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Culture Types in Assam Himalayas

BY

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, Ph.D.

Our knowledge of the ethnology of India is still patchy and close to comparatively well explored areas there persist great blanks on the ethnographic map. This is particularly true of Assam, where detailed and extensive information on the Nagas is contrasted by an almost complete lack of knowledge regarding the tribes on Assam's northern border. The country between the Brahmaputra valley and the Himalayan main range in so far as communications are concerned, one of the most difficult in the world, is in parts even geographically unexplored and its tribal population maintains very few contacts with the outside world.

During two extensive tours in the Balipara Frontier Tract in 1944 and 1945, I had the rare opportunity of studying the tribes of the area west of the Subansiri and between the Subansiri and its main tributary the Kamla. Some of the country my wife and I visited had never before been entered by outsiders, and in the areas previously explored and surveyed, we were the first to travel without an armed force. This enabled us to establish an atmosphere of friendliness and confidence and to gather detailed information on the customs and culture of tribes practically unknown to anthropology.

The culture pattern of the Subansiri region is complex, and differs considerably from that of the culturally and racially more uniform Abor country to the east. For in the rugged mountains, slashed by the deep

gorges of the Panior, Khru and Kamla Rivers, live tribes of greatly contrasting economic and social characteristics.

Lowest on the ladder of material development stands a tribes known to its neighbours as Sulu or Sulung. Though numerically small this tribe has a wide distribution, and scattered groups of Sulus extend from the upper course of the Par River, only some 30 mile to the north east of the plains of Assam, as far as the high mountains between the Kamla and the yet unexplored upper course of the Subansiri. But however widely separated, the various groups of Sulus seem to share certain essential features that distinguish them clearly from their more advanced neighbours. A final judgement on this elusive tribe must await a more extensive exploration of their mountain habitat, but from the information I have so far gathered it appears that the Sulus speak a language of their own which is not understood by any of their neighbours. This is all the more remarkable as most tribal dialects in this area are mutually understandable, and the Sulus live in small groups and often in symbiosis with other tribes. Racially they seem to belong to the palaeo-mongolid type predominant in the Assam Himalayas, but a marked prognathism distinguishes them from such tribes as Daflas and Apa Tanis.

The linguistic and cultural affinities of the Sulus are still obscure, but they are said to have already been in the country when the other tribes arrived from their legendary home-land in the east. All Sulus are extremely skilled in hunting, trapping and fishing, and while among other tribes of the area hunting is a preserve of the men, Sulu women are also expert in woodcraft and are said to do a great deal of trapping. There is a wide-spread belief that originally the Sulus grow no crops, but learnt to cultivate only after they had come in touch with their present neighbours the *jhum*-cultivating Daflas. Even now they lead a semi-momadic life and leave their settlements for months at a time to range the forests and hills in search of game and wild jungle-produce. They hunt with bow and arrow, harpoon fish in the bigger rivers such as Khru and Kamal, and collect the edible sago-like pith of a tree known as *tashi*, which they pound in troughs and make into bread,

Though there may still be some groups of Sulus who subsist solely by the chase, the collecting of jungle-produce and barter, all those of whom I have any knowledge cultivate to-day small *jhum*-plots near their settlements. On hill-sides cleared of forest they grow rice, millet and maize, and their agricultural methods seem to be the same as those of the Daflas. Rather inconsonant with the semi-nomadic character of the Sulus

is their fame as blacksmiths and brass-founders. They fashion iron into knives and *dao*, and make pipes and ornaments from brass and other alloys. Indeed the Daflas have the tradition that they learnt the blacksmith's craft from Sulus. But how the latter became acquainted with the technique of metal-working is still one of the many unsolved problems of this borderland between Assam and Tibet.

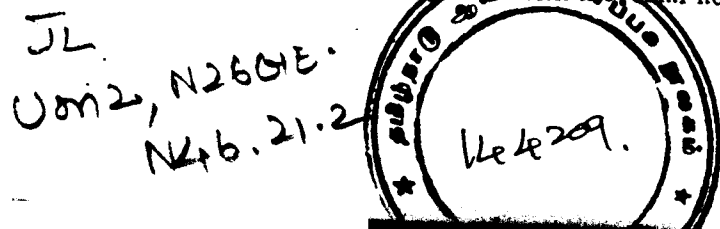
The Sulus never wage war and such peacefulness is unusual in a country where among most other tribes feuds and raids are the order of the day. I have heard it said that Sulus are not molested because they have few material possessions and such is their ability that it is difficult to keep a captured Sulu tied up for long. But this reputation is not borne out by facts: I have seen Sulus who somehow or other have become the slaves of Daflas, and some of them have lost all their tribal individuality and in some cases even their distinct language.

Fragmentary as our knowledge on the Sulus still is, I believe we are justified in assuming that they represent a cultural stratum far more primitive than the agricultural civilization of such tribes as Daflas and Abors which predominates in the hill-tracts of the North East Frontier. While not entirely ignorant of agriculture, the Sulus rely for their subsistence largely on hunting, fishing and the collection of edible plants, and their economy is thus in many aspects that of food-gatherers rather than of food-producers.

Until recently it was assumed that the only primitive tribes of food-gatherers and hunters surviving on the Indian mainland were the forest-tribes in the southern part of the Peninsula, but the discovery of the Sulus makes it probable that the remnants of an equally ancient and primitive population persist in isolated mountain-recesses of the Eastern Himalayas. The existence of similar tribes of food-gatherers in the Kumaon Himalayas has been mentioned by S.D. Pant¹, and I would not be surprised if other splinters of such primitive aboriginal races were yet to be found in ethnologically little known parts of the Himalayas.

But the Sulus, though of considerable interest to the anthropologist, are not a very important element in the population picture of the Subansiri area. The tribes that give the country its cultural character are the Daflas and the Hill Miris, or to be precise, a people known to the plainsmen of Assam by these two terms. The hillmen themselves use neither of these names and there exists in their own languages no generic name for all the

1. *The Social Economy of the Himalayas*, London 1935, pp. 88, 89.



closely related tribal groups that occupy the mountain-country between the foothills and the Himalayan main range west of the Subansiri. Many of them refer to themselves as Ni or Nisu, which means literally "men", and it might be in the interest of accuracy to substitute the name Nisu for the two terms Daflas and Miris. For the latter suggest a division which is not borne out by ethnological, linguistic or racial realities.

The basis of the economy of both Daflas and Miris is agriculture and animal-husbandry. Hunting and fishing is never more than a subsidiary occupation and the gathering of wild fruit and vegetables, though essential in times of scarcity, is in normal years insignificant. In contrast to the Sulu who mainly glean what nature provides, the Dafla² relies on raising sufficient grain and domestic animals to provide the bulk of his food-supply. Yet his methods of agriculture are comparatively primitive and his implements less developed than, for instance, those of the Nagas. Whereas the latter dig up their fields with hoes, and then broadcast rice and millet the Daflas prepare the fields with *dao* and sometimes with spade-like bone implements made of the shoulder-blade of a mithan. Small hoes with a moon-shaped blade fastened to a forked handle are used mainly for weeding. Millet (*Eleusine coracana* and *Setaria italica*) is broadcast, but all rice is dipped with digging-sticks; the former is done by men and the dipping of rice is exclusively women's work.

The Daflas, like the Abors and other hill-tribes of Assam, frequently shift their fields, and whenever a plot is exhausted, new forest is cleared and if possible virgin soil taken under cultivation. In the sparsely populated foot-hills, where villages are small and separated by long stretches of high forest, land is ample and fields are seldom cultivated more than two years at a time. But in other areas, such as for instance the upper Panior valley, land is beginning to become scarce and many of the hill-slopes are bare of forest and covered by grass and shrub. Yet even there land is communal property and though the most influential and powerful may sometimes monopolize the best plots, land is not considered an item of wealth and the idea of land as negotiable property is foreign to Dafla culture. It is the number of his dependents and slaves, not his ownership of land, that enables a rich man to produce large quantities of grain, and his 'wealth' consists almost exclusively of slaves, cattle and valuables such as Tibetan prayer bells (used among the Daflas as a kind of currency), beads, and ornaments of bell-metal. The economic value of slaves is obvious, but the cattle—mainly mithan (*bos frontalis*)—is neither milked nor used for carriage or traction, and bells and ornaments are essentially non-

2. Here and subsequently 'Dafla' stands for both Dafla and Miri.



Fig. 2. Sulu man of the Panior valley.



Fig. 1. Dafla woman of Talo village.



Fig. 3. Apa Tani man.



Fig. 4. Apa Tani woman.



Fig. 5. Dafla men of the Par valley.



Fig. 6. Apa Tani women.



Fig. 7. The Dafla village of Talo.



Fig. 8. The Apa Tani village of Haja.

productive. The acquisition of wealth is nevertheless a dominant factor in Dafia social life, and the purchase of a valuable Tibetan bell, weighing perhaps less than $\frac{1}{2}$ lb, is an elaborate process accompanied by rites and ceremonies which are drawn out over many years.

There are few primitive cultures in which wealth is valued and indeed almost worshipped to the extent it is among the Daffas, and where at the same time it is so insecure. No Daffa keeps his valuables in his house; for if he is raided only those possessions that have been secretly buried in the forest are safe from the attackers, and can be used as ransom should the owner have been carried off into captivity. Warlike as the Daffas are, unlike Nagas they do not raid for the sake of gaining the glory of a head-hunter, or indeed for the sake of killing. The principle motive is usually the wish to obtain compensation for real or imagined damage, to recoupe losses, or in rare cases simply to capture slaves or to take prisoners who may realize high ransoms. Economic considerations lie thus at the bottom of most feuds and there are few quarrels that cannot be settled by the payment of compensation. Yet from the very nature of the Daffas' most treasured possessions, articles from whose ownership prestige rather than material benefit can be derived, it would appear that the quest for social merit is inseparably linked with the accumulation of property as well as with political rivalry. A man will make efforts and take considerable risks to obtain compensation for a loss, caused perhaps by the capture of his mithan, not so much because the valuables paid in satisfaction of his claim will immediately increase his material comfort, but because his prestige depends on his *ability* to enforce his claim.

This striving after prestige and wealth with the accompanying features of violence and interminable feuds, must be viewed against the background of a social system which favours the independence of each individual household and makes little provision for the maintenance of peace and the feeling of solidarity within tribal groups.

The primary social unit is the household comprising usually several families and in some cases as many as sixty or seventy members. The household is for practical purposes autonomous and self-contained, the leadership resting with the owner of the house and head of the joint family. His position is not unlike that of a patriarch among pastoral nomads, except that in all matters concerning the disposal of property he may only act in conjunction with his principal wife.

