

THE
COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE
COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES.

VOLUME I.

BY

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PREFACE.

Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer has asked me to write an introductory preface to his volume on the Cochin Tribes and Castes, to which request I willingly consent. Having already read considerable portions of Mr. Iyer's work in its original and unrevised form, I am able to testify to its importance and interest, and to the great desirability of its being read and pondered by students of Ethnology and Sociology in England and the West generally.

It is only in comparatively recent years that the enormous and almost incalculable mass of anthropological materials which India offers to the student, has begun to be systematically utilised. Of course, almost the same might have been stated, not so very long ago, of Europe itself. One could not exactly say of Blumenbach and Prichard and Retzius and Broca and Von Baer that they "were the first that ever burst into that silent sea": but assuredly a vast field lay open to those great pioneers, a field almost untilled then, but which has since then attracted, I may say, almost innumerable labourers. But India's aspect to the anthropologist is very much the same as that of Europe in the days of those great men. The conquerors and administrators of that wide and manifold country had not time to devote to scientific studies beyond those which offered the speediest returns, such as political and natural history. The Government,

whether of the Company or of the Queen, gave no assistance ; and the habits and ideas of the people threw great and peculiar difficulties in the way, as indeed they still continue to do. Historians and men of that class, such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir H. Elliot, Dr. T. A. Wise, working in the border-lands of the subject, preserved and accumulated incidentally much material of value to those who would follow them. But Dr. John Short, a Eurasian by the way, was, I think, the first to make systematic observations in physical anthropology ; as a pioneer, his methods were unformed, and his achievements but small ; still he should not be forgotten.

In our own times, the Government of India have begun to favour and subsidise this work, in taking up which it must be confessed that they lagged behind some of the other European Governments who possess colonies or transmarine possessions. Mr. Risley's Anthropometric Statistics of Bengal and the North-West have begun a new era, and Thurston in Madras and others have done excellent work in similar fields.

Mr. Iyer's labours have been in the main ethnological and sociological, rather than from the physical or somatic side. He has had several great advantages. Thus in the first place, he belongs to India by race and nativity : and had he not been so, it is hardly conceivable that he could have acquired such a vast mass of information on subjects which natives are usually very unwilling to discuss with Europeans. At the same time, he is a fluent and accurate English scholar, able to convey his ideas and observations clearly and unequivocally in that language. In the collection of facts, his official position under the Cochin Government must have

been of the greatest service to him. Then, again, Cochin, though limited in extent, is a province affording opportunities to the ethnologist which can hardly be excelled anywhere in India, having a gamut of castes extending from the Brahman and the Nair, among whom features of high Aryan type are common, and whose aspect little else than color discriminates from the upper class European, to the scarcely human wretch who is not, theoretically at least, allowed to crawl within a hundred yards of the Brahman, but who nevertheless, as Mr. Iyer shows, voluntarily circumscribes what little liberty is left to him, by various caste devices and prohibitions. Lastly, the very peculiar forms of matrimony in use among the Nairs, and the prevalence of polyandry among several other castes, complicate the laws of filiation and succession beyond what is generally met with elsewhere, and yield subject-matter for interesting speculations.

With these few remarks, I commend Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer's volume to the European reader.

John Beddoe

The Chantry,
Bradford-on-Avon, }
24th February, 1908. }

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I was entrusted with the Ethnographical Survey of the Cochin State in 1902, and the work in connection with it had to be done without prejudice to my duties in the Ernakulam College, in which I was an assistant till very lately. My proposal to deal first with the purely Malayali Hindu and animistic castes of the State, was accepted by the Government, and the investigation into the customs and manners of the local hill and jungle tribes and the lowest castes, was made thereupon. The results of these investigations were published from time to time, in the form of a monograph for each tribe or caste, the total number of monographs issued from the Government Press, Ernakulam, being twelve between 1904 and 1906. In July 1907, I was asked by the Diwan to revise these monographs and others then ready for publication in order that they might appear in a single volume with illustrations. The present volume, therefore, is really due to the warm interest taken by the Government of His Highness the Raja and the Diwan whose valuable and eminently suggestive instructions have been carried out by me to the best of my ability in the preparation of this volume.

