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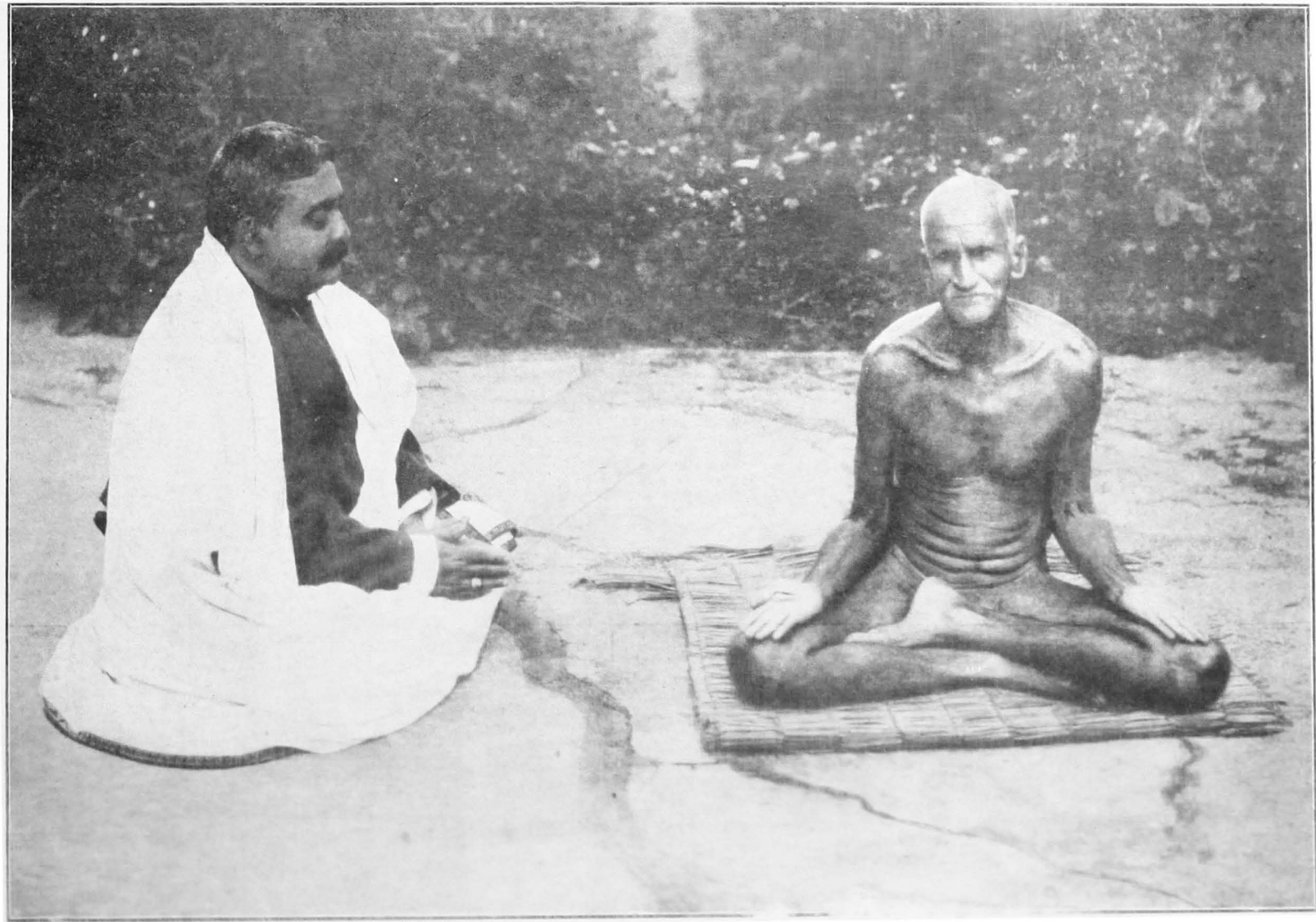
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The people of India

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PEOPLE OF INDIA

BY

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AND BERLIN, AND OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

*"In good sooth, my masters, this is no
door, Yet is it a little window, that
looketh upon a great world."*

WITH TWENTY-FIVE ILLUSTRATIONS.

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TO
SIR WILLIAM TURNER, K.C.B.
CHIEF AMONG
ENGLISH CRANIOLOGISTS
THIS SLIGHT SKETCH
OF A LARGE SUBJECT
IS
WITH HIS PERMISSION
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

INTRODUCTION.

IN an article on ' Magic and Religion ' published in the *Quarterly Review* of last July Mr. Edward Clodd complains that certain observations of mine on the subject of ' the impersonal stage of religion ' are hidden away under the ' prosaic title ' of the Report on the Census of India, 1901. The charge is just, and the offence is aggravated by the fact that the Report in question weighs seven pounds and is cumbered with many statistics. Mr. Clodd's grievance may, however, perhaps be thought to justify me in venturing to reprint, in a more handy form, the less dreary portions of my own contributions to the Report, with such revision and expansion as seemed to be called for. Two new chapters have been added. One of these, *Caste in Proverbs and Popular Sayings*, is an attempt to give a much described people the chance of describing themselves in their own direct and homely fashion. It is, in fact, a mosaic of proverbs, selected from the ample material which will be found in Appendix I, and fitted together into a connected whole with the minimum of comment and explanation. In the chapter on *Caste and Nationality* I have endeavoured to analyse the causes and to forecast the prospects of the Indian nationalist movement of recent years. Being anxious above all things to avoid giving offence, I submitted the proofs to Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, Fellow of the Calcutta University, and Editor of the *Indian Nation*, a sober thinker, who holds that the people of India ' should conceive national unity as their chief aim, and the realisation of it as their chief duty.'* Mr. Ghose gives me the comforting assurance—' I have discovered no sentiment with which I am not in agreement.'

For the same reason the chapter on *Caste and Religion*, which contains a certain amount of new matter, was laid before my friend Mr. Justice Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, one of the most learned, and not the least orthodox, of living Hindus. Dr. Mookerjee has been good enough to write to me : ' I have very carefully read over the proof which you so kindly sent me.

* *Hindustan Review*, Nov. and Dec. 1904.

I have never read anything so illuminating on the subject, and I have not come across any statement to which exception may justly be taken.' I trust, therefore, that it may be recognised, even by those who dissent from my views, that these delicate subjects have been approached in a spirit which escapes Darmesteter's telling criticism 'Mais à ces maîtres honnêtes manque le don suprême, le seul qui fasse pardonner les supériorités écrasantes : la sympathie.'

I am indebted to Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, Judge of Ghazipur, for the following criticism of my definition of Hinduism, as it appeared in the Census Report:—'The Census Commissioner's [definition] would have approached nearest to the mark, so far as modern Hindu society is concerned, if he had omitted the word "two" both from the sets of ideas and the conceptions of the world and of life.*' The amendment suggested is gratefully accepted and has been duly carried out.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, of the Calcutta High Court, for revising the translation of a notable speech of his quoted in the chapter on *Caste and Marriage*, and to Mr. B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S., Assistant Director of Ethnography, for much assistance in the collection of material and the revision of proofs.

The illustrations require a word of explanation. With the exception of the frontispiece, which was presented to me some years ago by one of the persons there depicted, all of them are taken from the *Ethnology of Bengal*, by the late Colonel E. T. Dalton, formerly Commissioner of Chutia Nagpur. The book is now a rare one, and I am informed that the entire stock was destroyed by an unfortunate accident some years ago. The lithographs which it contains represent only two out of the seven main types traceable in India and thus fail to cover the whole of the subject dealt with in the present work. It seemed, however, to my publishers worth while, and to myself as a lover of Chutia Nagpur and its people a pious duty, to preserve from oblivion these fine pictures, one of which, the study of Juāng female attire by my friend the late Mr. Tosco Peppé, is, I believe, absolutely unique. I trust that Sir Benjamin Simpson, the sole survivor of the artists who assisted Colonel Dalton, will recognise the excellence of our intentions and will pardon the shortcomings of the process employed.

* *Hinduism: Ancient and Modern*. New Edition, 1905, p. 6.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

CASTE IN PROVERBS AND POPULAR SAYINGS.

BRAHMAN.

(PRIEST.)

BEFORE the Brahman is in want the king's larder will be empty. Like the cat in a Brahman's house (No risk of being killed). The Brahman's house smells sweet (He burns sandal wood in the sacred fire). Only he is a true Brahman who comforts those who come to him for help. Like priest, like people. The riches of the Brahman are in the Veda ; help him who teaches it (A Brahman's advice). Will the new moon wait till the Brahman comes? The Brahman is in a hurry, the temple must be decorated. Like killing a cow and making shoes for a Brahman of her hide ! (An unsuitable present). He feeds Brahmans, but his own mother starves. Even an Aiyangar (title of Brahmans) can give you a contagious disease. A Brahman's Tamil and a Vellala's Sanskrit are equally bad. When the Brahman was at the point of death, his wife wept for his scalp lock. Leading an ass and feeding a fire. (The allusion is to the tale of a certain king whose barber could shave him while he slept without waking him. To reward his skill the king made his priests turn the barber into a Brahman, which was done by leading him round a sacrificial fire. Next day the king saw his Vizier busily engaged in leading a donkey round a fire and asked what he was doing. The Vizier replied that as the priests had made a Brahman out of a barber he was making a horse out of an ass.) The priest will, after all, be obliged to eat the gram cakes. (Here the Brahman is supposed to be angry with his wife for giving him gram instead of wheat : at first he refuses his food, but hunger drives him to eat what is put before him.) What signifies the knowledge of the *shāstras* to him who fails to practise virtue? If I say this, it is as bad as killing a Brahman ; if I say that, it is as bad as killing a cow. Betel nut in the hand of a priest. A girl must be married at ten even if to a Pariah (A gibe at infant marriage among Brahmans). A Nāgar will always lie ; if he speaks the truth his *guru* (spiritual teacher) must have been a fool. You will not get the better of a Nāgar ; if you do, he must be a Ḥajām. To get a Nāgar wife you must pay a jar full of money. (The Nāgar bride-price is high.) You may see a Nāgar bride naked. (She will bear inspection.)

What is a Brahman? A thing with a string round its neck. Does the thread make the Brahman? A saint, a cook, a water carrier, and an ass? (Aimed at the

multifarious occupations of the modern Brahmans.) A priest by appearance, a butcher at heart. There are three blood-suckers (butchers) in this world—the bug, the flea, and the Brahman. The Brahman and the vulture look out for corpses. Flaunting a rosary and hiding a knife, you chant the Divine Song, Oh Brahman, exhorting others but sinning yourself. A Chaube set out to become a Chabbe, but returned a Dube. (Chaube and Dube are Brahman titles denoting in theory that the holders know four Vedas or two Vedas respectively. The irony of the saying is directed at the ignorant Brahman who wants to know *six* Vedas when there are only four.) What is in the Brahman's book is on the Brahman's tongue. Bathe in the Ganges and lend to a Brahman. (If you are drowned or lose your money you get salvation as a set-off.) A Brahman need only prophesy; a bullock must plough his furrow. Every Brahman has his own moral code. A Brahman is damned by his own teaching. Follow a Brahman's precepts, not his practice. A learned Brahman dies of hunger. A Brahman's wisdom—after the event. One old woman is worth a hundred Joshis. (Brahman astrologer.) The gods are false and the Brahmans impure. A Brahman washes his sacred thread but does not cleanse his inner man. A Brahman with hair to his waist. (To show his piety.) Though the Brahman prostrate himself (in penance) he will not be saved. Be the Brahman never so vile, he still rules the three worlds. (A gibe at priestly infallibility and popular credulity.) Whatever a Brahman pours out is holy water. Trace not the source of a river, nor the parentage of a Brahman: the one is mud, the other dirt. When a Chaube dies he becomes a monkey; when a monkey dies he becomes a Chaube. Who is fairer than the faithless Kashmiri Brahman: the leper. When the Brahman drowns he drags his clients down. A Bāgar brings famine; a Brahman brings bad luck. The absent-minded Brahman ate beef and said "By God, never again!" Three Kanaujiās and thirteen fire-places. (A skit on the fuss that the Kanaujiā Brahmans make about ceremonial observances, especially in the matter of cooking.)

To invite a Brahman is to open your door to an enemy. Strain water before you drink it and test a Brahman before you make him your family priest. When we are by ourselves he is my family priest. (He is too disreputable to associate with in public.) Waste not your breath on a Brahman, nor converse with an ascetic. Better have leprosy than a Brahman for a neighbour. A Brahman and a goat are a nuisance to their neighbours. The Brahman next door brews a quarrel and settles it (for a consideration). A village with a Brahman is like a tank full of crabs. Keep clear of a Brahman as you would of a horse's hind legs. A Srimāli Brahman is best asleep; he carries a plague in his pocket. One Nāgar Brahman, nine hundred devils; two, God knows what is coming; three, certain disaster; four, sudden death. Trust a Pariah in ten things, a Brahman in none. When the gods give, beware of the Brahman. A Brahman has no pity, not even if his brother dies in his house. A Brahman, a dog, and a barber growl at their own kith and kin. A hungry Brahman will sell his gods. God knows right from wrong; the Brahman only knows *dāl* (pulse) from rice. Walk among snakes but steer clear of Vaishnava Brahmans. Kill a cat, kill a Brahman. Set a Brahman to kill a snake. (If he is bitten no one will miss him.) If a Brahman is at hand, why swear by your child? (The person on whom a false oath is taken is supposed to die.) May you be cursed with a Brahman servant. Guruji (priest) is always to the fore, except when there is a river

to be crossed. (Post of danger.) Twelve Brahmans have the strength of a goat. A Brahman's wife will speak you fair. Why do you look like a Brahman to whom a daughter has been born? Give a Brahman's daughter money, and she will say the Muhammadan creed. (Will stick at nothing.) A Brahman has no sense; he will sell his cow buffalo (which gives milk) and buy a mare (which he cannot ride). A Brahman out of work will worship his *Patla* (the stool on which he keeps his sacrificial implements). Client sorry, Brahman merry. (He will be paid to propitiate the powers that bring the misfortune.) 'Brahman, why don't you marry?' 'Thanks, my village perquisites satisfy me' (Droits de seigneur?). Is that stump of stalk for me, and the cocoanut for the Nambutri Brahman? (The Nambutris in Malabar get the pick of the Nayar girls.) I was just combing my beard when he brought me here and called me a Brahman. (An Assam proverb, apparently alluding to the manufacture of Brahmans from Bengali Muhammadans.) He posed as a Brahman, but his name was Piroz Khan. The Ahir's (herdsman's) belly is deep; but the Brahman's is a bottomless pit. The Brahmans' bellies are full; they lie about like gorged buffaloes. A Brahman has faith only after a meal. A Brahman risks everything for a dinner. A scanty loin-cloth and an empty stomach; by these you may know the Brahman. Rice on his plate and his sacred thread in his hand. When the Brahman's stomach is over-full a dish of curds sets it aching. Life is dear to us Brahmans; we have eaten our fill; give us money to take us home. Other people's flour and butter, what do they cost the Brahman? The Brahman gets cakes to eat; the children of the house may lick the mill-stone. The pony grows fat in Asar (June—July, when it is too hot to ride), the Brahman in Bhadra (July—August, when ancestors are worshipped and Brahmans fed). The Brahman wanted both Hindu sweets and Muhammadan loaves, and got neither. You will repent, Brahman, and eat the same pulse after all. A hungry Brahman is like a tiger. Vishnu gets the empty litany; the Brahman takes the sacred food. (The offerings to Hindu idols are eaten by the priests.) 'Brahman, Brahman, here is uncooked food for your dinner'. 'That will do to take home, but first give me a dinner here'. After dinner a Brahman rubs his belly and a Jogi (ascetic) his head. The vegetables are rotten, give them to the Brahman. A degraded Brahman; give him a dead cow. The Brahman wore flowers and the gardens were stripped bare. A Brahman's cow eats little, but gives much milk. Oh God, let me not be born a Brahman, who is always begging and is never satisfied. A Brahman will beg with a *lakh* (Rs. 1,00,000) in his pocket. A one-eyed cow for the Brahman (Give him what is useless). A black cow for the Brahman (Give him of your best, as the scriptures enjoin). Vultures and Brahmans spy out corpses. What is written in the Brahman's book (the duty of alms-giving) is tied up in his wife's shawl. The Brahman asks, the Baniya pays. The Brahman's son lives by begging. To a clerk a bribe, to a Brahman a gift. A cat that will not lap milk, and a Brahman who refuses a bribe. A Brahman's hand and an elephant's trunk are never at rest. A Brahman will wriggle and twist till he has done you out of both interest and principal. Give the Brahman a corner of your veranda and he will soon have the whole house. Is the ridge-pole of the Brahman's house made of bamboo? (Proverb of the improbable.) The trader has lost his capital: the Brahman claims his percentage of the profits. (Baniyas in western India set apart a pice in the rupee of their profits to give to Brahmans.) The Patel (village headman) and his wife may die, but the Brahman must have his fee. The son of the house

cannot afford a wife, but his father must pay for the wedding of the Brahman son.

Ask a Brahman for alms. (Blood from a stone.) If you dine with a Brahman, you go away hungry. A Brahman's servant is worked like an oil-presser's bullock, and gets nothing but stale bread. A Brahman out of work lives on pulse. Give a Brahman waste flour or bran, and he will make bread with it. When four Brahmans meet, they dine off sweets or starve (Caste scruples and ceremonial observances). It is poison to a Brahman to dine at home. A Brahman's guest; a prostitute's wedding. If a sheep comes into a Brahman village each one will get a hair. The pulse is in the market (not yet bought), but the Brahman beats his wife and asks 'will you make it thick or thin.' The Sudra prostrated himself: the Brahman dunned him for his father's debt.

BHĀT.

(BARD AND GENEALOGIST.)

What is the use of talking to a Bhāt: he smacks his lips like a camel. A hungry Bhāt will set the village on fire. A Bhāt, a Chāran, and a dog will sit at the door; they will not go away when you have fed them and they will feel no shame. (Alludes to the practice of sitting *dhurna* at a man's door to recover a debt.) A Bhāt went into business and made his hundred into thirty. Bhats, Bhatiārās and harlots are a bad lot: when you come in they are civil: when you leave they don't care.

RAJPUT.

(WARRIOR AND LANDHOLDER.)

The Rajput is in the front of the fight. The wall may give way; the Rajput will stand fast. It is ill dealing with a Rajput; sometimes you get double value sometimes nothing at all. Let him alone when he is full: do not meddle with him, when he is empty: a Rāngar (Muhammadan Rajput) is only bearable in his own house or in his grave. The Rāngar and Gujar are two; the cat and dog are two; but for these four one might sleep with open doors. A Rāngar is best in a wine shop, or in prison, or on horseback (as a trooper), or at the bottom of a deep hole. The Rāngar and the devil are enemies of religion; they sin themselves and tempt others to sin. The Baniya lives on air, the Hora swings himself, the Rajput drinks *kusamba* (a decoction of opium), and a woman plays tricks. Rajput and Miya—braggarts both. Gossip for the Baniya, for the Rajput a song, sweets for a Brahman and music for a ghost. A Rajput is bred in poverty. At a Rajput wedding there is nothing to eat and you must sleep in the open. A Rajput wedding is like a fire of maize stalks; there is plenty of drumming and very little dinner. Grudge not the ghi; the horse will be useful in battle. (Rajput's answer to his wife when she demurred to his wasting ghi on his horse, while antelopes did very well on grass.) He ought to be grateful to me: I married his female relations. (Allusion to the difficulties of Rajputs in finding husbands for their girls). He starves himself but keeps a Bhāt to sing his exploits at his door. (Rajput pride.)

You can no more make an ascetic out of a Rajput than a bow out of a pestle. The Rajput says, "I have been suckled at the breast of a Rajputni." There is no end to the clans of Rajputs and the varieties of rice. The Baghel

and the Gokel (clans of Rajputs) are fierce as steel. When asleep a Rajput, when awake a fool. Rajputs live on dried-up crusts; they have to grind corn and when they beg for butter-milk they hide the cup. The Rajput is your friend only so long as it pays him. The marriages of Rajputs are full of pomp and splendour, but meals are to be had only from heaven.

MEO.

(CULTIVATOR AND FREEBOOTER.)

When a Meo gives his daughter in marriage he gets from the bridegroom a mortar full of silver. (Referring to the high brideprice paid by the Meos.) The Meo's son will nurse his revenge for twelve years.

BAIDYA.

(PHYSICIAN.)

Let no man fix his abode where there is no wealth, no divine teacher, no magistrate, no river, and no physician. Sect marks on his forehead, and 'Govind, Govind' on his lips, he pretends to be a physician. He cannot even find the pulse, yet he doctors every one; what is it to the Baidya if his helpless patient dies? The disease has eaten the Bej's (quack-doctor's) nose. Rising and falling is the Baidya's lot, provided the original stock remains sound. (The allusion is to the complicated rules of inter-marriage among the Baidyas of Bengal, under which the social status of a family is determined by the marriages of the daughters.)

KĀYASTH.

(CLERK.)

A Kāyasth is a man of figures (A theorist). Trust not a Kāyasth, a crow, or a snake without a tail. A young Kāyasth is as cunning as an old gipsy. Who so thinks he can jockey a Kāyasth is a great fool. The pen is the Kāyasth's weapon. A Kāyasth's son should be either learned or dead: an ignorant Kāyasth is as an oil-presser's bullock. The youngest among Kāyasths. (The fag of the family.) The son of a Kāyasth lives by the point of his pen. In a Kāyasth's house even the cat learns two letters and a half. The strings of a sieve, a bit without a bridle, and a Kāyasth servant are three useless things. Half a loaf is enough; I am a Kāyasth, not a beast. Drinking comes to a Kāyasth with his mother's milk. Beware of the Kāyasth who wears a gold necklace. (The suggestion is that a Kāyasth money-lender is a merciless creditor.) They will die if you touch them, but still they crawl and bite—where have these two creatures, bugs and Kāyasths, come from? A Kāyasth who can pay cash is the devil; he is an angel when deep in debt. Wherever three Kāyasths are gathered together a thunderbolt is sure to fall. When honest men fall out the Kāyasth gets his chance. Kāyasths, crows, and *roras* (loose ponies) are much of a muchness. Where there are no tigers the Kāyasth will become a shikari. The Kāyasth was eleven months in his mother's womb, yet he did not bite her: why? he had no teeth.

JĀT.

(PUNJAB CULTIVATOR.)

No kindness in a Jāt, no weevil in a stone. A Jāt is your friend as long as you have a stick in your hand. Bind up a wound, tie up a Jāt. To be civil to a Jāt is

like giving treacle to a donkey. Kill the Jāt ; let the snake go. When a Jāt runs wild it takes God to hold him. A Jāt's laugh would break an ordinary man's ribs.

What does a Jāt know about dainties ? he might as well be eating toad-stools. When a Jāt becomes refined there is a great run on the garlic : when a Jāt learns manners he blows his nose with a door-mat. If a Hindki cannot harm you he will leave a bad smell as he goes by. Wheedle a Pathan, but heave a clod at a Hindki. (Pathans call the Jāts Hindki.)

The Jāt's *damri* (half a pie) draws blood : the Baniya's hundred does not break the skin. (If you borrow half a pie from a Jāt he will dun you for it as much as a Baniya would for Rs. 100.) If a Jāt gives you butter-milk he will put a rope round your neck. The Jatni wetted her thread : the Karār put a stone in the scale. A good sort is the Jatni ; hoe in hand she weeds the fields with her husband. When it is sowing time with the Jāt (and help is needed) everyone is his aunt or his sister-in-law ; when the crop is ripe he does not know his own sister. The Jāt's baby has a plough-handle to play with. The Jāt stood on his corn-heap and called out to the King's elephant-drivers 'Hi, there, what will you take for those little donkeys ?'

Doubt the solvency of a Jāt who wears white clothes and eats chicken. If a Jāt stops ploughing in *Srāvan*, he ruins himself ; if an old man marries, he puts his beard in the fire. There is little to choose between a Jāt and a pig ; but the Jāt weighs more, and grubs up a whole acre while the pig is grubbing a hole. Says the Jāt, 'Come, my daughter, join hands and circle the marriage fire ; if this husband dies, there are plenty more.' (Jāts allow widows to marry.) Put not your trust in *ghī* kept in an earthen pot, in a Hindu's beard, in a father of many daughters, or in a debt due from a Jāt. (The *ghī* will taste of the pot ; the Hindu may shave his beard ; the father's means will be exhausted in getting his daughters married ; and the Jāt will repudiate his debt.) In a company of Jāts there is ceaseless chatter. A scythe has no sheath, a Jāt has no learning. Saith the Jāt, 'Listen, wife, we have got to live in this village ; if the folks say a cat walked off with a camel we must chime in.' A whole family and one wife between them. (Allusion to the fraternal polyandry believed to prevail *sub rosa* among the Jāts.) Oh Jāt, abandon your neighbour's couch. You may fathom the acrobat's art, but not the wit of a Jāt. (The reference is to a Rabelaisian tale of how a king had sworn a rash oath to make over his kingdom to a female acrobat (Natni) if no one could defeat her. Whereupon a Jāt climbed the Natni's pole, sat on the top and besprinkled the spectators after the manner of Gulliver in Lilliput. The Natni could not compete with this and so the kingdom was saved.)

KUNBI OR KURMI.

(CULTIVATOR.)

No month without a day ; no village without a Kunbi. Better a solvent Kurmi than a bankrupt millionaire. The Kunbi is always planting, whether his crop lives or dies. Rain in Hathiya gladdens the Kunbin's heart. (An asterism in which rain is specially beneficial to the autumn crops.) Rain in September brings the Kurmin golden earrings. A basket on her head and a child on each hip—by this you may know the Kunbin. Kunbis and flour improve with pounding. You will as soon grow a creeper on a rock as make a Kurmi your friend. A Kunbi has no sense ; he forgets whatever he learns. A Kunbi with a stye on his eyelid is as savage as a bull.

A Kunbi is as crooked as a sickle, but you can beat him straight. The Kunbi is so obstinate that he plants thorns across the path. The Kunbi went cowherding and earned an earthen pot. A Kunbi does not know an upright from a cross. The master sits at home and the field is full of thorns. A Konkani ghost pounds rice, (A gibe at the cowardice of the Kunbi of the Konkan, the rice-growing country between the western Ghāts and the sea.) The Kunbi's son has nothing but a loin-cloth, but is great at giving alms. A Kunbi's bounty—you must beat him first.

ARAIN.

(MARKET GARDENER.)

A cow is a good beast, and an Arain is a good cultivator. If you trust in God, put no trust in an Arain. Kill the Arain and the Chandar bird ; the one will slander you, the other will eat your grapes.

GIRTH.

(PUNJAB CULTIVATOR.)

When the rice is bending with its own weight the Girth looks round and swagers. You cannot make a saint of a Girth or teach a buffalo modesty. You cannot make a widow of a Girthni or change a bull-buffalo into a barren cow. (Girths allow widows to marry, and the women are credited with making free use of the privilege.)

REDDI.

(MADRAS CULTIVATOR.)

The Reddi fed his dog like a horse and barked himself. The Reddi who had never been on a horse sat with his face to the tail. When the clumsy Reddi got into a palankin it swung from side to side. The envious Reddi ruined the village while he lived and was a curse to it when he died.

AHOM AND BHUIYA.

(ASSAM LANDHOLDERS.)

For the Ahom the *chalang*, for the Hindu the *bei* ; I am in your hands, do with me what you will. (The *chalang* is the Ahom form of marriage ; *bei* the Hindu form. The proverb purports to express the feelings of a newly-married bride.)

Be it torn, be it crumpled, it is still a silk scarf ; be he young, be he old, he is still a Bhuiya's son. (Social position of landholders.)

VELLALA.

(MADRAS CULTIVATOR.)

The agriculture of the Vellala of to-day is no agriculture. The Vellala was ruined by adornment, the harlot by finery.

BANIYA.

(TRADER AND MONEY-LENDER.)

A Baniya's heart is no bigger than a coriander seed. A friendly Baniya, a chaste courtesan. (Proverb of the impossible.) The faith of a Komati. (*Punica fides*. The Komati is the trader of the Telugu country.)

The grain merchant turns pice into lakhs or lakhs into pice. Shāh first Bādshāh afterwards. (The Baniya's progress.) A timid Baniya loses both principal and interest. A Baniya has credit, a thief has none. A well-known Baniya prospers; a well-known thief gets hanged. A Baniya robs his friend, a thief his acquaintance. First beat the Baniya, then the thief. Four thieves robbed eighty-four Baniyas. (Cowardice and disunion) In a full boat the Baniya is a dead-weight. Trust neither the Baniya nor the ferryman. If a Sud (Amritsar Baniya) is on the other side of the river, leave your bundle on this side. The Chetti (Madras Baniya) and the goldsmith. (*Arcades ambo.*) No one knows what a Chetti is worth till he is dead. The outside of his turban is white, but inside it is all rags. Profit may be made by a rise of rates, but not by using false weights. The Gandhi (grocer and druggist) buys a basketful for a rupee and sells it for a rupee per tola. Gandhis and doctors are close friends. You cannot set up as a Gandhi with one bit of ginger. A petty ginger-seller and wants news of the steamer! (As if he expected a large consignment.) Hira Dalāl, with a pice worth of nuts, calls himself a merchant. To-day a Baniya, to-morrow a Potdar (coin-tester). The mouse found a rag and set up as a cloth merchant. The grocer steals his own sugar. (To keep his hand in.) Špilt salt is doubled. (By picking up dust). A Baniya's five-seer weight! (Typical illustration of fraud). What can the poor Baniya do? the scales tip themselves! The simple Baniya weighed in some pice with the cloves. (And thus gave short weight.) The Jāt's wife soaked heř yarn (to make it heavy), but the Baniya's weights were light. The Chetti cut the price; the weaver cut the width. A frightened Baniya gives full weight. To recover five the Baniya spends fifty. (Litigation for bad debts.) A Baniya short of a job will weigh his own weights or shift rice from one barn to another. A Baniya will start an auction in a desert. An insolvent Baniya keeps his accounts on the wall. (Where he can rub them out.) A bankrupt Baniya sets up as a broker; a bankrupt Pārsi as a liquor-seller. When a Baniya talks of old times you may know that he is in a bad way. When a buffalo is full she refuses oil cake; when a Baniya is well off he gives time to his debtors; when a Jāt prospers he starts a quarrel; when your banker is in a bad way he fastens upon you. When the Jāt does well he shuts up the path (by ploughing it); when the Kirār (money-lender) does well, he shuts up the Jāt. A bankrupt Baniya puts on the robe of the mendicant and begs from door to door. Even when insolvent a Chetti is a Chetti; silk is silk though never so torn. Your debt to a Baniya grows like a rubbish heap. A Baniya's account, a horse's gallop. The Baniya has him by the scalp-lock. A Baniya is no one's friend: if he takes a walk it is only for gain. If a Baniya's son tumbles down he is sure to pick something up. Trust not a drowning Baniya; he is not going down stream for nothing; let him sink or swim. Only a madman is wiser than a Baniya; only a leper is whiter than an Englishman. If four Baniyas meet they rob the whole world. When the merchant started adorning himself the whole town was plundered. The Baniya has taken the field and the village is full of relations. (Poverty and obligations.) A Baniya for neighbour is like a boil in the armpit. I tilled the field; the Baniya filled his granary. The Baniya nets the wise; the Thag strangles the fool. The Dom borrowed ten from the Baniya and repaid a hundred. You can't pass a false coin on a Baniya. A Baniya's terms are indefinite; he says one thing at night and another in the morning. Trust a tiger, a scorpion,

a snake, but a Baniya's word you can never take. (Cradle song in Gujarat.) The Baniya's urine breeds scorpions. He has the jaws of an alligator and a stomach of wax. A Baniya and a drum are made to be beaten. The Baniya's greeting is a message from the devil. There are three shameless ones—the Baniya, the Abir and the whore. A crow, a Kīrār (shopkeeper) and a dog; trust them not even when asleep. Father a Baniya, son a Nawāb. Better a leprous forehead than a Modh Baniya for your neighbour. There is no stopping a child or a Saukār. (The idea is that a money-lender demands payment as persistently as a child clamours for something which it wants.) He won't lend money and he won't advance grain: what does he mean by calling himself a Shāh (village money-lender and shopkeeper)? What the Baniya writes God alone can read. (In most parts of India the trading castes keep their accounts in a special character which is very difficult to read.)

The dogs starve at a Baniya's feast. Will a Baniya eat *ghi* and *khichri* every day: not he, he eats his own treacle in fear and trembling. A Baniya's wedding is run on the cheap. He chooses the bride for her skill in cooking, but every one stares at her when she goes to the well. (For her good looks and her ornaments.) The Baniya's wife spent a farthing on betel-nut: quoth he 'We shall soon be ruined.' Call a Baniya father and he will give you treacle. One Bhuinhār is meaner than seven Chamārs; one Nuniār (Baniya) is meaner than seven Bhuinhārs. The Mahesri buys sugar; if the price falls he will sell his wife. The Sarāogi cooks rice, but gives parched gram to his friends. Scales with a long beam and short strings, and a *ser* that weighs only three-quarters: by these you may know the true-born Baniya. The Agarwāl swaggers; his mother a Bhatiyāri (cook), his father a Kalāl (distiller). The Baniya does not trouble to curl his moustache. Here comes the grain-dealer with a basket in his hand and a rosary round his neck. (Affected piety.)

The Baniya bought up rotten grain and sold it dear: the beam of his scales broke and his weights were worn thin: he flourished and the Jāt perished: first died the weavers (Jolāhā) then the oilmen (Teli): a rupee was worth only eight annas: millet sold at the price of pistachio nuts, and wheat at the price of raisins: the carts lay idle, for the bullocks were dead; and the bride went to her husband without the accustomed rites. (A picture of famine.) Wheat jumped from sixteen *ser*s the rupee to thirty-two: 'Oh, wheat, how hast thou dealt with me,' cries the dealer, beating his breast in his shop, 'as sure as I am a Khatri, no more wheat for me. Oh! that I had had my money made up into necklaces and beads.' (A picture of plenty.)

A Komati's evidence. (The story is that a Komati, being called in to identify a horse about which a Hindu and a Musalman were quarrelling, said that the front part of it looked like the Musalman's horse and the hind part like the Hindu's.) A monkey's death, a Komati's adultery. (Both secret.) The Mudaliar's pride wastes lamp-oil. The Mudaliar has only a pound of rice; but his pot is big enough for a bushel. (Ostentation.)

A bamboo cannot fruit, a Khatri cannot plough. (When a bamboo flowers it dies, if a trader takes to agriculture he is ruined.) When frost has killed the sugar-cane, the money-lender pretends to be bankrupt: the Jāt goes to borrow (to pay his land revenue), the Khatri puts him off. A hundred goldsmiths make one

Thag, a hundred Thags make one brass-worker (Thatera), a hundred Thateras make one Khatri. Says the Khatri : 'The thieves were four and we eighty-four; the thieves came on and we ran away.' Minced Khatri makes Khoja. A Khoja is poison hidden in honey; he goes in like a needle and comes out like a sword. From that sort of itch may the Lord deliver us. (Play on the word *Khuj* or *Khujli*, the itch, and *Khoja*.) A mouthful in the morning is better than ten in the evening; one Khoja without experience is better than ten Kirārs with it.

A crow, a Kirār, and a dog, trust them not even when asleep. You can no more make a friend of a Kirār than a *sati* of a courtesan. A Kirār sleeps only to steal. The nine Kirārs felt all alone when they met the Rāthi with a hoe in his hand. The Jatni wetted the thread; the Kirār put a stone in the scale.

BABHAN.

(BIHAR LANDHOLDER.)

Rice and the Bābhan share the same lot. (Both should be pounded and of both there are many varieties.) If Hararias, Kodarias, and Bhusbharats (sections of the Bābhan caste) would die, Tirhut would be purged of its sin. Trust not a Bābhan, not even if he stand in the Ganges and swear by the ammonite, by the life of Krishna, and by his own son.

NAPIT OR HAJAM.

(BARBER.)

The crow among birds, the barber among men. Among men most deceitful is the barber, among birds the crow, among creatures of the water the tortoise. The Hajām shaves all, but none shaves the Hajām. Barbers, doctors, pleaders, prostitutes, all must have cash down. The barber, the washerman, the tailor—all three rogues. Stick to your barber, change your washerman. The bridegroom gets a wife and the barber burns his fingers. (The barber lights the lamps at the wedding.) Here comes the barber with his razor; not a hair will be spared. (A reference to the custom of shaving a man completely when he performs penance for a breach of caste rules.) The razor is sharp, mother, what are you crying about? (Addressed to a newly-made widow about to have her head shaved, the disfiguring custom of western India.) The Erahman blessed the barber, and the barber showed his glass. (Diamond cut diamond, both castes living by fees.) Vain as a barber. A barber by birth, with a Parsi name. Arrogant as a barber, affected as a washerman. A man to carry the barber's bag! A slave under a slave and under him a barber. At a barber's wedding all are lords. (In Bihar the barber is ironically called Thākur.) A clumsy barber wants many razors. (A bad workman quarrels with his tools.) To shave like a hill barber. A barber learns by shaving fools. A barber out of work bleeds the wall, shaves a foot-stool, a buffalo, a cat, his shaving pot, etc. As the idol so the burner of incense; as the barber so the strop. The barber's rubbish heap does not lack hair. What cares the barber if he cuts the child's head? If the washerman's son dies the barber cares not a hair. Beat a barber on the head with a shoe, you will not make him hold his tongue. Touching barbers and their gossip the wise say, 'Throw a dog a morsel to stop his mouth.' (Choke off a reporter with a scrap of news.) A Hajām found a purse and all the world knew it. The riches of a Hajām! An elephant in a Hajām's house!

(Proverbs of the impossible.) A burglary at a Hajām's; stolen, three pots of comings! The tailor's to-morrow never comes, but the barber must be up to time. The barber and the washerman never come in time. The tailor steals your cloth, and the goldsmith your gold; the barber can steal nothing but your hair. The barber is so rich that he asks for a virgin bride! The barber's son-in-law has his moustache shaved at his wedding. If you go back four generations you will find that your uncle was a barber. (Suggests that the barber is unduly intimate with the women of the household.) In a Palli village the barber is the schoolmaster. (Palli, a low fishing caste in Madras.) A barber, a dog, and a hawk are no good when full; a bullock, a Baniyā and a king are no good when empty. Three useless things—a king with no subjects, a he-goat with no flock, a barber with no customers. What can a bald man owe to the barber's mother? A Dom made friends with a barber and got shaved for nothing. A barber's penny. (All profit and no risk.) A barber with bamboo nail-scissors. (Inexperience.) The barber's son learns to shave, the wayfarer gets cut. Nails grow at the sight of the barber. A barber's wit has sixteen sides. When a girl talks cleverly you may know she is a barber's daughter.

SONAR.

(GOLDSMITH.)

The goldsmith, the tailor, the weaver are too sharp for the angel of death: God alone knows where to have them. Trust not the goldsmith; he is no man's friend, and his word is worthless. If you have never seen a tiger, look at a cat; if you have never seen a thief, look at a Sonār. The goldsmith's ear-boring does not hurt. Break up old ornaments, order new ones, and the Sonār is happy. No thief like the goldsmith; no bumper crop but in irrigated land. The wearer has the bracelet, the Sonār has the gold. The Sonār will ruin your ornaments (by mixing base metal with the gold supplied to him) and will clamour for wages besides. A Sonār will rob his mother and sister; he steals gold even from his wife's nose-ring; if he does not steal, his belly will burst with longing. A little goes in hammering, a little goes in melting, and there is no gold left. (A Sonār's methods.) One goldsmith and one who sifts his ashes. (Two rogues. The Sonār works in gold and his wife dies of hunger. Buying or selling, the goldsmith is always content. (He makes a profit whether he buys old ornaments or sells new ones.) If a Sonār comes to the other bank of the river, keep an eye on your bundle on this side. In an out-of-the-way village the goldsmith's wedding party will stay for seven days. (Shameless sponging.) The fool who made friends with the goldsmith. Only a goldsmith knows a goldsmith's tricks. Is the goldsmith's dog afraid of the sound of the hammer?

KUMHAR.

(POTTER.)

A potter is always thinking of his pots. The clay is on the wheel; the potter may shape it as he will. The clay said to the potter, 'Now you trample on me; one day I shall trample on you.' (When you are dead.) Turned on the wheel yet no better for it. (Persistent ill luck.) Praise not the pot till it has been fired. You bought the pot; do you think the potter will change it? A

wife is no earthen pot that you can change at will. (What can't be cured must be endured.) If all the pots that are made lasted and all the children that are born lived, there would be no room left on the earth. The potter eats from broken pots. As the potter so the pot ; like father like son. The potter will not ride his ass if you tell him to. The potter's wives fell out, and the donkey's ears were twisted. A Kumhār in a temper with his wife pulls his donkey's ears. The wrath of the potter's wife falls on her ass. The Kumhār's ass runs after any one with muddy breeches. Sooner or later the potter's daughter-in-law must come to the refuse heap. (Kumhārs burn refuse in their kilns and cannot afford to seclude their women.) The Kumhārin has become *sati* for the death of the Teli's ox. (Proverb of the meddlesome.) To the potter a year, to the cudgel a minute. (The making and breaking of pots.) The Kumhār can sleep sound ; no one will steal his clay.

If you are civil to a potter he will neither respect you nor sell you pots. The potter's bride must come to the kiln. Like selling pots in potters' street. A dearth of pots in a potter's house. (Proverb of the impossible.) The proof of the kiln is in the firing of the pots. In a deserted village even a potter is a scribe. (Kumhārs are supposed to be very stupid.)

CHURIHAR.

(BANGLE-MAKER.)

If the bangle-maker drops his load he wants a basket to pick up the bits. (The bangles are of glass.) The bangle-maker can squeeze a girl's arm under her husband's nose. (Bangles must be fitted, even in the zanana.)

LOHAR, KAMAR, ETC.

(BLACKSMITH.)

One stroke of a blacksmith is worth a goldsmith's hundred. Seven strokes by a carpenter equal one by a Lohār. The Lohār is a bad friend ; he will either burn you with fire or stifle you with smoke. Sparks are the lot of a blacksmith's legs. Do not sit near a carpenter or near a blacksmith's forge. (For fear of chips from the one and sparks from the other.) If you live with a blacksmith your clothes will be burned. To sell a needle in the Lohār's quarter (Coals to Newcastle). If the bull must be branded let the Lohār do it. A blacksmith's shop—like the place where donkeys roll. A monkey saw the good nature of the Kallān and asked him to make it a pair of anklets. Don't buy the smith's pet *mainā* even if you can get it for a pice. (The bird will mimic the noise of his hammer.) When a child is born to a Kallān, sugar is distributed in the street of the dancing-girls. To keep house like a Kammālan (Said of slovenly management). If you buy a cow from a Kammālan cut its ears first. The Kammālan's cloth—so thin that the hair on his legs shows through, and so dirty that it will not burn. They met the Kāmār on the road and wanted him to make them a *dāo*. (When he had no tools with him.) Before the smith can make a screw he must learn how to make a nail.

BARHAI, SUTAR.

(CARPENTER.)

When the work is done who remembers the carpenter? For long things a Sutār, for short ones a Lohār. (The former cuts up planks, the latter hammers out

bits of iron and makes them longer.) The carpenter's face! (Not to be seen when he promised to come.) The Sutār cuts the wood but saves the chips. (For fuel.) Do not sit near the Sutār. (His chips fly.) A whore's oath and a Sutār's chip. The Sutār's adze is as sharp as the gibe of the first wife at the second. The Sutār thinks of nothing but wood and his wife walks and talks in time to the plane. A carpenter out of work planes his friends' buttocks. The fool of a Barhai has neither chisel nor adze and wants to be the village carpenter.

Lifelong drudgery, like the carpenter, who can never stop making spoons of cocoanut shell A carpenter knows all sorts of wood, but cannot cut down a tree. Will you find curds in the house of the carpenter or boiled rice in the house of the niggard? The carpenter wants his wood too long, and the blacksmith wants his iron too short.

BHAR̄BHUNJA.

(GRAIN-PARCHER.)

A Bharbhunja's (grain-parcher's) daughter, and saffron on her forehead! (Proverb of presumption.)

BHATIARA.

(INN-KEEPER.)

Will the children of a Bhatiārā die of hunger. The mother a cook, the son a fop. The Bhatiārā's platter is licked clean The cook is dead; the constable weeps.

HALWAL.

(CONFECTIONER.)

A confectioner's daughter and a butcher's mistress.

MALI.

(GARDENER.)

The Māli may water the trees, but the season brings the flowers. The jackals quarrel over the Māli's Indian corn. In famine the Māli; in plenty the weaver. (Food comes before clothes.) Mother an oilwoman, father a Māli; their son a Muhammadan and calls himself Sujan Ali (Reflexion on liaisons between members of different castes.) Offend a Māli; he will take your flowers but not your life.

PANSARI.

(DRUGGIST.)

A mouse found a bit of turmeric and set up as a Pansāri.

TELI.

(OILMAN.)

What will an oilman do if you set him to weave? Two Telis and foul talk. Whose friend is the Teli; he earns a rupee and calls it eight annas. An oilman sits at ease while his mill goes round. The Ghānchi's bullock walks miles and gets no further. (He goes round and round in the mill.) A Ghānchi's bullock crushed in the oil-mill. (Over-work). Don't be a Brahman's servant or an oil-presser's bullock. The oil-presser lost his bullock and is still looking for the peg to which it was tied. The Teli's bullock is always blind. What does an oilman know about the savour of musk? An oilman's daughter, and she climbs up a *siras* tree and sits on the top

branch ! A Ghānchi's daughter and has never heard of oil-cake ! The mother a day labourer, the father an oilman, and the son a 'bunch of flowers.' (Parvenu's swagger.) The Telin saves a little oil whenever she serves, but God takes all at once. (She gives short measure but loses all when the jar breaks.) A woman who quarrels with her Telin must sit in the dark. A woman who marries a Teli need never wash her hands with water. The Red-book (Qāzi) up and spoke 'What made the ox fight ? The oil-cake you fed it on ; so give me the ox and pay a fine into the bargain'

AHIR, GOLA, ETC.

(COWHERD.)

You will get good out of an Ahir when you get butter out of sand. Can a crust be dainty, can an Ahir teach religion ? An Ahir's wealth ; an earthen pot. The churner is worth more than the pail.

Koshi (the head of the Ahirs) has fifty brick houses and several thousand swaggerers. An Ahir, however clever, can sing nothing but his Lorik song. (A tribal ballad of the origin of the Ahirs.)

Better be kicked by a Rajput, or stumble uphill, than hope for anything from a jackal, from spear-grass, or from an Ahir. The Ahir's business has been done and he won't stand us even a draught of butter-milk. See the perversity of the Ahir's wife : she takes out the grain and serves the husks. The barber's son learns to shave on the Ahir's head. (A clown for a shaving-block.) As long as a Musahar lives, the Ahir will get no good out of his cows. A Gola, a drum beater and a procurer are nobody's friends. A Gola's heart is as hollow as a bamboo. Never be civil to a Gola ; he is full of vices ; his mother is a bad lot and he counts his fathers by the dozen. The cow is in league with the milkman and lets him milk water into the pail. A Gola's quarrel. (Drunk at night and friends in the morning.) For a Gola the court is always next door. (Litigiousness.) The Gola and his wife fall out and their donkey gets his ears cropped. The Gola was guilty, but the Ghānchi lost his bullock. A donkey has more sense than a Gola. Calls himself a Gola but eats *kānji*. (Rice gruel made with water.) If I have to pay for my curds, what do I gain by flirting with the milkmaid ? A milkman would not give pure milk even to his father

GUJAR.

(CULTIVATOR.)

When you see a Gujar hammer him. You cannot tame a hare, or make a friend of a Gujar. Dogs, monkeys and Gujars change their minds at every step. When all other castes are dead make friends with a Gujar. A house in ruins is better than a village full of Gujars. It will remain waste unless a Gujar takes it. (Said of poor land.) The Rāngar and Gujar are two, the cat and dog are two ; but for these four you might sleep with open doors. A Gujar's daughter is a box of gold. (The brideprice, is high among Gujars.) A Dom made friends with a Gujar ; the Gujar looted his house. We have caught the Gujar's wife ; fetch a large basin to hold the ransom. Sense for a Gujar ; a sheath for a harrow. (Two impossibles.) In no man's land one makes friends with Gaddis and Gujars.

GARERI, BHARWAD.

(SHEPHERD.)

However good a shepherd he is still a bit of a fool. The shepherd looks for his sheep while he has it on his shoulders. The shepherd who trusted a bear ! The shepherd said that the sheep would bite him and hid himself in a pot. For one thing she is a Garerin ; for another she stinks of garlic. The Gareri got drunk when he saw the Ahir in liquor. If you have never seen a ghost (*bhut*), look at a Bharwād. A squint-eyed Bharwād has seven hundred friends. (Every one knows him by his squint.)

BANJARA.

(CARRIER AND NOMAD.)

The Banjāras are honest and never steal. The Banjāra's mother watches the seasons (for her son's return from his periodical journeys). Watch for the home coming of a servant, a thief, a Thag and a Banjāra. Strip off her shell, Oh Banjāra, and put it on some one more worthy. (Refers to the shell bracelets worn by married women, and to the reputation of the Banjāris)

GADHVI.

(NOMAD AND CATTLE DEALER.)

However far the Gadhvi goes he is always at home. 'Whither bound, Gadhvi?' 'The beast that goes furthest will carry me.' The Gaddi is a good natured sort of fool ; ask him for a cap and he will give you a coat.

DARZI.

(TAILOR.)

Tailors, goldsmiths, and weavers are too sharp for the angel of death : God only knows where to have them. The tailor's 'this evening' and the shoe-maker's 'next morning' never come. A tailor's finishing, a goldsmith's polishing take many days. However sharp his sight a Darzi is blind. (He sees nothing but his work.) A Darzi's son is a Darzi and must sew as long as he lives. A Darzi steals your cloth and makes you pay for sewing it. When four tailors meet they talk about want of work. When a tailor is out of work he sews up the mouth of his son. Sāi, Merāi, and Darzi, these be three ; 'with our yards, scissors and thread,' say they, 'we be six.' A tailor's needle, now in embroidery and now in canvas. What is it to a tailor whether he march or halt? (He has only needle and thread to carry.) A snake in a tailor's house ; who wants to kill it?

DHOBI.

(WASHERMAN.)

Every one has his clothes washed, but the Dhobi is always unclean (ceremonially). Change your Dhobi as you change your clothes. The washerman cries for his wages ; the master for his clothes. A Dhobi's dog ; neither at home nor at the washing place (A rolling stone). As many changes of linen as a Dhobi. The king's scarf is used as the Dhobi's loin-cloth. At a Dhobi's wedding they all walk on cloth. The customers' clothes are used as a carpet) The Dhobi's son is the swell of the village. The Dhobi's son is always smart on a whistle and a bang. (The

Dhobi whistles at his work and bangs the clothes on a stone to drive the water through them. He then gives them to his son to wear.) A washerman's finery is never his own. The Dhobi's house is robbed, and the neighbours lose their clothes. The Dhobi's stone is his brother. Had you been born a stone you might have been of use to a Dhobi. (Proverb of a worthless fellow, good only to beat clothes on.) No soap is used unless many Dhobis live together. (Effect of competition.) The Dhobi takes care not to tear his father's clothes. A donkey has but one master and a washerman has but one steed. Steal the Dhobi's donkey and give it to the Dom. (Rob Peter to pay Paul.) At the Dhobi's wedding the donkeys have a holiday. The mother a laundress and the son a draper. In a Koiri village the Dhobi is the accountant. (He is the only man who can count.) To see a Dhobi the first thing in the morning brings bad luck. The washerman knows when the village is poor; the orderly knows when his master has been degraded. Though a washerman were dying of thirst rain would kill him straight off. A washerman who has learnt his letters throws away his washing board. A new washerman washes with care. The washerman had a drum beaten when he started washing. (Directed at the arrogance of washermen). If a washerman is sick he gets well at the washing stone. (He cannot stop work.) What cares the washerman for one who wears no clothes? The desire of the washerman is for the washerwoman; the desire of the washerwoman is for her donkey. A washerman's donkey. (Proverb of overwork.) Though its life is oozing out of its eyes the washerman's donkey must carry the linen home. Will ploughing with an ass make a farmer of the washerman? Was it the wind or the washerman that spoiled the cloth?

KALĀL.

(DISTILLER AND LIQUOR SELLER.)

Oil and bribes soften most things, but not a *kupa*, a Kalāl, or a Musalman. (A *kupa* is a large leather bottle used for carrying *ghi*.) If you have never seen a Thag take a look at a Kalāl. Death may budge, but a Kalāl wont. The Kalāl's daughter went to drown herself, and the people said 'she is drunk.' The drunkard's evidence is in favour of the Kalāl. If you want to climb trees you must be born a Shanār. (A South Indian caste who tap palm trees for toddy.)

JOLĀHĀ.

(MUSALMAN WEAVER.)

If he has a pot full of grain, a Jolāhā thinks himself a Raja. A Jolāhā's daughter and calls her sisters 'Bubu.' (In imitation of high caste people.) How should a weaver be able to reap barley? The fool of a Jolāhā went out to cut grass when even the crows were going home. *Kodo* and *marua* are not real food grains; the Jolāhā and Dhuniya are not real cultivators. The silly Jolāhā has found the hind peg of a plough and wants to start farming on the strength of it. Last year I was a Jolāhā; this year I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyad. A weaver by caste and his name is Fateh Khan. (Lord of Victory.) God save us! The Jolāhā going a-hunting! Pathāns the slaves of Jolāhās! (Proverb of the impossible.) The weaver steals a reel at a time, but God destroys whole bales. If a Jolāhā leaves his loom and takes to travelling he is sure to be knocked about. The Jolāhā went out to see the rams fight and

got butted himself. If there are eight Jolāhās and nine *huqqās* they fight for the odd one. (None of them can count). The Jolāhā was one of twelve, he could only find eleven and went off to bury himself. (He had omitted to count himself and concluded that he must be dead). A Jolāhā will crack indecent jokes with his mother and sister. The Jolāhā's wife will pull her own father's beard.

A Jolāhā reckons time by his own standard. The ass eats the crop and the Jolāhā gets hammered. The Jolāhā went to the mosque to get off his fasting, and was told to say prayers as well. *Id* without a Jolāhā! (Impossible). The Jolāhās came to a field of linseed by moonlight; the leader said 'How blue the water is; I hope you all can swim.' The Jolāhā got into his boat, but forgot to pull up the anchor: after rowing all night he found himself where he was and wept at the thought that his native village could not bear to lose him and had followed him on his journey. A crow snatched a piece of bread from the Jolāhā's child and flew with it to the roof: before he gave the child any more the Jolāhā took away the ladder. The Jolāhā listened to the priest reading the Qurān and delighted the reader by bursting into tears: on being asked what part affected him most, he explained that the old Mulla's wagging beard reminded him of the death of his pet goat. Even if you see the Jolāhā brushing the newly woven cloth, do not believe him if he says it is ready: he is as big a liar as the Chamār. When his dogs barked at the tiger the weaver whipped his child. The weaver's wife was fool enough to wrestle with a camel. The Moghal and the Pathān have had their day; now even the Tānti learns Persian. The Tānti ruined himself by buying a pair of bullocks. (By taking to agriculture). A weaver in a small way of business took to weaving *tasar* silk. The thief was seized with colic, and the weaver sat down on a wasp. (Proverb of sudden misfortune). The weaver digs a pit and falls into it himself. (His loom is sunk in the ground). There is neither yarn nor cotton, yet the Kori (Sind weaver) beats his apprentice for not weaving cloth. What has a weaver to do with a sword? (Reputed cowardice). The weaver weaves what he has in his mind.

DHUNIYA.

(COTTON CARDER).

No one meddles with the tailor and carpenter; all comers beat the cotton carder.

MARIYA or THATERA.

(BRAZIER).

No one knows the mind of women, crows, parrots and Māriyas. When the Māriya meets his wife he beats her. One brazier swopping goods with another. (Greek meets Greek). Two Thateras cannot make a deal.

NUNIYA.

(EARTH-WORKER).

A Nuniya's daughter gets no rest, neither in her father's house nor in her husband's.

KASAI.

(BUTCHER).

A Kasāi never tells the truth ; if he did he would not be a Kasāi. Butchers have no human feelings. If you have not seen a tiger, you must have seen a cat ; if you have not seen a Thag, you must have seen a Kasāi. To give a cow to a butcher. (Putting sheep in charge of the wolf). A bad cow is best with the butcher. The righteous man is in trouble and the butcher prospers. Pen-butchers (clerks) are worse than cow-butchers. How can a Rāmdāsi (Hindu ascetic) live in a village of Kasāis ? The butcher hunted for his knife when he had it in his mouth.

RANGARI RANGSAZ.

(DYER).

A dyer wants to paint the town red ! (The point of the original is in the play on the Marāthī word *Ranga*, meaning both pleasure and colour).

SALAT or SILAVAT.

(STONE CARVER).

A Salāt out of work will cut stones.

NAIKIN or THAVADIYAL.

(DANCING GIRL).

The dancing girl who could not dance said the room was too small. Does a dancing girl's daughter need to be taught dancing ?

ATTAR.

(PERFUMER).

An Attār's scent bottle is a juggler's bag of tricks. (He will call his one scent whatever the purchaser demands).

MACHHI, KOLI, ETC.

(FISHERMAN).

Better three clouts from an oil woman than three kisses from a fishwife. (The latter stinks of fish). A fisherman's tongue (Billingsgate). The fisherman wears a rag, the Pantāri (fishmonger) has gold in his ears. What does a fisherman know about precious stones ? If the fishmonger saw what the net sees he would die of joy. The Muhāno (Sind fisherman) has a stomach-ache and his donkey is branded. Sometimes the float is uppermost, sometimes the fisherman. (Fishermen float face downwards on earthen pots which occasionally capsize). A Māchhi woman will go on talking even after she has been buried. A fishwife dead is better than an oil woman living. The buffalo and the Māchhi woman both lose flesh in Phālgun. (When the grass is dried up, and the stocks of grain have run short so that the services of the Māchhini as a professional grain parcher are not much in demand). A cow to a fisherman, a boat to a herdsman. (Square peg in round hole). A hungry Brahman will set fire to a village ; a hungry hill Koli will loot a house. The hill Koli digs a hole at night (in the mud wall of the house which he is robbing).

CHAMAR, MOCHI, ETC.

(TANNER AND LEATHER WORKER).

The Chamār and the jackal—both wily. The Chamār and the Dhed (birds of a feather). Slippery as a Chamār. The Chamār knows about his last : his curiosity goes no further. (*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*). The Chamār always looks at your shoes (To see if they want mending). The shoemaker's wife goes barefoot. The shoemaker gets a smack in the face with a shoe of his own making. Offer old shoes to the shoemaker's god. (The shortest way with a Chamār is to beat him with a shoe). The shoemaker sits on his awl and beats himself for stealing it. Stitch, stitch, in the shoemakers' quarter ; stink, stink, in the tanners' quarter. The cobbler's dirt, the barber's wound are both hard to bear. The cobbler's shoe pinches ; the barber's razor cuts. What profits a wayfarer by the best of food in a Chamār's house? (The caste is unclean). Too many tanners spoil the hide. The Chamārs quarrel and the Raja's saddle is torn. The Mochi's knife does not ask where the leather comes from (*i.e.*, whether it is clean or unclean). May you die at a Mochi's door ! (So that he may tan your skin). The Mochi grieves at the sight of his own skin. (Because he can make no use of it). The Mochi's wife runs away, but the Mochi goes on sewing. The good-looking Chamārin prides herself on her complexion. A Chamār's daughter and her name is Raja Rāni ! The Chamār's daughter does *begār* (compulsory unpaid labour) even in heaven. The Mochi's aunt has smart clothes given to her, but his wife and mother go bare. (A reflexion on the morals of the aunt). If sandal-wood fell into the hands of a Chamār and he used it to pound leather, what could the poor sandal-wood do? (Unwilling association with low people). The Chamār said to the village headman : 'How is that buffalo of yours?' (The skins of dead cattle are the perquisite of the village Chamār, who is supposed to resort to poison to secure his rights). Even a Chakkali girl and the ear of the millet are beautiful when ripe (*i.e.*, when the girl has attained puberty). The spoiled child of the shoemaker made her dinner off shoes : though she did not digest them they did her no harm. To buy leather from a shoemaker. (Proverb of the inappropriate, as the shoemaker keeps leather to make up into shoes). A shoemaker's wife and a blacksmith's mare are always the worst shod. She is a shoemaker's wife, but her feet burn for want of shoes. My affairs are like Nandan's kingdom. (Nandan was a Chamār, who became a king for three hours and issued leather coin). Now that Chamārs may drink from the Ganges the righteous die and the wicked live. (Formerly Chamārs were not allowed to touch the Ganges). There is no hiding the belly from the midwife. (Said of people who make a mystery of what is well known).

DOM.

(SCAVENGER).