The size of Daffa villages ranges from three to four houses, standing in a small clearing surrounded by *jhum*-fields and forest, to about thirty

houses dispersed over spurs and hill-slopes. Most houses are joint family wellings with as many as twelve hearths and a length of more than 100 feet. The village is no closely knit social and political unit. Families may join or leave it at will and in some areas there is a continuous movement of people from one village to the other. There is no system of village-headman whose office gives them authority over all house-holders. Even feuds are usually not between village and village, but between joint-family and joint family. It is no unusual occurrence that one or two houses in a village are raided and the inhabitants killed or carried off as captives, while the other households remain unharmed and indeed often do not consider it their responsibility to give effective help to their neighbours.

The clans are exogamous and within the village there is sometimes a fair amount of co-operation between kindred families of the same clan. But many clans extend over several villages and in this case they do not necessarily present a common front. Internecine strife and feuds between clan-members are not at all unusual. Although certain villages form territorial groups within which contacts are closer and marriage alliances more frequent than between villages belonging to different territorial groups, there is no organization which could lend territorial groups any measure of political unity.

Across the vertical division of Dafla society into exogamous clans runs a horizontal division into freemen and slaves. This latter division however, is not rigid. There is no slave-class (as among Apa Tanis), but slaves are mainly people captured in war and either kept by their captors or sold. Their children become members of their owner's clan, but their status is that of dependents rather than of slaves; in time they can acquire wealth and become freemen of good social standing.

Whereas the members of a joint-family are in normal years largely self-sufficient for their food-supply, all Daflas have to obtain salt, iron and a few other articles by trade and barter. The volume of this trade varies greatly according to the locality. The Daflas of the foot-hills maintain fairly regular trade-relations with the plains of Assam, those of the central zone get all their supplies of foreign goods through barter with neighbouring tribesmen, and those living nearest to the passes into Tibet rely for both salt and iron on trade with Tibetans, giving animal skins, vegetable dyes and cane in exchange. But the isolation of the individual village-group and the general insecurity of the country is so great that few men go far afield, and many goods—both Tibetan and Indian—reach the ultimate consumer after having passed through innumerable hands.

Differences between the various groups of Daflas, as well as between the Daflas and the closely related tribal group known as Hill Miris, do not involve the basic principles of the economic and social structure. They are confined to the style of houses and dress, certain details in rites and ceremonies, and of course, the nature and number of goods obtained from outside sources. But in the midst of Daflas and Miris, and surrounded by them on all sides dwells a tribe fundamentally different from all other tribes of the Subansiri Region, and indeed from all known tribes of the North East Frontier. The Apa Tanis, as the members of this tribe call themselves³, inhabit a single, flat-bottomed valley of about 20 square miles and their number is approximately 20,000. The fact that a thousand people find a living on one square mile would be unusual anywhere among primitive populations dependent on their own resources, but in an area where no other tribe has any conception of intensive cultivation, the achievement of the Apa Tanis is truly astonishing. Coming from the Dafla country into the Apa Tani valley with its irrigated rice-fields, gardens and groves, is to enter another world. Both Daflas and Apa Tanis are agriculturists, but there can be no greater contrast than the difference between their systems of cultivation.

While the Dafla seldom tills a piece of land more than two or three years in succession and recognizes no individual property in land, the Apa Tani tends every square yard of his land with loving care and the greatest ingenuity. Land is to him the source and essence of all wealth and only the possession of land gives a man economic independence. All cultivated land is jealously guarded private property and good, irrigated fields fetch prices in cattle and valuables that in the plains of Assam would be considered fantastic. Rice cultivated on irrigated, terraced fields is the Apa Tani's main crop, but on dry land millet (*Eleusine coracana*) and maize are grown. Ploughs are unknown and the field-work is done entirely with iron hoes, digging-sticks and wooden batons. Small as is the area under cultivation compared to the population of the valley, the Apa Tanis not only grow enough food for themselves, but sell a good deal of rice to Daflas and Miris, who pay mainly in mithan and pigs. The economies of the Apa Tanis and their Dafla neighbours are in many ways complementary and the sale of animals for grain is only one aspect of the trade-relations between the two tribes. The Apa Tanis buy from the Daflas cotton, earthen pots and gourd-vessels and sell to them woven cloth as well as *dao* and knives made by their blacksmiths.

Whereas the Daflas dwell in huge, single homesteads, grouped loosely into settlements, the Apa Tanis live in crowded villages, some of

3. Some of their Dafla neighbours refer to them as Apa Tanan.

over a thousand houses standing eave to eave in long lines of streets and a labyrinth of narrow lanes. The spirit of extreme and almost aggressive individualism and independence so characteristic of the Dafla would be fatal and disruptive in such populous settlements. Men who rub shoulders from morning to night have no other choice but to co-operate and to settle disputes not by force but through arbitration, or should that fail, by a regularized and only symbolic display of force. Unrestricted war between Apa Tani villages is unknown and the whole tribe is a social and endogamous unit whose cohesion is maintained through numerous traditional and ceremonial ties.

Each of the seven Apa Tani villages is administered by a council of elders, and though there is no common head of the whole tribe, the village elders consult with each other on questions affecting two or more villages.

Within the villages social life is regulated by an elaborate system of clan-elders, executive clan-dignitaries and messengers, but their administration of public affairs is unobtrusive and their powers are limited. While tradition and custom closely prescribe behaviour in all normal circumstances, there is no power which can impose unusual course of action on any section of the tribe. In the pursuance of peaceful activities the Apa Tanis have attained an admirable degree of co-operation and concerted action, but when attacked by their warlike Dafla neighbours they seem to lack organization and leadership. Small bands of well-led Daflas have often captured Apa Tanis out hunting or their mithan grazing in the forest without provoking collective action on the part of this numerous tribe.

Practically all cultivated land is private property and there is little scope for expansion, almost the entire valley bottom being already divided into irrigated rice-fields. Some men possess far more land than the members of their household can cultivate, while others own little or no irrigated land. The disparity between rich and poor is very great, and a poor man needs exceptional energy and intelligence to acquire a holding large enough to secure his material independence.

Apa Tani society is thus perhaps more static than Dafla society, and the predominance of a wealthy family may persist for generations. The same stability applies to the two classes: *mite* or patricians and *mura* or plebeians. All slaves belong to the latter class, and though they or their descendants may be "freed", i.e. given houses and land of their own, they can never be absorbed into or even intermarry with the class of patricians. Yet this immovable social distinction is not always paralleled by a corresponding distinction in material possessions; many a *mura* is very well off

and there are *mite* who own no land and have to earn their living by work as daily labourers.

Trade is for such poor men a valuable source of income, and though the Apa Tanis are as a people far more settled than any group of Daflas, they are most enterprising traders and undertake expeditions that take them several days' march from their own country. In this way cloth and *dao* manufactured by Apa Tanis filter to distant villages and occasionally even across the trade-divide between India and Tibet.

Large areas of the Subansiri Region still await exploration, but from the existing evidence it would appear that Apa Tani civilization is unique in the Assam Himalayas. No other tribe has developed the resources of its habitat to the same extent as the Apa Tanis, and though the latter have had the advantage of an unusually fertile piece of country, I do not believe that a favourable milieu alone can explain their success in transforming a mountain valley of barely twenty square miles into a garden where twenty thousand people can maintain a standard of living far higher than that of any neighbouring tribe. The genius of Apa Tani culture seems to be fundamentally different from that of Dafla, Miri and Abor culture, and the considerable physical difference between Apa Tanis and Daflas suggests that not only the cultural but also the racial heritage of the two populations is distinct.

In my recent work in the Subansiri area I could only just lift the curtain from a country unknown to anthropology, and a good deal of further research will have to be done before we can approach the solution of its many ethnological problems. So far we can discern three major cultural strata: the ancient stratum of semi-nomadic food-gatherers and hunters represented by the Sulus, the broad stratum of *jhum*-cultivators such as Daflas and Miris, and the most advanced stratum of a highly developed agricultural civilization based on the cultivation of rice on irrigated terrace-fields. In other parts of the Eastern Himalayas there exists also a stratum of shepherds and cattle-breeders living in high altitudes above the region of the sub-tropical rain-forest. When the exploration of the Subansiri area is continued such a population may still be discovered in the highlands immediately below the Great Himalayan range, and among the Daflas of the Panior valley I heard indeed vague stories of people known as Naga, who are said to breed sheep, wear woollen clothes and build houses of stone. But until the upper courses of Khru, Kamla and Subansiri are explored, our knowledge of these and other high altitude dwellers will have to rely on hear-say reports, and for the present only the three strata represented by Sulus, Daflas and Apa Tanis are open to anthropological investigation.

Mother-Right, an ethno-geographical problem in the history of India.

BY

UMAR ROLF BARON EHRENFELS, Ph. D. (VIENNA).

Whilst engaged in a special study of the Malaiyals of the Shevroy-Hills in the Salem district, I encountered megalithic tombs which did not seem vitally linked, as a part of it, to the Malayalis' present civilization and in fact are considered by themselves, as remnants of mythological dwarfs, supposed to have cultivated the Shevroy hills at a remote time, before the present inhabitants had immigrated, according to their legendary tribal history¹.

On the south-eastern slope of the Kumbutuki hill range, on the northern edge of which I found some of these tombs, there were several revetments, marked by decayed and unordered, yet decidedly men-made, stone layers under a cover of thinnish jungle-growth, consisting partly also of small teak-trees. Beneath these, there were also old teak stumps, with a cross-section of about 8 to 10 inches. Coffee-planters of these hills, as well as Malaiyals asserted that the only occasion within living memory, when teak-wood was taken from these hills, was the construction of the Madras-Madura-Trivandrum railway, between the years 1870/80; the Malaiyals adding that at this side of the hill-range in question, there "had never been any" of their villages or terraced fields, as remnants of which the above revetments might have been taken. I was the more interested in the origin of these terraced revetments, as they seemed to point to the former existence of a comparatively advanced type of agriculture. Under the circumstances prevailing, it did not appear unreasonable, to attribute them to one of the ancient matriarchal civilizations which were responsible for the invention and spreading of agriculture. I was therefore eager to obtain any information, if only of a legendary nature, pertaining to the origin of these relics. The Malaiyals acknowledged no doubt, the men-made nature of the revetments and gave as an explanation simply one word: "Pandiyan", which, in their speech does not mean so much a reference to the people of the historic Tamil-kingdom of the same name,

1. Ehrenfels: "Traces of a Matriarchal Civilization among the Kolli Malaiyals", in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. LX, 1943, Article No. 2, p. 737 seq.

but the above-mentioned mythological race of dwarfs, supposed to have inhabited the hills till the ground, and also to have erected *Pandiyan kal*, the ancient megalithic tombs, long before the Malaiyals had immigrated into these hills.

