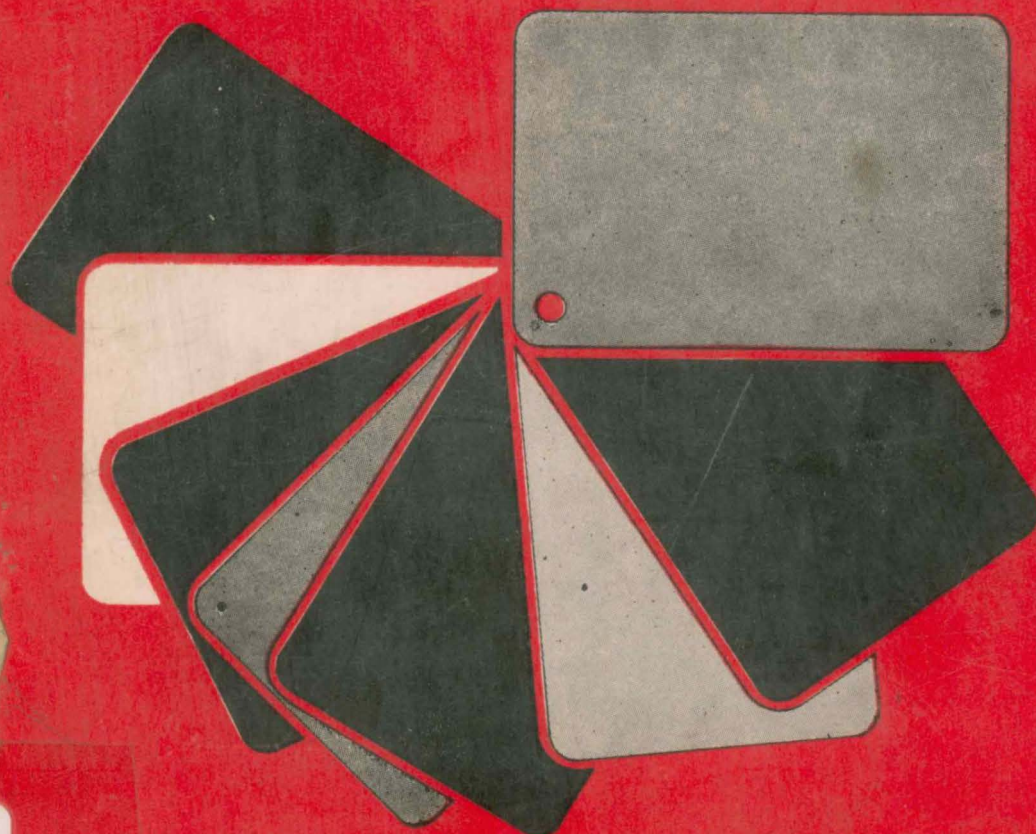


A COMPENDIUM OF THE CASTES AND TRIBES FOUND IN INDIA

EUSTACE J KITTS



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THE BOOK

At the Census of India, in 1881, an attempt was made to obtain the materials for a complete list of all Castes and Tribes as returned by the people themselves and entered by the Census Enumerators in their Schedules. Instructions were sent to each Province and Native State directing that the number of each Caste recorded, and the composition of each Caste by sex should be shown in the final report. In this manner it was designed to lay "a foundation for further research into the little known subject of Caste," a subject inquiring into which investigators have been gravelled, not for lack of matter but from its abundance and complexity, and the lack of all rational arrangement. The subject as a whole has indeed been a mighty maze without a plan. An inquirer into the social habits and customs of a Caste in one district has always been liable to the subsequent discovery that the people whom he had met were but offshoots or wanderers from a larger Tribe whose home was in another province. The distinctive habits and customs of a people are of course always freshest and most marked where the mass of that people dwell : and when a detachment wanders away or splits off from the parent Tribe and settles elsewhere, it suffers, notwithstanding its Caste-conservancy, a certain change through the moulding influence of superior numbers around. Hence the desideratum of a bird's-eye view of the entire system of Castes and Tribes found in India : and this, as far as their strength and distribution go, is what I have tried to supply in this Compendium.