In regard to the plan and arrangement of the subject-matter, the new volume begins with a preface by John Beddoe, Esq., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., & F.R.C.P., Past President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1889-91), an introductory chapter by A. H. Keane, Esq., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., late Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and then gives a descriptive account of the hill and jungle tribes, and other low castes of the State, in the ascending order of social status. The volume thus deals with all the Malayali

and animistic castes, the members of which pollute the high caste-men at various distances, and cannot approach the outer walls of the temples of the higher castes. The photographs of the types of each caste have been taken by me with the exception of a few borrowed from friends.

The higher castes (high and low caste Sudras), Ambalavasies, Elayads, Muthads, Brahmans, Jews, Muhammadans, Christians, and a few other foreign castes of the State, as also the physical anthropology of the inhabitants of the State, will be dealt with in the second and the third volumes respectively.

Investigations on the various tribes and castes herein dealt with were made by myself first hand, but in the handling of such a large number of facts, errors both of omission and commission, can scarcely be avoided. Accuracy in the statement of facts, as far as possible, has all along been my aim, so that the errors, I hope, will be found to be neither numerous nor serious.

I take this opportunity to record my grateful thanks to the late Diwan, M. R. Ry. N. Pattabhirama Rao Garu, B.A., to the present Diwan, A. R. Banerji, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., for his valuable instructions, to John Beddoe, Esq., for his kind preface recommending the perusal of this volume to the European reader, to A. H. Keane, Esq., for the introductory chapter and for much other help received during past years, and to Mrs. Nohiny Banerji, M.R.A.S., for the kindness with which she has revised the letterpress of this volume. To Edgar Thurston, Esq., Superintendent of Ethnography, Madras Presidency, to the Rev. Monteith Macphail, M.A., B.D., Professor of History and Economics, Christian College, Madras, to Mr. C. Achyuta Menon B.A., the late Secretary to the Diwan, and to other officials of the State, as also to my friends and correspondents, I express with all sincerity my great sense of indebtedness.

Office of the Ethnographic Survey, }
Trichur, 26th October, 1908. }

L. K. A.

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THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES.

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, who has invited me to contribute a few introductory remarks to this volume, is already known to European anthropologists as an indefatigable worker in the wide field of Indian ethnology. I had the pleasure of drawing attention to his valuable monographs on the Cochin aborigines in "Man" for March 1907, where I was able to state that this enthusiastic student of primitive peoples had at that time already issued as many as ten special essays bearing an official character and printed at the Government Press, Ernakulam, (1904-06). In its general outline, the series corresponds somewhat to the highly prized "Bulletins" issued by the Madras Government under the superintendence of Mr. Edgar Thurston, and still more closely to those embodied in Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya's "Ethnographical Survey of Mysore" (Bangalore Government Press, 1906-08).

Since his recent appointment as Superintendent of the "Cochin Ethnographical Survey" at Trichur, a town only second in importance to Ernakulam, Mr. Iyer has continued his studies of the local tribes and castes with such zeal and unflagging industry that he has now completed his general survey of all the hill tribes, the multifarious results forming the substance of this richly illustrated volume. It should, however, be explained that this is but a first instalment of the gifted author's comprehensive programme, and it is to be followed in due course by two more volumes, one dealing with the Brahmans, the Nairs, and all the higher castes, the other with the physical anthropology of all the inhabitants of Cochin.

None too soon has this useful work been taken in hand, seeing that Hinduism, a relatively higher phase of culture, is steadily invading the haunts of the jungle peoples and thus gradually effacing many of the most characteristic traits in the life of the childhood of mankind. Such remarks are often made by thoughtful observers, but for the most part pass unheeded because unsupported by actual incidents. It may therefore be well here to specify a few cases in point amongst some of the most primitive groups; such as the Kadars, the Parayans, the Irulans, the Paniyans, and the Pulayans. Reference is made by Mr. Iyer himself to the rapid disappearance of savage usages as seen in the use of tiles and kerosine tins for thatch and foliage; cotton piece-goods and umbrellas for rude local fabrics and sunshades covered with leaves; the substitution of gaudy head dresses for tribal turbans; country jewelry replaced by beads and imitation jewelry from Europe; lucifer matches abolishing fire by friction; bread, beer and spirits instead of the roots, wild berries, and water of the wilderness, and so on. Well may Professor Haddon exclaim "Now is the time to record. An infinitude has been lost to us and a very great deal is now rapidly disappearing. The most interesting materials are becoming lost to us, not only by their disappearance, but by the apathy of those who should delight in recording them before they have become lost to sight and memory."

