among his children.' . . . 'I have here spoken of the people as the proprietors of their *taungyā* grounds. They claim, however, only a kind of imperfect proprietary right. They hold their plots as against each other, but they recognise that the State has a superior right in the land.' So far Sir D. Brandis: for my own part, I may suggest that this may be a relic of the feeling that, as waste land belongs to the State, as of old it belonged to the tribe indefinitely, so land which is yet, so to speak, in a stage between waste and cultivation, has not yet completely become private property. It will be observed, however, that the plots are rented, bought, and sold; this implies that the State right is after all of a limited kind; or more probably, perhaps, that the native mind does not regard the concurrent existence of two kinds of right as at all antagonistic.

In some places we may observe the change which has led tribes, without deserting the hill country, to take to the terraced cultivation which is so commonly observed in hill districts; in the Himalaya, for example.[1] There is usually some level ground at the bottom of the valleys, and perhaps some alluvial level area formed by the gradual accretion of mud and detritus from the mountain torrents; and this is suitable for rice-land. With this valuable area of permanent cultivation, the desire grows to remain in the same vicinity; and so, gradually, the best spots on the slopes above are selected and terraced or banked up with the stones picked out of the fields; if rice can be grown here, it is soon found possible to conduct the water of a hill rivulet to the spot by means of a contour channel along the hillside. These are sometimes contrived with considerable skill.

I do not know whether it should be considered a relic of the old forest-burning method of cultivation, or whether it is merely due to a prejudiced clinging to an early method of manuring, that it is still a feature of the West Coast holdings, in Coorg, Kānara, &c. (and I have noticed the same thing in Chutiyā-Nāgpur on the east side), that every cultivated farm holding has allotted to it a certain portion of grass and jungle

[1] I have been shown places in the Simla Hills and elsewhere where the peculiar vegetation of the slopes indicates that they had once been treated by the process of shifting cultivation perhaps no more than fifty or sixty years ago.

land, not only to supply grazing for cattle, but more especially to yield branches and stuff to burn on the rice fields. This is irrespective of any general grazing area or forest that is available in common.

(3) *Instances where Village Groups are not found*

The first case to be noticed is that of the British Himalayan districts. It is not difficult to understand that where there is only a limited area of flat land in a narrow valley, and occasional patches of good soil with not too steep a slope on the hillside, single homesteads, or very small groups of two or three families together, must take the place of the villages of the plains. The consequences of this from a tenure point of view are, perhaps, not immediately perceptible; but in reality there can hardly be any doubt that the peculiar natural dispositions of culturable soil and waste have had a great effect: (1) on the arrangements made when Rājput conquering chiefs assumed local dominion, and (2) on the modern system under our own Land-Revenue Settlements. But still more interesting (3) are some ancient customs still traceable, which largely depended on the physical conditions, but may also be due to peculiarity of racial custom.

It happened that the Kāngrā district became British territory (now under the Panjāb Government) in 1846. The Kumāon and Garhwāl districts, farther east, also came under the North-West Provinces administration in 1815. And we have good information about both, especially in the interesting reports on Kāngra, with its outlying dependencies, by Mr. Barnes, and later by Mr. (now Sir James B.) Lyall. It will be necessary to premise [1] that both these districts were probably inhabited from early times by people who belonged to the North-Eastern or Tibeto-Burman stock, races now much altered and blended with Hindus (Aryans), who came later. It must have been a comparatively easy task for a chief of superior race and with a small hardy troop of followers to establish a local rulership in these hills; for the isolated holdings were too scattered to combine for defence, and the petty independent chiefs had no cohesion. We find the Rājput Rājās claiming all the land as conquerors. But

[1] Further detail will be given in Chapter IV., dealing with Land Customs.

they did not interfere much with these existing holdings, nor as a rule tax them exorbitantly for rent. The waste and the forest became the Rājā's; and, in Kāngrā at any rate, he enforced the claim strictly. The State officers soon arranged the scattered farms and hamlets into circles for rent-collecting and other Government purposes.[1] These circles afterwards were treated as 'villages' when the districts came under the British Revenue Settlement.

In the Kāngrā Hills, separate homesteads are found (*lārh, lārhi, bāsā*), or where it is possible small villages or hamlets are built together and called *grāoñ*. As all the waste and forest belonged to the Rājā, the cultivators only claimed to have the customary use of the hillside and grass-land for grazing their cattle. But sometimes the waste and the cultivated fields were so intermingled that the whole group together seemed to constitute some different form of 'village' tenure. This, however, is not really the case, as Sir J. Lyall points out.[2] I have alluded to this detail, not that there is any necessity for explaining it, but because the remarks on the subject made in the Report were the occasion of introducing a vivid picture of the agricultural settlements in the hills, as they occur under the different conditions which the gentler slopes and occasional open valleys afford. This I cannot do better than quote:—

A glance at the outward aspect of these *mauza*[3] [writes Sir J. Lyall] will, I think, make it clear that this degree of difference of tenure in the waste has mainly arisen from physical causes. Take first a *mauza* in the irrigated villages. The low and tolerably level parts of the area, which can be conveniently flooded from the water-channels, form the *hār* or open expanse of rice-fields. This land is too valuable and too swampy to be lived upon; the houses of the landholders are seen closely scattered along the comparatively high and dry ridges or rising ground. Each family has a garden, orchard, or small field or two round the house or houses in which it lives (*lārhi-bāsī*); the rest of its holding is made up of fields scattered

[1] Locally called in Kāngrā *kothi, hākimi, magdaī*, &c., and by other names elsewhere.

[2] *Kāngrā S. R.* (1874), § 17, pp. 14 ff.

[3] *Mauza* is the Revenue-office term for a village as defined in a map; the term was doubtless purposely used in the Report because of the artificial nature of the groups adopted for Settlement purposes.

here and there in the *hār*. Near the houses are long strips of grass like village greens, on which the cattle graze in common. Now, in a village of this kind it is evident that the idea of boundary in the waste between family and family has not the chance of arising. . . . Next take a *mauza* in a country where there is no irrigation, but where the features of the landscape are bold—that is, where open arable slopes and plains alternate with steep unculturable hills. Here the houses of the landholders will be seen scattered over the surface of the arable land, the fields of each family lying with few exceptions compactly round the houses of the family. . . . The general grazing grounds are the hill sides which surround the arable land. Here, again, there has been no opportunity for the growth of a feeling of boundary between family and family in the waste as a whole. Thirdly, take a *mauza* in an unirrigated country . . . composed of a mass of low steep hills intersected by hundreds of narrow valleys or ravines. . . . There is little culturable land, and what there is is scattered here and there along the tops of the ridges and edges of the ravines. Culturable and unculturable lands are everywhere intermixed in about the same proportion. . . . Each group of houses is surrounded by waste sprinkled with fields. Each family, as it has grown from its ancestor the first settler, has brought under the plough all the culturable land within its reach, but has still within the orbits of its fields much waste—enough, or nearly enough for the requirements in the way of grazing.[1]

Here naturally nothing would tempt anyone else to make use of the included waste, and equally naturally in time it would become regarded as belonging to the group within whose 'orbit' it lies, though not actually its 'property.'

These little groups of separate farms were all held from the Rājā as superior landlord; they had, as I have already said, to be further organised in circles for rent-collecting purposes; but the effect this produced on the soil interests cannot be classed under the head we are now considering. Similarly, the application of a particular Revenue system in modern days, and the

[1] The length of the extract that would be necessary prevents my adding some interesting remarks (p. 16) on the smallness of the hamlets in narrow and malarious 'irrigated' rice valleys. 'Not only in Kāngrā but in Gurdāspur and in other districts,' says the writer, 'I have noticed an extraordinary difference in the growth of families in irrigated and unirrigated estates. In one case the pedigree table expands hardly at all; in the other it soon shows a list of descendants almost constituting a clan.'

formation of 'estates,' which go to swell the total of villages in the official returns, is a purely artificial arrangement.

It would be impossible to pass by the Valley of KASHMIR, for which a Revenue Settlement has recently been made, and under which it is hoped an altogether new era of prosperity has dawned for the long-suffering population. Mr. Walter Lawrence, who made this Settlement, has given us a charming account of the valley.[1] In the more completely mountain country of Kashmir, in such localities as the Kishngangā Valley, and the hills on the confines of Hazārā, as well as about Kishtwār, Badrāwār, and on the borders of Chamba, all of which I myself have visited, the villages are formed of little groups of chalets wherever the site is sheltered and there is water and sufficient space for the houses. The cultivation is on terraced fields forming separate holdings grouped together as far as circumstances permit, just as in Kulu or Chamba. In the 'Valley' itself, where there is more space, larger villages seem to be formed; and in one case Mr. Lawrence speaks of a village with a normal population of 165 families, and the usual village menials and artisans appear; indeed, the Mughal rulers seem to have introduced a village system. But I cannot find any trace of a community holding an area of land in common, even where the extent of country would permit such a thing. No allusion occurs in Mr. Lawrence's account to any tenures. I presume that it was impossible to trace any early forms of land allot-

[1] *The Valley of Kashmir*, by Walter Lawrence. London: Henry Frowde, 1895. These hills and valleys seem to have been early inhabited by Aryan clans who at that time could not have developed caste and other later Hindu institutions. It seems also the Nāgā or serpent-worshipping races were there also. It is remarkable that the Kashmir dialect more nearly resembles Sindhi (Lawrence, p. 454) than other Prakrit derivations. And Sindh must have been originally occupied by Aryans in the same stage of progress as those of Kashmir. Afterwards Buddhism prevailed, and we have a long list of Hindu kings, who had, evidently, much communication with India, and became 'regular' Hindus as time went on. In the seventeenth century the Mughals conquered the valley; and after them Pathāns and Sikhs exercised, in turn, a cruel rule. All rights have been set at naught for generations past, until now when, thanks to the enlightenment of the Council of Regency, a proper Settlement has been made. The theory, I presume, still is that the State is the owner of the soil; but the peasantry will at least have a secure hereditary possessory title.

ment, and that for generations past the Rājās' ownership, and the official oppression to which the people were accustomed, must have left at best only a certain hereditary occupancy as the ostensible tenure. Speaking of the villages in the Valley, Mr. Lawrence remarks that each house has some space around it: 'instead of the ineffable dreary and unvillage-like look of the Indian hamlet, we have in Kashmir the picturesque homesteads dotted about here and there. All have their little gardens and courtyards.' In this courtyard is the wooden granary, like a sentry-box; and here, too, the women sit to husk rice and separate the maize from the cobs. 'Most villages,' adds Mr. Lawrence, 'have a delightful brook, on which is a quaint-looking bathing-house, where the villager leisurely performs his ablutions. One of the prettiest objects in the village is the graveyard shaded by the *Celtis australis* trees, and bright with iris—purple, white, and yellow—which the people plant over their departed relations.' [1]

The hill districts of KUMĀON and GARHWĀL lie more towards the centre of the outer Himalayan Range; they show very much the same features as have been noticed in Kāngrā.[2] The 'villages' of the plains are replaced by 'detached hamlets scattered along the sides and bases of the mountains wherever facilities for cultivation are afforded.' [3] I do not find any special form of land allotment noticed; but the assumption of the soil ownership by

[1] Quoted from a paper in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, xliv. 492.

[2] Reports on Kumāon and Garhwāl, by Traill and Batten, collected in the Agra reprint (1851). There is also a 'Statistical Account of Kumāon' in the *Gazetteer*, and much information for those who care to dig it out of the bulky Report by Sir H. Ramsay on the Kumāon Revised Settlement of 1873. Unfortunately, at the early date when the first Reports were written, it was not yet the fashion to inquire into the ancient customs in detail. The Reports are also much spoiled by a feature which might seriously mislead an unwary reader. The Board of Revenue had prescribed by Circular Order a general mode of recording and describing village-tenures under the usual terms *Zamīndāri*, *Pattīdāri*, and *bhaiāchārā*, about which we shall hear in the sequel, and which only suited the villages of the plains. Accordingly, both Messrs. Traill and Batten thought it necessary to attempt to use these official terms, and sometimes have to apologise for the hill-tenures, that really they *will* not, as doubtless they ought, fit into the frames provided by the Board of Revenue!

[3] *Sketch of Kumāon* in the Collected Reports, p. 11.

the conquering Rājās led to the separate homesteads and small hamlets being regarded as 'Crown' tenancies; and, just as in other States, the rent collections were managed by forming 'circles' of hamlets under officers locally known as *Kamīn* and *Thokdār* or *Siyāna*. These agents, again, selected a headman (*padhān*) in each hamlet or group of hamlets to collect the rents of the individual farmers. Thus a more or less artificial appearance of 'villages' arose. And in Kumāon, apparently much more generally than in Kāngrā, the Rājā made grants or assignments of his superior right in the land; and the resulting title was called *thāt* (or *kot* if the grant was for the support of the relatives of a soldier slain in battle). All sorts of persons, astrologers, Brahmans, courtiers, dependents, and even the royal cooks, got such grants. At first they were 'freehold,' since the royal revenue due on them was either remitted or was taken by the grantee for the service on account of which the grant was made. In course of time the revenue remission was rescinded, but the 'proprietary' title remained. The grantee 'proprietor' was entitled to take into his personal possession, and use, one-third of the land. Here, again, was another source of artificial villages. For when the heirs of the grantees succeeded jointly, some semblance of a joint-village estate arose, and, under the North-West Provinces Revenue system, the estates were treated as *mauza*, or villages, and shown as such in the statistical returns. Notwithstanding these grants, however, a large proportion of the hamlets in Kumāon, and especially in Garhwāl,[1] remained as independent groups of cultivators, and are only aggregated for administrative purposes.

