



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IX

MADRAS

Part V-B-(1)

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON SCHEDULED TRIBES

P. K. NAMBIAR

**OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADRAS**

1964



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VOLUME IX
MADRAS

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With compliments from
The Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras

(MUDUVAR, KADIAN, KANNI, MALA MALASAKS, PA
PALLIYANS & MULLU KURUMBAR)



P. K. NAMBIAR
of the Indian Administrative Service
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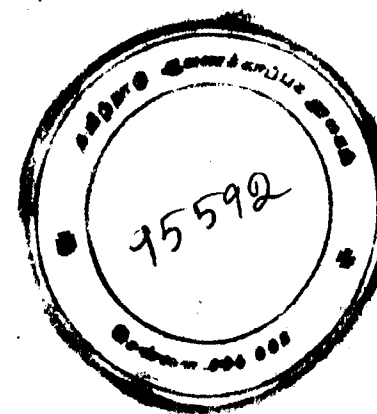
VOLUME IX

MADRAS

PART V-B—(1)

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON SCHEDULED TRIBES

(MUDUVARS, KADARS, KANIS, MALA MALASARS, PANIYANS,
PALLIYANS & MULLU KURUMBAR)



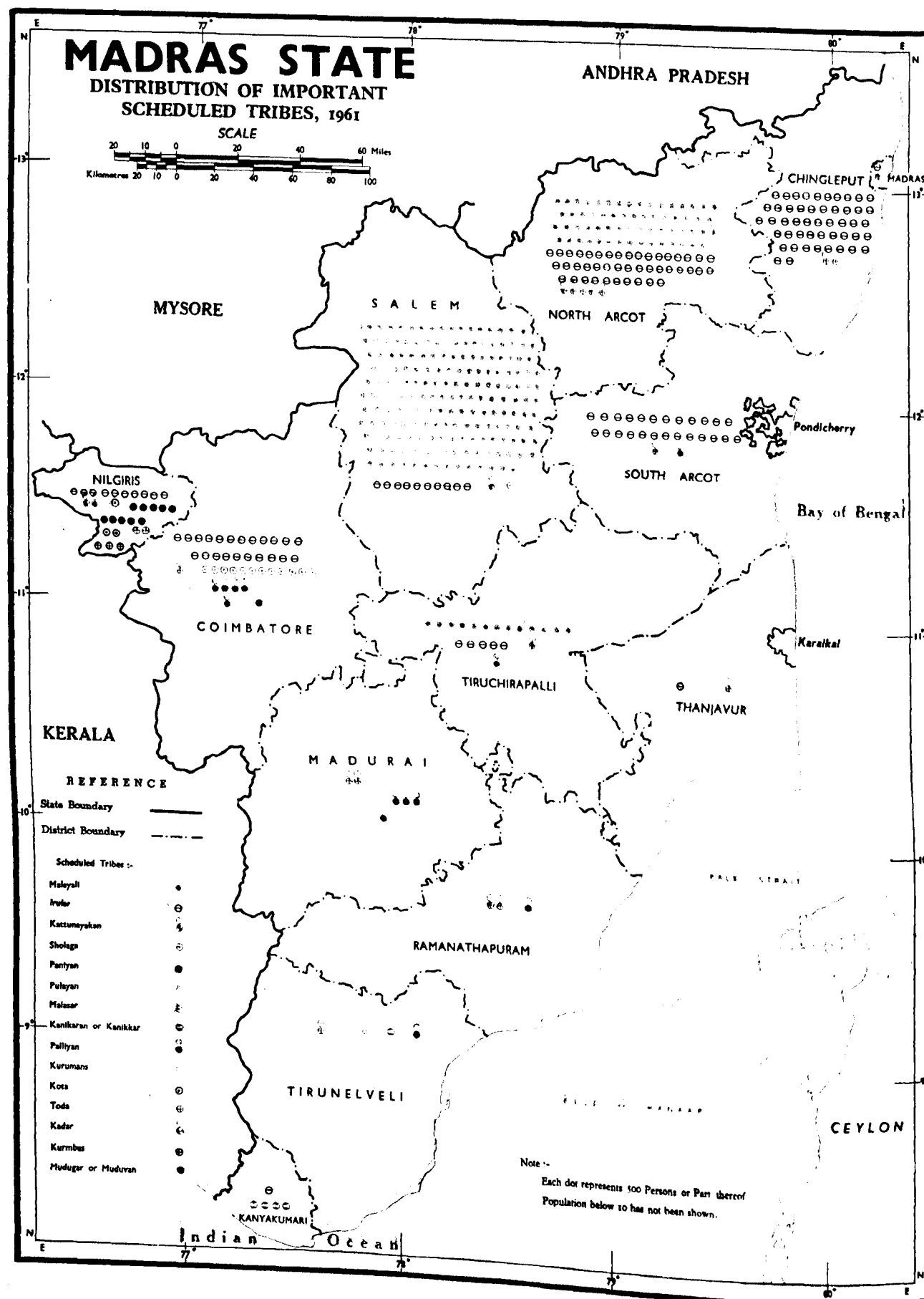
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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

Census Report-Vol. IX will relate to Madras only.

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PREFACE

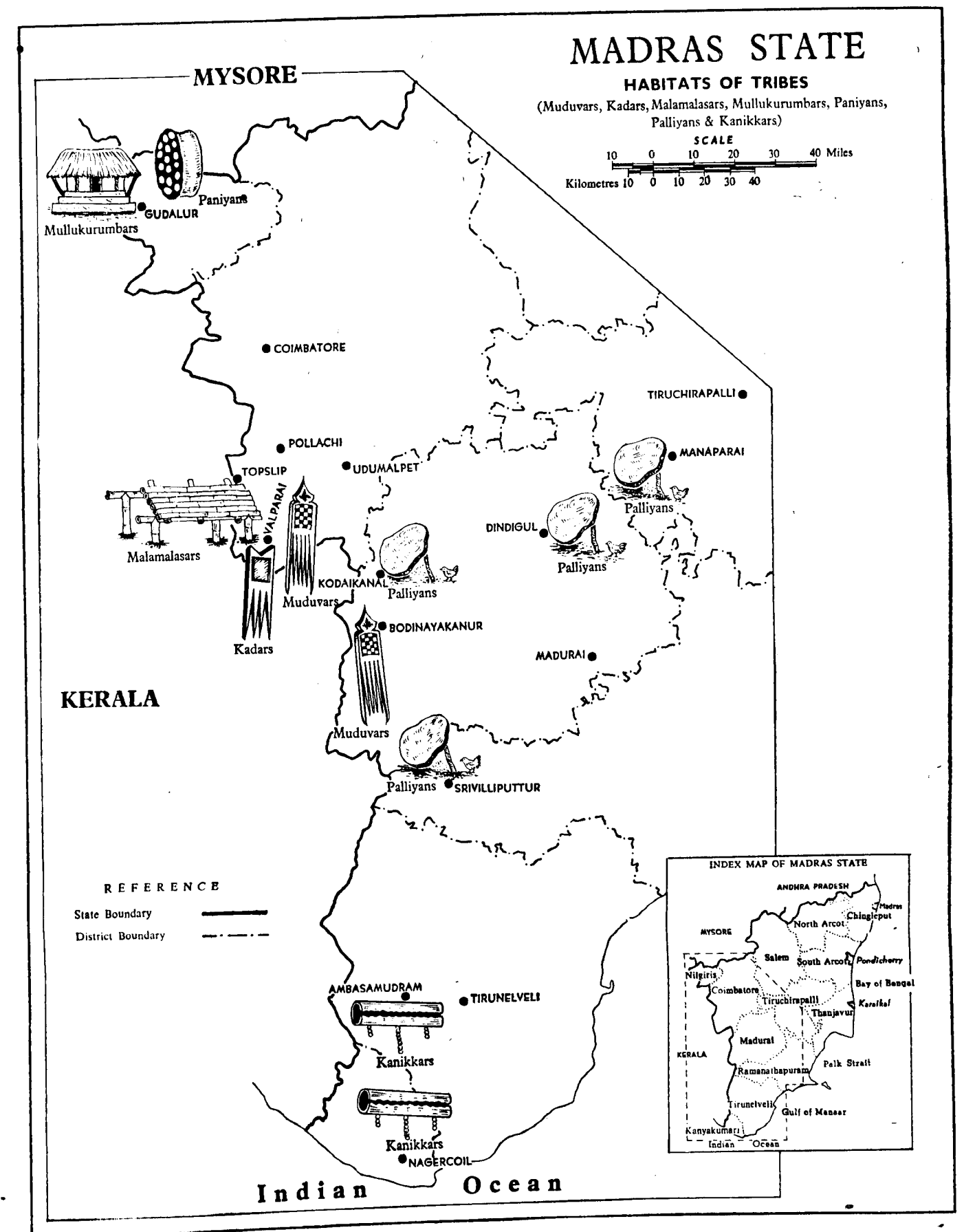
Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General, India has made a comprehensive approach during this Census towards the study of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Special tabulation on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been undertaken on a scale not attempted before and these are presented in Part V-A with notes. It is also likely that he will bring out an all-India brochure containing monographs on each of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes listed in India. Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty in the Office of the Registrar General has with his anthropological background been put in charge of this work on an all-India basis.

Prima facie it may appear that it is a duplication to publish a separate volume of ethnographical notes on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in each State. Actually it is not so. Though one tribe can be found in different States, it still shows regional and ethnical variation. Any documentation of the characteristics of a tribe will be of great interest to the future, not only to sociologists and anthropologists, but also to demographers. I have, therefore made an attempt to publish detailed ethnographic notes on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Madras State including denotified tribes, so that a record will be available in future for knowing what they were in 1961. It is likely that with the progress in Indian thought and economy, the tribes will in due course disappear from the map of India or they will become totally indistinguishable from the general population of the country. Still their tribal hierarchy, their peculiar customs which are based as much on common sense as any other customs found in the more advanced communities of the world, will have some significance in future studies. This is the justification for my publishing a series of volumes on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The first volume is this. I have in another Volume (Part V-A), given a general account of all the Castes and Tribes in Madras State. In Part V-B series Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been studied in detail. The observations made by me are based on documented facts collected by my Research Assistants. In addition to this, I have embodied in this volume reports written by earlier writers so that these observations may also be available to the reader.

No one in Madras State has attempted to publish a systematic ethnographic study of all Castes and Tribes as has been done in Bengal or Kerala. The most valuable book is that of Thurston on the Castes and Tribes of Southern India in which Scheduled Castes and Tribes have also been included. It is a remarkable book, but it is at the moment outdated. There is also a large volume of literature on tribes like Todas and Kotas. But, the bulk of the Tribes living in the inaccessible parts of the State have not been covered by any ethnographic study and very little is known about their present conditions with the impact of post-independent era on them. The following procedure was adopted for this study. On the basis of the Census records, a village was selected in which a particular tribe was found in large numbers. An Investigator was sent to the village to conduct a socio-economic survey of the households. These Schedules were then tabulated. The Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Sri. T.B. Bharathi who was in charge of this study throughout, visited the tribal settlements and made a complete study on the various aspects and prepared the monographs. I have also visited a few tribal settlements and would have liked to continue these visits for the sheer pleasure of it. Perhaps it is significant that it was during my visit to a Kadar settlement in Anamalai Hills of Coimbatore district that I met with a serious accident which confined me to bed for 91 days.

This volume is concerned with Scheduled Tribes only. A general account of the Scheduled Tribes in Madras State will be helpful in understanding the content of this volume and the succeeding volumes. A list of Scheduled Tribes is fixed by the President of India by a statutory notification. According to the list published by him (reproduced in the Annexure), 42 Scheduled Tribes exist in the State. Actually in 1961 Census only 28 have been returned. They have been listed below with population figures:

1. Todas	714	9. Kurumban	1,174
2. Muduvan	119	10. Malayali	129,952
3. Kadar	293	11. Pulayan	2,669
4. Kanikkar	1,797	12. Sholaga	6,139
5. Malasar	1,999	13. Kattunayakan	6,459
6. Paniyan	4,779	14. Kota	833
7. Palliyan	1,551	15. Irular	79,835
8. Kuruman	112	16. Malai Arayan	58



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MUDUVARS

MUDUVARS

Introduction

1. Of all the Scheduled Tribes inhabiting the State of Madras, anthropologists and sociologists, both foreign and Indian, have taken a lot of interest on the Todas of Nilgiris district. Much has been written about this interesting tribe, found in the Wenlock Downs of the Nilgiris plateau. One striking feature about the Todas is their exclusive culture, which they have maintained even after contact with civilization for more than a century. To our mind, there is a more exclusive and interesting tribe, viz. Muduvars, who number a little more than two hundred in Madras State, and who are found in the Cardamom hills of Madurai district and the Anamalai Hills of Coimbatore district. They are also found in the adjoining hill tracts of Kerala State. No author except Thurston has written about them, nor have the Muduvars of Madras State been covered by any discussion in any Census report so far published. Thurston's account is based on a note furnished by Aylmer F. J. Martin on the Muduvars of Cardamom Hills. No doubt, the Travancore Census Reports contain something about the Muduvars found in Travancore area, both in the Census of India, 1901 and 1931. L. A. K. Iyer has written an article on the Muduvars of Travancore in "Man in India" 1946. Earlier, reports were also prepared by Iyer and Pillai which were included in the Ethnographical Census Volume of India, 1931. We have in the course of our survey of the Scheduled Tribes of Madras State made a detailed study of this tribe. Our survey is, however, limited to the Muduvars of Madras State.

This study is based on the data collected by a detailed survey of a settlement of Muduvars, called Pannikuli, near Kadambarai in the Anamalai hills of Coimbatore district. This settlement is nine miles to the east of Pollachi-Valparai road. Half of this distance can be covered only by walking through thick jungles, which sometimes are likely to be infested with wild elephants. Actually, in the course of our visit, we were advised by Muduvars coming from Pannikuli, to follow a circuitous route, rather than the shorter one, as the latter was then infested by elephants. Pannikuli, in Tamil, means a dip infested with boars. Their settlement presents a picturesque appearance when viewed from a distance. It is just a typical settlement of Muduvars (See Photo No. 1).

Habitat

2. Muduvars, or Muthugars as they are otherwise called, live in remote forest settlements of the Cardamom hills in Madurai district and in the Anamalai hills of Coimbatore district. They are also seen in the adjoining forest areas of Kerala. They live in altitudes varying from 2000' to 5000' and away from any other human habitation. They do not mind living within a short distance from other hill-tribes, but they always prefer to be as far away as possible from the civilized people of the plains. Normally, their settlements are found in forest areas, which they can cultivate, and near a small river or a jungle-stream, which will give them drinking water. Within a radius of five miles from Pannikuli, one of their settlements in the Anamalai Hills, no other human habitation, except a few houses belonging to the tribe of Kadars can be found. Nor can any plantation be seen. In contrast to this, however, in the Cardamom Hills they live close to the Kunnuvans, who raise cardamom crops. But even there, the Muduvars have separate settlements of their own, a little distant from those of the Kunnuvans. Muduvars as will be described later, practise shifting-cultivation. Once in two or three years they shift from one stretch to another adjoining stretch, temporarily abandoning the old stretch overgrown with grass and weeds. When they so shift, they also shift their settlements *enbloc* so as to be close to this cultivation. Generally their movement from stretch to stretch will fall within a radius of two to three miles.

The Anamalai Hills form an extension of the Western Ghats, stretching towards the east into Coimbatore district. The western part of these hills receives an average rainfall of about 100 inches, chiefly during the south-west monsoon period. The interior eastern parts of the hills and the rain-shadow areas receive only about 50 inches annually. The areas higher up in these hills are covered by tea and coffee plantations and the remaining areas are occupied by reserved forests. It is in the midst of these forests the Muduvars live.

Flora and Fauna

3. The vegetation is dense in low-lying areas and in the western parts, which receive copious rainfall,

MUDUVARS

Teak is cultivated by the Forest Department in large extents. Rosewood, Ven-teak, Pillaimaradu, Karumarudu etc. timber-giving varieties are found here. In the soil-eroded hill tops, and in the rain shadow areas, the forest growth is not thick and these are mostly covered by shrubby jungles and Lantana bushes. In some parts, thick grass growth to a height of 4 or 5 feet is seen for miles together without any interruption by trees.

The fauna of the area consists of wild animals like elephants, tigers, bisons, bears, porcupine etc. and of the inoffensive animals like sambur, spotted-deer, barking-deer etc. The forests also abound with a variety of birds, like peacock, peafowls, partridges, wild-pigeons etc. The lofty ridges serving as a backdrop, and the thick jungles all around with a wide cleared patch for cultivation, form a natural setting for the abode of the Muduvars of the Anamalai Hills.

Legend about their Ancestry

4. In an account given by E. Thurston in his book "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" their ancestry is discussed as below :

"The Muduvars do not believe themselves to be indigenous to the hills; the legend, handed down from father to son is that they originally lived in Madurai. Owing to troubles or a war in which the Pandyan Raja of the times was engaged, they fled to the hills. When at Bodinayakanur the pregnant women (or as some say a pregnant woman) were left behind and eventually went with the offspring to the Nilgiris, while the bulk of the tribe came to the High Range of North Travancore. There is supposed to be enmity between these rather vague Nilgiri people and the Muduvars. The Nilgiri people are said occasionally to visit Bodinayakanur, but if by chance they are met by Muduvars, there is no speech between them though each is supposed instinctively or intuitively to recognise the presence of the other. Those that came to the High Range carried their children up the ghats on their backs and it was thereupon decided to name the tribe Muduvar, or back-people. According to another tradition, when they left Madura, they carried with them on their back the image of the goddess Minakshi and brought it to Neriya-mangalam. It is stated by Mr. P. E. Conner that the Muduvars 'rank high in point of precedence among the hill tribes. They were originally Vellalas, tradition representing them as having accompanied, some of the Madura princes to the Travancore hills'. The approxi-

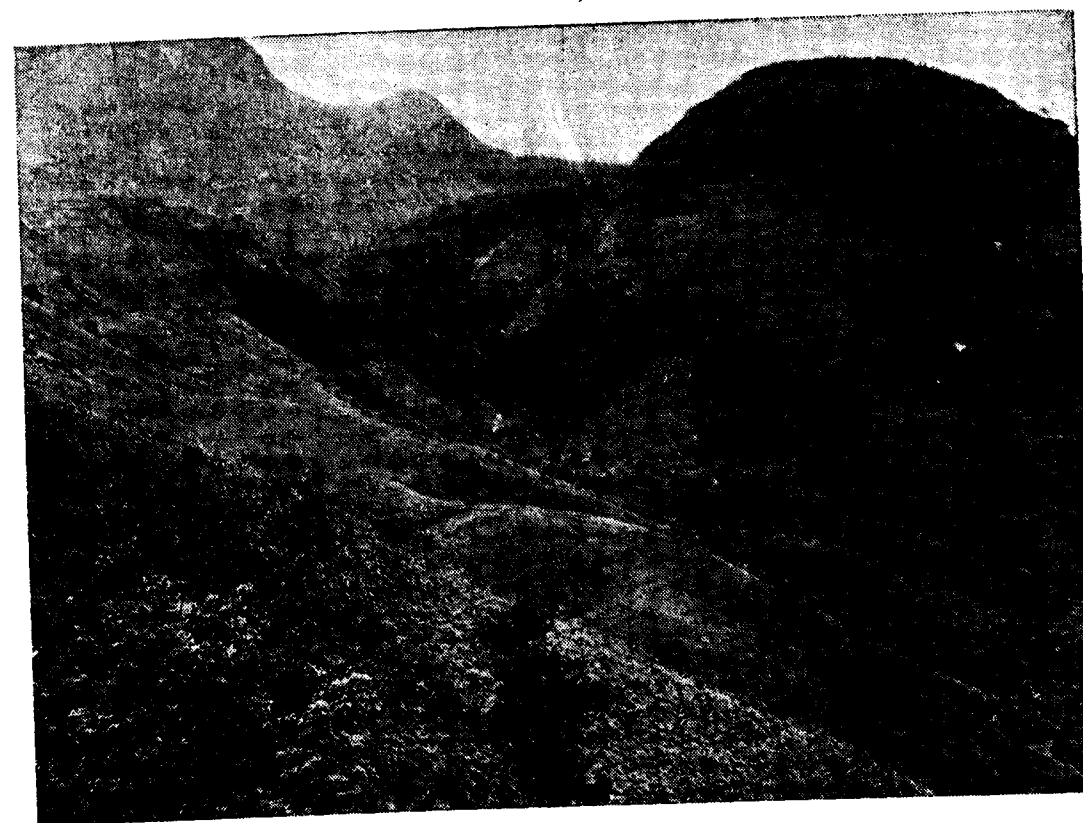
mate time of exodus from Madura cannot even be guessed by any of the tribe, but it was possibly at the time when the Pandyan Rajas entered the South or more probably when the Telugu Naickers took possession of Bodinayakanur in the fourteenth century. It has also been suggested that the Muduvars were driven to the hills by the Muhamadan invaders in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Judging from the two distinct types of countenance, their language and their curious mixture of customs, I hazard to conjecture that when they arrived on the hills, they found a small tribe in possession with whom they subsequently inter-married, this tribe having affinities with the west coast while the new arrivals were connected with the east".

We have made enquiries about their origin. They agree with the general view recorded by Thurston that they have migrated from Madurai to the hills. Their occupation in Madurai was cultivation. According to them, they moved to the Western Ghats along with Kannagi, the heroine of Silappathikaram, the epic of the Sangam-age, sometime in the second or third century A. D. They first lived near Kothamangalam in Kottayam taluk of Travancore and moved northwards from settlement to settlement in search of fresh forest lands for cultivation. In those days, they were given protection by Aranjeri Thambiran and Poonaiaru Thambiran. While they were moving northward through the forest areas of the Western Ghats, they carried their children on their backs and hence they came to be called as Mudugars—"Mudugu" means back.

It is very difficult to determine the period of their migration from Madurai to the hills. Considering their rather primitive conditions it can be assumed that they have moved to the forest centuries ago. It is no doubt likely that many other tribes now found in forests or hills have at one time or other migrated from the plains on account of unsettled conditions or on account of their migratory tendency. We know that the tribe of Malayalees moved from the plains of Kancheepuram to the hills of Salem, Tiruchirapalli and South Arcot districts. Similarly, it can be said that the tribes now found in the Nilgiri hills had also in the remote past migrated from the plains. It is however difficult to decide the exact period of their migration.

Population

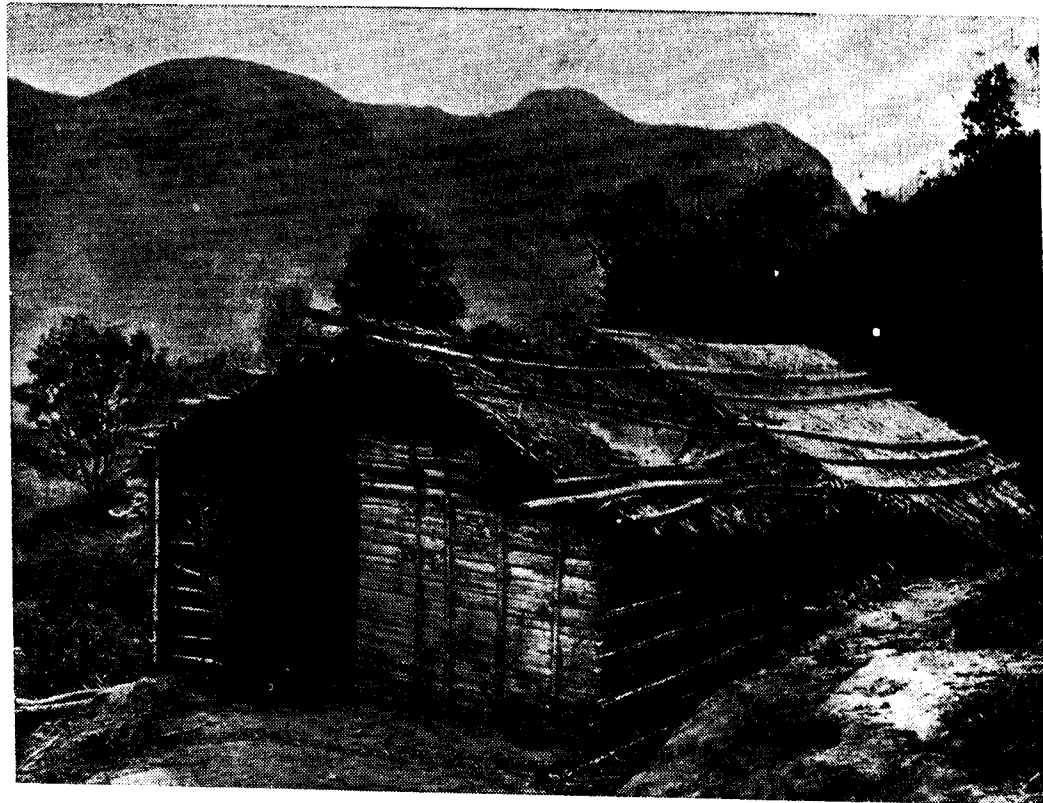
5. According to an informal count made in 1955, before the reorganisation of the States on linguistic



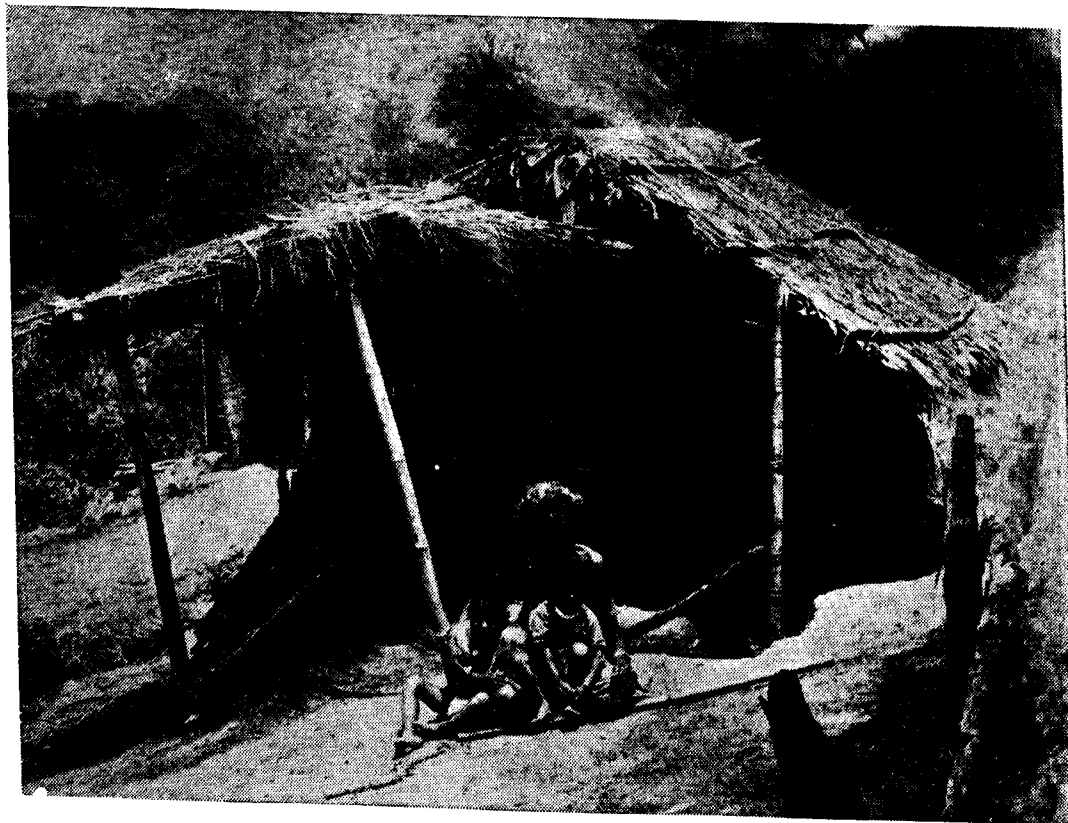
Distant view of the valley in which Pannikuli settlement is situated.



A view of the dwelling houses in pannikuli Settlement. The houses form a shapeless cluster.



The bachelor hall. Unmarried boys sleep in this dormitory.
This also serves as a guest house for the visitors and guests coming from other settlements.



A typical dwelling house of a Muduvar.

MUDUVARS

basis, the population of Muduvars in Madras State was estimated as 895. A substantial number of the Muduvars, however, were residing in Malabar district which was transferred to the Kerala State in November 1956. In addition to this, the places occupied by Muduvars lie on the borders of Madurai and Coimbatore districts and the Kerala State. They frequently move from one State to another. Again by their secluded existence in the reserved forests which are normally not accessible to any census enumerator and by their unwillingness to come into contact with any agent of civilization, it has always been a problem for the census enumerator to estimate their number. Actually in the Census of 1961, the Muduvar population of Madras State was returned as 66 males and 53 females. In the course of our study of the tribe, we have, however, estimated their figure as ranging between 220 and 230. A scrutiny of the Census figures also shows that some of them have been returned under the broad generic name of Scheduled Tribes. This tribe is not found in the Nilgiri hills.

Appearance

6. The Muduvars of the Anamalai Hills are seen to be generally fair complexioned, but some are black though much fairer than Kadars. By comparison with the other tribes of the area, they look taller and slender with aquiline nose and pointed chin. We could, however, see a few who are snub nosed. About the physical characteristics of Muduvars, conflicting data have been furnished by various authors. According to the details given by L. A. K. Iyer and Kunju Pillai in 1931, they are said "to enjoy a better physique than most of the hill tribes. He is tall and has an aquiline nose depressed at the root with dark brown skin and wavy hair and retreating forehead". This description is however contradicted by L. A. K. Iyer himself in 1946 where he says that they are short in stature (61.4 inches) long headed (73.8 C.I.) short flat nosed (N.I. 88.4) and complexion varying from dark to dark-brown. On the basis of blood test and physical character, L. A. K. Iyer is of the view that they belong to the Proto-Austroloid stock. Thurston is of the view that the Muduvars belong to a mixed race. In the course of their travels from Madurai to Travancore State and then to the Anamalai Hills, it is quite likely that they had some acquisition of new blood from other tribes or communities. Hence it is possible that varying descriptions of their appearance are met with in the different areas where they live.

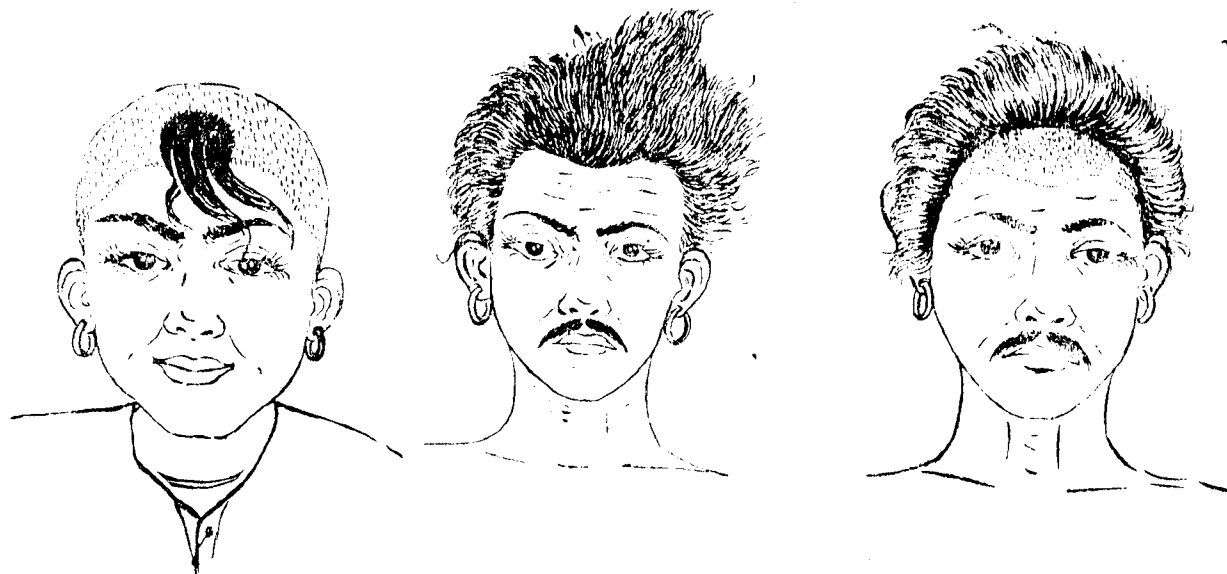


How Mayirmatti is worn



Rear view of a Muduvar woman showing Mayirmatti and ear ornaments

MUDUVARS



Hair Styles of Muduvar males : a young boy, an unmarried adult and a married man.

Dress and ornaments

7. The married men wear dhotis tucked up as "langotis" and big turbans. Some wear shirts also. They shave their forehead and tie their tuft into a knot at the back. Unmarried grown-up boys also wear tuft, but they do not shave their foreheads. Young children of both sexes shave their heads completely except for a small round patch in the forehead. The women part their hair in the middle and tie it into a knot (kondai) at the back.

They wear ornaments made of brass or any cheap white metal. They wear ear-rings and "koppu". Two white chains called "mayirmatties" are taken from the top of the ears to the back of the tuft and fixed up like two arches. In the neck, they wear too many chains made of cheap white-metal. In the wrists, they wear 6 to 10 white bangles. In the upper arm also, they wear a pair of silver or base white-metal armlets. They wear anklets just above ankles. Unmarried girls wear less of jewellery than married women. Widows do not wear any. The women do not tattoo any part of their body. Besides "mayirmatties" described above, married women also keep a special make of bamboo comb always in their tuft. The women wear saree which after being brought round the waist and tucked-in, is carried over the body and the two ends are knotted on the right shoulder. They generally do not wear blouses. Men wear ear-rings and no other ornament.

Their marriage comb

8. In this connection, it will be of interest if we describe in detail a very peculiar custom associated with

Muduvars i.e. the comb worn by the women in their hair as a symbol of marriage. We have reproduced an exact sketch of a comb which was given to us after considerable hesitation by a Muduvar woman of Pannikuli settlement. She explained to us the significance attached to the comb by the Muduvars. It is made of gold-coloured bamboo. It is the artistic work of a Muduva bachelor. In actual practice, every man in the tribe has to make one such comb in his life-time. He does it when he falls in love with a girl of his tribe. The comb is done by using a sharp knife and by making etchings on a piece of strong bamboo strip. He first reduces it to the shape of a comb; then he works on it for days together until it has a fine shape and looks artistic. The design on it may vary from individual to individual. When he has made the comb, he awaits the day when he can insert this comb into the ornamented tuft of the girl of his choice, and make her his wife. This ceremony of inserting the comb in the tuft of his bride is a symbol as significant as tying of a Tali for a Hindu. We find that every married woman among Muduvars has one such comb as her exclusive property.

Language

9. According to Table ST I in Appendix II, the mother-tongue of the Muduvars is Tamil. But, actually, the Tamil that they speak is freely mixed with Malayalam words. It can be, with difficulty, understood by Malayalees as well as Tamilians. It is likely to be a dialect of the old Tamil which, perhaps, is the forerunner of both modern Malayalam and Tamil.



A Muduvar women. Note the ornaments and the marriage comb worn by her.



Muduvar women and children - Note the way in which the suckling child is carried by her mother.

MUDUVARS

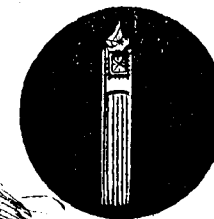
Muduvars, can, therefore, freely converse with the local people in Kerala State as well as in Madras State.

Tribal Hierarchy

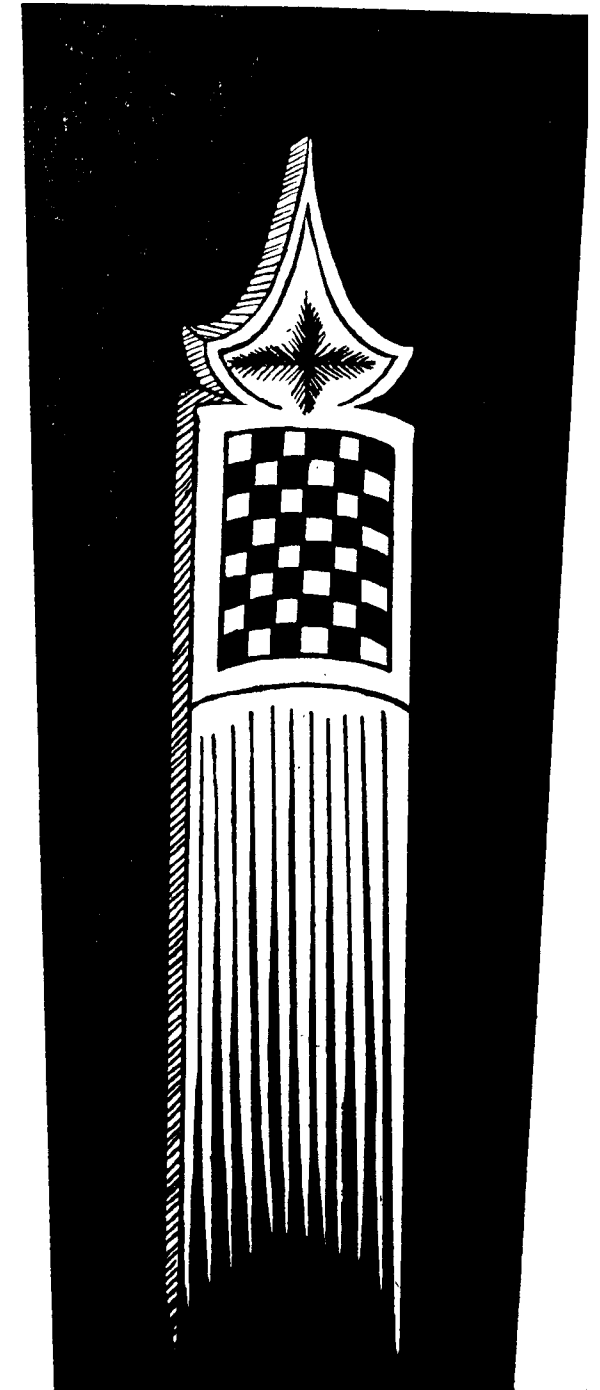
10. The community of Muduvars is well organised. The head of the village is called Mooppan or Manigaran or Kanikkaran. All persons living in a Muduvar settlement are subject to the control of the Mooppan. This office is held hereditarily and it devolves by matrilineal succession. After one's death, the office devolves on the husband of his eldest daughter. Whenever any dispute arises in the community relating to any custom, or social usage, or generally on any other matter relating to the welfare of the community, the Mooppan summons a council of elders and decides the issue with their help. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, clan incest, adultery, violation of traditional tribal customs, are some of the offences enquired into by the Council of elders. The Council may impose fines, the amount depending on the gravity of the offence. Half of the fine collected thus, will be appropriated by the members of the Council and the other half will be given to the elder members of Melakootam, an exogamous sept of Muduvars. This



The way to Pannikuli. It lies through Lantana bushes and thick forests infested by elephants and other wild animals.



A Muduvar old lady wearing a Marriage Comb



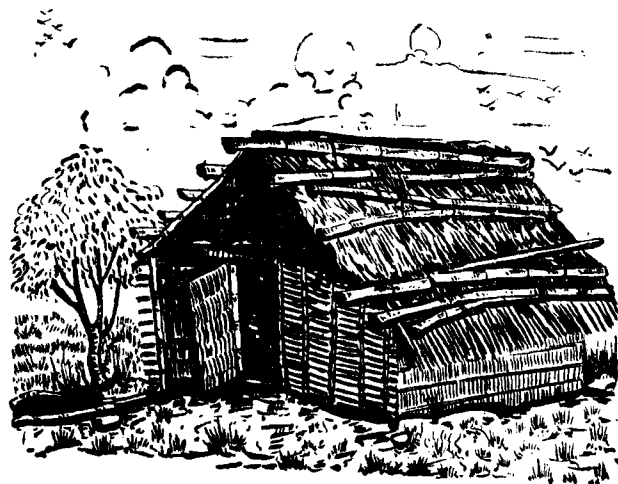
Muduvars' Marriage Comb

MUDUVARS

privilege of collecting a share of the proceeds of the fine by Melakootam is sanctioned by tradition and no one has so far disputed it. The Muduvvars are not able to attribute any special reason for the exercise of this privilege by Melakootam. The head of all Muduvvars in various settlements of both Kerala and Madras State is called Melvakan who is the headman of the tribe. The present occupant of the post is said to be living in Kerala State. He seldom visits other settlements. The office of Melvakan is also hereditary and based on matrilineal principle. With the passage of time, the authority he has over other members of the clan is said to be diminishing.



A Muduvar hut



Another Muduvar hut

Houses and housing pattern

11. Their huts are rectangular in ground plan and are built on hill slopes. They generally form an irregular shapeless cluster. Each hut is built separately leaving some open space all round. They are not built in rows or in lines. The entrances to these huts are usually made to face east so as to avoid virulent westerly winds. The huts do not have any front verandahs. The walls and roof are made of 'Ita' or otherwise called 'Ithai', a kind of leafy reed of bomboo variety (Ochlandra Travancoria). The twigs and leaves are interwoven so closely that the roof becomes water-proof. The walls are also made of the twigs and leaves of 'Ithai'. Sometimes the wall may be made of "thatties" or mats woven with the flattened stem of 'Ithai'. Muduvvars prefer walls made of leaves rather than "thatties". After the construction of the hut, they generally produce smoke in the inner chamber of the house in such large quantities, as a protection for the roof and the walls against decay by vermins. The interior of the hut looks tan-brown due to smoke.

The village-site looks dirty. Normally it is not swept. Cattle are found in all places and the cow-dung deposited by the cattle in the village-site is never swept. In their observations, Thurston, L.A.K. Iyer and Kunju Pillai have earlier stated that their habitats are neat in appearance. This is at variance with what we observed in Pannikuli. But the Muduvvars here keep the interior of their huts clean. The huts are built on slightly raised platforms, generally half a foot above the ground level. The flooring inside the hut is covered with cow-dung paste.

As the Muduvvars are in the habit of shifting the settlement in every two or three years, the huts are not constructed on a permanent basis. It can, however, withstand heavy rains. It is warm during winter and cool in hot months. Usually one married couple live in one hut. The average size of a Muduvar family in Pannikuli is 4.9 (vide Table 1 in Appendix III). The grown-up boys and girls sleep in two separate dormitories specially constructed on either side of the village. These are larger in size than the dwelling huts. The dormitory for the boys is at the entrance to the village and that for the girls in the opposite direction. No member of the male dormitory can, therefore, visit the girls' dormitory without passing through the village. The boys' dormitory

is also used as a guest house for the visitors, whether they belong to the tribe or not. When relations happen to come from other settlements, they have to sleep in these dormitories. In addition to this, another shed is built, a little away from the village. This is intended for women who are under any form of pollution, either by attainment of puberty, or menses, or child birth. The Muduvvars are very strict in enforcing segregation during pollution. Normally, no ceremony is performed before the construction of huts. Each builds his own hut. According to tradition, the Mooppan should also construct his own hut.

Occupation

12. The Muduvvars are not merely a food-gathering tribe. They hunt or catch birds by snaring; but agriculture is their mainstay. Therefore, they prefer to stay in places which give them scope for cultivation. Table SCT VII in Appendix II gives the occupations in which the Muduvar workers are employed. Table SCT I gives the industries in which they are employed. Out of 22 workers in Pannikuli settlement, only one is returned as a general labourer. Others are all returned as cultivators (see Table 2 in Appendix III). They practice shifting cultivation which is called 'Kumri' cultivation in the Anamalai hills. These are within Reserved Forests. They cut the trees in any plot which they fancy and then set fire to the bushes. They use hand pic-axes to make furrows and sow the grains. They weed the crop and protect it against wild beasts. Normally, each family cultivates 1 to 2 acres and collects 5 to 6 bags of grain every year. They also cultivate crops like pulses, vegetables, coriander, onion and garlic. Where irrigation facilities are available, they also cultivate paddy. Their agricultural methods are primitive and crude and they do not observe any principle of soil conservation nor do they use any manure. If any family does not have sufficient quantity of grains any year, the other families make good the deficit. Thus they live on the principle of "give and take" and they exist for each other.

No one owns any land. The lands cultivated by them belong to the Government. They live in the midst of reserved forest and they have done so for centuries. They may, therefore, be deemed to have acquired a right to live and cultivate the lands they choose. The Forest Department have recognised this right, but of late, they have imposed more and more restrictions on the movement and activities of these tribals. With the development of forestry, the free-

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dom of operation of the Muduvvars is getting restricted. They are not now permitted to sell the timber or firewood which they collect while clearing the jungle. They are permitted only to cultivate whatever grains are required for each family. In Pannikuli settlement the Muduvvars tried to raise cardamom in the forest area. But this was objected to by the forest officials. In return for the concession of enjoying the right to cultivate a certain area for their subsistence, the Forest Department expects them to do certain amount of work in the reserved forest. They are engaged on departmental works like clearing the coupe and laying roads. The Muduvvars say that there is some sort of compulsion involved in this, because unless they work for the Forest Department at somewhat low wages, the Departmental officials will interfere with their agricultural operations. The Muduvvars express their resentment in doing this compulsory labour.

Each family has four or five milch cows or bulls. The Muduvvars are not permitted to keep goats as they are considered harmful to the growth of the forest. They do not raise sheep or buffaloes. The cattle they own, belong to an indigenous stock. They do not have much use for bullocks and they occasionally sell away their surplus stock of bulls to the plains people. Occasionally, they go out into the forest and catch deer, rabbits and wild fowls. Their hunting methods are primitive. They gather honey, but they are not as clever as Kadars in this. In olden days, they used bow and arrow, but now they have ceased to use them. The women go out daily and gather roots and tubers which grow in a wild condition in the forest. They always keep foodgrains in store for the days of scarcity. They preserve enough grains for their seed requirements of the next season. They are, therefore, far-sighted and make sufficient provision for a lean day. They do not like going out to the adjacent towns for getting their daily requirements. They do not purchase anything from shops except matches, clothes, oil and salt. They buy their requirements of clothes and ornaments from the nearest weekly market. Their principle is not only to live exclusively, but to be self-sufficient. In the days when Thurston wrote, they made their own fire, either with flint or steel or by creating friction on wooden logs. This stage has now passed. They use match box for making fire.

General Characteristics

13. Muduvvars as a tribe, are shy and do not like the company of the civilized people from the plains.

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They like to have as little contact as possible with the outside world. They are afraid of contagious diseases. It appeared they suffered heavily in the past by some epidemic which they contracted from outside. In their desire to be self-reliant, they have developed such an insular attitude that they do not even derive full benefit from Tribal Welfare Schemes. When a Tribal Welfare Residential School was opened in 1955 in Valparai, the Muduvars were persuaded to send their boys to this school after being assured that everything was free. The boys remained in the school for one day only, and returned to their villages on the ground that they did not like living with boys of other tribes. During our visit, we asked some of the Muduvars whether they would receive some benefits of the Tribal Welfare Scheme. They suggested that they should be given grants for construction of houses. When it was pointed out to them that the construction of any permanent house would not fit in with their normal habit of shifting their settlement once in two or three years, they stated that they do not want any grant for house construction. This demonstrates that they would be prepared to receive only such aids from the Government as would enable them to live in their traditional manner.

The Muduvars are orthodox in their habits. They would not eat in the houses of Kadaras, Malasars, Malamalasars and Pulayars. If by any accident, a Muduvar is forced to stay in a settlement belonging to other tribes, he will accept grains and then cook his own food. Other tribes cannot enter the house of any Muduvar. Some other tribes, like Pulayars, would have to stop at the entrance of the settlement itself. They are very superstitious and if any unnatural death takes place in the settlement, they attribute it to evil forces. In olden days, immediately after a death took place in any settlement, they moved to some other locality. This tendency is not evident now. The Muduvars believe in good and bad omens. Before they start clearing fresh areas for 'Kumri' cultivation, they will watch for the good omen. A rat-snake crossing their path is considered to be good while a deer or sambur is considered bad. They have their own auspicious days and hours. Wednesdays are considered good. It is recorded by Thurston as follows :

"The Muduvars have lucky days for starting on a journey :

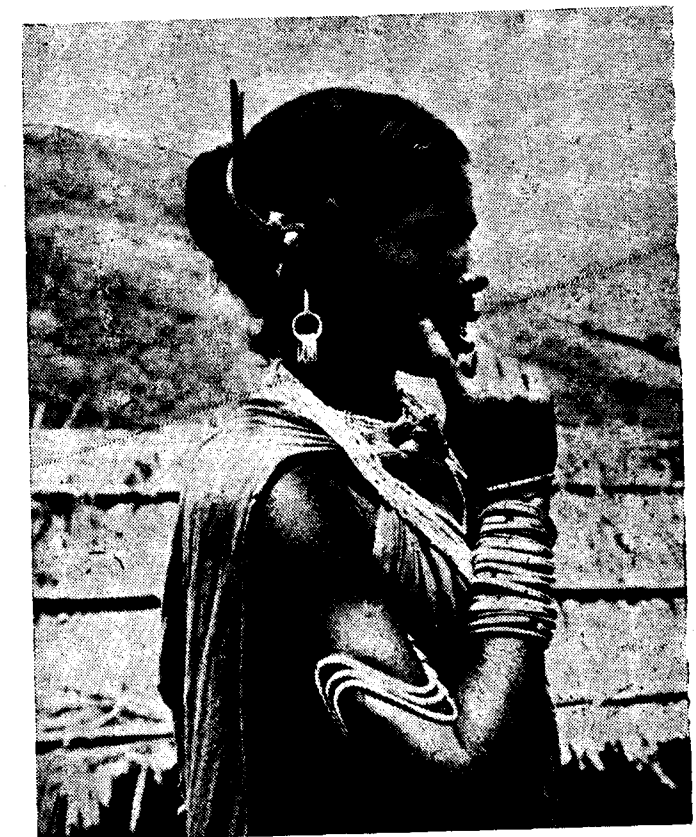
Monday, start before sunrise

Tuesday, start in the forenoon
Wednesday, start before 7 a. m.
Thursday, start after eating the morning meal
Friday, never make a start-it is a bad day
Saturday and Sunday, start as soon as the sun had risen "

The Muduvar women are industrious. They contribute labour in raising crops. They gather wild roots, tubers etc. from the forest. They do not, however, go to the market or any place other than their settlement. For visiting relatives in other settlements, they will travel the whole distance by night, escorted by their menfolk. They are shy of being seen in any part outside their settlement. Surprisingly, the Muduvars are very generous and hospitable and are famous among the hill tribes in this respect. They feed other tribals who visit their settlement and extend whatever help they can. They supply seeds to other tribals. When recently a Kadar man was attacked by a wild bull, the Muduvars went to his help, drove away the wild animal, took him to his settlement and gave him indigenous medical attention. They invite other tribals for their festivals and feed them. They enjoy high reputation for honesty and sincerity. A word from a Muduvar is respected. The shop-keepers of Valparai are quite willing to extend full credit to a Muduvar, but not to a Kadar. As a worker, he is said to be faithful and very much attached to his employer. As a community, they live as one; they help each other. They encourage common feeding. They are generally peace-loving and god-fearing. All the Muduva bachelors who live in the dormitory go in a batch after dusk from house to house. Each household will give them a portion of their food. They also give them firewood which will be burnt in front of the dormitory during the night. The bachelors are treated as members of the whole settlement and not the members of any household. The Muduvars consider that the institution of a common dormitory for the youths is a sound idea. It not only solves the problem of accommodation in the small house of an individual household, it also creates a feeling of comradeship and unified and co-operative approach to all problems of the settlement. The bachelors generally keep a vigil over the settlement during the night time. They help each other in agricultural operations. People who can make agricultural implements, or can prepare medicines, or can play pipes, generally help others in the community.



A Muduvar old woman with her two grand children
Note the hair style of the children.



Close view of a Muduvar woman.

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When any game is killed, it is shared by all members of the community including non-participants in the hunting.

Food

14. It is very difficult to know the back-ground of the peculiar food habits we come across among tribes. The Muduvars do not eat beef or the flesh of buffaloes, bisons and white monkeys. It is very difficult to say why a black monkey can be eaten and not a white monkey. But this prohibition has been accepted and followed by the community for generations. Not only that, they will not take food in the house of any other caste or tribe where such an animal is eaten. This may perhaps explain why Muduvars are unwilling to eat in the houses of Pulayars and Malasars. Generally, the Muduvars eat only what they can produce and as such, their food habits are well settled. They produce ragi and thinai in some parts; where water is available for irrigation, they also grow paddy. These items are supplemented by wild roots and tubers. There are 16 varieties of tubers which can be gathered from the forest and which are eaten by them. Their children get plenty of milk because they keep milch cows in their settlements. They eat chicken, any bird or animal which they can catch in the forest and also fish whenever they can get it. The people generally look well-fed and healthy.

Religion and festivals

15. All Muduvars are Hindus. Christianity is unknown in their tribe. As the Muduvars were the people who lived in Madurai and migrated to the forest, they carried with them the Hinduism and Hindu faith in gods. They worship Rama, Palani Andavar, Minakshi, Sokkanathar and the deities worshipped by the people of the plains. They also worship deities which are maleficent. Each settlement has a temple which is a small hut constructed on four wooden poles. It has a thatched roof and thatched walls on three sides. It is open at the front. At a distance, it looks like a poultry house. They do not keep any idols inside, but only printed pictures of Palani Andavar, Meenakshi and other gods placed in a row. Two conches and a worshipping plate are found before the deities. One or two spears are erected on the ground. One of them is a forked one called Tirisul. An empty cigarette tin is placed on one side which functions as a "Hundi". Generally, it will

contain lot of copper or nickel coins. They have faith in the religious belief of the members of the community. Besides this hut-temple, certain caves in the interior parts of the forest are also considered as shrines. There is no priest in their community. Each family worships as it likes.

They celebrate only two festivals every year. First is the Chitrai Pongal which is in honour of Chitrugupta, the accountant of Yama, the death god, who records all human activities in a register maintained in Yama Loga. This falls in the middle of April. On this day, the Muduvars gather near the temple, cook rice and offer it to Chitrugupta. The next festival is the harvest festival called Thai Pongal falling in the middle of January. Rice is cooked near the temple. On such days, they play drums and pipes and dance in groups. While dancing, they hold a cane which they wave in tune with the rhythm of the music. Heaps of such canes were found stored in the temple when we visited it. Apart from these two festivals, the Muduvars do not celebrate any other festivals like Deepavali, Karthigai, Ayuda Pooja etc. These festivals which are of Brahminical origin have perhaps become prevalent in Tamil Nad only after the Muduvars left the plains of Madurai, some time in the third century A. D. Though they had intimate contact with the people of Kerala and have acquired many of the customs peculiar to the Keralites and not found among Tamilians, they do not celebrate the Onam festival.

Law of Succession

16. The Muduvars do not own any land. Their huts are also temporary. No household possesses more than 4 to 5 heads of cattle. They do not possess any movable articles of material value. Therefore, on the death of a Muduvar, there is not much which his successor can inherit. The law of succession followed by them is quite different from what is common to Tamilians and what should have been the law in Madurai from where they migrated. The Muduvars follow the matrilineal law of succession. The property after one's death, does not go to the sons, but goes to the sons-in-law, i.e. to those persons who have married the daughters. If by any chance a Muduvar has no daughter, the property then passes on to his brothers and through them to their sons-in-law. This is quite different from the law of Marumakathayam followed in Kerala. In Marumakathayam, the property is devolved through the female members to both males and females.



Muduvar Males.

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The system followed by Muduvars is not only matrilineal, but also matrilocal. Immediately on marriage, the son-in-law comes to live in his father-in-law's house. As their hut cannot accommodate more than one married couple, the newly married couple start living in a newly constructed hut, adjacent to the hut of his father-in-law. He starts working in the field of his father-in-law and becomes in due course a member of that family. This matrilineal law of succession is not exactly the one which they followed in Madurai, neither is it the one which is now followed in Kerala. Perhaps they have acquired their law of succession sometime in their transit from Madurai to Anamalai hills.

Social Customs

17. All Muduvars belong to one endogamous unit. They consider themselves superior to the other tribes living in this region. The Muduvars are divided, for purposes of marriage alliances into the following six exogamous septs, or "Kootams" as they are locally called:—

1. Kanai Kootam
2. Kaniyattu Kootam
3. Elli Kootam
4. Thoosana Kootam
5. Pothani Kootam; and
6. Mela Kootam

Kootam means a group. Of these septs or groups, members of the Mela Kootam are considered to be a little superior to the other groups and are given certain preferential rights. They are entitled to have a share of the fines imposed and collected from social delinquents. They can take brides or give brides only to the members of Kanai Kootam. They cannot have any marriage alliances with any other group. The members of Kanai Kootam are however free to marry from other septs also. The remaining other four groups are free to marry with one another without any restriction.

Thurston in his book on "The Castes and Tribes of Southern India" has stated that totemism does not exist among Muduvars. He has, however, not referred to existence of exogamous septs among them. The Muduvars encourage alliances like marrying maternal uncle's daughter and the paternal aunt's

daughter. The marriages are arranged only after the boy becomes an adult and the girl matures. The age of marriage is between 20-25 for males and 15-20 for females (vide statement in Appendix III).

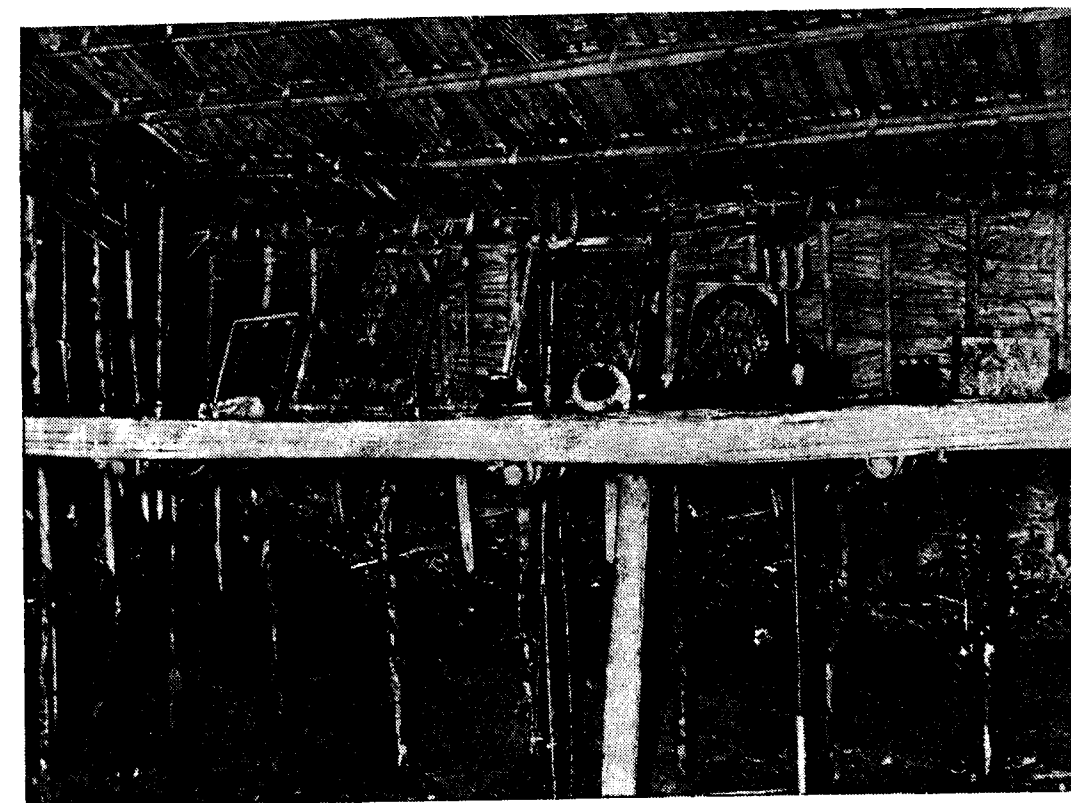
Polygamy is practised in a restricted way i.e. when the first wife does not bear children or becomes unhealthy. Polyandry is not practised. Thurston has, however, recorded as follows:

"Among the plateau Muduvars, both polygamy and polyandry are permitted, the former being common and the latter occasional. In the case of the latter, brothers are prohibited from having a common wife as also cousins on the father's side. In the case of polygamy, the first married is the head wife and the others take orders from her, but she has no other privileges. If the wives are amicably disposed, they live together, but when inclined to disagree, they are given separate houses for the sake of peace and harmony. With quarrelsome women, one wife may be in one village and the others in another. A man may be polygamous in one village and be one of a polyandrous lot of men a few miles off. On the Cardamom hills and on the western slopes where the majority of the tribe live, they are monogamous and express abhorrence of both the polygamous and polyandrous condition though they admit with an affectation of amused disgust that both are practised by their brethren on the high lands." As far as polyandry is concerned, it is not a practice known to Muduvars now and actually it does not exist. We have, therefore, to conclude that either the conditions have changed in recent times or the observations of Thurston are based on some hearsay material. Muduvars have not been listed by any anthropologists as a polyandrous tribe. In Pannikuli, the ratio of males to females is 52 : 50 (Vide Table 3 in Appendix III). This sex ratio will negative the possibility of the practice of polyandry. The traditional custom of marriage among them is the boy to choose his girl and elope with her into the forest and later be recognised as husband and wife. This practice is also inconsistent with any possibility of polyandry being practised inside the community.

The Muduvars like other tribes allow remarriage of widows. In Madras State, it is permitted by many castes and tribes which are not ranked high when compared with Brahmins. It is only prohibited among the superior castes perhaps encouraged by the example and precept of the Brahmins. The superior castes



A view of a Muduvar temple.
This is at the entrance to the settlement and about 100 yards away from it.



Inside view of the Temple.



A Mudugar belle carrying a pot of water from the stream.

who consider themselves equal or nearly equal to Brahmins consider widow remarriage objectionable. So, also is divorce and remarriage permitted. For serious reasons like incompatibility and adultery, a council of elders presided over by the Moopan is competent to grant divorces after due enquiry. They do not give it for flimsy reasons. In such cases, they persuade the couple to try to live together.

Cases of adultery within the members of the tribe are said to be rare. Whenever such instances are brought to notice, the delinquents are punished with suitable fines. Adultery with persons outside the tribe is unknown. The Mudugars keep their women away from the eye of the outsiders and chances of the women going astray are much reduced. The Mudugars generally enjoy a good reputation among the neighbours for their level of morality.

Social functions and ceremonies

18. The birth of a child in a family is usually an occasion for rejoicing unless the family has too many children. Improvident maternity is unknown among Mudugars and no child is unwelcome. Since the property devolves by the female line, the birth of a girl is more welcome than that of a boy. The delivery does not take place in the living hut. A separate pollution shed is provided for this in every settlement. In all cases involving pollution, the woman is segregated to this pollution shed and made to live there until the pollution is dissipated by a series of baths. The period of pollution in the case of child birth is about a fortnight, for attainment of puberty 11 days and menses one week. During this period, no contact with other people of the settlement is permitted. Food is placed at a distance and then taken later by the inmates of the isolation shed. Normally, no one attends on the expectant mother and she has to bear the horrors without any aid. The rejoicing about the birth of a child takes place only after the delivery is successful. Mother and child are welcomed to the house after the 15th day. In the case of puberty, the girl is taken back after two or three baths. On this occasion, the maternal uncle presents a new saree to the girl. After attainment of puberty, the girl begins to grow tuft in full, instead of the limited front forelock. She also gets admission into the common dormitory for unmarried girls. Similar to the puberty ceremony, a ceremony called "turbaning" is celebrated for boys. When he grows up to the age of about twelve, his maternal uncle

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arrives on an auspicious day, previously fixed, and ties a turban on the head of the boy after giving him a ceremonial bath. On this occasion, a feast is given at the cost of the maternal uncle. The boy then begins to grow a full tuft and gets admitted to the common dormitory for unmarried boys. The admittance of a boy or a girl in the dormitory is welcomed by them and they feel happy about it. It heralds the independence from the paternal vigil and they are free to be as happy as possible. They can listen to stories of love and romance and to prepare themselves for matrimony.

Marriage ceremonies

19. The elders do not take any interest in arranging matrimonial alliances. The choice is left to the girl and the boy. The rules of exogamy have however to be observed and due consideration given to preferential alliances. The boy generally conveys his desire through common friends to the girl he fancies. If the desire is reciprocated and the parents of the girl have no objection, he meets her privately and asks for her hand. After getting her consent, he fixes a time for elopement. This is confidentially intimated to their friends. On the day thus fixed, they elope and live for a day or two in some secluded part of the jungle. Meanwhile enquiries begin in the village about their absence, in which initiative is taken by the maternal uncle of the boy. He ascertains from his comrades the place of their sojourn and brings them back to the village. Then their marriage is announced. The boy has to give ornaments and clothes to the girl. In the midst of the gathering, he inserts a bamboo comb in the tuft of the girl which he has prepared by himself. He is anxious to make the comb as attractive as possible. He does some decorative carvings on it and etches designs. This insertion ceremony of the comb on the marriage day takes place in front of the temple to the accompaniment of music of drums and pipes. Thurston has recorded that the tying of a Tali was said to have been tried in former days as part of the marriage ceremony, but as the brides always died, this practice was discontinued. Of late, besides inserting the comb, the bridegroom also ties a string of black beads on the neck of the girl. This is probably more to satisfy other communities who cannot think of any kind of marriage without the formality of tying a Tali. In the Travancore Census Report of 1931, it is recorded as follows:

"The orthodox marriage is between cross-cousins, i.e. the children of brothers and sisters. The marriage

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ceremony takes place in the evening after 6 p.m. The bridegroom with his best man and the bride's maid, goes to the bride's hut. The parents of the bride will then be absent from there. They should not be spectators of the ceremonial. The bridegroom presents the bride with ear-rings, glass bangles, clothes, and a comb of golden bamboo which he himself has made. The presentation of the comb forms the essential part of the ceremony and it is always worn by the bride on the back of the head above the knotted hair. After the ceremony, all the guests are treated to a feast. A relic of marriage by capture exists in this tribe.

The Muduvars do not pay any bride price. As Wednesdays are considered auspicious, marriages are usually held on Wednesdays. From the above description it will be clear that the father of the boy does not take any interest in the marriage of his son. Sometimes the marriage can take place without the father's consent. He is not free to obstruct the marriage under any circumstances.

Death ceremonies

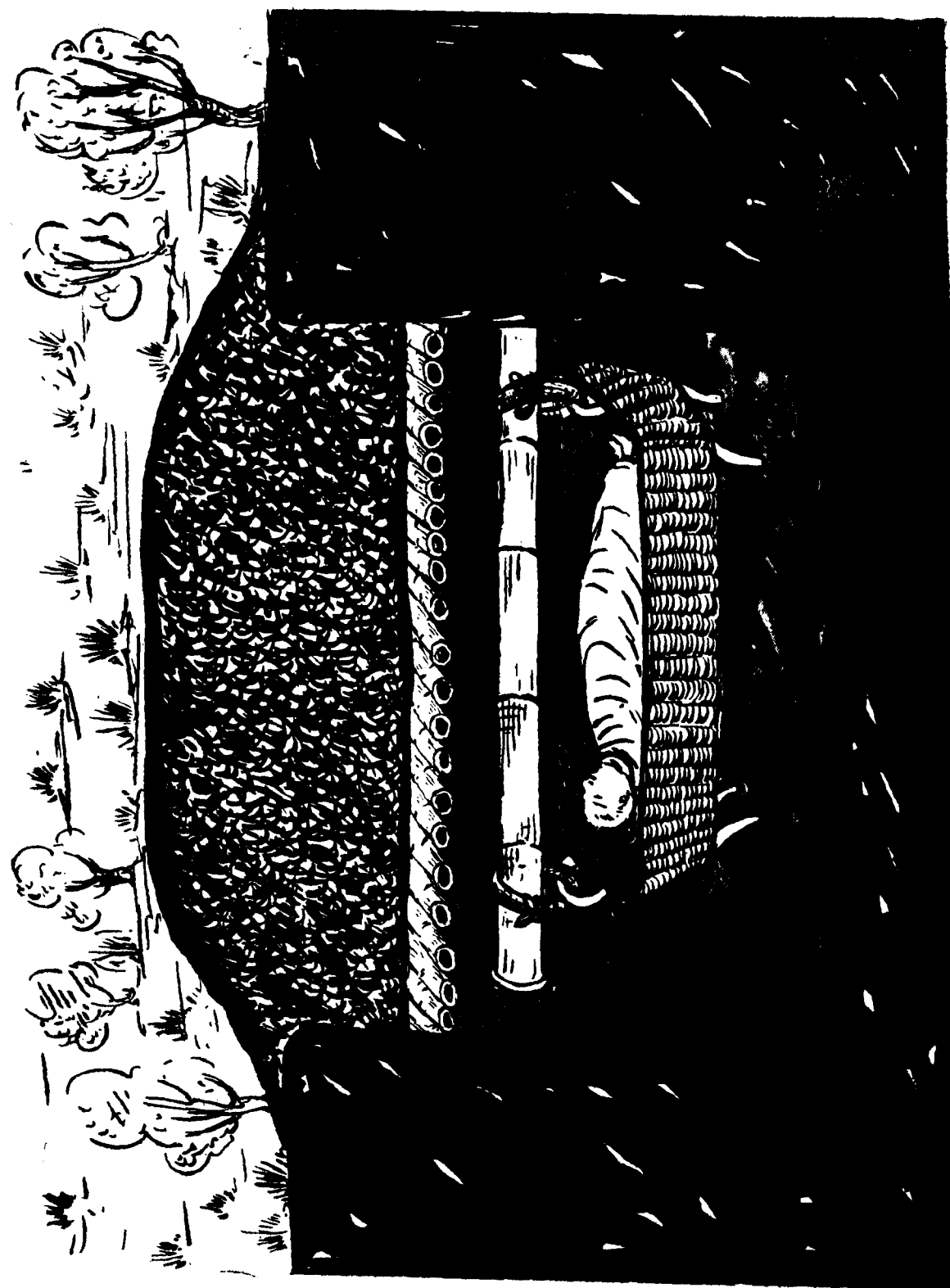
20. Any death is the concern of the entire settlement. If the person has lived his full span of life, full honours are done to the departed soul by beating drums and playing pipes. The body is washed and oil applied. It is dressed with suitable clothes and taken to the burial ground. As a rule, Muduvars bury the dead. They do not cremate the body. The body is carried in a basket made out of Ithai. The basket will look like a bath tub. It has two cane rings on either end. A stout pole is inserted through the rings and the body is carried like a palanquin. No place is fixed as burial ground. Any cultivable field can be used for this purpose. A rectangular pit to a depth of about 6' is dug. The basket containing the corpse is then lowered into the pit and the ends of the pole are fixed in the holes in such a manner that the basket neither touches the floor nor the sides of the pit. Reapers are then put horizontally over the pole and

then covered with earth. By this a chamber is created in which the body can rest without touching the earth. This is the traditional method of burial. Of late, a similar simplified method is adopted, i.e. by rolling the body in a mat and placing the roll in a layer of dry leaves inside the pit. It is then covered with earth after dry leaves are spread over the body. The head faces upwards and it is towards the south. They do not leave any stone to indicate the place of burial. They even cultivate the land in which the dead is buried. 'Karumathi' is performed on the 13th day when a feast is given. They do not have any ceremonies in which the dead are remembered.

Conclusion

21. The Muduvars are by custom, tradition and practice, considered to be superior to all other tribes living in the Anamalai hills. Other tribes pay respect to them and call them as "Petrorgal" or elders. The Muduvars have, with their generosity and good heartedness deserved the position which they have today. Their relationship with others is quite harmonious. They are self-reliant, but they do not change any of their habits and they keep themselves aloof not only from non-tribals, but also from other tribes. They are not changed by contact with civilization or by any of the Welfare Schemes which the Government have from time to time implemented for the development of the tribes. In the matter of education, their condition is miserable.

They live in such an isolation in the reserved forest that it will be difficult for any social worker or administrator to take interest in their development or welfare. At the same time, they have a limited culture of their own which they maintain in isolation and when one sees other tribals losing their characteristics and imbibe some of the undesirable features of their more civilised brethren in the process of getting civilised, one cannot but admire the small band of tribals who have maintained their seclusion and isolation and a culture of their own for centuries.



Traditional way of burying among Muduvars.

APPENDIX I

**Extracts about Muduvars from
Census Reports and other
published volumes.**

EXTRACT FROM 'THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA'

by E. THURSTON—1909

The Muduvvars or Mudugars are a tribe of hill cultivators in Coimbatore, Madura, Malabar and Travancore. For the following note on those who inhabit the Cardamom hills, I am indebted to Mr. Aylmer Ff. Martin.

The name of the tribe is usually spelt Muduvar in English, and in Tamil pronounced Muthuvar, Muthuvar or Muthuvanal. Outsiders sometimes call the tribe Thagappanmargal (a title sometimes used by the low-caste people in addressing their masters). The Muduvvars have a dialect of their own, closely allied to Tamil with a few Malayalam words. Their names for males are mostly those of Hindu gods and heroes, but Kanjan (dry or stingy), Karupu Kunji (black chick), Kunjita (chicken) and Kar Megam (black cloud) are distinctive and common. For females, the names of goddesses and heroines, Karapayi (black), Koopi (sweepings), and Paychi (shedevil) are common. Boy twins are invariably Lutchuman and Raman girl twins Lutchimi and Ramayi. Boy and girl twins are named Lutchman and Ramayi, or Lutchimi and Raman.

The Muduvvars do not believe themselves to be indigenous to the hills; the legend, handed down from father to son, is that they originally lived in Madura. Owing to troubles, or a war in which the Pandyan Raja of the times was engaged, they fled to the hills. When at Bodinayakanur, the pregnant women (or, as some say, a pregnant woman) were left behind, and eventually went with the offspring to the Nilgiris, while the bulk of the tribe came to the High Range of North Travancore. There is supposed to be enmity between these rather vague Nilgiri people and the Muduvvars. The Nilgiri people are said occasionally to visit Bodinayakanur, but if by chance they are met by Muduvvars, there is no speech between them, though each is supposed instinctively or intuitively to recognise the presence of the other. Those that came to the High Range carried their children up the Ghats on their backs, and it was thereupon decided to name the tribe Muduvar, or back people. According to another tradition, when they left Madura, they carried with them on their back the image of the goddess Minakshi, and brought it to Neriya-mangalam. It is stated by Mr. P. E. Conner that the Muduvvars "rank high in point of precedence among the hill tribes. They were originally Vellalas, tradition representing them as having accompanied some of the Madura princes to the Travancore hills". The approximate time of the exodus from Madura cannot even be guessed by any of the tribe, but it was possibly at the time when the Pandyan Rajas entered the south, or more probably when the Telugu Naickers took possession of Bodinayakanur in the fourteenth century. It has also been suggested that the Muduvvars were driven to the hills by the Muhamadan invaders in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Judging from the two distinct types of countenance, their language, and their curious mixture of customs, I hazard the conjecture that, when they arrived on the hills, they found a small tribe in possession, with whom they subsequently intermarried, this tribe having affinities with the west coast, while the new arrivals were connected with the east.

The tribe is settled on the northern and western portion of the Cardamom Hills, and the High Range of Travancore, known as the Kanan Devan hills, and there is, I believe, one village on the Anamalai hills. They wander to some extent, less so now than formerly, owing to the establishment of the planting community in their midst. The head-quarters at present may be said to be on the western slopes of the High Range. The present Mel Vaken or headman lives in a village on the western slope of the High Range at about 2,000 feet elevation, but villages occur up to 6,000 feet above sea level, the majority of villages being about 4,000 feet above the sea. The wandering takes place between the reaping of the final crop on one piece of land, and the sowing of the next. About November sees the breaking up of the old village, and February the establishment of the new. On the plateau of the High Range their dwellings are small rectangular, rather flat-roofed huts, made of jungle sticks or grass (both walls and roof), and are very neat in appearance. On the western slopes, although the materials lend themselves to even neater building, their houses are usually of a rougher type. The materials used are the stems and leaves of the large-leaved ita (bamboo: (*Ochlandra Travancorica*) owing to the absence of grass-land country. The back of the house has no wall, the roof sloping on to the hillside behind, and the other walls are generally made of a rough sort of matting made by plaiting split ita stems.

Outsiders are theoretically not received into the caste, but a weaver caste boy and girl who were starving (in the famine of 1877, as far as I can make out), and deserted on the hills, were adopted, and, when they grew up, were allowed the full privileges of the caste. Since then, a 'Thotiya Naicker' child was similarly adopted, and is now a full-blown Muduvar with a Muduvar wife. On similar occasions, adoptions from similar or higher castes might take place, but the adoption of Pariahs or low-caste people would be quite impossible. In a lecture delivered some years ago by Mr. O. H. Bensley, it was stated that the Muduvvars permit the entry of members of the Vellala caste into their community, but insist upon a considerable period of probation before finally admitting the would-be Muduvar into their ranks.

If any dispute arises in the community, it is referred to the men of the village, who form an informal panchayat (council), with the eldest or most influential man at its head. References are sometimes, but only seldom, made to the Muppen, a sort of sub-headman of the tribe, except perhaps, in the particular village in which he resides. The office of both Muppen and Mel Vaken is hereditary, and follows the marumakkatayan custom, i.e., descent to the eldest son of the eldest sister. The orders of the panchayat, or of the headman, are not enforceable by any specified means. A sort of sending a delinquent to Coventry exists, but falls through when the matter has blown over. Adjudications only occur at the request of the parties concerned, or in the case of cohabitation between the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, when, on it becoming known, the guilty pair are banished to the jungle, but seem nevertheless to be able to visit the village at will.

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When disputes between parties are settled against any one, he may be fined, generally in kind—a calf, a cow, a bull, or grain. There is no trial by ordeal. Oaths by the accuser, the accused, and partisans of both, are freely taken. The form of oath is to call upon God that the person swearing, or his child, may die within so many days if the oath is untrue, at the same time stepping over the Rama kodu, which consists of lines drawn on the ground, one line for each day. It may consist of any number of lines, but three, five or seven are usual. Increasing the number of lines indefinitely would be considered to be trifling with the subject.

There do not seem to be any good omens, but evil omens are numerous. The barking of 'jungle sheep' (barking deer) or sambar, the hill robin crossing the path when shifting the village, are examples. Oracles, magic, sorcery, witchcraft and especially the evil eye, are believed in very firmly, but are not practiced by Muduvvars. I was myself supposed to have exercised the evil eye at one time. It once became my duty to apportion to Muduvvars land for their next year's cultivation, and I went round with some of them for this purpose, visiting the jungle they wished to clear. A particular friend of mine, called Kanjan, asked for a bit of secondary growth very close to a cinchona estate; it was, in fact, situated between Lower Nettigudy and Upper Nettigudy, and the main road passed quite close. I told him that there was no objection, except that it was most unusual, and that probably the estate coolies would rob the place; and I warned him very distinctly that if evil came of his choice, he was not to put the blame on me. Shortly afterwards I left India, and was absent about three months, and, when I returned, I found that small-pox had practically wiped out that village, thirty-seven out of forty inhabitants having died, including Kanjan. I was, of course, very sorry; but, as I found a small bit of the land in question had been felled, and there being no claimants, I planted it up with cinchona. As the smallpox had visited all the Muduvar villages, and had spread great havoc among them, I was not surprised at their being scarce, but I noticed, on the few occasions when I did see them, that they were always running away. When I got the opportunity, I cornered a man by practically riding him down, and asked for an explanation. He then told me that, of course, the tribe had been sorely troubled, because I told Kanjan in so many words that evil would come. I had then disappeared (to work my magic, no doubt), and returned just in time to take that very bit of land for myself. That was nearly five years ago, and confidence in me is only now being gradually restored.