The Dom is the lord of death. (He provides the wood for cremating a corpse). Doms, Brahmans, goats—no good in time of need. Carts, boats and Doms—all three run crooked. A Dom is a bad servant and a fiddle-bow a bad weapon. A Dom met a barber ; one beat his drum, the other held up his mirror (Demanding their fees). A Dom made friends with a barber and got shaved for nothing. A Dom made friends with a weaver and got clothed for nothing. A Dom made

friends with a Baniya ; he borrowed ten and repaid a hundred. A Dom sang for a Jāt and got as much milk as he could drink. A Dom made friends with a Rānghar and found no worse thief than he. A Dom made friends with a Gujar ; the Gujar looted his house. A Dom made friends with a Kanjar ; the Kanjar stole his dog. (Kanjars are gipsies and professional thieves and are said to be fond of dogs). A Dom his father and a Dom his grandfather, yet he boasts of his noble birth. (After conversion to Islam). Behind your back, the Dom is a king. Encourage a Domni and she will bring her whole family and sing out of tune. If donkeys could excrete sugar, Doms would not be beggars. A Dom in a palanquin and a Brahman on foot. (Society upside down). If a Dom strips himself naked, what can you do to him? (Shamelessness). The fool of a Domni put the antimony on her nose (Instead of on her eyelids). A Domni's slave. (Expression of contempt). The fisherman Dom has seven wives and never a bed for one. The Domni lifted the load without polluting it. The absent-minded Domni took a net for a basket and called her husband *kakāi* (elder brother) in the dark. At the Dom's wedding the Dom may call the tune. The Domni's son betrays his caste by drinking from an earthen pot. The Chandāl licks the platter, he leaves neither hair nor flies.

BHIL.

The Bhil is the king of the jungle ; his arrow flies straight. The Bhil is always ready for the prey. With a Bhil for escort your life is safe. If you please him he is a Bhil ; if not, he is the son of a dog. Bhils are very shifty ; one buttock bare, the other clothed. Bhils and Berāds have no lack of children. What is an aunt to a Māng or a niece to a Bhil. (Reflexion on their morality). As noisy as a company of Bhils. There is no dawdling in a Bhil's house. (Referring to their wandering habits).

DHED,

(SCAVENGER).

Dheds are friends only with Dheds. When a Dhed dies the world is the cleaner. Riches in the hands of a Dhed. (Put to a bad use). To eat like a Dhed. (To eat unlawful food). A Dhed's tamarind, be it sweet or sour! (It is anyhow untouchable). A Dhed looked at the water jar and thus polluted it. A Dhedni's foster son. (A low fellow). The Havāldār sent for a Dhedni and she polluted the whole village. If a Dhed runs up against you, you must go off and bathe. Even a Dhedni's feet are red for four days. (Until the henna applied at her marriage has worn off). Who will marry a Dhed's daughter? Who would father a Dhed's children? Annoy a Dhed and he throws up dust. (In sweeping the road). He went to the Dhed's quarter and found only a heap of bones.

PARIAH.

Every village has its hamlet of Pariahs (outside its limits). The work of a Pariah is only half done. If you teach a Pariah, will he unlearn his brogue? A palm tree casts no shade, a Pariah has no caste rules. The flower of a bottle gourd stinks, a Pariah's song is unsavoury. If an ox grows fat, it will not stay in the stall ; if a Pariah grows rice he will not sit on a mat. Not even a Pariah will plough on a full moon day. If a Pariah offers boiled rice, will not the god accept it? He that breaks his word is a Pariah at heart.

MAHAR.

(VILLAGE MENIAL).

The Mahār is dead ; he no longer defiles. The Mahār only meddles with you at the village gate. (He is the gate-keeper of the walled villages in the Maratha-country). Why is the Mahār's wife so stuck up? She has got a cow's horn full of grain. Why is the Mahār so stuck up? He is holding the headman's horse. Be it crooked or straight, the bread comes from the village. (The Mahār is said to have fifty-two perquisites. One of them is the right to collect bread from house to house). To the Mahār's god the offering is an old blanket. The Mahār's child has bones for playthings. (Animals that die in the village are the perquisite of the Mahār). Let the Chamār run away with the Mahār's mother.

MANG.

Trust not a Māng ; he will say anything. Māngs watch the forest-paths as cobras watch treasure. (It is believed that each site of hidden treasure has its keeper reborn in the form of a cobra). What is an aunt to a Māng or a niece to a Bhil. (Neither has any morals).

PARSI

A Pārsi ! He loses no time in breaking his word. Pārsis are educated and yet they sell oil. (Considered rather a low occupation). A Pārsi out of work goes to Pārdhi. (*Græculus esuriens in cælum jussuris ibit*). Why follow after Bezon Surti? (A notable Pārsi swindler and hypocrite). A Pārsi's son ; the urine of an ass. A Pārsi youth never tells the truth. (*Pārsi bachchā, kabhi na bole sachchā*). Grāsias are not dirty, and Pārsis are not outcasts. A bankrupt Baniya turns broker ; a bankrupt Pārsi starts a liquor shop. The day of Zoroaster ; open the box and get out the brandy. If a Pārsi gets rich, he takes a second wife, or buys his neighbour's house. (Dating from before the Pārsi Marriage Act by which at the instance of the Pārsis themselves the reproach of polygamy was removed from their community). Spectacles to the blind, sweets to the sick, a Pārsi at a Hindu's table. (Orthodox Hindus cannot eat with Pārsis). The Māli waters the jasmine, the Bhisti looks for a well, the Andhyāru (Pārsi priest) peers for a rich man's death. (In quest of fees). All dark in a house where you find an Andhyāru. (Suggestion of scandal ; notice the pun). If a Dastur (priest) speaks, he will dishonour his beard.

'Oh, Dasturji, how shall my sins be forgiven?' 'Present a gold cat, and a silver necklace, and then we will see.' The Pārsi woman offers a cocoanut at the Hindu Holi. Crows your uncles and Pārsis your fathers. (Pārsi repartee, in the usual style of Oriental innuendo, to those who call them crows because they expose their dead to be eaten by crows and vultures). A Pārsi's stroke—like a cannon ball. (A Pārsi saying which one would like to trace to the achievements of Pārsi cricketers). The Hindu worships stones ; the Musalman saints ; the religion of the Pārsi is as pure (from idolatry) as the water of the Ganges.

ASCETICS & DEVOTEES.

Who can identify a drug that has been powdered and an ascetic whose head has been shorn? (Jogis do not say, and often do not know, what caste they originally belonged to). Who cares what was a Jogi's caste. Money will buy the most pious

of saints. In old days the Bhakats used to wash their firewood before cooking ; now they do not even wash their feet. Penance alone does not make a saint. You may put on saintly garb, oh Jogi, but the ashes will cover no evil deeds. A sect mark on his forehead and ten rosaries round his neck, in appearance a saint, but at heart in love with a prostitute. An ascetic of yesterday, and matted hair down to his knees. A naked woman will tempt a saint. When fish are in season the Jogi loses his head. She went to the Fakir to learn morals ; the holy man tore off her trousers. Follow your preceptor's precepts, not his practice. One Sanyāsi is as good as a hundred Brahmans. One widow has more virtue than a hundred Dandis (Saivite ascetics who carry clubs). When a man cannot get a wife he turns ascetic. When his crop has been burnt up, the Jāt turns Fakir. As soon as the ducks lay eggs the Bhakats eat them up. Is the pestle of the *dhenki* heavier than the demands of the Bhakat ?

An ascetic's friendship spells ruin to his friends. A king, a Jogi, fire, and water are not to be trusted. Whether the bitch die on the road or by the river, the Jogi will say 'see how my words have come true.' It is a bad sign if a Saiyad blows a horn (like a Fakir) or a Brahman wears a dagger. When the Fakir goes mad he burns his own hut. Though the mountain may move, the Fakir won't. The Fakir is happy in his old blanket. Better the rice of a mendicant Brahman than the rice of a king riding on an elephant. Promise a Brahman nothing, but promise a mendicant less. Even ascetics observe caste and religious distinctions. Among shepherds no Saivas, among potters no Vaishnavas. A Sanyāsi's alms in Musalman street. (Going to the wrong shop).

A Fakir's bag contains everything. Who can stop a Fakir's tongue ? A Fakir's inn is where night overtakes him. To a Fakir a blanket is a shawl. A Fakir, a borrower and a child are all devoid of understanding. What has a Fakir to do with fighting ? Mendicancy is the veil that covers the lion. (Concealed rapacity.) The Jogi and the profligate pass sleepless nights.

'Reverend father, what a crowd of disciples !' 'They will vanish, my son, as soon as they are hungry.' 'What has a saint to do with dainties ? If there is no butter-milk I can manage with curds.' 'Oh, mother, give me some sweets ; they are very good for the eyes.' 'My son, if you have a taste for milk and cream you should turn Nānakshāhi.' The local Jogi gets no alms. Too many ascetics spoil the feast of Jagannāth.

The Dhundia is neither Hindu nor Musalmān ; neither Jogi nor Jati ; he is a stupid fellow. If you follow the Dhundia's religion ill luck will follow you. The Dhundia has an ebony walking-stick with a silk tassel, but for all that he is an arrant knave. The Ganges is spotless, the Jangam is childless. What has a Jangam to do with a sacred thread or a Brahman with trade ? Company ruined the Jangam ; solitude ruined the Domba (strolling clown).

MISCELLANEOUS.

The human race is a mixed crowd : some are Bhānds and some Bhangis ; but Bhānds are better than Bhāts. A Rānd (prostitute), a Bhānd and a Bhainsa (buffalo) are dangerous if they turn against you. If a Bhānd will hold his tongue, I will give him a buffalo. He cultivated with a Bhānd for his partner ; the Bhānd took all the crop and said he had earned it by his music. What caste has the

sweeper, what credit the liar? A Mochi (leather dresser) marries a Bhangi (sweeper) and does not stay the night. A big charger and a sweeper riding it. God takes care of the Dublā. A Dublā eats what he earns and leaves his funeral to God. What will you get by robbing a Dublā. A Dublā will do no work while a grain is left in the pot. Dogs and Dublās never lose their way. A Dublā girl married to a Desāi. (Social promotion). When Thags are being registered the whole village turns ascetic. When a Thag dines with a Thag the dinner consists of high words. In the company of artisans, bow-makers and clothiers you will hear plenty of lies; if you want more try the Mirāi. Trustees, devils, Rajputs, widows, and Mirāsis make an outward show of friendship, but inside are full of deceit. The Nāga's wife has a baby; the Nāga takes the medicine. (Is this a reminiscence of the *cowvade*?) Do not abuse the boatman until you are over the ferry. A broken cart, an old buffalo and a Pachāda for a friend; avoid these or they will devour you. A Bhābhā (Bhāttiya) is no man's friend. They buried the Bhāttiya seven yards deep and still he did not die. Have you ever seen a dead monkey or a dead Kuravan? Beat not a barking dog, nor tempt the mouth of a Tigālā woman. (The Tigālās, market gardeners of Mysore, are notoriously quarrelsome). Two Mahatam huts and calls itself Luckville (Khairpur). Does the son of an Irulan starve when field rats are scarce? An acrobat's son is always turning somersaults. The Tartar who lives in a city feels himself in prison. Make a Wāghia a Pāgia (Captain), he will still cry *Elkot*. (The story goes that a Wāghia who had been dedicated as a child at the temple of Khandoba near Poona rose to command a squadron of Maratha cavalry. One day his horse shied and threw him forcing from him the cry of 'Elkot' with which the Wāghias demand alms). He killed his own buffalo to save it from the Wāghri. When a bat is near death, it flies to the Wāghri's house.

MUHAMMADANS.

The country that has no crows has no Musalmāns. In a village where there are no Musalmāns the cotton cleaner calls himself Saiyad Miyā. (An impossible name made up of two distinguished titles). What does a beef-eater know of decent language? If girls are sold for a pie a piece don't take a Musalmāni. Can a Musalmān become a Davāri by going to Tirupati? (A famous Hindu temple in the Madras Presidency). A Musalmān ascetic's butter-milk is toddy. Even a Qāzi (Muhammādān judge) will drink spirits if he gets it for nothing.

The Afghan is faithless. Be a thief, be a thief. (Injunction of Afridi parents to a child while passing him backwards and forwards through a hole in a wall—the ordinary method of burglarious entry in India). Blood for blood. (The sanctity of the vendetta). The Baloch who steals gains Paradise for his ancestors even unto seven generations. Who marries not an Isakhi girl deserves an ass for a bride. (The Isakhi clan of the Bannuchi is noted for the beauty of its women). You may know the Chishti by his squint. (A sign of rascality).

The Mulla preferred to be drowned rather than give his hand. (Proverb of avarice). The Niāzi love a quarrel. A Pathān's enmity is like a dung-fire. A saint one moment; a devil the next; that is the Pathān. The Pathān boy and his brother took a short cut and fell over the cliff. (Impatience). Hold up a rupee and you may look at any Mohmand whether man or woman. (Venality). The Pathāns conquer the city and the Jolāhas get the benefit. (By serving them). The Shekh

came out with a shoe in his hand ; the Pathān ran into his house. The Pathān is hungry as soon as his hands are dry. (When he has washed his hands after eating. The brevity of the original—*hāth sukhā Pathān bhukhā*—disappears in translation).

A Khatak is like a hen ; if you seize him slowly he sits down ; if suddenly he clucks. Make friends with any one but a Khatak—may the devil take him ! Though the Khatak is a good horseman yet he is a man of but one charge. (Proverb of the Marwāts, the enemies of the Khataks). Keep a Marwāt to look after asses ; his stomach well filled and his feet well worn. (Proverb of the Khataks).

The drum was beating in the plains and the Bitanni were dancing in the hills (Stupidity). A hundred Bitanni ate a hundred sheep. (Thriftlessness). A dead Kundi is better than a live one. By caste a cotton carder (Behna), by name Nawāb. The Pathāns took the village and the Behnas got swollen head. A swaggering Behna loaded a hen with his drum.

A Musalmān takes back the alms he has given. (Allusion to the practice of resuming the dowry when a married daughter dies). Even two families of Musalmāns cannot agree. A Musalmān convert cries 'Allah ! Allah !' all day long. A Dom his father ; a Dom his grandfather ; yet he talks of his noble birth. The mother a Panhāri, the father a Kanjar, and the son Mirza Sangar.

When Mir comes the Pirs retire. When rich, a Mir ; when poor, a Fakir ; when dead, a Pir. Mirsahib is indeed of high family with his smooth cheeks and his empty stomach. Mirsahib ! Times are hard, you must hold on your turban with both hands.

When two hearts agree what can the Qāzi do ? The Red-book (Qāzi) up and spoke, 'Oilman, what made the ox fight ? The oil cake you gave him, so I must have the ox and a fine into the bargain.' The Hindu who is hauled up before a Qāzi does not find it a feast. A Qāzi's judgment (Proverb of injustice). 'Qāzi why so thin ?' 'The city's cares wear me within.' The fowl killed by the Qāzi is lawful meat. The Qāzi's bitch may give pups anywhere. When the Qāzi's beard is on fire he must put it out himself. When the Qāzi's bitch died the whole town was at the funeral ; when the Qāzi himself died not a soul followed his coffin. Though a Qāzi become a saint he will still have a strain of the devil. To trust a Qāzi is to court misfortune. The will of God but the act of a Qāzi. You get nothing from a Qāzi save by force or fraud.

If you are well off you are a Shekh ; if not you are a Jolāha. Don't put a peg into a sack or a Shekh into a regiment. (Low-caste converts make bad soldiers). A Shekh can deceive even a crow.

A Turk, a parrot, and a hare ; these three are never grateful. Do not provoke a hungry Turk ; he will hunt you to death. The sons of a slave-girl are a faithless brood.

The true Musalmāns lie buried in their graves and their faith lies buried in their books. Where there are Musalmāns there is population. There should be no reserve among Musalmāns. (Addressed to one who declines an invitation to a meal). The love of Musalmāns is the friendship of a snake. A Musalmān, a wasp and a parrot are no man's friends ; in time of difficulty they will turn and sting or bite.

Sesamum, molasses and the love of a Musalmān are sweet at first and afterwards bitter. (Allusion to ease of divorce among Musalmāns).

Half a doctor and a danger to life : half a Mulla and a danger to faith. You love like the Mulla, who feeds fowls to eat them. A real Miyā is a Miyā indeed, but some Miyās are Pinjārās (cotton teasers). When the Miyāji (family tutor) is at the door it is a bad lookout for the dog. A Miyāji's walk is only as far as the mosque. (He is always begging, either at people's houses or at the mosque). A farthing's worth of soap makes the Miyā a Bābu. Since when has the Bibi become a Brahmani? (Allusion to the looseness of the marriage tie among Muhammadans).

Calls himself a Saiyad and will steal even a nose-stud. A Bohra is never straight ; he will cringe to you when he wants something and cut you when he has got it.

When salt loses its savor then will the Mopla cease to cheat.

A Pashtūn will go to hell through his own self-will. To see a Mulla is to see misfortune.

The camel calf of uncle Achak. (The reference is to certain Achakzāis who mistook the remains of a Hindu who had been cremated outside the city gates for a camel calf roasted by some robbers and made a hearty meal of it. The proverb is aimed at their ignorance and stupidity and may be regarded as the Baloch analogue of the story of the Thames bargees who ate the puppy pie under Marlow bridge). The Achakzāi is a fellow who will steal an empty flour-bag. A wicked son of Achak—if you see him, fly from him. If the father makes friends with Achak, the son should not follow suit. The Kākar besmeared with filth—if you see him hit him with a stick : expel him from the mosque and you will save trouble. A Masezāi has no hope of God ; and God has no hope of a Masezāi.

The hills are the forts of the Baloch : better are they than double-storied houses with wind-sails : his steed is a pair of white sandals : his brother is his sharp sword. The beauty of the night is in the stars : and that of the desert in the Baloch. Though a Jām be a Jām, yet he is Jadgal by descent ; and therefore not the equal of the princely race of Baloch. A Baloch with his trousers full of wind. (Referring to his boastfulness and the wide trousers that he wears). All the sandal-wearing Baloch are brothers. (Illustrating their democratic spirit). Whose friend is the black snake of a Gichki ? his words are sweet, but his heart is poison. When all is said and done a Gichki is a Hindu at bottom. (Gichkis are supposed to be Hindu immigrants from India). One Sanni and seven chiefs. On this side sixty and on that side fifty : all shared the fate of the chameleon. (The story is that a boy of the Burfat tribe chased a chameleon into the house of a Kalmati and killed it there. The wife of the Kalmati complained to her husband that the sacred right of sanctuary had been violated and he killed three Burfat boys in revenge. Thus arose a blood feud, lasting a hundred years, in the course of which sixty Kalmatis and fifty Burfats were killed). The precipice of the Kalmati. (Foolish pride. On his way from Pasni to Kech a Kalmati asked the road from a stranger who pointed out the track. The Kalmati, however, insisted on going straight on into the hills, with the result that his camel broke its neck. Thereupon he and the stranger fought to the death and were both slain).

The Kulānchi's sheep and the Med's cauldron. (Habit of exaggeration. A Kulānchi told a Med of a huge mountain sheep which he had seen standing on a high hill and grazing in a distant valley. The Med retorted by describing a

cauldron being made in Bombay on which forty thousand coppersmiths were employed and when asked by the Kulānchi how such a thing was possible, replied : In what other utensil could your sheep be cooked?) Wisdom has begged in vain for mercy from the Rinds : and for decency from the Meds. The black-faced Meds are like tamarisk sparks without even a glow of courage. (Tamarisk embers soon die down). The Med's livelihood depends upon the wind : and his death comes from the wind. The Med busy on his voyage : and his wife busy with her lover. (The Meds are engaged in sea-faring). The Mir of the Rinds and the throne of Delhi. (Democratic spirit. According to Baloch traditions when Mír Chākar, the Rind, took Delhi in the 15th century and sat upon the throne, his brethren, jealous of his position, sat all round, on the arms and elsewhere, and one of them not to be outdone, climbed upon the canopy when the whole fell down and he was impaled by the spike on the top).

Whose friend is the misguided Kurgāl? he is the striped snake who bit the Prophet : he is always coveting other people's property : he even quarrels for it with his mother. (*Kurgāl* is a term used among the jats of the plains for the Brāhui. It is possibly a corruption of *Kurd-gal*, i.e., Kurd folk. The last line refers to the tribal custom by which Brāhui women are excluded from inheritance.) If you have never seen ignorant hobgoblins and mountain-imps, come and look at the Brāhui. What people are these? their *good* is evil. (A play upon the Brāhui word *Sharr* which means good in Brāhui but evil in Arabic). The Brāhuis and self-will. The Brāhuis are the tail of a dog.

A Mengal's roast. (The Mengals eat half-cooked meat and this expression is used of any immature plan).

Man, are you a Nichāri? You may not win, but you will not lose. (Slimness).

One asked a jackass : 'Have you any relations?' It replied : 'The Sassoli boasts of being my cousin.' (Ignorance).

Talk of loans in Zahri : and the dead will arise. You a Zarakzāi, and I a Zarakzāi : who will light the fire?

A Meman will be faithless though he read seventy *Qurans*. (Meman is the local name of the Khojas).

When the Lori gets up, he says : 'O God! give me a funeral or wedding to-day. (The Loris perform duties connected with these ceremonies).

The face of a Mulla but heart of a butcher. The Miā's (Mahomedan zamindār) whole stock of wealth is a mat and a tooth brush. Even if the Meman (Mahomedan shopkeeper) goes to Mecca for pilgrimage he will steal a pair of scales and weights. When the Memon becomes a lunatic, he throws his clothes on his own relations. The Miyā is fit for the grave and the *bibi*, his wife, is fit for the bridal bed. The Khatija enjoys the earnings, her daughter bears the blows. (Sale of girls among Mahomedans). The Jat's (Mahomedan cultivator's) age is $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kamlis* or blankets. (Measured by the time it takes him to change his blanket—dirty habits). If the Jāt peasant is educated, heaven will be in a fix.

The Fakir pockets the alms and the monkey gets but blows. The degenerate Moghul beats the ladies of his harem. When the Moghuls come the Persian language is forgotten. (The local people do not speak Persian in their presence because they cannot speak it pure).

A Musalman takes time to bathe and a Hindu takes time to eat his dinner. A Meman and a fish go against the stream. Miyā and Mahādeo will never agree.

If Miyā and Bibi are willing what can the Qāzi do? When the Miyā broke his stick, the Bibi broke the jar of water. (When beaten she broke the pot out of revenge). A Miyā's carriage! the yoke tied up with palm fibre: he will stop at the nearest grog-shop. A Miyā's friendship will last till he reaches your gate! Miyā returns from work and his Bibi combs his beard! Miyā dies, and the Musjid is lit up. Miyā licks the floor of the Musjid and the Pir wants goats. Miyā licks the lamps in the Musjid and his wife wants dainties. Although Miyā falls his legs are up. A Miyā was not well and drank *ḥhang* (hemp). (Confusion worse confounded). Miyā goes on striking and cuts down the corn. (Recklessness). Miyā a pigmy, and his beard a foot long. Miyā a *seer*, but Bibi a *seer* and a quarter. (The gray mare the better horse). A Miyā has killed a crow, and coming to the town he shouts out that he killed a tiger. The Miyā's mind after a prostitute and the Bibi's mind after the cooking pots. If the Miyā has to go to the north, he will say he goes to the south. Think him mad who tries to be wiser than the Miyā. The Miyā can beat his Bibi (wife) with shoes if he only has them on his feet. (Poverty and pride).

The Miyā's mare went only as far as the boundary of the village. The Miyā's beard on fire, and the Bibi thinks he is warming himself. A Miyā's cat. (A poor and meek person). The Miyā cannot get it, and the Bibi does not like it. (Sour grapes). 'What are you doing, oh Miyā?' 'I have not a minute's leisure and yet I do not earn even a *pie*.' 'Why do you cry, Miyā?' 'My wife died to-day.' 'Why do you laugh, Miyā?' 'I got another wife to-day.' 'Get up Miyā!' He will say 'Give me your hand (to raise me).' Miyā goes to Mēcca, Bibi goes to Mālwa. Miyā a fop and Bibi does the dusting. A Miyā will live anyhow, but how will the Bibi live?

Every one strokes the Mulla's cow. The horse kicked him off, but the Mulla boasted of his riding.

PROVINCIAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Never make friends with a Deccani; he is as false as a latrine is filthy. Put not your faith in a three-cornered *pagri*. (Gujarat proverbs of the Marathas).

A Dravidian's nose-holding. (Circumlocution. A Dravidian is said to hold his nose for ceremonial purposes by putting his hand round the back of his neck). A prosperous Telugu is no good to any one.

The fool of a Gujarati, kick him first and then he may understand you (*cf.* the similar saying about the Chāṭtisgarhi cited above).

For houses hurdles of *madār*; for hedges heaps of withered thorn; millet for bread, horse peas for pulse; this is thy kingdom, Raja of Mārṅwār. (Aimed at Mārṅwārī money-lenders who pretend to be great people in their own country).

I have seen the land of Bengal where teeth are red and faces black. (Referring to the dark complexion of Bengalis and their supposed fondness for chewing betel). If a Bengali is a man what is a devil? The Dacca Bengalis have not so much as an earthen pot between them. Bengal is the home of magic and the women are full of witchery. An Eastern donkey with a Western bray. (Aimed at the Babus who

affect European manners). A hungry Bengali cries 'rice, rice' ! Twelve Bengalis cannot cut off a goat's ear. (Gujarat proverb of the weakness and cowardice of Bengalis).

A *pagri* on his head and nakedness below, the Assamese wishes to lead the way. (The vanity of a pauper). The worthless has three wives, the worthy one. (Undeserved luxury).

COMPARISONS BETWEEN CASTES.

The Mulla, the Bhāt, the Brahman, the Dom ; these four were not born on giving day. When a Jāt is well off he kicks up a row ; when a buffalo is gorged he refuses to plough ; when a Khatri gets rich he still cringes ; when a Brahman has money he quarrels. A Jāt, a son-in-law, a nephew, a shepherd, and a goldsmith are always ungrateful. A Khatri woman brings forth sons always ; a Brahman woman only sometimes. (Possibly aimed at the practice of female infanticide imputed to the Khatri). Brahmans are made to eat, Bhavaiyās to play and sing, Kolis to commit robbery, and widows to mourn. A meddling Brahman gives advice ; a guileless Baniya gives short weight. Brahman and Jati ; mother-in-law and daughter-in-law ; wheat and the mill ; a modest woman and a prostitute—none of these agree. You can rob a Brahman but beware of a Grāsia. (He will show fight). The field belongs to the Miyā, not to a Brahman widow. The hungry Brahman sets the village on fire ; the hungry Koli (his accomplice) plunders the houses. The Kunbi died from seeing a ghost, the Brahman from wind in the stomach, the goldsmith from bile. (The first is superstitious : the second overeats himself ; the third sits too long over his fire). A Brahman begs, a Kunbi ploughs ; after all old things are best. Mahārudra (Siva in his terrible aspect) trembles at the sight of a black Brahman and a fair Sudra. A black Brahman, a fair Sudra, an undersized Musalmān, a *ghar-jamāi*, an adopted son—all birds of a feather. (A *ghar-jamāi* is a son-in-law who lives with his father-in-law and is supported by him). A dark Brahman, a fair Chuhra, a woman with a beard—these three are contrary to nature. Do not cross a river with a black Brahman or a fair Chamār. Trust not a black Brahman, nor a fair Holeyā. (One of the lowest castes in Southern India supposed, like the Chandāls in Bengal, to be descended from Sudra fathers and Brahman mothers). The Brahman works for the *pinḍa* (rice cake offered to the dead), the Holeyā works for drink.

A Brahman met a barber ; 'God be with you' said the one, but the other showed his looking-glass. (Each expecting a fee for services rendered). Laughing Brahmans, coughing thieves, and illiterate Kāyasths are the destroyers of their race. There are three careless ones—the washerman, the barber, and the tailor. Pipe, tobacco, courtesans, the Gujar and the Jāt, all are one as in the race from Father Jagannāth. (At the festival of Jagannāth there is no distinction of castes). There is no escape from a Baniya's guile and a Jogi's curse. A Brahman for minister, a Bhāt for favourite, and the Raja's fate is sealed. Baniyas improve their property ; Jāts ruin theirs ; Doms, poets and Bhāts live by flattery. The Gujar finds joy in the steppe ; the mendicant in the *Dhāk* tree ; the Brahman in rice and milk. (The Gujars are herdsmen ; the *Dhāk* is a sacred tree ; and Brahmans are proverbially greedy). Better a barren field than a Gujar ; a desert than a Mina. The Brahman is lord of the water ; the Rajput lord of the land ;

the Kāyasth lord of the pen ; and the Khatri lord of the back, *i.e.*, a coward. The youngest among Brahmans, the eldest among Mukuvans (fishermen), are the drudges of the family.

The Chāsā (cultivator) goes to plough ; the Brahman goes to sleep. Loot the Baniya if you meet him, but let the Pathān go on his way (or you will catch a Tartar). Beware of these three—a goldsmith, a tailor, and a village clerk. The goldsmith steals gold and the tailor cloth ; the poor carpenter has only a log to shape, and can steal nothing. The goldsmith's acid and the tailor's tag. (Proverb of delay ; the one tells you that the ornament is ready, all but the cleaning with acid ; the other that the clothes have been made, but the tags have to be sewn on). The goldsmith, the tailor, the Baniya will cheat even their own father. The Teli knows all about oil seeds ; the Shimpī (tailor) all about lies ; the village watchman all about thieves ; the Lingāyat all about everything.

Vellāla chief among cultivators : Kallār chief among thieves. Trust not a black Brahman nor a fair Pariah. Like a Pariah and a Brahman (oil and vinegar). The tricks of a goldsmith and a weaver are nothing to those of a washerman. The washerman knows who is poor in the village ; the goldsmith knows whose ornaments are of pure gold. The goldsmith and the Chetty. (Both rascals). Only an albino is fairer than a Khatri ; only an adulterer is sharper than a Kāyasth. Kāzis, Kasbis, Kasāis, and Kāyasths—the four bad K's. Kāyasths, Khattris and cocks support their kin ; Brahmans, Doms and Nāis destroy theirs. Kāzis, crows, and Kāyasths stand by their kindred. Ahirs, Gareris (shepherds) and Pāsis (fowlers)—a poisonous crew. A Dhobi's stone and a potter's donkey ; both get plenty of beating. The Rajput and the Jāt are like bows made of pestles ; they will break but never bend. If a Tāmboli (betel-seller) does the oilman's work he will set the house on fire. The oilman's cheeks are smooth and shining ; the grain parcher's burnt brown. Bābhans, dogs, and Bhāts are always at war with their kin. Seven Chamārs are not as mean as one Bābhan, and seven Bābhans are not as mean as one Noniyār Baniya. Only the Nāus and the Kewats help their own caste ; the others merely pretend. Oh King sneeze ! Let go the Brahman and keep the Jati ; and should you meet a Baniya never let him off. A Dhobi is better than a Kāyasth ; a Sonār is better than a cheat ; a dog is better than a deity ; and a jackal better than a Pandit.

The Gareri got drunk when he saw the Ahir in liquor. Ahir, Dafāli, Dhobi, Dom—these are the four castes that sing. A prodigal Baniya, a weak King, a Baidya with an ignorant son, a silent Bhāt, an unclean harlot, these, saith Ghāg, will come to no good. There be three that dance in other people's houses—the Kāyasth, the Baidya, and the *dalāl*. (Profit by the misfortunes of others. The *dalāl* is the lawyer's tout who promotes litigation and flourishes exceedingly in modern India). The Baniya can trade ; others can only imitate. The oilman trades without capital ; the grain parcher's stock is a broken pot. When the salt dealer's salt is upset he gains ; when the oilman spills his oil he loses. (The salt picks up sand, the oil soaks into the ground). The Baniya's speech is polished, the Kumbhār's is rough, the Sikligar (cutler) is honest and the Chamār a rogue. Dine with a Brahman and Jogi and let a Karār make the fourth. (The two former have a reputation as gourmets, the latter is said to be good company). A Dom, a Brahman, and a goat are of no use in time of need. A Māli wants clouds, a Dhobi sun, a slanderer will talk, and a thief will hold his tongue. In no man's land one makes friends with Gujars and Gaddis.

Provoke not the Meo at his ferry or the Karār in his shop ; if you beard the Jāt in his field he will break your head. When a buffalo is full she refuses oil-cake ; when a Baniya is well off he gives time to his debtors ; when a Jāt is prosperous he begins to quarrel ; when your banker is in a bad way he fastens upon you.

Better have no friends at all than take up with an Afghan, a Kamboh or a rascally Kashmiri. The crow, the Kamboh and the Kalāl cherish their kin ; the Jāt, the buffalo and the crocodile devour their kin. Kāyasths, birds, and pandits (Deccanis) befriend their kin ; Baniyas, dogs and Brahmans are hostile to their kin.

When the Jāt prospers he shuts up the path (by ploughing over it) ; when the Karār (money-lender) prospers, he shuts up the Jāt. Jāts, Bhāts, caterpillars and widows—all these should be kept hungry ; if they eat their fill they do harm. Hope, dice, a courtesan, Thag, Thakar, Sonār, monkey, Turk and Katāl—these nine are no good. Give me an Arāin for work, and give the Khātik a cow. A cucumber is not a vegetable ; a *king* (one-stringed guitar) is not a musical instrument ; a Labāna is not a Hindu, and a Meo cannot be a friend.

Bribe a Kāyasth, feed a Brahman, water paddy and betel, but kick a low caste man. You may know a good Kāyasth by his pen ; a good Rajput by his moustache ; and a good Baidya by his searching medicine. A Turk wants toddy, a bullock wants grain, a Brahman wants mangoes, and a Kāyasth wants an appointment. If you cannot ruin yourself by keeping a Brahman servant, taking money from a Kasāi, or begetting too many daughters, you will do it by going to law with bigger men.

The Jāt, the Gujar, the Ahir and the Gola ; these four are much of a muchness. All castes are God's creatures, but three castes are ruthless—the Ahir, the Baniya, the whore ; when they get a chance they have no shame.

When the tax collector is a Jāt, the money-lender a Brahman, and the ruler of the land a Baniya, these are signs of God's wrath. A barber, a dog, and a hawk are useless when full ; a money-lender, a bullock, and a king are useless when empty. To the wine merchant early ; to the butcher late. (In the former case you get fresh toddy, in the latter you avoid yesterday's remnants which the butcher mixes up with his first sales on the next day). The Māli waters the jasmine ; the waterman looks for a well ; and the Pārsi priest peers round to see if a rich man is dead. Kāchhi is not a good caste, there is no virtue in a Māli, and the Lodhā is a poor creature who ploughs with tears in his eyes. The Lodha is very hasty, the Kunbi a good farmer, the Brahman a great liar who begs his bread from door to door. Four Lodhas and silly talk ; four Kāchhis and sensible talk. The three tufted ones (Mārwāris), the red-faced ones (Europeans), and the cactus plant cannot live without increasing. Mārwāris, crows, and Pārsi liquor shops you see wherever you go.

CASTE IN GENERAL.

A highborn man mourns the loss of his caste as he would the loss of his nose. The caste killeth and the caste maketh alive. (Referring to the effect of the decisions of caste tribunals). When plates are interchanged. (When different castes intermarry ; proverb of the impossible). Caste springs from actions not from birth. The Vaisyas and Sudras must have come first and it was from them that Brahmans and Kshatriyas were made.

Love laughs at caste distinctions. Let your love be as a Hindu wife ; with you in life and with you in death.

Having drunk water from his hands, it is foolish to ask about his caste. (Water is the most potent vehicle of ceremonial pollution. Moral—the least said the soonest mended.) When on a journey you should act like a Sudra and take food from any one.

A low-caste man is like a musk rat ; if you smell him you remember it. His father pounded parched rice ; his grandfather coriander seed. In old days men looked to caste, now they look to money. (Aimed at modern Indian match-making.)

As the ore is like the mine, so a child is like its caste. Scholars adorn a caste. As caste hates caste, so does one agnate hate another. A slipper in the mouth of caste cost money to all. (One man's offence dishonours the whole caste.) The speech fits the caste as the peg fits the hole. (Refined language is a sign of good caste.) Castes may differ, virtue is everywhere the same. Every uncle says that his caste is the best.

Though your caste is low, your crime is none the less. Nowadays money is caste. Half-castes are the scum of the earth.

'I have sold my limbs, not my caste.' (Supposed to be said by a servant whose master has asked him to do something injurious to his caste.)

The Hindu gods have fled to Dwārka ; the Musalmān saints to Mecca ; under British rule the Dheds shove you about. (The Dheds are a low caste of Bombay whose touch is pollution.) Rākhāls and Chāsās handle the ammonite. (This and the preceding proverb refer to the decline of religion in modern times.) The Pandit reads his scriptures and the Mulla his Qurān ; men make a thousand shows, yet find not God. Spectacles for the blind, sweets for the sick, a Pārsi at a Hindu's table. (A Hindu cannot entertain a Pārsi.) Musalmāns go mad at *tābuts*, women at marriages, Hīndus at the *Holi*. To the Hindu Rām is dear, to the Musalmān Rahim ; they hate with a deadly hatred, but know not the reason why. The Hindu bows down to stones (idols), the Musalmān worships saints ; but the Pārsi's religion is pure as Ganges water. (Pārsi proverb of the freedom of their religion from the stain of idolatry.) A superstitious Pārsi woman offers a cocoanut at the *Holi*. (Illustrating the common tendency to observe other people's festivals.) An ass is unclean ; a *chotliwālā* is no friend. (Pārsi proverb : *chotli* is the Gujarāti name for the scalp-lock worn by Hindus.) A Musalman takes time to bathe ; a Hindu takes time to eat (Muhammadan saying).

APPENDIX II.

SOCIAL STATISTICS.

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE TURKO-IRANIAN TRACT.

BALUCHISTAN AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

MUSALMANS.	MUSALMANS— <i>contd.</i>	MUSALMANS— <i>concl.</i>
CLASS I.	CLASS VI —Brāhui.	CLASS V— <i>concl.</i>
Saiyad . . . 92,499	Bangulzāi IV . . . 11,229	Brought forward . . . 19,356
Shekh . . . 23,519	Bizānjo . . . 17,013	Sanghar . . . 2,685
TOTAL . . . 116,018	Gurgnāri . . . 4,033	Others . . . 15,117
	Kambrāni . . . 4,928	TOTAL . . . 37,158
	Kurd . . . 4,018	
CLASS II.—Afghāns.	Lāngav . . . 18,528	
Ghalzāi . . . 18,961	Lehri . . . 6,278	
Kākar . . . 107,825	Mengāl . . . 79,288	
Luni . . . 2,825	Mohammad Hāsni . . . 57,489	CLASS VI.
Pāni . . . 20,682	Qalandrāni . . . 6,316	Makrāni . . . 2,282
Shirāni . . . 17,101	Sādji . . . 6,703	
Tārin . . . 40,841	Shawāni . . . 8,148	CLASS VII.
Others . . . 461,926	Zehri . . . 50,176	Dehwār . . . 7,033
TOTAL . . . 670,161	Others . . . 22,251	Ghulām . . . 14,676
	TOTAL . . . 296,398	Jat . . . 139,288
CLASS III.—Baloch.		Khetrān . . . 14,716
Bugti . . . 15,426	CLASS V.—Lāsi.	TOTAL . . . 175,713
Buledi . . . 5,769	Angāria . . . 2,729	GROUP TOTAL 1,402,228
Domki . . . 4,938	Gadrā . . . 7,898	Others unclassi-
Magāssi . . . 10,343	Gongā . . . 2,010	fied . . . 1,320,917
Mārri . . . 20,453	Jāmot . . . 2,946	
Rind . . . 19,316	Runjhā . . . 3,773	GRAND TOTAL 2,723,145
Others . . . 28,253	Carried over . . . 19,356	
TOTAL . . . 104,498		

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE INDO-ARYAN TRACT.

AJMER-MERWARA, RAJPUTANA, THE PUNJAB, AND KASHMIR.

HINDUS.	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>concl'd.</i>
CLASS I.—Brāhmins.	CLASS V.—Castes from whom some Brāhmins take <i>pakki</i> and Rājputs take <i>kachhi</i>.	CLASS VII—<i>concl'd.</i>
Brāhmins . . . 2,330,582	Arora . . . 592,533	Brought forward 2,209,494
	Darzi . . . 55,968	Chuhrā . . . 947,982
CLASS II.—Kshatriyās and castes allied to Kshatriyā who are considered of high social standing.	Ghirāth . . . 169,117	Dhanak . . . 98,791
Khatti . . . 439,085	Kānet . . . 387,308	Khātik . . . 68,888
Rājput . . . 1,199,953	Kumbhār . . . 462,081	Pāsi . . . 1,399
Others . . . 2,117,761	Nāi . . . 301,427	Regar . . . 14,287
	Rabāi or Rāika . . . 13	Others . . . 297,904
TOTAL . . . 3,755,799	Others . . . 228,565	TOTAL . . . 3,638,745
	TOTAL . . . 2,197,012	GROUP TOTAL 19,731,592
CLASS III.—Vaishyās or trading castes.	CLASS VI.—Castes from whose <i>lota</i> the twice-born will not take water.	Indefinite group unclassified . . . 133,581
Agarwāl . . . 215,781	Bairāgi . . . 76,385	GRAND TOTAL 19,865,173
Khandelwāl . . . 68,790	Chimba . . . 62,595	MUSALMANS.
Maheswari . . . 88,591	Daghi and Koli . . . 266,012	CLASS I.—(Ashraf.)
Others including "Baniya" . . . 441,888	Dhakar . . . 78,944	Better class Muhāmmadans.
TOTAL . . . 815,050	Dhobi . . . 65,543	Baloch . . . 469,393
CLASS IV.—Castes from whom members of the higher castes can take <i>pakki</i> and water.	Dumna . . . 57,711	Moghal . . . 126,169
Ahir . . . 366,635	Kamboh . . . 56,297	Pathān . . . 425,966
Gujar . . . 667,506	Khāti . . . 157,968	Rājput . . . 1,449,601
Jāt . . . 2,491,923	Labāna . . . 36,444	Saiyad . . . 333,000
Māli . . . 440,949	Lodhā . . . 53,482	Shekh . . . 631,774
Sonār or Sunār . . . 201,976	Lohār and Tārkan . . . 416,588	TOTAL . . . 3,435,912
Thākhar . . . 102,056	Mahtam . . . 48,632	CLASS II.—(Ajlaf)
Others . . . 470,810	Mina . . . 478,612	Lower class Muhāmmadans
TOTAL . . . 4,741,855	Rāwat . . . 42,557	Awān . . . 443,801
	Saini . . . 106,011	Gujar . . . 747,272
	Teli . . . 50,925	Jāt . . . 2,080,267
	Others . . . 196,843	Khokar . . . 108,314
	TOTAL . . . 2,251,549	Meo . . . 315,199
	CLASS VII.—Castes untouchable.	Others . . . 54,802
	Bhil . . . 345,170	TOTAL . . . 3,749,655
	Chamār . . . 1,864,324	
	Carried over 2,209,494	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE INDO-ARYAN TRACT—*contd.*AJMER-MERWARA, RAJPUTANA, THE PUNJAB, AND KASHMIR—*contd.*

MUSALMANS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS III.—(Arjal.)	MUSALMANS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS III— <i>contd.</i> Sub-class (b).	MUSALMANS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS III— <i>contd.</i> Brought forward
Degraded class, most of them are converts. Sub-class (a).		1,660,101
Darzi . . . 198,585	Dhobi . . . 135,334	Jhinwār . . . 142,208
Jolāha . . . 599,902	Dom . . . 58,713	Kamboh . . . 73,880
Kasāi . . . 20,970	Mirāsi . . . 233,137	Kāshmiri . . . 250,540
Kumbhār . . . 366,871	Mochi . . . 447,666	Khoja . . . 99,476
Lohār . . . 241,314		Māchhi . . . 236,742
Nāi and Hajjām . . . 228,720	TOTAL . . . 874,850	Mallah . . . 70,450
Tārkhān . . . 316,536	Sub-class (c).	Mewāti . . . 9,419
Teli . . . 455,902	Arain . . . 1,005,330	TOTAL . . . 2,542,816
	Bharāi . . . 70,923	Others unclassifi- ed . . . 2,302,694
	Chimba . . . 60,051	
	Chuhra . . . 226,338	GRAND TOTAL 15,334,727
	Fakir . . . 297,459	
TOTAL . . . 2,428,800	Carried over 1,660,101	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN
TRACT.

BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG.

HINDUS. CLASS I.—Brāhmans.	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS II— <i>contd.</i> Brought forward	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS III— <i>contd.</i> Brought forward
Brahman . . . 1,200,431	55,934	33,771
CLASS II.—Kshatriyās. (a) Writer class.	Khatris . . . 94,770	Kapolā . . . 17,317
Prabhu . . . 28,913	Marātha . . . 1,403,687	Khadāyata . . . 24,723
Others . . . 7,060	Rājput . . . 446,604	Lād . . . 32,480
TOTAL . . . 35,973	Thākore . . . 122,826	Meshri . . . 11,176
	Others . . . 59,898	Modh . . . 32,303
(b) Warrior or Pseudo-warrior class.	TOTAL . . . 2,183,719	Nāgar . . . 15,945
Garāsia . . . 28,629	CLASS III.—Vaishyās.	Pancham . . . 12,509
Kāthi . . . 27,305	(a) Traders.	Porwād . . . 12,774
Carried over . . . 55,934	Disāval . . . 14,001	Shirmāli . . . 46,484
	Gujjar . . . 19,770	Sorthia . . . 12,364
	Carried over . . . 33,771	Others . . . 4,080
		TOTAL . . . 255,926

**SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN
TRACT—contd.**

BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG—contd.

HINDUS—contd. CLASS III—contd.	HINDUS—contd. CLASS IV—contd.	HINDUS—contd. CLASS IV—contd.
(b) Agriculturists.	Brought forward . 313,428	(e) Mendicants and beggars.
Kunbis . . . 2,417,531	Guṛav . . . 65,019	Bāriā . . . 49,065
Othc . . . 22,518	Hajjām . . . 212,942	Gosāi . . . 59,196
	Māchhi . . . 37,987	Joshi . . . 11,100
	Others . . . 108,175	Others . . . 143,670
TOTAL . . . 2,440,049	TOTAL . . . 737,551	TOTAL . . . 263,031
(c) Cattle-breeders.	(b) Those who do petty business.	(f) Criminal Tribes.
Ahir . . . 109,204	Bhandāri . . . 168,903	Dublā or Talavia . . . 110,475
Bharwād and Dhangar . . . 788,837	Halipaik . . . 52,059	Others . . . 2,945
Chārāns . . . 35,388	Kumbhār . . . 280,640	TOTAL . . . 113,420
Rabāri . . . 148,308	Rāvalia . . . 59,588	
Others . . . 863	Vāghri . . . 83,120	
TOTAL . . . 1,082,600	Others . . . 25,188	
	TOTAL . . . 669,498	CLASS V. — Depressed class, whose touch is supposed to pollute.
(d) Artizans.	(c) Those engaged in labour and Agriculture.	Berad . . . 177,082
Bhāvsār . . . 26,221	Chodṛā . . . 30,972	Bhangi . . . 105,072
Kansāra . . . 39,920	Gavandi . . . 49,829	Bhil . . . 482,188
Lohār . . . 134,667	Gavli . . . 41,525	Chāmbhār . . . 311,303
Pānchkalsi . . . 9,342	Khārva . . . 37,931	Dhed (or Mahār) . . . 1,320,936
Sālvi and Koshti . . . 106,426	Koli . . . 1,994,600	Kabaligar . . . 35,612
Sonār and Soni . . . 202,457	Konkani . . . 349,183	Kāthkari . . . 59,872
Sutār . . . 233,737	Māli . . . 294,393	Māng . . . 250,729
Teli . . . 129,038	Vanjāri and Lamān . . . 133,154	Meghwāl . . . 34,962
Others . . . 74,589	Others . . . 280,195	Nāikdā . . . 54,561
TOTAL . . . 956,397	TOTAL . . . 3,211,782	Pānchāl . . . 60,489
		Others . . . 586,278
CLASS IV.—Sudras.		TOTAL . . . 3,479,084
(a) (Clean Sudras)—Those ren- dering personal service.	(d) Performers and actors.	GROUP TOTAL . . . 16,734,952
Bhoi . . . 61,707	Dādhi or Dhadhi . . . 91,743	Unclassified and animistic . . . 3,752,667
Darzi . . . 164,600	Others . . . 13,748	GRAND TOTAL . . . 20,487,619
Dhobi . . . 87,121	TOTAL . . . 105,491	
Carried over . . . 313,428		

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*concl'd.*

BOMBAY, BARODA, AND COORG—*concl'd.*

MUSALMANS.	MUSALMANS— <i>cont'd.</i>	MUSALMANS— <i>cont'd.</i>
CLASS I.—Arabs.	CLASS IV.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS VII.—The Shekh Neo-Muslim (new converts to Islām).
Khureshā . . . 28,005	Brought forward . . . 239,789	Bohrā and
Saiyad . . . 138,239	Khosa . . . 46,434	Bohorā . . . 143,679
Shekh . . . 994,676	Lighāri . . . 46,585	Khojā . . . 52,658
Others . . . 125,036	Makrāni . . . 3,837	Memān . . . 104,721
TOTAL . . . 1,285,956	Others . . . 211,269	Mohanā . . . 113,079
	TOTAL . . . 547,914	Others . . . 21,936
CLASS II.—Afghāns.	CLASS V.—Brāhui.	TOTAL . . . 436,073
Pathān . . . 182,789	Brāhui . . . 48,180	
CLASS III.—Moghals.	CLASS VI.—The Sindhi or aboriginal tribes.	GROUP TOTAL 4,255,033
Moghal . . . 29,030	Jāt . . . 86,713	Others unclassified . . . 524,511
CLASS IV.—Baloch.	Māhur . . . 32,426	GRAND TOTAL 4,770,544
Burdio . . . 68,409	Sāma . . . 793,806	
Chāndia . . . 74,461	Sindhi . . . 688,016	
Domki . . . 43,432	Surma . . . 124,130	
Jātoi . . . 53,487	TOTAL . . . 1,725,091	
Carried over . . . 239,789		

LINGĀYATS.

CLASS I.—Panchamsāli.	CLASS II.—Non-Panchamsāli with Ashtavarna Rights.	CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>
Hypergamous.	Endogamous.	Brought forward 147,645
1. <i>Ayyā</i> or	1. Adibanjig . . . 32,328	11. Hānderāt . . . 3,047
Jangam . . . 150,180	2. Badigar . . . 1,320	12. Hāndeya-
2. <i>Banjig</i>	3. Baligar . . . 370	varu . . . 1,662
Athnikar . . . 93	4. Chattar . . . 1,718	13. Hugar or
Chilmi	5. Deodās . . . 563	Malgar . . . 38,053
Agni . . . 6	6. Ganāchāri . . . 10	14. Jir . . . 978
Dhulpavad . . . 10,678	7. Gānigar . . . 99,489	15. Kabbāligar . . . 243
Dikshāvānt . . . 6,902	8. Gavli . . . 4,806	16. Kammār or
Lokabalki . . . 6,667	9. Gavandi or	Lohār . . . 1,451
Snlvant . . . 21,752	Uppar . . . 2,204	17. Kumbhār . . . 18,246
Unspecified . . . 97,001	10. Gurav . . . 4,837	18. Kurvinshetti . . . 18,578
3. Panchamsāli 431,127		19. Kudevakkalig 19,723
TOTAL . . . 724,406	Carried over . . . 147,645	Carried over 249,626

LINGAYATS—*concl'd.*

CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS III.— <i>cont'd.</i>
Brought forward. 249,626	Brought forward 468,730	Brought forward . 97,756
20. Kurub . . . 2,405	44. Vastradavaru . . . 4	11. Kāmāthi . . . 5
21. Kurāli . . . 831		12. Nādig . . . 24,621
22. Kursāli . . . 734	CLASS TOTAL . 468,624	13. Sāib . . . 617
23. Lālgondā . . . 1,204		14. Sāli . . . 917
24. Mālav . . . 1,207		CLASS TOTAL . 93,545
25. Māthāpatti . . . 387	CLASS III.—Non-Pancham-	
26. Maskin Mālav . . . 676	sāli without Ashtavarna	
27. Nāglig . . . 10,269	Rights.	CLASS IV.—Low Castes.*
28. Nilgar . . . 368	Endogamous.	1. Chalwādi . . . 52
29. Nonebar . . . 10,458	1. Agāsā . . . 11,771	2. Dhor or Dohori . . . 655
30. Padsāli . . . 1,746	2. Ambig . . . 940	3. Holia or Mahār . . . 884
31. Padamsāli . . . 1,694	3. Basavi . . . 7	4. Hulsar . . . 4
32. Panchāchāri . . . 2,123	4. Burud or	5. Jingar . . . 26
33. Pattesāli . . . 3,688	Medar . . . 430	6. Samgar . . . 1,959
34. Pujār . . . 515	5. ✓ Devāng.	CLASS TOTAL . 3,580
35. Raddi . . . 42,980	Hatkar	Unspecified . . . 132,138
36. Saddar . . . 57,569	or Jada . . . 30,371	GRAND TOTAL . 1,422,293
37. Shivshinpigar . . . 7,725	Bile Jada . . . 2,405	
38. Shivjogi . . . 238	Unspecified . . . 11,710	
39. Sangar . . . 80	6. Divātgi . . . 226	
40. Tāmboli . . . 360	7. Hāndevazir . . . 8,543	
41. Tilari . . . 9,151	8. Ilgar . . . 511	
42. Turkar . . . 1,163	9. Kāchāri . . . 231	
43. Vāni . . . 61,423	10. Kalāvant . . . 240	
Carried over . . . 468,730	Carried over . . . 97,756	* It is not unusual to deny that these castes are members of the Lingāyat community at the present day.

NOTE.—A tentative classification founded on imperfect enquiries and subject to revision upon the completion of the investigations now in progress.

✓ SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT.

1, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 2, MYSORE, 3, HYDERABAD, 4, TRAVANCORE, AND 5, COCHIN.

HINDUS.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>
CLASS I.—Brahman and allied castes.	CLASS II.— <i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS III.—Vaishya and allied castes.
Brāhman . . . 2,158,261	Brought forward 139,635	Komati . . . 672,590
CLASS II.—Kshatriyā and allied castes.	Patnul karan . . . 89,299	Others (including—
Kshatriyā . . . 139,635	Rājput . . . 66,266	Vāni . . . 405,549
Carried over . . . 139,635	Rāzu . . . 113,528	TOTAL . . . 1,078,139
	Others . . . 41,768	
	TOTAL . 450,496	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT.—*contd.*1, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 2, MYSORE, 3, HYDERABAD, 4, TRAVANCORE, AND 5, COCHIN.—*contd.*

HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>
CLASS IV.— <i>Sat</i> or good Sudras.	CLASS VI.—Sudras who occasionally employ Brahman <i>purohīts</i> , but whose touch does pollute.	CLASS VIII.— <i>contd.</i>
Ambalavasi . . . 24,866	Ambattan . . . 218,657	Brought forward 396,242
Baliĵā . . . 1,016,122	Bestha . . . 194,394	Illuvan . . . 787,250
Bant . . . 118,528	Devanga . . . 279,154	Kammalān . . . 104,033
Chetti . . . 312,337	Gamallā . . . 150,977	Pallan . . . 833,958
Gāudo . . . 103,083	Gowndāla . . . 243,792	Shānan . . . 603,335
Gollā . . . 998,470	Gudalā . . . 4,437	Tiyan . . . 578,453
Idāiyan . . . 695,302	Idiga . . . 279,569	Others . . . 890,451
Kalingi . . . 126,546	Kallan . . . 487,284	TOTAL . . . 4,193,722
Kamma . . . 973,728	Kuruba . . . 592,350	CLASS IX.—Castes eating beef.
Kāpu . . . 2,576,448	Mangala . . . 198,489	Boya . . . 397,348
Kummara . . . 222,193	Mutracha . . . 176,060	Khond . . . 316,568
Kusadan . . . 145,077	Tsakala . . . 360,215	Savara . . . 183,159
Nāyar . . . 1,043,894	Uppara . . . 259,605	Others . . . 357,601
Satāni . . . 61,843	Valaiyan . . . 360,296	TOTAL . . . 1,254,676
Vakkaliga . . . 1,376,592	Vannan . . . 210,931	CLASS X.—Castes eating beef and polluting without touching.
Velama . . . 567,945	Others . . . 835,338	Chakkiliyan . . . 487,445
Vellala . . . 2,442,959	TOTAL . . . 4,851,546	Holeya ✓ . . . 743,853
Others . . . 4,732,321	CLASS VII.—Sudras who do not employ Brāhman <i>purohīts</i> and whose touch pollutes.	Madiga . . . 1,034,927
TOTAL . . . 17,538,254	Agāsa . . . 107,835	Māla . . . 1,645,084
CLASS V.—Sudras who habitually employ Brahmans as <i>purohīts</i> and whose touch is supposed to pollute.	Kuravan . . . 153,899	Paraiyan . . . 2,231,655
Agamudiyan . . . 318,166	Kurumban . . . 155,000	Others . . . 1,612,937
Ambalakaran . . . 162,474	Odde . . . 502,698	TOTAL . . . 7,755,901
Kaikolan . . . 350,632	Yanode . . . 103,979	CLASS XI.—Castes denying the sacerdotal authority of Brāhmans.
Maravan . . . 345,915	Others . . . 1,146,363	Jangam . . . 102,121
Nattaman . . . 151,278	TOTAL . . . 2,169,774	Kammālan . . . 540,310
Palli . . . 2,557,216	CLASS VIII.—Castes which pollutes even without touching, but do not eat beef.	Kām Sāla . . . 271,583
Sālē or Sālā . . . 556,370	Billāvā . . . 142,895	Carried over . . . 914,014
Telagā . . . 447,544	Cheruman . . . 253,347	
Tottiyān . . . 151,007	Carried over . . . 396,242	
Vaniyān . . . 185,067		
Others . . . 1,618,634		
TOTAL . . . 6,844,303		

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.*

1. MADRAS, ETC., 2. CHUTIA-NAGPUR, ETC., 3. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

1. Madras Presidency, 2. Mysore, 3. Hyderabad, 4. Travancore, and 5. Cochin— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS II.—Castes of twice-born rank.	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i> CLASS IV.— <i>contd.</i> Brought forward 69,151
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	Bābhān . . . 35,360	Mallāh . . . 12,651
CLASS XI.— <i>contd.</i>	Kāyasth . . . 27,601	Nuniā . . . 8,282
Brought forward 914,014	Rājput . . . 108,333	Rauniār . . . 8,712
Lingāyat . . . 1,106,714	Others . . . 25,047	Sunri . . . 73,218
Pāñchāla . . . 215,471	TOTAL . . . 196,341	Teli . . . 169,692
Others . . . 92,315	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.	Others . . . 10,324
TOTAL . . . 2,328,514	Sub-class (a).	TOTAL . . . 352,030
CLASS XII.—Castes insufficiently indicated and not corresponding with the other provinces.	Ahir (Goāla) . . . 371,209	CLASS V.—Unclean Sudras.
Vadugan . . . 95,924	Chero . . . 21,996	Bathudi . . . 44,670
Other . . . 1,764,265	Kāhār . . . 76,943	Bedeā . . . 22,669
TOTAL . . . 1,860,189	Kharwār and Bhogta . . . 142,900	Bhuiya . . . 346,981
CLASS XIII.—Castes unspecified and religious mendicants.	Koiri . . . 83,362	Bhumij . . . 236,984
TOTAL . . . 142,591	Kurmi . . . 463,476	Chāmār . . . 92,470
GROUP TOTAL 52,626,366	Others . . . 73,779	Chik (Barik) and Pān 308,930
Animists and unclassified . . . 196,057	TOTAL . . . 1,233,665	Dhobi . . . 67,078
GRAND TOTAL 52,822,423	Sub-class (b).	Dosādih . . . 69,448
1. Chutia-Nagpur, 2. States of Chota-Nagpur, 3. States of Orissa, 4. Angul and Khandmahals.	Bārhi . . . 42,530	Ghāsi . . . 51,205
CLASS I.	Hajjām . . . 47,077	Gond . . . 201,647
Brāhman . . . 214,677	Kumbhār . . . 135,206	Kandh . . . 121,011
CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.	Lohār (Kamār) . . . 149,098	Khariā . . . 88,872
Kalwār . . . 9,985	Māli . . . 17,152	Korā . . . 27,115
Kewāt . . . 51,697	Rāutia . . . 39,471	Māhli . . . 33,118
Jhorā . . . 7,469	Sarāk . . . 13,298	Māl . . . 14,095
Carried over . . . 69,151	Sonār . . . 15,022	Mundā . . . 325,753
	Others . . . 6,994	Rājwār . . . 69,620
	TOTAL . . . 465,848	Savar . . . 15,746
	CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.	Tatwā . . . 81,411
	Kalwār . . . 9,985	Turi . . . 35,752
	Kewāt . . . 51,697	Others . . . 48,037
	Jhorā . . . 7,469	TOTAL . . . 2,293,612
	Carried over . . . 69,151	CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters.
	CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters.	Dom . . . 39,548
	Dom . . . 39,548	Hāri . . . 41,510
	Hāri . . . 41,510	Carried over . . . 81,058
	Carried over . . . 81,058	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT.—*contd.*

1, MADRAS, ETC., 2, CHUTIA-NAGPUR, ETC., 3, CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BEHAR.—*contd.*

Chutia-Nagpur, 2, States of Chota-Nagpur, 3, States of Orissa, 4, Angul and Khandmahals— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	CLASS II (a).—Higher cultivators from whom a Brāhman will take water.	CLASS II (c).—Serving castes from whom a Brāhman will take water.
CLASS VI.— <i>contd.</i>	Aghāria . . . 31,764	Dhimār . . . 223,723
Brought forward . . . 81,058	Ahir and Goālā . . . 933,324	Kewāt . . . 191,080
Ho . . . 383,504	Chāsā . . . 21,418	Nāi . . . 136,621
Kāur . . . 62,413	Dāngi . . . 22,903	Others . . . 37,926
Nāgesia . . . 30,137	Dumal. . . . 40,699	TOTAL . . . 589,350
Orāon . . . 448,999	Gondhalis . . . 3,399	
Santāl . . . 576,029	Gujar . . . 50,139	CLASS III (a).—Lower cultivating castes from whom a Brāhman will not take water.
Others . . . 62,047	Kachhi . . . 105,895	Bhoyār . . . 46,905
TOTAL . . . 1,644,187	Kalāl . . . 15,864	Chādar . . . 26,042
	Kirār . . . 41,529	Maniār . . . 40,158
GROUP TOTAL 6,400,360	Kolta . . . 127,373	Others . . . 141,582
Animists and unclassified . . . 1,193,798	Kunbi . . . 1,282,908	TOTAL . . . 254,687
GRAND TOTAL 7,594,158	Kurmi . . . 279,687	
	Lodhi . . . 275,178	CLASS III (b).—Lower artisans from whom a Brāhman will not take water.
1. Central Provinces and 2. Berar.	Māli . . . 538,416	Bahna . . . 21,309
CLASS I (a).—Castes of ancient twice-born.	Mhāli . . . 33,964	Banjārā Vanjāri, and Labhāni . . . 140,130
Brahman . . . 464,806	Marātha . . . 60,902	Bhulia . . . 26,070
Prabhu and Kāyasth . . . 30,690	Others . . . 64,966	Darzi and Shimpi . . . 46,069
Rājput . . . 387,620	TOTAL . . . 3,930,328	Dhangar . . . 94,467
Others . . . 327,081	CLASS II (b).—Higher artisans or trading castes from whom a Brāhman will take water.	Gadaria . . . 33,062
TOTAL . . . 1,210,197	Barāi . . . 55,757	Kālār . . . 149,200
CLASS I (b).—Castes not of twice-born, but claiming high position on account of their high position in life.	Barhāi . . . 67,170	Koshti . . . 149,072
Bairāgi . . . 37,711	Sonār . . . 124,808	Lohār . . . 150,343
Bhāt . . . 22,553	Sutār . . . 30,114	Teli . . . 788,710
Religious Mendicants . . . 24,264	Wāni . . . 41,110	Others . . . 164,679
Others . . . 1,872	Others . . . 47,721	TOTAL . . . 1,763,111
TOTAL . . . 86,400	TOTAL . . . 366,680	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*concl'd.*I. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR—*concl'd.*

1. Central Provinces and 2. Berar— <i>concl'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>concl'd.</i> CLASS V.— <i>concl'd.</i>	MUSALMANS. 1. Madras, etc., 2. Chutia- Nagpur, etc., 3. Central Pro- vinces and Berar.
HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	Brought forward . . . 126,710	CLASS I.—(Ashraf) Better class Muhāmmadan.
CLASS IV.—Low Dravidian Tribes.	Beldār . . . 23,889	Moghal . . . 61,766
Baiga . . . 24,744	Bhoi . . . 27,193	Pathān . . . 331,479
Bharia-Bhumia . . . 33,561	Chamār . . . 763,298	Saiyad or Syed . . . 353,952
Bhil . . . 28,155	Dhobi . . . 153,925	Shekh . . . 2,030,358
Binjhwār . . . 71,099	Ganda . . . 277,830	TOTAL . . . 2,777,555
Gond . . . 1,997,654	Ghāsia . . . 38,726	CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class Muhāmmadan.
Halba . . . 90,093	Koli . . . 46,713	Dudekula . . . 74,538
Kāndh . . . 168,641	Kātia . . . 31,924	Jolāha . . . 157,399
Kawār . . . 122,519	Kori . . . 35,971	Jonākan . . . 91,630
Kisān . . . 32,788	Kumhār . . . 19,315	Labbāi . . . 425,788
Sawara . . . 144,468	Mahār . . . 350,967	Mappilla . . . 910,843
Others . . . 72,713	Māng . . . 69,230	Meltan . . . 55,214
TOTAL . . . 2,786,435	Mehtar . . . 91,816	Tulukhan . . . 52,206
CLASS V.—Castes who can- not be touched.	Pankha . . . 137,855	Others . . . 1,188,339
Andh . . . 39,679	Others . . . 49,848	TOTAL . . . 1,767,618
Balāhi . . . 44,272	TOTAL . . . 2,345,210	GROUP TOTAL . . . 4,683,512
Bāsor . . . 42,759	GROUP TOTAL . . . 13,332,398	Unclassified . . . 302,96
Carried over . . . 126,710	Animists and un- classified . . . 675,687	GRAND TOTAL . . . 4,986,473
	GRAND TOTAL . . . 14,008,085	

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT.

THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR.

United Provinces.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i> CLASS II.—Castes allied to Brāhmins and who are considered to be of high social standing.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i> CLASS III.—Kshatriyās.
HINDUS.		
CLASS I.		
Brahman . . . 4,706,332	Bhāt . . . 131,881	Khatri . . . 49,518
Others . . . 48,922	Bhuinhār . . . 205,951	Rājput . . . 3,354,058
TOTAL . . . 4,755,254	Tāga . . . 109,578	Others . . . 693
	Others . . . 12,951	TOTAL . . . 3,404,269
	TOTAL . . . 460,361	

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.*THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR—*contd.*

United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>
HINDUS—<i>contd.</i>	CLASS VIII.—Castes from whom some of the twice-born would take water and <i>pakki</i>, without question.	CLASS X.—Castes from whose hand the twice-born cannot take water, but who are not untouchable.
CLASS IV.—Castes allied to Kshatriyas, though their claim is not universally admitted.	Ahar . . . 246,137	Sub-class (a), with respectable occupation.
Kāyastha . . . 515,698	Ahir . . . 3,823,668	Banjāra . . . 45,628
Others . . . 1,996	Barāi . . . 138,418	Bhār . . . 381,197
TOTAL . . . 517,694	Barhāi . . . 548,816	Kalwār . . . 324,375
	Gujar . . . 283,952	Teli . . . 732,367
	Kachhi . . . 711,755	Others . . . 79,823
	Kahār . . . 1,237,881	TOTAL . . . 1,563,390
	Kisan . . . 369,631	
CLASS V.—Vaishyās.	Koeri . . . 505,097	Sub-class (b), more or less degrading occupation.
Agarwāla . . . 291,143	Kurmi . . . 1,963,757	Arak . . . 73,702
Bārāsēni . . . 42,833	Lodha . . . 1,063,741	Kol . . . 49,653
Umar . . . 42,422	Lohār . . . 531,749	Luniya . . . 399,886
Others . . . 107,895	Māli . . . 265,042	Others . . . 180,482
TOTAL . . . 484,293	Murāo . . . 645,920	TOTAL . . . 703,723
	Nāi . . . 670,239	
	Sonār . . . 283,980	Sub-class (c) suspected criminal practices.
CLASS VI.—Castes allied to Vaishyās, but their claim is not universally admitted.	Others . . . 443,824	Kanjar . . . 27,376
Agrahāri . . . 86,503	TOTAL . . . 13,733,607	Meo . . . 10,546
Kandu . . . 157,638		Others . . . 10,276
Kasaundhan . . . 96,123	CLASS IX.—Castes from whom some of the twice-born take water while others would not.	TOTAL . . . 48,198
Others . . . 507,875	Bharbhunja . . . 309,655	CLASS XI.—Castes that are untouchable, but do not eat beef.
TOTAL . . . 848,139	Darzi . . . 101,741	Dhanuk . . . 127,581
	Gadariya . . . 941,803	Dhobi . . . 609,445
CLASS VII.—Castes of good social position, superior to that of the remaining classes.	Kewāt . . . 429,291	Dusādhd . . . 72,124
Jāt . . . 784,878	Kumhār . . . 705,689	Khātik . . . 199,591
Halwāi . . . 65,778	Mallāh . . . 227,840	Kori . . . 990,027
Others . . . 12,826	Others . . . 207,851	Pāsi . . . 1,239,282
TOTAL . . . 863,482	TOTAL . . . 2,923,870	Others . . . 215,987
		TOTAL . . . 3,454,037

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.*THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR—*contd.*

United Provinces— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.	CLASS IV.— <i>contd.</i>
CLASS XII.—Lowest castes eating beef and vermin.	Sub-class (a).	Brought forward 646,265
Bhangi . . . 353,530	Ahir . . . 2,832,518	Kewāt . . . 183,065
Chamār . . . 5,890,639	Atith and Jogi . . . 66,870	Māllāh . . . 353,357
Dom . . . 233,915	Bārui . . . 117,343	Nunia . . . 291,109
Others . . . 116,737	Dhanuk . . . 581,427	Rāuiār . . . 68,601
TOTAL . . . 6,594,821	Gangauta . . . 82,378	Sunri . . . 109,339
	Gareri . . . 89,174	Teli . . . 675,302
	Gour . . . 65,631	Tiyār . . . 61,256
	Halwāi . . . 133,681	Turaha . . . 74,075
	Kāhār . . . 443,201	Others . . . 45,233
	Kandu . . . 482,164	TOTAL . . . 2,507,602
	Koiri . . . 1,166,077	
	Kurmi . . . 780,818	
	Rājhwār . . . 77,603	
	Others . . . 173,648	CLASS V.—Unclean castes.
	TOTAL . . . 7,092,533	Bhuiya . . . 268,671
MENDICANTS.		Chamār . . . 941,322
Fakir . . . 294,253		Dhoba . . . 196,676
GROUP TOTAL 40,649,931		Dosādh . . . 1,087,045
		Gangai . . . 54,694
Animist and unclassified . . . 107,746	Sub-class (b).	Khatwe . . . 102,871
GRAND TOTAL 40,757,137	Amāt . . . 57,263	Musāhār . . . 592,402
	Bārhi . . . 217,753	Pāsi . . . 136,452
	Hajjām . . . 332,011	Rajvar . . . 77,603
	Kumbhār . . . 281,736	Tatwa or Tanti . . . 424,889
	Lohār . . . 285,927	Others . . . 84,143
	Māli . . . 57,689	TOTAL . . . 3,966,768
	Sonār . . . 173,468	
	Others . . . 110,669	CLASS VI.—Scavengers and filth-eaters.
	TOTAL . . . 1,516,516	Dom . . . 124,984
Biḥar.		Others . . . 24,331
HINDUS.		TOTAL . . . 149,315
CLASS I.	CLASS IV.—Inferior Sudras.	GROUP TOTAL 18,988,730
Brahman . . . 1,094,509	Beldār . . . 91,530	Animist and unclassified . . . 1,667,327
CLASS II.—Other castes of twice born rank.	Bind . . . 126,531	GRAND TOTAL 20,656,030
Bābhan . . . 108,438	Chain . . . 79,933	
Kāyasth . . . 328,463	Gonrhi . . . 137,086	
Rājput . . . 1,163,175	Kalwār . . . 211,185	
Others . . . 61,384	Carried over 646,265	
TOTAL . . . 2,661,460		

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*concl'd.*THE UNITED PROVINCES AND BIHAR—*concl'd.*

United Provinces and Bihar.	MUSALMANS— <i>cont'd.</i>	MUSALMANS— <i>cont'd.</i>
MUSALMANS.	CLASS II.—<i>cont'd.</i>	CLASS III.—<i>cont'd.</i>
CLASS I.—(Ashraf) Better class Muhammadans.	Brought forward 436,010	Brought forward 278,727
Moghal . . . 86,254	Bhangi . . . 90,904	Fakir . . . 395,227
Pathan . . . 919,464	Darzi . . . 190,789	Jolaha . . . 1,546,959
Saiyad . . . 362,603	Dhobi . . . 138,733	Kunjra . . . 258,320
Shekh . . . 3,221,739	Lohar . . . 77,786	Quassab . . . 190,790
TOTAL . . . 4,590,060	Nai . . . 219,898	TOTAL . . . 2,670,023
	Teli . . . 207,863	
	TOTAL . . . 1,361,983	Sub-class (b).
Class II.—(Ajlaf) Lower class Muhammadans.	CLASS III.—(Arzul) Degraded Class.	Gara . . . 53,952
Barhi . . . 79,433	Sub-class (a).	Mewati . . . 51,028
Behna . . . 356,577	Bhisti . . . 82,194	TOTAL . . . 104,980
Carried over 436,010	Dhuniya . . . 196,533	GROUP TOTAL 8,727,046
	Carried over 278,727	Unclassified . . . 1,567,400
		GRAND TOTAL 10,294,446

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT.

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

Bengal.	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>cont'd.</i>
HINDUS.	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.	CLASS IV.—Clean castes with degraded Brahmins.
CLASS I.—Brahmans.	Bari . . . 161,265	Chasi Kaibarta 1,936,951 ✓
Brāhman . . . 1,238,011	Gandha-banik . . . 117,769	Goala or Ahir 622,504
	Kamar . . . 287,647	TOTAL . . . 2,559,455
CLASS II.—Castes ranking above clean Sudras.	Kumbhar . . . 273,910	
Badiya . . . 80,348	Malakhar . . . 33,414	CLASS V.—Castes whose water is not taken.
Kayastha . . . 977,730 ✓	Mayra (Madak) . . . 124,973	Bhuiya . . . 47,118
Khatri . . . 23,174	Napit . . . 422,332	Jugi and Jogi . . . 335,529
Rajput . . . 111,493	Raju . . . 59,348	Shaha (Sunri) . . . 424,774
Ugra-Khatriya or Aguri . . . 88,415	Sadgop . . . 557,805	Swarnakar or Sonar . . . 56,899
TOTAL . . . 1,281,160	Tamli or Tambuli 52,446	Carried over 864,320
	Tanti . . . 304,144	
	Teli and Tili . . . 498,106	
	Others . . . *239,377	
	TOTAL . . . 3,132,536	

* Includes unclassified "Sudras" 184,780.

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—*contd.*

BENGAL AND ORISSA—*contd.*

Bengal.	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	CLASS VII— <i>cont.</i>	CLASS IV.—Unclean Sudras.
CLASS V— <i>contd.</i>	Scavengers.	Gola . . . 47,485
Brought forward 864,320	Dom . . . 184,170	Tānti . . . 134,764
Subarna-banik . . . 105,121	Hāri . . . 168,485	Others . . . 47,823
Sutradhār . . . 166,748	TOTAL . . . 352,655	TOTAL . . . 230,072
Others . . . *415,008		
TOTAL . . . 1,551,197	GROUP TOTAL 17,721,080	CLASS V.—Caste whose touch defiles.
CLASS VI.—Low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls.	Animists and unclassified . . . 1,898,457	Jyotish . . . 23,877
Bāgdi . . . 1,014,752	GRAND TOTAL 19,619,537	Kewāt . . . 116,541
Chain . . . 49,064		Kumhār . . . 52,804
Dhobi . . . 220,332	Orissa.	Teli . . . 155,362
Jalia Kaibarta . . . 262,413	HINDUS.	Others . . . 80,348
Kālu . . . 114,163	CLASS I.—Brāhmans.	TOTAL . . . 428,932
Kapāli . . . 141,900	Brahman . . . 415,140	
Kotāl . . . 10,627	CLASS II.—Twice-borns.	CLASS VI.—Castes eating fowls and drinking spirits.
Malo (Jhāle) . . . 221,758	Karan . . . 117,649	Sub-class (a).
Nāmasudra (Chandāl) . . . 1,836,742	Khandāit . . . 602,556	Chāmār . . . 25,273
Patni . . . 60,830	Others . . . 29,547	Others . . . 6,030
Pod . . . 464,733	TOTAL . . . 749,752	TOTAL . . . 31,303
Rājbandi . . . 1,560,516	CLASS III.—Clean Sudras.	
Tipāra . . . 25,725	Sub-class (a)	Sub-class (b).
Tryār . . . 200,544	Chāsa . . . 581,627	Bāuri . . . 157,548
Others . . . 229,375	Māli . . . 21,313	Dhobi . . . 81,736
TOTAL . . . 6,413,474	Rāju . . . 47,085	Gokha . . . 43,951
CLASS VII.—Unclean feeders.	Sudha . . . 41,802	Others . . . 9,442
Bāuri . . . 309,258	Sub-class (b).	TOTAL . . . 292,677
Chāmār . . . 127,129	Barhi . . . 44,012	
Kāora . . . 111,942	Bhandāri . . . 81,149	Sub-class (c).
Kora . . . 45,818	Gaur . . . 267,115	Kandra . . . 142,861
Māl . . . 120,018	Guria . . . 113,838	Others . . . 6,406
Muchi . . . 411,596	Kāmār . . . 33,646	
Others . . . 66,831	Others . . . 32,583	TOTAL . . . 149,267
TOTAL . . . 1,192,592	TOTAL . . . 1,264,770	

* Includes Baistams who represent religious sect Vaishnavas, 392,442.

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TRACT—concl'd.

BENGAL AND ORISSA—cont'd.

Orissa.—cont'd. HINDUS—cont'd.	MUHAMMADANS—cont'd. CLASS I.—cont'd.	MUHAMMADANS.—cont'd. CLASS II.—cont'd.
CLASS VII.—Beef-eaters and scavengers.	Brought forward 269,507	Sub-class (4).
Hāri . . . 23,156	Saiyad . . . 125,968	Bediya . . . 26,481
Pān . . . 170,845	Shekh . . . 19,380,567	Hajjām . . . 7,424
Others . . . 10,613	Others . . . 505	Nagārchi . . . 18,320
TOTAL . . . 206,614	TOTAL . . . 19,980,547	Tuntia or Tutia . . . 8,201
GROUP TOTAL 3,766,527	CLASS II.—(Ajlāf) Lower class.	Others . . . 7,781
Animist and unclassified . . . 276,590	Sub-class (1).	TOTAL . . . 68,207
GRAND TOTAL 4,043,117	Nāsya . . . 158,120	CLASS III.—(Arzāl) Degraded class.
Bengal and Orissa.	Sub-class (2).	Kasbi . . . 6,252
MUHAMMADANS.	Jolāha . . . 435,440	Others . . . 845
CLASS I.—(Ashrāf) Better class.	Others . . . 6,934	TOTAL . . . 7,097
Mallik . . . 13,999	TOTAL . . . 442,374	GROUP TOTAL 20,845,333
Moghal . . . 14,316	Sub-class (3).	Unclassified . . . 544,075
Pathān . . . 245,192	Dāi . . . 21,264	GRAND TOTAL 21,419,408
Carried over 269,507	Dhawa . . . 18,337	
	Kulu . . . 118,606	
	Nikāri . . . 44,301	
	Others . . . 16,480	
	TOTAL . . . 218,988	

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLOID TRACT.

ASSAM, SIKKIM, KOCH-BIHAR, AND HILL TIPPERA.

Assam (Surma and Brahma-putra Valleys) and Hill Districts and Plains. HINDUS.	HINDUS—cont'd. CLASS II.—Good castes from whose hands Brāhmins will take water.	HINDUS—cont'd. CLASS II.—cont'd Brought forward
CLASS I.—Castes of twice-born rank.	Baidya . . . 5,154	370,272
Brahman . . . 109,446	Dās . . . 71,092	Kewāt and Kai-bartta . . . 148,822
Ganak . . . 20,535	Kāyasth . . . 86,918	Koch . . . 221,721
Others . . . 871	Kalita . . . 203,108	Rājbandi . . . 120,071
TOTAL . . . 130,852	Carried over 370,272	Others . . . 204,133
		TOTAL . . . 1,061,019

SOCIAL GROUPING OF THE MONGOLOID TRACT—*concla.*ASSAM, SIKKIM, KOOCH-BIHAR, AND HILL TIPPERA—*concla.*

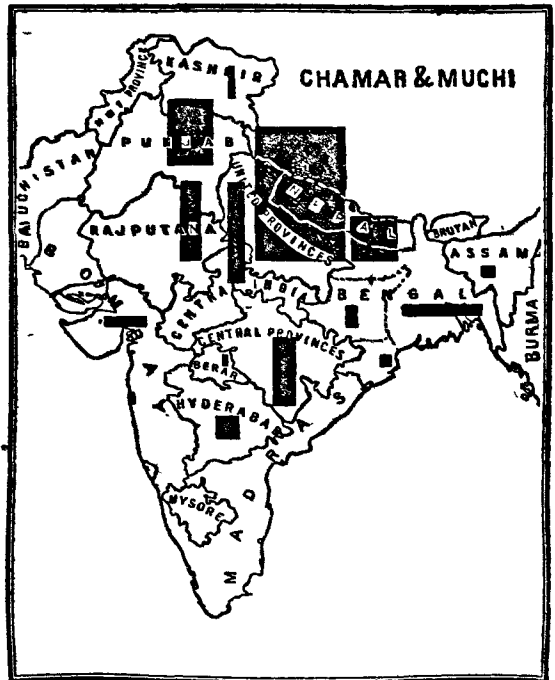
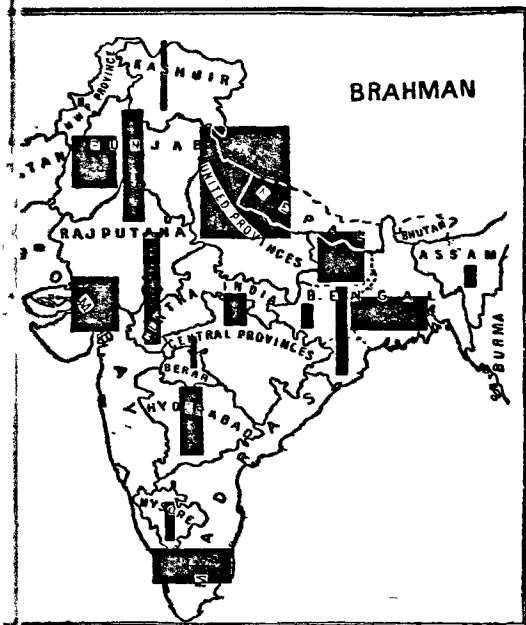
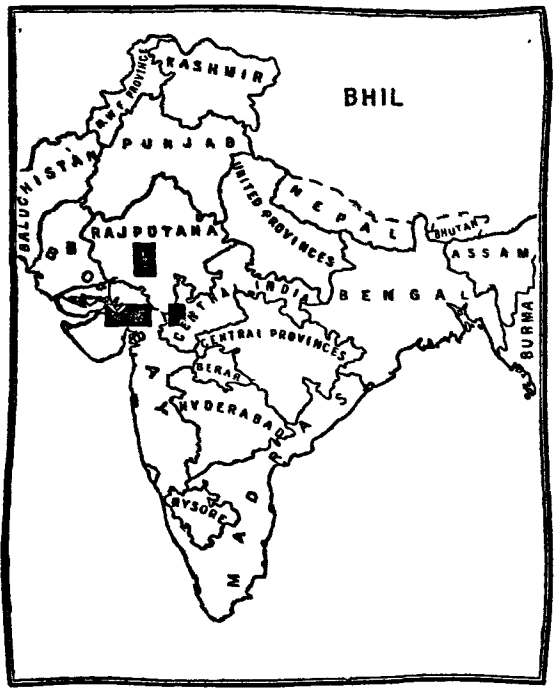
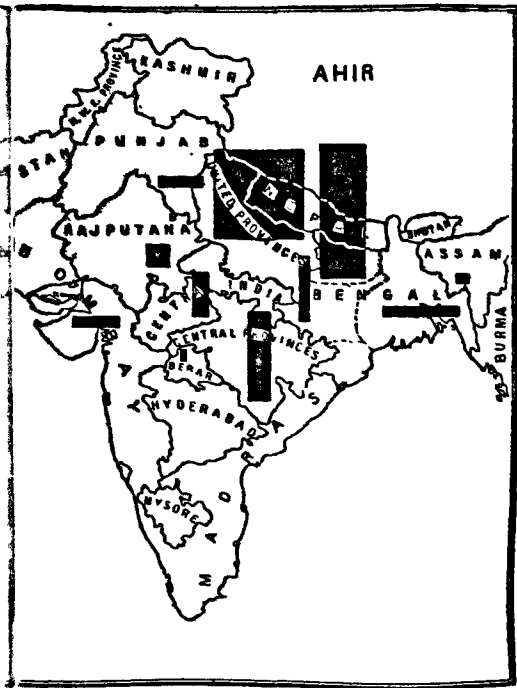
Assam (Surma and Brahmaputra Valleys) and Hill Districts and Plains— <i>contd.</i>	HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	Assam, Sikkim, Kooch-Bihar, and Hill Tippera.
HINDUS— <i>contd.</i>	CLASS I.— <i>contd.</i>	MUHAMMADANS.
CLASS III.—Castes from whose hands Brāhmins will not take water.	Brought forward 11,828	CLASS I.—(Ashraf).
Ahom . . . 178,049	Khās . . . 3,253	Better class Muhammadans.
Jugi and Katani . . 161,167	Others . . . 402	Saiyad . . . 10,954
Māli (Bhuin-māli) 50,055	TOTAL . . . 15,483	Shekh . . . 1,661,923
Nadiyāl (Dompatni) . . . 194,842	CLASS II.—Intermediate castes.	Pathān . . . 11,454
Nāma Sudra (Chandāl) . . . 169,576	Gurang . . . 4,503	Others . . . 1,426
Shaha (Sunri) . . . 54,600	Limbu . . . 5,916	TOTAL . . . 1,685,757
Others . . . 285,609	Mangr . . . 2,441	
TOTAL . . . 1,093,898	Rājansi (Koch) . . 338,309	CLASS II.—(Ajlāf).
GROUP TOTAL 2,285,769	Others . . . 8,580	Lower class Muhammadans.
Animist and unclassified . . 2,212,024	TOTAL . . . 359,740	Sub-class (a).
GRAND TOTAL 4,497,793	CLASS III.—Low castes.	Nasya . . . 42,607
Sikkim, Kooch-Bihar and Hill Tippera.	Chakma . . . 4,510	Sub-class (b).
HINDUS.	Kami . . . 2,838	Jolāha . . . 1,929
CLASS I.—High castes.	Khambu . . . 9,648	Others . . . 1,710
Brahman . . . 11,828	Kuki . . . 7,547	TOTAL . . . 46,246
Carried over 11,828	Lepcha . . . 7,982	GROUP TOTAL 1,732,003
	Nama Sudra . . . 8,543	Unclassified . . . 62,894
	Others . . . 66,300	GRAND TOTAL 1,794,897
	TOTAL . . . 107,368	
	GROUP TOTAL . . 482,600	
	Unclassified . . . 75,787	
	GRAND TOTAL . . 558,387	

APPENDIX III.

MAPS OF CASTES.

NOTE.—In these Maps the four Sub-Provinces of Bengal have been shown separately, and Sind has been dealt with apart from the rest of the Bombay Presidency.

MAPS OF CASTES.



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

■ 300,000

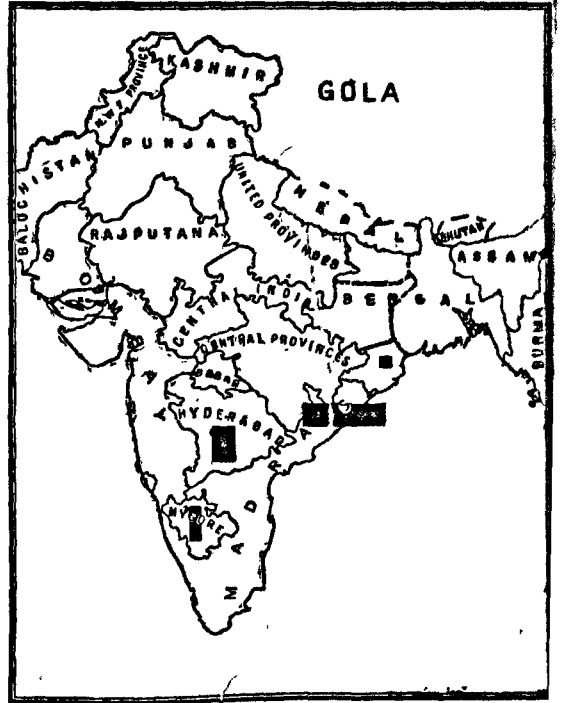
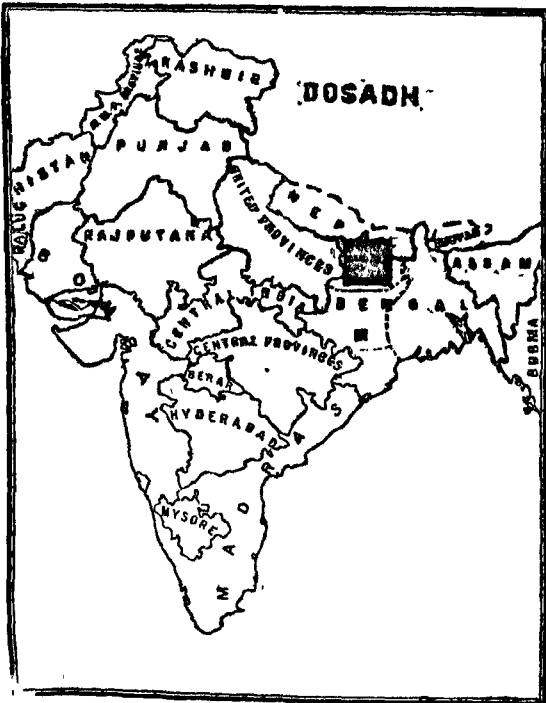
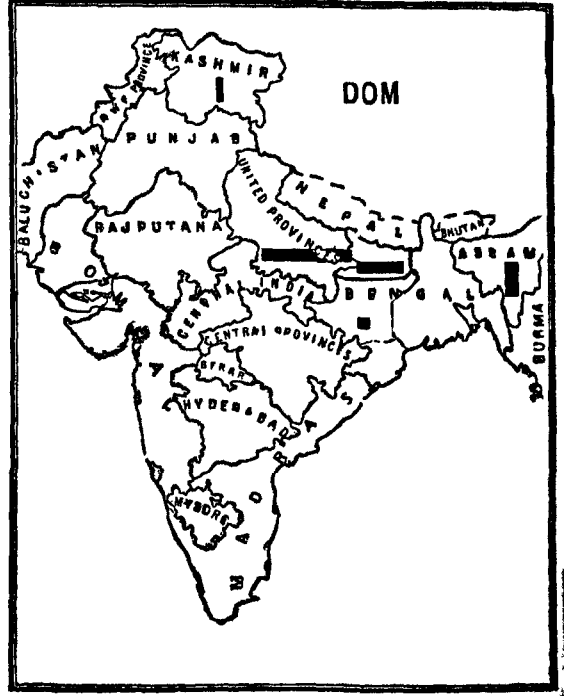
THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE.....

0 MILLION
10 " "
20 " "
30 " "

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.O.
3 " "
1 " "
0 " "

PEOPLE OF INDIA.



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

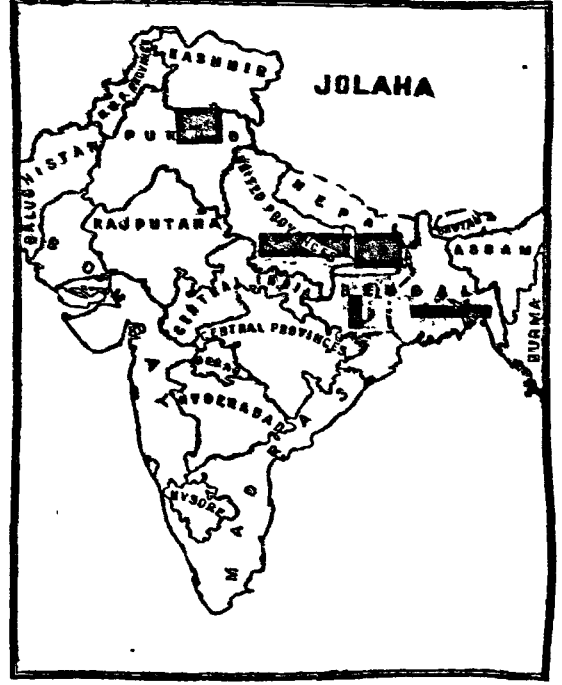
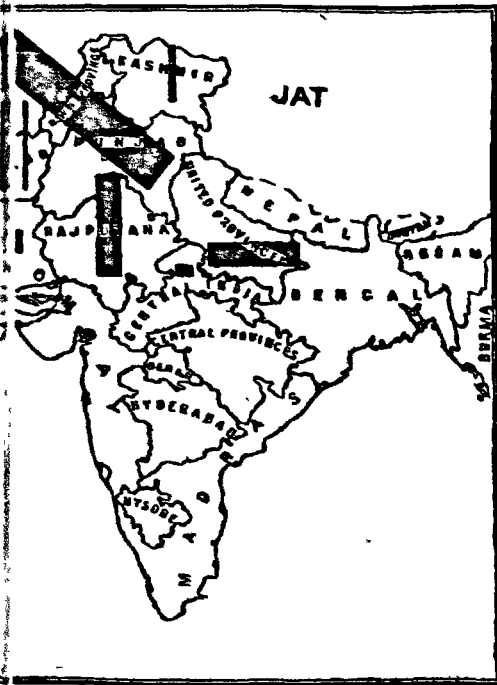
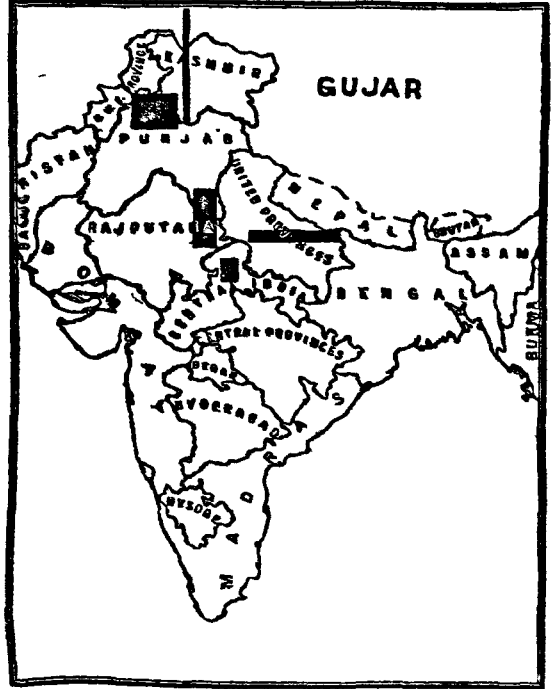
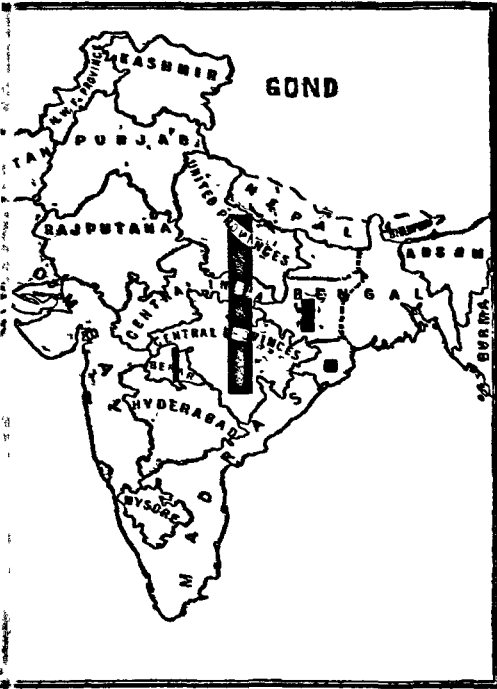
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION
10 20 30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

1/5 P.C.
1/3 ..
1/10 ..
1/8 ..



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

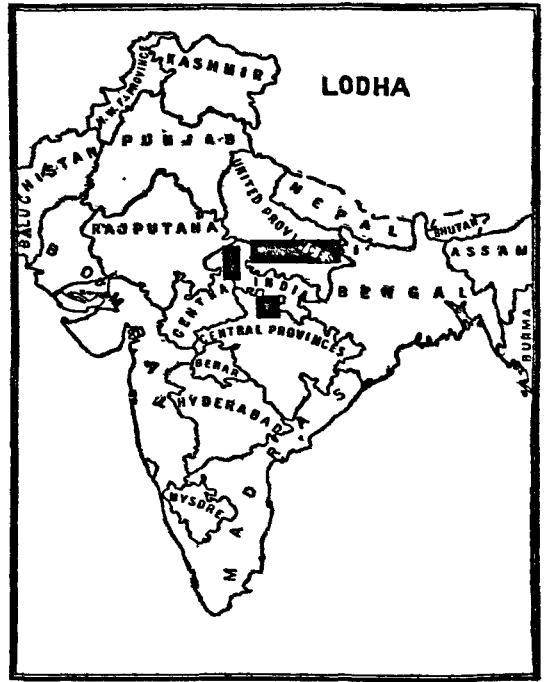
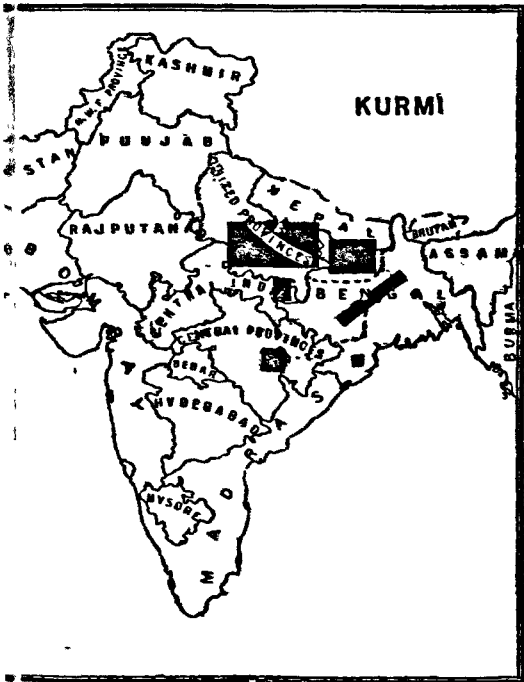
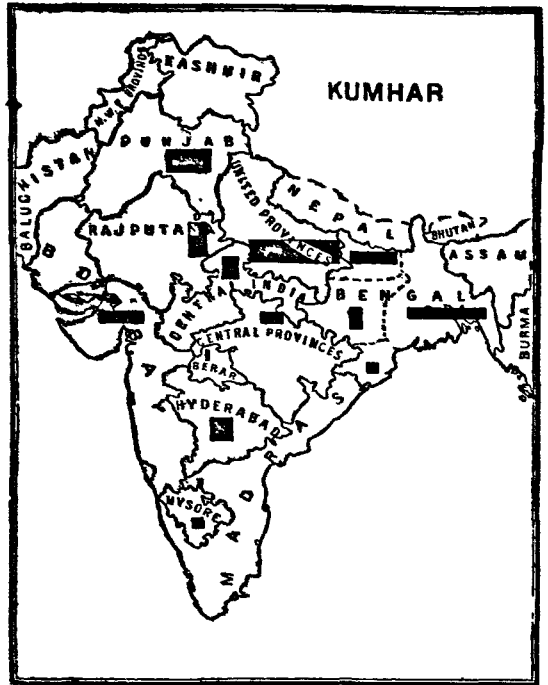
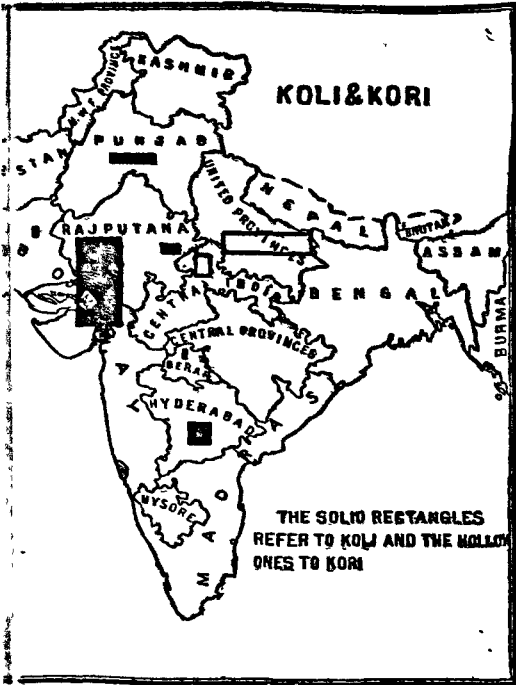
■ 300 000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION
10 " "
20 " "
30 " "

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P-C.
3 " "
1 " "
0 " "



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

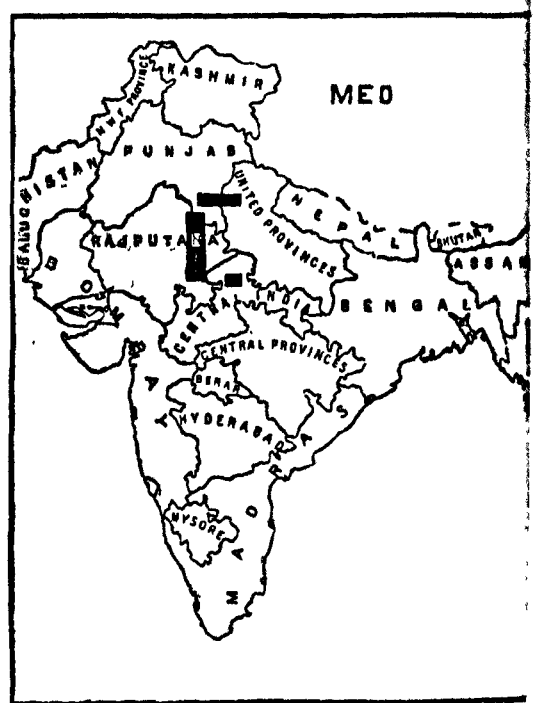
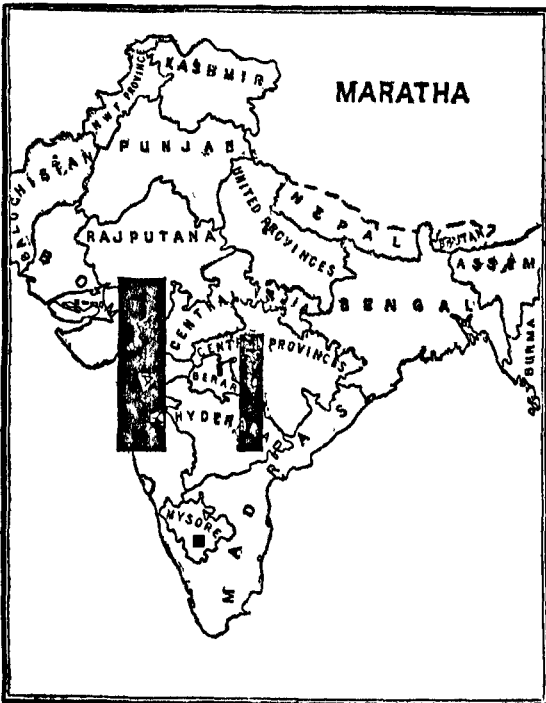
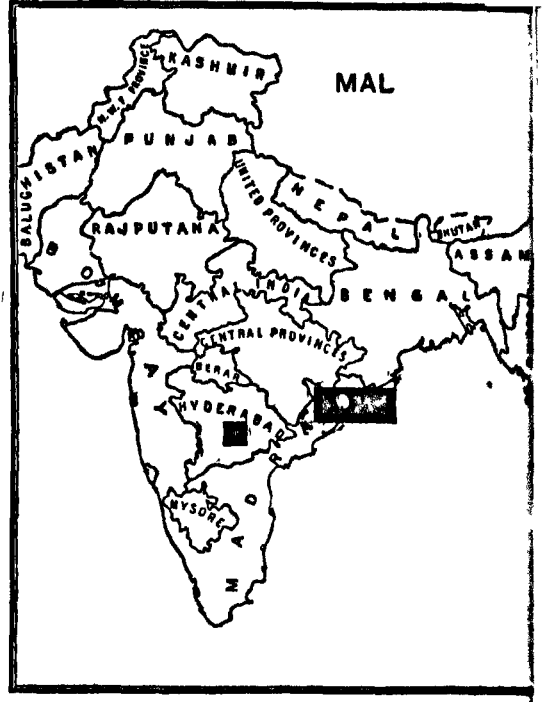
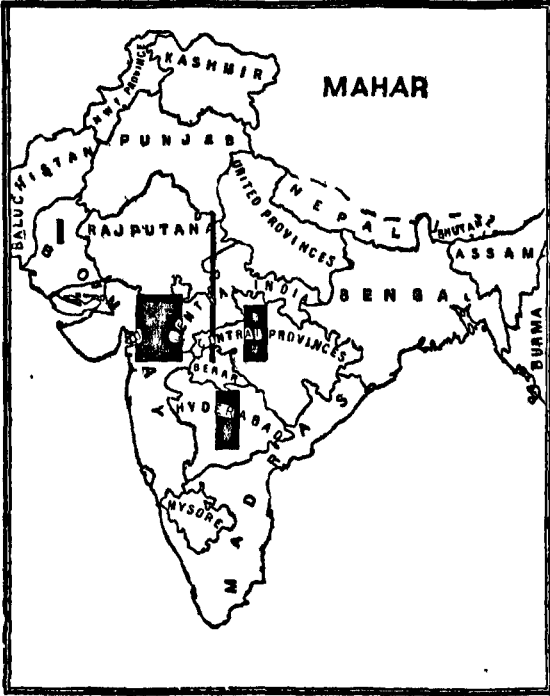
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

10 MILLION
20 "
30 "

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C.
3 "
1 "
0 "



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

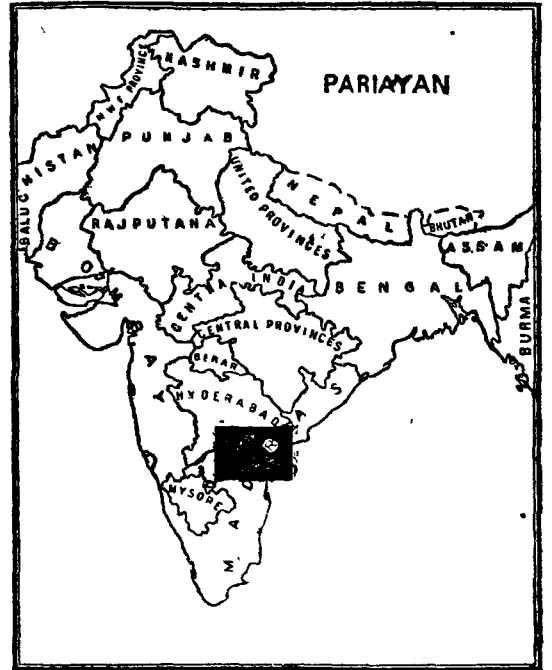
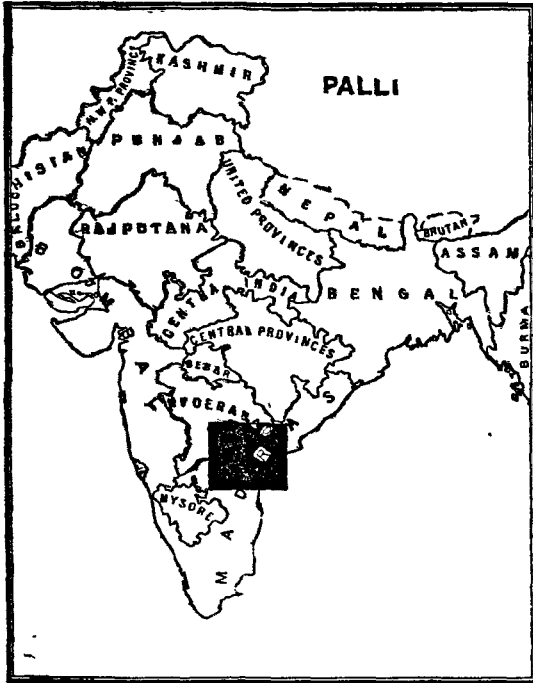
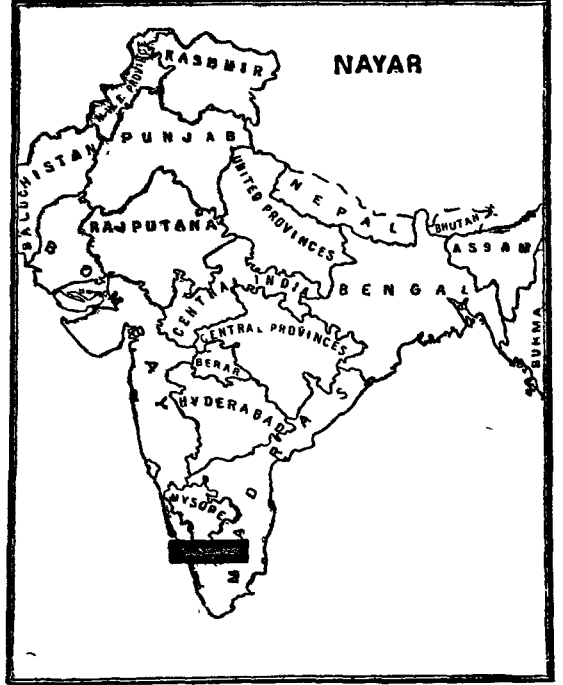
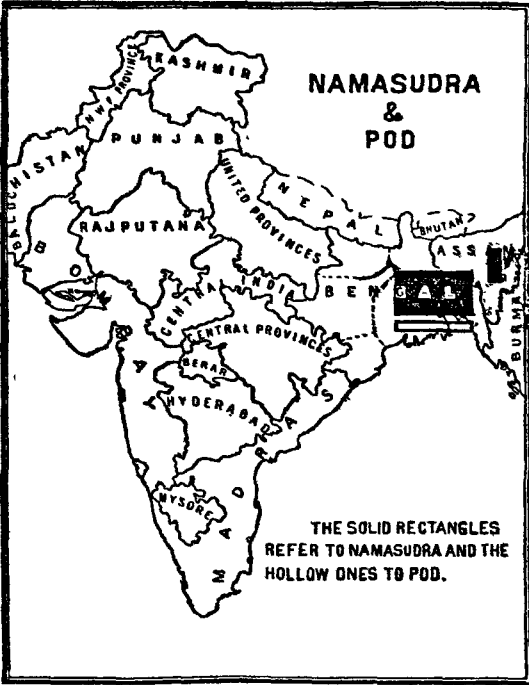
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION
10 " " "
20 " " "
30 " " "

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C
3 " "
1 " "
0 " "



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

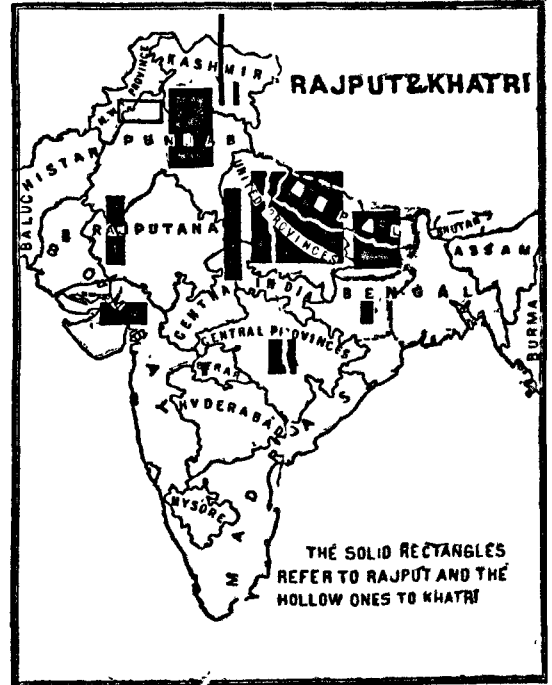
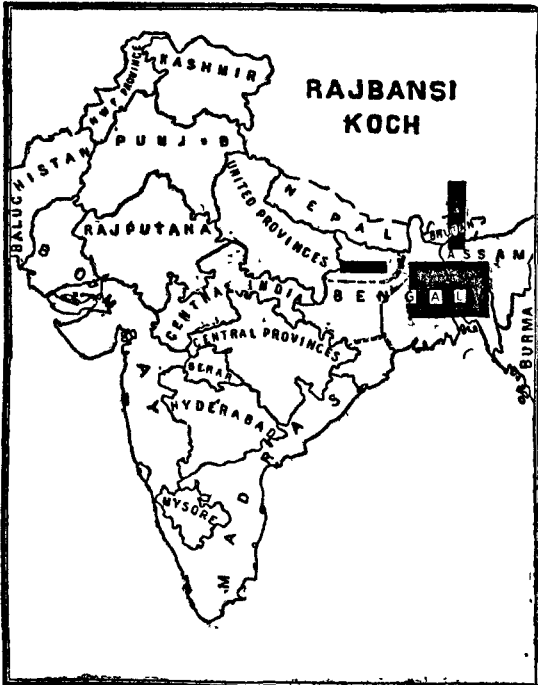
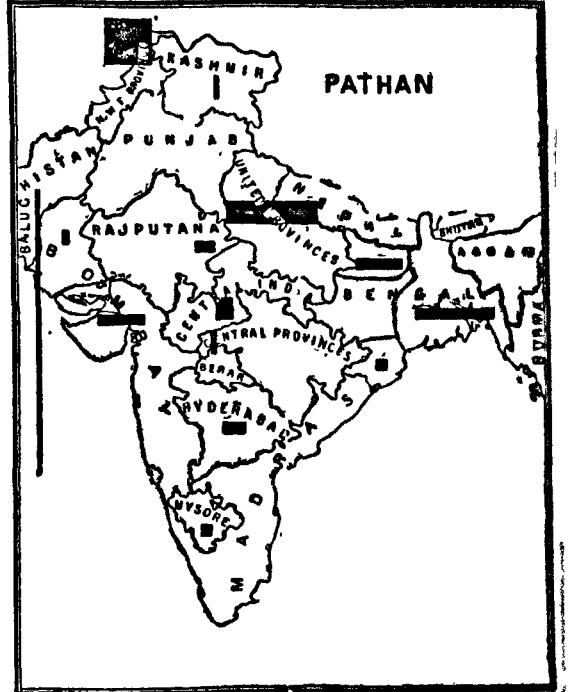
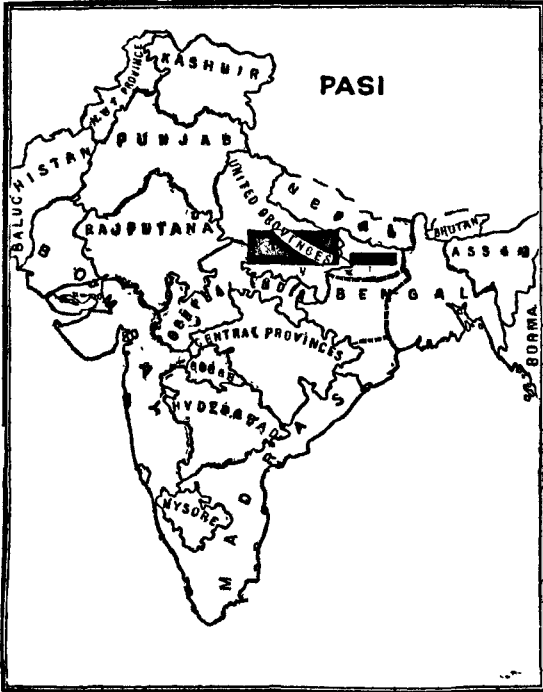
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION
10 " "
20 " "
30 " "

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

·5 P.C.
·3 " "
·1 " "
·0 " "



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

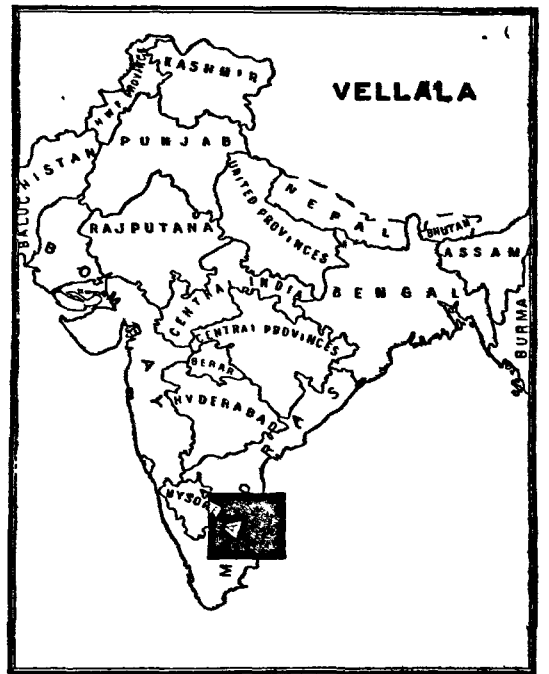
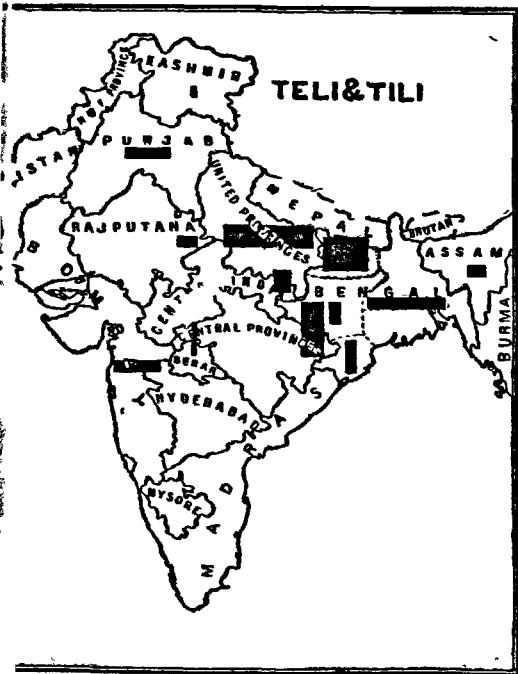
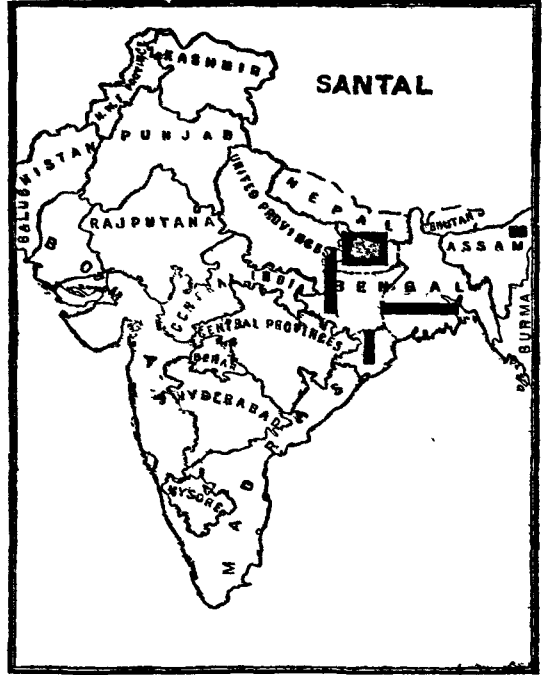
■ 300,000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

10 MILLION
20
30

THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C.
3 " "
1 " "
0 " "



THE AREA OF EACH RECTANGLE SHOWS THE STRENGTH OF THE CASTE IN EACH PROVINCE

■ 300 000

THE BASE OF EACH RECTANGLE INDICATES THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

0 MILLION
10 " "
20 " "
30 " "

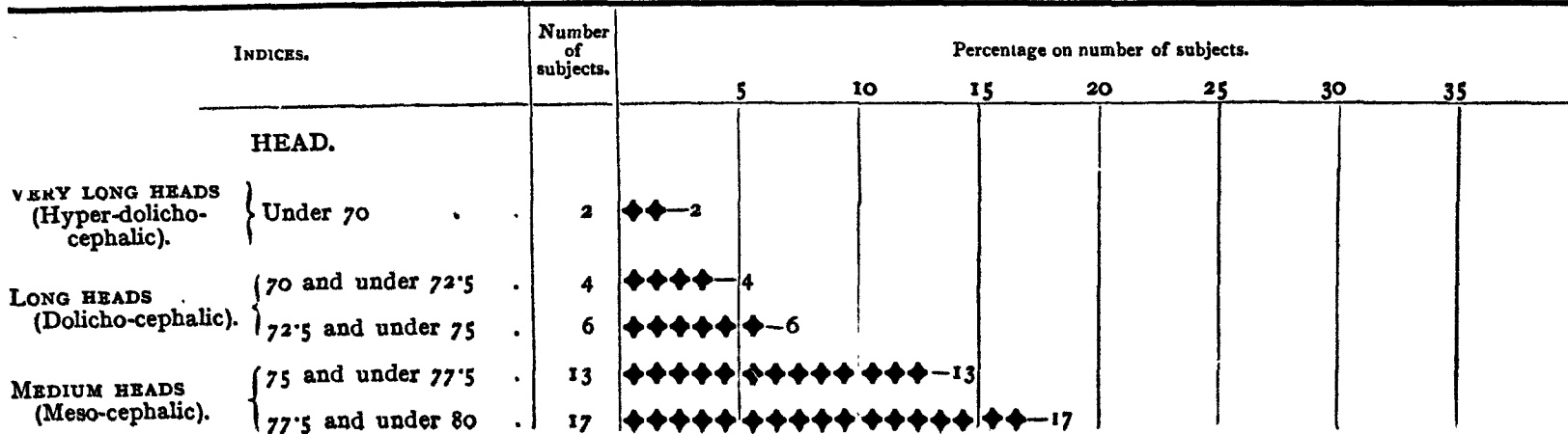
THE HEIGHT SHOWS THE PROPORTION WHICH THE CASTE BEARS TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE

5 P.C.
3 " "
1 " "
0 " "

APPENDIX IV.
ANTROPOMETRIC DATA
SERIATIONS.