In another widely different part of India—along the WEST COAST—we have another instance of the absence of villages. This country comprises the districts of North Kānara, South Kānara, and Malabār. It may be described generally as consisting of a strip of uneven but fertile land between the sea and the Western Ghāt mountains. Many spurs run down from the hills beyond, and the level country is constantly intersected by rivers and estuaries, and by ravines which widen towards the coast and are filled with rice cultivation; while

[1] *S. R. Garhwāl*, in the Collected Reports, p. 129.

the whole country is studded with orchards and luxuriant palm-groves.[1]

In NORTH KĀNARA, as the country approaches the districts of Belgaum and Dhārwār, and above the Western Ghāt or Sahiyādri Hills, something like villages are formed, and there are some appearances of a staff of village officers and menials. In Kānara generally, the house of a cultivating family stands, separately, in the neighbourhood of the fields held by them. The single holding is North Kānara is called *sthal*. The aggregates of these holdings formed for official and administrative purposes throughout Kānara appear to have been variously arranged at different periods, and especially by the Mysore Sultans or other sovereigns who introduced the Perso-Arabic revenue terms. A small group of two or three holdings (having, I suppose, some connection among themselves) is called *mujare*, which is a local form of the Arabic *mazrā*, (H.) *majrā*. The more natural aggregate is called *grāma*, which also is a group of a few holdings. I think I am right in supposing that the *grāma* was the original subdivision of the *nādu*, of which we shall hear much in the sequel. Where there happens to be a somewhat larger aggregate of residences it is called *mauje*, which is the (A.) *mauza*. Whether this is regarded as distinct from the *grāma* I am not informed. For administrative purposes several (5 or 6) *grāma* are again aggregated into a *māganē*.[2]

The houses are mostly built of laterite, which is a material locally abundant, soft when first cut, but hardening on exposure to the weather. Or else laterite pillars are built, and the walls are of mud. A large proportion of the ordinary peasant houses are thatched; but that is not from poverty, but from the ancient custom which confined the use of tiles to temples and the houses of the Brahmans and the ruling classes.

[1] North Kānara is under the Bombay Government, and is described in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. 411–15. South Kānara is in Madras; there is a pleasing account of the country in the *South Kānara D. M.* i. 8.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. 412. The old Mysore Government made use of a larger aggregate, called *hobali*. I understand that this is now disused. Cf. *South Kānara D. M.* ii. 6. I presume that the figures at p. 8 refer to the population in a *māganē*.

The system of land-holding here, which depends on the past history of the country, has no reference to village aggregates whatever; and we shall hereafter see that the *warg*, or superior holding, often consists of several plots which are not necessarily in the same *māganē* even.

In MALABĀR the general facts are similar. Here, among the upper classes of landholders, the single house is often a handsome structure standing in the midst of a square enclosed orchard, approached by a castellated gateway, and solidly built. It contains several connected families, for the joint-family idea is strong among them.[1] Here also we have the grouping of a number of holdings into *grāma*, *taṛa*, &c., and these again, for administrative purposes, into *amisham* (*amshom* of the books).[2]

More will appear on this subject when we speak of the land-holding customs; and we shall then see how far the state of things depends on Dravidian custom, modified by caste and the Hindu law; but it is clear that the isolation of the holdings is in the first instance caused by the physical features of the country—the broken ground, the frequent ravines and valleys, at the bottom of which the rice lands lie. It is interesting to observe that in the fourteenth century Ibn-Batūta noticed these features: he says that the whole coast-line afforded one long journey under trees, and that the people had all of them separate houses in the midst of their land.[3]

One more example of the absence of village aggregates, and that entirely due to physical circumstances, may be taken from the SOUTH PANJĀB—a country presenting about as complete a

[1] *I.e.* among Nāyar and Brahman families. Logan, *Malabar D. M.* i. 89, 131, 133, 153. The feeling for separate households is shown by the numerous words in Malayālam for houses of different kinds; the cottage, the ordinary house, the mansion, the menial's hut, the Rājā's palace, the chief's house, &c., are all distinguished.

[2] The aggregate known as *deṣam* is of a different character; it was an early aggregation made solely for military purposes, each group having to provide so many soldiers.

[3] Quoted *D. M. Malabār*, i. 86, where there is also a pleasing account of the arrangements of a higher caste dwelling in the midst of its orchard and surrounded with a high bank of earth and an interlaced hedge. It is too long to quote, and would be spoiled by condensation.

contrast to that last described as can well be imagined. In the districts below Multān, and part of Dera Ghāzī Khān, the country is so rainless that anything like permanent cultivation is only possible either along the banks of a river, or by aid of small canal cuts taken off from the river, or by the aid of wells, which again can only be sunk up to a certain distance inland—*i.e.* away from the river. The 'well' (*i.e.* the area protected, or at least partly watered, by the well) becomes the unit of property throughout the tract that lies next beyond the river-moistened belt. Thus, in the Multān district, Mr. Roe writes:[1] 'In the tracts near the rivers, the lands generally belong to Jat tribes, and here we find regular village communities. . . . Away from the rivers the villages are generally merely a collection of 'wells' which have been sunk in the neighbourhood of a canal, or in more favourable spots in the high land. In these there never has been any community of interest; in very many cases there is not even a common village-site: each settler has obtained his grant direct from the State, sunk his well, and erected his homestead upon it. Under our Settlements, the waste land between these wells has been recorded, as a matter of course, *shāmilāt-dih* (common of the village); but originally the well-owners had no claim to it whatever.'

(4) *Physical Features which invite Village Formation*

Having described some of the physical causes which tend to *prevent* the formation of villages, there remain to be noticed, on the other hand, those features of Indian climate and physical condition which would have directly encouraged the aggregation of groups of cultivators, even if tribal ties or a strong sense of family life had not already predisposed them to settle together. These causes have, in fact, operated universally, and are sufficiently obvious when stated; they are calculated, however, to invite aggregation of some kind, but do not go further in producing any particular form of that aggregation. Wherever they have operated, 'villages' are a feature on the map, irrespective of the internal structure of the groups, whether as aggregates of independent households or as co-sharing bodies.

[1] *S. R. Multān* (1883), chap. ii. § 69. It is just the same in parts of Dera Ghāzi Khān, Fryer's *S. R.* 1874, § 216.

I need hardly repeat what has been said about the difficulty of first clearing the jungle-clad, black-soiled districts of many of the central and southern parts of India, or in the dense forests of the eastern districts. No single family could settle alone. A fair-sized clearing must be made as soon as possible, for the sake of health; and the need of co-operation for defence against wild animals injurious to crops and even to human life, for carrying out the cottage-building, tank-digging, forest-clearing, and other initial works, is obvious.

Even in dry open districts the help of a number of hands would be needed before cultivation could be fairly started.

In very dry countries, where cultivation is impossible unless a well or canal-cut can be provided, circumstances may, as we have seen, tend to the establishment of separate farms or land-holdings with reference to the well or other irrigation source; there may also be conditions which admit of cultivating groups, but at the same time limit their size. In the Bannu and other frontier districts of the Panjāb, where there are low hills furrowed by many torrent beds which for the most part have water only during the short rainy season, there are well-established customs of sharing the water, by means of a system of channels and temporary dams, whereby the water is led on to certain groups of terraced fields. The customary rules provide that each dam must be removed after a certain number of hours; or that it can only be raised to a certain height, so that when the flood reaches that level the surplus water may pass on to the fields of another right-holder. The point here is, that the size of the village may be largely determined by the number of fields which the available water-supply will reach. In the same way, wherever there are but limited 'tanks' for irrigation (*e.g.* Ājmer and Central India), the size of the cultivating group must naturally regulate itself accordingly.[1]

[1] The word 'tank' is said to be of Marāthī or Gujarāti origin. Wilson's *Glossary* gives *tānkeñ* (M.) and *tānkh* (Gu.); it has no reference to our English word of the same form. The irrigation-tank is sometimes a depression in the soil, or the head of a valley dammed up artificially, and so situated as to collect the rain running off the high land all round. Some 'tanks' are vast sheets of water never completely dry.

Defence against enemies is another obvious reason for aggregation. In unsettled times, cultivation is hardly possible except within reach of some chief's fortress[1] or other place of refuge; and in those provinces where the open level country has allowed of 'village' settlements, the families keep together for mutual help. Each group has to be prepared to defend itself against sudden attack. Accordingly, in many parts of India the village dwelling-place has been built with mud walls and stout gates, within which the cattle may be secured and the cultivators find refuge against a foray.[2] In later times, too, oppressive revenue officers had often to be resisted.

This allusion to the dwelling site of the village reminds me that, though the aggregation of houses in the centre of the holdings is a very common feature, it is by no means universal. This difference often depends on physical conditions; but in former times it must have depended also on the state of the country as regards peace: homesteads or small hamlets scattered about the village area would have to be abandoned (and were so frequently) during the wars and invasions that so constantly occurred. It is mentioned in one of the Lahore Settlement Reports that the villagers used to come and ask the Government Settlement Superintendent for permission to have their homestead outside the regular village site, as if this were an exceptional measure which formerly would have been dangerous.[3]

This may be a convenient opportunity to pass in review the several provinces, as regards the form of village residences, whether they are compact groups of houses (either walled and

[1] We shall meet with an example of this in the hilly table-land of the Dakhan districts.

[2] Grant Duff mentions that Sivāji, the founder of the Marāthā rule, fearing to encourage 'the village and district authorities to resist his government as they frequently did that of Bījapur,' . . . '*destroyed all village walls*, and allowed no fortification in his territory that was not occupied by his own troops.'—*History of the Mahrattas*, i. 197.

[3] Possibly, however, the application was made because the petitioner expected to be allowed a sufficient area for his house, to be made free of revenue: this he could have got in the *ābādī* or central site, the area of which is, in the Panjāb, always unassessed, but he might not be able to secure a remission on part of his fields.

gated or open), or whether small groups of houses (hamlets) are the prevalent form.

In the MADRAS Manuals I have not found any general account of the subject, although it is evident that, putting aside the special conditions of the west coast districts, the plain country in general appears to present similar characteristics. So much I gather, that the flat-roofed houses characteristic of the Dakhan are not in use, but that mud-built cottages thatched with palmyra palm (*Borassus sp.*) are common. It seems also to be a general feature, and one apparently derived from the original Dravidian village customs, that each house had its 'croft,' or garden and yard, and that the menials of the village were aggregated in a sort of suburb (*ceri*) just outside the village.[1] Madras villages in general (I gather from various scattered indications) are compact groups, and, as usual in Dravidian countries, the whole social organisation is complete—the hereditary headman with his *ex-officio* hereditary holding of land, the village accountant, and the regular staff of village artisans and menials paid by grain fees as we have already noticed.[2]

As to BOMBAY, I have not yet seen a general account of the Dakhan,[3] but from scattered notices in the district reports, I gather that the villages are generally compact, and that flat-roofed houses are common, the poorest sort of huts being thatched. The general use of sun-dried bricks or of mud walls compacted together, or of burnt brick with mud cement, not only in this part of the country but in India generally, is not only to be ascribed to its cheapness. There is no doubt that thick mud walls are much cooler than brick. The circumstances of life in the Dakhan districts seem to make compact villages necessary. It would appear that at one time families of superior race had established their lordship over the villages, and they probably held control from the *gadh*, or forts, built on the eminences with which the irregular table-

[1] *Macleane's Manual*, i. 100; *Godāvari D. M.* p. 87.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 16, 17.

[3] Vol. i. of the *Gazetteer*, which may be expected to contain a general sketch of the physical features, population, and social conditions of the Dakhan districts, has not yet appeared.

land abounds; as such 'barons' would have constant feuds among themselves, compact villages would be a necessity for self-protection.[1]

In the richer districts of Gujarāt—a province which has often and not unjustly been described as the Garden of India—the villages seem well to do, and furnish an excellent specimen of what village-building can attain to. The account deserves to be quoted:[2]

The whole population . . . (a practice which doubtless dates from old times of insecurity) live together in the village itself, which is generally situated near the centre of the area. There are sometimes hamlets subsidiary to large villages. . . . The village, containing from 100 or less to 2,000 or 3,000 inhabitants, is always built beside a tank or large embanked pond shaded by noble trees, among which is the temple of the local god. On one side of the tank, and in front of the village, is an open space where the cattle assemble to be watered morning and evening; and here is usually a deep-chambered well with a long flight of stone steps leading to the water. . . . Here also at nightfall, on earthen seats round the stem of an aged tree, the village elders assemble to smoke the *ḥuqqa* and talk over their simple topics. The village itself is occasionally surrounded by an earthen wall, but more commonly by a thick cactus hedge (*Opuntia sp.*), and even this defence is now often wanting. At the entrance are the huts of the sweepers, one of whose duties is to guide travellers; and on the outskirts of the village live, each in their separate quarters, the different classes of low-caste labourers. Their huts are sometimes wretched enough, yet often, and increasingly so of late years, they inhabit decent cottages of one story, built of unbaked brick and tile. In the middle of the village live the . . . owners and cultivators of the lands. Their houses, with walls of brick and tiled roofs, are usually built two and even three stories high, round courtyards opening with a gate into the street. . . . Often three or more houses have one yard in common. They front on the court, and the doors, windows, and balconies are generally ornamented with the delicate wood-carving for which Gujarāt is famous. The sides or ends towards the street present a blank wall often covered with stucco and adorned with frescoes, barbarous, indeed, in design, but brilliantly coloured and not wanting in spirit.