The Muduvvars have lucky days for starting on a journey—

Monday, start before sunrise.

Tuesday, start in the forenoon.

Wednesday start before 7 A.M.

Thursday, start after eating the morning meal.

Friday, never make a start; it is a bad day.

Saturday and Sunday, start as soon as the sun has risen.

When boys reach puberty, the parents give a feast to the village. In the case of a girl, a feast is likewise given, and she occupies, for the duration of the menstrual period, a hut set apart for all the women in the village to occupy during their uncleanness. When it is over, she washes her clothes, and takes a bath, washing her head. This is just what every woman of the

village always does. There is no mutilation, and the girl just changes her child's dress for that of a woman. The married women of the village assist at Confinements. Twins bring good luck. Monsters are said to be sometimes born, bearing the form of little tigers, cows, monkeys, etc. On these occasions, the mother is said generally to die, but, when she does not die, she is said to eat the monster. Monstrosities must any way be killed. Childless couples are dictated to make them fruitful, the principal diet for a man being plenty of black monkey, and for a woman a compound of various herbs and spices.

A man may not marry the daughter of his brother or sister; he ought to marry his uncle's daughter, and he may have two or three wives, who may or may not be sisters. Among the plateau Muduvvars, both polygamy and polyandry are permitted, the former being common, and the latter occasional. In the case of the latter, brothers are prohibited from having a common wife, as also are cousins on the father's side. In the case of polygamy, the first married is the head wife, and the others take orders from her, but she has no other privileges. If the wives are amicably disposed, they live together, but, when inclined to disagree, they are given separate houses for the sake of peace and harmony. With quarrelsome women, one wife may be in one village, and the others in another. A man may be polygamous in one village, and be one of a polyandrous lot of men a few miles off. On the Cardamom Hills, and on the western slopes, where the majority of the tribe live, they are monogamous, and express abhorrence of both the polygamous and polyandrous condition, though they admit, with an affectation of amused disgust, that both are practiced by their brethren on the high lands.

Marriages are arranged by the friends, and more often by the cousins on the mother's side of the bridegroom, who request the hand of a girl or woman from her parents. If they agree, the consent of the most remote relatives has also to be obtained, and, if every one is amicable, a day is fixed, and the happy couple leave the village to live a few days in a cave by themselves. On their return, they announce whether they would like to go on with it, or not. In the former case, the man publicly gives ear-rings, a metal (generally brass) bangle, a cloth, and a comb to the woman and takes her to his hut. The comb is a poor affair made of split ita or perhaps of bamboo, but it is the essential part of the ceremony. If the probationary period in the cave has not proved quite satisfactory to both parties, the marriage is put off, and the man and the woman are both at liberty to try again with some one else. Betrothal does not exist as a ceremony, though families often agree together to marry their children together, but this is not binding in any way. The tying of the tali (marriage badge) is said to have been tried in former days as part of the marriage ceremony, but, as the bride always died, the practice was discontinued. Remarriage of widows is permitted, and the widow by right belongs to, or should be taken over by her deceased husband's maternal aunt's son and not, under any circumstances, by any of his brothers. In practice she marries almost any one but one of the brothers. No man should visit the house of his younger brother's wife, or even look at that lady. This prohibition does not extend to the wives of his elder brothers, but sexual intercourse even here would be incest. The same ceremonies are gone through at the remarriage of a widow as in an ordinary marriage, the ear-rings and bangles, which she discarded on the death of the previous

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husband, being replaced. Widows do not wear a special dress, but are known by the absence of jewelry. Elopements occur. When a man and woman do not obtain the consent of the proper parties they run away into the jungle or a cave, visiting the village frequently, and getting grain, etc., from sympathisers. The anger aroused by their disgraceful conduct having subsided, they quietly return to the village, and live as man and wife. (It is noted, in the Travancore Census Report, 1901, that, after a marriage is settled, the bridegroom forcibly takes away the maiden from her mother's house when she goes out for water or firewood, and lives with her separately for a few days or weeks in some secluded part of the forest. They then return, unless in the meantime they are searched for, and brought back by their relations.) In theory, a man may divorce his wife at will, but it is scarcely etiquette to do so, except for infidelity, or in the case of incompatibility of temper. If he wants to get rid of her for less horrible crimes, he can palm her off on a friend. A woman cannot divorce her husband at all in theory, but she can make his life so unbearable that he gladly allows her to palm herself off on somebody else. Wives who have been divorced marry again freely.

The tribe follow the west coast or marumakkatayam law of inheritance with a slight difference, the property descending to an elder or younger sister's son. Property, which seldom consists of more than a bill-hook, a blanket, and a few cattle, always goes to a nephew, and is not divided in any way.

The tribe professes to be Hindu, and the chief Gods are Panaliandavar (a corruption of Palaniandi) and Kadavallu who are supposed to live in the Madura temple with Minakshiammal and her husband Sokuru. They are also said to worship Chantiattu Bhagavati and Neriymangalam Sasta. Suryan (the sun) is a beneficent deity. The deities which are considered maleficent are numerous, and all require propitiation. This is not very taxing, as a respectful attitude when passing their reputed haunts seem to suffice. They are alluded to as Karapu (black ones). One in particular is Nyamaru, who lives on Nyamamallai the jungles round which were said to be on badly haunted. At present they are flourishing tea estates, so Nyamaru has retired to the scrub at the top of the mountain. Certain caves are regarded as shrines, where spear-heads, a trident or two, and copper coins are placed, partly to mark them as holy places, and partly as offerings to bring good luck, good health, or good fortune. They occur in the most remote spots. The only important festival is Thai Pongal, when all who visit the village, be they who they may, must be fed. It occurs about the middle of January, and is a time of feasting and rejoicing.

The tribe does not employ priests of other castes to perform religious ceremonies. Muduvvars who are halfwitted, or it may be eccentric, are recognised as Swamyars or priests. If one desires to get rid of a headache or illness, the Swamyar is told that he will get four annas or so if the complaint is soon removed, but he is not expected to perform miracles, or to make any active demonstration over the matter. Swamyars who spend their time in talking to the sun and moon as their brethren, and in supplications to mysterious and unknown beings, are the usual sort, and, if they live a celibate life, they are greatly esteemed. For those who live principally on milk, in addition to practicing the other virtue, the greatest reverence is felt. Such an one occurs only once or twice in a century.

The dead are buried lying down, face upwards, and placed north and south. The grave has a little thatched room, about six feet by two, put over it. A stone, weighing twenty or thirty pounds, is put at the head, and a similar stone at the feet. These serve to mark the spot when the roof perishes, or is burnt during the next grass fire. The depth of the grave is, for a man, judged sufficient if the grave digger standing on the bottom, finds the level of the ground up to his waist, but, for a woman, it must be up to his armpits. The reason is that the surviving women do not like to think that they will be very near the surface, but the men are brave, and know that, if they lie north and south, nothing can harm them, and no evil approach. The ghosts of those killed by accident or dying a violent death, haunt the spot till the memory of the occurrence fades from the minds of the survivors and of succeeding generations. These ghosts are not propitiated, but the haunted spots are avoided as much as possible. The Muduvvars share with many other jungle-folk the idea that, if any animal killed by a tiger or leopard falls so as to lie north and south, it will not be eaten by the beast of the prey. Nor will it be re-visited, so that sitting over a 'kill' which has fallen north and south, in the hopes of getting a shot at the returning tiger or leopard, is a useless proceeding.

Totemism does not exist, but, in common with other jungle tribes, the tiger is often alluded to as jackal.

Fire is still often made by means of the flint and steel, though match-boxes are common enough. Some dry cotton (generally in a dirty condition) is placed along the flint, the edge of which is struck with the steel. The spark generated ignites the cotton, and is carefully nursed into flame in dead and dry grass. The Muduvvars also know how to make fire by friction, but nowadays this is very seldom resorted to. A rotten log of a particular kind of tree has first to be found, the inside of which is in an extremely dry and powdery condition, while the outside is still fairly hard. Some of the top of the topmost side of the recumbent log having been cut away at a suitable place, and most of the inside removed, a very hard and pointed bit of wood is rapidly rotated against the inner shell of the log where the powdery stuff is likely to ignite, and this soon begins to smoke, the fire being then nursed much in the same way as with the fire generated by the flint and steel.

By the men, the languti and leg cloth of the Tamils are worn. A turban is also worn, and a cumby or blanket is invariably carried, and put on when it rains. (It is noted, in the Travancore Census Report, 1901, that males dress themselves like the Maravans of the low country. A huge turban is almost an invariable portion of the toilette. The chief of the Muduvvars is known as Vakka, without whose consent the head-dress is not to be worn). I have seen a Muduvar with an umbrella. Nowadays, the discarded coats of planters, and even trousers and tattered riding-breeches are common, and Muduvar has been seen wearing a blazer. The men wear ear-rings, supposed to be, and sometimes in reality, of gold, with bits of glass of different colours in them, and also silver or brass finger and toe rings, and sometimes a bangle on each arm or on one leg. The women go in very largely for beads, strings of them adorning their necks, white and blue being favourite colours. Rings for the ears, fingers and toes, and sometimes many glass bangles on the arms, and an anklet on each leg, are the usual things, the pattern of the metal jewelry being often the same as seen on the women of

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crops or frighten away demons, but they employ many devices for keeping off pigs, sambar, and barking deer from their crops, none of which appear to be efficacious for long. The implement *par excellence* of the Muduvar is the bill-hook, from which he never parts company, and with which he can do almost anything, from building a house to skinning a rat, or from hammering sheet-lead into bullets to planting maize.

The bulk of the tribe live on ragi or hill-rice, and whatever vegetables they can grow, and whatever meat they trap or shoot. They esteem the flesh of the black monkey (*Semnopithecus johni*) above everything, and lust after it. I have seen a Muduvar much pulled down by illness seize an expiring monkey, and suck the blood from its jugular vein. Muduvvars will not eat beef, dog, jackals, or snakes, but will eat several sorts of lizards, and rats, 'ibex', and all the deer tribe, fish, fowl, and other birds, except kites and vultures, are put into the pot. The plateau Muduvvars, and those on the eastern slopes, will not eat pig in any shape or form. Those on the western slopes are very keen on wild pig, and this fact causes them to be somewhat looked down upon by the others. I think this pork-eating habit is due to the absence of sambar or other deer in the heart of the forests. Muduvvars are fond of alcohol in any shape or form. They take a liquor from a wild palm which grows on the western slopes, and, after allowing it to become fermented, drink it freely. Some members of the tribe, living in the vicinity of these palms, are more or less in a state of intoxication during the whole time it is in season. Their name for the drink is tippily-kal, and the palm resembles the kittul (*Caryota urens*). The western slope Muduvvars are acquainted with opium from the west coast, and some of them are slaves to the habit. The Muduvvars do not admit that any other caste is good enough to eat, drink, or smoke with them. They say that, once upon a time, they permitted these privileges to Vellalans, but this fact induced so many visitors to arrive that they really could not afford it any more, so they eat, drink, and smoke with no one now, but will give uncooked food to passing strangers.

I have never heard any proverb, song, or folk-tale of the Muduvvars, and believe the story of their arrival on the hills to be their stock tale. They have a story, which is more a statement of belief than anything else, that, when a certain bamboo below Pallivasal flowers, a son of the Maharaja of Travancore turns into a tiger or puli-manisan, and devours people. Men often turn into puli-manisan owing chiefly to witchcraft on the part of others, and stories of such happenings are often told. The nearest approach to a proverb I have heard is Tingakilamei nalla tingalam, which sounds rather tame and meaningless in English: "On Monday you can eat well" — the play on the words being quite lost.

The Muduvvars make a miniature tom-tom by stretching monkey skin over a firm frame of split bamboo or ita, on which the maker thereof will strum by the hour much to his own enjoyment.

In former days, the whole tribe were very shy of stranger and it is only within the last thirty years that they have become used to having dealings with outsiders. Old men still tell of days when robbers from the Coimbatore side used to come and burn the Muduvar villages, and carry off what cattle or fowl they could find. Even now, there are some of the men in who

the plains. The cloth, after being brought round the waist, and tucked in there, is carried over the body, and two corners are knotted on the right shoulder. Unmarried girls wear less jewelry than the married women, and widows wear no jewelry till they are remarried, when they can in no way be distinguished from their sisters. Tattooing is not practiced. Sometimes a stout thread is worn on the arm, with a metal cylinder containing some charm against illness or the evil eye, but only the wise men or elders of the caste lay much store on, or have knowledge of these things.

The Muduvvars believe that they were originally cultivators of the soil, and their surroundings and tastes have made them become hunters and trappers, since coming to the hills. At the present day, they cut down a bit of secondary jungle or cheppukad, and, after burning it off, sow ragi (millet), or, where the rainfall is sufficient, hill-rice, which is weeded and tended by the women, the men contenting themselves by trying to keep out the enemies to their crops. After harvest there is not much to be done, except building a new village perhaps, making traps, and shooting. All they catch is game to them, though we should describe some of the animals as vermin. They catch rats, squirrels, quail, jungle fowl, porcupines, mouse-deer and fish. They kill, with a blowpipe and dart, many small birds. The traps in use are varied, but there are three principal ones, one of which looks like a big bow. It is fixed upright in the ground as a spring to close with a snap a small upright triangle of sharp-edged bamboo, to which it is connected, and into which any luckless small game may have intruded its head, induced to do so by finding all other roads closed with a cunningly made fence. Another is a bent sapling, from which a loop of twine or fibre hangs on what appears to be the ground, but is really a little platform on which the jungle fowl treads, and immediately finds itself caught by both legs, and hanging in mid-air. The third is very much the same, but of stouter build. The loop is upright, and set in a hedge constructed for the purpose of keeping the fretful porcupine in the path, passing along which the beast unconsciously releases a pin, back flies the sapling, and the porcupine is hung. If fouled in any way, he generally uses his teeth to advantage, and escapes. The Muduvvars are also adepts at catching 'ibex' (wild goat), which are driven towards a fence with nooses set in it at proper points, which cause the beasts to break their necks. Fish are caught in very beautiful constructed cruives, and also on the hook, while, on the larger rivers below the plateau, the use of the night-line is understood. With the gun, sambar, 'ibex', barking deer, mungooses, monkeys, squirrels, and martens are killed. Besides being a good shot, the Muduvar, when using his own powder, takes no risks. The stalk is continued until game is approached, sometimes to within a few yards, when a charge of slugs from the antiquated match-lock has the same effect as the most up-to-date bullet from the most modern weapon. Mr. Bensley records how, on one occasion, two English planters went out with two Muduvvars after 'bison'. One of the Muduvvars, carrying a rifle, tripped, and the weapon exploded, killing one of the planters on the spot. The two Muduvvars immediately took to their heels. The other planter covered them with his rifle, and threatened to shoot them if they did not return, which they at last did. Mr. Bensley held the magisterial enquiry, and the Muduvvars were amazed at escaping capital punishment.

In their agricultural operations, the Muduvvars are very happy-go-lucky. They have no scare-crows to avert injury to

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his fear of strangers seems to be innate, and who have never spoken to Europeans. In the women this feeling is accentuated, for, when suddenly met with, they make themselves scarce in the most surprising way, and find cover as instinctively as a quail chick. There are now and again men in the tribe who aspire to read, but I do not know how far any of them succeed.

The Muduvars are becoming accustomed to quite wonderful things - the harnessing of water which generates electricity to work machinery, the mono-rail tram which now runs through their country, and, most wonderful of all, the telephone. An old man described how he would raise envy and wonder in the hearts of his tribe by relating his experience. "I am the first of my caste to speak and hear over five miles," said he, with evident delight.

I have alluded to the two different types of countenance; perhaps there is a third resulting from a mixture of the other two. The first is distinctly aquiline-nosed and thin-lipped, and to this type the men generally belong. The second is flat-nosed, wide-nostrilled, and thick-lipped, and this fairly represents the women, who compare most unfavourably with the men in face. I have never seen men of the second type, but of an intermediate type

they are not uncommon. On the Cardamom Hills there may still exist a tribe of dwarfs, of which very little is known. The late Mr. J. D. Munro had collected a little information about them. Mr. A. W. Turner had the luck to come across one, who was caught eating part of a barking deer. Mr. Turner managed to do a little conversation with the man by signs, and afterwards he related the incident to Srirangam, a good old Muduvar shikari (sportsman), who listened thoughtfully, and then asked "Did you not shoot him?" The question put a new complexion on the character of the usually peaceful and timid Muduvar.

I know the Muduvars to be capable of real affection. Kanjan was very proud of his little son, and used to make plans for wounding an ibex, so that his boy might finish it off, and thus become accustomed to shooting.

In south Coimbatore, "honey-combs are collected by Irulas, Muduvars, and Kadiris. The collection is a dangerous occupation. A hill-man, with a torch in his hand and a number of bamboo tubes suspended from his shoulders, descends by means of ropes or creepers to the vicinity of the comb. The sight of the torch drives away the bees, and he proceeds to fill the bamboo with the comb, and then ascends to the top of the rock."

TABLE SCT—I

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX
FOR MUDUVARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	WORKERS											X
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX			
	Total Workers	As cultivator	As agricultural labourer	In mining, quarrying, livestock, hunting, fishing, plantations, Orchards & allied activities.	At household industry	In manufacturing other than household industry.	In Construction	In Trade & Commerce	In transport, storage & communications	In other services	Non-workers	
	P M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	
(1)	(2) (3) (4)	(5) (6)	(7) (8)	(9) (10)	(11) (12)	(13) (14)	(15) (16)	(17) (18)	(19) (20)	(21) (22)	(23) (24)	(25) (26)
Madras State	119 66 53	41 13	7 1	4 8	2 ...	1 ...	... ...	... 1	... ...	... ...	27 3	25 40
Coimbatore	28 14 14	8 4	... ...	2 ...	... ...	1 ...	... ...	... 1	... ...	... ...	5 3	6 10
Madurai	91 52 39	33 9	7 1	2 8	2 ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... 22	... ...	19 30

TABLE SCT—II
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR MUDUVARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State / District	Total Population			Age 0—14			Age 15—44			Age 45 +					
	Total	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Total	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Total	Married	Widowed		
(1)	P M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F	M F		
	(2) (3) (4) (5)	(6) (7)	(8)	(9) (10)	(11) (12)	(13) (14)	(15) (16)	(17) (18)	(19) (20)	(21) (22)	(23) (24)	(25) (26)	(27) (28)	(29) (30)	(31) (32)
Madras State	119 66 53	39 35 25 12	1 6 1	...	29 35 29 35	29 11 10	...	17 10 1 1 1	...	8 7 8 2	...	5			
Coimbatore	28 14 14	9 7 4 4	1 3	...	7 7 7 7	6 4 2	...	3 3 1 1 1	...	1 3 1 1	...	2			
Madurai	91 52 39	30 28 21 8	...	3 1	...	22 28 22 28	23 7 8	...	14 7	...	...	1 ... 7 4 7 1	...	3	

TABLE SCT — III
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR MUDUVARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District	EDUCATIONAL LEVELS									
	Total		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Madras State	66	53	58	53	8	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore	14	14	10	14	4	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	52	39	48	39	4	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT — IV
RELIGION FOR MUDUVARS IN MADRAS STATE.

All the Muduvarts enumerated in the State
belong to Hinduism.

TABLE SCT—VI
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS
AMONG MUDUVARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	Total Population																	Illiterate						
	Males								Females									Males						
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
Madras State	66	10	13	6	3	6	20	8	53	17	8	10	...	9	2	7	58	10	12	5	2	5	16	8
Coimbatore	14	1	4	2	...	...	6	1	14	4	1	2	...	4	...	3	10	1	4	1	...	...	3	1
Madurai	52	9	9	4	3	6	14	7	39	13	7	8	...	5	2	4	48	9	8	4	2	5	13	7

TABLE SCT—VI—(Contd).

Name of the State/District	Illiterate								Literate (without educational level)													
	Females								Males							Females						
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)	(43)	(44)	(45)	(46)	(47)
Madras State	53	17	8	10	...	9	2	7	8	1	1	1	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Coimbatore	14	4	1	2	...	4	...	3	4	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Madurai	39	13	7	8	...	5	2	4	4	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

TABLE SCT - VII

Occupational Code-Family group	Madras State		Coimbatore		Madurai	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total Workers	41	13	8	4	33	9
415 Plantation labourers	2	...	...	...	2	...
704 Drawers and Weavers	1	...	1	...	...	...
899 Labourers, n.e.c.	26	4	4	4	22	...
950 Laundrymen, Washermen and Dhobies	1	...	1	...	...	...
I Cultivators	7	1	...	...	7	1
II Agricultural labourers	4	8	2	...	2	8

T A B L E - S C T V I I I

Where Born	Rural/ Urban	Enumerated in Rural area of the Districts										Remarks
		Persons		Males		Females						
(1)	(2)	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai		
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)		
Total		119	28	91	66	14	52	53	14	39		
A. Born in India	R	119	28	91	66	14	52	53	14	39		
I. Within the State of enumeration	R	119	28	91	66	14	52	53	14	39	Figures enumerated in Urban	
(a) Born in place of enumeration.	R	104	21	83	60	10	50	44	11	33		
(b) Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.	R	15	7	8	6	4	2	9	3	6		

**MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN
PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG MUDUVARS**

Where Born	Rural	Urban	Unclassified	Total Migrants						Less than 1 year						1—5 years						6—10 years		
				Males			Females			Males			Females			Males			Females			Males		
				Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)		
Total			6	4	2	9	3	6	2	...	2	5	...	5	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.	R		6	4	2	9	3	6	2	...	2	5	...	5	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	
	U		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Rural	UC		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.	R		6	4	2	9	3	6	2	...	2	5	...	5	1	1	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	
	U		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	UC		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Urban						Nil.						Nil.					Nil.					Nil.		

T A B L E S C T—IX—(Contd.)

Where Born		Rural	Urban	Unclassified	6—10 years			11—15 years						16 and over						Period not stated					
					Females			Males			Females			Males			Females			Males			Females		
					Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai	Total	Coimbatore	Madurai			
Total					(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)	(43)	(44)
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.		R			1	1	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		U			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rural		UC			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.		R			1	1	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		U			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		UC			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Urban					Nil.			Nil.			Nil.			Nil.			Nil.			Nil.					

APPENDIX III

**Socio-economic tables
relating to the survey
in Pannikuli settlement**

TABLE - ST I
MOTHER TONGUE AND BI-LINGUALISM AMONG MUDUVARS

Name of the State / District	Total Speakers		Mother tongue: Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to that shown horizontally		Subsidiary Language
	M	F	M	F	
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
(1)					(6)
Madras State	TAMIL				
	66	53	...	...	...
Coimbatore	TAMIL				
	14	14	...	...	...
Madurai	TAMIL				
	52	39	...	...	...

TABLE - ST II
PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR MUDUVARS

Name of the State/District	Total Non-working Population			Full time Students		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)											
Madras State	65	25	40	4	...	...	...	...	...	21	40
Coimbatore	16	6	10	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	10
Madurai	49	19	30	1	...	...	...	...	...	18	30

T A B L E - 1

SIZE OF MUDUVAR HOUSEHOLDS IN PANNIKULI SETTLEMENT

No. of House-holds.	SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD														
	Single member			2—3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members and over		
	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F	House-holds	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
21	...	...	...	5	6	8	14	37	34	1	3	4	1	6	4

T A B L E - 2

**WORKERS AMONG MUDUVARS IN PANNIKULI SETTLEMENT
CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS**

Age Group	OCCUPATION — CULTIVATOR			OCCUPATION — LABOURER, 899		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All Ages	22	21	1	1	1	...
0 — 4	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 — 9	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 —19	2	1	1	...	...	...
20 —24	3	...	...	1	1	...
25 —29	2	2	...	...	...	...
30 —34	5	5	...	...	...	...
35 —44	4	4	...	...	...	...
45 —59	6	6	...	...	...	...
60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE-3
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS													
Age Group	Total population			Never-Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated		Unspecified Status	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
All ages	102	52	50	31	22	21	21	...	7	...	...	...	...
0-4	25	12	13	12	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	15	9	6	9	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	6	5	1	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	7	2	5	2	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
20-24	11	7	4	3	1	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29	10	2	8	...	...	2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	9	5	4	...	...	5	2	...	2	...	...	...	...
35-44	9	4	5	...	...	4	3	...	2	...	...	...	...
45-59	9	6	3	...	...	6	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
60 and Over	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...

TABLE-4
EDUCATION

[illegible]

TABLE - 5
WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE GROUPS.

Age Group	Total Population			Workers			Non-Workers.		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All Ages	102	52	50	23	22	1	79	30	49
0-4	25	12	13	...	...	...	25	12	13
5-9	15	9	6	...	...	...	15	9	6
10-14	6	5	1	...	...	...	6	5	1
15-19	7	2	5	2	1	1	5	1	4
20-24	11	7	4	4	4	...	7	3	4
25-29	16	2	8	2	2	...	8	0	8
30-34	9	5	4	5	5	...	4	...	4
35-44	9	4	5	4	4	...	5	...	5
45-59	9	6	3	6	6	...	3	...	3
60 & over	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1

TABLE - 6
NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

Age Groups	NON-WORKERS													
	Total Non-workers			Full time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependants, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Others		Persons unemployed.		
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
All Ages	79	30	49	...	...	..	28	30	21	...	...	...	...	
0- 4	25	12	13	...	...	...	...	12	13	...	...	...	...	
5- 9	15	9	6	...	...	...	...	9	6	...	...	...	...	
10-14	6	5	1	...	...	...	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	
15-19	5	1	4	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	
20-24	7	3	4	...	...	...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	
25-29	8	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	
30-34	4	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	
35-44	5	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	
45-59	3	...	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	
60 & over	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	

KADARS

KADARS

Introduction

We find that many tribes have peculiar customs which appear strange and unnecessary. Among the Kadars who are found in the Anamalai hills of Coimbatore District, we find a most unusual custom, viz., the chipping or filing their incisor teeth and making them sharp and pointed, thereby reminding us of the teeth of tigers. In the course of our survey, we found that the younger generation has practically given up this practice, thanks to the contact of the tribe with outsiders and the benevolent influence which the welfare schools run by the Government of Madras have on the tribal people. But we can still find the older generation of Kadars with chiselled incisor teeth. We have talked to them in detail and tried to find out the reason why this tribe practise this unusual custom. No reason can be advanced by them except that it has been their practice from generation to generation to do so. Perhaps this custom will die in due course. The Kadars represent a tribe which are in the process of disintegration as a result of contact with outside influences and as a result of the education which they are getting in welfare schools. Their disintegration will be accelerated by the execution of Parambikulam Project in the Anamalai hills. Some of them are now employed as workers in this project and it is likely that by the time the project is completed, the Kadars, as a tribe, will forget their past and will identify themselves completely with the people of the plains. There are certain characteristic features in the older generation which suggest a race distinct from the people found in the plains, but their characteristic feature itself seems to be disappearing fast from the younger people whom we met in the course of our survey.

The word Kadan is derived from the word Kadu which means forest. Thurston in his book "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" and L. Anantakrishna Iyer in his book "Castes and Tribes of Cochin" have given accounts of this tribe. During the last decade, U.D. Ehrenfels of the Madras University has published an interesting account of the Kadars of Cochin. Both foreign and Indian anthropologists have made frequent references to Kadars in their books. Previous Census Reports have also written about Kadars. But these

studies are all old except that of Ehrenfels who has, however, discussed only the Kadars living on the other side of the hills, viz., Kerala during the post-war period. In a country surging with development and tribal welfare, it is likely that much has been done to obliterate the individuality of the Kadars or make them move with the times. We, therefore, felt it desirable to undertake a detailed study of this tribe which was done at Nedungunram in Valparai area of the Anamalai hills. The results of our study are embodied in this report.

Race and Ancestry

2. There is some controversy about the race to which Kadars belong. Their short stature, dark skin, thick lips and frizzly hair found in combination with one another, may indicate a similarity to Negrito type. One school of thought headed by Dr. Guha believes that the Kadars belong to Negrito racial strain. Another school headed by Thurston and Ayyappan is opposed to this view. It is an admitted fact that fusion of several races has taken place in South India. In this connexion, it would be interesting to recall the observation of Sri N. Srinivasa Iyengar in his book "The Tamil Studies". "Evidence points to Nagas as the original inhabitants of this country. They were divided into two sections, the earlier or the savage section and the later the semi-civilised section. The former belong to the Negrito race and the latter to the mixed one. Apparently both migrated to India from the South when it was connected by land with Australia, the earlier tribes being driven to the interior hills and forests, and the latter immigrants occupying the east coast from Cape Comorin to Vizag and extending as far as Nagpur in the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh)."

After Nagas, the Dravidians came to South India and then the Aryans. Whereas H.H. Risely did not recognise the Negrito as one of the principal racial types in India, A.C. Haddon thought that the oldest stratum consisted of pre-Dravidians to which stock Kadars, Pulayars, Malasars etc., belong. J.H. Hutton also thought that the earlier occupants of India were probably of the Negrito type. In his book "Castes

KADARS

of India", he has stated as follows: "Perhaps the most primitive of the South Indian forest tribes is that of the Kadars, a tribe which shows more traces of Negrito ancestry than any other, though that is not a great deal; the proto-Australoid element predominating. For a real Negrito we have to go outside the mainland of India to the Andaman Islands. The Kadars have only got some suggestions of these physical characteristics, but like the Andamanese, they live by hunting and the collection of forest produce. They bury their dead, observe no period of taboo after a death has occurred in the family and erect no memorial. They file or chip the incisor teeth to a point. Like the Andamanese the Kadars are very rapidly dying out, largely apparently as the result of their having taken to opium and distilled liquor which has been given to them by alien contractors employing their services".

Dr. Guha in his catalogue of the various racial elements found in India has cited Kadars and Pulayars as belonging to a separate type which has small make of body and curly hair. After conducting an anthropometric survey of Kadars, he has written as follows: "Whatever might have been the original type, there can be at any rate no doubt that this was Negrito". Dr. A. H. Keane has also written that "there is good evidence to show that the first arrivals in India were the black people, most probably Negritos". But Sri Ayyappan thinks that the so called aboriginal tribe are wrongly believed to be different from the plains people in ethnical and racial origins. While he admits that a very small percentage of some of the insignificant tribes such as Kadars of Anamalai show the frizzly hair, the majority of the tribes are, for racial purposes, indistinguishable from the plainsmen in the adjoining regions.

S. S. Sarkar in his book on "The aboriginal races in India" has expressed the following view: "Till such an enquiry is carried out, the Negrito racial strain on the basis of the hair form alone cannot be so eloquently asserted as it is apparently being done now. Much has already been said on the extreme meagreness of the data. Nothing is known of the familial relationship of Guha's 15 or 16 Kadars showing the so called Negrito type of hair. If these individuals happen to be related, Guha's frequency of Negrito of about 10% will be much less. The Kadar population of 267 souls only in 1931 warrants a close familial relationship in the sample. The Kadars have been the subject of a recent ethnographic study by Ehrenfels (1952)

who appears to have been highly impressed by Guha's opinion about the hair form of the Kadars. On page 24 he has mentioned the woolly character of the hair of the Kadar women in a most generalised manner. In Plate VII/C mention has been made of 'kinky' hair in a boy having parents with curly hair although it is apparent from the photograph in the father only. The same parents have been described on page 95 where the father's head hair is mentioned as frizzly almost woolly; while on page 99 the mother is described as having woolly hair. The author has used the terms curly, frizzly and woolly in an extremely loose manner and the reader finds himself in difficulty with regard to the real hair form in the extremely indistinct photographs. The author has also indulged in certain remarks on Negritoid features as contrasted with Proto-Australoid features on ground which are equally vague. So little is known of the somatic characters of the Kadars excepting those published by Thurston who denied the presence of any Negrito strain that it is very hazardous to speak of any racial affiliation. Both Guha and Ehrenfels have worked among the Kadars of Parambikulam and the many illustrations of the latter, indistinct though they are do not appear to show a frequency of about 10% of frizzly hair as claimed by Guha. Out of about 50 illustrations given by Ehrenfels only one appears to show a certain amount of frizzled hair and that too is doubtful from the photograph."

We find that conflicting views are held by anthropologists as to the racial origin of the Kadars and we consider it wise to leave it to them to settle this issue after a detailed survey. We wish to say, however, that during our survey we met several persons in this tribe with distinct Negrito features like short stature, dark skin, frizzly hair, thick lips etc. Some of the photographs taken by us will demonstrate these features. Another interesting aspect we observed was that these features were more marked in the older generation than in the younger one. Any casual visitor to the Kadar settlement will be impressed by the fact that they do represent a ethnic and racial group distinct from the other tribals in the area and the people belonging to the plains.

Habitat

3. In Madras State the Kadars are found only in the Anamalai Hills of Pollachi taluk in Coimbatore District. In the 1961 Census 2 Kadars have been returned in Salem District and 4 in Tirunelveli District.



A Kadar woman wearing a "Mayirmatti" which is a silver chain extending from the top of the ear to the tuft.



A Kadar male showing his sharpened incisor teeth. The method adopted for the sharpening is very painful but in olden days, no member of the tribe is eligible for marriage unless he or she improves the personality by undergoing such an operation.



Inside view of a Kadar's hut.



A young Kadar girl with thick lips and frizzly hair. These symptoms are suggestive of negritoi race in them.

In the Anamalai Hills, Kadars live in the following places :

1. Paramankadavu
2. Pannikuli
3. Savamalai
4. Nedungunram
5. Karungunru
6. Ayankulam
7. Vagamalai
8. Topslip area

They also live in the adjoining hill areas of the former Cochin State, now merged with Kerala. All these places are located in the midst of forest with exuberant vegetation. Tall trees surround them and give an appearance of awe and grandeur. Rainfall is in abundance for about six months in a year. Their habitation is surrounded by jungle streams and swampy low lying areas. We can find elephants, wild animals and the much more dreaded leeches. The Kadars lead a quiet life, co-existing with animals and leeches, eating whatever they can get and not troubled by such adverse circumstances of living.

Their settlements are generally found between altitudes ranging from 2,500' to 4,500'. This was within the malarial belt; but thanks to the good work done by the National Malarial Eradication Programme, their habitation has now become free of malaria.

The settlements of Kadars are generally found on the slopes of hills. Unlike the Todas, they do not live on the tops of the mounds or hillocks, nor do they like low lying areas which are infested with leeches. Each settlement may consist of 10 to 20 huts. Any settlement will be within easy reach of a jungle stream, so that it may have sufficient drinking water for daily use. In Savamalai settlement which we visited, we found that a small channel has been diverted from a jungle stream at a higher point and the diverted channel made to flow by the side of the settlement.

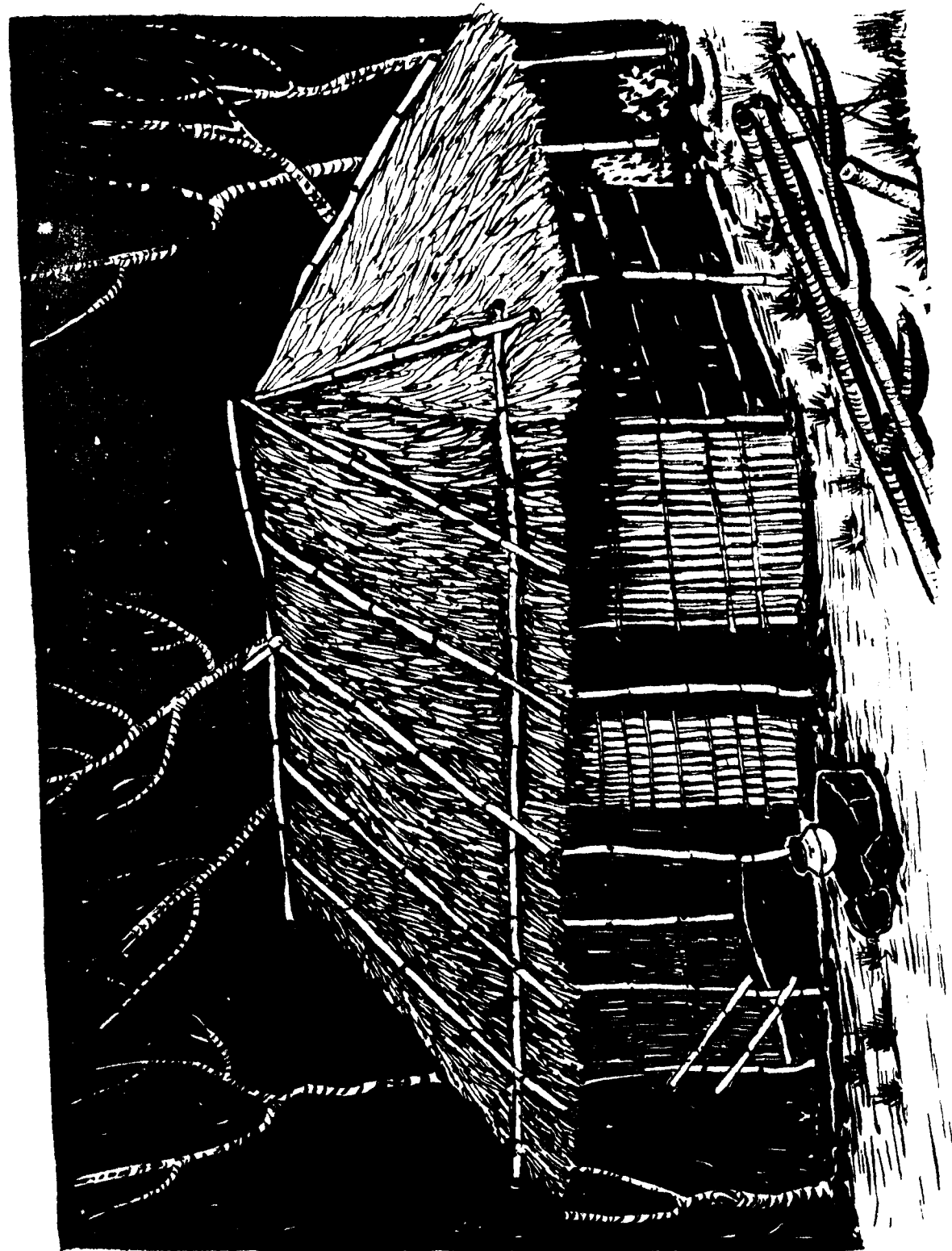
Another peculiar feature about their settlement is that they never make a complete clearing and create an open space in the forest. They remove the shrubs and erect their huts under the trees. The huts are not clustered together. The distance from one hut to another may be many yards and the huts are located at different elevations. All the huts are not visible from any one fixed point. This formation of settlement

gives a certain amount of privacy to each family in their movement. By the side of each hut, we can see a cluster of plantain trees and some vegetable plants. The whole ground may appear black because of the dumping of the ash obtained by burning wood during nights. A little away from the dwelling houses, we can see a small shed intended for the exclusive occupation of Kadar women during their pollution periods. We can also see one or two sheds of a different type intended for tethering milch cows owned by more advanced Kadars. Rearing of milch cows is not in their tradition, but of late they have taken to it.

Housing

4. The Kadars generally do not stick to any settlement. They are a food-gathering tribe. So when the natural food resources in any particular area are exhausted, they move to new places. They also accept employment in far off plantations to which they move with their family. Thus the policy of the Kadars is to make the huts as temporary as possible consistent with the provision of minimum comforts which they consider necessary. Generally they build their houses in the month of Chitrai corresponding to March-April. A pole is planted after offering worship to their Vana Thevathai with coconut, plantains and betel leaves. Both males and females participate in the construction of a house. The house is located in a raised platform which is about half a foot above the ground level. Their houses are rectangular in shape. The roof is made of twigs and leaves of a reed locally called 'Ithai' (*Ochlandra Travancoria*). They are so interwoven that the roofing becomes waterproof. The walls are also built with the same material. The hut need not have a door, but they erect a buffer screen or 'thatti' to obstruct the front view. Sometimes a small raised pial or verandah may be constructed in the front. They then produce smoke inside by burning leaves, so that any vermins sticking to the leaves may be killed. This prolongs the life of the material used for the construction of the house. As the huts do not have any doors, it is not as warm as the Muduvar huts during winter months.

In Nedungunram the Government have constructed houses for 30 Kadar families. There are 15 houses based on the type designs evolved by the Harijan Welfare Department. The walls are made of stones and the roof covered by Mangalore tiles. Some of the houses in this colony have already fallen and some



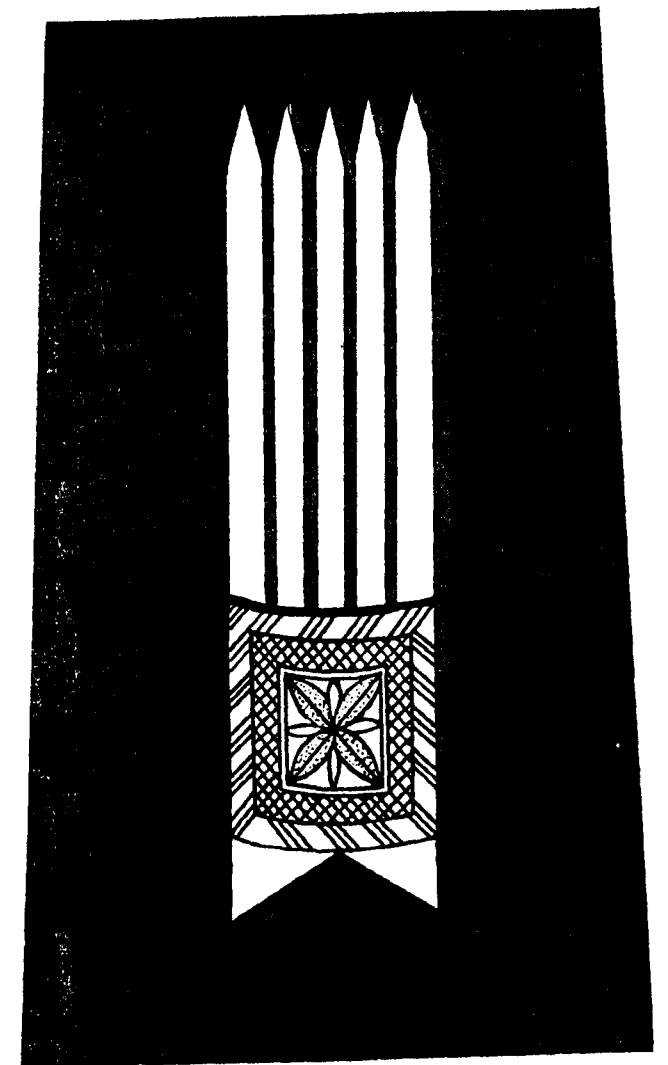
House of a Kadar

remain unoccupied. The houses have been built in four rows facing each other. The Government have granted each Rs. 600/- as subsidy and the contribution of the Kadars is fixed at Rs. 300/-. This amount was also advanced as loan to them. The loan is to be repaid at the rate of Rs. 2.50 p.m. But no repayment has so far been made and the Kadars have sent petitions to the Government urging that the loan amount should be written off. It is likely that no amount will be repaid by the Kadars. One has to appreciate the fact that the Kadars do not like permanent houses which is not in keeping with their habits. Inside the house, no modern furniture can be found. They use only mats made of thin tapes cut from the trunk of the reed called Ithai. They also make baskets out of them for their daily use.

Appearance, dress and ornaments

5. The Kadars are generally short in stature, well built and black skinned. The face is decidedly African, flattish, the nose broad and flat, lips thick and hair frizzly. They have short muscular legs. They can walk well on the hills, but not in the plains. The Kadar men were formerly having their tufts tied into a knot at the top of the head like Sikhs, but with the forehead shaved. Nowadays they have begun cropping their hair. The women part their hair in the middle and tie the long hair into a knot at the back. The Kadar men usually wear a langotti over their waist and a piece of cloth as turban. That is their traditional dress. They have now begun wearing half shirts or worn out coats. The womenfolk wear sarees and blouses similar to those of the low caste people in the plains. The saree usually consists of two different pieces, one worn round the waist and the other thrown over their left shoulder. In the case of pregnant women, the second piece is tied across their breasts. In olden days it is said that Kadars used to cover their bodies with leaves and barks. But they have now changed the dress and wear jewels like other people in the plains. The jewels consist of glass beads and cheap ornaments made of base white metal. They do not use too many of these cheap ornaments which is in contrast with Muduvar, another tribe in the Anamalai Hills. When ear rings cannot be purchased for want of money, they cover their dilated earlobes with scrolls of plaited Ithai, a kind of reed similar to bamboo.

The Kadar women stick a five pronged bamboo comb to their hair. This is made of a bamboo stick and



Marriage Comb of Kadars

contains artistic decorations and designs. The design, which varies from comb to comb according to the ingenuity of the maker, is done by etching with a sharp pointed knife. The comb is presented to the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. According to the old custom, the bridegroom has to present a comb to the bride. A similar custom is practised by Muduvars also. But the Muduvar's comb is different from the Kadar's comb in shape and finish. The Muduvar comb has a beautiful pointed knob. It is multi-pronged while the Kadar comb is cut "V" shaped and five pronged, making the teeth stouter. There is also the difference in the style of wearing. The Muduvar women stick them in the hair on the rear side while the Kadar women stick them on the front side. As the Kadars have

KADARS



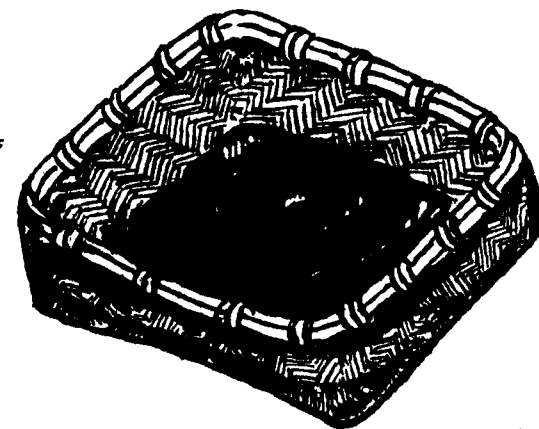
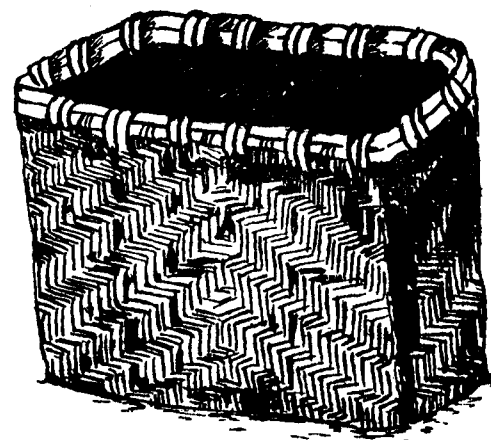
Style of wearing a Marriage Comb

frizzly hair, the prongs of the comb have necessarily to be stouter and stronger. It is interesting to speculate which tribe initiated this practice of wearing combs. The Kadars were the original inhabitants of the hills and the Muduvars migrated later. Since Muduvars enjoy a superior status and are held as elders by the Kadar tribesmen we are inclined to the view that the Kadars have copied this custom from the Muduvars. Support to the view can be had by the fact that no

marriage among Muduvars is sacred without the comb while for Kadars there is no such ritual significance to the comb. Also the practice amongst the Kadars is slightly dying out while it is ceremoniously followed by Muduvars who are not likely to give it up in the near future.

Implements

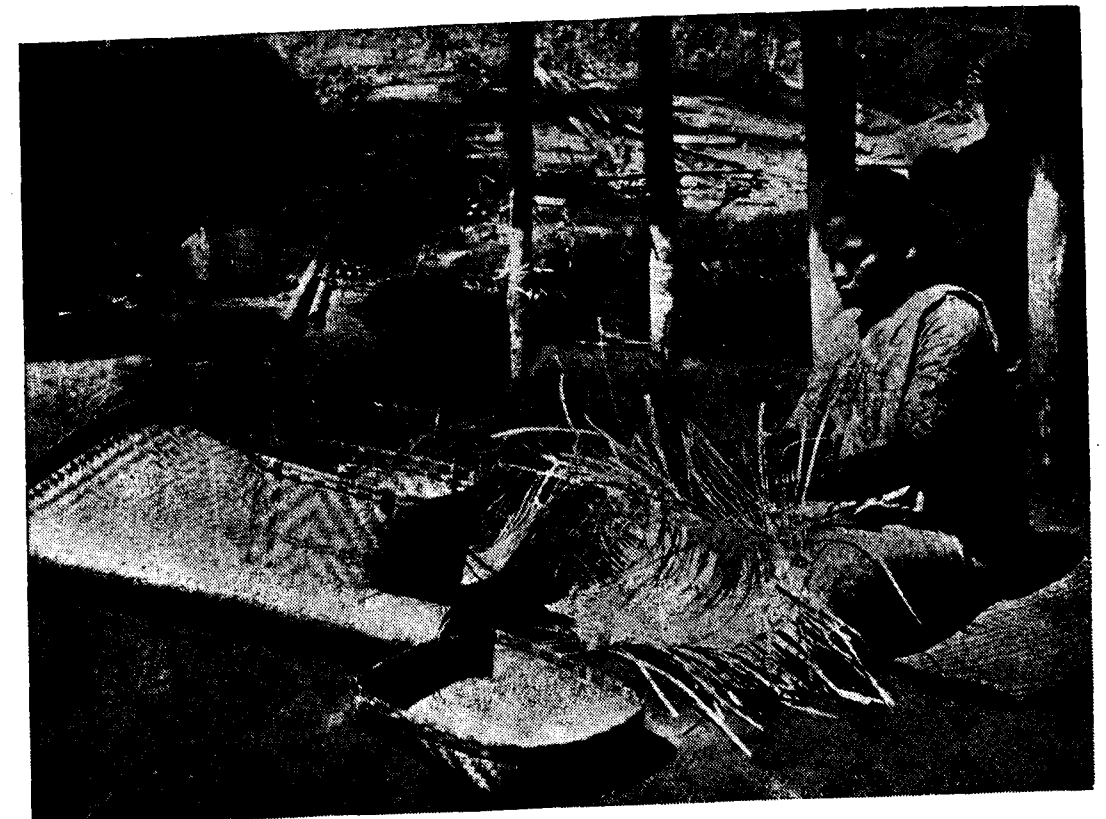
6. The Kadars do not own any immovable property. They, however, own a few movables. Each family may own a few vessels made of brass, aluminium or mud. For storing honey and oil and for carrying water, they make use of stout hollow bamboos or Ithai, cut to a length of 1 to 3 feet with a hole pierced through the nodes upto the bottom. Some of these bamboo vessels called Kumbams can contain 4 to 5 Madras measures of honey. They fix a rope handle at the top. We saw a Kadan returning from Valparai. He had a thin Ithai stick, 2' long and 1" in diameter. We first thought that it was a walking stick. But the top of the stick was plugged with a wooden cork and on enquiry we learnt that the bamboo bottle contained coconut oil purchased at Valparai. The Kadars make the fullest use of bamboos and Ithai. They use twigs and leaves of Ithai for constructing huts. They make good thatties by cross weaving the flattened stem of Ithai. They cut and extract long thin tapes out of Ithai and weave mats which they use for sleeping



Baskets made by Kadars with Ithai (Ochlandra Travancoria)



A Kadar family on the move to the Valparai bazar for purchase of provisions. The way in which they carry the load on the back may be noted.



Kadar woman weaving a mat.

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A run away Kadar woman raising a family with a man hailing from Malabar. The children have predominant Kadar features.



A group of Kadars living in Savamalai. Many have curly hair and thick lips

They also make baskets out of this. They can make these items of handicraft for sale but they do not do so. They have no other implement other than the bill-hook for making all these articles and every Kadar carries it with him wherever he goes. For him it is a multi-purpose implement. They use it for protection against wild animals or for cutting a path through shrubs or for cutting firewood and digging out roots. A Kadar without this bill-hook is helpless and powerless. It is stated that in former days they were using bow and arrow, double stringed pellet-bow and the blow pipe, but these have now disappeared.

Another interesting custom among the Kadar males and females is the chipping of the incisor teeth, both upper and lower into pointed ones. This is done during the adolescent period. Skilled persons are employed for this operation with chisel and bill-hook. The person who has to undergo the operation is made to starve for a day and at the time of operation, two or three persons hold him tightly and firmly, so that the victim may not struggle. He cannot eat for two or three days. His face becomes swollen which may last for a week. Teeth chiselling is as important a ceremony for Kadars as ear-boring to the Hindus. The Kadars also do ear-boring, but at a much younger age. In olden days, a Kadar was eligible for marriage only if he or she improved the personality by undergoing such an operation. The chiselled teeth may become flat in ten years after which they are resharp-ened once in seven years.

It is very difficult to understand the utility behind this practice. The Kadars generally say that this is done to improve their personality. We may be inclined to question this statement and may feel that this makes them appear more like wild beasts. The chiselling of the teeth cannot help them in eating meat and hard roots. Actually the fibres in the meat stick in between the incisors and give them trouble. The practice however is being given up. Nowadays boys and girls are not subjected to this. No Kadar in the Residential Welfare School at Valparai has chiselled incisors. Even among elders, they have not done resharp-ening. This practice may soon die out.

The practice of pointing the incisors is also found among Mala Malasars living in Valparai hills. It is also said to exist among Malavedans of Travancore. A similar custom is also reported among Rhade tribe in Indo-China and among certain other tribes in

Africa and Australia. Thurston has stated that he could not say whether the Kadars had hit on this practice spontaneously in comparatively recent times or whether it was a relic of a custom resorted to by their ancestors. He is, however, inclined to the latter view.

Population Characteristics

7. The population of the tribe according to the 1961 Census is 293 in Madras State consisting of 158 males and 135 females. Perhaps a similar number can be found in the adjoining Parambikulam hills of Kerala. This is a small tribe. Their computed population in the present districts of Madras State in 1931 was 161. The Census Table SCT-I, in Appendix II shows that there are 2 Kadars in Salem District and 4 in Tirunelveli District. It is rather difficult for us to say whether the 6 Kadar females returned in Salem and Tirunelveli really belong to Kadar tribe of the Anamalais.

Taking the Kadars living in Coimbatore District alone, their present sex ratio works out to 817 females per 1,000 males. This is abnormally low. In Nedungunram which we surveyed the sex ratio was found to be 847 (Vide Table 2 in Appendix III). The size of the family here is 5.2 which is higher than that of the other tribes of the Anamalais. The average size of a household is large because of the presence of a large number of joint families. Again out of the total of 109 persons in this settlement, 57 are below 20 years (Vide Table 4 in Appendix III). Considering the entire tribe in Coimbatore District, the child woman ratio is found to be 491 (Vide Table SCT VI in Appendix II). This is again low. The percentage of workers to the population of the tribe is found to be as high as 61.3. The proportion of the female workers is high. It comes to 39.8% of the workers. The activities of the non-workers are given in Table ST-II in Appendix II.

Diet and food habits

8. The Kadars are essentially a food gathering tribe. Left to themselves, they will be happy and content to live in their traditional way. But, the inroads made by the civilised man into the forests by converting the areas into tea and coffee plantations and the growing restrictions imposed by the Forest

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Department have reduced the natural resources available to the hill-tribes in living as they like. Therefore, some occupational mobility has been forced on the Kadars. They now seek employment either in the plantation estates or in the Forest Department or under the contractors engaged in the collection of minor produces. They are also compelled to buy food from the wages earned by them and this gives them contact with the non-tribals. They buy food-grains like rice and millets, cook them and eat them. This is a change from their tradition. Even now they supplement their purchases by collecting whatever foodstuffs they could gather from the forest which have sustained them so far. The Anamalai forest like a good mother is bountiful in this respect. The Kadars have told us that they collect about 16 varieties of roots. A few of them are listed below.

1. Nar kilangu (*Atalantia monophylla*)
2. Koovakkilangu
3. Noothankilangu (*Dioscora Pentaphylla*)
4. Vethilaivalli Kilangu (*Piper betel*)
5. Thali Kilangu (*Corypha Umbraculifer*)
6. Chandana Kilangu (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*)
7. Kannira Kilangu (*Strychnos Colubrina*)
8. Chaval Kilangu

Some of these are boiled and eaten while others are roasted on fire and eaten. A few others are dried, powdered, cooked with spices and eaten. They consider that the roots are more tasty and more nourishing than rice or millet. It is the duty of the women to go out for gathering roots. They dig with a pointed stick. Some of the sticks are fitted with iron pointers. Besides the roots, they cut Koondapanai tree (a kind of tufted palm tree) and gather the pith in the trunk. They cut open the trunk of the tree into pieces, dry them and beat them with mallets. The fibres are removed and the pith collected. This flour is stored for future cooking. The flour is softened by wetting it with water for a sufficiently long time. The collection of the pith of Koondapanai is even now undertaken, but only in summer months. There are other secondary foodstuffs which nature provides them. Jack fruit, mangoes, wood apple are some of the items. They also grow bananas by the side of their huts. They collect honey and bee-bread. Greens are found in plenty in their settlements.

They do not eat flesh of cows, bisons or bears whether dead or slaughtered. In actual practice,

they do not accept food from Malasars and Pulayars who eat these items of flesh. For that reason, they consider themselves superior to these tribes. All other flesh they eat. They also catch deers, wild fowls or hares with the help of nets. The Kadars like spicy foods and use pepper, ginger cardamom, coriander, turmeric and garlic which are available in the forest. Nowadays they have begun purchasing chillies.

All the accounts about Kadars indicate that they were addicted to opium and liquor. Now that prohibition is in force in the State for a decade, we find that their addiction to opium and liquor is on the decrease. Criminal statistics will not help us in coming to any conclusion because in forest areas illicit preparation and consumption can happen unhampered without detection. We discreetly questioned Vellayan, the Kadar guide who took us to Pannikuli. He confessed to us that at one time he himself was consuming a lot of opium, but when prohibition was introduced, he had to go to Pollachi to get a permit for the supply of opium. He had to visit the Taluk Office every month to get the supply. The Government gradually reduced the quota. For two or three years he got illicit supplies in small quantities, but finally gave it up altogether. According to him, these tribesmen gave up opium completely though some of them still drink arrack in a clandestine manner. We are satisfied that prohibition has done a lot of good to the Kadars in keeping them off from liquor and opium.

Education

9. In the matter of education, a welcome change has taken place among this tribe. Of the five different tribes living in the Anamalai hills, the Kadars are in the forefront in getting their children educated. Their level of effective literacy according to 1961 Census has reached 15.8% (Vide Table SCT VI appended). In Nedungunram settlement, studied in detail by us, the literacy is as high as 23%. (Vide Table 4 in Appendix III). The Tribal Welfare Residential School at Valparai was intended for the benefit of all the tribes, but in actual practice, it is monopolised by Kadar children. The other tribals are feeling shy and reluctant to send their children to the residential school for varying reasons. The Muduvars do not like their children to eat with the children of other tribals. The Malasars and Mala Malasars are too indifferent to interest

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themselves in education. This school was started on 28-2-1954. Sixteen boys and 15 girls are studying in this school. Boarding, lodging and tuition are free. It is located in a building of its own which was recently constructed. The children look neat, well dressed and smart. Their food is generally vegetarian. But once a week they get non-vegetarian food. The boys and girls sleep in separate dormitories. Two teachers, one of whom is a woman look after them. They are rather proud that one of the boys in the school has gone upto Tenth Standard.

Language

10. Table ST I in Appendix II gives the mother-tongue of the tribals. The Kadars live on the border lines of the States of Madras and Kerala in which two different languages—Tamil and Malayalam—are spoken. In daily life they come in contact with Tamilians and Malayalees. It is very difficult to say what their mother-tongue is. It is likely to be an original form of Tamil which has been preserved by them in their seclusion in Anamalai Hills. They use modern Tamil words and Malayalam words freely. Although on analysis the words spoken by them can be identified either as Tamil or Malayalam, it is very difficult to understand their conversation when it is conducted between themselves because their intonations and pronunciations are inclined to be original. They are, however, capable of conversing in a more legible manner with outsiders. They suffix "Ali" to words of character or function to denote persons. It is somewhat similar to the word "Wala" in Hindi.

Example:—Pandamali ... a tall person
Kazhali ... a naked person

Occupation

11. Out of the 32 workers in the 21 households studied in Nedungunram, 17 are employed in tea and coffee estates. One is employed as a watchman in a small cardamom estate. The remaining 14 are engaged in their traditional occupation of food gathering. But they go out as coolies for wages under contractors or under the Tribal Welfare Co-operative Society for collecting various minor produces. Table SCT I gives the industrial classification of the workers among the Kadars. Table SCT VII gives the occupational classification of the workers. Practically no one is

employed in cultivation. The main occupations in which they are employed are as follows:

	Males	Females	Total
Plantation labourers	4	4	8
Forestry workers	36	18	54
General labourers	61	48	109

The execution of the Parambikulam Aliyar Project in the midst of their settlement on either side of the boundary of Madras and Kerala State, gives them plenty of scope for employment. Normally they do not like manual labour, either of digging earth or of carrying building materials on their heads. They are equally unwilling to take to cultivation. The Kumri land intended to them are lying fallow overgrown with bushes. Their excuse is that it is difficult to save crops from wild animals. To a certain extent it is true, but considering the fact that Muduvars are practising agriculture successfully in equally difficult conditions, one has to assume that they have never applied to agriculture seriously and they prefer easier means of living.

In 1956 a Tribal Welfare Co-operative Society was started with 78 members designed for the benefit of the Kadars and other hill tribes in the Anamalai hills. The Government gave Rs. 6,000/- as working capital. The main aim of the Society was to collect various forest produces and market them at favourable rates by utilizing the services of the tribals. The collection of minor produces was previously leased out to private contractors by the Forest Department and the contractor in turn employed the Kadars for the collection. They were paid poor wages and the contractors made huge profits. The formation of the Multi-purpose Society for the tribals and entrustment of the lease to them threw out the private contractors from the field. The Forest Ranger was made the Ex-Officio President and a paid Secretary was also appointed. The Society made a profit of Rs. 1,000/- in the first year; in the second year the profit was Rs. 2,500/- and in the third Rs. 3,000/-. The Society opened branch depots. It erected a collection shed at Nedungunram at a cost of Rs. 1,000/-. In the two subsequent years the Society sustained a loss of Rs. 6,500/-. Added to this the paid Secretary misappropriated a sum of Rs. 9,997/- and the work of the Society came to a standstill. Owing to financial difficulties, it could not take up the lease for the year 1961-62. The members of the Society attributed the loss of the Society to two reasons;

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(1) mismanagement and misappropriation by the Secretary and (2) apathy of the Forest officials to encourage the Society in preference to private contractors. The Forest Department was unwilling to drive away old contractors from the field and they feared that they would lose the services of the tribals for road works if they have better attractions in the collection of forest minor produce. Anyhow realising the importance of the Society in the economy of tribals, especially the Kadars, the Government have restarted the Society with a fresh grant of Rs. 6,000/-. The Society can keep the members engaged in collection work throughout the year.

The items of minor produces collected in these forests are the following:

1. Kadugu, mustard (*Sinapis nigra*)
2. Makani kizhangu—the root of *Cynanchum* is a favourite pickle with the people though it smells exactly like bugs
3. Inji, wild ginger (*Amomum zingiber*)
4. Manchal—wild turmeric (*Curcuma longa*)
5. Mattipal (*Aliyanthus malabarica*) the juice of a tree which concretes into gum used generally as an incense
6. Kunkilium the resin of tree (*Chloroxylon dupada*) which is a kind of frankincense
7. Shikkay (the fruit of *Minosa saponifera*) used as soap by the natives to wash the oil out of the hair
8. Lavanga patta, the bark of *Laurus cassia*
9. Cardamom
10. Murobalans and wild pepper
11. Thanikka, the fruit of *Terminalia bellerica*
12. Poovakuru, the fruit of *Cacalia rotundifolia*
13. Thena, *Panicum italicum*
14. Mezuku, Beeswax
15. Nellikka, the fruit of *Phyllanthus emblica*
16. Paruthi, *Gossypium herbaceum*
17. Thippili, long pepper
18. Pathiri, *Bignonia suaveolens*
19. Vella Elengi, *Mimusops elengi*
20. Kanjirikuru, the fruit of *Nux vomica*
21. Lemon grass

The Kadars love the adventure involved in going into the forest for the collection of minor produce.

They like gathering honey. Only they can collect this valuable produce. The best season for collecting honey is in the months of March, April, and May. The Kadars have developed a sort of immunity against bees. They follow their traditional devices for reaching the honey combs, whether they are located in the top of tall trees or in the crevices of rocks, deep below. On these expeditions, they go out in bands with necessary preparations and with the needed equipments. They even pitch camps which are nothing but wind screens. The collection of honey is undertaken during dark nights especially before the monsoon showers.

If the honey-comb has to be reached by climbing a tall stout tree they drive in thick, pointed bamboo pegs in the trunk of the tree one above the other. The man climbing the tree stands with one leg on one peg and holds the higher peg with the other leg bent. He drives one peg higher and climbs one step above. On a series of plugs driven one above the other crosswise, he reaches the top of the tree. Ehrenfels described an improved method of this, probably in use on the Cochin side. In this method they tie bamboo poles to the pegs, so that they could have better hold and greater security when moving up and down. To climb down rocks they use rope ladder tied to a tree trunk at the point of descent. When a man gets down through this fragile ladder, his wife or wife's brother will keep a watch at the top. A brother is not usually trusted on this job. The man who descends after gathering the honey will return only by the way he went down. They use torches to drive away the bees from the comb. The method adopted by them for honey gathering appears to us a dangerous one and yet the Kadars like it.

Analysing the economy of Kadars, U.R. Ehrenfels has stated that they are better off than most of their agricultural countrymen in the plains, in view of the great profits which are constantly being made out of labour in collecting forest produce. He cites the following causes for the relative bright future.

1. Abundance of wealth in the forest
2. Absence of over population
3. Ability to use many an item of natural wealth from the forest without monetary transaction
4. Lesser expenditure on ceremonies, religious vows and priest craft

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5. Muscular strength, general health and power of resistance
6. Cooperation of women in every day work with men

The observations of Ehrenfels are necessarily based on what he observed in Cochin State. On our study of the Kadars and their settlements, we are inclined to conclude that the conditions of life are not as rosy as painted by him. Though there is abundance of wealth in the forest the somewhat strict control exercised by the Forest Department has prevented the Kadars from exploiting the wealth as they like. Apart from that, only the primitive needs will be met from the Forest Department. Natural conditions of the life of Kadars are in no way comparable with other non-tribals in the plains. The conditions of living in the forests are difficult. This explains why Kadars are inclined to accept any job leaving their traditional mode of living behind. It is very likely that with the larger employment opportunities which the Kadars have, consequent on the advancement in education, no Kadar will be found following his traditional occupation in the distant future.

Social hierarchy

12. Each Kadar settlement or Pathy has a headman called Moopan. The office is not hereditary. He is nominated by the elders. The members of the settlement, whether they are permanent or newcomers, are subject to his control and discipline. He presides over marriages and other ceremonies. He along with other elder member decides on social issues and complaints within the Pathy. Any member aggrieved of the decision of the Tribal Council would prefer to quit rather than remain behind incurring the displeasure and facing the social sanctions of the Moopan and others. In the past, when the tribe was a food gathering one, subject to the benevolence and horrors of nature, there was need for tribal cohesiveness which of late, has shown a tendency to weaken because the members are now inclined to follow independent pursuits both in earning their livelihood and in seeking a partner. In Savamalai we saw a Kadar woman living with five children born to her by a man hailing from Malabar. She was formerly living with a Kadar husband in another settlement. She was ostracized by the Clan Council for having an affair with an estate cooli. She left the pathy developed the friendship of the present husband and together they have raised a big family

and a fine extensive grove of plantains and mangoes. The grove measuring about one acre is an encroachment within the reserved forest and the forest officials tried their best to evict them, but they could not succeed as the encroachment was booked in the name of the Kadar woman. As regards the appearance of the children born to them, the tribal elements of the Kadar still dominate. The other Kadars are living in friendly terms with them though they do not invite them for marriages and religious functions. Thus this Kadar woman apparently looking passive has successfully defied the hierarchy of the Moopan. The hold of the Moopan over the members is bound to weaken and symptoms of disintegration are visible. This tribe does not have an overall chief for the entire clan. This is another reason for the disintegration of the clan.

General Characteristics

13. Five decades ago, Thurston had stated about them: "Unspoiled by education, the advancing wave of age has engulfed them, they still retain many of their simple manners and customs". L. Ananthakrishna Iyer, however, has written: "For the most part they are light hearted and easy tempered. They prove very communicative once their shyness is overcome. While naturally frank and more truthful than the people of the plains, they have been of late constructing some pilfering propensities which are manifested in the simplest and most meladroit manner". Now with the march of time, the Kadars have lost their reputation for honesty as described by Thurston. The estate owners and cardamom planters do not trust them. The Forest officials always look them with suspicion. Even the Muduvars, who always feed the Kadars whenever they visit their settlements, complain that their crops are occasionally stolen by the Kadars. It is very difficult to give special reasons for this delinquency in their moral standards.

Kadars are gay and pleasure loving. They love music and dancing. They are also tough and resilient. They are less sophisticated than the Muduvars, but are more adventurous, harsh and aggressive. They are good forest trackers and shikaries. They can fight smaller wild animals. They are employed for trapping wild elephants in concealed pits and for taming them. They will take any risk in collecting honey.

In forest areas they can trek long distances without difficulty. If they have to carry any load, they bundle it in their upper cloth and tie it to their back across

one shoulder. Like most hill tribes, they feel easier to carry any load on their back than on their heads. The Kadar woman also prefer to carry her child on the back than on the hip or the shoulder.

Social Custom and Family life

14. The entire Kadars belong to one endogamous unit. They are not divided into exogamous septs for purposes of marriage alliances. Child marriage is unknown. Marriages are contracted only after the boy attains adulthood and the girl puberty. The Table in Appendix II will indicate that the normal age of marriage for a boy is 22 to 23 and that of a girl 17 to 18. The parents do not take any interest in choosing a partner. The freedom to choose is thus left to the girl or the boy. There are however a few cases of marriages arranged by the parents. Certain restrictions are to be observed in the matter of selection. A boy cannot choose his paternal uncle's daughter or any girl in the paternal line as his bride. He cannot also choose his sister's daughter. Marrying a cross cousin though permitted is not usually done. The Kadars usually prefer to marry in an unrelated family. When a Kadar youth intends to marry, he goes out to some other settlement and makes his choice. He then returns to his settlement, obtains the consent of his parents which is almost a formal one. It is said in former days, the boy had to work in the house of his would-be father-in-law for a year, but that custom is not followed now. He has to pay a small bride price, which is at the level of Rs. 7-50 in Nedungunram. He has also to give some presents like clothes and jewels. After marriage, the couple live in the house of the bridegroom's parents. They will start living separately in another hut only when the size of the family becomes unwieldy to be accommodated in the hut. This practice is quite different from that of Muduvars.

They are strictly monogamous. Any Kadar man can remarry after divorcing his wife. Polyandry is unknown to them. For incompatibility or for childlessness, divorces are freely granted by the council of elders. A divorced wife or a widowed woman can always choose a mate, but this is considered more as a concubinage rather than a regular matrimony. The children thus born are however considered as regular issues. Among tribals, the legality or otherwise of an offspring is not a matter of dispute because there are no properties to be inherited and no stigma is attached usually to such births. There are frequent cases of divorces on the ground of incompatibility and

we should attribute this to the large volume of independence enjoyed by the women and the lack of strong village leadership in the office of Moopan.

In family life, the women occupy an almost equal status with men. They go to the forests and gather food. They also earn wages as plantation labourers. They do not depend on their male partners for their food. As such, they would prefer to quit whenever they are not treated properly and when they are not satisfied with their husbands. The men also appear to be equally indifferent in honouring a life-long marriage contract. This accounts for the breaking of many homes among Kadars. They have peculiar customs in their sex life. Even among husband and wife, they do not, by tradition, have any sex relationship inside the house. Their method is as follows. The husband invites the wife to meet him at a certain spot in the forest for collecting firewood. It is never done at night. The wife, if she has no objection, will agree to it. But they will never go together. They will leave the hut in different directions and meet at the agreed place. After they have the sex relationship they will return to their hut in different paths collecting a few pieces of firewood on the way. Although they ordinarily bathe only once a week, taking a bath soon after sex life is compulsory as it is said to pollute them. In the case of Muduvars, they have an institution of common separate dormitories for grown-up boys and girls. Except for small children more than one couple will not sleep in a hut. But in the case of Kadars, all the members of the household usually huddle together in a hut and hence the necessity for this peculiar taboo against having any sex life inside the hut.

The Kadars are very strict in the matter of observing pollution. Each settlement has got a separate shed where women live during their menstrual period. They return to their huts only on the fifth day after a bath. When a girl attains puberty, she is kept in the shed for 7 days after which she is given a ceremonial bath. There is much revelry and feasting on that occasion. During child birth, the expectant mother is made to live in this shed and taken back after she is completely free of pollution. Though there is not much to inherit, succession is always reckoned by the male line. No one owns lands and the huts can hardly be called as immovable property. So in most cases, inheritance may amount to getting a few personal properties of the deceased.

Marriage Ceremonies

15. Among primitive tribes, marriage is usually a simple affair in which the couple decide to settle down

as man and wife without any elaborate ceremony or without incurring large expenditure. Among Kadars the choosing of a wife takes a long time. But once the bride is fixed and the betrothal signified by exchange of betels, the marriage is a simple one-day affair. On the day fixed, which is always a Friday, the bridegroom's party goes to the house of the bride where they are received and seated in a specially erected pandal. The bride and bridegroom are brought to the pandal and made to stand facing each other. Pipes and drums are played. The bridegroom's mother ties a string of black beads round the neck of the girl. Nowadays, they also tie a Tali. The bride's father then ties a turban on the head of the bridegroom. They also indulge in some ceremonies which involve fun and frolic which helps the couple to get over their shyness. The girl then feeds some food in the mouth of the bridegroom. The bridegroom reciprocates it. They also exchange betel leaves. There will be group dancing and feasting among invitees. The couple then return to the bridegroom's house where on the next day another feast is given. This marks the end of the marriage ceremonies.

Funeral Ceremonies

16. The Kadars bury their dead. Immediately after death, they send intimation to relatives. They will keep the body even for 3 days awaiting arrival of relations. Before taking the body to the burial ground, it is bathed in cold water and oil applied. A new cloth is spread over the body. The body is then taken to the burial ground, rolled in a Kadar mat. The relatives will throw rice on the body. A deep pit is dug and the body which is rolled in the mat is lowered and filled up with earth. The body is laid flat, face upwards and head towards south. While the body is carried to the burial ground, pipes and drums will be played. The piper may play sorrowful tunes. The Kadars erect no stones or monuments to mark the place of burial. Any ornaments which the deceased had at the time of death are buried with her. No pollution is observed by the bereaved family, but they celebrate the death anniversary by giving a feast.

Religion

17. The Kadars are returned as Hindus in the Census, but it is safer to classify them as animists.

They believe in ghosts, demons and evil spirits. They think that if they cannot keep the ghosts in good humour by offering chicken, cock and arrack, they will get angry and inflict curses on them. Epidemics like small-pox are considered as the result of the wrath of demon gods. Some of these demon gods are believed to live in rocks, some by the side of pools and some others on trees. These demon gods are known by the name of the place where they dwell. The demon gods worshipped in Valparai may be different from the demon gods worshipped in Top Slip area or in from Parambikulam. In Valparai area, the Kadars worship Madurai Veeran, Draupathi Amman, Vanadevathai, Mariamman, Kondathu Kali, and Karukuruman. The Kadars of Nedunguram believe that their Kula Daivam is Mari Amman. The Moopan of this settlement has been entrusted with a crude brass image of the deity, Mariamman. It is 2' high. On festive occasions, this image is placed under a tree and worshipped. In the month of Thai (mid January) Pongal is cooked and sacrifice of hen or cock offered. The festival is celebrated on a large scale by collecting money from all the people. They buy 40 coconuts, 40 plantain fruits and 20 measures of paddy from the local Chettiar shop. The purchase is made only after night fall. Prior intimation is given to the Chettiar to keep the shop open till everybody sleeps. The deal is kept confidential between the buyer and the seller. We cannot find any reason for this practice. The paddy is dehusked by unmarried girls and the rice cooked in a new mud pot. After offering it to the deity, it is distributed among the people. The other demon gods worshipped by them are symbolised by rough stones planted under a tree. Their pantheon does not include any of the Brahminical Hindu gods though in recent times they name their children as Raghavan, Krishnan, Kalyani, Raman, Parvathi, Subramanian etc. They have of late developed certain ideas about heaven and hell, but this must be due to the contact with the plains people.

Conclusion

18. Our survey shows that great changes are taking place in the life of Kadars. Their educational standard has improved considerably. They have developed occupational mobility. They are slowly giving up their peculiar customs and habits. They have abandoned such peculiar habits like chipping the incisor teeth, considered to be very vital for the preservation of their community in the past. The execution of Parambikulam Aliyar Project at a cost of 35 crores in the mid

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f their settlement has practically destroyed the isolation and inaccessibility which they have enjoyed for centuries. This development has thrown open their area to the influx of people from the plains in search of trade and commerce and they are not equal to the plains people either in equipment or industry. Naturally they have to seek other means of employment. Combined with these factors, their tolerance in the matter of sex has to a large extent liquidated the Negrito features which are normally associated with them and these features are slowly disappearing from the younger members of the community. The Kadar boys and girls who are educated in the Tribal Schools look and behave just as non-tribals. They are imitating non-tribals in dress, behaviour and manners. It is, therefore, likely that this interesting tribe will cease to exist in the near future and after all that, an anthropologist may have to travel far and wide if he has to locate a Kadan with a definite Negrito feature to whom previous anthropologists have referred to. Their life is in sharp contrast to the Muduvars whom we have studied separately. While Kadars are facing a complete disintegration as a result of contact with

non-tribals and forces of development undertaken by the Government of Madras over which they have no control, the Muduvars still continue to live in complete isolation and preserve their own culture intact.

It is not for us to say whether Muduvar or Kadar is wiser in this respect—whether an ancient culture is better or the modern civilisation, as envisaged by the rulers of this country. One thing we cannot help observing is while Muduvar has made no effort to benefit by the various welfare schemes initiated by the Government of Madras and the Government of India for the amelioration and improvement of the tribes, the Kadar has made full use of all these facilities and has done his best to be a good citizen as any other non-tribal. Having lived on the verge of destitution for centuries together, co-existing with wild beasts and undertaking arduous task like honey collecting in dense forests of the Anamalai hills, the Kadars have now started to lead a life which is more in keeping with security and comfort.

APPENDIX I

Extracts relating to Kadars
from Census Reports and other
old published volumes

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EXTRACT FROM CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901—THE REPORT ON THE CENSUS.—CHAPTER VIII — CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.

KADAN (789):—A small aboriginal hill tribe found in Coimbatore and Malabar. (Coimbatore Man., Vol. I, pp. 407-9; Buchanan's Mysore, etc., Vol. II, p. 45; Madras Museum Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 131-151.)

EXTRACT FROM THE MANUAL OF THE COIMBATORE DISTRICT GAZETTEER BY F.A. NICHOLSON—1887.

The Kadars live chiefly in the lower ranges, but go to the higher ranges for the collection of minor forest produce. They are thought by some to be an African type but it is more probable that they are alike to that of the aboriginal tribes of Australia. An example of people of true African descent is seen in the Punnians of the West Coast, but the Kadars differ extremely from this race. True the Kadars have flat noses, slightly thicker lips than many hill-tribes and woolly hair in some cases; but the aboriginal Coorumbers of Wynaad have all these characteristics and yet their type is distinctly non-African. More or less woolly hair is common to many forest and hill tribes, but the true African prognathous jaw is absent.

