroups develop into endogamous castes in India. This marked tendency to seclude one group entirely from another with which it was formerly connected through the bonds of (hypergamous) marriage, seems to oppose the very principle of Held's circulative marriage system. On the other hand it fits in with the haughty tendency of hypergamy, engendering a majority complex in the higher group to which the men belong and a minority complex in the lower to which women belong, by the unequal marriage possibilities given to the members of the different classes. Thus the creation of endogamous castes out of those which were formerly connected with each other by hypergamous (therefore exogamous) bonds of relationship, can be said to be a functionally reasonable process, the result of an evolution which history shows to have taken place again and again in India.

Thus we find, that according to Manu's law-book men of the higher castes were still allowed to marry women of the lower castes but not to give their daughters to men of the latter in marriage.[1] But now the same principle of hypergamy among Brahmins and Rajputs with single exceptions only,[2] is no longer applied to the castes, which have meanwhile become endogamous groups, but to the single *gotras*, clans and other subcastes only.[3] Held's "circulative marriage system" may be one among the numerous roots of the caste-system, but it does not seem to be responsible for the origination of hypergamy, as according to its principle, Brahmin girls would be compelled to marry low-caste men which Manu considers a great social delinquency.[1] I therefore think that the circulative marriage system can only have played a minor rôle, if any, in the non-Aryan society of India.

But Held gives another, and I think a fundamental hint for the explanation of hypergamy when he says that in this organization "....the male sex is of paramount importance" and : "Also everywhere in religion all that is classified as male predominates."[4] He rightly says that Sarat Chandra Roy has found the explanation of the whole phenomenon by pointing to the stressing of the male over the female element, so characteristic in this institution.[5] Though this suggestion seems to stand in opposition to his former explanation by means of the "circulative marriage system," still we shall gratefully accept this valuable hint. To what

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 363/II.
2. Risley, p. 509/I.
3. Russell, p. 151/I.
4. Held, p. 61.
5. Sarat Chandra Roy in *MANIND* p. 39, 75/XIV.

degree hypergamy really can be said to be a ramification of the position of men, and to degrade that of women, becomes clear to every one who observes the working of this institution in the functional process of hypergamy in modern castes or classes of India. Thus Shaik Sadik Ali Sher Ali Ansari reports of the Muslims of north-west India: "....every Mohammedan should marry from a family which is equal to his own in social position. He must not marry a woman superior to himself, as such inequalities place a man under the dominion of his wife...."[1]

This typical case of disapproval of reversed or female hypergamy cannot culture-historically be traced back to non-Indian Islam, but merely to pre-Islamic Indian customs. The examples of such reversed or female hypergamous marriages in the early and later history of Islam are too numerous to be enumerated here. (See biography of the Prophet and his daughters.)

Similarly Russell reports of the Dangi, a caste in the Central Provinces, that they observe the following rule in choosing the mates of their children by astrological investigations: "....the zodiacal sign of the boy's horoscope should be stronger than that of the girls so that she may be submissive to him in after-life...."[2]

Summarizing, we may conclude that the principle of hypergamy in India finds its best explanation in the desire of an immigrating, patriarchally organized society, to force the idea of the superiority of men on the women, whose spirit of independence and self-confidence was rooted in the old tradition of a matriarchally organized society. Hypergamy thus seems a means to subdue the female position in society by forcing upon her social inferiority in matrimonial relations.

Now the question arises: which of the hypothetically proposed grades of mother-right in India might have yielded such a strong opposition to the patriarchal tendencies of the Aryan newcomers, as to have made it necessary to apply such extravagant means of breaking their resistance? Such means as are scarcely to be found anywhere else in human history, though contention between patriarchal and matriarchal principles has so often existed in the course of human civilization?

Tribes and castes related to the primeval culture-circle (Father Schmidt's *Urkultur*), and even those related to the more civilized PUL-group, must be excluded here, as we have found these tribes and castes to have reacted to foreign intrusion by mere retreat into forests still more secluded, or by utter submission to foreign dominance. A similar reaction, although after having tried more active resistance, characterizes the attitude of the tribes and castes related to the PAR-group. Quite

1. Shaikh Sadik Ali Sher Ali Ansari, *Short Sketch of the Musalman Races found in Sindh Beluchistan and Afghanistan.*

2. Russell, p. 460/II.

different was the reaction of the NAY-group. Its high standard of culture and civilization, its resistance to foreign ideas, foreign customs and even the foreign social order, are likely to have provoked the introduction of the hypergamous order, by patriarchal conquerors and invaders as a means of reducing the old and traditionally sanctified high position of women. This assumption seems supported by the facts adduced in Chapter B/3,5. It is really the hypergamous marriage which seems to have enabled the Nambuteriri-Brahmins to preserve their patriarchal social order and to arrogate a high position to themselves although they freely intermarried with the matriarchally organized Nayar women, but not with Nayar men.

We may thus conclude that hypergamy in India can be considered as the product of the contention between an old and highly civilized indigenous form of mother-right on the one hand, and a newly introduced patriarchal system of invading conquerors, on the other. In all probability the former is represented by the NAY-group, the latter by the immigrating Aryans.

The likelihood of a close relationship between the NAY-group and the ancient Indus-civilization has been already mentioned in Chapter B/3, 5. This relation, taken for granted, will also explain the universal importance of the hypergamy-principle in Hinduism, as the Aryanized Hindu-Brahmanism must be considered the product of, firstly the conflict between and secondly the amalgamation, of the patriarchally organized nomadic herdsmen-culture (*Hirtennomadische Kulturkreis*) of the invading Aryans, and the matriarchally organized townsmen-culture, indigenous on Indian soil (*Indus-civilization*).

A similar process will, in Chapter B/7, be shown to have taken place even within the highly Aryanized (Brahmanized) Rajput caste.

We shall now consider how far the principles of child-marriage and contempt of the widow, such typical Indian social institutions, should be included in this circle of phenomena.

3. Child-marriage

B. C. Allan enumerated in the Census of India 1901 three fundamental theories, aiming at explanation of the child-marriage, which in the Brahmin society of caste-Hindus is so rigorously observed that one may sometimes even speak of baby, if not embryo-marriage.

1. Nesfield's theory, holding infant-marriage to be a means of protection against promiscuity and the stealing of brides by foreigners.

2. Risley's conception, believing child-marriage to be the outcome of hypergamy and the thus arising difficulty of obtaining suitable bridegrooms belonging to higher social groups.

3. O'Donell's idea, according to which child-marriage is the outcome of the often expressed and always observable fear of the orthodox Indian father that his daughter should choose a husband herself, who might possibly not belong to a social group, desirable from the father's point of view.[1]

Allan adds to this latter theory, that child-marriage is supposed to cause the entire subordination of the bride to the ruling bridegroom's mother and her amalgamation in the atmosphere and mentality of the bridegroom's family. Allan also points to the fact that Indians themselves agree with O'Donell's theory and that sexual freedom before marriage is given to girls, especially in Assam, where matriarchal influences prevail.[1]

Criticizing Nesfield's theory, we do not agree with his extremely evolutionist view, assuming a state of common promiscuity in ancient society. But apart from this hypothesis, which Morgan has constructed, and modern ethnology has proved to be inconsistent, still one point of Nesfield's conception seems correct, namely the idea that child-marriage was meant to oppose the independence of women. We certainly do not regard the matriarchal peoples of ancient India, at the time of the herdsmen-invasion of the Aryans, as adhering to one form or the other, of Morgan's promiscuity. We know that these people were highly civilized, had towns like that excavated at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and were far from being primitive, still less primeval or original. Yet we know that this group of peoples, surviving in our NAY-group, gave much sexual freedom as well to girls before marriage, as also to married women, who where allowed to marry many husbands at the same time. (See Chapter B/3, 5). Thus it seems only natural that the invading Aryan and Nomadic herdsmen (Schmidt-Koppers' *Hirtennommadischer Kulturkreis*) had to overcome strong opposition on the part of the highly advanced indigenous peoples, when they attempted to force upon the latter the typically nomadic herdsmen's patriarchal ideals of chastity, subordination and obedience of women. Moreover the rule of patrilocal marriage,[2] must have been revolting to a girl who believe that she owed obedience to her mother only, not to her mother-in-law. And here Nesfield is in all probability right when he thinks that child-marriage served as a means to overcome this opposition. Risley's belief, that it was chiefly the difficulty of finding suitable husbands, according to the rules and regulations of hypergamy, especially so for the higher classes, also seems to be correct; all the more so, as we know that this difficulty leads to a real trade in high-class-bridegrooms, still practised. Especially the noble Kulin-Brahmins in Eastern Bengal, or the Sarwaria and Kananjia Brahmins of the Central Provinces, look upon the bridegroom-price as a natural and

1. B. C. Allan *CENSI* Assam, Vol. IV. part I. p. 65.

2. Schmidt-Koppers, op. cit. especially in the chapter on the nomadic herdsmen, p. 208 seq.

justified source of income, which is due, partly to their exalted social position, partly to their belonging to the male, i.e., the privileged sex, according to the rules of hypergamy. So we find infant-marriage here functionally connected with hypergamy. Hypergamy was found to be the functional result of the contention between matriarchal and patriarchal tendencies in India. This again proves that child-marriage, also seen from this point of view, must be considered as caused by the struggle between these two social principles in India.

The same tendency determines child-marriage also in O'Donell's aforementioned view. He thinks that it originated chiefly in the fathers' fear that their daughters might choose husbands according to their personal taste, instead of according to the caste-regulations. This is, in itself, a patriarchal feature, but still more so, as we know that the caste-system was introduced by the patriarchally organized Aryan invaders. When Allan still adds to this, that child-marriage is intended to break the child-wife's resistance against her husband's people, family, clan and mentality, then the functional meaning of the child-marriage as a means of spreading the patriarchal social order, becomes especially clear. The fact that subordination of a girl to the will of the mother-in-law and adaptation to the bridegroom's family are difficulties which patriarchal systems all over the world create, does not contradict our conception. The mother-right organization in other civilizations may not have been so highly advanced and so strong as was the case in India : hence the means to destroy it and replace it by patriarchal institutions were obviously not as severe as those applied in India. This becomes especially clear, if we call to mind how easily Nayar women obeyed their mothers, elder sisters or maternal uncles, but how they visited their husband's mothers, nay, the very houses of their husbands, only as honoured guests do within the patriarchal order of things (Chapter B/3, 5).

Still some other, more geographical, facts point to our conviction that the chief reason for child-marriage was in each single case the struggle between the patriarchal order of the invaders and the matriarchal order of the indigenous Indian civilization.

Muslims of Northern India practise child-marriage, contrary to their non-Indian co-religionists, but contrary also to their co-religionists of the South-West coast, where matriarchal influence prevails. This is all the more noteworthy, as these South-western Muslims generally have adopted more indigenous Indian cultural elements than the North-Indian Muslims have done. We therefore again agree with the conclusion arrived at from these facts in the Census of India 1901 : " This seems to give proof to my belief that infant-marriage was introduced as a means and tool against mother-right, because it failed to be introduced in the mother-right area of the Malabar-coast."[1]

1. Risley, op. cit. p. 442/I.

E. A. Gait concludes (in the Census of India 1911) from the facts that infant-marriage prevails in the region of contact between Aryan and non-Aryan peoples and does not occur very much on the North-western frontier "....that it was either a feature of the primitive (?) Dravidian culture, or the result of contact between it and the culture of the Aryans.. There is one obvious objection to the theory that the Dravidians practised infant-marriage before they came in contact with Aryans—most of the animist tribes marry as adults."[1]

This latter argument is valid in the main but must be corrected according to the standard of ethnology and archæology of to-day. Thus we must state: (1) The Dravidian Culture as represented, e.g., in the NAY-group or in the Indus-civilization, probably related to the same, is by no means " primitive, " but must rather be regarded as having been far more civilized than that of the immigrating Aryans at the time of their advent on the Indian soil. (2) Even the PAR-group has been shown not to belong to primitive culture in the true sense of the term. (3) Adult-marriage has been shown not only to have prevailed among the animistic tribes but also among the highly advanced mother-right peoples of South-West India, such as Nayar or Malabar-Muslims. Under these restrictions, Gait's conclusion can also be applied to the highly civilized Dravidic peoples. Thus also his view favours our explanation of child-marriage as a product of the struggle between patriarchal and matriarchal social systems.

The prevalence of infant-marriage in India, compared to other countries, where a struggle between father-right and mother-right has also taken place, is subject to the same explanation as the one which was given with regard to hypergamy, i.e., the special vigour and development of the matriarchal civilization in pre-Aryan India, at the time of the influx of the patriarchally organized nomadic herdsmen-culture.

4. Contempt of the Widow

The process of Hinduization has been steadily progressing in India for centuries. Indigenous groups again and again accept the religion, language and even the economic principles of Hinduism. In the course of this process, the non-Hindu groups are usually co-ordinated to one or the other degree of the continuously increasing and more and more complicated scale of the caste-system. Most, but not all of them, get a low position at the beginning. Whilst assimilating the cultural ideals of the Brahmins, they are often raised to higher positions within the caste-order. Some of them are finally included in the privileged group of the " caste-Hindu " or even of the Brahmins themselves. The criterion for this advancement is: vegetarianism, hypergamy, child-marriage and prohibi-

1. Gait, op. cit. p. 270/I.

tion of widow-remarriage.[1]

The conception of especially these two latter institutions as criteria for the grade of nobility in a Hindu-caste is deeply rooted. So much so that we witness the paradox of religio-social reform-movements, within the educated Hindu-society on the one hand, trying to remove these two institutions, considered as highly damaging to the whole community, while, on the other, lower classes at the same time newly introduce these very institutions, hoping thus to raise their caste-position in the eyes of the higher classes, who are trying to abolish them.[2] The counterpart of this constellation is to be found among the Muslims of India with regard to the notorious Purdah-system and the unhealthy total veiling of women, both foreign to original Islam, both considered as a mark of aristocracy in later Islam, both gradually removed by the educated classes, but both more and more adopted by the uneducated ones, who thus hope to raise their social position.

Russell shows that in all these problems, and especially in the one now before us, a very slow evolution only can be expected when he says in 1916 : " The prohibition of remarriage of widows has become a most firmly rooted prejudice among the higher classes of Hindus, and is the *last* to give way before the inroads of liberal reform. Only a small minority of the most advanced Brahmins have recognized widow-remarriage, and these are generally held to be excluded from the caste."[3] (Italics are mine).

The exclusion of the most advanced among these reformistic groups from their respective castes, may have meanwhile decreased. Still the principle has remained in force.

This fact, already, favours the assumption that prohibition of widow-remarriage, and contempt of the widow in general, sprang from the same source as did hypergamy and child-marriage, i.e., the struggle between invading father-right and advanced Indian mother-right.

That this fight was fought partly in the form of religious teaching does not necessarily oppose our view. Nor does the probability of a better position of women, the existence of adult-marriage and permission of widow-remarriage among the Aryans in the period of the Early Vedas.[4] Iyer holds " the growing importance of the priestly class. . . ." and also

1. Heine-Geldern " Völker und Kulturen Indiena " Lectures Vienna University, 1935/36. and, to mention only *one* example among many others, the Ambattan, may be cited here. They believe they are descendants of a Brahman and a Vaisha-woman, and prohibit the remarriage of their widows, like the " High-class Hindus, " proudly stating that they are no washermen. (Thurston, op. cit. p. 35/).

2. Rivers : *The Todas* op. cit. p. 503, 518, where the increase of child-marriage together with the the process of Hinduization, is reported.

3. Russell, p. 368/II.

4. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 401/II.

the "....supposed impurity of women" to be responsible for the decline of their position and for the restrictions that have been forced upon them. Similarly he explains the order, in the "Satapa Brahmana, requiring women to take food after their husbands."[1] The Brahmin hostility against womanhood, opposing the principles of the Early Vedas, where woman enjoyed a honoured position, is thus easily explainable as the outcome of the struggle between the patriarchally organized nomadic herdsmen, whose sociology is the basis of the Aryan Brahmanism, against the matriarchally organized indigenous civilization, which resisted more actively than was usually the case in similar constellations of other countries. The Brahman desire to break this resistance with all possible means easily explains the progressive decline of the standard of womanhood in India, proportional to the more and more draconic means applied by the representatives of the patriarchal society.

In order to understand the whole complex under discussion, it will be necessary to consider, not only the prohibition of widow-remarriage itself, but also the social and personal degradation going hand in hand with it. First of all we must realize that in the Brahmin society, contrary to, e.g., the Nayar-caste, women are considered as second-class members of the family whose *raison d'être* is sanctified merely by the unsoluble and unrepeatable sacrament of marriage with a Brahman man. Ananthakrishna Iyer vividly illustrates this when he says: "A young daughter-in-law is regarded as immodest and unmannerly if she...enters the outer or male compartment. No married female is permitted to leave the house without permission of the male or female head of the house. Women take their meals after the men and the choicest part of the food is given first to the males and the residue kept for the females..... The daughters or daughters-in-law, whose attitude towards one another is not always peace and harmony, are not only subject to the control of the head of the house, but also, shut up as they are in the family zenana."[2] Similarly it has been ordered (Vatsayana, sub XVI) "Let her engage in amusement....only so far as may please her husband" and (sub XVII) "Let her go to bed after her husband and rise before him. Should he be asleep in the day-time, she should never waken him."[3]

Ananthakrishna Iyer quotes in this connection the Brahdarnyaka Upanishad and says: "A wife completes her husband and is half of his self and her good qualities are mentioned. On the other hand Maitrayani Samhita (I. X. VI.-8. II. VI.-3) describes women as untruth,....elsewhere Taittiriy Samhita (VI. V.-8-2) a good woman, below even a bad man and the Katha Samhita (XXXI.-1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night. In the political sphere women took no part....Men went alone to the assembly....".[1] More-

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 401/II.
2. ,, p. 396/II.
3. Dr. Peterson: "The Vatsayana, on the Duties of a Hindu Wife" *JAnSBo* p. 460/II.

over Iyer expressly says that the " position of women in the sacrificial ritual was narrowed by the priests....".[1] Formerly their position was at least spiritually high, for " women took part in the speculative activity which manifested itself in the VI century B.C. in the Upanishads.... " where we find also female teachers mentioned. Also two wives of the great sage Yajnavalkya who shared their husband's intellectual activities must be mentioned here.[1]

This picture of the progressive decay of women's position in India betrays the clearly visible tendency to humiliate them before men, a tendency which is practised in excess in the treatment of widows. Russell for instance says at the time of the Great War that only " Maratha and Khedawal Brahmins in the Central Provinces still force them to shave their heads...."[2] yet that a widow " is usually forbidden to have a cot or bed, and must sleep on the ground or a plank. She must not chew betel leaves, should eat only once a day, and must rigorously observe all the prescribed fasts. She wears white clothes only, no glass bangles and no ornaments on her feet. She is object to other restrictions and is a general drudge in the family....Hindus say that a widow is half dead. She should not be allowed to cook the household-food, ...a widow is not permitted to worship the household-god or the ancestors of the family, ...a widow should not claim any life-interest in her husband's property. The modern tendency among widows who are left in possession to try and alienate the property from the husband's relatives has been a fruitful case of litigation and the ruin of many old landed families."[3]

This surprising activity of Indian present-day women, who have lived under so depressing an atmosphere for generations, can only be explained as the revival of a still older, i.e., the mother-right tradition. That the functional significance of contempt of widows has been correctly explained, as a means to destroy matriarchal independence of women, becomes clear also in Russell's summarizing words on the subject : " The severe treatment of widows was further calculated to suppress any tendency on the part of wives to poison their husbands."[3]

Sati, or burning the widow together with the husband's body, is, under these conditions only one step further, if we take into consideration that life without any occupation, besides the humiliating ones, without any aim, purpose or happiness, suppressed not only by the superstitious fear, but often hatred of the whole family, had to be faced by the widow who refused to commit sati, whereas this self-sacrifice in the burning flames was considered not only to bring honour and glory on the name of the whole family, but also eternal happiness to the soul of the suicided woman. Russell remarks on this institution : "....though it is doubtful

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 401/II.
2. Russell, p. 368/II.
3. „ p. 369/II.

whether this practice is advocated by the Vedas, subsequent Hindu scriptures insist strongly on it. It was said that a widow who was burnt with her husband would enjoy as many years in paradise as there are hairs on the human head, that is to say thirty-five million. Conversely, one who insisted on surviving him would in her next birth go into the body of some animal."[1]

It has often been suggested that *sati* was a survival of the former custom of killing the wives, slaves and animals of the deceased and thus making their souls accompany that of their lord. But we have no traces whatsoever pointing to that custom in ancient India, neither in the Vedic, nor in the pre-Aryan culture. Contrary to conditions in the North-East area of Indian Mother-right, in India proper no survivals of killing slaves, or binding them on the funeral pyre, before setting it on fire, are to be found. No substitute is sacrificed instead of a wife which would free her from the necessity of committing this self-sacrifice as is usually done in similar cases in other culture areas. On the other hand the idea of punishing the widow, to impress on the whole society the idea that a woman has a value only through her husband, seems conspicuously evolved and stressed in *sati*. Still *one* element in this custom seems to come from an absolutely different, i.e., a matriarchal source. This is the idea of glorifying extatic suicide, which we have found in the regicide of the Nayars, in the Mappila-raids and in the running amok of Indonesia. In Chapter B/7, 2, the attempt will be made to show that this element of the NAY-civilization survived within Hinduism and especially in the Rajput-class. Very probably this element has also contributed the raw material to the institution of sati, which later on was transposed by the Brahmin society into a completely patriarchal institution.

Summarizing, we can observe that the bad position of the widow, intensified to the extreme in the custom of burning her alive with the body of the deceased husband, originally foreign to the pre-Aryan, as well as to the Aryan society of India, has been evolved in the struggle between the originally matriarchal and the immigrated patriarchal system of society as a means to subdue the former by the religiously organized rule of the latter.

V. Vegetarianism

Vegetarianism has been mentioned in connection with hypergamy, child-marriage and the contempt for (burning of) the widow. This has been done not only because vegetarianism is, among the other institutions mentioned here, considered as a criterion of the Hinduization of formerly non-Aryan (and often matriarchally organized) tribes and castes, but also because of certain different facts, which will be discussed now.

1. Russell, p. 369/II.

The alphabetical caste-register proves that animal-sacrifice (decapitation and buffalo-sacrifice, as also the importance given to blood or at least the red colour) often occurs among mother-right groups. This complex of religious customs cannot be co-ordinated to one of our hypothetical matriarchal groups, corresponding to the grades of mother-right cultures, described in Chapter B/1, b. Though single instances of, especially, the blood-sacrifice, have been found to exist in the religious custom of the Nayars and the Tiyan, the predominance of the animal-sacrifice will probably have to be co-ordinated to the PUL- or still better to the PAR-group. The fact that this type of sacrifice is clearly represented in the Khond caste, i.e., a group in the region of transition between matriarchal and totemistic organizations, seems to strengthen this supposition.[1] Another fact also points in the same direction. Within the Hindu-Brahmin civilization, it is chiefly the Durga-Kali feature of Eastern Bengal to whom animal and decapitation-sacrifices with special stress, laid on blood, are offered. Heine-Geldern has proved the relationship of a primitive head-hunting mother-right with, and its influence on the Kali-Durga complex, especially of Eastern Bengal.[2] This group seems mostly related to grade III/a of mother-right cultures, corresponding to our PAR-group. Koppers too believed that this type of mother-right played an important rôle in the culture-historic background of Buddhism,[3] but since the probably matriarchal Indus-civilization has been excavated, it must be held responsible for the later evolution towards Buddhism, opposed to the more primitive animal-sacrifice and similar characteristics of the grade III/a in mother-right evolution. Gahs tries to prove the culture-historic relation between the blood-sacrifice, the sacrifice, in which the victim is cut to pieces (*Zerstückelungs-Opfer*) and the idea of fertility charms on the one hand, and a primitive grade of mother-right on the other.[4] All this makes it probable that animal-sacrifice, blood and similar sacrifices in India belong to a primitive grade of mother-right, as represented in the PUL- or still more probably in the PAR-group. Under these conditions it is likely that the tendency of Brahman vegetarianism was not to destroy the strong and dangerous matriarchal opponent represented by the NAY-group or the Indus-civilization, but was rather directed against the PAR-group, which was very probably already defeated by, and retiring before, several other cultural waves at the time of the Aryan immigration. One of these waves may have been the matriarchal NAY-group itself. The fight of the patriarchal invaders against this type of matriarchally influenced peoples, can therefore be considered to have been an easy and successful one.

1. Thurston, p. 368/III. seq.
2. Heine-Geldern "Kopfjagd und Menschenopfer...." *MAG* 1917, p. 1 seq. and "Mutterrecht und Kopfjagd...." *MAG* 1921 p. 105 seq.
3. Koppers "Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus" *Anthropos* 1921, p. 456-458.
4. Professor A. Gahs cited from Koppers, *Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermannen* op. cit. p. 314. seq.