[1] Compare the note on Nāsik District, *Bombay Gazetteer*, xvi. 27, and for Ahmadnagar District, xvii. 48.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 45, 46.

This represents the type of village in a rich country, and is above the general standard. In the Bharoch district, also in Gujarāt, the absence of the *flat*-roofed house is noticed. The *Gazetteer* describes how the villages are surrounded by trees :— 'Occupying a perfectly level country, these clumps of trees, at an average distance of about three miles apart, indicate the site of these scattered communities, each having its proportion of wells and tanks.'[1] An average would give 134 houses and 509 inhabitants to each village in the district. Formerly, it is added, 'many of the villages were surrounded by walls of mud or of burnt bricks as a shelter against the attacks of free-booters,' but now only traces of such defences remain.

As a specimen of one of the coast districts I may take Ratnāgirī. Here villages seem to be compact, built in streets (paved roadways made with blocks of laterite are in use). All are shaded with belts of cocoa-nut plantation. As usual in Dravidian countries, the low-caste people are kept in an adjacent, but distinct, suburb. On the whole, it would appear that villages containing 200 to 1,000 inhabitants are the commonest.[2]

No general account of villages is given in the CENTRAL PROVINCES, except that of the total number, more than half are aggregates of houses not exceeding 200 inhabitants, and many more do not go beyond 500. The province is made up of districts variously situated as regards their physical conditions. But in general compact villages seem to be the rule, and in many, the family *garhī* or residence of the *Pātel* is more or less conspicuous in the middle.

For the NORTH-WEST PROVINCES there are more abundant materials. Compact, occasionally very large, villages are found, but sometimes the tendency is to a number of hamlets scattered about through the area of the 'village.' This depends partly on the nature of the soil, partly on other causes. In some cases it marks the gradual expansion and fission of the family groups; some branch of a large family will arrange to start a new hamlet (*majrā*, &c.),[3] which will in time become an

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, ii. 380. [2] *Ibid.* x. 136.

[3] *Majrā* is the Hindī form of the Arabic *mazrā*, which means a plot of land prepared for sowing.

independent village. For example, in Bāndā, one of the south-east districts of the North-West Provinces, towards the Vindhya country, I find the Settlement Officer remarking that 'where the bulk of the soil is of naturally rich quality, large villages are the rule, and the population is found collected in a single site.' He adds, that in the Bāndā *pargana* there are as many as eight large villages each with a population exceeding 2,000. Six of these, on rich black soil (locally known as *mār*), have only one inhabited site; while in the two remaining villages, in which there is 'much light and broken soil,' there are, besides the chief centres, five additional hamlets in each. In one case (Khaptihā, in the Pailāni *pargana*) there is a single village of fifteen square miles, with a population of 3,737 crowded into one central residence; while in a neighbouring estate, a much smaller population is found to have established nine villages and hamlets scattered over the area of the community. In the broken country adjoining the hills, 'the substitution of small hamlets for the single large village-site shows its fullest development.'[1] The need of manure, and the desirability of being near the fields to keep watch against animals, also affects the multiplication of hamlets.

In the OUDH *Gazetteer* (to take a very differently situated country) I find it noticed that 'the village in Oudh is not a single collection of houses. . . . The number of hamlets in any particular village varies with its area and the convenience its lands offer for building, from only one to sometimes as many as fifty [houses]. . . . The people are nowhere drawn together by the more complex wants of the civilisation with which we are familiar. Their simple huts can be run up in a few weeks on any spot which is sufficiently elevated above the rain floods, and their almost only object is to be as near as possible to the fields they cultivate. A new settler, especially if he be of high caste and rents a considerable tenement, will generally prefer to build a detached house close to his own fields. In the course of time his children and grandchildren will relieve the overcrowded

[1] *S. R. Bāndā* (Mr. Cadell's), 1881, p. 30. Other large tribal areas of this kind will be described in Chapter VI. It is not often, in such cases, that the inhabitants are collected in one village-residence.

house by adding houses of their own, and those, with the hovels of the low-caste attendants, the *ẓamār* and the slave-ploughmen, will form a hamlet which, if of sufficient size, may eventually attract a blacksmith, a carpenter, a washerman, or a barber.'[1]

When we read in *Sleeman's Journey* of the Oudh (Native) Government officials collecting revenue with the aid of troops and siege guns, this refers rather to the necessity of putting pressure on the Tāluqdār and other landlords in their curious forts or fortresses, which were often hemmed in with dense quick hedges of thorny bamboo, than to the villages of the peasantry.

In the PANJĀB, the varieties of climate and local situation produce corresponding differences in the villages and house-building. The mountain districts, like Kulū and Kāngrā, have their own styles of building, not at all unlike those seen in Switzerland. Wood and stone are the universally employed materials, and the roofs are covered with split slabs of wood, or, if available, great rough-hewn slates. In the plain districts compact villages, sometimes large, are the rule. But there are parts where the growth of the families has resulted in the establishment of several subsidiary hamlets. This is noticeable in the districts across the Sutlej and in the south-east. Everywhere the villages are flat-roofed, and built of mud bricks; often they are walled and gated, or otherwise arranged, so as to be defensible at least against cattle-thieves. One feature deserves mention, which is seen even in the level country. The village appears raised up on an eminence, which gradually forms in this way: the earth for the walls, both of the village and the cottages, is obtained by digging out one or more ponds or tanks, which will become filled with rain water, or possibly a spring may be started. These ponds will be the drinking-place for the cattle, and here, too, the buffaloes wallow in the hot season. They become gradually deepened as more clay is required and is dug out. As mud-houses gradually fall down by age or during the heavy rains, and are frequently renewed, there is a perpetual tendency for the house-sites to rise in level. An old-established village will thus be considerably raised, and the site must be-

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. i. Introduction, p. xiv.

come higher and higher in the course of years, independently of the fact that, for obvious reasons, the highest ground available was probably selected to begin with.[1] It is very common to find the headmen, and others of note, having better-built brick houses, for which they have acquired the best situations. There are many local accounts of villages in districts, which it would not be possible to quote without too great a sacrifice of space.[2]

I may notice, in concluding the subject, some general statistics which appear from the Indian Census of 1891. The difficulty of fixing on anything like a unit for a 'village' in some districts, and the fact that some enumerators may have taken the administrative aggregate or circle, and others the single homestead as the unit, must of course vitiate the results to some extent; but making due allowance for this, it appears that out of a total of

[1] In the *Karnāl S. R.* (1882), Mr. Ibbetson remarks (p. 120): 'When a new village is founded, the first thing done is to dig out tanks to hold rain-water for cattle, washing, &c. The village is built on the spoil; and, as in course of time old houses fall down and new ones are built, the village is raised higher above the surrounding plain, in some of the old Nardak villages as much as 150 or 200 feet. The space immediately around the village is called *goirā*: here the cattle stand to be milked, weavers train their warp, fuel is stacked, dunghills made, ropes twisted, sugar-presses erected, and all the operations conducted for which free space is necessary. The village is generally surrounded by a mud wall and a ditch as a protection against thieves, and is entered by gates often of brick and containing side rooms in which the gossips sit when it grows hot under the huge *bar* or *pīpal* tree (*Ficus sp.*) which generally stands outside. Main streets (*galī*) run through from one gate to another, and in Rājput or other villages where the women are strictly secluded numerous blind alleys lead from them, each being occupied by the house of near relatives.' This is in the South-eastern Panjāb, but is quoted as a good account of the form of Panjāb villages in general; details naturally vary in different parts.

[2] See, for example, *Lahore S. R.* (Saunders), § 208; *Hushyārpur S. R.* (Montgomery), § 43; *Siālkot Gazetteer*, p. 33; *R. Pindi Gazetteer*, pp. 51–52; *Firozpur Gazetteer*, p. 38. In Purser's *Montgomery S. R.* pp. 52, 53, there is a very pleasing account of the villages and types of house. As to frontier villages, aggregation depends on the peculiar tribal customs afterwards described. In the *Bannu S. R.* pp. 60 ff, are some particulars, but no direct notice of the point under immediate consideration—the aggregation of residences. In Peshāwar, the villages are compact, sometimes furnished with towers of refuge (*Captain Hastings'*

close upon 714,000 villages, nearly 223,000 contain a population of 200 and over, while about 343,000 have under 200. Those exceeding 500 are, in round numbers, 98,000.[1]

These notes on the physical conditions may be concluded with a brief remark on the origin of the vernacular words for 'village.' I do not know of one that has direct reference to the grouping or aggregation of *land*. The Sanskrit *grāma* may originally have had reference to a tribal grouping of a limited number of families, as the dictionary gives 'clan,' 'community' or 'host,' 'aggregate,' as among the meanings.[2] But in the Veda the word seems chiefly to indicate the sort of fort or protected residence site into which the cattle could be driven at night or to escape attack.[3] The Hindi *gāṅw*, *gām*, &c. (Panjābi *grāṅw*, *girāṅ*, &c.) are dialectic forms of *grāma*. The Arabic *mauẓa'*, adopted into general revenue language more or less all over India, is derived in Johnson's Dictionary from the form *waẓa'*, with the meaning of 'founding,' 'laying down.' The Persian *dih* is not explained. On the Panjāb frontier the village is often called *khel*, which is simply a subsection of a clan and the considerable area of land allotted to it. I cannot speak from personal knowledge of the southern dialects, but on the west coast *tara* has only the meaning of 'foundation,' 'quarter,' 'street,' and not anything to do with the aggregate of lands. The common Dravidian word for village is *Ūr*, which enters into so many names, as Nellore (Nal-ūr), Vellore (Vel-ūr), Tanjore (Tanjā[v]ūr), to say nothing of Indore (Ind-ūr), Gwalior (Gwāli-

S. R. p. 20). In parts of Dera Ismail Khān, aggregate sites again appear for the reasons given (*Tucker's S. R.* § 18). For the South-eastern Panjāb, see Purser and Fanshawe's account of the large villages of Rohtak (average 2,044 acres with 1,076 persons), *S. R.*, pp. 9, 10; and some curious particulars in Channing's *Gurgaon S. R.* (1882), § 70, p. 59.

[1] *Census Report* (Parliamentary Blue Book), p. 48. The large number of villages with small populations is increased by the inclusion of small groups in the hills, &c. Mr. Baines remarks that the landlord system of Bengal has tended to break up villages and settle the tenants on their holdings; and also that, life and property being generally secure, there is a tendency to form small groups of houses on the spot, otherwise the holders would have to go far from home to reach their holdings.

[2] Vide Macdonell, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. *grāma*.

[3] See Zimmer, p. 142, as to the Vedic *grāma* or *vrjāna*.

ūr), &c., further north.[1] The terms *upagrāmam* and *kuppam*, in the South, refer to hamlets or offshoots of villages, as *dhok* and *majrā* do in North India.

[1] *Ūr* probably referred to a fortified place or even town; indeed, the origin of the word may have gone back to the early time when some place of refuge would have been the natural centre of each 'village' group. However that may be, we find quite a group of compound words indicating village features, such, *e.g.*, as *Urdaḷāvara* (Karn.), the village-servants; *Ūrkāvaliga* (Karn.), the village-watchman; *Ūruçeruvu* (Tel.), *Ūrkoḷa* (Karn.), the village-tank; *Ūrmāniyam* (Tamil), free-lands for remuneration of the village-servants, *Ūrugauḍā* (Karn.), the village headman.

CHAPTER III

ETHNOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

If, as we have reason to believe, the agricultural settlement of India began, not with the Aryan, but with pre-existing races; and if, further, we find that the Aryans, and also the Jat, Gujar, and other immigrant tribes produced the joint or landlord form of village as the result of their domination or conquest—since these villages occur chiefly in the countries subject to that conquest—it becomes important to make a general survey of the provinces, and take note of the chief elements which are found in the population of each. We shall observe in each a pre-Aryan, or at least a non-Aryan element, a mixed race, and an upper class of purer Aryan caste, which, together with some families of later origin, represents the dominant or ruling race.

A very brief examination of the subject will be sufficient; we shall not only confine ourselves to what has some bearing on land-holding and the agricultural population, but we shall also avoid all uncertain ethnological questions. These latter are so numerous in India that a prejudice may arise against any kind of ethnographic survey as affording but a doubtful basis for reasonable conclusions. But though such a suspicion may justly exist, it is possible to let it go too far, and land us in the error of supposing that nothing is really known about the origin of the people at all. There are certain well-ascertained facts of Indian ethnography, and there are inferences to be justly drawn from them; and it would be as wrong on the one hand to ignore either, as it would be to build up an argument on the more speculative elements.