The Kadars are not African in their build, they are not massive and large-limbed, though of course their form might become modified by circumstances. They are, as a rule, rather short in stature and deep chested like mountaineers; and like many true mountaineers they rarely walk with a straight leg; hence their thigh muscles are often abnormally developed at the expense of those of the calf; hence, too in part their dislike to walking long distances on level ground, though the objection mentioned by Colonel Douglas Hamilton to their carrying loads in the plains is deeper-rooted than that arising from mere physical disability. This objection is mainly because they are rather a timid race, and never feel safe out of their forests. They have also often affirmed that the low country air is very trying to them.

On marriage the men have their front teeth filed to points.

They are not hunters in their primitive state; in fact they have not even the practice of setting snares. However, on occasion, they saw themselves good trackers, and a few have developed into keen hunters.

Left to themselves they cultivate small patches of grain, but live chiefly by the sums which they may receive for the sale of minor produce, and on roots which form their regular diet. However, great activity is shown at one period of the year when the fruit of the cycas ripe. The fruit is supposed to be more or less poisonous in its raw state, but when cooked and reduced to powder is evidently quite edible. In this state it resembles coarse flour, and eaten by all Kadars.

The cycas is found in great abundance on the Lower Anamalais. As a race, Kadars are not much given to excess in drinking, but most of them take opium, and a regular opium eater cannot do a long day's work without it.

They are fond of dogs, chiefly as a protection from wild beasts at least. For a Kadar on the tramp never takes the trouble to make a hut than a lean-to shelter for himself and his family; and the hill affords a great accession in such a primitive dwelling, being remarkably resourceful.

A Kadar marries more than one wife.

The women for the most part are not good looking; and their habit of distending a hole in the lobe of the ear with a circular roll of bamboo, two or three inches in diameter, does not add to their beauty.

A Kadar belle wears her hair in a fringe, exactly on the type of that in vogue lately in Europe. On the march the women carry all the cooking utensils and often have a child strapped on the top of their household goods. Their usual daily duty is to gather roots at which they are quite as expert as the men, using a digging stick made of iron-wood in default of a crowbar.

The Kadars are quiet and peaceable, and perhaps more truthful than most forest tribes. At all events they are to be depended on for never deserting *En Masse* on a march as most other natives may do on occasion.

The Kadars of the Anamalais live by collecting drugs for the renter, while the women collect roots; they have no cattle and do not cultivate nor can they kill game, but eat what they find dead; liquor is unknown. Their god is Mudiviren, who rules a heaven where good men go; the wicked go to a hell.

EXTRACT FROM CENSUS OF INDIA, 1931—VOLUME XIV— MADRAS—PART—I—REPORT.

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This interesting tribe shows a marked decrease for 1921-31 having diminished by 32 per cent. I am informed that small pox caused many deaths among them during the decade. In 1921 and 1911 no Kadans were returned under Coimbatore, one of the districts with which they have always been associated, probably because they fell below the minimum population quota observed in the table. The tribe shows a considerable excess of women but in Coimbatore males are the greater in numbers. The total numbers are so small that ratios to 1,000 are not worth taking.

They have not changed greatly in customs but in attire the all-conquering shirt has made its appearance among them too. Thurston mentions that they used to bury the dead with head to the east; I am told that the head is pointed to the north for the reason that only with the corpse in such a direction could the soul

escape. Other hill tribes in the same area usually point the head to the south.

Their marriage ceremonies must be nearly the simplest that exist; all that happens is that the two persons eat from the same plate.

About a fifth of Kadan males and a sixth of the females are aged 0—6. This encouraging proportion is rather offset by low quotas at ages 7—16, especially for males. Ratios for a population of under 500 are open to qualification and there is probably something rather eccentric about Kadan recorded ages. It does seem however that they have a smaller juvenile proportion than is usual among primitive tribes. Probably the effects of the small-pox visitation enter here.

EXTRACT FROM
"CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA"

BY E. THURSTON

KADIR

The Kadirs or Kadans inhabit the Anaimalai or elephant hills, and the great mountain range which extends thence southward into Travancore. A night journey by rail to Coimbatore, and forty miles by road at the mercy of a typically obstinate jutka pony, which landed me in a dense patch of prickly-pear (*Opuntia Dillenii*), brought me to the foot of the hills at Sethumadai, where I came under the kindly hospitality of Mr. H.A. Gass, Conservator of Forests, to whom I am indebted for much information on forest and tribal matters gathered during our camp life at Mount Stuart, situated 2,350 feet above sea-level, in the midst of a dense bamboo jungle, and playfully named after Sir Mount Stuart Grant Duff, who visited the spot during his quinquennium as Governor of Madras.

At Sethumadai I made the acquaintance of my first Kadir, not dressed, as I hoped, in a primitive garb of leaves, but wearing a coloured turban and the cast-off red coat of a British soldier, who had come down the hill to carry up my camp bath, which acted as an excellent umbrella, to protect him from the driving monsoon showers. Very glad was I of his services in helping to convey my clothed, and consequently helpless self, across the mountain torrents, swollen by a recent burst of monsoon rain.

The Kadir forest guards, of whom there are several in Government service, looked, except for their noses, very unjungle-like by contrast with their fellow-tribesmen, being smartly dressed in regulation Norfolk jacket, knickerbockers, patts (leggings), buttons, and accoutrements.

On arrival at the forest depot, with its comfortable bungalows and Kadir settlement, I was told by a native servant that his master was away, as an "elephant done tumble in a fit." My memory went back to the occasion many years ago, when, as a medical student, I took part in the autopsy of an elephant, which died in convulsions at the London Zoological Gardens. It transpired later in the day that a young and grown-up cow elephant had tumbled, not in a fit, but into a pit made with hands for the express purpose of catching elephants. The story has a

philological significance, and illustrates the difficulty which the Tamulian experiences in dealing with the letter F. An incident is still cherished at Mount Stuart in connection with a sporting globe-trotter, who was accredited to the Conservator of Forests for the purpose of putting him on to "bison" (the gaur, *Bos Gaurus*), and other big game. On arrival at the depot, he was informed that his host had gone to see the "ellipence." Incapable of translating the pigeon-English of the native butler, and, concluding that a financial reckoning was being suggested, he ordered the servant to pay the baggage coolies their ellipence, and send them away. To a trusted Anglo-Indian it is clear that ellipence could only mean elephants. Sir M.E. Grant Duff tells * the following story of a man, who was shooting on the Anaimalais. In his camp was an elephant, who, in the middle of the night, began to eat the thatch of the hut, in which he was sleeping. His servant in alarm rushed in and awoke him, saying "Elephant, Sahib, must, must (mad)." The sleeper, half-waking and rolling over, replied "Oh, bother the elephant. Tell him he mustn't."

The salient characteristics of the Kadirs may be briefly summed up as follows: short stature, dark skin, platyrrhine. Men and women have the teeth chipped. Women wear a bamboo comb in the back-hair. Those whom I met spoke a Tamil patois, running up the scale in talking, and finishing, like a Suffolker, on a higher note than they commenced on. But I am told that some of them speak a mixture of debased Tamil and Malayalam. I am informed by Mr. Vincent that the Kadirs have a peculiar word Ali, denoting apparently a fellow or thing, which they apply as a suffix to names, e.g., Karaman Ali, black fellow; Mudi Ali, hairy fellow; Kutti Ali, man with a knife; Puv Ali, man with a flower. Among nicknames, the following occur: white mother, white flower, beauty, tiger, milk, virgin, love, breasts. The Kadirs are excellent mimics, and give a clever imitation of the mode of speech of the Muduvans, Malasars, and other hill tribes.

The Kadirs afford a typical example of happiness without culture. Unspoiled by education, the advancing wave of which has not yet engulfed them, they still retain many of their simple "manners and customs." Quite refreshing was it to hear the hearty shrieks of laughter of the nude curly-haired children, wholly illiterate, and happy in their ignorance, as they played at funerals, or indulged in the amusement of making mud pies, and scampered off to their huts on my appearance. The uncultured Kadir, living a hardy out-door life, and capable of appreciating to the full enjoyment of an "apathetic rest" as perfect bliss, has, I am convinced, in many ways, the advantage over the poor under-fed student with a small-paid appointment under Government as the narrow goal to which the laborious passing of examination tests leads.

Living an isolated existence, confined within the thinly-populated jungle, where Nature furnishes the means of obtaining all the necessities of life, the Kadir possesses little, if any, knowledge of cultivation, and objects to doing work with a mamuti, the instrument which serves the gardener in the triple capacity of spade, rake, and hoe. But armed with a keen-edged bill-hook, he is immense. As Mr. O.H. Bensley says: "The axiom that the less civilised men are, the more they are able to do every thing for themselves, is well illustrated by the hill-man, who is full of resource. Give him a simple bill-hook, and what

* Notes from a diary. 1881-86.

wonders he will perform. He will build houses out of etah, so neat and comfortable as to be positively luxurious. He will bridge a stream with canes and branches. He will make a raft out of bamboo, a carving knife out of etah, a comb out of bamboo, a fishing-line out of fibre, and fire from dry wood. He will find food for you where you think you must starve, and show you the branch which, if cut, will give you drink. He will set traps for beasts and birds, which are more effective than some of the most elaborate products of machinery." A European, overtaken by night in the jungle, unable to light fire by friction or to climb trees to gather fruits, ignorant of the edible roots and berries, and afraid of wild beasts, would, in the absence of comforts, be quite as unhappy and ill-at-ease as a Kadir surrounded by plenty at an official dinner party.

At the forest depot the Kadir settlement consists of neatly constructed huts, made of bamboo deftly split with a bill-hook in their long axis, thatched with leaves of the teak tree (*Tectona grandis*) and bamboo (*Ochlandra travancorica*), and divided off into verandah and compartments by means of bamboo partitions. But the Kadirs are essentially nomad in habit, living in small communities, and shifting from place to place in the jungle, whence they suddenly re-appear as casually as if they had only returned from a morning stroll instead of a long camping expedition. When wandering in the jungle, the Kadirs make a rough lean-to shed covered over with leaves, and keep a small fire burning through the night, to keep off bears, elephants, tigers, and leopards. They are, I am told, fond of dogs, which they keep chiefly as protection against wild beasts at night. The camp fire is lighted by means of a flint and the floss of the silk-cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*), over which powdered charcoal has been rubbed. Like the Kurumbas, the Kadirs are not, in a general way, afraid of elephants, but are careful to get out of the way of a cow with young, or a solitary rover, which may mean mischief. On the day following my descent from Mount Stuart, an Odde coolly woman was killed on the ghat road by a solitary tusker. Familiarity with wild beasts, and comparative immunity from accident, have bred contempt for them, and the Kadirs will go where the European, fresh to elephant land, fears to tread, or conjures every creak of a bamboo into the approach of a charging tusker. As an example of pluck worthy of a place in Kipling's 'Jungle-book', I may cite the case of a hill-man and his wife, who, overtaken by night in the jungle, decided to pass it on a rock. As they slept, a tiger carried off the woman. Hearing her shrieks, the sleeping man awoke, and followed in pursuit in the vain hope of saving his wife. Coming on the beast in possession of the mangled corpse, he killed it at close quarters with a spear. Yet he was wholly unconscious that he had performed an act of heroism worthy of the bronze cross "for valour."

The Kadirs carry loads strapped on the back over the shoulders by means of fibre, instead of on the head in the manner customary among coolies in the plains; and women on the march may be seen carrying the cooking utensils on their backs, and often have a child strapped on the top of their household goods. The dorsal position of the babies, huddled up in a dirty cloth, with the ends slung over the shoulders and held in the hands over the chest, at once caught my eye, as it is contrary to the usual native habit of straddling the infants across the loins as a saddle.

Mr. Vincent informs me that "when the planters first came to the hills, the Kadirs were found practically without clothes of any description, with very few ornaments, and looking very lean and emaciated. All this, however, changed with the advent of the European, as the Kadirs then got advances in hard cash, clothes, and grain, to induce them to work. For a few years they tried to work hard, but were failures, and now I do not suppose that a dozen men are employed on the estates on the hills. They would not touch manure owing to caste scruples; they could not learn to prune; and with a mamoti (spade) they always promptly proceeded to chop their feet about in their efforts to dig pits". The Kadirs have never claimed, like the Todas, and do not possess any land on the hills. But the Government has declared the absolute right of the hill tribes to collect all the minor forest produce, and to sell it to [the Government through the medium of a contractor, whose tender has been previously accepted. The contractor pays for the produce in coin at a fair market rate, and the Kadirs barter the money so obtained for articles of food with contractors appointed by Government to supply them with their requirements at a fixed rate, which will leave a fair, but not exorbitant margin of profit to the vendor. The principal articles of minor forest produce of the Anaimalai hills are wax, honey, cardamoms, myrabolams, ginger, dammer, turmeric, deer horns, elephant tusks, and rattans. And of these, cardamoms, wax, honey, and rattans are the most important. Honey and wax are collected at all seasons, and cardamoms from September to November. The total value of the minor produce collected in 1897-98, in the South Coimbatore division (which includes the Anaimalais) was Rs. 7,886. This sum was exceptionally high owing to a good cardamom crop. An average year would yield a revenue of Rs. 4,000—5,000, of which the Kadirs receive approximately 50 percent. They work for the Forest Department on a system of short advances for a daily wage of 4 annas. And, at the present day, the interests of the Forest Department and planters who have acquired land on the Anaimalais, both anxious to secure hill men for labour, have come into mild collision.

Some Kadirs are good trackers, and a few are good shikaris. A zoological friend, who had nicknamed his small child his "little shikari" (= little sportsman) was quite upset because I, hailing from India, did not recognise the word with his misplaced accent. One Kadir, named Viapoori Muppan, is still held in the memory of Europeans, who made a good living, in days gone by, by shooting tuskers, and had one arm blown off by the bursting of a gun. He is reputed to have been a much married man, greatly addicted to strong drinks, and to have flourished on the proceeds of his tusks. At the present day, if a Kadir finds tusks, he must declare the find as treasure-trove, and hand it over to Government, who rewards him at the rate of Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund of 25 lb. according to the quality. Government makes a good profit on the transaction, as exceptionally good tusks have been known to sell for Rs. 5 per lb. If the find is not declared, and discovered, the possessor thereof is punished for theft according to the Act. By an elastic use of the word cattle, it is, for the purposes of the Madras Forest Act, made to include such a heterogeneous zoological collection of animals as elephants, sheep, pigs, goats, camels, buffaloes, horses, and asses. This classification recalls to mind the occasion on which the Flying-fox or Fox-bat was included in an official list of the insectivorous birds of the Presidency; and, further, a report on the wild animals of a certain district, which was triumphantly headed with the "wild tattu," the long-suffering, but pig-headed country pony.

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I gather, from an account of the process by one who had considerable knowledge of the Kadirs, that "they will only remove the hives of bees during dark nights, and never in the daytime or on moonlight nights. In removing them from cliffs, they use a chain made of bamboo or rattan, fixed to a stake or a tree on the top. The man, going down this fragile ladder, will only do so while his wife, or son watches above to prevent any foul play. They have a superstition that they should always return by the way they go down, and decline to get to the bottom of the cliff, although the distance may be less, and the work of re-climbing avoided. For hives on trees, they tie one or more long bamboos to reach up to the branch required, and then climb up. They then crawl along the branch until the hive is reached. They devour the bee-bread and the bee-maggots or larvae, swallowing the wax as well." In a note on a shooting expedition in Travancore, Mr. J.D. Rees, describing the collection of honey by the Kadirs of the southern hills, says that they "descend giddy precipices at night, torch in hand, to smoke out bees, and take away their honey. A stout creeper is suspended over the abyss, and it is established law of the jungle that no brother shall assist in holding it. But it is more interesting to see them run a ladder a hundred feet up the perpendicular stem of a tree, than to watch them disappearing over a precipice. Axe in hand, the honey-picker makes a hole in the bark for a little peg, standing on which he inserts a second peg higher up, ties a long cane from one to the other and by night—for the darkness gives confidence—he will ascend the tallest trees, and bring down honey without any accident." I have been told, with how much of truth I know not, that, when a Kadir, goes down the face of a rock or precipice in search of honey, he sometimes takes with him, as a precautionary measure, and guarantee of his safety, the wife of the man who is holding the ladder above.

Often, when out on the tramp with the late Government Botanist, Mr. M.A. Lawson, I have heard him lament that it is impossible to train arboreal monkeys to collect specimens of the fruit and flowers of lofty forest trees, which are in-accessible to the ordinary man. Far superior to any trained Simian is the Kadir, who, by means of pegs or notches climbs even the tallest masts of trees with an agility which recalls to memory the celebrated picture in "Punch," representing Darwin's "Habit of climbing plants." For the ascent of comparatively low trees, notches are made with a bill-hook, alternately right and left, at intervals of about thirty inches. To this method the Kadir will not have recourse in wet weather, as the notches are damp and slippery, and there is the danger of an insecure foot-hold.

An important ethnographic fact, and one which is significant, is that the detailed description of tree-climbing by the Dyaks of Borneo, as given by Wallace, might have been written on the Anaimalai hills, and would apply equally well in every detail to the Kadir. "They drove in", Wallace writes, "a peg very firmly at about three feet from the ground, and bringing one of the long bamboos stood it upright close to the tree, and bound it firmly to the two first pegs by means of a bark cord and small notches near the head of each peg. One of the Dyaks now stood on the first peg and drove in a third about level with his face, to which he tied the bamboo in the same way, and then mounted another step, standing on one foot, and holding by the bamboo at the peg immediately above him, while he drove in the next one. In this manner he ascended about twenty feet, when the upright bamboo became thin; another was handed up by his companion,

and this was joined on by tying both bamboos to three or four of the pegs. When this was also nearly ended, a third was added, and shortly after the lowest branch of the tree was reached, along which the young Dyak scrambled. The ladder was perfectly safe, since, if any one peg were loose or faulty, the strain would be thrown on several others above and below it. I now understood the use of the line of bamboo pegs sticking in trees, which I had often seen".

In their search for produce in the evergreen forests of the higher ranges, with their heavy rainfall, the Kadirs became unpleasantly familiar with leaches and blue bottle flies, which flourish in the moist climate. And it is recorded that a Kadir, who had been gored and wounded by a bull 'bison' was placed in a position of safety while a friend ran to the village to summon help. He was not away for more than an hour, but, in that short time, flies had deposited thousands of maggots in the wounds, and, when the man was brought into camp, they had already begun burrowing into the flesh, and were with difficulty extracted. On another occasion, the eye-witness of the previous unappetising incident was out alone in the forest, and shot a tiger two miles or so from his camp. Thither he went to collect coolies to carry in the carcase, and was away for about two hours, during which the flies had, like the child in the story, 'not been idle', the skin being a mass of maggots and totally ruined. I have it on authority that, like the Kotas of the Nilgiris, the Kadirs will eat the putrid and fly-blown flesh of carcases of wild beasts, which they come across in their wanderings. To a dietary which includes succulent roots, which they upturn with a digging stick, bamboo seed, sheep, fowls, rock-snakes (python), deer, porcupines, rats (field, not house), wild pigs, monkeys, etc., they do credit by displaying a hard, well nourished body. The mealy portion of the seeds of the *cycas* trees, which flourishes on the lower slopes of the Anaimalais, forms a considerable addition to the menu. In its raw state the fruit is said to be poisonous, but it is evidently wholesome when cut into slices, thoroughly soaked in running water, dried, and ground into flour for making cakes, or baked in hot ashes. Mr. Vincent writes that, "during March, April and May, the Kadirs have a glorious time. They usually manage to find some wild sagu palms, called by them koontdha panai, of the proper age, which they cut down close to the ground. They are then cut into lengths of about 1½ feet, and split, lengthways. The sections are then beaten very hard and for a long time with mallets, and become separated into fibre and powder. The powder is thoroughly wetted; tied in cloths and well beaten with sticks. Every now and then, between the beatings, the bag of powder is dipped in water, and well strained. It is then all put into water, when the powder sinks, and the water is poured off. The residue is well boiled, with constant stirring, and, when it is of the consistency of rubber, and of a reddish brown colour, it is allowed to cool, and then cut in pieces to be distributed. This food stuff is palatable enough, but very tough." The Kadir is said to prefer roasting and eating the flesh of animals with the skin on. For catching rats, jungle-fowl, etc., he resorts to cunningly devised snares and traps made of bamboo and fibre, as a substitute for a gun. Porcupines are caught setting fire to the scrub jungle round them as they lie asleep, and thus smoking and burning them to death,

When a Kadir youth's thoughts turn towards matrimony, he is said to go to the village of his bride-elect, and give her a dowry by working there for a year. On the wedding day a feast

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of rice, sheep, fowls, and other luxuries is given by the parents of the bridegroom, to which the Kadir community is invited. The bride and bridegroom stand beneath a pandal (arch) decorated with flowers, which is erected outside the home of the bridegroom, while men and women dance separately to the music of drum and fife. The bridegroom's mother or sister ties the tali (marriage badge) of gold or silver round the bride's neck, and her father puts a turban on the head of the bridegroom. The contracting parties link together the little fingers of their right hands as a token of their union, and walk in procession round the pandal. Then, sitting on a red mat of Kadir manufacture, they exchange betel. The marriage tie can be dissolved for incompatibility of temper, disobedience on the part of the wife, adultery, etc., without appeal to any higher authority than a council of elders, who pronounce judgment on the evidence. As an illustration of the manner in which such a council of hill-men disposes of cases, Mr. Bensley cites the case of a man who was made to carry forty basket loads of sand to the house of the person against whom he had offended. He points out of the person against whom he had offended by the council. Disobedience would be followed by excommunication, and this would mean being turned out into the jungle, to obtain a living in the best way one could.

By one Kadir informant I was assured, as he squatted on the floor of my bungalow at "question time," that it is essential that wife should be a good cook, in accordance with a maxim that the way to the heart is through the mouth. How many that men in civilised western society, who suffer from marrying a wife wholly incompetent, like the first Mrs. David Copperfield, to conduct the housekeeping, might well be envious of the system of marriage as a civil contract to be sealed or unloosed according to the cookery results! Polygyny is indulged in by the Kadirs, who agree with Benedick that "the world must be peopled," and hold more especially that the numerical strength of their own tribe must be maintained. The plurality of wives seems to be mainly with the desire for offspring, and the father-in-law of one of the forest-guards informed me that he had four wives living. The first two wives producing no offspring, he married a third, who bore him a solitary male child. Considering the result to be an insufficient contribution to the tribe, he married a fourth, who, more prolific than her colleagues, gave birth to three girls and a boy, with which he remained content. In the code of polygynous etiquette, the first wife takes precedence over the others, and each wife has her own cooking utensils.

Special huts are maintained for women during menstruation and parturition. Mr. Vincent informs me that, when a girl reaches puberty, the friends of the family gather together, and a great feast is prepared. All her friends and relations give her a small present of money, according to their means. The girl is decorated with the family jewelry, and made to look as smart as possible. For the first menstrual period a special hut, called muthu salai or ripe house, is constructed for the girl to live in during the period of pollution, but at subsequent periods, the ordinary menstruation hut, or unclean house, is used. All girls are said to change their names when they reach puberty. For three months after the birth of a child, the woman is considered unclean. When the infant is a month old, it is named without any elaborate ceremonial, though the female friends of the family collect together. Sexual intercourse ceases on the establishment of pregnancy, and the husband

indulges in promiscuity. Widows are not allowed to re-marry, but may live in a state of concubinage. Women are said to suckle their children till they are two or three years old, and a mother has been seen putting a lighted cigarette to the lips of a year old baby immediately after suckling it. If this is done with the intention of administering a sedative, it is less baneful than the pellet of opium administered by ayahs (nurses) to Anglo-Indian babies rendered fractious by troubles climatic, dental, and other. The Kadir men are said to consume large quantities of opium, which is sold to them illicitly. They will not allow the women or children to eat it, and have a belief that the consumption thereof by women renders them barren. The women chew tobacco. The men smoke the coarse tobacco as sold in the bazars, and showed a marked appreciation of Spencer's Torpedo cheroots, which I distributed among them for the purposes of bribery and conciliation.

The religion of the Kadirs is a crude polytheism, and vague worship of stone images or invisible gods. It is, as Mr. Bensley expresses it, an ejaculatory religion, finding vent in uttering the names of the gods and demons. The gods, as enumerated and described to me, were as follows:—

(1) Paikutlatha, a projecting rock overhanging a slab of rock, on which are two stones set up on end. Two miles east of Mount Stuart.

(2) Athuvisariamamma, a stone enclosure, ten to fifteen feet square, almost level with the ground. It is believed that the walls were originally ten feet high, and that the mountain has grown up round it. Within the enclosure there is a representation of the god. Eight miles north of Mount Stuart.

(3) Vanathavathi. Has no shrine, but is worshipped anywhere as an invisible god.

(4) Iyappaswami, a stone set up beneath a teak tree, and worshipped as a protector against various forms of sickness and disease. In the act of worshipping, a mark is made on the stone with ashes. Two miles and a half from Mount Stuart, on the ghat road to Sethumadai.

(5) Masanyatha, a female recumbent figure in the stone on a masonry wall in an open plain near the village of Anaimalai, before which trial by ordeal is carried out. The goddess has a high repute for her power of detecting thieves or rogues. Chillies are thrown into a fire in her name, and the guilty person suffers from vomiting and diarrhoea.

According to Mr. L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, the Kadirs are "worshippers of Kali. On the occasion of the offering to Kali, a number of virgins are asked to bathe as a preliminary to the preparation of the offering, which consists of rice and some vegetables cooked in honey, and made into a sweet pudding. The rice for this preparation is unhusked by these girls. The offering is considered to be sacred, and is partaken of by all men, women, and children assembled".

When Kadirs fall sick, they worship the gods by saluting them with their hands to the face, burning camphor, and offering up fruits, cocoanuts, and betel. Mr. Vincent tells me that they have a horror of cattle, and will not touch the ordure, or other

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products of the cow. Yet they believe that their gods occasionally reside in the body of a "bison," and have been known to do puja (worship) when a bull has been shot by a sportsman. It is noted by Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer that wild elephants are held in veneration by them, but tame ones are believed to have lost the divine element.

The Kadirs are said, during the Hindu Vishu festival, to visit the plains, and, on their way, pray to any image which they chance to come across. They are believers in witchcraft, and attribute all diseases to the miraculous workings thereof. They are good exorcists, and trade in mantravadam or magic. Mr. Logan mentions that "the family of famous trackers, whose services in the jungles were retained for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' (now King Edward) projected sporting tour in the Anamalai mountains, dropped off most mysteriously, one by one, shortly afterwards, stricken down by an unseen hand, and all of them expressing before hand their conviction that they were under a certain individual's spell, and were doomed to certain death at an early date. They were probably poisoned, but how it was managed remains a mystery, although the family was under the protection of a European gentleman, who would at once have brought to light any ostensible foul play".

The Kadir dead are buried in a grave, or, if death occurs in the depths of the jungles, with a paucity of hands available for digging, the corpse is placed in a crevice between the rocks, and covered over with stones. The grave is dug from four to five feet deep. There is no special burial-ground, but some spot in the jungle, not far from the scene of death, is selected. A band of music, consisting of drum and fife, plays weird dirges outside the hut of the deceased, and whistles are blown when it is carried away therefrom. The old clothes of the deceased are spread under the corpse, and a new cloth is put on it. It is tied up in mat, which completely covers it, and carried to the burial-ground on bamboo stretcher. As it leaves the hut, rice is thrown over it. The funeral ceremony is simple in the extreme. The corpse is laid in the grave on a mat in the recumbent posture, with the head towards the east and with split bamboo and leaves placed all round it, so that not a particle of earth can touch it. No stone, or sepulchral monument of any kind, is set up to mark the spot. The Kadir believes that the dead go to heaven, which is in the sky, but has no views as to what sort of place it is. The story that the Kadirs eat their dead originated with Europeans, the origin of it being that no one had ever seen a dead Kadir, a grave, or sign of a burial-place. The Kadirs themselves are reticent as to their method of disposing of the dead, and the story, which was started as a joke, became more or less believed. Mr. Vincent tells me that a well-to-do Kadir family will perform the final death ceremonies eight days after death, but poorer folk have to wait a year or more, till they have collected sufficient money for the expenses thereof. At cock-crow on the morning of the ceremonies, rice, called polli chor, is cooked, and piled up on leaves in the centre of the hut of the deceased. Cooked rice, called tullagu chor, is then placed in each of the four corners of the hut, to propitiate the gods, and to serve as food for them and the spirit of the dead person. At a short distance from the hut, rice, called kanal chor, is cooked for all Kadirs who have died, and been buried. The relations and friends of deceased commence to cry, and make lamentations, and proclaim his good qualities, most of which are fictitious. After an hour or so, they adjourn to the hut of the deceased, where the oldest man present invokes the

gods, and prays to them and to the heaped up food. A pinch from each of the heaps is thrown into the air as a gift of food to the gods, and those present fall to, and eat heartily, being careful to partake of each of the food-stuffs, consisting of rice, meat, and vegetables, which have been prepared.

On a certain Monday in the months of Adi and Avani, the Kadirs observe a festival called nombu, during which a feast is held, after they have bathed and anointed themselves with oil. It was, they say, observed by their ancestors, but they have no definite tradition as to its origin or significance. It is noted by Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer, that at the Onam festival, presents in the shape of rice, cloths, coats, turbans, caps, ear-rings, tobacco, opium, salt, oil and cocoanuts are distributed among the Kadirs by the Forest Department.

According to Mr. Bensley, "the Kadir has an air of calm dignity, which leads one to suppose that he had some reason for having a more exalted opinion of himself than that entertained for him by the outside world. A forest officer of a philanthropic turn had a very high opinion of the sturdy independence and blunt honesty of the Kadir, but he once came unexpectedly round a corner, to find two of them exploring the contents of his port-manteau, from which they had abstracted a pair of scissors, a comb, and a looking glass". "The Kadirs," Mr. (now Sir F.A.) Nicholson writes, "are, as a rule, rather short in stature, and deep-chested, like most mountaineers; and, like many true mountaineers, they rarely walk with a straight leg. Hence their thigh muscles are often abnormally developed at the expense of those of the calf. Hence, too, in part, their dislike to walking long distances on level ground, though their objection, mentioned by Colonel Douglas Hamilton, to carrying loads on the plains, is deeper-rooted than that arising from mere physical disability. This objection is mainly because they are rather a timid race, and never feel safe out of the forests. They have also affirmed that the low country air is very trying to them". As a matter of fact, they very rarely go down to the plains, even as far as the village of Anaimalai, only fifteen miles distant from Mount Stuart. One woman, whom I saw, had been as far as Palghat by railway from Coimbatore, and had returned very much up-to-date in the matter of jewelry and the latest barbarity in imported piece-good body-cloth.

With the chest-girth of the Kadirs, as well as their general muscular development, I was very much impressed. Their hardness, Mr. Conner writes, has given rise to the observation among their neighbours that the Kadir and Kad Anai (wild elephant) are much the same sort of animal.

Perhaps the most interesting custom of the Kadirs is that of chipping all or some of the incisor teeth, both upper and lower into the form of a sharp-pointed, but not serrated cone. The operation, which is performed with a chisel or bill-hook and file by members of the tribe skilled therein, on boys and girls, has been thus described. The girl to be operated on lies down, and places her head against a female friend, who holds her head firmly. A woman takes a sharpened bill-hook, and chips away the teeth till they are shaded to a point, the girl operated on writhing and groaning with the pain. After the operation she appears dazed, and in a very few hours the face begins to swell. Swelling and pain last for a day or two, accompanied by severe headache. The Kadirs say that chipped teeth make an ugly man or woman

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handsome, and that a person, whose teeth have not been thus operated on, has teeth and eats like a cow. Whether this practice is one which the Kadir, and Mala Vedar of Travancore, have hit on spontaneously in comparatively recent times, or whether it is a relic of a custom resorted to by their ancestors of long ago, which remains as a stray survival of a custom once more widely practiced by the remote inhabitants of Southern India, cannot be definitely asserted, but I incline to the latter view.

A freindly old woman, with huge discs in the widely dilated lobes of the ears, and a bamboo five-pronged comb in her back-hair, who acted as spokesman on the occasion of a visit to a charmingly situated settlement in a jungle of magnificent bamboos by the side of a mountain stream, pointed out to me, with conscious pride, that the huts were largely constructed by the females, while the men worked for the sircar (Government). The females also carry water from the streams, collect firewood, dig up edible roots, and carry out the sundry household duties of a housewife. Both men and women are clever at plaiting bamboo baskets, necklets, etc. I was told one morning by a Kadir man, whom I met on the road, as an important item of news, that the women in his settlement were very busy dressing to come and see me—an event as important to them as the dressing of a debutante for presentation at the Court of St. James'. They eventually turned up without their husbands, and evidently regarded my methods as a huge joke organised for the amusement of themselves and their children. The hair was neatly parted, anointed with a liberal application of cocoanut oil, and decked with wild flowers. Beauty spots and lines had been painted with coal-tar dyes on the forehead, and turmeric powder freely sprinkled over the top of the heads of the married women. Some had even discarded the ragged and dirty cotton cloth of every-day life in favour of colour printed imported sari. One bright, good-looking young woman, who had already been through the measuring ordeal, acted as an efficient lady-help in coaching the novices in the assumption of the correct positions. She very readily grasped the situation, and was manifestly proud of her temporary elevation to the rank of standard-bearer to Government.

Dr. K. T. Preuss has drawn my attention to an article in Globus, 1899, entitled 'Die Zauberbilder Schriften der Negrito in Malaka', wherein he describes in detail the designs on the bamboo combs worn by the Negritos of Malacca, and compares them with the strikingly similar design on the combs worn by the Kadir women. Dr. Preuss works out in detail the theory that the design is not, as I have elsewhere called it, a geometrical pattern, but consists of a series of hieroglyphics. The collection of Kadir

combs in the Madras Museum shows very clearly that the patterns thereon are conventional designs. The bamboo combs worn by the Semang women are stated to serve as talismans, to protect them against diseases which are prevalent, or most dreaded by them. Mr. Vincent informs me that, so far as he knows, the Kadir combs are not looked on as charms, and the markings thereon have no mystic significance. A Kadir man should always make a comb, and present it to his intended wife just before marriage, or at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, and the young men vie with each other as to who can make the nicest comb. Sometimes they represent strange articles on the combs. Mr. Vincent has, for example, seen a comb with a very good imitation of the face of a clock scratched on it.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish adolescent Kadir youths with curly fringe, chests covered by a cotton cloth, and wearing necklers made of plaited grass or glass and brass beads, from girls. And I was myself several times caught in an erroneous diagnosis of sex. Many of the infants have a charm tied round the neck, which takes the form of a dried tortoise foot; the tooth of a crocodile mimicking a phallus, and supposed to ward off attacks from a mythical water elephant which lives in the mountain streams; or wooden imitations of tiger's claws. One baby wore a necklet made of the seeds of *Coix Lachryma Jobi* (Job's tears). Males have the lobes of the ears adorned with brass ornaments, and the nostril pierced, and plugged with wood. The ear-lobes of the females are widely dilated with palm-leaf rolls or huge wooden discs, and they wear ear-rings, brass or steel bangles and finger-rings, and bead necklets.

It is recorded by Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer that the Kadirs are attached to the Raja of Cochin "by the strongest ties of personal affection and regard. Whenever His Highness tours in the forests, they follow him, carry him from place to place in manjals or planquins, carry saman (luggage) and in fact do everything for him. His Highness in return is much attached to them, feeds, them, gives them clothes, ornaments, combs, and looking-glasses".

The Kadirs will not eat with Malasars, who are beef-eaters, and will not carry boots made of cow-hide, except under protest.

Average stature 157.7 cm.; cephalic index 72.9; nasal index 89.

APPENDIX II
Extracts relating to Kadars
from the 1961 Census
SCT Tables

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND

WORKERS

Name of the State/District.	T/R/U.	Total			Total workers		I As Cultivator		II As Agricultural Labourer		III In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and allied activities	
		Persons			Males Females		Males Females		Males Females		Males Females	
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Madras State	T	293	158	135	106	71	...	...	...	1	45	22
	R	97	56	41	38	20	...	...	...	1	38	18
	U	196	102	94	68	51	...	...	...	...	7	4
Salem	T	2	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R	2	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore	T	287	158	129	106	70	...	...	...	1	45	22
	R	95	56	39	38	19	...	...	...	1	38	18
	U	192	102	90	68	51	...	...	...	...	7	4
Tirunelveli	T	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

NON-WORKERS BY SEX FOR KADARS IN MADRAS STATE

IV At Household Industry		V In Manufacturing other than Household Industry		VI In Construction		VII In Trade and Commerce		VIII In Transport, Storage and Communications		IX In Other Services		X Non-workers		Name of the State/District.
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	60	48	52	64	Madras State
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	18	21	
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	60	47	34	43	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	Salem
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	60	47	52	59	Coimbatore
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	20	
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	60	47	34	39	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	Tirunelveli
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	

TABLE SCT - II
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR KADARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District.	Total Population									Age 0—14			
	Total			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Total		Never Married	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(1)													
Madras State	293	158	135	89	69	69	63	...	3	60	57	60	57
Salem	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore	287	158	129	89	65	69	61	...	3	60	53	60	53
Tirunelveli	4	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	4

TABLE SCT - II—(Contd)

Name of the State/District	Age 15—44						Age 45 +							
	Total		Never Married		Married		Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
Madras State	78	56	27	12	51	44	20	22	2	...	18	19	...	...
Salem	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Coimbatore	78	55	27	12	51	43	20	21	2	...	18	18	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT — III
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR KADARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District.	T/R/U.	Total.		Illiterate.		Literate (without educational level)		Educational levels			
								Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)	(2)										
Madras State.	T	158	135	132	120	25	12	1	3	...	...
	R	56	41	51	39	5	2	...	...	...	...
	U	102	94	81	81	20	10	1	3	...	...
Salem.	T	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore.	T	158	129	132	114	25	12	1	3	...	...
	R	56	39	51	37	5	2	...	...	...	...
	U	102	90	81	77	20	10	1	3	...	...
Tirunelveli.	T	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT - IV
RELIGION FOR KADARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District.	T R U	Total			Name of Religion			
					Christian		Hindu	
		P	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Madras State	T	293	158	135	1	...	157	135
	R	97	56	41	...	...	56	41
	U	196	102	94	1	...	101	94
Salem	T	2	...	2	...	...	...	2
	R	2	...	2	...	...	...	2
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore	T	287	158	129	1	...	157	129
	R	95	56	39	...	...	56	39
	U	192	102	90	1	...	101	90
Tirunelveli	T	4	...	4	...	...	...	4
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	4	...	4	...	...	...	4

T A B L E S C T — V I

E D U C A T I O N A L L E V E L S I N T H E V A R I O U S A G E G R O U P S A M O N G K A D A R S I N M A D R A S S T A T E

Name of the State/ District.	Total Population								Illiterate							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45 +	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45 +
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Madras State	158	15	24	21	15	32	31	20	135	16	22	19	17	28	11	22
Salem	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Coimbatore	158	15	24	21	15	32	31	20	129	12	22	19	17	27	11	21
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT — VI (Contd.)

[illegible]

TABLE SCT - VII
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION FOR KADARS AT WORK

Occupational Code— Family Group.	Madras State.		Salem.		Coimbatore.		Tirunelveli.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
101. Administrators and Executive Officials, State Government.	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
411. Farm Workers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing.	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
415. Plantation labourers.	4	4	...	...	4	4	...	...
440. Forest Rangers and Related Workers.	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
449. Loggers and Other Forestry Workers, n.e.c.	36	18	...	...	36	18	...	...
899. Labourers, n.e.c.	61	48	...	1	61	47	...	...
903. Watchmen and Chowkidars.	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
I. Cultivators.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. Agricultural Labourers.	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
Total Workers.	106	71	...	1	106	70	...	...

TABLE SCT—VIII
PLACE OF BIRTH OF MIGRANTS AMONG KADARS

Where born.		ENUMERATED IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS OF THE DISTRICT.																	
		Rural.									Urban.								
		Persons.			Males.						Persons.			Males.			Females.		
		Total.	Salem.	Coimbatore.	Total.	Salem.	Coimbatore.	Total.	Salem.	Coimbatore.	Total.	Coimbatore.	Tirunelveli.	Total.	Coimbatore.	Tirunelveli.	Total.	Coimbatore.	Tirunelveli.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
Total Population		97	2	95	56	...	56	41	2	39	196	192	4	102	102	...	94	90	4
A. Born in India.	R	97	2	95	56	...	56	41	2	39	26	25	1	8	8	...	18	17	1
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	169	166	3	94	94	...	75	72	3
I. Within the State of Enumeration.	R	94	2	92	54	...	54	40	2	38	24	23	1	6	6	...	18	17	1
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	169	166	3	94	94	...	75	72	3
(a) Born in place of Enumeration.	R	62	1	61	33	...	33	29	1	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	161	158	3	86	86	...	75	72	3
(b) Born elsewhere in the district of Enumeration.	R	31	...	31	21	...	21	10	...	10	19	18	1	4	4	...	15	14	1
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	8	8	...	...	...	...
(c) Born in other districts of the State.	R	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	5	...	2	2	...	3	3	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Salem.	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
7. The Nilgiris.	R	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Madurai	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
11. Ramanathapuram.	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
II. A. Born in India beyond the State of Enumeration.	R	3	...	3	2	...	2	1	...	1	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B. Born outside India.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...

**MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF
RESIDENCE IN PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG KADARS.**

[illegible]

MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG KADARS—(Contd.)

[illegible]

APPENDIX III
Socio-economic tables relating to Kadar:
settled at Nedunkunram, Pollachi Taluk,
Coimbatore district.

TABLE ST - I
MOTHER TONGUE AND BILINGUALISM AMONG KADARS.

Name of the State District.	Total Speakers.		Mother Tongue Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to that shown horizontally.		Subsidiary Language.
	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	KANNADA				
Madras State	86	70	29	26	Tamil [M : 29 ; F : 26]
	TAMIL				
	72	65	...	...	
	TAMIL				
Salem	...	2	...	...	
	KANNADA				
Coimbatore	86	70	29	26	Tamil [M : 29 ; F : 26]
	TAMIL				
	72	59	...	...	
	TAMIL				
Tirunelveli	...	4	...	...	

TABLE ST - II
PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR KADARS

Name of the State/ District.	Total Non-working Population			Full Time Students		Persons seekings Employment For the first time		Persons Employed before but now not of Employment and Seeking work.		Others.	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	116	52	64	8	12	1	...	...	...	43	52
Salem	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Coimbatore	111	52	59	8	12	1	...	...	...	43	47
Tirunelveli	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4

TABLE-1
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

No. of households.	Size of Households																	
	Single member				2-3 members				4-6 members				7-9 members				10 members & Over	
	House- holds	Males	Females	House- holds	Males	Females	House- holds	Males	Females	House- holds	Males	Females	House- holds	Males	Females	House- holds	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)			
21	...	...	...	5	6	5	10	29	22	6	24	23	..	...	...			

Average size of a household = $\frac{109}{21} = 5.2$

T A B L E - 2
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age Groups.	Total Population.		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated.	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
All ages	109	59	50	33	24	25	26	...	...	1
0-4	13	10	3	10	3	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	21	7	14	7	14	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	13	11	2	11	2	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	10	2	8	2	4	...	4	...	...	...
20-24	9	5	4	2	...	3	4	...	...	...
25-29	9	3	6	1	...	2	6	...	...	...
30-34	9	5	4	...	...	5	4	...	...	...
35-44	11	7	4	...	...	7	4	...	...	...
45-59	7	5	2	...	...	5	2	...	...	...
60 and over	7	4	3	...	1	3	2	...	...	1

T A B L E - 3
WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATION

Age Groups.	Total		Occupation No. 1 Estate Labourer (415)		Occupation No. 2 Cooly engaged in collection of Forest minor produce.		Occupation No. 3 Estate Watchman	
	Persons	Males	Persons	Males	Persons	Males	Persons	Males
	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(8)	(9)	(11)	(12)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(7)	(10)	(13)	(11)	(12)
All Ages	32	25	7	4	3	...	1	1
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
20-24	4	4	...	...	2	2	...	...
25-29	4	3	1	...	2	1	...	...
30-34	8	5	3	2	5	3	...	...
35-44	8	6	2	2	3	3	...	...
45-59	4	4	...	1	2	2	1	1
60 & over	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...

TABLE-4

EDUCATION

Age Groups.	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate (without Educational Standard)		Primary or Junior Basic		Higher educational level.	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(1)	109	59	50	43	41	10	6	6	3	...	...
All Ages	13	10	3	10	3	...	...	...	1	...	...
5 — 4	21	7	14	5	9	2	4	...	...	...	...
0 — 9	13	11	2	3	2	6	...	2	...	...	...
10—14	10	2	8	1	5	...	1	1	2	...	...
15—19	9	5	4	2	4	1	...	2	...	...	...
20—24	9	3	6	1	5	1	1	1	...	...	...
25—29	9	5	4	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
30—34	11	7	4	7	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
35—44	7	5	2	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
45—54	7	4	3	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 & over	7	4	3	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE-5
NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

Age Groups	NON-WORKERS											
	Total Non-workers		Full time students		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependants, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Others			
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
All Ages	77	34	43	11	8	..	21	23	14	..	..	
0-4	13	10	3	..	..	..	..	10	3	..	..	
5-9	21	7	14	2	5	..	..	5	9	..	..	
10-14	13	11	2	8	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	
15-19	8	1	7	1	3	..	4	..	..	..	..	
20-24	5	1	4	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	
25-29	5	..	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	
30-34	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	
35-44	3	1	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	
45-59	3	1	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	
60 & over	5	2	3	..	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

Introduction

1. The Kanis or Kanikkars are a primitive tribe living amidst the mountain fastnesses of Ambasamudram taluk of Tirunelveli district, and in Kanyakumari district, which lie on either side of the Western Ghats. They are also found in large numbers in Trivandrum and Quilon districts of Kerala State. They live among picturesque surroundings, nature having allowed the Western Ghats to form a perfect backdrop to their settlements. They live near rivers which rise from the Western Ghats and flow eastward and westward. The development of the area by the construction of a number of dams has rendered their habitations easily accessible to others and this in a way has altered their life.

It will be interesting to recall the observations of Mr. H. R. Pate, I. C. S. in Tirunelveli District Gazetteer published in 1917: "The habitations of the Kanis (or Kanikkars) of whom there are only about 200 in this district—they are numerous in Travancore—are in the regions of Kannikatti and Singampatti forests. They are a simple, straight forward folk and are in all respects greatly in advance of the Paliyans. Their settlements which they call *Vadis* consist of huts made of bamboo and grass and are situated as a rule away from the tracts of men and animals. Around their dwellings are the patches of land they are cultivating for the time being. The ground is first cleared and roughly chopped with a bill-hook and after it has been set on fire is ready, without further tillage, to be sown. Chulam, tapioca, sweet potatoes, plantains and chillies are the usual crops which form their staple food. They also collect and eat a few wild roots". These observations made 45 years ago apply to the Kanis whom we have surveyed in 1962. No doubt a lot of effort has been put in to educate the Kani, provide him with alternate employment and alter his manner of living, but the Kani has not undergone any fundamental change in his nature and still appears to be as simple and as primitive as Mr. Pate found him in 1917.

We have, in the course of our studies, visited the habitations of many of the tribes of Madras State. They have reacted differently to our visits. Some were unconcerned, some were timid, some were suspicious, but no other tribe have extended to us such a warm welcome as the Kanis have done. It is their characteristic to welcome any visitor with warmth,

offer them 'Urals' (the wooden mortar for pounding paddy) to sit, and give tender coconuts, tapioca and honey. They appeared unhappy that they could no entertain us more. Actually our visit coincided with their recovery from a disaster which overtook the community, viz. a viruluous attack of small-pox in 1962 in which a hundred of them lost their lives. We could see a number of deserted houses in which the entire families perished. It was, therefore, quite a surprise to us that these people could recover so easily from such a great shock and be so hospitable to people from whom they expected no return or reward.

We are told that in olden days whenever there was an onset of small-pox, the other members of the family used to leave the afflicted Kani in the hut, place a bowl of water and a cut section of a jack fruit beside him and run away. Even though the abandoned man was certain to die, the whole families were not normally wiped out. But this year, strange to say, Kanis remained in their huts even when a particular member of the family was afflicted, with the result that entire families were attacked by this disease and most of them succumbed to that in the end. Preventive measures taken by the Health and Medical Department to combat the disease came too late. Something could be said in favour of their callous and inhuman practice of abandonment followed in the past for the sake of the preservation of their tribe. Normally a Kani reacts very badly to vaccination. He does not like it and will run away from any vaccinator.

The Kanis are known by several synonyms such as Kaniyans, Kanikarans, Kanikkars, Velanmars and Malai-arasans. They are also known as Malavedans. According to Thurston, they are a jungle tribe inhabiting the mountains of South Travancore. They are characterised by a high standard of honour straight forwardness, honesty and truthfulness. They are good shikaris and fond of sports. They know every inch of the forests in which they live. They are willing to give help and guidance to any person, who may have to travel through the forest.

2. Origin

It is difficult to trace the origin of this tribe. According to a version prevalent among the Kanis, they claim to be persons who lived in the dominion of

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

Travancore King. It is said they migrated to Papanasam taluk, when they were given on loan to Singampatti Zamindar for the purpose of clearing the forests. Another version prevalent among the Kanis of other parts of Travancore State is that they originally belonged to Madurai and Tirunelveli districts and they migrated to Kerala later. As is usual with most of the tribes, there is a legend behind the origin of Kanis which traces their origin to Lord Siva. It would appear that Lord Siva suffered from an incurable disease which made his golden torso as black as venom. One of the Devas (there were 33 crores of Devas) informed Siva that a people called Velanmar, who lived on earth could cure his disease as foretold by their astrologer. They were living in Chitrakannimala. When they were asked to cure the disease of Lord Siva, they quarreled among themselves out of jealousy. Siva got wild, took his ring from the right hand fourth finger, chanted 21 mantras and tossed it on the earth. All Velanmars died except 7 women who were living in Chitrakannimala. The ring fell near their settlement. Next day, when they got up early in the morning to sweep their houses, they saw the ring, and everyone of them tried it on her fingers. As a result of this, they all became pregnant and gave birth to 7 children named Indran, Ilayavan, Chandran, Sasthan, Adavi, Moorthy and Ayuavilli. They learnt their language from 7 to 10 years and Mantras from 10 to 16 years. They then went to meet Lord Siva, chanted a Mantra called "Peppu" for 7 days continuously and cured him of his illness. Siva gave them presents, blessed them and sent them back to Chitrakannimala. According to the Kanis, these 7 persons were their ancestors. They are quite proud of their race and still continue to have faith in Mantras as a cure for disease. It is strange that a community which has cured Lord Siva of an incurable disease had to lose a hundred persons by an attack of small-pox in the year 1962.

The Kanis have a wealth of tradition contained in popular songs which have been handed down from generation to generation and which are almost forgotten now. In one such song, the following story is narrated. The Kani were settled in Kalakad and Kallidaikurichi areas of Tirunelveli district and their three chieftains—Veerapan Arasan, Sithangan Arasan, and Adichan Arasan, paid homage to the Raja of Attingal. Somehow for three years they failed to appear before the Raja. The Raja sent his Minister Mathutti Pillai to Kalakad to direct the chieftains to appear before him. They accordingly met the Raja

with honey, ivory and similar presents. Pleased at this, the Raja conferred the title Vira Marthanda Arasan on Veerapan Arasan. The Kanis desired to cook their food. Later the Raja discovered that the Kanis ate food with Shanans, a low caste. Hence the Raja told Viramarthandan that he was fit only to be a Malai Arasan, i. e. a forest chief. The Kanis in this area are, therefore, even now known as Malai Arasans. After sometime, Viramarthandan came to power. In order to celebrate his accession as the chief of Kanis, he invited all Pandya chieftains. One of them declared that if only Viramarthandan gave his sister in marriage to him, he would attend the ceremony. Viramarthandan got wild at this and constructed dams diverting the waters of Kothayar and Manimuthar. Some water still trickled down and reached Adi Pandya. The Pilathi, the magician cum-medicineman, told Viramarthandan that if he gave his sister Karimpadi in sacrifice, the trickling of water would cease. Her blood was, therefore, poured in the dam and the trickling stopped. This brought famine to Adi Pandya, who sought the help of Attingal Raja. Mathutti Pillai went and saw the dam and decided to break it with the help of an elephant. Veeramarthandan tried to dissuade him and finding Mathutti Pillai adamant, he shot an arrow and killed the elephant. Mathutti Pillai committed suicide. Adi Pandya was enraged at this conduct, waged a war against the Kanis and completely routed them. The chieftains committed suicide. A number of Kanis escaped the wrath of Adi Pandya and settled down on the western ghats. This is the tradition prevalent among the Kanis and they all revere the memory of Mathutti Pillai even today. They also celebrate the memory of Karimpadi, whose life was sacrificed for their good.

Another story, also narrated by the Kanis, to show how they acquired the name of Kani or Kanikkar was that when Marthandavarma, the Yuvaraja of Travancore was fighting for his throne against the sons of the Ettuveettu Pillaimars, his uncle (the then King) came across a tribal settlement of Velans. In the course of his wanderings, they were helpful to him and gave protection in times of adversity. When he finally ascended the throne, after vanquishing his enemies, he gave 102.5 "Kanis" of land to the Velans in Nedumangad, Neyyattinkara, Vilavancode and Kalkulam taluks to be used by them as they pleased. Hence the Velans came to be known as "Kanis". The Maharaja also conferred other favours on this tribe. They could carry guns within the forests with-

out any licence. They had the freedom to live in and exploit the forest wealth, freedom to move as they like, freedom to plant ganja and use it and tapping Ayathengu trees for liquor within their limits. The last two concessions are not enjoyed by the Kanis today. In order to show their gratitude to the Maharaja for these favours, the Kanis used to visit Trivandrum and present him with honey, thinai, bamboos, plantains, sticks, Navichattam, "punugu" and the bark of a tree. In return the Kanis were entertained to a grand feast by the Maharaja of Travancore. This custom, however, stopped with the States Reorganisation which took place on 31st October 1957 after which the Maharaja ceased to be the ruler of Travancore State. This story has some historical basis because the capital of the Maharaja of Travancore was then located at Padmanabhapuram which was close to the Kani settlements and in the course of the long warfare which the Yuvaraja had against his opponents, it is likely that he got some substantial assistance from the Kanis who were noted for their skill in archery.

A trip in the Kani area

3. Most of the Kani settlements which we saw in Tirunelveli lie scattered in the forest along the fringe of the Papanasam reservoir. From Papanasam, which is a sacred place for Hindus, we proceeded along a winding tortuous Ghat road to the Lower Dam and from there to the Upper Dam. Suddenly to the left of the road, we saw a miniature colony of 9 houses placed on 3 sides of a rectangle. These have been built by the Government for the Kanis, who moved into these houses after leaving their primitive settlements amidst the dense forest. To the left, rise the blue peaks of the Western Ghats and the slopes are covered with dense forest. Adjoining the road we have the continuation of the reserve forest. The settlement itself was a picturesque little place with borders of flowers carefully tended by the hand of man. But the flowers were the only pleasant things we noticed. When we entered the place we were greeted by a regular chorus of barks from the numerous dogs which the Kanis love to keep. The exterior of the house was clean but the interior presented a picture of squalor and filth.

The average Kani is short, not more than 5' 5" in height apparently with a lot of fussy hair. On a closer scrutiny we found that the hair was not fussy, but was

matted due to the constant accumulation of dust mixed with grease, as the Kanis shrink from anything resembling a bath. Personal cleanliness is set at a low premium. We know it, not only from our observation, but also from their own statements that they do not even brush their teeth or wash their mouths. The colour of their loin cloth, which is the only thing most Kanis like to wear, provides a dull greyish black contrast to the surrounding of vivid green and blue. This cloth they seldom like to wash. This lack of personal cleanliness and hygiene was uniform whether the Kanis live in pucca houses built for them by the Government, or in their rude huts set amidst forest. Tapioca in various forms, whether dried, boiled, or roasted, is their staple diet. But they occasionally take rice and millets also. Honey and all types of wild fruits also form part of their diet. They also grow wild chillies which are very small when compared to the normal size. They dry these in the sun and use for spicing their insipid food. Jack fruit is another favourite item of food. We saw a large number of jack fruit trees growing in abundance around their settlements. We have heard that Kanis were shy by nature; but the Kanis of the settlement of Agasthipuram seemed to be quite friendly and gathered round us plying us questions and eager to answer questions.

Beyond Agasthipuram, a typical Kani settlement called Mylar lies on the other side of the Papanasam dam. It was raining heavily and the plank bridge we were expected to cross was so slippery that it would have been the height of foolhardiness to cross this bridge to reach the settlement. We therefore proceeded to visit another Kani settlement lying within the forest, 4 miles due south of Mundanthurai. Even this settlement which we saw being closer to the settlements of non-tribals seem to have certain characteristics which are not common to other Kanis. However, we were able to see their typical huts in which they lived with their dogs. The prolixity of dogs needs some explanation. It seems in early days when Kanis were settling amidst the jungles they had to protect themselves from the depredations of wild beasts notably elephants who have always displayed a tendency to destroy Kani settlements. On seeing the wild animals these dogs set up such a din that it alerts the sleeping Kanis, who armed with flaming torches, could then frighten away the wild beasts. The dogs multiplied in numbers with the result that until a few years back they were numerically superior to the Kanis. But of late these dogs have dwindled in strength and one old Kani told us that many of the dogs had died or were driven away

by the Kanis who found them more a nuisance than a help. The huts themselves are cunningly devised cut portions of bamboo being securely lashed together and covered with dry rushes which grow in profusion in the forest around the banks of the reservoir. In this rude shack, the Kanis live amidst the dirt.

Their cultivation is shifting in nature. As fancy takes them they clear jungles and without any thought to scientific mode of agriculture, they grow tapioca and chillies. They grow jack and other types of orchard trees. They are also expert fishermen and we were privileged to witness their crude but effective method of fishing in the streams and in the reservoir. Two persons hold an old saree or a towel and dip it in a spot where they expect the river fish to be in plenty. When they raise the cloth the water drains out through the holes in the cloth and the fish remain stranded on it. In spite of their skill, the leader of the Kanis ruefully informed us that another source of nutritive diet was denied to them, thanks to the strict interpretation of laws which prohibit fishing in inland streams and reservoirs without express permission of the Forest Department as well as the Superintendent of the Dam. The irony of it is, the watchman and others of the Forest Department allow these Kanis to catch fish as if admiring their skill and later on pounce upon the catch and confiscate it, depriving the Kanis of even the small consolation of taking back home one small fish as reward for their efforts.

The leader of the Kanis spoke of the past glory of his tribe when they were under the benign rule of the Chokkampatti and Singampatti Zamindars. Their original ancestral home was Kerala, from where they were lent to the Chokkampatti Zamindar for looking after the forest. They settled in the forest. They were treated very well by the Zamindar. In return the Kanis who were always loyal protected the reserves. They also cleared patches of jungles and did some cultivation. Once a year they paid homage to the Zamindar by presenting to him tapioca, honey and wild fruits. They also fashioned out carved figure heads in wood and presented them to the Zamindar. After the Chokkampatti Zamindar, these areas came under the control of Singampatti Zamindar who perpetrated the earlier traditions of his predecessor. They were very happy until the Zamindari rights were finally abolished and the Singampatti Zamindar moved permanently to settle down at Tirunagar, Madurai. From that date, the troubles began. The Forest Department was not kind to them and treated them with scant

respect. In fact, for the dubious privilege of being able to clear small patches of jungle, the Kanis have to work for a mere pittance at the behest of the Forest Officers, like laying of roads, clearing of jungles and other forms of manual labour.

The Kanis of Kanyakumari are more primitive than those found in Tirunelveli. We visited a modern Kani settlement near Pechipparai dam in Kalkulam taluk of Kanyakumari district. This Kani settlement set among picturesque surroundings is easily accessible by road. There are about 8 houses constructed by the Harijan Welfare Department, placed in a row. The outer facade was neat and orderly, but the Kanis were as dirty if not dirtier than their counterparts in Tirunelveli. Kanis did not appear to be shy and received us cheerfully. We are surprised to see a temple adjacent to the settlement, where we found Sri Ayyappan and other Gods and Goddesses of Hindu pantheon. A wick lamp illuminated the interior of the temple and offerings of flowers and fruits were placed near the deities. We heard with wonder that many of the Kanis regularly visit the Sabarimalai shrine of Sri Ayyappan. Beyond this settlement, there is a residential school intended for Kanis. Since accommodation in the school was limited to one class room, the school worked in 2 shifts, the morning shift for the II and IV Classes and the evening shift for the I and III Classes. In addition there were two rooms which accommodated the hostel. Farther away was a kitchen; boys receive 2 meals a day with one breakfast. Tapioca, rice and vegetables formed the staple ingredients of their diet. There is also an industrial centre with 2 sections; one is devoted to rattan-work and the other to bamboo work. There is an Instructor and an Assistant Instructor, both belonging to Kerala. Some of the products of this Centre were quite good, the products being, tables, chairs, stools, baskets and other fancy articles.

We next visited another Kani settlement at Korvakuli, slightly within the jungle. There also, the Government have built pucca houses. Later we were to compare them with the huts of a typical settlement at Thatchamalai beyond the Pechipparai reservoir and learnt that the Kanis living in Government built houses were better off, economically and socially than their brethren living in primitive conditions. We were entertained to a minor repast of cocoanut and honey. One of the Kanis we learnt has studied upto III Form. With refreshing candour, we were informed that some Roman Catholic priest had come to the place offering free education for those who would

embrace Christianity. He utilised that opportunity to study upto III Form and then returned to the Hindu-fold after completing his education. He is now employed in the local residential school as a watchman and he is more prosperous than the rest, being the proud owner of three milch cattle. His house was neater than the rest. An interesting custom which we observed was planting a plantain sapling with its crown shorn off, in front of the house and placing a round basket-like structure on top of it which formed respectacle for wick lamps. This decoration we noticed in front of almost all Kani houses.

The next Kani settlement visited was the Thatchamalai. To reach this place, we had to traverse the intense blue waters of the Pechipparai reservoir and then proceed on foot for a furlong through a jungle. We suddenly came upon 5 or 6 Kani huts. Here the people were more shy and reticent than their counterparts elsewhere. Tall lofty trees surrounded the settlement on all sides and form a perfect barrier against inroads of humanity, with the shimmering expanse of the lake on the other side, effectively cutting them off from the rest of the world. To reach the mainland, the Kanis of this place adopt a simple but effective expedient of tying together a few green bamboo poles and paddling the native craft across the river. It was stated by the Kanis that this was a safer means of transportation than even a country boat or a steamer launch which would be liable to capsize if a sudden gust of wind blowed across the lake as it often does. The huts were primitive in the extreme. A few dried rushes covering the few bamboo slivers tied together closely formed their hut. There was no furniture inside the huts. Here we came across their quaint instrument of 'Kokra', composed of a cylindrical piece of iron with serrated edges made out of a thin sheet of metal pressed together to form a cylinder with a small gap between the edges. Attached to this piece of iron by a chain was a rusty nail with which the 'Plathi' or the medicine-man of the Kanis could produce a sort of weird noise to the chanting of Mantras, said to ward off diseases. We were anxious to listen to the music produced by this instrument and this was readily complied with. The resultant noise, splitting to ear drums, was enough to drive any man crazy. One cannot believe that this can cure any disease. The District Welfare Officer told us that he had not come across any case of cure which was effected by the use of this instrument. It was interesting to observe that even now the Kanis have great faith in the efficacy of this instrument. No doubt they are nowadays inclined to take medicine

but at the same time they will have their 'Kokra' played so that the medicine may be rendered effective.

Another interesting instrument, the primitive form of cigarette-lighter was the 'Chakkimukki', a small oblong piece of bamboo stuffed with cotton and charred on top. The other concomitants of this lighter is a flint stone and a flat piece of iron. The flint stone is placed on the circular rim of the bamboo and the flat iron is struck against the flint stone. The resultant sparks fall on the charred cotton and set it on fire. Unfortunately for us, the Kanis of that settlement seemed to have switched over to using a match-box, and they had considerable difficulty in lighting this lighter. They sheepishly informed us that they had lost touch, thanks to the use of the match box.

Onam is one of the festivals celebrated by the Kanis. They do not buy new clothes on this occasion. Apparently this does not have the same significance which it has in other parts of Kerala. At Mundanthurai, we came across a rude swing fashioned out of saplings, tied crosswise which they stated was used by them as a sort of swing during the Onam festival.

Habitat

4. Compared with other tribes, Kanis live at low altitudes not higher than 1,000 feet. They are, as indicated before, found on the forest-slopes of Pothigai Malai, which forms the southern most range of mountains in the Western Ghats. On this mountain, Agastya, the famous Aryan saint, who is said to have migrated to the South and introduced Aryan influences, lived in remote antiquity. The slopes are covered with tall trees and bamboo bushes. The vegetation is thick and the soil fertile. The western slopes of this range of mountain lie in Kanyakumari District and the eastern slopes in Ambasamudram taluk of Tirunelveli district. The Kothayar, and the Masipatti Ar take off from the western slope and flow into the Arabian sea. The famous Tambaraparani river rises from the eastern slopes and joins the Bay of Bengal. The Kani settlements are found generally at those points where these rivers emerge into the plains from the forests. The Kanis live on the banks of these rivers. A number of dams have been constructed on these rivers — the Pechipparai Reservoir across the river Kothayar, Perunchani Reservoir across the river Masipatti and the Papanasam reservoir across the river Tambaraparani. While these dams add to the

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

beauty to the approaches of Kani settlements, they have in a way altered the life and habits of the Kanis; for example, the Kanis living on the north-eastern side of Pechiparai reservoir have to travel by wooden or bamboo float in order to purchase their daily necessities. These dams sometimes act as a barrage to the Government aid reaching them in any form. This was illustrated in the recent small-pox epidemic in which the health authorities could not reach them in time. The areas inhabited by Kanis were considered malarial but owing to the Malaria Eradication Programme, they have now become free of this scourge. The present habitats can therefore be considered healthy.

The Kanis are now living in the following settlements in Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts:

Name of Taluk Name of Settlement Total Population

KANYAKUMARI DISTRICT

1.	Vilavancode	Aurukani	130
2.	do	Tholadi	50
3.	do	Pattukani	50
4.	do	Kattuway	10
5.	do	Vannakay	20
6.	do	Kulappalai	60
7.	do	Zooloor	20
8.	do	Maruthanparai	30
9.	do	Thalackumalai	10
10.	do	Purathumalai	60
11.	do	Vellaraku	60
12.	do	Purayidam	70
13.	do	Adakadu	50
14.	do	Velupalam	80
15.	Kalkulam	Mothiramalai	60
16.	do	Mudavanpotta	90
17.	do	Thachamalai	120
18.	do	Maramalai	40
19.	do	Thottamalai	80
20.	do	Ponniakulam	50
21.	do	Karuvakuzhy	60
22.	do	Chelankunnu	20
23.	do	Kellaekonam	50
24.	do	Valiamalai	90
25.	do	Vettamvilai	20

26.	do	Kagakarai	60
27.	do	Kowackal	50
28.	do	Keerapparai	10
29.	do	Veckalimoodu	200
30.	do	Villieri	
31.	do	Pravilai	
32.	do	Therianveedu	
33.	Thovala	Vellanlei	120

TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

34.	Ambasamudram	Mayilaru	75
35.	do	Inchikuli	60
36.	do	Agasthiar Nagar	80
37.	do	Tharuvattamparai	30
38.	do	Kiltharuvattamparai	45

They do not remain permanently in any particular place but they would not also move far away from a central point which may usually happen to be their ancestral temple. They practice shifting cultivation and change their dwellings once in 2 or 3 years. In Tirunelveli District they were formerly living in Kowdalai Forest and in the Singampatti Zamin Forest; but they have now moved to places near Papanasam Upper Dam. Unlike the Muduvars, the tendency of Kanis is to move towards the civilization and not away from it.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments

5. Kanis are short and dark skinned. They have round faces and stout but flat noses. The males have well-built bodies and appear to be strong and healthy, although almost all of them are averse to doing manual labour like digging pits, removing earth etc. The members of the older generation tie their hair into a knot at one side while younger men have begun cropping their hair. Kani women part their hair in the middle and tie it into a knot at the back. The Kanis wear dhoties which are used as a loin cloth when they are at work. They also have a towel on the shoulder which can be used as a head gear. Women have a long cloth wound round their waist and wear a loose jumper over their body. They do not wear any upper cloth over the jumper. The women are generally accustomed to wearing white clothes but in actual practice none of the clothes worn by them is found white. When the cloth becomes soiled and dirty, Kanis do not attempt to restore it to the original colour. The Kani women living in Papanasam are using coloured sarrees whenever they have

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

to go outside their settlements. On such occasions, the men use shirts.

The women practically wear no gold ornaments except 'Tali'. The other ornaments which they wear are made of baser metal. Kanis living north of the Kothayar, wear a lot of beads and shells round their necks. In the wrists they wear brass or aluminium bracelets. Unlike other tribal women, Kani women are not used to wearing too many jewels in their ears. They do not also dilate the holes in the ear lobes. Men do not wear any jewels except ear rings. Poojaris (Priests) and Plathies (medicine men) wear Rudratcham around their neck. On the 28th day after child birth, a twisted thread with a series of knots is tied ceremoniously round the waist of the child. One or two jingling metal beads (Salangai) are added to this thread, so that when the child attempts to move, it produces a definite sound. Except for this Araignan (waist thread) the children found in the settlements are mostly naked.

Utensils and Implements

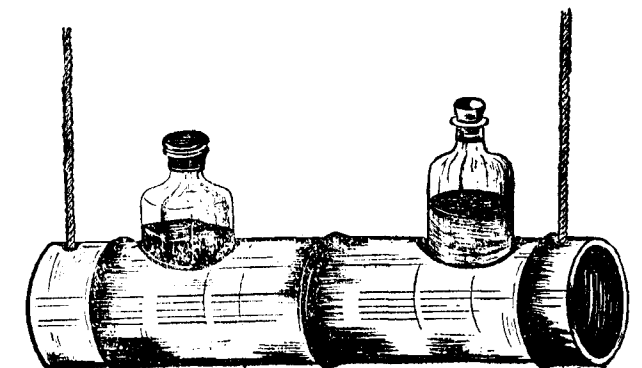
6. The utensils used by the Kanis are simple. They use mud pots for cooking rice and for storing water. They use bottles to store oils. The oven is made of clay. Plantain leaves are used for taking



"Ural and Ulakkai"

food on auspicious days. On other days, aluminium plates are used. The Kanis have a wooden mortar, "Ural" as they call it, which is used to dehusk paddy. This is made of jack tree. The wooden pestle used is called 'Ulakkai'. It can be fitted with iron tips. No Kani household is without a pair of wooden mortar and pestle. For storing bottles, the Kanis use a type of bamboo holder. Hard and hollow

bamboos are taken and holes made and bottles are kept in them. The holder is tied horizontally from the roof. Thus the bottles can be stored very safely. Kanis were using digging sticks in the past but now they use implements like Vettukathi, Aakathi, sickle axes, crowbar and spade just like plainmen. In the past they used Chakkimukki for making fire. It is said that every male member used to carry one with him. Fire is produced by striking a small steel blade



Bamboo holder for keeping bottles.

against a flint. The spark is caught in a piece of cotton and fire is produced by gently blowing the ignited cotton. All the articles required for making fire are packed in a small bamboo cylinder measuring about 2" in diameter and 2" in height. This cylinder has a leather cap. The use of this in some settlements for making fire even today was something of a surprise to us, when most of the tribes have given up making fire by their traditional method.



"Chakki mukki"
Implements for making fire

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

Education and Literacy

7. From the Census Table SCT III in Appendix III the level of literacy among the Kanis of Tirunelveli district is found to be 15.9% and for the Kanis of Kanyakumari district it is 6.7%. For the entire tribe it works out to 7.7%. As we have no comparative figures of literates in the previous Censuses, it is difficult to assess the exact improvement in literacy. We however find that the literates among them are mostly in the younger age-groups. This shows that the present level of literacy is the result of pioneering efforts of the two Tribal Welfare Residential Schools at Pechipara and Papanasam Upper Dam. As the school at Papanasam was started earlier, the level of literacy among Kanis in Tirunelveli District is much higher than among the Kanis of Kanyakumari district. From Table SCT VI, we find that out of 139 literates 99 are found in the age group 5 to 14 which shows that the present level of education is mostly due to the starting of the Residential Schools. We also observe that no Kani has passed beyond the primary or junior basic stage.

As the Kani settlements are small in size, it may not be possible to locate a school for each settlement. Nor can any school serve more than two or three settlements because of the distances involved and the difficulty in traversing the distances. So the only type of the school which can benefit the children will be the residential type, located at suitable points, where the tribals will have necessarily to go for the purchase of their requirements. From what we learnt from the Kanis, we found that the response from them for education is generally encouraging. But the fact remains that this interest in education is also due to the free boarding and lodging given to the students by the Government. We had occasion to ask some of them 'what they would do if this concession were withdrawn'. They replied without any hesitation that they would withdraw the children from the school. The Kanis have difficult time in finding sufficient food for their family. They therefore consider that their children are expected to help them in supporting the family. Therefore they are prepared to send the children to the Tribal Welfare School only when they are assured of free food.

Health and Sanitation

8. The Kanis look generally healthy. They live on hill slopes. Their death rate is unusually high. They

are subject to attacks of small-pox. Casualties on such occasions are shockingly high. Even to-day, they hesitate to take vaccination. Even as early as in 1901; it is reported in the Census Report of Travancore that small-pox carried off a great many Kanis who stoutly refused to get themselves vaccinated. The position has not improved since. They suffered badly in 1958. In April, May, June of 1962, there were as many as 96 deaths, due to small-pox. The break-up for this figure was given as follows:—

Thatchamalai	...	54 deaths
Modavan Potra	...	5 „
Ettan Kunru	...	4 „
Koruakuli	...	9 „
In the settlements		
in Vilavancode Taluk	...	24 „

In August 1962 when we visited Thatchamalai settlement beyond the Pechiparai reservoir, we found many houses empty. In some houses all the members perished by the attack of small-pox. In one house, the sole survivors were only one or two children left destitute.

In another house we saw a middle aged man, who withstood the attack, but was fully covered with scars and poxes. He looked emaciated and complained of poor eye sight. All the other members of his house, except his daughter, fell victims to this scourge. In Thatchamalai all round the houses, crops remained unattended with none to harvest them. In one place a rose plant was in bloom, but no member of the house survived to enjoy the sight. Only those hard-hearted Kanis who ran away to a place two furlongs higher up, leaving the sick to their fate have survived. Those left behind generally perished. It is said that there was none even to bury them. The President of the Tribal Welfare Multi Purpose Society employed three men, 2 Nadars and a Kani, to bury the dead. It would appear that arrears of wages are still due to them for their work.

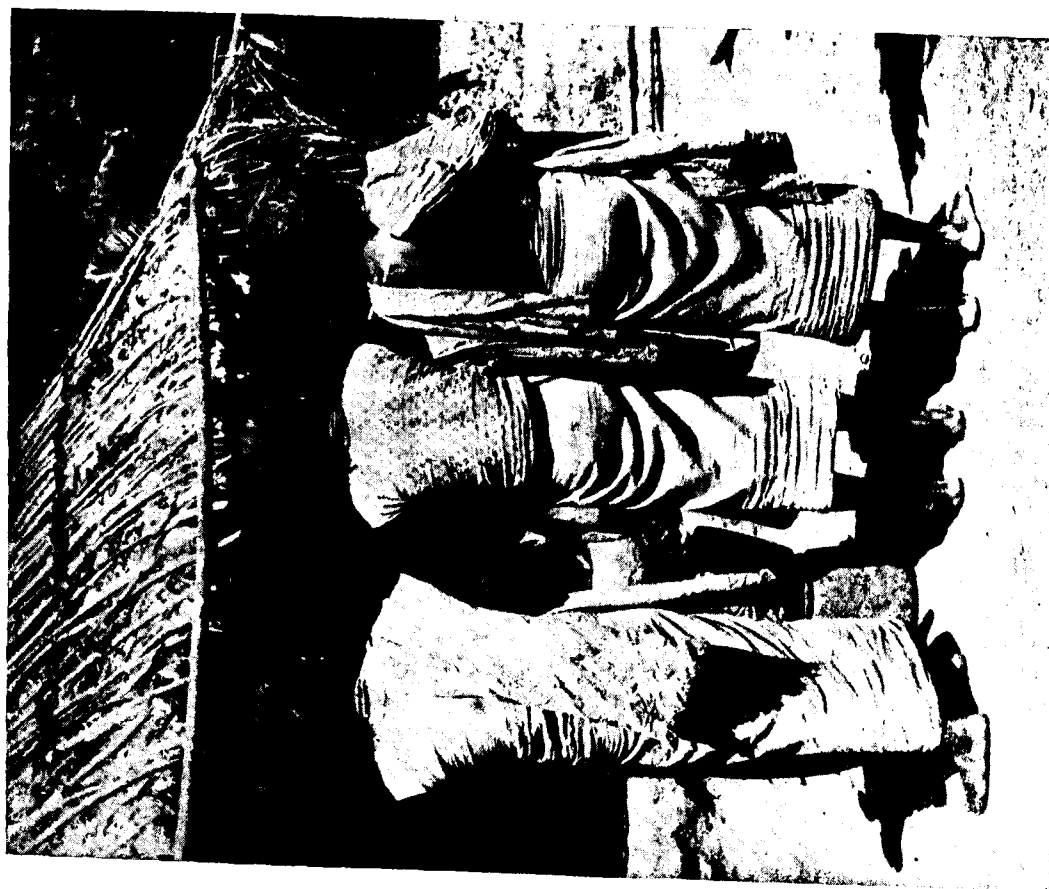
Their indifference to vaccination has been responsible for such widespread suffering, but in spite of their past experience and the losses and sufferings sustained by them in the previous attacks, they would not take any interest in vaccination. But the incident of 1962 has made them to realise that vaccination is useful. They have seen the survival of all their children who were vaccinated when they were students in the residential schools. It would be interesting to know what Kani did when the disease broke out. They employed



Cattle shed.



A Kani hut.



Dress of women.



A group of Kani women.

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hies to chant Mantras with Kokras. The Plathies are astrologer-cum-sorcerer-cum-medicinemen among Kanis. These men, greatly respected and revered the Kanis, are presumed to be endowed with powers knowing the wrath of gods and having sufficient knowledge of mantras which, if chanted to the accompaniment of a Kokra would cure the sick of any disease. already described, Kokra is a split iron tube about long and 1" in diameter. Holding the tube horizontally in the left hand, a metal iron rod, held in the right hand, is moved to and fro across the split edged edges. This creates a somewhat jarring metallic noise which is accompanied by the chanting of notonous verses by the Plathi himself. The chanting continues throughout night. After sometime, the Plathi may get inspiration when the verses may flow orally and automatically. To us the verses did not convey any definite meaning. However, we give in Appendix IV a few verses collected from them. Before the Plathi begins operating the Kokra, he should find out with the help of a bunch of shells whether the gods were angered against them and if so which god. For this purpose, he throws the shells, catches a few of them and tries to find a meaning on the number caught. In addition to this, the Plathi has a few medicines prepared from wild herbs and roots for which Pothigamalai is famous. If death has occurred in spite of the efforts of the Plathi, the Kanis merely believe that god's wrath is so much that it was bound to occur. We do not think that the hold of the Plathi over Kanis has diminished to any extent in spite of the spread of education and their contact with other tribes. But one happy feature may seem to be that the Kanis are inclined to take medicines with a view to cure illness. No doubt they also have the services of a Plathi and his Kokra, but that they are doubly sure about the cure.

apart from small-pox, the fatalites during childhood constitute another direct cause for their diminishing population. They do not get any medical aid. They do not have the services of any midwife. In addition to them, it must be admitted that their habitations are such that it is very difficult for them to secure the service of any midwife or medical practitioner, unless they are rich enough to afford the luxury of having medical attention.