TURKO-IRANIAN TYPE.
Type Specimen: Jat.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)	PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)	RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.)
Average 79·8	Average 63·1	Average 125
Maximum 92	Maximum 84	Maximum 143
Minimum 70	Minimum 42	Minimum 104
Range 22	Range 42	Range 39



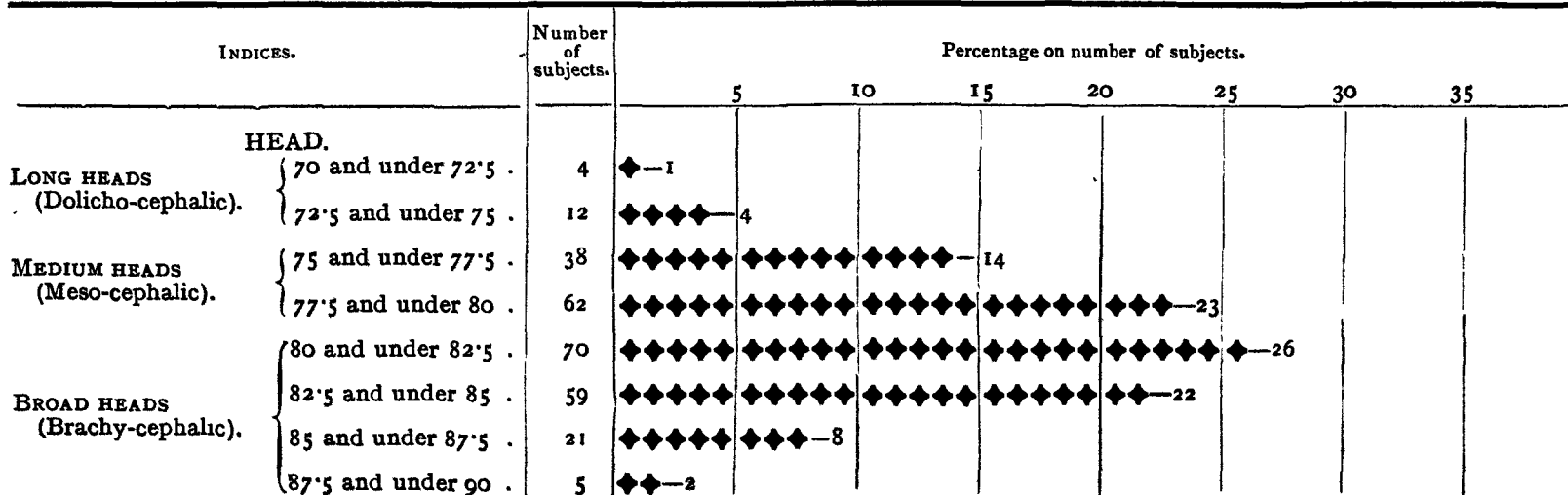
SERIATIONS.

TURKO-IRANIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Baloch.

Consisting of Marri, Bugtl and Rind, etc., from the country 'round Sibi.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)	PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)	RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.)	STATURE. C.M.
Average 80·4	Average 72·5	Average 118·4	Average 167·8
Maximum 90	Maximum 94	Maximum 128	Maximum 180·5
Minimum 70	Minimum 57	Minimum 111	Minimum 150·6
Range 20	Range 37	Range 17	Range 34·4

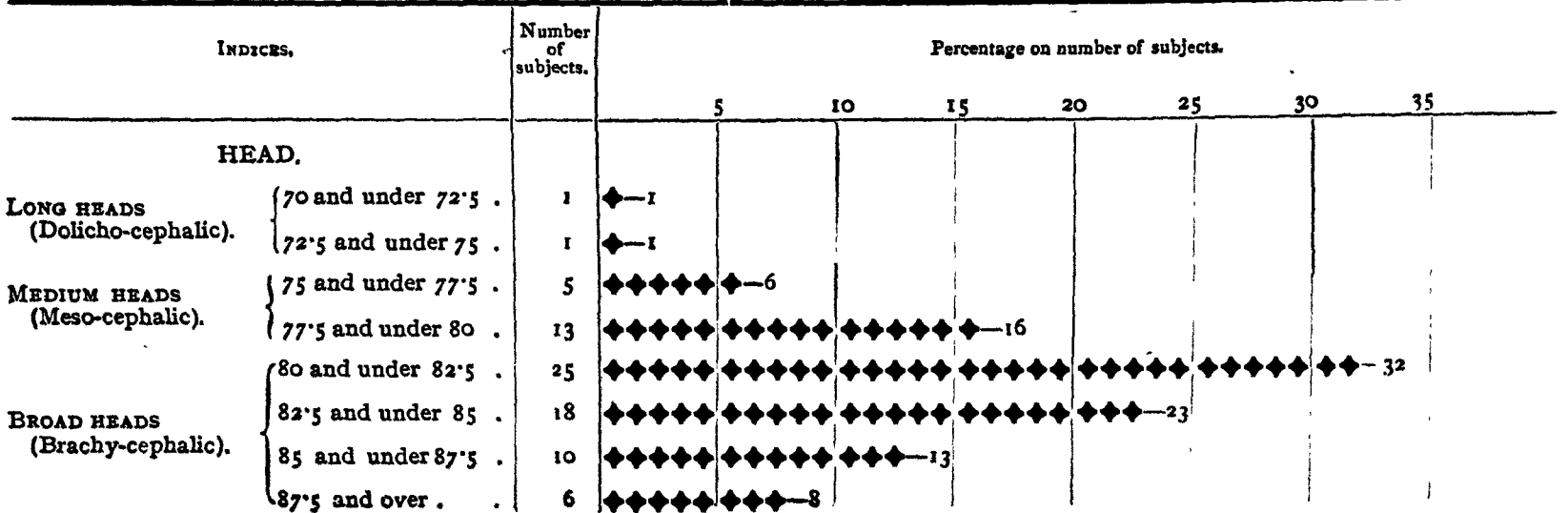


SERIATIONS.

TURKO-IRANIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Med.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)	PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)	RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.)
Average 82'0	Average 68'1	Average 127'3
Maximum 92	Maximum 92	Maximum 140
Minimum 72	Minimum 53	Minimum 113
Range 20	Range 39	Range 27

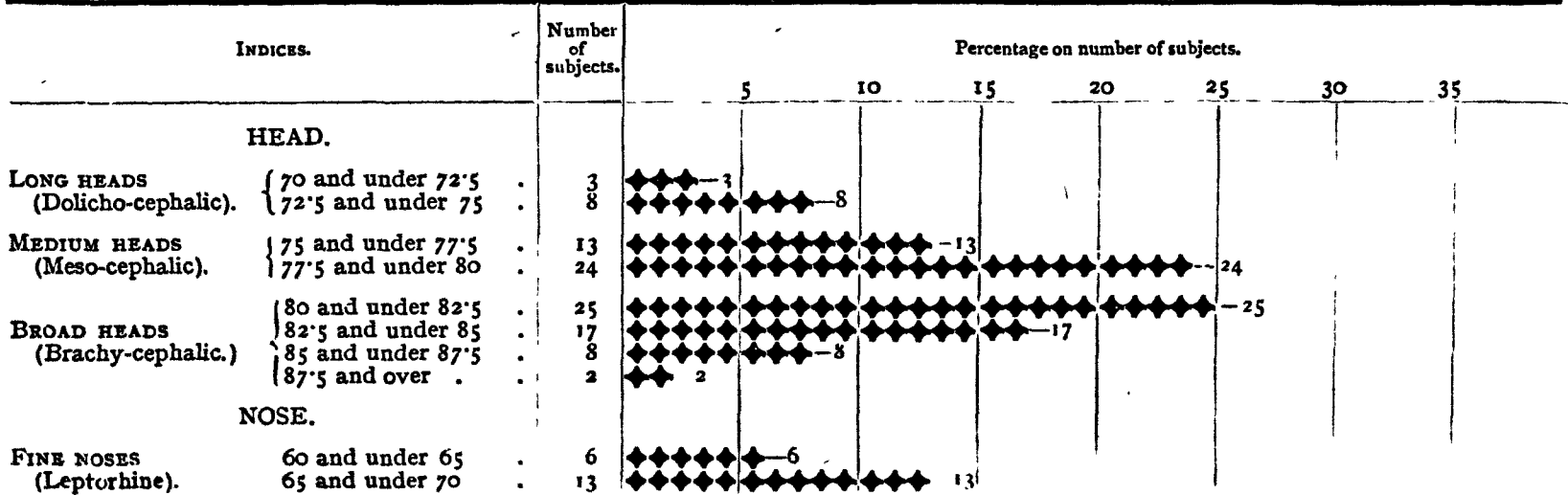


SERIATIONS.

SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Prabhu.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)	PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)	RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.)	STATURE. C.M.
Average 79.9	Average 75.8	Average 113.4	Average 162.7
Maximum 89	Maximum 93	Maximum 121	Maximum 181.4
Minimum 70	Minimum 60	Minimum 106	Minimum 150.4
Range 19	Range 33	Range 15	Range 31

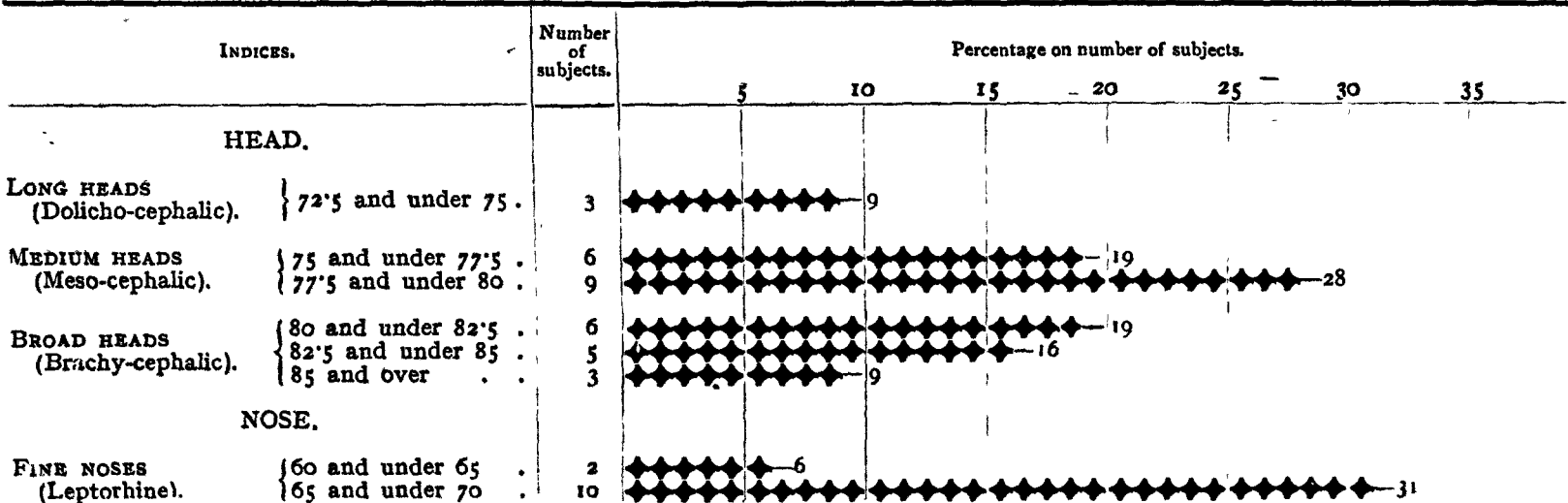


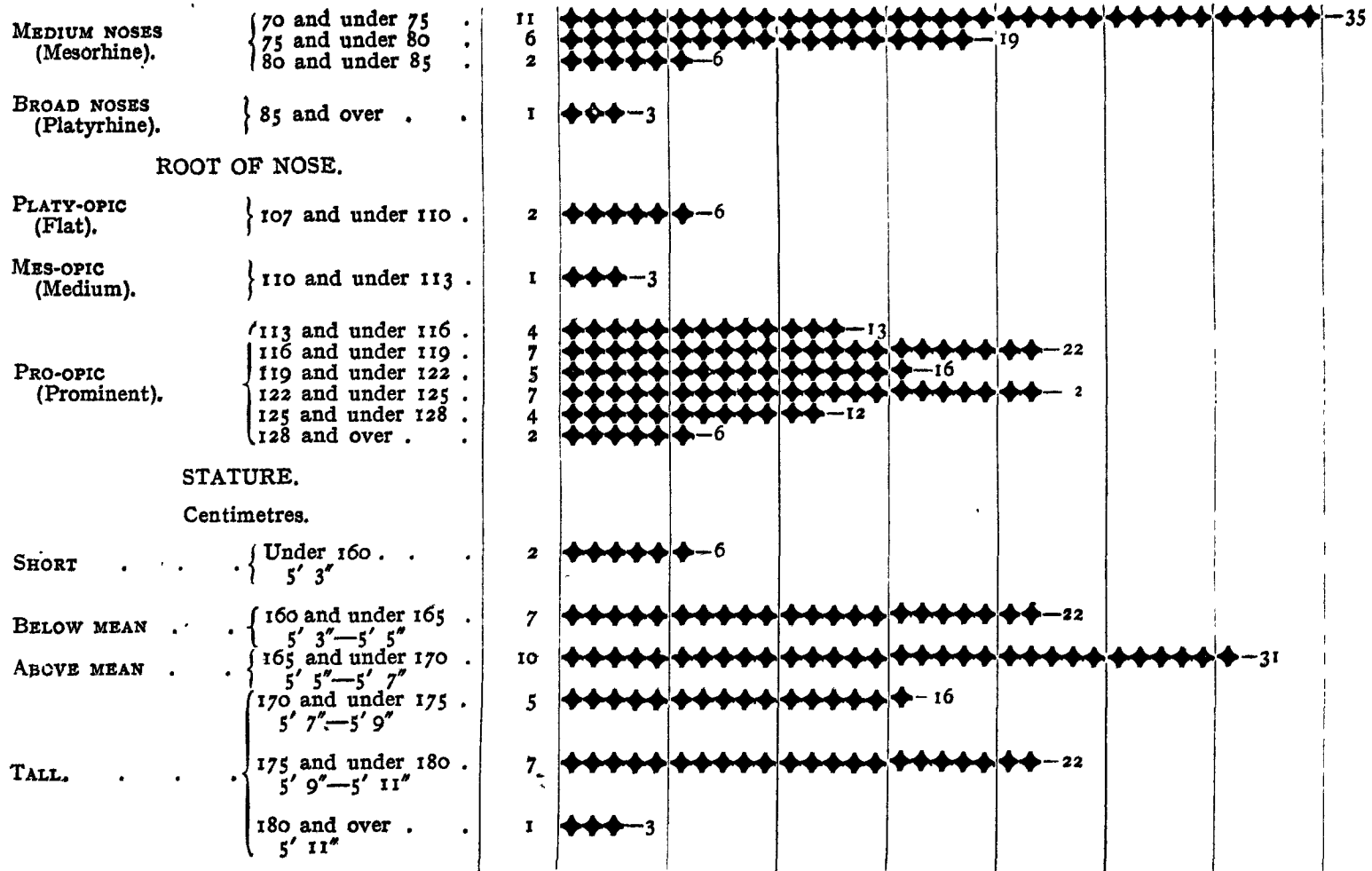
SERIATIONS.

SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Coorg.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE. (Orbito-Nasal Index.)		STATURE. C. M.	
Average	79.9	Average	72.0	Average	120	Average	168.7
Maximum	89	Maximum	86	Maximum	130	Maximum	182.0
Minimum	74	Minimum	61	Minimum	108	Minimum	158.0
Range	15	Range	25	Range	22	Range	24.0



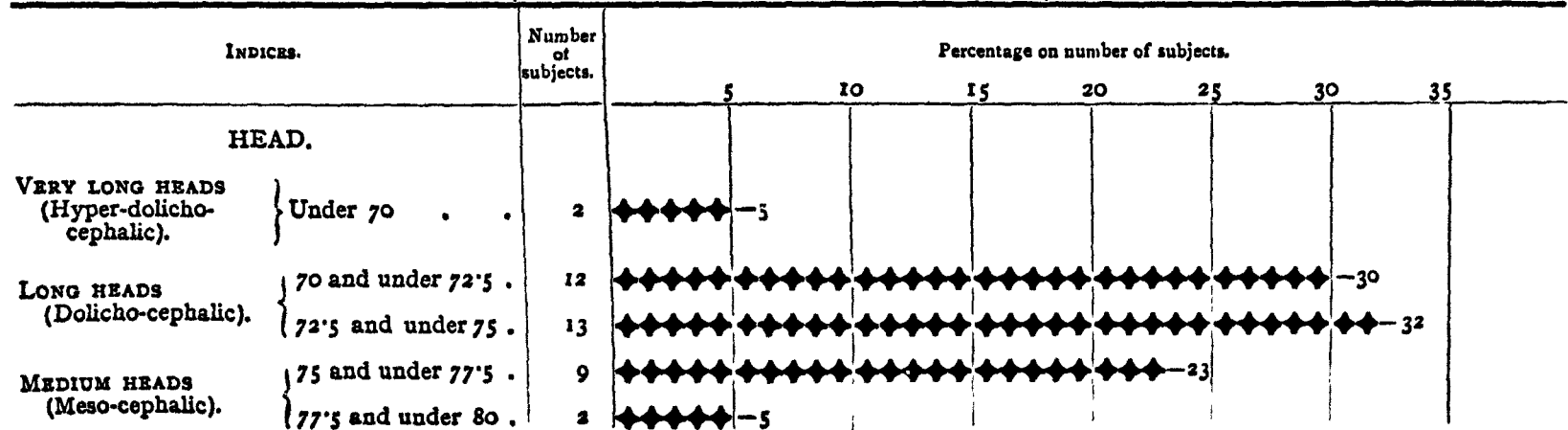


SERIATIONS.

DRAVIDIAN TYPE: S. INDIA.

Type Specimen: Vellala (Good Sudra).

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		STATURE. C. M.	
Average	74·1	Average	73·1	Average	162·4
Maximum	81·1	Maximum	91·5	Maximum	172·8
Minimum	67·9	Minimum	60·8	Minimum	153·2
Range	13·2	Range	30·7	Range	19·6



SERiations.**DRAVIDIAN TYPE: S. INDIA.****Type Specimen: Mukkuvan.**

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		STATURE.	
Average	75.1	Average	81.0	Average	163.1
Maximum	83.5	Maximum	104.8	Maximum	177.8
Minimum	68.6	Minimum	62.5	Minimum	150.8
Range	14.9	Range	42.3	Range	27.0

INDICES.		Number of subjects.	Percentage on number of subjects.						
			5	10	15	20	25	30	35
HEAD.									
VERY LONG HEADS (Hyper-dolichocephalic).	Under 70 . . .	1	◆◆◆—3						
LONG HEADS (Dolichocephalic).	70 and under 72.5 . . .	7	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—7		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—14		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—21		
	72.5 and under 75 . . .	10	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—10		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—20		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—30		
MEDIUM HEADS (Mesocephalic).	75 and under 77.5 . . .	12	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—12		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—24		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—36		
	77.5 and under 80 . . .	8	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—8		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—16		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—24		
BROAD HEADS (Brachycephalic).	80 and under 82.5 . . .	1	◆◆—2		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—16		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—32		
	82.5 and under 85 . . .	1	◆◆—2		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—16		◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆—32		

NOSE.

FINE NOSES
(Leptorhine).

{ Under 70 . . .

3 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -7

MEDIUM NOSES
(Mesorhine).

{ 70 and under 75 . . .

6 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -15

{ 75 and under 80 . . .

9 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -23

{ 80 and under 85 . . .

11 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -28

{ 85 and under 90 . . .

6 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -15

BROAD NOSES
(Platyrhine).

{ 90 and under 95 . . .

2 ◆◆◆◆◆◆ -5

{ 95 and under 100 . . .

1 ◆◆◆ 2

{ 100 and over . . .

2 ◆◆◆◆◆◆ -5

STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT . . .

{ Under 155 . . .

2 ◆◆◆◆◆◆ -5

{ 155 and under 160 . . .

9 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -23

BELOW MEAN . . .

{ 160 and under 165 . . .

12 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -30

ABOVE MEAN . . .

{ 165 and under 170 . . .

14 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -35

TALL . . .

{ 170 and over . . .

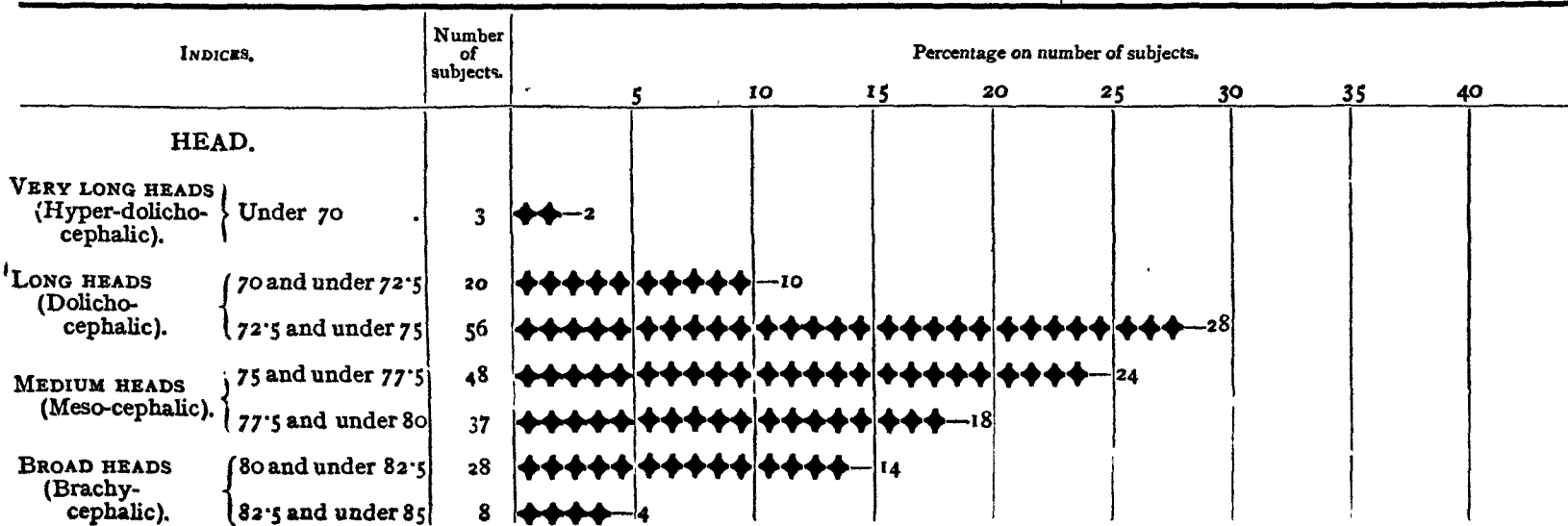
3 ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆ -7

SERIATIONS.

DRAVIDIAN TYPE : RAJPUTANA.

Type Specimen : Bhil.

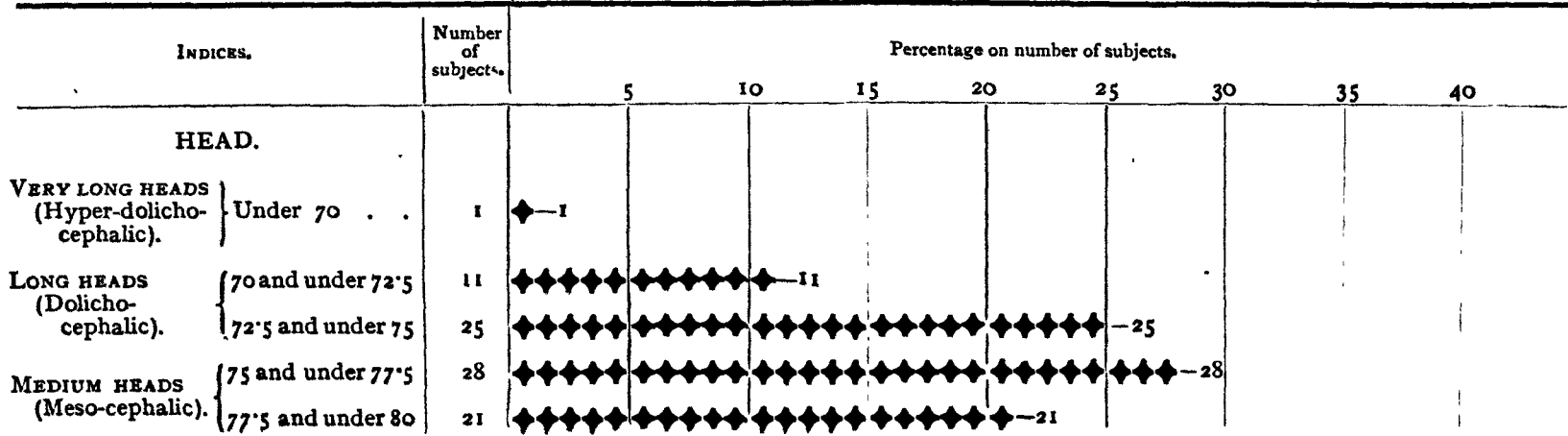
PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		STATURE. C. M.	
Average	76·5	Average	84·1	Average	162·9
Maximum	84	Maximum	105	Maximum	176·4
Minimum	68	Minimum	63	Minimum	147·6
Range	16	Range	42	Range	28·8



SERIATIONS.

DRAVIDIAN TYPE : CHUTIA NAGPUR. Type Specimen : Santal.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)	PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)	STATURE. C. M.
Average 76·1	Average 88·8	Average 161·4
Maximum 88	Maximum 110	Maximum 177·0
Minimum 69	Minimum 74	Minimum 151·0
Range 19	Range 36	Range 26·0



MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic). } 75 and under 77.5
 } 77.5 and under 80

BROAD HEADS (Brachycephalic). } 80 and under 82.5

NOSE.

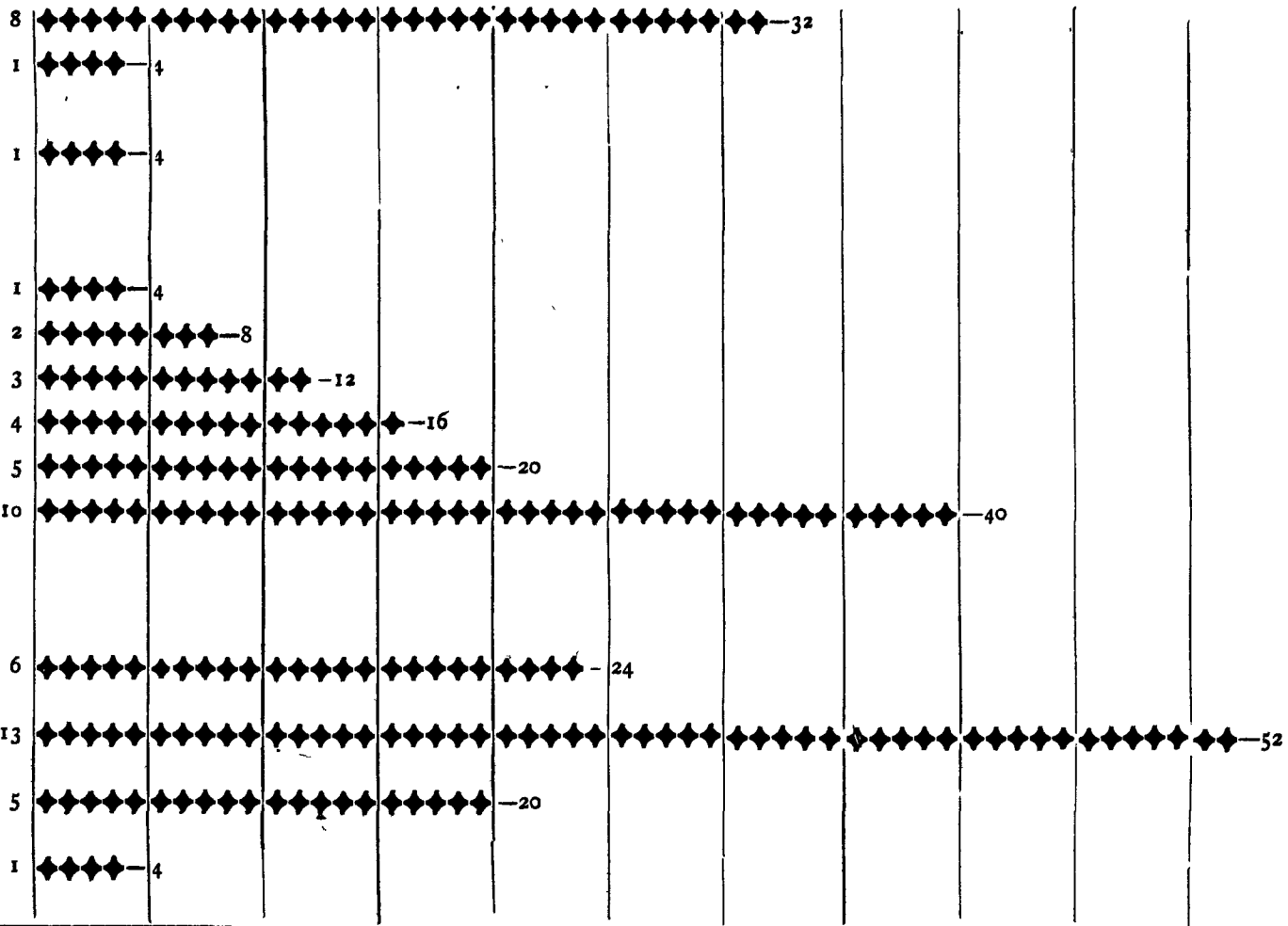
MEDIUM NOSES (Mesorhine). } 70 and under 75
 } 80 and under 85

BROAD NOSES (Platyrrhine). } 85 and under 90
 } 90 and under 95
 } 95 and under 100
 } 100 and over

STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT . } Under 155 5' 1" } 6
 } 155 and under 160 5' 1" - 5' 3" } 13
 } 160 and under 165 5' 3" - 5' 5" } 5
 BELOW MEAN. } 170 and over 5' 7" } 1
 TALL



SERIATIONS.

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Chamar of the United Provinces.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		STATURE. C. M.	
Average	72.8	Average	86.0	Average	163.0
Maximum	81	Maximum	109	Maximum	176.5
Minimum	67	Minimum	64	Minimum	152.4
Range	14	Range	45	Range	24.1

INDICES.		Number of subjects	Percentage on number of subjects.						
			5	10	15	20	25	30	35
HEAD.									
VERY LONG HEADS (Hyper-dolicho- cephalic).	} Under 70 . . .	17	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆		
LONG HEADS (Dolicho- cephalic).	{ 70 and under 72.5 . . . 72.5 and under 75 . . .	23	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
		38	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso- cephalic).	75 and under 77.5 . . . 77.5 and under 80 . . .	15	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆			
		5	◆◆◆◆◆						

BROAD HEADS
(Brachy-cephalic). } 80 and over . . .

NOSE.

FINE NOSES
(Leptorhine). {

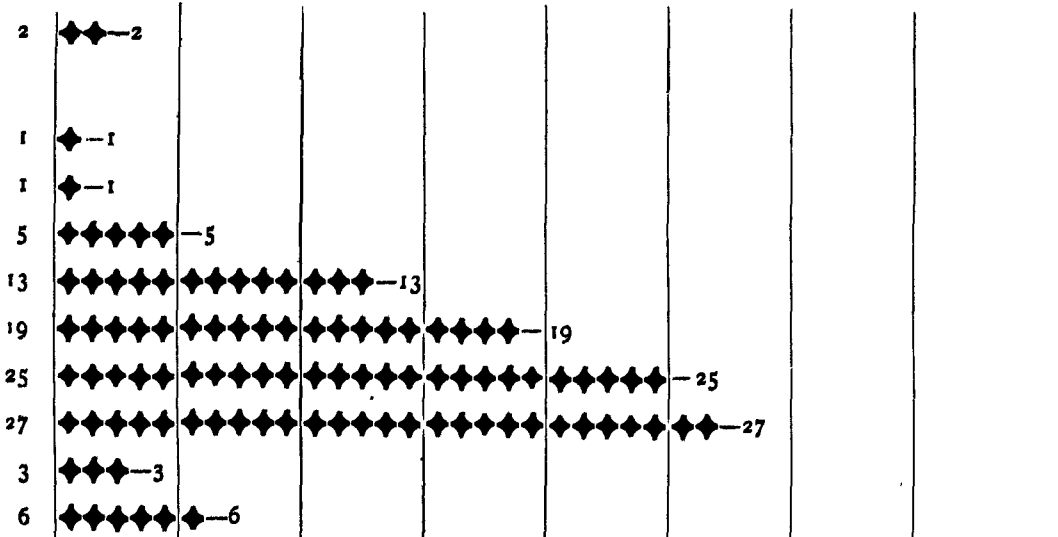
Under 65 . . .
65 and under 70 . . .

MEDIUM NOSES
(Mesorhine). {

70 and under 75 . . .
75 and under 80 . . .
80 and under 85 . . .

BROAD NOSES
(Platyrrhine). {

85 and under 90 . . .
90 and under 95 . . .
95 and under 100 . . .
100 and over . . .



STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT . . .

{ Under 160
5' 3"



BELOW MEAN . . .

{ 160 and under 165
5' 3"—5' 5"



ABOVE MEAN . . .

{ 165 and under 170
5' 5"—5' 7"



TALL . . .

{ 170 and over
5' 7"



SERIATIONS.

MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

Type Specimen : Brahman of East Bengal.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)		PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)		STATURE. C. M.	
Average	79°0	Average	70·3	Average	165·3
Maximum	88	Maximum	85	Maximum	179·2
Minimum	70	Minimum	56	Minimum	147·4
Range	18	Range	29	Range	31·8

INDICES.	Number of subjects.	Percentage on number of subjects.						
		5	10	15	20	25	30	35
HEAD.								
LONG HEADS (Dolicho- cephalic).	{ 70 and under 72·5 .	1	◆—1					
	{ 72·5 and under 75 .	8	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆		
MEDIUM HEADS (Meso-cephalic).	{ 75 and under 77·5 .	14	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	
	{ 77·5 and under 80 .	21	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆
BROAD HEADS (Brachy- cephalic).	{ 80 and under 82·5 .	12	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆		
	{ 82·5 and under 85 .	9	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆			
	{ 85 and over	3	◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆					

R, PI

NOSE.

FINE NOSES
(Leptorhine).

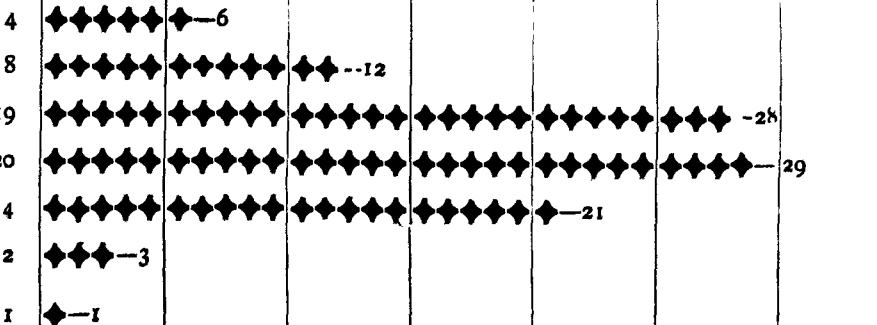
Under 60 . . . 4
60 and under 65 . . . 8
65 and under 70 . . . 19

MEDIUM NOSES
(Mesorhine).

70 and under 75 . . . 20
75 and under 80 . . . 14
80 and under 85 . . . 2

BROAD NOSES
(Platyrrhine).

85 and over . . . 1



STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT . . .

Under 155 . . . 2
5' 1"

155 and under 160 . . . 8
5' 1"—5' 3"

BELOW MEAN.

160 and under 165 . . . 22
5' 3"—5' 5"

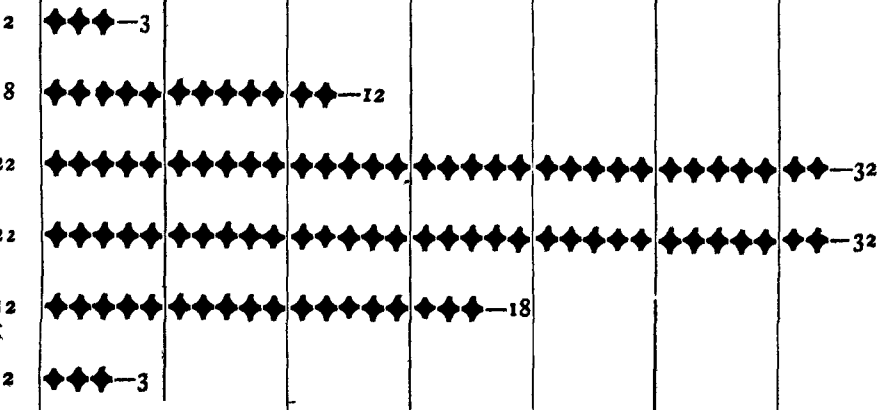
ABOVE MEAN . . .

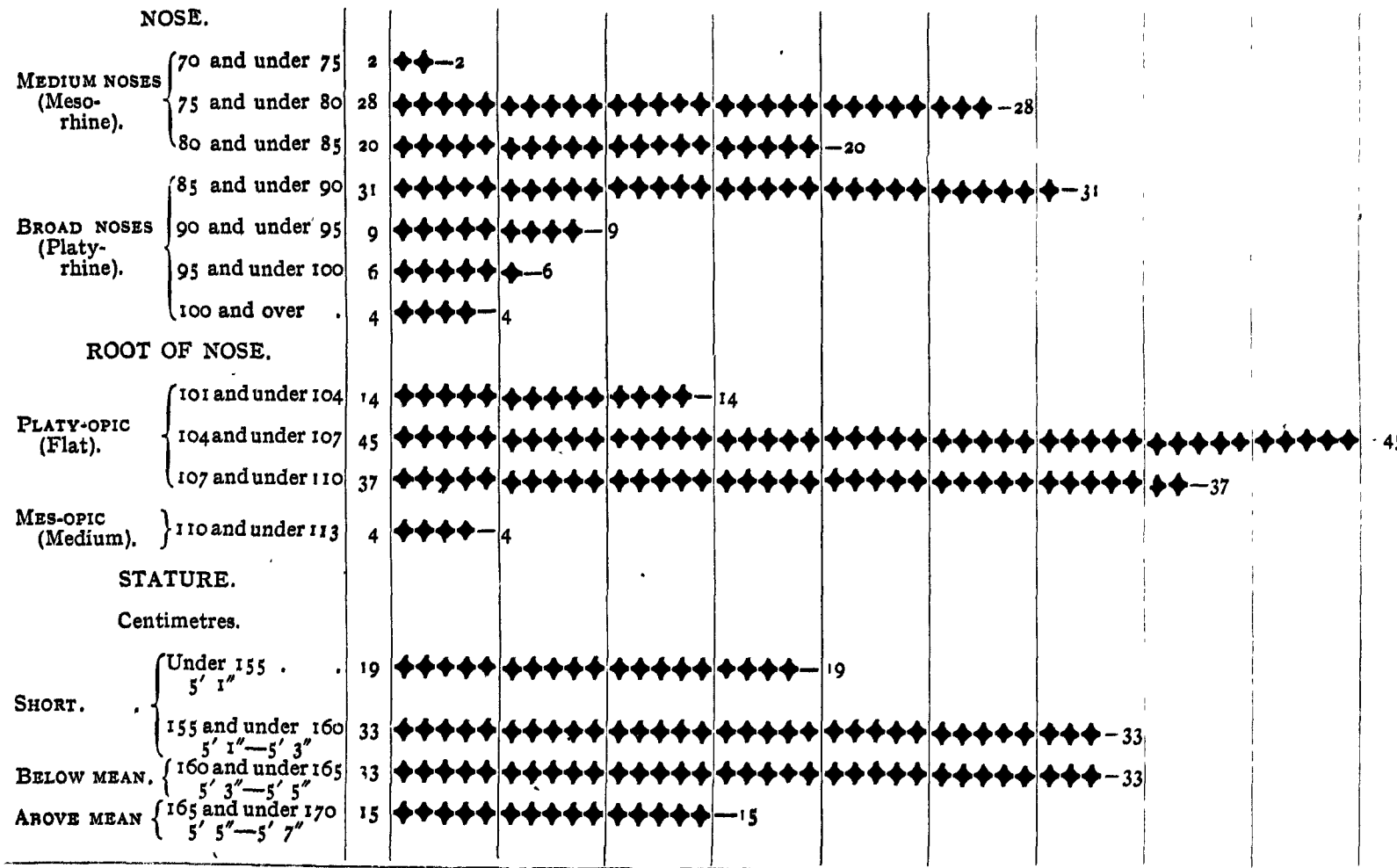
165 and under 170 . . . 22
5' 5"—5' 7"

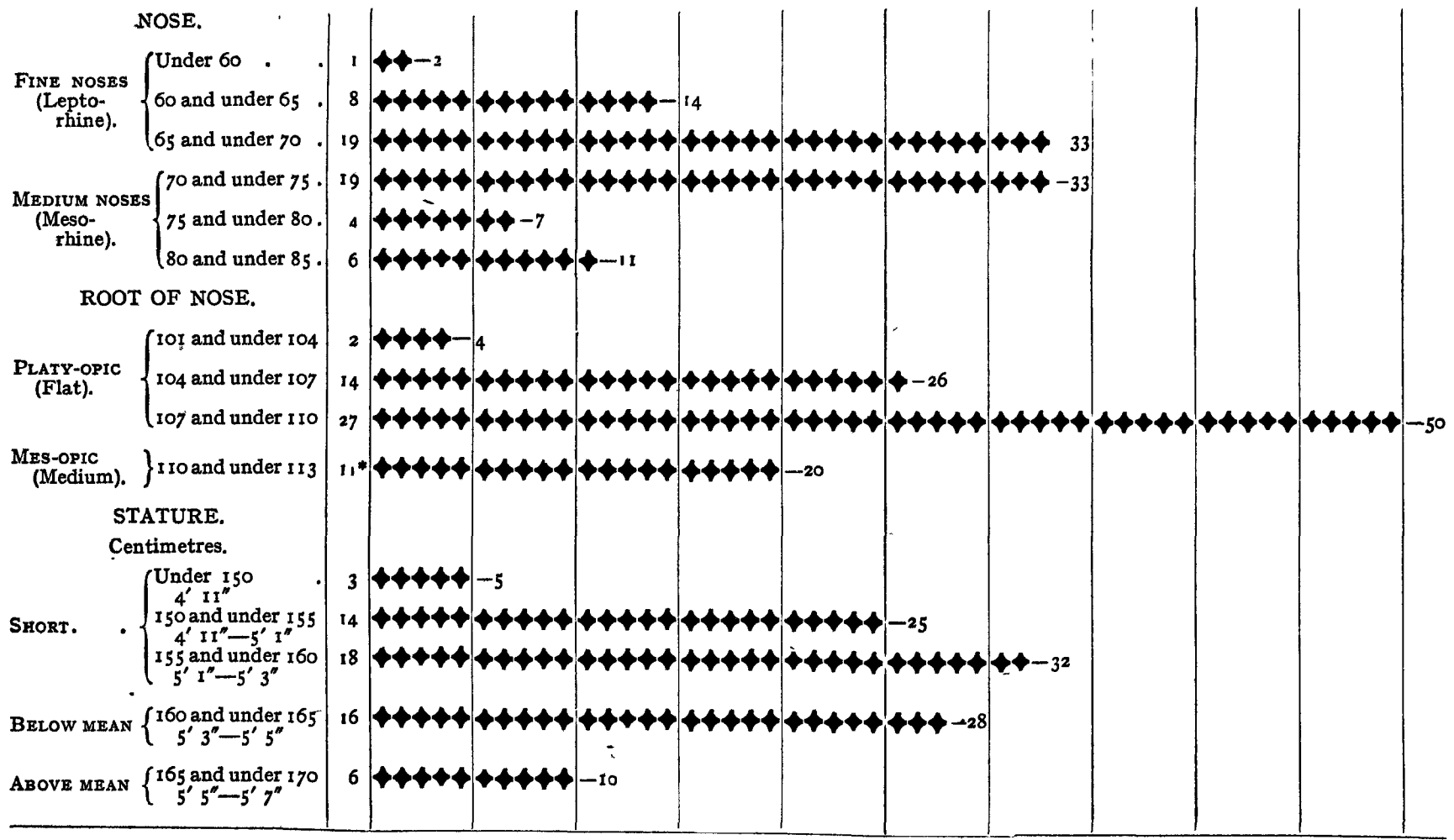
TALL . . .

170 and under 175 . . . 12
5' 7"—5' 9"

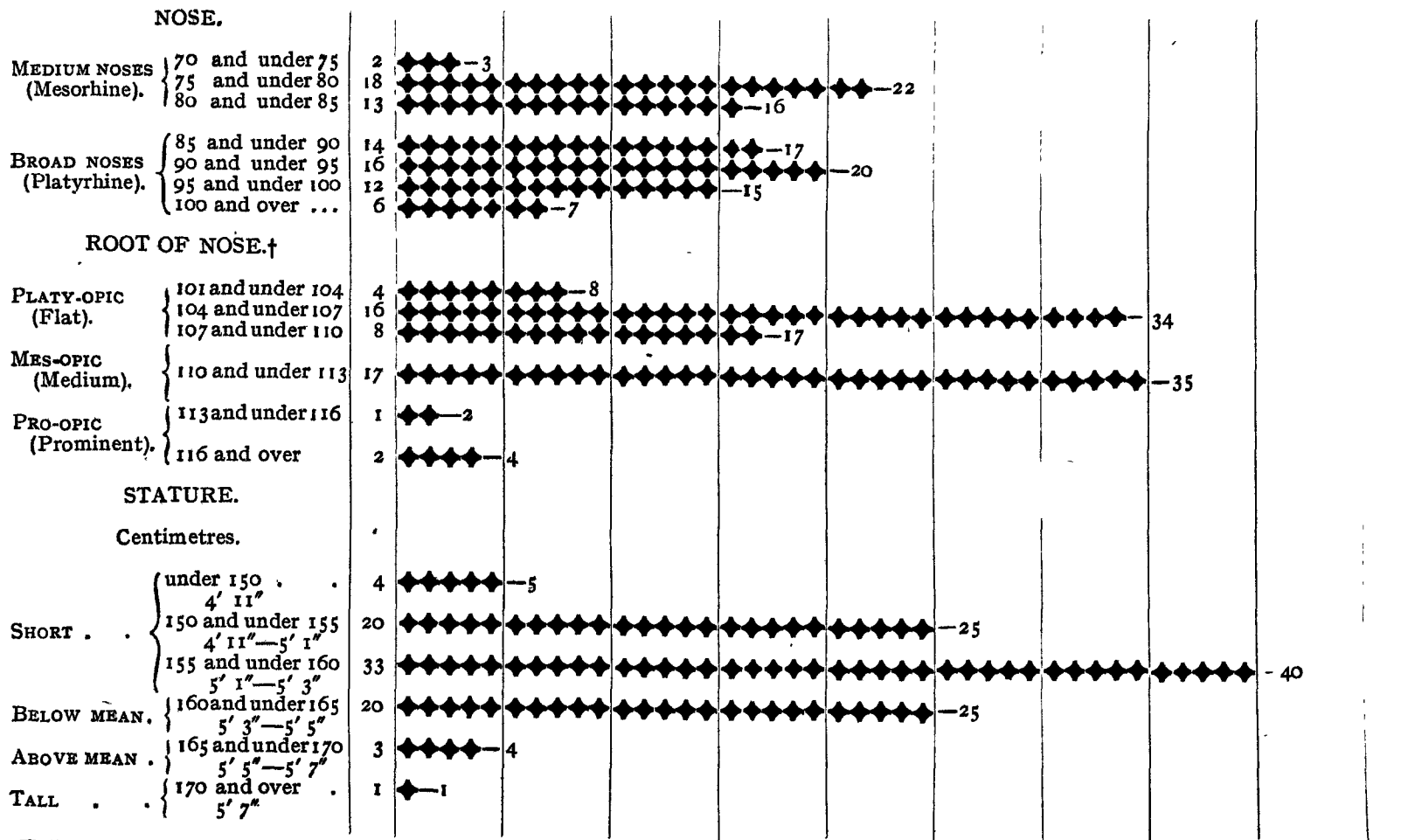
175 and over . . . 2
5' 9"







* Three cases without data have been omitted.



* 80 Measurements available.

† Only 48 Measurements available

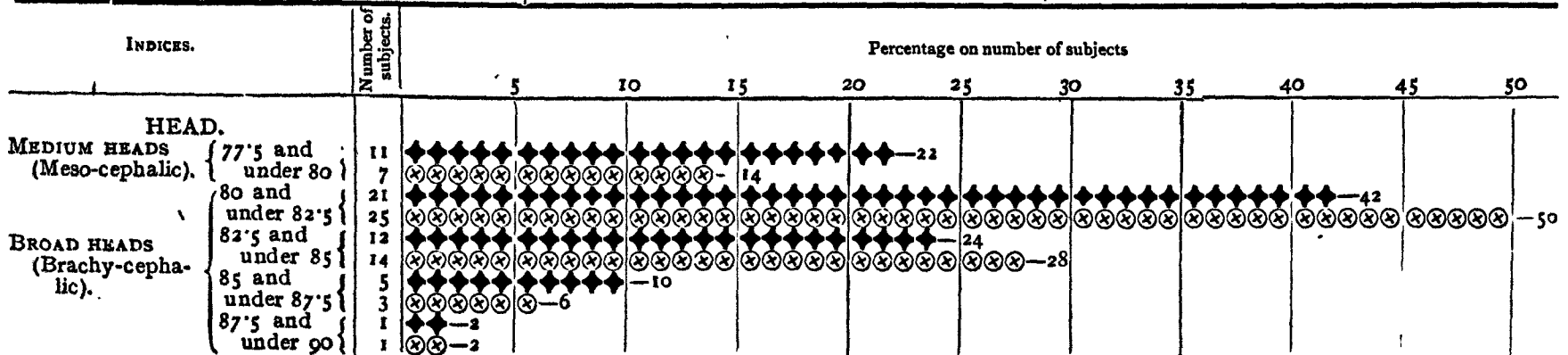
SERIATIONS.

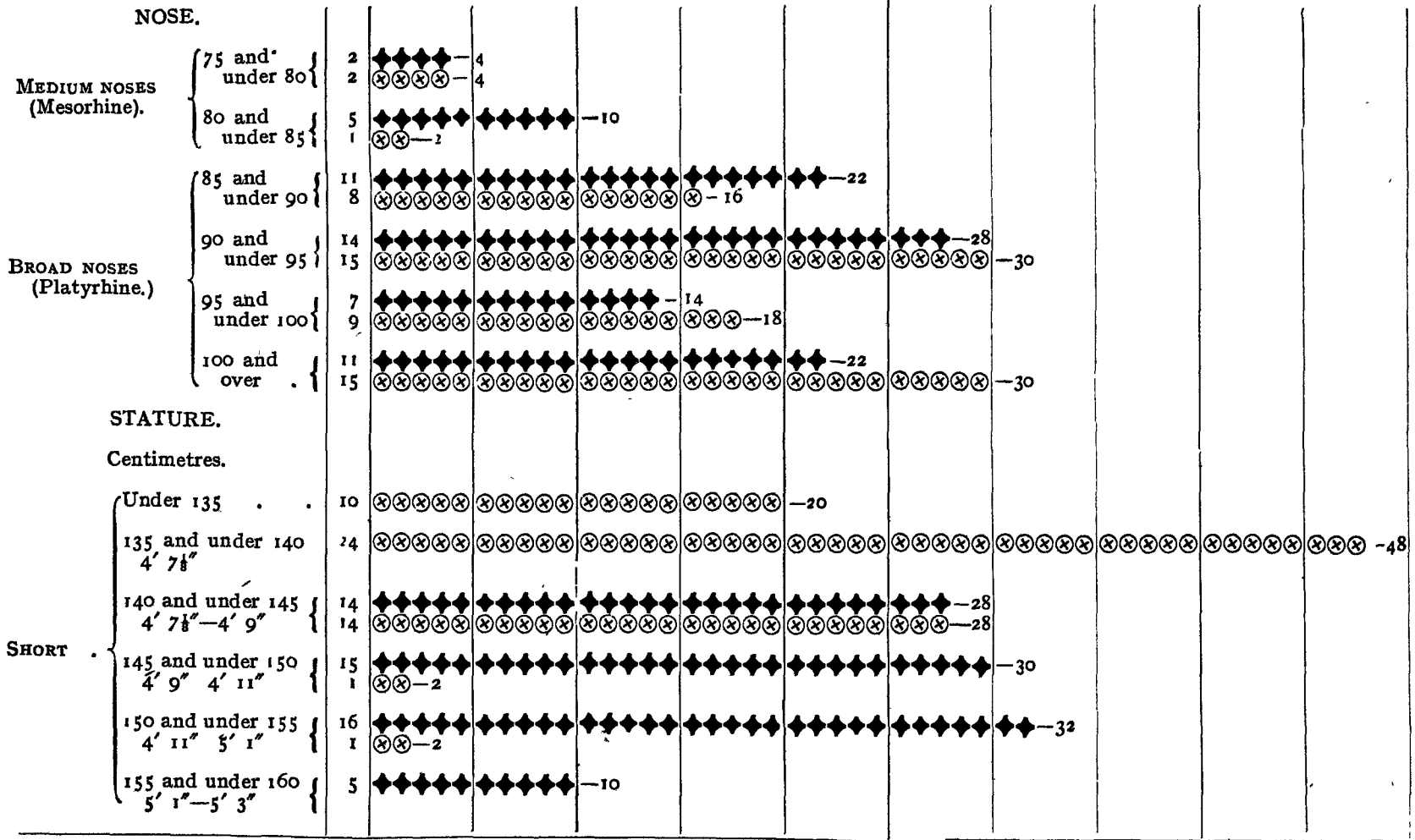
NEGRITO TYPE.

North Andamans.

MALE ◆ AND FEMALE ⊗ SERIES.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)			PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)				STATURE.	
	Male.	Female.			Male.	Female.	C. M. Male.	C. M. Female.
Average . . .	82°0	81°9	Average . . .	92°5	94°3	Average . . .	148°6	138°5
Maximum . . .	88	88	Maximum . . .	115	113	Maximum . . .	156°8	150°0
Minimum . . .	78	78	Minimum . . .	77	77	Minimum . . .	140°0	127°7
Range . . .	10	10	Range . . .	38	36	Range . . .	16°8	23°3





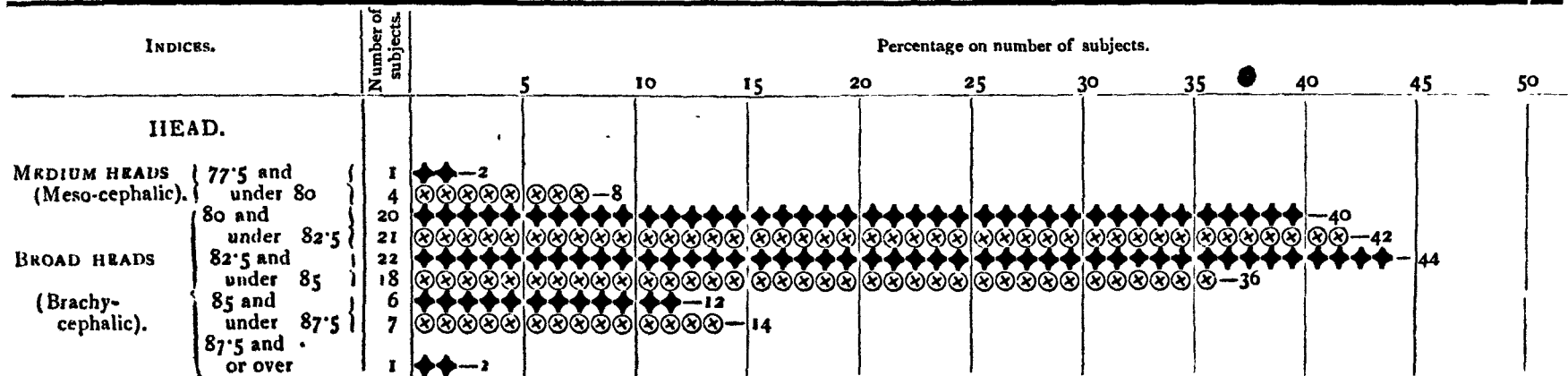
SERiations.

NEGrito TYPE.

South Andamans.

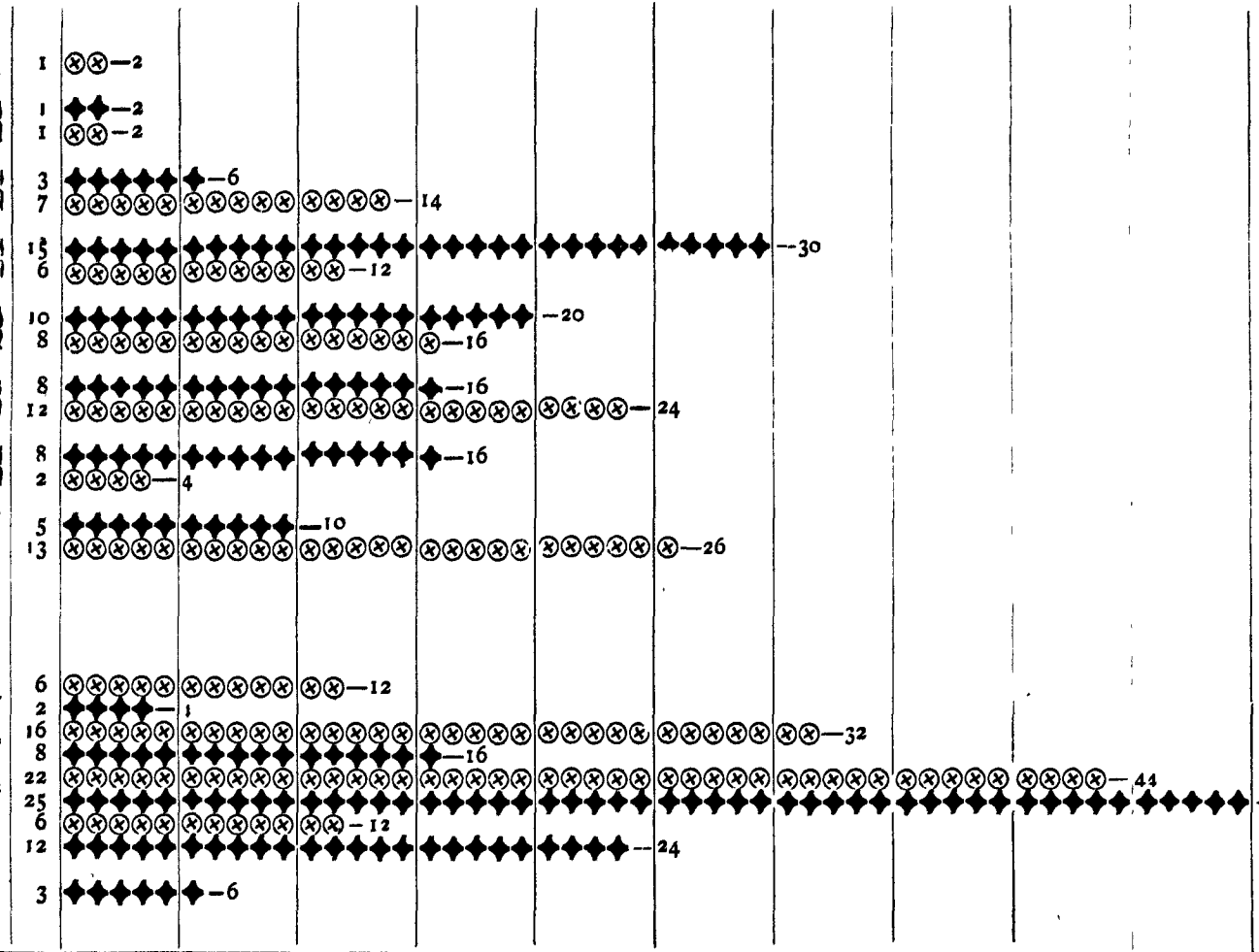
MALE ◆ AND ⊗ FEMALE SERIES.