From all this may at once be seen the inestimable value of the great body of primitive customs and social institutions which Mr. Iyer has rescued from oblivion and here placed at the disposal of ethnical students. Few questions, for instance, are at present more warmly discussed than the relations of magic rites and sorcery to elementary religion, some denying any connection whatsoever, and contending that religion and magic belong to two distinct orders of thought, while others hold with Mr. Sidney Hartland that "religion is saturated with magic," and that it is only in their later development the one becomes separated from the other. Well, a careful study of the data here supplied by Mr. Iyer will, I think, support Mr. Hartland's

view, and once for all dispose of this vexed question. He tells us that sickness, death, famine and troubles of all kinds are attributed by the Parayan magicians to the anger of the gods, to whom offerings may not have been given perhaps for want of means. When a woman is under demoniacal influence and makes frantic movements, the Parayan devil-driver and sorcerer mutters some prayers to Parakutty and other deities, ties the sacred thread round the woman's neck, and drinks the toddy supplied for the occasion, whereupon the demon is supposed to leave her. In case of theft, they call in the Parayan wizard, who takes a sword with small bells at the hilt, and prays fervently to his favourite deity, confident that he will help to recover the stolen property and also to punish the thief. Here we have the sorcerer performing the functions of the priest or intercessor in his own person; in other words, religion and the magic arts are not merely allied and co-operating, but actually interwoven inextricably together not at a late but at a very early phase of religious thought.

Then there is the *oti* cult, a kind of black art practised by these same Parayans, who go through a process of training as in a priestly seminary, and when proficient can make themselves invisible or assume the form of a bull, a cat, or a dog at pleasure. They possess many other miraculous powers, can cause illness or death, and bewitch people, transporting them despite of physical obstacles from one place to another, "and this without their absence being noted by third parties." The student of early beliefs should carefully read the detailed account here given from original sources of the strange functions and misdeeds popularly accredited to these *otiyans*, priests and sorcerers in one. "The records of the criminal courts attest the power and prevalence of this persuasion among the more intelligent and higher classes. The Parayans keep the cult a dead secret, and profess total ignorance owing to the fear of punishment." All this establishes beyond question the unity of the magical and religious lines of thought, which are here clearly seen to be inseparably associated in a single

shamanistic system, as it may rightly be called. The *otiyans* of Southern India are in fact not perceptibly distinguishable from the Shamans of Siberia and North America.

More important perhaps is the question of the origin and ethnical affinities of these southern aborigines. Without himself advancing any distinct theory on this obscure subject, Mr. Iyer refers to my opinion that "judging from the short stature, low forehead, and the high cheek bones, they belong to the Negrito race, which once formed a substratum throughout the peninsula, though now mainly submerged by the later arrivals of the Kolarians, the Dravidians, and the Aryans." This may, in a very broad way, be taken as representing the views, which I have advanced in several places, but may take the opportunity of here discussing somewhat more fully. In such a discussion, it is obvious that the southern aborigines cannot be treated apart from their remote northern kindred, such as most of the Vindhyan and some even of the Himalayan groups. Though now somewhat isolated, several of the Cochin hill-men had formerly a very wide range, with allied castes and traditions extending throughout Travancore and Mysore northwards to Orissa where the famous temple of Jagannath is closely associated with a low caste Parayan tribe. Traditionally, the warlike Asuras and Daithias (Danavas) who opposed the proto-Aryan invaders of the Panjab, sent expeditions to the Dekhan, where they founded the semi-civilised States of Southern India, and imposed their speech and culture on the aborigines. Hence it is that some of the ruling families in the far south still retain traditions of their northern origin, while "inscriptions assert their descent from Daithia chiefs of the Indus valley" (Dr. Oldham). All the pre-historic movements must in fact be assumed to have set from the north southwards, so that the whole of the Peninsula was occupied during the Stone Ages by successive streams of primitive peoples descending from the Himalayan and Vindhyan slopes to the extremity of the mainland.