The facts fit in with this conception of things. The idea of vegetarianism was propagated less rigorously and opposition to it not punished with so much contempt and degradation as was the opposition to hypergamy, child-marriage and prohibition of widow remarriage. The fact that vegetarianism, contrary to the three aforesaid institutions, was observed by Buddhism, also favours this conception. For Buddhism, formerly connected with "mother-right in India" as a whole, is, according to Koppers' own and reiterated conviction,[1] and according to the results of my comparison between the NAY-group, the Indus-civilization and the Rajput-caste, not to be traced back to a more or less primitive grade of mother-right in India, but decidedly to its most differentiated and progressive grade and to the Indus-civilization. This relation will be discussed especially in the Chapters B/7, 1 and B/9, 3. At the present moment the saints or gods, depicted on seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in a Buddha-like posture, are of special interest to us.[2] They seem to stand in an emphatic relation to animals and are, moreover, very similar to the picture of Buddha on the "deer-throne....in the Dharmacakra-scene," as Marshall has rightly observed.[3] This similarity, in connection with the entire culture-historic relation between Indus-civilization, mother-right and Buddhism, which will be the object of the aforementioned chapters, suggests the idea that the friendly attitude towards animals and, with it, vegetarianism, had already been an element of the Indus-civilization and thus of mother-right, grade III/b, as represented by the NAY-group. If this be so, we should accept the idea of vegetarianism as not originally belonging to the patriarchally organized Aryan society, which we know to have freely practised animal-sacrifice before the process of Indianization or Hinduization merged them into the cultural tradition, taken over from the Indus-civilization. It may be that the vegetarian principle was more marked under the theorizing influence which is generally exercised by men (and patriarchal cultures) on the looser and often inconsequently observed rules in matriarchal civilizations. It is therefore not necessary to believe in strict vegetarianism of the Indus-peoples or the NAY-group, according to our hypothesis. Vegetarianism, from this point of view is merely regarded as a principle taken over and intensified by the Aryan religion from that of matriarchal India and thus used to fight the more primitive mother-right civilization of the peoples belonging to the PAR-group, contrary to the institutions of hypergamy, child-marriage and prohibition of widow-remarriage, which may have been originally invented, or at least introduced, by the immigrants, during the struggle with the principle of mother-right of the NAY-type. This working hypothesis also explains easily why vegetarianism has not been

1. Koppers on the occasion of my discourse on "Mutterrecht in Vorderindien," Ethn. Institute, Vienna University, November 1935 and in personal communications on 27/I. 37.

2. Marshall, op. cit. illustration 17/XII. Vol. I.

3. ,, p. 54/I. seq.

propagated as actively as the three aforementioned institutions, by the patriarchal society of India.

Still we cannot consider this question solved. When once the working hypothesis, with its assumed grades and groups of Indian mother-right, is proved by further investigations, animal decapitation, blood sacrifice and that in which the victim is cut to pieces, will probably be co-ordinated to a certain matriarchally influenced group, with more certainty than this could now be done. When this first step has been achieved, it may be able to present the problem of the origin and meaning of vegetarianism more definitely.

VI. Summary

We have observed two fundamentally different types of matriarchal influence on Hindu-Brahmin society. (*a*) The active and (*b*) the passive one.

(*a*) The active influence. Here the various forms have been shortly enumerated, and, if more systematically and thoroughly studied, by further investigation, will probably exhibit still more interesting facts. The single features of the active influence of mother-right on the Hindu-Brahmin civilization are the following.

Remnants and survivals of matriarchal descent and matrilocal marriage, importance of the maternal uncle, the puberty-rites of girls, relics of polyandry and the huge complex of female deities within Hinduism. The general character of Indian religiosity and Indian philosophy must to a very great degree be considered caused by the importance given to female deities within its sphere of influence.

Buddhism has already been shown by Koppers,[1] to be the product of active matriarchal influences on the growing structure of the patriarchal civilization of India. And Buddhism can rightly be said to be one of the outstanding emanations of the whole cultural production in the higher civilizations in India. A similar, but still more definite matriarchal and active influence can be found in the Siva-Sakti cult, Tantrism, meditative religiosity, and in Oriental Mysticism in general. Single features, to be mentioned in this connection are: The Deva-Dasi (Basavi)-complex, the ritual bathing, the importance given to the red colour (symbol of blood) and the importance given in a semi-religious way to cotton (compare the attitude of Gandhi and the Congress party) which was probably first grown on Indian soil. Survivals and relics of animal-sacrifice must also be reckoned under this heading.

The active part taken by Indian women in the earliest and the latest history of that country also seems to point in this direction.

(*b*) Passive Share of Matriarchal Cultures. All characteristic features in Hinduism which must be explained as the result of the struggle

1. Koppers "Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus" *Anthropos* 1921. 456-458.

between the invading, patriarchal, i.e., nomadic herdsmen-culture and the indigenous matriarchal civilizations, must subsumed here. Outstanding features of this kind are: hypergamy, child-marriage, prohibition of widow-remarriage and generally the definite tendency of Hindu-Brahmanism to suppress all independent activity, and self-confidence of its highly gifted womanhood, especially of widows and the unmarried girls. This tendency seems to have been taken over by Indian Islam, as the seclusion of women and their exclusion from social life (even from the mosques!) which is being practised in India, are not only foreign to original Islam, but have also not been practised among non-Indian Muslims to the same extent as among the Indian ones.

All this points to the probability that the invading patriarchal order of Aryan society had to overcome the greatest difficulties in crushing the indigenous Indian, matriarchally organized culture, which, in its turn, survived in the general picture of Hinduism, in spite of its now patriarchal aspect.

The Hindu-Brahman vegetarianism too, seem to have been originated in a similar constellation, though here it may have been the Indus-civilization itself which yielded the raw-material to this institution, and though the enemy fought by the same may not have been a higher, but a more primitive stage of matriarchal culture-circles.

The contrast between the tendencies of the active and the passive share of mother-right in the general Indian evolution may be considered as the main reason why modern India, more than other countries, is determined by the struggle between two opposing principles. The hackneyed slogan: "India, country of greatest differences" *has* some reality behind it. This reality lies in the contrast between the active and passive share of mother-right in India, now culture-historically explained. India is both: the country of *sati*, or since its prohibition by the British rule about 100 years ago, at least the country of hatred of the widow and the unmarried girl, the country where seclusion and oppression of women, breaking of all her abundant impulses and subordination of all her conspicuous talents and gifts, predominate as in no other country of the globe. But India, at the same time, is the country, which her patriots call "Mother" on whose altar an extraordinarily gifted womanhood has offered more than usual sacrifices, together with a spontaneous activity, which the women of few Oriental countries have outdone in such a short time. India then is also the country where people approach Sri Mata with folded hands and where the whole cultural life is permeated by the idea of the female ideal, the mother-goddess and the awe of her and her representatives, the Indian mothers, the Indian women, who for ages have contributed more to their country's evolution than the women of many other countries have probably done.

This double aspect of the Indian woman characterizes the whole complex of All-India civilization, including its Hindu-Brahmin, its Muslim, Jain, Parsi, and even native Christian aspects, not being confined to different castes, languages or regions, as one may at first expect. This shows that the struggle between the ancient Indian mother-right tradition, and the immigrated patriarchal principle is not yet over ; has not found a harmonious solution. The tension between these two since they first met on Indian soil, has been extraordinarily developed and has endured for a period of well over 3,000 years. When once this really Himalayan tension is harmonized, then a more than usual cultural effect may be achieved.

The short enumeration of these most outstanding features within the two groups of the active and passive influences of Indian mother-right on Indian cultural evolution, has now led us to far-reaching deliberations and conclusions. Yet the whole complex of matriarchally determined features within the Hindu-Brahmin civilization has not been sketched here.

Koppers, in his often quoted article on *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus*, showed in 1921 yet another aspect of the mother-right influence. First of all he pointed out the fact that many authors, especially of the younger Upanishads, were not Brahmins, but members of the fighting-caste, the Kshatriyas. Even the most important teachings on Brahman and Atman have come from the Kshatriyas to the Brahmins. "Unmistakably, this is no more the typically Aryan-Brahmin mentality of India," says Koppers, " but part and parcel of the *democratic* spirit, which we shall find to have been at home in the Eastern, essentially *matriarchal* parts of India. From the same source will it have to be derived that in the Upanishads frequently *women* themselves play such an important rôle, be it as teaching sages, or as cleverly asking disciples."[1] (Italics are mine).

Thus Koppers has connected the matriarchal tendencies, which he found in the importance of the warrior-class at the time of the younger Upanishads, with the East Indian, more primitive form of mother-right. He, at that time, could not have known that the Indus-civilization, which has been discovered since, more easily explains these mother-right elements. This especially so, since the important warrior-caste, especially the Rajputs, are not only geographically related to the North-West, i.e., the centre of the Indus-civilization, but also culture-historically to the NAY-group. This constellation brilliantly proves his idea of an active participation of mother-right, especially in the warrior-class, though the matriarchal culture itself, from which this influence must have emanated, will now be considered as the highly advanced Indus-civilization instead of the more primitive East Indian form of mother-right, as he thought in 1921.

1. *Anthropos* 1921, p. 446.

These facts, as also a series of matriarchal cultural elements themselves, make it necessary to discuss the problem of the Rajputs, (a conspicuous group within the Kshatriya or warrior-caste) more thoroughly in the next chapter. A third form of matriarchal participation in patriarchal India will be found to exist here, a form of participation which is neither of the purely active, nor purely passive kind, and which will help us to understand the peculiar communal fate of an important caste-group in India, i.e., the Gipsy, acrobat, musician, prostitute and similar castes, which at first sight, one would hardly expect to be connected in any way with the noble Rajputs, in particular, or with the NAY-group in general.

B/7

VII. The Rajput Problem

1. *The Rajputs, Buddhism and Mother-right*

The Rajputs, representatives of the old Kshatriya, the warrior-caste, were created from the arms of Brahma, as mythology has it. The old name *Kshatriya* still survives in the modern Hindi word *Chhatri*. But the word *Rajput*, son of a king, has now replaced even this older name. *Thakur* (lord) is the title used in addressing these feudal land-owners.

The Rajputs number about nine millions, mostly residing in North-West India, in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar and Orissa. In Rajputana, the old homeland of the caste near the Indus valley, they number about 700,000; in Central India, probably in consequence of adoption of indigenous peoples, about 800,000.[1]

The process of splitting up one caste into more and more subgroups, so characteristic in India, has also taken hold of the Rajputs. Though a Rajput-clan really should be strictly exogamous, still the Panwars of the Wainganga-valley, the Raghuvansis of Chingwara and Nagpur, the Jadams of Hoshangabad and the Daharais of Chhattisgarh have become endogamous units.[1]

The various subgroups of the caste may be grouped in ". . . . two main branches of Rajputs—the Surajbansi, or Solar, or Chandrabansi or Lunar race. . . . the Lunar race affect descent from the moon to whom they trace through Ayus Pururavas and Buddha or Mercury, the son of Soma by Rohini or by Tara, wife of Brihaspati."[2] The Chandel-Rajput are an important clan, the name of which is also traced back to *chandra* the Sanscrit-word for moon, by Crooke.[3] " The Chandel are not included in the thirty-six royal races, and are supposed to have been a section of one

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 411/IV.
2. Risley, op. cit. p. 81/I. B.
3. Russell, p. 440/IV.

of the indigenous tribes which rose to power.... Another legend states that the first Chandel was the offspring of the moon by the daughter of a Brahman Pandit of Kalanjar."[1]

Rajputs and Jats are related to one another, according to the Jat-tradition. "The ancestor of the Rajput was Kashyap (a rishi) and of the Jats, Siva. In the beginning these were the only two races of India."[2]

This mythological conception may be historically related to the division into two classes, the Lunar and the Solar. The importance given to Siva, the origination by the moon and a Brahman-daughter, moreover, point to matriarchal influences in general and to the Indus-civilization in particular. This connection seems further stressed by the whole complex of Buddhism. Buddha himself not only belonged to the Kshatriyas,[3] but as Held and J. Przyluski in the *Journal Asiatique* 1927, p. 177 (cited by the former) have stressed,[4] also to the "....même clan que sa tante maternelle Gautami," and consequently to the maternal family.

More hints, pointing in this direction, are given in the mythological traditions of the Panwar-Rajputs, one of the "most ancient and famous of the Rajput clans," according to Russell.[5] He, it must be said, holds them, together with the Chauhan, Parihar and the Chalukya or Salanki, to be foreign tribes, belonging to the Skyths or Huns. Russell finds an argument for this hypothesis in the mythological birth of these Rajputs in the fire-pit of Mount Abu, which he holds to be an allegory of their foreign descent.[5] There are many points of great interest for Indian mother-right investigation in this legend. These passages belong to that part of the history, relating to the period *before* the later destroyed Kshatriyas are reborn in the fire-pit of Mount Abu. We can therefore leave this latter question aside, the more readily as the foregoing "slaughter of the Kshatriyas by Parasurama the Brahman...." a legend, so prominent in the entire tradition of India, is supposed to go back to an historical event, according to Russell.[6] This legend contains the following elements of special interest for mother-right in India.

Parasurama was the son of the Brahman muni Jamadagni and the Kshatriya-lady Renuka. Russell concludes from this that a mixture of Hindu Aryans and Huns must have taken place. This is in contradiction to his idea that the influx of the Huns is symbolized by the rebirth in the fire-pit of the killed Rajputs an event which tradition places much later than the birth of Parasurama. As Parasurama first destroys the Rajputs before

1. Russell, p. 442/IV.
2. „ p. 236/III.
3. „ p. 416/IV.
4. Held, op. cit. p. 72.
5. Russell, p. 330/IV. seq.
6. „ p. 331/IV.

they can be reborn in the fire-pit of mount Abu, we can hardly believe that the mixed origin of Parasurama as well as the rebirth of the Rajputs who have been killed by the grown-up Parasurama, should symbolize one and the same event. Certain qualities in Renuka and the warrior-caste to which she belongs, on the other hand, seem to make her a symbol of the matriarchal indigenous Indian culture, which we have found represented in the NAY-group and the Indus-civilization, neighbouring the homeland of the Rajputs. Russell could not of course in 1916 find this parallel as at that time the Indus-civilization was not yet known and even the importance of the advanced mother-right culture of the Nayars not yet recognized, in this connection.

Jamadagni, the Aryan Brahman, has now found out, according to the myth of Parasurama, that his noble wife Renuka planned matrimonial infidelity. (This, I think, symbolized the fight of the Aryan immigrants against the polyandry of the NAY-peoples and probably also of the Indus-civilization). Jamadagni, having discovered his wife's plans, ordered his sons, one after the other, to kill their mother. The first four sons refused to do so. Jamadagni, their father, thereupon cursed them with imbecility. (This again seems to symbolize the resistance of the newly mixed race of India after the first Aryan invasion, against the patriarchal tendencies of the Aryans, the consequent victory of this latter conception and the thus resulting continuous decay of formerly noble classes, which have finally sunk to the level of "criminal castes", a typical Indian feature to be discussed in Chapter B/7, 3.) The youngest son of Jamadagni and Renuka, Parasurama, obeyed his father's order and decapitated his mother with one blow of his axe. "Jamadagni thereupon was very pleased and promised to Parasurama whatever he might desire."[1] (Here, I believe, we find Parasurama representing the last of several Aryan waves of immigration, successfully establishing the patriarchal principle at last, and crushing the resistance of the matriarchally determined indigenous Indus-civilization). But the legend continues. Parasurama prays his father to revive the mutilated mother and to restore his brothers' health and intelligence. Jamadagni grants this request, at the same time making the mother forget that she has been murdered by her son. Moreover Jamadagni endows Parasurama with long life and invincibility. (This part of the legend can perhaps be explained as symbolizing the submissiveness, so characteristic in the patriarchal Indian woman, who has entirely forgotten the matriarchal tradition still surviving unconsciously in her abilities: the assimilation of most of the "criminal castes" in the patriarchal caste-system, to which they may formerly not have belonged, and finally the triumph of the patriarchal system over the indigenous one).

Russell holds that these narrations symbolize the rise and decay of Buddhism in India. Jamadagni, to him, is the Brahman priesthood;

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 411/IV.

Renuka is unfaithful India who adhered to the Buddhistic apostasy; the four elder brothers are the Indian princes who refused to obey the orders of the Brahmins and to extinguish the Buddhist culture in India. In the murder of the mother, Russell sees a symbol for the intrusion of the Huns, to which Buddhism, he supposes, has fallen a prey. The Huns, as a reward were made victorious for ever in India, and the Indian princes returned to the only true religion, i.e., Brahmanism.

This conception seems not only contradicted by the anachronism mentioned above. This anachronism even can perhaps be explained away, if we consider the probability of several intrusions of the Huns. But still other arguments seem in my mind to favour the matriarchal explanation as compared to the Buddhist one, which would fix the symbolized events at a very late period, unfit for such vague symbolization. An argument that does not apply to the matriarchal explanation, dating back to the very beginning of the Aryan invasion of India. Moreover the polyandric desires of the lady Renuka directly point to matriarchal characteristics of India. Similarly the murder of the mother by Parasurama seems to recall the destruction of ancient Indian mother-right, subdued by a new principle. Moreover the single features of the legend are such as would *not* be acceptable to the post-Buddhist Brahmins, not even to the greatest enemies of Buddhism among them. So we are not justified, it seems, in believing that the whole story originated as late as after the Buddhist period. It will therefore be better to consider this legend as the product of the struggle between the invading Aryans and the indigenous Indus-peoples. The former really were still "barbarous," but vigorous fighters and rulers of the vast plains of central Asia, whom we can better expect to have composed such a story than the more or less refined, Indianized Brahmins of the post-Buddhist period. The fact, that Parasurama is regarded in the mythology of all India as the one who brought the classical Brahmin culture, not the one who wiped out Buddhism from India, points in the same direction. Moreover Parasurama is regarded as the originator of the marriages between Nambutiri-Brahmins who immigrated to Kerala and the Deva Gandharva and Rakshasa-women, from which union according to mythology[1] the Nayars have sprung, the Nayars among whom we found polyandry to have been so characteristic and who have obviously been brought down in their social position by the Nambutiri-Brahmins! The latter on their part immigrated into Kerala as the first Aryans ". . . . at least in the first half of the fourth century B.C.," as Haddon believes with Menon.[2] The Nambutiri-Brahmins thus hold Parasurama to be their national hero, who brought them to Kerala in the fourth century B.C. and helped to subdue the Deva Gandharva and the Rakshasa women. This at a time when the Buddhist civilization of India

1. Iyer *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, p. 2/II. and Risley, op. cit. p. 132/I. B.

2. Haddon, Introduction to Iyer: *Cochin*.....p. 8/VIII.

had not yet reached its climax. When this is so, can we believe the legend to symbolize the rise and decay of Buddhist culture ? The latter moreover, caused by the immigration of the Huns, an assumption not yet even proved ! Our explanation of the legend therefore seems more probable. Still the possibility must be kept in view that, as so often happens, an old mythological theme was here subsequently applied to later historical facts. In this case too the legend may *also* have pointed to the history of Buddhism, as Russell suggested. But the original composition of the Parasurama-legend must have had its origin *before* the rise, not to speak of the decay, of Buddhism in India, and also before the invasion of the Huns, at about the time of Christ's birth.

But the Parasurama legend continues. The sons of King Karrtavirya kill the " pious and unresisting sage, Jamadagni,"[1] who has, not long ago, induced Parasurama to kill his own mother. This probably illustrates the change of character among the immigrated Aryans, on Indian soil and under the influence of the ancient Indus-civilization. It is only after the killing of his father that Parasurama systematically extirpates the whole Kshatriya-caste. " Thrice times seven did he clear the earth of the Kshatriya caste" says the Mahabharata.[2] Russell considers this to symbolize the conquest of Rajputana by the Huns, who destroyed the Gupta-dynasty before. This interpretation too, seems less natural than our proposed one, to the effect that Parasurama's fight against the Kshatriyas stands for the struggle of the Aryans against the ruling class of the matriarchally organized Indus-peoples and the feudal warriors of the NAY-type.

But the most convincing argument for our interpretation of the whole legend lies in the matriarchally determined cultural elements still traceable within the present-day Rajput community. These will be the subject of the following description.

The kings of Malwa or Ujjain belonged to the same Panwar-clan of the Rajputs, the legendary origin of which we have just discussed at length. Their rule flourished from the ninth till the twelfth century. " Rajamunja, the 7th king (974-995). . . . was finally defeated and executed by the Chalukya king. His nephew, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhara about A.D. 1018 and reigned gloriously for more than 40 years."[3] This already shows the importance of the nephew, instead of the son.

Infant-marriage has not entirely permeated the social structure of the Panwar-Rajputs.[4] Serving-marriage is practised, if the bridegroom is poor and if he has won the heart of his beloved.[5] The moving of the bride into

1. Iyer *Cachin Tribes and Castes* p. 2/II. and Risley, op. cit. p. 132/I. B.
2. Russell, p. 333/IV.
3. „ p. 334/IV.
4. „ p. 340/IV.
5. „ p. 341/IV.

the bridegroom's house has the character of an abduction which is later legalized.

At the marriage of an infant-husband the following ceremonies are observed: "Before the boy starts, his mother places her breast in his mouth....During the journey, songs are sung of which the following is a specimen:

The linseed and gram are in flower at Chait (March)
O! The boy-bridegroom is going to another country;
O Mother! How may he go to another country?
Make payment before he goes to another country;
O Mother, how may he cross the border of another country?
Make payment before he crosses the border of another country;

O Mother, how may he touch another's bower?
Make payment before he touches another's bower;
O Mother, how shall he bathe with strange water?
Make payment before he bathes with strange water;
O Mother, how may he eat another's *banwat*? (Rice boiled with milk and sugar).
Make payment before he eats another's *banwat*;
O mother, how shall he marry another woman?
He shall wed her holding the little finger of her left hand."[1]

The bridegroom's party, whilst proceeding to the bride's village in preparation for the marriage, always uses cattle, never horses. On arrival in the bride's village, the bridegroom is led to the shrine of the Goddess Devi. Among the numerous ceremonies which are now performed, the following may be of importance, as regards the question before us: The maid-servants pour water on each other. Dinner is taken in the bride's home and when the young couple start in the ox-cart, the women of the house sing:

"Let us go to the basketmaker
And buy a costly pair of fans;
Fans worth a lot of money;
Let us praise the mother of the bride."[2]

After a few days of sojourn in the bridegroom's house, the child-bride returns to her parents' home and stays there till she has reached puberty, when she finally goes over to the husband's house. At that time the

1. Russell, p. 342/IV.
2. ,, p. 343/IV.

pathoni or going away-ceremony is celebrated. Old verses are now repeated, which are supposed to interpret the bride's mother's feelings. Russell remarks of these verses : "They are no doubt libellous as being a gross exaggeration, but may contain some substratum of truth. The gist of them is as follows : 'Girl, if you are my daughter, heed what I say. I will make you many sweetmeats and speak words of wisdom. Always treat your husband better than his parents. Increase your private money (*khamora*) by selling rice and sugar : abuse your sister-in-law to your husband's *mother* and become *her* favourite. Get influence over your husband and *make him live with you.* If you cannot persuade him abandon your modesty and make quarrels in the household.'.."[1] (Italics are mine).

These teachings end in the advice *to poison* the husband if it is impossible to persuade him to go over into the bride's home, according to the matrilocal rule.

Widows of the Panwar-Rajputs are allowed to remarry, and are so much esteemed that bride-prices up to Rs. 1,000 are sometimes paid. Even divorce and remarriage were formerly permitted.[1] Ceremonial objects used at the wedding of a widow are superstitiously avoided. Even the axle of the cart, or the shoes of the husband, used on such an occasion, are given away afterwards.

The women of the Panwar-Rajputs seem to enjoy comparatively much independence in general, an influential position as mothers in the family and even a certain sexual liberty, so long as this freedom is used towards caste-men only. They enjoy dancing, various plays and charades, and seem to differ generally from the depressed character of the average Indian woman.[2]

Matriarchal cultural elements or their traces may thus be found in the following of the aforementioned customs.

The mother predominates in the song sung at child-bridegroom's start for marriage. The horror before crossing the local borders recalls the prohibition of the same applied to Nayar-girls. The resentment at letting the bridegroom go into another village predominates in the whole song. It should not be overlooked that the sorrow of the mother, when letting her son go away to another family or her jealousy of the daughter-in-law, are general human sentiments, occurring within all culture-circles and culture-areas of mankind. Still the question may arise whether these verses are originally addressed to the daughter or the son. And if to the latter, whether they do not indicate a system of matrilocal marriage, for in patrilocally organized societies the mother has really no reason to deplore the going-away of her son, as he is to return immediately. Thus these

1. Russell, p. 344/IV.
2. Löw, *Balaghat District Gazetteer* cited from Russell, p. 345/IV. and 350/IV.

verses seem to indicate that they were formerly either applied to the daughter, or perhaps even to the departing son, who in matrilocal marriage went over to the bride's house, according to matriarchal custom, or who lived in the form of visiting-marriage with his wife, as was the case among the matriarchal Nayars. This latter is the more probable assumption, as we have seen that the bride's mother in so many words induced her daughter to persuade her husband to come over to the bride's house, which would hardly be the case were this idea not based on a custom practised in former days.