PROPORTIONS OF HEAD. (Cephalic Index.)			PROPORTIONS OF NOSE. (Nasal Index.)			STATURE.	
	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	C. M. Male.	C. M. Female.
Average	83.0	82.7	Average	88.2	89.4	148.2	140.2
Maximum	90	87	Maximum	102	113	159.4	148.5
Minimum	79	79	Minimum	74	70	138.0	129.1
Range	11	8	Range	28	43	21.4	19.4



NOSE.

FINE NOSES
(Leptorhine). { 65 and under 70 }
 { 70 and under 75 }
MEDIUM NOSES
(Mesorhine). { 75 and under 80 }
 { 80 and under 85 }
 { 85 and under 90 }
BROAD NOSES
(Platyrrhine). { 90 and under 95 }
 { 95 and under 100 }
 { 100 and over. }



STATURE.

Centimetres.

SHORT. { Under 135 }
 { 135 and under 140 }
 { 4' 7 1/2" }
 { 140 and under 145 }
 { 4' 7 1/2" - 4' 9" }
 { 145 and under 150 }
 { 4' 9" - 4' 11" }
 { 150 and under 155 }
 { 4' 11" - 5' 1" }
 { 155 and under 160 }
 { 5' 1" - 5' 3" }

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

TURKO-IRANIAN TYPE.

WESTERN PUNJAB, NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE AND BALUCHISTAN. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.					
				LENGTH (GLABELLO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			AVERAGE DIMENSIONS.			ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.					
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbito nasal arc (average).	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	
WESTERN PUNJAB & N.-W. F. PROVINCE.																														
7	Nāgar	Burusharki	Nāgar	190.7	198	180	143.8	151	142	75.4	75	72	58.4	64	52	37.0	40	35	63.3	69	55	1648	1690	1606	103.0	116.8	113.3	124	108	
80	Pathān	Western Punjābi	North-Western Punjab.	185.2	203	165	141.7	152	133	76.5	87	69	50.0	59	45	34.2	40	30	68.4	80	56	1687	1866	1562	115.9	135.9	117.1	131	108	
6	Kāfir	Ashkun	Kāfirstān	194.6	199	191	149.6	160	143	76.9	81	73	54.1	58	52	37.3	39	36	68.9	72	64	1671	1738	1560	107.0	124.3	116.1	118	113	
9	Hunza	Burusharki	Hunza	192.8	200	181	152.0	165	144	78.8	82	76	53.2	62	50	38.5	40	37	72.3	78	65	1708	1800	1648	109.0	123.7	113.4	119	109	
60	Baloch (mixed).	Western Punjābi	Western Punjab	179.2	197	155	143.5	152	133	80.0	91	72	49.4	58	45	34.3	40	30	69.4	87	57	1662	1803	1524	113.8	134.2	117.9	129	110	
200	Hazāra	Persian	Afghanistan	179.6	202	160	152.8	168	140	85.0	95	74	46.3	56	37	37.3	45	31	80.5	111	63	1684	1806	1525	114.0	126.8	111.2	120	103	
BALUCHISTAN.																														
58*	Lori	Brāhui and Gypsy (Mokāki)	Quetta and Saruna.	177.6	192	158	139.5	152	130	78.5	90	71	56.4	66	44	35.1	44	26	62.2	85	48	..	..	..	98.7	119.5	121.0	133	105
100*	Makhiāni (Pathān)	Pashto	Harnai, Thal Chotiali.	181.0	200	163	142.1	159	130	78.5	87	65	57.4	64	46	34.0	43	29	59.2	78	48	..	..	..	99.3	124.0	124.8	134	113
59*	Wanechi (Pathān)	Do	Babihan, Thal Chotiali.	178.1	195	161	141.2	155	126	79.2	86	70	56.9	66	48	33.7	45	28	59.2	87	47	..	..	..	99.2	121.8	122.7	133	114
76*	Dehwār	Dehwāri	Mastung	179.4	200	165	142.2	155	130	79.2	81	68	54.9	68	45	34.1	40	28	62.1	80	47	..	..	..	98.3	119.2	121.2	133	107
100*	Jat	Jadgali	Sibi	177.8	196	160	141.9	155	130	79.8	91	70	56.1	64	44	35.4	46	25	63.1	84	42	..	..	..	98.0	122.5	125.0	143	104
100	Pani (Pathān)	Pashto	Do.	183.9	198	168	147.4	158	139	80.1	90	75	50.9	58	43	37.2	43	32	73.0	90	55	1677	1852	1560	112.0	132.0	117.8	126	111	
271	Baloch	Balochi	Māri and Bugti Hills and Kacchi	181.8	205	161	146.2	159	131	80.4	90	70	52.4	61	45	38.0	46	30	72.5	94	57	1678	1850	1506	112.8	133.6	118.4	128	111	
24*	Dehwār	Dehwāri	Kālāt	178.5	183	168	144.4	160	133	80.8	81	73	59.5	70	53	34.7	40	30	58.3	67	48	..	..	..	100.0	122.2	122.2	133	113
100	Achakzāi (Pathān)	Pashto	Chaman, Quetta Pishin.	187.7	210	175	152.4	171	140	81.1	91	74	55.3	63	48	37.8	47	31	68.3	90	55	1722	1862	1602	116.4	136.4	117.1	125	111	
48*	Mir Jats	Jatki	Sibi	180.1	200	162	146.4	158	135	81.2	90	73	57.3	86	48	35.4	45	30	61.7	75	40	..	..	..	99.6	124.2	124.6	137	111
198	Brāhui	Brāhui	Sarawan Country	182.0	197	166	148.4	165	135	81.5	90	72	51.3	65	41	36.4	45	30	70.9	98	55	1659	1794	1526	110.9	130.9	118.0	128	110	
200	Dehwār	Dehwāri	Mastung	179.4	198	165	146.6	159	131	81.7	90	72	48.4	59	42	36.0	45	30	74.3	98	60	1642	1808	1488	107.6	127.0	118.0	130	109	
112	Kākar (Pathān)	Pashto	Quetta and Zhob	184.7	202	170	151.4	169	140	81.9	90	74	53.4	61	46	37.2	44	32	69.6	88	60	1683	1882	1570	114.9	134.0	116.6	124	107	
79*	Med	Makrāni Balochi	Pasni, Gwadar, Chabar and Ormara.	181.4	200	170	148.9	160	136	82.0	90	72	55.9	68	44	38.1	46	30	68.1	92	53	..	..	..	117.3	149.4	127.3	140	113
77*	Mengal (Brahui)	Brāhui	Saruna	179.5	190	161	148.7	162	130	82.8	93	70	57.8	68	41	34.4	43	30	59.5	83	50	..	..	..	108.0	130.3	120.6	135	103
100	Tārin (Pathān)	Pashto	Pishin	182.1	199	165	150.9	170	138	82.8	93	74	54.1	62	45	36.7	49	30	67.8	86	54	1683	1928	1533	114.7	133.6	116.4	127	111	
13	Ghulam (Slaves)	Balochi	Baluchistan	179.0	188	170	150.2	159	141	83.9	81	75	51.2	56	46	39.3	46	35	76.7	92	66	1642	1706	1526	109.3	126.6	115.8	123	110	
33*	Chhutta	Jadgali	Hinidan Levy Tracts.	176.1	190	162	150.2	162	140	85.2	91	80	60.0	70	50	35.2	40	30	58.6	71	50	..	..	..	111.2	138.3	124.3	134	111
35*	Bandija	Do	Kila do.	174.6	190	162	152.0	162	144	87.0	91	81	59.4	70	54	35.0	42	28	58.9	71	47	..	..	..	115.1	141.2	122.6	139	110

* Mr. B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S.

APPENDIX IV.

cx

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

INDO-ARYAN TYPE.

PUNJAB AND RAJPUTANA. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.					
				LENGTH (GLABEL-LO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbito nasal arc (average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.			
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	
19	Māchhi . .	Punjābī .	Punjab .	188.4	196	182	136.3	147	127	72.3	76	68	49.8	53	46	34.9	41	31	70.0	82	62	1699	1828	1600	112.1	131.0	116.8	125	110	
120	Rājput . .	Rājasthānī	Rajputānā	192.5	213	180	139.4	151	127	72.4	81	64	51.2	61	43	36.7	44	31	71.6	91	53	1748	1924	1654	108.5	128.0	117.9	129	107	
13	Gujar . .	Punjābī .	Punjab .	192.6	205	185	139.6	148	133	72.4	78	68	50.3	55	47	33.7	39	31	66.9	78	60	1703	1778	1650	112.7	130.6	115.8	123	111	
27	Arora . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	190.7	206	177	138.6	149	130	72.6	81	67	49.7	54	47	35.4	42	30	71.2	81	60	1658	1803	1574	111.5	129.5	116.1	121	110	
80	Sikh (Jāt) .	Ditto .	Ditto .	190.2	203	172	138.4	152	127	72.7	81	66	50.1	61	45	34.5	41	30	68.8	85	56	1716	1905	1625	113.6	132.5	116.6	125	110	
100	Meo . .	Rājasthānī	Rajputānā	189.5	204	178	138.4	147	126	73.0	81	67	50.4	60	43	38.1	46	32	75.5	92	59	1690	1852	1536	106.4	121.2	113.9	123	107	
100	Mina Zamindār	Ditto .	Ditto .	192.4	207	174	140.6	155	132	73.0	83	67	51.2	59	41	38.1	44	32	74.4	91	61	1713	1850	1606	108.0	124.4	115.1	123	107	
100	Mina Chaukidār	Ditto .	Ditto .	189.9	207	176	139.1	150	130	73.2	81	61	51.0	59	44	37.8	44	32	74.2	96	61	1703	1820	1570	108.5	125.4	115.5	125	107	
80	Chuhra . .	Punjābī .	Punjab .	186.7	200	171	137.1	152	127	73.4	82	68	48.0	56	45	36.1	45	31	75.2	94	60	1666	1803	1524	112.2	129.4	115.3	123	108	
60	Khatri . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	185.7	200	172	137.5	150	128	74.0	86	66	48.8	58	44	35.7	42	30	73.1	95	59	1662	1803	1574	111.9	126.6	113.1	122	106	
33	Awān . .	Ditto .	Ditto .	188.8	201	175	140.5	147	130	74.4	80	70	50.7	57	44	34.9	39	30	68.8	79	55	1706	1828	1600	113.0	131.3	110.1	125	110	

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

BOMBAY AND COORG. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.					
				LENGTH (GLABELLO OCCIPITAL)			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External bi-orbital Breadth (average).	Bi-orbital nasal arc average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.			
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	
100	Deshasth Brahman	Marathi	Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar	185.4	198	170	142.7	157	131	76.9	88	68	48.9	56	42	38.8	44	34	79.3	98	69	1642	1750	1486	116.6	135.6	116.2	127	105	
100	Mahar	Marathi	Poona	181.6	195	165	140.0	152	129	77.0	88	69	47.2	53	41	38.7	46	33	81.9	96	70	1634	1792	1490	113.9	130.6	114.6	125	108	
100	Kokanasth Brahman (Chitpavan)	Marathi	Bombay and Poona	186.4	202	170	144.2	155	122	77.3	85	70	49.3	57	41	37.8	43	31	76.6	93	60	1655	1813	1512	116.0	134.2	115.6	124	103	
100	Kunbi	Marathi	Poona	180.1	197	165	139.4	156	130	77.4	92	69	47.9	54	40	37.9	42	33	79.2	93	67	1600	1776	1420	113.2	129.5	114.5	124	104	
100	Koli (Sōn)	Koli Dialect	Thana	185.0	201	171	143.5	159	134	77.5	85	71	49.6	57	42	37.9	47	31	76.4	93	62	1601	1760	1482	114.5	129.5	113.1	122	104	
100	Maratha	Marathi	Poona	181.3	195	166	142.1	158	127	78.3	89	69	47.8	57	38	38.3	48	33	80.1	108	66	1632	1770	1476	114.9	133.1	115.8	132	107	
100	Shenvi Brahman	Marathi	Bombay city	186.2	201	170	147.1	160	132	79.0	92	71	50.3	59	42	37.6	43	33	74.7	95	63	1648	1774	1481	112.9	129.5	114.7	124	104	
127	Vania	Gujerati	Ahmedabad	183.0	202	170	145.2	156	135	79.3	88	70	49.9	59	35	37.8	49	31	75.7	10	61	1612	1732	1489	113.1	131.5	116.2	128	108	
100	Nagar Brahman	Gujerati	Ahmedabad	184.4	202	151	147.1	166	132	79.7	90	71	50.7	61	44	37.1	44	31	73.1	90	57	1643	1788	1513	114.1	133.2	116.7	124	108	
100	Prabhu	Marathi	Satara, Poona, Bombay (city), Thana	184.2	198	170	147.2	158	131	79.9	89	70	50.1	58	44	38.0	45	32	75.8	93	60	1627	1814	1504	113.0	128.2	113.4	121	106	
32	Coorg*	Kodagu	Coorg	184.0	195	168	147.0	154	138	79.9	89	74	51.5	57	46	37.0	40	32	72.0	86	61	1687	1820	1580	110.0	132.0	120.0	130	108	
Dravidian Forest Nomads in Scytho-Dravidian Tract.																														
	Katkari	Katkari	Thana	178.8	199	160	133.0	143	126	74.3	82	68	44.0	52	37	38.7	45	31	88.0	111	70	1584	1690	1438	107.8	121.2	112.4	121	104	

* T. H. Holland, A.R.C.S., F.G.S.

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

SCYTHO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

MADRAS (DECCAN). (In order of Cephalic Index.)

[E. THURSTON, ESQUIRE.]

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.		
				LENGTH (GLABEL-LO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.					
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.
40	Madiga	Telugu	Bellary	183	200	172	140	154	130	76.5	83.3	68.0	46	51	40	35	39	32	77.5	91.1	66.7	1629	1734	1522
25	Brahman (Deshasth).	Canarese	Bellary	187	202	180	144	152	132	77.0	83.4	71.0	48	54	44	36	42	32	75.8	87.2	66.0	1634	1750	1514
30	Mala	Telugu	Bellary	184	198	168	142	148	134	77.1	85.9	70.3	48	52	44	36	41	34	76.2	93.2	66.7	1639	1750	1538
25	Sadaru Lingayat .	Canarese	Bellary	182	200	170	141	152	134	77.7	87.0	65.0	48	53	42	35	40	32	73.4	88.9	60.4	1658	1745	1522
25	Komati	Canarese	Bellary	182	194	170	143	152	133	77.9	88.2	72.2	47	53	43	36	43	32	77.8	100.0	65.3	1610	1683	1532
40	Bidar	Telugu	Bellary	184	200	168	143	152	132	78.1	85.3	70.8	46	48	43	36	40	34	79.4	91.0	65.2	1654	1766	1560
30	Linga Banjigaru .	Canarese	Bellary	182	194	166	142	150	134	78.3	87.9	73.7	47	52	43	35	38	31	74.6	86.4	61.5	1656	1730	1578
30	Padma Sale	Telugu	Bellary	178	190	165	141	151	132	78.7	86.2	72.8	47	53	41	35	38	32	73.2	83.7	61.5	1599	1714	1538
50	Kuruba	Canarese	Bellary	181	196	170	142	154	134	78.9	88.4	72.9	47	52	41	35	42	30	74.9	92.2	63.3	1627	1754	1474
30	Jangam (Lingayat)	Canarese	Bellary	181	196	166	143	152	132	79.1	86.8	70.4	47	52	42	35	38	31	74.5	88.1	64.7	1651	1736	1576
30	Rangari	Mahrathi	Bellary	181	198	168	145	154	138	79.8	92.2	70.7	49	52	46	36	41	33	73.6	84.1	63.5	1613	1684	1544
30	Togata	Telugu	Bellary	177	190	162	142	148	136	80.0	88.1	73.7	47	50	42	36	46	33	77.5	93.9	68.8	1605	1689	1514
20	Ganiga	Canarese	Bellary	180	191	166	144	152	140	80.5	86.7	74.5	48	53	44	35	38	32	73.7	84.4	62.7	1643	1724	1550
20	Devanga	Canarese	Bellary	180	196	170	145	155	136	80.8	87.1	74.7	47	52	43	35	38	32	74.6	80.9	65.3	1618	1686	1546
30	Suka Sale	Mahrathi	Bellary	177	188	166	145	150	134	81.8	88.2	76.1	47	51	43	35	40	32	74.8	86.1	62.3	1611	1700	1478
30	Sukun Sale	Mahrathi	Bellary	176	190	160	144	154	136	82.2	90.0	73.9	47	52	41	35	38	31	74.8	84.4	61.5	1603	1676	1525

APPENDIX IV.

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

ARYO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

UNITED PROVINCES, BEHAR AND EGYPT. (In order of Nasal Index.)

Number of subjects.	Name of Tribe or Caste.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.			PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.			PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.										
				LENGTH (GLABELLO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.							
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbito nasal arc (average).	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.
26	Bhujhar	Eastern Hindi.	United Provinces	187.2	198	178	137.4	144	128	73.3	77	62	47.2	52	40	34.5	41	31	73.0	91	61	1660	1727	1574	...	...	...	...	...
67	Brahman	Bihari	Behar	187.8	202	171	140.8	156	130	74.9	84	68	49.3	56	40	36.1	43	31	73.2	93	63	1661	1790	1544	...	...	...	...	...
59	Babhan	Do.	Do.	187.8	201	176	144.1	161	130	76.7	90	70	50.5	58	42	37.4	43	33	74.0	90	62	1662	1760	1540	...	...	...	...	...
100	Brahman	Eastern Hindi.	United Provinces	187.5	202	170	137.2	152	127	73.1	84	60	46.5	53	35	34.7	41	28	74.6	100	60	1659	1879	1422	...	...	...	...	...
100	Kayasth	Western Hindi.	Do.	186.4	200	174	135.4	154	124	72.6	80	64	46.6	52	32	34.9	44	30	74.8	102	58	1648	1792	1498	...	...	...	...	...
100	Goala	Bihari	Behar	185.4	202	171	141.4	160	128	76.2	87	68	48.5	56	41	37.2	45	29	76.7	100	58	1642	1780	1502	...	...	...	...	...
100	Chhatri	Eastern Hindi.	United Provinces	188.3	203	172	137.6	152	123	73.0	84	68	45.8	53	38	35.6	43	29	77.7	97	58	1661	1803	1498	...	...	...	...	...
103	Kanjar	Western Hindi.	Do.	181.8	195	165	135.9	149	120	74.7	82	68	43.7	54	32	34.1	40	28	78.0	106	59	1636	1778	1498	...	...	...	...	...
15	Khatri	Eastern Hindi.	Do.	188.0	195	175	135.2	141	130	71.9	79	68	45.7	53	40	35.7	39	33	78.1	93	64	1623	1727	1524	...	...	...	...	...
71	Kurmi	Bihari	Behar	186.9	202	167	141.5	152	133	75.7	83	60	47.6	56	40	37.4	42	30	78.5	98	60	1630	1764	1520	...	...	...	...	...
100	Kurmi	Eastern Hindi.	United Provinces	184.0	200	170	134.9	147	125	73.3	81	60	43.9	52	39	34.8	41	30	79.2	98	60	1642	1966	1349	...	...	...	...	...
65	Tharu	Do.	Do.	184.0	205	166	136.0	145	128	73.9	83	68	45.4	59	40	36.1	46	31	79.5	102	61	1614	1752	1524	114.0	130.0	114.0	119.0	109.0
80	Bania	Do.	Do.	187.2	200	175	133.5	150	124	71.3	84	60	44.7	54	35	35.6	41	30	79.6	106	65	1642	1816	1473	...	...	...	...	...
56	Kahar	Bihari	Behar	186.1	203	173	141.7	154	132	76.1	83	70	48.0	56	40	38.3	45	30	79.7	103	63	1624	1760	1510	...	...	...	...	...
33	Barhi	Western Hindi	United Provinces	185.4	197	175	133.3	140	125	71.8	78	60	42.9	48	37	34.7	42	31	80.8	105	67	1637	1727	1574	...	...	...	...	...
100	Goala	Eastern Hindi.	Do.	185.2	202	170	135.2	145	125	73.0	85	65	43.1	52	35	34.9	42	29	80.9	108	60	1628	1752	1447	...	...	...	...	...
100	Kewat.	Do.	Do.	184.3	198	170	134.0	145	124	72.7	80	65	43.2	52	32	35.2	42	29	81.4	100	62	1626	1752	1498	...	...	...	...	...
100	Bhar	Do.	Do.	185.5	197	170	136.4	147	120	73.5	81	62	44.4	55	33	36.4	46	30	81.9	109	60	1612	1790	1473	...	...	...	...	...
100	Maghya Dom	Bihari	Behar	186.3	203	171	142.1	154	132	76.2	87	70	48.0	55	40	39.5	48	32	82.2	98	62	1648	1770	1496	112.6	128.7	114.2	125.0	103.0
13	Bind	Do.	Do.	184.6	192	176	136.7	146	125	74.0	81	66	45.0	52	38	37.0	40	35	82.2	100	71	1612	1686	1534	111.9	125.9	112.5	112.0	107.0
32	Kol	Eastern Hindi.	United Provinces	183.1	195	170	132.6	140	120	72.4	81	68	44.0	49	41	36.2	40	30	82.2	93	64	1650	1779	1549	...	...	...	...	...
100	Dosadh	Bihari	Behar	184.8	201	168	141.8	155	130	76.8	85	70	46.8	56	40	38.6	44	33	82.4	100	64	1620	1728	1494	134.5	132.1	115.3	126.0	105.0
45	Lohar	Western Hindi	United Provinces	184.9	200	170	134.7	145	120	72.8	82	68	43.4	52	35	35.8	43	29	82.4	114	60	1636	1826	1498	...	...	...	...	...
100	Guria	Eastern Hindi.	Do.	184.7	207	169	133.8	147	123	72.4	80	65	42.1	52	33	34.8	41	28	82.6	103	60	1627	1752	1473	...	...	...	...	...
56	Sinhalese	Sinhalese	Ceylon	183.4	202	171	143.9	155	133	78.4	87	69	47.7	52	41	39.2	46	34	82.6	100	68	1625	1730	1499	99.5	112.3	112.8	118.0	106.0
62	Chamar	Bihari	Behar	184.4	198	168	140.3	154	128	76.0	88	68	46.0	52	39	38.1	44	32	82.8	95	65	1612	1840	1480	...	...	...	...	...
100	Kachi	Western Hindi	United Provinces	184.6	198	172	133.2	149	122	72.1	81	66	41.7	50	33	34.6	42	29	82.9	117	60	1642	1821	1485	...	...	...	...	...
100	Dom	Eastern Hindi.	Do.	182.7	204	170	136.8	148	124	74.8	84	64	45.4	55	37	37.7	45	32	83.0	122	62	1655	1778	1524	...	...	...	...	...
100	Lodha.	Western Hindi	Do.	185.2	201	170	134.5	145	123	72.6	81	65	41.6	49	34	34.7	42	30	83.4	109	65	1628	1778	1536	...	...	...	...	...
100	Koiri	Do.	Do.	185.2	197	170	133.6	145	120	72.1	81	67	42.7	51	35	35.7	43	30	83.6	111	60	1628	1752	1511	...	...	...	...	...
100	Pasi	Eastern Hindi.	Do.	185.0	206	169	134.4	146	126	72.6	80	67	41.2	52	33	35.2	42	27	85.4	115	66	1639	1778	1524	...	...	...	...	...
100	Chamar	Do.	Do.	185.1	196	166	134.9	147	123	72.8	81	67	41.0	50	34	35.3	41	30	86.0	109	64	1630	1765	1524	...	...	...	...	...
18	Musahar	Do.	Do.	181.7	197	170	134.8	145	130	74.1	79	64	42.5	47	37	36.6	43	32	86.1	103	73	1598	1701	1498	...	...	...	...	...
77	Musahar	Bihari	Behar	183.0	200	171	138.6	150	130	75.7	84	67	45.5	52	38	40.4	49	34	88.7	113	72	1591	1696	1500	108.3	121.8	112.4	121.0	105.0

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

MONGOLO-DRAVIDIAN TYPE.

BENGAL AND ORISSA. (In order of Cephalic Index.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.			PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.										
				LENGTH (GLABELLO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbital nasal arc (average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.					
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.
				Bengal.																												
100	Kochh (Rajbansi)	Rajbansi	N.-E. Bengal	186.2	202	166	140.2	153	127	75.2	84	68	48.9	57	44	37.5	45	32	76.6	92	61	1,607	1,746	1,440	103.7	115.0	110.8	121	104			
88*	Kochh (Rajbansi)	Do.	Do.	181.0	202	165	139.0	152	131	76.7	87	71	45.0	52	37	36.0	49	30	80.0	109	67	1,591	1,695	1,502	100.0	110.0	110.0	121	93			
99	Bagdi	Bengali	Bengal	182.7	201	172	139.5	153	130	76.3	83	68	46.7	55	39	37.6	45	30	80.5	100	62	1,603	1,722	1,434	106.0	119.0	112.2	118	106			
12	Mal	Do.	Western Bengal	183.0	191	166	141.3	146	135	77.2	88	71	47.2	50	42	40.0	46	33	84.7	100	70	1,622	1,730	1,520	..	..	..	..	..
41	Goala	Do.	Eastern Bengal	183.8	198	170	142.1	153	131	77.3	86	71	49.0	58	43	36.4	40	31	74.2	87	62	1,646	1,746	1,500	..	..	..	..	..
100	Kaibarta	Do.	Do.	182.3	198	166	141.1	152	129	77.3	87	70	48.0	55	37	36.6	43	32	76.2	103	63	1,629	1,770	1,490	..	..	..	..	..
48	Sadgop	Do.	Bengal, 24-Parganas	182.6	190	168	142.1	150	132	77.6	87	71	49.6	55	42	36.7	49	30	73.9	98	55	1,633	1,780	1,510	..	..	..	..	..
27	Muchi	Do.	Eastern Bengal	182.9	198	170	142.0	151	133	77.6	86	71	49.1	54	42	36.8	43	32	74.9	88	63	1,641	1,742	1,536	..	..	..	..	..
100	Pod	Do.	Bengal, 24-Parganas	183.2	198	172	142.4	155	130	77.7	85	70	49.1	56	41	37.4	43	32	76.1	91	63	1,625	1,850	1,490	99.6	111.1	111.5	118	104			
185	Muhammadan	Do.	Eastern Bengal	182.8	199	168	142.7	156	131	78.0	89	70	49.4	58	40	38.3	45	32	77.5	96	64	1,634	1,760	1,500	113.2	128.6	113.6	121	106			
67	Chandal	Do.	Do.	183.2	201	166	143.1	151	131	78.1	89	70	49.6	56	43	36.7	42	30	73.9	89	62	1,619	1,734	1,472	112.3	128.1	114.0	121	106			
100	Kayastha	Do.	Bengal	182.4	195	169	142.8	155	129	78.2	88	70	50.2	58	42	35.3	41	29	70.3	89	56	1,636	1,810	1,544	..	..	..	..	..
32	Brahman	Do.	Western Bengal	182.2	195	171	142.6	151	135	78.2	87	71	48.5	54	40	34.9	40	29	71.9	100	58	1,670	1,734	1,550	..	..	..	..	..
68	Brahman	Do.	Eastern Bengal	181.5	195	170	143.4	151	134	79.0	88	70	49.9	59	36	35.1	42	28	70.3	85	56	1,653	1,792	1,474	..	..	..	..	..
20	Rajbansi Magh	Magh	Chittagong	178.6	192	166	148.4	157	140	83.0	94	74	51.0	57	43	38.2	46	33	74.9	88	63	1,645	1,750	1,542	106.6	118.3	110.9	115	10			
				Orissa.																												
43	Karan	Oriya	Puri	186.1	197	174	142.0	152	130	76.2	84	68	47.7	55	39	38.8	44	32	81.3	100	66	1,638	1,792	1,486	109.8	127.7	116.3	126	102			
26	Niari	Do.	Cuttack	185.0	193	170	141.5	151	131	76.4	87	70	46.8	53	39	37.7	42	32	80.5	100	70	1,611	1,756	1,469	107.9	122.8	113.8	120	107			
45	Teli	Do.	Puri	184.0	196	166	140.8	150	129	75.6	83	71	47.1	56	39	36.5	42	31	77.4	95	65	1,619	1,794	1,500	107.8	124.8	115.7	123	108			
59	Chasa	Do.	Cuttack	183.9	196	169	141.9	151	129	77.1	84	70	47.5	53	41	37.7	42	33	79.3	95	67	1,615	1,752	1,450	108.2	123.5	111.4	121	109			
52	Shashan Brahman	Do.	Puri	182.9	195	171	141.2	155	128	77.1	90	67	48.4	57	41	37.2	47	32	76.8	93	59	1,635	1,748	1,498	109.2	127.4	116.6	123	110			
38	Kewat	Do.	Cuttack	183.4	198	173	141.9	157	131	77.3	86	71	47.0	59	40	38.7	45	34	82.3	98	66	1,611	1,716	1,500	108.3	123.7	114.2	121	109			
40	Khandait	Do.	Do.	183.6	197	171	142.0	153	133	77.3	84	69	48.0	55	40	37.8	44	33	78.7	98	67	1,645	1,728	1,520	109.5	126.9	115.8	123	108			
40	Bauri	Do.	Do.	180.4	193	165	139.6	149	130	77.3	86	70	45.5	56	38	38.3	44	33	85.1	113	68	1,585	1,686	1,476	110.3	124.2	112.6	117	104			
40	Mastan Brahman	Do.	Puri	183.8	197	169	142.7	154	132	77.6	86	69	47.9	55	40	38.0	48	31	79.3	100	63	1,642	1,755	1,468	110.6	129.5	117.0	120	112			
40	Pan	Do.	Cuttack	182.2	193	161	141.5	154	130	77.6	90	68	46.6	54	39	38.3	45	33	82.1	100	66	1,607	1,748	1,462	110.0	124.1	112.8	119	107			
41	Gaura	Do.	Do.	182.8	198	166	142.1	151	130	77.7	90	70	48.4	55	42	37.2	43	27	76.8	96	60	1,627	1,748	1,510	110.3	126.0	114.2	122	108			
41	Panda Brahman	Do.	Puri	183.3	195	171	142.7	152	132	77.8	88	70	47.9	55	41	37.1	44	32	77.4	100	66	1,642	1,750	1,558	109.5	126.9	115.8	124	107			
41	Kandra	Do.	Cuttack	182.6	198	168	143.3	157	133	78.4	88	69	47.6	54	40	37.9	42	33	79.6	100	70	1,625	1,722	1,506	111.7	127.8	114.4	121	111			
40	Guria	Do.	Puri	182.9	204	163	143.5	167	135	78.4	93	69	47.0	55	41	37.3	45	31	79.3	93	63	1,606	1,724	1,476	108.9	125.6	115.3	122	107			

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS.

MONGOLOID TYPE.

EASTERN HIMALAYA, CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS, AND ASSAM. (In order of Orbito-Nasal Index—Risley.)

Number of subjects.	NAME OF TRIBE OR CASTE.	Language or Dialect.	Locality.	DIMENSIONS OF HEAD.						PROPORTIONS OF HEAD.			DIMENSIONS OF NOSE.						PROPORTIONS OF NOSE.			STATURE.			RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF ROOT OF NOSE.					
				LENGTH (GLABELLO-OCCIPITAL).			BREADTH (EXTREME).			CEPHALIC INDEX.			HEIGHT.			BREADTH.			NASAL INDEX.			Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	External orbital breadth (average).	Bi-orbital nasal arc (average).	ORBITO-NASAL INDEX.			
				Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.						Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	
17	Kuli	Rangkhoh	Rangamati	187.2	200	179	142.8	156	136	76.2	81	71	46.7	52	43	39.7	43	34	85.0	93	74	1566	1650	1506	99.5	105.7	106.2	110	102	
11	Kuli*	Rangkhoh	Rangamati	187.0	195	176	143.0	151	137	76.4	82	74	45	49	41	41	45	38	91.1	100	84	1587	1670	1508	110.0	121.0	110.0	113	105	
100	Chakma	Tipura	Rangamati	177.9	195	162	150.0	161	134	84.3	96	77	47.2	53	41	39.9	46	30	84.5	105	70	1595	1696	1490	101.3	107.8	106.4	112	102	
8	Chakma*	Tipura	Chittagong	181.0	186	177	144.0	156	135	79.5	87	74	44	49	39	40	45	38	90.9	102	80	1597	1639	1546	103.0	117.0	113.5	121	107	
17	Ao*	Ao	Naga Hills	179.0	187	170	144.0	153	137	80.4	85	76	44	49	37	36	41	31	81.8	100	70	1566	1648	1504	104.0	111.0	106.7	112	101	
50	Limbu	Limbu	Nepal	181.4	193	170	153.1	167	140	84.3	94	76	45.2	57	37	37.2	43	33	74.1	111	64	1603	1734	1450	109.1	116.7	106.9	113	104	
80	Magh	Magh	Rangamati	182.1	198	170	148.5	161	136	81.5	95	73	47.5	55	38	39.4	48	34	82.9	102	68	1599	1710	1522	101.0	108.0	106.9	113	102	
32	Khambu	(Khambu)	Nepal	182.4	194	169	147.8	160	130	81.0	93	75	46.0	57	45	38.3	42	33	76.6	91	63	1571	1656	1416	107.2	115.0	107.1	113	103	
11	Kiranti*	Kiranti.	Ilam (E. Nepal)	176.0	182	171	145.0	153	138	82.3	88	77	42	44	39	36	40	35	85.7	98	82	1586	1606	1512	..	..	..	..	..
7	Khamti (Tai)*	Khamti.	Dibrughah (Assam)	187.0	196	180	148.0	151	144	79.1	83	75	47	51	44	38	41	36	80.8	91	75	1641	1695	1575	105.0	113.0	107.6	110	105	
58	Tipra	Tipura	Rangamati	181.4	193	167	146.1	160	136	80.5	92	74	47.1	59	40	39.9	45	35	84.7	105	68	1611	1712	1486	100.0	107.6	107.6	112	103	
18	Ar-leng (Mikir)*	Mikir	Kamrup (Assam)	181.0	193	172	141.0	151	138	77.9	82	74	47	58	42	40	47	34	85.1	102	67	1633	1703	1558	103.0	111.0	107.7	114	104	
57	Lepcha	Lepcha	Sikkim	185.0	195	174	146.7	161	136	79.9	90	73	41.6	60	42	34.7	41	33	67.2	83	59	1570	1690	1490	106.4	115.1	108.1	113	103	
36	Lepcha (Rong)*	Rangor	Sikkim	180.0	193	167	145.0	157	133	80.5	88	73	46	51	40	36	42	32	78.2	91	67	1584	1684	1449	102.0	108.0	105.8	119	92	
81	Kasia*	Kasi	Kasia Hills (Assam)	183.0	193	171	144.0	151	133	78.6	84	72	44	52	36	38	45	33	86.3	108	73	1569	1700	1417	106.0	115.0	108.4	119	101	
5	Murung	Mrung	Chittagong	185.4	189	182	142.0	152	135	76.5	82	73	49.0	51	47	37.6	40	36	76.1	81	73	1582	1636	1536	100.2	108.8	108.5	115	103	
35	Mangor	Magar	Nepal	183.6	201	163	145.2	156	136	79.0	91	72	49.6	56	40	38.0	44	34	76.6	98	61	1587	1680	1508	106.4	115.7	108.7	116	103	
7	Dafia*	Dafia	N. Lakhimpur (Assam)	183.0	189	178	141.0	146	138	77.0	81	73	44	48	40	37	42	33	84.0	93	78	1606	1708	1532	103.0	112.0	108.7	114	104	
65	Murmi	Murmi	Nepal and Darjeeling	188.0	196	169	149.6	161	134	79.5	89	73	49.7	57	41	37.4	43	32	75.2	100	63	1669	1760	1490	111.5	121.5	108.9	113	105	
9	Bhotanese*	Bhotia	Pato (E. Himalaya)	183.0	188	176	147.0	157	140	80.3	87	75	48	54	41	37	41	36	77.0	88	73	1672	1747	1611	110.0	120.0	109.0	115	105	
108	Tibetans	Bhotia	Eastern Himalaya.	186.9	207	172	151.4	168	141	81.0	93	73	51.8	59	38	38.3	47	31	73.9	103	58	1633	1760	1520	119.8	130.8	109.1	120	103	
8	Tibetans*	Bhotia	laya).	182.0	189	173	148.0	161	143	81.3	86	78	45	49	42	37	41	36	82.2	91	76	1634	1748	1570	106.0	112.0	105.6	109	102	
10	Mech	Mech	Goalpara (Assam)	185.0	203	171	147.0	153	143	79.0	84	71	43	45	42	39	43	38	90.6	100	84	1643	1722	1852	104.0	114.0	109.6	114	104	
33	Bodo (Kachari)*	Bodo	Kamrup (Assam).	181.0	195	171	142.0	152	135	78.4	84	73	42	50	35	37	49	33	88.0	118	72	1608	1734	1483	103.0	113.0	109.7	116	103	
28	Gurung	Gurung	Nepal.	181.3	202	169	148.1	168	141	81.6	91	73	48.9	58	38	38.4	43	34	78.5	102	65	1698	1746	1476	117.0	128.6	109.9	114	105	
7	Abor	Abor	Dihong valley	184.0	192	172	142.0	147	135	77.1	80	75	43	49	41	39	41	36	81.6	100	80	1579	1628	1490	108.0	119.0	110.1	115	107	
13	Newar	Newar	Nepal	181.9	193	169	148.3	156	142	81.5	89	76	50.7	57	44	37.2	42	34	73.3	81	64	1614	1706	1470	108.6	119.7	110.2	116	104	
25	Mi-shing (Miri)*	Miri	Sibsagar (Assam)	178.0	199	169	144.0	153	139	80.8	87	73	44	51	40	37	41	34	84.0	100	75	1564	1700	1518	105.0	116.0	110.4	119	103	
27	Sin-teng (Jaintia)*	Khasi	Jaintia Hills	192.0	199	176	140.0	149	134	72.9	80	69	45	52	39	37	42	32	82.2	100	68	1612	1713	1505	107.0	119.0	111.2	119	102	
13	Ching-po (Singpho)*	Singpho.	Bisha (Assam)	185.0	192	173	140.0	146	137	75.6	81	71	47	56	40	38	42	29	80.8	95	60	1605	1695	1528	104.0	116.0	111.5	128	104	
19	Ahom*	Ahom	Sibsagar (Assam)	176.0	185	161	145.0	154	137	82.3	91	73	44	49	38	36	41	33	81.8	90	73	1589	1720	1490	103.0	115.0	111.6	124	104	
12	Rabha (Datiyal Kachari)*	Kachari.	Kamrup (Assam)	182.0	197	170	142.0	149	135	78.0	82	74	43	49	37	39	44	36	90.6	105	73	1605	1695	1528	102.0	114.0	111.7	128	104	
34	Mande (Garo)*	Mande	Garo Hills (Assam)	183.0	193	174	139.0	150	134	75.9	80	71	41	47	36	39	43	35	95.1	117	83	1588	1679	1512	102.0	114.0	111.7	119	102	
3	Chutiya*	Chutiya.	Sibsagar (Assam)	182.0	183	182	143.0	145	142	78.5	79	78	44	48	38	36	38	35	81.8	95	76	1591	1607	1582	110.0	124.0	112.7	119	106	
30	Kanett	Lahaul	Lahoul	189.0	199	179	147.0	155	138	77.5	82	74	53	59	47	35	39	32	66.4	76	57	1618	1750	1450	99.0	112.0	112.9	123	105	
16	Anga-mi*	Angami.	Ta-bo-pi-si-mi	183.0	194	170	144.0	152	135	78.6	86	71	45	52	42	37	40	36	82.2	91	73	1639	1693	1539	103.0	117.0	113.5	120	105	
4	Kyon-Tsu (Lhota' Naga)*	Lhota	Woka (Assam)	187.0	200	178	144.0	154	141	77.0	79	75	43	47	38	34	38	34	79.0	100	72	1620	1690	1580	103.0	118.0	114.5	117	108	
60	Kanett	Kulu	Kulu	192.0	204	181	143.0	154	132	74.3	81	68	51	59	45	37	44	30	74.1	96	56	1654	1760	1560	101.0	117.0	115.5	129	107	
6	Kolita*	Kachari.	Gauhati (Assam)	181.0	187	170	139.0	148	134	76.7	80	74	43	47	38	36	40	31	83.7	97	66	1628	1666	1568	101.0	118.0	116.8	124	113	

APPENDIX V.

INFANT MARRIAGE LAWS, MYSORE AND BARODA.

REGULATION No. X OF 1894.

(PASSED ON THE 5TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1894.)

A Regulation to Prevent Infant Marriages in the Territories of Mysore.

WHEREAS it is expedient to prevent Infant Marriages in the Territories of Mysore : His Highness the Maharajah is pleased to enact

Preamble. as follows :—

Short title. 1. This Regulation may be called “The Mysore Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation.”

(2) It shall extend to the whole of the Territories of Mysore, but it shall apply only to marriages among the Hindus. It shall come into operation at the expiration of six months from the date of its publication in the official Gazette.

Extent and commencement.

Definition. 2. For the purposes of this Regulation, an “Infant Girl” means a girl who has not completed eight years of age.

3. Any person who causes the marriage of an infant girl, or who knowingly aids and abets within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code such a marriage, and any man who having completed eighteen years of age marries an infant girl, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for causing or abetting infant marriages.

4. Any man who having completed fifty years of age marries a girl who has not completed fourteen years of age, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for a man more than fifty years of age marrying a girl under fourteen years of age.

5. Any person who causes the marriage of a girl who has not completed fourteen years of age, with a man who has completed fifty years of age, and any person who knowingly aids and abets, within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, such a marriage, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both.

Punishment for abetment of offence provided against in section 4.

Offences under the Regulation by whom triable.

Validity of marriages notwithstanding the penalties provided by the Regulation.

No prosecution to be instituted without the previous sanction of Government.

6. No offence punishable under this Regulation shall be tried by any Court inferior to that of a Magistrate of the District.

7. No marriage which has actually taken place, shall be deemed to be invalid, on the ground of the penalties provided by this Regulation.

8. No prosecution under this Regulation shall be instituted without the previous written sanction of the Government accorded after such enquiry as the Government may deem fit to make.

ABSTRACT TRANSLATION OF

ACT No. VII OF SAMVAT 1960.

PASSED BY THE BARODA DURBAR.

(Received the assent of His Highness the Maharajah Sahib on Ashad Sudi 2nd, i.e., the 15th of July 1904.)

THE EARLY MARRIAGE PREVENTION ACT.

WHEREAS it is expedient to draw the increased attention of the public towards physical training, whereby the future progeny may be healthy and long-lived, His Highness the Gaekwar has

Preamble.
been pleased to rule as under :—

Title.

1. This Act shall be called "The Early Marriage Prevention Act."

Commencement.

2. This Act shall come into force on Ashad Sudi 9th Samvat 1960, i.e., the 21st July 1904.

Definitions.

3. In this Code, the following words have the following meanings :—

(1) "Minor" means—

(a) in case of a girl, one who has not completed her 12th year of age.

(b) in case of a boy, one who has not completed his 16th year.

(2) "Early marriage" means the marriage of a minor girl or of a minor boy.

The word "marriage" does not include a "Baybar" marriage or a marriage with a ball of flowers, or such other nominal marriages.

(3) "Nyayadhish" means Nyayadhish of a Mahal, or who may be from time to time invested with the powers (of that officer).

(4) The term 'Wahivatdar' includes Mahalkari also.

4. Whoever wishes to marry his minor son or daughter, or the minor girl or boy under his guardianship, shall submit a petition in writing

What authorities of the State are to be applied to for permission to allow an early marriage.

to the Nyayadhish of the Taluka where he may be residing, or to that of the Taluka in which the intended marriage is to take place, for permission to allow the marriage

Explanation.—There is no objection to a joint petition being submitted by both the parties in cases in which the girl and the boy are both minors.

The value of stamp on the application. 5. The petitions alluded to in the preceding Section must be written on a (Court-fee) stamped paper of Rs. 2.

Particulars to be embodied in the petition. 6. The petition mentioned in Section 4 must contain the following particulars :—

- (a) the names, age, and caste of the bride and the bridegroom ;
- (b) the names of their father or guardian ;
- (c) the date and place of the marriage, and
- (d) the mention, in full, of the difficulties likely to crop up in case the marriage does not take place.

Procedure to be followed on receipt of the application. 7. The Nyayadhis, on receipt of the application, shall take steps as under :—

- (a) he shall fix a date, within the period of 15 days, for the hearing of the petition ;
- (b) shall appoint three gentlemen of the petitioner's caste, as assessors; and
- (c) shall issue summonses for their appearance in the Court, on the appointed date.

8. On the date of hearing, the Nyayadhis, assisted by the assessors, shall enquire into the petition, recording all such evidence as may be produced in its support, and shall dispose of the same by the end of the day.

Enquiries in connection with the application.

- (2) If the Nyayadhis and all the assessors present or any two of them be satisfied that in the event of the marriage not taking place on the appointed date,
 - (a) there is no probability of its celebration within one year after the bride or the bridegroom comes to age or that it will not take place at all, or
 - (b) it is likely that the parents or the guardian of the girl whose marriage is to be celebrated by them will not, owing to old age or infirmity, survive till she comes to age, and there is none else fit to take care of her besides them, or
 - (c) that unavoidable difficulties of a like nature are likely to crop up, the Nyayadhis shall grant written permission for the celebration of the marriage under his own seal and signature in accordance with the form laid down in the first schedule annexed to this Act.

Explanation.—The permission to be granted for reasons mentioned in sub-sections (b) and (c) should only be granted if the girl's age is above nine years.

- (3) If permission for the celebration of an early marriage of a girl whose betrothal has taken place before this Act comes into force, be asked within three months after the passing thereof, the Nyayadhis should grant the necessary permission after satisfying himself only that the betrothal has taken place before this Act came into force.

9. In course of an enquiry held, or investigations made, for the purposes of this Act, neither the bride nor the bridegroom will be compelled to be present for bodily examination or the bride for any other examination.

Physical examination not compulsory.

Procedure to be followed when the Court does not agree with the assessors.

10. (a) If the Nyayadhish does not agree with the assessors or with any two of them, the proceedings shall be referred with their opinions and reasons therefor, by the Nyayadhish to the District Judge.

(b) The District Judge shall dispose of the same within a week, and if he thinks that permission should be given, the same shall be given by him in writing as laid down in Section 8.

The Suba to be supplied with a copy of the document granting the permission.

11. The Nyayadhish granting the permission shall, within eight days, forward to the Suba of the District, a copy of the document by which the permission applied for was granted by him.

12. Whoever celebrates or aids to celebrate an early marriage, which has not been given the required permission as laid down in Sections 8 and 10, shall be punished with a fine which may not

exceed Rs. 100.

Exception.—This provision does not extend to the bride and the bridegroom.

Period of time during which the offence can be tried.

13. None of the offences provided for by this Act shall be tried by the Court, after two years from the date of the marriage.

14. In all the towns, kasbas and villages of the Baroda State, the officials mentioned below shall keep a register of marriages as per the Schedule No. 2 and fill in the particulars as required by Section 15 :

The registration of marriages.

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| (a) In the city of Baroda | ... | ... The Municipal Inspectors. |
| (b) In the kasbas | ... | ... The Sudhrai Kamdar. |
| (c) In the villages or kasbas where there is no municipality. Village or villages administered in any other way : | | The Mulki Patel. |
| (d) In Inam village or villages administered in any other way | ... | ... The Mukhi, or Inamdar, or Administrator. |

(2) A copy of the registration (sub-section 1) shall be submitted before the 10th of the next month by the officials concerned to the Suba, through the Taluka Wahivatdar. Immediate information regarding marriages celebrated against the provision of this Act, shall be given to the Nyayadhish having jurisdiction.

(3) The Suba on receipt of the copy (sub-section 2) shall submit annually a statement (Schedule No. 3) to the Sar Suba. It should be despatched within two months after the expiration of each year.

(4) In the absence of any other orders, the Nyayadhish, to whom a copy of the register of marriages is sent according to sub-section 2, should understand that a complaint has been laid before him according to Section 12 of this Act and shall proceed to try the offence summarily in accordance with the provisions of the Code

of Criminal Procedure. The case however should not be handed over to the Police for investigations under Section 56 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(5) At the termination of the enquiries (sub-section 4) if any punishment be awarded, the same shall be communicated (as per Schedule No. 4) to the Suba within eight days.

15. The father or the guardian of the bride shall report the marriage to the officials concerned within eight days after its celebration and shall obtain from them particulars, as per the Schedule No. 5.

All marriages must be reported.

16. If the father or the guardian of the bride fails to give the information about the marriage as required by the preceding section, or gives false information in connection with the same, he shall be punished with a fine which may not exceed Rs. 10.

Punishment for not getting the marriages registered.

Responsibilities in connection with the registration of marriage.

17. The responsibilities for the proper registration of marriages, as laid down in Section 14, shall rest with the Wahivatdar of the Mahal.

The marriage cannot be set aside.

18. An early marriage, if once celebrated, cannot be set aside.

APPENDIX VI.

MODERN THEORIES OF CASTE.

*Mr. Nesfield's theory.**

IF it were possible to compress into a single paragraph a theory so complex as that which would explain the origin and nature of Indian caste, I should attempt to sum it up in some such words as the following : A caste is a marriage union, the constituents of which were drawn from various different tribes (or from various other castes similarly formed), in virtue of some industry, craft or function, either secular or religious, which they possessed in common. The internal discipline, by which the conditions of membership in regard to connubial and convivial rights are defined and enforced, has been borrowed from the tribal period which preceded the period of castes by many centuries, and which was brought to a close by the amalgamation of tribes into a nation under a common sceptre. The differentia of *caste* as a marriage union consists in some community of function ; while the differentia of *tribe* as a marriage union consisted in a common ancestry, or a common worship, or a common totem, or in fact in any kind of common property except that of a common function. Long before castes were formed on Indian soil, most of the industrial classes, to which they now correspond, had existed for centuries, and as a rule most of the industries which they practised were hereditary on the male side of the parentage. These hereditary classes were and are simply the concrete embodiments of those successive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind in every part of the world. Everywhere (except at least in those countries where he is still a savage), man has advanced from the stage of hunting and fishing to that of nomadism and cattle-grazing, and from nomadism to agriculture proper. Everywhere has the age of metallurgy and of the arts and industries which are coëval with it been preceded by a ruder age, when only those arts were known or practised which sufficed for the hunting, fishing, and nomad states. Everywhere has the class of ritualistic priests and lettered theosophists been preceded by a class of less cultivated worshippers, who paid simple offerings of flesh and wine to the personified powers of the visible universe without the aid of an hereditary professional priesthood. Everywhere has the class of nobles and territorial chieftains been preceded by a humbler class of small peasant proprietors, who placed themselves under their protection and paid tribute or rent in return. Everywhere

* *Brief view of the caste system of the N.-W. P. and Oudh*, by John C. Nesfield, M.A., Oxon, pp. 114—116, para, 195.

has this class of nobles and chieftains sought to ally itself with that of the priests or sacerdotal order ; and everywhere has the priestly order sought to bring under its control those chiefs and rulers under whose protection it lives. All these classes, then, had been in existence for centuries before any such thing as caste was known on Indian soil ; and the only thing that was needed to convert them into castes, such as they now are, was that the Brahman, who possessed the highest of all functions—the priestly—should set the example. This he did by establishing for the first time the rule that no child, either male or female, could inherit the name and status of Brāhman, unless he or she was of Brāhman parentage on *both* sides. By the establishment of this rule the principle of marriage unionship was superadded to that of functional unionship ; and it was only by the combination of these two principles that a caste in the strict sense of the term could or can be formed. The Brāhman therefore, as the Hindu books inform us, was “the first-born of castes.” When the example had thus been set by an arrogant and overbearing priesthood, whose pretensions it was impossible to put down, the other hereditary classes followed in regular order downwards, partly in imitation and partly in self-defence. To a nation mesmerised by Brāhmins and blinded with superstition and ignorance no other course was open. Immediately behind the Brāhman came the Kshatriya, the military chieftain or landlord. He therefore was the “second-born of castes”. Then followed the bankers or upper trading classes (the Agarwāl, Khattri, etc.) ; the scientific musician and singer (Kathak) ; the writing or literary class (Kayasth) ; the bard or genealogist (Bhāt) ; and the class of inferior nobles (Taga and Bhuinhar) who paid no rent to the landed aristocracy. These, then, were the third-born of castes. In all communities, such classes must stand rather high in the scale of social respectability, since the stages of industry or function which they represent are high in proportion ; but in India their rank was more precisely defined than elsewhere by the fact that they made a nearer approach than the castes below them to the Brāhmanical ideal of personal dignity and purity. Next in order came those artisan classes, who were coëval with the age and art of metallurgy ; the metallurgic classes themselves ; the middle trading classes ; the middle agricultural classes, who placed themselves under the protection of the Kshatriya and paid him rent in return (Kurmi, Kachhi, Māli, Tāmboli) ; and the middle serving classes, such as Nāpit and Baidya, who attended to the bodily wants of their equals and superiors. These, then, were the fourth-born of castes ; and their rank in the social scale has been determined by the fact that their manners and notions are further removed than those of the preceding castes from the Brāhmanical ideal. Next came the inferior artisan classes, those which preceded the age and art of metallurgy (Teli, Kumhar, Kalwar, etc.) ; the partly nomad and partly agricultural classes (Jāt, Gujar, Ahir, etc.) ; the inferior serving classes, such as Kabār ; and the inferior trading classes, such as Bhunja. These, then, were the fifth-born of castes, and their mode of life is still further removed from the Brāhmanical ideal than that of the preceding. The last born, and therefore the lowest, of all the classes are those semi-savage communities, partly tribes and partly castes, whose function consists in hunting or fishing, or in acting as butcher for the general community, or in rearing swine and fowls, or in discharging the meanest domestic services, such as sweeping and washing, or in practising the lowest of human arts, such as basket-making, hide-tanning, etc. Thus throughout, the whole series of Indian castes a double test of social

precedence has been in active force, the Industrial and the Brāhmanical; and these two have kept pace together almost as evenly as a pair of horses harnessed to a single carriage. In proportion as the function practised by any given caste stands high or low in the scale of industrial development, in the same proportion does the caste itself, impelled by the general tone of society by which it is surrounded, approximate more nearly or more remotely to the Brāhmanical ideal of life. It is these two criteria combined which have determined the relative ranks of the various castes in the Hindu social scale. Outside the caste system altogether stand the few and shattered remains of those aboriginal tribes, out of which the whole series of caste was fashioned by slow degrees, through the example and under the guidance of the Brāhmanical priesthood. Had the Brāhman never come into existence and had his arrogance proved to be less omnipotent than it did, the various industrial classes would never have become stereotyped into castes, and the nation would then have been spared a degree of social disunion to which no parallel can be found in human history. There seems to be no likelihood of caste being banished from Indian soil until Brāhmanism itself—the *fons et origo mali*—has died a natural death by the rise of the scientific spirit, and the fallacy of its pretensions has become an object of general scorn. As soon as the Brāhman begins to disappear, the rest will follow.

*Sir Denzil Ibbetson's theory.**

An old agnostic is said to have summed up his philosophy in the following words :—“The only thing I know is that I know nothing ; and I am not quite sure that I know that.” His words express very exactly my own feelings regarding caste in the Punjab. My experience is that it is almost impossible to make any statement whatever regarding any one of the castes we have to deal with, absolutely true as it may be as regards one part of the Province, which shall not presently be contradicted with equal truth as regards the same people in some other district. Yet I shall attempt to set forth briefly what seem to me the fundamental ideas upon which caste is based ; and in doing so I shall attempt partly to explain why it is that the institution is so extraordinarily unstable, and its phenomena so diverse in different localities. What I propound in the following paragraphs is simply my working hypothesis as it at present stands ; but I shall not stop to say so as I write, though almost every proposition made must be taken subject to limitations, often sufficiently obvious, and not unfrequently involved in some other proposition made in the very next paragraph. My views are of little weight so long as they are not illustrated and supported by instances drawn from actually existing fact. Such instances I have in great abundance, and they will be found in part in the detailed description of castes which follow this discussion. But I have leisure neither to record all my evidence, nor to marshal what I have recorded ; and I give my conception of caste with a crudeness of exposition which lack of time forbids me to modify, not because I think that it is anything even distantly approaching to the whole truth, but because I believe that it is nearer to that truth than is the generally received theory of caste as I understand it.

The popular and currently received theory of caste I take to consist of three main articles :—

- (1) that caste is an institution of the Hindu religion, and wholly peculiar to that religion alone ;
- (2) that it consists primarily of a fourfold classification of people in general under the heads of Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra ;
- (3) that caste is perpetual and immutable, and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.

* Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1881. Pp. 172—6.

Now I should doubtless be exaggerating in the opposite direction, but I think that I should still be far nearer to the truth if, in opposition to the popular conception thus defined, I were to say—

- (1) that caste is a social far more than a religious institution ; that it has no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu religion, further than that under that religion certain ideas and customs common to all primitive nations have been developed and perpetuated in an unusual degree ; and that conversion from Hinduism to Islam has not necessarily the slightest effect upon caste :
- (2) that there are Brāhmans who are looked upon as outcasts by those who under the fourfold classification would be classed as Sudras ; that there is no such thing as a Vaisya now existing ; that it is very doubtful indeed whether there is such a thing as a Kshatriya, and if there is, no two people are agreed as to where we shall look for him ; and that Sudra has no present significance save as a convenient term of abuse to apply to somebody else whom you consider lower than yourself ; while the number of castes which can be classed under any one or under no one of the four heads, according as private opinion may vary, is almost innumerable :
- (3) that nothing can be more variable and more difficult to define than caste ; and that the fact that a generation is descended from ancestors of any given caste creates a presumption, and nothing more, that that generation also is of the same caste, a presumption liable to be defeated by an infinite variety of circumstances.

Among all primitive peoples we find the race split up into a number of tribal communities held together by the tie of common descent, each tribe being self-contained and self-sufficing, and bound by strict rules of marriage and inheritance, the common object of which is to increase the strength and preserve the unity of the tribe. There is as yet no diversity of occupation. Among more advanced societies, where occupations have become differentiated, the tribes have almost altogether disappeared; and we find in their place corporate communities or guilds held together by the tie of common occupation rather than of common blood, each guild being self-contained and self-governed, and bound by strict rules, the common object of which is to strengthen the guild and to confine to it the secrets of the craft which it practises. Such were the trades-guilds of the middle ages as we first meet with them in European history. But all modern inquiry into their origin and earlier constitution tends to the conclusion—and modern authorities on the development of primitive institutions are rapidly accepting that conclusion—that the guild in its first form was, no less than the tribe, based upon common descent ; and that the fundamental idea which lay at the root of the institution in its inception was the hereditary nature of occupation. Now here we have two principles, community of blood and community of occupation. So long as the hereditary nature of occupation was inviolable, so long as the blacksmith's son must be, and nobody else could be, a blacksmith, the two principles were identical. But the struggle for existence is too severe, the conditions of existence too varied, and the character and capacity of individuals too diverse to permit of this inviolability being long maintained ; and in any but the most rudimentary form of society it must,

like the socialist's dream of equal division of wealth, cease to exist from the very instant of its birth. And from the moment when the hereditary nature of occupation ceases to be invariable and inviolable, the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation become antagonistic. The antagonism still continues. In every community which the world has ever seen there have been grades of position and distinctions of rank ; and in all societies these grades and distinctions are governed by two considerations, descent and calling. As civilization advances and the ideas of the community expand in more liberal growth, the latter is ever gaining in importance at the expense of the former ; the question what a man is, is ever more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was. But in no society that the world has yet seen has either of these two considerations ever wholly ceased to operate ; in no community has the son of the coal-heaver been born the equal of the son of the nobleman, or the man who dies a trader been held in the same consideration as he who dies a statesman ; while in all the son has begun where the father left off. The communities of India in whose midst the Hindu religion has been developed are no exceptions to this rule ; but in their case special circumstances have combined to preserve in greater integrity and to perpetuate under a more advanced state of society than elsewhere the hereditary nature of occupation, and thus in a higher degree than in other modern nations to render identical the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation. And it is this difference, a difference of degree rather than of kind, a survival to a later age of an institution which has died out elsewhere rather than a new growth peculiar to the Hindu nation, which makes us give a new name to the old thing and call caste in India what we call position or rank in England.