Ethnological evidence supports, if not the exaggerated smallness of these dwarfs ("not bigger than a span, or a child would be now-a-days"!), so at least the theory of an interruption in the cultivation of the ground between the time when the revetments was constructed and the present Malaiyals' settlement. Teak grows slowly. As the teak-wood, removed from the ground of the old revetments, in the seventies of the last century, must have grown as natural jungle on the ground of the previously men-made revetments which had obviously served some agricultural or house-building endeavours, this must have been at a time, much earlier than the general unrest and subsequent population-movements, caused by Tippu Sultan's wars.

A better knowledge of the historic-geographical facts, than I could gain, might have helped to determine the possible date of these pre-Malaiyali settlers.

But even without this knowledge we were thus led towards the intricacies of the peculiarly geographical-ethnological problems of mother-right civilizations in India, to which our Malaiyals of the Salem district are undoubtedly related. They occupy, moreover, a geographical key position in the centre of South India, right between the secluded (and matriarchal) Westcoast and the open (since long patriarchalized) Eastcoast.

There is, then, connected with the problem just before us, the whole question of the migration and origin of the matriarchally tinted Malaiyals themselves. They profess to have migrated "long ago" from Conjeevaram on the Eastcoast, to the hills of the present Salem district, an area which was a secluded "cultural redoubt" until about hundred and fifty years ago, when coffee-plantation had been introduced in some of the hilly tracts of the district.²

The Malaiyals' old caste-name of "Kerala", however, seems to connect them with the south-west coast of India, Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar, i.e. the ancient Kerala³, which is one of the classical

2. F. J. Richards, I.C.S.: *Malabar District Gazetteer*, "Salem", Madras, 1918, p. 156, seq., Edgar Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909, Vol. IV, p. 407, seq.

3. Richards: op. cit., p. 155, and Ehrenfels: op. cit., p. 51, seq.

centres of the matriarchal civilization in India, the other being in the Khasi and Garo-hills, on the extreme north-east corner of this sub-continent.⁴

This peculiar distribution in itself appears provocative to the student of historical geography and seems deserving of special consideration in this connection.

The distribution of the characteristic matriarchal civilizational remnants in the extreme north-east and south-west corners of the country might at first sight suggest connections with similar types of human society in the neighbouring countries, east and west of India. In this case, matriarchal civilizations would have to be considered as entities, immigrated into India from outside.

Against such a working hypothesis, however, the following weighty facts raise counterarguments:

(a) Both centres of matriarchal civilization in India are cultural backwaters,—natural redoubts of civilization—where external influence would be felt least, but where an older stratum of indigenous culture may rightly be expected to have survived younger waves of civilization.

(b) Single elements and survivals of matriarchal civilization are spread over the entire face of the Indian map, in such a way as to suggest a formerly existing connection between what appears now as more or less isolated islands or "cultural redoubts".⁵

(c) Culture-historic affinities of a more than merely accidental character connect the matriarchal group in the north-east corner of India with at least one of the strata, discernible in the matriarchal civilization of the south-west coast (the ancient Kerala).⁶

(d) Archaeological and mythological evidence agree in showing the matriarchal civilizations as indigenous to this country, from a time much earlier than the Aryan immigration;—and moreover also as being represented by all the characteristic stations or strata of its development.

These facts point to the possibility of India as the original birth-place rather, than a "sphere of influence" of matriarchal civilizations. Under these circumstances such questions as that of the nature and origin of the

4. Ehrenfels: *Mother-right in India*, Milford, Hyderabad, 1941, see especially pp. 36, 39, 73, seq.

5. *Ibid.*, see: the map facing the title-page.

6. *Ibid.*, especially the pp. 73 and 74.

Malaiyals in their present "semi-matriarchal redoubt", or those of their mythical dwarf-predecessors, gain considerable importance. Historical geography could lend in these questions a peculiarly helpful hand; more so even, than in any other field of ethnology, because matriarchal civilizations are connected with agriculture, the marks of which on the surface of the ground often survive centuries and thus remain better accessible to geographical research methods, than do most remnants of other ancient civilizations (except of course actual buildings of an advanced type, as well as stone- or metallic-instruments).

The cardinal questions which should be borne in mind here are mainly these:—

(1) Have migrations taken place, of an early type of matriarchal village civilizations, characterized by agricultural methods (most probably including terraced rice-cultivation), which can be supposed to have left some marks on the ground, discernible to the geographer?

(2) Have these migrations, if any, had a centrifugal direction, *i.e.* from India towards her border and neighbouring-countries, or *vice versa*, from outside India towards her centre?

(3) Can there be any proof established for a continuous type of agriculture having covered the main bulk of the peninsula and thus connecting the north-east with the south-west, at a time anterior to general Hinduization; that means, at a time, when agricultural economy in India may be considered as indicative of matriarchal civilization?

Historical geography obviously could help much in throwing light on these questions, if fully acquainted with the problems and findings of ethnological research, such as for instance the supposed interrelation between the middle stratum of matriarchal civilizations (of which the above-mentioned Malaiyals are representative, and which, moreover, appears to connect north-eastern and south-western matriarchal groups in India), on the one side, and an early type of agriculture, on the other.⁷

It must, of course be warned here against rash generalizations and schematic theorizing, as detrimental to a living conception of the unique singleness in each tribe and ethnological group. Professor Majumdar

7. Details of this research-method are expounded in Schmid-Koppers: *The Culture-Historic Method of Ethnology. A Scientific Approach to the Racial Question*, New York 1940, where a summary of its results will be found. See also; Elliot Smith: *Human History*, London 1930, especially pp. 14, 22, 39, seq., and also Ehrenfels: *Ilm-ul-Aqam*, Anjuman. I-Taraqqi-I-Urdu, Delhi 1942, the Urdu version of an essay on ethnology for the layman, Translated by Dr. Seyyed 'Abid Hussain-Saheb'.

stresses rightly this point in the preface to his valuable study on social transition.⁸

India has been particularly lucky in having found leading research scholars who trod this path. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, "the Father of Indian ethnography" was the first to approach the Central-Indian tribes, such as the Kharias, Birhor, Oraon, Korku, and others, in this spirit and, moreover paved the way for co-operative research-work by founding the anthropological quarterly *Man in India*, which survives its great initiator now, after the latter's death under such an able board of publication, with Dr. Verrier Elwin's singular experience, knowledge and vision to its disposition. This research-scholar unifies in his position as a social worker all the good points of the missionary-anthropologists, i.e., a thorough knowledge of, and intimate interest in the people, achieved during many years of contact and actual co-operation which can scarcely be substituted by even the most circumspect scientist's stay of a few months, with the scientific background and with a freedom from restrictions and prejudices which are imposed on missionaries and religious teachers in aboriginal areas, by their status. In his already world-wide known monographs on the Baigas and Agarias, as well as on special questions⁹. Such as *The Gond and their Ghotul* (now in the press) or on *Loss of Nerve, A comparative study of the result of the contact of people in the aboriginal areas of Baster State and the Central Provinces of India*, he progressed fastly in providing those complete sources to the "Gestaltenanthropological" student of cultural history and sociology of aboriginal India, who, up to now, was to rely mostly on the various *Castes and Tribes* compilation, and the ethnographic appendices to the *Census of India-Reports* which, though valuable as a frame-work, could yet not give anything in the way of the above mentioned *Gestalten-anthropology*.

If we have tried to illustrate here the possibilities of a close co-operation between research-work in the fields of social anthropology (ethnology) and the potentialities of historical geography, the question of relative superiority in the importance of geographical and other factors, determining aboriginal sociology, remains still to be touched upon now.

8. D. N. Majumdar: *A Tribe in Transition, A Study in Cultural Pattern*, London 1937, where he points on p. II. to "Ruth Benedict's *Pattern of Culture*" which, so Majumdar thinks, "may be called the beginning of a *Gestalt-anthropology*", referring thereby, it seems, to the *Gestaltentheorie*, which was at first formulated by my father, Prof. Dr. Christian Baron Ehrenfels, in his essay on *Gestaltqualitäten*, in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie*, XIV. Jahrg. (Avenarius) Zurich, 1890. Majumdar, quoting Benedict, describes this conception of anthropology as that of a whole which is not merely the sum of its parts, but the result of a unique arrangement and interrelation of the parts that have brought about a new entity. Thus he calls the genius of culture:—"its configuration" (*Ibid.*, p. II).

9. See e.g. Maria Murder and Suicide, London 1943.

The crystallization of any social unit (whether ethnological or otherwise) with which the *Gestalten-anthropologist*, and for that matter also the historical geographer, has to deal, is influenced by a vast number of heterogenous entities; language, tribal tradition, religion, environment, especially geographical circumstances, race, economic position and the influence of individual personalities being some of them. No one of these factors is ever found to be "all-determining". Yet, if only one of them should be underestimated, the result of the entire research would be misleading.¹⁰

Similarly, as the geographical factor is only one in quite a number of others, by which ethnological entities are being influenced, so also are ethnological factors (that is to say the activities of aborigines) only one out of a number of other human activities which bring about geographical changes that are of interest to the historical geographer.