The use of cattle instead of horses on the ceremonial occasion of the marriage recalls the lack of cavalry among the matriarchal Nayars and the absence of any traces of horses in the Indus-civilization.

The importance given to the goddess Devi and the expressed praise of the mother of the bride need not be commented on in this connection.

The *pathoni* or second marriage-ceremony on occasion of the final departure of the bride for the bridegroom's house might call to mind the double feasts of the Talikettu Kalayanam and the *sambandham*-marriage of the Nayars, were not the explanation simpler that the establishment of the Brahman infant-marriage provoked the introduction of a second ceremony in the mentality of the Indian soul, so much inclined to celebrate marriages with as much pomp as possible.

The cases of serving-marriage, legalized abduction of brides, re-marriage of widows, divorce and remarriage, even of a certain extent of sexual liberty, dancing and free merry-making of the women must, of course not in itself, but within the present conditions of Indian life, be considered as traces of the former existence of mother-right within the group concerned. The advice, moreover, which is now merely regarded as playfully ironical of the thoughts of the bride's mother, may yet throw light on what was formerly by no means mere irony, but practical life. Here the desire to restore matrilocal marriage, to induce the young wife to rebellion against her husband's family and even to poison her husband, are prominent features. This exhibits not only the general tendency to fight for independence, freedom and a good social position, of a matriarchally organized womanhood ; it also illustrates the struggle for dominance which was supposed to underlie the creation of hypergamy, child-marriage and contempt of the widow, one after the other.

Similar culture-historic elements are not only confined to the Panwar-Rajputs but are also to be found among the Rajputs in general ; especially must traces of polyandry be mentioned here.

Some examples of the kind will now be enumerated, without further comments, which are superfluous, the situation having been already explained.

Colonel Tod stresses the general importance of the mother in Rajput life, vividly illustrated in the often used saying: "Make thy mother's milk resplendent."[1] Among the Chamar, the Bhat and the Brahman-Gaur, all of them belonging to one Rajput-tribe, clan-names are derived from an ancestress. Curiously enough, the Chamar-Gaur are ranked highest. The legend tells us that once a Rajput lady, belongnig to the Gaur-family fled to one of the despised, poor Chamars, shortly before delivery. But she was so kindly received and given shelter, that she promised to call her children after her host. The noble Bhats and Brahmans, to whom the other sister fled, were less chivalrous, hence the lower social position of the children called after them.[2] Is this a hint at a former culture-historic connection between the Rajputs and the now low-caste Chamars, who in their turn have probably belonged to a matri-archal culture? It would of course be superficial to believe this single myth sufficient reason for such an assumption. But various other facts seem to strengthen such a hypothesis.

Russell thinks that the following passage in the Mahabharata (VIII, 2026. seq.) obviously pointing to a matriarchal society, refers to the Jats. "....Their women, intoxicated, appear in public places with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing and vociferating indecencies....they indulge in promiscuous intercourse and are under no restraint.....A virtuous woman was once violated by Maratha ruffians and she cursed the race, and their women have ever since been unchaste. *On this account* their heirs are their sister's children, not their own.."[3] (Italics are mine).

The mythological relations between the Jats and the Rajputs, already referred to, and the gradual transformation of rich Jat-families into Rajputs, recorded by Russell and Ibbetson,[4] compared with the aforementioned liberty among the women of the Panwar-Rajputs, suggest a pre-Rajput, or perhaps proto-Rajput population which may have been related to the Chamar-type.

Inheritance, or at least a prominent position, of the nephew occurs in the tradition and history of the Rajputs. The founder of the Rajput Baghel, who are intimately connected with the Kabirpanthis (a peaceful Muslim sect), was "...one Anoka, a nephew of the Solankhi king of Gujerat, Kumarpal (A.D. 1143-1174)."[5] Prithwi Raj, the most famous of the Chauhan-Rajputs, is called the *nephew* of Bisal Deo.[6] Similarly Sir Partap Singh of Idar in 1914 "...insisted on proceeding to the front

1. Russell, p. 429/IV.
2. ,, p. 449/IV.
3. ,, p. 226/III. seq.
4. ,, p. 201/IV.
5. ,, p. 434/IV.
6. ,, p. 444/IV.

against Germany, though over seventy years of age, and was accompanied by his nephew, a boy of sixteen."[1]

A legend records the cenquest of the territory of Amber State from the Mina-Bhils by the Kachwaha-Rajputs. One phase of this story narrates the chivalrous adoption, by the king of the Bhils, of a Rajput-lady as his sister, and of her son Dhola Rai as his nephew. He was afterwards ungratefully murdered by the Rajputs. Similar motives, including adoption as a nephew occur in another legend, of which Russell remarks:

> "The repetition, both of the adoption and the ungrateful murder shows the importance attached by the Rajputs to both beliefs as necessary to the validity of their succession and occupation of the land."[2]

As the legend does not belong to the Bhils, but to the Rajputs, we may conclude from it the former existence of inheritance of the nephew among the Rajputs.

Risley points to the already mentioned fact, that the rules of exogamy among the Rajputs includes the third generation on *both* sides.[3]

The *Jitia puja* is an interesting sacrifice of sweetmeat and oil, dedicated by the Rajput woman to her mother-in-law and to the spirit of the latter's mother-in-law and so on in three generations. Risley holds the *Jitya puja* to be a transformation of the Hindu-Brahmin Shradhas and thinks that it is intended to express the gratitude of the married women for having found a husband. At the same time he says:

> "Mr. Grierson in *Bihar Peasant Life*, speaks of the *Jitya Puja* as a feast and worship performed by women on the 8th day of the dark half of Kartik (late in October) for the benefit of their children. Further inquiry" he adds, "should perhaps bring out points of interest and might clear up the discrepancy of data."[4]

This is no doubt true. Still I venture to state already from the facts known to us, that here a survival of true ancestor-worship in the female line has thus been artificially transmitted to the mother-in-law, which is a remarkable sequence. The idea that the chance of getting a husband is something to be thankful for, may have helped to make the young wives overcome their dislike of the unnatural removal to the bridegroom's home, and surely originated in the same mentality as hypergamy, child-marriage and contempt of the widow.

1. Russell, p. 461/IV.
2. ,, p. 280/II. seq.
3. Risley, op. cit. p. 81/I. B.
4. ,, p. 83/I. B.

Survivals of polyandry among the Rajputs[1] and Jats[2] have already been referred to. Older reports, though vague in description, mention cases of polyandry in Rajputana and from the " Rajput Brahmins and Sudras " of Kamaun in the Jumna-valley near Kalsi.[3] This strengthens our picture of the Rajput polyandry. If Brahmans there really practised polyandry, it probably was taken over from the Rajputs.

Divorce and remarriage seem especially characteristic in the Jadams of Hoshangabad, an endogamous group of Rajputs. Gait and Russell report that among them one woman has sometimes up to ten husbands in the course of her life.[4] It is perhaps noteworthy that here again, as in South-West India ten is mentioned as the number of husbands. It would perhaps be worth while to examine this question more thoroughly.

The Gujar, probably connected with the Rajputs in regard to their culture-historic position, according to Russell and Crooke yield the only example of true polyandry among all the Hindus in the plains of the Bulandshahr-district of the United Provinces.[5] Russell stresses the general permission to remarry after divorce.[6] He also holds the custom of the marriage-proposal coming from the bride's family, as possibly a " relic of the *swayamwara* or maiden's choice." This institution in former days allowed the daughter of a king to lay a garland round the neck of the man whom she liked, thus choosing him as her husband.[7] Perhaps this custom will be found to be related to the *tali*-tying ceremony of the Nayars.

The caste-goddess of the Rajputs is Devi, or Durga, to whom the swords were consecrated.[8]

Many single elements of matriarchal aspect have been found in the Maratha caste. (See Chapter B/6, I). It is of course, possible that many of these and similar elements originally belonged to the Marathas (or their ancestors) and were only afterwards transmitted to the Rajputs. Russell and Ibbetson even believe in a slow transformation of noble Maratha families into Rajputs.[9] But doubtlessly the Marathas themselves are a culture-historic entity which originally must have been akin to the ancestors of the Rajputs. As the co-ordination of the matriarchal traces to a feudal warrior-caste as such, but not to the Hindu Rajputs, as they

1. Gait, op. cit. 239/I
2. Fred Fawcett in *JAnSBo* p. 333/II.
3. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in *INDANT* p. 88 VIII. 1879.
4. Gait, op .cit. p. 245/I and Russell, p. 219/III.
5. Russell, p. 172/III.
6. „ p. 420/IV.
7. „ p. 419/IV.
8. „ p. 421/IV. compare Kul Devi of the Gujars p. 127/III.
9. „ p. 201/IV.

are to-day, is important to us, we may leave the question of the Rajput-Maratha relations aside, in this connection.

An enumeration of the mother-right relics to be found among the Marathas, has been already made in Chapter B/6, I. It may just be mentioned that the position of the Maratha women in family and society is relatively high to this day, that the Purdah system permeated the Maratha organization relatively late and that the princess Baka Bai, widow of Ranghuji II, and the famous Rani Jansi, who reigned herself and personally led her troops, are instances of great personalities among the Maratha women.[1]

The Rajputs burn their dead, as do the Hindus. But the custom of burying dead infants seems to point to a relatively late introduction of cremation, which in India seems to belong to the patriarchal system of society.[2] Death on the battlefield was so honourable to a Kshatriya that in former days no further funeral-ceremonies were found necessary on such occasions. The soul of a hero went straight to Heaven. His widow was not subject to the dishonouring restrictions of Hindu-Brahman widowhood.[2] This fact not only strengthens our conception of the contempt of the widow as an outcome of the struggle between father-right and mother-right in India, but also the conception of the Rajputs as representatives of a formerly matriarchal warrior-class. For, had the contempt of the widow really been originated by the mere belief in a pre-natal fault of the widow, this fault would have been held responsible also in the case of the husband's death in battle. But if the ill-treatment of the widow was subconciously intended to prevent the freedom and self-realization of the wife and the poisoning of her husband, then it is logical to spare the widow of a man who died in battle, as in this case the widow must have been innocent from the materialistic point of view. The fact, moreover, that among all the classes of Hindu society it was only the warrior-class which, at least for some widows, preserved full human rights, also points to the probability of the mother-right origin of this class.

2. *Self-annihilation in War, Traga, Dharna*

Self-annihilation of Rajput-women during war-time, and especially in besieged fortresses, is a prominent feature of these heroines, which in itself recalls the same complex among the Nayars (and the running amok of Indonesia). Russell describes the ecstatic suicide of Rajput ladies in war and points to the connection of the whole institution with the goddess Durga, riding on a tiger, as follows:

> "The dreadful goddess also protected the virtue of the Rajput and caused to be enacted the terrible holocausts, not infrequent in Rajput history, when some stronghold was besieged and could hold out no

1. Russell, p. 207/IV.
2. ,, p. 421/IV.

longer. A great furnace was then kindled in the citadel and into this the women, young and old threw themselves, or else died by their husband's swords, while the men, drunk with bhang, and wearing saffron-coloured robes sallied out to sell their lives to the enemy as dearly as possible."[1]

Russell furthermore narrates the history of a Rajput queen who felt her honour threatened. She was just about to commit suicide, when Durga appeared and thus saved her from the dangerous situation.

The entire ideology underlying these ecstatic suicides points, as already mentioned, to a similar attitude which we have found characteristic in the NAY-group and the later cultures of South-East Asia, influenced by the former. Moreover the same ideology is to be found underlying the widespread customs of suicide, *traga* and the custom of sitting *dharna* practised not only by the Indian Bhats, but also by Indians generally.

But before we can go into this matter more deeply, another aspect of the same culture-historic complex must here be discussed. I have tried to prove that the contempt of the widow in India is to be understood as the outcome of the struggle between father-right and mother-right. The same holds good with regard to *sati*, or burning the widow alive. Still it will not be easy to believe that even the most radical representative of a patriarchal order could ever have conceived the idea of burning the widow alive, merely for masculine prestige-policy. It is more likely that single cultural elements of this cruel custom already existed in tradition and usage of the pre-Aryan Indians, and that the patriarchal immigrants used (or better misused!) these religious ideas which tradition had prepared for them, and translated them into practice in a way favourable to *their* ends. The idea of the ecstatic suicide in itself which is so markedly pronounced in the regicide of the former Nayars, in the whole ritual connected with it, in the Mappila-raids and the running-amok of Indonesia, must thus be regarded as having existed already in the pre-Aryan mother-right of ancient India. The Indian tradition itself traces *sati* back to such heroic but ecstatic actions of single Rajput women. When this attitude of the women towards "honour" and death has once been subjected to the patriarchal ideology, the step from the matriarchal suicide of a heroine to the wholly patriarchal suicide of a dishonoured widow is easily comprehensible. We have also other examples of a similar transformation of a formerly decidedly matriarchal custom into the tool of a patriarchal social order. Here the functional and the culture-historic point of view sees things from a diametrically different aspect. Thus Schmidt and Koppers showed that the institution of the serving-marriage, functionally and culture-historically belonging to a matriarchal culture, has been transformed under patriarchal influence into the institution of paying the bride-price.[2] The bride-price

1. Russell, p. 421/IV.
2. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 270 seq.

thus is still nearly related to the serving-marriage, seen from the historic point of view, but functionally it strictly opposes the matriarchal significance of the latter and introduces a humiliating degradation of the bride. The same process must have taken place when the heroic self-annihilation of the pre-Aryan Indian women was transformed into the sometimes not less heroic, but decidedly patriarchal ideology of the *sati*, which moreover was only too often a murder of desperately resisting women who fought for their lives, in spite of the intoxication with bhang or other drugs to which they were often made subject.[1]

The mythical origin of the Kayashth-Rajputs seems also to point to the culture-historic relation of the Rajputs and the NAY-group. They trace their family tradition back to the daughter of a Brahman rishi. Her eight sons married princesses of the Naga or serpent-race. Russell again holds them to be symbolical representatives of the later Scythian invaders.[2] The explanation of this symbol as a representative of the Nayars (or related peoples) seems much easier, I think. The pronounced serpent-worship among them is not the only fact pointing in this direction. We know that matriarchal queens, marrying patriarchal invaders, were usually represented as serpent-goddesses. We know that the cultural standing of the Nayars to this day recalls the status of princesses, even to European travellers. This again agrees with the position of the Rajputs within Hindu society and—last but not least—with the cultural standard of the Indus-peoples, as compared to that of the Aryan invaders. The late Scythian invaders, on the other hand, cannot have been "queen-like" in their relatively rude forms, as compared to the Aryan Indians who, at that time, must already have assimilated the Indian culture to a very high degree.

Mention may be made in this connection of the traditional way of binding the turban among the Rajputs, leaving an asymmetric fold on one side of the head. The asymmetric hair-dress of the Nayars, already referred to in Chapter B/3, 5 is not unlike this turban and could perhaps be regarded as the link between the latter and the hair-dress of the famous bronze statuette of a dancing girl, excavated in Mohenjo-Daro. Perhaps new discoveries will throw light on this question and perhaps also on the meaning of the *usnisa*, i.e. the traditional excrescence on the head of the Buddha-statue, though the latter is symmetrical!

The complex of the ecstatic suicide suggested culture-historic relations of the Rajputs with the NAY-group. We hold it to have yielded the raw material, the misinterpreted elements of the *sati*. But the same complex is also the basis for an absolutely different institution. This is the CHANDI, TRAGA and DHARNA, a measure resorted to by the Bhat-caste against their being cheated or robbed, which is founded on a

1. Russell, p. 374/II.
2. ,, p. 405/III.

moral sense but also on superstition.[1] The Bhats are a caste of bards and genealogists, recruited partly from Brahman, partly from true Rajput origin.[2] Thus their caste-occupation made them wander from court to court. Their persons were regarded as sacred, or better said as *taboo*. Consequently they became the safest transmitters of news and even of objects of great value. But as traditional awe does not always keep either robbers or ruling persons in order, the Bhats have still been subject to highway robbery committed both by rulers and thieves. Here came in the custom of *traga*, i.e., self-annihilation or at least self-mutilation, and *dharna*, or sitting and fasting before the culprit's house. Underlying both these methods is the idea that an injured person, willingly suffering pain, or even death, lets loose moral power, magic, or death-spirits, thus subduing the offender. It was especially the group of the Charan-Bhats, originated from the Rajputs, which evolved the *traga*-conception to a firm rule, i.e., a powerful weapon against misdeeds, committed towards themselves or towards objects of value entrusted to them.

From many instances of the kind, only two shall be quoted here in abbreviation, as more extensively narrated by Russell.[3]

A Charan was unable to get a debt paid by a Raja of Siela in Kathiavar. Thereupon the Charan resolved to sit *dharna* together with forty caste-fellows, before the palace of the debtor. They fasted three days sitting before the hurriedly closed gate-ways of the town. The cruel prince did not give in, but refused to pay his debt. On the fourth day the cheated Charan resolved to commit *traga*. Some tore their own arms to pieces. This being fruitless, others decapitated three old women of their own group and hung their heads as a garland on the closed doors of the town. But the debtor did not give in. Young women now cut off their breasts, and pierced their throats. Others took little girls by the heels and smashed their tender little heads against the closed doors of the town. But then those, to whom the prince personally owed the money, clad themselves in cotton, soaked in oil, and set it on fire. Amidst the flames, the chief creditor exclaimed: "Now I am going to die. A *kuvis* (a ghost without head) I shall be in the palace and take the lives of the prince and his heirs!" With these words the Charan-chief died and his caste-people returned home. But on the third day his headless ghost was seen in the palace of the cruel debtor. The ghost made the queen fall on the staircase, and spread terror all through the palace. Brahmans, Fakirs and exorcists were afraid of him. Stones flew against the walls of the palace. The prince tore the flesh from his arms with his own teeth. Four or five persons died of fear. Finally a foreign astrologer exorcised the ghost, observing many ceremonies.

1. Russell, p. 259/II.
2. ,, p. 252/II.
3. ,, p. 260/II. seq.

Another case relates the Rana of Danta's capture of a village entrusted by a third person to the Bhats.[1] Hundreds of them marched towards the palace of the Rana of Danta, on hearing the bad news. After every mile of the march, they burnt one amongst them, to death. The Rana tried to appease the slowly proceeding Bhats with various gifts. The gifts were refused. The Rana lost seven sons and died unhappily, in consequence of the evil caused by him, as the people's belief will have it.

This sinister discipline of self-mutilation and even suicide recalls not only the codex of honour among Japanese officers and officials, but also that of Central-European duellists on the one hand, and the cases of "sitting *dharna*," reported in old Irish fairy-tales, on the other.[2] This discipline, has been so consequently practised that it was respected even by robbers, soldiers and their leaders, in former days, when the high-ways of India were unsafe. The Bhats in those days were much esteemed as messengers, caravan-leaders and "bankers."[3]

The connection of this whole complex with the Rajputs, is first given by the relation of the Charans who according to such an authority as Russell "....are almost certainly derived from the Rajputs."[4] But moreover the complex in itself has been shown to be connected with the matriarchally determined suicide of the Rajput-women, who, too, believed that such a self-sacrifice lets loose magic powers which, in their case, were held to support the last fight of their menfolk.

Yet another form of sitting *dharna* suggests the matriarchal origin of the whole complex. This is the so-called *Khatpati*, or keeping to one side of the bed.[5] This is done by a married woman, who believes herself ill-treated by her husband She puts her bed in one corner of the room, turns her face to the wall and thus remains without uttering a word for hours and hours. The rather harmless method of getting ones' way realized by this "non-violence-method," seems to go back to a far more tragic source, as the *Khatpati* is regarded as a special form of sitting *dharna*. Moreover the often occurring suicides of the Hos and Munda-women, reported by Russell,[6] remind one of mother-right, as they are expressly stated to be committed on account of the women feeling unhappy in the husband's house! The same idea, i.e., revolt against the patrilocal marriage, is expressed in the praise of a beautiful woman by a Bhat:

> "He who sees her is struck as by lightning; she shoots her lover with darts of her eyes, invisible herself. She will *not go* to her *husband's*

1. Russell, p. 262/II. seq.
2. James Stephens "*Irish Fairy Tales*" p. 2. seq.
3. Russell, p. 263/II. seq.
4. ,, p. 252/II.
5. ,, p. 267/II.
6. ,, p. 264/II.

house till he has brought her by help of the government."[1] (Italics are mine.)

Russell suggests that these and similar customs have their roots in the generally female attitude of sulking.[2] The often less evolved bodily strength of women has also elsewhere, as, e.g., in the militant suffragette-movement of England, led to similar methods against the more brutal force of the menfolk. Here the question arises whether especially this last mentioned fact weakens or rather strengthens the culture-historic explanation of the matriarchal survivals and revivals.

In India this method has been evolved to a gigantic system and has also been practised by men, to a certain extent even by the most war-like Nayars, Mapillas and Charan Bhats. Moreover the heroic method of suicide, as executed by the Rajput women in former days is obviously related to the goddess Durga and transgressed by far the limits of mere sulking.

These facts taken together, already point to the matriarchal origin of the whole complex. But the great rôle, which the underlying idea of this principle also plays in Buddhism, where non-participation in the eternal chain of birth and death, sin and punishment, love and hatred, became one of the leading ideals, or in Gandhism, where non-violence, non-resistance become the leading ideals of at least a period in Indian political life, proves that here another form of active participation of matriarchal cutlure-element in Indian life has become visible. Perhaps this form, based on the belief in the magic power of human soul-forces and truth, may be regarded as the most important and influential participation of Indian mother-right in the actual culture of this country. Similar influences also gave impulse to "Oriental mysticism," to the Buddhist idea of the redeemer and to the Tolstoi-Gandhistic conception of clearing even political questions with the help of moral powers. All three of these thoughts, have extended their effect far beyond the boundaries of India. Under these circumstances it may be regarded as at least doubtful whether a movement such as the British suffragette's has been determined, more by the Indian example, the ancient Celtic tradition, or by self-made ideology.

This suggestion of ours, addressed to further investigations in culture-historic ethnology, comparative studies of religion and sociology, still does not comprise all the problems connected with the relationship between the Rajputs and the Bhats, specially the Charan Bhats.

3. *Gipsy—and related Castes*

Russell discusses the origination of the Banjaras (whose matriarchal character becomes visible in our alphabetic caste-index) from the Charan-Bhats. These latter seem at one time to have started cattle-breeding. At

1. Russell, p. 269/II.
2. ,, p. 267/II.

any rate their sanctity enabled them to cross the numerous boundaries of the petty states in Rajputana unmolested, and to transport goods on the then unsafe roads of India. Thus they added to their traditional caste-occupation as bards and genealogists, that of transporters and merchants on a large scale, and separated from the main stock forming the Banjara-caste.[1]

The matriarchal elements of this caste (as denoted in the caste-register) thus seem easily explainable as a regression of a formerly matriarchal and superficially patriarchalized group. Beyond this point of interest, the intensive relations of the Banjara to the so-called Indian criminal and Gipsy castes will throw light on the problem and origin of these interesting groups.

We have now to consider the following points of interest:

The Charan-Bhats, sanctified bards and genealogists, nearly related to the noble Rajputs, split into two groups. One of them retains the original advanced social position. The other becomes a class of merchants and transporters, whose trade is chiefly concerned with bullock-driving, not with the use of the horse. During this process of evolution various matriarchal culture-elements are revived. The social position within the Hindu caste-system decays, perhaps also in consequence of adopting individuals foreign to the caste, but professing the same calling, as the Banjaras do now.[2] The existence of such an occupational group as are the Banjara, on the other hand, seems to be old and can perhaps be traced back to the fourth century B.C.[3]

Russell describes the Kanjars as a unit of various Gipsy-like groups. He agrees with the conception, as given in the Census of India 1881 (Berar) according to which the Deccani and Merwari Kanjars were originally the Bhats of the Jats, i.e., their bards.[4] They are, to-day, a caste of acrobats, whose women exceed in beauty and are well known by the erotic songs they recite. The exceedingly ascetic and puritan attitude of most Indian social groups allows us to conclude already from these facts that the Kanjar women, not long ago, must have enjoyed sexual freedom, perhaps had the caste-profession of courtesans. Russell calls them the typical Indian Gipsy-caste. Nesfield says that they are generally held to be the representatives of the ancestors of the European Gipsies, who seem to have been expelled from India by Tamerlane.[5] It is another question, whether the Luris (Lulis) or Lutt or the Dom are to be considered as the original root of the various Gipsy-groups, which cannot be discussed here. At any rate the former were sent in the fifth century to the Persian King,

1. Russell, p. 258, 163/II. seq.
2. „ p. 190/II.
3. Berar *CENSI* 1881, p. 150 cited from Russell, p. 163/II.
4. „ p. 140 and Russell, p. 331/III.
5. Nesfield, *INDANT* p. 37/XVI.