Who were these primitive peoples? By popular writers, and even in the last (1901) Census, they are confusedly lumped

together as Dravidians, or Munda-Dravidians or Aryo-Dravidians or Indo-Aryans or Scytho-Dravidians, or by other equally unintelligible and misleading complex terms, and Deniker, amongst others, thinks that he has settled the whole matter by declaring that "the variety of types found in the country is due to the crossing of two indigenous races, Indo-Afghan and Melano-Indian, etc." But surely, groups needing to be thus expressed by compound terms must be assumed to represent still earlier crossings which, however, no attempt is here made to determine. Others go still further in this eliminating process, and Mr. R. P. Chanda proclaims the "essential unity of the Indian race" in which there are no heterogeneous elements (*East and West*: November and December, 1904), and this conclusion seems to be supported by Mr. W. Crooke on anthropometric grounds (*The North-Western Provinces of India*: 1897, *passim*). At least this observer denies the distinction between the Dravidian and Kolarian races, because this distinction depends mainly on the evidence of language and is disproved by anthropometry, which he regards as "the final test." At the same time he thinks it "fairly certain that the Dravidians were of the Negrito type" (page 197).

Then, in their Census Reports, Sir Herbert Risley and his fellow-worker, Mr. E. A. Gait, denounce the time-honoured term *Kolarian* (revived by Sir George Campbell) as "altogether fantastic", and relegate the Kolarians themselves with "the Lost Ten Tribes" to cloudland. Deceived by the remarkably uniform results of his own anthropometric studies, Sir Herbert claims to have disproved the existence of a distinct Kolarian race, "the so called Kolarians" being simply members of the great Dravidian family, and modern researches have confirmed this view by maintaining a relationship between the Kolarian and the Dravidian languages" (Report page 2789; see also Sir Herbert's *The People of India*: 1908). Thus, as anthropometry claims to prove that there is no distinct *physical Kolarian* type, so philology is called in to prove that there is no distinct *linguistic Kolarian* type, so that Kolarian cannot be a stock language,

but must be related to the Dravidian stock language. In the Report the proscribed Kolarian is replaced by Max Müller's *Munda*, this being one of the chief members of the group, and thus is formed the hypothetical Dravidio-Munda family, which looms largely in the pages of the Report, where the two component terms are treated as two related branches of one stock language. Such are the main current views, which, although they have received the seal of official authority, are radically wrong; and have in fact once more reduced Indian ethnology to an almost hopeless state of chaos. I therefore propose to introduce some order and method into this wide department of anthropological science, by showing —

(1) that in India there is no fundamental racial unity, the superficial uniformity of physical characters being far less than is commonly supposed, and due not to a fanciful *primordial unity*, but to secular interminglings of several originally distinct ethnical groups superinducing *surface resemblances* :

(2) that the authority of the early Hindu writings claiming racial unity is worthless, their theories being framed mainly in the interest of "the twice-born" and especially of the dominant priestly (Brahmanical) caste :

(3) that, in the present general amalgam, are represented five primary stocks : a submerged *Negrito* probably from Malaya; *Kolarian*, *Dravidian*, and *Aryan*, who arrived in the order named from beyond the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas; lastly the *Mongol* mainly confined to the Himalayan slopes :

(4) that to the Kolarian, Dravidian, and Aryan ethnical stocks, correspond three distinct linguistic stocks, Kolarian being radically different from Dravidian, and both from Aryan; that there is therefore no "Dravidio-Kolarian" or "Dravidio-Munda" mother tongue; and that these and the other above mentioned compound terms (Indo-Aryan, Scytho-Dravidian, etc.,) are for the most part meaningless if not actually misleading. This is a formidable programme which it might take a stout volume to deal with adequately; but it will presently be seen that some

of the points can be disposed of in a few words, while for others *cadet questio*.

1 and 2 : Mr. Chanda's essential unity (see above) may be described as a purely *subjective notion*, a pleasant dream at variance with *objective reality*. His contention is that for the proto-Aryans penetrating from the Indus south-eastwards the non-Aryan aborigines were not an alien or independent stock, but a debased Aryan people, and so was still upheld the theory of absolute racial unity in defiance of the actual facts. "But when," he writes, "from the Sudras and the mixed castes we turn our eyes to the third type, the *Vratyas*, we fully perceive how deep-rooted was the ancient Arya's belief in the unity of mankind and how indifferent he was to what is now known as racial difference. Distance in space and use of non-Aryan speech could not shake that belief; even marked differences in physical features, as between himself and the Mongoloid Kiratas and Chinas, counted for nothing. He labelled them *Vratyas* or degenerate ones, and paid a tribute to their independence by calling them the degenerate descendants of one or other of the twice-born castes."