The first three lists are the most important part of this Compendium, the fourth list being simply the first list rearranged in order of numerical strength, while the fifth list gives a rearrangement of the same Castes according to hereditary or usual occupation, and the last gives additional details as to the *habitat* of the larger Castes or Tribes. List I. contains the names of all Castes or Tribes numbering one thousand and upwards, and it gives also the names of such smaller bodies as are found in more

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Provinces (excluding Burmah) and Native States
of the Empire

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INTRODUCTION.

AT the Census of India, in 1881, an attempt was made to obtain the materials for a complete list of all Castes and Tribes as returned by the people themselves and entered by the Census Enumerators in their Schedules. Instructions were sent to each Province and Native State directing that the number of each Caste recorded, and the composition of each Caste by sex should be shown in the final report. In this manner it was designed to lay "a foundation for further research into the little known subject of Caste," a subject in which investigators have been gravelled, not for lack of matter, but from its abundance and complexity, and the lack of all rational arrangement. The subject as a whole has indeed been a mighty maze without a plan. An inquirer into the social habits and customs of a Caste in one district has always been liable to the subsequent discovery that the people whom he had met were but offshoots or wanderers from a larger Tribe whose home was in another province. The distinctive habits and customs of a people are of course always freshest and most marked where the mass of that people dwell: and when a detachment wanders away or splits off from the parent Tribe and settles elsewhere, it suffers, notwithstanding its Caste-conservancy, a certain change through the moulding influence of superior numbers around. Hence the desideratum of a bird's-eye view of the entire system of Castes and Tribes found in India: and this, as far as their strength and distribution go, is what I have tried to supply in this Compendium.

If the instructions mentioned had been fully carried out, full materials would have been available. In Rajputana and Central India however, only large Castes and Tribes were shown in the final returns. For Sind also the information was in part withheld. And in the North-West Provinces the list of Castes is seriously incomplete. Not a single Bagri, for example, not a single Bairagi, not a single Dher, not a single Dusadh (to go no further down the list) was returned for the whole of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. In Madras, on the other hand, a list was drawn up "giving every single Caste name entered in the Census Schedules," and containing consequently many names of small or minute subdivisions, as also other terms which are not names of Castes or Tribes at all, such as Dancing Gentoo, Heathen, Eurasian Hindu, Brahman Sudras, Unenlightened, Enlightened, and Frog-eating Pariahs. This entire list of entries has however been classified under 257 main Castes, in the Madras Provincial Table No. VIII. A., and it is this classified list which has been used here. In the case however of half a million of people classed as 'Others,' I have gone back to the detailed lists and have extracted from them all names numbering one hundred and upwards.

Caste is not necessarily conterminous with religion. Among the 185 largest Castes or Tribes in the Panjab there are only 43, the members of which belong all of them to the same large religious body. In Bombay and Berar members of the same Castes are found, some of whom are Jains, while others are Vaishnava Hindus: and here the difference of religion is not even a bar to intermarriage. Converts to Islam commonly retain their old Caste name, and hence we find Musalman Bhois (or Kahars), Bhils, Dhers, Gaolis, (or Ahirs) Telis, and the like. A complete list of Castes and Tribes therefore cannot be confined simply to the Hindu religion, and hence in compiling these figures I have disregarded differences of religion but have marked with an (*M*) those Castes or Tribes which are more distinctly Musalman and with a (*J*) those which are more distinctly Jain. In the majority of cases however the members of a single Caste or Tribe do all of them profess the same religion, but the exceptions are too numerous for the ethnological divisions to be regarded as conterminous with those of religious belief.