Bahram Gaur by an Indian prince. The very interesting and singular problem of the gipsies cannot be solved, so long as this topic of ethnology is entirely left aside in all countries. Even in Europe, where folklore has otherwise attained a high standard of scientific endeavour, the exploration of the Gipsies is left to policemen, judges or, at best, to official country-doctors, who neither can nor will go into the ethnological questions and problems concerned with this interesting group of Indian emigrants.

But so much can already be said that the Dom, the clients and bards of the lower castes in the Punjab, were formerly identical with the Kanjars and Sansias.[1] Russell says in this connection : "...we are led to the interesting conclusion that four of the most important vagrant and criminal castes of India, as well as the Mirasis or low class Hindu bards, the gipsies and a large section of the Thugs are all derived from the great Dom caste."[2] He also is of opinion that the Doms are the representatives of an indigenous tribe of Northern India " which has been reduced to servitude, like the Mahars and Chamars," whom also Sir H. M. Elliot considers as original inhabitants of India.

The Kolhati-Beria, a subgroup of the Sansia, are also regarded as bards and genealogists of the Jats. Beria women legally practise the caste-profession of courtesans, which must be absolutely differentiated from individual prostitution as the latter is usually severely punished and the former, at least formerly, was sanctified by the caste-regulations. The Dukar Kolhatis (subgroup of the Kolhatis) use Rajput names for the nomination of their minor social units.[3] They execute the double burial, carrying the bones of the putrified bodies in two saddle-bags on a donkey's back to their huts and bury them there a second time.[3]

Russell's following short but significant remark will help us to understand the awkward contradictory social position of all these different castes of gipsies, genealogists and bards (to lower castes) and also of the criminal classes. " The office of a village watchman was commonly held by members of the aboriginal tribes and these too furnish the criminal classes."[4] The social ambiguity which is here expressed recalls the position of the Bhils under the dominance of the Rajputs,[5] and that of the Veddahs of Ceylon under the Singhalese rule,[6] which have both been mentioned above. The attitude of more progressively civilized conquerors towards the indigenous populations of so-called primitives usually varies between the two extremes of absolute trust in the fairness and open-heartedness of these peoples, which is often expressed by modern

1. Russell, op. cit. p. 335/III.
2. ,, p. 336/III.
3. ,, p. 527, 529/III.
4. ,, p. 237/III.
5. ,, p. 279/II. seq.
6. Eickstedt, *De Historische Stellung der Weddas in der Fruhbesiedelung Ceylons*, p. 51, 73 seq.

ethnologists and missionaries, as, e.g., Father W. Koppers,[1] and, on the other hand, the hatred and contempt of the victorious conqueror who is reminded by each cultural or anthropological quality characteristic in the conquered race, of the fact that his newly possessed land does not really belong to him, but to the endeavour and tradition of another, i.e., the defeated people.

It is the direct consequence of the ambiguous attitude of the conqueror that, as described in Chapter B/3, 3 and 4, the caste Hindus believe on the one side in the reliability and knowledge of the Parayan about the landmarks and boundaries of the soil, and, on the other, deeply despise and humiliate them. This contempt and humiliation, again, develops on the part of the suppressed peoples the resolution and ability to live, though even against the laws and moral principles of the rulers. This, I think, indicates the course of events which resulted in the creation of Indian acrobat, musician, gipsy and prostitute castes. Their caste-profession has been despised, later on even regarded as unlawful, by the ruling caste-Hindus, but neither by the moral code of the former matriarchal order in ancient India, nor by the caste-members themselves, even up to this day. This marks the world of difference between the actions of members of these and similar castes compared to those of individual transgressors of the same rules or laws. This constellation also underlies the development of real criminal castes, the traditional occupation of which is stealing, robbing and even more or less ritually murdering, which latter custom may indicate the survival of the former practice of human sacrifices. The difference between individual law-breakers and members of criminal castes is not only culture-historically observable but also manifest from the functional-ethnological and the psychological point of view. Individual criminals, or even transgressors of the mere local custom, break the rules and regulations to which they have been brought up and are usually aware of wrong-doing. The members of a criminal-caste or one with a despised occupation, act in full accordance with what they have been taught to accept as right. This difference, also in functional and psychological respects, is illustrated by an episode which Russell reports of the Mina, a notorious robber-tribe. A Rajput once entrusted a basket of fruit to a Mina. A caste-fellow of his took one orange from the basket. The trustee thereupon felt his honour so much offended, that he immediately decapitated the offender, though he was his own caste-companion![2] The belief in the Mina's personal honour was even so great, that the treasure of Jaipur was entrusted to one of their hiding-places, though they regarded robbery as their caste-profession.[2]

Similarly the Pardhan are socially inferior to the Gonds, to whom they offer the services of bards and genealogists, which Russell considers

1. Koppers in personal communications to the Ethn. Seminary of Vienna University on 27/I, 1937.
2. Russell, op. cit. p. 240/IV.

the outcome of the usual rule.[1] Here again the trust in the exactness of historical knowledge and the tradition characterizes the relation of a caste towards its genealogists, who often decide complicated questions of inheritance and relationship.

Thus the following complexes and caste-occupations may be said to be culture-historically connected, though their functional meanings differ; positions of trust, watchmen, genealogists, bards, musicians, courtesans, dancing girls, acrobats, mendicant-gipsies, thieves, robbers.

The matriarchal single elements, still practised and especially practised in former days within the castes belonging to these groups, must be regarded as far more numerous than scientific exploration has known until now. Nowhere else in ethnology must the fear of differing from the ethonologist's views and habits have caused so many lies to be told and wrong answers given by the ethnological subject, as in the case of these poor vagrants, hunted by all " respectable peoples," regarded as dirtier than dogs, without rights, and doing wrong by each and every move of their wretched lives. Is it to be wondered at, if under these circumstances they refuse to disclose anything to those whom they must regard as the representatives of powers which deny them the right to carry on what, in their eyes is no wrong, but merely their time-honoured caste-profession ? This holds good especially with regard to the profession of the courtesans,[2] which is not scientifically exploited, not even with regard to the very interesting matrilineal descent of the courtesans themselves. Thus Mehta reports, only to mention one of many examples, that among those peoples of Gujrat and Kathiawar " . . .who follow the *profession of concubines* publicly, *descent* is reckoned through the *mother.* Accordingly in modern civilized society of to-day it would be a *matter of abuse* and *great insult* to try to trace the line of descent *through the mother.*"[3] (Italics are mine).

These facts taken together with the matrilineal descent of the Deva-Dasis and Basavis mentioned above,[4] must make it probable that more facts of great value to the mother-right investigation could be brought forward, if only a friendly attitude and psychological approach on the part of the scientists were to open the often good-natured hearts of these always persecuted drudges of society to the investigating ethnologist.

One might say that matrilineal descent of a prostitute's children, as also practised within European society, especially in Italy and Spain, must not necessarily go back to matriarchal traditions, but can also be merely

1. Russell, p. 353/IV.
2. ,, p. 237/III.
3. S. S. Mehta : " Women from the Standpoint of Marriage " in *JAnSBo* p. 378/X.
4. Compare also *Anthropos* 1935, p. 15/XXVI.

occasioned by the simple fact that the father is often unknown to mother and children alike. But just this fact rather points in the opposite direction, for wherever the matrilineal descent of professional courtesans is practised regularly and throughout generations, the attitude of the women concerned, and even to a certain degree of their customers, neighbours and other members of the social environment towards the profession is not that typical in pure patriarchal societies, but such as is practised towards a caste. The question therefore arises whether especially in the tradition of courtesan-generations in Italy and Spain, as in the relatively independent position of the Spanish gipsies, especially their dancing-girls, and the North-African Uled-Nail courtesans and dancing girls, survivals of the ancient Mediterranean mother-right can be rediscovered?

The intimate relation of these groups of *Indian* castes to the idea of the mother-goddess also points to the matriarchal meaning of the entire complex, at least in India proper.

." In Bengal thieves and robbers are believed to enjoy the special protection of the goddess Kali...."[1] says Sarat Chandra Mitra, and states further: "....In the Punjab also thieves and robbers used to sacrifice goats and sheep before, or made offerings of sweetmeat to their goddess Devi."[2] Russell reports on the Thug, specially interesting to mother-right investigation, that Kali or Bhawani was their "principal deity....as of most of the criminal and lower castes .... Mohammedans pretending that *Fatima*....was an incarnation of her."[3]

Even the relation to the small-pox goddess seems markedly pointed here. N. N. Chatterji says that the goddess Bibrbian, called Mata Masani elsewhere in India, and Sitala in Bengal, is represented by a rude piece of stone placed on the platform under a Baroda-tree in Patiala and other parts of the Punjab.[4] The Mirasis, a low-caste Muslim musician-caste, which moreover traces its origin back to a *woman*, believe that four things can be attained by worshipping this goddess: (1) children cry less, (2) they remain exempt from the small-pox, (3) will always be healthy and (4) will have a bright and successful future.[4]

The Chandra Vedi Sanauria, a criminal caste in Bundelkhand, according to Russell, make the newly initiated swear never to steal at night. The oath is given in the name of the moon, wherefore the Chandra Vedi are called those who reverently regard the moon,[5] a fact which may also be regarded as pointing in the direction of mother-right.

1. Sarat Chandra Mitra in *JAnSBo* p. 454/III.
2. „ „ p. 27/LXIV.
3. Russell, op. cit. p. 575/IV.
4. M. N. Chatterji in *JAsSBe* p. 33/LXV.
5. Russell, op. cit. p. 484/IV.

The relatively good position of women, belonging to these castes, as compared to those of higher social groups, their freedom and participation in the profession of their menfolk is stressed by Russell, when citing Mr. Gayer in his *Lectures on some Criminal Tribes of India*, ".... I do not think Mr. Guntorp lays sufficient stress on the part taken by women in crimes....they do by far the major part of the thieving. Sherring says the men never commit house-breaking and very seldom rob on the highway....."[1]

Russell furthermore quotes the French traveller, Thevenot, who toured on the road from Delhi to Agra, at the time when it was still unsafe. He says that Thug-girls sometimes posed as helpless travelling women, who, when taken by men on horseback, strangled them. This seems to have changed altogether as early as Colonel Sleeman's times (about 1850), as this well-versed specialist in the question of Thugs records that their women never accompany the men on their raids and often do not dream of their men's calling as robbers.[2] Explanation of the discrepancy of reports can be found in the fact that the Thugs have changed their entire outlook on life in the direction towards father-right, just as did all the other Indian social units and groups. In former days it was absolutely forbidden to them to murder women. The custom gradually decayed. When they were finally suppressed by the British Indian police, they considered their bad luck as a divine punishment for having disregarded the order of their caste-goddess Devi, and having resorted to killing not men only, but also women.[3]

The Thugs used to accompany travellers and to strangle them simultaneously on a secret sign. This sign was " Bhanja ko pan do ! " meaning : " Give betel to my *nephew* ! "[4] (Italics are mine), which may be considered as a survival of mother-right mentality.

Russell believes that the custom of splitting coconuts ritually with an axe, points to the former practice of human sacrifices at the initiation-ceremony of the Thugs.[5] This recalls the human sacrifice which we have considered characteristic in the PAR-group.

The change of the Thug caste from the probably once matriarchal, or at least matriarchally influenced caste-order, to a purely patriarchal order shortly before their final eradication, becomes more easily comprehensible by the fact that in the course of time more and more individual criminals, law-breakers or other socially excommunicated members of foreign castes (mostly patriarchal) were adopted by the Thugs.

1. Russell, p. 189/III.
2. ,, p. 559/IV.
3. ,, p. 573/IV.
4. ,, p. 563/IV.
5. ,, p. 576/IV.

The example of the Thug thus seems to support the hypothesis suggested above, that the formerly matriarchally organized strata of Indian society have been increasingly more depressed, according to their resistance to the patriarchal idea. This however is a mere working hypothesis which perhaps would be better replaced by another, holding each of the different gipsy- and related groups, (down to the criminal castes,) to be representatives of a tribal or occupational group of the former mother-right-culture in India, which attained different social positions and performed different social functions, according to their relative standing and occupation on the arrival of the immigrating patriarchal order. At any rate it can be taken as certain that all the various castes, such as the noble Rajputs and Bhats, the poorer groups of bards, genealogists, the often despised musicians, singers, dancers, the castes whose women are dedicated to hetærism, the acrobats, gipsies, petty-traders low-caste mendicants and even thieves, robbers and occupational murderers (Thugs), greatly differing among themselves from the functional point of view, still belonged altogether to either one or many different forms of ancient Indian mother-right.

L. E. Carter's interesting hypothesis,[1] deserves mention in this connection. He compares the patrilineal descent of the sons and the matrilineal of the daughters of intermarriage between the Sipar Baloch and the Brahui (who speak a Dravidic language, be it noted) with a similar institution at intermarriages between Brahmins and the Khas or Nepal Rajputs. He furthermore connects both with a country of "Amazons", who, according to the accounts of Hiuen-Tsiang and of Ptolemy, lived in India, westward of Rajputana. Carter, too, holds the view that hypergamy, obviously connected with this institution, was originally introduced by the conflict of the immigrating Aryan father-right with the indigenous Indian mother-right.

Serpent-worship is deeply rooted in the tradition of the Rajputs.[2] This supports not only the supposed matriarchal origin but also the antiquity of this caste. The caste-origin of the Rajput Baghel, so named after the tiger,[3] points to totemist conceptions which are still more strongly stressed by the custom of certain Rajputs, of avoiding and honouring certain trees. The Bundelas, e.g., never break branches of the Kadamb, the Panwars of the Neem, and the Rator of the Pipal-tree.[4]

4. *Summary*

1. *Rajputs*:—The legend of origin in connection with the mythological theme of Parasurama and his parents exhibits a number of features apparently pointing to the intrusion of the patriarchal Aryans into matriarchally organized India which seems to have been led by a very old traditional

1. L. E. Carter in *JAnSBo* p. 939/XII.
2. Russell, p. 455/IV.
3. ,, p. 435/IV.
4. ,, p. 422/IV.

culture and a feudal matriarchal knighthood, similar to that of the Nayars of South West India. The mythological features of Parasurama's brothers may perhaps at best be considered as representing the gipsies and similar castes of India which, under the mother-right system, enjoyed a high social position but were gradually degraded.

The Rajput caste proper exhibits the following traces of former mother-right: important position of the mother, relics of matrilocality, or at least the efforts traceable by ethnology to restore this system of marriage. Remnants of ancestor-worship in the female line, surviving in the worship of the mother-in-law, obviously a non-original and mixed form of veneration. Serving-marriage in transition to the paying of the bride-price. The *Pathoni*-ceremony recalling the double marriage of the Nayars. Unmistakable traces of the former existence of polyandry or at least a form of personal and sexual independence of girls, unusual in India. A central prominent position of the female deities Devi and Durga. Burial, instead of cremation seems to survive in the custom of burying dead children. Among various minor elements the ceremonial use of bullocks instead of horses for pulling carts is prominent.

To this, the general ethnologically traceable relationship of the Rajputs to the Maratha may be added, whose matriarchal elements have been enumerated in the Chapter B/6 I. on totemism and mother-right in India. Similarly the close relationship of the Nayars of South-West India has to be mentioned in this connection. This relationship seems strengthened (*a*) by the quantity-criterion of the concurrence of the following single matriarchal features: polyandry in a feudal knightly class to which perhaps the form of the turban (and hair-dress of the Nayars) and the importance given to the local borders may be added, and (*b*) the continuity-criterion of the geographical situation of Rajputana, the homeland of the Rajputs between the extreme South-West and the centre of the Indus-civilization. The non-existence of representatives of the NAY-group and the relatively late intrusion of the Rajputs into the closed plateau of the totemist zone, referred to in Chapter B/6, I, agrees with this hypothesis. The totemist country was probably always an area difficult of access; not only in the Moghul period and during the early British rule in India. It is very probable therefore that the NAY-peoples did not permeate this country in the time of the Indus-civilization, but much later only, as Aryanized Rajputs.

These relations are still stressed by the affinity existing between the Rajputs (Kshatriyas) and Buddhism, the importance of which to mother-right in India, was proved by Koppers in 1921, even before the excavation of the Indus-civilization,[1] which has now made it indubitably clear that Buddhism can be regarded as the revival of an ancient matriarchal culture-circle of India. The excrescence on the head of the Buddha-statue can

1. Koppers, *Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus*, op. cit.

perhaps be considered to point to some relation with the *kudumi* of the Nayars and the asymmetric fold in the Rajput turban.

2. *Self-annihilation;* and similar institutions, *traga, dharna,* self-burning, etc., can be proved to be culture-historically related to the regicide, running amok, and suicide complex of South-West Indian mother-right on the one side, and the Rajput caste on the other. The Bhats, especially the Charan-Bhats furnish a connecting link in the latter case of relationship.

The entire complex in itself is not only closely related to, but can even be held responsible for the origin of the most prominent religious, philosophical, artistic and social contributions of India to human cultural evolution, such as " Eastern mysticism," Buddhism, religious and secular attitude of mind. The same complex is also culture-historically related to the bards, genealogists, musicians, castes of dancing-girls, courtesans, fortune-tellers, mendicants, generally speaking the Indian gipsies and even the criminal castes. This awkward fact is especially proved by the culture-historic position of the Banjaras. The functionally degraded position of all these castes is opposed to their high culture-historic origin. This course of events is partly illustrated by the relatively bad social position of high-class Sudras which the Nayars occupy in the social order of the Nambutiri Brahmins, in spite of their economically and politically important position, and in spite of their high intellectual and financial standard.

3. *Gipsies and related castes.*—Their culture-historically proved relationship to the Rajputs in itself suggests that here single remnants, more or less isolated parts of a formerly continuous matriarchal stratum, are preserved. This hypothesis is strengthened by the existence of various single elements in these castes, which unmistakably point to a mother-right culture. Professional independence of women, remnants of matri-locality, sexual independence, (polyandry) and especially the worship of a mother-goddess, are prominent features of the kind. The number of similar traces is probably much higher than scientific research has as yet been able to prove, because of the unsolved problems of investigation among these depressed and shy groups of peoples. The mother-right culture-area, to which these gipsies and similar culture-historic relics are to be reckoned, must have been patriarchally affected already before the NAY-group in its turn exercised an influence on them, which it undoubtedly did. This latter fact, again, must be dated before the influx of the nomadic herdsmen-culture, the invading and patriarchally organized Aryans. We therefore come to the conclusion that the mother-right culture-circle to which the gipsies and similar castes must be co-ordinated, preserved some traces of the pre-totemist and matriarchal culture which, according to the results of our Chapter B/6, I (on totemism and mother-right in India), seems to have existed in the now totemist plateau of Central India.

This hypothetical group probably corresponds with what we called the PAR-group, including some more or less stressed elements of the PUL-group. The aforementioned case of double burial among the Dukar Kolhati,[1] may yield an example of the direction in which further ethnological exploration of the gipsies in India and in Europe, as also of related castes, grossly neglected in this respect, will have to go.

Our working hypothesis will, at the present state of our knowledge, assume that (*a*) the gipsies and related castes are the heirs of a very old, PAR-group, which must have been older than totemism in India. (*b*) the Rajputs and related groups are the culture-historic heirs of the NAY-group which, for its part, must be considered as having been closely related to the ancient Indus-civilization.

The fact that the remnants of a mother-right culture, similar to that of the PAR-group, are to be found in the region of totemism, whereas remnants of an old NAY-group are entirely lacking there, and are solely represented by relatively young Rajput immigrants, fits in with this hypothesis. The relation between the Indus-civilization and the North-East group of Indian mother-right in Assam, will be discussed later. If this relation can be proved to have existed, the Ganges valley, but not the totemist Central Plateau, will have to be regarded as the medium of cultural influence.

The undoubtedly existing relationship between the gipsies and related castes on the one hand, and the Rajputs on the other, can thus not be regarded as an old one. Though this relation is culture-historically to be proved, the functional relation of these two matriarchally organized groups is very important. They are indigenous in India, both suppressed by the invading and patriarchally organized Aryans and both look back on a very old, though differently developed, tradition and civilization of their own.

B/8

VIII. Megalithic Civilization and Mother-right

The question whether the history of the megalithic waves of civilization which have come in contact with the mother-right area of India can yield any help in the solution of the problems before us, must be touched, before we can proceed to the comparison of the results of this sketch on mother-right in India, with archæological and other ethnological theories.

It is unnecessary to mention that it can neither be attempted here to describe the relations existing between megalithic cultures and mother-right in general, nor to solve the complicated questions related to mutual permeation of both the cultural entities in India. A definition of the megalithic civilization as well as a description of the megalithic complexes in the neighbourhood of India has therefore to be omitted.

1. Russell, 279/II. seq.

It has merely been attempted to ventilate the question of megalithic influences in the area of Indian mother-right and thus to show that, and how, a more specialized exploration of "megalithism" in India in the future will help the culture-historic results of Indian mother-right investigation and may, itself, be promoted by them.

1. *Archæological Megalithic Buildings in South-West India*

Megalithic buildings of pre-historic origin in the Western part of the South-Indian mountains are to be found in the territories of the following jungle or mountain-tribes: Irula,[1] Kurumba,[2] Malayarayan,[3] Muduvan,[4] Toda,[5] Urali,[6] [7] and others.

N. Kunjan Pillai in accordance with Colonel Meadows Taylor distinguishes rwo main types of pre-historic dolmens, which have been found in this area: (*a.*) dolmens consisting of four stones, three upright, supporting a horizontal slab. (*b*) dolmens, consisting of five stones, four upright, bearing a horizontal slab. One of the supporting stones here, is already furnished with a hole, so typical in similar megalithic buildings, especially of Africa and further West.

The characteristic example of the first type, standing in Kadukuthi in the Rani reserve, is considered one of the oldest representatives of its kind by N. Kunjan Pillai, as the stones are not hewn. The stones above the level of the ground measure $8' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$. On one side two upright stones stand together, on the opposite side only one. The ground is paved with one single slab. The corner-stone is approximately three-cornered and measures $7' \times 7' \times 8'$. The building is on the top of a hill.

The Rev. Mateer found dolmens such as these in the territory of the Malayarayan, who themselves erected similar dolmens, only a few inches in size however, but have since lost the skill or custom.[7] But we have to consider the prehistoric dolmens in the Malayaran territory as belonging to the second type because of their holes, which in this case face south. The dolmens of Perunthalpara[8] on both sides of the Thalayar river are directed from west to east. They are surrounded by a number of roughly hewn stones and are usually built in groups of three, four or five.

Similar dolmens, but marked by deeper holes in the ground, are to be found all over the Cardamon and Nilgiri hills, as also in Malabar. Straight

1. Thurston, op. cit. p. 380/II. and Iyer and N., op. cit. 388/III.
2. ,, p. 169/IV. seq.
3. Pillai, op. cit. p. 420/XXVIII.
4. ,, p. 421/XXVIII.
5. Thurston, p. 133/VII.
6. ,, p. 256/VII.
7. Pillai, p. 420/XXVIII.
8. ,, p. 420/XXVIII. and illustration.

lines of large and also very small menhirs stretch approximately 15 yards westward of these dolmens.

N. Kunjan Pillai thinks, in accordance with Perry, that the similarity of these dolmens and also of upright grave-stones placed at the head and feet of the deceased, as is done by the Muduvan and Urali of Travancore on the one side and the Kabni-Nagas of Assam on the other, would point to a former migration which is held to have started in Indonesia and to have reached, not only Assam, but even as far as Cape Comorin.[1] Pillai in this connection cites E. C. James *An Introduction to Anthropology*, p. 149 where the similarity is described that exists between the beliefs of the peoples in Finistère in Bretagne and Marayur in Travancore. In both the remote parts of the world, those who suffer from rheumatic diseases believe they can cure them by rubbing the afflicted part of their bodies on the menhirs. This recalls the well-known megalithic custom of rubbing one's shoulders on the back of the ghost-seats, to which Heine-Geldern has pointed.[2]

Pillai rightly stresses the importance of the megalithic buildings in Southern India and in this connection mentions Montelius who believes that Western " megalithism " has been influenced by the Eastern forms.[1] Modern investigation of the megalithic civilization, represented by a specialist on the topic such as Heine-Geldern, does not agree with this conception. Still the importance generally given to South Indian megalithic cultures by Pillai is only strengthened by Heine-Geldern's conception of a migration of megalithic cultures from the West to the East.[3] Moreover the possibility has to be taken into consideration that a local East to West migration on the southern border of the Himalayan range has once taken place, in consequence of and in local opposition to the continental, far greater migration from west to east.

The survivals of megalithic relics, traceable among some castes and tribes of southern India, will, under these circumstances, have to be regarded as essential. An attempt to systematize these traces roughly from the standpoint of mother-right investigation in India will be made in the following part of this chapter.

2. *Living Megalithism in the Mother-right Area of South-West India*

(*a*) The PUL-group and related tribes.