The impress of fully developed machine-civilization on the surface of the earth is, of course, a deeper one than that which can be brought

10. What is meant here may best be illustrated by a simile, showing in short, what to discuss more thoroughly, the limited space to our disposition would not permit. Let us suppose that some Buddhist monks from Tibet with no previous experience among Europeans, but well prepared by theoretical studies, would start for Europe with the objective of describing Switzerland and the Swiss people scientifically and thus to render a picture of what to them may appear as the "Tibet of Europe". The philologist among the Tibetan explorers would soon arrive at the conclusion that the Swiss really are no nation at all, but rather parts, belonging to three or four different nations, living by mere chance within the boundaries of the same state. The historian, on the other hand, and the student of folklore, national character, customs, habits, usages and traditions would readily assert that few other states in Europe comprise such a compact and thoroughly coherent unit, as does Switzerland. The student of European religions, among our Buddhist travellers again will find that there is no real unity in Switzerland at all, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism of two denominations, Judaism and even a sprinkling of Buddhism being represented there, as well as the general European inclination towards Scepticism in religious matters. The economist, on the other hand, as well as the representative of behavioristically tinted schools of thought, which attach much importance to the influence of environment, may at first sight be delighted to find in Switzerland an almost classical example for the uniting forces of environment, economic and geographically given conditions. A little later, however, he will discover to his amazement that almost the same conditions which determine the "Gestalten-anthropological unit" of Switzerland are also found to prevail in French Savoy, the Italian Alps, Austrian Vorarlberg and the Tyrol, as well as even in South-Bavaria in Germany. Yet all these provinces neither belong to Switzerland, nor did their inhabitants partake of the typically Swiss neutrality and aloofness during the numerous quarrels among all their neighbouring countries. A similar situation will be found by the scholar of physical anthropology who would never be able to discern any essential racial differences between the Swiss and the non-Swiss inhabitants of the Alpine regions of Central Europe. The historian among our Tibetan friends, again, would point out that it was the character of individual Swiss leader-personalities throughout the centuries who succeeded in welding together the originally most divergent elements of present-day Switzerland, into one single cultural pattern; one "Gestalten-anthropological unit" indeed! All these mutually opposing statements are in a way correct and at the same time slightly onesided and misleading, too. This, one would be inclined to say, was the deplorable lack of vital contact between Tibetan Buddhist monks and Their studies' object, in the midst of modern Swiss society; a lack which, however, can be met with occasionally also among other explorers who are interested in ethnologically remarkable peoples, instead of in the Swiss.

about by the simple folk, falling under the ethnologist's sphere of interest and who rarely possess more in the way of tools, than digging stick and perhaps some simple hoes and axes.

Among them, however, it was undoubtedly the primitive agricultural civilization which began the first deeper scratching, levelling and terracing of the ground, cutting of canals and building of permanent houses that survived to our days. This type of civilization again must be considered (as was previously hinted at), as being originally matriarchal in character. The deeply rooted relationship between mother-right civilizations and the earth finds, among other things, expression also in the veneration of the earth as a mother-goddess. This central figure in the religious conception of pre-Aryan India has survived to this day and exercises her influence in modern religious conceptions as well.

It may be similarly considered as possible that the Chinese ancient art of geomancy (the method of adapting all human interference with the surface of the earth, such as house-building, erecting of bridges, walls, canals or fortifications etc. to the mystic and aesthetic requirements of the earth and the natural landscape), as well as the Buddhist orientation of important buildings, temples and towns to the directions of the compass,—are all rooted in a similar and originally matriarchal conception of the sanctity of the earth and her position in the sky.

The traditional manor-house of the Nayyar (a knightly caste of feudal and originally matriarchal landlords in south-western India), was also orientated to the directions of the compass, the south-west corner of the compound being reserved, as a sacred place, for a grove where the likewise sacred cobra had an abode.¹¹

There are, however, more similarities, also of a formal character in the architecture¹² and a peculiar method of measuring time¹³ which seem to connect the civilization of Malabar in the remotest south-west corner of India with Nepal, Tibet and Burma, far away in the north-eastern sphere of Chinese cultural influence on this country.

These hints may perhaps be suggestive of the hope that a closer co-operation of historico-geographical and of ethnological research may prove particularly successful in the analysis, not only of the south-western classical land of Indian mother-right civilization, but of the vast problem of mother-right in India generally.

11. The *Naṭṭan kavu* (*Naṭṭakottas*), see Rai Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer: *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, Vol. II, p. 82.

12. *Ibid.*, where also C. F. Oldham: *The Sun and the Serpent* is quoted. and: E. A. Gait: *Census of India, Report*, Calcutta, 1911, Vol. I, p. 242.

13. Heinz Simbriger: *Das Gong und die Gongspiele*, Deiden, 1939.

The Aborigines of India

Their Racial Origins and Types.

BY

C. HAYAVADANA RAO

In this paper, I propose to confine myself to a mere attempt to indicate who are those people who fall under the term "ABORIGINES of INDIA". With the large population that India possesses, racial origins are incapable of exact definition. To-day, it is, however, generally conceded that in remote times, India was occupied by a PRE DRAVIDAN RACE of low culture of which the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Tamil Kurumbars and the Australian race are off shoots. The striking resemblances of the Veddahs and the Sakais, of the Kadars, the Paniyans, and the Kurumbars and other jungle tribes of South India is well known. Blagden and Skeat, the Sarasin brothers, Edgar Thurston and Seligman are perfectly agreed on this point. Prof. Haddon remarks that a pre-Dravidian Race migrated into Australia and overran the continent and absorbed the spare aboriginal population. Since then, they have practically remained isolated from the rest of the world. Their languages have no relation to the Austronesian or Oceanic linguistic family¹ Dr. Haddon also describes the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula as 'Pre-Dravidian'.² Looking at the photographs of the Veddahs of Ceylon, one could not know them from photographs of a number of Indian Jungle Tribes.³ Dr. Haddon considers that the Veddahs also should be classed with the Kurumbars, Irulas and some other jungle tribes of the Dekhan as Pre-Dravidian.⁴ He also equates with the Kadirs of the Anamalais, the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, the Toalas of the Celebes and the Australians.⁵

At present the Australians, the Sakais, the Veddahs and the Indian Jungle tribes are all widely separated from each other. But, at one time there was, it is believed land connection between Ceylon India, Malay Peninsula and Australia, so that there was scope for a wide dispersal of Pre-Dravidians all over the India, Ceylon, Malaya, and the Australian continents. Whether the Lemurian hypothesis is well founded or not,⁶

1. *Races of Man*, 20;

2. *Ibid* p. 74.

3. Seligman *Veddahs*, p. 410 quoting Thurston.

4. *Races of man*

5. *Ibid.* 7 and 13.

6. On the geographical connection and the Lemurian hypothesis. See Heikal *History of Creation Oldham's Geology of India*.

it is now generally conceded that the people of India, Ceylon, Malay Peninsula and Australia were all connected with each other by the land route that existed between these countries at one time in distant Pre-historic ages. Later, but still in the pre-historic age, there was, it has been suggested, an inflow into India of what are, in a certain loose manner, called the Dravidian race, which made its way through Baluchistan from western Asia and gradually penetrated India to the far South. A third prehistoric movement, undoubtedly more restricted in its scope and numbers, was an infiltration of Mongolian race from the north-East. The fusion of these elements went on for a long time when the series of invasions from outer Asia through the North-West passes began. From that period, successive waves starting with Indo-Aryans and ending in historical times with the first Muslim invasions have swept India and got largely absorbed among the older inhabitants.

Seven racial types have been traced. Sir Henry Risley's names for these types are well known, though it has to be stated that later researches have converted some of them into mere labels. "Dravidian" and "Seythian" as racial names are to-day being used without relation to linguistic or historical facts. These Seven Types are as follows:—

(1) The aboriginal or Pre-Dravidian type, surviving in the short Platyrrhine men of certain primitive tribes of the hills and jungles, such as the Santals and Bhils, and further South the Paniyan, Kadar, Kurumbar, Irula, Kanikar, etc.

(2) The Dravidian type, now extending from Ceylon, all over the Southern peninsula, upto the Gangetic Valley.

(3) The Indo-Aryan type in Kashmir, tailing off into the Punjab and Rajputana (with possible aberrant types in Western and Southern India).

(4) The Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type in the Gangetic valley, the product of the absorption into a mainly Dravidian population of colonies from the more definitely Indo-Aryan country farther West.

(5) The Scytho-Dravidian type, running East of the Indus, down through Gujerat and the Western part of Bombay and represented chiefly by the Maharattas.

(6) The Turko-Iranian type in Burma, Assam and among the foothills of the Eastern Himalayas, clearly originating in China and Tibet.

(7) Mongolo-Dravidian type, probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongolian elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups, of which Bengalis are unmistakable representatives.

In this paper, we are concerned mainly with the categories of people who fall under the first of the above named seven types.

Descriptions at first hand of these and of their affiliations with those in Australia, Sumatra, Celebes, Ceylon etc., will be found in the extant writings of well known anthropological investigators, notably in those of the late Dr. Thurston, Seligman and others and it is accordingly unnecessary to go into details in regard to their primitive habits, culture, religious beliefs and social customs. The main point is that they are still primitive essentially in their culture and though of use administratively to Government departments in the domains they inhabit, they deserve to be looked after with care and attention. The imperceptible Hinduization that is going on for ages is well known while the religions of Christianity and Islam have also made certain incursions into them, for years. As their contact with other racial types became more and more frequent and intercourse increased, they seem to have lost their original tribal languages, with the result that several of these primitive tribes have been known to express more by signs than by the use of languages, their ideas and wants. Foreign anthropologists have noted this fact while local observers have known it for long. This has been notably the fact with several of the isolated groups of Paniyans, Kurumbars, Irulas and others. This fact would seem to suggest that their languages have been lost and they have been trying during the ages to find a substitute for them by another borrowed from their neighbours. Their lost language should be thus taken to be one which does not fall under any of the 222 languages of India grouped together by the Linguistic Survey of India.

The possible affinities of these primitive tribes to the type or types as indicated by the discoveries of skulls found buried deep in the earth in India has been a matter of great interest. The discoveries of Mohenjodaro include the skeletal remains of a dolichocephalic long headed people, who in the opinion of Sir John Marshall "may reasonably be assumed to have belonged to the great long-headed race of Southern Asia and Europe to which the name 'Mediterranean' has been applied". One skull approximating to the brachy-cephalic (round headed type) which seems to possess the same characteristics as that pronounced by brachy-cephalic statues, was found from a fractional burial. These remains are of the Chalcolithic period and subsequent to the abandonment of the latest city.

(C—2,500 B. C.) Two skulls found buried deep in alluvial deposits near Bombay are perhaps 2000 years old. These are regarded by Sir Arthur Keith as of the small size and narrow shape now prevalent in India. Two of the skulls discovered at Aditanallur (Tinnevely District) in a pre-historic burial site are comparatively prognathous (with prominent jaws) and others are markedly long headed, this latter a feature still noticeable in Southern India. As is well known, in early Indian literature mention is made of people having the complexion of a charred stake, flattened features and very short stature, a type quite common in the Indian population of to-day. The Andamanese are typical Negritos. They have been regarded to be a pure race. They are black of skin, possess woolly hair, have very broad noses, round heads and everted lips. It has been held possible that this element may at one time have existed on the continent as well, though it has left no traces in the present population. Wider spread, however, is the element marked by short stature, longish heads, broad noses, very dark skins, curly even frizzly hair, and lips inclined to be everted. This element includes in its numbers the jungle tribes of Southern India and of Chota Nagpur, the lower castes in Western Bengal, and to a certain limited extent the lowest castes in Upper India. This element appears to be related possibly to the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malay peninsula and the Australoids. Occasionally here and there woolly individuals may be found, and in our present state of knowledge, they can only be taken as merely aberrant forms, or, as has been sometimes suggested by some writers, as due to recent African admixture.