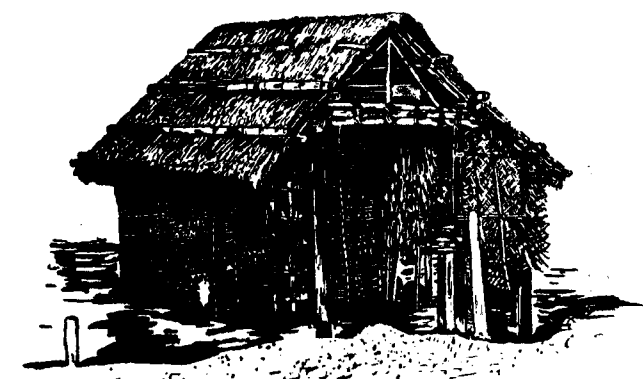
Language

According to Table ST I, the mother tongue of the Kanis in Tirunelveli district is Tamil. As

regards the Kanis of Kanyakumari district, 955 of them have returned Tamil as their mother tongue and the rest, Malayalam. Actually the language they speak is a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. It has no script. The Kanis of Kanyakumari district who formerly belonged to Travancore State know how to read, write and speak Malayalam. The children in the residential schools at Pechiparai and Papanasam Upper Dam are learning to read, write and speak Tamil. Malayalam and Tamil are the two languages in which the Kanis speak with non-tribals. Their language is locally known as Malampashai. It was our experience that people who do not know a few basic words of Malayalam cannot follow the conversation which Kanis have with one another. The language of the Kanis on the Papanasam side is, however, more akin to Tamil because of the large admixture of Tamil words though the accent is still that of Malayalam.

Housing

10. Though Kanis resemble Muduvars in many ways, they have a different pattern of housing. Both these tribes practise shifting cultivation. The Muduvars build their houses in a cluster in a central point close to their cultivating fields, while the Kanis build their houses within the plot cultivated by them,



A Kani hut

each separate from the other. It may sometimes happen that three or four huts may adjoin each other. In Korvakuli, the Government have constructed a colony of six twin houses, one adjoining the other. The Kanis say that the Government-built houses are not quite suitable to them because they do not give the amount of privacy to which the Kanis are used to. The proximity of the houses has also resulted in frequent quarrels between children and misunderstanding between women.

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A typical Kani house is a two roomed rectangular house. The flooring is raised slightly from the ground level. The walls are built with mud to a height of 1' and the rest above that height by screens which are made by packing the leaves of a reed called Ithai in a frame of bamboos. Roofings are also made of bamboos and the leaves of Ithai. In the Kani settlement near Papanasam they have used a grass called Tharavu Pillu instead of Ithai, as Ithai is not available locally. The weight of the roofing would rest on wooden pillars. The partition between the two rooms is light and made of bamboos. There is access from one room to the other. Two entrances are provided, one in the front and other in the back. The doors are made of vertically tied bamboo sticks. Each house has a wooden attic called Paranai below the gabled roofing. Seed bags are stored in this Paranai. There is a sloping shade screen in front of the door.

Diet and Food Habits

11. The Kanis live in thick forests where the average rainfall is more than 100". They can raise good crops without much effort. Tapioca is their staple diet. There are two varieties of it - one is sweet and can be eaten after roasting it on fire or by cooking it in water. Another variety is slightly bitter and it can be eaten by boiling it in water, decanting and boiling it again. The Kanis know how to prepare many delicious and nutritious dishes out of tapioca. They also grow pepper, chillies, ginger and other spices. They raise paddy by broadcasting the seeds in the rain-fed slopes. It is almost a daily routine for the Kani women to dehusk paddy in wooden mortars and cook the rice for the night meal. They get plenty of plantains, jack fruits, yams and other edible tubers from the interior forests. They collect honey from the forests and consume whatever is left after selling the bulk of it. Most Kanis grow a few plants of coffee, arecanut and tobacco for their household use. They occasionally go into the forest and shoot a rabbit or deer. Many in Kanyakumari district own licences to possess fire arms. They eat all kinds of flesh other than beef and the flesh of bison. They will even eat pythons. They rear fowls. As tapioca is relished with fish, they purchase dried or fresh fish from the vendors in neighbouring villages. They occasionally indulge in clandestine fishing in the reservoirs. The diet of the Kanis is on the whole rich and varied. They do not suffer from mal-nutrition or from any congenital disease.

Population Trends

12. The population of Kan's according to the 1961 Census is as follows :

	Males	Females	Total
Kanyakumari District ...	879	723	1,602
Tirunelveli District ...	106	89	195
Total ...	985	812	1,797

As Kanyakumari district was added to Madras State in 1956, no record is available of the past population of Kanis in Kanyakumari district which formed part of the Trivandrum district of Travancore-Cochin State. As far as Kanis in Tirunelveli district are concerned, they have not recorded any increase. Even as early as 1917, the population of Kanis was indicated as 200 in the District Gazetteer of Tirunelveli district. In the present Census, some of the Kanis in the district have been returned under the synonym of Malai Arasans which was mistaken for Malai Arayans, a tribe quite different from Kanis, and tabulated as such. But the number of persons so classified is very small and will not affect the total population of Kanis. It is seen from the population figures that the sex ratio among the Kanis is strikingly abnormal. In Kanyakumari district it is 823 females per 1,000 males and in Tirunelveli, it is 840. For the State, it works out to 824. The sex ratios for the various age-groups are as follows:

Age Group	Sex ratio
0—14	838
15—44	929
45+	565

It would, therefore, follow that the reason for the abnormality in the sex ratio is to be found in the short span of life of the females. This can again be attributed to child birth and greater susceptibility to diseases like small-pox. The percentage distribution of the Kanis in the various age groups is as follows:

Age-Group	Percentage distribution		
	Males	Females	Total.
0—14	39.6	40.3	39.9
15—44	41.5	46.8	43.9
45+	18.9	12.9	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Women pounding rice.



Kani old woman.



A Government built colony for Kanis.



Inside a Kani house.

KANIS OR KANIKKANS

It can be seen from the above that the percentage distribution in the age group 0-14 is high and in the age group 45 and over, low. This is much more marked in the case of females. This confirms our earlier observation that the life of a Kani female is comparatively short.

Tribal Hierarchy

13. Each Kani settlement has got a headman called Muttu Kani. He is assisted by Vizhi Kani whose duty is to compel the presence of any Kani in the Caste Panchayat on the orders of the Muttu Kani. The functions of a Vizhi Kani are similar to those of a Thalayari in non-tribal villages. These two posts are held by virtue of succession which among Kanis is by the matrilineal line. This gives the privilege of holding the office of the Muttu Kani to a particular exogamous sept. But on some occasions, this succession line is broken and a new man is nominated for the office. In Korvakuli, the office of the Muttu Kani was held by one belonging to Thalamala Illam sept. He died suddenly of small-pox. As his nephew was not old enough to succeed, the Kanis in the settlement nominated one Ummani to the office (Case study No. 1 in Appendix I). In Adukkuparai settlement a new man recommended by the forest officials was nominated to the post, when the office fell vacant on the death of the previous holder. The forest officials are interested in the continuance of this hierarchy because it is helpful to them to muster the Kanis for departmental work. The office is still respected by the Kanis and no disintegration of power has been noticed, as in the case of tribes like Kadars. In former days, a council of elders presided over by the Muttu Kani was inflicting deterrent punishments, either fines or corporal. In keeping with the modern times, the present day council inflicts only fines. In the case of erring family members, the council always takes a helpful attitude and brings about their unity. The fines collected by the council of elders is spent for the celebration of the annual festival of the local deities or for propitiating the wrathful gods. The Kanis do not have any chief for the entire Kani tribe.

Religion

14. All Kanis living in Kanyakumari district belong to Hinduism except 5 persons. In Tirunelveli district, out of 195 Kanis, 26 belong to Christianity (vide

Census Table SCT IV in Appendix III). The conversion to Christianity was effected a generation ago when the Kanis living in the Roman Catholic Missionary Estate of Kattalmalai came under the influence of the management. A reference is made to the existence of Christian Kanis in the Tirunelveli Gazetteer, published in 1917. Now these families have moved to places near the Papanasam Upper Dam, but they still preserve the changed faith. These 15 Christian families living in Agasthiarnagar and Kiltharuvettamparai observe many of the customs and manners of the Kani tribe in spite of their conversion to the Christian faith. They practise exogamy in arranging marriage alliances, tie Tali, and cremate the dead elders. The Hindu Kanis and the Christian Kanis live side by side and interdining between them is not prohibited.

As regards the Hindu Kanis, though they still show animistic tendencies, they have departed much from their traditional faith, towards Brahmanical Hinduism. They worship the Trinity, the Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. They also worship Subramaniah, Ayyappan, Sasthavu, Thambiran and Mootharamma. At Oorapara near Korvakuli, we saw a temple of Sasthavu. This attracts a big crowd during its annual festival in the month of Karthikai. Devotees in fulfilment of their "Nerchai", (vows), bring terracotta models of bulls, dogs, buffaloes, cradles and leave them at the temple. At Thakkalai there is a Subramaniah temple, at Thatchamalai a Thambiran temple and at Thirunandikarai a Mootharamma temple. In these temples, animal sacrifices are not offered. Besides these deities which are common to all Kanis, each 'Illam' or exogamous sept has got its own clan deity. The people of Talamalai Illam worship Perumilani Muthan, those of Moottillam worship Manjilani Savu, those of Mangottillam worship Adakkattu Savu, those of Kai Illam worship Parai Valiya Muthan etc. The Kanis living in Papanasam side worship Agastya and also Karumpandiamman of Arasapattu near Kalakad. The Kanis on either side of Pothigaimalai worship a few malevolent spirits which are named after the hills and rocks. The Kanis are a pious lot and are more orthodox than most of the tribes in South India.

Their method of worship is graded into two-the "Kodai" and the "Padukkai". The former is meant for superior and powerful deities like the Thambiran. It is done once a year on a grand scale by the entire community and may last for two or three days. A seven layer "Poomadam" is constructed of bamboos

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and decorated with tender palm leaves and flowers. The devotees cook pongal with raw-rice and eat it after offering it to the deity. For such of the deities which will accept animal sacrifices, he-goats and fowls are offered. During this offering, a man may get possessed of the deity and in a wild dance may scatter the leaves heaped before the deity. He may affix Thilak with sandal paste on the foreheads of the people assembled. The devotees will freely distribute rice and plantain fruits to all those assembled. The other kind of worship viz Padukkai on the other hand, is celebrated in a simpler scale by individuals. If the Kanis spend about Rs. 500 for "Kodai" they may spend Rs. 25/-only on "Padukkai"

Apart from the festivals associated with the spirits and deities, the Kanis celebrate such festivals as Onam, Maham, Deepavali, Karthikai and Paththam Udayam, the tenth day of the month Chitrai. During Onam, they place Aval (beaten rice), fruits, coffee and other foodstuffs before their respective deities and eat them later with country liquor and meat. Maham is celebrated like Onam. Both these are celebrated lavishly by rich Kanis. Deepavali is celebrated in low lands, but on a simpler scale. On the Karthikai day, the Kanis bake "Neyyappams" and place them on a tray outside their huts. Torches are lighted and women dance for some time after which the Neyyappams are eaten. Raw rice Pongal is a speciality on the tenth day of Chitrai. Cow-dung is made into a ball on which a flower is stuck. Pongal is placed on a plantain leaf beside the cow-dung idol. All those belonging to a household worship the deities, smear their bodies with sandal paste, and participate in a feast,

Succession

15, In the matter of inheritance, they follow the traditional Marumakkathayam system. In this system, property devolves through the children of sisters. Just as the system has broken down in Kerala, it is also undergoing remarkable change in the Kani society. At the same time, they would not discard the age-old Marumakkathayam system and they could not also curb the natural desire to see that their own children are benefited by their hard work. A via-media policy is therefore followed by them. The ancestral properties are inherited by the nephews and the self-acquired properties by sons. Unlike the Muduvvars, since the Kanis do not follow matrilocal system, it happens that the house left over by a person

is inherited by one of his sons. As the Kanis do not have any immovable property besides their house, the nephews inherit from their uncles only a few movable properties. It appears to us that the age-old system would become obsolete in the course of two or three generations.

Role of Women

16. In a society in which succession transcends by matrilineal line, our normal presumption is that the females play a very dominant role in the family life. But in actual practice, the Kani women play only a silent though useful role. On seeing strangers and persons who are not closely related, they walk into their houses and will never come out until the guests leave the place. If by any chance an outsider enters the house to see a male member, the females go out by the back entrance. The idea in constructing a two roomed house and giving a second entrance at the back, is to ensure the womenfolk a certain amount of privacy. The Kani women do not go out of their settlement except to visit relatives in other settlements. They do not, however, observe any kind of purdah. They help their men in the fields in cultivation. They gather firewood and split logs with axe. They pound paddy in the wooden mortar and dehusk it. They prepare meals and look after the children. The only impression we can gather is that by training and by practice, the Kani women are extremely shy.

In olden days, girls were married young even before they attained puberty. In the Travancore Census Report of 1901 it is stated that the girls were married above 12 years age. In the Census Report of 1931 it is stated that in Shencottah forest division, infant marriage is in vogue and is becoming common for want of mature women. Though scarcity of brides is still felt as revealed by the low sex-ratio in the age group 0-14, no marriage takes place before puberty as can be seen from the Table SCT II in Appendix III. The age of marriage is still low. The marriages of girls are arranged by parents and approved by the elders of the village. The girls generally adjust themselves to the husbands chosen for them. Divorces are rare. This fact is also mentioned in the Travancore Census Report of 1911. No sexual freedom is permitted before marriage. If any lapse is observed, the erring members are compelled to marry by the society. The Kani women generally enjoy a high reputation for chastity. In spite of their contact with non-tribals, there is no reported instance of any Kani woman



A Kani youth.





A Kani youth making prayers.



A plantain sapling with its crown shorn off for placing a wick lamp in front of the house.

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having anything to do with an outsider. The only solitary instance which has come to notice was the case of a young Kani woman of Adukkuparai who was suspected of infidelity by her husband for having a liaison with some worker in the Papanasam Upper Dam. The husband imposed restrictions on her movement. She committed suicide leaving her two children behind. On hearing this, the husband also committed suicide. To our knowledge this is the only case where the glamour of contact with the outside world has wrecked peace in an otherwise quiet family life of Kanis.

Social Characteristics

17. The Kanis are a peace loving tribe. They love the jungle and its life. Forest is their home. It gives them fruits of all kinds, edible leaves, honey, nourishing tubers and wild game. Some of them are collected in a wild state and some others by cultivation. They maintain solidarity which has preserved them against wild animals and non-tribals. There is no timidity associated with any Kani. Each Kani within the settlement tries to be as individualistic and as self-reliant as possible, at the same time observing the code laid down by the clan.

The code of conduct of the Kani clan as practised by them is simple and not elaborate like that of the Todas of the Nilgiris. The Kanis have simple and practical laws regulating their social conduct. They can be changed from time to time. The changes are made by the slow process of evolution and by acculturation. Even their social hierarchy which was at one time known to be cruel and inflicting heavy punishments on its members, has now sobered and gives humane treatment to its erring members.

For purposes of marriage alliances, the tribe is divided into two broad groups—Annanthambi Illams (brother groups) and Machambi Illams (brother-in-law groups). Each group in turn is divided into five septs or Illams as they call them. The names of the Annanthambi Illams are 1) Kai; 2) Palamala; 3) Talamala; 4) Kurumilla and 5) Perim. The names of Machambi Illams are 1) Mangot; 2) Mut; 3) Peringalatt; 4) Vel and 5) Vellanat. According to the clan code, a man belonging to any Illam in Annanthambi group cannot marry a girl belonging to any Illam in the same group. He has to seek a girl belonging to any Illam in Machambi group. This principle is followed even in the selection of concubines.

As the tribe follow succession by the matrilineal line, the sept name also transcends by the female line. Thus the children of a family will belong to the Illam to which the mother belongs. As a corollary to this, it can be seen that a boy's sister's daughter belongs to the same sept and so he cannot marry her. The usual preference for cross cousin marriages still exists among the Kanis. This tendency of Kanis is more in keeping with the practice among the Keralites than among the Tamilians. In former days, girls were married before puberty, but from Table SC I II in Appendix III, it can be seen that in the age group 0-14 no one is shown under the marital status of "Married". Though polygamy is permitted, it is invariably not practised. Because of the low female ratio, it is difficult even to find one bride for each boy. As such, polygamy cannot be popular. Polyandry is also not practised by the Kanis. We cannot say whether it existed in olden days. As in most tribes, widow marriage is permitted, but no Tali is tied during this marriage. One year should elapse before a widow or widower can think of a second marriage. Levirate, i.e. the custom of marrying deceased brother's wife is practised among the Kanis (Case Study No. 1 is a typical example). Sororate custom is not in vogue. But in Case Study No. 2 we find a widower marrying his wife's sister who happened to be a widow. A Kani is permitted to marry the sister of his deceased wife.

Another surprising fact about the Kanis is that in spite of the difficulty experienced in finding brides, payment of bride-price is not made. Such a practice is common among most of the tribes in South India. The Kanis place a high value on chastity of their married women. They also value the purity among unmarried girls. They are at the same time very humane in the treatment of erring women. Though divorces are permitted for incompatibility or adultery, these are few and in the case of divorced women, remarriage is permitted.

The institution of bachelor halls is still maintained in some Kani settlements in Kanyakumari district, such as Mothiramala, Kottur etc. It is not so well observed as in the case of Muduvars. Wherever this practice is followed, all unmarried boys are required to sleep in a separate common house specially set apart for it. They may be singing songs and spending their time in revelry, but it is their duty to guard the settlement from the invasion of wild beasts or outsiders. Since the houses in a Kani settlement are not clustered together as in the Muduvar settlement and as the Kanis are not

timid, the institution of such halls does not have any tribal significance. That is why it ceased to exist in many Kani settlements. The institution of separate halls for unmarried girls has become defunct. The Kanis do not observe pollution as strictly as other tribes. They believe that child birth, puberty, menstruation and death in the house generate pollution, but the periods stipulated by them for the removal of pollution are short. Their attitude is thus more rational. They do not keep a separate hut called Muttikudisi in which women under pollution could live. But they erect a low temporary shed with green leaves for the isolation of girls who have attained puberty and burn it after the girls leave it on the 7th or 9th day. When the girl is put in the shed, custom demands that no male should see her except the members of her family. When we visited a Kani settlement near Pechiparai, we found a newly erected green shed. When we expressed our desire to see how the inside of the shed would look, we were politely but firmly told that it could not be done. We had to respect their sentiment.

Life Cycle

18. In a tribe in which Plathis thrive, we should naturally expect to find their life interspersed with ceremonies, rituals and festivals. Though the present generation may take a more rational view, they would still adhere to the age-old customs because they would not be able to muster sufficient courage to discard them and because there is some justification for the ceremonies in the otherwise dull life of a Kani. Fortunately for Kanis, though they have a series of ceremonies and festivals, they do not spend much on them. They celebrate child birth, tying of waist thread called Irupathietukattu, naming ceremony, ear boring ceremony, attainment of puberty, marriage and "Vayaru" pongal or "Yakkoti". But invitation is limited to the inner circle of the family for all functions except marriage and thus the expenditure is reduced to the minimum. The marriage, on the other hand, is always celebrated on a grand scale with all the Kanis in the settlement taking part in it. The birth of a child is a joyous occasion in the family. The mother is treated well and she is taken back to the house on the 7th day after giving a ceremonious bath to the mother and child. On the 28th day, the maternal uncle of the child arrives to do a simple ceremony of tying the waist thread called "Araignan". Since this is celebrated on the 28th day, it is called as "Irupathietukattu". After the child completes one

year, it is taken to the temple of the family deity, its head tonsured and the child is given a name. The ear boring ceremony is done usually after three or four years. In the case of female children, the attainment of puberty is celebrated. The girl is let into a specially erected green shed. She is given a series of ceremonial baths for seven days. During these days, she is given a rich diet consisting of rice flour, jaggery, eggs, gingelly oil etc. On this occasion also the maternal uncle presents new clothes. This ceremony is called "Thirattikalyanam" or "Sadangukalyanam". Then after marriage during the seventh month of conception, she is given a special feast called "Vayaru Pungal" or "Yakottai".

As for the performance of a marriage, it needs elaborate arrangements. The marriage is settled by elders, though the initiative in the matter is taken by the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. If the elders agree, an auspicious day is fixed for a formal engagement. On that day both the parties assemble in the bride's house. The groom's party gives betel and arecanut to all those assembled, after the performance of "Padukkai" which is a Pongal cooked on a small scale to the local deities. This engagement ceremony is called "Kudimooppu". It is usual to give a feast on this occasion. The date for the marriage is fixed. It will usually be on Mondays. They are invariably fixed in a non-rainy season. In Kanyakumari district, the marriage among Kanis takes place in the bride's house. But in Tirunelveli district it takes place in the bride-groom's house. Even in Kanyakumari district, the marriage customs among the Kanis living to the north of Kothayar river are different from the customs obtaining among the Kanis living to the south of the river. Whereas the signal ceremony in the case of a marriage among the former consists in the presentation of clothes to the bride by the bridegroom, called "Mundukoda", in the case of the latter it is also accompanied by the tying of the Tali round the neck of the bride. In Tirunelveli district, the Kanis nowadays have taken to tying of a Tali, though the Tali used here is slightly different in the make, from the Tali used by the Kanis living to the south of Kothayar. In sections where it is customary to tie a Tali, the ceremony commences with the Muttukani announcing the name and Illam of the parties concerned. The groom gives betel and clothes to the bride. Drums are played. The groom takes the Tali and brings it near the neck of the bride. The groom's sister then takes over and ties it around the neck of the girl. It is said that the groom does not complete the tying himself because shyness would prevent him from touching



Kani children.



Trainees at the craft centre.



A Kani household.



A trainee in ratan work.

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the neck of the bride while affixing the knot. This is followed by singing of songs specially intended for the purpose. Later this is followed by a ceremony called "Karuppatti Soru" in which the married couple are supposed to eat sweetened cooked rice from the same leaf. Then comes the blessing ceremony called "Poli Koduthal". For this a small plank is laid before the married couple. On either side of the couple, pots containing water are placed. The elders who want to bless the couple, come one by one and stand on the plank. The couple bend and touch the feet of the elder who, while uttering words of blessings, drops naively, coins in either or both the pots containing water. What are dropped in the pot besides the groom belong to the groom and those dropped in the pot besides the bride, belong to the bride. What is important in this is that nobody else would know what exactly is the amount presented by any individual. If currency notes are to be presented, they would be hidden in folded betels and given to the bride or groom.

After this ceremony, the guests are entertained to a feast. On the next day, a counter feast is given in the bridegroom's house, though on a smaller scale. There is lot of revelry and fun-making during the marriage occasion. From what we ascertained, a marriage may cost each party, at the present level of prices, about Rs. 300/-. This on no account can be considered as extravagant. After all, much of the expenditure is on the feeding of the guests. As for other things the community as a whole help the family in performing the marriage, either by erecting a Pandal or by playing drums, or by cooking the food.

Such help and sympathy are also forthcoming when a death takes place in a house. The entire community turns up on hearing the news. New cloth is bought to put it over the corpse after it is bathed with hot water and perfumed with Khas Khas. This is followed by "Vaikkarisi Poduthal" in which wetted raw rice is put in the mouth of the corpse. They also put a "Chakkaram" or coin. Powdered betel is put in the case of those accustomed to chewing pan. The idea is that the soul of the dead should leave the place with a sense of satisfaction. The assembled relatives who are silent during this supposed feeding of the dead, burst out into lamenting and beating of the breasts immediately after. Conch shells are blown and drums beat violently to the accompaniment of the mourning of the women. The corpse is put on a cot and carried to a place selected for cremation or burial. Usually elderly persons beyond 50 years only are given cremation. The others are buried in a lying posture,

head towards the south. The place selected for the burial or cremation is close to the settlement.

If cremation is decided upon, dried logs are collected and piled. The body is put on it and covered again with logs. The eldest son or daughter of the deceased, lights the pyre. This is done only after the son or daughter is given a bath. He or she goes round the corpse thrice with a pot of water on the head. On the completion of each round, a small leaking hole is made in the pot. On the completion of the third round, the pot is smashed and the son or daughter asked to light the pyre with the back towards the corpse. On the fifth day the ashes of the dead are collected in an earthen pot and placed before the house of the dead. Relatives may put small coins in it. The pot is then hung in a jack tree for 41 days. Afterwards it is taken and immersed in a stream or lake. Some do this on the 16th day. The near relatives take an oil bath after this and they have a vegetarian feast called "pulakuzhi".

The personal articles of the deceased like his walking stick, mat etc. are usually placed along with the corpse while cremating or burying. In some parts it is said that the wife of the deceased must go upto the burial ground with a pot of water, place it by the side of the corpse and return home immediately. If it is the custom in that part to tie a Tali during marriage, she unties it on the third day after the death of her husband.

The Kanis believe in Karma and rebirth. It is also believed that the soul of the dead would be hovering round the place for sometime. The fear of the dead is instilled into a Kani to make his life righteous and godly.

Means of Livelihood

19. We have no evidence to show that Kanis were a food gathering tribe in the remote past. Even if it was, their present occupation is agriculture. But their agriculture is different from that of the people in the plains. If we take them overnight from the forest and give them fertile lands and ask them to cultivate the lands, they will be helpless. Forest is to them just as water to the fish. By the experience gained in living in forest uninterrupted for generations, they have developed techniques suited to the type of these lands and to the climatic conditions prevailing there. Left to themselves, they can cultivate the mountain slopes and produce enough food for themselves without impairing the value of the forest. Though they

practise shifting cultivation, they do not cut and remove the big trees found in the cultivated area. Actually they need the trees for coverage. They burn the bushes and stunted trees of a non-descript type whenever they cultivate a fresh piece of forest land. For making it fit for sowing, they do not plough the land in full. Thus they do not disturb the fertile soil at the top thereby increasing the possibility of soil erosion. On the other hand, the Muduvars of Anamalai hills burn the entire forest, including bushes, trees, remove them and make open patches. The trees are harmful to the millet crops raised by Muduvars. The Kanis find the shade useful for the cultivation of tapioca and pepper. While tilling, Muduvars cut deep into the soil, but Kanis only make small pits. Because of the difference in agricultural practice, there is a greater possibility of soil erosion in areas cultivated by Muduvars than by Kanis and whatever little harm done by cultivation by Kanis can be undone by terracing the slopes. For this they need proper guidance.

To ban any sort of cultivation within forests by Kani's, which they have to do for their livelihood, is not a realistic approach to this problem. Unfortunately, this is the attitude adopted by most officials of the Forest Department who consider that any form of cultivation is dangerous to the preservation of the forest and its soil. We reproduce below the observations of Sri. M. S. Sivaraman, Adviser to the Programme Administration of the Planning Commission on shifting cultivation. He had considerable experience of cultivation in Madras State as Director of Agriculture. "It is a mistake to assume that shifting cultivation in itself is unscientific land use. Actually it is a practical approach to certain inherent difficulties in preparing a proper seed-bed in steep slopes where any disturbance of the surface by hoeing or ploughing will result in washing away of the fertile top soil. The tribal people, therefore, take care not to plough or disturb the soil before sowing. The destruction of weeds and improvement of tilth necessary for a proper seed-bed are achieved with the help of fire..... In most of the interior areas where communication is not developed and not sufficient land suitable for terracing is available, jhuming alone can be done for the present and as such every effort should be made to the fertility of jhumed land".

A scientific approach to the shifting cultivation will be firstly to terrace the slopes. Secondly the growth of valuable trees can be rejuvenated by planting seedlings of such trees at suitable distances in the culti-

vated area along with the first crop. By the time the seedlings grow to a certain height, two or three crops can be raised in that area. At the end of the third year, the cultivator can move to a fresh patch leaving the old one entirely for the growth of the trees planted. This approach can be made only by a proper coordination of the activities of the officials of the Forest Department and the tribes. We found such a practice was followed in Kani areas of Papanasam side though no terracing has been attempted. This particular system of shifting cultivation called "Thaungia cultivation" is generally beneficial to all the parties. But it has one drawback, i.e. when the trees come up to a certain height, the area is closed once for all for cultivation. This can, therefore, be practised only when sufficient forest lands are available for the continuous move of the tribes engaged in this. Such extensive lands are not available in Kanyakumari district. The alternative, therefore, is to make the Kanis terrace the slopes by giving them necessary aid and technical guidance.

No Kani owns any land of his own, though he depends on cultivation for living. According to the returns of the 1961 Census, out of 915 Kani workers, 642 are returned as cultivators, 82 as agricultural labourers and 143 as plantation workers (vide Table SCT VII). The majority of those returned as doing cultivation are engaged in shifting cultivation in the forest areas. A few living nearer to the plains, cultivate in addition Government poramboke lands wherever they are available. The Kanis of Korvakuli settlement have taken on Kuthagai Pattam lease a piece of Government land measuring six acres and grow tapioca, paddy etc. Each household cultivates $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in this plot.

The main crop grown by Kanis is tapioca which also is their staple food. The quantity of tapioca produced by each household may exceed his annual requirements. The surplus is sold and the money utilised to buy necessities like salt, dried fish, coconut oil, cloth, tobacco, betel and bidi. The Kanis do not always sell the surplus produces like tapioca, pepper, arecanut and plantains at favourable prices. They do not have any agency to assist them in marketing.

They also raise a red variety of paddy which they sow by broadcasting in the cleared areas during the rainy season. Before sowing, they scratch the ground with a pointed stick. They raise arecanut, coconut and jack trees. They cultivate chillies, elephant yam, turmeric, and coffee plants. As their dwelling is within the cultivated area, all members in the household

work in the field. They cannot be called steady hard-working cultivators, but since the soil and climate are helpful, they get adequate returns. Irrigation and manuring do not present any difficulty to them.

They also collect wild tubers from the forest. Before Kanyakumari was merged with Madras State, they enjoyed the right to collect all minor forest produces like honey, arecanut, jack fruits, poocha nuts etc. They also had the right to collect and use all the arecanuts and jack fruits from trees planted by them in areas cleared in the course of their shifting cultivation. In return for the enjoyment of these facilities, the Kanis were expected to clear bushes along the forest coupe lines. While they were so engaged, they were given one meal. They also had a customary obligation to supply as presents two bottles of honey, extracted bark of a certain tree which can be used as bedding and other forest produces to the forest officials during Onam. With the merger of Kanyakumari into Madras State, the Kanis have come under the better organized Forest Administration of Madras State. The right to collect minor produces from the forest has now been leased out to private contractors. These business-like private contractors not only collect the minor produces in the interior forest, but also collect the produces from the trees planted by the Kanis in areas previously cultivated by them. The men employed by the contractors transgress into the cultivated patches and collect tapioca roots for their use. The attempts of the Kanis to prevent such conduct have failed because they could not get the support of the forest officials against the private contractors. According to the Kanis, they are at the same time compelled to discharge the customary obligations like clearing the coupe lines and supplying of two bottles of honey during Onam. As regards shifting cultivation, the restrictions imposed by the Forest Department have become more and more rigorous. They are aggrieved about this, but feel helpless and the copper title-deed, given by King Sreemoolam Tirunal of Travancore, does not adequately safeguard their rights over the forest.

It is no doubt true that in administering the forest and in the interest of its preservation, it is necessary to put reasonable restrictions on the activities of tribes. But the restrictions imposed should not be such as to destroy their culture and make their life impossible in the regions in which they have lived for centuries together. The tribes should be considered as part of the forest wealth, just like the wild animals in the preservation of which we are making a deter-

mined effort. They need as much protection as the wild animals against inroads made by civilised people. When the right of collecting various minor produces was leased out to private contractors, a decision could have been taken to give full wages to those employed in forest works. The right of collection could have been given to the Kani Multi-Purpose Society which was willing to have the lease. Such a step will be extremely helpful to the Kanis. This would also eliminate the tension and distrust the Kanis have against the forest officials. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission headed by Sri Dhebar has therefore rightly recommended that "the Forest Department should be deemed to be charged as a branch of the Government with the responsibility of participating in the betterment of the tribals side by side with the development of the forest". But this view has not been accepted or implemented by the forest officials who are in actual charge of the preservation of forest areas.

For collecting minor forest produces, the Kanis are better suited than the plainsmen. The private contractors who have taken the lease generally employ Kanis for some of the more difficult items of work like honey gathering. But the wages paid by them are low. The Kanis, like the Kadars, take to honey gathering in the wild forests more for the love of the thrill in it than for the actual monetary benefit they can get out of it. For reaching the honey comb in a distant branch of a tall tree, the Kanis adopt a different method than that adopted by the Kadars. The Kadars climb up by driving pointed bamboo pegs crosswise into the trunk of the tree and by using them as footrests; the Kanis on the other hand use a series of light bamboo ladders which they tie along with the trunk of the tree by ropes as they climb up.

Besides honey gathering, the Kanis also enjoy hunting. A few of them in Kanyakumari district own muzzle loading guns on the strength of licences granted by the former Travancore Government. They are clever in using pellet bow (Theri Vill) and the conventional type of bow and arrow. The pellet bow is used for flinging with great force and the stone pellet for killing birds. Sometimes they use sling throws for this purpose. For hunting of big games, they use muzzle loading guns. They organise hunting parties in summer for catching deer, wild bulls, boar etc. Before setting out on hunting expedition, they assemble and worship their deity. They share the kill with all members of the settlement. Once in a way they hunt pythons. On seeing a python, they would fix it on the ground, with its belly upwards with a pair

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wooden forks which they would press against the back and against the tail. Thus holding the python, they would cut open the skin of the belly and remove the fat embedded in that portion. They would put one or two sutures in the lacerated portion and leave the python alive. The fat taken out of the python is said to have medicinal value and is used for healing bone fractures, sprains etc. They rear fowls in their settlement. Some rear cows, the milk of which is either sold to teashops nearby or consumed by themselves. They like fishing in the reservoirs found in the settlement, but there is a lot of obstruction from the Fisheries Department.

From the Census Table SCT I in Appendix III we find that 82 Kanis are agricultural labourers, working in the adjoining plains. But this can only be seasonal employment. They are paid a wage of Re. 1/ per day. 143 Kanis are employed in plantations, mostly in the Kattalaimalai estate in Tirunelveli district. Besides this, 46 are shown as employed in other services. They are in the Forest Department and in the Public Works Department as watchers, lascars and peons. Of late, Kanis have begun seeking employment outside the forest area.

Tribal Welfare

20. The Kanis have received and continue to receive aids and concessions from the Harijan Welfare Department, which is entrusted with the work of Tribal Welfare in this State. It would be interesting to examine to what extent the tribals are responsive to the aids and whether the aids given are of the right type. The Kanis are eager to send their children to residential schools. As observed earlier, the provision of free food is the motive behind this attitude. But the results are satisfactory in that the Kani children are getting educated in the process. They are eager to make use of the Multi-Purpose Society to meet the credit needs and to take out the use of the right to collect various minor produce. We find they are generally more responsive than many other tribes in Madras State.

So the next question for consideration is whether the aids given are of the right type. We will consider them by item. The maintenance of the residential schools is of great help to them. The present high level of literates in the younger generation can be wholly attributed to the existence of these schools. In the residential school at Pechiparai, there are 37

Kani students and at Papanasam Upper Dam, 52 students. The establishment of one or more such schools at more central centres will certainly ensure better coverage. The residential schools at these two places are run in a fairly efficient manner. An attempt is made to give training in craft. The idea is commendable. But the selection of crafts for which training is imparted at the training centres at Pechiparai and Papanasam Upper Dam does not appear to us quite happy. At Pechiparai, training is given in the following crafts:—

(1) Weaving (white cloth)—for 5 women, (2) Sewing with sewing machine for 4 women, (3) rattan work for 10 men and (4) bamboo basket making for 12 men. Each trainee is given a stipend of Rs. 30/- p.m. as an inducement to join the centre. In the residential school at Papanasam Upper Dam, training is given in rattan work. So far none has completed the training in any of the crafts and pursued it independently. We feel that any attempt to pursue these crafts independently by Kanis will land them in serious difficulties in procuring raw materials and in marketing the finished products. The raw materials are not available locally, nor can the finished products be sold locally. We do not think that any Kani, trained in these institutions, will pursue the craft further. Their main interest is now in the stipend given to them. They consider it only as an employment for the period of their training. It may be of advantage to give training to Kanis in bee-keeping, improved methods of fishing and in coir making etc. for which facilities are available locally. The selection of the crafts should be such so as to develop the creative faculties of the Kanis.

As regards housing, Kanis do not like the type-design houses constructed for them on subsidy-cum-loan basis. They prefer their traditional type houses built within the plots cultivated by them. So the money spent on housing schemes may be utilised in more useful ways. The strengthening and activating of the Kani Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society can be a step in the right direction. The Society can take over the monopoly of collecting minor forest produce and selling them. It can also arrange for the marketing of their surplus tapioca and honey. There is no doubt there is eagerness and willingness to do good to the Kanis in all the welfare activities undertaken by the Government but the measures do not fit in well with the life and culture of the tribe.

Conclusion

21. After having made a detailed study of the life and habits of Kanis, we think that this tribe has a bright future, provided it is handled with understanding and sympathy. As we learnt, they face two difficulties—one is the inroads made by the plainsmen into their habitation and the other is the restrictions put by the forest officials on the right to live in the forest areas. If as a result of these forces they are driven out of their present habitation, they will be reduced to a mere caste in the lower rung of the Hindu hierarchy. A simple but virile tribe would then be lost. But if we

can give them proper protection and initiate benevolent welfare measures, they would excel all other tribes in the matter of economic and cultural development. They will become a tribe which will be a source of strength to the Forest Department. No doubt much has been done in the last few years to change the life of an average Kani. But much more remains to be done. We do hope that Kanis who have made forest their home for centuries will survive the hardships to which they are today subjected and will benefit by the benevolent measures initiated by the Government for their development and welfare.

APPENDIX I
A few Case Studies
of the Kanis

APPENDIX—I

Case Studies

Case study No. 1

Ummani son of Mathan of Korvakuli—age 58 years—born in Korvakuli—parents died at an early age—went to Motheramalai and lived in his maternal uncle's house for ten years—married his maternal uncle's daughter—lived for two more years in Motheramalai with his wife—then the family shifted back to Korvakuli to cultivate a piece of Kuthagai Pattam land measuring 50 cents—his first wife Mathai died after 12 years of married life leaving a son and a married daughter—Ummani took his deceased brother's wife as his spouse under the system called “Mundukoda”. All the daughters of Ummani are now married. He is now officiating as Plathi and as Muttu Kani for Korvakuli. He has no debts. He is not also educated.

Case study No. 2

Ummani son of Odayan of Thatchamalai—Age 65 years. He is the Vizhi Kani for the village. He was born in the village itself, but he says that the village was formerly pitched at a higher elevation. He belongs to Machambi group, Mootillam sept. He was first married when he was 20. His wife came from Perunchillam sept. No children out of this married life for 40 years. His wife died of small-pox. Then he took his wife's sister as his second wife. This woman was already married to some other man and had two children by her first husband. She divorced her first husband and got married to Ummani. Three children were born out of this second marriage. Two died of small-pox in 1961. One son was married and he lives separately. Ummani cultivates a plot of about three acres within the forest. He is cultivating tapioca, coconut, plantains, lime etc. No debts.

Case study No. 3

Kunjumandan Kani of Thatchamalai. He is the Muttu Kani for this village. Age 35 years. His first wife died of child-birth. His second wife died of small-pox in 1961. He had two children by the first wife. One child died of small-pox. One daughter aged 17 is now with him and is to be married. He himself has not yet married for the third time because one year must elapse for contracting a marriage after

the death of the last wife. He is cultivating a piece of two acres of forest land in this colony.

Case study No. 4

Dhakshanamurthi of Adukkuparai near Papanasam Upper Dam—Age 25 years. He was married three years back to a girl coming from Velu Pela, situated on the western slopes of Agasthia Malai in Kanyakumari District. He visits his father-in-law's house by walking across the mountains. He belongs to Terunjillam sept. He has one child. He cultivates one acre of forest land. He has raised tapioca and plantains. Read upto second class. He has been nominated as Muttu Kani at the instance of the Forest Guard as the office fell vacant due to the death of the previous Muttu Kani.

Case study No. 5

Vikkram Kani of Adukkuparai—age 60. Born in the same village. He went to Kuthiraivetti Estate when he was young. His wife died of child birth after nine years of married life. The second wife coming from Kandamparai lived with him for 12 years and died of child birth. Through this wife, he had six children. But four of them died due to various causes. The third wife comes from Mailaru. This woman had two previous husbands who died one after another. She joined Vikram Kani with three previous children. She has now another boy. He cultivates about one acre of forest land with tapioca. He is a Plathy.

Case study No. 6

Maria Antony—Age 60 of Agasthianagar. He embraced Christianity when he was about 20 years. He was formerly working in the estate belonging to the Christian Missionaries in Kattalamalai. He married a Christian woman of Kani tribe. She died of child-birth. He got married again and has no issues through the second wife. In both these cases of marriages, he says that he took care not to marry from his own sept. He is at present the President of the Kani Association and Member of the Tirunelveli District Welfare Committee.

APPENDIX II
Extracts relating to Kanikkars
from Census Reports and from
old published volumes

KANIS OR KANIKKARS

EXTRACT FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA 1901

TRAVANCORE—I

KANNIKKAR

They are all a set of quiet, simple and inoffensive folks who carry on migratory cultivation and in certain season of the year live mainly upon hunting and natural forest produce. To the question what relation they bear in order of evolution to the modern denizens of the plains, various answers have been given. Western sociological science sees in the crude habits and manners of the hill-tribes unmistakable indication of an early unevolved condition of society. There is another view that sets them down as depressed specimens of a once highly organized humanity. The traditional accounts current in regard to many of them seem to support the latter. To the further question whether these hill-tribes represent a subjugated pre-existing race or an exiled section of one and the same race, the answer cannot be stated with certainty. The latter is at least as probable as the former.

DESIGNATION

The Kanis are a class of hill-tribes living in the mountains of South Travancore, being chiefly found in the Taluk of Nedumangad and Neyyattinkara. The word Kanikkaran means a hereditary proprietor of land. The tradition that may be taken as having probably had some historical basis is the one that says that there were once two hill-kings, Sri Rangan and Virappan and that their descendants emigrated from the Pandyan territories beyond Agastyakutam under pressure from superior force, and never returned to the low country. Having retired from the haunts of men prior to the development of the pernicious idea of caste inferiority, referred to more than once in this Chapter, they are not considered so low as the Pulayas and other kindred classes of Hindu society. Castes as high as the artisans freely accept food from the Kanikkar.

APPEARANCE

The Kanis are a dark but strong race of medium stature and active habits. They grow their hair, both men and women alike and have it tied round in a knot at the back of the head. In modern days, many have adopted the front tuft of the indigenous Hiadus of the low-land.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Kanis wear but scanty clothing. Numerous strings of beads and shells are worn by the women. Iron and brass bracelets are worn in the wrist and leaden rings in the ear. They bathe pretty regularly; but as they change their clothes but seldom, they are not cleanly in appearance. The men generally carry a wicker basket on their back, in which are stored their food for the day. They also carry a cloth bag containing their chewing-materials. The Kanis take with them a long staff, a heavy knife or chopper and sometimes bows and arrows. Many, however, have now almost forgotten the art of shooting and do not even possess these implements.

FOOD AND DRINK

The Kanis eat most kinds of flesh. In former times they were not in the habit of drinking liquor; but this deplorable

habit has now been borrowed from their neighbours in the plains. Cow-life is scrupulously honoured.

HOUSES

The Kanis have no fixed abodes. Their lowly huts which are built of reed are abandoned when they are approached by wild animals, or when the neighbouring fields are not sufficiently productive. Steep hill-slopes away from elephant tracks are generally the sites of Kani villages. Through their industry, the neighbouring hill-side is terraced and useful trees are planted thereabouts. But every second or third year they invariably migrate, seeking fresh fields and pastures new.

CASTE GOVERNMENT

The Kanis live together in small clans under a Mutta Kani or head man who wields considerable influence over them and enjoys various perquisites. The Mutta Kani is generally the oldest member of the village councils. He can only be removed by constitutional methods. At the Panchayat all social questions namely those relating to marriage, divorce, & c., are discussed and settled. Five members constitute the quorum. In ancient times adultery was punished with instantaneous death, but has now been softened down to an offence demanding but a money penalty.

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance among those who live in the interior of hills is Makkathayam. But a moiety of the personal property goes to the nephews. With the Kanis, however, who live in the plains, an equal distribution of their self-acquired property is made between the sons and nephews. If there are no sons, the nephews inherit the property, the widow being entitled only to maintenance.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Kanis is a dialectic variety of Malayalam with a large admixture of Tamil. They call their language Malampashai or the language of the Hills. A Kani might be distinguished by the Peculiar accent with which his words are pronounced. There are many oddities in his conversation which only those who are familiar can rightly understand.

OCCUPATION

The Kanis first clear a patch of forest and then set fire to it. The ground is then sown with hardly any previous tillage. When after two or three years, the field diminishes in productiveness, they go to another forest-patch and follow the same rough and ready methods of cultivation. In other cases, as soon as the first patch of ground becomes over-grown with shrubs, it is once more cleared and cultivated. Thus one patch of forest ground after another is employed for agricultural purposes till the whole forest becomes cleared. But the Kanis now have almost dropped this kind of migratory agriculture, because according to the new forest rules, forests cannot be set fire to nor the trees felled at the unrestricted pleasure of individuals. As the Kanis say "Malaikkutittukuta ennum maram murichehu kuta ennum

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kalpana vannirikkunnatinala patti kutiyantu tanne parkkanam ennu nichchayichchirukku" which translated into English means "as the Sovereign has commanded that no jungle should be burnt nor any trees felled, we have had to resolve on giving up the migratory cultivation." Along with their old migratory habits their caste rule imperatively prohibits them from travelling more than a hundred miles out of their forests. They grow such cereals as a chennellu, vellavalam, pinappukkatu and other kinds of hill paddy, raggi, millet and pulses. Generally a Friday has to be selected in the months of Vrischikam, Dhanu and Makaram, (November, December, and January) for clearing the wood. Before burning the forests, a full month is allowed for the felled wood to dry. In the months of Minam, metam and Itavam, (April, May and June) the seeds are sown which is done almost invariably on a Friday or Monday. Chingngam and Kanni (August and September,) are the months when the harvest is reaped. Besides cereals, the Kanis grow tapioca, sweet potatoes, plantains, and ganja and tobacco in small quantities. They appreciate the value of tapioca even better than the lowlanders and their tapioca tuber is generally the best in all Travancore. The Bananas cultivated by the Kanis are rich and large-sized. Each Kani village has its assigned forest-block for cultivation with which other villagers are not to interfere. They do not pay anything to Government by way of tax. Once in a year or two they go in a group to visit His Highness the Maha Rajah at the capital. "The Maha Rajas always receive them kindly, accepting the Nuzzur they offer in the shape of (1) the bamboo-plantain with large though few fruits (2) a parcel of Muttucherri hill paddy seed, (3) bamboo joints holding honey of different varieties and (4) Virukachattam or a parcel of civet. The customary modes of Court address and the prescribed court etiquette are alike unknown to and unused by these unsophisticated Hill tribes, and the Maha Rajas pleased with their simplicity and unaffected homage, reward them with presents of cloth, money, salt, and tobacco with which they return satisfied to their jungle homes." Some of them are engaged in the preparation of bows and arrows in which they are experts. They are employed by Government to collect honey, cardamoms, wax, ginger, damer or Kuntirikkam and elephant-tusks, in return for a small remuneration known as Kutivaram. "The other occupations of the Kanis are the capture of wild animals such as the Elephant, the tiger and the wild boar and the making of wicker-work of bamboo, ratan and reed. In this connection, the observation of Mr. Honiss on the present state of the material prosperity of the Kanikkar will be read with interest. He says "The fate of the hill-kings is rather sad. For ages past they have boasted of being the undisputed lords of the primeval forests. The elephant and tiger were their only foes; but with snares and traps they could hold their own against their enemies. But they could not resist the onward march of a superior race. The planter approaches them in a peaceable way, offering wages for their hire, but demanding as his right the land he has purchased. The proud men of the woods decline to herd with coolies and work like common people. As soon as the planter's axe is heard, the hill-kings pack their traps and desert their homes to establish themselves in another valley. In this way they have been driven from hill to hill and valley to valley, until some have found now a safe resting place in the dense jungles of the lowlands of Travancore. If the planter wishes to penetrate some unexplored jungle or cut a path in some of the out-of-the-way place, the hillmen are ready to assist, and it is the universal testimony that they are more faithful to their engagement than their more civilized brethren from the plains".

Sorcery and witch-craft are well-known to Kanikkar. The Kanis have no faith in medicine. It is their Chattu and Pattu, (hymns and songs) that cure them and not medicine. To those who are familiar with the modern development of faith-cure in Europe and America this is no great wonder and serves as only more instance of the old adage "extremes meet."

SUB-DIVISIONS

The sub-divisions among the Kanis are known as Illams (ten in number) of which five are endogamous and five are exogamous. The exogamous Illams are called Annantampi or brother Illams and the endogamous known as Machchampi or brother-in-law Illams. The names of the former are (1) Kai, (2) Palamala, (3) Talamala, (4) Kurumilla (5) Perim. The names of the latter are (1) Mangot, (2) Mut, (3) Peringalatti, (4) Vel and (5) Vellanat.

MARRIAGE

Girls are married above 12 years of age and boys above 16. Women are generally not wedded to men incapacitated for work by old age or deformity. The Kanis who live on the eastern side of the kottaiyar river do not take wives from those who live on the western side of it. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. But any lapses found are legalized into formal alliances by the irrefragable mandate of Kani society. It is not necessary that the husband should be older than the wife and instance are not rare of a woman of 35 marrying a boy of 20. When a youth has to be married, his guardian asks the parents of the girl, who consult their relations and give an answer. The matter is then placed before the village council and after it is settled there, a day is fixed for the wedding. Guests are invited by both parties, but none attend if no betel accompanies the invitation. When the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house the headman in the presence of all the people assembled declares that they are to be married. The bridegroom then gives betel and nut to the bride. Presents are given by those who are assembled to the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom then ties the tali round the neck of the bride. The dowry consists of bill-hooks, brass-vessels, choppers, grains, pulses and so on. Widow marriage is permitted. In this case the bridegroom presents cloths to the bride with the sanction of the guardians. Adultery is punished by society, in some places with four lashes on the back. If a Kani embraces the Christian or the Mahomedan religion, he is not re-admitted into the village. Divorce is permitted, but takes place very rarely. Cases of divorce fall within the purview of the local village council. Usually the husband gives back the wife's dowry on separation.

OTHER CEREMONIES

The day when rice is first given to a child is of some importance among the Kanis. Four villagers are invited and fed. In cases of death the top-knot of the dying man is severed by the priest or exorciser to the accompaniment of a hymn known as Kutumi vettu mantram. It is noteworthy that this Chaula-samskara (tonsure), though delayed is not entirely omitted. The Kanis bury their children and cremate the older members of the family. The place of burial may be anywhere; but cremation generally takes place on the bank of a stream or river. All the neighbouring villagers both male and female have to pour water over the corpse with both hands. The pollution

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for seven days. The body is placed from south to north. of the cooking utensils of the household of the deceased n are broken as typifying the end of his connection with ly things. It is significant to note that many of these part of the Brahminic funeral ceremonial.

ERAL CHARACTER

The Kanis are characterized by a high standard of domestic our and social helpfulness. In their unsophisticated purity, are straight-forward, honest and truthful to a fault. Though Kani may attack a savage tiger or a ferocious cheetah with ness and courage, he hastens to show his obeisance to a aer superior in intelligence. Small-pox carries off a great y Kanis who stoutly refuse to get themselves vaccinated. recently they were in the habit of sending all their women e interior of forests on the arrival of a stranger at the village. this is now seldom done. In clearing forest-paths they have ly any equals and their constant help and guidance ought by and willingly given to any person that may have avel through the wood-lands of Travancore.

The total number of Kanis in Travancore is 4,139. They ind in two Taluks, Neyyattinkara (1,658) and Kalculam (7). From Vilavankod 801 Kanis have been returned and Nedumangad 545. The Malavelans who are only those e who live near the low-lands number 679 of whom 251 le in Vilavankod and 204 in Neyyattinkara. At the 1891 sus 17,143 persons were recorded as Velans, but how many ese were Malavelans proper is not known.

EXTRACT FROM THE CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911

VIKKARAN

Kanikkaran (4,034): Also called Kani. They form one of hill communities of Travaneore and are a dark, strong ple of medium stature and active habits, quite and simple, ying on migratory cultivation, and living mainly by hunting on forest produce. The word, Kanikkaran, means a her-ry proprietor of land and points to the ancient distribution opulation between plain and mountain, mutually dependent hill and plain produce respectively. The growing and rearing orest trees, the collection of honey and wax and other hill ulation, just like the agricultural and other industries of the ns, and like them subject only to the payment of tax to the g. The Kanis live together in small clans under a Mutta Kani eadman. At the Panchayat, all social questions are discussed l settled. The system of inheritance is mainly makkathayam. approval of the village council is obtained prior to prior to rriage. Widow marriage is allowed and divorce is permitted; all these are very rare. The Kanis are characterized by a h standard of domestic honour and social helpfulness and, heir unsophisticated purity, they are truthful to a fault.

EXTRACT FROM CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA BY THURSTON

NIKAR

The Kanikars, who are commonly known as Kanis, are a gle tribe inhabiting the mountains of South Travancore.

Till recently they were in the habit of sending all their women into the seclusion of the dense jungle on the arrival of a stranger near their settlements. But this is now seldom done, and some Kanikars have in modern times settled in the vicinity of towns, and become domesticated. The primitive short dark-skinned and platyrhine type, though, surviving has become changed as the result of contact metamorphosis, and many lep'orhine or mcsorhine individuals above middle height are to be met with.

	Stature		Nasal index		
	AV.	MAX.	MIN.	AV.	MAX. MIN.
Jungle	155.2	170.3	150.2	84.6	10 5 72.3
Domesticated	158.7	170.4	148	81.2	50.5 70.8

The Kanikars are said to be characterised by a high standard of honour, and to be straightforward, honest and truthful. They are good trackers and fond of sport, and in clearing forest paths they have hardly any equals. Their help and guidance are sought, by, and willingly given to any person who may have to travel through the forests.

The jungle Kanikars have no permanent abode, but shift about from one part of the forest to another. Their settlements, composed of lowly huts built of bamboo and reeds, are abandoned when they suffer from fever, or are harassed by wild beasts, or when the soil ceases to be productive. The settlements are generally situated, away from the tracks of elephants, on steep hill slopes, which are terraced and planted with useful trees. In their system of cultivation the Kanikars first clear a patch of forest, and then set fire to it. The ground is sown with hardly any previous tillage. When, after two or three years, the land diminishes in productiveness, they move on to another part of the forest, and follow the same rough and ready method of cultivation. Thus one patch of ground after another is used for agricultural purposes, until a whole tract of forest is cleared. But the Kanikars have now to a large extent abandoned this kind of migratory cultivation, because, according to the forest rules, forests may not be set fire to or trees felled at the unrestricted pleasure of individuals. They cultivate various kinds of cereals and pulses, as well as tapioca (*Manihot Utilissima*), sweet potatoes (*Ipomeoa Batatas*), ganja (Indian hemp), and tobacco. Each settlement now has a forest block assigned to it for cultivation, with which other tribes are not allowed to interfere, and wherein the Kanikars are allowed to fell, clear, and grow their crops. They do not pay anything in the way of tax to the Government. Once a year they go in a group to visit the Maharaja at Trivandrum, and he "always receives them most kindly, accepting the nuzzur they offer in the shape of the bamboo plantain with large though few fruits, a parcel of Muttucherri hill rice, bamboo joints containing different varieties of honey, and virukachattam or a parcel of civet. The customary modes of court address, and the prescribed court etiquette are alike unknown to them, and the Maharaja, pleased with their simplicity and unaffected homage, rewards them with presents of cloth, money, salt and tobacco, with which they return satisfied to their jungle home". The Rev. S. Mateer notes that he had difficulty in persuading the Kanikars to part with a sucker of the bamboo plantain, as they fancied it must be reserved for the use of the Maharaja alone.

Some Kanikars are engaged as coolies on planters' estates, or in felling timber and cutting bamboos or contractors, others

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in the manufacture of bows and arrows with blunt or barbed iron heads. Heated arrows are used by them, for hitting elephants which invade their sugar-cane or other crop, from the safe protection of a hut built on a platform of sticks in tall trees of branches or bamboo covered with leaves of *Ochlandra Travancorica* or other large leaves. In connection with these huts, which are called anamadam (elephant huts), it has been said that "the hills abound with game. 'Bison' (*Bos Gaurus*), bears, and sambar (*Cervus Uicolor*) are frequently met with, while elephants and tigers are so numerous that the Kanikars are in some parts compelled to build their houses high up in trees. These primitive houses are quickly and easily constructed. The walls are made of bamboo, and the roof is thatched with jungle leaves. They are generally built about fifty feet above the ground, and are securely fastened to the branches of a substantial tree, and a crude ladder of bamboo connects them with the ground. When all the inmates are safely housed for the night, the ladder is removed aloft out of the reach of elephants, who mischievously inclined, might remove the obstruction and leave the Kanikars to regain terra firma the best way they could". Sometimes a single bamboo, with the shoots on the sides cut short, does duty for a ladder. It has been said that, when the crops are ripening, the Kanikar watchmen are always at home in their arboreal houses, with their bows and arrows, and chanting their wild songs. Sometimes the blunt end of an arrow is used as a twirling stick in making fire by friction for which purpose sticks made of *Grewia Tiliaefolia*, etc. are also used. In making fire, the Kanikars "procure two pieces of wood, one of which is soft, and contains a small hole or hollow about half an inch deep to receive the end of the other, which is a hard round stick about eighteen inches long, and as thick as an ordinary ruler. The Kanikar takes this stick between the palms of his hands, keeping it in a vertical position, with the end of it in the hollow referred to, and produces a quick rotary and reverse motion, and with slight pressure causes the friction necessary to produce a quantity of fluff, which soon ignites".

The Kanikars are employed by the Government to collect honey, wax, ginger, cardamoms, dammar, and elephant tusks, in return for a small remuneration known as kutiwarum. Other occupations are trapping, capturing or killing elephants, tigers, and wild pigs, and making wicker-work articles of bamboo or rattan. The Rev. S. Mateer mentions having seen a wicker bridge, perhaps a hundred feet long, over which a pony could pass. A tiger trap is said to be a huge affair made of strong wooden bars, with a partition at one end for a live goat as bait. The timbers thereof are supported by a spring, which, on a wild beast entering, lets fall a crushing weight on it.

The Kanikars wander all over the hills in search of honey, and a resident in Travancore writes that "I have seen a high rugged rock, only accessible on one side the other side being a sheer precipice of several hundred feet, and in its deep crevices scores of bees' nests. Some of them have been there for generations, and the Kanikars perform periodically most daring feats in endeavouring to secure at least a portion of the honey. On this precipice I have seen overhanging and fluttering in the breeze a rattan rope, made in rings and strongly linked together, the whole forming a rope ladder several hundred feet long, and securely fastened to a tree at the top of the precipice. Only a short time ago these people made one of their usual

raids on the 'honey rock'. One of the tribe descended the rope ladder for a considerable distance, with a basket fastened to his back to receive the honey, and carrying with him torch-wood with which to smoke the bees out of the nests. Having arrived at his goal two hundred feet from the top, and over three hundred feet from the ground below, he ignited the torch, and, after the usual smoking process, which took some little time to perform, the bees made a hurried exit from the nests, and the Kanikar began the work of destruction, and with every movement the man and the ladder swayed to and fro, as if the whole thing would collapse at any movement. However, all was safe, and, after securing as much honey as he could conveniently carry, he began the return journey. Hand and foot he went up ring after ring until he reached the top in safety, performing the ascent with an air of nonchalant ease, which would have done credit to any steeple jack." The honey is brought for sale in hollow bamboo joints.

Sometimes Kanikars come into Trivandrum bringing with them live animals for the zoological gardens.

The word Kanikaran means a hereditary proprietor of land. There is a tradition that there were once two hill kings, Sri Rangan and Virappan, whose descendants emigrated from the Pandyan territories beyond Agastyakutam under pressure from a superior force, and never returned to the low country. The following legend is current among the Kanikars. "The sea originally covered everything, but God caused the water to roll back, and leave bare all the hills. Then Parameswara and Parvati made a man and woman, whose descendants were divided into fifty-six races, and multiplied exceedingly, so that a sore famine invaded the land. In those days men were hunters, and lived by snaring animals and plucking wild fruits off the trees. There was no corn, for men did not know how to sow rice, and cultivate it. The cry of the famine-stricken reached Parameswara and Paravati, and they visited the earth in the form of a pair of hamsam (the bird which carries Brahma), and alighted on a kanjiram tree. While seated there, the god and goddess noticed a pair of dragon-flies, which paired together, and they too, their hearts swelling with love embraced each other, and, taking pity on mankind, willed that a field of rice should sprout on the low-lying land near the sea-shore. The Paraiyans and Pulayans, who witnessed the rice growing, were the first to taste of the crop, and became prosperous. This was in Malabar, or the far north of Travancore. The Maharaja, hearing of the new grain, sent seven green parrots to go on a journey of discovery, and they returned with seven ears of rice. These the Maharaja placed in a granary, and gave some to the Paraiyans to sow, and the grain miraculously increased. But the Maharaja wanted to know how it was to be cooked. The parrots were accordingly once more brought into requisition, and they flew away, and brought back eighteen varieties of cooked rice which a Paraiyan's wife had prepared. Then the Maharaja, having got some rice prepared by his cooks, fell to and eat heartily. After eating, he went into the yard to wash his hands, and, before drying them on a cloth, wrung his right hand to get the last drops of water off. A valuable gold ring with three stones fell there from, and, burying itself in the dust, was never recovered. The Maharaja was sore distressed by his loss, but, Parameswara, as some recompense, caused to grow from the ground where the ring fell three trees which are very valuable in Travancore, and which, by the sale of their

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produce, would make the Maharaja wealthy and prosperous. The trees were the dammar tree, the resinous gum of which is useful in religious ceremonies, the sandal-wood tree so widely used for its perfume, and lastly the bamboo, which is so useful and necessary to the well-being of the Kanikars".

The sub-divisions among the Kanikars are known as illams or families, of which five are said to be endogamous, and five exogamous. The former are called Machchampi or brother-in-law illams, and the latter Annantampi or brother illams. They are named after mountains (e.g., Palamala, Talamala), places (e.g. Vellanat), etc. The Kanikars who live south of the Kodayar river cannot marry those living north of it, the river forming a marital boundary.

Among the names of Kanikars are Parapan (broad-faced), Chanthiran (moon), Marthandan (sun) Muntan (dwarf) Kaliyan (little kali), Madan (a deity), Nili (blue) and Karumpi (black). The first name is sometimes that of the settlement in which they live. For example, the various Mullans are known as Kuzhumbi Mullan, Anaimalai Mullan Chembilakayam Mullan etc.

The Kanikars live together in small communities under a Muttakani or headman, who wields considerable influence over them, and enjoys various perquisites. He presides over tribal council meetings, at which all social questions are discussed and settled, and fixes the time for clearing the jungle, sowing the seed, gathering the harvest, worshipping the gods, etc. Fines which are inflicted are spent in propitiating the gods.

The language of the Kanikars is a dialect of Malayalam, with a large admixture of Tamil, which they call Malampashai or language of the hills.

The system of inheritance among those who live in the hills is makkathayam (from father to son). But a moiety of the personal property goes to the nephews. With those who live in the plains, an equal distribution of their self-acquired property is made between the sons and nephews. If there are no sons, the nephews inherit the property, the widow being entitled to maintenance.

The chief object of worship is said to be Sasthan, a forest god. But the Kanikars also make offerings to a variety of deities, including Amman, Poothathan, Vetikad Pootham, Vadamala Poothathan, and Amcala. They have, it has been said, "certain spots, trees or rocks, where their relations or friends have met with some unusual good luck or calamity, where they generally offer their prayers. Here they periodically assemble, and pray that the catastrophe that had befallen a comrade may not fall on them, or that the blessings which another had received may be showered on them." Generally in February a festival called kodai is held whereat the Kanikars assemble. Goats and fowls are sacrificed, and the pujari (priest) offers boiled rice and meat to the sylvan deities in a consecrated place. The festival, to which many come from the low country, winds up with drinking and dancing. The Kanikar musical instruments include a reed flute or clarinet, and men dance to the music, while the women clap their hands in time with it. The Kanikars worship their gods twice a year, in the months of Minam and Kanni. On the morning of the celebration, every family takes rice and plantains

to the dwelling of the headman. With the exception of a small quantity which is set aside, the rice is husked and ground to flour by boys or men, after bathing and washing their hands and feet. The rice is taken to a clearing in the fields, whither a Kanikar who knows how to invoke the deity comes after bathing. He lays out a row of plantain leaves, and spreads on each leaf a little rice, on which plantains are laid. These are covered over with a plantain leaf, on which rice is sprinkled. The officiating Kanikar then burns incense, carries it round the trophy, and places it in front thereof. All do obeisance by raising their hands to their foreheads, and pray for a fruitful harvest. Sometimes the officiating Kanikar becomes inspired like a Velichapad, and gives expression to oracular utterances. At the close of the ceremony, a distribution of the rice and plantains takes place. When the land is to be cleared for cultivation, the headman is invited to attend, and some rice and cocoanuts are presented to him, which he offers up, and clears a small portion with his own hand. On the first appearance of the ears of grain, the Kanikars spend two nights in drumming, singing, and repeating mantrams at the field, and put up a tattu or platform on four sticks as a shrine for the spirits, to whom they offer raw rice, tender cocoanuts, flowers etc. At harvest time rice, plantains, sweetmeats, and flowers are offered to the various hill demons, Purcha Mallan Pey, the cat giant, Athirakodi Pey, the boundary flag demon, and others.

For the following note on a Kanikar harvest festival I am indebted to an article by Mr. A. P. Smith. It was performed in propitiation of the Baradevata, or household gods of a house in the neighbourhood, the presiding deity being Madan. The ceremony is commonly called the feeding ceremony, and should be carried out just before the harvesting of the grain commences. "The officiating Kani is generally an elderly and influential man who professes inspiration and knowledge obtained when asleep. The articles necessary to perform the ceremony are called Paduka or sacrifice, and Ashtamangalyam. Paduka is for the adult gods or manes, male or female, called Chava, and Ashta mangalyam is for the virgins who have died, called Kanyakas. A temporary pavilion or pandal had been erected in front of the house, and from the canopy long streamers of tender cocoanut leaves, bunches of plantains, and tender cocoanuts, with their husk on, were hung. Branches of areca nuts and flower adorned the posts and pillars. Small heaps, consisting of boiled rice, paddy, a tender cocoanut, a spring of areca flowers, and betel were placed on plantain leaves in seven definite spots. The officiating Kanikar, after formally getting the permission of the assembled spectators, and especially of one who subsequently appeared on the scene as the chief dancer, began monotonous chant in what appeared to be a mixed language. It was understood to be a history of the beginning of earth, kings, a record of the life and doings of departed souls, whose protection was prayed for, and a prayer for the souls of those persons for whose benefit the ceremony of propitiation was in progress. Now and again the feelings of the narrator or singer would overcome him, and he would indulge in a shout or emphatic gesticulations. This went on for about three or four hours, punctuated at intervals by the firing of petards or smooth-bore guns, and the shrill cries of the women. Before the chanting terminated, a large heap of the red flowers *Ixora Coccinea* (thetti pu), about a yard square at its base, had been raised in the centre of the pandal, and it was prettily picked out with areca flowers in artistic designs. The horrible sound of a human voice roaring like a wild beast

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aroused every one to a sense of activity. From behind the hut came the man already mentioned, very primitively clothed, his hair hanging loose, his eyes staring, and what appeared like foam at his mouth. He would stand, run short distances, leap, sit, agitate his body, and dance, keeping step to the rhythmic and muffled beating of the drum. This he did for ten minutes or so. Suddenly, with a shout, he dived into the hut specially set apart as the feeding place of the god Madan, and presently appeared with two long sticks adorned at their ends with bells, which emitted a jingling sound. The frenzy of motion ecstatic, unregulated and ungovernable, was apparently infectious, for a young man, hitherto a silent spectator of the scene, gave shout, and began to dance wildly, throwing up his arms, and stepping out quite actively. This encouragement stimulated the original performer, and he caught a man standing near by the neck, thrust the stick with the bells into his hand, and he thereupon started dancing as well. In about ten minutes there were some half a dozen wild dancing dervishes, shouting, gesticulating, revolving, and most certainly in an abnormal state of excitement. A dying but still glowing heap of fire and ashes became the centre of attraction, for the chief dancer danced over the fire, and sent the sparks flying, and scattered the wood, and evoked the admiration and eulogies of the crowd. Streaming with perspiration, spotted with ashes, wild, dishevelled and exhausted, the chief dancing demoniac stepped under the pandal, and finally sat himself before the heap of red flowers, and tossed the blossoms over his head in a kind of shower bath. He was assisted in this by the old Kanikar and other bystanders. A little boy was brought before him, and he called the lad by a name. This was his christening ceremony, for the lad assumed the name from that time. The chief dancer then stood up, and appeared to be still in a possessed state. A fine old rooster was brought, and its throat cut. It was then handed to the dancer, who applied his lips to the gaping wound, and drained the blood, swallowing the fluid audibly. Before relinquishing his hold of the bird, he swayed and fell on the ground in what seemed to be a swoon. This indicated that the sacrifice had been acceptable, that the propitiation was perfected, and that all the wishes of the persons interested in them would be granted. The crowd then set to eating and drinking the sacrificial elements, and dispersed."

Both adult and infant marriage are practiced. Those who had married 'infants,' on being questioned, stated that this is the safest course, as grown-up brides some-times run away to their parents' house, whereas younger girls get accustomed to their husbands' home. On a fixed day, within a month of the marriage ceremony, four Kanikars, accompanied by a boy carrying betel leaves and areca nuts, go to the home of the future bride, and present them to the families of the settlement. On the wedding morning, all assemble at a pandal (booth), and the bridegroom distributes pan-supari (betel leaf and areca nuts). His sister then brings forward the bride, and the bridegroom presents her with a cloth, which she puts on. Bride, bridegroom, and a young boy, then stand on a mat beneath the pandal, and the bridegroom ties the minnu (marriage badge) round the neck of the bride if she is an infant. If she is an adult, he places the minnu in front of her neck, on which it is tied by his sister. A plantain leaf is then placed in front of the bridal couple, and curry and rice served thereon by their mothers. The two women then taken hold of the bride's head, and press it seven times towards her husband's shoulders. This ceremony

concluded, the young boy takes a small quantity of the curry and rice, and puts it in the mouth of the bridegroom seven times. The bridegroom's younger brother then gives a morsel to the bride. The ceremonial terminates with a feast. The dowry includes billhooks, brass vessels, choppers, grain, and pulses. The headman, according to Mateer, offers some advice to the husband concerning the management of his wife. The heads of his discourse are arranged under the following heads:—teaching by words, pinching, and blows, and casting the woman away at last, if she is not obedient. In the remarriage of widows, the bridegroom simply gives the woman a pair of cloths, and, with the consent of the male members of her family, takes her to his home.

During the seventh month of pregnancy, a woman has to perform a ceremony called vaguthu pongal. Seven pots are placed on seven hearths, and, when the rice placed therein has boiled, the woman salutes it, and all present partake thereof. According to Mateer "the ceremony practised on the occasion of pregnancy is called vayaru pongal, when boiled rice is offered to the sun. First they mould an image of Ganesha, and setting it in a suitable place boil the rice; to this they add for an offering aval or flattened rice, parched rice, cakes, plantain fruits, young cocoanuts, and tender leaves of the same palm, with the flowers of the areca palm. The headman then commences dancing, and repeating mantrams. He waves the offering to the sun. On first giving rice to a child, a feast is held, and an offering presented to the jungle demons."

Concerning the death ceremonies, Mateer writes that "when any one is taken ill, the headman is at once consulted. He visits the sick person, and orders two drumming and singing ceremonies to be performed. A whole night is spent in dancing, singing, drumming, and prayers for the recovery of the patient. The offerings consist of tapioca, flour and cocoanuts, and other articles. After some time the headman, with manifestations of demoniac possession, reveals whether the sufferer will die or not. If the former, he repeats a mantram (kudumi vettu mantram, or formula on cutting off the top-knot), and cuts off the sick man's kudumi. This being a sign of approaching death, the relatives and others pay their last visits to the sick. After death, a mixture of ganja (Indian hemp), raw rice, and cocoanut, is put into the mouth of the corpse by the son and nephews, and it is buried at some distance from their abode, mantrams being repeated over it. Occasionally the corpse is cremated. The relatives bathe before returning home, and cannot take any of the produce of their lands till the death pollution is removed, fearing that wild beasts will attack them or destroy their crops. To this end a small shed is built outside their clearing on the third day. Three measures of rice are boiled, and placed in a cup or on a plantain leaf inside the shed. Then all bathe, and return home. On the seventh day all this is repeated, the old shed being pulled down, and a new one put up. On returning to their dwelling, they sprinkle cow-dung on houses and in the yard, which finally removes the defilement. People in better circumstances make a feast of curry and rice for all present". The cow-dung is sprinkled with leafy twigs of the mango or jak tree, or flower stalks of the areca palm. The ashes, after cremation, are said to be collected in a pot or leaf, and thrown into the nearest stream or river. An annual ceremony, in commemoration of ancestors, is held, at which rice is boiled and offered up.

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The Kanikars, like the Irulas and Yanadis of the Tamil and Telugu countries, do not belong to the polluting classes. Pulayans, Kuruvans and Vedans are not allowed to approach them.

The dietary of the jungle Kanikars includes wild pigs, deer, porcupines, hares, monkeys, fowls, sheep and goats, parakeets, doves, tortoises, fish, crabs, peacocks, tigers (said to taste like black monkey), owls, squirrels and field rats, in addition to many vegetable products of the forest. They will not eat beef or the flesh of 'bison.'

Some Kanikars are tattooed on the forehead with a crescent and dot, or a vertical stripe. The Kanikars say that their ancestors wore a garment made of jungle fibre, which has been replaced by a cotton loin-cloth. "Both men and women," Mr. M. Ratnaswamy Aiyar writes, "wear on the neck numerous strings of red beads and rings made of shells, which hang down to the abdomen in the case of the women. The men wear ear-rings of brass or silver. The women wear, bangles of brass and iron, and a number of brass rings on the fingers. The men bear suspended from one of their shoulders a cloth bag containing two or more partitions, in which they keep their vilangupetti or box containing betel, tobacco and chunam. They carry, too, suspended from the shoulder, a cane wherein they place their day's crop of grain or roots, or any other food obtained by them. They attach to their waist-string or cloth a billhook and knife, and carry their bows and arrows slung on their shoulders. Whenever the Kanikars from the different kanis or settlements have to be gathered together for a common meeting, or for going together elsewhere on a common purpose, a messenger amongst them carries from one kani to another the message with a knot of fibres of creepers, which serves as a symbol of call. The knotted fibre is passed on from one kani to another till the required assembly is secured. It is thus that I secured my Kanikars to present them to their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon."

For most of the information contained in this article I am indebted to Mateer's 'Native Life in Travancore,' an article by Mr. Ratnaswamy Aiyar, and notes by Mr. N. Subrahmani Aiyar.

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The Kanikar form a wild but inoffensive jungle tribe, inhabiting the wilds of South Travancore. According to Bourdillon, those who live in the interior are called Kanikar, while those living at the outskirts are called *Valenmar*.

Marriage takes place both before and after a girl attains puberty. In South Travancore, marriage before puberty is not favoured because the girl will not then be in a position to assume the responsibilities of a housewife. In the Shenkotta forest division, infant marriage is in vogue and is becoming common for want of mature women.

The marriage is celebrated in the bridegroom's house in day time. A necklace of beads is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. The assembled guests are treated to

a feast. The married couple sit on a mat, and take food from the same leaf. The next morning all depart, leaving the bride with the bridegroom in his house.

In Kottur, the husband ties the tali round the neck of the bride, if she is an infant. His sister does it if she is grown up. A plantain leaf is placed in front of the couple and rice and curry are served. Two women hold the bride's head and press it on the bridegroom's shoulder seven times. The bridegroom then puts small quantities of rice and curry into the mouth of the bride seven times.

South of the Kodayar, the marriage is celebrated in the bride's house. The bridegroom ties the *tali* round the neck of the bride.

The Kanikar are generally monogamous, but if a man marries more than once his second wife is usually the sister of the first. A man can marry the sister of his deceased wife. Adultery is viewed with great abhorrence, and punishment for this offence varies in different localities. At Kulathupula the punishment inflicted on the adulterer is this. His legs are tied to the branch of a tree with the head hanging down. Straw strewn with chillies is spread on the ground and burned. The body of the culprit is swung to and fro and he is in the meanwhile given 25 lashes with a cane on the buttocks. The guilty woman is given 15 lashes by a man who marries her, even though he may have already been married.

In Vilavancode taluk a girl on attaining puberty is kept in the hut itself, but further north she is put in a separate shed situated about 100 feet away from the hut. Pollution lasts for six days. On the seventh day she bathes and goes home, when the medicine-man gives her some holy ash which she smears on the forehead. During the seventh month of pregnancy there is a ceremony called *Vayaru Pongal* when offerings are made to the sun. Confinement takes place in the house itself. Pollution lasts for 16 days. Abortion is common among the Kanikar women, probably due to malaria.

A man's property devolves equally on his nephews and sons. In the absence of nephews, the sons get the whole. Descent is reckoned through the female line and children belong to the clan of the mother. In Cherukara of Pathanapuram taluk, inheritance is through the male line.

The gods of the Kanikar are a legion. Spirits of diverse kinds are supposed to haunt houses and villages. They damage the crops; they cause epidemics and famine; they are malevolent spirits only. The propitiation of these spirits is the essence of the religion of the Kanikar. They worship Agastya and also ancestor spirits. When frightened by wild animals, they go to the *plathi* (medicine-man) to ascertain which ancestor spirit has been annoyed. The *plathi* takes some small pebbles and places five of them in a row in honour of Ganapathi. He then holds some pebbles in his right hand and drops them in pairs into the left. After dropping four pairs of pebbles, an even number remains in the right hand, the *plathi* concludes that *Echamuthan* is responsible for the incident. If an odd number is left behind, he repeats the process to find out whether *Pulichavu* is responsible for it. In Kulathupula paddy grains are used instead of pebbles and the operation is conducted on a wooden board. The offended spirit is propitiated by making suitable offerings.

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The musical instrument of the Kanikar is *Kokra*. It is used in all religious ceremonies. It is a cylindrical tube 9 inches long, made out of sheet iron, the lateral edges of which are serrated. A man hold it in his left hand and draws an iron pin over the serrated edges to and fro quickly. The sound thus produced is not very agreeable, but it suits the songs of the Kanikar.