The whole basis of diversity of caste is diversity of occupation. The old division into Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, and the Mlechchha or outcast, who is below the Sudra, is but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan, and the menial ; and the more modern development which substituted trader for husbandman as the meaning of Vaisya or "the people" did not alter the nature of the classification. William Priest, John King, Edward Farmer, and James Smith are but the survivals in England of the four *varnas* of Manu. But in India, which was priest-ridden to an extent unknown to the experience of Europe even in the middle ages, the dominance of one special occupation gave abnormal importance to all distinctions of occupation. The Brāhman who could at first claim no separate descent by which he should be singled out from among the Aryan community, sought to exalt his office and to propitiate his political rulers, who were the only rivals he had to fear, by degrading all other occupations and conditions of life. Further, as explained in the sections just referred to, the principle of hereditary occupation was to him as a class one of the most vital importance. As the Brāhmins increased in number, those numbers necessarily exceeded the possible requirements of the laity so far as the mere performance of priestly functions was concerned, while it became impossible for them to keep up as a whole even the semblance of sacred learning. Thus they ceased to be wholly priests, and a large proportion of them became mere Levites. The only means of preserving its overwhelming influence to the body at large was to substitute Levitical descent for priestly functions as the basis of that influence, or rather perhaps to check the natural course of social evolution which

Occupation the primary basis of caste.

would have substituted the latter for the former ; and this they did by giving the whole sanction of religion to the principle of the hereditary nature of occupation. Hence sprang that tangled web of caste restrictions and distinctions, of ceremonial obligations, and of artificial purity and impurity, which has rendered the separation of occupation from descent so slow and so difficult in Hindu society, and which collectively constitutes what we know as caste. I do not mean that the Brāhmāns invented the principle which they thus turned to their own purpose ; on the contrary, I have said that it is found in all primitive societies that have outgrown the most rudimentary stage. Nor do I suppose that they deliberately set to work to produce any craftily designed effect upon the growth of social institutions. But circumstances had raised them to a position of extraordinary power ; and naturally, and probably almost unconsciously, their teaching took the form which tended most effectually to preserve that power unimpaired.

Indeed in its earlier form, neither caste nor occupation was even supposed in India to be necessarily or invariably hereditary. It is often forgotten that there are two very distinct epochs in the post-Vedic history of the Hindu nations, which made respectively contributions of very different nature to that body of Hindu scriptures which we are too apt to confuse under the generic name of the Shastras, and which affected in very different manners the form of the Hindu religion. The earlier is the epoch of the Brāhmanas and the Upanishads, while Hinduism was a single and comparatively simple creed, or at most a philosophical abstraction ; and the later is the epoch of the Puranas and Tantras, with their crowded Pantheon, their foul imaginings, their degraded idolatry, and their innumerable sects. The former may be said to end with the rise, and the latter to begin with the growing degeneracy of Buddhism. In the earlier Hinduism we find that, while caste distinctions were primarily based upon occupation, considerable license in this respect was permitted to the several castes, while the possibility of the individual rising from one caste to another was distinctly recognised. This was the case even as late as the age of Manu, by which time the caste system had assumed great strictness, and the cardinal importance of occupation had become a prominent part of the Brāhmanical teaching, though its hereditary nature had not yet been so emphatically insisted on. It was in the dark ages of Hindu history, about the beginning of an era during which Brāhmanism was substituted for Hinduism and the religion became a chaos of impure and degraded doctrine and sectarian teaching, that the theory of the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation seems to have taken its present form. In the earlier epoch the priest was always a Brāhman ; in the later the Brāhman was always a priest.

But if occupation was not necessarily transmitted by descent, and if caste varied with change of occupation in the earlier era of Hinduism, it is no less true that this is the case in the present day ; though under caste restrictions as they now stand, the change, in an upward direction at least, is infinitely slower and more difficult than then, and is painfully effected by the family or tribe in the course of generations instead of by the individual in the course of years. The following pages will contain numerous instances of the truth of this assertion, and the whole body of tribal and caste tradition in the Punjab supports it. I have not always thought it necessary to state their traditions in discussing the various castes ; and I have seldom stopped to comment on the facts. But the evidence, imperfect as it is, will be

found to possess no inconsiderable weight ; while the very fact of the general currency of a set of traditions, groundless as they may be in individual instances, shows that the theory of society upon which they are based is at least not repugnant to the ideas and feelings and even practice of the people who believe them. Indeed, for the purposes of the present enquiry it would almost be allowable to accept traditional origin ; for though the tradition may not be true, it might have been, or it would never have arisen. Instances of fall in the social scale are naturally more often met with than instances of rise, for he who has sunk recalls with pride his ancestral origin, while he who has risen hastens to forget it.

But before proceeding to give specific instances of recent change of caste, I must adopt a somewhat extended definition of occupation, and must take a somewhat wider basis than that afforded by mere occupation, even so defined, as the foundation of caste.

The political and artificial basis of caste.

In India the occupation of the great mass of what may be called the upper or yeoman classes is the same. Setting aside the priests and traders on the one hand and the artisans and menials on the other, we have left the great body of agriculturists who constitute by far the larger portion of the population. This great body of people subsists by husbandry and cattle-farming, and so far their occupation is one and the same. But they are also the owners and occupiers of the land, the holders of more or less compact tribal territories ; they are overlords as well as villains ; and hence springs the cardinal distinction between the occupation of ruling and the occupation of being ruled. Where the actual calling of every-day life is the same, social standing, which is all that caste means, depends very largely upon political importance, whether present or belonging to the recent past. There is the widest distinction between the dominant and the subject tribes ; and a tribe which has acquired political independence in one part of the country, will there enjoy a position in the ranks of caste which is denied it in tracts where it occupies a subordinate position.

Again, the features of the caste system which are peculiar to Brāhmanical Hinduism, and which have already been alluded to, have operated to create a curiously artificial standard of social rank. There are certain rules which must be observed by all at the risk of sinking in the scale. They are, broadly speaking, that widow-marriage shall not be practised, that marriages shall be contracted only with those of equal or nearly equal standing ; that certain occupations shall be abstained from which are arbitrarily declared to be impure, such as growing or selling vegetables, handicrafts in general, and especially working or trading in leather and weaving ; that impure food shall be avoided ; and that no communion shall be held with outcasts, such as scavengers, eaters of carrion or vermin, and the like. There are other and similarly artificial considerations which affect social standing, such as the practice of secluding the women of the family, the custom of giving daughters in marriage only to classes higher than their own, and the like ; but these are of less general application than those first mentioned. Many of these restrictions are exceedingly irksome. It is expensive to keep the women secluded, for others have to be paid to do their work ; it is still more expensive to purchase husbands for them from a higher grade of society, and so forth ; and so there is constant temptation to disregard these rules, even at the cost of some loss of social position.

Thus we have as the extended basis of caste, first occupation, and within a common occupation political prominence and social standing, the latter being partly regulated by a set of very arbitrary rules which are peculiar to Indian caste, and which are almost the only part of the system which is peculiar to it. It is neither tautology nor false logic to say that social standing is dependent upon caste and caste upon social standing, for the two depend each upon the other in different senses. The rise in the social scale which accompanies increased political importance will presently be followed by a rise in caste; while the fall in the grades of caste which a disregard of the arbitrary rules of the institution entails, will surely be accompanied by loss of social standing.

The Brāhmins are generally husbandmen as well as Levites, for their numbers are so great that they are obliged to supplement the income derived from their priestly office. But when a Brāhmin drops his sacerdotal character, ceases to receive food or alms as offerings acceptable to the gods, and becomes a cultivator pure and simple, he also ceases to be a Brāhmin, and has to employ other Brahmins as priests. Witness the Taga Brāhmins of the Delhi division, who are Tagas, not Brāhmins, because they have "abandoned" (*tāg dena*) their priestly character. Indeed, in the hills the very practice of agriculture as a calling or at least the actual following of the plough is in itself sufficient to deprive a Brāhmin of all but the name of his caste; for Mr. Lyall points out that in the following quotation from Mr. Barnes, "ploughing" should be read for "agriculture" or "husbandry," there being very few even of the highest Brāhmin families, who abstain from other sorts of fieldwork.

"It will afford a tolerable idea of the endless ramification of caste to follow out the details of even the Sārsut tribe as established in these hills. The reader acquainted with the country will know that Brāhmins, though classed under a common appellation, are not all equal. There are primarily two great distinctions in every tribe claiming to be of such exalted origin as the Brāhmins,—*vis.*, those who follow and those who abstain from agriculture. This is the great touchstone of their creed. Those who have never defiled their hands with the plough, but have restricted themselves to the legitimate pursuits of the caste, are held to be pure Brāhmins; while those who have once descended to the occupation of husbandry retain indeed the name, but are no longer acknowledged by their brethren, nor held in the same reverence by the people at large."

So again if a Brāhmin takes to handicrafts he is no longer a Brāhmin, as in the case of the Thāvis of the hills, some of whom were Brāhmins in the last generation. The Dharukras of Delhi are admittedly Brāhmins who have within the last few generations taken to widow-marriage; and the Chamarwa Sādhs and the whole class of the so-called Brāhmins who minister to the outcast classes, are no longer Brāhmins in any respect beyond the mere retention of the name. The Mahā Brāhmin, so impure that in many villages he is not allowed to enter the gates, the Dakaut and Gujrāti, so unfortunate that other Brāhmins will not accept offerings at their hands, are all Brāhmins, but are practically differentiated as distinct castes by their special occupations. Turning to the second of Manu's four great classes, we find the Mahājan a Mahājan in the hills so long as he is a merchant, but a Kāyasth as soon as he becomes a clerk; while the Dasa Banya of the plains who has taken to the practice of widow-marriage is a Banya only by name and occupation, not being admitted to communion or intermarriage by the more orthodox classes who bear the same title. The impossibility of fixing any line between Rājput̄s on the one hand, and Jāts, Gūjars, and castes of similar standing on the other, is fully discussed

in the subsequent parts of this Chapter, in the paragraphs on the Jât in general, on the Rājput̄s of the Eastern Hills, and on the Thakar and Rāthi. I there point out that the only possible definition of a Rājput̄, in the Punjab at least, is he who, being the descendant of a family that has enjoyed political importance, has preserved his ancestral status by strict observance of the caste rules enumerated above. The extract there quoted from Mr. Lyall's report sums up so admirably the state of caste distinctions in the hills that I make no apology for repeating it. He says :—

Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Raja was the fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Raja promoted a Girth to be a Rāthi, and a Thākur to be a Rājput̄, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power of admitting back into caste-fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement is a source of income to the Jagirdar Rajas.

I believe that Mr. Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct Rājput̄ stock; that in former times, before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose to royal rank became in time Rājput̄.

This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rājput̄s of these hills. Two of the old royal and now essentially Rājput̄ families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Brāhman by original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kangra the son of a Rājput̄ by a low-caste woman takes place as a Rāthi; in Seoraj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rājput̄s, and growing into general acceptance as Rājput̄s, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or grandfather was the offspring of a Kānetni by a foreign Brāhman. On the border line in the Himalayas, between Tibet and India Proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes, the noble is changing into a Rājput̄, the priest into a Brāhman, the peasant into a Jât; and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I believe, more or less in course in Kangra proper down to a period not very remote from to-day.

And Kangra is of all parts of the Punjab the place in which the proudest and most ancient Rājput̄ blood is to be found. As Captain Cunningham says in his *History of the Sikhs*: "It may be assumed as certain that, had the conquering Moghals and Pathans been without a vivid belief and an organised priesthood, they would have adopted Vedism and become enrolled among the Kshatriya or Rājput̄ races." In Sirsa we have instances of clans who were a few generations ago accounted Jât being now generally classed as Rājput̄s, having meanwhile practised greater exclusiveness in matrimonial matters, and having abandoned widow-marriage; while the reverse process is no less common. So the Chauhans of Delhi are no longer recognised as Rājput̄s since they have begun to marry their widows. Finally, we have the whole traditions of the Punjab tribes of the Jât and Gujar status to the effect that they are descended from Rājput̄s who married below, them, ceased to seclude their women, or began to practise widow-marriage; and the fact that one and the same tribe is often known as Rājput̄, where it has, and as Jât where it has not, risen to political importance.

But it is possible for Rājput̄s and Jâts to fall still lower. The Sahnsars of Hushyarpur were admittedly Rājput̄s till only a few generations ago, when they took to growing vegetables, and now rank with Arains. Some of the Tarkhāns, Lohars, and Nais of Sirsa are known to have been Jâts or Rājput̄s, who within quite recent times have taken to the hereditary occupations of these castes; and some of the Chauhans of Karnal, whose fathers were born Rājput̄s, have taken to

weaving and become Shekhs. So too the landowning castes can rise. A branch of the Wattu Rājput̄s of the Sutlej, by an affectation of peculiar sanctity, have in the course of a few generations become Bodlas, and now deny their Rājput̄ and claim Qureshi origin ; and already the claim is commonly admitted. A clan of Ahirs in Rewari has begun to seclude their women and abandon widow-marriage; they no longer intermarry with the other Ahirs, and will presently be reckoned a separate caste ; and there is a Kharraḷ family lately settled in Bahawalpur, who have begun to affect peculiar holiness and to marry only with each other, and their next step will certainly be to claim Arab descent. The process is going on daily around us, and it is certain that what is now taking place is only what has always taken place during the long ages of Indian history. The ease with which Saiyads are manufactured is proverbial, and some of our highest Rajput tribes are beginning in the Salt-range to claim Moghal or Arab origin. On the frontier the dependence upon occupation of what there most nearly corresponds with caste, as distinct from tribe, is notorious. A Machhi is a Machhi so long as he catches fish, and a Jāt directly he lays hold of a plough. There are no Rājput̄s because there are no Rajas ; and those who are notoriously of pure Rājput̄ descent are Jāts because they till the land.

Among the artisan and menial tribes the process is still more common, and the chapter on this section of the community abounds with instances. One Chamār takes to weaving instead of leather-working and becomes a Chamār-Julaha ; presently he will be a Julaha pure and simple : another does the same and becomes a Rangreta or a Bania : a Chuhra refuses to touch night-soil and becomes a Musālli or a Kutana. Within the castes the same process is observable. The Chandar Chamar will not eat or marry with the Jatia Chamar, because the latter works in the hides of impure animals ; one section of the Kumhārs will hold no communion with another, because the latter burn sweepings as fuel ; a third section has taken to agriculture and looks down upon both. In all these and a thousand similar instances the sections are for all practical purposes distinct castes, though the caste name, being based upon and expressive of the hereditary occupation, is generally retained where the main occupation is not changed. Indeed I have my doubts whether, setting aside the absolutely degrading occupations, such as scavenging, the caste does not follow the occupation in the case of even each individual among these artisan and menial castes much more generally than we suppose. We know next to nothing about their organisation, and I do not pretend to make anything more than a suggestion. But it is certain that these lower castes have retained the organisation of the guild in extraordinary completeness long after the organisation of the tribe or caste has almost completely died out among the landowning classes whom they serve. And it may be, especially in towns and cities, that this organisation is meant to protect the craft in the absence of the bond of common descent, and that men belonging by birth to other castes and occupations may, on adopting a new occupation, be admitted to the fraternity which follows it.

Thus we see that in India, as in all countries, society is arranged in strata which are based upon differences of social or political importance, or of occupation. But here the classification is hereditary rather than individual to the persons included under it, and an artificial standard is added which is peculiar to caste and which must be conformed with on pain of loss of position, while the rules which forbid

social intercourse between castes of different rank render it infinitely difficult to rise in the scale. So, too, the classification being hereditary, it is next to impossible for the individual himself to rise; it is the tribe or section of the tribe that alone can improve its position, and this it can do only after the lapse of several generations, during which time it must abandon a lower for a higher occupation, conform more strictly with the arbitrary rules, affect social exclusiveness or special sanctity, or separate itself after some similar fashion from the body of the caste to which it belongs. The whole theory of society is that occupation and caste are hereditary; and the presumption that caste passes unchanged to the descendants is exceedingly strong. But the presumption is one which can be defeated, and has already been and is now in process of being defeated in numberless instances. As in all other countries and among all other nations, the graduations of the social scale are fixed; but society is not solid but liquid, and portions of it are continually rising and sinking and changing their position as measured by that scale; and the only real difference between Indian society and that of other countries in this respect is that the liquid is much more viscous, the friction and inertia to be overcome infinitely greater, and the movement therefore far slower and more difficult in the former than in the latter. This friction and inertia are largely due to a set of artificial rules which have been grafted on to the social prejudices common to all communities by the peculiar form which caste has taken in the Brāhmanical teachings. But there is every sign that these rules are gradually relaxing. Sikhism did much to weaken them in the centre of the Punjab, while they can now hardly be said to exist on the purely Mahomedan frontier; and I think that we shall see a still more rapid change under the influences which our rule has brought to bear upon the society of the Province. Our disregard for inherited distinctions have already done something, and the introduction of railways much more, to loosen the bonds of caste. It is extraordinary how incessantly, in reporting customs, my correspondents note that the custom or restriction is fast dying out. The liberty enjoyed by the people of the Western Punjab is extending to their neighbours in the east, and especially the old tribal customs are gradually fading away. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in a few generations the materials for a study of caste as an institution will be infinitely less complete than they are even now.

Thus, if my theory be correct, we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab—(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to this the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.

*M. Senart's theory.**

Longtemps on a cru, sur le témoignage de Platon et d'Hérodote, que l'Égypte aurait été régie par le système des castes. C'est une vue abandonnée aujourd'hui par les juges les plus autorisés. Elle paraît décidément contredite par les monumens indigènes. Les Grecs, peu accoutumés à de vastes organismes héréditaires reliés par le privilège du rang ou la communauté de la fonction, pouvaient aisément, là où ils en rencontraient des types plus ou moins stricts, en exagérer l'importance ou l'étendue. Jusqu'à présent, l'Inde a seule révélé un régime universel des castes, au sens où nous l'avons constaté et défini. Tout au plus trouve-t-on ailleurs des traces accidentelles, des germes d'institutions analogues ; elles ne sont nulle part généralisées ni coordonnées en système.

La Grèce a connu, à Lacédémone et ailleurs, plusieurs cas des fonctions et des métiers héréditaires. Malgré les incertitudes qui en obscurcissent l'interprétation, les noms que portent les quatre tribus (*phylé*) ioniennes de l'Attique sont bien des noms professionnels : soldats, chevriers, artisans.† Ce ne sont assurément pas des castes. L'exemple prouve au moins que la tradition âryenne pouvait, sous l'empire d'une situation favorable, incliner vers la caste. L'enseignement est bon à retenir.

Un fait social qui domine un pays immense, qui s'enchevêtre dans tout son passé, a nécessairement plus d'une cause. A l'enfermer dans une déduction unique, trop précise, on s'égare à coup sûr... Des courans si puissans sont faits d'affluens nombreux. L'explication vraie doit, j'en suis convaincu, faire sa part à chacun des agens qu'on a tour à tour poussés au premier plan, dans un esprit trop systématique et trop exclusif. Il est bien d'autres pays où une race immigrante s'est trouvée juxtaposée à des occupans qu'elle a vaincus et dépossédés, et cette situation n'y a pas fait naître la caste. D'autres populations ont connu de fortes distinctions de classes, et la caste leur est demeurée étrangère. La théocratie s'accommode d'autres cadres. Il faut donc que le régime résulte dans l'Inde de l'action combinée de plusieurs facteurs. J'espère avoir discerné les principaux.

Tâchons d'embrasser d'un coup d'œil le raccourci de cette histoire.

Nous prenons les âryens à leur entrée dans l'Inde. Ils vivent sous l'empire des vieilles lois communes à toutes les branches de la race. Ils sont divisés en peuplades, clans et familles : plus ou moins larges, les groupes sont également gouvernés par une organisation corporative dont les traits généraux sont pour tous identiques, dont le lien est une consanguinité de plus en plus étroite. L'âge de l'égalité pure et simple de clan à clan, de tribu à tribu, est passé. Le prestige militaire et le prestige religieux ont commencé leur œuvre. Certains groupes, rehaussés par l'éclat des prouesses guerrières, fiers d'une descendance plus brillante ou mieux assurée, enrichis plus que d'autres par la fortune des armes, se sont solidarisés en une classe nobiliaire qui revendique le pouvoir. Les rites religieux se sont compliqués au point de réclamer, soit pour l'exécution des cérémonies, soit pour la composition des chants, une habileté spéciale et une préparation technique : une classe sacerdotale est née, qui appuie ses prétentions sur les généalogies plus ou moins légendaires qui rattachent ses branches à des sacrificateurs illustres du passé. Le reste des âryens est confondu dans une catégorie unique au sein de laquelle les divers groupes se meuvent dans

* Senart, *Les Castes Dans l'Inde*, pp. 243—257.

† Schömann, *Griech. Alterth.*, éd. 1861, I, p. 327 suiv.

leur autonomie et sous leurs lois corporatives. Des notions religieuses dominaient dès l'origine toute la vie ; le sacerdoce déjà puissant double ici le prestige et la rigueur des scrupules religieux.

Les âryens s'avancent dans leur nouveau domaine. Ils se heurtent à une race de couleur foncée, inférieure en culture, qu'ils refoulent. Cette opposition, le souci de leur sécurité, le dédain des vaincus, exaltent chez les vainqueurs l'exclusivisme natif, renforcent toutes les croyances et tous les préjugés qui protègent la pureté des sectionnements entre lesquels ils se répartissent. La population autochtone est rejetée dans une masse confuse que des liens de subordination assez lâches rattachent seuls à ses maîtres. Les idées religieuses qu'apportent les envahisseurs y descendent plus ou moins avant, jamais assez pour la relever à leur niveau. Cependant, en s'étendant sur de vastes espaces où leurs établissemens ne sont guère cantonnés par aucunes limites naturelles, les envahisseurs se dispersent ; ébranlés par les accidens de la lutte, les groupemens primitifs se disjoignent. La rigueur du principe généalogique qui les unissait en est compromise : les tronçons, pour se reformer, obéissent aux rapprochemens géographiques ou à d'autres convenances.

Peu à peu se sont imposées les nécessités d'une existence moins mouvante. C'est dans des villages d'industrie pastorale et agricole que se fixe la vie devenue plus sédentaire ; et c'est d'abord par parentés qu'ils se fondent ; car les lois de la famille et du clan conservent une autorité souveraine ; on continue d'observer les usages traditionnels que sanctionne la religion. Les habitudes plus fixes développent les besoins et les métiers d'une civilisation qui est mûre pour plus d'exigences. Les corps d'état sont à leur tour enveloppés dans le réseau, soit que la communauté de village entraîne la communauté d'occupation, soit que les représentans dispersés d'une même profession dans des lieux assez voisins obéissent à une nécessité impérieuse en se modelant sur le seul type d'organisation usité autour d'eux.

Avec le temps deux faits se sont accusés : des mélanges plus ou moins avoués se sont produits entre les races ; les notions âryennes de pureté ont fait leur chemin dans cette population hybride et jusque dans les populations purement aborigènes. De là deux ordres de scrupules qui multiplient les sectionnements, suivant l'impureté plus ou moins forte, soit de la descendance, soit des occupations. Si les principes anciens de la vie familiale se perpétuent, les facteurs de groupemens se diversifient : fonction, religion, voisinage, d'autres encore, à coté du principe primitif de la consanguinité dont ils prennent plus ou moins le masque. Les groupes s'accroissent et s'entre-croisent. Sous la double action de leurs traditions propres et des idées qu'elles empruntent à la civilisation âryenne, les tribus aborigènes elles-mêmes, au fur et à mesure qu'elles renoncent à une vie isolée et sauvage, accélèrent l'afflux des sectionnemens nouveaux. La caste existe dès lors. On voit comment elle s'est, dans ses diverses dégradations, substituée lentement au régime familial dont elle est l'héritière.

Un pouvoir politique eût pu subordonner ces organismes aux ressorts d'un système régulier. Nulle constitution politique ne se dégage. L'idée même n'en naît pas. Comment s'en étonner ? La puissance sacerdotale n'y peut être favorable, car elle en serait diminuée ; ou son action est très forte et très soutenue ; elle paralyse même dans l'aristocratie militaire l'exercice du pouvoir. Le relief du pays ne constitue pas de noyaux naturels de concentration ; toute limite est ici flottante. La vie pastorale a longtemps maintenu un esprit de tradition sévère ; aucun goût vif de l'action ne l'entame. La population vaincue est nombreuse ; refoulée plus qu'absorbée, elle est

envahie lentement par la propagande sacerdotale plutôt que soumise par une brusque conquête. Avec quelques tempéramens elle garde, là surtout où elle se cantonne et s'isole, beaucoup de son organisation ancienne. Par sa masse qu'elle interpose, par l'exemple de ses institutions très rudimentaires, par la facilité même avec laquelle ces institutions se fondent dans l'organisation assez sommaire des immigrans, elle oppose un obstacle de plus à la constitution d'un pouvoir politique véritable. Donc nul rudiment d'État.

Dans cette confusion, la classe sacerdotale a seule, en dépit de ses fractionnemens, gardé un solide esprit de corps ; seule elle est en possession d'un pouvoir tout moral, mais très efficace. Elle en use pour affermir et pour étendre ses privilèges ; elle en use aussi pour établir, sous sa suprématie, une sorte d'ordre et de cohésion. Elle généralise et codifie l'état de fait en un système idéal qu'elle s'efforce de faire passer en loi. C'est le régime légal de la caste. Elle y amalgame la situation actuelle avec les traditions tenaces du passé où la hiérarchie des classes a jeté les fondemens de sa puissance tant accrue depuis

Sorti d'un mélange des prétentions arbitraires et des faits authentiques, ce système devient à son tour une force. Non seulement les brâhmanes le portent comme un dogme dans les parties du pays dont l'assimilation se fait à une date tardive ; partout, grâce à l'autorité immense qui s'attache à ses patrons, il réagit par les idées sur la pratique. L'idéal spéculatif tend à s'imposer comme la règle stricte du devoir. Mais, des faits à la théorie, il y avait trop loin pour qu'ils aient pu jamais se fondre complètement

Ce qui nous intéresse c'est le chemin qu'a suivi l'institution dans sa croissance spontanée. Je puis donc m'arrêter ici.

La caste est, à mon sens, le prolongement normal des antiques institutions âryennes, se modelant à travers les vicissitudes que leur préparaient les conditions et le milieu qu'elles rencontrèrent dans l'Inde. Elle serait aussi inexplicable sans ce fond traditionnel qu'elle serait inintelligible sans les alliages qui s'y sont croisés, sans les circonstances qui l'ont pétrie.

Que l'on m'entende bien ! Je ne prétends pas soutenir que le régime des castes, tel que nous l'observons aujourd'hui, avec les sections infinies, de nature et de consistance diverses qu'il embrasse, ne contienne que le développement logique, purement organique, des seuls élémens âryens primitifs. Des groupes d'origine variée, de structure variable, s'y sont introduits de tout temps et s'y multiplient encore : clans d'envahisseurs qui jalonnent la route des conquêtes successives ; tribus aborigènes sorties tardivement de leur isolement farouche ; fractionnemens accidentels soit de castes proprement dites, soit des groupes assimilés. Il y a plus ; ces mélanges qui, aggravés de combinaisons multiples, donnent à la caste de nos jours une physionomie si déconcertante, si insaisissable, se sont, à n'en pas douter, produits de bonne heure. S'ils ont été en s'accusant, ils ont commencé dès l'époque où le régime se formait. Je l'ai dit déjà, je le répète à dessein : à condenser en une formule sommaire une conclusion générale, on risque de paraître outrer son principe ; effort de précision ou séduction de nouveauté, on risque de fausser, en l'étendant à l'excès, une pensée juste. Je ne voudrais pas que l'on me soupçonnât d'un entraînement contre lequel je suis en garde.

Ce que j'estime, c'est que, quelques influences qu'ils aient pu subir du dehors, quelques troubles qu'aient apportés les hasards de l'histoire, les âryens de l'Inde ont

tiré de leur propre fonds les éléments essentiels de la caste, telle qu'ils l'ont pratiquée, conçue et finalement coordonnée. Si le régime sous lequel l'Inde a vécu n'est ni une organisation purement économique des métiers, ni un chaos barbare des tribus et des races étrangères et hostiles, ni une simple hiérarchie des classes, mais un mélange de tout cela, unifiée par l'inspiration commune qui domine, dans leur fonctionnement, tous les groupes, par la communauté des idées et des préjugés caractéristiques qui les rapprochent, les divisent, fixent entre eux les préséances, cela vient de ce que la constitution familiale, survivant à travers toutes les évolutions, gouvernant les âryens d'abord, puis pénétrant avec leur influence et s'imposant même aux groupemens d'origine indépendante, a été le pivot d'une lente transformation.

Qu'elle ait été traversée d'éléments hétérogènes, je n'ai garde de l'oublier. D'ailleurs une fois achevée dans ses traits essentiels, elle a, cela va sans dire, comme tous les systèmes vieillissans où la tradition ne se retrempe plus dans une conscience vivante des origines, subi l'action de l'analogie. Les principes qu'on a cru y découvrir, l'arbitraire même, armé de faux prétextes y ont fait leur œuvre. Pour être accidentelles ou secondaires, ces altérations n'ont pas laissé que de jeter quelque désarroi dans la physionomie des faits. Je n'y insiste pas cependant. On en retrouvera au besoin les sources dans les détails que j'ai eu l'occasion de signaler en passant.

Même à nous enfermer dans la période de formation, combien nous souhaiterions de fixer des dates ! Ce que j'ai dit de la tradition littéraire expliquera que je n'en aie pas des précises à offrir. Des institutions anciennes ne s'imprègnent que par progressions insensibles d'un esprit nouveau ; des mouvements qui peuvent, suivant les circonstances, marcher d'un pas inégal dans des régions diverses, ne se manifestent dans les témoignages que lorsque l'ordre antérieur est devenu tout à fait méconnaissable. Ils sont obscurs parce qu'ils sont lents. Ils ne supportent pas de dates rigoureuses. Tout au plus pourrait-on se flatter de déterminer à quel moment le système brâhmanique, qui régit théoriquement la caste, a reçu sa forme dernière. La prétention serait encore trop ambitieuse. Nous pouvons nous en consoler ; nous n'en serions pas beaucoup plus avancés, s'il est vrai que ce système résume l'idéal de la caste dominante plus qu'il ne reflète la situation vraie.

Même en ce qui concerne le Vêda, la valeur des indices qu'il apporte n'est rien moins que définie. Il faudrait savoir s'il épuise bien l'ensemble des faits contemporains, s'il les rend intégralement et fidèlement. C'est ce dont je n'estime pas du tout que nous soyons certains. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'on y voit saillir encore en un plein relief cette hiérarchie de classes qui s'est plus tard résolue dans le régime des castes. Il est pourtant indubitable que, dès la période védique, les causes avaient commencé d'agir qui, par leur action combinée et suivie, devaient sur le vieux tronc âryen greffer un ordre nouveau.

Les âryens de l'Inde et les âryens du monde classique partent des mêmes prémisses. Combien les conséquences sont de part et d'autre différentes !

A l'origine, les mêmes groupes, gouvernés par les mêmes croyances, les mêmes usages. En Grèce et en Italie, ces petites sociétés s'associent et s'organisent. Elles s'étagent en un système ordonné. Chaque groupe conserve dans sa sphère d'action sa pleine autonomie ; mais la fédération supérieure que constitue la cité embrasse les intérêts communs et régularise l'action commune. Le chaos prend forme sous la main des Grecs. Les organismes disjoints se soudent en une unité

plus large. Au fur et à mesure qu'elle s'achève, l'idée nouvelle qui en est l'âme latente, l'idée politique s'ébauche. Comme la caste, la cité est issue de la constitution primitive commune ; jetée dans le moule des mêmes règles religieuses, des mêmes traditions, mais inspirée par des nécessités nouvelles, elle dégage un principe nouveau d'organisation. Elle se montre capable de s'élargir, de s'affranchir des barrières qui ont soutenu, mais aussi contenu ses premiers pas. Plus tard, elle suffira, en se transformant, aux besoins des révolutions de mœurs et de pouvoir plus profondes.

Dans l'Inde la caste continue les antiques coutumes ; elle les développe même à plusieurs égards dans leur ligne logique ; mais elle perd quelque chose de l'impulsion qui avait créés les groupes primitifs et elle n'en renouvelle pas l'esprit. Des notions diverses se mêlent ou se substituent ici au lien généalogique qui avait noué les premières sociétés. En se modifiant, en devenant castes, elles ne trouvent pas en elles-mêmes de principe régulateur ; elles s'entrecroisent, chacune isolée dans son autonomie jalouse. Le cadre est immense, sans limites précises, sans vie organique ; masse confuse de sociétés indépendantes, courbées sous un niveau commun.

La langue classique de l'Inde se distingue des langues congénères par une singularité frappante. Le verbe fini a peu de place dans la phrase ; la pensée s'y déroule en composés longs, de relation souvent indécise. Au lieu d'une construction syntactique solide où le dessin s'accuse, où les incidences se détachent elles-mêmes en propositions nettement arrêtées, la phrase ne connaît guère qu'une structure molle où les éléments de la pensée, simplement juxtaposés, manquent de relief. Les croyances religieuses de l'Inde ne se présentent guère en dogmes positifs. Dans les lignes flottantes d'un panthéisme mal défini, les oppositions et les divergences ne se soulèvent un moment que pour s'écrouler comme un remous instable dans la masse mouvante. Les contradictions se résolvent vite en un syncrétisme conciliant où s'énerve la vigueur des schismes. Une orthodoxie accommodante couvre toutes les dissidences de son large manteau. Nulle part de doctrine catégorique, liée intransigeante. Sur le terrain social, un phénomène analogue nous apparaît dans le régime de la caste. Partout le même spectacle d'impuissance plastique.

Quelque sève qu'il empruntée aux circonstances extérieures et historiques, c'est bien le fruit de l'esprit hindou. L'organisation sociale de l'Inde est à la structure des cités antiques ce qu'est un poème hindou à une tragédie grecque. Aussi bien dans la vie pratique que dans l'art, le génie hindou se montre rarement capable d'organisation, c'est-à-dire de mesure, d'harmonie. Dans la caste tout son effort s'est épuisé à maintenir, à fortifier un réseau de groupes fermes, sans action commune, sans réaction réciproque, ne reconnaissant finalement d'autre moteur que l'autorité sans contrepoids d'une classe sacerdotale qui a absorbé toute la direction des esprits. Sous le niveau du brâhmanisme, les castes s'agitent, comme les épisodes se heurtent désordonnés dans la vague unité du récit épique. Il suffit qu'un système artificiel en masque théoriquement le décousu.

Les destinées de la caste sont, à y bien regarder, un chapitre instructif de la psychologie de l'Inde.

APPENDIX VII.

SIR HENRY COTTON AND OTHERS ON KULIN POLYGAMY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

* * * * *

SIR,—More important still, though perhaps not so intentionally offensive, is the review in your *Literary Supplement* of Mr. Oman's book on 'The Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India.' I have not yet seen this book, but my impression of it derived from a review by Sir Alfred Lyall in the *Nation* is very different from that put forward by your reviewer. I cannot believe that Mr. Oman's work is a mere *réchauffé* of the onslaught on Hinduism which was elaborated by Mr. James Mill and by the missionary Ward at the beginning of the last century. That is the impression your review conveys and your leading article repeats in stronger language. Mill's, Ward's, and Wilford's attacks on Hinduism were replied to at the time they were made, but, whatever truth they may have then contained, every one who knows anything of the subject is aware that the abominations to which you refer, and especially the privileges of the Kulin Brahmans, 'including the most outrageous and degrading form of polygamy,' have no existence at the present day. You go so far as to say that 'it is a notable fact that the spread of enlightenment as we conceive it among educated Hindus has not been accompanied by any serious attempt to do away with social anomalies such as child marriages, the seclusion of child widows, or the abominations practised by the Kulin Brahmans.' I reply that the very contrary is the fact. So-called child marriages among the educated classes are now of the rarest occurrence, and polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is absolutely non-existent. My personal experience extends over a period of 40 years, and I never heard of a case of Kulin polygamy. The practice had died out before I went to India. I do not know whether Mr. Oman says it still exists. I doubt whether he has any personal knowledge of Bengal, and in any case I deprecate in the strongest possible manner the tone and character of the observations in your leading article on this subject, which are apparently based on Mr. Oman's book.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

DIEPPE, *September 14th*, 1907.

HENRY COTTON.

SIR,—While I desire to avoid even the appearance of controversy on matters capable of argument, I would ask permission to correct one serious misapprehension on a matter of fact that is to be found in Sir Henry Cotton's letter as printed in your issue of the 24th. He says, 'Polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is absolutely non-existent. My personal experience extends over a period of 40 years, and I never heard of a case of Kulin polygamy.' Sir Henry Cotton has been very fortunate in

his experience. Mine has been painfully different. I went to India after him ; nevertheless, during my career in the Indian Civil Service, I heard of numerous instances of Kulin polygamy both in Bengal and (under another name) in Bihar. I have been personally acquainted with men who practised it, and have discussed the question with them. About the year 1878 I was connected with a movement to stop it, which was got up by natives who were not Kulins, and which was admittedly a failure. I have before me a book entitled 'The Brahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal,' written by Babu Girindranáth Dutt, who, as his name implies, is a Bengali. It was published in 1906, after appearing in serial form in a Calcutta magazine. The author in his preface says, 'I have described at length the fictitious origin and the pernicious effects of this vicious system (*i. e.*, Kulinism).' Elsewhere he says, 'The only possible and practical means to extirpate the manifold vicious effects of Kulinism—*e.g.*, polygamy, ruinous marriage demands, matrimonial difficulties, etc., is to abolish the cause, Kulinism, from every section of the community.'

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY, *September 25th*, 1907.

SIR,—I desire to offer my experience of Kulin polygamy in contradiction of Sir Henry Cotton's statement. I entered the Bengal Civil Service about 12 years before Sir H. Cotton, and my service in Bengal overlapped his in its termination.

In 1866 the Government of Bengal appointed a committee to inquire into and report on Kulin Polygamy. It was thus moved by a learned Brahmin Pundit, at whose instance a few years before the Legislature had passed the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act. Sir Charles Hobhouse, who is still alive, was president of that committee and I was a member and its secretary. Our inquiries showed that Kulin polygamy was very prevalent in Bengal and that there were instances of Brahmins having nearly 100 wives, many of whom they had never seen since their marriage with them as girls. That was about the year before Sir H. Cotton came to Bengal. His statement, therefore, that "in my personal experience, extending over a period of 40 years, I never heard of a case of Kulin polygamy" shows singular ignorance of the social habits and customs of the country amongst the people of which he so long lived. His experience is evidently derived from association with Bengalis whose Western education no doubt may have tended to induce them to abandon it. But it would not be to such men that this pernicious system would have much attraction. Profit in a pecuniary sense, and not sensuality, is its stronghold. The father of a girl is obliged by Hindu law and the custom of the country to marry her before she attains puberty ; she must marry in her own caste ; and he has to buy a suitable husband for her. Kulin polygamy, it can be easily understood, appeals to Brahmins of the mendicant and priestly classes of small means. Education may have done much to reduce its sphere ; but education has not reached such classes, and obviously they will be the last to come within its influence.

I do not desire to attempt to discuss or explain at length the marriage system amongst Hindus in Bengal ; but I would point out that though education may have done something to mitigate its evils, it cannot claim to have done much to reduce the rates payable in the marriage market. The usual rate demanded by one who has taken the degree of Bachelor of Laws in the Calcutta University is, I was

credibly informed not many years ago, Rs. 10,000, or nearly £700. It may be asked why does not the Congress which professes to act as a body anxious to reform all matters to the benefit of the people of India apply itself to such social matters of the highest importance? Why does it not commence its work at home before it stirs up matters of political controversy? The answer which suggests itself is obvious. Because it does not suit the aims of its leaders. Alas! that it should be so.

H. T. PRINSEP.

September 27th, 1907.

SIR,—Sir Henry Prinsep misapprehends my letter to you on this subject. I never said that when I went to India 40 years ago there were no survivors of the old system of Kulin polygamy. On the contrary there were many, and Vidyasagar's committee appointed in 1866, to which Sir Henry Prinsep refers, proved the fact. My point was that during my time I never heard of a case of polygamous marriage being contracted among Kulins. I know it was common enough in old days. But I say that the practice for many years past has completely died out. There may, of course, have been isolated cases, but I am sure they are exceedingly few and I never heard of one. Sir Henry Prinsep does not say that he has heard of any cases since 1866, and he admits that educated Bengalis have abandoned the practice. After all, the last word on this subject cannot be spoken by English officials, however great their experience may be, but must be said by the Indian members of the community concerned; and I am glad to think that the prominence given by you to this correspondence in your columns will lead to that result.

I am, yours faithfully,

HENRY COTTON.¶

October 1, 1907

[*Editorial Note.*—In his letter to us of September 14 Sir Henry Cotton wrote :—'The practice [Kulin polygamy] had died out before I went to India.' Yet, as Sir Henry Prinsep pointed out in his letter to us of September 27, the practice was still so prevalent about the time Sir H. Cotton went out to India that a committee had only recently been appointed to inquire into it.]

SIR,—Having very recently come from India and having a life-long acquaintance with that country, I am perhaps able to throw some light on the subject of Kulinism, which is being discussed just now in the columns of your paper. It is hard to kill a social custom when bound up and interwoven with the material interest of still a very influential class. Polygamy among Kulin Brahmans is certainly not dead. It is not as rampant as it was, say, half a century ago; but it still flourishes, or is still in vogue, in certain dark corners of the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, chiefly among the more bigoted classes of Hindus, who adhere to the abhorrent practice with a grim steadfastness which can scarcely be reconciled with the advanced and progressive state of certain other sections of Hindu society. Of course, the reason for the upkeep of this hateful custom is the burning desire of the parents (not uncommon in other parts of the world) to get their daughter married to a man on a somewhat higher social level, as regards the scale of castes, which is again bound up with their religion.

Dr. G. A. Grierson (than whom I scarcely know of a higher authority either in Indian literature or social practices and customs as they exist in the present day) is quite accurate in saying that polygamy is still prevalent among the people of Bengal

and Behar—in Behar among the Ojhas, Dubes, and Chaubes principally. I knew of an Ojha family (a fairly well-to-do zemindar) whose three daughters, varying in age from 19 to 14 years, were married to one Brahman of about treble the age of the eldest girl. When I expostulated with the father, he said he could not possibly get his daughters married to husbands on a lower scale of caste, as it would for ever ruin the standing of his family, and it was hopeless to find a younger man, as it would be equally ruinous to his family from a pecuniary point of view.

Among the Bengalis too, who are more advanced, in a general sense, than the Beharis, fear of lowering the caste *status* still holds a tyrannical sway. A father who is a bigoted Hindu would not, if he can possibly avoid it, allow his daughter to get married to one whose *status* in caste is lower than his; he would much rather get her wedded to a polygamous husband.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN CHRISTIAN.

SIR,—Referring to the letters of Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. George Grierson, and 'A retired Bengal Official' in *The Times* of the 24th, 27th, and 28th ultimo, respectively, I would like to add that the crushing reply to Sir Henry Cotton, is the official report on 'Kulinism' in the *Gazette of India* of February 7, 1867, signed by S. Ghosal, C. P. (now Sir Charles) Hobhouse, H. T. (now Sir Henry) Prinsep, D. Mitra, J. K. Mookerjea, I. C. Surma, and R. Tagore. Of these five Bengali signatories the last three (including the Theistic reformer Ramnath Tagore) add the statement that 'Kulinism'—*i.e.*, the *Kula-dharma* or '(religious) observance of race (purity)'—prevailed to a less extent in 1867 than a few years previously; but even with this qualification the report is an all-sufficing and dramatically effective answer to Sir Henry Cotton. My day in India began 13 years before his, and was all spent in Western India, and I always hesitate to speak of anything in India, beyond the Mahratta Ditch, and I generally keep strictly within 'the Manor of Grenawic;' but even in far-off Bombay that report made an immense impression; and, surely, it is a record in Lethe'd obliviousness that Sir Henry Cotton, who, I see from the "India Office List," landed in Calcutta October 29, 1867, should never once 'have heard of a case of Kulinism.' I was possibly more interested in the report because some years earlier in the widely—in India—regenerative sixties I was visited by a wealthy Vaishnava, as a representative of other wealthy Vaishnavas, all of the Vallabhāchārya sub-sect, who, with passionate insistence, demanded the exposure of an immemorial religious rite of the sect, which gradually, under the influence of Western ideals, had become intolerable to them as husbands and, in all 'the thoughts and intents of the heart,' English gentlemen. This was, indeed, the beginning of the great action for libel the High Priest of the Vallabhāchārya was at length compelled, by the force of public opinion, to bring against *The Times of India*; and Sir Joseph Arnold's memorable judgment in the case, with Mr. Chisholm Anstey's speech for the plaintiff, and the evidence given, is the richest storehouse known to me of the authenticated facts of esoteric Hinduism accessible to English readers.

But what I desire, with your indulgence, to accentuate is not this latest and most bewildering example of Sir Henry Cotton's 'lethargized discernings,' but the inconsiderateness and unreasonableness of all three of your distinguished

correspondents under comment in tacitly stigmatizing the *Kula-dharma* as outrageous and degrading because this peculiar form of regulated polygamy happens to be opposed to our own conventions on such relations. 'Kulinism' is not with the Hindus, as with us, a 'mystery of iniquity,' but a 'mystery of godliness;' and so long as it has the consent of their consciences, and is regarded as a high and religious obligation, it cannot be, and is not, morally degrading to them, although it does not tend to their physical elevation, and the development of their virility, as the one sure foundation of the manly virtues. Therefore, while always speaking and writing my mind freely in private to Hindus on such matters as the *ras-mandli* of Western India and the *Kula-dharma* of Eastern Bengal, I have never in public spoken or written in 'moral indignation' on such freaks in morality, or rather, sociology. What is the history of 'Kulinism'? The Sanscrit word *Kula*, clipt to *Kul*, means 'race,' 'tribe,' 'family,' and if not allied to, may be compared with, the words Kelt or Celt and Cul-dee ('the family,' *i.e.*, priest of God); and the word *Kulina* or *Kulin* means, primarily, 'of good family'; while *Kula-dharma* means primarily a binding observance, of gradually growing religious import, arising out of the natural instinct to preserve in pristine purity the blue Aryan blood of that section of the Bengali Brahmans who, on quite inadequate grounds, regard themselves as superior to all other Brahmans, not only in Bengal, but throughout India, in the integrity of their illustrious descent. These primitive *Kulin* of Bengal are represented by the widely, and, let it be added, well-famed family names of Bonnerjee, Chatterjee, Gangully, and Mookerjee; while the great family names of Bose, Dutt, Ghose, and Mitra represent the Hindus who became attached to these *Kulin* families on their original immigration into Anga-Banga. And these *Kulin* are most honourable men; so that the word *Kulin* has at last come to be an honorific title, the equivalent of our 'The Honourable,' or 'The Right Honourable,' as it came to be in our earlier history with the works Kelt and Culdee. They happen also, for the most part, to be of fine physique; for after all polygamy may be less conducive to excess than monogamy, and Bengali Kulinism is largely nominal. Though for the greater part ignorant of English, they are learned Sanscritists and often accomplished Persian scholars, and they strictly maintain the tradition of the stately old Hindu manners and social customs, and are always the most excellent good company.

I am not worthy to 'bow to the shadow of' Mr. Oman's 'shoe tie,' but in view of Sir Henry Cotton's obliquitous attack on his recent profoundly significant work, I will only say that I could confirm some of the strangest things in it from my own personal experience in the Canarese country among the Vira-Saiva *lingavant* and *lingadhari*.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

October 1, 1907.

SIR,—Will you allow me, as a subject of the British Empire, to join Sir George Birdwood in his protest against the gross insularity with which the subject of *Kulin* polygamy has been discussed in your columns since Sir Henry Cotton, by putting

his denial of its existence in the form of a defence of Indian morality, assumed that the test of morality is simply conformity to English custom? In this all your correspondents except Sir George have followed him, the only difference being that his intentions were civil, and theirs openly offensive. To an Indian that can hardly weigh as a difference at all. If (to illustrate) an Indian paper were to publish a controversy between two Bengalis, one holding up the Archbishop of Canterbury to the execration of all pious Hindus as a Christian, and the other defending him as a man of far too high character to be tainted with the Christian superstition, the Archbishop would hardly feel much more obliged to his defender than to his assailant.

If the Empire is to be held together by anything better than armed force—and we have neither energy nor money enough to spare from our own affairs for that—we shall have to make up our minds to bring the institutions and social experiments of our fellow-subjects to a very much higher test than their conformity to the customs of Clapham. It is true that mere toleration for its own sake is out of the question: we are not going to tolerate suttee or human sacrifice on any terms from anybody, if we can help it. We are far too tolerant as it is, if not of other people's abominations and superstitions, at all events of our own, which are numerous and detestable enough in all conscience. But before we begin to hurl such epithets as 'revolting' and 'abhorrent' at any customs of our Indian fellow-subjects, we had better consider carefully why we are shocked by them. Very few of us are trained to distinguish between the shock of unfamiliarity and genuine ethical shock. Kulin polygamy is unfamiliar: therefore it shocks us, and causes gentlemen of ordinary good breeding to use abusive and intemperate language in your columns. Under these circumstances, I, having ascertained that my opinion in this matter is representative enough to be of some importance, am emboldened to say that the institution of Kulin polygamy, as described by your correspondents, does not seem to me on the face of it an unreasonable one. Let me compare it with our own marriage customs. We are told first that the Bengalis do not marry out of their caste. To them, therefore, the promiscuity which we profess must be 'revolting' and 'abhorrent'; but we have the ready and obvious defence that our promiscuity is only professed and not real, as our Deputy-Lieutenant class and our commercial traveller class, for instance, do not intermarry. Further, the Bengalis hold that it is part of the general purpose of things that women should bear children, and that childlessness is a misfortune and even a disgrace. It will not be disputed, I think, that this, under the surface, is as much an occidental as an oriental view. Again, the Bengalis attach great importance to their children being well-bred. So do we. On all these points the only difference between India and England is that England holds her beliefs more loosely, less religiously, less thoughtfully, and is less disposed to let them stand in the way of pecuniary gain and social position.

How then do the parents of an English family, of the class corresponding to the Indian Brahman class, secure well-bred grandchildren for themselves and also for their nation? They use their social opportunities to put their daughters promiscuously in the way of young men of their own caste, in the hope that a marriage with some one or other will be the result. Frequently it is not the result: the daughter becomes an old maid, one of the wasted mothers of a nation, which as Mr. Sydney Webb and Professor Karl Pearson have warned us, is perishing for

want of well-bred children. Even when chance is favourable, and the daughter finds a husband, she often refuses to become a mother because her religious and social training has taught her to regard motherhood as a department of original sin, and to glory, not in the possession of children, but of a husband; so that the childless woman with a husband despises the mother who has no husband.

What does the Bengali father do under the same circumstances according to Sir Henry Prinsep? He selects a picked man—a Brahman, representing the highest degree of culture and character in his class; and he pays him £700 to enable his daughter to become the mother of a well-bred child.

Now this may strike the parochial Englishman as unusual or, as he would put it, 'revolting, 'abhorrent,' and so forth; but it is certainly not unreasonable and not inhuman. Far from being obviously calculated to degrade the race, it is, on the face of it, aimed at improving it. Sir George Birdwood has just told us in your columns that the *Kulin* 'happen, for the most part, to be of fine physique.' Sir George has no doubt also noticed that the products of our system happen, for the most part, not to be of fine physique. Is it quite clear that this is mere happening? Is it not rather what one would expect under the circumstances? And is the practice of taking deliberate steps to produce and reproduce men of fine physique really revolting and abhorrent to our British conscience as distinguished from our British prejudice?

Let us, however, do justice to our system, indefensible as it is in many respects. It secures what most men want: that is, a sharing out of the women among the men so that every Jack shall have his Jill, and the able men and attractive women shall not accumulate partners and leave mediocrity unprovided. If this were the end of public policy in the matter, and if the race might safely take its change of degeneracy provided monogamy, even on the hardest conditions, were maintained, there would be nothing more to be said. But as the whole Imperial problem before us is fundamentally nothing else than to produce more capable political units than our present system breeds—in short, to breed the Superman—this is not a time to rail at experiments made by people who are not under the harrow of our prejudices, or to persist in calling the customs founded on those prejudices by question-begging names such as purity, chastity, propriety, and so forth, and to speak of a Brahman who is the father of a hundred children as a libertine with a hundred wives. Any man of thirty may have a hundred children without having a wife at all and still be positively ascetic in his temperance compared with an average respectable and faithful British husband of the same age. And if the hundred children 'happen, for the most part, to be of fine physique,' the nation will be more powerful and prosperous in the next generation than if these hundred children were replaced by a hundred others of indifferent physique, each having a different father, promiscuously picked up in a Clapham drawing-room.

A system which limits the fertility of its men of fine physique to the child-bearing capacity of one woman, and wastes the lives of thousands of first-rate maiden ladies in barrenness because they like to own their own houses and manage their own affairs without being saddled with a second-rate or tenth-rate man, must not take its own merits for granted. It may be the right system; it may be bound up with all that is best in our national life and fortunate in our national history; it may be all that our stupidest people unanimously claim for it. But then again it may not.

The evidence on the other side is weighty ; and the population question is pressing hard on us. The case must be argued, not assumed ; and the final verdict will be that of history and not of our modern suburban villas with no nurseries.

Yours truly,

G. BERNARD SHAW.

10, ADELPHI-TERRACE, W. C.,

Oct. 3.

SIR,—I have only just arrived from India, and have followed with interest the correspondence relating to *Kulinism* in your columns.

I am a Bengali Brahmin, and in our family daughters used never to be married except to *Kulins*. Sir Henry Cotton quite correctly says that the practice of polygamy for many years past has completely died out in Bengal. In fact, it had died out when Mormonism was very much alive in America.

Yours faithfully,

A CHAUDHURI, B.A. (Cantab) 1884,

Bar.-at-law (1886), *Fellow of the Calcutta University.*

98, THE GROVE, EALING,

4th Oct. -

SIR,—In a leading article which appeared in *The Times* of the 2nd instant, you have referred to the barbarous institution of *Kulin* polygamy as a factor to be considered in determining the character of the reformers and agitators of Bengal. May I ask you, in the interest of truth, to permit me to offer a few critical remarks on the subject ?

I have two distinct grounds for entering into the controversy. First, I am a student of sociology, whose duty it is to see that sociological *data* are not perverted for the purpose of evoking racial or political antipathies ; secondly, I have the fortune or misfortune to belong to that class of Brahmins known as *Kulins*, who have long possessed the unenviable privilege of polygamy.

You have, I fear, attached too little importance to Sir Henry Cotton's able refutation of the statements that appeared in your columns. I hold no brief for Sir Henry. I do not know him personally, nor, indeed, do I always agree with his public utterances with regard to Indian matters. But it is sheer justice to him to state that he knows more about the social life of East Bengal than the learned correspondents on whose assertions you base a generalization which is totally incorrect. *Kulin* though I am, I have the greatest horror of the monstrous custom of *Kulin* polygamy, and I have thought it my duty to inquire whether the custom still exists. Social customs die hard, and it is inevitable that one or two instances may occasionally occur to arouse the critical acerbity of the civilized West. But let me assure you that *Kulin* polygamy as a tolerated institution has long ceased to be.

Even, however, if it still existed, is it quite logical to draw general inferences as to the moral character of a whole community when it is remembered that the *Kulins* who practised polygamy formed a very small minority of the total population of Bengal ? Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, for example, is no *Kulin*, and his character bears no ratio, direct or inverse, to polygamous licenses. It would be quite as

rational to assert that, as adultery is not regarded as a crime by the law of England, it must follow that the English are a nation of adulterers.

It does no good whatever to make an isolated instance the basis of a stricture that cannot but make the work of government difficult. If *Kulinism* is dead, *requiescat in pace*. If it is not, is there any sense in making false assertions that must wound the pride of the Indian on the one hand, and rouse the unreasoning prejudices of the Englishman on the other ?

Yours faithfully,

VIRENDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

43, THANET-HOUSE, STRAND, W. C.,

4th Oct.

SIR,—When I wrote the letter which appeared in your issue of September 27th I little thought that I should be accused of expressing an opinion as to the merits or demerits of *Kulin* polygamy on the ground that (to quote Sir George Birdwood) it is opposed to our conventions of such relations. Nothing could have been further from my intentions. My object was to correct a mistake of fact, and to do so mainly from the evidence of a native witness. My own experience is of small value. As, however, the charge has been made both by Sir George Birdwood and by Mr. Bernard Shaw, may I explain that, putting all questions of sexual morality to one side, whether the system is right or wrong in theory, in the practical working of its extreme forms it is an organized system of extortion, working the most cruel injustice upon its unhappy victims? *Pace* Mr. Shaw, it actually condemns numbers of girls to an unmarried life who would otherwise be married. These are questions of fact. If Mr. Shaw doubts my evidence, I can refer him to the work written by a native of Bengal from which I quoted in my last letter, or (for earlier years) to the report of the Commission mentioned by Sir Henry Prinsep and Sir George Birdwood.

Let me also make one other point quite clear. While I do not hesitate to say what I think about the evils of *Kulinism*, I should be disloyal to the affection which I bear to the people amongst whom I spent some of the best and happiest years of my life did I not openly dissociate myself from those who, because of the existence of this evil, or because some foolish and some wicked men are guilty of violence, denounce Hindus or Bengalis as a nation. Like all of us who have served in India, I have had my bad moments, and have been in tight places; nevertheless, looking back along the vista of not a few years, it is not these that dwell in my memory, but loyal friends that I made and innumerable tokens of the mutual regard which existed between my own people and those amongst whom our lot was cast.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY,

5th Oct.

[*Editorial Note.*—The book referred to by Mr. Grierson is entitled 'The Brahmans and Kayasthas of P Bengal,' by Babu Girindranath Dutt. It was published in 1906. The passage quoted was as follows:—'The only possible and practical means to extirpate the manifold vicious effects of *Kulinism*—*e g.*, polygamy, ruinous marriage demands, matrimonial difficulties, etc.—is to abolish the cause, *Kulinism*, from every section of the community.']

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED IN 1866 BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL TO REPORT ON THE
NECESSITY OF LEGISLATING ON THE SUBJECT
OF POLYGAMY AMONG THE HINDUS.

From C. HOBHOUSE, ESQ., and others,
To THE SECRETARY TO GOVT. OF BENGAL.

Dated the 7th February 1867.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 1647 to 1651T, dated Darjeeling, 22nd August, 1866, to our respective addresses, and we beg to submit the following reply:—

We understand that the Hon'ble the Maharajah of Burdwan, and some 21,000 other Hindu inhabitants of Lower Bengal, prayed for an enactment to prevent the abuses attending the practice of polygamy amongst the Hindus in Lower Bengal; that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was in favour of the measure of bringing the said practice strictly within the limits of ancient Hindu Law; that, on the other hand, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was of opinion that the Hindu inhabitants of Lower Bengal were not prepared, either for the suppression of the system of polygamy, or yet for that strict limitation of it which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal recommended, but desired only a remedy for the special abuses practised by the sect of Koolin Brahmins; that His Excellency would therefore be prepared to take into consideration any deliberate measure which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor might in consultation with some of the ablest of the leading native gentlemen in Bengal, think fit to recommend for the suppression of the special abuses above named, provided that such measure had not, on the one hand, the effect of restricting the general liberty now possessed by all Hindus to take more than one wife, and that it did not, on the other hand, give the express sanction of English Legislation to the system of polygamy, and that to us has been committed the duty of reporting on the best means of giving practical effect to the wishes of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, and of framing and submitting a Draft Bill for that purpose.

In order that it may be seen exactly what we understand that system to be, for which we are instructed to suggest a remedy, we think it necessary, briefly, to trace the history of Koolinism back; to state how it arose and what it was, and what we believe it to be, and what in the main are declared to be those evils to which it has given rise, and which it perpetuates.

In the Institutes of Manu, we do not find any distribution of the sect of the Brahmins into distinct denominational classes, but we find it declared that certain Brahmins were by conduct and acquirements entitled to higher respect than other Brahmins whose conduct was not so strict, and whose learning was not so great, and this declaration may possibly have laid the foundation of that distribution of the Brahmins into denominational classes which subsequently was made.

It was not until the time of the Hindu King Bullal Sen, who reigned some 284 years before the Mahomedan conquest, or about 877 A.D., that any distribution into denominational classes took place. This distribution was confined to the descendants of those Brahmins who had migrated from Kanouj into Bengal on the invitation of

the Rajah Adisur, and it is stated that the cause of this distribution was the fact that the sect of Brahmins generally had fallen off in knowledge and in practice of the strict Hindu Shastras.

There were two chief divisions of Koolins, *viz.*, the Barendros of what was then known as the geographical division of Barendrobhoom, and the Rarhis of Burdwan and other places.

The Koolins of Barendrobhoom were divided into two classes :—

1st—Koolins ; and

2ndly—Kaps ;

but as it is not amongst the Barendro Koolins that any abuse of the system of polygamy exists, we shall not further refer to these Koolins.

The Rarhi Koolins were also divided into two classes, *viz.* :—

1st—The Koolins ;

2nd—The Shrotryos ;

and subsequently to these classes was added a third, the Bhongshojo, the origin of which is somewhat obscure.

The Koolin class was an order of merit, and was composed of those Brahmins who had the nine qualifications—

1st—Of observance of Brahmin duties ;

2nd—Of meekness ;

3rd—Of learning ;

4th—Of good report ;

5th—Of a disposition to visit holy places ;

6th—Of devotion ;

7th—Of the preservation of the custom of marriages and inter-marriages amongst equals only ;

8th—Of asceticism ; and

9th—Of liberality.