Prominent in Southern India though also found in Western India, is a long headed element with medium to fine noses, short, with darkish skin and fine wavy hair. The lips are also thin. This element bears comparison clearly with the Mediterranean stock. The dominant element in Northern and particularly in North-Western India, is tall, long headed with fine noses, fair skins (allowing for the exposure to the sun) and in many cases, with light coloured eyes. The lips are thin. This is a type represented among the higher castes of Bengal, and the Namburi Brahmans of Malabar, the Naṣas, the Coorṣas and the Todas of the Nilgiris. In the mountain regions in the West and in Baluchistan is found a rounded stock, fairly all with fine features, wavy hair, dark brown to fair, occasional lightish eyes which seems to disclose an affinity to the Alpine stock. A somewhat similar rounded element may be seen along the West Coast though darker in skin, hair and eyes. Many groups in Central, Northern and Eastern Bengal possess marked Mongoloid features while the Saveral of the Eastern ghats of Madras Presidency betray the Mongolic fold.

Though the above mentioned main elements in the population of India may be discerned and distinguished to-day, in varying degrees of intensity, miscegenation has gone on for so long, throughout the length and breadth of the whole peninsula from pre-historic times that it is difficult to-day to postulate how far the true aborigines have been absorbed into the general population. Variation of human diets, temperature, altitude, mode of life, differences in food and bringing up and should also be allowed their due effects. The dissociation of language and race has been complete in many cases, as already suggested. Accordingly terms like "Aryan," "Dravidian" etc. may have some meaning when applied separately to linguistic groups but possess no significance whatever when attached indiscriminately. Especially in regard to the present day primitive tribes, they have no significance whatever as indicating their true racial origins or affinities. For ages these primitive tribes have found a place in the social organisation of India. There are references to the special care bestowed on them since the days of Asoka, the Mauryan Emperor, and the periods covered by the Kings of the Chola and the Vijayanaṣar dynasties in Southern India. In recent times when a federal system of Government came to be evolved for India, the attention to be bestowed on these primitive tribes was specially considered at making them the Governor's special responsibility. That was undoubtedly one mode of dealing with it. Anthropological investigators who have taken interest in the matter have offered other suggestions. "The real solution of the problem" says Mr. Hutton in his *Report on the Census of India* (1931-1-507) "would appear to be to create self-governing tribal areas with free power of self determination in regard to surrounding adjacent provincial units." Provincial boundaries may be even modified or rather rectified, but the dissociation of Governments as such from the care of these primitive tribes and making them the responsibility of even the Governors of the areas in which they inhabit may not conduce to their wellbeing or advance along approved lines. The most suitable course will be to provide for their wellbeing under the direct charge of the local Government within whose jurisdictions they are found to live. They should be charged with a special responsibility for their care, they being actively helped by a special agency created for the purpose designated by a suitable and comprehensive name. This, however, is a subject that should be dealt with by others in this service.

Bhils of Mewar.

BY

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Introduction.

Like the Gonds of the Vindhias and the Santhals of Chota Nagpur the Bhils of the Aravallis are an exceptionally interesting aboriginal tribe who seem to have resided on these hills for many ages. It is likely that due to the migration of other superior races from the north like the Indo-Afghanus group they have drifted west as well as south towards wild parts, and the remnants of the westward drift are found among the country Bhils who have moderately changed owing to the closer contacts with the progressive people and are not therefore typical representatives of the Bhil characteristics in general. With the coining of the word "Community" at the last census according to the instructions of the Commissioner of census for India, the Bhils together with Minas, Grassias and Rawats who are Hindus were treated as primitive tribes. The Bhils belong wholly to the cultivating class but pastoral pursuits are not uncommon.

Ethnology

In the jungles of Mewar are to be found Bhils of very low culture, which may conveniently be grouped as pre-Dravidian. They are mostly dolichocephalic, of medium stature 1.629 m., having the Nasal Index of 84.1¹.

The author came across exceptional cases wherein a negroid element could be suspected. They have a very dark skin and black hair. Every where the skin varies in colour from a chocolate brown to an almost pure black, and sometimes people of different tints are found living side by side in the same village. Leaving aside other ethnological causes colour darkening among the Palvi Bhils (Bhils living in hill country) may be ascribed to conditions of poor health which is an expression of the difficulty and incompleteness of the adaptation of the human constitution to a continuously harsh environment.

1. A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man*-p 107.

Abode

The Aravalli ranges are the abode of the Bhils. The districts of Kapasin, Rajsamand and Bhilwara, mostly plains, and those of Jahazpur and Chittorgarh, partly plains and partly hilly in the North and East, do not seem to attract very much the Bhil settlements. It is the districts of Kherwara and Maṅra in the South and some portions of the land in the West, for the most part covered with rocks, hills and dense jungles embracing the wildest portions of the Aravalli which are thickly populated by this aboriginal tribe (Fig.1). The entire region is rather effectively isolated from the open country, a factor which has contributed considerably to its individual development. The sites chosen for settlements are generally picturesque. The population becomes sparse as one moves towards the north and east.

The Palvi Bhils living in the interior provide an exceptionally interesting field for ethnological studies. They may be spoken of as "raw savages" still in a wild state, reserved, conservative and uncommunicative. They are typical children of the soil characterising a harmonious adjustment with the natural environment. Their physique, character, customs and huts are all accounted for by the complete grip and dictation of nature, far from the ever-changing currents of the outside world.

The Bhils of the open and undulating country in the north and east though showing great uniformity of general characteristics have partially taken to new ways of living, having come into contact with the progressive communities of those regions. A few of them have migrated and some of them frequently come to big villages and towns to work as labourers. Their contacts with the new ways of living have made them "ripe savages" who may be grouped as civilised aborigines.

Population

The population of the Bhils is decreasing. According to the 1941 Census the population is 2,11,190¹ with a variation percentage of 2.4 since 1931. The tendency of the Bhils to call themselves Minas is responsible for the striking decrease in the figures of Bhils. Still the Bhils outnumber the other primitive tribes viz: Minas, Grassias, Rawat and Merats the last having a strength of only 2, 256.

The Bhils show a lower ratio of females than the other castes inhabiting the State. The number of females per thousand males among

1. All Statistics regarding the population of Bhils have been taken from "Census of Mewar" 1941, Vol. IV.

the Bhils in 1941 was 956. The priestly group shows the highest ratio of females (Brahmins 1,014) while the lowest ratio is seen in the ruling group (Rajputs 678). In general the most obvious cause of this low proportion of females in Mewar is the higher rate of female mortality during epidemics like malaria and plague. The system of early marriage, deaths at the time of maternity due principally to frequent child bearing at a tender age and the inefficiency of midwives all help to explain this striking disparity in the sexes.

An analysis of the civil condition of the Bhils is very interesting. As statistics regarding the civil condition could not be made available, reference will be made to the tribal communities as a whole. The largest proportion of unmarried is among the primitive tribes (497) excepting the Christians (501). They marry later and have therefore more unmarried and fewer widowed. The high average may also be ascribed to the very high proportion of its child population which gives it a low mean age.

Houses

The house of a Bhil living in the hill country is different from those of the plains. Bhils in the plains live in villages close together, hence their cultivated land is mostly situated at a distance on the outskirts of the village. The population of Bhils living in the hilly country is of the "Scattered" type, each house being situated all alone on the top of a hill with the fields on the slopes which provide the main source of livelihood. The house about 10' x 8' has low roofs, scarcely six feet high, mostly thatched and in some cases tiled, supported by four mud walls with no window, hole, or aperture of any kind for light or air, protected by a door of bamboo matting. The walls are frequently plastered with cow-dung mixed with mud and are profusely decorated with images of animals. To keep goats, there is on one side of the house a small semi-circular or rectangular courtyard fenced by thorns of cactus or babool. The "Dengcha" or watch post lies on the other side supported by four wooden poles. The floor of the watch post is made of leaves of wood spread over with dry grass which is covered with a bamboo mat. The ceiling consists of a cupola made of bamboo sticks covered with dry grass and Dhak leaves. This poor structure is the only means of protection against the ardent sun, hail, rain or storm when the father of the family sits and sleeps there guarding his cultivated land from wild animals. The rest of the family which normally consists of the mother and three or four children lives in a bed room. Other portions of the house are used as kitchen, store house and guest house. One charpoy for each member covered with bamboo matting is the only furniture of the building. Other

possessions in the hut may include a churn, some earthen jars, an axe, bows and arrows.

Occupation

The Bhils live by primitive agriculture-growing maize, millet, barley and other grains. Their livestock consists of a pair of bullocks for agriculture, a few she-buffaloes and cows for milk, sheep and goats and in some cases a few hens. Dogs are among the commonest pets and these keep away wild animals from picking up the babies and live-stock or drive away any that may stray into their domain. The dog is also the watchman's assistant in the fields, a body-guard to a passenger and a helper in hunting. In addition to agriculture and hunting, which is Nature's gift to them they also take to pastoralism where the country affords luxuriant growth of grass and pasturage. The other means of earning bread are wood cutting and, selling, charcoal burning and service in the State Forces. Manual labour and charcoal burning are their subsidiary callings which engage them during the idle periods of agricultural pursuits. All their traditional professions indicate that they have submitted themselves to the influence of the geographical environment.

Food.

The Bhils are mostly non-vegetarian in diet, and use only occasionally the flesh of goat, sheep and other edible animals found in the neighbourhood. The use of the tortoise amongst the Bhils distinguishes them as a separate tribe from the superior Minas, who scornfully disclaim its use. Their traditional food consists mainly of loaves of maize, occasionally of barley and grams, never butter and ghee which goes to the market, but 'Chach' the diluted skimmed curd is used with the vegetables available in the neighbourhood. They frequently take 'Rab' a typical kind of curry of diluted curd and maize flour boiled and salted. They are hard drunkards, take country liquor usually after every day's hard labour, and on ceremonial occasions the use of wine and other intoxicants reaches an uncontrollable limit.

Dress.