The first three lists are the most important part of this Compendium, the fourth list being simply the first list rearranged in order of numerical strength, while the fifth list gives a rearrangement of the same Castes according to hereditary or usual occupation, and the last gives additional details as to the *habitat* of the larger Castes or Tribes. List I. contains the names of all Castes or Tribes numbering one thousand and upwards, and it gives also the names of such smaller bodies as are found in more than one province. List II. gives the rest of the small Castes. In this list will be found several names, those of the Abors in Assam and the Todars on the Nilgiris for example, which are ethnologically important: but probably the majority of the names are those of small subdivisions which further inquiry might succeed in referring to their main stock. Names which were wrongly entered by the Census Enumerators, or of which the compiling clerks in the Census offices afterwards made havoc, also find a place here. The list of small Castes and Tribes is therefore certainly more formidable in appearance than in reality. Taking Lists I. and II. as they stand however, we see that according to the recent Census, there are 1,929 different Castes or Tribes in India: and List IV. shows that 803 of these number one thousand and upwards, that 472 number ten thousand and upwards, while 206 exceed one hundred thousand in strength. There are forty-seven only which contain more than one million members a piece; twenty-one of these contain two millions and upwards; while the Brahmans, Kunbis and Chamars are the only three Castes which number in their ranks more than ten million souls. Nearly fifteen per cent. of the inhabitants of India belong to one of these three great Castes.

The first two lists would have been much lengthier than at present had no attempt been made to group together recognized synonyms and subdivisions of the same main Castes and variant spellings of the same Caste name. A uniform system of transliteration is, perhaps, in view of the different languages and dialects current in different provinces, almost impossible: although something might certainly be done towards such a desirable end. Such variations

as Marwaree and Marwadi, Baishnab and Vaishnava, are at once identified : and others such as Okkili and Vakkaliga, Oddar or Odde and Waddar are also soon recognised. But there are others which, in the absence of a uniform system of transliteration, must escape identification. This is probably the reason why the Central Provinces returns contain the names of not a few castes specially described as being strangers from Bengal or Madras, but whose names are utterly unknown to the lists of those Presidencies. No attempt has been made in the third list to distinguish between synonyms, subdivisions and variant spellings, but I have refrained from inserting any names in this list, either as synonyms or subdivisions, without what appeared to be good authority. It would however have been impossible to quote the authority in each instance without seriously overburdening the list with notes. In each case the name used most widely has been entered in List I., and the other names have been given in List III. The Barhai or Carpenter Caste, for example, is known in the Panjab as the Tarkhan. In the Deccan he is known as the Sutar and in Assam as Sutradhar, both names being derived from the Sanskrit *sutrakara*, the worker by string, 'probably either from sometimes joining planks by string, or from his using a string in planning or measuring.' A new name, always descriptive, is often given to immigrants by the people of the land. The Bauris are commonly known in the Deccan as Pardhis, or hunters; and the Bagris in like manner are known as Takaris or Takankars, the menders of grindstones, although both Castes retain and acknowledge, and among themselves habitually use, their true Caste name. The Banjaras or pack-carriers are another case in point, Banjara itself being a name which they among themselves never think of using, a name given to them by others. A Banjara in the Deccan if asked his Caste will reply 'Labana' or 'Charan': while further south again he calls himself a Lambani or Lambadi. The Babhan and the Bhuinhar, the Kachhi and the Koeri, the Dhobi, the Parit and the Warthi, the Hajam; the Nai and the Mahali, the Darzi and the Simpi are other familiar examples of synonyms. In Madras, Mysore, Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore I have been guided by the classification adopted in the fourth volume of the Madras Census Report, both as regards synonyms and subdivisions. Without the excellent tables which form Appendix B in that volume it would have been impossible to compile the figures for those provinces.