There is no reasonable doubt, in the first place, about the main ethnical elements with which we are here concerned.[1] The

[1] And thus, if primitive communal ownership of land is a fact, we have a number of distinct fields of observation, in one or more of which

long-continued fusion of races which has been going on for many centuries has naturally resulted in obscuring the origin of many castes or tribes, and has left it doubtful at the present day whether any particular people or tribe should be assigned to one ethnic group or the other; nevertheless, the existence of certain distinct groups cannot be questioned. Thus, beginning with the north-east, Assam was certainly peopled by races conveniently described as TIBETO-BURMAN. Similar tribes to some extent occupied the north-east parts of Bengal; and they advanced along the outer ranges of the Himalayan Mountains and furnished the basis of the more or less mixed 'castes' which form the cultivating population of the hill districts as far at least as Kashmīr. There is equally no doubt that another people, coming from the same quarter, and conveniently distinguished as KOLARIAN, were once numerous at the eastern end of India. Nor is it of importance for our purpose whether the name is a good one, and whether these people are of an entirely separate stock. It is, at any rate, convenient to separate them, for we have something of interest to learn from the Santāl people and from the Ho and Mundā tribes surviving in Chutiyā-Nāgpur, where they are found actually alongside of Dravidian races.[1] Then, again, we have the often almost unmixed and widely spread DRAVIDIAN population of the South. It is, no doubt, a difficult problem to account for the existence of Dravidian elements in Upper India before the Aryans came; but that does not in the least affect the observations we are able to make on tribes admittedly of this group, in their present location, whether nearly pure as in the South, or more mixed in the Dakhan and Central India. Then we have the ARYAN population, and with it many mixed races or castes claiming Aryan origin. Lastly, we have the Jat, Gujar, and other races who followed their steps, but only to a limited distance beyond

we ought to find at least traces of such a system. If we find it neither among Tibeto-Burmans, Kolarians, Dravidians, nor Aryans, the belief must be held to be more than ever doubtful as far as India is concerned.

[1] The distinction is also evident in the Central Provinces, where we have the meeting ground of the Aryan introduced into the northern part, the Gond or Dravidian element, and also the Kolarian—all localised. (See *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, Introduction, pp. cv–cviii., and cxxv.)

the Panjāb; and we have the Moslem tribes, the result of the Pathān and Mughal conquests. We have noticed already how the physical features of mountain range, desert, and open country affected the introduction and movements of the various invading races; and how in consequence, Upper India—the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya (from the Panjāb to Bengal), the Western Indian Districts—with part of the Dakhan, and again Southern India, have all become marked ethnographical divisions; and these we will follow in a brief series of sections. But before describing the population of each, there is one general question which, as it affects the entire range of subsequent history, had better be dealt with at once. It is almost impossible to describe the population of any single province without reference to it. I allude to the nature of the Aryan advance—partly by conquest, partly by policy and conciliation—and to the question of the probable number of the Aryans and their relations with the population they encountered.

Section I.—The Aryan Immigration

The Aryans[1] entered India at its north-west corner, and first established themselves in the hill country among the 'seven confluents of the Indus' (*Sapta-sindhavah*), between the outer and inner Himalayan ranges.[2] From this country the tribes

[1] It is quite unimportant for our purposes whether the name 'Aryan' is a good one or not; or whether it implies a greater degree of unity than ever really existed. It serves, at any rate, to distinguish the people, or connected peoples, who gave us the Vedic hymns, and who afterwards, in one part or section of their race, developed the system of law and philosophy, of statecraft and religion, which we familiarly associate with the name of 'Hindu,' and which we find described in the Sanskrit classics.

[2] Among other authorities, see Lassen, i. 617. It is usually assumed that the Aryans occupied 'the Panjāb.' Thus, to select one passage out of several that would do equally well, Zimmer, p. 1, commences: 'The main body of the Vedic-Aryan tribes settled, in ancient days, on the banks of the Indus and in the districts lying eastward of it, through which numerous streams, great and small, find their way as tributaries to the main river: it was the country of the *Sapta-sindhava*, the Panjāb of modern times.' But I submit that the description, perfectly just in itself, does not answer to 'the Panjāb of modern times' at all. No

eventually moved forward towards the plain country of Upper India. A certain number, no doubt, occupied the lower Indus Valley and Sindh. Tradition is clear on the point, and ascribes the occupation to the *Yādavā* tribe. It is certain that Sanskritic speech had reached the mouths of the Indus in very early times.[1] Thence they extended to Western India—to the portion which was open, as already explained. Another portion may have remained in the hill districts; and some may have settled in the Panjāb plains, either below the hills or close to the rivers, where settlement alone could have been possible. The rest moved eastward across the plains. The Vedic hymns, no doubt, contain specific allusions to the Panjāb plains, and to battles fought in traversing them; but they afford no certain evidence of settlement in the Panjāb plain country. The important point is, however, not whether colonies did exist or were numerous, but what influence could they have had, even if we prefer to accept their existence. For when we hear of the 'Aryan colonisation' of the Panjāb in general, it is almost always with the meaning that it was by tribes possessing the characteristic 'Hindu' caste and religious ideas. And on a hasty view of the subject, coupled with the reflection that the 'Panjābī' dialects are classed as Sanskritic,[2] it is easily concluded that the Panjāb

one who is familiar with the locality from long residence would speak of the dry mountains and occasionally fertile valleys of the Upper Indus country—the country of the Swāt, the Kābul, and the Kunār rivers, and, lower down, of the Kuram—as 'the Panjāb.' The confusion perhaps arises from forgetting that the rivers Indus, Kābul, Jihlam, Rāvī, Sutlej, &c., have a long course through the Himalayan hill-country under the same names, or partially so, that they bear when, more than a hundred miles south, some of them form the dividing streams of the real Panjāb.

[1] Burton remarked that the Sindhī language contained many Sanskrit words, both pure and corrupted, which are now unintelligible to the unlearned in other parts. Dr. E. Trumpp says that the Sindhī is much nearer to the old Prakrit than the Panjābī, Marāthī, Hindī, and Bengalī of our days (Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sindh*, p. 88).

[2] The Sanskrit element in the language is not at all conclusive of an *early* influence; even supposing the Sanskrit words are always the originals, and not themselves derived from local speech. We shall again have occasion to notice the Hindu elements in the Marāthī language and in that of Orissa, where it is practically certain that it was an influence of much later times, long after the Puranic religion and the caste system had been fully developed.

village communities are specially Aryan or 'Hindu.' This is not the case. There is no doubt that at an early date something of the nature of a split or schism must have taken place among the tribes, and that the eastward march to the Saraswati and the Jamnā rivers was not a mere question of united movement. It was only after the separation, and among the tribes settled east of the Jamnā, that the rigid caste rules and other specially Hindu institutions and ideas were established: those who remained behind, in the Panjāb or Sindh, could have had no share in them. Merely for the sake of distinction, I call the latter the 'non-Brahmanic' Aryans. The 'Brahmanic' tribes not only moved away and made the Saraswati—then an important stream, but now very much diminished—their boundary, but evidently regarded the 'Panjāb' with so much aversion that still in the days of the epic poems, the country was declared impure—'Let no Aryan dwell there even for two days.' The reason of the 'impurity' was the neglect or rejection of what were called the 'Vedic ceremonies,' and probably also the first rules of tribal separation: 'they do not conduct themselves according to the Brahmanic ordinances' (*na-hi-brāhmaçaryam-çaranti*); that is the root of the whole matter.[1] It can only mean that the Aryans of the Indus Valley, and such as remained in the Panjāb, did not adopt the strict rules and ordinances which afterwards led up to developed Hinduism, and consequently that they would naturally have had little or no 'caste' objection to mix with other races; so their separate ethnic traces would have disappeared as they have, in fact, done. We may speak, then, of early Aryan influence in the Panjāb and the Indus Valley and Western India,

[1] See Muir's *A. S. T.* ii. 482; *Mahābhāratā*, part viii.; *Karna-parva*, v. 2063-2068. 'In this region, where the five rivers flow after issuing from the mountains, dwell the *Bāhīkā*, called *Araṭṭa*; the water of it (*tad-jalam*) is called *Bāhīkā*. There dwell degraded Brahmans contemporary with *Prajāpati* [?]. They have no Veda or Vedic ceremony. The *Prasthalā*, *Madrā*, and the *Gandhārā*, &c., dwell there.' Dr. Muir puts the note of interrogation about the Brahmans; the words are not clear in the original. May they not allude to some of the earlier bards and sacrificers—already in Vedic times beginning to be called Brahmans—who, not caring to maintain the exclusiveness of the Aryan stock, were left behind and regarded as 'degraded' and unworthy scions of the race? See Zimmer, p. 189, and Lassen, i. 616.

but it would have been one thing in these countries and quite another in the kingdoms of Oudh, the Ganges Plain, and Bengal. To an admixture of Aryan blood is very likely due the improvement of some of the early races—the *Ahīr*, the *Kunbi*, the *Marāthā* of Western India, and others in the north who could not be specified with any certainty. Aryans may also have introduced ideas of monarchy and chiefship (already known in Vedic times), but probably not the 'caste' and other customs which belong to the later 'Hindu' development.

The eastward-going tribes established their new home near the sacred Saraswati and called it *Brāhmavartā*; but when they advanced further east, they acknowledged a wider region —*Aryavartā*; ultimately they passed these limits altogether, extending to Bihār, Bengal, and Western Assam, till, having reached the mouths of the Ganges they sent expeditions to Orissa, to Burma, to Ceylon (*Selam*; [S.] *Lankā*), and even to Java, where their co-sharing (landlord) villages long remained in evidence. Even among the 'Brahmanic' tribes, caste prohibitions utterly failed either to prevent a rival religion to the Brahmanic, in the form of Buddhism and its modification Jainism, or to keep the Aryan tribes from forming regular (or irregular) marriages with the people, whether aboriginal or other immigrant races. The Aryan 'high-caste' people remained everywhere as a dominant race, establishing kingdoms and local lordships, and giving rise to many village estates of a landlord character, as we shall afterwards see. Here we pass on to another question.

(2) *The Numbers of the Aryan Tribes and their Relations with the Existing Races*

The idea, as regards Upper India generally, that the Aryan races came in a vast swarm, and that they met with some unimportant, if occasionally numerous, savage races—black, snub-nosed, and illiterate, who after some more or less bloody resistance fled northward to the Himalayan or southward to the Vindhyan ranges, or to the security of the plateaux of South-western Bengal and Orissa, and left the Gangetic plain to be mainly peopled and cultivated by the rank and file of the Aryan

clansmen, under the domination of their own princes and priests—such an idea is probably no longer entertained, as it once was, even by the least enterprising of readers. The inferences which must almost inevitably be drawn from a number of facts show that the existing population was by no means scanty, though it was probably localised, and settlements were separated by great stretches of uninhabited forest. Some of the tribes, too, were of a somewhat barbarous type, small of stature and black in colour, while others must certainly have been agriculturists and much more advanced. Indeed, the literary allusions to the subject are really consistent with this view, making due allowance for the contempt which Brahmanic writers would feel for the non-Aryan people in general. While swarthy and uncouth tribes might be met with in the hill country and its confines, the superior agricultural tribes would have been found in the most fertile and level places in the vicinity of rivers, and would often be isolated. It would not be difficult to collect examples of cases where cultivation and the appliances of ancient civilisation have existed within an hour's journey of the wilderness. In the ancient kingdom of Magadhā (the modern Gāyā district in Bengal), with all its importance, and a suzerainty extending far and wide, we have reason to believe that in the third century B.C. the country immediately to the south, and beginning only a few miles beyond the great Buddhist city of Gāyā, was a dense forest only scantily inhabited by nomad tribes.[1]

It is hardly possible to suppose that the Aryan armies

[1] See the admirable monograph called *Notes on the Gāyā District* by G. Grierson, B.C.S. (Calcutta, 1893), pp. 3, 4. The whole subject is also well illustrated by Mr. F. E. Pargiter's careful paper on the Geography of the Rāmāyaṇa (*J. R. A. S.* April 1894, p. 231). Here we have the account of the wanderings of an exile prince, who is driven by the loss of his wife—abducted by a demon enemy—to the very southernmost parts of India. The account, though highly poetical and legendary, is based, it would seem, on at least a substantial amount of geographical fact. And we find, besides the mention of non-Aryan kingdoms near the Jamnā, the mention of the vast tracts of forest beyond the Vindhyā. The plan of the poem would not admit of any specific notice of the southern (*Pāṇḍyā*) kingdom; but incidental mention is made of the fine architecture and good government of Ceylon.

could have been supported, and cities built, unless there were locally well-established civilisation, and people able to serve and aid the ruling race; and the Dravidians of Upper India, were certainly builders and also acquainted with the structure of 'tanks' for irrigation.