The bare-footed Bhil men, in the Indian fashion, use a white, thick cotton dhoti and a jacket. They also put on a two-yard printed turban with short loose curls of hair hanging on either side behind the ears right down to the neck or shoulders. Unlike the well-developed beard of the Rajput his is scanty and small. In the interior he is generally ill-clad, using only a torn-out loin cloth. The women wear the so-called 'Lenhga'

neither too long nor too short, red, printed and sometimes decorated with embroidery worked by themselves. "Anḡiya" is used to cover the breast, but only the upper part, the lower part remains naked. A small printed red or blue shawl is also used. The clothes emit a peculiar foul smell recognisable even after a woman has passed by. Their hair is seldom oiled; it is parted in the middle, in the Indian fashion, but with a silver 'Bor' meaning in Mewari a Plum, hanging from the hair on the middle of the forehead. 'Bor' is an ornament commonly used by the women of Rajputana. Her walk is hampered by the masses of brass rings that encase her legs from knees to ankles and her arms are full of lac or brass bracelets. With her permission I once fingered a woman's ornaments admiringly and she showed interest in my interest. Other ornaments used by them are many silver ear-rings, one nose-ring and necklaces. Fig. 2. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Young children and babies are inadequately clothed and in the long run become adapted even to bitter cold.

Language and Literacy.

The question of mother-tongue has no particular importance in Mewar. The Bhils speak Bhili which is only a mixture of Gujrati and Mewari, the latter being a sub-dialect of the Rajasthani dialect of Hindi spoken by nearly 86% of the total population of the state. The Bhili talking voice is peculiar particularly that of those "Raw-Bhils" living among the interior and remotest corner of the State who are predominantly in a wild state. Their wild and excited chatter is Greek to an outsider, but as the sound of the voice is somewhat musical one would certainly wish one could understand it.

Literacy among the Bhils is very low. Of the total population 2, 11, 190 only 173 persons are literate (Males 154, Females 19) in the sense of being able to write a letter to a friend and to read the reply. The literacy among the Bhils may be taken as .08% where as it is 4.9% in the whole of Mewar. It is very interesting to mention that only 10 persons who are male, are literate in English. Efforts are being taken towards the education of the Bhils and special schools are being opened for them, but they do not show any enthusiasm for education.

Religion

To these people the mountains are gods, which is not surprising, for the massive bulk of the range dominates the country and the lives of those under its shadow. When a Bhil is sick with fever, it means that the fire has entered his body and is demanding its offering. To drive out the fire,



Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

THE BHILS IN THEIR NATIVE DRESS.

though hardly a diety of the first order, one of the neighbouring hills, not the one possessed by a god or goddess, is set fire and worshipped and the evil spirit being pleased with the offering leaves the body and joins the flaming hill. In the Bhil ideology fire, earth, the moon, the sun are represented by spirits which must be propitiated lest their wrath fall upon the defenceless village. The spirits demand offerings from the natives, and weird ceremonies and rites are performed in their honour.

The Bhils worship Hanumanji, Amba Mata, the incarnation of Kali and Bhaironji. Hanumanji is held in great veneration; the emblem of the deity is only a few rude stones fixed in the ground, painted red with "Saindur" (Mercuric Oxide) and decorated with shining pieces of mica to represent the eyes, the mouth etc. The deity is worshipped very often and is supposed to give them vigour, valour and courage. If any one goes insane, they sacrifice goats and offer wine to the deity. Amba Mata can be appeased but only with the sacrifice of a young male buffalo. Bhaironji the most powerful deity amongst the Bhils, is supposed to exercise its majestic influence on their fortunes and to do good and evil in the world. Goats are sacrificed before this deity. They visit the temples after bathing where they present offerings and pray for off-spring etc. Prayer is closely connected with sacrifice, the offering is brought and the favour asked with it, just as would be done to a living chief.

The idea of the soul held by the Bhils which is the foundation of their religion is very interesting. The existence of the soul is sometimes explained by their barbaric theory of dreams. When the rude philosopher awakens from a night dream, he believes he has really been away, or that other people have come to him. They reason that men's bodies do not go on these excursions and therefore it is every man's living soul only which can go out of his body and see and be seen itself in dreams.

Family Life

The Bhils live in family groups each occupying a separate dwelling; the country Bhils live in villages close together while the Palwi Bhils live on isolated peaks with the fields on the slopes. The father of the family is the head and is responsible for the law, order and maintenance of the family. They marry later, the boys at or after 18 and the girls at 13, than is customary amongst the natives of the State. Usually child marriage is discouraged and one can frequently find men and women of 20 to 25 still unmarried. After the first issue the male member, if he is not the only son, sets up a separate family with his wife. Widow re-marriage is commonly practised and if there is no one to look after her sons and daughters, she takes them with her to the new husband. A younger brother can keep the widow of

his elder brother but not vice versa. Men are used to polygamy; one husband with two wives is very common, and cases of more than two wives are occasionally found. Polyandry is found but very seldom.

Motherkin exists, though rarely among the Bhils. A father in the absence of a son often gives his daughter on the condition that the son-in-law should remain with him and his children should inherit the grandfather's property. The son-in-law, commonly known as "Gharjavai", thus lives in the wife's home.

The daily life of a Bhil woman is very simple. She decorates her person from morning till evening and does cooking, she milks the cows and buffaloes and performs the labours of the dairy, moulds cow-dung into cakes, and brings water for domestic use in earthen jars from the neighbouring step-well, pond or tank. The boys and girls occupy themselves with grazing while the men-folk take to agricultural, pastoral forest, and other manual duties.

Customs.

Marriages among the Bhils are settled between the fathers of the two families. At betrothal "Dapa" is contracted which is an amount ranging between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 payable to the girl's father by the other side in exchange for the bride, on a ceremony, after the marriage. The bridegroom proceeds on foot accompanied by the marriage party consisting of both men, and women to his father-in-law's place where marriage takes place with the traditional Hindu rites with of course some local and tribal changes. Its picturesque ceremonies last over several days. A Charpoy, some earthen jars full of grain and a bundle of clothes are some of the few wedding presents (Painting 1).

They burn the dead, and in the Hindu tradition, perform the after death rites and ceremonies. The ashes of the dead are thrown in a river. On the 3rd, 9th, 11th and 12th day ceremonies connected with certain relics of the deceased are performed; The widow is not allowed to leave the precincts of the house for one year of her husband's death and after this period she may marry again.

Dancing, music, sports, games and customs have been dealt with separately.

Dancing and Music.

The Bhils are fine dancers. Probably no primitive tribe of aboriginal India ever equalled the Bhils in the presentation of dramatic performances. On ceremonial occasions the dancers are adorned with



Painting 1. THE HOME COMING OF THE YOUNG BHIL BRIDAL COUPLE.

To the beating of drums and the accompaniment of weird music the young couple under the cloth-canopy held over them by women, are led to the home. A charpoy, some earthen jars and baskets full of grain and a bundle of clothes are some of the few wedding presents.



Painting II. A FOLK DANCE OF THE BHILS.

The Bhil Dance is electrifying in its vividness, realism and dramatic power. The dance begins with the dancers pacing round in slow and solemn rhythm. But soon the movements quicken, and the clusters of brass anklets and bracelets clank in the rhythm of their music. They kick at the earth a lot, their energy is amazing, for they dance with agility and determination hour after hour.

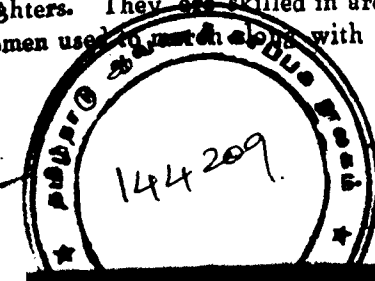
paints and are elaborately costumed and masked to represent legendary beings, or sometimes animals. The dances are electrifying in their vividness, realism and dramatic power. The germs of dancing have so impregnated their blood that their dances have become part and parcel of their lives. All the men and women, boys and girls dance with the same perfection. They give him an incentive to work, a stimulus to face the hard realities of life and thereby soften his heart. And what else is happiness but a similarly complete integration of the whole personality with its environment? It needs no demonstration to convince us that the happy person is not the one who has no troubles to face but the one who can face troubles without losing that integration of personality which is the essence of happiness. And the Bhils have reduced it to a fine art.

On ceremonial occasions these displays deal with mythological subject matter, supernatural 'Siezures' and miraculous restorations but they are nevertheless more social than religious. Bhairon Puja and Bhinyavad are characteristic examples. One description will illustrate the vividness of these displays. Bhinyavad is a folk dance of the tribe in which Amba, the incarnation of Kali is surrounded by her devotees who dance around Devi Amba and worship her. The devil Bhinyavad (Bhasmasura) who wants to kidnap Amba appears on the scene. Bhinyavad unheeding of the warnings of the devotees chases Amba. Angry Budia-Lord-Shiva arrives and a fight ensues between Bhinyavad and Budia. Bhinyavad is defeated and killed. They make a brave show. With extremely slow movements they begin to dance, just as if they are imitating a slow motion picture. After much vigour and valour, they begin to quicken their movements, twisting their arms and hands all to the booming rhythm of the tom-toms. The men use dance sticks and swords, kick at the earth a lot; their energy is amazing, for they dance with agility and determination hour after hour (Painting II). In one of the other dances I witnessed men and women of different ages formed two concentric circles, women within men, for dancing round and round in solemn rhythm. The dance began with a series of choruses, each homogenous group singing one after the other. After a while with more and more excitement they quickened the rhythm of their singing and jerked their bodies violently up and down in a slanting style, to and fro, with every syllable. In contrast with other dances they, became more and more excited as the dances gained intensity and went on for a couple of hours without any halt or hesitation lending no monotony to the spectacle.

Fighting Craft.

The Bhils are brave fighters. They are skilled in archery. It is said that in olden days even women used to march along with their soldier

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husbands, always remaining in the rear, to assist them in fighting. They nursed the sick, bandaged the wounded, showered stones from sheltered hills against the enemy and sang marching songs to infuse courage and strength in the home forces. Men were armed with bows and arrows and moved from target to target as they fought. They sometimes danced and their dances took the form of mock battles. They are much attached to the rulers of Mewar, having shed their blood against invaders so often in the past. They are still proud of the help they once offered to chivalrous Rana Pratap at a time when he was in difficulty. The Palwi Bhil is brave, dashing, chivalrous, hardy, faithful and revengeful. Revenge for real or fancied injuries is the most common motive. Other motives are trespass or the desire of obtaining prestige. They are most hospitable to strangers at home or under protection, but are liable to be robbed of their possessions by open force if encountered in a jungle. Plundering, robbery and stealing are some of their chief characteristics. On the other hand no Bhil can do any harm to a passenger who is being conducted even by a Bhil boy. Recently the Mewar Government imposed a kind of toll tax of one anna payable to the nearby Bhil settlement which is then responsible for the safe passage of the traveller.

General Character.

The Bhils have remained all these centuries, a conservative, unprogressive and static community. Their mountain retreats, their strange indifference to the outside world and their easy going ways of living explain their static character.