The villages are rarely situated on crests of hills. They are usually built in places where there is a convenient water-supply. The huts are constructed in rows, leaving only a small space between the rows. A village is abandoned as soon as the soil there ceases to be productive. The 'Bachelor-hall' is prominent in Mothiramala, Chembikunnu and Kottur. It is the home of the unmarried youth of the village, and women are not allowed access into it. Bachelors remain there day and night and go to their huts only for meals. Unmarried girls remain in a separate shed. Among the Kanikar at Arippe, Madathura and other places there is no separate shed for unmarried girls.

The Kanikar make fire by the "drill method." A small hole, half an inch deep, is made in the centre of a piece of soft wood. A man keeps the piece in position under his big toe. takes a round stick of hard wood, 18 inches long, holds it in a vertical position keeping one end of it on the slot and turns it quickly backward and forward with both his hands. In this process a small quantity of dust is formed and the heat produced by friction ignites it.

The Kanikar also make fire by the "flint and steel method" which they call "*Chakku Mukki*". It may be a comparatively recent innovation. Pieces of flint and steel and some floss of *Careya urens* are the things required. The floss is held near the flint and the latter is struck with the steel. The friction produces sparks which ignite the floss. This process is resorted to in cold weather only. The use of safety matches is now coming into vogue.

The Kanikar are nomadic agriculturists. In Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara and Nedumangad, and in Pathanapuram and Shenkotta taluks they are cultivating paddy permanently on flats inside the reserved forests.

The dress of the Kanikar to the north of the Karamana river and to the south of Chembikunnu is scanty. It consists of an under-cloth held in position by a string tied round the loins. Over this is suspended an apron 2½ feet long and 1½ inches wide, the loose end of which is tucked up into a girdle tied tightly round loins. The girdle is made on the takli by women, out of 17 strands of yarn or twist. A woman takes three to four days to make a girdle. The Kanikar living in places where they come in contact with the people of the plains are better clad. The Kanikar of Nedumangad tattoo their body to enhance personal beauty.

The Kanikar of South Travancore have a more highly developed system of exogamous clans than those in Quilon and Shenkotta divisions. There are two clans in the hamlets of Cherukara, Madathura, Arippe and Villimala of Shenkotta and Quilon Divisions, and are known by the names of *Muttillom* and *Meni illom*. They trace the origin of the clans to the carcass of an elephant. The man who saw the haunches and

hind-limbs of the carcass belonged to *Muttillom*, and he who saw its trunk to the *Meni illom*. The Kanikar of the present day claim to be the descendants of these two ancestors.

The number of clans is four among the Kanikar at Naraveli in Nedumangad taluk. They are *Muttillom*, *Meni illom*, *Kayyillom*, and *Palillom*. They are all exogamous. Members of *Muttillom* and *Meni illom* considered to be superior to the other two clans, intermarry. There is neither intermarriage nor interlining between these and the other clans. The members of the two inferior clans are not even invited to the marriage ceremonies of the superior clans, and if they attend the ceremonies uninvited, they are fed only after the superior clans have had their feast.

Among the Kanikar of Neyyattinkara Range, there are two distinct divisions or Phratrys, the *Annanthambi Phratry*, and the *Machambi Phratry*. The *Annanthambi Phratry* includes the clans of *Meni illom*, *Perinchillom* and *Kayyillom*; and the *Machambi Phratry*, the clans of *Muttillom*, *Velanat illom*, and *Kurumillom*. Intermarriage between the members of the different clans of the same Phratry is prohibited.

There are interesting stories current among the Kanikar as to the origin of their clans. The ancestors of the Kanikar of Mothiramala felt an abhorrence to the promiscuous life they led in the past. With a view to evolve order out of this chaotic social condition, Ilampalli Muthan and Thiruvampalli Muthan decided that there should be a dual organisation of the Kanikars, the *Annanthambi illakars* and *Machambi illakars*. Each division was further divided into five clans, and the Kanikar of the present day are said to be their descendants.

The Kanikar of Mankutty have invented a very ingenious story about the origin of the clan system. The story is that a sambhar once did great havoc to their crops and the man who shot an arrow at the animal and killed it became *Kurumillom*. The man who sat on the hedge and saw the incident became *Velillom* and another who watched the fun at a distance became *Velanat illom*. The man who removed the sambhar's head became *Muttillom* and one who carried the fore-limbs became *Kayyillom*. Another who bundled up a small quantity of flesh in a number of leaves, which swelled its appearance, belonged to *Periman illom*. The man who removed the bowels became *Mangotillom*, and one who removed the udder of the carcass, *Palamba illom*. Lastly, a man who left a python in water belonged to *Perichillom*.

In the hamlets in the vicinity of Kallar in Nedumangad taluk, the clans are known by other names, and the origin of the clan system is said to be different. The *Annanthambi illom Phratry* includes *Vellayillom*, *Mannati illom*, *Thumbara illom*, *Velanti illom*, *Mulakonath illom*, *Muttillom*. The *Machambi phratry* includes *Meni illom*, *Pithayillom*, *Erumbiyets illom*, *Paramala illom*, and *Pothottillom*. Regarding the origin of these clans, it is said that once a wild elephant lay dead in the jungle and that different parts of its carcass were appropriated by different Kanikar, from whom originated the various clans. The man who got only the earth where the carcass lay belonged to *Mannati illom*. One who carried away the genital organ became *Thumbara illom*. He who removed the heart belonged to *Vellai illom*. The man who got the lion's share of the flesh belonged to *Meni illom*. One who got only the ants that

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swarmed there belonged to *Erumbiyat illom*. The *Mulakonath*, *Patika*, and *Pothode illoms* are named after the places called *Mulakonam*, *Patika* and *Pothode*. As regards *Paramala illom*, it is said that a Kanikar boy and girl were found hiding in a rock cave called *Paramala* and they were removed to the nearest hamlet and brought up. The children of this girl belonged to *Paramala illom*. Those who saw and enjoyed all the fun belonged to *Velanat illom*.

Dr. Edgar Thurston gives currency to the theory that clans are named after mountains and places, such as *Palamala*, *Thalamala*, etc. This view is not shared by the Kanikar of the present day.

The system of tracing kinship through the mother is not altogether extinct among the hill-tribes of Travancore. Among the Kanikar, the children of a man of the *Kurumillom* clan by his wife of the *Perinchillom* clan belong to the latter clan. According to the rules of exogamy, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan.

As a woman's children belong to a clan different from that of her brother's children, it follows that these children, who are cross-cousins, can intermarry according to the rule of exogamy. On the other hand, children of brothers or of sisters belong to the exogamous clan and cannot, therefore intermarry. Though double cross-cousin marriage is permissible, a man generally marries the daughter of his maternal uncle. A child is generally named after a member of the mother's clan a maternal uncle, an aunt, or a maternal grand-parent.

Under the system of female descent, there was no transfer of clanship among the Kanikar. The children belonged to the mother's clan. With the introduction of the system of male kinship, came the practice of transferring a woman from her own clan to that of her husband.

The Kanikar, in common with other hill-tribes, use the bill-hook for a variety of purposes. It is sharpened on one surface of its cutting edge. The handle is made of wood, which is fastened to the blade by means of a pin. The Kanikar use the bill-hook for loosening the soil for cultivation, for cutting fire-wood, and for various other purposes.

They are also adepts in the use of the pellet-bow, the bow and the gun. The pellet-bow is adapted for the use of pellets of stone, which are flung with great force. The stave is made of bamboo and is wider at the middle than at the ends. Two strings made of *Sterculia* fibre are tied on notches at the ends of the stave; they are kept one inch apart by a piece of reed, with a socket in the centre, one inch square, also made of *Sterculia* fibre. The stone is held in the socket by the thumb and the forefinger. A stone could be flung from the pellet-bow over a distance of 100 yards. It is used in killing small game and in driving away monkeys from the crops. Boys are taught the use of it from very early in life and by the tenth year they become experts at it. Men use it till they are 40 years old, when they give it up owing to failing eye-sight.

The Kanikar use the plain bow also. It consists of single stave, made out of the stem of *Polyanthia fragrans*. The string is made of the fibre of the adventitious roots of *Ficus*, and is fastened to notches at the ends of the stave. The arrow is made of reed, and the pointed end, made of *Acacia catechu*, is fixed to it by means of wax. To steady the flight of the arrow three rows of fowl's feathers are stuck into it with gum.

The present-day Kanikar say that their ancestors were stronger than they and used to kill even big game with the arrow. They have now become weak and cannot make use of it as effectively as their forefathers did in the past.

The Kanikar get guns made for them by local blacksmiths. They are made out of the timber of *Careya arborea* supplied by the Kanikar themselves and the barrels old unlicensed guns which the smiths manage to secure. Such guns cost from ten to thirty rupees. A Kanikar takes to the use of gun by the 15th year and kills with it the bison, the wild boar, the sambhar, the barking deer, the porcupine, the monkey, the jungle squirrel and other animals.

The Kanikar of Kottur in Neyyattinkara Taluk sing a *Chatu* song on their past history. It recounts that they formerly settled down in Kalakad and Kallida-kurichi in Tinnevely district. There were 72 Kani hamlets under three chieftains, Virappen Arayan of Viranelli Kotta, Sithangan Arayan of Chennalur Kotta, and Adichan Arayan of Alantharakotta.

In olden times the Attingal Chief possessed rights over 'Kalakad and Kallidakurichi'. The failure of the Kanikar to appear before the Chief (Ponnum Perumal) for three years led to the despatch of his minister, Mathutti Pillai, to Kalakad with a royal command, directing the appearance of the three hill-chieftains before him immediately. In obedience to the Royal call, the three chieftains went to Attingal and made presents of honey, ivory, tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bamboo seeds, and other things to His Highness.

His Highness was so much pleased that he conferred on Virappen Arayan the title of Vira Marthandan Arayan and gave the Chiefs profuse presents. It was also ordered that that Viramarthandan Arayan may collect a tax from the Kanikar of the 72 hamlets. His Highness was about to arrange for feeding the hill-chieftains and their followers, when Vira Marthandan Arayan informed him that they would themselves cook their food and that they would be satisfied if they were given provisions. These were accordingly supplied.

While they were on their way to the river to cook their food, they were accosted by Chennan and Chakki (Channans by caste) who invited them to their home. There they ate the food given by Chakki. His Highness, who was informed of the incident said "Mannu Channan Malayarasan" which means "By your association with Channans, you have fallen in my estimation. You deserve to be only Malayarayan or lord of the hills".

Vira Marthandan Arayan reached Kalakad, and collected and enjoyed the tax from the 72 Kani hamlets as ordered by the Attingal Chief. He then decided to celebrate his installation ceremony as Chief of the Kanikar, and issued invitations to Adi-Pandi Pandiyan, Mid-Pandi Pandiyan, and Thala-Pandi Pandiyan and to others to the ceremony. Adi-Pandi Pandiyan scoffed at the invitation and jeeringly sent word that he would go for the ceremony if his sister were given him in marriage. This reply provoked Vira Marthandan so much that he could not take the insult lying down. He therefore decided to divert the waters of the Kothayar, the Parliyar, the Manimuthar, and

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the Chembarunthar from flowing into Adi-Pandy by constructing a dam. Some water still trickled down to Adi-Pandy. The medicineman (Plathi) told Vira Marthandan that, if the dam were besmeared with the blood of his sister, Karimpadi, no water would flow to Adi-Pandy. No less a sacrifice was demanded of Vira Marthandan, but he did not flinch from carrying out the words of the medicine man. The insult was so keenly felt that the blood of his sister was poured on the dam, and no water trickled down eastwards thence forward.

This brought famine to Adi-Pandy. After ascertaining the cause, the Pandyan Chief repaired to the Attingal Raja and sought relief. Mathutti Pillai was sent to Kalakad to break the dam with an elephant and allow water to flow eastwards. Vira Marthandan dissuaded him from doing it, but his words were not heeded. When Mathutti Pillai proceeded to break the dam with the elephant, Vira Marthandan discharged an arrow and killed the elephant. Mathutti Pillai committed suicide, saying "you have killed your sister and my elephant. I too shall end my life here".

This tragic event enraged the Adi-Pandy Pandian and he declared war against the Kanikar. The Kanikar were defeated and their chieftains committed suicide. Some of the Kanikar escaped to Travancore and they are said to be the earliest Kani settlers in this country. This is the tradition current among the Kanikar about their immigration into Travancore.

The history of Travancore tells us "that the famous warrior-king, Sri Mankonda Bhutala Vira Sri Viraladaya Marthanda Varma conquered the whole of Tinnevely district from the Pandiyans about 700 M.E. (1531 A.D.) and married a Chola princess, Cholakula Valli, who brought with her the district of Calacaud as dowry. The dam across the Kothayar which stands even now under the name of *Virapuli Anai* is said to be erected at the period.

Kalakad witnessed several vicissitudes of fortune in later times. It now forms part of the British dominion in India. According to the tradition current among the Kanikar they were Kalakad when it formed part of Travancore and they migrated to this country as a result of their defeat in the war with the Adi-Pandy Pandians. The memory of Mathutti Pillai is enshrined in their religious songs, and offerings are made to him even to day.

The Kanikar living on the northern side of the Kothayar bury the dead. The grave diggers besmear their foreheads with holy ashes given by the medicine-man to ward off evil spirits. The son and the nephew are the chief mourners. After the corpse is lowered into the grave, the earthly belongings of the deceased are placed by the side. The grave is then filled up with earth by the son and the nephew.

The wife plays an important part in the funeral ceremony among the Kanikar of Kottur. The wife accompanies the corpse to the grave with a dishful of rice gruel, a spoon and a sieve. As soon as the corpse is lowered into the grave and covered with earth, she comes forward and deposits the above articles at the feet of the corpse.

Death pollution lasts for sixteen days among the Kanikar in the region of the Kothayar, for nine days at Kottur, and for seven days in Kulathuppula. Those who carry the corpse have to observe pollution for twelve days.

The Kanikar living on the Southern side of the Kothayar cremate their dead. A pit, 6' x 2'x2' is dug and packed with billets of fuel over which the corpse is laid with the head at the southern end. Fuel is again placed over it and lighted at the head and the feet. After the body is burned small bits of bones are collected and thrown into a stream. The deceased's sister's son conducts these funeral rites. After throwing the bones into the stream he bathes and goes back to the grave with a bill-hook in one hand and lighted faggots in the other. The son of the deceased goes with him carrying a pot water over his shoulders. They go round the grave thrice and then the nephew hits the pot gently with the bill-hook thrice and the son throws the pot backward.

The Kanikar call the sun, "*Bhagavan*" or "*Iswaran*" and worship him on Fridays. Early at sunrise, the Kanikaran places, in front of his hut, a lighted lamp, fruits, beaten and fried rice, and while making this offering he prays, "Oh! God, pray accept what is offered to you". He and his family then partake of the offerings. The sun is looked upon as the creator and it is treated as a female.

To the Kanikaran the moon is a male and he makes his offerings to the moon on full-moon days. A lighted lamp and a quarter measure of paddy are placed in front of the hut. The rice is cooked just when the moon rises and then he prays, "Oh! Moon, pray accept this offering". The worship of the moon is intended to cure whooping cough. The mark on the moon is said to be that of a hare. The story goes that when a Kanikar and his wife were roaming in the jungle they found the moon hiding in a stump of grass. Finding that it would make an excellent tali (a neck ornament) for his wife, he made an attempt to seize it. The mark of charcoal dust on his hand left an impression on the moon, which fled away to the sky.

The Kanikar think that the earth rests on one of the horns of an ox. When the ox feels restive on account of the heaviness of the earth, it is shifted to the other horn, when an earthquake is caused.

The Kanikar consider the serpent as the parent of the moon. The moon, it seems, once refused to give pan to the serpent and consequently the serpent shrouds the moon with its hood occasionally. This is said to be the cause of the lunar eclipse, and the solar eclipse is also accounted for similarly.

To the Kanikkar of Kallar thunder is known as Kattalanidi or the blows of the Rakshasa. The Rakshasa is supposed to have a stone tied round his loins and when he sees a maruti tree (*Terminalia paniculata*) he strikes it with the stone, and the noise thus produced is thunder. They distinguish two kinds of thunder, Achiyidi and Kuliridi. In the case of the former, trees and grass are destroyed and in the case of the latter trees are not destroyed but only their bark is severed. Lightning is the flash of light seen when the giant strikes a tree with the stone.

With the Kanikar, the rainbow is the bone of a Rakshasa. They distinguish two kinds of rainbow, "*palayavillu*" or old bow and "*puthiyavillu*" or new bow. The former is said to be faint, and the latter bright.

APPENDIX III Extracts relating to Kanikkars from the 1961 Census SCT Tables

T A B L E S C T - II
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR KANIKKARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District.	Total Population										Age 0-14			
	Total					Never Married					Total			
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Madras State	1,797	985	812	518	376	416	373	45	60	6	3	390	327	390
Tirunelveli	195	106	89	44	27	56	57	6	5	...	...	37	25	37
Kanyakumari	1,602	879	723	474	349	360	316	39	55	6	3	353	302	353

T A B L E S C T - II - (Contd.)

Name of the State/District.	Age 15-44										Age 45+			
	Total					Never Married					Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)
Madras State	409	380	125	49	263	315	16	14	5	2	186	105	3	...
Tirunelveli	50	53	7	2	39	50	4	1	...	...	19	11	...	...
Kanyakumari	359	327	118	47	224	265	12	13	5	2	167	94	3	...

T A B L E S C T - III
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR KANIKKARS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District.	Total/Rural/Urban	Total		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Educational levels			
		Total		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	T	985	812	894	764	87	46	4	2	...	...
	R	985	808	894	762	87	45	4	1	...	...
	U	...	4	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	...
Tirunelveli	T	106	89	84	80	22	9	...	...	...	...
	R	106	89	84	80	22	9	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kanyakumari	T	879	723	810	684	65	37	4	2	...	...
	R	879	719	810	682	65	36	4	1	...	...
	U	...	4	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	...

TABLE - SCT IV

Name of the State/District	Total/ Rural/ Urban	Total			Name of Religion					
		P (3)	M (4)	F (5)	Christian		Hindu		M (8)	F (9)
					M (6)	F (7)	M	F		
Madras State	T	1,797	985	812	21	10	964	802		
	R	1,793	985	808	21	10	964	798		
	U	4	...	4	...	...	...	4		
Tirunelveli	T	195	106	89	17	9	89	80		
	R	195	106	89	17	9	89	80		
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Kanyakumari	T	1,602	879	723	4	1	875	722		
	R	1,598	879	719	4	1	875	718		
	U	4	...	4	...	...	...	4		

**EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG KANIKKARS
IN MADRAS STATE**

Name of the State/District	Total Population														Illiterate									
	Males							Females							Males									
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
Madras State	985	125	142	123	78	112	219	186	812	102	115	110	62	155	163	105	894	125	115	96	61	102	212	183
Tirunelveli	106	10	6	21	23	20	7	19	89	2	9	14	15	28	10	11	84	10	6	17	15	12	5	19
Kanyakumari	879	115	136	102	55	92	212	167	723	100	106	96	47	127	153	94	810	115	109	79	46	90	207	164

T A B L E S C T—VI—(Contd).

Name of the State/District	Illiterate								Literate (without educational level)													
	Females								Males							Females						
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45 +	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
Madras State	764	102	100	80	61	154	162	105	87	27	25	15	10	7	3	46	15	30	..	1	..	..
Tirunelveli	80	2	8	6	15	28	10	11	22	..	4	8	8	2	..	9	1	8	..	..	..	..
Kanyakumari	684	100	92	74	46	126	152	94	65	27	21	7	2	5	3	37	14	22	..	1	..	..

T A B L E S C T - VI—(Contd.)

	Primary or Junior Basic										Matriculation and above									
Name of the State/District	Males						Females				Males						Females			
	Total	5—9	10—14	15—19	20—29	30—44	45 +	Total	5—9	10—14	15—19	20—29	30—44	45 +	Total	10—14	15—19	20—29	30—44	45 +
Madras State	4	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirumelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kanyakumari	4	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT-IX
MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN
PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG KANIKKARS

Where Born		Rural Urban, Unclassified	Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years																	
			Rural																	
			Total Migrants			Total Migrants		Less than 1 year		1—5 years		6—10 years		11—15 years		16 and above		Period not stated		
			P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)		
Total			261	102	159	102	156	42	54	26	62	13	17	11	7	10	16	...	...	
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.		R	199	76	123	76	123	25	30	19	53	11	17	11	7	10	16	...	...	
		U	41	17	24	17	24	17	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Born in other states of India.		R	21	9	12	9	9	...	...	7	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT-IX—(Contd.)

Where Born	Rural Urban/Unclassified	Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years													
		Urban													
		Total Migrants		Less than 1 year		1-5 years		6-10 years		11-15 years		16 and above		Period not stated	
		M (20)	F (21)	M (22)	F (23)	M (24)	F (25)	M (26)	F (27)	M (28)	F (29)	M (30)	F (31)	M (32)	F (33)
Total		...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Born in other states of India.	R	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

TABLE ST-1
MOTHER TONGUE AND BI-LINGUALISM AMONG KANIKKARS

Name of the State/District.	Total Speakers.		Mother tongue : Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to that shown horizontally			Subsidiary Language
	M	F	M	F		
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
(1)						
Madras State	344	303	...	...		
			MALAYALAM			
	641	509	TAMIL	204	Malayalam (M : 250 ; F : 204)	
Tirunelveli	106	89	TAMIL	...		
Kanyakumari	344	303	MALAYALAM	...		
	535	420	TAMIL	204	Malayalam (M : 250 ; F : 204)	

T A B L E S T - II
PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR KANIKKARS

Name of the State/District.	Total Non-working Population			Full time Students		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	882	370	512	47	36	...	...	...	...	323	476
Tirunelveli	53	29	24	...	1	...	...	...	...	29	23
Kanyakumari	829	341	488	47	35	...	...	...	...	294	453

APPENDIX IV
Mantras chanted by
Kanikkars to the accom-
paniment of Kokra

APPENDIX IV

MANTRAS CHANTED BY KANIKKARS TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF KOKRA

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The following ‘mantra’ which is in corrupt Malayalam is chanted by the Pilathi. It is supposed to be a part of the ‘mantra’ chanted by the Velanmar to cure the illness of Lord Shiva.

“ அரகரா விஷ்ணு என்ன இடது புறமும் வலது புறமும்,
இருன்னு நல்ல முத்து நல்ல தேவாரத்த மாணிக்
வாரிக் கொண்டுபோனும், [கத்தை,
இடது புறமே வழிஞ்ஞ, வலது புறமே வழிஞ்ஞ,
அலைகடலென்னும் கங்காதாளி, சமுத்திரத்திங்கில்
போடும் போல்,

இந்திரன் ஆடிய நீர், இளையவராடிய நீர்,
சந்திரனாடிய நீர், சாருமுகனாடிய நீர்,
சொர்க்கா சொர்க்க, பரமேஸ்வரி அம்மா ஆடிய நீரும்,
அந் நீரும், இந் நீரும், மூணு நீராக்க கோரி பாரி விச்ச
கை முகத்தணைக்கும் போல்,
முகத்து நிற்கும் முகசட்டி, கால விஷம், கடிய விஷம்,
கண்ணுந்தோஷம், நாவுந்தோஷம்,
கெட்டுதோஷம், பூட்டுதோஷம்,
சனியார் வஞ்சனசீவன் எப்பேரிப்பட்ட செவ்வா
தோஷங்களும், நஞ்சும் பிணியும்,
நாவும் பல தோஷங்களெல்லாம் பாடிப்
பரந்து, பன்னீயிரு காதம் வழி
போகுமாறு தக்க வண்ணம் சொல்லுந்த நல்லோ
சுவாமி !”

The following is a small extract from a song; when the full song is sung to the accompaniment of the kokra

it will even take three full days to complete. The Kanis say that after three days, even the sinking person will have a lingering life for some more time.

“ மாராமலை கணபத்யே போற்றி, வலத்தே படிதிப்
பொயியா,
சிவனும், குருவாதலிலே தின்னும், குளி நின்னும்,
நணம் பொயியா,
நம்ம புத்தி, நமக்குவரச் சென்னும், திம்ம புத்தி
துறங்கல்லோடே,
ஆயிரத்தெட்டு காலன் மாருக்கும், காணதுயிலிட்டு
நிக்கின,
காலண்ட திருப்படி சென்னும் தட்டித் தொறக்
கணும்.....”

When persons are haunted by evil spirits, the following Mantra is chanted by the Pilathi. The Kanis believe that evil spirits do not spare human beings and recklessly spoil them, once they possess them.

“ ஹோம் பிரம்மா, விஷ்ணு, மஹேஸ்வரா, மகா இருஷ்
அனுஷ்டிப்பியன்னு,
ஸ்ரீ பஞ்சவராகி தேவதா ஹோம், ஆம், ஹோம்,
புஷ்பாந்த ஆகர்ஷாயா, ஆகர்ஷாயா,
அஷ்டகோடியட்சி ஆகர்ஷாயா, ஆகர்ஷாயா,
சப்தகோடி சாகுன்னி ஆகர்ஷாயா, ஆகர்ஷாயா,
சல்கோடி பிரேதம், ஆகர்ஷாயா, ஆகர்ஷாயா,
திரிகோடி பிசாக, ஆகர்ஷாயா, ஆகர்ஷாயா,
ஆவேச, ஆவேசா, ஸ்தம்பாயா, ஸ்தம்பாயா,
சரோபாத ஸ்தம்பாயா, ஸ்தம்பாயா,
ஹங்க, ரிங்க, யம், ரம், லம், வம், ஷம், சம்
ஹீம்பல் சோஹா.”

—o—

MALA MALASARS

Introduction

The Mala Malasars belong to a very small tribe and they are found only in the Anamalai hills in this State. It is learnt that a few of them also live in the adjoining Parambikulam area in Kerala State. This tribe in some places is called by the name of Maha Malasars and in the President's List of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they are mentioned only as Maha Malasars. In the Anamalai hills they are better known as Mala Malasars than as Maha Malasars and so we may continue to call them as Mala Malasars. Though this tribe is quite different from the tribe of Malasars, it is found that the Maha Malasars have not been separately enumerated in the 1961 Census, although they have been separately named in the list. The failure to enumerate the Maha Malasars separately is perhaps due to the mistaken impression of the enumerators that both belong to the same tribe. Or, it may be because, they thought that Mala Malasars are different from Maha Malasars and so they put it under the generic name of Malasars. In an unofficial count made in 1962, their population in Top Slip area was found to be 43 and that in Valparai area about 20. So their population in this State may not exceed 65. They are found to be living in the following places in the Anamalai hills.

1. Anaikunthi
2. Varagalaiair
3. Palakadavu
4. Varattuparai
5. Nedunkundram
6. Savamalai and
7. Navaroothu

In each of these places their strength may be not exceed more than 3 or 4 households and they are never permanent in any one place. They invariably live in interior thick forests and like Muduvars, they always try to recede from the civilized neighbours. In many respects they differ from the Malasars who inhabit these areas and so it becomes necessary to deal with Mala Malasars separately in these ethnographic notes. Thurston in his book "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" had not dealt with Mala Malasars separately but had mentioned about them in his account of Malasars. After studying the Mala-

sars and the Mala Malasars it appears to us that the latter are not a sub-sect of the former. They seem to belong to a separate tribe with a different physical appearance and with varying ethnic features.

Origin

2. The Mala Malasars have no legend or story to indicate their origin. The term Malasar means people living in Malais or mountains. The term Mala Malasars means people living in high forests. The term Maha Malasars means a superior class of Malasars. It is true that Mala Malasars consider themselves superior to Malasars. It is also true that whereas Malasars live on the fringes of forests and at the foot of the hills, the Mala Malasars live in inaccessible high forests. So, either term, Mala Malasars or Maha Malasars is justified in their case and true to facts.

Habitat

3. In the Manual of Coimbatore District, the Anamalai Hills in Pollachi taluk are described as follows :—

"As the traveller approaches Pollachi the Anamalais, which have throughout been conspicuous towards the south, loom vaster and vaster, until at Pollachi itself they are seen to be magnificent and picturesque in the extreme, with towering, peaks rising from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, gigantic cliffs, noble forests, and here and there the gleam of a waterfall. Turning east along the great southern road which leads from Palghat to Udamalpet and the east coast, the same noble hills are kept in near view, while the road to the west brings the traveller immediately under the lower spurs until he reaches the Malabar district at Minkarai. The hills themselves are in several ranges, such as the Kuchmalai on the west, the Tunakkadavu on the south-west, and the Punacchi on the south".

The hill ranges come under the influence of the south-west monsoons and the rainfall is heavy. Some areas in these hill get a rainfall exceeding 100 inches. The areas around Valparai town are covered by tea and coffee plantations and the western part, around Top Slip, is covered by thick forests. The Forest

MALA MALASARS

Department have planted teak in some areas. Rosewood, Pillamaruthu, Karumaruthu, Irul, Venteak, Thadasu are some of the other timber giving species, found in these forests. Games of all sorts, from elephant, bison to pea-fowls, abound in the hills. For the past few years shooting in these forests has been prohibited. The wild animals cross the roads non-chalant. The head-works of the Parambikulam-Aliyar Project under execution lie partly in this area and partly in the adjoining Kerala State. What was at one time an impenetrable thick forest is now crossed by pucca black-topped roads, but even now there are interior spots which are difficult to reach.

The Mala Malasars live in this area. The other forest tribes living in these areas are the Kadars, the Muduvars, the Pulayars, the Malasars and the Eravalans. The Mala Malasars, though on friendly terms with all these tribes, do not like to live with any of them. They choose lonely spots, away from the dwellings of the others.

Physical appearance

4. The Mala Malasars are medium or tall in stature with well-built bodies. They are generally taller than the Malasars. They have prominent noses, with many having protruding pointed chins and thin lips. From face-cut also, they are easily distinguishable from the Malasars. In colour, they are either brown or black, but not so black as the Kadars. Their hair is black and unkempt. The male youngsters crop their hair and the older men keep on to their tufts. The women part their hair in the middle and knot it at the back. They dilate their earlobes like the Paniyans of Wynad and plug the holes, either with scrolls of some palm-leaf, or with black looking wooden round pieces. Both men and women are thin and walk fast along difficult forest pathways. If they have any load to carry, they tie it into a bundle with a cloth, and carry it on the back by tying the cloth across the shoulder. Even young babies are carried by the mothers in this fashion.

Like the Kadars of the area they resort to chipping the incisor teeth and make them pointed. The chipping is done when the boy or girl reaches the age of 10 or 12. This is considered essential as without undergoing this, the boy or the girl is considered not eligible for marriage. The way in which the chipping is done is painful and the boy or girl who had undergone it may not be able to swallow any food for three or four



A Mala Malasar woman with child.

days due to the swelling of the jaws. The head of the boy or girl to be operated is held firmly by an adult by placing it on his lap. Another adult chips the incisors one by one with the aid of a bill-hook and mallet. When questioned, the Mala Malasars are not able to explain satisfactorily as to why this painful process is undergone. They only say that it is their custom, practised from time immemorial. While Kadars have mostly abandoned this practice, the Mala Malasars are still clinging to it.

Dress and Ornaments

5. The Mala Malasars buy their dress from the bazaar at Valparai or Sethumadai. So they cannot be expected to wear any peculiar dress other than what are sold in these places. The men are found with short dhoties. They cover their body with half-arm shirts or banians. The women wear coloured sarees with pallav thrown over the left shoulder. Some wear two cut pieces with one wound round their waist and another thrown over the shoulder. The waist piece does not extend to cover the ankles. Wearing of blouses is confined to a few of the younger women. The children are mostly semi-naked. Though Mala Malasars live in the cold forests at elevations extending to 4,000, none of them is seen having any



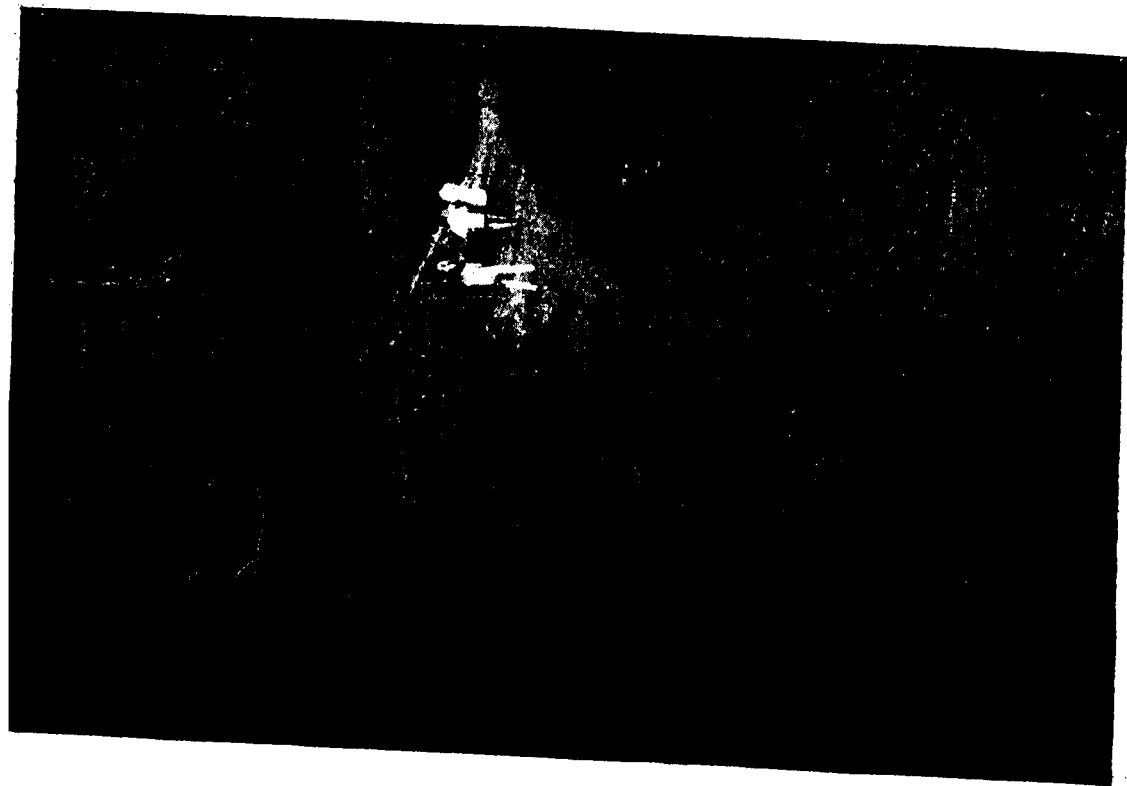
A Mala Malasar old woman heating honey to remove the impurities.



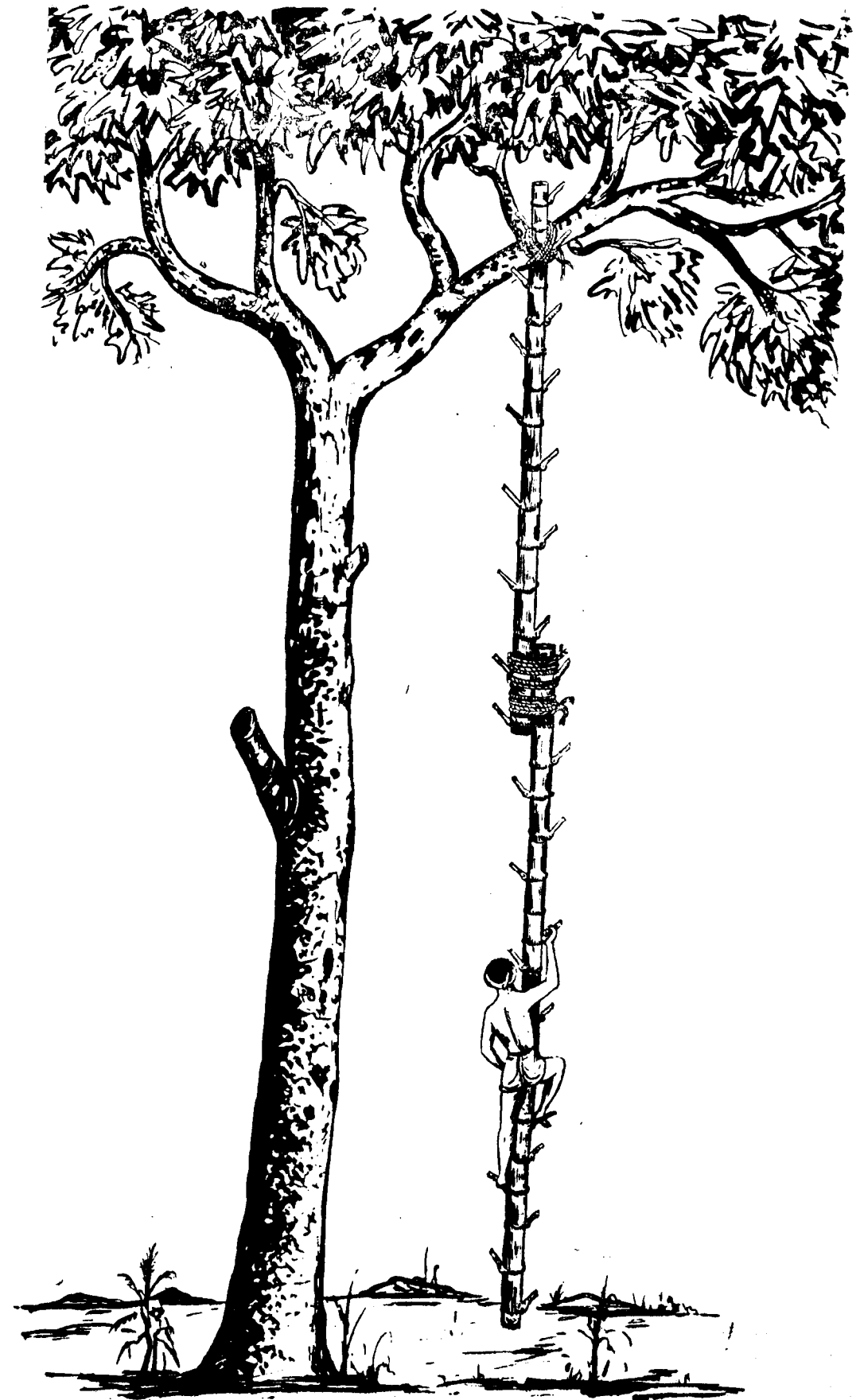
Mala Malasars.



A Mala Malasar woman.



Mala Malasar huts.



When wild elephants are seen in the vicinity, the Mala Malasars seek safety by climbing up tall trees to which ankled bamboo poles are already tied.

woollen cloth or rug. They are not fully clad to protect themselves from the cold during the winter season and yet they are able to withstand it because they invariably sleep by the side of fire.

The women-folk wear cheap base metal ornaments. In the neck they wear plenty of silver or aluminium chains. Some wear chains of glass beads. In the nose they wear nose-screws or stone-studded Besris. In the ears, besides plugging the dilated ear lobes, they also wear Koppu and Talukkus. They also wear Mayirmattis which is a white metal chain extending from the Koppus on the top of the ears to the centre of the tuft at the back. In the ankles they wear thick bangles, called Thandais. In the wrist also, they wear plenty of glass and base metal bangles. Some are seen to wear tight fitting Valais or silver rings in the upper arm. Many women have tatoo marks. In the forehead some have tatoo marks like a single Namam.

Housing

6. As mentioned before, the Mala Malasars choose interior inaccessible places within the forests for their living. The huts are built each separately in a haphazard manner under the shade of trees. They prefer to locate their huts on precipitous slopes rather than on level grounds on the top of the hills. This they say is the best place, being not easily approachable by elephants. Even while they choose sharply inclined slopes, they invariably prefer the leeward side of the hillocks so as to escape the virulent westerly winds. On such a slope, each makes a small level-ground or bench, and builds the hut. To prevent erosion of the level grounds, they fix bamboos horizontally across the edges of levelled benches.

The Mala Malasars are semi-nomadic. They shift their dwelling site frequently for various reasons. The necessity to move may either be because of elephants or because of their search for minor produces in the forests. They also shift if a death takes place in the settlement. So their huts are never permanent. They construct their huts quickly with bamboos and leaves of Odai, a reed easily available in these forests. The hut is of poor construction and it should really be called more a shelter than a dwelling. It is usually one-roomed and the roofing is made of the leaves of Odai. The walls are made of flattened bamboos. In some places these shelters have only roofing with no side walls. The roof rests on bamboo pillars.

In some of their settlements, they set apart a separate hut for the bachelors to sleep. The institution of bachelor halls is not so systematically followed in the case of Muduvars. Yet when there are more

than 2 or 3 grown up bachelors in a settlement a separate shed is allotted to them. In Varagalaiyar Mala Malasar settlement, we found one such bachelor hall. The boys have erected a small bamboo platform barely a foot high to the size of about 5 feet by 5 feet, in front of their shed. They use this platform for sleeping purposes during the non-rainy days and for gossiping before they go to sleep. They keep an open fire by the side of the platform to keep them warm.

In spite of the precautions taken to select dwelling sites which are not easily reachable by elephants, it sometimes happens that these animals come very close to the settlement in the course of their wanderings. If these are sighted frequently, the Mala Malasars decide to shift their houses to some other locality which is free from elephant menace. In these forests, they are constantly in dread of elephants. If they come to know that elephants are in the vicinity they run away from their huts and climb up tall trees and rest there for the whole night. To aid climbing up they hang up tall spiked stout bamboos from the branches of trees. Sometimes two or three such bamboos are tied together to make up the length. They use these suspended spiked bamboos as ladders and quickly reach the tree tops. They climb down only after making sure that the elephants have left the area.

Household utensils and implements

7. The Mala Malasars have very few household utensils. A few mud pots, one or two aluminium vessels, and a few bamboo household articles are all that they have in the house. They store their provisions like salt, grains etc., in stout bamboo cut pieces and used like bottles. They have also one or two bamboo or Odai baskets which they call by the name of Pooni for storing forest minor produces which they collect.



A bamboo vessel

When the Mala Malasars wander about in the forests they invariably carry a bill-hook with them. They use this weapon, for cutting shrubs, for cutting bamboos and for protecting themselves from wild animals if that is necessary. The Mala Malasar women carry iron-pointed digging-sticks to collect wild edible roots.

Health and sanitation

8. The Mala Malasars generally look healthy. They are not so much pestered down by Malaria as in old days. They appear to be fairly clean. They frequently take baths in the streams flowing in the forests. They also take water from these streams for drinking purposes. To reach the stream they may have to go far deep along the slope in which they have built the houses. They keep the inside of the houses fairly clean but since they do not apply cowdung plaster, the flooring appears muddy.

For small ailments they have their own local remedies. When someone is bitten by a cobra, they grind the root of a plant called Pambukodi and apply it on the wound. For other cut wounds they apply the juice of a herb called Appathalai, mixed with lime. For headache they apply a plaster of mustard, gallnut etc. on the forehead. For small-pox they do not have any remedies. If there is any attack of this epidemic, they run away to far off places. They do not however have any antipathy for small-pox vaccination.

Food habits

9. The Mala Malasars are never in the habit of making any cultivation. Also, they very rarely only come in possession of cash. So, for most days they do not take any cereals. Only occasionally, they buy rice or ragi from out of wages earned, when they go out on Forest Departmental works. On other days they subsist on certain edible roots which are available in plenty in these forests. The roots gathered and eaten by them are—

1. Kanal Kilangu
2. Noorakkilangu
3. Nalikkilangu
4. Nar Kilangu
5. Ayana Kilangu
6. Sengan Kilangu etc.

These they eat either after boiling or by roasting. For digging out these roots they use an iron pointed digging stick. During seasons they gather fruits like, jack, mango, wild berries etc. and devour them. Occasionally they catch fish from the small streams which flow in this area. They do not use any nets for this purpose. They block the course of the stream with pebbles and fish in the pool by using a cloth. They do not have any hunting weapons, but they eat the flesh of bisons, deer, porcupine and monkeys when they get these. They eat the flesh of these even if they are found recently killed. They observe strict taboo against eating the flesh of cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats and home reared hen. Their taboo against beef and mutton is so rigid that they would not even take milk, butter-milk, butter, ghee, etc. which they consider as animal-products of cow. If by chance they take tea or coffee from a tea-shop, they drink them without milk. Their avoidance of the products of cows and buffaloes extends even to cowdung which they do not touch for any purpose.

Literacy and education

10. Since Mala Malasars have not been separately enumerated, Census data regarding their literacy are not available. But it is ascertained that no one in this tribe is a literate. In Savamalai and Varagalaiyar settlements visited by us, no one was found having the literate qualification. They do not also send their children to any of the schools. In the Tribal Welfare Residential Schools no Mala Malasar child is studying. This is partly because of the fact that their settlements are far away from the schools and partly because of their feeling that their children should not eat along with the children of Pulayans, Malasars and Kadars whom they consider as socially inferior to them.

Language

11. The mother tongue of Mala Malasars is Tamil which they speak with a peculiar accent and drawl. Their vocabulary contains a few Malayalam words also. A newcomer would find it difficult to follow their conversation, because of the accent and drawl.

Religion

12. The Mala Malasars are essentially animists. They worship mountain peaks and rivers by symbo-

MALA MALASARS

lising them as goddesses in the shape of stones. The Mala Malasars of Valparai area worship Vanabadra Kalliamman and Banathiamman (Banaru is a river of the locality). The Mala Malasars of Top Slip area worship Perungunruamman, Ponnalamman, and Nagaroothuamman. Perungunru is a predominant peak and Nagaroothu, a rivulet of the locality.

For Banathiamman they cook Pongal in the month of Thai (mid-January). They do not give any animal sacrifice to the deities. They worship by placing flowers, coconut, fruits, pansupari etc. before the idols. They smear the idols with Kumkum.

Inheritance

13. The way in which inheritance is to take place loses its importance when there is practically no property to be succeeded. In most cases, all that a son inherits may amount to only a bill-hook. Yet when questioned, the Mala Malasars in Anamalai hills say that their inheritance is by the male line. It is said that in Kerala, they inherit by matrilineal line. This of course remains to be confirmed. Perhaps they adopt themselves to local customs.

Hierarchy

14. For each Mala Malasar settlement an elderly man is called as Moopen. He is the headman for the community in that settlement. Usually the office of this headman goes by heredity. After the death of an office-holder, his brother or son, whoever is elder, is made the Moopen. In all social matters pertaining to the community, he decides issues with the help of other male elders in the settlement. The tribals generally go by the decision of this council. There are however cases where persons, not willing to submit to the Panchayat decision decide to quit the settlement for living elsewhere. The Panchayat imposes fines for gross moral delinquencies like adultery etc. These fine amounts are immediately spent by arranging a common feast for all the people in the settlement. The Mala Malasars do not have an overall head-man for the entire tribe.

Social life

15. The Mala Malasars are a quiet people who like to live alone and to be left alone. They shun not only the civilized society but also the other tribals

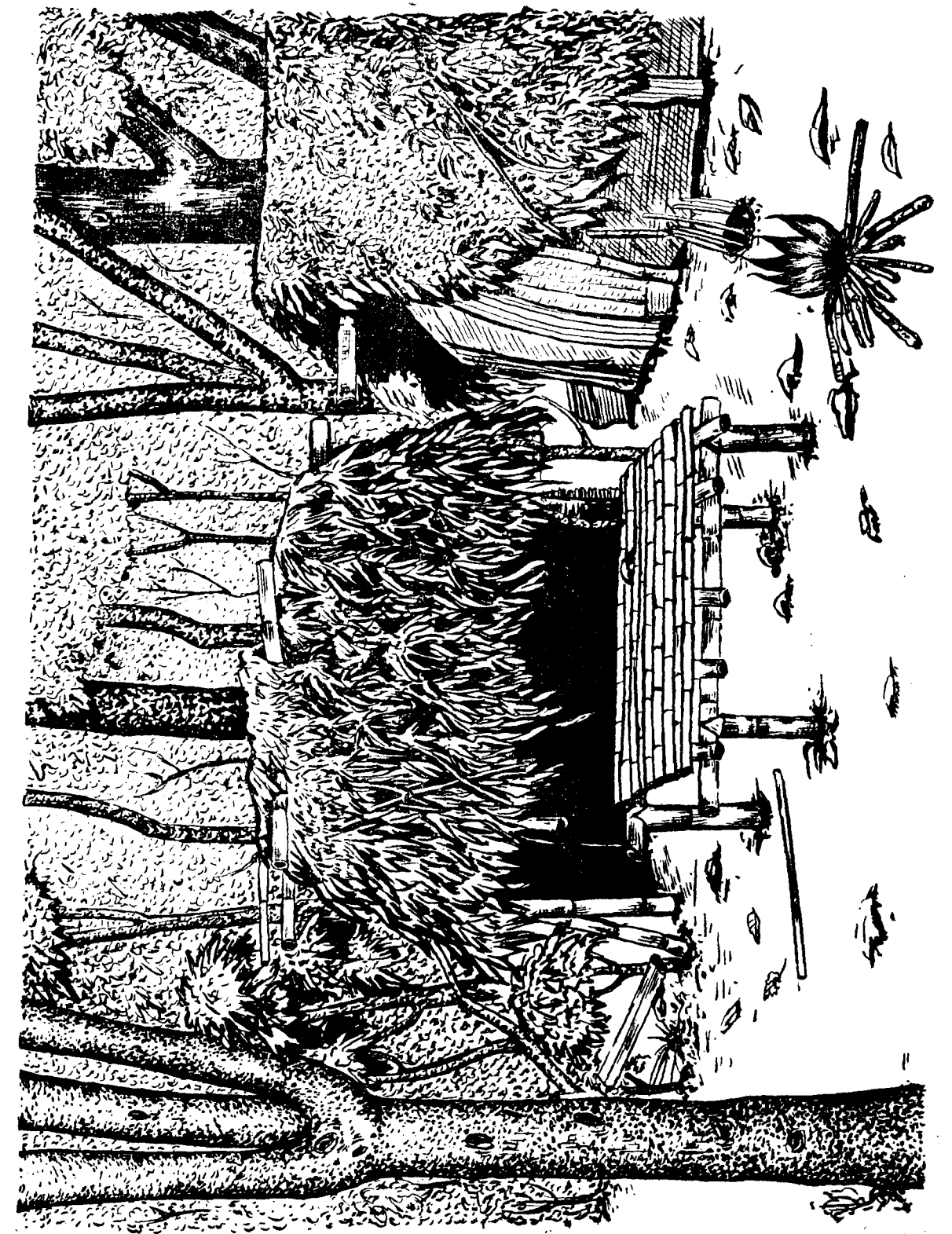
in the area. Their settlements are small. Their tribal hierarchy is neither weak nor rigid. They also shift their settlements once in a way. So, finer details about their family life, about intimacies and rivalries are not so well known to outsiders. These are settled by themselves with a spirit of give and take. Adulteries and illicit intimacies are not viewed by them so seriously. Yet as the population of each settlement is very small and confined to close relatives the incidence of any perversions is said to be very rare.

They prefer simple nucleated families. As soon as a son gets married, he is asked to live separately in a separate hut. The daughter-in-law is not expected to speak to her father-in-law. Nor is she expected to speak to her husband's elder brothers. Likewise a son-in-law is not expected to converse with his mother-in-law.

In seeking a marriage alliance, they do not give any preference for maternal uncle's daughter or for the paternal aunt's daughter. They prefer to marry from unrelated families. Marrying of sister's daughter is invariably never done. Levirate and sororate customs do not exist in this tribe. But there is no objection to marrying wife's sister after the death of the wife. There is also no objection to marrying brother's widow. The Mala Malasars are not divided into exogamous septs for the purpose of marriage alliances.

The Mala Malasars recognise divorces, but these are said to be few. These are decreed by the clan panchayat presided over by the Moopen or Moopens of the two settlements concerned. Divorces are granted only if reconciliation is not possible. Divorces are agreed to on grounds of incompatibility and infidelity. The divorced persons are free to marry whomsoever they like. Widows also can remarry. In the case of widow marriages and remarriages of divorced persons, the usual elaborate marriage ceremonies are not undergone. Even the tying of Tali is not done. In such cases the man and woman agree and live together after informing the Moopens and other elders.

The Mala Malasars believe in superstitions. They consider Wednesdays and Mondays as auspicious days. They celebrate their marriages only on Wednesdays. While going in the forest they believe that they will not be attacked by wild animals if they have in their possession a talisman in the shape of a stone called Mantrakkal.



Bachelor Hall.

MALA MALASARS

They are very strict about observing pollution. Women under menstruation are to live in a separate shed called Mulukkoodu for five days. Pollution during child-birth is observed for seven to eleven days. Girls who attain puberty are held in pollution for a month.

Birth customs

16. Mala Malasars use Mulukkoodu, the pollution shed for delivery purposes. Some elderly woman who has experience in child-delivery assists the delivering mother. On the 7th day, the mother and the child are brought home after giving a bath. Turmeric water is sprinkled over them as a mark of removing their pollution. They do not use cowdung for cleansing purposes.

The naming ceremony for the child usually takes place after a year. Formerly they were giving names like Kali, Pachai, Vellai, Nallayee, Ponnai, Kuppan etc. Now they have taken to giving highly Hinduised names like Raman, Lakshmanan, Neelakantan, Raghavan etc.

They do not celebrate ear-boring as a separate function. They combine this with any marriage ceremony or puberty ceremony that may take place in the settlement.

Puberty ceremony

17. As soon as a girl attains puberty, a separate hut is constructed and the girl ushered into it. The construction of the hut is done by the prospective groom for the girl. This hut is different from Mulukkoodu. Some old lady keeps company with the girl for nearly a month. The Mala Malasars consider that there is pollution for a month on the attainment of puberty. On the 30th day, the girl is taken home after a bath. Here also turmeric water is sprinkled on the girl. New dresses are purchased and the girl is adorned with them by the womenfolk.

Marriage ceremony

18. The usual custom is to have arranged marriages, fixed up by parents. It is said that in former days marriages by capture and marriages by service were also recognised by them. Even now it is the practice for the boy to live in the girl's house for some time which may extend from a month to one year and if the parties are satisfied, the marriage is agreed to. The Mala Malasars do not pay any bride-price for getting a bride. It is perhaps for this reason they agree to payment by service. The usual age for marriage for a

boy is from 18 to 25 and for a girl, 14 to 18. Pre-puberty marriages do not generally take place.

The marriage ceremony extends for two days. The marriage takes place in the bride's house. On Tuesday evening the groom's party goes to the bride's place. They carry with them a saree, blouse piece and some ornaments for the girl. The groom's party is received and accommodated in some other house. A Pandal is erected, and in the night the Tali-tying ceremony takes place. There is no particular shape or design for their Tali. Any necklace with a pendant will serve the purpose. The bride is brought to the pandal by her brother's wife and the groom is brought by the bride's brother. They are seated on the dais constructed out of bamboos. The groom ties the Tali round the neck of the girl. A feast is given on the occasion and after feasting, they indulge in group dancing in which the bride and the bride-groom also take part. Afterwards, they receive the blessing of the elders. Consummation takes place on the following night.

Funeral ceremonies

19. The Mala Malasars bury the dead. In olden days, it is said that the dead are taken to a remote place and left without any burial, to be eaten away by birds and wild animals. This, however, is not followed at present. They bury the body with head towards the south and face looking upwards. The body is wrapped up in a mat of Odai and then only lowered into the pit. It is not the custom of the Mala Malasars to give a bath to the deadbody before it is taken to the burialground, but they wrap it with a new cloth and apply oil to the head. On the way to the burial ground, they chant some Mantram with a small stick or stone and throw it away with the belief that any ghost that may be following the bier may be prevented.

They perform Karumathi, the last day obsequies, on the 7th day. For this they cook rice with dhal, pepper, etc., in a new pot and take it to the burial-ground and leave it there to be eaten away by birds. The party returns home after taking bath on the way in some stream. On coming home they sprinkle turmeric water and burn incense with Kunkalyam in the house.

Economy

20. The economy of Mala Malasars is simple. They have simple and frugal ways of living. The food



A Mala Malasar climbing up a tall tree after driving bamboo pegs in the trunk of the tree.

MALA MALASARS

that they require is mostly gathered by themselves in the forest. No one owns any land nor is any one interested in doing cultivation. Their aversion to do cultivation is partly out of fear of destruction by wild animals and partly out of their own disinclination to do hard manual work. They earn money-wages only when they go out occasionally on departmental works executed by the Forest Department. They are good at cutting trees and pruning them in teak plantations. An adult male gets Rs. 2/- per day and a woman gets Re. 1/- a day as wages. This they spend on buying cereals and other provisions like oil, salt, dhall etc. They also spend on betel and tobacco. They are mostly members of the Multi-purpose Tribal Welfare Co-operative Societies at Valparai and Top Slip. These Societies, having the respective Forest Range Officers as Presidents, have taken on lease the monopoly of collecting the forest minor produces. The minor produces available in these rich forests are the following:

1. Honey
2. Soapnut
3. Ginger
4. Cardamom
5. White dammer (Kunkalyam)
6. Black dammer
7. Turmeric
8. Gooseberry
9. Wax.

The collected produces are delivered to the Societies and the Mala Malasars are paid the value of these. During certain seasons they earn as much as Rs. 5 a day, by way of collection of minor produces. These they spend away in buying clothes etc. They generally

do not save and they do not also borrow from outsiders. Indebtedness among them may be said to be totally absent.

In the matter of collection of minor forest produces, they are dare-devils like Kadars. For honey gathering they follow the same methods as followed by Kadars. These are described in the ethnographic note relating to Kadars. They reach the top of tall trees by driving bamboo pegs on the trunk of the tree and by stepping over them. They reach precipitous rock crevices deep below, by climbing down along twisted rope of jungle creepers. They are practically immune to the stings of bees. While they gather honey, they also collect the beebread and eat them away. During the collection seasons, they wander about in the forests and even shift their dwellings temporarily.

They know of no handicraft other than making mats and baskets out of the stem of the reed, Odai. For this they use no implement other than their bill-hook. The mats and baskets manufactured are not sold. They are used by themselves.

Conclusion

21. The Mala Malasars are a peace loving but virile people. They are still in the food-gathering stage. While they gather food, they observe taboo in eating mutton, which is the most common flesh-food consumed by non-vegetarians. They also avoid milk and milk products. They have simple ways of living. They shun civilized society. They very much belong to the forests. They are happy only when they are in thick forests infested by elephants.

PANIYANS

Induction

is a custom among the tribes of Madras State to a fixed amount as bride-price for securing a bride. bride-price is locally known as Pariyam, Parisam, anam or Kanam. The necessity for the payment of bride-price arose partly out of scarcity for brides to some extent prevailing in the tribes, and partly as a measure of getting a security for the proper maintenance of the girl by the husband. The quantum of the bride-price varies from tribe to tribe, but it is by tradition. A recent tendency is noticed in the tribes to increase the amount when the families cannot afford it. But this is distinct from the traditional bride-price, which is still mandatory. The husband is bound to return the bride-price if the marriage is dissolved.

This is the general practice among all the tribes with the exception of one tribe in which the girl's parents receive a fixed sum every year from their son-in-law. The annual amount fixed is Rs. 3 - a small amount. If this amount is not paid for the year, the girl's parents take away the girl from her husband and she will not be permitted to return until the arrears are paid. This payment has to be continued as long as the girl is alive and as long as one of her parents is alive. This somewhat unusual custom is among the Paniyans, who live in Gudalur taluk of the Nilgiris District.

Habitat

Gudalur is a hilly taluk, forming the north western portion of the Nilgiris district. The lay of the land is undulatory. The elevation varies from about 3,000 feet to 4,500 feet. The taluk gets the benefit of the South-West Monsoon rains. The quantum of rain decreases rapidly as one goes from west to east. Whereas the western-most portion of this taluk, adjoining the Wynad area, gets an annual rainfall of about 100 inches, Gudalur town on the eastern portion of this taluk gets only about 50 inches. Nearly half the area in the taluk is covered by deciduous forests. Teak and bamboos are largely grown in these forests which provide a habitat for a variety of wild animals and birds. The best portion of the well-known Mudumalai Wild Life Sanctuary is in this taluk. It harbours wild animals like elephants, tigers, gaurs, bears, porcupine, sambhur, spotted deer etc. The areas not covered by forests are either

covered by tea and coffee plantations or cultivated with crops like paddy, millets, plantains, pepper, tapioca, etc. Of these, paddy is cultivated in levelled-up patches of marshy lowlands lying between hillocks. The paddy crop, which is mostly of the broadcast variety, is rainfed and no irrigation is practised. In the hilly slopes, plantation crops, plantains, pepper, tapioca and millets are grown. The cultivable lands are owned by Jenmis and leased to the tenants. This system has shown signs of disintegration, with tenants acquiring more rights. The cultivating castes are generally the Mandatan Chettis, the Muslims from Malabar called the Moplas, and the Syrian Christians, known locally as the Chetans. The Paniyans are employed as agricultural labourers and depend on the cultivators for their livelihood. The other hill-tribes living in this area are the Kotas, the Mullu Kurumbars, the Betta Kurumbars alias the Urali Kurumbars, and the Kattu Naickens alias Jen Kurumbars. The Paniyans have some contact with these, but they are ethnically different to the other tribes. By appearance and by temperament also they are different. The Paniyans form the biggest single tribe in the Nilgiris district with a population of 4,777.

Our study of Paniyans is based on a detailed survey conducted in Puthur Vayal, which is about 4 miles north of Gudalur town on the Mysore road.

Legend about origin

About their origin, Thurston in his book "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" has stated as follows. "A common belief, based on their general appearance, prevails among the European planting community that the Paniyans are of African origin, and descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar coast. This theory, however, breaks down on investigation. Of their origin nothing definite is known. The Nayar Janmis (landlords) say that, when surprised in the act of some mischief or alarmed, the Paniyan calls out 'Ippi'! 'Pippi'! as he runs away, and they believe this to have been the name of the country whence they came originally; but they are ignorant as to where Ippimala, as they call it, is situated. Kapiri (Africa or the Cape?) is also sometimes suggested as their original habitat, but only by those who have had the remarks of Europeans communicated to them."

PANIYANS

The Paniyan himself, though he occasionally puts forward one or other of the above places as the home of his forefathers, has no fixed tradition bearing on their arrival in Malabar, beyond one to the effect that they were brought from a far country, where they were found living by a Raja, who captured them, and carried them off in such a miserable condition that a man and his wife only possessed one cloth between them and were so timid that it was only by means of hunting nets that they were captured".

About them, the late Rao Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair in his book "Malabar series: Wynad—its people and traditions" has stated as follows; "This dark skinned and curly haired tribe of a Negroid type is found in all the amsams of Wynad. As agricultural coolies they are a necessity in a country where it is difficult to secure labourers for work in the paddy fields. The tradition about their origin is interesting. "Ippimala, a hill which no one in Wynad could localise and which is said to be somewhere near the Tamaracherry ghats was the home of the Paniyans. They were savage tribes living in caves and thick forests, coming out only at nights and feeding on paddy and other crops. The Gounden landowners finding their crops always destroyed by these black beasts managed to secure a number of them by means of nets known in Wynad as *Thandati* and in six months taught them the language and to go on errands. These domesticated Paniyans induced their friends of the forest to join them, and gradually they spread from place to place until we find them in parts of Coorg and Mysore, and in Wynad and in the hilly tracts of the neighbouring taluks in the plains".

To day the Paniyans donot know any legend about their origin. Words Ippi and Ippimala referred to by Thurston and Gopalan Nair are quite unknown. The other tribals call the Paniyans as Koottanmars, meaning a tribe brought from elsewhere. The Paniyans are found in large numbers in the adjoining areas of Malabar, i.e. Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore districts of Kerala State. It is surmised that the Paniyans found in Gudalur taluk have been brought over long time back from Wynad in Malabar by the Mandatan Chettis as agricultural labourers. Even now the Paniyans are attached more to the Mandatan Chettis than to other newly-come landowners, like Moplas, Chetans (Syrian Christians) Gounders etc.

Housing

The Paniyans of Gudalur taluk do not live in large settlements. Their houses are scattered. They pitch their huts close to the fields in which they work. The site belongs to the land owners but is given free. Such living is encouraged by the cultivators because the Paniyans can keep watch on the crops day and night. The huts are at a higher level than the field. The huts are built in a cluster and can face any direction. Some are single type isolated ones with a front open pial. Some are combined to form a line. All these are invariably single roomed with front open verandahs. The huts are erected on raised platforms. They are low-roofed. The walls are made of stout bamboo "thattis". These are plastered with mud and it helps in keeping the interior warm. The frame of the roof is made of bamboos. The thatch is of paddy straw. This is either reinforced or renewed every year. The straw is given free by the land owners. The door is flimsy and is made of bamboo. The flooring is plastered with mud. This is smeared with water once in a week to prevent the mud coming off.

The houses built by the Government for Paniyans are of a different type. The walls are made of bricks and plastered with lime mortar. The roofing consists of wooden frames and corrugated zinc sheets. In some colonies gales have blown off the roof. The interior of the walls becomes black due to smoke; the Paniyans cook their food in the centre of the interior room, with no outlet for smoke to escape.

Appearance, dress and ornaments

The Paniyans are generally short in stature and well-built. Some are however medium in height. They have round faces, and short and broad noses. Their colour varies from black to dark brown. Almost all have curly hair which they keep unkempt. In physical appearance, the Paniyans have some features suggestive of a Negroid race but this has not been established.

Their men mostly crop their hair. A few grow it longer and keep it bobbed. The women also lop their hair and keep it bobbed. The tresses at the back are not allowed to grow more than half a foot. The forelocks are clipped very closely so that the forehead is exposed. The hair-style of their women is unique



A Paniyan Couple.

and proclaims the tribe. They do not pay proper attention to hair dressing and allow it to get matted. The Paniyans help each other in cutting their hair.

In the waist, their women tie a white dirty cloth, wound round twice. This barely reaches the knees. Over this they tie tightly a red cloth around the abdomen, like a broad sash or belt. When they come out they also put on an upper piece of white cloth which they tie it over their breasts and leave the shoulders bare. Some throw the upper cloth over the left shoulder and knit it over the breast. When they are within their settlement, they lower this upper cloth to the waist level, and go about exposing their breasts. They raise this cloth when they see strangers coming to their settlement. The men are very poorly clad. Usually they do not wear anything other than a Mundu (towel) around their waist. In the cold season they wrap a blanket or a long towel around their body. The children go about without any dress worth mentioning.

Regarding ornaments, no Paniyan male or female wears gold or silver jewels. Their men do not generally wear any ornaments. One or two of them wear simple ear-rings. The womenfolk wear cheap base metal bangles and bracelets in their wrists. Nothing is worn in the ankles. Their necks are usually bare without any ornaments. One or two however, wear either a string of glass beads or a cheap white chain. In the nose, a few wear nose-screws. The make of all these ornaments is common-type. But in the ear lobes some wear a peculiar type of ornament which enables a Paniyan woman easily identifiable. For wearing this, they dilate the holes in the ear-lobes to the breaking point. In the case of a few women, the holes in the earlobes were seen to have been dilated to a

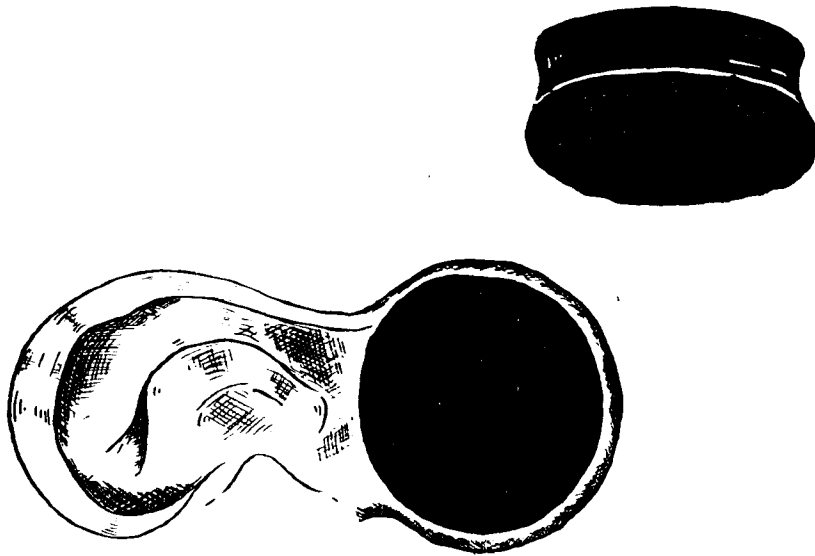
diameter of about 3 inches. In the case of one woman, it was observed that the thin band of the extended lobe has even snapped but the lady has bravely attempted to unite the loose ends by stitching them together. The ornament worn in the dilated ear-lobes is called Olai and it is manufactured by themselves. For this they make bent cylinders, black in colour, out of solidified milk of the jack tree. In the front cross section portion, the red seeds of Kunthumani (Abrus Precatorius) are embedded so as to make the ornament glitter in red colour. Actually the Kunthumani seeds are at one end black and red in another end. They are so studded as to expose the red ends. In the case of some women, scrolls of palm leaf were found to have been plugged in the holes, instead of the special type of ornament described above. The women start dilating their ear-lobes from the twelfth or thirteenth year. They first wear small scrolls and slowly increase the diameter of the scrolls, till they reach the breaking point.

Household Utensils and Implements

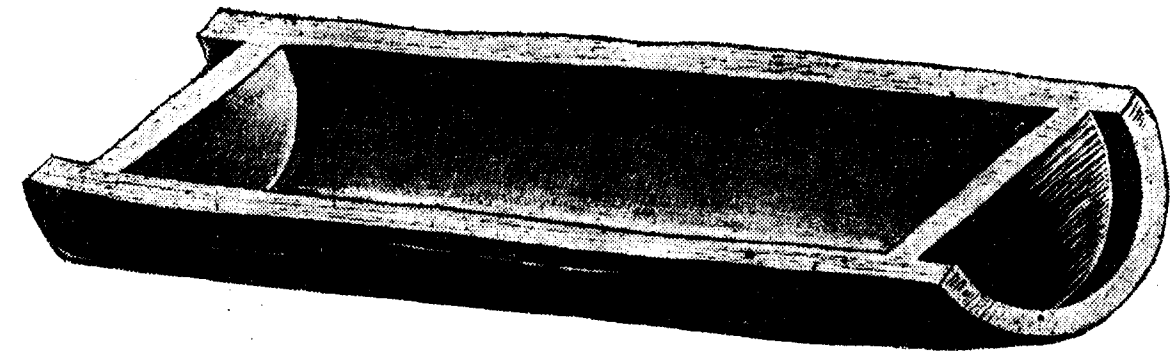
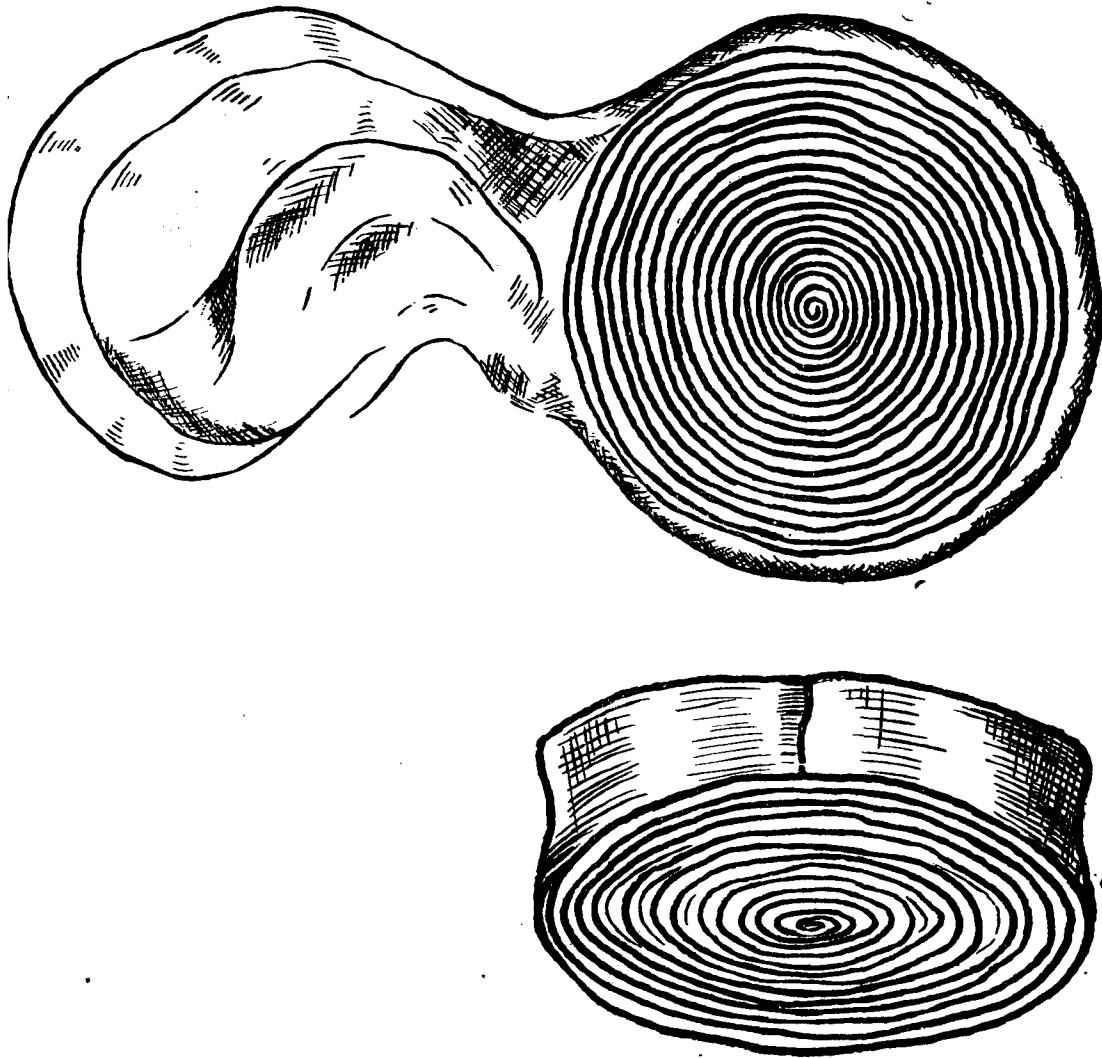
Since the Paniyans shift their dwellings when they change their masters, they keep only the minimum of household utensils. A few aluminium vessels, and one or two mud pots are sufficient for their cooking. They store their provisions like rice, salt etc., in bamboo cut cylinders used as vessels. Even for eating they use a flat cut piece of a stout bamboo as a tray. All the vessels belonging to a household can be put in a gunny or bamboo basket and carried as a head load when they move from one dwelling to another.

They do not have any implement except a bill-hook. The agricultural implements are supplied by the land

Another type of ear ornament made of the solidified milk of jack tree and the seeds of Abrus Precatorius.



Scroll of palm leaf worn as ear ornament by Paniyan women.



An eating plate from a cut piece of a stout bamboo.

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owners or Jenmis. A few possess long spears for hunting wild animals. Their musical instruments are Tudi and Seeni.

Health and Sanitation

The Paniyans, as a class, are generally dirty. The white clothes they put on are never white. With accumulation of dirt and grease, the cloth becomes grey. These are seldom washed. They do not also take baths regularly. Many are found to be suffering from scabies. They do not apply oil to their hair and comb it properly. Due to constant chewing, their teeth appear pink. It is ascertained that small-pox had taken heavy toll from the Paniyans. They try to run away when the vaccinators visit their colonies. The attention they pay to persons laid up with small-pox is not adequate. They do not also segregate the patients and prevent the spread of the disease. In environmental sanitation they are far backward. They do not know any local treatment or cures for common ailments. Recently some have taken to visiting Government Hospitals for treatment of fever and other serious ailments.

Food Habits

The staple diet of the Paniyans is rice. Those working under the Chettis are paid in the shape of rice and those who take cash wages buy their rice requirements, daily, from the nearest provision shop. They insist on daily payment of their wages, even if disbursement is delayed till 7 or 8 P.M. After receiving the wages, they proceed to the provision shop, buy the rice, which is the coarsest available in the shop, return to their settlement, and start cooking. By the time the food is ready, it would be midnight and they usually go to sleep late in the night. The children, who would have gone to sleep by then, are woken up and fed. The left-over cooked rice or gruel is preserved and eaten on the next day for the morning and midday. This daily routine of walking three or four miles to buy rice late in the evening goes on whether there is rain or not, and whether there is moon-light or not. If one does not earn any wages for the day, the prospect of starvation of the family for the night and for the morrow has to be faced, unless some one advances money on the pledge of his services for the next day.

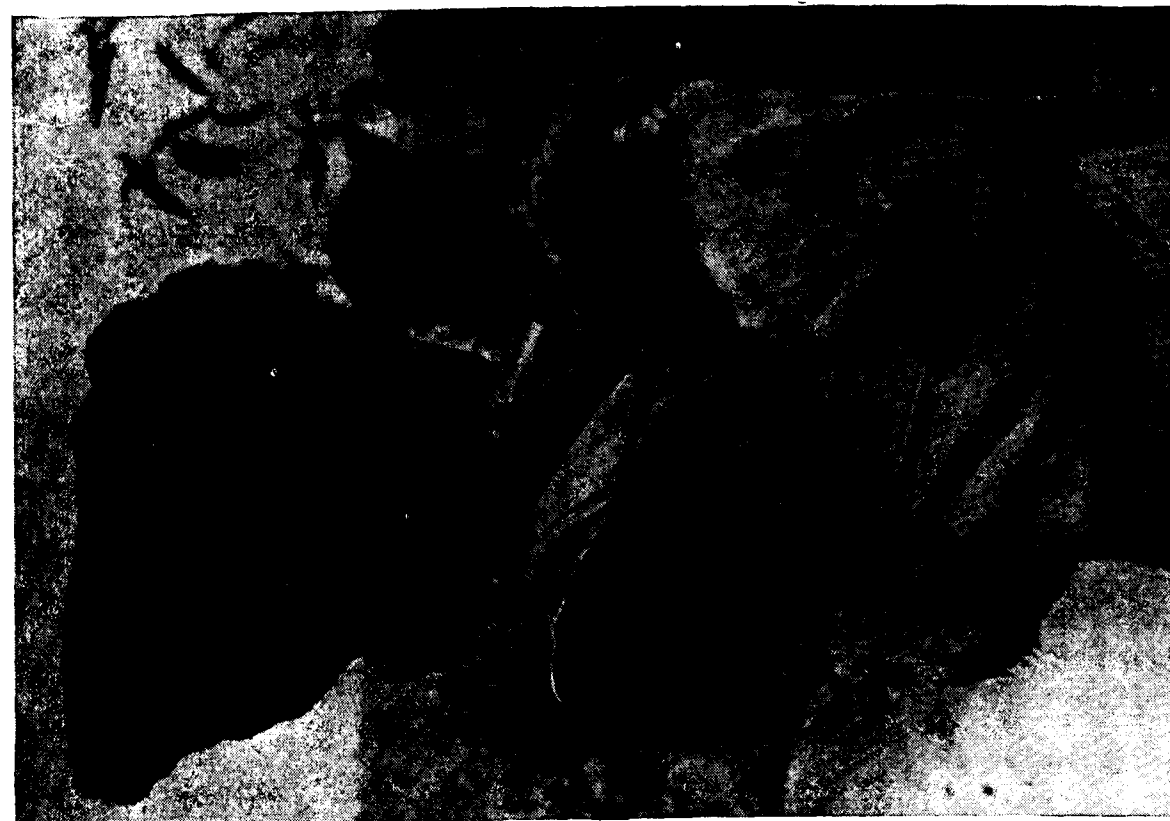
The Paniyans take their food in the form of Kanjee (gruel). This, in a semi solid form, is drunk with

some vegetable curry or dried fish. The adults who go for work in the fields invariably take a cup of tea in tea-shop and are satisfied with it in the morning. Tea drinking is widely prevalent. Their intake of nutritious food like milk, pulses, eggs, mutton, vegetables etc., is poor. The only vegetable which they eat is green plantains. They sometimes catch fish or crabs and eat them. They are particularly fond of crabs, which they believe will prevent the hair turning grey. They take most kinds of flesh food except beef. If there is facility and if there is time they go out into the forests and kill a wild boar or deer. For this they use no other weapon other than long spears; they are accredited as good marksmen. They eat black monkeys, squirrels, rabbits etc., caught in the forest.