To this it may be replied that it is not a question of what the Vedic Aryas *thought* on racial questions, and if they supposed that the non-Aryan peoples could be transformed even to degraded Aryans by being called *Vratyas*, it merely shows that the Vedas and still less the later fantastic Puranas cannot be profitably consulted on ethnical matters. No doubt the term *Vratya*, in the sense of any Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaisya, who has lost caste by neglect of the prescribed rites, is of some antiquity, occurring even in the early Yagur-Veda; but for ethnical purposes it proves no more than do those ridiculous genealogies of many non-Aryan groups which abound in the absolutely worthless Puranas, "ces poèmes mythologiques absurdes," which "consacraient une, trimurti monstrueuse que l'on regarda à tort comme la base de l'indianisme". (Eichhoff). Nor is Manu much more trustworthy, since this shadowy legislator was avowedly the great advocate of Brahman supremacy.

Is it not a matter of common knowledge, faintly disguised by the Code of Manu and by the sham genealogies of the Puranas, that as the early Aryan invaders advanced down the Ganges valley, they everywhere came in contact with fresh indigenous populations, so that despite the Vratya delusion, they were at last fain to draw distinctions based no longer on mere social or functional differences, but on real racial distinctions ?

3 and 4 : Of the five constituent elements here enumerated, the *Aryan* and the *Mongol* may, for the present purpose, be dismissed, the first because not questioned, the second because mainly confined to the southern slopes of the Himalayas, and thus but slightly affecting the great mass of the Indian populations. There remain the *Negrito*, the *Kolarian* and the *Dravidian* which although generally lumped together as "Dravidians" in popular writings and, as we have seen, even in official documents, have nevertheless to be considered separately if we are ever to arrive at a clear understanding of this stupendous "amalgam" of heterogeneous ingredients comprising nearly one-fifth of the "World's Peoples."

The first arrivals were undoubtedly the *Negritos* whom I have called the "submerged element," because they now form the substratum, have nowhere preserved their racial or social independence, have even lost their original Negrito speech, and are now everywhere *merged* in the surrounding Kolarian and Dravidian populations.

Whence came this black element, the presence of which I hope here to place beyond reasonable doubt ? Herr Fehlinger thinks they reached India partly from Africa and partly from Australia (*Naturwiss. Wochenschr.* 1904, iii). But I cannot believe there are two black strains in India. One satisfies all the conditions, and that one can scarcely have come either from Africa which is barred by the Indian Ocean, or from Australia which is shut off by the Eastern Archipelago. Moreover, both Africans and Australians are mostly tall (five feet eight to ten inches), whereas the Dravidians and Kolarians, amongst whom black

blood is conspicuous, are nearly all undersized—the Koravas five feet three inches and many Korava women real dwarfs, about four feet nine inches); the Juangs still shorter, under five feet, women four feet eight inches, (Dalton). The inference is that in India the dark autochthons were pigmies apparently allied to the Aetas of the Philippines, and to the Samangs and Sakais still surviving in the Malay Peninsula. From Malaysia these woolly-headed Negritos could easily have moved through Ternasserim and Arakan round the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayan slopes, where they have left traces of their former presence, and whence they gradually spread over the Peninsula most probably in early Palaeolithic times. Their spoor may everywhere be followed from the Negroid flat-faced, curly-haired, Kocch of Assam “with the thick protuberant lips of the Negro” to the swarthy and irregular-featured Nepalese *Hayas*, and thence to the numerous *Santals* of Chota Nagpur “with a cast of countenance almost approaching the Negro type,” and to the neighbouring *Bhuniyas* with “coarse Negro-like features and frizzly hair and the diminutive Juang jungle-folk with depressed nasal bone, dilated nostrils, large mouth, very thick lips, and black frizzled hair. The kindred *Dhangars*, *Khonds* and *Gonds* of the Vindhyan range “show to this day features more closely resembling the *lower Negro type* than any I have met with amongst the tribes of Bengal.” Thus speaks Dalton who knew these Vindhyan hill-men well, and who adds that here we still find specimens of the lowest type of humanity; creatures who might justly be regarded as the unimproved descendants of the manufacturers of the stone implements found in the Damodar coal fields. These are the true aborigines, the *Asuras*, from whom a considerable proportion of the black pigment is derived that has darkened the skins of a large section of the [Indian] population.”