They are war-like people, indomitable and revengeful. It is a common saying in Mewar "No instrument of human endeavour and persuasion can pacify an enraged Bhil till he is put to an end." The Bhils possess three remarkable assets. Firstly, their complete lack of fear of an enemy or of wild animals and their indifference to death. They wander in the jungles in perfect fearlessness. They are skilled trackers, and hunters, intrepid in chasing the wild animals which live in the jungle. Secondly, their wonderful sense of perception out in the jungle, they see, hear, and even smell things beyond the powers of a normal person. Thirdly, their unfailing good nature, whether the day is sunny or rainy, whether in work or repose, they will chatter, dance and sing.

Conclusion.

Thus the Bhils of Mewar faithfully and happily live among the Aravalli ranges. War or no war, their peaceful life goes on for ever. But some day in the future, the Bhil settlements, in these retreated corners, will be crushed under the grinding wheels of progress. The thatched huts will give place to modern houses, traditions will gradually disappear, the evil spirits and mountain gods will be forgotten and the strange and mysterious world of the Aravallis will be no more.

Some Ancient Tribes of India

BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA

The Kambojas.

The Kambojas is one of the early vedic tribes. In the Sama Veda we find that the Sage Anandaja received instructions from two teachers, though the usual practice is to have one teacher only. The two teachers were, 1st Samba and 2nd Kamboja, who was distinguished for his Vedic learning. From this it can be deduced that the Kambojas in early vedic times were Vedic Indian People and not Iranian. Both the teachers of Sage Anandaja had received their education in vedic lore from the same sage, who belonged to the Madras People. The Madras and Kambojas were close neighbours in North West of India.

Nirukta, a text of about 500 B. C. tells us that the speech of the Kambojas was different from the ordinary Indian speech referring to the tribes who lived north west of the Indus, and who bore that name. The standard language in Yaska's time was the language of Madhyadesa a region round the Ganges-Jumna Doab. From Yaska's remarks we find that the Kambojas were Vedic people who had retained the original sense of an ancient verb (*savati*) while it was lost among other sections of the same people, who were separated from them by geographical barriers. Sir George Grierson however deduced from Yaska's remarks that, as *savati* is an Iranian not a Sanskrit word, the Kambojas cannot have been Indo-Aryans. They either spoke Sanskrit with an infusion of Iranian words to which they gave Indian inflexions, or spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Iranian.

Yaska connects the Kambojas with Kamabala, blanket, and the word *kam*, love. The Kambojas were Kamaniyabhajas, or enjoyers of pleasant things. Yes, a warm blanket, a kambala, was very delightful to the people who lived in the cold climate of North West Provinces.

In the Mahabharata we find that at the great Rajasuya sacrifice, the Kamboja king presented to Yudhishthira "many of the best kinds of skins, woollen blankets made of the fur of animals living in burrows in the earth and also of cats—all inlaid with threads of gold....and the king of Kamboja, sent to him hundreds and thousands of black, dark and red skins of the deer called kadali, and also blankets (kambala) of excellent texture."

Panini lays down the rule that the word Kamboja denotes not only the Kamboja country or tribe, but also the Kamboja king. Panini belonged to the north west of India, and therefore he had an accurate knowledge of the dress and customs of the Kambojas; he speaks of the Kambojas as *munda* or shaven-headed; they were in the habit of completely shaving their heads. The Sakas (Scythians) have their heads half shorn; the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Kambojas the whole head; the Paradas (inhabitants of Paradene) wear their hair free, and the Pahlavas (Persians) wear beards.

We will find out where Kamboja was situated. Rhys Davids put it in the extreme north west of India with Dvaraka as its capital. Dr. Ayanagar in his *Ancient India* places it in the territory of modern Sindh and Gujarat, also Dr. P. N. Banerji in his *Public Administration in Ancient India* assigns Kamboja to a country near modern Sindh. Both these writers agree with Prof. Rhys Davids in placing the capital at Dvaraka. V. A. Smith places this place among the mountains of Tibet or Hindu Kush; he adds that the people spoke an Iranian language. Mc. Crindle says Kamboja was Afghanistan. The authors of the *Vedic Index*, Macdonell and Keith, state that the Kambojas had settled in the north west of the Indus, and were the *Kambuiya* of the old Persian inscriptions. According to Sir Ch. Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I.) the Kambojas were probably Tibetans; he calls them an ambiguous race who were perhaps the inhabitants of Tibet or its border lands. M. Foucher points out that the Nepalese tradition applies the name *Kambojadesa* to Tibet. Rapson in Vol. I. *Cambridge History of India*, in a footnote on page 334 says "equally doubtful would be the attempt to connect the name of Cambyzes (O. P. Ka (m) bujiya) with the frontier people of Kamboja....." Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri in his *Political History of India* points out from a passage of the *Mahabharata* we learn that Rajapura was the home of the Kambojas. The association of the Kambojas with the Gandharas enables us to identify this Rajapura with the Rajapura mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, which is situated on the south or south east of Punc.

About the time of the Buddha Kamboja was one of the sixteen great States (*Mahajanapadas*) that were most prominent in India.

In the *Harivamsa* we read that the people of Kamboja were formerly, Ksatriyas. The Kambojas, Sakas, Yavanas and other Ksatriya tribes were slowly degraded to the condition of sudras on account of their omission of the sacred rites, and of their disregard of the Brahmins. From *Arthashastra* we find that the corporations of warriors of Kamboja and other countries lived by agriculture, trade and profession of arms.

The *Mahabharata* is full of praises of the excellent horses of Kamboja. We read that the king of Kamboja presented to Yudhishthir 300 horses of variegated colours speckled like the partridge and having fine noses like the Suka bird. In the great battle of Kuruksetra the fast and powerful horses of Kamboja were of great service.

One of the Jatakas gives us valuable information that the Kambojas used to capture their horses in the forest by tempting them into an enclosed space by means of aquatic plants, smeared with honey.

Poet Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsa* sings about Raghu meeting the Kambojas after defeating the Hunas on the bank of the Oxus. The Kambojas submitted to Raghu. An immense treasure including excellent horses was offered as tribute to Raghu by the Kambojas.

In the *Mahabharata* in the geographical enumeration of the peoples of India, the Kambojas are located in the north. They were the allies of the Kurus and rendered them great service in the Kuruksetra war, through the bravery of their King Sudaksina. Bhishma extols the bravery of Kamboja king Sudaksina. He states "In my opinion Sudaksina of Kamboja is equal to one Ratha. The best of the chariot warriors under him are strikers with fierce force. The Kambojas, O, great king, will cover the land like a swarm of locusts". When the Kaurava army took their position on the field, the Kambojas occupied the van of Duryodhana's army; we are told "The Pauravas, the Kalingas and the Kambojas with their King Sudaksina and Ksemadhanva and Salya took up their positions in front of Duryodhana". The Kambojas were in the thickest of the fight. Their King Sudaksina was finally killed in a duel with Atjuna. The verses which describe him as he lay slain on the battle-field are worth quoting for their poetic imagery:

"Like a charming Karnikaral tree which in the spring grows gracefully on the top of a hill with beautiful branches, lying in the grove when uprooted by the tempest, the prince of the Kambojas, accustomed to sleep on the most precious bed, lay lifeless on the bare ground. Adorned with precious ornaments, graceful, possessing eyes of coppery hue, wearing around his head a tiara of gold, radiant like the flames of fire, the mighty armed Sudaksina, prince of the Kambojas, felled by Partha with his arrows, and lying dead on the ground, appeared beautiful like a charming hill with a flat summit.

We thus find the Kambojas leading a large army in the Kuruksetra battle and laying down their lives like true Ksatriyas. In the later sections

of the Mahabharata we read that their country was over run by barbarous hordes, and the ancient population was looked down as one of the barbarous peoples. The Kambojas were enumerated along with many peoples not included in Indo-Aryan society, and they are placed among the barbarous peoples of the Uttarapatha (northern regions). They were degraded to the rank of the Sudras for want of Brahmanas in their country. This shows that the Kambojas were losing touch with Brahmanical society, owing perhaps to admixture with barbarous invaders from the North.

We learn from the Vayupuran that after killing the Haihayas King Saṅgāra was busy destroying the Kambojas, Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and others. Taking into consideration the advice of a preceptor, Saṅgāra set the Kambojas free after having completely shaved their heads.

In the Jatakas we read that the Kambojas were a north western tribe who had lost their original Aryan customs and became barbarous. We find that Sirihamsya who came from Kamboja conquered the city of Ratanapura. He feared the power and influence of Buddhist monks, and arranged for an wholesale slaughter of about 3000 from Jeyyapura, Vijayapura and Ratanapura, in a forest. Many shrines were demolished and books were burnt at the same time.

Missionaries were sent by Emperor Asoka to the nations on the borders of his empire, viz. the Kambojas, Yavanas, etc., with the object of converting them to Buddhism. In V. A. Smith's Asoka, Rock Edict XIII celebrates their conversion; and Rock Edict V tells us that censors were created by Asoka for the establishment of the law of piety, for the increase of the law, and for the welfare and happiness of the Kambojas, Gandharas and others living on the western frontier of his dominions.

In the ninth century A. D. Devapala, the great King of the Pala dynasty of Bengal defeated the Kambojas. But a century after the Kambojas the reign of the Pala kings of Bengal, terminated. In the middle of the tenth century A. D. the Kambojas again attacked North Bengal and its present inhabitants (of Koch, Mech, and Palia) are descended from them. The Kamboja rulers were expelled by Mahipala I, the 9th King of the Pala line, who was reigning in A. D. 1026; he regained the throne of his ancestors about A. D. 978 or 980.

The Gandharas.