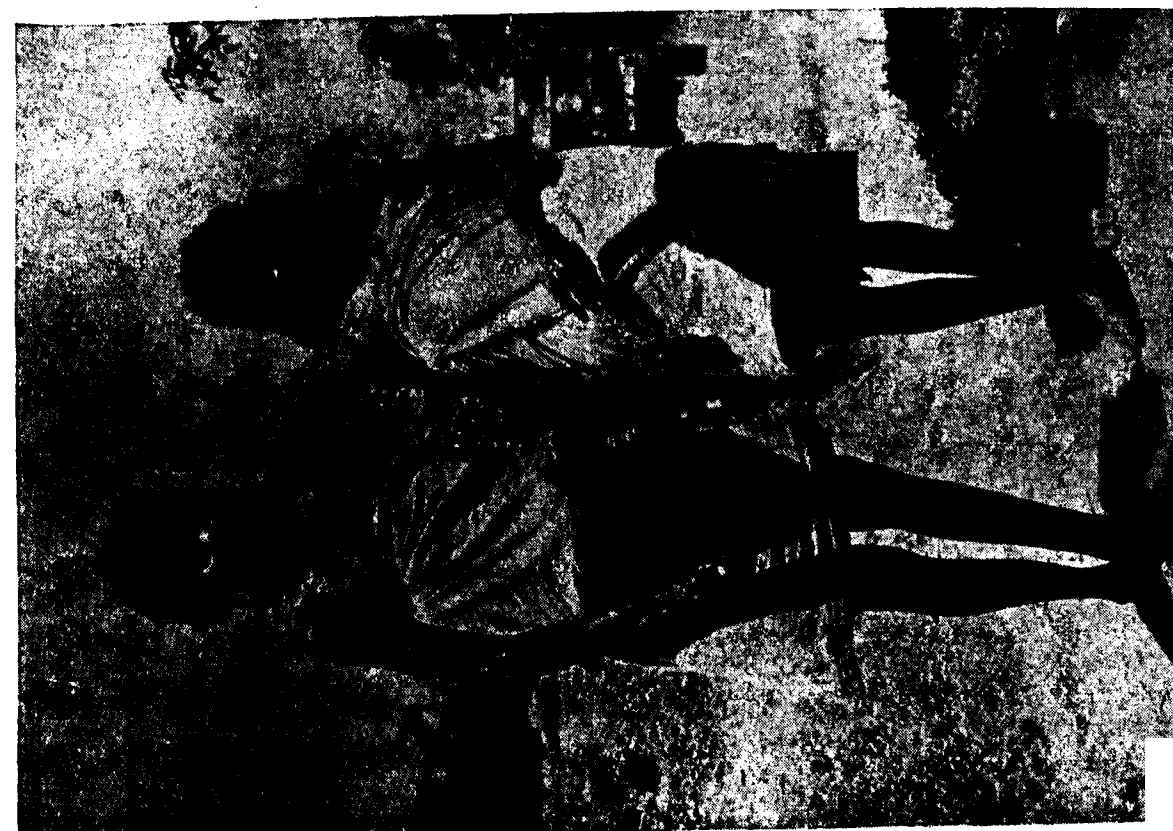
Chewing of pan and tobacco is widely prevalent among the adults. They believe that hunger could be staved off by chewing. They would rather forego a meal than pansupari and tobacco.

Religion

In the 1961 Census all the Paniyans except two females have been returned as Hindus (vide SCT Table IV in Appendix II). The two excepted cases of non-Hindu Paniyan females are recorded as Muslims. It is likely that the two Paniyan females have married two Mopla Muslims and become themselves Muslims. One or two households in Gudalur are learnt to have embraced Christianity, but these persons have not been returned as Paniyans in the Census count, probably under the mistaken impression that convert Paniyans do not come under Scheduled Tribe. As regards the Paniyans returned as Hindus, the religion that they profess is far from the Brahminical type of Hinduism. They should strictly be classified as animists. They worship Kattu Bagavathi. They believe in devil-worship, witchcraft, and sorcery, and sometimes indulge in hectic devil-dances. They do not celebrate Hindu festivals like Onam, Vishu etc., but they observe Ucharal falling in the month of Magaram. The District Gazetteer of the Nilgiris says as follows: "The Paniyans: Chief goddess is Kattu Bhagavathi of the woods. Shrines in her honour are to be found at most centres of the caste and contain no image, but a box in which is kept the clothing and jewels presented to her by the devout. An annual ceremony lasting a week is held in her honour at which the 'Komaran' and a kind of priest called the 'Nolambukaran' take the chief parts. The former dresses in the goddess,



A Paniyan woman with child on the move from one village to another.



Paniyan women.



A Panian family on the move.



Panian women. Their dress and hair - style may be noted.

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clothing and the divine afflatus descends upon him and he prophesies both good and evil".

Language

The language of the Paniyans is an impure form of Malayalam mixed with Tamil words. In the Census returns it is returned as Paniya Basha. It is actually a corrupt form of Malayalam spoken with a nasal ending. From Table ST I, in Appendix II, it is seen that 4,733 out of 4,779 Paniyans are returned as having Paniya Basha as mother tongue, 11 under Malayalam, 24 under Tamil and 11 under Telugu. They are able to converse freely with others either in Malayalam or in Tamil.

The language is closely allied to Malayalam. The Paniyans speak in short sentences, A sample of their language is given below.

English	In Paniya Basha.
Mother	<i>Amma</i>
Father	<i>Appa</i>
Grand father	<i>Uttappen</i>
What is your name?	<i>Perennay?</i>
Had your meal?	<i>Kanji Kudichecho?</i>
Are you married?	<i>Pennu Kattiyulaya?</i>
How many children have you?	<i>Ettanai Makal?</i>
What is your occupation?	<i>Enda Pani?</i>

Tribal Hierarchy

Each Panian settlement, or a group of closely settlements, has a headman, who goes under the name of Kuttan. He is also called in some places as Mudali, meaning the first man. The Paniyans living in the settlement are subject to his social discipline. If there is any dispute, or a move for divorce, he decides the issue with the help of a caste-Panchayat called "Kottani". Reported cases of adultery are few. When the Panchayat is seized of the matter, it levies a fine which normally does not exceed more than Rs. 7-00. The fine amounts collected are used for conducting festivals. Cases of divorces disposed of by the Panchayat are also few. The office of the Kuttan is usually a nominated one and in olden days

the nomination was done by the Jenmi. Now the Paniyans themselves nominate the most influential person among them as the Kuttan. Cases which cannot be amicably settled by themselves in the Panchayat are taken to the Jenmi or Chetti under whom they work, for a verdict.

Succession

The District Gazetteer of the Nilgiris says that the Paniyans follow the Makkathayam law of inheritance i.e., by the male line. Rao Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair, says that the Paniyans in Wynad follow the Marumakkathayam law, i.e., by the female line. Actually we found that the Paniyans in Gudalur taluk follow no definite rules of inheritance. In most cases, it turns out that there are no properties to be bequeathed. In the few cases in which there is some piece of land or house to be inherited, they mostly follow a via media system in which both sons and daughters get shares, according to circumstances. In one or two cases the sons inherit the entire property.

Population trends and Characteristics

According to Table SCT I, in Appendix II, the population of the Paniyans in the Nilgiris district is 4,777 consisting of 2,468 males and 2,309 females. One Panian male has been censused in each of the districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli. It is very doubtful whether these solitary persons in Madurai and Tirunelveli districts are really Paniyans. It is likely they belong to Palliyans because the two Paniyans returned from these two districts are found to be boys in the age group 0-14. The population of the entire tribe was recorded as 33,282 in 1891. The bulk of their population is in Malabar district which was then part of Madras State. In the border areas between Wynad and Gudalur taluks, there are frequent movements of Paniyans from one side to another and so a study of their population increases in Gudalur taluk is not of much significance.

Their sex-ratio in Gudalur taluk comes to 936 females per 1,000 males. This, though low, is the general pattern found in most other tribes of South India. In Puthur Vayal, taken up for special study, the sex-ratio of the Paniyans was found to be 1,080 which is different from the general trend.

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The percentage distribution of their population in broad age-groups is as follows :

0—14	...	43.7%
15—34	...	29.3%
35—59	...	19.8%
60+	...	7.2%

From the above, it is seen that the quantum in the age group 0—14 is slightly higher than the normal. This may probably be because of the improved health conditions in the area. Even in Puthurvayal, a higher distribution is found in the age group 0—14 as seen below :

0—14	...	41.3%
15—34	...	32.7%
35—59	...	20.2%
60+	...	5.8%

Economy

The chief occupation of the Paniyans is agricultural labour. They know ploughing, puddling, transplantation, weeding, and harvesting. Both men and women take part in these operations. From the Census returns, it is seen that 55.2% of their population are workers. Out of the workers, the female workers are as high as 46.9% which is the highest for any Scheduled Tribe in the State. The various important occupations of the Paniyans, as seen from the Census Table SCT VII, in Appendix II, are the following :

Agricultural labourers	...	1,940
General labourers	...	320
Plantation labourers	...	179
Cultivators	...	57
Basket Weavers	...	69

Among all the Scheduled Tribes of Madras, the Paniyans have the highest percentage of workers under the category of "Agricultural labour". In Puthurvayal, 68 out of a population of 104 Paniyans are seen to be workers (vide Table 3 in Appendix III). 48.3% of them are females. Except for the two persons who do cultivation of their own land, all the other Paniyans in this village earn their livelihood by going out as agricultural labourers, either in wet fields or in dry lands or in plantations. Only one out of the

sixteen households in the village owns about 2 acres of dry land. Those who go for agricultural labour are paid at the rate of Rs. 1.50 for a man and Re. 1.00 for a woman. In the evening, soon after they get their daily wages they go to the nearest provision shop and buy their daily requirements of rice, pulses, betel, arecanut, tobacco etc. Table 4 in Appendix III shows the income pattern of the households. Compared to other tribes in the area the Paniyans seem to earn more in terms of rupees. How they spend away the money is shown in Table 5 in Appendix III. It is seen that 80% of their expenditure is on food; 10% on clothing and 5% on chewing.

In some places a few Paniyans are employed under the Chettis on a permanent basis. The contract for employment as farm servant is normally for a year commencing from the month of May. The Paniyans employed on a permanent basis, are given land for erecting huts. They are paid monthly in the form of paddy and a small cash. Usually the Paniyans take loans from their masters and this virtually fixes them under the old masters for the succeeding year also.

Old accounts say that Paniyans are bought and sold with the land to which they were attached as slave-labourers. Writing about the Paniya labour contract, Sri A. Aiyappan in his Report on the Socio-economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the province of Madras, has stated as follows:— "The traditional practice in Wynad for the recruitment of Paniya labour is of some interest and, therefore, is described at some length. The most important Hindu temple in Wynaad is known as "Vallur Kavuv" near Manantoddy. At the time of the annual festival of this temple in the month of May, vast concourses of Paniyas assemble in the temple maidan. On this day, farmers of Wynaad and other employers of labour also assemble. Groups of Paniyas can be found engaged in active negotiations with their prospective employers discussing the amount of advance to be paid for each group. The employers pay the Paniyas lump sum advances amounting approximately to Rs.30/- for a family and the Paniyas sign a promissory note for the advance. This contract binds the party, who has received the advance to work for the employer for a period of one year, i.e. till the eve of the next festival at Vallur Kavuv. The money advanced is not usually repayable, but is only a guarantee of the service of the Paniyans for the year. If the employer is not tactful, he may, one fine morning, find the Paniyas absconding; and, if this happens at the

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beginning of the agricultural season, the employer will have great trouble in getting labourers for the season."

The above conditions described in 1947 have now eased to some extent in Gudalur taluk. The Paniyans find, that compared to the Chetans and the Moplas, who employ them, the Chettis are more generous. Though the Paniyans are capable of hard work, they are not attached to their employers and do not give the maximum output. They say that they are not paid sufficiently by the Chetans. The Chetans on the other hand say that they are forced to pay less because the outturn of work by the Paniyans is far less. There is mutual mistrust and yet the Paniyans have necessarily to work most often under the Chetans and the Chetans in turn have no other alternative than to employ the Paniyans.

The Paniyans know all the agricultural operations relating to both wet and dry lands. Plenty of waste, and shrubby lands are also available for cultivation. Why then are they not engaged in personal cultivation? Instead of the murmur and distrust against their employers, they could whole-heartedly work in their lands and see to their own better economical emancipation. The problem, if examined in detail, may turn out to be one of lack of initial capital for investment in reclamation of land and make it fit for cultivation. A land colonization scheme may perhaps succeed if it is properly formulated to suit their temperament.

Social life

The social life of the Paniyans centres round the family to which they are more attached than most other tribes. Both the husband and wife go for work and when they return the husband goes for purchasing the provisions, while the wife makes preparations for cooking. There is division of labour between them and they enjoy equal rights in the family. When once a man and a woman are bonded together as husband and wife, they are generally faithful to each other. Adultery and divorces are rare. In Puthurvayal out of 27 first marriages relating to males, only one ended in divorce and out of 28 first marriages relating to females only two ended in desertion (Vide Table 2 in Appendix III).

The Paniyans are not divided into exogamous septs for the purpose of marriage alliances. In seeking a

bride, they give first preference to the maternal uncle's daughter. They rarely seek alliance of the paternal aunt's daughter and they do not marry sister's daughter at all. From Table 10 in Appendix III, it is seen that out of 33 marriages in Puthurvayal, 15 relate to marrying maternal uncle's daughters, one to paternal aunt's daughter and nothing in the case of sister's daughter. The remaining 17 cases relate to marrying unrelated brides. Sororate and levirate customs do not exist among them.

The Paniyans marry their daughters only after they attain puberty. The age of marriage of girls ranges from 15 to 20. From Table 8, it is seen that no girl below 14 is married and out of 5 girls in the age group 15 to 19, three remain unmarried. The age of marriage for the boys is about 20.

As soon as a boy is married, he sets up a separate family in a newly erected hut. But if the parents are aged and required to be looked after, they continue to live as a joint family. From Table 2 in Appendix III it is seen that out of 16 families in Puthurvayal 7 relate to joint families.

In this tribe, polygamy is very rare. Widow marriages are permitted and practiced widely. When the husband dies, the widow has to wait till a ceremony called *Kakapula* is performed to propitiate the departed soul before she can contract another marriage.

The Paniyans call bride-price as *Kanam*. The traditional bride-price to be paid by the groom to the girl's parents is Rs.7.50. In recent times higher amounts are demanded and paid. Apart from *Kanam*, paid at the time of contracting the marriage, the bridegroom has to pay every year a small amount to the wife's parents. This amount is called *Thalapattam*. It is about Rs. 3 and it has to be paid in the month of Kumbham. This has to be paid by the husband, year after year, till both the wife's parents are dead. Failure to pay may entail recall of the wife by her parents. The husband may then have to pay off the arrears and bring her back. Failure to pay may even be a cause for divorce. To our knowledge, no other tribe in South India is known to be collecting such lease amounts.

Birth customs

The delivery usually takes place in the husband's house. Pollution of the delivered mother is observed

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about a fortnight. For the first 39 days, the father and the male relations are not permitted to touch the child. On the 40th day the child is given a purification bath. A feast to relatives is not given on this day. Name for the child is usually given after a year.

Puberty

Soon after a girl attains puberty a separate little hut is erected a little away from the dwellings and she is ushered into it. She is not allowed to be seen by others. She is to remain in that hut for 7 days. On the 8th day she is given a bath and taken home. The hut is not dismantled and burnt, as is the custom with many other castes. Instead, the old cloth she was wearing is burnt. It is usual for the relatives to present small cash amounts to the girl on the 8th day, after the feast.

Marriage customs

In arranging marriages, the initiative should come from the boy's side. The girl's father does not give consent at once. After three or four visits only, consent is given. After the consent is given, a day is fixed for the marriage. In fixing the day, they do not have any consideration of an auspicious day. A token amount of bride-price is given by the boy's father and this completes the betrothal. In some places, it is customary for the boy to visit the girl's house with a bundle of firewood, once in 2 or 3 days, till the marriage day.

For the actual marriage which takes place in the girl's place, all relatives are invited. The girl's party arrives on the previous evening, after sunset. A pandal is erected and in the presence of the invited relatives, the balance of the bride-price or *namam* has to be publicly given to the bride's father and guardian. On the marriage day, the boy and the girl are asked to stand on two small token bags of paddy and water poured on the couple. Then they are presented with new clothes. The girl's father has to give clothes to the boy and vice versa. Then the boy's mother or sister ties a string of beads in the neck of the girl. It has to be noted that Paniyans do not have anything like *Tali* to be tied by the bridegroom around the neck of the girl. After the presentation of clothes to the bride and bridegroom, a feast is given to all the relatives, who for this are expected to make small cash presents to the host. On the next day, the girl's father takes the couple to his house and feeds them sumptuously. The nuptial feast usually takes place after the 3rd day.

Funeral ceremonies

Soon after a death takes place, relatives are sent for. The dead body is given a bath, decorated and taken to the burial ground in a bier of bamboo and rolled in a mat. The Paniyans follow a peculiar way of making the burial. A deep pit, usually to a depth of about 5 feet, is dug north-south. Inside this pit, on the western side earth is caved in and the corpse, rolled in a mat, is placed in the cave. A bamboo screen or *thatti* is then placed to close the cave and the original pit dug is then filled up with earth. In burying the dead-body, the head is placed towards south, with face upwards. After burying the body, a small quantity of *Kanji* (rice gruel) is placed and covered up with earth. The belief in making this is that the dead person may not leave the place with hunger.

Pollution for the dead is observed for seven days. During this period, no one resides in the house in which the death took place. Members of the bereaved family are taken to relatives' houses closeby and fed. For seven days *Kanji*, put on a leaf, is placed daily on the roof of the house and the *Komaran*, who is like a priest, would clasp his hands and shout to call the dead soul to come and partake the meal. If the crows come and eat it, it would be presumed that the departed soul has taken it.

In the month of Magaram a ceremony called *Kakapula* is performed for propitiating all the dead persons who died within 3 years. The ceremony is performed by all the affected families joining together. For this the relatives are invited. There would be a feast and all the males would then join and indulge in group dances to the accompaniment of *Sendai*, a kind of drum, and *Seeni*, a kind of pipe.

Conclusion

It is very difficult to study the Paniyans in detail. When they are questioned minutely they get suspicious and give evasive answers. The suspicion they entertain on the investigator is part of the general mistrust they have towards all civilized people. The fault is not entirely theirs. It may be because they have been driven to that state of mind by those who came to occupy the land which they thought was theirs. But for them, agriculture in that difficult terrain is rather impossible. They know all the agricultural operations. Yet, very few among them are engaged in personal cultivation. They are not easily responsive for ameliorative measures. They have to be approached cautiously. It may take a long time before they reach the level of other castes in social and economical advancement.

PANIYANS

EXTRACT FROM THE DISTRICT GAZETTEER OF THE NILGIRIS.

The Paniyans are a short, dark-skinned tribe with broad noses and such curly hair that they are popularly (but erroneously) supposed to be of African descent. They speak a corrupt patois of Malayalam, live in dirty little huts made of bamboo wattle plastered with mud and thatched with grass, and follow the Makkatayam law of inheritance. Each family is attached to some Chetti household and works on its fields, and in past times they were little better than agrestic slaves. The advent of the coffee-planter did much to liberate them, but they are still usually poor, unkempt and unclean. They are clever at netting (and poisoning fish, and daring at spearing tigers in the manner described on page 30. They have hereditary caste headmen (called Kuttans or Janmis) at all the larger centres, whose consent to all marriages is necessary.

When a youth is betrothed, he is expected to bring his fiancée a bundle of firewood at frequent intervals until the wedding-day. Wedding takes place in the bride's house and the Kuttan officiates. He invests the girl with a cloth with four annas knotted in the corner and a bead necklace, both provided by the bridegroom, throws water at the couple's feet and sprinkles some round them to avert the evil eye. The bride-price being duly paid, the girl's father hands her over and the Kuttan then solemnly adjures the young husband neither to starve nor bully her and turning to the father, promises that should either occur he will get the girl back and return her to her parents. Relations between a married woman and her husband's brothers and cousins are loose. Widow re-marriage is allowed.

Young folk are buried and the rest cremated. Graves are dug in an unusual way: at the bottom of a trench some five feet deep and running due north and south a chamber big enough for the body is excavated in the western wall and the body, wrapped in a mat, is laid therein. A little cooked rice for the spirit is added and the trench filled in. For seven days afterwards the deceased's relations abjure meat and fish, and a little gruel is placed at some distance from this grave by the Kuttan, who claps his hands as a signal to the evil spirits round about to come and be fed. Mourning ceremonies are held in the month of Magaram (January-February), when those who have lost relatives during the year cook their food in a special shed apart from the village and eat neither flesh nor fish. On the last day of the month they assemble at the shed and the Kuttan or janmi walks round it three times, holding in his crossed arms two winnowing sieves containing paddy which he eventually deposits in the middle of it. Then a komaran, a kind of professional soothsayer, appears with a new cloth about his brows, his body smeared with rice-flour and ghi, and bells on his legs to scare away the evil spirits, and advancing with short steps and rolling eyes, staggers to and fro sawing the air with two small sticks, and gradually works himself, into a state of frenzy which ends in his collapsing on the ground. The assembled mourners then question him as to the reason why their relations were taken from them and his disjointed gasps are accepted as a divine answer.

He eventually recovers, and taking the bells off his legs holds them in his hands and to the accompaniment of their jingling chants a funeral lament of which no man knows the meaning and which lasts till dawn.

The Paniyans' chief goddess is Kattu Bhagavati or 'Bhagavati of the woods'. Shrines in her honour are to be found at most centres of the caste and contain no image, but a box in which is kept the clothing and jewels presented to her by the devout. An annual ceremony lasting a week is held in her honour at which the Komaran and a kind of priest called the Nolambukaran take the chief parts. The former dresses in the goddess' clothing and the divine afflatus descends upon him and he prophesies both good and evil.

The men's dress consists of a waist-cloth. As a defence against rain they wear an odd covering 'like an inverted coal-scoop' made of split reeds woven together with arrowroot leaves. The women wear one cloth which they throw over the shoulders and knot across the breast, much base-metal jewellery, and sometimes in their distended ear-lobes a big wax disc set all round with the bright, red and black seeds of the *Abrus Precatorius* which the goldsmiths of the plains use as weights.

EXTRACT FROM "CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA" BY THURSTON—VOLUME VI.

PANIYAN

The Paniyans are a dark-skinned tribe, short in stature, with broad noses, and curly or wavy hair, inhabiting the Wynad, and those portions of the Ernad, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Kottayam taluks of Malabar, which skirt the base of the ghats, and the Mudanad, Cherangod, and Namblakod amshams of the Nilgiri district.

A common belief, based on their general appearance, prevails among the European planting community that the Paniyans are of African origin, and descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar coast. This theory, however, breaks down on investigation. Of their origin nothing definite is known. The Nayar Janmis (landlords) say that, when surprised in the act of some mischief or alarmed, the Paniyan calls out 'Ippi'! 'Ippi'! as he runs away, and they believe this to have been the name of the country whence they came originally; but they are ignorant as to where Ippimala, as they call it, is situated. Kapiri (Africa or the Cape?) is also sometimes suggested as their original habitat, but only by those who have had the remarks of Europeans communicated to them. The Paniyan himself, though he occasionally puts forward one or other of the above places as the home of his forefathers, has no fixed tradition bearing on their arrival in Malabar, beyond one to the effect that they were brought from a far country, where they were found living by a Raja, who captured them, and carried them off in such a miserable condition that a man and his wife only possessed one cloth between them, and were so timid that it was only by means of hunting nets that they were captured.

The number of Paniyans, returned at the Census, 1891, was 33,282, and nine sub-divisions were registered; but, as Mr. H.A. Stuart, the Census Commissioner, observes:—"Most of these are not real, and none has been returned by any considerable number of persons". Their position is said to be very little removed from that of a slave, for every Paniyan is some landlord's 'man'; and, though he is, of course, free to leave

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his master, he is at once traced, and good care is taken that he does not get employment elsewhere.

In the fifties of the last century, when planters first began to settle in the Wynad, they purchased the land with the Paniyans living on it, who were practically slaves of the land-owners. The Paniyans used formerly to be employed by rich receivers as professional coffee thieves, going out by night to strip the bushes of their berries, which were delivered to the receiver before morning. Unlike the Badagas of the Nilgiris, who are also coffee thieves, and are afraid to be out after dark, the Paniyans are not afraid of bogies by night, and would not hesitate to commit nocturnal depredations. My friend, Mr. G. Romilly, one whose estate my investigation of the Paniyans was mainly carried out, assures me that, according to his experience, the domesticated Paniyan, if well paid, is honest, and fit to be entrusted with the responsible duties of night watchman.

In some localities, where the Janmis have sold the bulk of their land, and have consequently ceased to find regular employment for them, the Paniyans have taken kindly to working on coffee estates, but comparatively few are thus employed. The word Paniyan means labourer, and they believe that their original occupation was agriculture as it is, for the most part, at the present day. Those, however, who earn their livelihood on estates, only cultivate rice and ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) for their own cultivation; and women and children may be seen digging up jungle roots, or gathering pot-herbs for food. They will not eat the flesh of jackals, snakes, vultures, lizards, rats, or other vermin. But I am told that they eat land-crabs, in lieu of expensive lotions, to prevent baldness and grey hairs. They have a distinct partiality for alcohol, and those who came to be measured by me were made more than happy by a present of a two-anna piece, a cheroot, and a liberal allowance of undiluted fiery brandy from the Meppadi bazar. The women are naturally of a shy disposition, and used formerly to run away and hide at the sight of a European. They were at first afraid to come and see me, but confidence was subsequently established, and all the women came to visit me, some to go through the ordeal of measurement, others to laugh at and make derisive comments on those who were undergoing the operation.

Practically the whole of the rice cultivation in the Wynad is carried out by the Paniyans attached to edoms (houses or places) or devasoms (temple property) of the great Nayar landlords; and Chettis and Mappillas also frequently have a few Paniyans, whom they have bought or hired by the year at from four to eight rupees per family from a Janmi. When planting paddy or herding cattle, the Paniyan is seldom seen without the kontai or basket-work protection from the rain. This curious, but most effective substitute for the umbrella-hat of the Malabar coast, is made of split reeds interwoven with 'arrow-root' leaves, and shaped something like a huge inverted coal-scoop turned on end, and gives to the individual wearing it the appearance of a gigantic mush-room. From the nature of his daily occupation the Paniyan is often brought in contact with wild animals, and is generally a bold, and, if excited, as he usually is on an occasion such as the netting of a tiger, a reckless fellow. The young men of the villages vie with each other in the zeal which they display in carrying out the really dangerous work of cutting back the jungle to within a couple of spear-lengths of the place

where the quarry lies hidden, and often make a show of their indifference by turning and conversing with their friends outside the net.

Years ago it was not unusual for people to come long distance for the purpose of engaging Wynad Paniyans to help them in carrying out some more than usually desperate robbery or murder. Their mode of procedure, when engaged in an enterprise of this sort, is evidenced by two cases, which had in them a strong element of savagery. On both these occasions the thatched homesteads were surrounded at dead of night by gangs of Paniyans carrying large bundles of rice straw. After carefully piling up the straw on all sides of the building marked for destruction, torches were, at a given signal, applied, and those of the wretched inmates who attempted to escape were knocked on the head with clubs, and thrust into the fiery furnace.

The Paniyans settle down happily on estates, living in a settlement consisting of rows of huts and detached huts, single or double storied, built of bamboo and thatched. During the hot weather, in the unhealthy months which precede the advent of the south-west monsoon, they shift their quarters to live near streams, or in other cool, shady spots, returning to their head quarters when the rains set in.

They catch fish either by means of big flat bamboo mats, or, in a less orthodox manner, by damming a stream and poisoning the water with herbs, bark, and fruit, which are beaten to a pulp and thrown into the water. The fish, becoming stupified, float on the surface, and fall an easy and unfairly earned prey.

It is recorded by Mr. H.C. Wilson that the section of the Moyar river "stretching from the bottom of the Pykara falls down to the sheer drop into the Mysore ditch below Teppakadu is occupied principally by Carnatic carp. In the upper reaches I found traces of small traps placed across side runners or ditches, which were then dry. They had evidently been in use during the last floods, and allowed to remain. Constructed of wood in the shape of a large rake head with long teeth close together, they are fastened securely across the ditch or runner at a slight angle with teeth in the gravel. The object is to catch the small fry which frequent these side places for protection during flood times. Judging by their primitive nature and poor construction, they are not effective, but will do a certain amount of damage. The nearest hamlet to this place is called Torappalli, occupied by a few fisher people called Paniyans. These are no doubt the makers of the traps, and, from information I received, they are said to possess better fry and other traps. They are also accredited with having fine-mesh nets, which they use when the waters are low".

In 1907, rules were issued, under the Indian Fisheries Act, IV of 1897, for the protection of fish in the Bhavani and Moyar rivers. These rules referred to the erection and use of fixed engines, the construction of weirs, and the use of nets, the meshes of which are less than one and a half inches square for the capture or destruction of fish, and the prohibition of fishing between the 15th March and 15th September annually. Notice of the rules was given by beat of tom-tom (drum) in the villages lying on the banks of the rivers, to which the rules applied.

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The Paniyan language is a debased Malayalam patois spoken in a curious nasal sing-song, difficult to imitate; but most of the Paniyans employed on estates can also converse in Kanarese.

Wholly uneducated and associating with no other tribes, the Paniyans have only very crude ideas of religion. Believing in devils of all sorts and sizes, and professing to worship the Hindu divinities, they reverence especially the god of the jungles, Kad Bhagavadi, or, according to another version, a deity called Kuli, a malignant and terrible being, of neither sex, whose shrines take the form of a stone placed under a tree, or sometimes a cairn of stones. At their rude shrines they contribute as offerings to the swami (god) rice boiled in the husk, roasted and pounded, half-a-cocconut, and small coins. The banyan and a lofty tree, apparently of the fig tribe, are revered by them, inasmuch as evil spirits are reputed to haunt them at times. Trees so haunted must not be touched, and, if the Paniyans attempt to cut them, they fall sick.

Some Paniyans are believed to be gifted with the power of changing themselves into animals; and there is a belief among the Paniyan dwellers in the plains that, if they wish secure a woman whom they lust after, one of the men gifted with this special power goes to her house at night with a hollow bamboo, and encircles the house three times. The woman then comes out, and the man, changing himself into a bull or dog, works his wicked will. The woman, it is believed, dies in the course of two or three days.

In 1904 some Paniyans were employed by a Mappilla (Muhammadan) to murder his mistress, who was pregnant and threatened that she would noise abroad his responsibility for her condition. He brooded over the matter, and one day, meeting a Paniyan, promised him ten rupees if he would kill the woman. The Paniyan agreed to commit the crime, and went with his brothers to a place on a hill, where the Mappilla and the woman were in the habit of gratifying their passions. Thither the man and woman followed the Paniyans, of whom one ran out, and struck his victim on the head with a chopper. She was then gagged with a cloth, carried some distance, and killed. The two Paniyans and the Mappilla were sentenced to be hanged.

Monogamy appears to be the general rule among the Paniyans, but there is no obstacle to a man taking unto himself as many wives as he can afford to support.

Apparently the bride is selected for a young man by his parents, and, in the same way that a wealthy European sometimes sends his betrothed a daily present of a bouquet, the more humble Paniyan bridegroom-elect has to take a bundle of firewood to the house of the fiancée every day for six months. The marriage ceremony (and the marriage knot does not appear to be very binding) is of a very simple nature. The ceremony is conducted by a Paniyan Chemmi (a corruption of Janmi). A present of sixteen fanams (coins) and some new cloths is given by the bridegroom to the Chemmi, who hands them over to the parents of the bride. A feast is prepared, at which the Paniyan women (Panichis) dance to the music of drum and pipe. The tali (or marriage badge) is tied round the neck of the bride by the female relations of the bridegroom, who also invest the bride with such crude jewelry as they may be able to afford. The

Chemmi seals the contract by pouring water over the head and feet of the young couple. It is said that a husband has to make an annual present to his wife's parents; and failure to do so entitles them to demand their daughter back. A man may, I was told, not have two sisters as wives; nor may he marry his deceased wife's sister. Remarriage of widows is permitted. Adultery and other forms of vice are adjudicated on by a panchayat (or council) of headmen, who settle disputes and decide on the fine or punishment to be inflicted on the guilty. At nearly every considerable Paniyan village there is a headman called Kuttan, who has been appointed by Nayar Janmi to look after his interests, and be responsible to him for the other inhabitants of the village. The investiture of the Kuttan with the powers of office is celebrated with a feast and dance, at which a bangle is presented to the Kuttan as a badge of authority. Next in rank to the Kuttan is the Mudali or head of the family, and they usually constitute the panchayat. Both Kuttan and Mudali are called and Muppanmar or elders. The whole caste is sometimes loosely spoken of as Muppan. In a case of proved adultery, a fine of sixteen fanams (the amount of the marriage fee), and a sum equal to the expenses of the wedding, including the present to the parents of the bride, is the usual form of punishment.

The Chemmi or Shemmi is, I am informed, a sort of priest or minister. He was appointed, in olden days, by the chieftains under whom the Paniyans worked, and each Chemmi held authority over a group of villages. The office is hereditary, but, should a Chemmi family fail, it can be filled up by election.

No ceremony takes place in celebration of the birth of children. One of the old women of the village acts as midwife, and receives a small present in return for her services. As soon as a child is old enough to be of use, in accompanying its parents to their work, or on their fishing and hunting expeditions, and is initiated into the various ways of adding to the stock of provisions for the household.

The dead are buried in the following manner. A trench, four or five feet deep, and large enough to receive the body to be interred, is dug, due north and south, on a hill near the village. At the bottom of this excavation the earth is scooped out from the western side on a level with the floor throughout the length of the grave, so as to form a receptacle for the corpse, which, placed on a mat, is laid therein upon its left side with the head pointing to the south and the feet to the north. After a little cooked rice has been put into the grave for the use of the departed spirit, the mat, which has been made broad enough for the purpose, is folded up and tucked in under the roof of the cavity, and the trench filled up. It has probably been found by experience that the corpse, when thus protected, is safe from the ravages of scavenger jackals and pariah dogs. For seven days after death, a little rice gruel is placed at distance of from fifty to a hundred yards from the grave by the Chemmi, who claps his hands as a signal to the evil spirits in the vicinity, who, in the shape of a pair of crows, are supposed to partake of the food, which is hence called kaka conji or crow's rice.

The noombu or mourning ceremonies are the ti polay, seven days after death; the kaka polay or karuvelli held for three years in succession in the month of Magaram (January-February); and the matham polay held once in every three or four years, when possible, as a memorial service in honour of

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those who are specially respected. On all these occasions the Chemmi presides, and acts as a sort of master of the ceremonies. As the ceremonial carried out differs only in degree, an account of the kaka polay will do for all.

In the month of Magaram, the noombukarans or mourners (who have lost relatives) begin to cook and eat in a pandal or shed apart from the rest of the village, but otherwise go about their business as usual. They wash and eat twice a day, but abstain from eating meat or fish. On the last day of the month, arrangements are made, under the supervision of the Chemmi for the ceremony which brings the period of mourning to a close. The mourners, who have fasted since daybreak, take up their position in the pandal, and the Chemmi, holding on his crossed arms two winnowing sieves, each containing a seer or two of rice, walks round three times, and finally deposits the sieves in the centre of the pandal. If, among the male relatives of the deceased, one is to be found sufficiently hysterical, or actor enough, to simulate possession and perform the functions of an oracle, well and good; but, should they all be of a stolid temperament, there is always at hand a professional corresponding to the Komaran or Vellichipad of other Hindus. This individual is called the Patalykaran. With a new cloth (mundu) on his head, and smeared on the body and arms with a paste made of rice flour and ghi (clarified butter), he enters on the scene with his legs girt with bells, the music of which is supposed to drive away the attendant evil spirits (payanmar). Advancing with short steps and rolling his eyes, he staggers to and fro, sawing the air with two small sticks which he holds in either hand, and works himself up into a frenzied state of inspiration, while the mourners cry out and ask why the dead have been taken away from them. Presently a convulsive shiver attacks the performer, who staggers more violently and falls prostrate on the ground, or seeks the support of one of the posts of the pandal, while he gasps out disjointed sentences, which are taken to be the words of the god. The mourners now make obeisance, and are marked on the forehead with the paste of rice flour and ghi. This done, a mat is spread for the accommodation of the headmen and Chemmi; and the Patalykaran, from whose legs the bells have been removed and put with the rice in the sieves, takes these in his hands, and, shaking them as he speaks, commences a funeral chant, which lasts till dawn. Meanwhile food has been prepared for all present except the mourners, and when this has been partaken of, dancing is kept up round the central group till day-break, when the pandal is pulled down and the kaka polay is over. Those who have been precluded from eating make up for lost time, and relatives, who have allowed their hair to grow long, shave. The ordinary Paniyan does not profess to know the meaning of the funeral orations, but contents himself with a belief that it is known to those who are initiated. The women, attend the ceremony, but do not take part in the dance. In fact the nearest approach to a dance that they ever attempt (and this only on festive occasions) resembles the ordinary occupation of planting rice, carried out in dumb show to the music of a drum. The bodies of the performers stoop and move in time with the music, and the arms are swung from side to side as in the act of placing the rice seedlings in their rows. To see a long line of Paniyan women, up to their knees in the mud of a rice field, bobbing up and down and putting on the pace as the music grows quicker and quicker, and to hear the wild yells of Hou! Hou! like a chorus of hungry dogs, which form the vocal accompaniment as they dab the green bunches in from side to side, is highly amusing.

The foregoing account of the Paniyan death ceremonies was supplied by Mr. Colin Mackenzie, to whom, as also to Mr. F. Fawcett, Mr. G. Romilly, and Martelli, I am indebted for many of the facts recorded in the present note. From Mr. Fawcett the following account of a further ceremony was obtained:

At a Paniyan village, on a coffee estate where the annual ceremony was being celebrated, men and boys were dancing round a wooden upright to the music of a small drum hanging at the left hip. Some of the dancers had bells round the leg below the knee. Close to the upright a man was seated, playing a pipe, which emitted sounds like those of a bagpipe. In dancing, the dancers went round against the sun. At some little distance a crowd of females indulged in a dance by themselves. A characteristic of the dance, specially noticeable among the women, was stooping and waving of the arms in front. The dancers perspired freely, and kept up the dance for many hours to rhythmic music, the tune of which changed from time to time. There were three chief dancers, of whom one represented the goddess, the others her ministers. They were smeared with streaks on the chest, abdomen, arms and legs, had bells on the legs, and carried a short stick about two feet in length in each hand. The sticks were held over the head, while the performers quivered as if in a religious frenzy. Now and again, the sticks were waved or beaten together. The Paniyans believe that, when the goddess first appeared to them, she carried two sticks in her hands. The mock goddess and her attendants, holding the sticks above the head and shivering, went to each male elder, and apparently received his blessing, the elder placing his hand on their faces as a form of salutation, and then applying his hand to his own face. The villagers partook of a light meal in the early morning, and would not eat again until the end of the ceremony, which concluded by the man-goddess seating himself on the upright, and addressing the crowd on behalf of the goddess concerning their conduct and morality.

The Paniyans, "worship animistic deities, of which the chief is Kuli, whom they worship on a raised plat-form called Kulitara, offering coconuts, but no blood". They further worship Kattu Bhagavati or Bhagavati of the woods. "Shrines in her honour are to be found at most centres of the caste, and contain no image, but a box in which are kept the clothing and jewels presented to her by the devout. An annual ceremony lasting a week is held in her honour, at which the Komaran and a kind of priest, called Nalambukkaran, take the chief parts. The former dresses in the goddess' clothing, and the divine afflatus descends upon him, and he prophesies both good and evil."

Games:—A long strip of cane is suspended from the branch of a tree, and a cross-bar fixed to its lower end. On the bar a boy sits, and swings himself in all directions. In another game a bar, twelve to fourteen feet in length, is balanced by means of a point in a socket on an upright reaching about four feet and a-half above the ground. Over the end of the horizontal bar a boy hangs, and, touching the ground with the feet, spins himself round.

Some Paniyans have a thread tied round the wrist, ankle, or neck, a charm to ward off fever and other diseases. Some of the men have the hair of the head hanging down in matted tails in performance of a vow. The men wear brass, steel, and copper rings on their fingers and brass rings in the ears.

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The women, in like manner, wear finger rings, and, in addition, bangles on the wrist, and have the lobes of the ears widely dilated, and plugged with cadjan (palm leaf) rolls. In some the nostril is pierced, and plugged with wood.

The Paniyans, who dwell in settlements at the base of the ghats, make fire by what is known as the Malay or sawing method. A piece of bamboo, about a foot in length, in which two nodes are included, is split longitudinally into two equal parts. On one half a sharp edge is cut with a knife. In the other a longitudinal slit is made through about two-thirds of its length, which is stuffed with a piece of cotton cloth. It is then held firmly on the ground with its convex surface upwards, and the cutting edge drawn, with a gradually quickening sawing motion, rapidly to and fro across it by two men, until the cloth is ignited by the incandescent particles of wood in the groove cut by the sharp edge. The cloth is then blown with the lips into a blaze, and the tobacco or cooking fire can be lighted.

At Pudupadi an elephant mahout was jealously guarding a bit of bamboo stick with notches cut in it, each notch representing a day for which wages were due to him. The stick in question had six notches, representing six days' wages.

Average height 157.4 cm. Nasal index 95 (max. 108.6). The average distance from the tip of the middle finger to the top of the patella was 4.6 cm. relative to stature = 100, which approximates very closely to the recorded results of measurement of long-limbed African negroes.

EXTRACT FROM CENSUS OF INDIA, 1891—VOLUME XIII
—MADRAS—THE REPORT ON THE CENSUS.

PANIYAN 33, 282.

394. Paniyan literally means a labourer, and the members of the Paniyan caste are agricultural labourers. They are said to have features of the African type, but there does not appear to be any other evidence in favour of their African descent. They have returned 9 sub-divisions, but most of these are not real and none has been returned by any considerable number of persons. They are found chiefly in the Wynad and in the Kottayam taluk of Malabar. Their position is said to be very little above that of a slave, for every Paniyan is some landlord's 'man,' and though he is, of course, free to leave his master, he is at once traced and good care is taken that he does not get employment elsewhere. On the other hand, it is stated in one account I have received that they are sensitive to ill-treatment and migrate to Mysore if dealt with harshly, so that they are generally treated well. Their chief deity is called Kuli, a malignant and terrible being of neither sex, whose shrines take the form of a stone placed under a tree or some times of a cairn of stones. There are also minor deities. Girls are not married before puberty. When a Paniyan wishes to marry a girl, he must take a bundle of firewood to her house every day for six months. There are three classes of elders, the Mudali, the Muppan and the Kuttan. The consent of four Kuttans is necessary before a marriage can be performed. Monogamy is the rule. There is no restriction on the marriage of widows. Divorce is allowed and divorced persons are not prohibited from remarrying. The dead are usually buried by the side of streams. They speak a corrupt form of Malayalam,

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APPENDIX II
Extracts from 1961 Census
SCT Tables relating
to Paniyans

T A B L E - S C T I

**INDUSRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX
FOR PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE**

[illegible]

T A B L E - S C T I--(Contd.)

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX

FOR PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE—Contd.

[illegible]

T A B L E - S C T II
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	Total Population											
	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated			
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Madras State	4,779	2,470	2,309	1,341	1,042	1,056	1,069	49	151	24	47	
Nilgiris	4,777	2,468	2,309	1,339	1,042	1,056	1,069	49	151	24	47	
Madurai	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Tirunelveli	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

T A B L E - S C T I I (C o n t d)

Name of the State/District	Age 0—14									
	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Madras State	1,143	944	1,143	941	...	2	...	...	...	...
	1,141	944	1,141	941	...	2	...	...	...	...
ilgiris	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - S C T II—(Contd.)

Age 15--44

T A B L E - S C T II (Contd.)

Age 45+

T A B L E - S C T I I I

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District.	T/R/U.	Educational levels									
		Total.		Illiterate.		Literate (without educational level)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Madras State	T	2,470	2,309	1,988	1,910	210	226	272	173	...	...
	R	1,617	1,578	1,559	1,565	47	12	11	1	...	...
	U	853	731	429	345	163	214	261	172	...	...
Nilgiris	T	2,468	2,309	1,987	1,910	210	226	271	173	...	...
	R	1,617	1,578	1,559	1,565	47	12	11	1	...	...
	U	851	731	428	345	163	214	260	172	...	...
Madurai	T	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	T	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE SCT - IV
RELIGION FOR PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District	T/ R	Total			Name of Religion			
					Hindu		Muslim	
		P	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Madras State	T	4,779	2,470	2,309	2,470	2,307	...	2
	R	3,195	1,617	1,578	1,617	1,578	...	...
	U	1,584	853	731	853	729	...	2
Nilgiris	T	4,777	2,468	2,309	2,468	2,307	...	2
	R	3,195	1,617	1,578	1,617	1,578	...	...
	U	1,582	851	731	851	729	...	2
Madurai	T	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	T	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	1	1	...	1	...	...	...

TABLE SCT - VI
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District	Total Population											
	Males						Females					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	2,470	347	409	387	154	389	405	379	335	362	247	388
Nilgiris	2,468	347	409	385	154	389	405	379	335	362	247	388
Madurai	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
		45+	30-44	20-29	15-19	10-14	5-9	0-4	Total			

TABLE SCT - VI (Contd)

Name of the State/ District	Illiterate											
	Males						Females					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	1,988	347	268	304	120	332	342	275	335	250	206	367
Nilgiris	1,987	347	268	303	120	332	342	275	335	250	206	367
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)
		45+	30-44	20-29	15-19	10-14	5-9	0-4	Total			

T A B L E - S C T V I — (Contd.)
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PANIYANS IN MADRAS STATE—(Contd.)

Name of State/ District	Literate (without educational level)					
	Males			Females		
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(34) 210	(35) 91	(36) 59	(37) 15	(38) 18	(39) 26
Nilgiris	210	91	59	15	18	26
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(41) 226	(42) 62	(43) 30	(44) 7	(45) 16	(46) 58
Nilgiris	226	62	30	7	16	58
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(47) 45+	(48) 1	(49) 1	(50) ...	(51) ...	(52) ...
Nilgiris	45+	1	1	...	...	...
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - S C T V I (Contd.)

Name of the State/ District	Primary or Junior Basic					
	Males			Females		
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(48) 272	(49) 50	(50) 24	(51) 19	(52) 39	(53) 37
Nilgiris	271	50	23	19	39	37
Madurai	1	...	1	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(54) 45+	(55) 103	(56) 103	(57) 11	(58) 5	(59) 35
Nilgiris	45+	103	103	11	5	35
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44
Madras State	(61) 45+	(62) 67	(63) 67	(64) ...	(65) ...	(66) ...
Nilgiris	45+	67	67	...	...	...
Madurai	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E S C T - V I I
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION FOR PANIYANS AT WORK

Occupational Code— Family Group		Madras State		Nilgiris	
		M (2)	F (3)	M (4)	F (5)
(1)		1,399	1,236	1,399	1,236
Total Workers					
OXO	Ordained Religious Workers	1	...	1	...
403	Planters and Plantation Managers	3	...	3	...
411	Farm Workers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing	26	...	26	...
415	Plantation labourers	122	57	122	57
419	Farm Workers, n.e.c.	9	11	6	11
440	Forest Rangers and Related Workers	10	...	10	...
442	Log Fellers and Wood Cutters	4	...	4	...
449	Loggers and Other Forestry Workers, n.e.c.	5	...	5	...
826	Food Canners, Preservers and Related Workers	1	...	1	...
850	Basketry Weavers and Related Workers	7	62	7	62
859	Craftsmen and Production Process Workers, n.e.c.	2	...	2	...
899	Labourers, n.e.c.	239	81	239	81
903	Watchmen and Chowkidars	1	...	1	...
I	Cultivators	38	19	38	19
II	Agricultural Labourers	934	1,006	934	1,006

ENUMERATED IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS OF THE DISTRICT																	
		Rural								Urban							
R/U/U.C.		Persons	Males	Females	Persons				Males				Females				
		Nilgiris	Nilgiris	Nilgiris	Total	Nilgiris	Madurai	Tirunelveli	Total	Nilgiris	Madurai	Tirunelveli	Total	Nilgiris	Madurai	Tirunelveli	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
		3,195	1,617	1,578	1,584	1,582	1	1	853	851	1	1	731	731	...	...	
	R	2,130	1,614	1,576	27	27	...	...	11	11	...	...	16	16	...	...	
	U	5	3	2	1,557	1,555	1	1	842	840	1	1	715	715	...	...	
State of enu-	R	3,049	1,560	1,489	23	23	...	...	7	7	...	...	16	16	...	...	
	U	5	3	2	1,554	1,552	1	1	840	838	1	1	714	714	...	...	
of enumera-	R	2,926	1,506	1,420	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	1,534	1,532	1	1	830	828	1	1	704	704	...	...	
ere in the dis-	R	122	54	68	20	20	...	...	4	4	...	...	16	16	...	...	
umeration	U	5	3	2	16	16	...	...	9	9	...	...	7	7	...	...	
her districts of																	
	R	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
to	R	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	1	1	...	...	3	3	...	...	
apalli	R	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
ndia beyond	R	141	54	87	4	4	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	
e of enumeration	U	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	

[illegible]

TABLE SCT - IX - (Contd.)

MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF
RESIDENCE IN PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG PANIYANS—(Contd.)

Where born	R/U/U.C.	Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years											
		Urban											
		Total Migrants		Less than 1 year		1-5 years		6-10 years		11-15 years		16 and above	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	...	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
		23	27	7	...	3	15	4	6	2	...	7	6
A. Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration	R	4	16	...	...	1	13	1	2	...	...	2	1
	U	9	7	2	...	1	1	3	2	1	...	2	4
B. Born in other districts, but within the State of enumeration	R	3	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	U	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	1
Salem	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coimbatore	R	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	U	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	1
Tiruchirapalli	R	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C. Born in other States of India	R	4	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	U	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...

TABLE ST - I
MOTHER TONGUE AND BI-LINGUALISM AMONG PANIYANS.

Name of the State/ District	Total Speakers.		Mother Tongue: Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to that shown horizontally		Subsidiary Language
	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
			MALAYALAM		
Madras State	9	2	1	...	Tamil (M: 1)
	2,435	2,298		...	
	19	5		...	
	7	4		...	
			MALAYALAM		
Nilgiris	9	2	1	...	Tamil (M: 1)
	2,435	2,298		...	
	18	5		...	
	6	4		...	
			MALAYALAM		
Madurai	1	...	1	...	Tamil (M: 1)
			MALAYALAM		
Tirunelveli	1	...	...	...	

TABLE ST - II
PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR PANIYANS

Name of the State/District	Total Non-working Population			Full time Students		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	2,144	1,071	1,073	112	32	...	...	...	...	959	1,041
Nilgiris	2,142	1,069	1,073	110	32	...	...	...	...	959	1,041
Madurai	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

APPENDIX III
Socio-economic Tables
relating to the Paniyan
settlement in Puthurvayal.

TABLE - 1
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of Households.	Size of Households											
	Single Member		2 to 3 Members		4 to 6 Members		7 to 9 Members		10 Members and above			
	H. Hs.	M F	H. Hs.	M F	H. Hs.	M F	H. Hs.	M F	H. Hs.	M F	H. Hs.	M F
16	...	...	2	3 2	5 10 13		8	32 34	1	5 5		

TABLE - 2
COMMUNITIES AND THE TYPES OF FAMILIES

Total No. of Households.	Types of Families living in the Households			
	Simple		Intermediate	
			Joint	
16	7	2	7	...

T A B L E - 3
WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, AGE GROUPS AND INDUSTRY

Age Groups.	Workers engaged in											
	Total workers		Household Industry		Household Business		Household Agricultural Labour		Household Cultivation		Others	
	P	M F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	68	35 33	...	...	...	...	33	33	2	...	...	...
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	5	3 2	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	...
15-19	8	3 5	...	...	...	...	3	5	...	...	...	...
20-24	8	2 6	...	...	...	...	1	6	1	...	...	...
25-29	8	3 5	...	...	...	...	3	5	...	...	...	...
30-34	10	6 4	...	...	...	...	6	4	...	...	...	...
35-34	15	8 7	...	...	...	...	7	7	1	...	...	...
45-59	6	5 1	...	...	...	...	5	1	...	...	...	...
60+	6	3 3	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - 4
MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation of a Household	Monthly income per household in the range of					
	Rs. 25 or less		Rs. 26 to 50		Rs. 51 to 75	
	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure
Cultivation	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agricultural Labour	...	...	5	5	1	4

T A B L E - 5
AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS

Item of Expenditure	All Households		No. of Household with a monthly income of									
	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	Rs. 25 or less		Rs. 26 to 50		Rs. 51 to 75		Rs. 76 to 100		Rs. 101 & over	
			No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure	No. of H. Hs.	Average Expenditure
Food	16	70 56	...	...	5	28 80	1	45 00	4	65 00	6	113 33
Clothing	16	9 13	...	...	5	5 80	1	7 00	4	7 50	6	13 33
Tent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Smoking & Chewing	16	4 56	...	...	5	2 20	1	3 00	4	4 75	6	6 67
Entertainment	15	1 80	...	...	4	1 25	1	2 00	4	2 00	6	2 00
Others	16	2 72	...	...	5	1 20	1	1 00	4	2 13	6	4 67

TABLE - 6
A - INDEBTEDNESS

Income Group	Indebtedness by income group				
	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of column 3 to column 2	Total Indebtedness	Average Indebtedness for Households in debt
Rs. 25 or less	...	...	...	...	...
Rs. 26 to 50	5	...	...	...	...
Rs. 51 to 75	1	...	...	...	...
Rs. 76 to 100	4	1	25%	10 00	10 00
Rs. 101 & over	6	...	...	...	...

TABLE - 7
B - INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Cause	Indebtedness by cause of debt		
	Amount of debt Rs. nP.	Number of families in debt	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (Percentage)
Business run by the household (Tea shop)	10 00	1	100

TABLE - 8
MARITAL STATUS

Age Groups	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
All ages	104	50	54	23	26	26	25	...	1	1
0-4	21	8	13	8	13	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	16	8	8	8	8	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	6	4	2	4	2	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	8	3	5	3	3	...	...	1	...	1
20-24	8	2	6	...	...	1	5	...	...	1
25-29	8	3	5	...	...	3	5	...	...	...
30-34	10	6	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
35-44	15	8	7	...	...	8	7	...	...	...
45-59	6	5	1	...	...	5	1	...	...	...
60+	6	3	3	...	...	3	2	...	1	...

TABLE - 9

EDUCATION

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate (without educational standard)		Primary or Junior Basic		Higher Secondary	
	P	Total Population		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		M	F								
All ages	104	50	54	43	52	1	...	5	2	1	...
0-4	21	8	13	8	13	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	16	8	8	7	7	...	...	1	1	...	...
10-14	6	4	2	2	2	...	...	2	...	...	...
15-19	8	3	5	1	4	...	...	1	1	1	...
20-24	8	2	1	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
25-29	8	3	5	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	10	6	4	6	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-44	15	8	7	7	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
45-59	6	5	1	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
60	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE-10

NON-WORKERS BY SEX BROAD AGE GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

[illegible]

T A B L E - 11
CONSANGUINITY

Total No. of atleast once Married Males	Total No. of marriages involved	No. of marriages in which the bride is the unrelated or distantly related	No. of marriages in which the bride is the maternal uncle's daughter	No. in which the bride is the paternal aunt's daughter	No. in which the bride is sister's daughter
27	33	17	15	1	...

T A B L E - 12
MARRIAGES DIVORCES AND REMARRIAGES

Result of t e first marriage	Result of second marriage			Result of third marriage			Result of fourth marriage		
	No. separated from the first spouse			No. separated from the second spouse			No. separated from the third spouse		
	Due to death	Due to divorce	Due to desertion	Due to death	Due to divorce	Due to desertion	Due to death	Due to divorce	Due to desertion
No. of living with the first spouse	6	1	...	7	...	...	...	...	...
	No. of living with the second spouse			No. of living with the third spouse			No. of living with the fourth spouse		
	Total			Total			Total		
	MALES			MALES			MALES		
20	6	1	...	7	...	...	...	...	...
	FEMALES			FEMALES			FEMALES		
25	1	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...

PALLIYANS

Introduction

The social structure of the majority of the tribes in Madras State is founded on the concept of exogamy. Every tribe or sub-sect of a tribe is deemed to constitute a unit called an endogamous sect. The marriage is limited to this unit. Within the unit, a number of sub-divisions are found and a person belonging to any sub-division is prohibited from marrying within the same sub-division. These sub-divisions are called exogamous septs and are more popularly known as *Kulams*, *Koottams*, *Veedus* or *Gothrams*. The idea underlying this division is that members of any one sept are the descendants of the same ancestor and, therefore, belong to one paternal group. There are a few tribes in Madras State who do not follow this pattern of division into exogamous septs. The prominent of them are the Palliyans, the Pulayans and the Kadars. These three tribes are believed to be very primitive and belong to the pre-Dravidian era. We will in due course examine whether the absence of exogamy has any effect on the cultural development of the Palliyans.

The Palliyans are a Tamil-speaking tribe found largely in the Palani hills of Madurai district. It is believed that they are the original inhabitants of the Palani hills. It is even said that the name Palliyan was derived from Palniyan which in Tamil means man from Palani. The name of the tribe is known locally as Paliyan and not as Palliyan or Palleyar as indicated in the list of Scheduled Tribes notified by the President of India.

Though Palliyans originally belonged to the Palani hills, they are also found in the Sirumalai hills, in Varushanad valley of Madurai district, in Kulithalai taluk of Tiruchirapalli district, and on the borders of the Western Ghats in Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts. In the Palani hills they are found both in the Upper Palanis at an altitude of 5,000 feet, and in the Lower Palanis at an altitude of 3,000 to 5,000 feet. In Sirumalai hills, they live at an altitude ranging from 2,500 to 4,000 feet. In other places, they live at the foot of the hills. Since the tribe had formerly nomadic tendencies, it is believed that the Palliyans, who originally lived as food-gatherers in higher altitudes, have moved to the foot of the hills in search of employment as agricultural labourers. This downward movement has perhaps been caused, when the Palani

hills came to be occupied by Kunnuvans and others who started plantation cultivation. In the course of their movement, they may have moved south along the foot of the Western Ghats and settled in isolated groups at places found convenient. A few are found even in Sankarankoil taluk. The Palliyans are not aware of any legend concerning their origin. So, what we have stated above, that the Palani hills were the home of the Palliyans, is a surmise and based on the concentration of Palliyans as revealed by 1961 Census.

Habitat

2. In the 1961 Census, the population of the Palliyans in the State was found distributed as follows:

North Arcot	...	5
South Arcot	...	43
Nilgiris	...	1
Madurai	...	1,310
Tiruchirapalli	...	123
Ramanathapuram	...	29
Tirunelveli	...	40
Total		1,551

It is difficult to visualise how 48 Palliyans could be found in North Arcot and South Arcot districts, which are far away from their original homes. On a personal enquiry, it was found that a few Pallis who really belong to the Vanniar community, have been wrongly classified as Palliyans and brought under the Scheduled Tribe, as Palliyans. We have therefore, to exclude the number counted in North Arcot and South Arcot districts. For the purpose of our study, their population in 1961 has been estimated as 1,503. The populations recorded in the previous censuses were as follows:

1901	...	705
1921	...	731

The increase of the Palliyans from 731 in 1921 to 1,501 in 1961 is rather high. The Palliyans belong to a semi-migratory tribe and the low figure recorded in

PALLIYANS

1921 can represent an under-count. It is also likely that a confusion has occurred between Palliyans and Palayans, who also live in the same areas. It may be pointed out in this connection that the population of the Palayans, which stood at 3,683 in 1921, fell to 2,669 in 1961.

Palani hill is a projection of the Western Ghats extending to a length of about 40 miles towards the east from the main range of the Western Ghats. It is divided into two portions, the Upper Palanis and the Lower Palanis. The hills abound in beautiful scenery and thick forests. Plantains, Oranges, Potatoes, Coffee and spices are grown in these hills. The people living in the hills are chiefly the Kunnivans, otherwise called Mannadians, the Karkata Vellalans, the Telugu Chettians, Harijans and the Scheduled Tribes of Palliyans and Palayans. The Sirumalai hills lying about 10 miles to the east of Dindigul are a group of isolated hills with a basin-shaped plateau, about 3,000 feet in elevation. The hills were once covered with thick forests, but now they have been denuded and planted with plantains. These hills are occupied mostly by the people from the plains. The Varushanad valley lies on another arm of the Western Ghats; actually, it flanks on the eastern side of the Cumbum valley and the River Vaigai originates from this range. It is covered completely by forests. The Palliyans are the only people living in these ranges. The elevation of the hill ranges from 4,000 to 6,000 feet. The valuable forest-produces collected here are galmut, soapnut, tamarind and honey. To the east of the hills is the Srivilliputhur Range in Ramanathapuram district. Three or four settlements of the Palliyans are found on the eastern slopes of these hills. Shenbagathope, Ayyanarkoil, Seithur are the Pallian settlements now found in the locality. Further south along the Western Ghats on the foot of the hills in Sankarankoil Taluk, one or two other settlements of Palliyans are found in Puliangudi village. Here they have become converts to Christianity. In Agasteeswaram taluk of Kanyakumari district, 3 Palleyars have been recorded in the urban area. They are perhaps migrants from other areas. Generally, Palleyars in Kanyakumari district correspond to the Palliyans in Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts. The Palliyans recorded in Tiruchirapalli district are found in Palayakottai village in Kulithalai taluk. This adjoins a small stretch of reserve forests with scrub jungles.

Though the tribe is small and has a population of about 1,500, their habitations are scattered from the

Palani hills in the north to as far south as Shencottah Taluk in Tirunelveli district. They live in different altitudes, in different climates and in different types of terrains. They come in contact with different types of people. As such, their habits, customs and manners have undergone changes which depend on the area in which they live. They do not have any central tribal hierarchy to ensure uniformity in their customs and manners. Actually, the different groups of Palliyans living in various localities have lost contact with each other. The Palliyans of Shenbagathope do not know anything about their tribesmen living on the other side of the hills in Varushanad valley. The Palliyans of Sirumalai have practically no contact with the Palliyans of the Palani hills. They follow different customs and manners without knowing what their brethren in other settlements do. We have studied the Palliyans living in three different parts—(1) Thandikudi in Palani hills of Kodaikanal taluk; (2) Sirumalai village in Dindigul taluk and (3) Shenbagathope and Ayyanarkoil in Srivilliputhur taluk. Though we have found some traits common to the entire tribe, their customs and manners do differ from place to place.

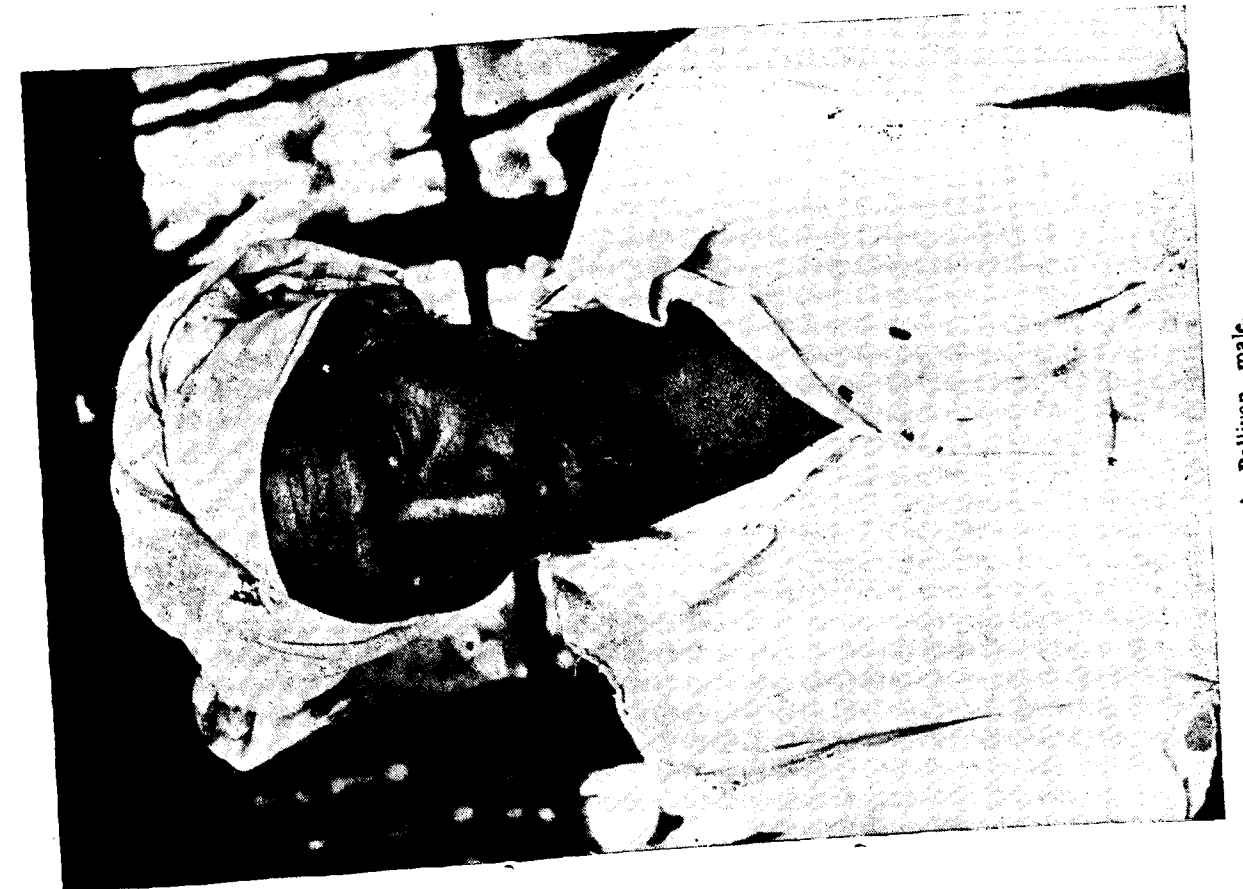
Appearance, Dress and Ornaments

3. The Palliyans are generally short in stature, lean and appear famished. Thurston in his book on "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" had described them as follows:—

"Like other primitive tribes, the Palliyans are short in stature and dolichocephalic and the archaic type of nose persists in some individuals. Average height 150.9 c.m. Nasal index 85" (Maximum 100). They are generally black or dark brown in complexion. Some have flat noses and thick lips. The women have oval faces. Men have scanty beards. They have very little hair on their chests and on their bodies. A few have curly hair on the head but it cannot be said that they are frizzly as in the case of Kaders".

Most men now-a-days crop their heads but some in the interior parts have tufts with the forehead shaved. Women part their hair in the middle and tie it into a knot at the back.

Their men are scantily dressed. They wear a dhoti which is dirty and often in rags. They may sometimes have an upper cloth or towel. The Palliyans living in higher altitudes, as in Kodaikanal and Sirumalai hills, cover themselves with a second-hand shirt or coat as a



A Pallian male.



A Pallian woman.

PALLIYANS

protection against cold. Some wear second-hand shorts. Women wear coloured sarees and loose-fitting blouses. These are rarely washed. This tribe does not have any definite pattern of dress but wear whatever they can collect after being rejected by others. They seldom purchase new clothes. There is also nothing distinct about the ornaments worn by the Palliyans. Women wear a few strings of glass-beads and corals. They pierce the nose and ear-lobes and wear cheap stone-studded ornaments. A few wear Koppu in the upper part of the ears. In the wrists, cheap bangles are worn. All women in Shenbagathope wear silver anklets. Generally, the Palliyan women can be distinguished more by the absence of jewels than by any peculiar characteristic of the jewels, worn by them.

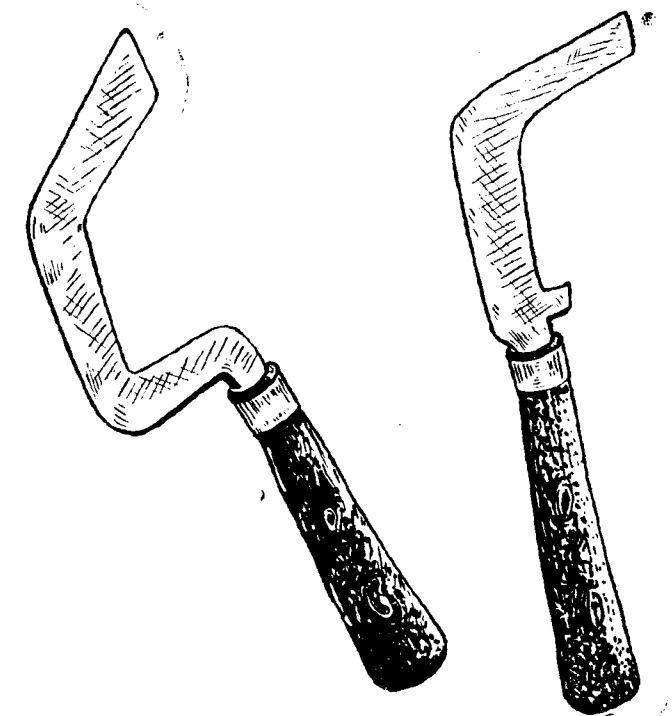
Housing

4. Earlier accounts about Palliyans describe them as living 'on platforms, up-trees, in caves, or under rocks'. No such Palliyan can be seen to-day. They build huts with whatever materials they can locally collect. They raise a mud-platform and erect four pillars. Over these pillars, they raise a thatched roof with wild grass known as *Tharagu Pillu* and screen the sides with Thatties made of grass. In Sirumalai and Thandikudi, dried plantain leaves are used for thatching the roofs and the walls. In a few places, the Government have built rows of brick-walled and Mangalore-tiled houses; but the Palliyans do not keep them in good condition. They do not even sweep the houses for days. Their huts are, generally, rectangular and have slanting roofs on all sides. It is constructed so imperfectly that it cannot withstand heavy rains. It is usual to see a Palliyan running for a better shelter during rainy days. Though Palliyans have given up their nomadic life and have begun settling down in some place or other, they have neither the resources nor the technical knowledge to build permanent houses which can withstand rain and sun. They generally look to the Government to build houses for them.

Utensils and Implements

5. Generally, they own a few mud pots and one or two aluminium vessels. It is difficult to find any brass vessel in their households. In their houses, they do not even keep a permanent oven for cooking food. They put 3 stones close to each other, and

place the pot over them. They raise fire with flint and iron pieces. When the iron is struck against the flint, sparks fly and they are caught in a piece of semi-charred silk-cotton sponge. By careful blowing, the fire in the sponge is developed and transmitted to dry twigs. The semi-charred silk-cotton sponge is stored dry in an empty coconut shell with a hole at the top. Almost every household has one or two digging sticks for collecting wild yams and tubers. These have no iron pointers but are sharpened occasionally with a bill-hook. The Palliyans working in plantain topes have two kinds of bill-hooks—one called *Saruguvetti Aruval* and another *Kontha Aruval*. One or two households in each settlement have a few musical instruments. They consist of a short pipe and an elongated drum which can be played on both sides. The Palliyans use the hide of guana for the drums and do not touch ox-hide. They play these instruments during marriages, during group-dancing and whenever festivals take place. They are not played for funeral ceremonies.



Kontha Aruval and Saruguvetti Aruval

PALLIYANS

Food Habits

6. The Palliyans working in plantain topes and in coffee estates earn regular wages and eat better food than their tribesmen living in the midst of forest or in forest margins. Though the Palliyans in plantations earn only a minimum wage, they have one or two regular meals with rice or ragi as staple food. Their women gather wild roots and tubers from the adjoining forests.

The chances of their getting any flesh food are rare, but if there are any chances of getting rats or guana, they would rather prefer getting them than attend to their work. In the case of Palliyans living in the midst of forests or in the forest margin, their food habits are irregular. If they are engaged by plainmen on any agricultural operations, they are paid wages partly in money and partly by way of food. Sometimes they earn wages from contractors for collecting minor forest produces. The money so earned is used for buying rice or millet and a quantity of salt and chillies. Whenever they do not have any money, they look to the forest for food. They dig wild roots and tubers which they roast or boil before consumption. The wild tubers are *Valli kilangu*, *Mullu Valli kilangu*, *Nir Valli kilangu* and *Noolam padai kilangu*. They also consume plenty of tamarind pulp and preserve the seeds for consumption later by roasting them. They eat any wild berry which they can get. They eat very little vegetables, but when they have cereals, they make side dishes with greens which are found to grow wild in the forests.

They do not eat the flesh of white-monkey, cow and bison. Their aversion for beef is so great that they do not care to wear sandals, as they are made from the hides of cows or bulls. In this respect, they differ from the Pulayans who resemble them in all other respects. The Palliyans eat any other flesh food by trapping or snaring. In the month of Adi, they catch rats. Their favourite pastime is catching guana (*Udumbu*) which they eat. They also catch wild fowls or rabbits and eat them. The Palliyans in Sirumalai hills do not eat chicken reared at home as these eat filth of human excretions. No such reservations is observed by the Palliyans in Shenbagathope and Ayyanarkoil. They like pork and venison and will undergo any hardship to get them. Whenever they collect honey, they consume a portion on the spot. They also eat the bee-bread. They eat whatever edibles they can gather and if compelled by necessity, they will starve for days together without

any complaint. Almost all Palliyans are addicted to chewing pansupari and tobacco and these they say help them in withstanding hunger. When they are employed on daily wages in agricultural operations, employers should necessarily supply them with pansupari and tobacco as part of the wages, as otherwise, they are not inclined to work properly.

Health and Sanitation

7. The Palliyans are wanting in personal and environmental sanitation. They bathe only once in a fortnight. They wear dirty clothes without washing them. They do not apply oil to their hairs and keep them combed. They keep the inside of the houses and the surroundings dirty. It does not appear that they even sweep the floors. In spite of these, they seldom suffer from any serious disease. They generally look under-nourished but they are not de-formed on that account.

For many of the ailments, they use their own remedies. For snake-bite they administer a root called *Nari valli ver*. For dysentery, they administer *Thalai suruvi ver*. They give *Malaithangi ver* for a variety of ailments. Probably, the only ailment which they dread most is small-pox. Due to inadequate coverage in the matter of vaccination, many are susceptible to attacks of small-pox and the incidence of death caused by the scourge is high in the tribe. In 1961, ten Palliyans died in Sirumalai village due to small-pox. Formerly, they were subjected to intermittent attacks of Malaria, but now that has subsided, thanks to the Malaria Eradication Programme. Almost all the Pallian settlements do not have drinking water wells. They usually take water from adjoining jungle streams. In fact they settle at places where water can be found in the jungle streams.

Literacy and Education

8. From Table SCT III given in Appendix II, it is seen that the percentage of literacy among the Palliyans is 6.1. In Thandikudi village surveyed by us, it is 6.4%. In Sirumalai village, it is nil. Generally school facilities are not available near the Pallian settlements and where they exist, the Palliyans are unwilling to send their children to school. In Shenbagathope, the Harijan Welfare Department have recently established a residential school for the benefit of Palliyans. About 12 children belonging to this

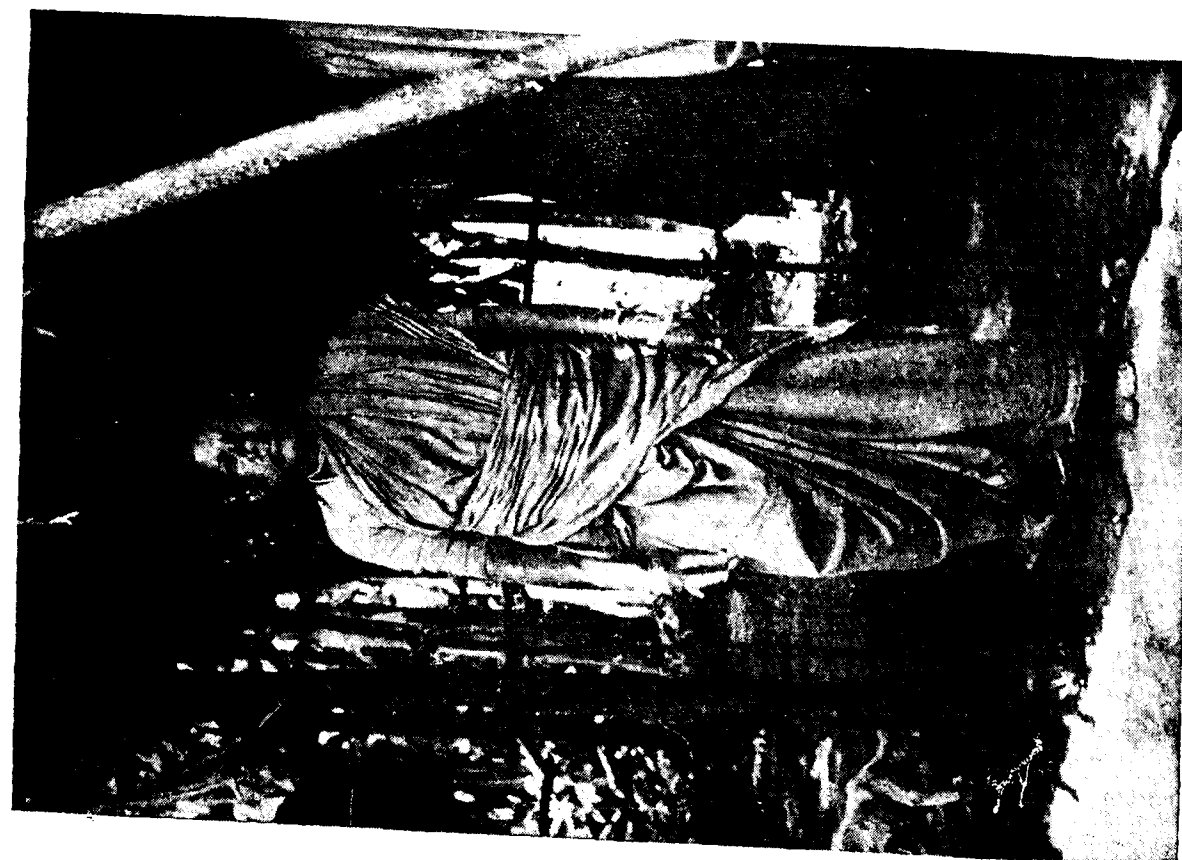


A Pallian hut in the midst of plantains in Sirumalai hills.

PALLIYANS



A Palliyan girl



A Palliyan woman

tribe have been admitted in it. But on enquiry, we find that the children are permitted to remain there by the parents, more for the free food given to them than for anything else. The Palliyan settlement at Ayyanarkoil is only 3 miles from Shenbagathope and the authorities could not persuade any Palliyan at Ayyanarkoil to admit his child in the school at Shenbagathope. This shows a general lack of interest among Palliyans in getting their children educated.