The Shrotryo was composed of those Brahmins who were supposed to have eight only of the nine qualifications of the Koolins.

When the above classes were first created, a peculiar Code of Laws, the bulk of which has in process of time swelled, and which is called by the Koolins the Kooleena Shastras, was laid down for the guidance of the Koolins.

If it were possible, it would be superfluous to trace the history of the Koolins from the time above mentioned up to the present time ; it is sufficient that we should now state, not in its numerous ramifications and complications, but in its main features only, what we believe to be the present condition of the Koolin class or of Koolins and Koolinism as best known by these terms. We are speaking of the Rarhi division of Brahmins, and we believe we are right in stating that the chief distinctive classes amongst them at the present day are four in number, and are these, *viz.* :—

The Koolins, or first class.

Bhongo Koolins, or second class.

Bhongshojo Koolins, or third class.

Shrotryo Brahmins, or fourth class.

The first class is composed of persons who are supposed to possess the nine qualifications of the order of merit, and who, at any rate, are presumed never to have forfeited their title to that order by inter-marriages out of their own class.

These men, it is said, usually marry two wives,—one out of their own class, and one out of the class of the Shrotryos, and they take a consideration from the bride on the occasion of all inter-marriages with the Shrotryos, and also of all inter-marriages amongst themselves, except in cases where there is an exchange of daughters

The second class is composed of Koolins of the first class, who have fallen from this latter class by inter-marriages with daughters of families in the third class.

This second class is again sub-divided into—

- 1st—Swakrito Bhongo Koolins ;
- 2nd—Bhongo Koolins of the second generation ;
- 3rd—Bhongo Koolins of the third generation ;
- 4th—Bhongo Koolins of the fourth generation.

The male members of the first and second sub-divisions of this second class contract an unlimited number of marriages during the life-time of the first wife, and except in cases of exchange, whether these marriages are contracted with Koolin women of their own class, or with the daughters of parents in the inferior classes, a consideration is given by the parents or family of the bride to the bridegroom.

In the fifth generation after the first act by which a Koolin of the first class has fallen into the second class, *i.e.*, has become a Bhongo Koolin, he falls into the third class, *i.e.*, he becomes Bngongshojo, and the fourth class, the Shrotryo, is composed of persons who have never been Koolins at all.

It will be most convenient here to state that the marriages most sought after are marriages with Bhongo Koolins of the first and second sub-divisional classes, *i.e.*, the Swakrito and the Bhongo Koolin of the second generation, and that the daughters of the class Bhongo Koolins generally are not permitted without degradation to marry beneath their class.

We will now describe some of the main customs in the matter of marriage, which, on the authority of the statements made in petitions to the Legislative Council, and in some instances within the knowledge of more than one of the native gentlemen on our Committee, obtain amongst the Bhongo Koolins, and we will state what are declared in the papers to be the evil results of some of those customs.

1st—In addition to the presents usually given amongst all classes of Hindoos on the occasion of marriage, a Bhongo Koolin always, except when he gives his daughter to a brother Bhongo, and takes in exchange that brother Bhongo's daughter, exacts a consideration for marriage from the family of the bride.

2nd—A present is often given in addition on the occasion of any visit made to the house of the father-in-law.

3rd—If the daughters of the first and second sub-divisional classes of Bhongo Koolins cannot be given in marriage to husbands of their own classes, they must remain unmarried.

4th—The number of wives, including those of the same class, is said to be often as many as 15, 20, 40, 50, and 80.

5th—Polygamy is said to be resorted to as a sole means of subsistence to many Bhongo Koolins.

6th—Marriage, it is said, is contracted quite in old age, and the husband often never sees his wife, or only at the best visits her once in every three or four years or so.

7th—As many as three and four marriages have been known to have been contracted in one day.

8th—Sometimes all a man's daughters and his unmarried sisters are given in marriage to one and the same individual.

9th—It is so difficult to find husbands in the proper class for Koolin women that numbers, it is said, remain unmarried.

10th—The married or unmarried daughters and the wives of Koolins are said to live in the utmost misery ; and it is alleged that crimes of the most heinous nature, adultery, abortion and infanticide, and that prostitution are the common result of the system of Bhongo Koolin marriages generally.

11th—Cases are cited of men who have married 82, 72, 65, 60 and 42 wives, and have had 18, 32, 41, 25 and 32 sons, and 26, 27, 25, 15 and 16 daughters.

12th—Lists have been adduced of families in the Burdwan and Hooghly districts alone, showing the existence of a plurality of wives on the above scale, and in numerous cases.

13th—The principle on which Koolinism was perpetuated, *viz.*, that of preventing inter-marriages between certain classes, is violated.

14th—Families, it is said, are ruined, in order to providing the large sums requisite to give a consideration on the occasion of their daughters' marriages, or are unable to marry their daughters at all for want of means to procure such consideration.

15th—Marriages are, it is said, contracted simply in order to this consideration, and the husbands do not even care to enquire what becomes of their wives, and have never even had any intention of fulfilling any one of the marriage duties.

16th—The crimes that are said to result from the Koolin system of marriage are said to be habitually concealed by the actors in them and by their neighbours, and this so as to baffle the efforts of the Police at discovery.

17th—No provision is made for the maintenance of one wife before marriage with an unlimited number of others.

The above are said to be some of the customs and are declared to be some of the evils said to result from the system of polygamy as practised by the sect of Bhongo Koolins, and the evils may thus be briefly summed up :—

1st—The practical deprivation of the indulgence of natural ties and desires in the female sex in a legitimate manner ; 2nd, the virtual, sometimes the actual, desertion of the wife by her natural and legal protector, the husband ; 3rd, the encouragement of the practice of celibacy amongst the female sex ; 4th the non-maintenance of the wife by the husband ; 5th, the supersession or abandonment of the wife at the mere pleasure of the husband ; 6th, the formation of the contract of marriage for money considerations simply ; 7th, the denial of nuptial intercourse except upon special monetary consideration given ; 8th, the ruin, in a property point of view, of families ; 9th, the contraction of the marriage tie avowedly without any intention even on the part of the husband of fulfilling any one of the duties of that tie ; 10th, the binding down the female sex to all the obligations of the marriage state whilst yet withholding from that sex every one of the advantages of that state ; 11th, prostitution ; and

lastly, the encouragement of the actual crimes of adultery, abortion, and infanticide and of the habit and practice of the concealment of such crimes.

The customs detailed above, as obtaining amongst Bhongo Koolins in the matter of marriage, have, on the whole, we think, been accurately detailed. The evils said to result from these customs are, we have reason to believe, greatly exaggerated, and the abuse of the permission to take a plurality of wives is, we believe, on the decrease; yet we do not doubt but that great evils exist, and those evils divide themselves naturally into two classes: first, that class which is contrary to religion and morality, and second, that which is contrary to established law.

We think that the following extracts, containing a brief view of the Hindu system of religion and morality as applied to the marriage state, will show that the system of polygamy, to whatever extent it is abused by the Bhongo Koolins, is opposed to the ordinances of the Hindu code of religion and morality:—

Brahmins are to shun the allurements of sensual gratification. Indulgence in sensual pleasure incurs certain guilt; abstinence from it heavenly bliss. Neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities ever procure felicity for the man contaminated by sensuality. The husband is to approach his wife in due season; he is to honour and adorn her; when he honours her, the deities are pleased; when he dishonours her, religious acts are fruitless; a wife unless guilty of deadly sin, must not be deserted; the husband who does not approach his wife in due season is reprehensible; he is one person with her, and she cannot by desertion be separated from him; once a wife is given in marriage and the step is irrevocable; only after a wife has treated a husband with aversion for a whole year can he cease to cohabit with her; immorality, drinking spirituous liquors, affliction with an incurable or loathsome disease, mischievousness, waste of property, barrenness after eight years' cohabitation, death of all children after ten years of cohabitation, the production of only female children after eleven years of cohabitation, and speaking unkindly are the sole grounds for supersession of a wife; desertion of a blameless wife is penal; subtraction of conjugal rights is denounced with heavy penalties; supersession of the wife is justifiable on grounds which regard the temper, conduct or health of the wife, and is tolerated on other grounds; where neither justified nor tolerated, it is illegal; abandonment of a blameless and efficient wife, without cause given or without her consent, is illegal; the principles peculiar to the Brahmin forms of marriage are those of equal consent and disinterested motives; immemorial custom, regulating marriage in general and in its different forms, and the relations of husband or wife, is to be observed, and non-observance leads to forfeiture of the fruits of the Vedas.

Manu, Chapter I, 109, 110 to 115.

” ” III, 45, 55 to 57.

” ” VIII, 389.

” ” IX, 4, 45 to 47, 77, 80, 81.

Strange, Chapter II, pp. 46, 47, 48, 52 to 54.

Macnaghten, Vol. I, 58, 60.

The above texts clearly seem to us to indicate that the Bhongo Koolins to what extent they marry out of motives of sensuality only, or do not cohabit with, or abandon without any cause or supersede or neglect, or do not maintain their wives, or

disregard the sanctity of the marriage tie generally, act contrary to the plainest injunctions of the Hindoo Shastras.

To the extent that the system of inter-marriages amongst the Bhongo Koolins encourages celibacy amongst women, and exacts a consideration for the contract of marriage ; it is questionable whether there is any practice which is at variance with the letter at least of the Hindoo Shastras.

In the matter of celibacy, the whole tenor of the Hindoo system of marriage does certainly advocate the marriage of women even before they have arrived at puberty ; penalties are prescribed for those fathers and families who neglect to marry their daughters before they have arrived at puberty, and daughters had formerly even the privilege of giving themselves in marriage in case of protracted neglect on the part of others to give them in marriage, yet on the other hand, perpetual celibacy is inculcated rather than the act of giving the daughter in marriage "to a bridegroom void of excellent qualities."—Manu, Chapter IX, Section 89.

And again on this subject—a father is prohibited from receiving any gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage, on the principle that he who through avarice takes such a gratuity is a seller of his offspring.—Manu, Chapter III, Section 51.

The case, however, that we have to contemplate is that of a father who gives, not one who takes, a gratuity in order to the marriage of his daughter, and who is not actuated by avarice, but by what the Hindoo Law declares to be the laudable desire of marrying his daughter early in life, and to a Brahmin of excellent qualities, and there is no text that we know of that prohibits a person from taking a consideration on the occasion of marriage.

The utmost that can be said against the taking of this consideration is that it is contrary to the principle on which the four first forms of marriage, which are peculiar to the Brahmins, are based, *viz.*, that both parties to the marriage should be actuated by disinterested motives.—Macnaghten, Vol. I, paragraphs 59, 60.

Looking at the subject generally, however, there cannot be a doubt but that the system of polygamy as practised by the Bhongo Koolins is opposed to the strict ordinances of the Hindoo Shastras, and it is also said to be productive of the special offences against the law which we have named, and we are instructed, if we can, subject to the restrictions imposed upon us by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, to suggest a legislative measure by which the system may be suppressed.

The root of the evil is in that custom by which Bhongo Koolins of the inferior grades and Bhongshojo Koolins eagerly offer, and Bhongo Koolins of the higher grades as eagerly accept, valuable considerations for the marriage of a woman of the former classes to a man of the latter class.

A law could, of course, be passed, rendering such contracts illegal under penalties on both the contracting parties.

But in the first place it is not clear that the letter of Hindoo Law is not rather in favour of, than against such contracts ; and in the second place, in a case such as this, where both parties are interested to conclude the contract in question, it is evident that either the provisions of any law prohibiting such contracts would be evaded, or that violations of any such law would be effectually concealed.

And evasion of such a law is all the more easy under that part of the Hindoo system of religion and morals which inculcates acceptance by the Brahmin sect of gifts from

the virtuous, if they themselves are poor, and this as one of the means of subsistence.—Manu, Chapter X, Sections 75, 76.

Systems of registration of marriages, of fines increasing in amount for every marriage after the first, of certificates of all marriages after the first, to be taken out in the Civil Courts, and such like schemes have been suggested and have suggested themselves to us; but in all these schemes even if they were not otherwise objectionable, there would, it seems to us, be an element which would, indirectly at least, affect that “general liberty which is now possessed by all Hindoos to take more than one wife” with which we are instructed not to interfere.

The scheme which has at first sight seemed most feasible is that of framing a Declaratory Law, setting forth what the law is on the subject of polygamy, and prohibiting any infraction of it under penalties.

Such a Declaratory Law would certainly “regulate polygamy amongst the Hindoo inhabitants of Lower Bengal generally,” and we are not quite certain, therefore, that, in proposing such a law, we should not be transgressing that part of our instructions which forbids us to “give the express sanction of English legislation to the Hindoo system” of polygamy; but for the sake of considering the subject, we will suppose that we are not prohibited from proposing a Declaratory Law.

Now such a law must, in our judgments, clearly be declaratory of what the Hindoo system of polygamy is, and nothing more and nothing less; if it be more or less, then it ceases to be simply declaratory, and becomes inactive.

The following is that which, after consultation of the best authorities, we find to be the law which, strictly taken, should regulate the practice of polygamy amongst the Hindoos.

We find that, according to one of the ordinances of Manu, a Brahmin is enjoined to marry one wife, and this a woman of his own caste; but that, if he be so inclined, he is permitted to marry more than one wife, during the life-time of his first wife, and he is recommended to select a second, a third, and a fourth wife in the order of the classes, *viz.*, out of the Kshatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra classes respectively and consecutively.—Manu, Chapter III, Sections 12, 13.

This was an ordinance of the time of Manu, but we are now in the iron age of the Hindoo system, and so a Brahmin is now forbidden to marry any but a woman of his own caste.

It is contended, however, by the advocates of polygamy that the permission to marry a plurality of wives, which formerly extended to women of all the four classes, is to be construed, not so as to abolish polygamy altogether, but simply so as to confine it to inter-marriages amongst the various classes.

To this opinion Strange so far seems to incline, in that he states that it does not appear how many wives a Hindoo is competent to have at one and the same time (Chapter 2, p. 56); and in Section 204, Chapter VIII, Manu, there is a case in which it is evidently contemplated that a man may be the husband of two persons of the same caste at one and at the same time, though, in this instance, the permission was evidently only accorded under circumstances of an exceptional nature; and again, in section 161, Chapter IV, there is a general maxim, a maxim allowing the widest margin conceivable, to the effect that any act, though it be not prescribed, and if it be not prohibited, is lawful provided that it gratifies the mind of him who performs it.

Macnaghten, on the other hand, points out the illogical nature of the deduction made from the texts quoted, and states that action taken in the matter of marriages from this deduction is considered by the Pundits to be reprehensible.—Volume 1, pp. 58, 59.

In our view the texts 12, 13, Chapter III, Manu, relied on, must be held to be obsolete and inapplicable. Those texts refer to an era in the Hindoo system in which it was permitted to a Brahmin to marry out of his own sect and thus prescribed the order, and put no restraint upon the circumstances under which he might contract such marriages but we are now presumed to be living in a purer era, when marriages of this looser kind, which were before permitted, are now prohibited, and the logical deduction seems to us to be that those texts, which had for their main object the regulation of such marriages, have, with the marriages themselves, become obsolete.

We turn, therefore, to those other authorities which seem to us to declare most definitely the Hindoo system of polygamy.

Immemorial custom, which is defined to be good usages long established, is declared to regulate the laws concerning marriage, and the relationship of husband and wife.—Manu, Chapter 1, Sections 112, 115, and Chapter 2, Section 18.

A Brahmin who has not violated the rules of his order, who has read certain portions of the Vedas, who has obtained the consent of his spiritual guide, and who has performed certain ceremonial ablutions, may then espouse a wife of the same class as himself, who is endowed with certain excellencies, and not marked by certain defects.—Manu, Chapter III, Sections 2 and 4 and 7 to 11.

On the decease of the wife, the husband may, after performance of sacrifice and the funeral rites, marry again.—Manu, Chapter 5, Section 168.

If a wife drinks spirituous liquors, if she acts immorally, if she shows aversion to her husband, if she be afflicted with any loathsome or incurable disease, if she be mischievous, if she wastes her husband's property, if she be afflicted with a blemish of which the husband was not aware when he married her, if she have been given in marriage fraudulently, if before marriage she have been unchaste, if, after seven years of married life, she has remained barren, if, in the tenth year of marriage, her children be all dead, if, after ten years of marriage, she has produced only daughters, and if she has spoken unkindly to her husband, she may in some of those contingencies, be altogether abandoned, and in all superseded by her husband—Manu, Chapter IX, Sections 72, 77, 80, 81.

But the wife who is beloved and virtuous, though she be afflicted with disease, may yet not be superseded by another wife without her own consent.—Manu, Chapter IX, Section 82.

These causes are accepted by Strange as those which lead to separation (Chapter 2, p. 47), and he remarks upon the latitude which they give to the will and caprice of the husband, whenever there is in him the disposition to take advantage of the letter of the law.

And further on, he points out that, where supersession of the wife is not justifiable nor permissible, under, we would suppose, any one of the above contingencies, there it is illegal; and he defines illegal supersession to be the abandoning, with a view to another wife, a blameless and efficient wife who has given neither cause nor consent.—Pp. 52 to 54, Chapter 2.

If we have rightly quoted, and if Mr. Justice Strange has rightly interpreted the law, then in any Bill declaratory of law, we should have to propose to give the sanction of English legislation to supersession of a wife on grounds the most trivial and inadequate, to say that she might be superseded, because she was found blemished (perhaps within the meaning of Sections 7 to 11, Manu, Chapter III) or was mischievous (whatever that may mean), or had spoken unkindly, or was barren (and who is to say where the fault of barrenness lies, for if it is with the husband, then under Section 79, Chapter IX, Manu, there is no supersession), or for many other causes more or less ridiculous, or incapable of proof.

On these considerations, we find that it is not in our power to suggest the enactment of any Declaratory Law, neither can we think of any legislative measure that, under the restricted instructions given for our guidance, will suffice for the suppression of the abuses of the system of polygamy as practised by the Koolin Brahmins, and we beg to report to that effect.

C. P. HOBHOUSE.

H. T. PRINSEP.

SUTTO CHURN GHOSAL.

ISHWAR CHANDRA SURMA.

RAMANAATH TAGORE.

JOY KISSEN MOOKERJEE.

DEGUMBER MITTER.

While subscribing to the report generally, we deem it due to record our opinion separately on the following points :—

1.—It is stated in page 6, Clause 4, that among other evils of Koolin polygamy the “number of wives is often as many as 15, 20, and 80.” Whatever might have been the case in times gone by we can distinctly state that it is not so now. The rapid spread of education and enlightened ideas as well as the growth of a healthy public opinion on social matters among the people of Bengal, has so sensibly affected this custom that the marrying of more than one wife, except in cases of absolute necessity, has come to be looked upon with general reprobation. Even among Bhongo Koolins of the 1st and 2nd class, the number of wives now-a-days seldom exceeds four or five except in very rare instances, but there is ample reason to believe that this class of people will settle into a monogamous habit like the other classes of the community, as education will become more general among them and the force of social opinion be more widely felt.

2.—From the report it will appear that polygamy, as an institution, is confined to a certain class of Rarhi Koolins called Bhongo of the 1st and 2nd order, and that at present the practice even amongst them obtains in a much more mitigated form than a few years before. We need not notice that the number comprised in that class forms but a fraction of the population of Bengal, the catalogue of crimes, therefore, given in page 6 of the report, even if their correctness were unimpeached, must, it can be easily imagined, be infinitesimally small, so far as the same are traceable to polygamy as their immediate cause. However much we deprecate polygamy and lament its abuse, we cannot still conceal from ourselves the fact that the evils which are plausibly enough inferred as inseparably associated with it are

not wholly ascribable to it. They are seen to exist in full force even where polygamy is not known or is considered a crime, and would appear to be simply the natural consequence of an imperfect knowledge of social laws not confined to India alone. A legislative enactment, however stringent and rigidly enforced, might be effectual in diverting those evils from their original course, but it is quite powerless to stop the source from which they take their rise.

3.—Our countrymen are already awakened to a proper sense of the duties which they owe to themselves and to their offsprings, to be swayed by those considerations which rendered polygamy at one time an unavoidable necessity. We are accordingly of opinion that this question may, without injury to public morals, be left for settlement to the good sense and judgment of the people. The Government cannot directly interfere with it without producing serious harm in diverse ways. All that it can and ought to do is to assist in the spread of that enlightenment which has already so much advanced the desired reform.

Some explanation is due from Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, who had signed the petition, praying for a law for restricting the practice of polygamy. He desires to say that he has always been against this custom, and that when the movement was initiated about ten years ago, he was strongly in favour of it from a belief that the evils flowing from it would not be rooted out without the force of law, and when it was revived last year, he also gave his adhesion. But he is now satisfied by enquiries instituted by himself, as well as from representations made to him by others, that a remarkable change in the opinion of his countrymen has, within the last few years, taken place on this subject, that with other signs of social progress not the least is that which marks with strong disapprobation the old custom of taking a plurality of wives as a means of a man's subsistence, and that it would consequently be in accord with the true interests of morality as well as of the cause of improvement for the State to abstain from interfering in the matter.

RAMANAATH TAGORE.

JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE.

DEGUMBER MITTER.

CALCUTTA :
The 1st February 1867. }

I sign this report with the following reservations :—

I am of opinion that the evils alluded to in pages cl, cli are not "greatly exaggerated," and that the decrease of these evils is not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation.

I would translate the term "speaking unkindly" in page civ to mean "habitually abusing," and the term "mischievous" to mean "exceedingly cruel."

I do not concur in the conclusion come to by the other gentlemen of the Committee. I am of opinion that a Declaratory Law might be passed without interfering with that liberty which Hindoos now by law possess in the matter of marriage.

ISHWAR CHANDRA SURMA.

(VIDYASAGAR.)

The 22nd January 1867.

APPENDIX VIII.

• SANTAL.

Sonthal, Saontar, a large Dravidian tribe, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, which is found in Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhāgalpur and the Santāl Parganās. According to Mr. Skrefsrud the name Santāl is a corruption of Sāontār, and was adopted by the tribe after their sojourn for several generations in the country about Sāont in Midnapur. Before they went to Sāont they are said to have been called Kharwār, the root of which, *khar*, is a variant of *hor*, 'man,' the name which all Santāls use among themselves. As regards the derivation of the name of the tribe from Sāont, an obscure village, somewhat off the main line of their recent migrations, it may be observed that Colonel Dalton suggested a doubt whether the name of the place may not have been taken from the tribe, and this view seems to derive some support from his discovery of a small tribe of Sāonts in Sarguja and Keunjhar. The point, however, is not one of great importance. At the present day when a Santāl is asked what caste he belongs to, he will almost invariably reply 'Mānjhi' (literally 'village headman,' one of the commonest titles of the tribe), adding 'Santāl Mānjhi' if further explanation is demanded of him.

In point of physical characteristics the Santāls may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to a peculiar, almost charcoal-like, black; the proportions of the nose approach those of the Negro, the bridge being more depressed in relation to the orbits than is the case with Hindus; the mouth is large, the lips thick and projecting; the hair coarse, black, and occasionally curly; the zygomatic arches prominent, while the proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongolian descent.

Santāl tradition traces back the origin of the tribe to a wild goose (*hasdak*) which laid two eggs. From these sprang Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi, the parents of the race, who begat the first seven sub-tribes. Their earliest abode was Hibiri or Ahiri Pipri, a name which Mr. Skrefsrud derives from *hir* origin, and which others identify with *pargana* Ahuri in Hazaribagh. Thence they went westward to Khoj-Kaman, where all of them were destroyed for their wickedness by a deluge of fire-rain, except a single pair who were saved in a cleft of the mountain Hara. From Hara they went to Sasangbera, a plain on the banks of a great river, and after that to Jarpi, where is the great mountain Marang Bur, through which they could find no pass. Here they offered sacrifices to the mountain god, and prayed him to let them through. After a while they found a pass leading into a country called Ahiri, where they dwelled for a time, passing on to Kendi, Chāi, and finally Champa. In Champa they sojourned many generations and the present institutions of the tribe were formed. At last the Hindus drove them out of Champa, and they established themselves in Sāont, and ruled there for two

hundred years. Again pressed by the Hindus, they wandered on under a Raja called Hambir Singh to the eastern part of the Manbhūm district near Pachet. Here after a while their Rajas adopted the Hindu religion and set up as Rajputs, so that at the present day they intermarry with the family of the Raja of Sarguja. But the people would not change their religion, so they left their chief to rule over Hindus, and wandered on to the Santāl Parganās where they are settled now.

Neither as a record of actual wanderings nor as an example of the workings of the myth-making faculty does this story of the wandering of the Santāls appear to deserve serious consideration. A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings and who have no bards to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. An attempt has indeed been made by Mr. Skrefsrud to prove from these legends that the Santāls must have entered into India from the north-west, just as Colonel Dalton uses the same data in support of his opinion that the tribe came originally from Assam. The one hypothesis is as tenable or as untenable as the other, and all that can be said is that there is not a fraction of substantial evidence in support of either. If, however, the legends of the Santāls are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts. Without pressing the conjecture mentioned above, that Ahiri Pipri may be no other than *pargana* Ahuri in the north-west of Hazaribagh district, it is clear that a large and important Santāl colony was once settled in Parganās Chai and Champā in the same district. A tradition is noticed by Colonel Dalton of an old fort in Chai occupied by one Jaura, a Santāl Raja, who destroyed himself and his family on hearing of the approach of a Muhammadan army under Sayyid Ibrāhim Ali *alias* Malik Bayā, a general of Muhammad Tughlak's, who died in 1353. This tradition, so far as it refers to the existence of a Santāl fort in Chai Champā, is to some extent corroborated by the following passage from the legends of the Southern Santāls collected by the Revd. J. Phillips and published in Appendix G to *Annals of Rural Bengal*, ed. 1868 :—
 “ Dwelling there (in Chai Champā) they greatly multiplied. There were two gates, the Ahin gate and the Bahini gate, to the fort of Chai Champā.” If, moreover the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrahim Ali were assumed to be about 1340 A. D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santāls from Chai Champā and their settlement in the present Santāl Parganās. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *prima facie* have been expected to follow. The earlier settlements which Santal tradition speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champā, lie on the north-western frontier of the tableland of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santāls eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends.

The internal structure of the Santāl tribe is singularly complete and elaborate. There are twelve exogamous septs, (1) Hāsdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Hembrom,

(5) Marndi, (6) Saren, (7) Tudu, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Pāuria, (11) Chore, (12) Bedea. The first seven are believed to be descended from the seven sons of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi or Ayo. The five others were added afterwards. All are exogamous. In order that members of the various septs may recognise each other when they meet, each sept, except Pāuria, Chore, and Bedea, has certain pass-words peculiar to itself, which are supposed to be the names of the original homes of the septs in Champā or in one of the earlier settlements of the tribe. The pass-words are as follows :—(1) Hāsdaḥ—Tatijhāri, Gangijauni, Kārā Guja, Sohodoro ; (2) Murmu—Champāgarh, Bagsumbha, Naran Mānjhi ; (3) Kisku—Kundagarh ; (4) Hembrom—Kunda, Khairigarh, Jalaghatia ; (5) Marndi—Badoligarh, Jelen Sinjo, Dhaṇḍ Mānjhi ; (6) Saren—Anbali, Barha, Pero Parganā ; (7) Tudu—Simgarh, Sukrihutup Baru Mānjhi ; (8) Baske—Ranga, Chunukjhandu ; (9) Besra—Dhokrapalania, Gulu, Phagu Mānjhi. These pass-wards or shibboleths seem to serve among the Santāls the purpose for which Australian and North American savages tattoo the totem on the body. They preserve the memory of the tie of blood which connects the members of the sept, and thus furnish an additional security against unconscious incest. They further go to show that the sept in its earlier form must have been a group of purely local character analogous to the communal septs. If due allowance is made for the causes which must tend in course of time to scatter the members of any particular sept over a number of different villages, it will be seen to be a remarkable circumstance not that so few local septs are now to be found, but that any traces of such an organization have survived to so late a period.

Concerning the origin of the five additional septs the following stories are told. The eighth tribe, Baske, at first belonged to the seven, but by reason of their offering their breakfast (*baske*) to the gods while the Santāls were still in Champā, they were formed into a separate sept under the name of Baske. The Besras (No. 9) were separated on account of the immoral behaviour of their eponym, who was called Besra, the licentious one. The tenth sept, Pāuria, are called after the pigeon, and the eleventh, Chore, after the lizard ; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards, so they were called after the names of these animals. The twelfth sept, the Bedea, was left behind and lost when the Santāls went up out of Champā. They had no father, so the story goes—at least the mother of their first ancestor could not say who his father was and for this reason they were deemed of lower rank than the other septs. This sept is believed to have arisen during the time of Mando Singh in Champā when the Santāls had begun to come in contact with the Hindus. Some Santāls say the father was a Rājput and the mother a girl of the Kisku sept. There would be nothing antecedently improbable in the conjecture that the well-known gypsy tribe of Bedea may owe its origin to the *liaison* of a Rājput with a Santāl girl ; but the mere resemblance of the names is a slender foundation for any such hypothesis. Santāls are very particular about the honour of their women, so far at least as outsiders are concerned, and it is quite in keeping with their ideas that a sept formed by a *liaison* with a Hindu should have been looked down upon, and eventually banished from the community. Any way it seems to be clear that the legend need not be taken to indicate the prevalence of the custom of female kinship in the tribe.

No Santāl may marry within his sept (*paris*), nor within any of the sub-septs (*khunt*) (shown below) into which the sept is divided. He may marry into any other sept, including the sept to which his mother belonged. A Santāl proverb says :—No one heeds a cow track or regards his mother's sept.

Although no regard is paid in marriage to the mother's sept, the Santāls have precisely the same rule as the Kandhs concerning the sub-sept or *khunt*. A man may not marry into the sub-sept or *khunt* to which his mother belonged, though it is doubtful whether the Santāls observe this rule for as many generations in the descending line as is customary among the Kandhs. Many of the sub-septs have curious traditional usages, some of which may be mentioned here. At the time of the harvest festival in January the members of the Sidup-Saren sub-sept set up a sheaf of rice on end in the doorway of their cattle-sheds. This sheaf they may not touch themselves, but some one belonging to another sub-sept must be got to take it away. Men of the Sādā-Saren sub-sept do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual ; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony in which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. The Jugi-Saren, on the other hand, smear their foreheads with *sindur* at the harvest festival, and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes which they offer to the gods. The Mānjhi-Khil-Saren, so called because their ancestor was a Mānjhi or village headman, are forbidden, like the Sādā-Saren, to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. The Nāiki-Khil-Saren, who claim descent from a *nāiki* or village priest may not enter a house the inmates of which are ceremonially unclean. They have a *jahirthan* or sacred grove of their own, distinct from the common *jahirthan* of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. The Ok-Saren sacrifice a goat or a pig inside their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *ok* means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. The Mundu or Badar-Saren offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat the flesh of the animals that have been slain. The Māl-Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *pañchāyat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saren may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. The Sankh-Saren may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. The Barchir Saren plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances. The Bitol-Saren are so called because their founder was excommunicated on account of incest.

Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if the girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation, he would be severely beaten by the Jag-mānjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine. It is curious to hear that in the Santāl Parganās, shortly after the rebellion of 1855, it became the fashion among the more wealthy Santāls to imitate the usages of high-caste Hindus and marry their daughters between the ages of eight and twelve. This fashion has, however, since been abandoned, and it is now very unusual for a girl to be married

before she attains puberty. Polygamy is not favoured by the custom of the tribe. A man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren, or if his elder brother dies he may marry the widow. But in either case the consent of his original wife must be obtained to the arrangement. Instances no doubt occur in which this rule is evaded, but they are looked upon with disfavour.

There seem to be indications that fraternal polyandry may at some time have existed among the Santāls. Even now, says Mr. Skrefsrud, a man's younger brother may share his wife with impunity; only they must not go about it very openly. Similarly a wife will admit her younger sister to intimate relations with her husband, and if pregnancy occurs scandal is avoided by his marrying the girl as a second wife. It will of course be noticed that this form of polyandry need not be regarded as a survival of female kinship.

The following forms of marriage are recognized by the Santāls and distinguished by separate names :—(1) Regular marriage (*hapla* or *kiring behu*, literally bride-purchase); (2) *Ghardi jawae*; (3) *Itut*; (4) *Nir-boiok*; (5) *Sanga*; (6) *Kiring jawae* or husband-purchase. The negotiations antecedent to a regular marriage are opened by the father of the young man who usually employs a professional match-maker to look for a suitable girl. If the match-maker's proposals are accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed on which the girl, attended by two of her friends, goes to the house of the Jag-mānjhi, or superintendent of morals, in order to give the bridegroom's parents an opportunity of looking at her quietly. A similar visit of inspection is made by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's house, and if everything is found satisfactory the betrothal is concluded and an instalment of the bride-price is paid. The ordinary price of a girl is Rs. 3 and the bridegroom must also present a cloth (*sari*) to the girl's mother and to both her grandmothers if alive. If more than this is paid, the bridegroom is entitled to receive a present of a cow from his father-in-law. In the case known as a *golat* marriage, when two families, each having a daughter and a son of marriageable age, arrange a double wedding, one daughter is set off against the other, and no bride-price is paid by either party. For a widow or a woman who has been divorced the bride-price is only half the standard amount, the idea being, as the Santāls pointedly put it, that such women are only borrowed goods, and must be given back to their first husbands in the next world. As the second husband has the use of his wife only in this world, it is clearly fair that he should get her for half-price. In an early stage of the marriage ceremony both bride and bridegroom separately go through the form of marriage to a *mahua tree* (*Bassia latifolia*). In the case of the bride a double thread is passed three or five times from the little toe of her left foot to her left ear, and is then bound round her arm with some blades of rice and stems of *dhuba* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) grass. The conjecture suggests itself that this may be a survival of some form of communal marriage, but from the nature of the case no positive evidence is available to bear out this hypothesis, or to throw any light upon the symbolism of the usage. The essential and binding portion of the ritual is *sindurdan*, the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and on the parting of her hair. This rite, however, is supposed to have been borrowed from the Hindus. The original Santāl ceremony is believed to have been very simple. The couple went away together into the woods and on their return were shut up by themselves in a room. When they came out they were considered to be man

and wife. A practice closely resembling this was found by Colonel Dalton to be in vogue among the Birhors, and it is quite in keeping with what is known of the doings of primitive man in the matter of marriage. The memory of it, however, only survives among the Santāls in the form of a vague and shadowy tradition upon which no stress can be laid. *Sindurdan*, on the other hand, is nothing but a refined and specialised form of the really primitive usage of mixing the blood of a married couple and making them drink or smear themselves with the mixture, and although it is possible that the Santāls may have borrowed *sindurdan* from the Hindus, there are certainly good grounds for believing that the Hindus themselves must have derived it from the Dravidian races.

The second mode of marriage, *ghardi jawae*, is resorted to when a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way. An instance has been reported to me in which a girl who had on one foot more than the proper number of toes was married in this fashion. The husband is expected to live in his father-in-law's house and to serve him for five years. At the end of that time he gets a pair of bullocks, some rice and some agricultural implements, and is allowed to go about his business.

The third form, *itut*, is adopted by pushing young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry them. The man smears his fingers with vermilion or, failing that, with common earth, and, watching his opportunity at market or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away at full speed to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's people will go to his village and will obtain from the headman permission to kill and eat three of the offender's or his father's goats, and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage, however, is legal, and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. It is said that an *itut* marriage is often resorted to out of spite in order to subject the girl to the humiliation of being divorced.

The fourth form, *nirbolok* (*nir*, to run, and *bolok* to enter) may be described as the female variety of *itut*. A girl who cannot get the man she wants in the regular way takes a pot of *handia* or rice-beer, enters his house and insists upon staying there. Etiquette forbids that she should be expelled by main force, but the man's mother, who naturally desires to have a voice in the selection of her daughter-in-law, may use any means short of personal violence to get her out of the house. It is quite fair, for example, and is usually found effective, to throw red pepper on the fire, so as to smoke the aspiring maiden out; but if she endures this ordeal without leaving the house, she is held to have won her husband and the family is bound to recognize her.

The fifth form, *sauḡa*, is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding proportion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair.

The sixth form, *Kiring jawae*, is resorted to in the comparatively rare case when a girl has had a *liaison* with, and become pregnant by, a man of her sept

whom she cannot marry. In order that scandal may be avoided, some one is procured to accept the post of husband, and in consideration of his services he gets two bullocks, a cow, and a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl is pregnant. The headman then calls the villagers together, and in their presence declares the couple to be man and wife, and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has provided for her.

A widow may marry again. It is thought the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother, if one survives him, and under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother. Divorce is allowed at the wish of either husband or wife. If neither party is in fault, the one who wants a divorce is expected to bear the expenses. The husband, for example, in such a case would not be entitled to claim a refund of the bride-price originally paid, and would also have to pay a fine and give the woman certain customary dues. If, on the other hand, it is the wife who demands a divorce without just cause, her father has to make good the bride-price in addition to a fine for her levity of behaviour. The divorce is effected in the presence of the assembled villagers by the husband tearing asunder three *sal* (*Shoorea robusta*) leaves in token of separation, and upsetting a brass pot full of water.

In the matter of inheritance Santāls follow their own customs, and know nothing of the so-called codes which govern the devolution of property among Hindus. Sons inherit in equal shares; a daughter has no claim to a portion as of right, but usually gets a cow given to her when the property is divided. Failing sons, the father takes; failing him, the brothers; after them, the male agnates. Failing agnates, the daughter inherits with succession to her children. If a man dies leaving young sons, his widow manages the property till all the sons are old enough to divide and start separate households. She then takes up her abode with the youngest. Should the widow marry outside the family, the male agnates take the property in trust till the sons are of age, and she gets nothing. If a man has male relatives, he cannot give away his property even to a son-in-law. Wills are unknown.

According to Mr. Skrefsrud traces may be discerned in the background of the Santāl religion of a *faineant* Supreme Deity called Thakur, whom the Santāls have long ceased to worship for the sufficient reason that he is too good to trouble himself about anybody and does neither good nor ill to mankind. Some identify him with the Sun, whom the Santāls regard as a good god and worship every fifth or tenth year with sacrifices of slain goats. But this point is uncertain, and I am myself inclined to doubt whether a god bearing the Hindu name Thakur, and exercising the supreme powers which mark a comparatively late stage of theological development, can really have formed part of the original system of the Santāls. However this may be, the popular gods of the tribe at the present day are the following:—(1) Marang Buru, the great mountain or the high one, who now stands at the head of the Santāl Pantheon, and is credited with very far-reaching powers, in virtue of which he associates both with the gods and with the demons. (2) Moreko, fire, now a single god but formerly known to the Santāls under the form of five brothers. (3) Jāir Era, a sister of Moreko, the goddess of the sacred grove set apart in every village for the august presence of the gods. (4) Gosain Era, a younger sister of Moreko. (5) Parganā, chief of the Bongas or gods and more

especially master of all the witches, by reason of which latter functions he is held in especial reverence. (6) Mānjhi, a sort of second-in-command to Parganā, a personage who is supposed to be particularly active in restraining the gods from doing harm to men. The two latter are clearly deities constructed on the model of the communal and village officials whose names they bear. The idea is that the gods, like men, need supervising officials of this sort to look after them and keep them in order. All the foregoing gods have their allotted place in the sacred grove (*Jahirthan*), and are worshipped only in public. Marang Buru alone is also worshipped privately in the family.

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak-bonga or household god and the Abge-bonga or secret god. The names of the Orak-bongas are (1) Baspahar, (2) Deswāli, (3) Sās, (4) Goraya, (5) Barpahar, (6) Sarchawdi, (7) Thuntatursa. The Abge-bongas are the following :—(1) Dharasore or Dharasanda, (2) Ketkomkudra, (3) Champa-denagarh, (4) Garhsinka, (5) Lilachandi, (6) Dhanghara, (7) Kudrachandi, (8) Bahara, (9) Duārseri, (10) Kudraj, (11) Gosāin Erā, (12) Achali, (13) Deswali. No Santāl would divulge the name of his Orak-bonga and Abge-bonga to any one but his eldest son ; and men are particularly careful to keep this sacred knowledge from their wives for fear lest they should acquire undue influence with the *bongas*, become witches, and eat up the family with impunity when the protection of its gods has been withdrawn. The names given above were disclosed to Mr. Skrefsrud by Christian Santāls. When sacrifices are offered to the Orak-bongas the whole family partake of the offerings ; but only men may touch the food that has been laid before the Abge-bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year. No regular time is fixed, and each man performs them when it suits his convenience.

There still lingers among the Santāls a tradition of a 'mountain-god' (*Buru-bonga*) of unknown name, to whom human sacrifices used to be offered, and actual instances have been mentioned to me of people being kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen of communes or villages, who hoped in his way to gain great riches or to win some specially coveted private revenge.

These are not the motives which prompted human sacrifice among the Kandhs of Orissa, a tribe whose internal structure curiously resembles that of the Santāls. The Kandh sacrifice was undertaken for the benefit of the entire tribe, not in the interest of individual ambition or malevolence. It is curious to hear that one of the men credited with this iniquity was himself murdered during the Santāl rebellion of 1855, by being slowly hewn in pieces with axes, just as his own victims had been—a mode of execution which certainly recalls the well-known procedure of the Kandhs.

The chief festival of the Santāls is the Sohrai or harvest festival, celebrated in *Posh* (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove ; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and sexual license prevails. Chastity is in abeyance for the time, and all unmarried persons may indulge in promiscuous intercourse. This license, however, does not extend to adultery, nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept, though even this offence, if committed during the Sohrai, is punished less severely than at other times. Next in importance is the *Baha puja* kept in *Phalgun*

(February-March) when the *sal* tree comes into flower. Tribal and family sacrifices are held, many victims are slain and eaten by the worshippers, every one entertains their friends, dancing goes on day and night, and the best songs and flute-music are performed. A peculiar feature of this festival is a sort of water-bottle in which men and women throw water at each other until they are completely drenched.

Mention may also be made of Erok-sim, the sowing festival kept in *Asar* (May-June); Hariar-sim, the feast of the sprouting of the rice in *Bhadra* (September-October); Trigundlinauai, the offering of the first fruits of the millets *iri* (*Panicum millaceum*) and *gundli* (*Panicum frumentaceum*) also in *Bhadra*; Janthar puja in *Aghran* (October-November), the first fruit of the winter rice crop, *Sankrant puja* on the 1st day of *Posh*, when bread and Chira and molasses are offered to dead ancestors; Māgh-sim in the month of *Magh*, when the jungle grass is cut. This is the end of the Santāl year. Servants are paid their wages and fresh engagements are entered into. On this occasion all the village officials, the Mānjhi Parāmānik, Jag-Mānjhi, Jag-pāramānik, Gorait, Nāiki, and Kudam-naiki go through the form of resigning their appointments, and all the cultivators give notice of throwing up their lands. After ten days or so the Mānjhi or headman calls the village together and says he has changed his mind and will stay on as *manjhi* if the village will have him. His offer is accompanied with free drinks of rice-beer,* and is carried by acclamation. One by one the other officials do the same; the ryots follow suit, and after a vast amount of beer has been consumed the affairs of the village go on as they did before. The Sima-bonga or boundary gods are propitiated twice a year with sacrifices of fowls offered at the boundary of this village where these gods are supposed to live. *Jomsim puja* is an offering of two goats, or a goat and a sheep, to the sun. Every Santāl ought to perform this sacrifice at least once in his life. After a year's interval it is, or ought to be, followed by *Kutam dangra*, when a cow is offered to the household god, and an ox to Marang Buru and to the spirits of dead ancestors. *Makmore puja*, literally 'cut five' is the sacrifice of three goats and many fowls offered to More-ko, the god of fire, supposed to have been originally five brothers on occasions of public calamity, such as a failure of the crops, an outbreak of epidemic disease, and the like.

The communal organization of the Santāls is singularly complete. The whole number of villages comprising a local settlement of the tribe is divided into certain large groups, each under the superintendence of a *parganait* or circle headman. This official is the head of the social system of the inhabitants of his circle; his permission has to be obtained for every marriage, and he, in consultation with a *panchayat* of village headmen, expels or fines persons who infringe the tribal standard of propriety. He is remunerated by a commission on the fines levied, and by a tribute in kind of one leg of the goat or animal cooked at the dinner, which the culprits are obliged to give. Each village has, or is supposed to have, the following establishment of officials holding rent-free land:—

1. *Manjhi*.—Headman, usually also *ijardar* where the village is held on lease under a zamindar, collects rents, and allots land among the ryots, being paid for this by the proceeds of the *man* land which he holds free of rent. He receives Re. 1 as *marocha* at each wedding, giving in return a full *handi* of rice-beer.
2. *Paramanik*.—Assistant headman, also holding some *man* land.

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| <p>3. <i>Jag-Manjhi</i>.</p> <p>4. <i>Jag-Paramanik</i>.</p> | } | <p>Executive officers, respectively of the <i>manjhi</i> and the <i>paramanik</i> who, as the Santāls describe it, "sit and give orders," which the <i>Jag-Manjhi</i> and <i>Jag-Paramanik</i> carry out.</p> |
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5. *Naiki*.—Village priest of the aboriginal deities.
6. *Kudam-Naiki*.—Assistant priest, whose peculiar function it is to propitiate the spirits (*bhuts*) of the hills and jungles by scratching his arms till they bleed, mixing the blood with rice, and placing it in spots frequented by the *bhuts*.
7. *Gorail*.—Village messenger, who holds *man* land and acts as peon to the headman. The *gorail* is also to some extent a servant of the zamindar. His chief duty within the village is to bring to the *manjhi* and *paramanik* any ryot they want.

The communal circles of the Santāls seem to correspond closely to the *mutas* of the Khands and the *parhas* of the Mundas and Oraons. It is a plausible conjecture that among all these tribes this organization was once connected with marriage as it is among the Khands at the present day.

MUNDA.

Mura, Horo-hon, a large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nāgpur, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, and closely akin to the Hos and Santāls, and probably also to the Kandhs. The name Munda is of Sanskrit origin. It means headman of a village, and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe, as well as by outsiders, as a distinctive name much in the same way as the Santāls call themselves Mānjhi, the Bhumij Sardār, and the Khambu of the Darjeeling hills Jimdār. The general name Kol, which is applied to both Mundas and Oraons, is interpreted by Herr Jellinghaus to mean pig-killer, but the better opinion seems to be that it is a variant of *horo*, the Mundāri for man. The change of *r* to *l* is familiar and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *h* into *k*, we may cite *hon*, the Mundari for 'child,' which in Korwa becomes *kon* and *korō*, the Muāsi form of *horo*, 'a man.' It may be added that the Kharias of Chota Nāgpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.

The Munda myth of the making of mankind tells how the self-existent primeval deities Ote Borām and Sing Bonga created a boy and a girl and put them together in a cave to people the world. At first they were too innocent to understand what was expected of them, but the gods showed them how to make rice-beer, which inflames the passions, and in course of time their family reached the respectable number of twelve of either sex. As is usual in myths of this class, the children were divided into pairs; and Sing Bonga set before them various kinds of food for them to choose from before starting in the world. The fate of their descendants depended on their choice. Thus "the first and second pair took bullocks' and buffaloes' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hōs) and the Bhumij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brāhmins and Chhatris, others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sudras. One pair took shell-fish and became Bhuiyās; two pairs took pigs and became Santāls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity; and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghasis, who toil not, but live by preying on others."

The Mundas are divided into thirteen sub-tribes, several of which, such as Kharia-Munda, Mahili-Munda, Oraon-Munda, appear to be the result of crosses with neighbouring tribes, while others again, like Bhuinhār-Munda and Mānki-Munda have reference to the land and communal system of the tribe. The Mahili-Munda sub-tribe has the pig for its totem, and for them pork is tabooed. But appetite has proved stronger than tradition, and the taboo is satisfied by throwing away the head of the animal, the rest of the carcase being deemed lawful food. The septs or *kilis*, which are very numerous, are mainly totemistic, and the totem is taboo to the members of the sept which bears its name. A list of the septs is given below. If it were possible to identify them all, and to ascertain precisely to what extent and in what manner the taboo of the totem is observed by each, the information would probably throw much light upon the growth of yearly tribal societies.

A Munda may not marry a woman of his own sept. The sept-name goes by the father's side, and intermarriage with persons nearly related through the mother is guarded against by reckoning prohibited degrees in the manner common in Behār. Adult marriage is still in fashion and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised, but in all respectable families matches are made by the parents, and the parties themselves have very little to say in the matter. The bride-price varies from ₹4 to ₹20. *Sindur dan*, or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead by the bridegroom and on the bridegroom's forehead by the bride, is the essential and binding portion. The practice described by Colonel Dalton of marrying the bride to a *mahua* tree [*Bassia latifolia*] and the bridegroom to a mango seems now to have been abandoned. Traces still survive among the Mundas of a form of marriage, resembling the Santālī *nirbolok*. It is called *dhuko era*, meaning a bride who has entered the household of her own accord. The children of a woman thus married seem to have an inferior status in respect of their rights to inherit the landed property of their father. The late Babu Rākhāl Dās Hāldār, Manager of the estate of the Maharāja of Chota Nāgpur, gave me an illustration of this fact. Some years ago the *munda* or headman of one of the villages of the Government estate of Barkagarh died, leaving an only son by a *dhuko era* wife, and a question was raised as to the latter's right to succeed. Under Colonel Dalton's orders, a number of headmen of villages were called together, and their opinions were taken. No decided results, however, could be arrived at. Some thought the son should get the whole property. Others proposed to exclude him altogether, and a third party considered him entitled to maintenance. Eventually the question was compromised by admitting the son's right to one-fourth of the land and the whole of the personal property. The case is a curious comment on the uncertainty of tribal custom. Widows may marry again by the ritual known as *sagat* in which *singurdan* is performed with the left hand. Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party, and divorced women are permitted to marry again. In cases of adultery the seducer is required to pay to the husband the full amount of the bride-price.

At the head of the Munda religion stands Sing-Bonga, the sun, a beneficent but somewhat inactive deity, who concerns himself but little with human affairs and leaves the details of the executive government of the world to the gods in charge of particular branches or departments of nature. Nevertheless, although Sing-Bonga himself does not send sickness or calamity to men, he may be invoked to avert such disasters, and in this view sacrifices of white goats or white cocks are offered to him

by way of appeal from the unjust punishments believed to have been inflicted by his subordinates. Next in rank to Sing-Bonga comes Buru-Bonga or Marang-Buru, also known as Pāt-Sarnā, a mountain god, whose visible habitation is usually supposed to be the highest or most remarkable hill or rock in the neighbourhood. "In Chota Nāgpur," says Colonel Dalton, "a remarkable bluff, near the village of Lodhma is the Marang-Buru or Maha-Buru for a wide expanse of country. Here people of all castes assemble and sacrifice—Hindus, even Mahomedans, as well as Kols. There is no visible object of worship; the sacrifices are offered on the top of the hill, a bare semi-globular mass of rock. If animals are killed, the heads are left there, and afterwards appropriated by the *paḥan* or village priest." Marang-Buru is regarded as the god who presides over the rainfall, and is appealed to in times of drought, as well as when any epidemic sickness is abroad. The appropriate offering to him is a buffalo. Ikir Bonga rules over tanks, wells and large sheets of water; Garhāera is the goddess of rivers, streams and the small springs which occur on many hill sides in Chota Nāgpur; while Nāge or Nāga-era is a general name applied to the minor deities or spirits who haunt the swampy lower level of the terraced rice-fields. All of these are believed to have a hand in spreading disease among men, and require constant propitiation to keep them out of mischief. White goats and black or brown cocks are offered to Ikir Bonga and eggs and turmeric to the Nāge. Deswālī or Kārā-Sarnā is the god of the village, who lives with his wife Jāhir Burhi or Sarḥul-Sarnā in the Sarna or sacred grove, a patch of the forest primeval left intact to afford a refuge for the forest gods. Every village has its own Deswālī, who is held responsible for the crops, and receives periodical worship at the agricultural festivals. His appropriate offering is a *kara* or he-buffalo; to his wife fowls are sacrificed. Gumī is another of the Sarna deities whose precise functions I have been unable to ascertain. Bullocks and pigs are sacrificed to him at irregular intervals. Chandor appears to be same as Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon worshipped by women, as the wife of Sing-Bonga and the mother of the stars. Colonel Dalton mentions the legend that she was faithless to her husband, and he cut her in two, 'but repenting of his anger he allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty.' Goats are offered to her in the *Sarna*. Haprom is properly the homestead, but it is used in a wider sense to denote the group of dead ancestors who are worshipped in the homestead by setting apart for them a small portion of every meal and with periodical offerings of fowls. They are supposed to be ever on the watch for chances of doing good or evil to their descendants and the Munda fully realise the necessity for appeasing and keeping them in good humour.

The festivals of the tribe are the following:—(1) Sarḥul or Sarjum-Bābā, the spring festival corresponding to the Baha or Bah-Bonga of the Santāls and Hos in *Chait* (March-April) when the *sāl* [*Shorea robusta*] tree is in bloom. Each household sacrifices a cock and makes offerings of *sāl* flowers to the founders of the village in whose honour the festival is held. (2) Kadletā or Batauli in *Asarḥ* at the commencement of the rainy season. "Each cultivator," says Colonel Dalton, "sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in the cleft of a bamboo and stuck up in the rice-field and dung-heāp. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity." (3) Nanā or Jom-Nana, the festival of new rice in Asin, when the highland rice is harvested. A white cock is sacrificed to Sing-Bonga, and the first fruits of the harvest are laid before him.

Until this has been done, it would be an act of impiety to eat the new rice. (4) Khāria puja or Kolom Singh, called by the Hos Deswāli Bonga or Magh Parab celebrating the harvesting of the winter rice, the main crop of the year. Five fowls and various vegetables are offered to Deswali, the god of the village at the *kalihan* or threshing floor. Among the Hos of Singbhum the festival is kept as a sort of *saturnale*, during which the people give themselves up to drunkenness and all kinds of debauchery. This is less conspicuously the case with the Mundas of the plateau who live scattered among Hindu and Christian neighbours, and do not form a compact tribal community like the Hos of the Kolhān. The festival, moreover, is kept by the Mundas on one day only, and is not spread over a month or six weeks, during which time the people of different villages vie with each other in dissipation, as they do in the Kolhān.

The funeral ceremonies of Mundas do not differ materially from those of the Hos.

Succession among the Mundas is governed by their own customs, which appear to have been little affected by the influence of Hindu law. Property is equally divided among the sons, but no division is made until the youngest son is of age. With them, as with the Santāls, daughters get no share in the inheritance; they are allotted among the sons just like the live stock. "Thus if a man dies, leaving three sons and three daughters and thirty head of cattle, on a division each son would get ten head of cattle and one sister; but should there be only one sister they wait till she marries and divide the *pan*," or bride-price, which usually consists of about six head of cattle. Among the Hos of Singbhum the brides-price is higher than with the Mundas, and the question of its amount has there been found to affect seriously the number of marriages.

According to ancient and universal tradition, the central tableland of Chota Nāgpur Proper was originally divided into *parhas* or rural communes, comprising from ten to twenty-five villages, and presided over by a divisional chief, called the *raja* or *munda* of the *parha*. In 1839, titular *rajās* of the *parha* were still existing in the Fiscal Division of Khukrā near Rānchi, who retained considerable authority in tribal disputes, and at times of festival and hunting. But this element in the Munda village system has now fallen into decay, and survives only in the *jhandas* or flags of the *parha* villages, and in the peculiar titles bestowed on the cultivators themselves. The exclusive right to fly a particular flag at the great dancing festivals is jealously guarded by every Munda village, and serious fights not unfrequently result from the violation of this privilege. Besides this, individual villages in a *parha* bear specific titles, such as *raja*, *diwan kunwar*, *thakur*, *chhota lal*, etc., similar to those which prevail in the household of the reigning family, which obviously refer to some organization which no longer exists. I am informed that these officials still make the arrangements for the large hunting parties which take place at certain seasons of the year.

A Kol village community consists, when perfect, of the following officers:—*Munda*, *mahato*, *pahn*, *bhandari*, *gorait*, *goala*, and *lohar*. Washermen, barbers and potters have been added since 1839, and even now are only found near much frequented halting places, and in villages where the larger Hindu tenute-holders live. The Kols invariably shave themselves, and their women wash the clothes.

(1) *Munda*.—The *munda* is the chief of the *bhuinkars*, or descendants of the original clearers of the village. He is a person of great consequence in the village and all demands from the *bhuinkars*, whether of money or labour, must be notified by the owner of the village through the *munda*. He is remunerated for his trouble by the *bhuinkari* land, which he holds at a low rate of rent, and receives no other salary. In *pargana* Lodhmā, and in the south-eastern portion of Lohardagā, he sometimes performs the *mahato's* duties as well as his own, and he then gets a small *jagir* of half a *ṣawa* of land rent-free.

(2) *Mahato*.—The functions of a *mahato* have been compared to those of a *patwari* or village accountant, but he may be more aptly described as a rural settlement officer. He allots the land of the village among the cultivators, giving to each man a *goti* or clod of earth as a symbol of possession; he collects the rent, pays it to the owner, and settles any disputes as to the amount due from the *raiyats*; and, in short, manages all pecuniary matters connected with the land. He is appointed by the owner of the village, and receives one *ṣawa* of *rajas* land rent-free as a *jagir* or service tenure. But the office is neither hereditary nor permanent, and the *mahato* is liable to be dismissed at the landlord's discretion. Dismissal, however, is unusual, and the *mahato* is often succeeded by his son. Where the *mahato* collects the rents, he almost universally receives a fee, called *batta*, of half an anna from each cultivator, or of one anna for every house in the village. In one village *batta* amounts to four annas and a half on every *ṣawa* of land. Occasionally, where there is no *bhandari* or agent for the owner's rent-paying land, the *mahato* gets three bundles (*karais*) of grain in the straw, containing from ten to twenty *seers* apiece, at every harvest. Thus during the year he would receive three bundles of *gondli* [*Sorghum vulgare*] from the cold weather crop, and the same amount, from the *gora* or early rice, and the *don* or late rice. In *khalsa* villages, which are under the direct management of the Mahārājā, the *mahato* often holds, in addition to his official *jagir*, a single *ṣawa* of land, called *kharcha* or *rozina kket*, from the proceeds of which he is expected to defray the occasional expenses incurred in calling upon cultivators to pay their rent, etc.

The functions of the *mahato* are shown in greater detail in the following extract from Dr. Davidson's Report of 1839:—"On a day appointed, the *thikadar* or farmer proceeds to the *akhra* or place of assembly of the village, where he is met by the *mahato*, *ṣahn*, *bhandari*, and as many of the *raiyats* as choose to attend. He proceeds, agreeably to the dictation of the *mahato*, to write down the account of the cultivation of the different *raiyats* stating the number of *ṣawas* held and the rent paid by each. Having furnished this account, any new *raiyats* who may wish to have lands in the village, after having the quantity and rent settled, have a *goti* given to them. If any of the old *raiyats* require any new land, a *goti* is taken for that, but not for the old cultivation. The *mahato* collects the rent as the instalments become due, according to the abovementioned account given to the farmer; and all differences as to the amount of rent payable by a *raiyat*, if any ever arise, which very seldom happens, are settled by the opinion of the *mahato*. So well does this mode answer in practice, that in point of fact a dispute as to the amount of rent owed by a *raiyat* is of rare occurrence. When a farmer wishes to cheat a *raiyat*, he accuses him of having cultivated more land than he is entitled to, or of owing him *maswar* or grain rent for land held in excess; and if such a thing as a dispute

as to the amount of rent owed ever does arise, the *mahato's* evidence is generally considered conclusive by both parties."

(3) *Pahn*.—The importance of the *pahn*, or priest of the village gods, may be inferred from the current phrase in which his duties are contrasted with those of the *mahato*. The *pahn*, it is said, "makes the village" (*gaon banata*), while the *mahato* only "manages it" (*gaon chalata*). He must be a *bhuinhar*, as no one but a descendant of the earliest settlers in the village could know how to propitiate the local gods. He is always chosen from one family; but the actual *pahn* is changed at intervals of from three to five years by the ceremony of the *sup* or winnowing-fan, which is used as a divining rod, and taken from house to house by the boys of the village. The *bhuinhar* at whose house the *sup* stops is elected *pahn*. On the death of a *pahn*, he is frequently, but not invariably, succeeded by his son. Rent-free lands are attached to the office of *pahn* under the following names:—(1) *Pahni*, the personal *jagir* or service-tenure of the priest, generally containing one *pawa* of land. (2) *Dalikatari*, for which the *pahn* has to make offerings to Jāhir Burhi, the goddess of the village. It is called *dalikatari*, as it is supposed to defray the expenses of the *Karm* festival, when a branch (*dali*) of the *karma* tree is cut down and planted in the fields. (3) *Desauli*, a sort of *bhutkheta* or devil's acre, the produce of which is devoted to a great triennial festival in honour of Desauli, the divinity of the grove. This land is either cultivated by the *pahn* himself, or by *raiya*t who pay him rent. (4) *Panbhara* and *tahatu* are probably the same. Lands held under these names are cultivated by the *pahn* himself or his near relations; and whoever has them, is bound to supply water at the various festivals.