The Badagas are subsumed here though they are totemistically influenced peasants of the Nilgiri hills. Their dolmens and cromlechs, furnished with symbols of the sun and the moon, are characteristically megalithic

1. Pillai, p. 421/XXVIII. seq.

2. Heine-Geldern, lectures on " Megalithwesen in Südost-Asien " winter-term 1933/34 and " Megalithwesen in der Südsee " 1934/35 and " Megalithwesen in Indonesien " Vienna University. (1934).

3. Heine-Geldern " Urheimat und fruheste Wanderung der Austronesier " *Anthropos* 1932, 534, seq. and. Menghin *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* p. 366 (Seelenloch im Westen).

stone monuments which are connected with the chief-festivity given to the ancestors, on which occasion a Kurumba sacrifices goats.[1] As the Kurumbas can be considered typically to represent both the jungle tribes of South-West India and the megalithism of the latter, the, so to say, priestly function of the Kurumbas to the Badagas can perhaps be regarded as pointing to a former adoption of megalithism from the Kurumbas by the Badagas. The Irula, a jungle-tribe, specially related to the PUL-group by its various matriarchal cultural elements (see caste-register) place memorial stones for their dead, reminding Thurston of cromlechs.[2] Thye also pile up stones, according to Ananthakrishna Iyer,[3] the megalithic character of which has been described by Banfield.[4]

The Kurumba jungle-tribe (which must not be confused with the Kurumba-shepherds, weavers and agricultural labourers, exhibit many megalithic cultural elements. Their megalithic customs are so much interwoven with their whole life, that Thurston even considers the dolmens which the Kurumba shepherds place upon the graves of their dead, as proving affinity between these different tribes.[5] Thurston also quotes Walhouse (*Ind. Ant.* VI. 1877) and Breeks, who record that the Kurumbas and Irulas place long shaped pebbles in the ancient cromlechs spread in their territories, or that they put "a bone and a small round stone in the *savu mane*, (death house) an old cromlech. . . ."[6] The heaps of these deposited things are so high that Walhouse considers them the work of generations.[6]

The Muduvan are also a jungle-tribe, which I believe is more closely related to the PUL-group than to the U-group. (See caste register). They place memorials on their graves which Pillai considers to be megalithic.[7] The Paliyan, a Tamil jungle-tribe, seems nearer to the PUL- then to the U-group. They worship rude stone-"symbols" by pouring the blood of a decapitated cock over them.[8]

The Tsakalas also seem to be closely related to the PUL-group, though exhibiting several elements foreign to this group. Thus descent of the power of a chief is traced through the male,[9] contrary to the general rule of tracing descent through the female line among them.[10] It can perhaps

1. Thurston, p. 70/I.
2. ,, p. 380/II.
3. Naniundayya and Iyer, p. 388/III.
4. Banfield in *JAsSBe*, p. 8/XLIX. seq.
5. Thurston, p. 71/IV.
6. ,, p. 169/IV. seq.
7. Pillai *CENSI* 1931, p. 421/XXVIII.
8. Thurston, p. 467/V.
9. Pillai, op. cit. p. 414/XXVIII.
10. ,, p. 165/XXVIII.

be considered as a megalithic trace that they worship "...a few stones under a thatched roof, called kottil" and representing demons of diseases.[1]

The Uralis have a markedly matriarchal system of sociology, matrilineal descent being specially stressed. They too belong to those jungle-tribes which I think must be co-ordinated rather to the PUL-group than to the U-group of South-West India. They place memorial stones on the graves, to which curiously enough the son, and not the nephew sacrifices.[2] They also believe that hidden treasures were buried under the prehistoric dolmens, scattered in their territories.[3] Perhaps these features may be taken as pointing to some megalithic influences.

(*b*) The PAR-group with few matriarchal traces.

The Kurumbas shepherds and agriculturists belong to the castes of Southern India which may have formerly had a more pointedly megalithic civilization. Though now markedly differentiated from the Kurumba jungle-tribe (as shown above) and though they also show certain totemist features, still, a vividly megalithic tendency in their customs connects them with the Kurumba jungle-tribes. They build very low, rudely constructed temples, the courtyards of which are surrounded by stone walls. Thurston even says that they erect dolmens, holding them to be the remnants of the aborigines who formerly erected the megalithic structures of southern India.[4] Ananthakrishna Iyer too takes them as descendants of the Kurumba or Pallavas.[5] I think that they should probably be co-ordinated to the PAR-group. They erect miniature dolmens as memorials for their dead. Two among many of the dolmens described by Thurston contained two stones, representing two Kurumba Dasaris (sanctified Basavis) who are buried there.[6] In memory of a person of rank, the Kurumbas usually erect a stone which is supposed to represent the deceased. These memorial stones within the dolmens are usually put up in honour of deceased *pujaris* (village priests). They are placed opposite the open side of the dolmens,[7] which may be considered typically megalithic.

The Madigas can with still more certainty be co-ordinated to the PAR-group, than can the Kurumbas. They also exhibit totemist features. They do not erect such typically megalithic stone-structures, but the forked sacrificial post used at the buffalo sacrifice seems characteristically megalithic.[8] This sacrificial post is placed opposite the image of the

1. Thurston, op. cit. p. 217/VII.
2. „ p. 256/VII.
3. Pillai, op. cit. p. 420/XXVIII.
4. Thurston, p. 153/IV.
5. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 63/IV.
6. Thurston, p. 154/IV.
7. „ p. 153/IV.
8. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 160/IV. seq.

village-goddess Maramma in whose honour the animal is decapitated.[1] They also pay a bride-price and bury their dead, clad in leaves ;[2] special features which have been subsumed in the group of various elements in the alphabetical caste-index.

The Holeyas, a parallel caste of the Madigas, which also must be classified with the PAR-group, have another megalithic custom. They use a stone, *Karu Kallu*, on occasion of founding villages, to which they offer sacrifices every year.[3] The matriarchal side of their social system is more markedly pronounced in the inheritance of the nephew than among the Madigas. Also the traces of their totemist organization are influenced by this system, as relationship to the exogamous clans is also traced in the female line.[3]

The Palla rank a little higher than the other castes mentioned as yet in this connection. Still they belong to the depressed classes and, I venture to say, to the PAR-group. They inhabit more southern parts, i.e., the Tamil country, down to Salem and Coimbatore.[4] It recalls megalithic customs when they enumerate the ancestors, traced in the male line, of both the parties, at marriages, placing four annas in every case on the presentation table.[5] The custom of enumerating one's ancestors is, according to Heine-Geldern, a megalithic feature in itself.[6] In this case it seems specially to point to a foreign culture (as megalithism must be considered in this part of the country) because of the enumeration of ancestors in the male line, whereas, the Pallan usually trace inheritance and descent (membership of the *killai* or clans) through the female.[7]

A group of castes will now be recorded, which seem directly or indirectly related to the PAR-group. Among them a woman is especially honoured who has had seven successive husbands. She decides disputes over adultery and holds a place of honour at the marriages of young women of the caste. This recalls the special happiness and glorification which, among the Nagas of Assam, males are supposed to enjoy in afterlife, if they have had sexual intercourse either with at least seven women or three virgins. This idea among the Nagas is obviously connected with megalithic civilisation.[8] Megalithic too are the thirty memorial menhirs, surrounding the image of the Khasi woman at Subtinga who had thirty

1. Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 160/IV. seq.

2. Thyagaraja Aiyar, op. cit. p. 150/XXI. and Nanjundayya and Iyer, p. 160/IV. and Thurston p. 298/IV.

3. Thurston, p. 345/II.

4. ,, p. 472/V. seq.

5. ,, p. 483/V. seq.

6. Heine-Geldern, lectures on "Megalithwesen in Sudost-Asien" winter-term 1933/34 and "Megalithwesen in der Sudeee" 1934/35 and "Megalithwesen in Indonesien" Vienna University. (1934).

7. Thurston, p. 573/V. seq.

8. Heine-Geldern "Megalithwesen in Hinterindien" lectures, winter-term 1933/34, Vienna University.

husbands.[1] This again strengthens the relation of the megalithic culture with the complex of honouring a man or a woman who has had many sexual partners.

The Koravas, showing affinity to the PAR-group and totemism, thus honour the wife of seven successive husbands.[2] So do the Oddes[3] and the Woddas[4] neither of whom would I directly co-ordinate to the PAR-group, still believing them related to the same. They, also, are totemist. The Yanadis honour a widow according to the number of husbands she has had.[5] The Yanadis form a jungle-tribe which seems more nearly related to the PUL-group than to the PAR-group, but is also totemistically organized and has therefore been subsumed here.

The Gadabas, who are also totemist, are not too distantly related to these castes, seen from the point of view of mother-right investigation. They sacrifice a buffalo to Isvara and plant a tree or place a stone as a memorial of this sacrifice.[6] This custom appears to be decidedly megalithic in conception and form. The notorious human sacrifices in former days, the swine-sacrifices to-day, as performed by the (also totemistically influenced) Khonds, are made at a post. A village-goddess plays a prominent part on this occasion, and is usually represented by three stones,[7] which may also be regarded as pointing in the same direction. The Kotas of the Nilgiris worship an upright stone, similar to the megalithic menhir.[8] The Nayadis place 44 stones, as memorials of their ancestors, in the ground under a mango tree, and three stones in a characteristic manner, recalling megalithic customs, over their graves.[9] The Porojas, another totemist people, worship the Earth-Goddess, represented by a rude stone, placed under a tree outside the village.[10]

None of these castes can be said to belong decidedly to what we have called the PAR-group, but to be nearly related to the same, (see alphabetical caste-register). The Mandulas could not be admitted in this register, as their mother-right elements seem to be insufficiently represented. They too worship the caste-goddess in the form of a simple and unhewn stone, approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet high.[11]

1. Gurdon, op. cit. illustration and Risley op. cit. p. 199/I. B.
2. Thurston, op. cit. p. 489/III.
3. „ p. 423/V.
4. Iyer and N. p. 666/IV. seq.
5. Thurston, p. 424/VII.
6. „ p. 270/II.
7. „ p. 370/III.
8. „ *Omens and Superstitions* p. 279.
9. „ *Castes and Tribes* . . . . p. 280/V.
10. „ op. cit. p. 215/IV.
11. „ p. 448/IV.

(*c*) The PAR-group with pronounced matriarchal elements.

The Mukkuvan are sea-fishers on the Malabar coast, i.e., the classical territory of South-West Indian mother-right. They follow the *marumakkathayam*, the matrilineal system of inheritance and seem in every respect to belong to the PAR-group, a supposition still strengthened by the couvade, which they practise in some deteriorated form. According to Thurston they erect square stone slabs, not using any other objects for reverential purposes, which may recall Polynesian Ahus.[1] The Parayan themselves, the pattern caste of the PAR-group (see Chapter B/3, 4.) represent their *Ammas* or village goddesses, as we have stated above, by seven simple stones, placed on a characteristic platform which in its turn may recall the Polynesian megalithic platforms or *Ahus* as in the case of the Mukkuvan. The Vellalas show traces of plant-totems, in the Tamil country, but a true matrilineal social organization in North Malabar. They are related to the Reddis and seem to stand between the PUL-and the PAR-group. It may perhaps be regarded as megalithic when their "... demoniacal gods, Chandian, Mundian, Kanderamen....all of them are represented separately by stones, located underneath a tree in the corner of their compounds."[2]

(*d*) The NAY-group with unmistakably matriarchal cultural elements.

It has been already said in chapter B/3, 5. that the Nayars themselves worship a holy tree under which a platform[3] is reminiscent of megalithic cultural tendencies. This all the more so, as these blood and defilement rites to Bhagavati, on occasion of which this tree plays such an important rôle, call to mind the megalithic blood-sacrifice. Nine men and women of the Tiya-caste, which we have also included in the NAY-group, play an important rôle in an annual elephant procession of the Nayars, to a banyan tree, which is also surrounded by a platform.[4] Similarly the great July procession, comprising all the pre-Aryan, mostly matriarchal castes from the Nayars down to the low-caste peoples, approaches "...a circle of piled up stones, twelve feet in diameter..." in the midst of which "a rude lingam" has been erected.[5] Perhaps the "rude lingam" in the midst of a stone-circle, worshipped by a people as highly civilized as are the Nayars, will have to be considered as the survival of an ancient menhir. Moreover the Tiyan, accompanying this procession, offer young cocoanuts, indulging in abusive language, which singular custom recalls the same usage among the Nayars at the annual defilement-rites in the temple of Bhagavati, mentioned above.

1. Thurston, p. 107/V.
2. „ p. 354/VII.
3. „ p. 400/V.
4. „ p. 382, 389/VI. seq.
5. „ p. 396/V. seq.

3. *Summary*

The results of this very cursory review of megalithic traces within the area of mother-right in south-western India may be summed up as follows.

Among the jungle-tribes, indications of megalithism or megalithic customs are traceable, apart from the prehistoric megalithic structures which have been found in their territories. These tribes are more closely related to what we called, the PUL-than to the U-group, the former exhibiting a greater number of, and more organically united matriarchal traces and elements than does the latter.

Among the various castes and tribes of the PAR-group, megalithism seems also traceable, but more among those, which are totemistically strong, but matriarchally little determined, and live on the eastern side of the Western Ghats, than among those which really belong to the western part of the classical mother-right area of South-West India. Thus the forked sacrificial post and the buffalo sacrifice are found among the Madigas; importance is given to a stone, at foundation of new villages among the Holeyas, recitation of the descent in the patrilineal line is used among the Pallan, who are otherwise matrilineally organized, and honour is given to women, who have had many, usually seven husbands, among the Koravas, Oddes, Woddas and Yanadis. A number of similar castes, mostly totemistically influenced as well, exhibit an attitude of mind which may perhaps be regarded as megalithic, in worshipping rude and unhewn stones.

Similar megalithic elements of *doubtful* character are also to be found among three matriarchal castes of Kerala proper, which are not totemistically influenced. These are the Mukkuvan, Parayan and Vellalas, among whom the Parayan have even been chosen by us to represent the grade III/a of Indian mother-right. In spite of their being spread all over southern India, they only exhibit a doubtful form of megalithism in worshipping unhewn stones.

The remnants of *perhaps* megalithic traces such as construction of platforms, and placing stones under trees, connected with rites of shedding blood and practising defilement, which are characteristic of the Nayars and Tiyan, are of an undoubtedly antique character, as compared to the general cultural standing of the castes concerned.

We have now to face two principle hypotheses, as resulting from the above-mentioned facts:—Megalithism arrived in South-West India either in one single or in many different waves.

(*a*) Presuming that megalithism arrived in South-West India in one wave only, this must have taken place at a time before the totemistic culture had permeated and settled down in its present territory in Central India. Megalithism as a matter of fact, established its character in the mountains among peoples belonging to the PUL-and PAR-groups without being entirely allied to totemism. Had the

megalithic wave passed through Central India at a time when totemism had taken root there, it would necessarily have absorbed totemistic elements and thus have transported them over the range of the Western Ghats into the matriarchal area of South-West India, which has not been the case. This fact already, but still more the affinity of South-West Indian megaliths to non-Indian Western megalithism, as e.g., the hole in the stone slab, make it highly improbable, according to Heine-Geldern,[1] that meglithism has reached South-West India coming solely from the east. Besides, this proves that megalithism must have reached South-West India in several waves from the east and from the west.

(*b*) If this is so, we must, in accordance with Heine-Geldern,[1] hold that these waves reached the Malabar coast and the surrounding hills at different times. It therefore seems that the first megalithic cultural wave which reached South-West India and which is now deeply rooted in the culture of the PUL-group, must have been pre-totemistic. The next following megalithic wave (or waves), less markedly pronounced in the PAR-and NAY-group, may be considered as having been more or less loosely connected with totemism. It will be necessary to study the relationship which might have linked the megalithic culture of the mostly totemistic PAR-peoples, on the eastern side of the Western Ghats, with totemism in Central India. The condition for such a comparison is a thorough study of the relations that do or do not exist between megalithism and totemism within the totemistic area of Central India, indicated, e.g., in the culture-history of the Gonds,[2] the Munda-tribes,[3] or the Ahirs.[4] This task, of course, has not been included in the programme of this short sketch on mother-right in India. Still it seems, I venture to say, that totemism and mother-right in the totemistic area of India are not more closely related to each other, than is the case in the mother-right area of south-western India. This assumption, taken together with the fact that totemism and mother-right in the matriarchal territory of north-east India, are closely related to each other, (see Chapter B/3, 1.) favours the conception that important megalithic influences (*a*) have come also from the east, (*b*) independently from mother-right and perhaps also from totemism, (*c*) have reached South-West India only in the form of extensive migrations independent of each other, and finally (*d*) that the megalithic waves which reached South-West India directly from the West, had no intimate relationship to other cultural entities or cultural waves, arriving there.

1. In personal communications on the occasion of my discourse June 1936, Ethn. Institute, Vienna University.

2. Russell, op. cit. p. 92/III. seq.

3. „ p. 514/III. seq.

4. „ p. 28/II. seq.

The deliberations on the mutual relationship and influence of megalithism and mother-right in India have been very cursory. Still the following conclusions may already now be drawn from the facts stated above, provided that further investigations do not bring forward data which contradict our hypothesis.

1. The gulf which was found existing between the matriarchally or semi-matriarchally organized tribes and low caste peoples, belonging to the U-, PUL-and PAR-groups on the one side, and the highly cultured NAY-group on the other, seems rather strengthened than lessened by the comparative study of megalithism and mother-right in South-West India.

2. The older strata in South-West Indian mother-right, i.e., especially the PAR-and perhaps also the PUL-group, seem to be more closely related to the North-East Indian mother-right of Assam than does the NAY-group. This result of our comparative study of the various forms of Indian mother-right has been supported by the results of the comparative study of megalithism and mother-right in South-West India. Still the probability of very old realtions between the Indus-civilization (and thus the NAY-group) and North-East Indian mother-right will be considered in the following chapter.

3. A comparative study of mother-right and megalithism in India cannot be regarded as final before the respective relations of both the cultural entities have been thoroughly studied, also in the totemistic area of Central India.

B/9

IX. Indus-Civilization, South-West Indian and North-East Indian Mother-right in their Relationship

1. *Mutual Comparison of the Single Groups*

Before proceeding to the summary of the relations which have been found to exist between the Indus-civilization and the NAY-group and then taking into consideration the relations to the North-East Indian mother-right area, we shall have to examine Chapter B/5, on the culture-historic result of the comparative study of Indian mother-right groups in its relation to the problems studied meanwhile. These are : mother-right and (*a*) totemism, (*b*) patriarchal Hinduism, (*c*) the Rajput problem and (*d*) megalithism in South-West India. Thus we have to examine critically the following main points of the aforementioned Chapter B/5 :

1. Only few facts, seem to point to a direct relationship between the South-West Indian U-and PUL-group and North-East Indian mother-right. Comparative study of the totemistic and Hindu territory and of the Rajput problem support this conception. But

the probability of a very old and pre-totemistic origin of megalithism among the PUL-group of tribes in South-West India points to an ancient relation between the PUL-peoples of South-West India and North-East Indian mother-right, generally speaking. We have come to the conclusion that this probably oldest wave of megalithic culture in the South-West Indian mother-right area, rather points to a (pre-totemistic) Eastern origin, seen from the Indian standpoint. This does not of course, mean that megalithism in itself had its original home in the East. On the contrary it is easily possible that megalithism had its origin in the West, as Heine-Geldern holds, that it migrated eastward to South-East Asia and from there returned in a second branch-migration westwards to India. Thus from the standpoint of research of megalithism in India, the possibility of a relationship between the PUL-group and North-East Indian mother-right seems rather likely. All the more so, as the differentiation between the PUL-and the PAR-group has not yet been proved, and as the study of magalithism strengthens the second result of the Chapter B/5, to the effect that

2. an old relationship between the PAR-group and the North-East Indian (Assamese) mother-right area is not only possible but even probable.

The results of Chapter B/6, I., on totemism, support this theory. They show that a very old mother-right culture must have existed in Central India *before* the subsequent totemist wave arrived there. This mother-right culture has been found to have much in common with the type of mother-right as represented by our PAR-group. The mother-right culture of the PAR-group in its turn seems, according to the quality-criteria, as described in Chapter B/5, to be related to the North-East Indian mother-right culture. To this the continuity-criterion can now be added, as the pre-totemist, (hypothetically supposed) mother-right culture in the, now-totemist, area of Central India geographically joins the North-East and the South-West Indian regions of mother-right. The continuity, it is true, cannot be said to be complete. The gaps lie in the Ganges-valley, east of the now totemist area. But this does not mean very much, as the Ganges-valley was certainly " de-totemized " and " de-matriarchalized" relatively late by the Hindu-Aryan immigration. Secondly, the remnants, particularly of the presupposed older mother-right culture, are abundant, especially in this part of Central India and Bengal. Bengal, more than any other part of the Ganges-valley, is culture-historically based on mother-right and matriarchal bases of civilization.

The mother-right elements of the patriarchal cultures within the Hindu-Brahman society and the Rajput class, have been found to be connected with the NAY-group, which for its part, must be regarded as much younger, compared to the PAR-group. This fact and the result of

the comparison between mother-right and megalithism in South-West India seem to prove that at least the PAR-and the NAY-groups must be regarded as very markedly separated culture-strata. Culture-historic relations of the NAY-group point to the North-West, i.e., the Indus-civilization, those of the PAR-group to the North-East, i.e., the Assamese province o Indian mother-right. The widely spread right and left-hand system of South-West India will perhaps once be found to strengthen this asumption, if it can be proved to have had its origin in the dual system, so prominent in North-East Indian mother-right. The mutual rivalry of the right and left-hand fraction within the lower classes of Southern India, seems to fit in extraordinarily well with this explanation. Still the whole problem is too complicated and difficult to include it in this review of mother-right in India. Yet stress must be laid on the fact that the solution of this question will much facilitate the task before us.

Even if we have thus worked out a scheme of North-West and North-East Indian matriarchal influence on the mother-right area in Kerala, we should not forget that other facts oppose this conception. Among them the relationship must be mentioned which probably joins the Indus-civilization not only with the NAY-group in the South-West, but also with the Assamese mother-right in the North-East.

It will be necessary to realize that the aforesaid relations between South-Indian and North-West or North-East Indian mother-right entities respectively, do not prove that these mother-right culture-areas have necessarily immigrated to Central and Southern India. It is by all means possible, perhaps even probable, that the mother-right culture-circle which is now represented in a deteriorated form by the PAR-group and Assamese mother-right, was created autochthonously in Central India. Similarly the former centre of the Indus-civilization may perhaps have been situated in the Ganges-valley, not on the sites of the settlements excavated up till now in the Indus valley, which may possibly have been but a provincial form of this old civilization. The lack of excavated towns of this culture in the Ganges and Jumna-valleys does not oppose this view, since no aridization took place here, as it did in the Indus-valley, thus favouring the conservation of old cultural relics. An opposite view is held by Codrington and Hutton, who in accordance with Guha's scheme of the races in India, as given in the Census 1931,[1] believe that a Mediterranean, Dravida speaking and racially Armenoid population immigrated from Mesopotamia to India and thus imported, what we now call the Indus-civilization. The present state of our ethnological knowledge, however, seems to make it at least possible, that, contrary to this conception, it was an *indigenous Indian mother-right culture* and perhaps also the indigenous Indian *race* that created it, and that this Indus-civilization was (*a*) originated there, (*b*) exported from there to ancient Mesopotamia.

1. Codrington *MAN* No. 153/1934.

Provided that further investigations and excavations should support this latter hypothesis, our U-and PUL-groups would then appear not to be representatives of different matriarchally influenced culture-circles, but merely single groups of the various strata or stations of one and the same continuous mother-right evolution, indigenous in India, which has passed through a great number of stages, and which has finally forked into two parallel branches ; the more primitive, PAR-group, and the more progressive NAY-group.

The slight possibility of similarly vague affinities forming a transition between the PAR-and the NAY-groups, which latter must then be imagined as having been developed from the former, can still be kept in view, though it is improbable. At any rate, there is much in favour of Schmidt's and Koppers' old conception of India as the homeland of mother-right at a time when it was not yet buried![1] We may now add that if this is so, mother-right culture-circles of at least two, if not three different types, had their origin on Indian soil ! The direction of the migrations of these matriarchal cultures would in this case have to be considered as purely centrifugal, seen from the Indian point of view, not as partly centripetal and partly centrifugal. These questions may, and should be, discussed, but it is impossible to answer them in the present state of our ethnological and also archæological knowledge in and outside India.

2. *Mother-right in India and its Relations to Archæological, Anthropological and Linguistic Entities*

This uncertainty, it seems, does not allow co-ordination of the hypothetically assumed mother-right groups with archæological, anthropological and linguistical entities, from the standpoint of Indian mother-right investigation. Still a few suggestions and hypotheses may be given, even beyond the relationship that seems to have existed between the Indus-civilization and the NAY-group, which can perhaps be regarded as one of the positive results of this book. This relation has already been mentioned several times in the Chapters B/3, 5., B/6, II., B/7, 1., B/7, 2. and B/7, 4. and will be systematically summed up at the end of this chapter.