Subdivisions of Castes are always a matter of more controversy than are mere synonyms, as it is difficult to determine when a subdivision should rank as an independent Caste. No hard and fast rule can be made. The Ahirs, for example, contain three well-known subdivisions, the Jadubans, the Nandbans and the Gwalbans. The first of these is found in the Panjab, the second in the Central Doab, while all the Ahirs south and east of them belong to the third or Gwalbans division. In Bengal they call themselves no longer Ahirs, but Gwallas: in the Deccan, they call themselves Gaolis. Aheris and Bahelyas again are two gotts or clans of the same Tribe, as some of their noted criminals have stated in printed confessions. In some cases it is quite possible that exception may be taken here and there to the inclusion or exclusion of a particular name in the list: but such cases will probably be few. The index to

these three lists contains all the names given in them together with others gleaned from various sources : and it will, I believe, form a more nearly complete list of actually existing Castes and Tribal designations than any which has hitherto been published.

In List V. an attempt has been made to classify all the more important Castes and Tribes according to their hereditary or customary occupation : and in each group so formed the Tribes belonging to the Dravidian, Kolarian and Tibeto-Burman linguistic families have been separately shown from the rest of the population. Properly speaking, the classification by speech lies deeper than the classification by occupation ; and if carried down to dialects, would be most instructive and of considerable ethnological importance. For a large Caste like the Kaibartha sometimes changes its hereditary calling ; but even a small and wandering Caste, though it may adopt the language of the country, retains generally a slang or a household patois, based on its ancient tongue. The Bhils among hillmen, and the Kaikaris and Kolhatis among the vagrant tribes, are instances in type. For such a classification however the materials are wanting : and I have therefore contented myself with marking off the people, as far as possible, in the four great groups already mentioned.

The system of classification by occupations is based on that of Dr. Farr, as far as the arrangement goes, but a few words are necessary as to the details. In the first place it will be seen that the Agriculturists contain the names of divers Tribes which have, properly speaking, no distinctive occupation. These are entered because agriculture is in India the natural or usual occupation of such Tribes. Every Caste which has no hereditary Caste-occupation takes to agriculture. Tribes like the Rajputs and Ahoms, who entered India as warriors and conquered, became at first lords of the soil, and have in these latter days subsided into peaceful landlords and cultivators. Others like the Ghatwals and Khandaits, who were formerly military retainers, have now settled down on the lands which they thus earned. Others, like the Maravans and Kallans, who once lived by loot and rapine, were at first used as guardians of the peace against outsiders, and thus fell into a quieter way of life until they too naturally took to agriculture. The wild Tribes of the hills and forests take perforce to the same occupation, clearing and cultivating a sufficient plot of ground to help them out, with Moha berries in the hot months and wild fruits and roots in the rains, through the year. The large Musalman Tribes also have in like manner taken to agriculture, and are therefore entered under this head.

One or two Castes will be found twice entered. Fishermen and boatmen have been classed together, as the occupations are followed almost invariably by the same people. Where the people of such Tribes have left the vicinity of the sea or large rivers, they have naturally lost their hereditary occupation. The Kaibarthas and the Kahars were formerly boatmen : the Bauris and Bagris in the Deccan are now shikaris and chakki-menders. The Kolis here and there became guardian of the passes, and have now in great part