(4) *Bhandari*.—The *bhandari*, or bailiff, is the landlord's agent in respect of the management of the village. He is usually a Hindu, and represents the landlord's point of view in village questions, just as the *pahn* is the spokesman of the *bhuinhars* or original settlers. He generally holds one *pawa* of land rent-free from the owner, receiving also from every *raiya*t three *karais* or sheaves of each crop as it is cut—one of *gondli*, one of early rice, and one of wet rice. Instead of the land, he sometimes gets Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 in cash, with 12 *kats*, or 4½ cwt. of paddy.

(5) *Gorait*.—The *gorait* is, in fact, the *chaukidar*, or village watchman. He communicates the owner's orders to the *raiya*t's, brings them to the *mahato* to pay their rents, and selects coolies when required for public purposes. As a rule he holds no service land, but receives the three usual *karais*, or sheaves, from every cultivator.

(6) *Ahir* or *Goala*.—The *ahir's* duty is to look after the cattle of the village, and to account for any that are stolen. He is remunerated by a payment of one *kat* of paddy for each pair of plough-bullocks owned by the cultivators whose cattle are under his charge. He also gets the three *karais*, or sheaves, at harvest time, besides an occasional *sup* or winnowing-fan full of paddy. If cows are under the *ahir's* charge, the milk of every alternate day is his perquisite. In the month of *Aghan* (December) he takes five seers of milk round to the cultivators, receiving in return *pakhira* or 20 seers of paddy as a free gift. He always pays the *abwab* known as *dadani ghi*, and in some villages has to give the *baithawan ghi* as well. In a very few cases the *ahir* holds half a *pawa* of land rent-free.

(7) *Lohar*.—The *lohar*, or blacksmith, gets one *kat* of paddy and the three *karais* for every plough in the village, and is also paid two or three *annas* for every

new *phar* or plough-share ; in a very few villages, he holds half a *paṛwa* of land rent-free.

The *katwal* or constable, and the *chaukidar* or watchman, do not belong to the genuine Munda village system, and need not be mentioned here.

In the Fiscal Division of Tori the bulk of the inhabitants belong to the Kharwār sub-tribe of Bhogtas, and the village system differs from that which prevails on the central plateau. Here *phān* is the only official who holds service land, and he gets half a *patti*, or not quite two standard *bighas*. He performs the village *pujas*, and often does the work of a *mahato*, when the owner of the village is an absentee. But even then the landlord sometimes employs a bailiff, called *barhill*, to collect the rents.

In the tract known as the Five Parganās including Tāmār, Bundu, Silli, Rāhe, and Barandā, as well as in the Mānipatti, or that part of Sonpur *pargana* which borders on Singbhum district, we meet with *mankis* and *mundas*, who are undoubtedly the descendants of the original chiefs, and still hold the villages which their ancestors founded. Here the *parha* divisions exist in their entirety, as groups of from twelve to twenty-four villages each of which has its own *munda* or village head ; while the whole commune is subject to divisional headman called *manki*, who collects the fixed rents payable by the *mundas*. The chief village officer is the *phān*, who holds from one to five *kats* of land rent-free as *dalikatari*. A *kat* in this sense is a measure of land analogous to, if not identical with the *khandi* of the Kolhān in Singbhum, and denotes the quantity of land which can be sown with, one *kat* of seed. In this part of the country the *munda* sometimes has a deputy called *diwan* who assists him to collect his rents and *bhandaris* are occasionally met with.

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PLATE I.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

KHAMTI FEMALE.

The chief seat of the Khamtis, who are a branch of the Shan or Tai race, is in Bor Khamti, a Province of Burma, on the Upper Irrawady. Several colonies from thence have settled in Upper Assam, on both banks of the Brahmaputra River, east of Sadiya. They are Buddhists in religion, and by far the most intelligent of the tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier.

This is a very typical representation of a young Khamti woman. The elevation of the hair on the crown of the head indicates that she is married, and the style is recommended as dignified and becoming. Unmarried girls wear it in a roll low down on the occiput. They are exceedingly industrious, spin, weave, dye, and embroider, and can themselves make up all that they wear. The jacket is ordinarily of cotton, dyed blue; the petticoat of the same material, and round the waist a colored silkscarf as a sash. But the dress of the lady in the illustration is of richer material—black velvet bodice and silk skirt. The ear ornaments are of amber.

PLATE I.



PLATE II.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

CHULIKATA WOMAN.

A typical, but not a favorable specimen of a Chulikata, or crop-haired, Mishmi woman. This tribe occupies the hills north of Sadiya, but their country is so difficult of access, that very little is known about it. They trade between Tibet and Assam, when at peace ; but they are considered the most treacherous and aggressive of all the North-Eastern tribes, though more skilled in arts and manufactures than their neighbours, the Abors to the East, and the Mishmis to the West. They are called Chulikata, or crop-haired, from their having originated the modern fashion of cutting the hair straight across the forehead. The men cut theirs to the level of the rims of their wicker helmets as far as the back of the ear ; both sexes wear it long behind.

PLATE II.



PLATES III & IV.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

MALE AND FEMALE OF THE TAIN OR DIGARU MISHMI TRIBE.

These are both good average specimens of the tribe. They are, as a rule, fairer and with softer features than the Abors, acquiring from their journeys across the snow a becoming ruddiness of complexion. The young women have generally pretty figures, which their costume shows to advantage. The frontlet, a thin plate of bright silver, is a picturesque and becoming ornament, worn on the forehead by all women who can afford it. They are a quiet, inoffensive people, occupying the hills and skirts of the hills between the Digaru and Dilli Rivers, two of the north hill-affluents of the Brahmaputra, and devoting themselves chiefly to trade.

PLATE III.



PLATE IV.



PLATE V.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

TAIN MISHMI GIRL.

**An admirable and thoroughly typical representati
of a Tain Mishmi girl.**

PLATE V.



PLATE VI.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

BOR ABOR GIRL.

A Bor Abor girl, belonging probably to some village near the great Dihong River in the Sub-Himalayan range. These ladies crop their hair all round as the least troublesome method of disposing of it. The illustration gives a capital representation of their strongly marked Mongolian features, and their coarse, good-tempered faces. This young girl's costume and the ornaments are all apparently from the North; the blue vitreous turquoise-like beads, which our glass manufacturers cannot imitate, and cornelian and agate pebbles.

PLATE VI.

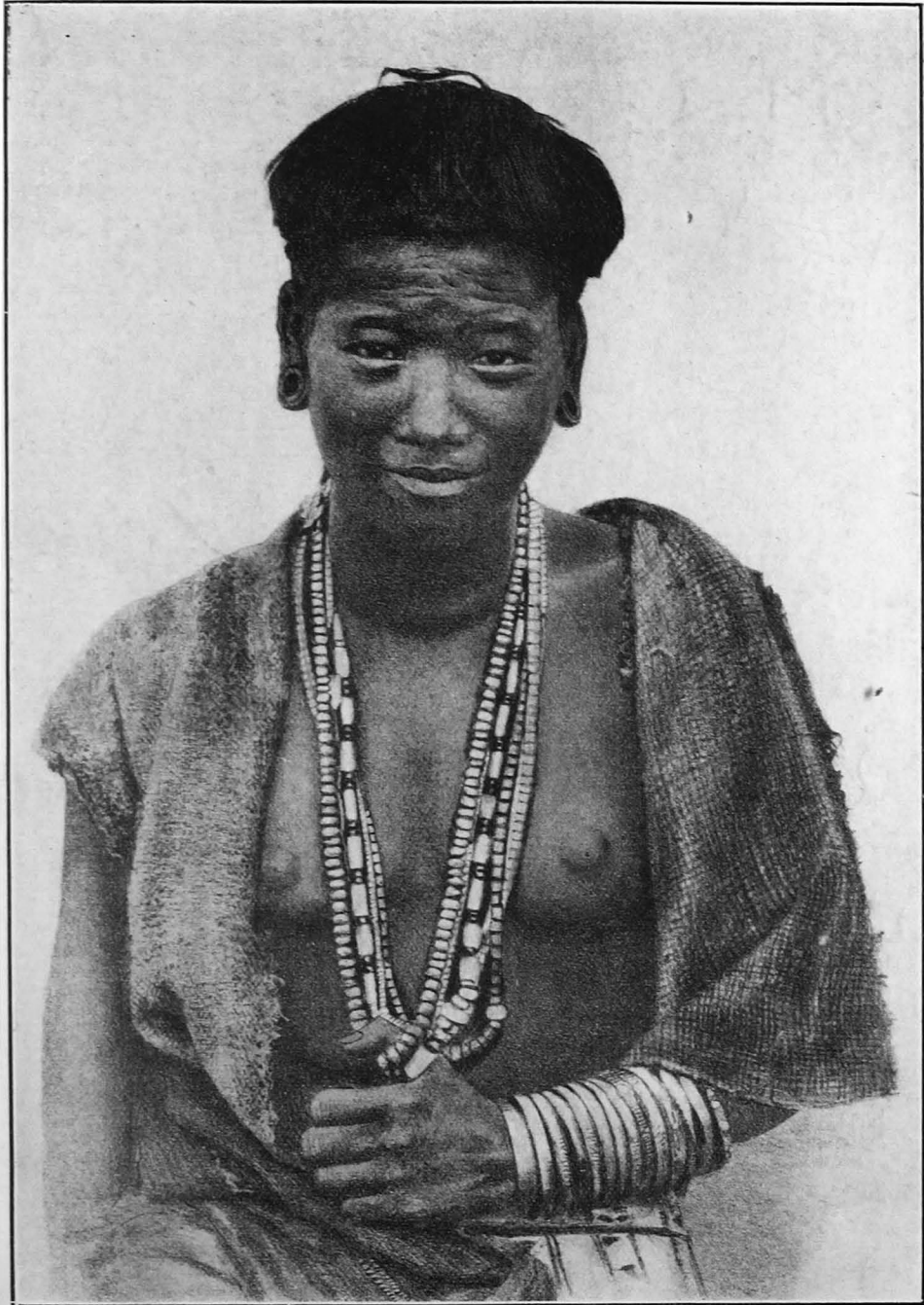


PLATE VII.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

**A CHULIKATA MISHMI CHIEF IN FULL
DRESS.**

PLATE VII.



PLATES VIII & IX.

MALE AND FEMALE OF THE LOWER NAGA GROUP.

These are admirable illustrations of one of the Naga tribes, who are found in the hills, south of the Nowgong district, between the Doyang and Kopili Rivers, in the Assam Province. There is nothing that I know of except the name to connect these clans with the tribes east of the Doyang. Their features are harsher, more decidedly Mongolian; and their language, which is quite different, associates them with the Manipuri and Kuki tribes and their cognates.

PLATE VIII.

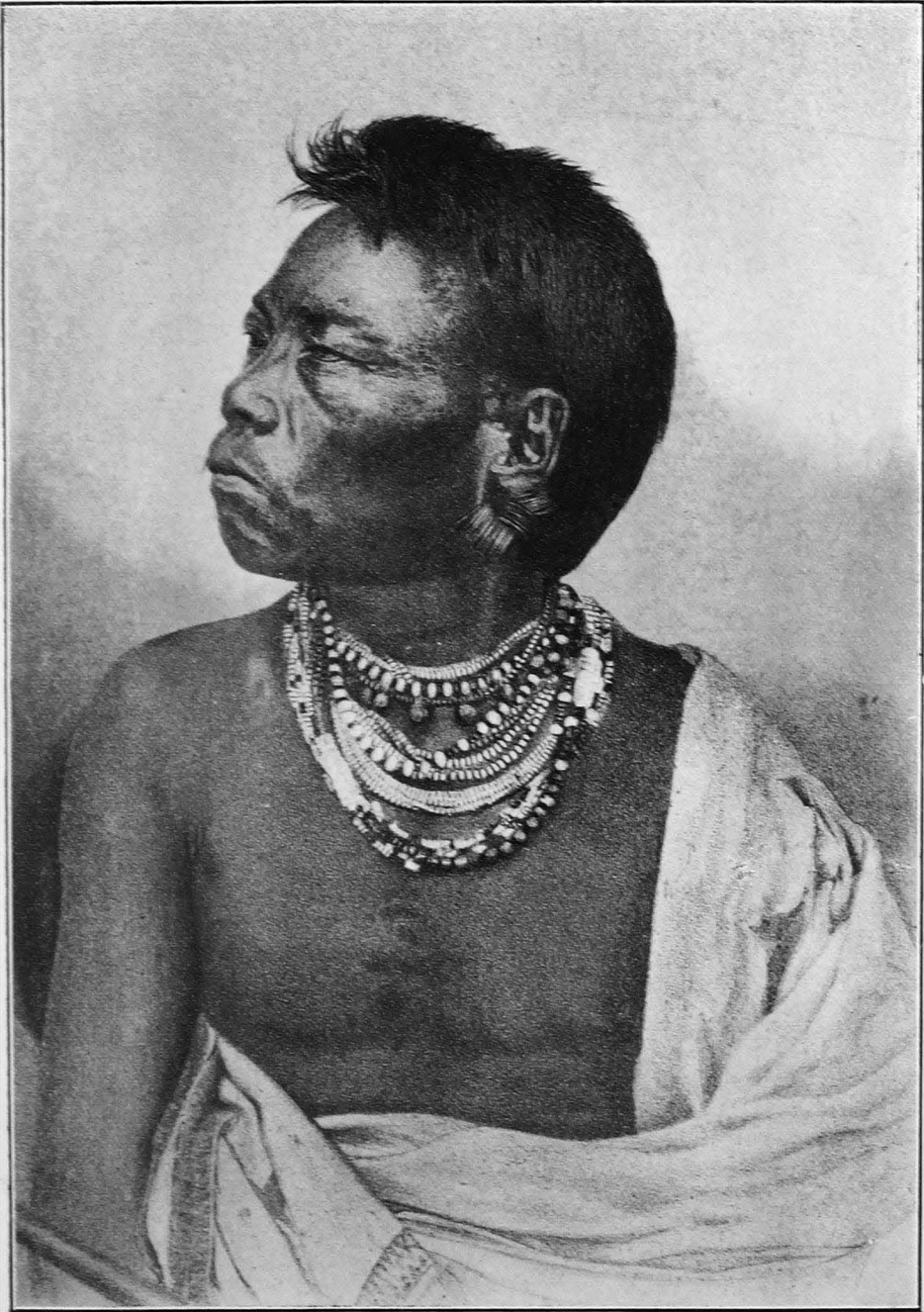
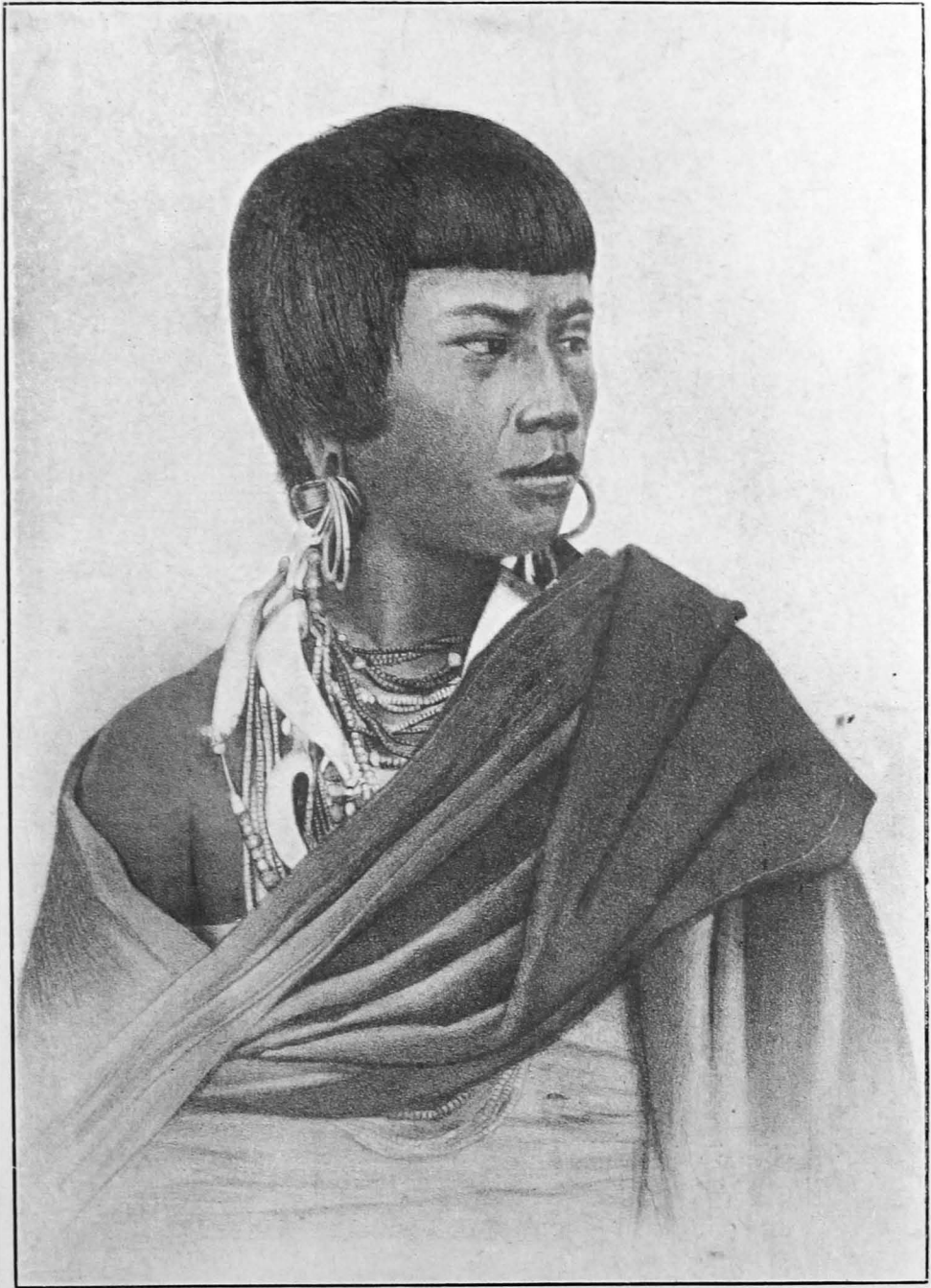


PLATE IX.



PLATES X & XI.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

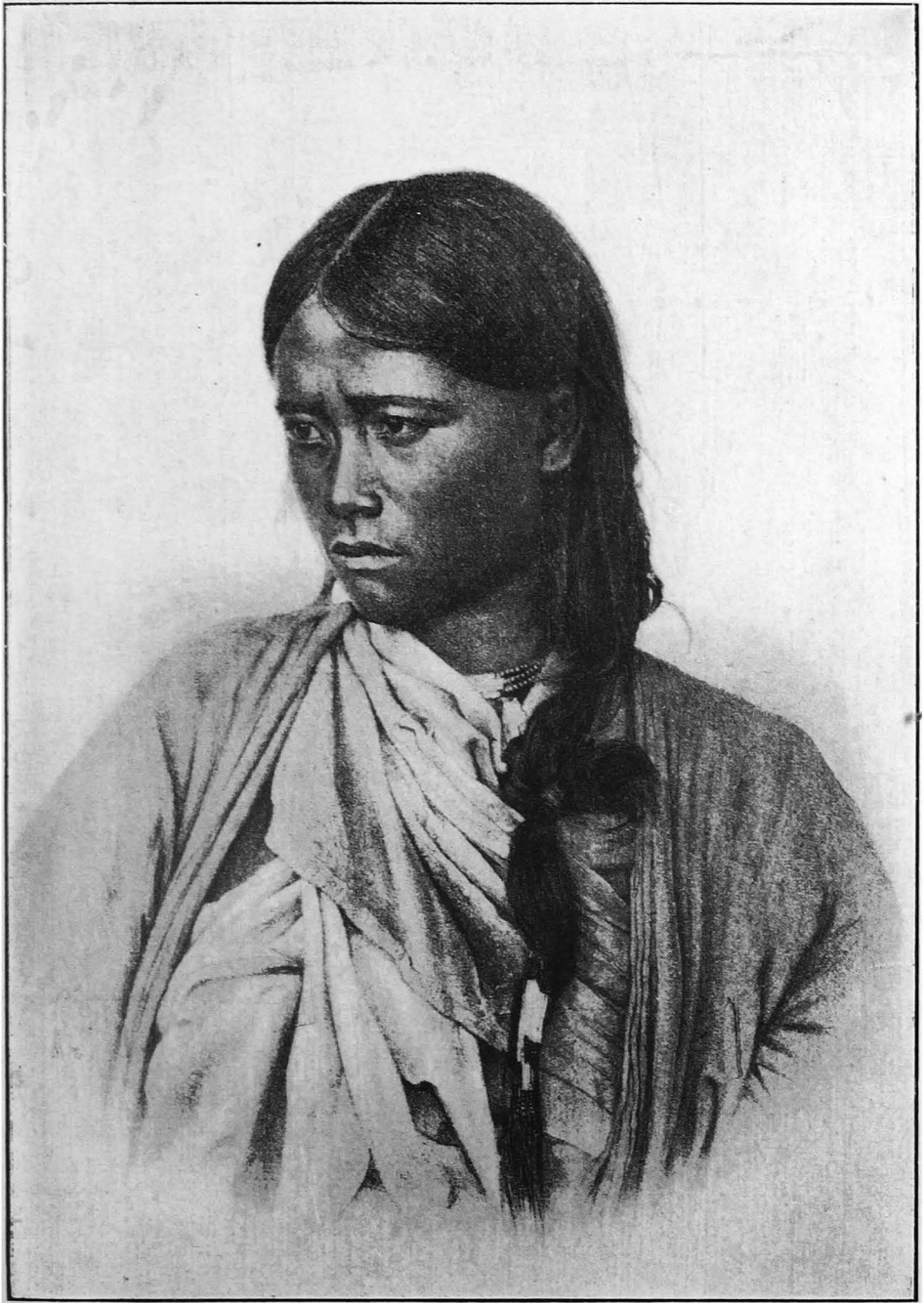
LEPCHAS (SIKKIM).

The Lepchas are found in Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal, and in the small State between both, called Sikkim. They are well known at Darjeeling.

PLATE X.



PLATE XI.



PLATES XII & XIII.

PHOTOGRAPHED BY DR. SIMPSON.

LIMBU, MALE AND FEMALE.

The very respectable-looking gentleman here represented and the richly bedizened old lady belong, I presume, to the upper class of Limbu society. The Limbus or Kirantis are represented by Mr. Hodgson and others as approximating in appearance to the darker Turanian race in color and feature, but the old lady is apparently of light complexion, and has a very Mongolian type of face.

NOTE.—The use of Kiranti as a synonym for Limbu is not strictly correct. The Limbu tribe is only one member of the Kiranti group, which includes also the Khambu (Rai or Rai Jimdār) and the Yākhā. The term Turanian is now obsolete as a race designation.

H. H. R.

PLATE XII.



PLATE XIII.



PLATE XIV.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

A 'HO' OR KOL OF SINGHBHUM.

This is a good typical representation of a young Singhbhum Ho or Kol of the clan, or Kili, *Koadadah*. In his right hand he grasps the national weapon called 'tanghir.' This division of the Kols, called also the Larka, or warlike Kols, are found only in Singhbhum.

PLATE XIV.



PLATES XV & XVI.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

MUNDAS OF CHUTIA NAGPŪR, MALE AND FEMALE.

The above are Mundas of villages close to Ranchi, the capital of the Province of Chutia Nagpur, who living with Oraons have adopted their style of decoration. They are good typical representatives of the race, though not handsome specimens. They show the breadth of face and obliquity of eye, which affirm the north-eastern origin ascribed to them.

NOTE.—The Mundas are now generally classed as Dravidians and the theory of their 'north-eastern origin' has been abandoned.

H. H. R.

PLATE XV.

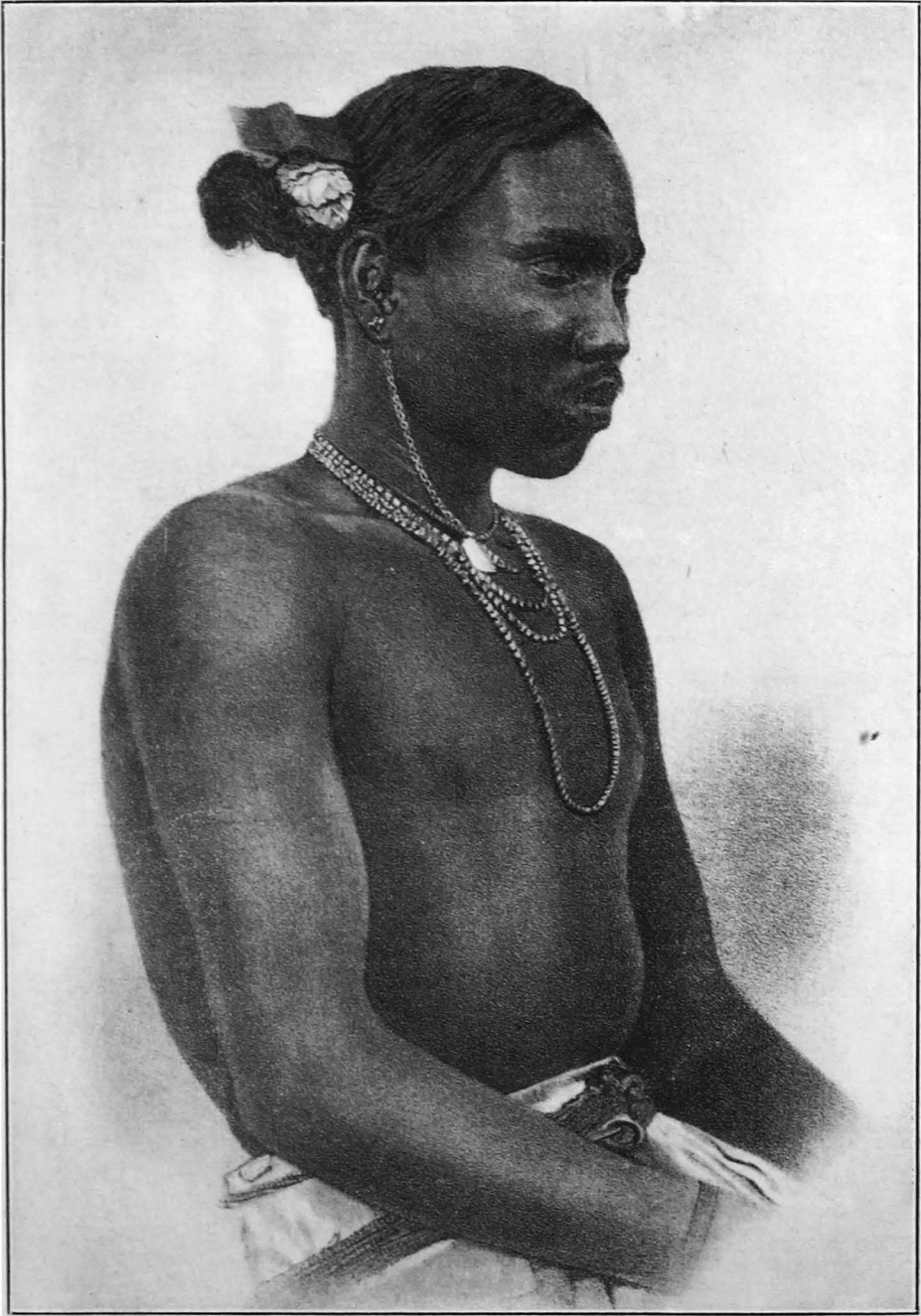


PLATE XVI.

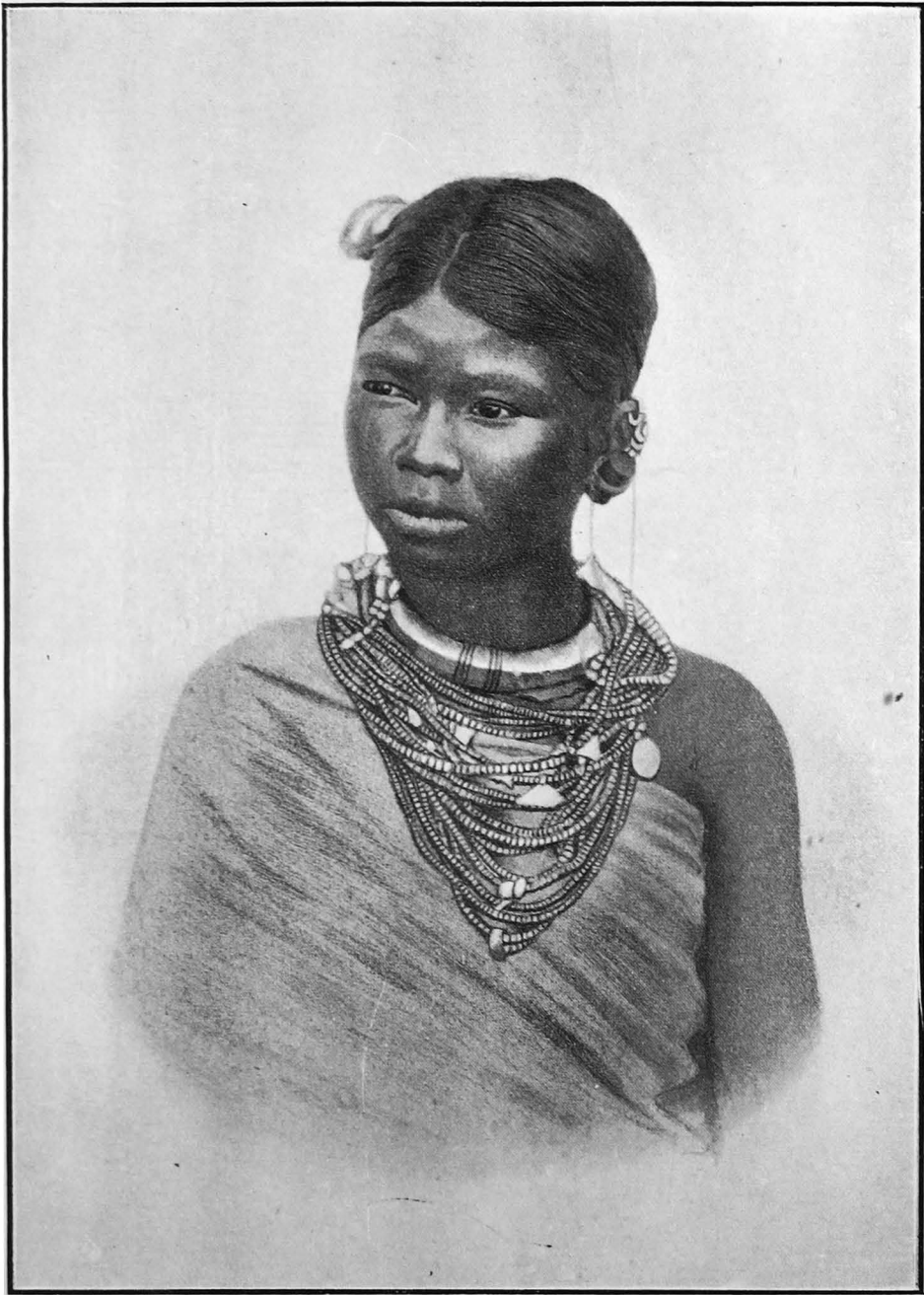


PLATE XVII.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY DR. SIMPSON.

A GROUP OF KORWAS.

This is one of the wildest of the Kolarian tribes. They are found in the hills of the Sarguja and Jashpur States in the Province of Chutia Nagpur.

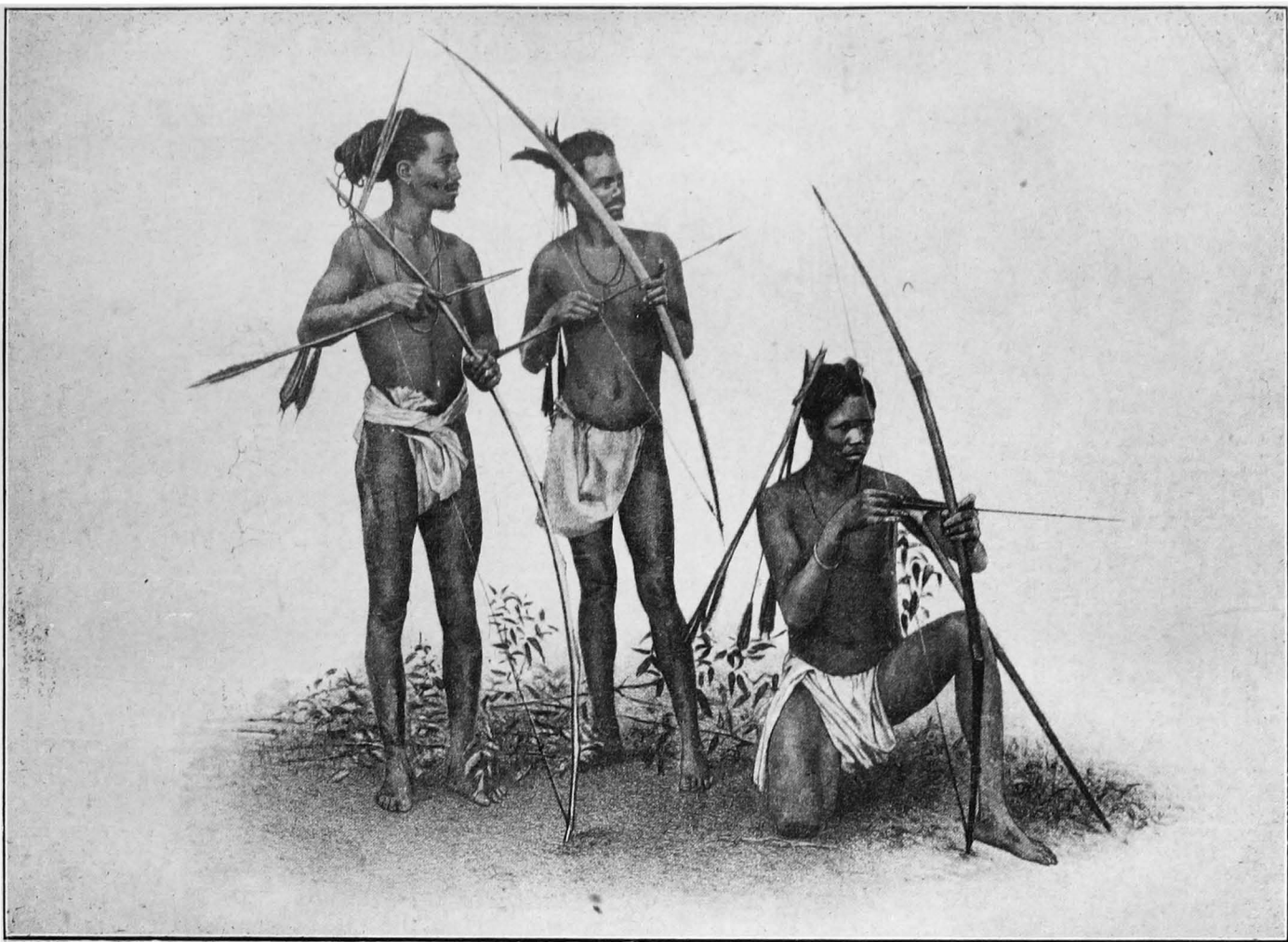


PLATE XVII.

PLATES XVIII & XIX.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY DR. SIMPSON.

These are very fair specimens of the great Oraon tribe who have been sometimes called the 'navvies' of India. The nucleus of the tribe is in Chutia Nagpur proper, from whence they have spread as settlers to all the surrounding districts, and as labourers to Assam, Kachar, Mauritius, the West Indies, and other British and French Colonies.

PLATE XVIII.

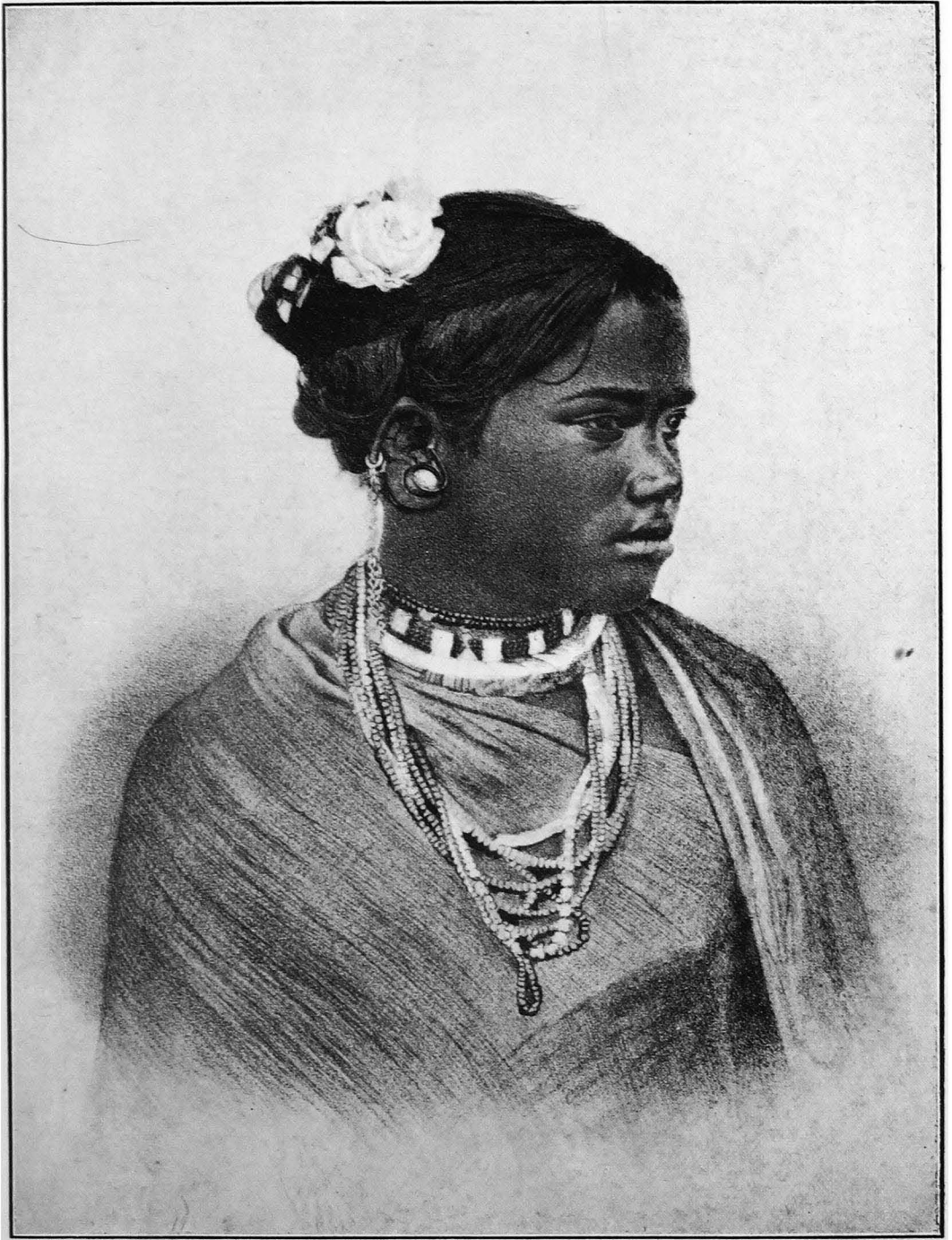


PLATE XIX.

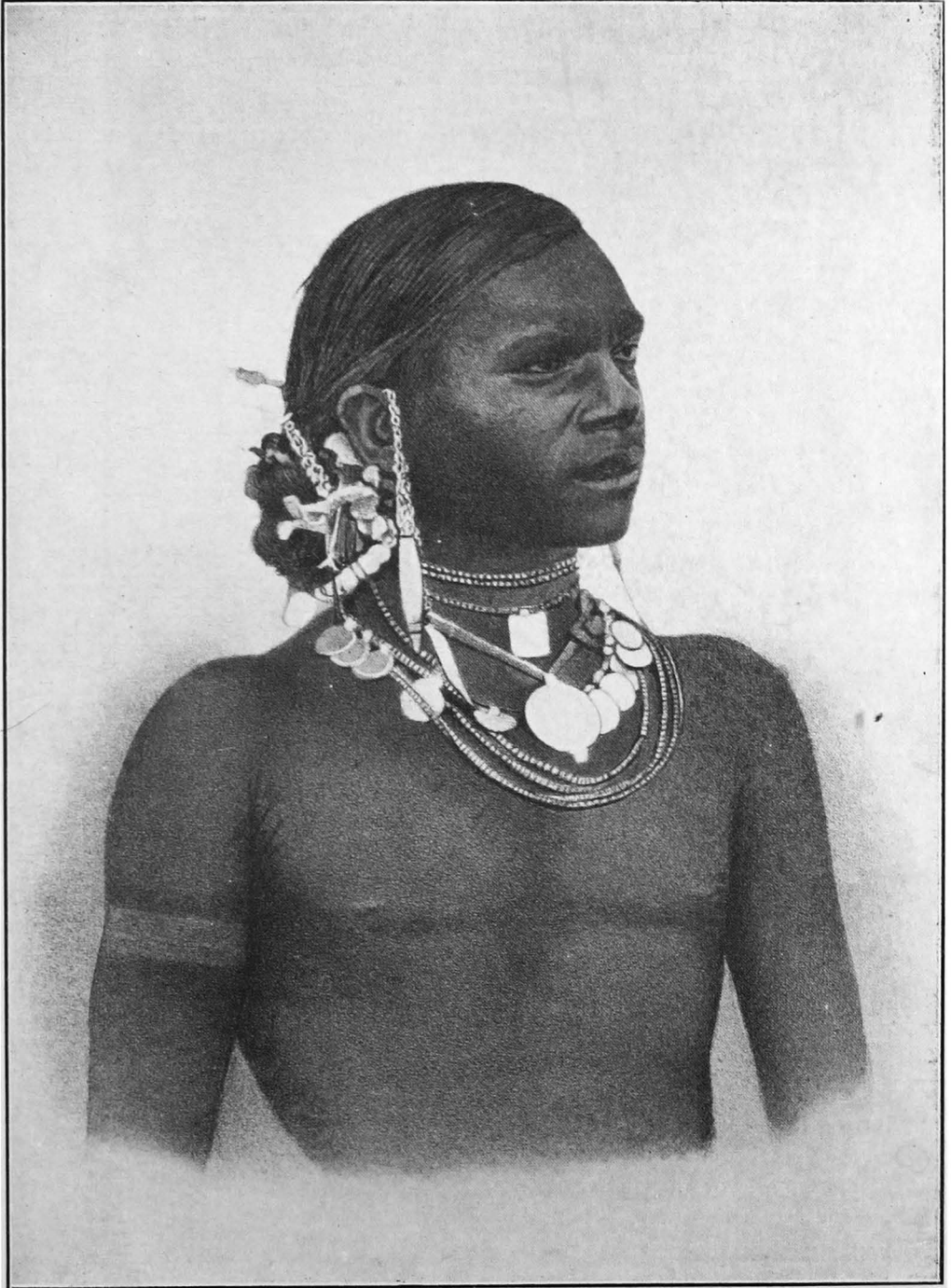


PLATE XX.

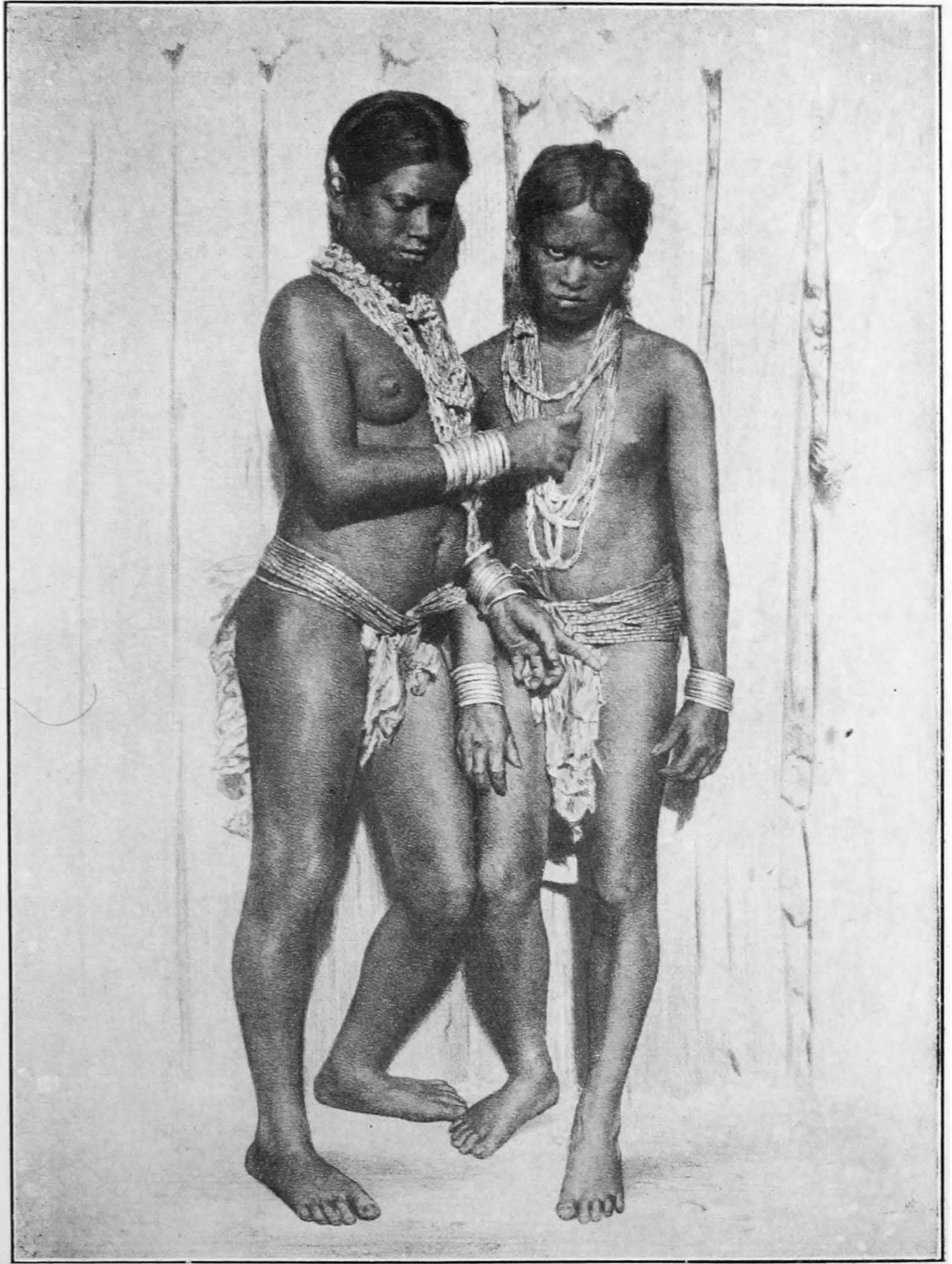
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LATE MR. TOSCO PEPPE.

JUANG GIRLS.

This illustration of the most primitive of the Kolarian race was obtained at Gonasika in Keonjhar, the legendary cradle of the race. The beads or bugles forming the girdles are of fine earthenware made by themselves. The bracelets are of brass and the necklaces of glass beads or flowers. The rest of the attire is of leaves. Mr. Peppé had immense difficulty in including these wild timid creatures to pose before him, and it was not without many a tear that they resigned themselves to the ordeal. It is right to mention that they were brought in from the forest, where they had been searching for their daily bread which chiefly consists of forest produce, and their leaves were not as neatly arranged as they would have been if the girls had had time to make a fresh toilette.

NOTE.—The origin of Juang millinery is obscure. According to one legend the goddess of the Baitarni river caught a party of Juangs dancing naked and ordained for the women, on pain of divine displeasure, the costume shown in the illustration. This consists of the young shoots of any tree with long soft leaves, stuck through the girdle in front and behind, and suitably draped. As long as the leaves are fresh they are comfortable enough; when they get dry they are unpleasantly prickly. For the men the goddess prescribed a shred of bark from the Tumba tree which has now given place to an exiguous strip of cloth. The Juang ladies, according to Colonel Dalton, repudiated this scandalous tale, and alleged that their attire expressed their genuine conviction that women's dress should be cheap and simple, and that fashions should never change. How much this was worth was seen a year or so later when a sympathetic Political Agent took the prevailing fashion in hand. An open air durbar, fitted out with a tent and a bonfire, was held in the Juang hills. One by one the women of the tribe filed into the tent and were robbed by a female attendant in Manchester *saris* provided at the Agent's expense. As they came out they cast their discarded *Swadeshi* attire into the bonfire. Thus ended a picturesque survival.

PLATE XX.



PLATES XXI & XXII.

TYPICAL SPECIMENS OF THE JUANG TRIBE, MALE AND FEMALE.

These are from photographs taken by Mr. Tosco Peppé at Gonasika in Keonjhar, one of the Cuttack Tributary States. The young man keeps his spare arrows hanging by the barbs from his matted black hair, as is also the custom of the Korwas.

PLATE XXI.

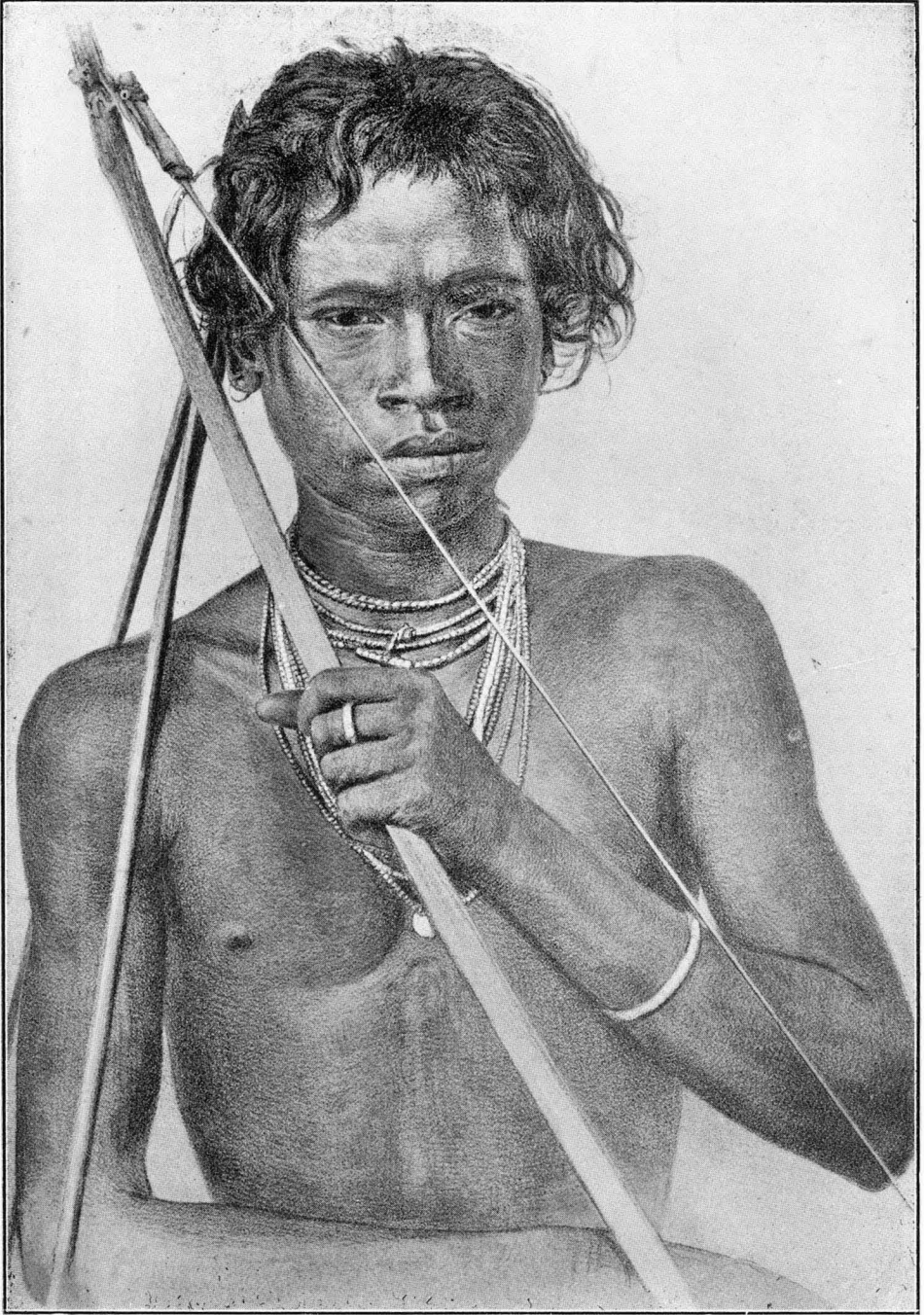
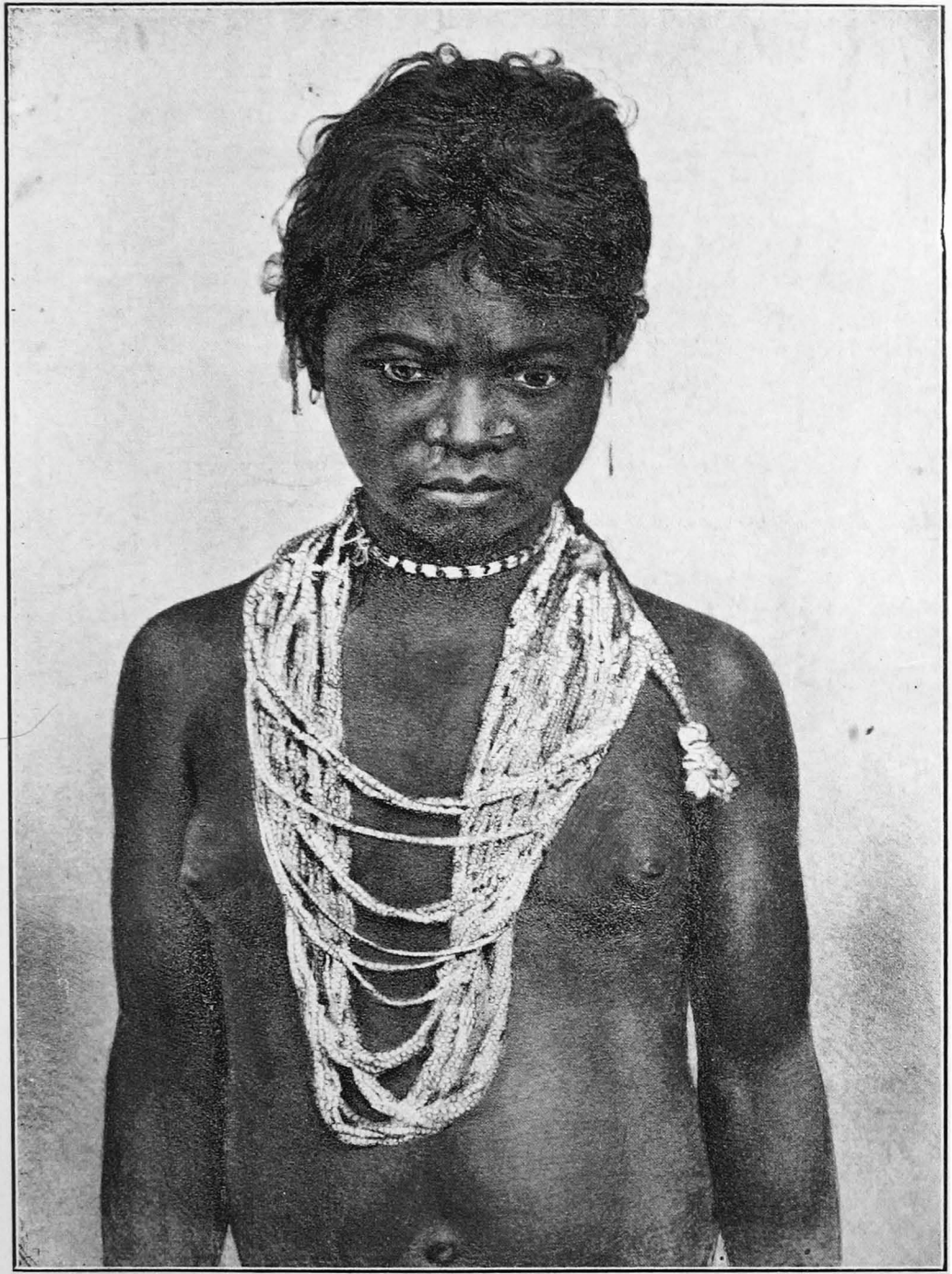


PLATE XXII.



PLATES XXIII & XXIV.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE LATE MR. TOSCO PEPPE.

MALE AND FEMALE OF THE BENDKAR TRIBE.

I have assigned to the Bendkars of Keonjhar a relationship with the Sauras or Savaras. They have only been met with in Keonjhar, and they are found there in small communities widely separated. The man holds the only implement that they use in tillage. It is the origin of the plough! The handle with the crook is all one piece of wood; in the illustration the crook is made to appear as if it was fitted on to the handle, but this is incorrect, there is no joint, and there should have been no shade at the junction. The only use they ever make of cattle is to offer them as sacrifice to the gods. Thus we have in the Bendkars a people who in their agriculture use neither iron nor cattle.

NOTE.—The typical form of the Bendkar plough is a straight piece of a branch of a tree with a shorter piece of another branch growing out of it. The long piece forms the handle, the short one the share.

H. H. R.

PLATE XXIII.

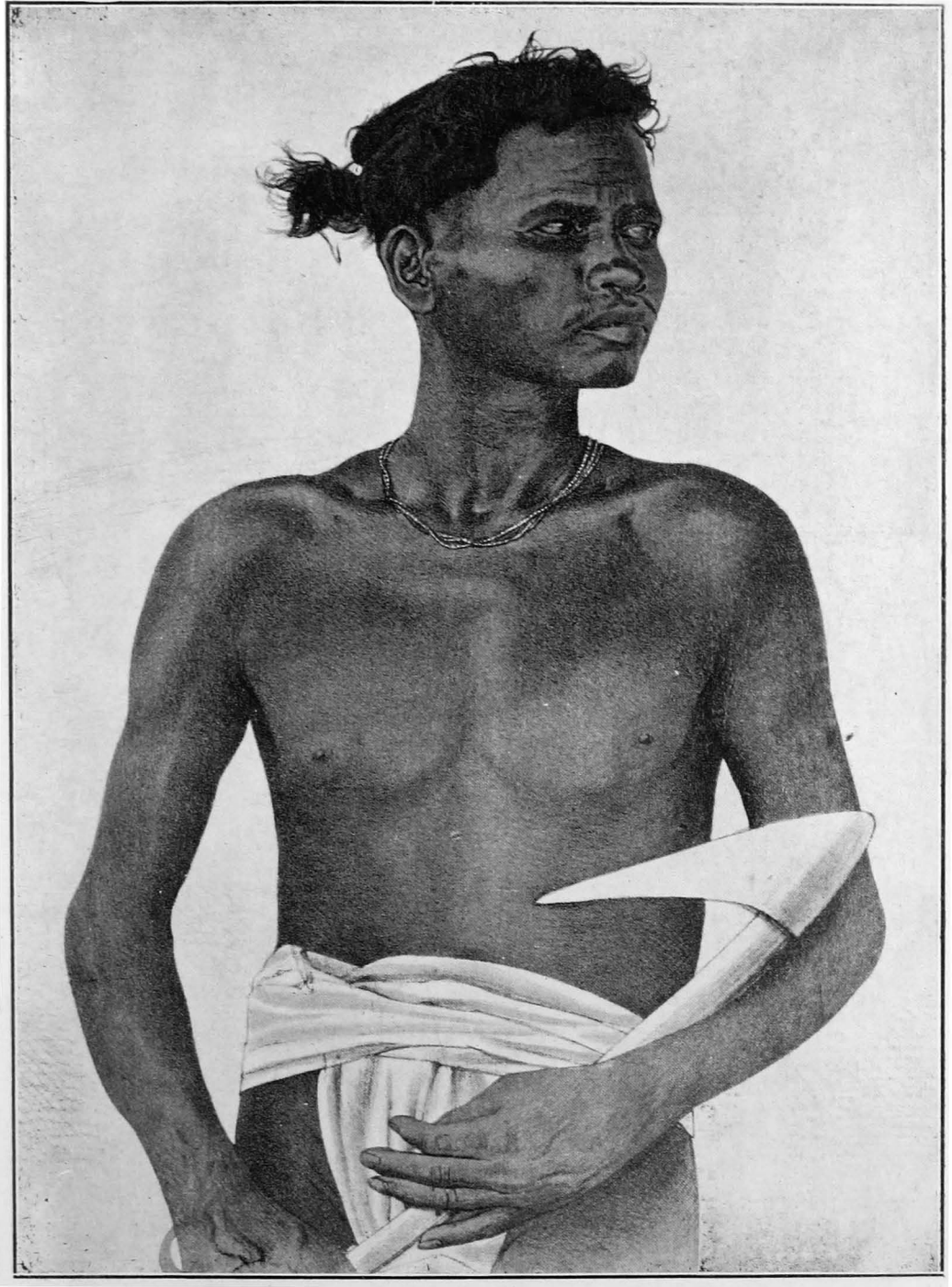


PLATE XXIV.