It is true that the Vedic literature suggests, at any rate on a cursory view of it, that the chief opponents of the Aryans were the *dasyū*, or 'enemies,' who are described in contemptuous and unprepossessing terms. It is often, however, forgotten that the Vedas only refer to the earliest stages of Aryan advance, locally speaking, and even the later Atharvan Veda only sees them at the Ganges.[1] We have also to make large allowance in such poetic literature for much imaginative exaggeration, and for a bardic licence that confused together in one detested mass enemies of very different kinds. All that is probable is that some of the characteristics which excited so much abusive eloquence may be true of the races first met with. And as we know how widely the primitive races of the same stock were extended, it is likely enough that these characteristics were sufficiently prominent. Thus it may easily be supposed that the enemies met with in the hills, and possibly elsewhere, were of smaller stature than the Aryan and Northern tribes. It is also more than probable that longer residence in India would have made them generally blacker than the more recently arrived Northerners.[2] The hill-people, *Ḍom*, and the lower orders of *Khasā* for instance, were almost certainly of this character; and we notice the same again among the *Bhīl* tribes of Mālwā.

And one other feature appears really general among the primitive races. The Dravidians, or at least the Northern groups of them, whom some would separate ethnically, were more or less flat-nosed: this is evidently the trait indicated by the Vedic epithet *anāsu*, and this feature is traceable among their descendants to this day.[3]

[1] See Lassen, i. 644, 870–72. [2] See Zimmer, p. 113.

[3] Mr. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i. (Ethnographic Glossary and Introductory Essay), remarks: 'If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihār, and the North-West Provinces and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index, so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom, it will be

But it by no means follows that even in Vedic times *all* the people met with were indiscriminately *dasyū*. In one place these latter are expressly mentioned separately from the race called *Çimyū*;[1] we hear also of the *Kīkaṭa*, of the *Çāmbara* (who had forts), and of the *Nishāda*.[2] These are all non-Aryan tribes. Others might be mentioned, but they are not undisputed. Then there are allusions to the 'serpent' races, some of whom were Northerners, who could not have answered to the description of the swarthy *dasyū*. That some of these tribes were wealthy there can be no doubt. M. V. de St. Martin calls attention to at least one place where the 'gold ornaments and rich jewels' of the enemy are mentioned.[3] And in the epics the wealth of non-Aryan tribes is frequently instanced.

We may therefore accept it as established by a number of separate considerations, the cumulative weight of which is considerable, that the Aryans were numerous enough to be rulers and to have armies, but not more; that the indigenous people were partly barbarous and partly not; that they were localised, and that the existing settlements occupied the best parts of the country, leaving great stretches of forest and of hilly jungle-clad country either waste or inhabited only by nomad tribes. The case has been well summed up by Sir W. Hunter when, speaking of certain features of the later Aryan conquest of Orissa, he says that the history 'unfolds the Aryan colonisation of India in a new and rational light. It discloses no trace of the universal and absolute conquest by which the primitive Aryan

found that the order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence.' And he goes on to instance as grades in a scale the relics of early tribes like the *Mundā*, *Ho*, &c., who are non-Aryan, and the higher mixed races like the *Kurmī* (or *Kunbī*), and then the trading *Khatrī* and higher castes. 'Thus,' he continues, 'it is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of caste organisation in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose.' This, it will be remarked, applies to Upper India.

[1] Ṛgveda, 1. 100. 18. See Zimmer, pp. 118, 143.

[2] Zimmer, pp. 31, 143. See G. Oppert, pp. 578, 579. In Puranic writings the term *Nishāda* is applied to non-Aryans generally. In the Rāmāyaṇa there is a king of the Nishāda, mentioned by name, and he has a fleet of boats and an army (*J. R. A. S.* App. 94, p. 257).

[3] *Étude sur la Géographie*, &c., p. 108; and again in Ṛgveda, 3. 34. 9; Zimmer, pp. 50, 116; G. Oppert, pp. 12, 13.

settlers in Northern Hindustān are assumed to have subdued the whole continent to their sway. On the contrary, it dissipates the mist which has toned down the multiform migrations into a homogeneous advance; and exhibits the natural compromises by which a small but gifted people effected their entrance among vastly more numerous races, sometimes, indeed, by force of arms, but generally by an amalgamation which the vanity of later ages has more or less disguised.'[1]

This general conclusion is curiously illustrated by one circumstance which has not, perhaps, received the notice it deserves. If it were really the case that the Aryan tribes overwhelmed and practically supplanted the original population, how is it that at the period when the Greek and later geographers began to gather their evidence about India we do not find a much greater uniformity of population and territorial rule than, commencing with Megasthenes and the Macedonian period, we actually do find?[2] The geographers all speak of India as a series of separate countries and of separately named peoples; and this is the more remarkable because we find some of them imagining that the Indian people never received any foreign immigration.[3] And it is not merely a question of different states or dynasties, for that the familiar organisation of limited Hindu kingdoms would lead us to expect; but entirely different tribes and people are named. Some of the names are still identifiable; some very doubtfully so; others resist all attempts at explanation.[4] When we come down to the journals

[1] *Orissa*, i. 242. The particular advance in question, though ancient, occurred long after the first Aryan arrival in India, and only by the time that Aryan princes had reached Eastern Bengal and the Ganges mouths.

[2] And see also pp. 104–5, where allusion is made to the Brahmanic account.

[3] For example, Megasthenes says: 'It is said that India, being of enormous size, when taken as a whole, is peopled by races both numerous and diverse, of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous; and, moreover, that India neither received a colony from abroad nor sent out a colony to any other nation.' —McCrindle, *Ancient India: Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 35.

[4] This is hardly to be wondered at when we recollect that the name had first to be 'translated' into Greek writing by hearers who probably

of Hwen Thsang in the seventh century, it is the same; indeed, this writer furnishes us with still more distinct notices of the variety of peoples and languages.

If we turn to the older Sanskrit writers, to the *Laws of Manu* for instance, we find (in the tenth chapter) a whole passage devoted to 'mixed'—*i.e.* partly or wholly non-Aryan—races. Among them figure the people of *Mithilā* and *Magadhā*; and, according to the usual Brahmanic mode, the author also treats as *Kshatriya* who have lost caste, the *Oḍra* (of Orissa), the *Draviṛa* (people of the South), the *Kāmbhojā*, *Yavanā*, *Pāradā*, *Pahlavā*, and *Çakā* (or Scythian), *Çinā*, *Kirāṭā*, *Daradā*, and *Khasā*.[1] A number of these are admittedly mixed races; others are foreign races strong enough to have established local kingdoms, and to have made themselves more or less respected by adopting Hindu caste and religious customs. Such a work could hardly, perhaps, be expected to make any mention of the 'lower orders'; but there is no doubt that in many parts of Upper India the great mass of the humbler classes, though Hinduised, are of chiefly non-Aryan derivation. It is, in fact, exactly consistent with this view of a general fusion of races, which left only the ruling castes (besides Brahmans) fairly pure, that the existing distinction between high and low castes and outcastes is what it is everywhere observed to be. It should be borne in mind that besides the confessedly mixed or aboriginal but converted races received into caste and called *Çūdrā*, there are a number of doubtful castes of good physique and superior character. Such, for instance, are the *Bhuīāhār* or *Bābhan*, who gained possessions in 'Āzimgarh and the districts of

had little acquaintance with the native dialects, and did not catch the correct sound, nor render it scientifically into Greek. Then, too, we have to allow for the mistakes of copyists, and for the still further changes that would creep in, as the old works were quoted by the later writers, in whose books they alone survive. For a good specimen of the *tribal* lists, see McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 129 ff, or his *Ptolemy* for a later list, second century A.D.

[1] See Manu, chap. x. verse 44. There are some variations in the text as to these names: Bühler reads *Çoḍa* instead of *Odra*, *e.g.* Verses 42 69, and 72 are especially noteworthy. Verse 72 relates to a possible rise in rank of the mixed offspring after many generations. Cf. also chap. ix. verses 23, 24, 149.

Bihār adjoining the eastern end of the North-West Provinces, and there formed a rather numerous caste, with a sort of inferior Rājput rank. Some believe in a Brahman origin for them.[1] The Rājput clans have at all times permitted alliances, if not regular marriages, with women of other races; and the families resulting have sometimes formed separate castes. Colonel Tod mentions a class called *Golī* or *Dāsā* in Rājputānā, originating in this way.[2] In Naipāl the late Mr. Brian Hodgson has given an interesting account of the formation of a caste—with *Kshatriya* privileges—from the union of Brahmans with indigenous women.[3] Some of these mixed races are of superior pretensions, and would not consent to rank as *Çūdrā*.[4] If other instances of superior but evidently mixed races are needed, I may refer to the Western Himalayan States, where races like the *Thakkar* and *Rāthī* are well known, and many of them are of distinctly good physique; they are certainly mixed races of Tibetan origin with a strain of Aryan blood. To these I may add the caste called *Kanet*. The *Girth* (or *Ghirath*) are probably more largely aboriginal.[5]

[1] A good account of the *Bābhan* will be found in Risley's *T. and C. of Bengal*, i. (Glossary), 28 ff.

[2] Tod, i. 159–160. Malcolm (*Memoirs of Central India*, ii. 126) mentions a class called *Soṇḍi* of the same kind. It is hardly necessary to recall the fact that in ancient literature and traditions we have repeated allusions to patriarchal sages and others who married daughters of non-Aryan race. And where concubinage was so general, mixed families would everywhere be numerous.

[3] *Essays on the Language, &c., of Naipāl* (London: Trübner, 1874,) part ii. p. 37 ff.

[4] See the remarks in *Elliott's Glossary*, i. 167 ff.

[5] It is curious that in general, where there is a considerable preponderance of the aboriginal or non-Aryan strain, the caste is an *agricultural* one. For a good account of the Himalayan races, see Ibbetson's *Panjāb Ethnography*, §§ 458, 487; and regarding the *Girth*, § 489. The *Khasiyā* form a considerable part of the Kumāon population. In the Kāngra Hills the *Kanet* are numerous, and they are in two divisions, one called *Khasiyā* and the other *Rāo*. Ibbetson (*Panjāb Ethnography*, § 488, quoting Lyall on Kulu) says that the division is traditionally ascribed to a former Rājā of Kulu, who desired to make the people more attentive to Hindu religious observances. The *Khasiyā* obeyed and received the *janeo*, or sacred string. Brahmans who gathered round the Rājā's Court were always striving to make the Hill people more orthodox Hindus and less

In a widely different part of the country the *Nāyar* caste of the West Coast affords another example of a superior mixed race. They are partly Dravidian, but with perhaps a considerable infusion of Northern—possibly Aryan—blood. At any rate, the mixture must now be considerable on account of the tribal custom of taking temporary Brahman husbands for their female relatives, and giving the inheritance to the sister's son. These proud caste-men are reckoned in Brahmanical books as *Çūdra*, yet no caste has greater pretensions to rank and ceremonial purity.[1]

All indications that can be gathered from the present ethnical *data* of the provinces, as well as all that can be gained from local traditions, combine to convince us that the Aryan (and perhaps other later Northern) races have left us an upper stratum of originally very superior quality—families of good physique, of lighter colour and with a genius for military organisation and for some of the arts; while their priestly families had a taste for the most refined philosophic speculation, as well as for religious contemplation. They originated, in fact, a religion which, including every kind of worship and esoteric doctrine in a hundred schools and sects, is more a social system made a matter of religious import by means of its ceremonial connection than anything else; and this was eagerly accepted, as it improved the social position without hindering local cults and the worship of favourite divinities. From this limited refining element also arose a not inconsiderable number of races, mixed indeed, but still distinctly superior; and then we have the great mass of the agricultural and farm-labouring population, that becomes more and more connected with the 'aboriginal' races the further we descend in the social scale.

The importance of this from the point of view of the student of land-customs is that it comports with the facts of the land tenure in general—namely, that whatever customs regarding

devoted to the local divinities. The lower division resisted these efforts to a much greater extent.

[1] Thus Dr. Day (*Cochin: Its Past and Present*, p. 316) says: 'Should a *Chogān* or a *Maknā* or one of the lower caste dare to pollute a *Nair* (*Nāyan*) by approaching nearer than the prescribed distance, he was formerly at liberty to cut him down.' Cf. Lassen, iv. 270.

land are of Aryan origin, they are the customs of a conquering race, or at least of a race which took the superior position in everything. The tenures that arose from their State arrangements and their locations of Chiefs—whether they now appear as larger landlord estates or as co-shared villages—were all essentially overlord, or at least landlord, tenures. That is quite true in spite of the fact that some 'Aryan' clans remained without any aristocratic pretensions, or developing any system of Rājā or other titled chiefs, and that they formed land-holding communities based on a peculiar method of equal-sharing. The equality was among themselves only; they would consider themselves altogether superior to their tenants, or to the lower castes generally.

(3) *Present State of Inferior Races*

It remains only to add a few words regarding the present state of various tribes or races which may be such as to suggest erroneous conclusions regarding their former history. We have to bear in mind the fact that paucity of number, present poverty, and often social depression in rank, afford no ground for positive inference regarding the original status and importance of the races, or as to the degree of prosperity and material civilisation that they had anciently attained, under wholly different circumstances. Especially is it necessary to bear in mind the effect of the introduction of caste rules, and the artificial constitution of society in grades. Nothing is more striking than the way in which we again and again come across traces of former importance among races now only found in scattered families, or perhaps still numerous but in the lowest grades of the caste or social scale. Low-caste people will be found in some cases to retain certain curious privileges, which can only be accounted for on the supposition that once a higher rank was held.[1] In one country we hear of high-caste Hindu princes receiving the *tilak*, or mark of investiture, from *Bhīl* or *Mīnā tubesmen*.[2]

[1] See G. Oppert, pp. 53, 73, and the excellect remarks quoted from Walhouse (*Indian Antiquary*), iii. 191, in a note at p. 84.