Equally unmistakable evidences of the underlying Negroid element are presented by the low caste hill-men of the southern uplands. Some years ago Drs. F. Jagor and G. Koerbin collected a great body of anthropological data from

over two hundred and fifty of these aborigines representing as many as fifty-four tribes from almost every part of the Madras Presidency. Since then the list has been supplemented by the researches of Mr. E. Thurston, of Mr. Nanjundayya for Mysore and of Mr. Iyer for Cochin. We are now, therefore, in a position to speak with confidence of the general physical characteristics of these jungle peoples, many of whom are so fully described in the present volume that details may be largely dispensed with. It will suffice to say that Negroid contacts and influences are almost everywhere betrayed in the black colour, crisp or frizzly hair, broad nose, thick lips, low stature, very long arms, and other marked Negro traits of these aborigines. Thus, the *Veddas* of Travancore are described as all but black, with hair very black, wavy and crisp, and similar characters are attributed to the *Paniyans* of the Wynaad, the *Kadars* and *Malasers* of Coimbatore and Cochin, the *Kurumbas* and *Irulas* of the Nilghiris, the *Malayalis*, *Pallis*, *Shanars*, and *Katumaratis* of the Salem District, the *Vellalas* of Madura and above all to the *Paniyans* "of pronounced Negro features." Here I would ask the reader to study some of the numerous photographs with which Mr. Iyer has enriched this work, all, I believe, taken by himself, and he will find several which also reveal Negroid traits in a very striking manner. Such are the Kadar men, several of the Malayan, and Eravallen women, the Izhuva and Thandapulaya groups.

Now comes the question, how have the present Dravidian and Kolarian low castes acquired these Negroid characters which could not have been brought from beyond the Hindu Kush or the Himalayas, where the indigenous populations have always been either white regular-featured Aryans of Caucasian type or else yellow, lank-haired Mongols? The inference seems obvious that these Dravidians and Kolarians are a blend in diverse proportions of Asiatic intruders with the true black indigenes of the Peninsula. In other words, they acquired their Negroid characters by secular interminglings with the Negrite aborigines.

Now these very interminglings of the three or four fundamental factors lie at the root of all the confusion and complications prevailing throughout the whole field of Indian ethnology. The gradual fusion of the various types has brought about such a *superficial* uniformity amongst the great masses of the settled and urban populations, and even to some extent amongst the outcasts and wild tribes, that the deeper discrepancies are overlooked, the primordial constituent elements obscured and forgotten, and *on anthropometrical grounds* the whole of India is declared by some distinguished ethnologists to be inhabited by a homogeneous race.

Coming now to the Kolarians and Dravidians, we have seen that the former have been banished from the Government Census Reports on the ground that they are indistinguishable from the Dravidians, and that both speak allied forms of the same stock language. It is therefore necessary here to show that the Kolarians are quite a distinct people, and speak dialects belonging to a linguistic family which has no kinship whatever with the Dravidian family.

It may be inferred from the early Hindu records that the Kolarians, who admittedly came from beyond the Himalayas, were the fore-runners of the Dravidas, since in the first broad division between Aryans and non-Aryans the former were classed as *Sud* (*Sudhun*), that is, the "Pure," the latter as *Kol*, the "Impure," literally "Swine," called also *Chuar*, "Brigands," and by other uncomplimentary terms. But it so happened that *Kol* was also a Kolarian word meaning "Man," and was accepted by these natives in this sense, and thus acquired a very wide application. From it was invented a certain eponymous hero, Kola, founder of a powerful State, and his descendants are called *Kols* or *Kolars* to this day and from them India itself was called *Kolaria* (Dalton). Gradually these early inhabitants of the Gangetic plains were either absorbed by the Aryan invaders, or driven southwards to the Vindhyan uplands, where some became Aryanized (the Bhils), and some assimilated to the Dravidians (the Ghonds), while the rest, still numbering over

3,000,000, held aloof from outside influences, retained their tribal usages and primitive religion, and may now be distinguished by their Kolarian speech. That this speech is radically distinct from Dravidian the authors themselves of the Census Report unwittingly admit when they write that Kolarian "exhibits the characteristics of an agglutinating tongue to an extraordinarily complete degree. The only form of speech with which I can compare it in this respect is Turkish. What Professor Max Müller has said about that language applies with equal force to Santali, the typical form of Munda (Kolarian) speech." This alone would suffice to separate Kolarian from Dravidian, since no philologist has ever yet thought of connecting the latter with Turkish.