Religion

9. Table SCT IV in Appendix II shows that apart from 58 Christians, other Palliyans are returned under Hinduism. But their Hinduism is mostly animistic. A few visit the Alagar temple in Alagarkoil and Murugan temple at Palani. The Brahminical Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are practically unknown to them. They worship mountain peaks in the shape of local deities. The Palliyans of Sirumalai worship *Andiswami*, *Karuppaswami*, *Kannimar* and *Manjamalai-swami*. The Palliyans of Shenbagathope worship *Paimalai Rakki*, *Kottamalai Karuppaswami*, *Velappaswami*, *Pechiyamman*, *Thannasi*, *Pattani* and *Mariamamma*. The important deity of the Palliyans of Thandikudi is *Mayandi*. Mr. Faulkes in an account of Palliyans in the 1931 Census of India, had stated that the Palliyans worship *Palichiammal* and that they have no knowledge of any other god or goddess. But in all the Palliyan settlements visited by us, we made enquiries and found that they do not know of any such goddess.

The Christians among the Palliyans are mostly found in Puliyangudi village of Sankarankoil taluk.

The Hindu Palliyans celebrate *Adipachai* and *Thai Pongal*. They offer animal sacrifices to the local deities in the form of chicken. During festive occasions, they dance round and play their drums. They attach great significance to oaths. The most common form of oath is by extinguishing burning camphor in front of their gods.

Language

10. Table ST I given in Appendix II shows that Tamil is their mother-tongue. 12 persons have been returned under Telugu and one under Kannada. The

Tamil they speak cannot be easily understood by the plainsmen. They pronounce words with an accent and drawl peculiar to them.

Economy

11. Though in recent times, many of them have moved from interior forests to the border and to plantation areas, their economy is still unsettled and primitive. They have not yet completely moved over from the food gathering stage. To a large extent, they look to the forest for the supply of their food. If access to forest is denied to them, they may perish in large numbers. Though in recent times, many are employed in plantation areas, as agricultural labourers and watchmen, they still supplement their food resources by gathering roots and berries. A few of them live by collecting minor forest produces. No one is engaged in any cottage industry. No tribal craft is known to them.

Table SGT I in Appendix II gives the industrial classification of the Palliyans. Taking the Palliyans of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli and Tirunelveli districts alone, the industrial classification of the workers is as follows:

	Males	Females	Total
In cultivation	57	9	66
As agricultural labourers	45	2	47
In mining plantations etc.	363	317	680
In other services	85	83	168
Total workers	550	411	961
Non-workers	219	322	541
Total	769	733	1,502

This reveals that 64% of their population are workers. This is rather high indicating that a large number of women and children are workers. Actually 42.7% of the workers are females. In Sirumalai village, taken up for detailed study, 68.7% of the population are workers and of them 43.6% are females. All the workers in this village are engaged solely as agricultural labourers, though as a supplementary source of income, they collect minor forest produces.

PALLIYANS

Table SCT VII given in Appendix II gives the various occupations in which Palliyans are engaged. The figures are indicated below:

Code Nos.	Occupation	Males	Females	Total
	Cultivators	57	9	66
	Agricultural labourers	45	2	47
403	Planters	11	—	11
411 419	Farm workers etc.	151	129	280
415	Plantation labourers	155	134	289
441	Gatherers of Forest produces.	29	29	58
899	General labourers	82	83	165
903	Watchmen and Chowkidars.	10	5	15
	Others	10	20	30
Total		550	411	961

66 persons are engaged in cultivating lands and 11 in raising plantations, probably small plantain gardens in hill slopes. In Sirumalai hills, a few Palliyans have raised plantain gardens in small patches of land given to them under Bhoodan movement. In Varushanad, a few are engaged in raising millet crops in cleared patches in forests. In other areas, the Palliyans are employed either as plantation workers or as farm labourers. Persons employed in collecting minor forest produces number 58. General labourers number 165. It is this category of workers, who are generally under-employed. No one is engaged in any household industry.

If we are to analyse the income-expenditure pattern of the Palliyan households, we find that the Palliyans employed in plantation areas are much better off financially than the Palliyans living in forest margins. In Sirumalai village, they can easily get labour and are generally better off than the Palliyans in Shenbagathope. In Sirumalai and Thandigudi, the distribution of households in the various income groups is as follows:

	In Sirumalai village.	In Thandigudi village.
Rs. 25 or less	4	...
Rs. 26 to Rs. 50	14	9
Rs. 50 to 75	5	4
Rs. 76 to 100	1	...
Rs. 101 and above.	1	...
Total	25	13

The expenditure pattern of the households in Sirumalai village is given in Table 5 in Appendix III. It is observed that food forms 75% of the expenditure. Expenditure on chewing and smoking is also considerable.

From Table 6 in Appendix III, it is seen that 18 out of 25 households in Sirumalai are indebted. The average indebtedness per household ranges from Rs. 125 to Rs. 100. According to Table 7 in Appendix III, 80.2% of the debts have been incurred for meeting ordinary items of expenditure, and 12.4% for marriage expenses. In Shenbagathope and Ayyanarkoil villages the indebtedness is not heavy, because none is willing to give them loans. They even starve as they do not know the method of raising loans.

Collection of minor forest produces

12. The Palliyans do not like any hard manual work. They are inclined to be indolent. Still, when they go out for collection of minor forest produces, they climb tall trees and descend to rock crevices with the aid of ropes prepared from jungle creepers. The contractors depend on the Palliyans to collect honey for them. The following are the items of minor produces generally collected with the help of Palliyans:

1. Galnuts;
2. Honey;
3. Tamarind;
4. Poolampattai;
5. Bark of cloves;
6. Kunkalyam;
7. Sarasa Parilla;
8. Poochai nuts;
9. Goosberries;

The Palliyans are paid Re. 1/-per day which, in turn, will depend on their collecting the quantity fixed by the contractor. No co-operative society has been formed by the Palliyans whereby the right of collection of minor produces could be entrusted to that society with greater advantage to the community.

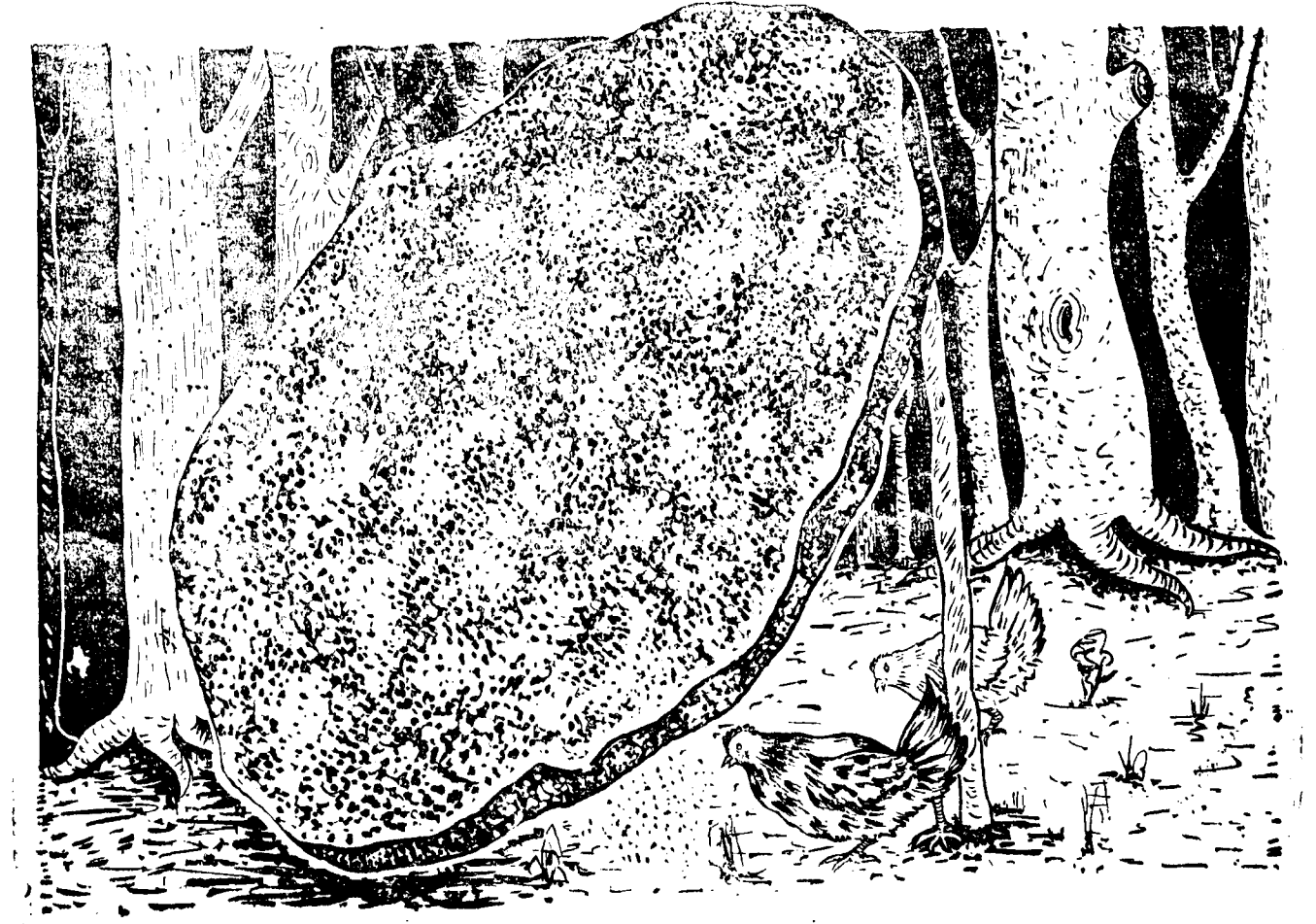
Honey gathering

13. The Palliyans show great courage in gathering honey. They have their own methods of reaching the bee-hives, whether they are located in a branch of a tall tree or in a deep precipitous rock-crevice. They climb trees by using a pole with hook at one end. They fix the hook in a branch or node and climb up scaling the pole. If the bee-hive is in a deep crevice, they use a rope chain, the one end of which is tied to the trunk of a tree on the rock. The rope itself is made by twisting four or five twines of a creeper called *Karungodi* which can withstand the weight. One of the party descends to the bee-hive with the help of the

rope. Another man standing at the top will lower a burning torch by means of a rope. The man lower down pushes the torch towards the bee-hive and drives away the bees. The torch is then withdrawn and a bamboo tray in which plantain leaves are spread is lowered. It is pushed with a forked stick so that it comes just below the bee-hive. Then the bee-hive is pierced with another pointed stick. Pieces of the bee-hive fall with honey in the tray. The tray is sent up once or twice and the contents emptied. In this manner, the entire bee-hive is dismantled. Old tradition has it that only the wife's brother should stand guard at the top and see to the safety of the rope-chain. Now-a-days this is not followed because they have confidence in other members of the tribe. The season for honey gathering is from December to April when Kurinji flowers blossom.

Hunting

14. The Palliyans do not have any bow or arrow nor any fire arms. They do not go for hunt of big animals. They may catch some deer or Sambur by the following method:



Idikki—Palliyan way of trapping birds.

A pit is dug along the path usually taken by the animals and it is covered with twigs and earth. When the animal falls into the pit, they rush towards it from the hiding place and kill it. The animal is shared by the entire settlement.

They also catch wild fowls or rabbits by a method called by them 'Idikki'. A slab of heavy stone is made to stand inclined over a stick. Grains are strewn underneath the stone. When a fowl tries to eat the grain, the stone slab is tripped and it falls heavily on it. It is crushed under the weight of the stone.

In the month of Adi, the Palliyans catch rats which live in tree holes. For this, they move in groups. Another favourite pursuit is catching guana (*Lacerta Iguana*). They do it by blowing smoke into the hole in which it lives. When it tries to come out, they catch it by the neck.

Caste Hierarchy

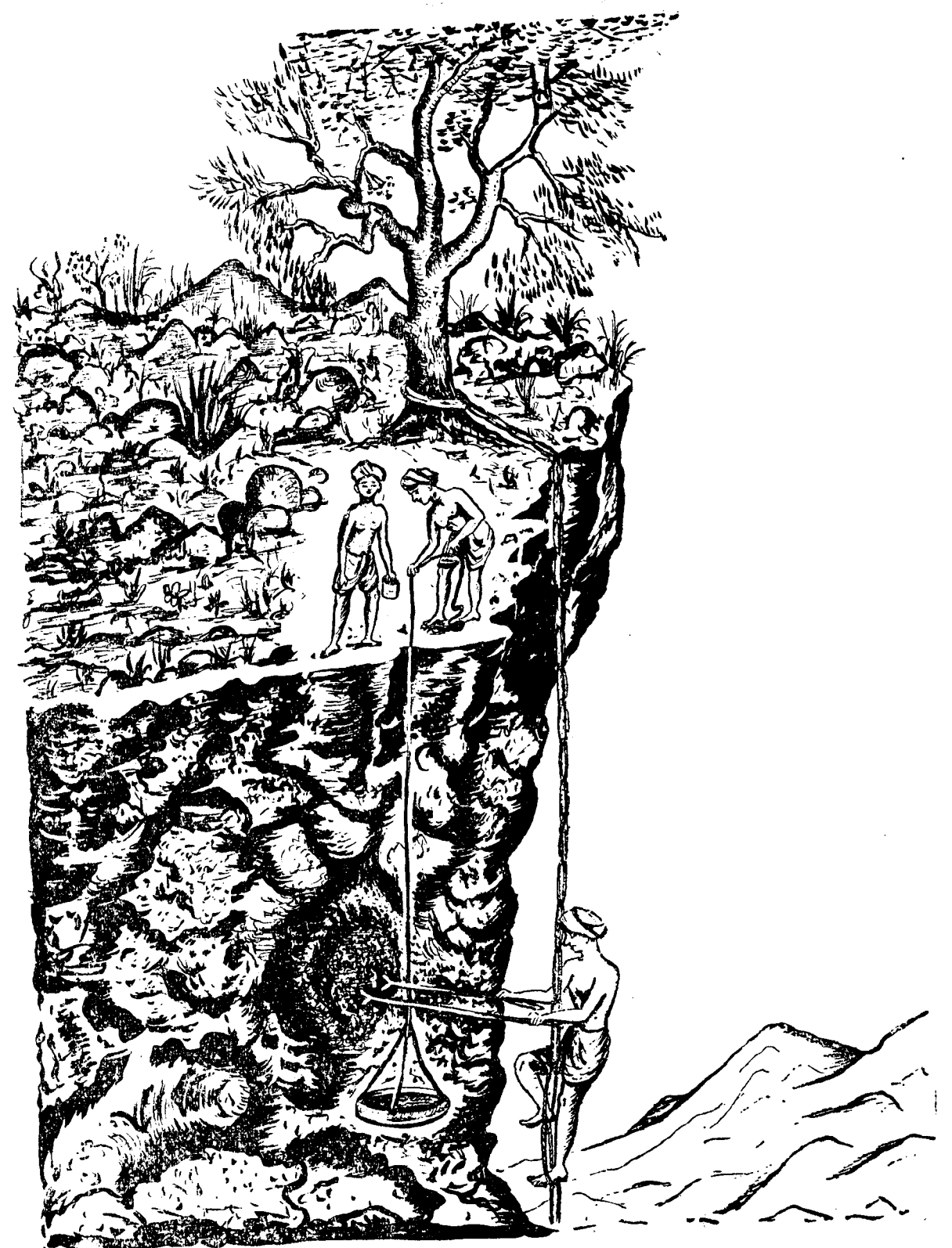
15. The tribal hierarchy of the Palliyans is weak without any overall headman for the entire tribe. Inter-settlement disputes are not solved effectively. Each settlement has, however, a headman. He is called by the name *Muthiri* in Sirumalai area, as *Nattamai Karan* or *Nattamai* in Shenbagathope and Thandikudi areas, and as *Kannikaran* in Tirunelveli district. His authority is limited to the settlement in which he lives. The office usually goes by heredity. But, at times, a more powerful man, who can do better work with forest officials and others is appointed. Recently, such a change was effected in Shenbagathope. In Sirumalai the *Muthiris* are assisted by *Kambalians* whose duty is to summon persons to appear before the tribal panchayats. In Thandikudi area, the assistant is called *Thandakkaran*. If any dispute arises among the members of the settlement, the elders presided over by the *Muthiris* or *Nattamai* settle the disputes. Whenever there is dispute between two groups in the settlement, the *Nattamai* hears the dispute and decides which is the offending party. The offending party will then leave the settlement with their family and live elsewhere either in the forest or in a neighbouring settlement for a fixed number of days. The *Muthiri* or *Nattamai* can also impose small fines. He can keep part of the fine for himself as remuneration. Adultery within the tribe is viewed leniently. Pre-marital relationship is found

and the caste hierarchy usually does not take any cognizance of it. Adultery with a man outside the tribe usually ends with ex-communication; but if the woman returns to the settlement with her children born to outsiders they are admitted and children absorbed in the community in course of time. In Sirumalai, one woman by name *Amma Ponnu* deserted her husband and went to live with a *Valluva Pandaram*. She lived with him for 15 years. When the *Valluva Pandaram* ran away with some other woman, she came back to the Palliyan settlement. At present, she is treated with some reservation but, in due course, she will be admitted as a full member of the tribe. In Shenbagathope, a Palliyan woman went to live with a *Marava*. They actually live in a farm-shed nearby. The other Palliyans do not object to this woman visiting the settlement by herself but they object to her visiting the colony with her *Maravan*. There are other cases of Palliyan women living with men of other community but in all these cases they ultimately return and get absorbed in the tribe. It cannot be said that Palliyans have preserved their racial purity. This can be attributed to the weak tribal hierarchy.

Social life

16. The small population of the Palliyans is dispersed over a vast area. They live in groups in isolated areas. In course of time, the groups have lost contact of each other. Marriage alliances take place within the settlement itself. Only if this is not possible, they seek alliances in other settlements. The Palliyan never goes more than 10 miles in seeking a spouse. In a way the shrinkage of the social circle is made possible by the absence of the practice of exogamy. No *Kulam* or *Gothram* is observed. All that he wishes is that the spouse belongs to the tribe. There are cases where if previous relationship is traced one's wife may turn out to be his own paternal cousin of the second or third degree. If exogamy is practised, such marital relationship will not be possible. In one sense, this can lead to biological degeneration of the tribe. But this is, to some extent, counteracted by the tendency of Palliyan women choosing to live with men outside the tribe.

Another tendency which is harmful to the community is that boys are married to very young girls. As such, in a Palliyan settlement sex life starts as soon as the girl attains puberty. No girl is allowed to remain unmarried for more than one year after attaining puberty; nor is the girl permitted to remain as virgin



Palliyans gathering honey

or more than six months. There is neither rigid surveillance by the caste hierarchy nor is there any paternal vigil over the girls to prevent premarital relationships. There are instances in which elopements have taken place at young age which are later regularised by marriages.

In Shenbagathope we were shown a young girl of barely thirteen years. She is still studying in the Residential School. She has recently attained puberty and in the normal course she must wait for at least three years to attain physical maturity. But already four boys, out of whom one is already married, are after her. There is keen rivalry for her. She would have now yielded to one of the four boys, but for the opposition of the teacher of the local school.

In this tribe, a tendency has been noticed among young persons to get freed from the paternal control at the earliest moment. The tendency in a sense, is encouraged by the parents themselves so that they may not have the responsibility of maintaining them. There is less cohesion between parents and children as in other tribes.

Though exogamy is not practised in the tribe, consanguineous marriages are frequent. Cross cousin marriages are widely prevalent. In Sirumalai village, out of 26 marriages of males, 18 have married the maternal aunts' daughters, one his maternal uncle's daughter and six their sisters' daughters (vide Table in Appendix III). Such marriages are not, however, quite stable.

It has to be conceded that in many other tribes of South India, women enjoy an equal, if not a superior status, with men. Perhaps the only tribe in which such freedom does not exist is among Kanis living inanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts. In other tribes, the women have the freedom to choose their husbands, and even in cases where betrothal has taken place in their young age, they break it and marry whomsoever they like. They also have freedom of divorce and marriage. In some tribes, women also enjoy a certain amount of freedom in sex life even after marriage. Perhaps the Palliyans will fall in this category. A girl is not bound to marry the boy to whom she is betrothed by her parents. If she wishes, she can elope with some other boy and live like husband and wife. If she is dissatisfied with her husband, she can leave him and live with some other man. No bride-price exists so that there is no economic limitation on the freedom to change the husband. Nor are the children

an impediment on the freedom of sex life. In Ayyanarkoil, a woman of 25 years has deserted her husband and is living with a young boy who is 17 years old. Early marriages usually lead to frequent divorces, remarriages and widow marriages. In Sirumalai village, out of 20 married males, 4 are married twice and one thrice. In the case of women, out of 23 married females, two are married twice and one thrice.

Though the Palliyans do not observe any elaborate rituals during marriages or death ceremonies, they generally observe pollution. Each settlement has a separate pollution shed called *Muttu kudisai* in which women have to live for 5 to 7 days during their periods. When a woman gives birth to a child, she is removed to this shed and made to live for a month. A long period of pollution is observed when a girl attains puberty.

Birth Customs

17. During pregnancy, no restriction of diet is observed. In the 7th or 9th month, a good feast is given to the pregnant mother. The first delivery takes place in her mother's place and the others in the husband's place. Wherever she is, the delivery takes place in the pollution shed. An experienced old woman in the community assists the mother during labour for which she is paid one rupee and a measure of rice. In difficult cases, *Valukkappattai*, a bark of a medicinal plant is powdered and given with Margosa oil to the women. Pollution is observed for 30 days after delivery, and the mother and child taken to the house, after a bath. At the time of delivery, a bill-hook and a fishing net are placed by the side of the pollution shed to keep away the ghosts. The umbilical cord and the placentas are usually put in a pot and buried in a spot close-by. For three days, the mother is not given any food but she is given a sweetened decoction of ginger, pepper and Tippili. This preparation is called "*Kayam marunthu*".

Puberty customs

18. As soon as a girl attains puberty, she is taken to the separate shed called *Muttu kudisai*. In Sirumalai area, a new shed is constructed specially for this purpose by the prospective bridegroom, if there is any, or by the maternal uncle. The girl has to remain for 30 days in this shed and during this period, no male is permitted to see her. Before entering the hut,

the girl has to take along with her a bow called "*Arjunan vill*" made of palm-stick. On the 30th day, the hut is pulled out and thrown into a stream. The girl is seated and seven pots of water are poured on her quickly and continuously so that all pollution may get washed. While this is being done, her brothers-in-law and prospective grooms throw on her balls of cow-dung and pods of Erukkan (*Calotropis gigantea*). She is then made to walk over a turmeric-smeared thread of about 10 feet length, put on the ground. The ends of the thread will be held in position by asking two prospective suitors to stand over it at either end. As the girl walks across and nears the end of the thread, the groom at that end should run away before the girl could touch him. If she touches him, the boy gets polluted and will have to be administered bath with seven pots of water. He in turn will be pelted with cow-dung balls and pods of Erukkan. By this ceremony, a lot of fun is created. The girl dips herself in seven streams before she is admitted into the house. It is usual for the maternal uncle to present her with new clothes.

Puberty is celebrated in Shenbagathope in a slightly different manner. Pollution is limited to 16 days. On the 16th day, the girl and the prospective groom are seated side by side and water poured over them. When the girl is deposited in the pollution shed, she is not asked to keep with her the bow called "*Arjunan Vill*". She is instead asked to take a bundle of *Pirandai* (*Vitis Quadrangularis*) as pillow.

Marriage customs

19. Betrothal usually takes place, when the girl is young and before she attains puberty. In Sirumalai, a bride price amounting to Rs. 10.50 is given. In Thandikudi and Shenbagathope, no bride price is given. But the groom presents the girl with a nose-screw, one pair of ear-rings and a saree. The marriage takes place soon after the girl attains puberty. The girl, once betrothed, cannot be married to any one else, but if she elopes with some one, it is later regularised into a marriage. The marriage takes place in the groom's

house. It is simple but a feast is given to all relatives. In Sirumalai, a Tali which is small-sized and "W" shaped is tied by the bridegroom round the neck of the bride. In Thandikudi and Shenbagathope, no such Tali is tied but a string of beads is tied by the groom. Immediately after the marriage, it is usual to have a group dance in which both males and females take part separately.

Death customs

20. The Palliyans always bury the dead. They do not have any fixed place as burial grounds. They bury wherever there is a convenient spot. In Sirumalai a pit is dug north south and the head is placed towards the south with face upwards, but slightly tilted towards the east. In Shenbagathope area, the pit is dug east-west and the head is placed towards the west. Before the body is carried to the burial ground, the corpse is given a cold water bath and sandal paste applied. The practice among Palliyans is not to revisit the place of burial ground after they come away after burial; but in Sirumalai, the Palliyans revisit it on the third day and pour milk and ghee near the place of burial. In all places Karumadi (final day obsequies) is performed on the 16th day by giving a feast to close relatives. In Sirumalai, a fowl is sacrificed on this day. When once the Karumadi is celebrated, the departed soul is never remembered by celebrating any anniversaries. Generally, the Palliyans spend little on death ceremony.

Conclusion

21. By appearance, by customs and manners, Palliyans appear to belong to a primitive tribe probably of pre-Dravidian origin. Their present population is approximately 1,500 and they live scattered in groups from Palani Taluk to Kanyakumari district. In view of their scattered condition, these groups have lost contact with each other. They have a weak tribal hierarchy. Each group has developed its own characteristics. Though socially they are not considered untouchable, they are educationally and economically very backward. They are a quiet and inoffensive people but their economic conditions need considerable improvement.

APPENDIX I
Extracts from Census Reports
and Published volumes
about Palliyans

PALLIYANS

EXTRACT FROM THE MADURA MANUAL—1891

The Palliyans are another mountain caste : but of a far lower type of humanity than the Poleiyans. In fact they are vagabonds and decline to adopt the most simple usages of ordinary men, having neither houses, clothes nor any kind of property. Ranging over the hills, they satisfy hunger with such roots and fruits as they can find by search, and occasionally a little wild honey. They carefully shun the society of civilised men, and will never approach a stranger except upon the offer of a piece of baccu or a strip of cloth, for both of which commodities they show a great natural fondness. I have been informed however by a gentleman accustomed to visit the parts in which the Palliyans live, that a few of them have been induced to act as beaters of game, and have to his knowledge considerably improved in personal appearance and intelligence since their employment and receipt of remuneration for their services. And such being the case, it would seem to be reasonable to hope that the whole caste may some day be brought to adopt a more civilized mode of life. They are gentle in disposition and show no inclination to rob their neighbours.

It is always hazardous to speculate upon these matters, but it would seem to be no means improbable that these unfortunates are the descendants of some partially civilised caste which was centuries ago dispossessed of its hereditary lands on the hills by merciless invasion, or else nearly swept away by some ghastly epidemic, and being at once unable to acquire new lands on the plains and unwilling to descend into the plains rapidly sank into barbarism. There can be no question but that the Palani and Avancore mountains have been far more widely cultivated than they are at present : and many parts of India afford evidence of the fact that extensive tracts of country have sometimes been utterly deserted by all their inhabitants, and from a state of careful culture returned to one of nature. However it may have been in this case, the Palliyans are so like ordinary Tamils in physiognomy and physique that it is difficult to believe that they belong to another and earlier type.

According to the Census returns only two individuals of the caste existed in 1850, but this is of course not true. Several families are known to be existent, though how many it is impossible to guess.

EXTRACT FROM "THE DISTRICT GAZETTEER OF MADURAI VOLUME I BY WESTERN FRANCIES—1906

The Paliyans are a very backward caste who reside in small, scattered parties amid the jungles of the Upper Palnis and the Varushanad valley. They speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation which renders it scarcely intelligible. They are much less civilized than the Pulaiyans, but do not eat beef and consequently carry no pollution. They sometimes build themselves grass huts but often they live on platforms up trees, in caves, or under rocks. Their clothes are of the scantiest and dirtiest, and are sometimes eked out with grass or leaves. They live upon roots (yams), leaves and honey. They cook the roots by putting them into a pit in the ground and heaping wood upon them and light-

ing it. The fire is usually kept burning all night as a protection against wild beasts and it is often the only sign of the presence of the Paliyans in a jungle, for they are shy folk who avoid other people. They make fire with quartz and steel, using the floss of the silk-cotton tree as tinder. Weddings are conducted without ceremonies, the understanding being that the man shall collect food and the woman cook it. When one of them dies the rest leave the body as it is and avoid the spot for some months. Mr. Thurston has published an account, with illustrations and measurements, of a settlement of the caste in the Tinnevely jungles. There, the dead are buried and a stone is placed over the grave, which is never visited again.

EXTRACT FROM "THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN INDIA" BY THURSTON.

Paliyans

Paliyans of Madura and Tinnevely. In a note on the Malai (hill) Paliyans of the Madura district, the Rev. J.E. Tracy writes as follows : " I went to their village at the foot of the Periyar hills, and can testify to their being the most abject, hopeless, and unpromising specimens of humanity that I have ever seen. There were about forty of them in the little settlement, which was situated in a lovely spot. A stream of pure water was flowing within a few feet of their huts, and yet they were as foul and filthy in their personal appearance as if they were more animals, and very unclean ones. Rich land that produced a luxuriant crop of rank reeds was all around them, and, with a little exertion on their part, might have been abundantly irrigated, and produced continuous crops of grain. Yet they lived entirely on nuts and roots, and various kinds of gum that they gathered in the forest on the slopes of the hills above their settlement. Only two of the community had ever been more than seven miles away from their village into the open country below them. Their huts were built entirely of grass, and consisted of only one room each, and that open at the ends. The chief man of the community was an old man with white hair. His distinctive privilege was that he was allowed to sleep between two fires at night, while no one else was allowed to have but one—a distinction that they were very complaisant about, perhaps because with the distinction was the accompanying obligation to see that the community's fire never went out. As he was also the only man in the community who was allowed to have two wives, I inferred that he delegated to them the privilege of looking after the fires, while he did the sleeping, whereas, in other families, the man and wife had to take turn and turn about to see that the fire had not to be re-lighted in the morning. They were as ignorant as they were filthy. They had place of worship, but seemed to agree that the demons of the forest around them were the only beings that they had to fear besides the Forest Department. They were barely clothed, their rags being held about them, in one or two cases, with girdles of twisted grass. They had much the same appearance that many a famine subject presented in the famine of 1877, but they seemed to have had no better times to look back upon, and hence took their condition as a matter of course. The forest had been their home from time immemorial. Yet the forest

seemed to have taught them nothing more than it might have been supposed to have taught the prowling jackal or the laughing hyaena. There were no domesticated animals about their place: strange to say, not even a pariah dog. They appeared to have no idea of hunting, any more than they had of agriculture. And, as for any ideas of the beauty or solemnity of the place that they had selected as their village site, they were as innocent of such things as they were of the beauties of Robert Browning's verse."

In a note written in 1817, Mr. T. Turnball states that the Madura Pulliers "are never seen unless when they come down to travellers to crave a piece of tobacco or a rag of cloth, for which they have a great predilection. The women are said to lay their infants on warm ashes after delivery, as a substitute for warm clothing and beds."

The Palayans, or Pulleer, are described by General Burton as "good trackers, and many of them carried bows and arrows, and a few even possessed matchlocks. I met one of these villagers going out on a sporting excursion. He had on his head a great chatty (earthen pot) full of water, and an old brass-bound matchlock. It was the height of the dry season. He was taking water to a hollow in a rock, which he kept carefully replenished and then ensconced himself in a clump of bushes hard by, and waited all day, if necessary, with true native patience, for hog, deer, or pea-fowl to approach his ambush".

In the Madura Manual, it is noted that "the Poleiyans have always been the praedial slaves of the Kunuvans. According to the survey account, they are the aborigines of the Palni hills. The marriage ceremony consists merely of a declaration of consent made by both parties at a feast, to which all their relatives are invited. As soon as a case of small-pox occurs in one of their villages, a cordon is drawn round it, and access to other villages is denied to all the inhabitants of the infected locality, who at once desert their homes, and camp out for a sufficiently long period. The individual attacked is left to his fate, and no medicine is exhibited to him, as it is supposed that the malady is brought on solely by the just displeasure of the gods. They bury their dead".

The Paliyans are described, in the Gazetteer of the Madura district, as a "very backward caste, who reside in small scattered parties amid the jungles of the Upper Palnis and the Varushanad valley. They speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation, which renders it scarcely intelligible. They are much less civilized than the Pulaiyans, but do not eat beef, and consequently carry no pollution. They sometimes build themselves grass huts, but often they live on platforms up trees, in caves, or under rocks. Their clothes are of the scantiest and dirtiest, and are sometimes eked out with grass or leaves. They live upon roots (yams), leaves, and honey. They cook the roots by putting them into a pit in the ground, heaping wood upon, them, and lighting it. The fire is usually kept burning all night as a protection against wild beasts, and it is often the only sign of the presence of the Paliyans in a jungle, for they are shy folk, who avoid other people. They make fire with quartz and steel, using the floss of the silk-cotton tree as tinder. Weddings are conducted without ceremonies, the understanding being that the man shall collect food, and the woman cook it. When one of them dies, the rest leave the body as it is, and avoid the spot for some months".

A detailed account of the Paliyans of the Palni hills by the Rev. F. Dahmen has recently been published, to which I am indebted for the following information. "The Paliyans are a nomadic tribe, who for the most part rove in small parties through the jungle-clad gorges that fringe the Upper Palnis plateau. There they maintain themselves mostly on the products of the chase and on roots (yams, etc.) leaves and wild fruits (e.g. of the wild date tree), at times also by hiring their labour to the Kunnuvan or Mannadi villagers. The find of a beehive in the hollow of some tree is a veritable feast for them. No sooner have they smoked the bees out than they greedily snatch at the combs, and ravenously devour them on the spot, with wax, grubs, and all. Against ailments the Paliyans have their own remedies: in fact, some Paliyans have made a name for themselves by their knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs and roots. Thus, for instance, they make from certain roots (periya urikatti ver) a white powder known as a very effective purgative. Against snake-bite they always carry with them certain leaves (naru valli ver), which they hold to be a very efficient antidote. As soon as one of them is bitten, he chews these, and also applies them to the wound. Patience and cunning above all are required in their hunting-methods. One of their devices, used for big game, e.g., against the sambar (deer), or against the baor, consists in digging pitfalls, carefully covered up with twigs and leaves. On the animal being entrapped, it is dispatched with clubs or the aruval (sickle). Another means consists in arranging a heap of big stones on a kind of platform, one end of which is made to rest on higher ground, the other skilfully equipoised by a stick resting on a fork, where it remains fixed by means of strong twine so disposed that the least movement makes the lever-like stick on the fork, fly off, while the platform and the stones come rapidly down with a crash. The string which secures the lever is so arranged as to unloose itself at the least touch, and the intended victim can hardly taste the food that serves for bait without bringing the platform with all its weight down upon itself. Similar traps, but on a smaller scale, are used to catch smaller animals: hares, wild fowl, etc. Flying squirrels are smoked out of the hollows of trees, and porcupines out of their burrows, and then captured or clubbed to death on their coming out. The first drops of blood of any animal the Paliyans kill are offered to their god. A good catch is a great boon for the famished Paliyan. The meat obtained therefrom must be divided between all the families of the settlement. The skins, if valuable, are preserved to barter for the little commodities they may stand in need of, or to give as a tribute to their chief. One of their methods for procuring fish consists in throwing the leaves of a creeper called in Tamil karungakodi, after rubbing them, into the water. Soon the fish is seen floating on the surface. Rough fashioned hooks are also used. When not engaged on some expedition, or not working for hire, the Paliyans at times occupy themselves in the fabrication of small bird-cages, or in weaving a rough kind of mat, or in basket-making. The small nicknacks they turn out are made according to rather ingenious patterns, and partly coloured with red and green vegetable dyes. These, with skins of animals, and the odoriferous resin collected from the dammer tree, are about the only articles which they barter or sell to the inhabitants of the plains, or to the Mannadis".

Concerning the religion and superstitions of the Paliyans, the Rev. F. Dahmen writes as follows. "The principal religious ceremony takes place about the beginning of March. Mayandi (the god) is usually represented by a stone, preferably one to

which nature has given some curious shape, the serpent form being especially valued. I said 'represented', for, according to our Paliyans, the stone itself is not the god, who is supposed to live somewhere, they do not exactly know where. The stone that represents him has its shrine at the foot of a tree, or is simply sheltered by a small thatched covering. There, on the appointed day, the Paliyans gather before sunrise. Fire is made in a hole in front of the sacred stone, a fine cock brought in, decapitated amidst the music of horn and drum and the blood made to drip on the fire. The head of the fowl ought to be severed at one blow, as this is a sign of the satisfaction of the god for the past, and of further protection for the future. Should the head still hang, this would be held a bad omen, foreboding calamities for the year ensuing. The instrument used in this sacred operation is the aruval, but the sacrificial aruval cannot be used but for this holy purpose. Powers of witchcraft and magic are attributed to the Paliyans by other castes, and probably believed in by themselves. The following device adopted by them to protect themselves from the attacks of wild animals, the panther in particular, may be given as an illustration. Four jackals, tails are planted in four different spots, chosen so as to include the area within which they wish to be safe from the claws of the brute. This is deemed protection enough: though panthers should enter the magic square, they could do the Paliyans no harm; their mouths are locked". It is noted by the Rev. F. Dahmen that Paliyans sometimes go on a pilgrimage to the Hindu shrine of Subramaniyam at Palni.

Writing concerning the Paliyans who live on the Travancore frontier near Shengkotta, Mr. G. F. D. Penha states that they account for their origin by saying that, at some very remote period, an Eluvan took refuge during a famine in the hills, and there took to wife a Palliyar woman, and that the Palliyars are descended from these two. "The Palliyar," he continues, "is just a shade lower than the Eluvan. He is permitted to enter the houses of Eluvans, Elavaniacs (betel-growers), and even of Maravars, and in the hills, where the rigour of the social code is relaxed to suit circumstances, the higher castes mentioned will even drink water given by Palliyars, and eat roots cooked by them. The Palliyars regard sylvan deities with great veneration. Kurupuswami is the tribe's tutelary god, and, when a great haul of wild honey is made, offerings are given at some shrine. They pretend to be followers of Siva, and always attend the Adi Amavasai ceremonies at Courtallum. The Palliyar cultivates nothing, not even a sweet potato. He keeps no animal, except a stray dog or two. An axe, a knife, and a pot are all the impedimenta he carries. An expert honey-hunter, he will risk his neck climbing lofty precipices or precipitous cliffs. A species of sago-palm furnishes him with a glairy glutinous fluid on which he thrives, and such small animals as the iguana (*Varanus*), the tortoise, and the larvae of hives are never-failing luxuries".

The Paliyans, whom I investigated in north Tinnevely, were living in the jungles near the base of the mountains, in small isolated communities separated from each other by a distance of several miles. They speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation, which recalls to mind the Irulas. They are wholly illiterate, and only a few can count up to ten. A woman has been known to forget her own name. At a marriage, the father, taking the hand of the bride, and putting it into that of the bridegroom, says "I give this girl to you. Give her roots and leaves,

and protect her". The value of a bride or bridegroom, depends very much on the quantity of roots, etc., which he or she can collect. When a widow does not remarry, the males of the community supply her with roots and other products of the jungle. Marriages are, as a rule, contracted within the settlement, and complications occasionally occur owing to the absence of a girl of suitable age for a young man. Indeed, in one settlement, I came across two brothers, who had for this reason resorted to the adelphous form of polyandry. It would be interesting to note hereafter if this custom, thus casually introduced, becomes established in the tribe. As an exception to the rule of marriage within the settlement, it was noted that a party of Paliyans had wandered from the Gandamanaikanur forests to the jungle of Ayanarkoil, and there intermarried with the members of the local tribe, with which they became incorporated. The Paliyans admit members of other castes into their ranks. A case was narrated to me, in which a Maravan cohabited for some time with a Paliya woman, who bore children by him. In this way is the purity of type among the jungle tribes lost as the result of civilisation, and their nasal index reduced from platyrrhine to mesorrhine dimensions.

The Tinnevely Paliyans say that Valli, the wife of the god Subramaniya, was a Paliyan woman. As they carry no pollution, they are sometimes employed, in return for food, as night watchmen at the Vaishnavite temple known as Azhagar Koil at the base of the hills. They collect for the Forest Department minor produce in the form of root-bark of *Ventilago madraspatana* and *Anisochilus Carnosus* the fruit of *Terminallia Chebula* (myrabolams), honey, bees-wax etc., which are handed over to a contractor in exchange for rice, tobacco, betel leaves and nuts, chillies, tamarinds and salt. The food thus earned as wages is supplemented by yams (tubers of *Dioscorea*) and roots, which are dug up with a digging-stick, and forest fruits. They implicitly obey the contractor, and it was mainly through his influence that I was enabled to interview them, and measure their bodies, in return for a banquet, whereof they partook seated on the grass in two semicircles, the men in front and women in the rear, and eating off teak leaf plates piled high with rice and vegetables. Though the prodigious mass of food provided was greedily devoured till considerable abdominal distension was visible, dissatisfaction was expressed because it included no meat (mutton), and I had not brought new loin-cloths for them. They laughed, however, when I expressed a hope that they would abandon their dirty cloths, turkey-red turbans and European bead necklaces, and revert to the primitive leafy garment of their forbears. A struggle ensued for the limited supply of sandal paste, with which a group of men smeared their bodies, in imitation of the higher classes, before they were photographed. A feast given to the Paliyans by some missionaries was marred at the outset by the unfortunate circumstance that betel and tobacco were placed by the side of the food, these articles being of evil omen as they are placed in the grave with the dead. A question whether they eat beef produced marked displeasure, and even roused an apathetic old woman to grunt "Your other questions are fair. You have no right to ask that". If a Paliyan happens to come across the carcase of a cow or buffalo near a stream, it is abandoned, and not approached for a long time. Leather they absolutely refuse to touch, and one of them declined to carry my camera box, because he detected that it had a leather strap.

They make fire with a quartz strike-a-light and steel and the floss of the silk-cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*). They have no means of catching or killing animals, birds, or fish with nets, traps, or weapons, but, if they come across the carcass of a goat or deer in the forest, they will roast and eat it. They catch "vermin" (presumably field rats) by smoking them out of their holes, or digging them out with their digging-sticks. Crabs are caught for eating by children, by letting a string with a piece of cloth tied to the end down the hole, and lifting it out thereof when the crab seizes hold of the cloth with its claws. Of wild beasts they are not afraid and scare them away by screaming, clapping the hands, and rolling down stones into the valleys. I saw one man, who had been badly mauled by a tiger on the buttock and thigh when he was asleep with his wife and child in a cave. During the dry season they live in natural caves and crevices in rocks, but, if these leak during the rains they erect a rough shed with the floor raised on poles off the ground, and sloping grass roof, beneath which a fire is kept burning at night, not only for warmth, but also to keep off wild beasts. They are expert at making rapidly improved shelters at the base of hollow trees by cutting away the wood on one side with a bill-hook. Thus protected, they were quite snug and happy during a heavy shower, while we were miserable amid the drippings from an umbrella and a mango tree.

Savari is a common name among the Tinnevely Paliyans as among other Tamils. It is said to be a corruption of Xavier, but Savari or Sabari are recognised names of Siva and Parvati. There is a temple called Savarimalayan on the Travancore boundary, whereat the festival takes place at the same time as the festival in honour of St. Xavier among Roman Catholics. The women are very timid in the presence of Europeans, and suffer further from hippophobia; the sight of a horse, which they say is as tall as a mountain, like an elephant, producing a regular stampede into the depths of the jungle. They carry their babies slung in a cloth on the back, and not astride the hips according to the common practice of the plains. The position, in confinement, is to sit on a rock with legs dependent. Many of these Paliyans suffer from jungle fever, as a protection against which they wear a piece of turmeric tied round the neck. The dead are buried, and a stone is placed on the grave, which is never re-visited.

Like other primitive tribes, the Paliyans are short of stature and dolichocephalic, and the archaic type of nose persists in some individuals.

Average height 150.9cm. Nasal index 83 (max. 100).

EXTRACT FROM CENSUS OF INDIA, 1931—VOLUME I—
INDIA—PART III—ETHNOGRAPHICAL—

Paliyans:

Paliyans live in small isolated groups all along the Western Ghats from the Palni Hills in the north down to the Tinnevely, Hills in the south. The note below by Mr. R. Foulkes, O.B.E., of Madura, covers all general matters relating to the tribe. Inevitably however in such circumstances of dispersion local differences arise. These are nowhere very considerable however. The Pali-

yans near Kuttalam in Tinnevely declare that their ancestors fled from the persecutions of some Nawab. This may possibly refer to Tippu. Tinnevely Paliyans seem generally to be called Karatu whereas the Madura ones are known as Kavu. Several small groups of Paliyans have diverged almost entirely from the tribal customs. In their case the effect of Christianization has been almost entire assimilation to plains types and customs. Other Paliyans ordinarily will have nothing whatever to do with their Christian fellow-tribesmen. Among Paliyans, as in other tribes, racial intermixture takes much wider range among Christians than among those adhering to the tribal faith. An interesting variation from the account given by Mr. Foulkes is from the Tahsildar of Periyakulam who declares that males are buried with face upwards but females with face downwards. This point would require however further elucidation. Among the Paliyans of the Saptur Hills, according to Mr. J. A. Vedanayakan, it is the bridegroom's sister who ties the beads round the bride's neck at a marriage, and there is a kind of banns proclamation, one man announcing in a loud voice that a marriage is in the making at a certain house and another elderly Paliyan from an adjoining group of huts calls out the community's assent in a loud 'yes'. The same Paliyans hunt sambhur with a sharpened heavy stick which they hurl with some skill like a javelin. The Tahsildar of Periyakulam reports, to the same effect. Apparently the Saptur Paliyans abandon their hut on the mere occurrence of death, not only for an epidemic visitation.

It seems to be a general circumstance for Paliyans (other than Christians) to be peculiarly attached to their tribal life and customs and to be hardy and long-lived. Mr. Vedanayakan thinks that there must be more than one Paliyan centenarian.

A NOTE ON THE PALIYANS OF THE MADURA
DISTRICT BY R. FAULKES, ESQ O.B.E.,

Religion

The Paliyans worship Palichi-Ammal (Palichi, female of Paliyan; Ammal, the honorific). They have no knowledge of any other god or goddess. When asked, they think she must have had a husband ("Can a woman live without a husband?"), but they know nothing about him. At rare intervals the whole community worships together this goddess, but each family worships her separately much oftener. One old man said communal worship occurred once in 10 or 20 years, but others said it was more frequent. They have no idea, however, of the lapse of time. For instance, one of them made the statement that the original Paliyans must have come to this part of the country from they did not know where, about 25 years ago.

A few stones are set up in a row, the number being immaterial, though generally from 1 to 7, under a rock or tree. The stones are usually smooth pebbles from a stream. Each stone is painted with a figure to represent a man (or woman?), with vermilion paste. They could not say whether it was a man or a woman. The worship consists of the offering of honey and some roots of the wild yam (*Dioscorea-Tamil*,—"Velvalli" or "Sevalli"). They then prostrate themselves on the ground before the stones and utter prayers for protection from wild beasts and evil spirits. The women are also present and prostrate. The chief performer is generally an elderly man who is

called the 'Thevaradi' (literally, "the dancer of the god"—or goddess—in Tamil). He works himself up to a state of ecstasy and falls into a trance. The "Sattan" another elderly man, then acting as interpreter, puts him questions about the future welfare of the community, or of an individual and the Thevaradi, who is supposed to be inspired by the goddess, answers.

The Paliyans, apart from the above form of congregational worship, also pray privately to Palichiammal for protection against danger of any kind in the jungle. This is done mentally and without any outward ceremony. Although they evidently dread evil spirits, their ideas about them are very vague, and they cannot describe them. They do not seem to give them the shape of men or of animals. The offices of Thevaradi and Sattan are hereditary. They have no permanent temples, and the locality where the community worships is chosen according to convenience and need not always be the same. Communal worship seems to take place when the community can afford it, and that is, apparently, very rarely.

Death customs

The dead are always buried. The body is not washed or prepared in any way, and is kept in the hut or cave where death occurred until the time of burial. Ornaments, if any, are removed, but not the clothing. The eyes are never closed, but the arms are extended at the sides. One old man said that the arms are sometimes crossed over the breast but the others denied this. The body is placed in the grave, which is only breast deep, in a recumbent position on its back. When a death occurs messengers are sent to the neighbouring habitations to announce it. All are bound to attend it, especially the near relations. As these habitations are generally far apart, it may take three or even four days before the neighbours can assemble. The body in the meantime is left unburied even though it becomes offensive. It is borne to the grave, which is always close by, by anyone, but the front bearers must be near relations if possible. A penalty is inflicted on those who do not attend the funeral. The delinquent is made to kneel, a heavy stone is placed on the nape of the neck, and he is asked to explain why he was absent. This is generally satisfactory. The offender and the chief mourner exchange a drink of water from each other's hands and the affront is thereby condoned. It was not known what happens when the explanation is not satisfactory.

On the eighth day after the death, the spirit of the departed is worshipped with offerings of roots and honey, and its protection is invoked. From that time onwards the spirit is deemed to be merged in the deity. This ceremony is absolutely imperative, and is never omitted for either sex. The dead are remembered whenever Palichiammal is worshipped, and their protection is sought together with hers. In times of great mental or physical distress, or when a Paliyan dies an unprepared death, an invocation of the spirits of the departed takes place, and they manifest themselves through a living Paliyan present who makes revelations about the affairs of the invoker. This is called the 'the calling of the shadows'.

The Paliyans seem to think little about a life after death. When asked what happens to the spirits of the dead, or where they go to, they said they did not know and did not care. They also appear to make no difference between the good and the bad after death.

Marriage

As a rule marriages are arranged for the young people by the elders of a family. But there are cases when the young couple make their own choice, generally as the result of illicit sexual intercourse. Such behaviour is condoned without much difficulty and a marriage is brought about as the best solution of the trouble. Bride prices are not paid, but the bride receives trifling presents from her relations such as roots, honey, beads, etc., when the time comes for her to be taken to her husband's dwelling. The actual ceremony of marriage consists in the tying of a string of black beads round the neck of the bride, and the presentation of a cloth to her, by the bridegroom. The bride also ties a similar string of beads round the neck of the bridegroom. The woman wears hers permanently if she likes, but it is not imperative. I have seen married women without them. The man usually discards his after the eighth day, as he is too shy to wear it longer. He is also presented with a new cloth by his father.

The wedding festivities last for one day, and one meal only is given to the guests after the tying of the beads. The young couple are given a new hut and are left severely alone for some time some said a few days, others three or four months, and others still more, until the first conception.

Widows may remarry. Adultery is not common, but when it does occur, no penalty seems to be exacted, although the act is strongly condemned.

Marriages are permitted between a man and his maternal uncle's daughter or sister's daughter. All other marriages among relations are prohibited. An alliance between interdicted relations is viewed with displeasure and is treated as concubinage, but is condoned when due apology has been made by the offending couple. Marriage always takes place soon after puberty, never before. But it is common for a girl to reside in the house of her future husband for some time before puberty, if he is her maternal uncle. There is, however, no intercourse before she attains puberty.

A woman is said to be polluted for 5 or 6 days during the menstrual period and for 15 days after confinement. No other kind of pollution is observed. After a confinement, purification is done by burning earthenware vessels and other polluted articles in a heap. The hut is also thoroughly scrubbed and washed. It is only after this purification that the woman is permitted to associate with the others.

Birth

There seem to be no birth ceremonies besides purification. There are no midwives. The mother or some other elderly woman, does all that is necessary at a confinement. The new born baby is plunged into the nearest stream for its first bath, and the mother also bathes immediately after her confinement and washes her cloth. For some days after delivery she and the baby sleep on a bed of ashes, probably for warmth. Oil is never administered to the baby as purgative but a decoction of herbs known only to Paliyans is given when necessary. Other decoctions are prepared for other baby illnesses. Although this shows that the Paliyans have some acquaintance with the medical properties of herbs, no adult is ever given medicine of any kind

PALIYANS

when he is ill. They cannot account for this curious fact, except by stating that the Goddess cures them, and it is therefore unnecessary to take medicine.

General

The staple food of the Paliyans consists of roots (the wild yam, chiefly) honey and the flesh of animals and birds. They also eat various grains (cumbu, cholam, etc.) when they can get them, either from the minor produce forest contractors, or by going down to the plains themselves. They exchange honey, roots, skins, etc., for what they require. They do not eat beef. They obtain game by means of traps and they catch birds with birdlime, but they do not hunt as they have no weapons. They do not use bows and arrows, nor even blowpipes, though the latter are common among the Muthabars who inhabit the same country. They own no property (immovable), and their only possessions are an 'aruval' (bill-hook) and a burnt stick sharpened to a point, which is used for digging up roots, and is called a '*Pavuttam Kombu*'.

They make fire by means of two sticks, by knocking two stones together, or by a flint and steel. They shave the front of the head in the Hindu fashion by means of broken glass and with the aid of salt. The face is also sometimes shaved.

The majority of Paliyans cannot count, but a few who have had some contact with civilization, can. One old man who was sitting near me began to count his toes when asked to show how far he could count. He reached seven. Another counted correctly to 100. This man had been a village 'tandal', and is referred to again below.

They know nothing of their own origin. Several told me the names of their father and grandfather, but could go back no farther. It was suggested to them that Palichiammal might have been their ancestress. They thought it possible.

They are in the habit of signalling to each other in the jungle by different intonations of a cry much resembling 'coo-ee' in order to signify danger, pleasure, etc. They of course have no education, but they speak a Tamil which is quite intelligible and very fluent. Many of those I saw at Periyakulam were obviously not true to type must be of mixed descent. The typical Paliyan of both sexes is rather below the average height of the natives of the Plains, has very curly (*not woolly*) hair, and the skin is not black. Alliances with *Koravars* and others seem to be common and many have quite straight hair. The expression of the face is intelligent and with a few exceptions they look healthy, but their general appearance is filthy, as they seem neither to bathe their bodies nor wash their clothes. As has been said, they take no medicine when sick, but pray to Palichiammal to cure them. I imagine that the Paliyan is rarely ill; except when visited by epidemics like smallpox. In that case, no cure is attempted. The invalid is abandoned and the whole community migrates to another place.

Their only amusement seems to be dancing, in which both sexes indulge simultaneously, but in separate groups. It is very similar to the dancing of other castes in the plain. There seem to be several different kinds of steps. They go round in a

circle clapping hands or waving a cloth, occasionally uttering loud cries. The 'steps' are mostly grotesque postures in the case of the men, and they make faces at one another, but the women are rather graceful. The dancing is accompanied with drums and a primitive form of music played on reed-pipes, which are not very shrill. The music consists of the repetition many times of a short phrase of a few notes. One man had a long 'snake-horn' of brass. They frequently dance on moonlight nights, purely for pleasure and without any religious significance.

Honey plays a very important part in the lives of the Paliyans. Very largely used as a food, no ceremony can be performed without it. It is offered as a gift, together with the wild yam, to important persons and most of their bartering with the people of the plains is done with it.

Their method of taking honey is very interesting, but is similar in many respects to that employed by other jungle tribes which I have witnessed in various parts of South India.

A rope made of twisted roots, fibres, or creepers is fastened to a tree or a stake in the ground a little distance from the edge of the precipice where the honey-combs are usually in considerable numbers. A Paliyan descends the rope from above, and as he swings from one comb to another he dislodges them with his '*Pavuttam Kombu*', which has been mentioned before. Other Paliyans, men and women, stand at the foot of the precipice, and catch the falling combs in baskets or cloths. When he has finished the Paliyan ascends the rope and thus reaches the top again. This performance is one of great danger and requires much courage. From the beginning another Paliyan has been posted at the top, and his duty is to guard the rope. It may be injured by animals, it may fray at the edge of the precipice, or it may be tampered with by an enemy. It is naturally of great importance who is chosen as guardian of the rope. He is whenever possible the brother-in-law of the honey-gatherer, for, in the event of the latter's death, the former would have to maintain the widow, and he is therefore unlikely to saddle himself with this burden if he can possibly avoid it. No one is allowed to guard the rope who would benefit by the death of the gatherer, so he can never be a blood-relation. I have found exactly the same custom prevalent among the pearl-divers at Tuticorin. The amount of honey collected varies, of course, from year to year and the comparative wealth or poverty of the Paliyans depends entirely on this factor. They are much addicted to the toddy extracted from the Sago Palm, which grows wild in the jungles, and I have several times come across a Paliyan lying at the foot of one of these trees in a state of dead drunkenness.

They are, as a rule, shy and timid but their confidence can be gained easily if well treated. The women disappear in the jungle like wild animals if a stranger appears. I and my men have often tried to find them when this has happened, but we have never succeeded. They live almost entirely on the hills and rarely come down to the plains with the men. A rumour that I had arranged to meet some Paliyans had spread, and a large crowd gathered from the neighbouring town of Periyakulam to see them dance, which, apparently had never been witnessed before by those who assembled.

PALIYANS

Most of the information I have given above was obtained from a group of 40 or 50 Paliyans, about half of whom were women, and one very healthy looking baby, who had been collected together for me by the kindness of the Zamindar of Vadagarai and Mr. Santanakrishna Nayudu, who live at Periyakulam. The Zamindar is the overlord of some of them and was treated with great respect. He had arranged a feast for them, which evoked many expressions of gratitude. I myself, however, at one time owned a property in the hills near Bodinayakkanur, where there were a number of Paliyans. They paid no taxes, but were bound by custom to render me service when required, but this was very rare. I generally employed Muthuvars who live in the same hills to fell jungle, etc., as they are much more skilful at this kind of work than even the Paliyans.

The group of Paliyans I met at Periyakulam were quite at their ease in a very short time. A few are now working for the Zamindar in his gardens near Periyakulam. They answered questions readily and were easily amused. One man related amid much laughter, how he had been captured by a coolie-recruiter when he was lying drunk in the forest, and had been carried off to Ceylon to work on a tea estate. He returned after three years with savings of about Rs. 50 which soon disappeared,

he could not say how. He had evidently been well-treated and seemed very proud of his adventure. Another man had acted as a 'tandal' (village servant) in a Government village on the upper Palni Hills for three or four years. He had apparently got this job through the 'Karnam' (village accountant) who had also obtained for him 3 acres of Government land which he still owned. He was very vague as to how he got this land or why the karnam had been so generous. The land, of course, must have cost the karnam nothing, and I suspect that he pocketed the greater part of the pay of his tandal in exchange during the period of his service. Both these men were less shy and seemed more intelligent than the others. The last named could count correctly and quickly up to 100. This is the only case I know where a Paliyan has owned and cultivated land.

The men wore a filthy loin cloth only, but the women were fully clothed like the women of the plains, in very dirty saris. They were probably 'dolloed up' for the occasion, as I have always seen them in the jungles wearing nothing but a loin cloth.

The Jesuit Priests own a coffee estate at Palamali on the Palni Hills about 10 miles from Kodaikanal. A number of Paliyans work there as coolies, and have become Christians, but other Paliyans will have nothing to do with them.

APPENDIX II
Extracts from 1961 Census
SCT Tables relating
to Palliyans

T A B L E - S C T I
INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX
FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	Total/ Rural/ Urban	Workers										
		I			II			III				
		Total		Total Workers		As Cultivator		As Agricultural Labourer		In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and allied activities		
(1)	(2)	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Madras State	T	1,551	789	762	562	436	62	15	50	18	363	318
	R	1,548	788	760	561	434	62	15	50	18	363	318
	U	3	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Arcot	T	5	2	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	1
	R	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
	U	3	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	R	43	17	26	10	22	5	6	5	16	...	...
Nilgiris	R	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	R	1,310	665	645	456	396	15	7	19	2	339	304
Tiruchirappalli	R	123	64	59	64	...	38	...	26	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	R	29	17	12	13	...	1	...	...	...	11	...
Tirunelveli	R	40	23	17	17	15	3	2	...	...	13	13

T A B L E - S C T I--(Contd.)
INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS AT WORK AND NON WORKERS BY SEX
FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE--(Contd.)

Name of the State/District	Total/ Rural/ Urban	IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	
		At Household Industry		Manufacturing other than Household Industry		In Construction		In Trade and Commerce		In Transport, Storage and Communications		In Other Services			
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
		(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)
Madras State	T	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	86	84	227	326
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	86	83	227	326
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
North Arcot	T	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
South Arcot	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	4
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	83	83	209	249
Tiruchirapalli	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4	12
	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	2

T A B L E - S C T I I
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	Total Population											
	Total			Never Married			Married			Widowed		
	P	M	F	M	F	(6)	M	F	(8)	M	F	(10)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	1,551	789	762	368	393	366	294	40	72	15	3	
North Arcot	5	2	3	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	
South Arcot	43	17	26	8	3	8	19	1	3	...	1	
Nilgiris	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
Madurai	1,310	665	645	327	325	285	249	39	69	14	2	
Tiruchirapalli	123	64	59	15	57	49	2	...	...	...	...	
Ramanathapuram	29	17	12	6	2	10	10	...	...	1	...	
Tirunelveli	40	23	17	11	5	12	12	...	...	...	...	

T A B L E - S C T II (Contd.)

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE—(Contd.)

Age 0—14

Name of the State/District	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)
Madras State	250	332	250	330	...	2	...	...	...	...
North Arcot	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	6	3	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nilgiris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	232	266	232	264	...	2	...	...	...	...
Tiruchirapalli	1	57	1	57	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	3	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	7	5	7	5	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - S C T II—(Contd.)

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE—(Contd.)

Age 15—44

Name of the State/District	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)
Madras State	365	339	115	63	235	259	5	17	10	...
North Arcot	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	8	18	2	...	6	17	...	1	...	...
Nilgiris	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	308	295	93	61	200	218	5	16	10	...
Tiruchirapalli	29	2	14	...	15	2	...	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	12	11	3	1	9	10	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	7	10	3	...	4	10	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - S C T II (Contd.)
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE—(Contd.)

Name of the State/District	Age 45+									
	Total		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Madras State	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)
	174	91	3	...	131	33	35	55	5	3
North Arcot	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	3	5	...	...	2	2	1	2	...	1
Nilgiris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	125	84	2	...	85	29	34	53	4	2
Tiruchirapalli	34	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Tirunelveli	9	2	1	...	8	2	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - S C T III
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/District	T/R/U.	Total		Illiterate		Literate (without educational level)		Educational level		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above
								M	F	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Madras State	T	789	762	736	718	47	38	5	5	1
	R	788	760	735	717	47	38	5	5	1
	U	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
North Arcot	T	2	3	2	2	...	...	...	...	...
	R	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
	U	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	R	17	26	12	26	4	...	...	...	1
Nilgiris	R	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	R	665	645	621	616	41	24	3	5	...
Tiruchirapalli	R	64	59	62	45	2	14	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	R	17	12	16	12	...	...	1	...	...
Tirunelveli	R	23	17	22	17	...	...	1	...	...

TABLE SCT - IV
RELIGION FOR PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District	T/ R/ U	Name of Religion						
		Total			Christian		Hindu	
		P	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Madras State	T	1,551	789	762	23	35	766	727
	R	1,548	788	760	23	35	765	727
	U	3	1	2	...	...	1	1
North Arcot	T	5	2	3	...	...	2	3
	R	2	1	1	...	...	1	1
	U	3	1	2	...	...	1	2
South Arcot	R	43	17	26	...	...	17	26
Nilgiris	R	1	1	...	...	...	1	...
Madurai	R	1,310	665	645	3	19	662	626
Tiruchirapalli	R	123	64	59	...	...	64	59
Ramanathapuram	R	29	17	12	...	...	17	12
Tirunelveli	R	40	23	17	20	16	3	1

TABLE SCT - VI
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE

Name of the State/ District	Total Population															
	Males								Females							
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Madras State	789	78	95	77	55	148	162	174	762	112	115	105	54	177	108	91
North Arcot	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	2	1	1	2	...	...
South Arcot	17	...	2	4	2	5	1	3	26	...	...	...	4	5	9	5
Nilgiris	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	665	73	88	71	36	119	153	125	645	91	94	81	44	155	96	84
Tiruchirappalli	64	...	1	...	10	14	5	34	59	19	18	20	...	2	...	...
Ramanathapuram	17	1	2	...	4	6	2	2	12	1	...	...	5	4	2	...
Tirunelveli	23	4	1	2	3	3	1	9	17	1	1	3	...	9	1	2

T A B L E S C T - VI (Contd.)
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE (Contd.)

Name of the State/ District	Illiterate															
	Males								Females							
	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+
Madras State	(18) 736	78	88	56	49	140	154	171	(26) 718	112	96	87	53	172	108	90
North Arcot	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
South Arcot	12	...	2	1	...	5	1	3	26	...	2	1	4	5	9	5
Nilgiris	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	621	73	81	53	32	114	145	123	616	91	81	71	43	151	96	83
Tiruchirapalli	62	...	1	...	10	12	5	34	45	19	12	12	...	2	...	...
Ramanathapuram	16	1	2	...	4	5	2	2	12	1	...	...	5	4	2	...
Tirunelveli	22	4	1	2	3	3	1	8	17	1	1	3	...	9	1	2

T A B L E S C T — VI (Contd.)
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PALLIYANS IN MADRAS STATE (Contd.)

Name of the State/ District	Literate (without educational level)												Primary or Junior Basic																
	Males						Females						Males																
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+								
Madras State	(34)	47	7	20	5	5	8	2	(40)	(41)	38	19	15	(43)	(44)	(45)	3	(46)	(47)	1	5	(48)	(49)	(50)	(51)	(52)	(53)	(54)	45 +
North Arcot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	4	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nilgiris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	41	7	17	4	3	8	2	2	24	13	7	...	7	(43)	(44)	(45)	3	...	1	3	...	(48)	(49)	(50)	(51)	(52)	(53)	(54)	45 +
Tiruchirapalli	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	14	6	8	...	8	(43)	(44)	(45)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ramanathapuram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E S C T - VI (Contd.)
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN THE VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AMONG PALLIYANS IN MADARS STATE (Contd.)

Name of the State/ District	Primary or Junior Basic							Matriculation and above													
	Females							Males							Females						
	Total	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+	Total	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-44	45+		
Madras State	(55)	(56)	(57)	(58)	(59)	(60)	(61)	(62)	(63)	(64)	(65)	(66)	(67)	(68)	(69)	(70)	(71)	(72)	(73)		
North Arcot	5	...	3	1	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...		
South Arcot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Nilgiris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Madurai	5	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Tiruchirapalli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Ramanathapuram	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Tirunelveli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		

T A B L E S C T - VII
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION FOR PALLIYANS AT WORK

Occupational Code-Family Group	Madras State		North Arcot		South Arcot		Nilgiris	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1								
Total Workers	562	436	1	3	10	22	1	...
040 Nurses	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
100 Administrators and Executive Officials, Central Government	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
290 Unskilled Office Workers (Peons, Daftries etc.)	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
331 Hawkers, Pedlars and Street Vendors	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
403 Planters and Plantation Managers	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
404 Farmers and Farm Managers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing	7	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
411 Farm Workers, Animals, Birds and Insects Rearing	62	59	...	...	...	...	...	...
415 Plantation labourers	155	134	...	...	...	...	...	...
419 Farm Workers, n.e.c.	89	70	...	...	...	...	...	...
441 Harvesters and Gatherers of Forest Products including lac (except logs)	29	29	...	...	...	...	...	...
449 Loggers and other Forestry Workers, n.e.c.	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
501 Quarrymen	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
733 Blacksmiths, Hammersmiths and Forgemmen	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
899 Labourers, n.e.c.	82	84	...	1	...	...	...	...
903 Watchmen and Chowkidars	10	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
1 Cultivators	62	15	...	...	5	6	...	...
II Agricultural Labourers	50	18	...	...	5	16	...	...

TABLE SCT -- VII (Contd.)

Occupational Code-Family Group

PLACE OF BIRTH OF MIGRANTS AMONG PALLIYANS

II. A. Born in other States of India

PLACE OF BIRTH OF MIGRANTS AMONG PALLIYANS (Contd.)

[illegible]

TABLE SCT-IX

**MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN
PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG PALLIYANS**

[illegible]

TABLE SCT-IX—(Contd.)

**MIGRANTS CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN
PLACE OF ENUMERATION AMONG PALLIYANS (Contd.)**

Where Born	Rural/Urban/Unclassified	Duration of residence in place of enumeration in years													
		Urban													
		Total Migrants		Less than 1 year		1—5 years		6—10 years		11—15 years		16 and above		Period not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)
Total		...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
A. Born elsewhere in R the district of enumeration.	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B. Born in other districts with in the state of enumeration	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Arcot	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Arcot	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tiruchirapalli	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Thanjavur	R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C. Born in other States of India	R	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	U	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE ST - I
MOTHER TONGUE AND BI-LINGUALISM AMONG PALLIYANS

Name of the State/ District	Total Speakers		Mother Tongue: Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to that shown horizontally		Subsidiary Language
	M	F	M	F	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Madras State		KANNADA			
		1	...	1	Tamil (F : 1)
		MALAYALAM			
		1	...	1	English (F : 1)
		TAMIL			
	782	755	...	...	
North Arcot		TELUGU			
	7	5	...	2	Tamil (F : 2)
		MALAYALAM			
		1	...	1	English (F : 1)
		TAMIL			
South Arcot	2	2	...	...	
		TAMIL			
	17	26	...	...	
Nilgiris		TAMIL			
	1	...	...	...	
Madurai		KANNADA			
		1	...	1	Tamil (F : 1)
		TAMIL			
	662	644	...	...	
		TELUGU			
Tiruchirapalli	3	...	...	...	
		TAMIL			
	60	54	...	...	
		TELUGU			
	4	5	...	2	Tamil (F : 2)
Ramanathapuram		TAMIL			
	17	12	...	...	
Tirunelveli		TAMIL			
	23	17	...	...	

APPENDIX III
Socio-economic Tables relating
to the Palliyan Households
in Sirumalai village

TABLE ST - II

PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY FOR PALLIYANS

Name of the State/District	Total Non-working Population			Full time Students		Persons seeking employment for the first time		Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work		Others	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Madras State	553	227	326	16	38	...	...	...	...	211	288
North Arcot	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
South Arcot	11	7	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	4
Nilgiris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madurai	458	209	249	11	24	...	...	...	...	198	225
Tiruchirapalli	59	...	59	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	45
Ramanathapuram	16	4	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	12
Tirunelveli	8	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	2

TABLE - 1
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of Households	Size of Households													
	Single Member		2—3 Members		4—6 Members		7—9 Members		10 Members and over					
	Households	Males	Households	Males	Households	Males	Households	Males	Households	Males				
	Females		Females		Females		Females		Females					
25	4	3	1	8	10	8	12	28	22	1	3	5	...	...

TABLE - 2
TYPE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of Households	Types of families living in the Households			
	Simple		Intermediate	
	Households	Males	Households	Males
25	10	5	4	6

TABLE - 3
WORKERS BY AGE

Age Groups	Total Workers			Agricultural Labourers		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
All ages	55	31	24	55	31	24
0— 4	...	...	...	...	...	...
5— 9	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	4	2	2	4	2	2
15—19	9	6	3	9	6	3
20—24	7	5	2	7	5	2
25—29	7	2	5	7	2	5
30—34	8	5	3	8	5	3
35—44	10	4	6	10	4	6
45—59	7	4	3	7	4	3
60 +	3	3	...	3	3	...

TABLE - 4
INCOME PATTERN

Occupation of a Household	Monthly income per Household in the range of				
	Rs. 25 or less	Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 76 to 100	101 and Over
Agricultural Labourer	4	14	5	1	1

TABLE - 5
EXPENDITURE PATTERN

Items of Expenditure	All Households		Percentage of expenditure on Food/Miscellaneous items	Rs. 25 or less		Rs. 26 to 50	Rs. 51 to 75	Rs. 76 to 100		Rs. 101 & over
	No. of Households	Average Expenditure		No. of Households	Average expenditure			No. of Households	Average expenditure	
Food	25	34 62	74.48	4	15 13	14	29 57	1	64 00	1 75 00
House Rent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dress	25	3 80	8.18	4	1 75	14	3 21	1	8 00	1 10 00
Smoking & Chewing	25	6 24	13.42	4	2 00	14	5 43	1	13 00	1 18 00
Entertainment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	25	1 82	3.92	4	0 88	14	1 79	1	3 00	1 3 00
Total	25	46 48	100.00	4	19 76	14	40 00	1	88 00	1 106 00

TABLE - 6
INDEBTEDNESS

Income Group	Indebtedness by Income Group				
	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of column 3 to column 2	Total Indebtedness	Average Indebtedness for Households in debt
Total	25	18	72.00	Rs. nP. 2,020 00	Rs. nP. 112 22
Rs. 25 or less	4	4	100.00	500 00	125 00
Rs. 26 to 50	14	10	71.43	1,100 00	110 00
Rs. 51 to 75	5	3	60.00	320 00	106 67
Rs. 76 to 100	1	...	...	...	...
Rs. 101 and over	1	1	100.00	100 00	100 00

TABLE - 7
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Cause	Indebtedness by Cause of debt		
	Amount of debt Rs. nP.	Number of families in debt	Percentage of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt
Total	2,020 00	19	100 00
Ordinary wants	1,620 00	15	80 20
Marriages	250 00	2	12 38
Sickness	150 00	2	7 42

TABLE - 8
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age Groups	Total Population		Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
All ages	80	44	36	24	13	18	19	2	3	...
0-4	15	9	6	9	6	...	...	...	...	1
5-9	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	9	6	3	6	1	...	2	...	...	...
20-24	7	5	2	2	...	3	2	...	...	...
25-29	7	2	5	...	...	2	4	...	1	...
30-34	8	5	3	1	...	3	3	1	...	...
35-44	11	4	7	1	...	3	6	...	...	1
45-59	7	4	3	...	...	3	1	1	2	...
60+	5	4	1	...	...	4	1	...	...	...

T A B L E - 9
EDUCATION

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate (without educational standard)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
	P	M F		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	80	44	36	44	36	...	...	...	...	...	...
0-4	15	9	6	9	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	9	6	3	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
20-24	7	5	2	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29	7	2	5	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	8	5	3	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-44	11	4	7	4	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
45-59	7	4	3	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
60+	5	4	1	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - 10
CONSANGUINITY

Total No. of atleast once Married Males	Total No. of Marriages involved	No. of marriages in which the bride is unrelated or distantly related	No. in which the bride is the maternal uncle's daughter	No. in which the bride is the paternal aunt's daughter	No. in which the bride is the sister's daughter	No. in which the bride is the deceased brothers' wife	No. in which the bride is the deceased wife's sister
20	26	1	1	18	6	...	...

MULLU KURUMBARs

MULLU KURUMBAR S

Introduction

It is usual among South Indians of Dravidian origin for a boy to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. Next preference is given to the paternal aunt's daughter. This custom has been practised for centuries that it has become almost compulsory for the parent of a girl to offer her in marriage to her cousin. Any departure from this practice will be strongly disapproved by his castemen. In contrast to this custom found among the castes and tribes of Kerala and Madras State, one tribe is found which prohibits any such marriage. In this tribe, no marriage can take place within the same exogamous sept nor can a marriage be arranged in the same village nor in the same tract consisting of several villages. This tribe is Mullu Kurumbar who live in Gudalur taluk of Nilgiris district in Madras State and in Wynad taluk of Kozhikode district in Kerala State.

Description of the area

2. The Nilgiris district consists of two plateaus of different elevations. The Ootacamund and Coonoor taluks on the south and east form the higher plateau with an elevation of about 6,000'. The Gudalur taluk on the north-west forms the second plateau with an elevation of about 3,500'. This latter plateau is the meeting point of three different cultures of South India. Mr. W. Francis in his District Gazetteer of the Nilgiris describes it as the most polyglot area in the State. There, the Tamilians of Coimbatore district, the Malayalees of Malabar and the Canarese of Mysore live in harmony with the natives of the area. The Canarese speaking Badagas and Kurumbar were once from the Mysore country on the north. The Parayars and Vellalans are from Coimbatore district on the south. Even the Wynadan Chettis found in Gudalur taluk are said to be originally Vellalas from Coimbatore, though at present they are following many of the customs of the Nayars. From the west are the Moplas, the Malayalam speaking Muslims, the Mandadan Chettis and the Syrian Christians, who are known locally as Chetans. The tribes inhabiting these areas are the Paniyans, the Kattunayakans, the Urali or Betta Kurumbar, the Jen Kurumbar and the Mullu Kurumbar. All these castes present different customs and manners which are worthy of study.

Flora and Fauna

3. Gudalur taluk is a hilly country strewn with jungles, some of which are dense. The lay of the plateau is uneven and full of ups and downs. In the low lying swamps between hillocks, paddy is cultivated. In the slopy lands not covered by forests, ragi, samai, plantains, pepper, tapioca etc., are grown. In small extents, coffee and tea are also raised. The deciduous forests contain some classified trees like teak, vengai, white teak, blackwood, bamboos besides unclassified jungle trees. As we move from east to west, we see alternatively forests, cultivated dry fields on the slopes, grass lands on the top of mounds and wet fields in the low lying swamps. The forests abound in wild animals like spotted deer, sambar, boars, leopards, tigers, wild dogs and bears. The speciality is the Malabar squirrel. As we move towards the west from Gudalur, we come across forests which are the private property of the Jenmis in which not much restriction is put on hunting.

Climatic conditions

4. The western part of Gudalur taluk, adjoining Wynad taluk of Malabar is known as Cherankod. In this area is located a small town named Cherambadi on the Gudalur-Calicut main road. The area receives approximately 100" of annual rainfall, the bulk of which falls during south-west monsoon from June to September. During this period, the area receives torrential rains of about 80" accompanied by the virulent winds. The period from September to December receives occasional rains only. The four months from January to March are dry. Difficulty is experienced even in getting water during summer. A few showers may fall in April and May, but they are not useful for any agricultural purpose. The soil is rich. It is mostly red loam mixed with laterite. Plantains are grown along the slopes. Plantain cultivation does not need much attention. Many varieties of plantains are found. In the swampy low lands lying between hillocks, paddy is raised after levelling the ground into contour beds. In high grounds, millets are raised, but they have to be protected from wild beasts.

Division among Kurumbar

5. The tribe under survey, Mullu Kurumbar, live in such surroundings in Gudalur taluk. They are found here

MULLU KURUMBAR

in 8 settlements. Though they are classified under the generic name of Kurumbar in the President's List, they have nothing in common with other Kurumbar found in the Nilgiris district. In the President's List of Scheduled Tribes, the names of Kurumbar and Kuruman are mentioned, but they are actually only synonyms or alias names. This broad category of Kurumbar or Kuruman include the following tribes:

- (1) the Bette Kurumbar
- (2) the Jen Kurumbar
- (3) the Urali Kurumbar
- (4) the Pal Kurumbar; and
- (5) the Mullu Kurumbar.

Of these, the Mullu Kurumbar constitute a distinct tribe. Their appearance, language, culture and mode of living and customs and manners are different from those of other Kurumbar. It can even be said that they belong to a different ethnic group. The Nilgiris District Gazetteer says 'that a powerful race called Kurumbar or Pallavas about whom much has been conjectured but little is known, once held sway over much of South India, but was overthrown about the ninth century A.D. by the Chola dynasty of Tanjore and that, it is usually supposed that the scattered communities of Kurumbar or Kuruman which are found in many parts of this Presidency, are the descendants of the refugees belonging to this race, who fled to the wilds from their conquerors'. Whatever be the veracity of this account, we feel that the Mullu Kurumbar do not have any resemblance to any descendants of Pallavas.