settled down to agriculture. In all such cases I have made a point of entering the original occupation, even when a second has been added: but in doubtful cases, such as that of the Salai or Shaloi in Assam, who may once from their name have been weavers,* the present ascertained occupation has alone been entered. In some cases the same Caste follows different occupations in different provinces. The Khatik in the Deccan is a butcher: in Bengal and the N. W. P. he sells onions and chillies. The Chiks are a branch of the same race, but they sometimes get their living by weaving. The Kewats are fishermen in Bengal and green-grocers in the Deccan. The Khatris are traders in the Panjab, and silk-weavers when we find them in Bombay. The Thakurs however, whom we find as agriculturists, as genealogists like the Charans, and also as hillmen, are probably three different races with a common appellation, rather than a single people following three distinct occupations. The Doms of the North-West and the Dumnas of the Panjab, like the Mangs of the Deccan, where they are not habitual thieves, are the professional hangmen and corpse-burners of the country: to the ordinary Hindu they are the type, and a very suggestive type, of all uncleanness. But in Assam the Dom is a respectable man. "The Assamese Dom is usually a fisherman. Though of an inferior Caste, he is not regarded, as in Upper India, with contempt and aversion, nor does he perform any menial and disagreeable offices. On the contrary, the Dom usually pretends to an exceptional degree of ceremonial purity. A Dom cooly for instance will object to carry a load to which fowls are attached, while the large section of Doms who are Mahapurushi,—that is, who are disciples of some religious institution which traces its origin to the reformer Shankar,—carry their punctiliousness so far as to refuse to eat except in clothes especially reserved for that purpose, or still wet from the bath. In Upper Assam the whole Caste seems to be on an equality, but in Kamrup a distinction prevails between the *hálwa* Doms, who have taken to agriculture, and the *jálwa* Doms, who still follow their trade of fishing. The former class is considered the more honorable."†

At the conclusion of this list will be found all the names of those Castes and Tribes which I have been unable, from want of information, to relegate to their proper place. It will be seen that most of them belong to the Madras Presidency, a part of the empire of great ethnological importance, concerning which it is therefore disheartening to read that 'The article upon Caste in the 1871 Census Report still is, and is likely to remain, at least till the next Census, the standard work upon the subject, and nearly all that is known accurately and nearly all that can be said with confidence about the Castes is there recorded.'‡ With the admirable series of Gazetteers in the sister presidency as an exemplar, twenty years is surely rather long to wait for a single move forward.

The sixth list shows the homes of the large Castes, those which number one hundred thousand and upwards. Some large and well-known Castes, such

* Assam Census Report, para. 172.

† Assam Census Report, para. 168.

‡ Madras Census Report, Vol. I.

as the Banjaras, Beldars, Gosains and others, are so widely and evenly distributed, that in no single district do they exceed 25,000 in number, the minimum strength separately shown in this list. In every case the percentage which the particular people form on the total population of their district has been shown, and this information is really more valuable than the mere knowledge of the actual strength. Gonds, for example, are found in large numbers in the Central Indian States of Gwalior, Rewah and Bhopal: but their home lies south of the Narbada, among the flat-topped hills of Mandla and the upland tracts of Seoni and Chhindwara. This table indeed would have assumed a much more graphic and instructive form, especially for the larger Tribes, could it have been given in the shape of a series of maps, coloured with different depths of colour to correspond with the different degrees of density of population. There is very little migration among Castes now-a-days; and whatever may have been the original home of the larger bodies, they seem to have flowed into certain tracts, something after the manner of molten metal poured out on the ground, splitting up here and there, and sometimes turned aside by a seemingly slight or capricious circumstance, but cooling down and remaining for the future in the form they thus acquired. The natural features of the country must have had much to say to the route taken and the form ultimately assumed. This however is a subject of such importance, and requiring so much attention, that it is only mentioned here in order to show the object with which the table was prepared.

At the end of List VI. is given an abstract of those Castes in each district which form ten per cent. or more of its population. The districts are arranged according to their ordinary political distribution into divisions and provinces, &c.: and the percentage of Musalmans in each instance in which it exceeded ten per cent. has also been shown. There are some large and important districts, such as Madura and Ganjam, the latter one of the most interesting parts of India ethnologically, in which the population is made up of a large number of small Castes, no one of which numbers ten per cent. of the entire population. The 'sturdy Maravars,' for example, do not reach ten per cent. either in Madura or Tinnevely, and the 'Colleries' of Orme only pass that figure in the Pudukota Territory.