[2] As to the *Bhīl*, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii. 387; and see *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, i. 73. The *Mīnā*, a tribe having as many as 146 *got* or septs, though now in a reduced condition, are spoken of as the 'hereditary

When once it became a mark of respectability to be in 'Hindu' caste, the highest families, as we so constantly find, would employ Brahman family-priests and become strict observers of caste rules. Their ruling chiefs take Hindu names, and in time, their real origin being long forgotten, they are received into 'Rājput' rank, and after a few generations they are allowed to marry into the best houses.[1] Mythical heroic ancestors are easily provided for them by Court bards; and everything is traced back to some Hindu deity, or some miraculous occurrence in Puranic books. The mass of the peaceable agricultural people, on the other hand, received Brahmanic teaching, and found in the endless gradations of even the fourth caste, a position sufficiently high above the equally endless divisions of low-caste or no-caste beneath them to satisfy their aspirations. The defeated races, the irreconcilables, and those (perhaps hill) tribes who had not reached the same stage of elementary culture as the plain dwellers, did not share in the rise: they took refuge in the woods and the remoter ranges of hills, and the circumstances of such a life would not only prevent any more civilised development, but would rapidly establish nomadic and perhaps predatory habits as well as the deterioration of physique and the loss of any ideas of settled life that may once have been possessed.

If the real characteristics of some of the 'aboriginal' races are examined, it will often be found that they are by no means

guards of the States' Chief,' and 'on every succession a *Mīnā* performs the ceremony of investiture.' The author adds that the same custom prevails in several other parts of India. It was a *Bhīl* who invested *Goha*, founder of the *Gahlōt* Rājputs, with a *tilak* made by the blood of a young *Bhīl* tribesman (Tod, i. 184). This custom is still observed, and the persistence of it is all the more remarkable that the touch of *Bhīl* blood is defilement to the Hindu Rājā, and on the other hand the *Bhīl* tradition is that the person from whose arm the drop of blood is taken is likely to die within the year.

[1] Cf. Introduction to *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. lxvii, for some excellent remarks from a competent witness. The Chutiyā-Nāgpur Rājās alluded to are, however, not *Mundā* but of the *Uraon* (Dravidian) stock: this makes no difference to the general argument. We sometimes hear of princes placing themselves ceremonially *inside cows* made of brass—in one case, if I remember rightly, of gold, which was afterwards cut up and given to the Brahmans. By going through this form they indicate their new birth into Hinduism.

so despicable. I shall only here mention the case of the *Khānd* tribe, whose customs will attract our attention hereafter, and who represent a primitive tribe, but one whose 'barbarous' character was almost solely inferred from their retention of periodical human sacrifices. The *Bhīl*, again, though driven to the hills, and for generations treated by their neighbours as outlaws,[1] have shown very valuable material in their nature; and the efforts made by Sir J. Outram and others for their reclamation have had a good measure of success. Many other outcaste people, when once freed from oppression and placed under good government, have shown themselves in a very satisfactory light.[2] This fact must not be forgotten; nor can the relative civilisation of all races be denied because of some undoubted instances where the scattered remnant is so decidedly 'barbarous' that we are obliged to infer either that they never rose above the nomadic stage, or that exceptionally unfavourable circumstances have hastened their decadence to a condition below the normal.

When, therefore, authors casually attach the epithet 'barbarous' or 'uncivilised' to the older races, we may treat their language as chiefly conventional, and seldom resting on any basis of ascertained fact or even probability. At any rate, we may be on our guard against looking at everything through Aryan or Brahmanic spectacles. The intellectual superiority of this race gave them, so to speak, the entire command of literature; so that almost everything that has passed into written form has been cast in an Aryan mould. For real history the Brahmanic writers never cared anything: early events and family origins invariably assume a mythic guise, and everything about non-Aryan races is either omitted or only noticed to glorify the conquest of the 'twice born' over the 'demons' and 'barbarians.' It is then only by a careful comparative study, by regarding the relics of original speech in the local dialects, by comparing ethnological data and local customs, and by co-ordinating local legends and traditions, that we can derive any

[1] The cruelty with which both Muhammadan and Marāthā Governors treated the *Bhīl* tribes may be seen in Forbes's *Rās Mālā*, and in Malcolm's *Central India*.

[2] See, for instance, G. Oppert, p. 75.

reasonable knowledge of the past. But with these aids it is possible to form conclusions which are probable, and even to extract some reliable elements out of the old Puranic and bardic fables in which gods and men, real events and impossible fictions, are mixed together in picturesque confusion.

It seems to me that just as in literature, so in discussing the origins of land-tenure there is a natural but unfortunate tendency to allow certain tribes or races to become so prominent as to exclude all care for any others. In literature it was very natural that the Aryans, with their polished Sanskrit language, their epic and dramatic poetry, their elaborate philosophy and their curiously intertwined legal, religious, and social ideas, should have been the most extensively studied. The tendency was doubtless favoured by the belief that the Aryans really had reduced or annihilated all other races, and formed the bulk of the existing population; and indeed this belief in its turn was largely due to the prominent position occupied by their literature.[1] The one has reacted on the other. It is now time to turn to Western and Southern India, and to the local traditions of non-Aryan races in India generally. The literature and folk-lore of the South naturally offer the greatest promise; and we may come to find that the Aryans owe much more than we have hitherto supposed to the indigenous races. At any rate, increased light will be thrown on the remarkable conditions under which the original Vedic religion exhibited such a kaleidoscopic transformation into that of the Purānā. Nor is it only the southern and western regions of India that have to be studied; the tribes of Assam and North-eastern Bengal have some institutions not unworthy of investigation;[2] and the people we call

[1] The tendency has always been marked to discover a *Sanskrit* derivation or meaning for everything. A familiar instance is in the Indian names of certain valuable products which occur in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. In the time of Solomon, circ. 1000 B.C., there is very little reason to suppose that Sanskrit words were much, if at all, in use in the south and on the western coast. Dr. G. Oppert has shown that *Dravidian* words are really the more probable originals. In Mr. J. A. Baines's Census Report of 1891, *Parl. Blue Book*, there are some excellent remarks on this subject, p. 126.

[2] We have only very slight acquaintance with details of agriculture and village life among the *Gāro*, *Khasiyā*, and other hill tribes of Assam and the north-east frontier.

Kolarian also, though the distinctive traces of them are fast disappearing.

One consequence of the almost exclusive attention to the Aryan element is that the landlord and other higher caste proprietary-tenures have attracted attention to the almost total exclusion of others. Hence '*the* village community'—meaning the jointly-owned village, *i.e.* one specialised form of village land-holding—has come to be spoken of as if it were the sole phenomenon of Indian agricultural life, and from that position it is almost inevitable to slide into the conclusion that this village-form must necessarily be primitive and universal. Whatever the truth on this subject may be, it is my hope that the considerations advanced in these pages as to the distribution of the different land-holding tribes and communities may help us to follow more easily the evidence that will be collected in the sequel as to the origin and growth of the existing village forms.

Section II.—The Population of Upper India

(1) *The Panjāb*

At the present day the Panjāb contains a variety of races, sometimes distinct in language, but oftener speaking various dialects of 'Panjābi' and Hindī. The hill districts, the sub-montane districts, the Salt Range country, the central plains, the south country of Multān, and the south-eastern districts beyond the Sutlej, are all distinguishable by their people and forms of speech. In general a Panjāb Census Table shows the names of many castes and clans not found further east, and some that go as far as the Ganges Doab; while the Rājputs (Military Aryan caste) are comparatively few and localised, and belong to later times. Whatever *early* Aryans stayed in the Panjāb must have fused completely with the population, leaving at best some faint traces.[1] The Panjāb bore the full brunt of the so-called Indo-

[1] It is true the Panjābī is classed as 'Sanskritic'; but the Sanskrit element is not necessarily due to the *earliest* Aryans, if any number of them settled there, which is doubtful. On the frontier Pashtu is spoken, and lower down on the west, Bilūchi. Beyond the Sutlej and in the south-east the dialects are more completely 'Hindī.'

Scythic irruptions, and was naturally afterwards much affected by the Pathān and Mughal conquests; indeed, Moslem tribes settled on the north-western frontier present us with an almost unique example of tribal customs of land-holding, which will occupy a large share of our subsequent attention.

The population of the hill country must not detain us. The upper classes are of later Aryan (Rajpūt) origin; and the bulk of the agriculturist tribes are mixed races, *Khasiyā*, *Kanēt*, *Ghirath*, *Rāthi*, &c., on which some observations have been made in the last section.

As to the original elements of the agricultural population of the Plains or Panjāb Proper, where the joint or co-shared village, both tribal and of individual origin, is so universal, we have definite evidence as to certain tribes met with at the time of Alexander's invasion, 327 B.C. And there is also proof of other northern incursions later than the Aryan; one, at any rate, of considerable importance *before* the Macedonian adventure, and one at least *after* it—in the two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

The climate and soil of the Panjāb plains are such that no very large or generally extended population could have maintained itself, except in a few districts where the rainfall is greater, or along the banks of the rivers. Any great extension of the inhabited area must have been accompanied by the invention of canals for irrigation, and by the use of wells, with some means of raising the water.[1]

Alexander found some apparently non-Aryan tribes in the Panjāb; and especially in the north, one race who worshipped the Sun and the Serpent. Of races with an evidently Aryan connection, there is only the tribe led by Porus.

A part of the population in Macedonian times seems to have already been so long established that General Cunningham was led to the conclusion that it was also pre-Aryan.[2] For serpent-

[1] In the Central Panjāb and some distance north, south, and east as far as the Sutlej, the 'Persian-wheel' is used. This appears to be a foreign introduction, but I cannot suggest a possible date for its becoming known.

[2] See the question stated in *Rep. Arch. Survey of India*, 1862–5, ii. 3 ff. Lassen also held the same opinion (i. 128). 'The Panjāb,' he says, 'as a country divided into separate states, appears equally in the

worshippers, as described by the Greeks, are also mentioned in the Veda; where we find them as hostile to, or at least outside the pale of, the Aryan tribes.[1] In Ṛgveda, 5. 31. 4, to quote a single instance, there is mention made of a tribe 'strengthened to smite down the snakes (*ahi*).' Later on, we find many allusions to the *Nāgā*.[2]

The serpent-worshipping tribe which Alexander's historians allude to was the *Takā*, who had their capital at Taxila (*Takāshila*, or in Sanskrit *Takshāçila*,[3] which is now proved to have been in

oldest Indian tradition and in the earliest competent descriptions of Western historians. Alexander found small kingdoms under their own princes in the north-west portion; and in the south-easterly parts free tribes with an almost republican constitution.'

[1] *Rep. Arch. Survey*, ii. 9.

[2] 'They [the *Nāgā*] held a very prominent position in Indian folklore, where they generally appear in human shape; and ancient writings abound with allusions to them as a people. But in the allegorical descriptions of later writers they become supernatural beings or actual serpents. . . .' See the whole article on 'Serpent Worship in India' by Surgeon-Major C. F. Oldham, *J. R. A. S.* July 1891.

There can be hardly any doubt that 'serpent worship' is connected with the North, though it spread over the whole of India in the course of time. It became associated with Buddhism, as most of the serpent-worshipping tribes of the North adopted that religion; and sculptured images of Buddhā are often found representing the saint seated under a serpent with his hood expanded like a canopy. Even in the South, it is remarkable that snake-worship is most traceable where Jainā religious relics remain (Jainism being only a modified offshoot of Buddhism). Whatever may be its real origin, snake-worship is found in various parts of India. It was carried by the Talaing into Burma (Phayre's *History of Burma*, pp. 21, 22, 33). As to its existence in Madras, see Macleane, *Ethnol.* p. 82, and Sturrock, *South Canara D. M.* i. 84, 140. And in the Central Provinces, see the curious account (from personal testimony by Mr. Hewitt) of the solemn and secret worship of the serpent (*Journ. Soc. Arts*, May 1887, p. 618), and see *J. R. A. S.* xx. part 3, 339. A curious notice of a temple with no idol in it but a snake-image, in one of the Chattīsgarh districts is given in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, Introduction, p. lxv. As usual, the Puranic Hindu religion adopted the *Nāgā* deity, and the *Nāg-pañçamī* is now a regular and very popular Hindu festival (Monier Williams's *Religious Life in India*, pp. 323, 340.