Before this is done, a few affinities may still be mentioned, which further investigation of mother-right in India will have to keep in view.

1. *U- and PUL-groups*

(*a*). Archæological relations.

The remnants of the original ergology of the *U-and PUL-peoples* though very much Hinduized at present, can still be said to suggest

1. *Völker und Kulturen* op. cit. chapter Mutterrecht p. 259 seq.

an alithic bamboo-industry, which must have preceded the most primitive form of the hand-axe industry. (See Chapter B/3, 2). Menghin considers Africa and southern Asia to be the two parts of the world where the protolithic hand-axe industry may have originated, preferring India, in this respect, as this is the area where "....pure protolithic hand-axe cultures, without elements of flake-industry can be found."[1] Such an industry represented by the Indian Madrasian is supposed to have been evolved by the first agricultural, perhaps matriarchally organized peoples, whose descendants probably survive in our U- and PUL-castes.

(*b*) Physical anthropological relations.

Eickstedt, in approximative accordance to the unquestioned authority of Guha, co-ordinates most of the peoples of our U- and PUL-group to the " Maliden," a sub-group of the " Weddiden "[2] and believes that remnants of the Gondide branch of the Veddides possibly may survive in the Himalayan territories, where the mother-right tradition, too, seems to be very old.[3] Also Marshall holds that a racial element, similar to the Veddahs of Ceylon, has been an integrating component of the Indus-peoples, basing this hypothesis on the skulls excavated there.[4]

(*c*) Linguistic relations.

The characteristic deterioration and an organic mixing of the different Dravidian languages,[5] which the U- and PUL-peoples now use, in itself suggests that they have lost their own language.

2. *The PAR-group*

(*a*) Archæological relations.

The matriarchal culture which seems to have linked the Assamese North-East group of Indian mother-right with our PAR-group can, according to Heine-Geldern,[6] possibly be connected with the round-axe culture

1. Menghin, op. cit. p. 131.
2. Eickstedt *Rassenkunde* op. cit. p. 210 seq.
3. " " p. 184.
4. Marshall, op. cit. p. 107/I.
5. Thus, to mention only a few among many similar examples, the Irulas, a specially dark-skinned jungle-tribe of the Nilgiri hills, speak a corrupt form of Tamil. (Thurston, op. cit. p. 372/II., Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit. p. 384/III). The Kudyas, a jungle-tribe, which partly took to working as agricultural labourers, and yields a good example for the PUL-group, speaks a corrupt Tulu. (Thurston, op. cit. p. 96/IV). The Bili Maggas, who even took to petty trade and weaving and who now constitute a big caste of Mysore, also speak a corrupt form of Tamil. (Nanjundayya and Iyer, op cit. p. 285/II). The Kadirs (typical representatives of the U-peoples) and the Kanikars (who are perhaps even related to the PUL-group) speak a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam, which seems to be scarcely understood by either the Tamil or the Malayalam speaking peoples. (Thurston, op. cit. p. 6, 162/III, Nanjundayya and Iyer, op cit. p. 2/II, and Pillai, op. cit. p. 424/XXVIII).
6. Heine-Geldern *Völker und Kulturen Indiens* as cited. Compare also *Urheimat und früheste Wanderung der Austronesier*, op. cit. p. 557 seq.

shifting from East to West. This assumption fits in with our conception of the migration of a mother-right culture from the north-east towards the south-west of India. On the other hand this migration is supposed to have taken place before the totemistic people arrived in Central India, which was probably before the round-axe culture, a relatively late form, came into existence. We must thus keep in view that perhaps the PAR-peoples will be found rather to have brought a miolithic hand-axe industry, which on Indian soil, must be considered to have been older than the miolithic flake industry allied to the totemist peoples of Central India. The geographical expansion of this miolithic flake industry, especially of its first type, between Central India and the Kistna, as has been hypothetically assumed by Menghin,[1] accords with the geographical expansion of totemism in India. He states that near Banda and Mirzapur in the United Provinces so many *coup de point* pieces have been found that they can be said to form " whole complexes showing hand-axes and smoothed hatchets in all degrees of the working process."[2]

These more or less isolated examples of a miolithic hand-axe industry are of course insufficient to base the theory of co-ordination of the PAR-group to the miolothic hand-axe industry upon them alone. But according to the picture won archæologically, ethnologically and geographically, Menghin holds that probably agricultural and matriarchally organized peoples evolved the miolithic hand-axe industry, in the region between Iran and Burma.[3] Thus he says : " Unfortunately we know very little about the miolithicum of these countries, though something at least as regards British India. That this region played an *important* part in the history of the *hand-axe civilizations* is already suggested by the very fact that archæological discoveries make it probable that the protolithic hand-axe culture has here *firstly originated.* It seems moreover that, according to the present state of investigation and my knowledge of the excavated objects....British India has not been too rich in miolithic flake industry. This type was certainly *not* altogether absent. But we have to pre-suppose sufficient ample space for the further evolution of higher hand-axe cultures, without considerable foreign influence. This space appears to have been existing in *India* and *Iran.* But strata, demonstrating *ad oculos* this process of inner change and thus the origination of the miolithic hand-axe culture, are unfortunately not yet available. A problem, immeasurably important for the *history of earliest mankind* is here waiting for solution.... "[3] (Italics are mine.)

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1. Menghin, op. cit. p. 197.
2. " " p. 223.
3. " " p. 258.

This conception rightly assumed that (*a*) flake industry was related to totemism and (*b*) hand-axe industry to an old form of mother-right.[1] This belief further more strengthens, from the archæological point of view, what our ethnological investigations have made probable from their standpoint. The evolution of mother-right, therefore, can be traced back archæologically to the possibly *oldest tradition* on *Indian soil*, in an almost uninterrupted chain. The links lacking between the protolithic Madrasian and the miolithic stages of the Indian hand-axe culture, may yet be discovered in the near future. This assumption agrees with the affinities which this paper has found to exist between the mother-right elements of the U-PUL-and, finally, the PAR-groups. The block of the miolithic flake industry in India, corresponding with the totemist peoples, can thus be said to form a foreign wedge within the probably matriarchal hand-axe culture of this country. The first ancestors of our PAR-peoples can therefore be regarded as bearers of the miolithic hand-axe culture. The younger generations of these ancestors may perhaps have brought the wave of round-axe culture to India.

(*b*) Physical anthropological relations.

Niggemeyer holds that the totemist peoples are to be racially co-ordinated to the Gondide type.[2] But the co-ordination of the PAR-peoples to a racial entity seems at the present moment not even hypothetically possible.

(*c*) Linguistic relations.

A former affinity of the PAR-group to the Austro-Asiatic languages is already suggested by its possible relation to the Assamese North-East group of Indian mother-right. Father W. Schmidt regards the Austro-Asiatic languages as having been connected with an older type of mother-right. The fact that the Munda-peoples, now living in the totemist area, also belong to this linguistic family,[3] strengthens this hypothesis. The Munda-speaking peoples, it is true, are now patriarchally organized totemists. But the investigations of our Chapter B/6, I have proved a matriarchal stratum, also underlying the now totemist Munda-civilization. This view is also supported by the thorough analysis of its religion, as worked out by Father Dr. Rahmann in his thesis on this subject.[4] It can easily be imagined that the Austro-Asiatic language of these peoples has partly been lost and partly preserved as a complete form, as was the case among the Munda, whereas the matriarchal sociology and religion has, neither been entirely lost nor completely preserved in the totemist area of Central India. Niggemeyer is of opinion that the totemist wave in India is, at least partly, to be co-ordinated with the Dravidic languages.[2]

1. Menghin, p. 270.
2. Niggemeyer, op. cit. p. 590-592.
3. F. W. Schmidt : *Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise*....op. cit. p. 135.
4. F. (now Dr.) Rahmann : Gottheiten der Primitivstämme im nordl. Vorderindien *Anthropos* 1936, p. 37/ seq.

Taking this for granted we were led to believe that the large group of the South-West-Indian PAR-peoples had accepted its now entirely Dravidic language from the totemist peoples, but did so in many cases without taking over totemism itself. (Compare the pure and non-totemist mother-right in Kerala proper). This in itself is highly improbable. Not accepting this, we were asked to believe that the Dravidic languages were imported into South-Western India by the NAY-peoples, an assumption which seems supported by the whole affinity between Indus-civilization and the NAY-group and also by the remnants of Dravidic languages in Beluchistan and perhaps also in Eastern Iran. It is difficult to assume that a cultural group, relatively so far advanced as the PAR-peoples must have been at the time of the advent of the Nayars, could have adopted a foreign language and entirely abandoned their own. This is of course an objection to our hypothesis. Still it is easier to imagine that a nation should take over the language of a foreigner, politically far superior as the NAY-peoples, compared to the PAR-peoples, probably were, than that of an approximatively equal political partner, which the totemist tribes will be understood to have been, compared to the castes and tribes of the PAR-group.

The theoretical possibility of such a wholesale adoption of an entirely foreign language by even a highly progressive population, has been proved in the history of the United States of America. The American Negroes, a racially, culturally and individually active and decidedly progressive type, have completely lost their own languages and speak solely European languages, such as English, French, Spanish or Portuguese. It is true that such an event as the transportation of the captured and enslaved African Negroes to far distant America, and their relatively quick rise to a culturally active community, founding universities, schools of art, industry, technique and commerce, building hospitals, theatres and churches of their own, has only once taken place in the course of human history. Still the possibility in itself suggests a similar course of events in the Dravidization of the PAR-group in south-west India. Of course, the circumstances must have been entirely different to those in America, yet the principle may have been the same. Perhaps the totemists adopted the Dravidic languages from the NAY-peoples directly, or from the PAR-peoples, indirectly.

But here the question arises how far the affinity of the NAY-peoples to the Dravidic languages can be regarded as proved. The representatives of the NAY-group now speak solely Dravidic languages. Eickstedt holds them as racially belonging to the Indide type,[1] very different from the totemist tribes of Central India, racially as well as ethnologically, which, on the other hand, speak the same (Dravidic) type of languages,

1. Eickstedt: Rassenkunde.... op. cit. p. 161.

(though different dialects,) as do the highly civilized NAY-peoples. This is a riddle, not yet solved.

Theoretically one could also assume that the NAY-peoples had not adopted the Dravidic languages before coming to southern India. But in this case one would be led to believe, that they spoke some Indo-European language before. This possibility again is excluded, as soon as one believes, as we do, in the close relationship between the NAY-group and the pre-Aryan Indus-civilization, which is much older on Indian soil than the presence of Indo-European languages in this country. The way out of this dilemma at the present moment seems to be the assumption that the Dravidic languages formerly extended far beyond the present boundaries of India to the jungles of the northern mountains in Central Asia and the once fertile plains of Turkestan, Mesopotamia and the Near East in general. If this was so, it can be imagined that primitive and totemist jungle-hunters as well as highly cultured towns-peoples, the former being related to the PAR-, the latter belonging to the NAY-group, simultaneously imported Dravidic tongues into the Central (and South-Western) parts of India an area whose population may be regarded as, at that time speaking Austro-Asiatic and other dialects, unknown to us.

The close relationship of the Indus-civilization and the NAY-group has, of course, been made a corner-stone for the working hypothesis and constructive ideas of these chapters. It will therefore not be found superfluous to repeat systematically the arguments which led us to this assumption.

3. *Indus-civilization and the NAY-group*

The social organization of the Indus-people is unknown to us. We merely know that they built great towns, whereas a life in feudal country villas characterizes the Nayar-caste and many of the other representatives of what we call the NAY-group. Still an indirect conclusion leads us to assume an affinity also between the social forms of the NAY-peoples and the Indus-civilization. The results of Chapter B/7, 1., comparing the Indus-civilization, Buddhism, which has been considered as a renaissance of the former, and the Rajput social structure, have proved that all these three entities must have been closely related to each other. Similarly the social structure of the ancestors of the present Rajputs and of the Nayars, as described in Chapter B/3, 5., must have had much in common. This state of things suggests the probability of some former affinity between the sociology of the Indus-civilization and the NAY-group. Still it is a fact that this indirect conclusion suggesting the probability of cultural relationship, stands far below the affinity between the two cultural entities, as proved by discovered objects belonging to the material civilization, religious cults and science, such as seals, or in the construction of dwellings, all indicating the similarity between the Indus-civilization and the Nayar culture.

In order to understand these similarities thoroughly, we shall have to summarize the respective results of Marshall's comparison. He first gives eleven arguments in support of his assertion that the early Vedic civilization of the patriarchally organized Aryan immigrants to India was in sharp contrast with the Indus-civilization.[1] This is a fact, though modern Hinduism, taken as a huge socio-religious unit, has regenerated, revived and thus amalgamated most of the pre-Aryan elements of the Indus-civilization with the Aryan language and tradition, in the course of later evolution. The following enumeration of these eleven points, which Marshall gives in support of this theory, will also be furnished with the respective counterparts of the Nayars and Rajputs respectively, which have been more completely described in our Chapters B/3, 5 and B/7, 1.

> 1. The Aryans of the early Vedas were herdsmen, peasants and finally settlers in primitive sheds, made of earth, straw or bamboo. The Indus peoples, on the other hand, erected cities, richly furnished with a system of water-pipes, canalization, big bathing tanks and arrangements which probably served for steam heating in " Turkish baths," indicating a very high standard of hygiene.[1]

In accordance with this, the buildings of the Nayars have been found to be, not only extraordinarily spacious, and solid, but also regularly furnished with bathing tanks and water arrangements.[2] Their extraordinarily pronounced cleanliness, hygiene and addiction to several ritual baths a day, must also be mentioned in this connection.

> 2. The early Aryans had gold, copper or bronze, at the time of the Rig-Veda. Later, at the time of the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda, silver and iron came to the fore. The Indus-civilization on the other hand used no iron and seems to have preferred silver to gold. Stone implements were still in use.[1]

Certain types and forms of the traditional Nayar ornaments, which are now more and more being replaced by the conventional Southern Brahmin type, may, I think, be considered as pointing in the same direction. A thorough study of these old traditional forms of ornaments, still used in the more remote parts of Kerala, will perhaps bring forward facts and hints to culture-historic relationships.

> 3. The early Aryans used defensive arms, which seem to have been unknown to the Indus peoples.[1]

The Nayar knights went nearly naked to battle even as late as the time of the Portuguese travellers to Malabar.[3] Our description of the running amok and the ritualistic regicide, once every twelve years, practised among the Nayars, has already exhibited the aggressive attitude of

1. Marshall, op. cit. p. 110/I seq.
2. Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, p. 9/II. seq.
3. ,, ,, p. 5/II. (illustration) p. 6/II. seq. and Thurston, op. cit. p. 286/V.

these warriors. This characteristic feature, taken together with the nakedness in battle, makes it probable, that the round shield, which was used by the Nayars, is to be considered as perhaps a foreign element in the armour ; at any rate not as something characteristic of the Nayar-civilization.

4. The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters, fish not being mentioned as a customary food.

Fish, snails and other molluscs, play an important part in the menu of the Indus-people.[1]

The Nayars enjoy not only fish, but also the meat of other small animals, a fact which still deserves mention in this connection. Anantha-krishna Iyer says : " Only a minority of Nayars are strict vegetarians, though there is no prohibition against their eating meat, *fish* or fowl."[2] (Italics are mine).

5. The *horse* played an important rôle among the Vedic Aryans. In Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa the horse seems to have been unknown.[1]

The Nayars had no cavalry at the climax of their civilization.[3]

6. Among the Aryans, it seems, the cow was prominent, from the religious point of view ; among the Indus-peoples, the bull, as far as we know.[1]

Buffalo-racing reminiscent of Mediterranean forms of bull-ceremonies, was a national sport to the Nayars,[3] just as the Rajputs use cattle instead of horses at the ceremonial visits of their marriage-parties.[4]

7. The *tiger* and the *elephant*, which are not mentioned at all in the early Vedas, but seem to have been specially familiar to the Indus-peoples,[1] and, I venture to add here to Marshall's scheme, must have had a religious or ceremonial significance, according to the importance given to them on the seals of Mohenjo-Daro.

The elephant-procession is a specially characteristic and prominent feature in Nayar-life.[3] The tiger, bearing on its back the goddess Durga,[5] and the tiger as name-giver to the clan of the Rajput-Baghel,[6] is a characteristic element in the Rajput-mythology and tradition, as well as the elephant-riding, which can be said to have been a sort of privilege of the ruling classes of India.

1. Marshall, op. cit. p. 110/IV.
2. Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, p. 98/II.
3. " " " p. 6/II.
4. Russell, op. cit. p. 343/IV.
5. " p. 421/IV. seq.
6. " p. 435/IV.

8. The Vedic religion is non-iconic. The religion of the Indus-civilization and, needless to stress, of modern Hinduism, is markedly iconic.[1]

The iconic character of the pre-Aryan religion has been still more generally imparted to modern Hinduism than was even the case in regard to ritual bathing or the prominence given to cattle and the elephant. The iconic character of the Nayar ritual therefore, cannot be regarded as pointing solely to the relationship with the Indus-civilization, as this character is generally Hindu. Still the fact in itself must be mentioned here.

9. The *female element* plays an absolutely subordinate rôle in the Vedic pantheon. The mother-goddess and *Siva* are missing in the early Vedas. The identification of the latter with Rudra took place much later. In the Indus-civilization, both the Mother-goddess and a Siva-like deity played a paramount rôle in religious observances. The female element there seems to have had an equal, if not superior place compared to the male element.[1]

The same can be said with regard to the Rajputs, to matriarchally and Sivaistically influenced Southern India generally, and the Nayars in particular, as was shown in the Chapters B/3, 5., and B/7, 1.

10. Fire-deities must have been characteristic in the religion of the early Vedas, but seem not to have been worshipped in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.[1]

No signs whatsoever indicate that fire-deities outside, or temporally anterior to the introduction of the Brahmin ritual, were worshipped either by Nayars or by the Rajputs.

11. *Phallic cults* were not only not practised but even abhorred by the early Aryans of India. The traces of this cult have been abundantly discovered in the sites of the Indus-civilization.[1]

Phallic cults, are not decidedly characteristic of Nayar ceremonies in particular, but pronouncedly of the South-Indian religious practices in general, especially of those movements which, like the Lingayyat,[2] exhibit a matriarchally influenced religious tendency, sufficiently explained already by the decidedly pro-feminist ideals of the originators, such as Basava and Ramayya.[3]

These eleven points which, according to Sir John Marshall, prove the great culture-historic difference between the Vedic-Aryan and the Indus-civilization, at the same time show that the NAY-group and the Indus-civilization have been allied to each other. On the other hand it is true that nearly all these typical pre-Aryan culture-elements have, in the

1. Marshall, op. cit. p. 110/IV.
2. Nanjundayya and Iyer, op. cit. p. 100/IV.
3. Thurston, op. cit. p. 249/IV.

course of evolution, been organically assimilated by modern Hinduism and the Brahmins speaking Aryan languages. Thus the very complex which must be considered as a cultural heirloom from the pre-Aryan Indus-civilization, surviving in the conservative cultural systems of the Nayars and partly also of the Kshatriyas (Rajputs), must in the case of the Brahmin civilization be considered new, since the process of assimilation of these cultural elements did not take place in the period of the early Vedas, but much later. The unaltered original remnants of these, in their assimilated form (now constitutive,) elements of Hinduism still lurking in some parts of Kerala, should be scientifically described from the point of view of mother-right investigation, before they have been entirely replaced by modern Hindu-Brahmanism.

Moreover there are still some culture-historical features in favour of an affinity which must have existed between the NAY-group, the Rajputs, Buddhism and the Indus-civilization, and which have not been assimilated by later Hinduism generally, but merely survived in some single instances, especially within the Rajput caste and Buddhism.

1. Secular buildings of the most refined form and pattern have been found abundantly in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, but no temples or religious buildings whatsoever. The latter, if any, must, according to Marshall,[1] have played a subordinate rôle.

The Hindu-Brahmin temples, religious processions and usages are, of course, familiar to the present-day Nayars. But their pre-Aryan and peculiarly Nayar-like religious institutions, e.g., ancestor-worship, seem more often than not to have been practised inside, instead of outside, the secular dwelling-houses of the families concerned.[2]

2. On this occasion *small* figures of gold, silver or copper, representing the ancestors, are placed inside the Nayar-houses, recalling the form and size of similar figures which have been found in Mohenjo-Daro,[3] as also the Jitiya Puja of the Rajput-women, at which rites sweetmeats are offered to female ancestors.[4] (See also Chapter B/7, 1).

3. Artistic representations of the nude are so prominent in the Indus-civilization,[5] that this style even calls to mind the art of ancient Greece.

The traditional costume of the Nayars, their women, but especially also of the Nayar-knights, favoured partial or almost complete naked-

1. Marshall, op. cit. preface p. VI.
2. Thurston, op. cit. p. 362/V. seq.
3. Marshall, op. cit. p. 56/I.
4. Risley, op. cit. p. 83/I. B.
5. Marshall, op. cit. p. 33/I. compare illustration 6-8/XCIV. with Iyer *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, op. cit. illustration, p. 100/II.

ness. Heine-Geldern laid stress on nudity as a characteristic element of the genuine *Indian* style, especially in the Mathura-school of Buddhist sculpture, opposing the Gandhara style where the later Græco-Bactrian influence brought draperies to the fore.[1]

4. The relationship between the colour *red* and Siva, so prominent a deity especially in southern Hinduism, has also been mentioned by Marshall,[2] who considers Siva as a religious feature originally derived from the Indus-civilization.

The excessive mass-slaughter of cocks and the prominence given to their blood, on the occasions of annual sacrifices at certain Bhagavati-temples of the Nayars,[3] have been found to be an ancient element in the Nayar-religion, probably connected with old Indian rites and ceremonies. The colour red, it is true, is by no means confined to Southern India, but plays a paramount rôle in the religion of all India, including even areas populated by Muslims.

5. The possibility of a culture-historic relationship between the hair-dress of the Nayars, the excrescence on the heads of Buddha-statues, (i.e., the *usnisa*), the fold of the Rajput-turban and the hair-dress of the bronze statuette of the dancing-girl excavated in Mohenjo-Daro,[4] has been mentioned already in Chapter B/3, 5 and B/7, 1. Stress must be laid on the fact that this last point in our comparative study must not be understood as a decisive result, but rather as a suggestion for further investigations.

The possibility of a relationship between the Indus-civilization and the Nay-group on the one side, and the Assamese North-East group of Indian mother-right on the other, will be briefly sketched, now that the positive proofs pointing to the direct affinity between Indus-civilization and the NAY-group, have been summed up, which we have already deduced indirectly. The other direction of mother-right relations between the matriarchal grade III/b, (i.e., the NAY-group), to the North-East group cannot, as yet, be proved. Heine-Geldern believes that such an affinity must also have been at work, though we must realize that he said this at a time when the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were not yet made public. He was already then of opinion that this latter relation was of minor importance compared to that of the West. Since the discovery of the Indus-civilization and its probably matriarchal character, the North-West affinity will of course be regarded as far more important than the North-East affinity with the only exception of the PAR-group, which latter we have seen to stand in special relation to the Assamese North-East group of Indian mother-right.

1. Heine-Geldern : Indische Kunst lectures Vienna University winter-term, 1933/34.
2. Marshall, op. cit. p. 56/I.
3. Thurston, op. cit. p. 400/V.
4. Compare Marshall, p. 34/I and Thurston, illustration, p. 312/V.

4. *Indus-civilization, the NAY-group and North-East India*

Comparative ethnology has found some relationship between mother-right generally and polyandry in particular, which existed among the Nayars of South-West-India and among several tribes of Tibet, the Himalayan range and the Northern border-line of India generally speaking. Schmidt and Koppers in this connection mentioned, in accordance with Oldham, (*Sun and Serpent*, p. 84 seq.) the Naga-states of the serpent-worshipping Takhas on the boundary of Kashmir, the Newar in Nepal and the Chera-tribes in the Ganges-valley.[1] Since the excavation of the Indus-civilization, it seems but natural that here, in the North-West-Frontier Provinces of India and adjoining parts, remnants of ancient mother-right cultures still survive. The Brahuis in Beluchistan who speak a Dravidic dialect are only one example more pointing in this direction.[2] In the *relation* towards the north-east, the problem now before us, the matriarchal remnants in the Himalayan range and the territories adjoining to the East are of greater importance. The relevant question, whether these survivals of matriarchal stations are, or are not, to be regarded as links between the Indus-civilization and the Assamese North-East Indian mother-right, cannot be decided as yet. Still it is to be hoped that future investigators will use the following suggestions in order to examine their basis more thoroughly.

In this connection the following points of interest will be enumerated.

The remnants of a matriarchally organized society found among the Brahui in Beluchistan are of greater importance and value, than those found in other parts of India, as they have survived the strongly patriarchal system, under domination of which they still lurk in this far-off outpost of Indian mother-right. The fact that the Zikris only congregate in secret, when extolling the mother of Mohammed, instead of himself,[3] points to the obvious tendency of transforming previous matriarchal into patriarchal social or religious forms. The same course of evolution is indicated by the remarkable fact that a bride's brother receives a traditionally paid reward if he agrees that his sister's (i. e., the bride's) family-name should *not* be mentioned at marriage.[4] The position of the mother's brother and the express renunciation by the Brahui mother before the funeral of the rights to a dead child,[4] again strengthens our conception.