This abstract shows some curious conjunctions of Castes. Kanara, for example, is the only district in Bombay, and South Kanara is the only district in Madras, in which Brahmans number ten per cent. and upward of the population. In the former district they are found alongside the Kunbis and Halakkigauds, and in the latter their companions are the toddy-drawing Tiens and the Malas or Parayans. The presence of so many holy men in these two districts is however explained when it is remembered that they are the descendants in part of the sea-born Brahmans of Parusarama, whose real origin it was necessary to cover with a myth; and in part also of a 'settlement of northern Brahmans on the Kanara and Malabar Coasts about the beginning of the eighth century.' So too the propinquity of the Musalmans to the Chandals in the Presidency and Dacca divisions of Bengal, and to the Koch Tribe in the Rajshahye division,

suggests (even if we had no further proof) the origin of the excessive number of followers of the prophet in those districts. The distribution of the larger Castes often thus presents features worthy of notice. Brahmans and Rajputs, for example, are proportionately more numerous in Almora and Garhwal than in any other districts of the North-West Provinces, and barring them nearly all the rest of the population in those two districts are Doms. The Gujars are more numerous in the Hazara district than in Gujrat, where they especially settled and reigned: while in the former district they are outnumbered by the Awans, and in the latter by their predecessors the Jats. They are weak alike in Gujarat (Division) and Gujranwala, both of which are named after them. On local superstitions also such facts may probably throw light. Many Telis must have come from Raipur, formerly a great district for hill-fighting and petty warfare. To the peaceful Kunbi these men from the wild woods must, like the Rathor Telis who came down with Aurangzib's army, have been men to fight shy of; and we can thus understand the superstition current to this day in the Deccan, that it is as unlucky in the early morning to meet a Teli as it is to meet a jackal. With whatever aspect of Caste history we are dealing we gain illustration of the principle already indicated, but perhaps not sufficiently appreciated, that considering the scarcity of good historical evidence, it is desirable first of all to consider the linguistic position, and secondly the geographical distribution of a Caste or Tribe before hope can be entertained of treating its natural history with effect.

The following tables will, it is hoped, give a bird's-eye view of the entire field of Indian ethnological enquiry: many parts of the field have already been explored with admirable results, scattered however through numberless volumes and reports; and it would be an undoubted boon could these results be collected into a compact form so as to define clearly the work which still remains to be done.

In concluding this note I wish to state that I shall be very grateful for all corrections of errors or omissions in the tables which may be communicated to me, and also for any suggestions as to their improvement or amendment.

EUSTACE J. KITTS.

Dated Azamgarh, 1st November 1885.

GENERAL INDEX.

N.B.—The references are to the Serial Numbers in Lists I., II., and III. Where the name in the Index is that of a sub-division or variant spelling not shown in the Lists, the reference is given to the main head or sub-head under which it is included. References with the letter *a* affixed refer to the Addenda. In this list B=Brahman, R=Rajput, K=Kunbi.

Abdali	1	Ahir	9	Andh	15	Ashari	2446	Bagaria	1977	Balsantosh	44	Bari	58	Bednor	958
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than one province. List II. gives the rest of the small Castes. In this list will be found several names, those of the Abors in Assam and the Todars on the Nilgiris for example, which are ethnologically important: but probably the majority of the names are those of small subdivisions which further inquiry might succeed in referring to their main stock. Names which were wrongly entered by the Census Enumerators, or of which the compiling clerks in the Census offices afterwards made havoc, also find a place here. The list of small Castes and Tribes is therefore certainly more formidable in appearance than in reality. Taking Lists I. and II. as they stand however, we see that according to the recent Census, there are 1,929 different Castes or Tribes in India: and List IV. shows that 803 of these number one thousand and upwards, that 472 number ten thousand and upwards, while 206 exceed one hundred thousand in strength. There are forty-seven only which contain more than one million members a piece; twenty-one of these contain two millions and upwards; while the Brahmans, Kunbis and Chamars are the only three Castes which number in their ranks more than ten million souls. Nearly fifteen per cent. of the inhabitants of India belong to one of these three great Castes.

These tables will, it is hoped, give a bird's-eye view of the entire field of Indian ethnological enquiry.

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