[3] See *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 10. It is often stated that *Takshaka* in Sanskrit means a snake (= *Nāgā*). The word has no such meaning. I regret to have fallen into this error in my *Land Systems of British*

the modern Rāwalpindī district. They were then a numerous and powerful people. Their chief city is described as the first of all the cities between the Indus and the Jihlam rivers, and as possessed of great wealth.[1] We hear of them also in Sindh.[2] The same race is mentioned in history as late as A.D. 900, when '*Takādeṣ*' was a province of the Kashmīr king *Sankara-varma*, and relics of them still exist in the Gujrāt district of the Panjāb and in the outer hills of the Jamū territory—localities which would be most naturally, at one time, included in a territory of which the capital was in the modern Rāwalpindī district. Their non-Aryan customs of worshipping the *Nāgā* and various other snake gods, *Bāsukdevī*, &c., as well as the sun-symbol, are detailed by Dr. Oldham in the article already referred to.[3] They introduced the written character still widely used in village shop-books, and known as the *Lande* or *Tākrī*.[4] As this is rudely cognate with the *Nāgari* character, it shows either that they had learnt it from ancient Aryan connection, or, more probably that the *later* literary Sanskrit character developed out of a ruder Northern script.

There are some other races in the Panjāb, now small and localised, who are also believed to have a very remote antiquity. Such are the *Doṇḍ*, *Sadāñ*, *Meḍ*, and *Saṭi*; but the question of their origin is too uncertain to permit further notice.

When we try to discover what tribes, if any, the Aryan invasion itself brought, we are at a loss to discover any distinct trace; this would indeed be a natural result if the early Vedic Aryans remained undeveloped as to their caste ideas. They may have

India, ii. 612. Probably the Sanskrit is a mere linguistic adaptation of *Tāk*, *Takā*, or *Tākhya*; and it is purely an accident that there is a Sanskrit word *tāksha*, which means 'cutter or cleaver.'

[1] See McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, pp. 118, 119.

[2] *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 8.

[3] For some further evidence see *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 10, where General Cunningham speaks of coins with a serpent-emblem, and of his belief that all Kashmīr was once peopled with *Nāgā*. There is also valuable information in *Elliott's Glossary*, i. 113. Especially important is it to note that in some ancient Tibetan (trilingual) records lately discovered and held to be of great value historically, '*Takẖaka*' appears in the list of the *Nāgā* kings. See *J. R. A. S.* January 1894, p. 91.

[4] *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 9.

fused with and improved some of the existing Panjāb castes whose origin is now unknown. The Hindu tradition based on Vedic allusions, is that the Yādavā (sons of Yadu) occupied Sindh, and the Ānavā (sons of Anu) settled in the Panjāb.[1] The former tradition is no doubt confirmed as regards Sindh and Western India, but the latter is doubtful. Puranic tradition, however, suggests some early return of Yādavā (Bhātī) chiefs from Sindh, and some other settlements in the Northern Panjāb and in the Jālandhar Doāb.[2] It would seem that even in Alexander's time such a reflex movement had already begun, and that an Aryan prince with his followers, returning from the East country, had formed a petty kingdom in the North-western Panjāb; for 'Porus' is a name which it seems most natural to connect with '*Pauravā*,' or one of the race of Puru, a clan which we first hear of settled near the Jamnā.

The Panjāb, however, owes a great deal, from an ethnographical point of view, to the Northern or 'Indo-Scythian' incursions already mentioned. The invasion of *circa* 515 B.C., in the time of Darius Hystaspes, was the important one which, according to Cunningham brought the tribes of *Kāthī* (Kathæi of the Greek writers), the *Ghakar* (still found in the North-western Panjāb), as well as the *Bālā*. It is also quite possible that some of the *Jat* races may have come in with an earlier (pre-Macedonian) invasion, although the bulk of their settlements are attributed rather to the later incursions—connected with the names of

[1] It is clear that General Cunningham's suggestion about the existing Āwān clans as possibly representing the Ānavā is difficult to accept. See Thomson, *Jihlam S. R.* 1883, p. 29; D. Ibbetson, *Ethnography of the Panjāb*, § 454. It has been also suggested that the *Janjhūā* or *Jhanjuā* (the spelling is uncertain) are Yādus. But this also is hardly tenable. They are Rājputs no doubt, but claim to be of the *Rāhtor* clan from Mewār. For some details as to the Puranic stories see *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 14–16, 20; and see further p. 129, *post*.

[2] It may be asked how, if the Panjāb was 'impure,' Aryan chiefs of high caste, and afterwards Brahmans, would settle there. But such a prohibition would become forgotten in the course of time: the Brahmans were great wanderers and everywhere sought to extend their influence, while soldiers of fortune would hardly seriously regard the existence of such a ceremonial obstacle.

Kadphises, Kanerki, and the rest. The existence of such early Jat settlements is suggested by the mention of Alexander's meeting with tribes which had a government by councils of elders. But it is quite possible that various early 'Scythic' races may have had similar characteristics.[1]

The *Kāthī* have left their descendants, still holding villages in the Panjāb; and they extended to Upper Western India, where the province, now divided into a large number of petty chiefships, called *Kāthiāwār*, derives its name from them. They have now merged into the Rājput race generally, owing to long contact with the Aryan races from Mālwā and the neighbourhood; but their strikingly non-Aryan customs are described by Colonel Tod.[2] They were numerous enough in Alexander's time to resist the joint armies of Porus and 'Abisares'—the latter being reasonably identified as the ruler of *Abhisāra*, the then Ghakar dominion (modern Hazāra district).[3] This introduces the *Ghakar*, of whom it may be mentioned that they still hold a number of villages with much pride of origin, in the Northern Panjāb.[4]

In the Southern Panjāb the Greek historians mention the Malli and Oxydrakæ (Sudrakæ of Curtius), who also appear in the Mahābhāratā as the *Kshudraka—Mallava* (coupled together).[5] These tribes seem also connected with the northern invasions, since the Malli, who had their capital at or near Multān

[1] See *Historical Researches into the Politics &c. of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*, A. H. Heeren, vol. i. 'The Persians' (translated from the German. Oxford: Talboys, 1833, p. 310). 'When Alexander crossed the Chināb (Acesines) he fell in with other nations not living under princes but possessing a republican constitution. These Indian republics occurred in the country between the Acesines and Hyphasis (Chināb and Bīās Rivers) or on the east of the province of Lahore.' The allusion, as the late Sir G. Campbell pointed out, was to the tribes, with their *panchayats* or committees of elders, such as managed Jat communities till quite recent times, and are even now by no means extinct.

[2] Tod, i. 101.

[3] *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 35.

[4] There is a good *résumé* of the *Ghakar*, or *Gakkar*, history in Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 3rd ed. p. 284 ff.

[5] *The Invasion of India by Alexander* (McCrindle, p. 350, Appendix). The connection suggested of Kshudraka with Sudra (*Çūdra*) is hardly admissible.

(*Mallāsthāna*), were sun-worshippers like the Kāthī and the Bālā.[1]

A large part of our present population is, however, connected with the JAT race, and on this some remarks must be made, leaving it an open question whether our Jat communities are in general pre-Macedonian, or whether they belong to the later invasions closer to the commencement of the Christian era.

In the plains of the Panjāb these races are numerous from the Indus to the south-eastern districts. Jats are found in Sindh and also in Gangetic India and Rājputāna. They are now divided into very numerous clans, different in different parts of India. Their physical appearance and general characteristics are locally various;[2] and the generic name varies from *Jat* in the Panjāb to *Jāt* in the South-eastern Panjāb and the North-West Provinces. But although it may be said that the term 'Jat' has come rather to represent a heterogeneous class of agriculturists than anything else, it can hardly be denied that there is a real nucleus of northern tribes of distinct origin.

As far as it concerns us, for the purposes of this book, to express any opinion as to what the Jats or Jāts really are, so much may be safely said: (*a*) that the existing clans are often of mixed or altered race; that they have largely intermingled (in the long course of time) with the Aryan races, and that there is no doubt that the many *gentes* and clans are, on one side, of Rājput ancestry. Traditions about a clan springing from a Rājput who married a Jat wife, or of the ancestor being a Rājput who lost caste by eating with Jats, or adopting some custom contrary to

[1] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 235, 237, and *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 34. 'We know that both the *Bālā* and the *Kāthī* of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multān from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzeb, by whose order the idol is said to have been destroyed.' See also G. Oppert, pp. 78, 82, who refers to Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, i. 23, 27, 35, 82, 205, 469.

[2] The names of the chief Panjāb Jat clans do not appear much, if at all, in the literature of other provinces: the Central Panjāb Jat differs much from the Sindhi Jat, and he again from the Jāt of the South-eastern Panjāb and North West Provinces. On the general subject reference may be made to Tod, i. 92; Ibbetson, *Ethnography of the Panjāb*, pp. 219 ff; *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 43 ff, and Beames' *Elliot's Glossary*, i. 130.

his own rule, are too persistent and generally believed, to be devoid of truth.[1] (*b*) It is also the case that a long lapse of time and differences of climate have gradually produced wide differences among the Jats themselves, both in physique and dialect; this accounts for the dissimilarity between the Jat of Rājputāna, *e.g.*, and the Jat of the Panjāb central districts and the Jat of Sindh. But the existence of such changes shows that many generations must have elapsed, and hence it is highly probable that the first origins of the Jat clans may be dated back to the invasions of so-called 'Indo-Scythians' at the period mentioned by Sir A. Cunningham. And it is also apparent that while many of the Jats may be settled in or near the districts where they first obtained a footing—viz. in the Panjāb plains and eastwards as far as the Jamnā and the Doāb districts of the North-West Provinces, and southward to Rājputāna, it is also true that, not unfrequently, the Panjāb Jat clans in their present location represent the reflex movements of small portions of clans whose main body first settled further east or south. The suggestion that Jats and Rājputs are all one race, and that the Rājput only represents the upper or ruling families and princes of a common stock, appears to me untenable as far as *origins* are concerned, though it has *become* practically true to a considerable extent. It is certainly the case that a Rājput might sink to be a Jat by widow marriage, or by taking to agriculture under certain conditions; but the difference between the customs of the races, as well as the course of their history, shows that

[1] For an example see *Rep. Arch. Sur.* ii. 11 (on the authority of Colonel Tod), where a Bhāti becomes a Jat in consequence of eating with a Tāk or Takā chief. In the Gujrānwāla district we have many instances of clan names common to both Jat and Rājput. Such cases are also widespread: *e.g.* in the Muzaffargarh district (Southern Panjāb), Mr. O'Brien (*S. R.* p. 55), remarks: 'There is not a Jat in this district who has any knowledge, real or fancied, of his ancestors, that would not say he was once a Rājput. Certain Jat tribes . . . have names and traditions which seem to connect them more closely with "Hindustān." Some bear the Rājput title of *Rāi*, and others, as the *Saigal* and *Khairā*, though Muhammadans, associate a Brahman with the "mullā" at marriage ceremonies; while the *Puñwār*, *Parihār*, *Bhatti*, *Joyā*, and others, bear names of well-known tribes of Rājputāna.' See also some excellent remarks in the *Rohtak S.R.* p. 20, and *Karnāl S.R.* § 195.

the progenitors of the pure Rājput clans were in India before the Jat, and that the two races were originally distinct. Nor have we any instance of a man known to be a Jat by birth raising himself (or being raised) to Rājput caste. There are two Jāt States in Rājputāna (Bhartpur and Dholpur), but they are not of Rājput rank.[1] Throughout history the Jats appear in bodies and perfectly distinct from the Hindu Rājputs; they are often in conflict with them, and, not without success, with the earlier Muhammadan emperors.

A very similar account may be given of the GŪJAR or GUJAR.[2] They are not nearly so numerous as the Jats, ranking only eighth, I think, in the list of castes as regards numerical superiority. They also seem to have a distinct tribal origin, but to have largely mingled with Rājput and other families. They must have used the Western or Indus Valley route, as well as the direct route to the Panjāb plains, as they are found not only in the Indus Valley, but in Upper Western India. There is no trace of them in the province of Bombay called Gujarāt (the Gurjarāshtra of the Sanskrit writers); but they are found in the Nāgpur districts (where Sir R. Jenkins says they claimed 'Rājput' descent); they were noticed by Dixon in Merwāra, and they are found in the Narbadā Valley and also in Northern Bundelkhand. There is a small independent State—Sāmptar, still ruled by a Gujar chief.[3] They are most numerous in the plains of the Panjāb, giving their names to the two districts of Gujrāt and Gujrānwālā.[4] They also extended to Delhi and beyond; for we find that the Upper Doāb and Rohilkhand

[1] This may seem to conflict with what is elsewhere said about some ancient royal families in the Central Provinces, Orissa, &c., being in time recognised as Rājput; but the Jat is much more modern and more distinct in race than these were, and the 'royal' families, besides being of ancient race, were always 'royal.'

[2] The word Gujar is possibly the Northern 'Tokhar' (Τόχαροι) softened into a Sanskritic form as Tusara and then Gujara. The Gujar period is connected with the names on coins familiar to collectors—Kadphises, Kanerki, Huvishka, Vonones, &c.

[3] Beames' *Elliot's Glossary*, i. 101; *Imp. Gazetteer*, s.v. 'Sāmthar.'

[4] Their location in juxtaposition with the Jat clans is curiously illustrated by the Tribal Map of the Gujrāt district given in *L. S. B. I.* ii. 670.

districts of the North-West Provinces contain many of them. So much so that one part of the Sahāranpur district was actually called 'Gujrāt' (during the last century.) Reckoning up the clans or divisions known in different parts of the country, eighty-four names are given in *Elliot's Glossary*.