Among the Bodo-tribes, the Rabhas are still counted in their mothers' clans, whereas inheritance of property already is traced through the male line.[4] Similarly the tribal relationship among the Pani Koch is still traced in the female line.[4] The first child of a Wa-couple belongs to the mother's parents, though it can be purchased by her or her husband.[5]

1. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 261.
2. Codrington, *MAN*, No. 153/1934.
3. R. Hughes-Buller, op. cit. p. 45/V.
4. Gait, op. cit. p. 237/I.
5. Risley, op. cit. p. 221/I. B.

The mother-right system of the Khasis, described in Chapter B/3, 1., more thoroughly exhibits the following points of interest, suggestive of matriarchal parallels to the NAY-group.

(*a*) The matriarchal joint-family in itself, was formerly ruled by the eldest female among the Nayars, as is still now done among the Khasis.[1]

(*b*) Divorce is easy,[1] a fact which may perhaps be considered as pointing to polyandry, if taken together with the 30 menhirs and the stone near Subtinga[2] representing a Khasi-woman and her 30 husbands. So perhaps the absence of polyandry, otherwise differentiating North-East and South-West Indian mother-right is not to be regarded as substantial.

(*c*) The general gaiety, bravery and love of hard work among the Khasi women to which Risley points,[3] similarly the

(*d*) republican character of the states ruled by Khasi Rajas, to a certain extent recall the relation existing between the Rajas of Kerala and the Nayar knighthood.

(*e*) Ancestor-worship is, according to Lily Strickland and Anderson, even the most prominent feature in the Khasi religion, which again links it to the pre-Hindu religion of the Nayars.[4]

(*f*) Marshall believes he can recognize in pictures on terra-cotta fayence and bronze vessels excavated in Mohenjo-Daro, wild animals, belonging to certain species "....which must have been familiar at this time in the Sind valley." He enumerates the" *gaur or Indian bison*, the rhinoceros, tiger, monkey, bear and hare."[5] Heine-Geldern stresses the importance of the gaur, (which is *now* not to be found in the Indus-valley), as the traditional sacrificial animal of the megalithic feasts in Assam.[6] This fact favours, if not a culture-historic unity, at least an influence on Assam from the side of the Indus-civilization, especially if we take into consideration that religious customs are much more conservatively preserved than others.

(*g*) Similarities in artistic style and the intense use of masks on occasion of exorcising evil spirits, or in devil-dances, seem to join Malabar and Tibet, the latter being close to the North-West area. Ananthakrishna Iyer sums up these similarities when he says that :

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1. Compare chapter B/3, I. with B/3, 5. as also Lilly Strickland-Anderson : *The Khasi of Assam*, op. cit. p. 158/XX. nS seq.
2. Risley, op.cit. p. 193/I. B. and Playfair, op. cit. illustration.
3. ,, p. 198/I. B.
4. Lily Strickland and Anderson, op. cit. p. 161/XX. nS.
5. Marshall, op. cit. p. 29/I.
6. Heine-Geldern, *Völker und Kulturen Indiens*, as cited and Gait, op. cit. p. 242/I.

"....marital relations, mode of inheritance and other customs, as well as the style of architecture of Nepal closely connect them with the Nayars and go to show a common origin."[1]

E. A. Gait supports the same conception when he says: "The architecture of the Malabar temples....suggest Mongolian influence" and when he stresses too that the masks and devil-dancers of southern India are "almost identical" with those of Tibet. There the fraternal polyandry which was formerly widely spread, yields a parallel to the fraternal polyandry of the Nambutiri Brahmins with Nayar women, and the mock-marriage of the women of the Newars of Nepal with a tree, suggests, also according to E. A. Gait, a similarity to related customs of the Basavis and Devadasis of the South-West. Moreover he says that the Newar women of Nepal enjoyed a certain sexual licence right up to the beginning of the twentieth century.[2]

(*h*) A method of measuring time with the help of perforated bowls made of coconut or copper, floating in bigger tanks and thus, slowly filled with water, sinking to the ground, after the expiry of a certain interval, is described by Edgar Thurston in *Ethnographic Notes in southern India.*" These floating bowls for measuring time have been used in Southern India generally and Malabar particularly, but also in Nepal and Burma. Dr. Heinz Simbriger concluded from his work on the gong and gong-music, that a culture-historic relation between these areas may be indicated also in this method of measuring time.[3]

These few suggestions of a relationship between North-West and North-East Indian mother-right should not be overrated, especially on account of the geopolitical character of the Himalayan range. This is a closed-in cultural backwater, which, if really ever included in the range of the Indus-civilization, one could rightly expect to have conserved its cultural elements to a far greater extent than it actually did. The relatively marked poverty of these cultural links, as enumerated in the above eight points, rather seems to indicate that some single elements of the Indus-civilization must have reached Assam at a time only, when some other, probably more primitive mother-right system was already established there. This hypothetical mother-right culture will naturally be regarded as originally pre-totemist as connected with the Austro-Asiatic, and probably also with the PAR-peoples. The Indus-civilization, according to this conception, will be understood to have had its centre in the valley of the Indus, and perhaps of the Ganges, and as having reached the Assamese area solely in the form of colonizing, mercantile or conquering expeditions, or perhaps even

1. Iyer: *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, p. 2/II. and C. F. Oldham: *The Sun and the Serpent*, quoted by the former.

2. Gait, op. cit. p. 242/I.

3. Simbriger: *Das Gong und die Gongspiele, Leiden*, 1939.

by mere indirect cultural influence. Thus the chief inclinations of the Indus-civilization may have been directed towards the West, i.e. Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Oriental Africa. If this was so, it is probable that the culture (and perhaps also the peoples) of the Indus-civilization *immigrated*, if not to the areas of the Indus-valley, still to the rest of India.

Nothing, on the other hand, can be deduced from this conception as to whether or not the PAR-peoples were indigenous in India. The problem of the Austro-Asiatic peoples and the Megalithic cultures of South-East Asia can give us valuable hints, but no strict facts, with regard to these interesting questions.

The possibility must be kept in view that the different U- and PUL-groups, which I have constituted as a working hypothesis, have been evolved as two stages of an *indigenous* South-West Indian Mother-right.

There is some little hope that this important problem will be cleared by really modern field-investigation, conducted from the culture-historical as well as from the functional point of view which our investigation of mother-right in India has stressed. It is to be hoped that such an attempt can be put into practice before the last remnants of the sympathetic, but partly depressed representatives of the groups concerned have been culturally altered or have become entirely obsolete. The process of Hinduization and of amalgamation with the Hindu-European machine-civilization is rapidly changing things. A study of these representatives of the oldest civilization of India, and perhaps the oldest matriarchal and semi-agricultural civilizations of the world, can now furnish ethnology and thus the history of mankind with data which will soon have disappeared from the face of the globe.

C. FINAL PART

I. Relations outside India

The scheme and size of this sketch on mother-right in India does not allow us to go into the details of this matter, i.e., the culture-historic relations of Indian to non-Indian mother-right cultures in prehistoric, historic and present days. The exclusion from this book of mother-right in the Himalayan range, has been felt to be disadvantageous, especially in the last chapter. So has the exclusion of the matriarchal traces and cultures of (*a*) ancient Persia, ancient and present Southern Arabia, the Hamitic and Hamitoid areas of Oriental Africa in particular and Africa in general, (*b*) areas in East Indies, Southern China and perhaps Siberia and finally (*c*) Ceylon and Indonesia, especially Sumatra.

The principally centrifugal tendency of ancient India's hand-axe industries (and probably the therewith connected mother-right culture-

circles) has already been mentioned in Chapter B/9, 2 by pointing to the archæological results of Menghin.

We must renounce the attempt to find out at the present moment, and in the limited space of this sketch, which of the obvious relations between Indian and non-Indian mother-right cultures were centrifugal and which were centripetal. At any rate, it is highly probable that a thorough permeation of both has taken place. In single cases the question can be clearly decided. Thus the centrifugal direction of the Indian colonial culture and with it of Southern Indian matriarchal, or Bengal *tantristic* influences in Indonesia and partly in Ceylon is beyond doubt. This much is proved by written history. But even in these cases the Dutch archæologist Dr. Schnitger rightly holds that together with the centrifugal Indian colonization, or long before this movement came to exist, original Sumatran culture-influx, especially from the side of the Bataks, or their ancestors, must have exercised its influence on India.[1]

If thus the question of centrifugal or centipetal influence cannot be definitely answered even in the case of highly advanced and historic civilizations, then we shall not expect to solve this question in cases of more primitive grades of mother-right, such as the PAR- and the PUL-groups, not to speak of the U-peoples, who all of them have often been culturally overlaid. Results from a comparative study of this problem cannot be expected before the mother-right cultures in the neighbourhood of India, and also their traces and remnants, have been studied with special regard to the methods and working hypotheses applied in this study. The single results of our investigation into the construction of the sociology, religion and history of the various grades of (Indian) mother-right culture-areas can then be compared with the single results of similar investigations outside India.

This of course goes beyond the task and possibilities before us. We must therefore confine the following chapters to a mere enumeration of the data which can already now be said to point to a culture-historic relationship between Indian and non-Indian mother-right entities. Suggestions which have been made in the various chapters on the respective possibilities of relationships must naturally be repeated here for the sake of completeness ; so the data, as especially enumerated in B/3, 5 pointing to the affinity of the Indus-civilization and the Nayar, will have to be repeated though in an abbreviated form.

1. Mother-right Relations to the West

Father W. Schmidt and Father W. Koppers indicated this relationship long before the Indus-civilization had been excavated and described, and thus naturally before my theory of the Indus-NAY-relation was

1. Discourse at the Ethnological Institute, Vienna University, 14/II. 1937 recording the results of his excavations in Sumatra.

formulated.[1] They mentioned the following chief points. Pumpelly found a prehistoric stratum of Neolithic character near Khiva and Herat, which contained no traces of cattle-breeding and seems to point to a mother-right civilization. The Siberian Bronze-culture can perhaps be regarded as an outcome of the former. Its centre might have been in the valley of the Yenissei (where a fine type of canalization existed), and also in the Altai range. Schmidt and Koppers in this connection cite as sources W. Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, Vol. II. pp. 68-143, Ellis H. Minns: *Skythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, p. 241, seq.) and believe that the Neolithic agricultural civilization of the Tuba and Tjudes must have affected the Indo-European stock at a very early time, perhaps even before the latter were split up into their different groups. Similarly they mention the peoples of the Neolithic Bronze-culture, Susa in Elam, where E. Meyer and G. Hüsing believe to have found indications of a good position of women and perhaps also matrilineal descent. In this connection also the Gilgamesh epos is quoted, as there, according to Pankritius, the *mother* of the hero only is of importance. The Mandeans too, according to Nöldeke, usually called themselves after their fathers, but were named the "sons of their mothers" in their religious texts. Schmidt and Koppers also point to *Semiramis* as a specially characteristic feature of probably matriarchal type.[2]

This direction of relationship has, since the excavation of the Indus-civilization took place, become an almost unquestioned postulate. The type of religion, reconstructable from excavated votive figures and other objects of worship, style and importance of fanciful animals depicted on numerous seals, plans and technique of the big secular buildings, as also many more ergological details, led Sir John Marshall to the conclusion that it "....has....been revealed by the discoveries of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa....that in the Chalcolithic Age, India and Western Asia were closely united by common bonds of civilization."[3]

He even bases this conception chiefly on the matriarchally determined religious Siva-Sakti principle which, in its turn, connects the Indus-civilization with our NAY-group, as has been proved in the Chapters B/3, 5, B/7, 1, B/7, 2, B/7, 4, and especially B/9, 3.

Sir John believes in a centrifugal influencing of the Near East by the Indus-civilization and consequently is of opinion that it was Siva-Sakti who were the models for the ancient deities of Tanhit and her son in Punic Africa, Isis and Horus in ancient Egypt, Ashtaroth and Tammuz in Phœnicia, Kybele and Attis in ancient Asia Minor and finally Rhea and Zeus in ancient Greece. The latter, most significantly came obviously from Minoan Crete, where, in the palace of Minos, an almost Mohenjo-Daro-

1. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 261-264.
2. „ „ p. 261. seq.
3. Marshall, op. cit. p. 57/I. seq.

like matriarchally determined civilization has been exhumed.[1] The older and more important deity is always the female partner of the divine couple. " Everywhere she is unwed, but made the mother, first of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son." observes here Sir John.[3]

This feature may recall to mind the legends describing the birth of Krishna and, to a certain extent, even of Buddha.

The peculiarities of the cult of the mother-goddess, referred to here, have been summarized by Sir John as follows :—". . . . a part of her male votaries are castrated ; and her female votaries often practise ceremonial promiscuity, ... the correspondence of these cults with Indian Saktism is sufficiently striking."[2]

This conception can be supported by what we have tried to show with regard to the history of the Devadasis and Basavism in ancient Southern India.

Sir John definitely strengthens the theory of a ". . . tangible concrete connection between the religions of the Indus-valley and those of Mesopotamia."[2]

He thus supports the old theory of a culture-historical relationship, joining pre-Aryan, matriarchal India with the Hettites, Lydians, Lycians, Etruscans, Kantabrians, Basques, Picts and especially the ancient Greeks.[3]

I have conducted theoretical, and the preparatory stages of practical ethnological investigations to the problem of survivals in modern Greek folklore and traditions, and their culture-historical interrelation to South-West India,[4] which however are not yet completed.

Heine-Geldern expects that a number of similarities, connecting the Spartans of ancient Greece with the Nayars, might find a culture-historical explanation of real affinity ;[5] an expectation which I consider the more probable as I have found certain survivals in modern Greek islands[4] to

1. Compare : Sir Arthur Evans : *The Palace of Minos*, Miss Jane Ellen Harrison : *Themis*, P. M. Nilsson : *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion*, p. 432. seq. B. Schmidt : *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 184, foot-note, and others, where various references have been made to connecting links between Crete and the Greek fertility-deities, apart from Rhea, the originally Cretan Mother-goddess herself !

2. Marshall, op. cit. p. 57/I. seq.

3. Schmidt and Kopers, op. cit. p. 261 seq. Compare also : T. R. Sasha Iyangar : *Dravidian India*, p. 39, 117, 138, 175/I. seq. Dr. G. Slater : *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, p. 35, 74, 84 seq. Nilsson, op. cit. Harrison, op. cit., J. C. Lawson : *Modern Greek Folklore* : p. 163. B. Schmidt, op. cit., Kreischgauer : *Die Religion der Griechen*. . . . p. 107/II., Kornemann : *Die Stellung der Frau*. . . . p. 10 seq. and his article on Mother-right in *Pauly's Realencyklopaedie*, Thiel : *Einiges über Hettitisches Mutterrecht.*

4. O. R. Ehrenfels : The Indus-civilization and Ethnographic research in the Mediterranean Basin, in *JASiHo*, p. 90. seq. September 1939.

5. Heine-Geldern in personal communication in the beginning of 1936. Compare also Arthur Weigall's study on the mother-right survivals which were still traceable in Lesbos during the middle of the nineteenth century. Landed property and the right to hunt was still in the hands of women, whereas men used to spin at that time.

be pointing to the same assumption.

Another modern survival of the same cultural stratum seems to have been preserved in the Muslim sects and confraternities of darwishes (Muslim monks) in Asia Minor. These are especially the Baktashi, Yesides and Kysilbash, exiled less than 20 years ago from Turkey.

Else Krohn reports that the women of most of these tribal sectarian groups enjoyed a good social position and always were free from the veiling-fashion of Turkish women, long before the latter were emancipated by Kemal Ataturk's reforms. These tribal-religious sects also believed in a mythological ancestress, and gave a good deal of personal and even sexual freedom to their girls. Occasional polyandric marriages, are reported to have taken place, or marriages between brother and sister. Women generally took part in social functions, plays, dances and even the war-dances of their menfolk.[1]

All this strengthens the hypothesis of an ancient connection between the Indus-civilization and the ancient matriarchal cultural centres of the " Taurus Civilization " in Asia Minor, especially in view of the fact that the tribal religious sects there must be considered as keeping alive old cultural traditions. This all the more so, as a culture-historical connection of ancient Asia Minor, Minoan Crete and ancient Mesopotamia with the matriarchal culture of the Indus-valley, is also suggested by so many other features, such as snake-, tree- and bull-worship, the peculiar form of the mother-goddess and many other items, which we have had occasion to mention several times.

The part played by Muslim mystic sects, however, which kept alive early Islamic and partly even pre-Islamic cultural features, points to still another important relationship, i.e., with ancient Arabia, especially Southern Arabia. It was undoubtedly the tradition of the social principles in ancient Arabia which survived in the democratic principles of Islam and its remarkable tendency to reserve decidedly more religious and social rights to women, as did the other religious systems of the Near East. In Southern Arabia, the country of the Queen Semiramis (!), snake-stones and rectangular " sky-scrapers " suggest an affinity to " pre-Aryan India " of the Indus-civilization type, even at our present stage of poor archæological investigation in this part of the world.

If this is so, then it is probable that many features of Islamic sociology will find a new culture-historic interpretation. The Mut'a marriage, preserved still in Islamic Shia communities, the importance attributed to maternal relations and to the menstrual blood of women in certain parts of Arabia,[2] are only a few of probably many more similar instances.

1. Else Krohn : *Ethnolog. Studien*, p. 316.
2. Robertson-Smith : *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*

This view-point, however, enfolds a still more important new aspect of the culture-historical relationship of Islam with the pre-Aryan Indus-civilization (which was usually called the Dravidian Culture) and its historical, socio-religious rôle in India. Islamic culture, as seen from this angle, will naturally fit in the group of cultural tendencies, such as Buddhism and the manifold South Indian reform movements, which tried to counteract the caste-system and the suppression of female rights and which were originally opposed to the social order of the invading pastoral culture of the Aryan-speaking peoples.

In all these questions we must not be led away by the entirely altered and changed form of Islam, as it presents itself to the modern observer, or even to the historian concerned with Mughal India. Thus, for example, the Purdah-system of the Indian Mussalmans is certainly not to be regarded as belonging to the aforementioned line of relationship. Neither is it to be considered as an heirloom of Islamic society ; but much rather as one adopted from various pastoral nomadic cultural sources,—from invading immigrants, coming to India as Aryans, Huns, Skythians and finally as Mughals, influenced by Persian and Byzantine sociology.

A deep gulf separates the early Islamic and pre-Islamic Arabs, who inherited the ancient cultural tradition coming from the Indus-civilization, on the one side, and on the other the Central Asian invaders into India, such as the Mughals (and partly also the Persians) who had adopted Islam more or less superficially. The social conception of the Aryan invaders was much like theirs, whereas that of the pre-Aryan city-civilization seems, as we have tried to show, related to the ethnological basis of early Islam and pre-Islamic Arabia. Hence the world of difference between the Islamic civilization, as it developed on Indian soil, and the original or early Islamic social conception. The former resembled the purely patriarchal tendencies of the Aryan invaders, the latter had much in common with " Dravidian India." History seems to have repeated itself here. A cleavage and cultural struggle, fought between the two main elements of Hinduism, appear clearly traceable also in the cultural structure of Indian Islam. If this was so, small wonder then that early Islam was more congenial to South India, especially the South-West, whereas the later waves were chiefly confined to the North.

The adaptability of Muslim women to social circumstances where better rights for them have been introduced, as in Turkey or Egypt, seems to support this theory.

It will not be regarded as doubtful that also the next direction of cultural influence, which Schmidt and Koppers believed to have reached Oriental Africa and the Tuareg-Berberian area from India via Southern Arabia,[1] must now be traced back to the Indus-civilization, and thus to our NAY-group.

1. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 263 seq.

The chief stations of this line, indicating a culture-historic influence of various culture-areas in Africa, from the side of Indian mother-right culture-circles as given by Schmidt and Koppers, will be quoted here, since they seem to indicate the places where indirect traces of the Indus-civilization will have to be searched for. After this short enumeration, a few instances will be mentioned here, which seem to indicate this connection and the affinity with our NAY-group.

The mother-right remnants characteristic in the Himyarites have been stressed by Robertson-Smith.[1] The institution of the Mut'a form of marriage has survived even to this day in certain Islamic circles and can be compared with the temporary probation marriage, as also practised by a number of Christian Hamitic peoples in Oriental Africa, where remnants of an ancient mother-right culture are often to be found. It may also have been supported by the cultural influence of ancient Egypt, where the matriarchal tradition goes back to a very old source and was relatively strong till the later periods. The ancient Egyptian women had their own right to property (as have the Arab women, according to Islamic law); the sons were named after their mothers, and ancient inscriptions more often show the genealogy of the mothers than of the fathers. Property-rights of princes were inherited by the daughter's, not by the son's son.[2] As late as the fourth century there existed in Egypt a matriarchal, side by side with the patriarchal form of marriage, enabling a girl to choose her husband herself and to divorce him, after payment of a fixed fine. It will perhaps not be out of place to remember in this connection the importance of the serpent in Egypt (Moses and Pharaoh) which, as we have seen, plays such an important rôle in the religious belief of the Nayars. Also the Lingam-figure, which is so excessively used in Southern India and is to be regarded as connected with mother-right religions, appears to have been of great importance in Oriental Africa, as it was used as a central symbol on the Imperial Crown of the Kafitcho.

The ergological relations which seem to have existed between the Near East, ancient Egypt and the Malabar coast, have not yet been sufficiently studied. Still a few suggestions may be given. The coracles of Southern India, described by Hornell,[3] and the semi-spherical boats of earthenware, which are used in Eastern Bengal, described by Prashad,[4] exhibit a marked similarity to the round leather-boats which are used in modern Iraq, though this relationship need certainly not be overrated, especially as there were British coracles in Wales and Ireland! Eickstedt stresses the similarity between form and style of the pitchers and drinking

1. Robertson-Smith: *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*

2. Compare with this Arthur Weigall: *Nero, Emperor of Rome,* here mother-right elements in the inheritance of the Roman Emperors are traced back to Egyptian influences.

3. James Hornell: The Coracles of South-India *MAN* p. 157/XXXIII.

4. B. Prashad: The Tegari in *JAsSBe* p. 34/XVI. nS.

vessels used in Malabar to those of Ur.[1] Simon Corbiau finds a striking similarity between female terracotta figurines, excavated in Sari Dheri (North-West Frontier Provinces of India) and those which have been found in the Tell Ahmar of Mesopotamia, dated about 3000 B.C., or in the Tripolje civilization of the Neolithic Ukraine.[2] Hans Helferitz reproduces the photos of earthen or stone platforms round palm trees in Southern Arabia,[3] which strikingly resemble those of South-Western India and which play an important rôle there, among the formerly matriarchally organized peoples, as was specially shown in Chapter B/8.

Thus the culture-historic relations, joining Asia Minor and the Mediterranean basin, on the one side, and Oriental Africa and Southern Arabia on the other, with the Indus-civilization and directly or indirectly also with our NAY-group, are so numerous and permeate each other so often that, it seems, we cannot separate the one group of relations from the other ; at least, not at the present state of our knowledge. It will therefore not be out of place to consider the possibility of a direct affinity between the NAY-group, i.e., the youngest among the Indian mother-right grades, with Oriental Africa, the Near East and the Mediterranean basin. Especially so, if we take into consideration the following facts.

Russell mentions the milk-ritual of the Unyoro of Africa, which recalls similar customs of the Todas.[4] Father Schuhmacher also reports similar customs from the Batutsi in Ruanda.[5] Professor Amschler, too, in this connection emphasizes that the cattle depicted on seals of Mohenjo-Daro must have been fattened by skilled cattle-breeders, and resemble those which Father Schuhmacher described in detail as characteristic of Ruanda.[5] Russell furthermore mentions the institution of regicide among the Unyoro, which we have found to be probably in some culture-historic relation with similar institutions of the former Nayars.[6] Dr. H. Baumann describes the Tshokwe of Angola as a complete mother-right entity, which he considers younger, as compared with the strata of an older group of hunters.[7] This resembles the culture-historic position of the NAY-group, which is also younger than the totemist tribes of India, who were formerly jungle-hunters. Baumann also points out similarity of musical instruments, sand-drawings and other ergological details in Angola with those of Southern India. The typical forms of anklets and bracelets used by Ethiopean and other East African women absolutely

1. Eickstedt : Rassekunde. op. cit. Footnote on p. 328.
2. Simon Corbiau : Indian and Babylonian Figurines, *MAN* No. 159/1935 and Gordon : Indian Terracottas : *MAN* No. 129/1935.
3. Hans Helferitz : *Hochhäuser der Wüste.*
4. Russell op. cit. p. 175/I.
5. F. Schuhmacher, and Prof. Amschlar at the former's discourse at the Ethn. Institute, Vienna University, on 30/II. 1936.
6. Russell, op. cit. p. 175/I.
7. Hermann Baumann : *Lunga.*

correspond to the South Indian patterns of the kind. Mother-right elements seem to be especially numerous among the Galla. Father Michaels summed up these facts in two lectures and stressed the serpent taboo of the Galla, calling to mind the serpent-worship of the mother-right peoples in South-West India.[1] The polyandric customs of the Masai in Oriental Africa, as described by Count Hans Coudenhove,[2] and M. Merker,[3] have already been shown as resembling similar customs of the Nayars, in Chapter B/3, 5.