Then it is added that Kolarian has phonetic sounds unknown to Dravidian, a vigesimal system opposed to a Dravidian decimal, a dual absent in Dravidian, a Dravidian negative voice foreign to Kolarian "the type of which is older than that of Dravidian," and, to crown all, it is stated in a note that "since the above remarks were passed for the press linguistic survey has reached the Munda languages. The comparative examination of these forms of speech will probably show that the Munda and Dravidian languages have not a common origin. The question is however still *sub judice*" (Report, page 278). Not so many years ago, I arrived at the conclusion that Tamil, a typical Dravidian language of which I have some knowledge, has not the remotest connection with Santali, in which suffix is piled upon suffix, often resulting in words of monstrous length such as *dal-ochō-akan-taken-tac-fin-a-c* from *dal* to strike. The best idea of the enormous number of complex forms which may thus be built upon a single root may be gathered from the fact that the conjugation of this verb *dal* in the third person singular alone occupies nearly a hundred pages in Mr. Skreftsrud's *Santali Grammar*. Of course, there is nothing like this in Tamil, and I have gone into these details at the risk of wearying the reader in order to show once for all how absolutely unrelated are the Kolarian and Dravidian forms of speech. Thus is at the

same time established the radical difference of the two races who are all called "Dravidians" in the Census Report.

As the Kolarians entered India most probably from the north or the north-east, so the Dravidians came almost certainly from the north-west where they appear to have left behind them the belated Brahuis of Baluchistan. Beyond the Vindhyan Range they have nearly everywhere absorbed or replaced both the Negrito substratum and the Kolarian indigenes. Hence it is that at present all the natives of the southern uplands—Mysore, Koorg, Cochin, Travancore, etc.,—speak various forms of the Dravidian mother tongue. Here again Mr. Iyer unconsciously supplies some particulars of great ethnical value. Thus we learn that the Nattu Malayans speak a mixed Tamil-Malayan dialect with such a peculiar pronunciation as to be quite unintelligible to the more cultured Dravidians of the plains. In fact their command of articulate speech is so weak that "the defect is made up by *gestures*." The Nayadis also who speak Malayalam pronounce it so badly that strangers "cannot easily comprehend their speech," and the same is true of the Pulayans if not of all the jungle peoples without exception.

All this finds its counterpart amongst the descendants of the plantation Negroes whose mother tongues have for many generations been English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese, yet they still continue to mispronounce or speak those languages barbarously. The phenomenon is explained by the Russian explorer Miklukho Maclay, who rightly attributes the absolute impossibility of our imitating certain utterances in some of the New Guinea languages to "fundamental differences in the anatomical structure of the larynx and the whole muscular system of the organs of speech in the two races" (European and Papuan). But anatomical differences imply racial differences, and thus we again see that the Cochin and other low-caste aborigines now speaking broken Dravidian dialects were not originally Dravidians, but, as above pointed out, a blend in diverse proportion of superimposed Negrito, Kolarian, and Dravidian racial strata.

Referring to the low social status of most of the Cochin natives, Mr. Iyer pays a well-merited tribute to their kindly and even generous treatment by His Highness the present Raja, his Diwan, and in fact all the enlightened officials of this exceedingly well administered autonomous State. Of the Kadar and Malayan clans we read that those "living in the Government forests owe their allegiance to His Highness the Raja who is much interested in their welfare" and that "slavery has now been abolished for many years." If the Pulayans and other low castes do not enjoy the full advantage of their emancipation and in some places still live more or less in the same condition as formerly, it is because they have not yet been able to appreciate the benefits conferred upon them. "They are still obliged to depend upon their masters for maintenance. The extreme conservatism of their masters, and their bigoted adherence to caste, coupled with the primitive customs of the people, and the physical configuration of the soil prevented them from having any intercourse with the outside world and caused their utter degradation. * * *

* * * In some places that I visited I found I was regarded with suspicion as it was thought that I was being employed by the Government with a view to loosening the existing bond between the Pulayans and their masters. Nevertheless their condition is slowly changing. They have begun to understand that they are no longer in a state of bondage, and missionaries of various societies do their best to improve their social condition."

I may conclude with an expression of thanks on behalf of all anthropological students, to the Diwan and the other officials of the Cochin State for their active co-operation, support and encouragement of Mr. Krishna Iyer in his ceaseless efforts to unravel the tangled ethnical relations in that region.

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