Gandhara formed an integral part of India from the earliest time of Indo-Aryan civilization; it is a unique country in India for its history can be traced without any break from Rīgvedic times down to the present

day. The Gandharis or the people of Gandhara are mentioned in the hymns of the Rīgveda; in other Vedic works, in the Epics and Purans, and also in Buddhist books,

Gandhara was on the north-west frontier; the neighbouring tribes were the Kambojas, Madras and others. Gandhara comprised the modern districts of Peshawar in the N. W. Frontier Province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab; but in old Persian inscriptions it seems to include also the district of Kabul in Afghanistan; Rhys Davids says that Gandhara (modern Kandahar) was the district of East Afghanistan, probably including the North West Punjab. Vincent Smith concurs with this view taking that Gandhara was equivalent to the north west Punjab and the adjoining regions. Eduard Meyer in his article on Persia in the Encyclopaedia Britannica writes:—"The dividing line between Iranian and Indian is drawn by the Hindu-Kush and the Suliman mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (Cophen) is already occupied by Indian tribes, especially the Gandarians; and the Sataḡydae (Persian Thataḡu) there resident were presumably also of Indian stock." Prof. Meyer expressly adds that Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisuf (Hindu Kush) and in the Kabul Valley the Gandarians; Darius himself, advanced as far as the Indus. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his Ancient India states that Gandhara was equivalent to East Afghanistan, extending from the Afghan mountains to the district some what to the east of the Indus. Dr. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures holds that Gandhara included the western Punjab and East Afghanistan; its capital was Taxila where ruins are spread near Sarakala in the Rawalpindi District of the Punjab. In the Ain-i-Akbari, Gandhara forms the district of Pulely lying between Kashmir and Attock. N. L. Dey in his "Geographical Dictionary" says Gandhara comprised the modern district of Peshawar and Hoti Murdan, that is the Euṣofzai country. Cunningham in the Ancient Geography relying on the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hein and Hsuan Tsang gives the boundaries of Gandhara as follows; Laghman and Jalalabad on the west; on the north the hills of Swat and Bunir; the Indus on the east; and the hills of Kalasabag on the south. Let us see what the Greek writers say about this; Strabo puts the country of the Gandarai, which he calls Gandaritis, between the Khoaspes (Kunar) and the Indus, and along the river Kophes (Kabul). It must have been known to the Greeks as early as the time of Hekataios who called Kaspapyros a "Gandaric city". Herodotus mentions the Gandarioi. Rennell in his 'Memoir of a map of Hindustan' placed the people to the west of Bactria in the province afterwards called Margiana, while Wilson took them to be the people south of the Hindu Kush, from

about the modern Kandahar to the Indus, and extending into the Punjab and to Kashmir.

From the above, it appears that the boundaries of the country varied at different times of its history. At one time it included the Afghan district round Kandahar, but afterwards it receded to the mountains on the Indian frontier.

The Vedic Aryans in very ancient times had a knowledge of the Gandharis for in the Rigveda the long wool of the sheep reared by the Gandharis is referred to; Lomasa the queen of King Bhavya, who ruled on the banks of the Sindhu (Indus) says to her husband "I am covered with down like a ewe of the Gandharins".

In the Atharvaveda Takman or fever is consigned to the Gandhari and Mujavants, the Angas and Magadhs; the two latter are tribes of Bihar. Macdonell and Keith in the *vedic Index* explain that the latter two tribes are apparently the Eastern limit of the poet's knowledge; the two former the Northern.

In the Brahmana literature also we find mention of the Gandharis. I quote from Chandogya Upanishad, 6-14.

"Just as, my dear, one might lead away from the Gandharas a person with his eyes bandaged and then abandon him in an uninhabited place; as there he might be blown forth either to the east, to the north, or to the south, since he had been led off with his eyes bandaged and deserted with his eyes bandaged; (2) as, if one released his bandage and told him "In that direction are the Gandharas; go in that direction", he would, if he were a sensible man, by asking his way from village to village, and being informed, arrive home at the Gandharas—even so here on earth one who has a teacher knows; "I belong here only so long as I shall not be released (from the body). Then I shall arrive home".

The next period of Vedic literature is the period of the Sutras. The purpose of the Sutras, so called from the word *sutra*, thread, is to afford a clue through the mazes of Brahmanical learning contained in the Brahmanas. We find people of Gandhara mentioned in the sutras. Rapson in the first vol. of Cambridge History of India writes "At the end of the sixth century B. C. early in the period to which the Sutras belong, the Persian Empire held two provinces in N.W. India Gandhara, the present districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi, and the "Indian" province, that is to say the country of the lower Indus."

war and Rawalpindi, and the "Indian" province, that is to say the country of the lower Indus."

The Mahabharata has many references about Gandhara. A King of the Kurus married the daughter of Suvala, king of Gandhara. We read that Arjun went to the Punjab where he had a great fight with the son of Sakuni, King of Gandhara. The Gandharan army was put to flight, but Arjun spared the life of Sakuni's son.

The Gandharas under the command of their King Sakuni formed a powerful part of the Kuru army. They gave great support riding on their fast horses. They like their neighbours the Kambojas reared a large number of horses, and fought on horseback.

The Gandharis are also mentioned in the Purans.

In the days of Asoka and his immediate followers Gandhara was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. From the Rock Edict we find that Asoka appointed Dharma-Mahamatras (high officers in the department of dharma or religious conduct) to further the welfare and happiness of the Gandharas.

Fa. Hien who visited India in the fifth century A. D. states that Dharma vivardhana, son of Asoka, ruled there. (Gandhara).

Hsuan Tsang visited India in the seventh century A. D. He has described the ruined state of monasteries and shrines which two hundred years ago were standing perfect. According to him, the kingdom of Gandhara was about 1000 li (a li is equal to 576 metres) from north to south. On the east it bordered on the river Sin (Sindhu). The capital was called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo, i. e. Purusapura. The royal family was extinct, and the kingdom was ruled by deputies from Kapisa. The towns and villages were deserted, but the country was rich in cereals, and sugarcane, and produced a variety of fruits and flowers. The Chinese pilgrim continues "The climate is warm and moist. The disposition of the people is timid and soft; they love literature, and while most of them belong to heretical schools, a few believe in the true law, i.e. Buddhism. "In the town of Pi-lo-tu-lo, i. e. Salatura, he observes, Panini was born.

The early capitals of Gandhara were Pushkalavati, that is abounding in lotuses, and Taxila. The former stood on the west, and the latter to the east of the Indus. In early times Gandhara territory lay on both the sides of the Indus, but Mc Crindle says it was later confined to the western side. The Chinese pilgrim knew Purusapura, i.e. Peshawar as the capital; but

we find in Rapson's Ancient India that during the time of Greek rule, Kapisa was the capital of Gandhara.

The Chinese name for Taxila, the eastern capital was Shi-shi-ch, eng, that is "severed" head. The legend runs that when Budha was in this city he gave his head away in charity, and the city took its name from this occurrence.

Arrian describes the city as great, wealthy and populous. Strabo and Hsuan Tsang praise the fertility of the soil. Pliny calls it a famous city. Asoka took the city. After Taxila's submission to Alexander the Great in the second century B. C. it became the province of Graeco-Bactrian monarchy. It was conquered in B. C. 126 by Indo-Sythian Sus or Arabs; then in B. C. 78 it was taken under Kaniska. About the middle of the 5th century A. D. it was visited by Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis; the city is described as about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city; but the streets were narrow though well arranged. Taxila must have been destroyed long before the Mahomedan invasion, for no Mahomedan author, who has written upon India, has made any mention of it.

Cunningham says that Taxila was near Shah-dheri one mile north east of Kala-ka-sarai, in the extensive ruins of a fortified city around which no less than 55 stupas, 28 monasteries and 9 temples could be traced. Dr. Bhandarkar in his Carmichael Lectures states that in Asoka's time Taxila was not the capital of Gandhara for Gandhara was not in Asoka's dominions proper, but was feudatory to him. This is confirmed by Ptolemy who states that Gandharai country was situated to the west of the Indus with its city Proklais, i.e. Pushkaravati.

Hsuan Tsang visited Taxila in the seventh century A. D. when it was a dependency of Kashmir.

Taxila figures prominently in Buddhist Jatakas and Jain stories. It is associated with Mahavira the founder of Jainism. In ancient India Taxila was a great seat of learning. Various arts and sciences were taught there and students from different parts of India went there. Here magic charms and spells for understanding the cries of animals were taught. Only Brahmins and Ksatriyas were admitted to the university.

Prof. Rapson in his Ancient India states that Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) conquered Gandhara, and it remained under the Persians for about 200 years. Alexander the Great took it in B. C. 331, under his sway together

with the Persian province of 'India' or 'the country of the Indus'. Then Gandhara became a feudatory of Asoka; then it fell under Greek Kings. From a catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum prepared by Whitehead we find that Euthydemus (about 230-195, B.C.) conquered Gandhara. R. D. Banerji presumes that it was Diodotus II who had conquered, as some gold coins of his reign were discovered by Sir John Marshall in the ruins of Taxila. Whitehead's supposition is more correct for Gandhara was under Maurya empire till Asoka's death in B. C. 227, for the house of Diodotus was supplanted by Euthydemus in 230 B. C.

A Greek prince Eucratides (B. C. 175-155) snatched Gandhara with other territories from Demetrius the 4th Bactrian King. Then came the Saka satraps in Kapisa and Taxila; they were finally overpowered by the Kushanas. At the end of the 5th century A. D. Gandhara was occupied by the Hunas. We come to the 9th century when Lalliya founded the Hindu Shahiya dynasty, and established Ohind on the Indus as his capital. In 1021 A. D. the last King of the Shahiya dynasty was defeated on the banks of the river Tosi by Sultan Mahomed of Gazni. After this no account is found of the Hindu Rule in Gandhara, except Bhimpal who ruled for 5 years there.

We will end this paper after shortly speaking about the trade relations of Gandhara. The Jatakas show trade relations between Kashmir-Gandhara Kingdom and the north eastern Kingdom of Videha. Rapson (Cambridge History of India, Vol I, page 317) writes about the Videhas as one of the numerous clans possibly of Tibeto Chinese origin, who inhabited Tirhut (the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga in N. Bihar.) The Gandharan traders were mostly horse-dealers, for Gandharan horses were considered the best of all. Valuable blankets or woollen shawls were produced there. From Brown's Coins of India we find that it was in Gandhara that the finest "double die" coins were struck.

The Rastrikas.

In the Rock Edicts of Asoka, the Rastrikas, along with the Andhras Bhojas and other tribes, are mentioned as vassal tribes within Asoka's dominions. The Rastrikas are not mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana for they may not have come into prominence at that time.

Beyond the King's dominions of Asoka, on the south, beyond the limits of the provinces of Avanti and Kalinga, there were the Rastrikas of the Maratha country, the Bhojas of Berar, etc.

In the cave inscriptions of Nanaghaat, the most valuable is of the queen of Simuka, founder of the Andhra line. She was the daughter of a Maharathi, i.e. a king of the Rashtrikas; and it can be concluded that the incorporation of the Maratha country in the Andhra empire had been ratified by a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses.

On two occasions Kharavela invaded the Andhra dominions in the Deccan. In his second year he sent a large army of horses, elephants, foot-soldiers and chariots to the west in defiance of Satakurni; and in his fourth year he humbled the Rashtrikas of the Maratha country and the Bhojakas of Berar, both feudatories of the Andhra Kings of Prarishthana, the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godavari in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad. The Hathigumpha inscription shows that Kharavela King of Kalinga, mentioned above, appeared in the field as a new combatant in about B. C. 150.

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