Schmidt and Koppers were of opinion that these and similar mother-right elements of East Africa must be connected with the good social position of women and other culture-historic facts, pointing to mother-right, which are to be found in the sociology of the Tuareg, Berbers, ancient Lybians and others ; of the Sukm, where the eldest son inherits the property of the father, the youngest, that of the mother.[4] Similarly the Fulbe, Volta, Malinka and the whole mother-right of the Bantu peoples will have to be studied from this point of view.

Concrete theories cannot, at present, be set up. But the great size alone of the areas under discusion shows the importance of this kind of investigation. Perhaps it will therefore not be too optimistic if I venture to say that the systemization and co-ordination of the various mother-right groups in India which are the theme of this thesis, may also contribute to the mother-right investigation of general, and especially Oriental Africa, and thus serve the cause of African studies.

2. Relations towards the North-East

This direction of mutual culture-historic relations is less clearly traceable than the North-Western one. Also here Schmidt and Koppers in 1924 summed up the chief points.[5] But as the local Indian point of view, which led our investigations, did not even reach a working hypothesis with regard to the question of the North-Eastern mother-right relations to non-Indian countries, the suggestions of Schmidt and Koppers will not be repeated here. We shall rather confine our review in this connection to a few suggestions, seen from a local Indian point of view.

The Tibetan mother-right culture seems to go back to the old source of the Indus-civilization. According to Chinese sources, there were still a queen and female governors ruling in Tibet as late as the eighth century. The *tantrist* and Saivaite traces in the Tibetan religion of to-day are clearly pronounced.

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1. F. Michaels in his two discourses Ethn. Instit. Vienna University, 27/IV. 1936 and 25/I. 1937.
2. Graf Hans Coudenhove : *My African Neighbors*, op. cit. p. 94.
3. Merker : *Die Masai*, op. cit. p. 117.
4. Schmidt and Koppers, op. cit. p. 263, seq.
5. ,, ,, p. 259.

The important question whether the old basic civilization of Southern China in particular, and generally speaking, of ancient China, ancient Japan, North-East Siberia and thus of North and South America is partly or entirely connected with an older type of Indian mother-right, e.g., with the PAR- or the PUL-group, cannot be even hypothetically answered from the stand-point of this book. This question cannot be solved before the mutual relations between the PUL- and PAR-group on the one side, and the North-Eastern-Indian mother-right group of the Khasi and Garo on the other, have at least been cleared to a certain degree. (See the comparative studies in the Chapters B/3, 1., B/5., B/6, I., B/8, 2., B/9, 4).

Much favours the theory of an influence of both the chief groups of South-Western Indian mother-right cultures, i.e., the NAY- as also the PUL- and PAR-groups, having played an important rôle in the North-Eastern and non-Indian parts of Eurasia, and in America.

In Japan, to mention only one example, several traces seem to point to both the culture-historic entities. The fashion of blackening their teeth still common in some parts of Japan among peasant-women, was usually practised by actors representing women on the old traditional stage, and even by the Emperor himself, until recently.[1] The decidedly matriarchal legend of origination of the Imperial family, traced back to the goddess Amaterasu and especially the custom among noblemen and their ladies of committing ceremonial suicide, if the honour of the princes is considered to have been defiled, decidedly recalls the complex of running amok, of heroic suicide in war and of Traga and Dharna, which we have found characteristic in the NAY-group and the Rajputs of India. (See Chapter B/7, 2.).

The parallel of the PUL- and perhaps also the PAR-group to the Miolithic hand-axe industry of India as shortly described in Chapter B/9, 2 can be said to be of perhaps still greater importance for the North-Eastern relation than even the culture-historic relations between single Indian and non-Indian cultures. If this parallel relation can be authenticated the two Indian mother-right grades corresponding to our PUL- and PAR-groups may be regarded as the centres from which agricultural mother-right civilizations at first expanded throughout the world. And as the later more progressive grades of the NAY-type of mother-right seem to have had less influence in the non-Indian areas in the Eastern direction, these two former groups will probably come to the fore in this direction.

1. Lord Redesdale (Bertram Mitford) records, that even as late as 1868 the Emperor Meiji, before using European uniforms, painted his face and blackened his teeth when he wore the full ceremonial dress at the reception of the first British legation to Japan. Similarly even to-day, the custom of blackening their teeth is practised by country women in remote parts of Japan, according to Susi Wittek returned from there to Vienna 1937. A Europeanized Japanese lady was encountered in Vienna with blackened teeth as late as 1913, according to Karl Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi.

3. Relations towards the South-East

The written history of colonial Indian civilization in Indonesia is too well known to allow of any serious doubts as to the great share which especially mother-right culture elements had in that region.

It has moreover been shown in the Chapters B/3, 5 and B/6, II. that the matriarchally organized civilization of South-Western India probably contributed a great deal to the existence of running amok, ritual defloration and serpent-worship in Indonesia and South-East Asia.

Most of these relations are connected with the history of the Javanese kingdoms. Contrary to this, F. M. Schnitger, since his excavations in 1935 and 1936, emphasizes those between India and Sumatra.[1] The great Buddha statue of Palembang and the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries found there, are nearly related to the Buddhistic architecture of Amaravati on the Kistna river in Southern India. The influences from the Pandya and Chola kingdoms, which are also traceable in Sumatra, are somewhat younger. Some time later, not before the tenth century, *tantrist* influences arrived from the Eastern parts of India, especially from Behar, in Sumatra. Schnitger excavated their traces in the temples of Padang Lawas in the Batak country.[1] *Tantrism* can be said to have flourished a second time in Sumatra during the fourteenth century.

Thus we have to discriminate between two different waves of culture-historic influence on Sumatra from the side of India. The first wave must have had its origin in the South, if not directly in the mother-right territory of the South-West of India. The younger wave must have come from the Eastern parts of India and seems to have permeated Indonesia in two stages. Both these cultural waves can thus be said to have originated in areas of India, where, at that time, mother-right elements predominated ; the NAY-group in the South-West and the Bengal-*tantristic* type in the Eastern parts of India.

The existence of these later mother-right waves is not only of importance in regard to the advanced mother-right grades of India, but also in regard to mother-right in Sumatra, where there must have been a much older and more primitive grade, not yet influenced by Indo-Buddhist or Hindu immigration. The mother-right of the Minangkabau deserves to be mentioned first, in this connection. Schnitger moreover is of opinion that a number of matriarchal elements of the Batak were originally peculiar to them and migrated to India in very old prehistoric periods. Besides this, there was undoubtedly the well-known influence in the opposite direction. Thus the subgroups of the Sembiring tribe are called after partly Dravidic, and partly Aryan names. These subgroups are endogamous, in contradiction to the social customs of the other Bataks, who look upon clan-endogamy even as incestuous.[1] These endogamous groups

1. F. M. Schnitger : *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang in Lawas*, and his discourse at the Ethn. Institute of the Vienna University 18, II. 1937.

are Maliala (Malayalam), Pandia (Pandiya), Tjolia (Chola), Brahmana (Brahman). Moreover the masks, richly ornamented and often used in Sumatra, recall those of Southern India. Drums of human skins, human sacrifices, anthropophagy and magic rites in honour of the death-spirit, are other features which, if connected at all with a mother-right culture, rather remind us of the PAR-group (e.g., the Oti-cult of the Parayan) or of the functionally changed mother-right remnants in the totemist area of India, than of the NAY-group or other progressive mother-right cultures, belonging to grade III/b. We shall of course not deduce from these few facts that the mother-right culture of the PUL- or PAR-groups of India must have been culture-historically related to, or have immigrated from, this type of ancient Sumatra's mother-right civilization. But this possibility should still be kept in view in future comparative studies of both complexes. At any rate two different possibilities of such influence will have to be distinguished here. (*a*) Pre-historic influence of Indonesia on the culture of ancient India, perhaps in very old, pre-totemist periods, and (*b*) primitive Batak cultural elements which, at a much later period, may merely have been transported back to India, by Indian travellers or traders in the course of the Hindu-Buddhist colonization and the subsequent mercantile relations. This possibility must be kept in view all the more, as such instances of cultural migration are known to us even in the latest centuries. Thus Kern has proved that the guild expressions used by South Indian trader-castes are Batak words for important numerals. A king of Sumatra possessed a monastery in Nalanda on the Ganges in the ninth century: another owned that of Negapatnam (Southern India) in the eleventh century. According to South Indian inscriptions, which were found in the Minangkabau territory, a king has there worshipped the Goddess Matangini[1] who seems to have been connected with the South Indian Madiga, *i. e.*, the often quoted model-caste of our PAR-group.

Schnitger also holds that the following indirect conclusion proves a special relation between Southern India and Sumatra. He found a big bronze back-plate of an idol in Bara on the Panei river (Padang Lawas) in Sumatra. This back-plate bears South Indian makaras, the tails of which are turned inwards, a feature which does not occur in Java, where the makara tails are always directed outwards, but which at the same time is characteristic of the Chola and Pandya kingdoms of Southern India during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1]

Comparative studies of mother-right in India and Indonesia (South-East Asia) will have to keep in view (*a*) the chief points mentioned by Heine-Geldern which have been described in the Chapters B/3, 5, B/6, II., i.e., the complexes of running amok, regicide, ritual defloration and serpent-worship, (*b*) the special relations between a more primitive, indigenous

1. F. M. Schnitger: *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Padang in Lawas*, and his discourse at the Ethn. Institute of the Vienna University 18. II. 1937.

population of Sumatra and South Indian groups, related to our PUL- or PAR-groups, which had been pointed out by Heine-Geldern already before Schnitger came independently to a similar result.

Thus we may hope to find in Indonesia traces of the origin of the grade II or III/a of mother-right, which is in India represented by the PUL- and PAR-groups respectively, besides the doubtlessly existing remnants of the Buddhist and Hindu colonial culture, which brought many different Indian mother-right elements to Indonesia and vice versa.

In Sumatra, we shall therefore have to examine not only the mother-right elements in the Minangkabau culture, but also those which may be found among the Batak, especially of Atjeh, from the point of view reached by the results of this study on mother-right in India and its various groups and subgroups.

C/2

II. Final Summary

Single mother-right elements spread their roots over the whole of India.

They are united to concrete " qualities of form " in the *North-East* (Khasi and Garo hills of Assam) and in the *South-West* (Kerala, the Malabar coast). These are the two centres of mother-right in India still living, or partly living in our days.

The *North-East group* is characterized by a rather primitive type of mother-right which is related to totemism and " Megalithism." Matrilineal descent within the family organization is clearly pronounced. In the states organization the male element predominates, though the female line of inheritance is observed even here. The absence of puberty-rites for girls and probably of polyandry differentiates this group from other mother-right entities of India. The dual system markedly pronounced in the North-East will perhaps be of great help in making the culture-historic relations of mother-right in India comprehensible. But it has not been included in the comparative study of this book, as it is not yet sufficiently proved whether the right-hand and left-hand factions of South-West Indian castes, mostly belonging to the PAR-group, are or are not to be considered as the outcome of a former dual system. Much favours this conception. Once this question is answered, the relationship between the North-East and the South-West-groups of mother-right in India will become considerably clearer.

The *South-West* group of Indian mother-right comprises a number of castes and tribes, which have been attributed to four hypothetically assumed mother-right strata. (Marked with abbreviations in this book.) Totemism

is foreign to the charasteristic castes and tribes of this South- West group of Indian mother-right. Megalithism plays a more important rôle though it has not permeated South-West Indian mother-right to the same degree as the North-East group of Assam. The four hypothetical strata of the South-West group can shortly be characterized as follows.

1. The *U-group* comprises a number of primitive jungle-tribes which live either by merely collecting food or on simple jhuming. Most of the non-totemist jungle-tribes of the South-West belong to this group. Many of their mother-right elements are found to have been taken over from the surrounding matriarchal peoples who belong to more progressive social units. Still it is possible, perhaps even probable, that the beginning of a mother-right civilization, though a very primitive one, was constituted within the U-group long before any influence by other communities could have taken place. If this is so, the U-group must then be understood to be the survival of a civilization which perhaps first developed mother-right and a primitive form of agriculture. This conception seems to be supported (*a*) by the geographical situation of India, which makes it highly probable that it was from this part of the world that mother-right emanated, (*b*) by the prehistoric indications of a Protolithic hand-axe culture represented in the Madrasian of Southern India, and (*c*) by the very old tradition of mother-right in India which seems to have been but little interrupted in the course of pre-historic evolution.

2. The *PUL-group* consists chiefly of labourer-castes, formerly slaves or agrestic serfs, comprising also some jungle-tribes which have been strongly influenced by their Hindu or Hinduized neighbours in the plains. But the PUL-peoples themselves must have been very much altered in sociology, religion and ergology, since they became slaves and serfs of their present lords (or their ancestors). The possibility must be kept in view that the PUL-peoples once occupied a much better social position ; not only before they were enslaved, but perhaps even in the time when the PAR-peoples (i.e., the next following mother-right group of the South-West) ruled the country and before the NAY-peoples (the most highly developed mother-right grade), came to rule (not to speak of the Hindu-Aryan invasion). Perhaps the discrimination between the PUL-and PAR-groups may sometime be regarded as an impossible working hypothesis.

3. The *PAR-group* also comprises a number of deeply humiliated slave-like castes, the mother-right traditions and relations of which point not only to a much better social tradition of the group, but even to a historical past of a more progressive type. The civilization of the PAR-group seems to have been less matriarchally organized, already in this period of their history than that of the next following, *i. e.*, the

4. *NAY-group.* The observers of this latter type of South-West Indian mother-right are the standard representatives of the highly advanced feudal and decidedly matriarchally organized knighthood which has been proved to be culture-historically related to the ancient Indus-civilization and the ancestors of the Rajputs.

In the *totemist area* of India, remnants and survivals of an older mother-right civilization are clearly traceable, though this civilization has not preserved its independent character. The geographical situation, and the changing of the functional meaning of various mother-right elements within the totemist territory, support the theory of an affinity between the North-East group (Khasi-Garo of Assam), on the one side, and the PAR- and perhaps also the PUL-group of South-West India (Kerala, Malabar coast) on the other ; an affinity which was already suggested by the mutual cultural relations between these two zones. The totemist civilization thus must be considered as a wedge which later separated this type of Indian mother-right, before the arrival of the much later NAY-group in Southern India.

Within the *Hindu culture* of the linguistically Aryanized and religiously Brahmanized (or Islamized) India, we shall have to discriminate between *two* different types of mother-right participation in the cultural evolution : an active and a passive one.

(*a*) The *active* participation of matriarchal mentality in the cultural evolution manifests itself mostly in the religious conception, and exercises its influence outstandingly in the creation and constitution of Buddhism and the Buddhist Era but also in the female aspects of Hindu deities.

(*b*) The *passive* participation manifested itself by firstly checking the proselytizing and missionary efforts of the Aryans and their patriarchally organized socio-religious conception. Thus it became the " movens " of new institutions on the part of the Aryan society, which aimed (if not consciously, still in an unmistakable directness seen from the functional point of view) to destroy the Indian mother-right traditions generally and the rights and privileges of advanced Indian women in particular. As the comparative study of the NAY-group and the Indus-civilization proved that the pre-Aryan mother-right culture of India must have reached an extraordinarily high stage, it is but natural that the means to subdue it must have been extraordinarily strong and cruel too. This is the reason why just in India *hypergamy, child-marriage* and *contempt* of the *widow* (including prohibition of widow-remarriage, social degradation and even burning alive of the widow), became such pronounced and characteristic features in the patriarchal society.

Both these forms of participation in Hinduism, on the part of the ancient mother-right system, the active as well as the passive, are specially stressed among certain classes of Hindu society. The *Rajputs* rank

first in this direction. A few castes, *bards, genealogists, gipsies* and others, are culture-historically, though by no means functionally, allied to the Rajputs.

The traditional and historic relations between the *Rajput class* and *Buddhism* furthermore strengthen the theory of a strong active participation of mother-right in the evolution of the Rajputs, which manifests itself also to direct observation. The complexes of *heroic suicide in war, self-annihilation in fire* and the use of *moral,* or at least *psychic means* in the struggle against wrong-doers, mark this relationship between the Rajputs, the NAY-group and the most advanced type of pre-Aryan mother-right of India. These complexes moreover have been functionally changed within the Rajput caste. The complex of self-annihilation in war or of extatic self-destruction in the flames probably provided the culture-traditional "raw-material" for *Sati,* i.e., the burning alive of widows. The use of moral means against wrong-doers probably led to the submissive spirit of India in general, and of Indian womanhood in particular. The participation of mother-right elements in modern Hinduism is still more clearly pronounced in *Traga* and *Dharna,* i.e., the non-violent methods of the Bhats, who are culture-historically allied to the Rajputs. In all these cases, the cultural raw-material must be regarded as originally belonging to a mother-right civilization, its appliance to the present functions (as, e.g., in the case of *Sati*) as decidedly patriarchal. The functional changing of a formerly matriarchal institution under influence of father-right can be clearly studied in these cases of patriarchalization in India.

A culture-historic relation can be shown to have existed not only between the *Rajputs* and the *bards, genealogists* and *musicians,* but also between the latter and the castes of *courtesans, dancers, acrobats, petty traders, removers* and *gipsies* and finally with the characteristic half religious, half belligerent *criminal castes* of India. A still living, or at least only just annihilated mother-right system can be found, among various single elements of matriarchal character, within all these castes. The different groups of functionally often completely opposed social units, still seem to be the outcome of a different ability (or sometimes non-ability) to join the patriarchal system of the Vedic periods. If this is so, they should all be regarded as survivals of the pre-Aryan mother-right cultures of India.

Megalithism is undoubtedly related to the older strata of South-West Indian mother-right, though not to the same degree as is the case in the North-East. Several Megalithic waves must have reached South-West-India, probably from the East *and* from the West. They have penetrated the South-West territory, differently to the totemist wave. This *constellation* seems to strengthen the above-mentioned working hypothesis of a culture historic affinity between the North-East area of Indian mother-

right on the one side, and the PAR- perhaps also the PUL- group, within the South-West area on the other.

The possibilities of constituting hypotheses on *archæological, linguistic* and physical *anthropological* parallels to the various mother-right groups of India, are as yet uncertain.

The *U-group* of the South-West may perhaps be co-ordinated with a former alithic bamboo industry. The original language is probably lost. Physically the Malide branch of the Weddides can be doubtlessly regarded as its bearers. But it was perhaps this group or the nearly related *PUL-peoples* who created the first Protolithic hand-axe industry with the Madrasian and thus also the first agriculturally inclined impulses of matriarchal character.

The *PAR-group* and probably also the later stages of the *PUL-* evolution, seem to have originated the first miolithic hand-axe industry, which can be taken as decidedly agricultural and from which the mother-right culture, grades II and III/a, must have spread all over the world. The Dravidic as well as the Austro-Asiatic languages can be regarded as possibly related to these peoples, though we have not yet achieved certainty in this question, any more than in the question of physical affinity.

The relationship between the *NAY-group* and the highly developed pre-Aryan *Indus-civilization* is one of the chief results of our comparative study on mother-right in India. The Dravidic languages may have been brought to Southern India by the NAY-peoples. The existence of the isolated Dravidic group in Beluchistan, near the sites of the excavated Indus-civilization, strengthens this hypothesis. Racially the NAY-people seem to have been Indides, as they are to this day.

The mutual *relations* between *Indian* and *non-Indian mother-right cultures* are manifold. The general geographical and also the archæological situation favours the theory that the world-cultures of mother-right originally emanated from India. This thesis holds good in regard to all grades of mother-right, though a contrary movement, i.e., the current of matriarchal cultures and civilizations returning to India, can be traced in many cases. Whether centrifugal or centripetal cultural movements have exercised their influence cannot be decided in each single instance, from the mere view of local Indian ethnological and archæological studies.

The *centrifugal direction* of the mother-right culture, as originated by the Indus-civilization and the NAY-people appears to have created the ancient matriarchal civilizations in the Mediterranean Basin, Oriental Africa, the Near East and especially Southern Arabia. The probability of, at least a common basis (in the culture-historic sense of this word) inherent in both the *pre-Aryan (Dravidian) city-civilization of Indian* and the *Arab (pre-Islamic and partly also Islamic) civilization* of the Near East, may thus be said to be one of the most important side-issues of these comparative studies.

If the alleged culture-historical relationship should be further supported by archæological and ethnological research, both in India and the Near East, as it is likely to be, new light will then be thrown on the culture-historical interpretation, and appreciation of *Islamic civilization* which will *no* more be considered as something essentially *foreign* to the *genius loci* of this country. Its socio-religious rôle here might then even be held as fitting in a series of *reform movements* which were directly or indirectly based upon the Indus- and affiliated civilizations. The aspect of Islamic culture as a democratic entity, originally out to establish much better rights for women than those which existed at the time of its foundation in the other monotheistic cultural centres of the Near East, and to remove the predominance of a priestly class and any sort of race-or caste-superiority,—all this seems to show a culture-historical affinity between early *Islam* on the one side, and *Buddhism*, as well as *South Indian reform movements*, within *Hinduism*, on the other, which were the bearers of the cultural heirloom of the *Indus-civilization*.

The other aspect of Islam as the promoter of Mughal, Persian, Byzantine, and Turkish civilizations and social conceptions, contrasts with the aforementioned one perhaps as much as does the pàstoral-nomadic " Aryan " root of Hinduism with the matriarchally determined " pre-Aryan Hinduism " (which was originated by the Indus-civilization).

Further practical explorations and their analysis may, we hope, usefully follow this line of interpretation, to be benefited by a deeper understanding of the *ethnological basis* and the *practical possibilities of Islam* in general, and the Islamic civilization of India, and especially of Southern India, in particular.[1]

Linguistic comparison of Sumarian, Dravidic and Semitic tongues might be found useful in adding other details to the suggested former affinity of pre-Aryan India and the bases of the Near East civilizations.

The *Miolithic hand-axe industry* of India seems to indicate that stage II of the matriarchal culture-circle might have originated here by the PUL-and PAR-groups and thus have been centrifugally spread from India all over the world. But the special relationship between the Assamese North-East group of Indian mother-right with the PAR-group of the South-West area, would rather tend to indicate the opposite, i.e., a movement from outside India, somewhere in the North-East direction towards the centre and the South-West area of cultural backwaters. (Kerala).

Thus the relationship to North-East Asia, ancient Japan and both the Americas must be still considered as very vague, and possibly not centrifugal, but centripetal.

1. O. R. Ehrenfels : The Pre-Aryan Civilization of India and the Ethnological Background of Islam. *Islamic Culture*, April 1939 and : The Socio-Religious Rôle of Islam in India. Ibid... January 1940.

The *colonial culture* of India in the *South-East*, i.e., Indonesia, belongs to the realm rather of written history than of ethnology. Buddhist India and the outstanding regions of India which chiefly contributed to this colonization, such as Southern India and Bengal, have on the other hand also partly taken over, partly preserved matriarchal traditions and single elements of a more antique type. But it is possible as well that very old, primitive stages of matriarchal culture in Indonesia have also exercised a centripetal influence on India here. The cultural relations between these two countries, at any rate, are strong, also in this respect. Sumatra seems to yield especially interesting material, though also Borneo will have to be kept in view, if once this vast question is to be systematically analysed.

Finally it may be pointed out that the singular height of ancient Indian matriarchal civilization and womanhood, followed by the most extreme patriarchal invasions, beginning with the early Aryans already, will have to be considered as one of the main causes for the stressed tension, sharp contrasts and marked disharmony of Indian life and conceptions, especially, in all spheres, concerning the female sex. The solution of this tension in a unifying readjustment may therefore well be said to be one of the most urgent and, at the same time, most promising tasks, to be solved by Indian culture and civilization in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) Abbreviations

CENSI	.. Census of India (Report).
ENCIS ..	.. *Encyklopödie des Islam*, Leiden 1927.
ETHANZ ..	.. *Ethnologischer Anzeiger*, edited by M. Heydrich, Dresden-Stuttgart.
INDANT ..	.. *Indian Antiquary*, a Journal of Oriental Research, Bombay.
ISLAC ..	.. *Islamic Culture*, An English Quarterly, Hyderabad-Dn.
Iyer *Cochin* ..	.. Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer: *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras 1909, 2 vols.
Nanjundayya and Iyer	.. K. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer: *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Mysore 1928-1931 (Vol. II-IV) and Vol. I by L. K. Anantha-krishna Iyer, Mysore, 1935.
JAnSBo ..	.. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.*
JASiHo ..	.. *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, Karachi.
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