Legend

6. The Mullu Kurumbar consider that they belong to the Veduvar tribe (hunting tribe) which once ruled parts of Wynad with capital at Buthadi. A folk song of the tribe gives the following account of the origin. When Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata was doing Thapas in the forests to get Pasupathasthiram, the God Siva came to test him in the guise of a hunter followed by a number of Budams (celestial ghosts) and accompanied by his wife. Siva, the hunter made some disruptive remarks about Siva the God which infuriated Arjuna. A severe fight ensued. Parvathi the wife of Siva ordained that the arrows aimed by Arjuna should be turned into flowers on reaching the hunter. Finding that he was losing the battle, Arjuna

threw the bow itself on the head of the hunter and two drops of blood came out. As an appreciation of the valour of Arjuna, Siva showed himself to his devotee and granted the weapon. When Siva disappeared, the Budams who accompanied him were left behind. They wandered in the forests as hunters. The Mullu Kurumbar claim that they are the descendants of the Budams left behind. The place where the Budams danced is called Buthadi.

Rao Bahadur C. Gopalan Nair in his book "Malabar Series-Wynad-Its people and Tradition", has stated as follows: "Mullu Kurumbar who are bow-men and hunters and with the Kurichiyans, formed the army of the Pychy in the rebellion against the British Power in the beginning of the 19th Century. The rebel-Kerala Varma Raja was killed in 1805 and 7 years afterwards the Kurumbar started another rebellion which of course was instantly suppressed. Their reputation as hunters is still maintained and they fully deserve the compliment given to them by the author of the Malabar Manual in the following terms: "The fact that the Kurumbar preferred a roving life in the jungles to a sedentary one in subjugation on the plains, proves them to have been a superior race and indeed to the present day they very markedly retain this characteristic. According to the chief of this community, their origin was in Buthadi amsam in which the shrine dedicated to their God Kirathan is situated and they claim to have been in the spirit world-the Buthams (demons) who attended God Siva in his manifestation as Kirathan (hunter) during his hunting expeditions. They are happy in this idea of supernatural origin and have full faith in it and so mote it be".

It is interesting to speculate why this tribe is called Mullu Kurumbar. One version is that they are the Mula Kurumbar or original Kurumbar (mula in Tamil and Malayalam means original). Another version is that the word originated from Mula (bamboo) which gives them their occupation. A third version is that they use Mullu or arrow and the name is derived from it. A legend is still current among the tribe to the following effect: In those days when they were powerful, they were on inimical terms with the Raja of Kottayam. Determined to crush the tribe, the Raja invaded the forest in which the tribe lived and the Raja was defeated. The tribals celebrated the victory by drinking and dancing late in the night. When they slept out of exhaustion, the defeated Raja of Kottayam stealthily entered the place and massacred most of the people. Those who survived bowed to the Raja who made

them to wear a special type of earrings and tie their hair into a knot at the front as a mark of their defeat. The Raja in his happiness exclaimed that though they are no better than "Mullus" meaning thorns, their "Kurumbu" meaning mischief, is great. From that day onwards, they came to be known as Mullu Kurumbar.

Another legend is narrated about their origin. When they were powerful as Veduvars, the Kshatriya Raja of Kumbalam came to worship the deity at Thirunelli near Buthadi. The Raja of Veduvars thought that the Raja of Kumbalam had come on spying and had him arrested and brought before him. When he found that the Kumbalam Raja was young and had a fine personality, he agreed to release him provided he agreed to marry his daughter. The Kumbalam Raja more intent on saving his life agreed, but requested that the marriage should be celebrated in the true Kshatriya style. The Kumbalam Raja then arranged for bringing his troops in disguise. Just before the marriage when all the Veduvars were busy making reparations, the troops of Kumbalam Raja on a signal from him, came out and defeated the Veduvars. Some of them ran away to the forest and gave trouble to the Kshatriyas. For that reason they came to be called as Mullu Kurumbar.

About their origin, Shri A. A. D. Luiz in his book "The Tribes of Kerala" has stated as follows: "Mulla Kuruman have nothing definite to state regarding their origin. They are agreed that the present name is a creation of the Nairs of Wynad during the Nair supremacy and resents the fact that their name tends to establish a relationship with the Urali Kuruman and Jen Kuruman with whom they have nothing in common. They claim that they are the Vedas (Vedans) of South India, who on coming into Malabar were called Kuruman". Whatever be their origin or background, they are a peace-loving, but virile people who depend on sweat and toil for their living. Unlike the other Kurumbar, the Mullu Kurumbar are more progressive and have a settled life, characteristic of their tribe.

Their settlements in Gudalur taluk

7. The Mullu Kurumbar live in the following 8 settlements in Gudalur taluk.

MULLU KURUMBAR

	Approximate number of households.
Kallichal	30
Kappala	25
Padacheri	17
Konnattu	7
Narivalappu	6
Kappukunna	13
Nedungodu	13
Onimula	8
Total	119

Their population in Madras State can be estimated at 500. They are also found in Wynad taluk of Kerala where their number is believed to be much more than in Madras. This tribe has not been enumerated either in 1961 Census or in earlier Censuses; perhaps the identity of Mullu Kurumbar as a separate tribe within Kurumbar has not been known to the authorities. The ethnographers of the Nilgiris district including William Breekes, Henry Harness, Ross King etc. have not mentioned the Mullu Kurumbar as a distinct tribe. They had dealt with the Kurumbar as one tribe and had described the different customs and manners of Kurumbar as common to all of them.

In this report, we have studied a hamlet of Mullu Kurumbar in detail. The hamlet is the settlement of Padacheri which is 7 miles from Cherambadi, in the interior. To reach this settlement, we travel 2 miles along the Cherambadi-Sultan Battery road and then turn to the east and follow a cart road. After travelling 5 miles, we take a foot path which descends to a small valley. We cross a small patch of low paddy lands and climb a small distance to reach the settlement. The foot-path to the village is fenced by plantain gardens and pepper vines on both sides. A few jack trees are seen standing majestically on either side. The settlement cannot be seen from the foot-path. It is located close to the paddy fields.

Population trends of Padacheri

8. From Table 1 in Appendix I it will be seen that in Padacheri there are 17 households with a population of 64 persons (30 males and 34 females). The size of a household is 3.8 which is comparatively a small sized one. The majority of the households are in the size

MULLU KURUMBAR

class of 4-6 members. The sex ratio is 1,133 females per 1,000 males. This high sex ratio is the result of the excess of females in the age group 0-14 in which 14 girls are found against 10 boys. The proportion of children in the age group 0-14 works out to 37.5% of the total population. The fertility rate, represented by the proportion of the number of children in the age-group 0-4 to the number of women in the age group 15-44 is 73.7%.

According to Table 15 in Appendix I, 32.6% of the population are workers. This is comparatively low. No workers are found in the category of children. A few workers only are found among the females. From Table 16, it will be seen that out of 43 non-workers, 6 are students, 13 are engaged in the household duties and the rest are dependants. The proportion of dependants is rather high.

Literacy and Education

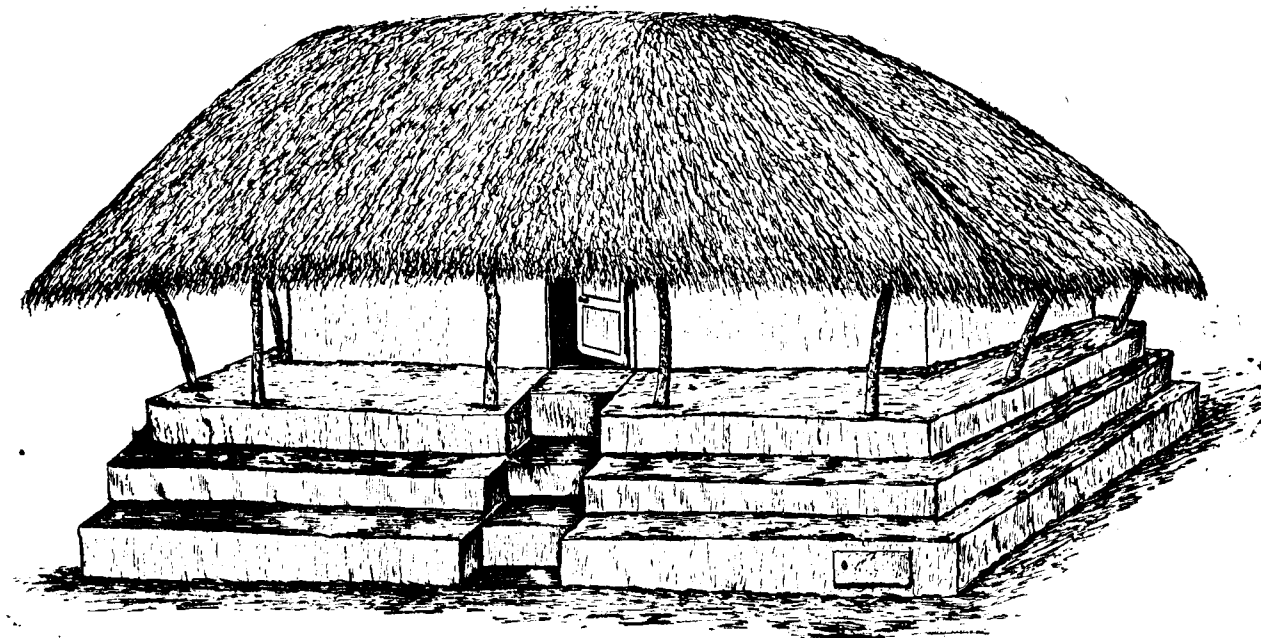
9. Table 4 in Appendix I shows the literacy and educational standards of the tribals. 18.7% among them are literates. This somewhat relatively high level of literacy is due to the existence of a Tribal Welfare School at Kallichal which is nearby. As against 10 children in the age group 5-14, 6 attend the school. At Kappala also, they have a separate school.

Residential pattern

10. The lanes in the settlement are kept clean. As the houses are built in a slopy land, levelled and terraced, no problem of drainage exists. The houses are arranged in a planned manner facing an open quadrangle. Where the settlement is large, there are more than one quadrangle towards which the houses face. There are lanes connecting the quadrangles.

House type

11. The Mullu Kurumbar houses are unique in appearance and in the style of construction. Such houses are not found anywhere else. They are rectangular in ground plan and contain generally one room. In a few houses, the central hall is partitioned. In 8 out of 17 houses, the central hall has been partitioned into two (vide Table 4). The houses are solid and built with mud, timber and straw. A rectangular dais with mud having a height of 4-5' is first raised. Two or three steps are formed along the entire perimeter. As these steps are broad enough, they can be used for sitting, as in a gallery. A covered verandah runs on all the four sides of the house, but the width on the front side is more than on the other sides. The walls are erected over the dais and neatly plastered in mud and painted alternatively in red and black. They use



A typical Mullu Kurumbar hut.



A group of Mullu Kurumbar houses.



A Mullu Kurumbar house.

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unburnt rectangular bricks of the size of 1' x 1½' x ¾' for the construction of walls. Red earth or mud plaster mixed with charcoal powder is used for giving the colour to the walls and the steps. The front door is made of solid timber with fine carvings. Exactly opposite to the front door is another entrance on the rear side. No windows are found in the house. The edges of the verandahs are paved with planks so as to prevent the rims from falling off. The roof rests squarely on the four walls and on the stout pillars erected on the edges of the verandah. The pillars on the sides are in a slanting position, so that they could support the eaves which extend beyond verandah. The rafters and reapers are of timber or ripe bamboo. For thatching, they use the straw of paddy which is either renewed or reinforced every year. The roofing slopes rather sharply, so that heavy rain falling on the house can get drained quickly. Below the roofing,

an attic is formed of planks and the household article and implements not in constant use are stored in this attic. Entrance to this attic is made through a trap door fixed to it.

Appearance, dress and ornaments

12. The males among Mullu Kurumbar are generally tall or medium in stature with long narrow faces. Their colour is generally brown though some of them are blacker. They have prominent noses and resemble more closely the Hindu castes found in Malabar. Their hair style is rather unique. They grow their hair in a circular patch on the top of the head covering the front and the middle portions and tie the hair into a knot on the front left side. This is more similar to the traditional hair dress followed by the Nairs of Malabar. In recent times, a few have abandoned this



Traditional hair-style of a Mullu Kurumbar male



Katukku—an ear ornament of a male

MULLU KURUMBARS

and have taken to cropping. Invariably all men and young boys wear ear-rings (katukku) made of gold or base metal. Their dress consists of two pieces of white cloth—one they wear round their waist and another they put across the shoulder like a towel. The waist cloth measures 2 yards, but it never goes beyond the knee. Some wear shirts which they call as 'Kuppali'.

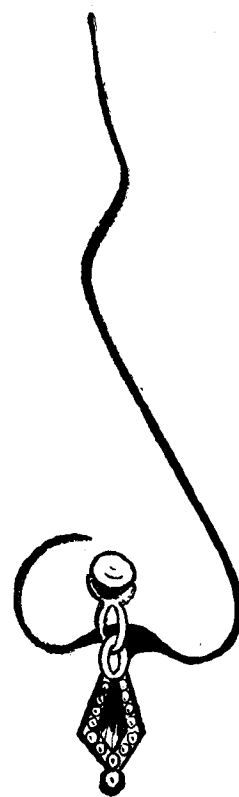
The womenfolk also wear white clothes and do not like coloured sarees. The white becomes in due course grey. They have one piece round their waist called "Thozhai Mundu" which goes upto the knee. The other piece called "Pechchutti" passes inside the right arm with the ends tied into a knot over the left shoulder. The two loose corners on the front and back side of the Pechchutti are again joined by a knot covering the bosom completely. The bare right arm and shoulder give an indication of their healthy physique and well built body. This dress suits them



Dress style of a female

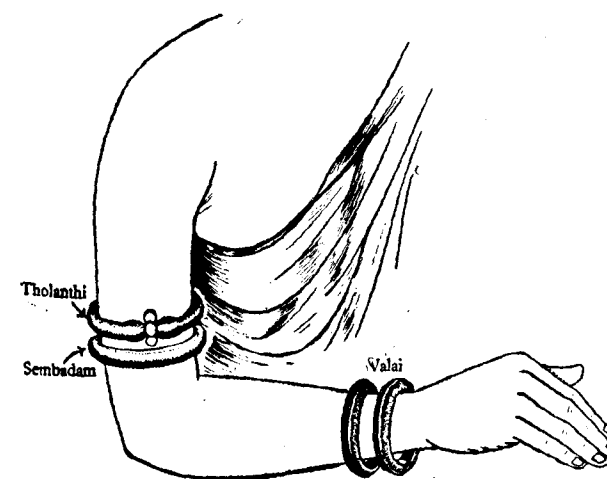
well and enables them to do household duties or to dehusk paddy in wooden mortars or to undertake agricultural operations in the fields. They part their hair in the middle, oil it and comb it, so that they can have a knot at the back. Tattooing is not a taboo for them. No difference is observed in dress between married women and widows.

The jewels worn by the women are made of gold or silver or brass. Usually the married women wear more jewels than the unmarried. In the nose, all wear on the left side nose-screws with pendants hanging. This they call as "Mookkupotti". In the ears they wear ear-rings called 'Kaathola'. They wear another ring called 'Kathu mara'. In the neck, unmarried girls wear a simple chain in which silver or nickel coins are attached to it as pendants. Married girls wear chains containing 'Muhurtha Tali' 'Kumbla Tali' and 'Gundus'. In the wrist they wear stout bangles. In the upper arm, married women wear "Tholanthi" and "Sembadam" made of silver. The general effect of the dress and ornaments is that a woman belonging

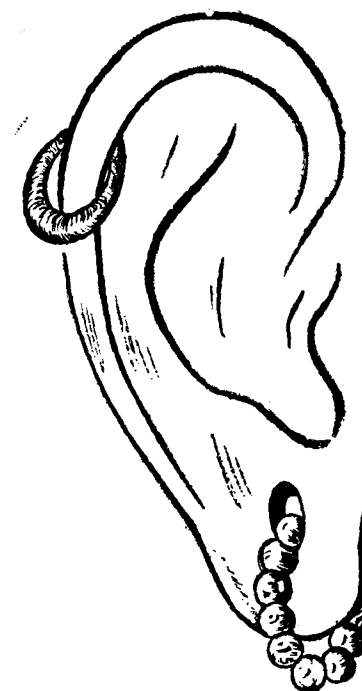


Mookkupotti

to Mullu Kurumbars can be easily recognised in any crowd. They are good looking and stand in contrast to the other tribal women found in this area.



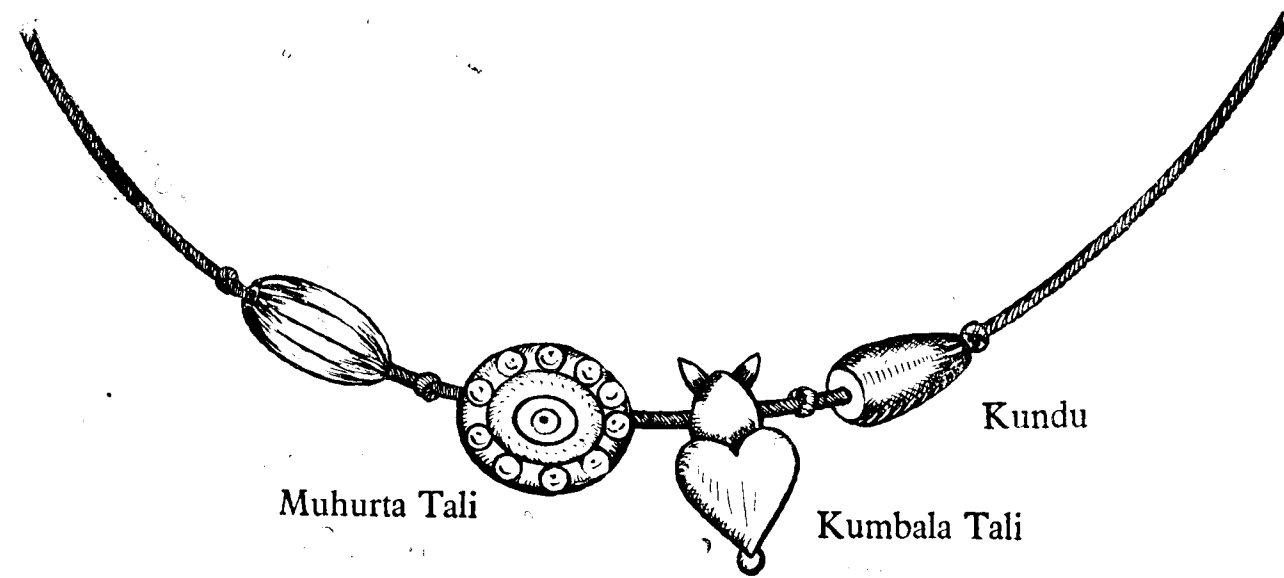
Ornaments worn in the arm.



Kathu Mara and Kaathola



A chain made of naye paise coins worn by Mullu Kurumbar unmarried girls.

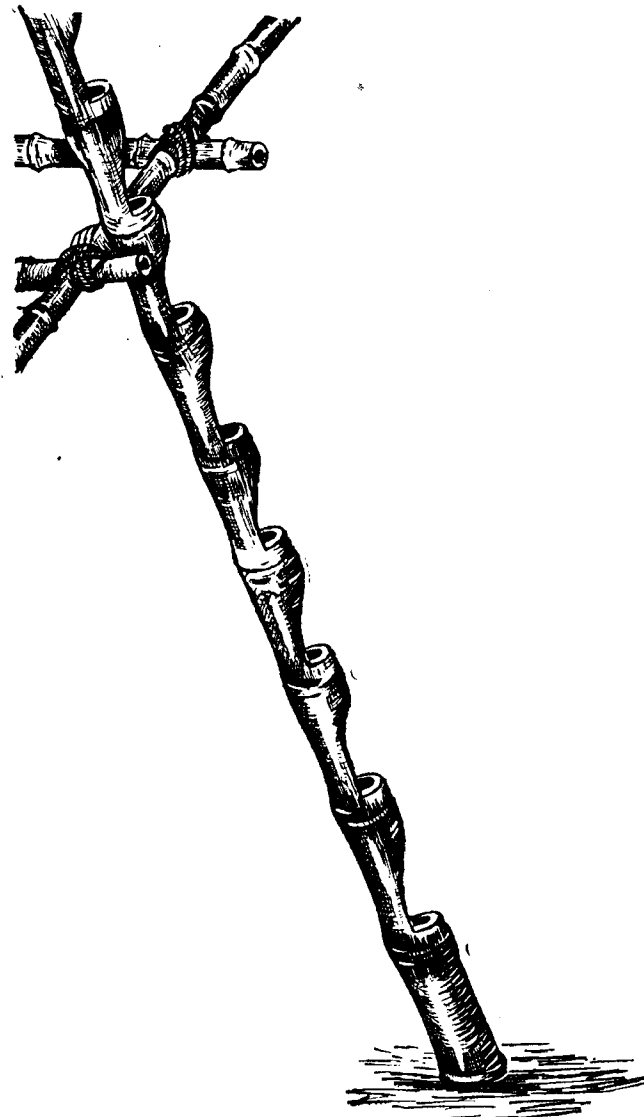


Bridal necklace worn by married women

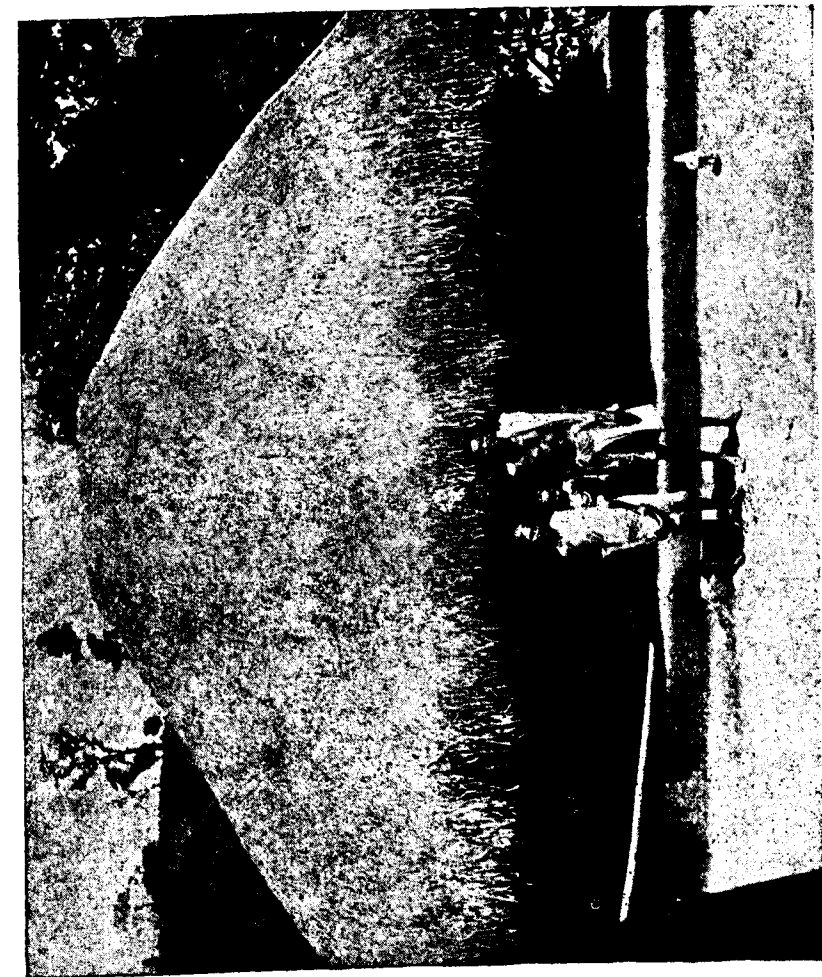
Utensils and household articles

13. In every house, there is a "Pathayam" for storing grains. In well-to-do families in which large quantities of grains are to be stored, the Pathayam will be a giant sized box made of planks with wooden legs. Entry to this is found at the top and is effected by climbing over a stout bamboo in which notches are made to serve as steps. The bamboo will be fixed to the ground in a slanting position. The same ladder is used for climbing into the attic. In smaller households, in which large quantities of grains are not to be stored, the Pathayam is a cylindrical one made of bamboo thatti and plastered with mud.

The household utensils are generally mud pots which are black in colour. Two distinct makes can be recognised. Those supplied by Urali Kurumbar in exchange for paddy are wide mouthed, broad and short. Those purchased in the market are those manufactured by the traditional potters with wheels. Apart from the mud vessels, a few copper and brass vessels can also be found in each household. For laddle and for storing salt etc., they use wooden or bamboo vessels. Every household has one or two Kodais (a special type of umbrella) made of Oda, a kind of reed resembling bamboos. They are useful during the rainy season. The shape of the Kodai is shown in the picture.



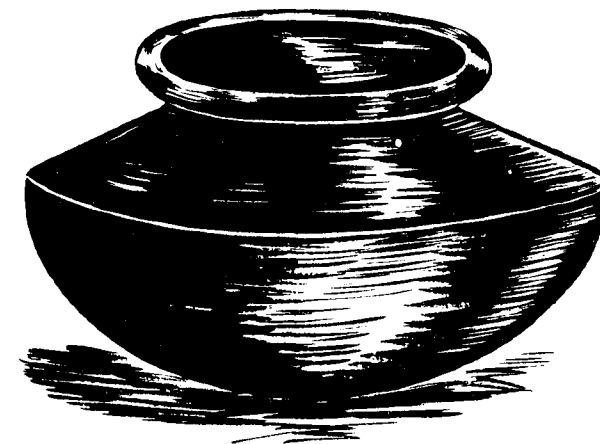
Single bamboo pole serving as ladder.



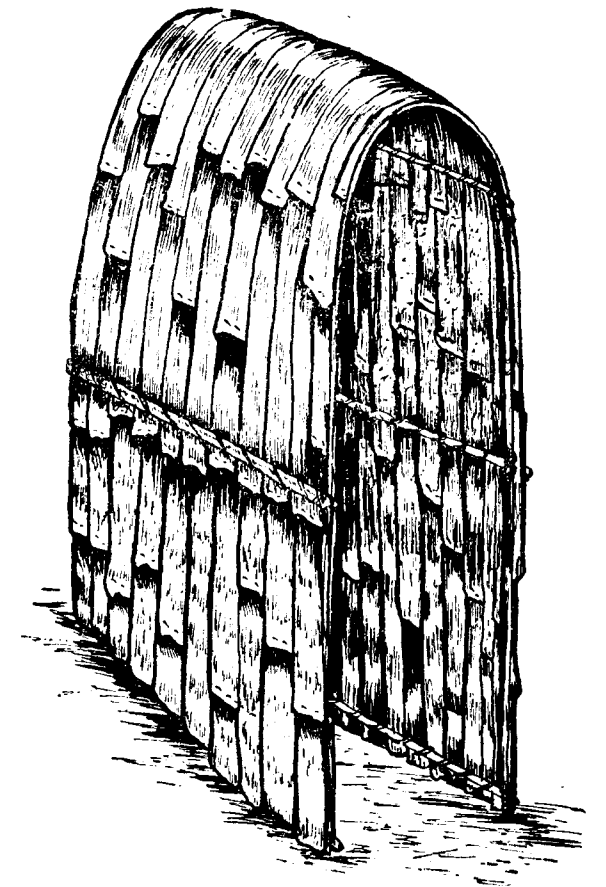
A Mullu Kurumbar family in front of their house.



Mullu Kurumbar belles.



A mud pot supplied by Urali Kurumbar



Kodai (umbrella)

All the houses have a small cavity in the basement for keeping chicken during night time. This cavity has a trap door which can be closed and fastened.

Food habits

14. Table 3 in Appendix I gives the diet and food habits of the people of Padacheri. Their staple diet is rice which is grown in their fields. They also eat ragi and samai which they cultivate. Early in the morning they drink black coffee prepared out of the coffee seeds grown by them. A little later they have "Kaththal" which consists of rice or millet gruel. For mid-day, some have rice gruel and some have cooked rice with a sauce. During the night they take cooked rice with a sauce. They eat plenty of animal flesh of wild beasts. They also rear chicken. They rarely eat mutton, but they eat plenty of fish which they catch in the streams passing nearby. Plantains and tapioca which are grown abundantly in the locality are consumed in large quantities. They also go out in search of wild roots and tubers which they consider nutritious. Many in the settlement keep buffaloes whose milk is drunk by children. Ginger and pepper

are their chief spices. The rice is hand pounded and reddish in colour. The hand-pounding is done by the women with the aid of wooden pestle and mortar. In each settlement there is a separate shed in which some 5 or 6 wooden pestle and mortar sets are kept. The women have to take the paddy to the shed, pound it, winnow it and bring the rice. Pounding of rice in any other place is not permitted, perhaps as a measure of precaution against accumulation of bran, husk etc. at odd places. In the hand-pounding shed, the girls compete with each other in the dehusking operation. The Mullu Kurumbar do not eat the flesh of bisons or monkeys. They eat the flesh of most other hunted animals.

Religion and Gods

15. The Mullu Kurumbar belong to Hinduism. No Missionary has so far attempted to convert them to

MULLU KURUMBARS

Christianity. Though they are classified as Hindus, they do not worship the Gods of Brahminical pantheon. Their religious belief is more animistic. Their principal deity is Boothadi Deivam or God Kirathan. The Mullu Kurumbars in Cherankod area worship their deities like Thambiratti, Malampuzha Deivam and Mariamma. For Thambiratti, they offer chicken or cock as sacrifice on Vishu day or Onam day. It is said that the Mullu Kurumbars in Wynad worship Lava and Kusa as saints and Sita as Chedathiamma. The Mullu Kurumbars observe the festivals of Vishu, Onam, Sankaranthi, Uchchar and Puththari. Onam is not celebrated on a grand scale as in Malabar. They do not also decorate the floor with Pookolams which are designs made of flowers. They believe that Pookolam is drawn, they must feed all, which they cannot afford. The festival of Uchchar falls on the 10th of the month of Kumbum. The festival of Puththari falls on the 10th of the month of Tula. On both these occasions, men go out into the forest for hunting with bow and arrow. Even young boys accompany them with tiny bows. After they return from hunting, they prepare common meals and are sumptuously fed with rice and curry made out of the flesh of the animals killed. They then indulge in group dancing in which males alone can take part.

The Mullu Kurumbars do not have any temples of their own in any part of Cherankod. But each settlement is a divine house called Deiva Pora facing the main quadrangle. It looks like any other house and contains a deity inside. But the clan deity is supposed to be living there. The eldest member of the settlement called Poornavan is in charge of the house and he keeps there by himself. Though he can take his food from his family, he should not live with them. He officiates in all the rituals connected with the social and religious functions happening in the settlement.

Language

16. The Mullu Kurumbars speak a mixture of Malayalam and Tamil. All other sects of Kurumbars speak a dialect of Canarese and the Mullu Kurumbars differ from these tribes in their language.

Economy

17. Though the Mullu Kurumbars gather food by hunting, fishing and searching for wild roots and tubers, they are essentially agriculturists. They culti-

vate dry and wet lands. In dry fields they raise plantation crops and millets. In olden days only millets were raised which were destroyed frequently by wild beasts. They have, therefore, taken to the cultivation of coffee, plantains and pepper. The cultivation of these items is more remunerative. The elevation of the place is 3,500' above sea level and the area gets rain for 9 months in a year. The soil is also suitable for raising all these crops. But they do not cultivate these crops in a scientific manner. Cultivation of coffee needs skilled attention and the Mullu Kurumbars do not have the resources for it. They do not also manure their crops properly. The slopes which they cultivate have not been properly terraced and the soil is subjected to erosion. Plantain crops get destroyed by severe gales and a large number of trees get uprooted. One such calamity overtook the settlement on 10-5-1963 when we visited it.

Their main attention is, however, devoted to the cultivation of paddy in the swampy wet lands. Paddy is grown in the low lands found between hillocks. They have levelled them and divided them into small plots. Water stagnates during rainy months. They plough with an ordinary type of small wooden plough called Nenjal. The shape of a Nenjal is indicated in the picture. For ploughing they use bullocks and buffaloes. After puddling and levelling with the wooden puddler which is called Scruppu, they sow paddy by broadcasting or by transplanting. All these operations take place in the month of June-July. The paddy grown is a coarse one and needs a longer period to ripen. They do not undertake any systematic weeding or manuring. The harvest takes place in November-December. Threshing of the grains is done in the open quadrangle in the settlement.

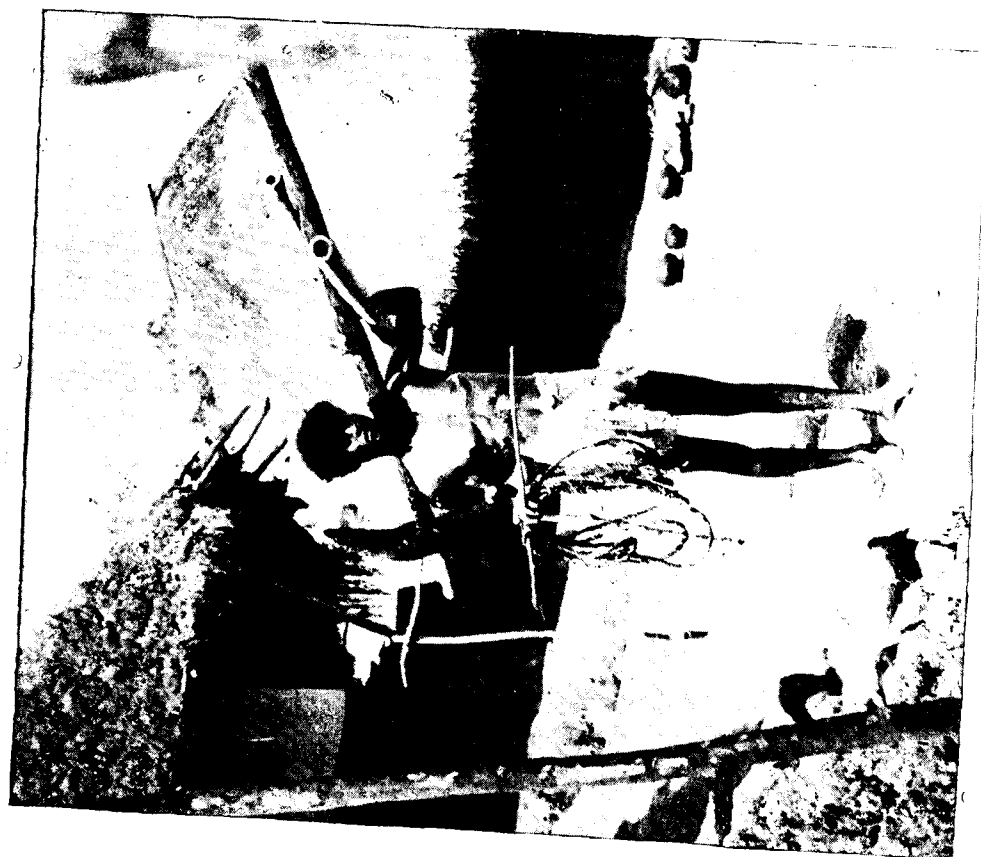
The lands owned by the Mullu Kurumbars of each settlement are held in common by the Kutumba, but the members have a definite share in it. The share of each is localised, but he has no right to alienate it to anybody outside the settlement. These joint holdings are mostly in the shape of wet lands. They originally belonged to the Jenmi. Apart from these lands, large extents of Government land have been encroached by the Mullu Kurumbars in their individual capacity. In such lands, they have raised coffee plantation, tobacco, ginger and millets. Formerly vast stretches of lands were available for them to do what they liked. It was then, only a problem of finding resources and labour to cultivate any extent they wished. Nowadays these lands are being assigned to ex-servicemen. They included some of the lands



A Mullu Kurumban getting into the Pathayam.



A Mullu Kurumban woman.

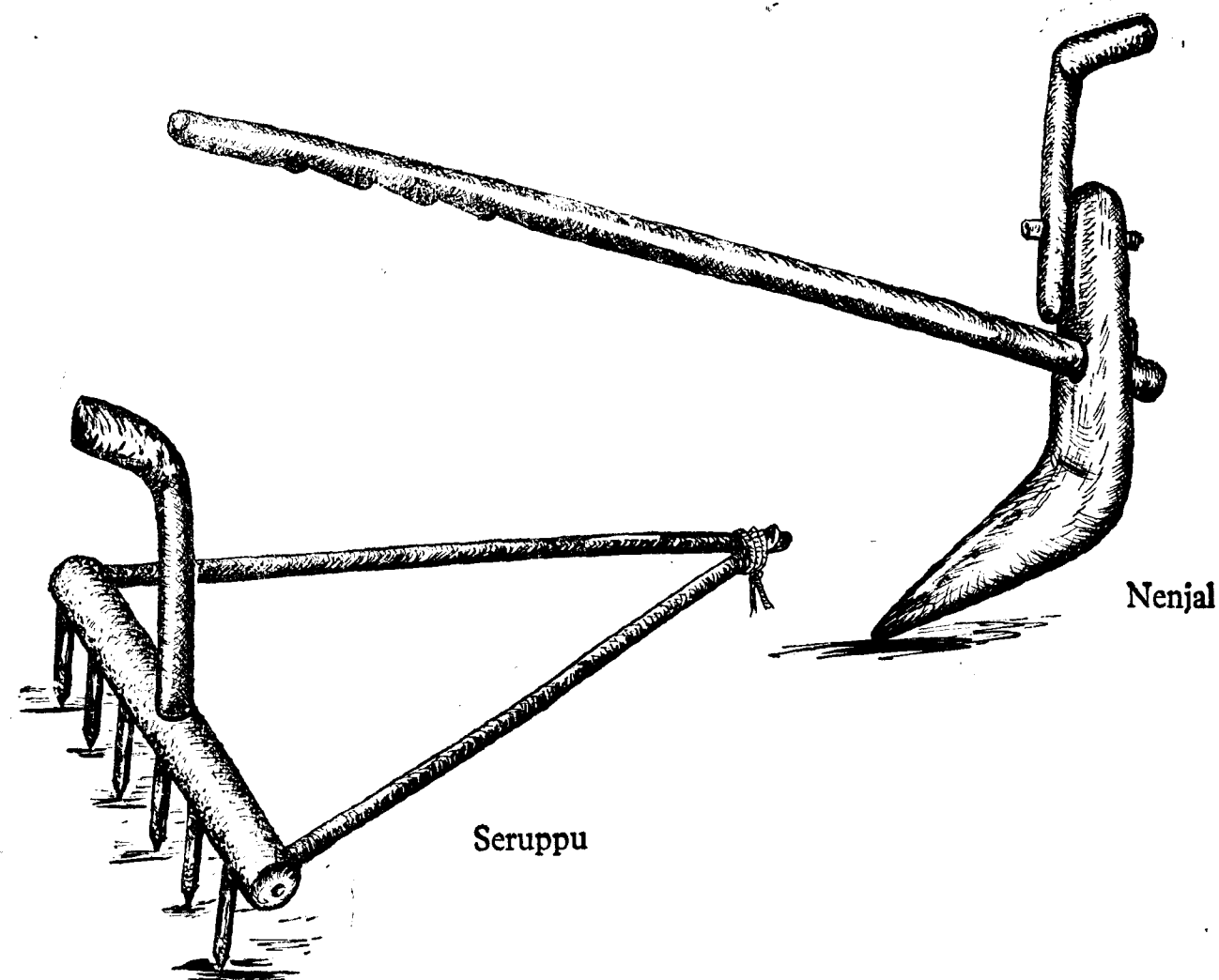


A Mullu Kurumban starting for his fields.



A Mullu Kurumban girl engaged in household duties.

MULLU KURUMBAR



Agricultural implements

under encroachment of the Mullu Kurumbar which fact has resulted in conflict between the ex-servicemen and the tribes. There is also fierce competition from the Syrian Christians who have occupied vast areas in these parts. The tribals are worried about the inroads made by the Syrian Christians and the ex-servicemen.

Table 7 in Appendix I shows the distribution of lands in Padacheri. The size classification of ownership is as follows :

1. Households owning no lands 35.3%
2. Households owning 1 to 2.49 17.6%
acres.
3. Households owning 2.50 to 4.99 29.4%
acres.

4. Households owning 5 to 9.9 11.8%
acres.

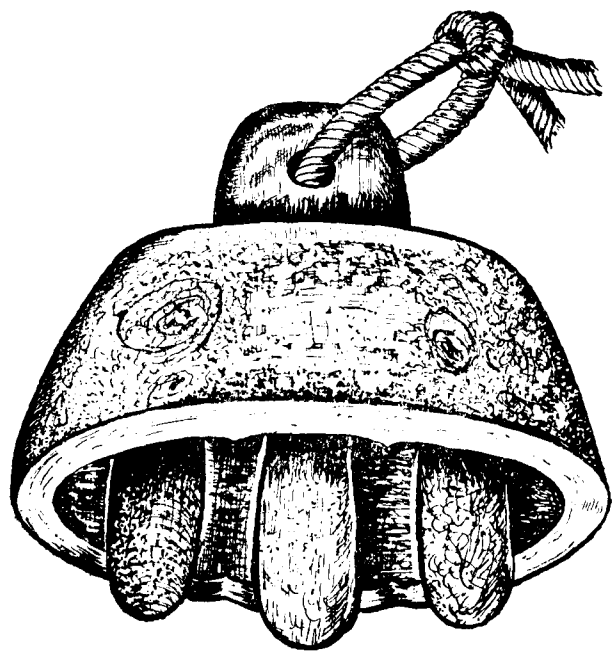
5. Households owning 10 acres and above 5.9%

The percentage of households owning no land is as high as 35.3%. But some of them do cultivation of Government lands by encroachment.

Table 7 shows that out of 21 workers, 13 are engaged in cultivation and others as agricultural labourers or as general labourers. According to Table 5, out of 17 households, 13 are engaged in cultivation, 2 in agricultural labour, 1 in general labour and 1 combines cultivation with agricultural labour.

Table 8 shows the livestock owned by the Mullu Kurumbar of Padacheri. Out of 17 households,

7 own cattle. They consist of 100 animals of cows, bullocks, and buffaloes. The rearing of buffaloes is preferred to white bovines. In that climate, pasture is found in plenty. The cattle are grazed in and around the village in harvested fields and in the forests. One of the animals owned by each household will have round its neck, a wooden bell with 2 or 3 tongs. As the animal grazes, a dull monotonous noise emanating from the wooden bell could be heard at a distance. This helps the owner in locating the flock in the evening and drive them home for penning. The Mullu Kurumbars do not tie any metallic bell round the neck of their cattle.



A wooden bell tied to the neck of a cow or buffalo

Table 9 shows the income pattern of the households of Padacheri. This shows that except for the 2 non-cultivating households, the rest are comparatively prosperous. As many as 7 households fall within the income group of Rs. 100 and above. The per household income works out to Rs. 111 per month.

Table 10 shows the expenditure pattern. This indicates that food forms the major item of expenditure with 50.2% and clothing, the next item with 7.3%. The expenditure on chewing is also appreciable with 3.8%. One notable feature is that households earning more than Rs. 50 a month save appreciable amounts. But these amounts, saved during a number of years, are spent in one marriage.

Table 11 and 12 show their position regarding indebtedness. Only 4 out of 17 households are indebted. Out of these, 3 are in the income group of Rs. 101 and above. 63% of the debts are incurred for purchasing cattle, 22% on household cultivation and 15% on ordinary wants. These figures indicate that indebtedness in this tribe is not heavy and is incurred mostly for profitable purposes.

Social customs

18. For marriage alliances, the Mullu Kurumbars are divided into the following four Kulams or septs.

1. Villippa kulam
2. Kathipa kulam or Kasipa kulam
3. Vadakka kulam
4. Vengada kulam

The first principle in making a marriage is that the alliance should be sought outside his own Kulam. This is, of course, the custom followed by other castes and tribes who have Gotrams. The general belief is that the members belonging to a Kulam or Gotram are descendants of the same paternal group. Another restriction is observed among the Mullu Kurumbars. They have an institution called Kutumba. The members of a settlement or groups of adjacent settlements are considered to be members of a Kutumba though they may belong to different Kulams. So no Mullu Kurumban of Padacheri can marry from any family in that settlement. He cannot also marry in Kappala which settlement is considered to be in the same Kutumba as that of Padacheri. So he has to travel to a Mullu Kurumba settlement in Wynad in search of a wife. Even then, he cannot marry in the house of any near relative like his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. He can marry distant relatives, but he must avoid his own Kulam. In Padacheri, all the married women come from villages in Wynad. The only case where he can marry his close relative is his wife's younger sister as his second wife during the life time of his first wife. Again he cannot marry his brother's widow. But recently one or two marriages have taken place in contravention of this old custom.

Another feature of the Mullu Kurumbars is that the children belong to the Kulam of the mother and not of the father. Such descendency of Kulam through the matrilineal line exists among the Muduvars and

Kanikkars living in the border areas of Madras State adjoining Kerala. It is difficult to understand why the Mullu Kurumbars adopt matrilineal descendency for purposes of clan succession while they follow patrilineal descendency for property succession. The only reason suggested is that in olden days the matrilineal descendency must have been the rule both for Kulam and property succession and in later days they have taken to patrilineal succession for properties.

Polygamy is permitted among the Mullu Kurumbars, but is rare. In Padacheri no one has a second wife. Generally a second wife is taken when one does not have children by the first wife. Even in such cases, he can divorce the first wife and marry another girl. Divorces are freely allowed in this tribe and can be asked for by husband or wife. It can be on grounds of incompatibility or adultery. The Moopan assisted by the elders will decide whether the marriage should be dissolved. In case the husband asks for the divorce, the Kanam (bride-price) will not be returned to him. If, however, the wife asks for the divorce, the Kanam will be returned. The children of the divorced normally live with the father, but if they are young, there cannot be any objection to the mother taking them away with her. When they grow up, they, however, return to the father and claim their share of property. When the divorce is decreed by the Caste Panchayat, the father of the girl is sent for and the girl safely returned to him. The divorced or widowed women are free to marry whomsoever they like, but only subject to the rules regarding Kulams and Kutumbams. In the case of remarriage of widows and divorced women also, the Kanam has to be paid. But the marriage will be simpler and completed in a day.

From Table 19, we find that in Padacheri, out of 16 first marriages relating to males, 3 are dissolved due to the death of the first wife, one due to divorce and one due to desertion of the wife. In the case of 15 first marriages relating to women, only one is broken due to divorce and the remaining 14 women live with their first husbands.

Succession

19. We have indicated earlier that the clan succession is from mother to children. For property succession, it is from father to son. The eldest son is entitled to the house. The landed property and the movable properties are equally shared by all the sons. Unmarried girls are entitled to maintenance by the brothers till their marriage. The jewels worn by a woman generally go to her daughters after her death.

Type of living

20. The Mullu Kurumbars prefer simple families. As soon as a son gets married, he is asked to set up his family separately. The single roomed type of house common among them does not encourage joint-family system. Out of 17 households in Padacheri, 14 belong to the simple type. The remaining 3 belong to the type in which widowed or divorced persons live separately. No case of joint-family has been recorded.

The splitting up of families into simple types does not, however, result in the splitting of landed property. The sons get their right only after the death of the father. The ancestral lands belong to the Kutumbam and the members of the Kutumbam have no right to alienate it to any one outside the settlement.

Caste hierarchy

21. The Mullu Kurumbars have a well knit caste hierarchy. Each settlement has a headman called Poornavan. The eldest male member becomes the Poornavan by virtue of his age. After his death, the next eldest man of the settlement becomes the Poornavan. He is more a master of ceremonies than a head who can exercise control in social matters. For enforcement of social discipline, they have a headman called Moopan exercising jurisdiction over 3 or 4 settlements. The overall tribal head is called Valia Moopan or Thalachi Moopan. The offices of Moopan and Valia Moopan are hereditary. A Moopan is succeeded by his next younger brother and so on. When no more of the same generation is available, the office devolves on the eldest male member of the next generation in the family. The Moopan is respected and if there is any breach of tribal customs or social misbehaviour by any member, he looks into it with the help of the elder of the settlement concerned. He can even levy fine upto Rs. 50/. Adultery within the tribe and clan incest are viewed seriously and punished heavily. Adultery with a man outside the tribe shall result in ex-communication. The Tribal Panchayat holds its sittings in Deiva Pora. The fines collected by the Moopan are spent for the common good of the settlement. In order that the Moopan may command respect in the community, he is given the first place in all social functions. He is also forbidden from taking food prepared by other caste people.

Birth customs

22. The Mullu Kurumbars do not have a separate pollution shed for each settlement in which women under menstruation or those giving birth to a child are made to live. The child birth takes place in the house itself, but the woman is considered to be under pollution for 2-3 weeks until she is given a bath. Experienced women assist her. The name giving ceremony is performed within six months after the birth. For the first child, the name is chosen by the maternal uncle. Usually the names of the grandfathers or grandmothers are given to the children. It is not usual to send the pregnant woman to her mother's house for confinement. During pregnancy, she is given a rich diet of varied food. It is not the practice with Mullu Kurumbars to have cradles for the babies. During the third year of the child, it is customary to have the head shaved by a ceremony and the ear-lobes pierced for inserting rings. A feast is given on this occasion to close relatives.

Puberty ceremony

23. When a girl attains puberty, a Mundu (waist cloth) is borrowed from a special Dhoby called Peru Vannan and asked to wear it. She is then segregated and put in an exclusive place in the verandah after screening it from the view of others. Male members cannot see her till the 7th day. On the day she attained puberty, she is given "Pittu" which is made of sweetened rice flour. On the 7th day, she is given an oil bath. The oil for the purpose has to be got specially from a Nair belonging to the Jenmi family, by paying a fixed fee of 4 annas (25 nP). A feast is given to all the relatives on that day. Even after the girl is taken back to the house on the 7th day, she should not enter the kitchen till she is married which may be 2 or 3 years later. This is not in force so rigidly in many households.

Marriage customs

24. Marriages of girls are conducted only after puberty and that too after they are fully matured. The initiative for an alliance should come from the bridegroom's party. The bridegroom's parents and others will visit the girl's house twice or thrice and without openly mentioning the purpose of the visit, will try to find out how far the alliance would be suitable. During

these trips, they should not take any food in the girl's house. They will also look out for good omens before they start. If the bridegroom's party is satisfied about the girl and if the omens are favourable, they will ask for the hand of the girl. The girl's party will then express their willingness for the alliance if they are also satisfied. The bridegroom's party has then to give about Rs. 50/- or Rs. 100/- to the girl's father for the initial expenses. They have also to give Rs. 5/- to the Poornavan of the girl's village and small tips to the youths of the village for looking after the arrangements at the ensuing marriage. From this day onwards, the girl's ear-lobes will be enlarged with a cut piece of a quill of a peacock for wearing stout ear rings at the time of marriage.

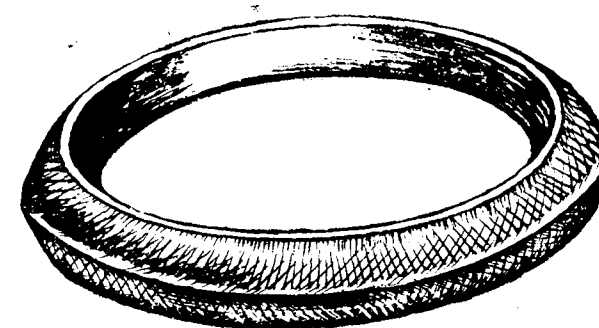
On another day fixed earlier, the bridegroom's mate called Moonan and a few other relatives excluding his parents will visit the girl's house. The Moonan will be introduced to the girl's party for the first time. In the evening there will be group dancing by the males. This ceremony of introducing the Moonan (the best man for the bridegroom) is called "Pennuguri". On this day also the groom's party will not be fed in the bride's house. Then on another day Nichayartham (betrothal) will take place. A date for the marriage will be fixed on that day and announced to the guests present. For the first time the groom's party will take food in the bride's house on that day. The actual marriage will extend for 5 days. On the first day the relatives will start arriving. They will bring with them sweets and "Appams". The guests will be fed sumptuously. On the second day, a pandal will be erected with 6 pillars in the open quadrangle in front of the Deiva Pora. The pandal called Nalu Kaliappan Pandal will be 12' x 6' in size and will be decorated with leaves and flowers. After this, the guests will be fed and all will go out on a hunting expedition. The flesh of the killed animals will be cooked and served for the dinner. After this, there will be group dancing by males to the accompaniment of folk songs. The bride will be decorated with jewels and ornaments. The maternal uncle of the girl will tie round her neck a necklace called "Tali". She will then be taken to Deiva Pora and deposited there. On the third day also, the menfolk will go for hunting and bring the flesh of the hunted animals. At about noon, the groom's party will arrive. The groom's party will consist of only 5 males including the bridegroom, but can contain any number of females. The groom's parents will not attend the marriage. The males accompanying the bridegroom are the Moonan who has already been introduced to the bride's party

on the day of Pennuguri, another mate of the bridegroom called Kanamkatti and two other help-mates called Pennukarans. All these five members though dressed almost alike, have individual marks of identification. Each of these 5 youths will be wearing in his right wrist a special make of silver bangle called "Valai". They will also be wearing special make of ear-rings as shown in the sketch. The identification mark for a Moonan will be a red sash round his waist. He will

seated in the newly erected Nalu Kaliappan Pandal. The bridegroom and the Kanamkatti will enter the Deiva Pora where the bride will be decorated and seated. The Kanamkatti will take out the Kanam (brideprice) of Rs. 5-50 which he would have tied to his black sash. Actually the Kanam will be in the shape of 5 rupee coins and a small gold piece worth half a rupee. The maternal uncle of the girl will receive the Kanam,



Special type of earrings worn by the groom and his mates



Valai worn by the bridegroom and his mates

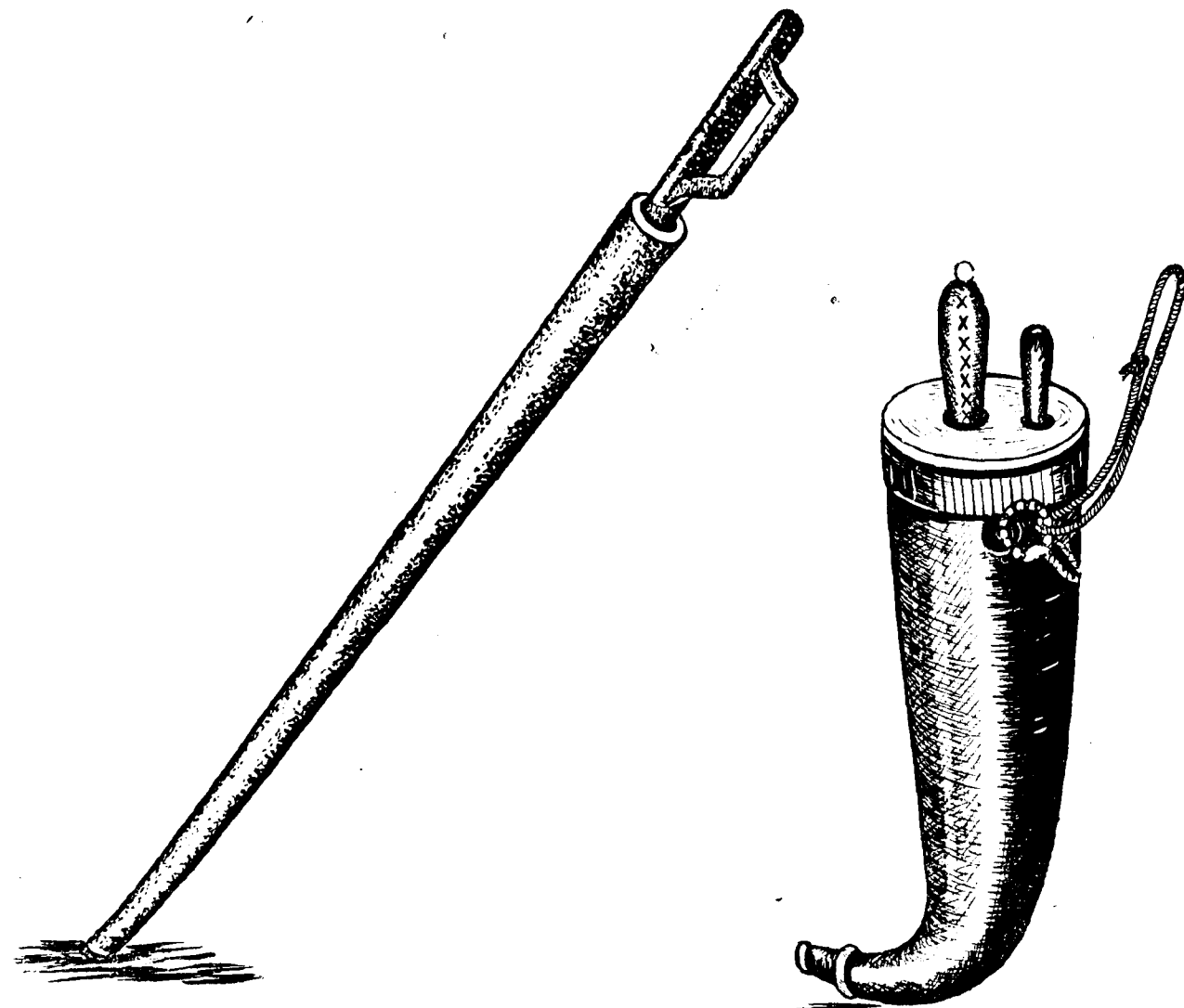
come out of Deiva Pora and show it to the important persons seated in the pandal. Then, the two parties assembled inside will stand up facing each other. The bride standing with her party will be pulled aside by a lady and made to stand by the side of the groom. This change in the girl's position within the assembled groups inside Deiva Pora will signify the declaration of the girl as the wife of the man. She will then be given the clothes brought by the groom's party and asked to wear them. After this ceremony, feast and dance will follow. Early next day, the couple and the bridegroom's party will depart with the bride. On the third day or 5th day, the groom and the bride with a few relatives will return to the bride's village. They will bring sweets and Appams. They will be received at a distance from the village by the bride's party. That night nuptials will take place in the Deiva Pora.

also carry a small dagger with a decorated sheath and a big sword. The Kanamkatti will be wearing a red sash and over it a smaller black sash. The two Pennukarans will not have any sash. The bridegroom will be identified by his proximity to the Moonan. One of the women accompanying the bridegroom's party will bring the dresses and the jewels to be presented to the bride.

The bridegroom's party will be fed first. Then there will be "Kolekali", a group dance with sticks. In the evening all the guests and relatives will assemble in the quadrangle. The important caste heads will be

It has to be noted that the bridegroom does not tie the Tali round the neck of the girl at the time of the marriage. It is tied a day earlier by the maternal uncle of the girl. It is probably for this reason that when the husband dies, the widow continues to wear the Tali. In a Mullu Kurumbar's marriage, feeding of the guests forms the major item of expenditure. Besides, they are also given pansupari throughout the five days. Marriage expenses on the bride's side

MULLU KURUMBAR



Sword and dagger worn by Moonan

will come to Rs. 500/ and on the groom's side to Rs. 1000/. The major expenditure on the groom's side is the jewels and clothes to be presented to the girl.

Death ceremonies

25. Burial is the common mode of disposal of the dead. In a few cases of well-to-do persons, who have lived a full span of life, cremation is done. Immediately on the death of a person, intimation is sent to friends and relatives. After their arrival, oil is applied to the

dead body and washed with soapnut powder. Cold water is used for this purpose. Sandal paste is then applied and a new white cloth spread over the body. No bier is constructed for carrying the body. The relatives carry it in their arms. In the burial ground, the body is laid in a pit with its head towards south. In the case of males, the face will be slightly tilted towards the east and in the case of females towards the west. Again in the case of males, his bow and arrow, a knife a little cooked rice, a bunch of plantains, pansupari and tobacco are placed by the side of the corpse in the pit. A quarter rupee coin is also put in the mouth of the corpse. In the case of death of a woman, arti-



Mullu Kurumbar starting for a hunting expedition.

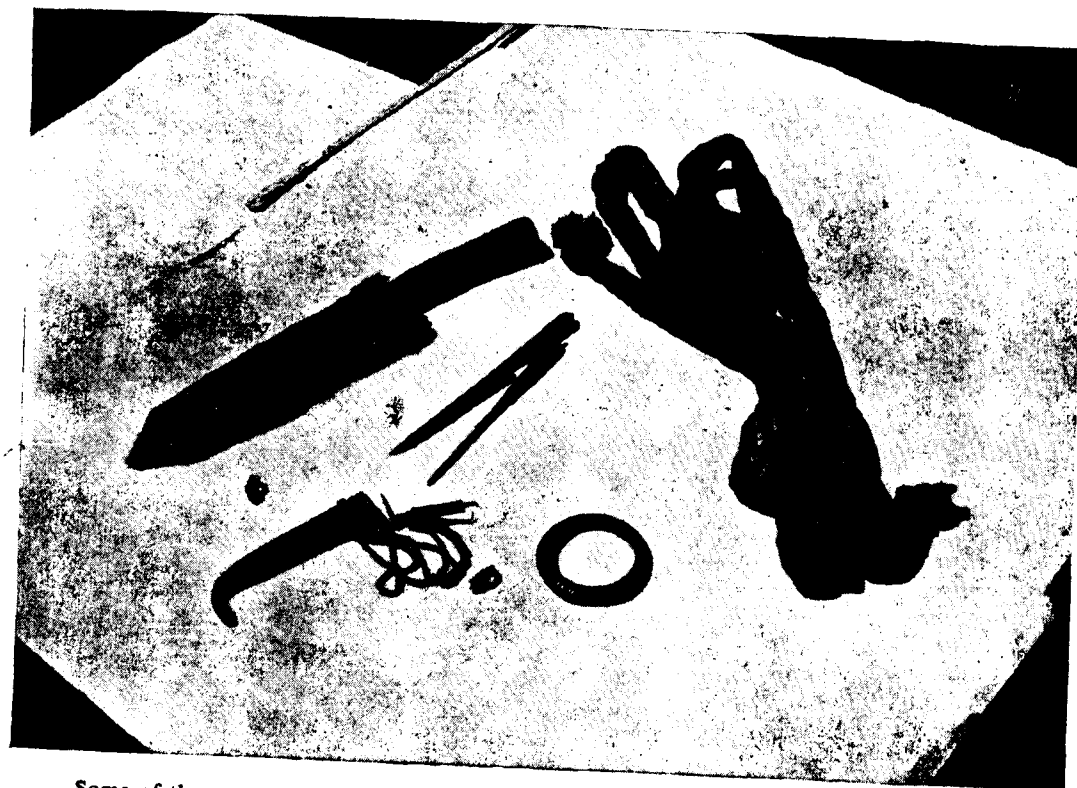


Mullu Kurumbar girls.

MULLU KURUMBAR



The common shed for dehusking paddy.



Some of the ornaments worn by the bride-groom and his mates at the time of marriage.

cles mentioned above except the bow and arrow will be put. Jewels which are not costly will not be removed from the body. The maternal uncle or one of the brothers, will push the first shod of earth into the pit. The others will then cover the pit with thorns over it to prevent any digging by wild dogs. In the case of cremation, the Karumathi or Pula is performed on the 3rd day. Where burial was given, the Pula is performed on any odd day like 5th, 7th or 9th day. On the day of Pula, all the members in the bereaved family have to take an oil bath with the oil specially brought from the Nair of the Jenmi family after paying him the fee prescribed for it.

When anyone not belonging to the village dies suddenly, the body is taken to the village to which he belongs and then disposed of in accordance with the custom. Usually burial or cremation will take place within 24 hours. It can be postponed if close relatives do not come in time. If a pregnant woman dies, the foetus is removed before burial.

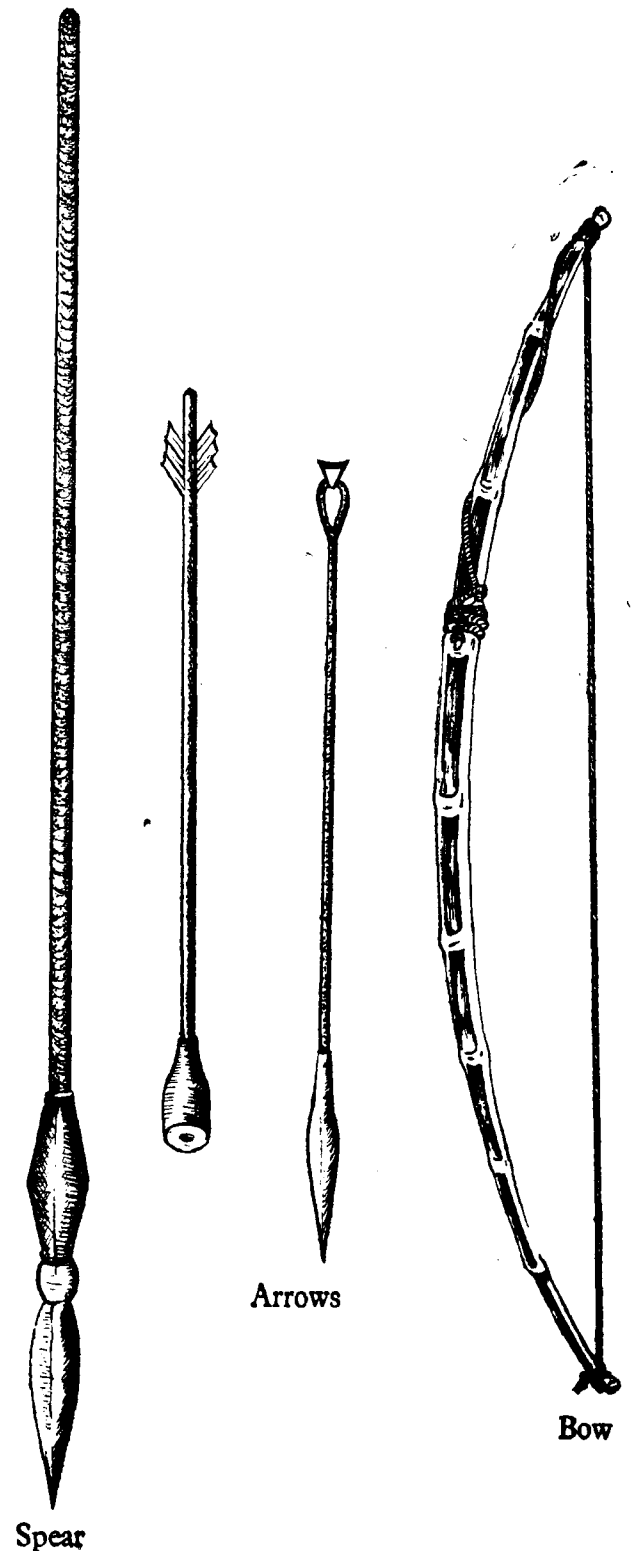
Belief and Taboos

26. The Mullu Kurumbar believe in astrology and magic cures for illnesses. Whenever there is an outbreak of epidemic, offerings are made to Mariamma and Kaliamma. Some of them know mantrams for curing snake bites and scorpion bites. If they have any difficulties, they consult the astrologer who after performing Kodiveithal prophesies the future. Kodiveithal consists of taking a handful of paddy, dehusk them partly on the palm and making some calculation with the husked grains. They observe omens whenever they undertake a journey. A fox crossing their path from left to right and a viper from right to left are considered good omens. But the sight of a snake is a bad omen.

Hunting

27. Many tribes of South India pursued hunting more as a means of getting food needed by them. The restrictions imposed by the Forest Department, have, however, curtailed their activities and their present knowledge of hunting has been reduced to snaring of a few birds and stealthily killing occasionally a big game with an unlicensed muzzle loading gun. To our knowledge, the only tribe in Madras State which pursues hunting as a sport, as part of religious ritual and as a method of getting food is the Mullu Kurumbar. As the forests in the areas in which they live are

private, belonging to Jenmis, they do not have the curb which faces other tribes. In former days, the Jenmis freely permitted them to go about hunting in their private forests on condition that they should surrender



Spear

Arrows

Bow

MULLU KURUMBAR

a part of the kill to the Jenmis. Though the permission for hunting is extended, the Mullu Kurumbars do not send any part of the kill to the Jenmis. So they continue to have active interest in hunting.

For this they use bows and arrows. They have also spears known as "Kunthams". Although some among Mullu Kurumbars have licensed guns, they do not use them for hunting. To them, hunting is a sport which they learn from a young age. They have a definite code for pursuing it. The bow which they use is the traditional primitive type. The shaft is made of some pliable wood or seasoned bamboo strip. The cord is strong and made of fibrous coir. The arrows they use are of two types. For killing big animals, they use iron pointed heavy arrows and for killing small animals like rabbits, they use wooden stub-faced arrows. The spears they use are pointed with iron and are heavy. The Mullu Kurumbars go in groups for hunting. They are accompanied by their trained dogs. When a game is scented, the dogs give a scowl and alert the hunters who cover the animal and kill it. The persons who locate the animal, who aim the fatal arrow and who touch the kill have some privileges in share. But all the members of the party are given small shares. They go for hunting only on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. During the Uchar festival, falling on the 30th day of the month of Kumbam, and on Puthari falling on the 10th day of Tula, all go out for hunting. On such days, the kill is cooked in front of the Deiva Pora and offered to the clan deity before they eat it.

The Mullu Kurumbars are excellent marksman. Training is given to them from a young age. During our visit, one of the boys demonstrated to us his marksmanship by bringing down, a jack fruit from a tree at a distance of 20 yards. More than the Mullu Kurumbars, the dogs are more eager to go out on such expeditions. When the villagers were asked to pose for a photograph with their bows and arrows, the dogs began barking with joy at the prospect of their masters going for hunting.

One of their rare sports is called Narikkoothu in which they kill a tiger after teasing it. Whenever they learn that a tiger has killed a cow, they organise Narikkoothu. They encircle the tiger and drive it here and there by raising hue and cry. They inflict wounds with spears and poles. Finally the tiger falls down exhausted. Then the mob rush towards it in their anxiety to possess the whiskers which is said to be a cure for a number of ailments. Before beginning the operations, they pray to the deity of Boothadi to give them success.

Relationship with neighbours

28. They maintain good relationship with their neighbours. The other tribes living in the neighbourhood respect them. In fact they are considered as elders by the Paniyans, Urali Kurumbans and Kattu Naickens. The Paniyans work in the fields belonging to Mullu Kurumbars. Mullu Kurumbars purchase mud pots from Urali Kurumbans in exchange for paddy. The only people with whom they are not on good terms are the ex-servicemen and the Syrian Christians who have occupied portions of lands which were formerly under their exclusive enjoyment.

Conclusion

29. The Mullu Kurumbars belong to a distinct ethnic group. They have nothing in common with other Kurumbars with whom they have been grouped and enumerated in 1961 Census. They have interesting customs and manners and a rich material culture. They are well disciplined and their economy has passed the primitive stage. They, however, preserve the use of the primitive implements like the bow and arrow, more for sport in which they take part with delight.

APPENDIX I

Socio economic tables relating
to the Mullu Kurumban households
in Padacheri of Gudalur taluk

TABLE - 1
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of Households	Size of Households											
	Single Member		2 to 3 Members		4 to 6 Members		7 to 9 Members		10 Members and over			
	Households	M F	Households	M F	Households	M F	Households	M F	Households	M F	Households	M F
17	3	3 ...	3	4 4	10	19 27	1	4 3	...	...	...	...

TABLE - 2
TYPES OF FAMILIES

Total No. of Households	Types of Families living in the Households			
	Single		Intermediate	
	Single	Joint	Intermediate	Others
17	14	...	...	3

TABLE - 3
DIET AND FOOD HABITS

Total No. of Households	No. of Vegetarian Households	No of Non-Vegetarian Households	Households taking				Frequency of Meals			
			Rice	Millet	Mixed		One meal a day	Two meals a day	Three meals a day	Four meals a day
17	...	17	17	...	—		...	...	16	1

TABLE - 4
HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS

Total No. of Households	Total No. of Rooms	Total No. of Family Members	Households with one Room		Households with two Rooms	
			No. of Households	Total No. of Family Members	No. of Households	Total No. of Family Members
17	25	64	9	27	8	37

TABLE - 5
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of Households	Households engaged in Cultivation only	Households engaged in Agricultural Labour only	Households engaged in Cooly only		Households engaged in Cultivation and Agricultural Labour
			P	M	
17	13	2	13	1	1

TABLE - 6
WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS

Age group	Total workers			Agricultural Labour			Cultivation			Cooly		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	21	17	4	7	3	4	13	13	...	1	2	...
0-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	2	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
20-24	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
25-29	2	1	1	1	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...
30-34	4	4	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	1	1	...
35-44	4	3	1	1	...	1	5	5	...	...	...	...
45-59	6	6	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
60+	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - 7
HOUSEHOLDS OWNING OR POSSESSING LAND OR HAVE LEASED OUT LAND
TO OTHERS FOR CULTIVATION

Name of Interest on land	Number of Households and extent of land							
	No land	51 cents and below	51 cents to 1 acre	1.01 to 2.49 acres	2.50 to 4.99 acres	5 to 9.99 acres	10 and above	Area not stated
1. Land owned	...	...	...	3	5	2	1	...
2. Land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Land held from private persons or Institutions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4. Land given out to private persons or Institutions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Land owned and taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6. Land held from Government and taken on lease	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. No land	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - 8
LIVESTOCK STATISTICS

No. of Households owning	Bullocks and cows		Buffaloe		Cock		Cockrel	
	Total No.	No. of Households	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning	Total No.	No. of Households owning
7	38	7	62	2	20	5	50	5

T A B L E - 9
MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY SOURCE AND OCCUPATION

Occupation of Households	Source of Income	Monthly Income per household in the range of				
		Rs. 25 or less	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-75	Rs. 76-100	Rs. 101 and Over
Total	2	2	...	5	3	7
Cultivation	Land	...	...	5	2	6
Agricultural labour	Wage earner	1	...	...	1	...
Cooly	Wage earner	1	...	...	...	...
Agricultural labour and cultivation	Land	...	...	...	...	1

T A B L E - 10
AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUPS

Items of expenditure	No. of Households with a monthly income of									
	All Households		Rs. 25 or less		Rs. 26 — 50		Rs. 51 — 75		Rs. 76 — 100	
	No. of Households	Average expenditure Rs. nP.	No. of Households	Average expenditure Rs. nP.	No. of Households	Average expenditure Rs. nP.	No. of Households	Average expenditure Rs. nP.	No. of Households	Average expenditure Rs. nP.
Food	17	56 12	2	14 50	...	...	5	49 00	3	58 33
House Rent	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dress	17	8 62	2	1 50	...	...	5	6 20	3	10 00
Smoking and chewing	16	4 56	1	2 00	...	...	5	2 20	3	4 33
Entertainment	4	2 25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	16	6 69	1	1 00	...	...	5	1 80	3	5 67
Total	17	75 41	2	17 50	...	...	5	59 20	3	78 33

T A B L E - 11
INDEBTEDNESS

Income Group	Indebtedness by Income Group				
	Total No. of Households	No. of Households in debt	Percentage of Column 3 to Column 2	Total Indebtedness Rs. nP.	Average Indebtedness for Households in debt Rs. nP.
Total	17	4	23.53	1,250.00	312.50
Rs. 25 or less	2	...	...	...	...
Rs. 26—50	...	...	...	...	...
Rs. 51—75	5	1	20.00	250.00	250.00
Rs. 76—100	3	...	...	...	...
Rs. 101 and Over	7	3	42.86	1,000.00	333.33

T A B L E - 12
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE

Cause	Indebtedness by cause of debt			Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)
	Amount of debt Rs. nP.	Number of families in debt		
Total	1,250 00	6		100 00
Purchase of Bulls	750 00	3		60 00
Ordinary wants	200 00	2		16 00
Household Cultivation	300 00	1		24 00

T A B L E - 13

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age Groups	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All ages	64	30	34	14	19	14	14	1	...	1	1
0—4	14	5	9	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—14	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
15—19	6	2	4	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
20—24	5	2	3	2	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
25—29	4	1	3	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	1
30—34	8	4	4	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...
35—34	8	3	5	...	...	2	5	...	...	1	...
45—59	7	6	1	...	...	5	1	1	...	...	...
60+	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...

T A B L E - 14
LITERACY AND EDUCATION

Age Groups	Total Population			Illiterate		Literate (without educational standard)		Primary or Junior Basic		Matriculation and above	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	64	30	34	22	30	5	4	3	...	...	...
0—4	14	5	9	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—9	6	3	3	1	2	2	1	...	...	...	...
10—14	4	2	2	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
15—19	6	...	4	...	3	1	1	1	...	...	...
20—24	5	2	3	...	3	1	...	1	...	...	...
25—29	4	1	3	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
30—34	8	4	4	3	4	...	...	1	...	...	...
35—44	8	3	5	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
45—59	7	6	1	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
60+	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE - 15
WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE GROUPS

Age Groups	Total Population				Workers			Non-Workers		
	Persons		Males		Females		Persons	Males	Females	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females				
All ages	64	30	34	21	17	4	43	13	30	
"	14	5	9	...	...	...	14	5	9	
5—9	6	3	3	...	...	...	6	3	3	
10—14	4	2	2	...	...	...	4	2	2	
15—19	6	2	4	2	1	1	4	1	3	
20—24	5	2	3	1	...	1	4	2	2	
25—29	4	1	3	2	1	1	2	...	2	
30—34	8	4	4	4	4	...	4	...	4	
35—44	8	3	5	4	3	1	4	...	4	
45—59	7	0	1	6	6	...	1	...	1	
60 +	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	

T A B L E - 16
NON-WORKERS, BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

[illegible]

ANNEXURE
List of Scheduled
Tribes in Madras
State

TABLE - 17

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES

Age Groups	Number of Persons Married			
	Once		Twice	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1-ages	13	15	3	...
1-12	...	...	...	...
1-17	...	...	...	...
1-22	...	1	...	...
1-27	...	2	...	...
1-32	5	6	...	...
1-37	...	1	...	...
1-42	3	3	...	...
1-47	2	1	...	...
1 & over	3	1	3	...

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TABLE - 18

MARRIAGES, DIVORCES AND REMARRIAGES

Result of First Marriage					Result of Second Marriage				
of living with first spouse	Due to death	No. Separated from the first spouse		Total	No. of living with the second spouse	No. separated from the second spouse			Total
		Due to divorce	Due to desertion			Due to death	Due to divorce	Due to desertion	
Married Males									
11	3	1	1	5	3	...	...	...	...
Married Females									
14	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...

A N N E X U R E

List of Scheduled Tribes in Madras State

I. THROUGHOUT THE STATE

1. Kadar
2. Irular

II. Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.

1. Adiyar
2. Aranadan
3. Kammara
4. Kattunayakan
5. Konda Kapus
6. Konda Reddis
7. Koraga
8. Kota
9. Kudiya or Melakudi
10. Kurichchan
11. Kurumans
12. Maha Malasar
13. Malasar
14. Malaye Kandi
15. Mudugar or Muduvan
16. Palliyan
17. Paniyan
18. Pulayan
19. Sholaga
20. Toda

III. In North Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirapalli districts.

Malayali

IV. In Coimbatore district and Tirunelveli district (except Shencottah taluk)

Kaniyan or Kanyan

V. In the Nilgiris district.

Kurmbas

VI. In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.

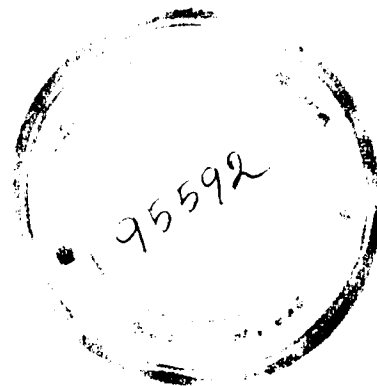
1. Eravallan
2. Hill Pulaya

3. Kanikaran or Kanikkar
4. Kochu Velan
5. Malakkuravan
6. Malai Arayan
7. Malai Pandaram
8. Malai Vedan
9. Malayan
10. Malayarayar
11. Mannan
12. Muthuvan
13. Palleyan
14. Palleyar
15. Ulladan (hill dwellers)
16. Uraly
17. Vishavan

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