To this notice of the later Jat and Gujar tribes it must be added that the frontier population has been reinforced by Pathān and Bilūchī tribes, of which more specific notice will be taken in the sequel. There are, of course, a number of other tribes, like the *Āwān*, *Kharral*, &c., which are chiefly local, and the humbler but more ubiquitous *Arāīn*, which it is difficult to classify under any head. Certain limited colonies of Mughals, Afghāns, Pathāns, &c., are due to the later Muhammadan invasions, but as a rule the bulk of the Muhammadan agricultural tribes are converts.

To summarise briefly the whole question, it may be said that, whatever early Aryan clans may have settled in the Panjāb, they were 'non-Brahmanical,' and would not long have remained distinct. There were also local Aryan kingdoms, and later settlements of Rājputs. The country was also overrun by later Northern or Indo-Scythian tribes, and was afterwards directly affected both by the earlier and later Moslem conquests. These considerations combine to explain why the strict Hindu element is comparatively slight in the Panjāb (beyond the towns), and that apart from the fact that so many clans became Muhammadan and others Sikh. Indeed, the very fact of such conversions shows how little any Brahmanical system had taken hold on the country at any early date. In the Panjāb plains there are no ancient Brahmanical monuments.[1] The Hindu law of the books is unknown, and to this day local customs of various kinds, sometimes quite

[1] Brahmanic temples of some antiquity may be found in the hill districts of the Himalaya and their vicinity, as, *e.g.*, in Kāngrā and Chambā. But I am not aware that any are so old that they must be dated back to any Aryan settlements prior to those which occurred when the Moslem conquest began to disturb the Hindu kingdoms of the plains and drive the princes to the hills for refuge. There are some vestiges of traditionally *ancient* Aryan families in the Kāngrā Hills, as will be afterwards noted.

opposed to the later Hindu ideals, are in vogue. When I say that the Hindu law is not followed, I should perhaps except town families or others whose rank or dignity of caste suggests that they should acknowledge it at least nominally. Brahmans have now everywhere secured a certain amount of respect; but where the Jat and other tribes may be called 'Hindu' it is chiefly with the meaning that they are not Sikh or Moslem.

The foregoing remarks on the elements of the Panjāb population are illustrated by the general *data* as tabulated in 1881 by Mr. Ibbetson. The chief land-owning, tenant, and cultivating, classes are thus grouped—*per mille* of the total population, including the Native States :—

1. Bilūch and Pathān tribes	56	
2. Jat	195	
3. Rājput	81	
4. Minor dominant tribes	67	(including Gujar)
5. Minor cultivating tribes	89	
6. Foreign races	21	

These six heads require a few words of explanation. No. 1 consists of the Trans-Indus (Frontier) tribes. No. 2 includes Jats of all kinds, including those so called who are tenants in the districts where Rājput and other dominant castes are land-owners. The Jats as village owners predominate in the Sikh States, in the South-eastern Panjāb, and in parts of the central districts. In the sub-montane districts like Kāngrā and the North Panjāb (Salt Range tract), Rājputs and the 'minor dominant tribes' take the place of Jats. The Rāthi and Thakkar of the Hill districts are classed with Rājputs, and the Kanet and Girth with the 'minor cultivating tribes.' The head No. 4 includes the smaller local tribes with pretensions to rank, such as the Ghakar, Āwān, Khattar of the Salt Range tract, the Dāūdputra, Kharral, and Khokar of the Western Plains, the Dogar, Ror, and Meo of the East; and the Gujar more generally distributed. No. 5 includes lesser tribes who are small owners, or tenants, &c., as Saīnī, Arāīn, Ahīr, Mahtam. Head No. 6 consists of Shekh, Mughal, Tūrk, &c.

(2) *The Population of the Ganges Plain*

I have dwelt at some length on the Panjāb, because this province is the starting-point, so to speak, of the travels of so many immigrant tribes, and of the enterprises of conquering princes and their armies. When we proceed to the districts east of the Jamnā—to the Ganges Doāb, to Oudh, and further still to Bihār, Bengal,[1] and Western Assam, we find Aryan and mixed Aryan races in greater abundance, and the whole country at one time or another covered by a network of Aryan kingdoms and chiefships. Jats and Gujars, as I have said, are found in the upper districts of the Ganges Doāb and as far as Rājputāna. Some races, like the Ahīr and Kunbī, have evidently emigrated to these parts from Central India or Gujarāt; while there is a great number of mixed castes whose origin is largely aboriginal. Sir H. M. Elliot's work as supplemented in Mr. J. Beames' edition, is still the central authority about the castes and races of the North-West Provinces, and is easily accessible. Mr. Risley's elaborate volumes on the Tribes and Castes of Bengal are even fuller of detail. Both these works render anything more than a brief notice of certain features affecting the land-holding interest unnecessary. The main point is to notice how the original population was dominated by the superior Aryan tribes; how the Aryan chiefs afterwards suffered eclipse and the original races recovered possession, but only again to lose it finally, before the re-distribution or new location of the Aryan (Rājput) clans and chiefs which dates from the twelfth century onwards.

The Brahman tradition of the first Aryan kingdoms is so far noteworthy that it suggests no settlement of a vast population *en*

[1] The 'Ganges Plain' includes the North-West Provinces and Oudh, as well as Bengal. The 'North-West Provinces,' besides the hill districts of Kumāon, &c., contains the Rohilkhand tract (immediately east of the Ganges, and between the river and the Oudh frontier), the Ganges Doāb, Benares, and, to the south, Bundelkhand. Bengal includes a small portion of hill and sub-montane territory (Darjeeling and the West Dwārs); the northern districts (adjoining the North-West Provinces) are called Bihār, and the rest is Bengal Proper, with Orissa and Chutiyā-Nāgpur to the south-west.

masse: it represents a series of powerful princes, with their dependent chiefs and armies, establishing a series of local rulerships, and building capitals, some of fabulous extent and grandeur. Both 'Solar' and 'Lunar' princes appear as founding kingdoms; the 'Solar' seem to have been always in favour of the Brahmans, the 'Lunar' not unfrequently became Buddhists. The 'Solar' princes of the House of Rāma, founded *Ayodhya* (in Oudh) and afterwards *Mithilā* (=Tirhūt in Bihār), also another kingdom, *Vaiçali*, near Patnā. The 'Lunar' princes are represented as descendants from Yayātī, who also is the mythical ancestor of the *Yādava*, &c., but in a separate branch, that of Puru. These founded the kingdom of *Pañcāla*, which extended north-west of Delhi, from the mountains to the Chambal River. *Hastināpurā* was around Meerut (Mīrath), and adjoined *Indraprasthā*, the kingdom of Delhi. These two kingdoms, celebrated in the Mahabhārāta, were held, the former by *Kaurava* princes, the latter by *Pāṇḍu*. In the course of time other dynasties arose and kingdoms were formed, united, separated, and again aggregated under suzerains, in a manner which it is difficult to follow. Kanauj,[1] became a great centre of rule, and seems always to have been a stronghold of Brahmanism. We are now assured that Buddhism was not put down wholesale by the sword; that the two creeds continued side by side, and that Brahmanism ultimately triumphed over its rival in a peaceful manner. However that may be, the Aryan kingdoms were for ever fighting with each other, and Buddhist or Jain princes are generally found arrayed against Brahmanist.

These various kingdoms were not established in a wilderness, nor were they peopled entirely by Aryans. Both in the hills, and in the sub-montane tracts in the Ganges Valley, a pre-Aryan or non-Aryan population is abundantly in evidence. Throughout the hills and extending to the *Tarāi* or moist districts at the foot of the ranges, we find races of Mongoloid connection. The *Khasā* or *Khasiya*, and *Ḍom*, are prominent, and we hear of the *Thaṭera*, and further east *Dhimal*, and some others such as *Bhoksā*, *Thāru*, of less certain origin. The mixed castes or races of the hills as far as Naipāl (just as in the States of Simla

[1] On the Ganges, in the modern Farūkhābād district.

and Kāngrā) are in all probability connected with this stock; in other words, we have a gradation of races from the tolerably pure Aryan down to the wholly aboriginal.[1] The *Ḍom* are now in a very humble position, but once they ruled over or possessed wide tracts at the foot of the mountains. Mr. Benett mentions in his *Gondā S. R.* (North Oudh) that villages still exist deriving their titles to land from grants of *Ḍom* princes.

Further down on the plains we find almost all parts of the Ganges Valley abounding in traces of the once numerous tribes called *Bhaṛ* and along with them the *Soirī* or *Suvirī* (the spelling is very various), and still further east the *Çerū*.

As to the *Bhaṛ* (often written Bhār, but the former, written with the 'burring' *ṛ*, appears more correct),[2] Dr. G. Oppert says that 'legend associates their name with the earliest Aryan heroes, *e.g.* with *Rāma* and his sons; but the *Bhaṛs* suddenly disappear from the scene, and, as far as history is concerned, reappear just previously to the Muhammadan invasion of India, at which period they certainly possessed a vast territory and were indeed the real owners of the soil. In fact, the *Bhaṛs* must have ruled over a great area of country stretching from Oudh in the west to Bihār in the east, and southwards to Chutiyā-Nāgpur, Bundelkhand, and Sāgar.'[3]

[1] See p. 86 ff. *ante* for some remarks on the quality of the mixed races in the Hills.

[2] See G. Oppert, p. 38, and authorities quoted. General Sir A. Cunningham remarks that the '*ṛ*' was characteristic of the non-Aryan races, and the Aryans in ridicule called them *barbara*, which in the Hindustani dialect is written *baṛbaṛ*. The nasal '*ñ*,' so commonly introduced into Panjābi words, is another feature attributed to a non-Aryan element.

[3] G. Oppert, p. 39. General Cunningham (*Rep. Arch. Sur.* xi. p. 67) throws doubt on the reality of some of the asserted *Bhaṛ* remains (forts, tanks, &c.) He says, though without offering any proof, that the *Bhaṛ* were an uncivilised race. As to names of places involving *Bar* or *Bhaṛ*, there is much room for difference of interpretation; though such names as *Bharaich* and *Barelī* (or *Bharelī*) are incontestable as referring to the tribe. But the existence and power of the *Bhaṛ* is too well attested to be affected by any individual case or cases. I would, also, not lay undue stress on the existence, in so many parts of Oudh and the North-West Provinces, of forts and other buildings ascribed by tradition to the *Bhaṛ*. Some of them may be due in reality to other early kingdoms. But

It is probable that the *Bhaṛ* tribes (especially in later times) became more or less 'Hinduised,' and that there was much fusion with early Aryan clans; but the tribes evidently represent, in the main, what we may fairly conclude to have been an original pre-Aryan population; and of their considerable number there can be no doubt. Thus in the *Gazetteer* of the Benares district we find it noted: 'The traditions of the whole province represent the *Bhaṛ* as once dominant from the Tarāi of Naipāl to the hills of Sāgar in the Central Provinces;'[1] and again in Ghāzipur (a district on the confines of Bihār) Mr. Wilton Oldham remarks: 'The testimony of tradition that the middle Ganges Valley was formerly occupied by non-Aryan aboriginal races is the evidence, not of one, but of a hundred concurrent traditions of all land-owning tribes in the Benares province, in Oudh, and in Bihār. The evidence is confirmed by the fact that in Shāhābād the *Bhaṛ* have up to the present day retained a portion of their vast domains. The *taluqa* of Koinda, an extensive tract in the Vindhyan Hills on the borders of the Mirzapur district, belongs to a clan of *Bhaṛ*; and their headman a few years since—Rāmbadan Singh—was a man of considerable wealth and influence. . . .'[2]

The following notice is extracted[3] from the *Mirzapur District Gazetteer*. After speaking of the *Bhaṛ* tribes as very numerous and their remains as everywhere to be found, the writer says: 'The *tanks* are specially numerous. . . . Mr. Duthoit in his memoir of *pargana* Bhaḍohī, says it is hardly possible to travel three miles in any direction without meeting examples of these, which are always to be distinguished from later works by the fact that they are *sūrajbedī*—*i.e.* having their longer diameter from east to west, while Hindu work is invariably *çandrabedī*, or with the longer diameter north and south. On the south side

there is certainly a disposition to call the *Bhaṛ* an 'uncivilised race' on very little evidence. Civilisation is a relative term, and very ancient people may be 'civilised'—for their time and place. The race that had kings and chiefs and that certainly left the remains of *some* great buildings and irrigation works, and that is mentioned in history so often, cannot have been altogether barbarous, nor do I see much indication that it differed from the Aryan in point of material progress.

[1] *N.-W. P. Gazetteer*, xiv. 102.

[2] *Memoir of the Ghāzipur District*, p. 47 (Allahābād Gov. Press, 1870).

[3] *N.-W. P. Gazetteer*, xiv. 115 ff.

of the Ganges also, the *Bhaṛ* have left wide-spread traces of ancient supremacy. Their chief city appears to have been on the Ganges bank some five miles to the west of the present city of Mirzapur. . . . This city, of which the traditional name is Pampāpura, was evidently of great extent.' The author goes on to notice the sculptures which are believed by Sherring to represent the *Bhaṛ* Rājās, 'with their peculiar headdresses and their pointed beards. . . .'

But the *Bhaṛ* were not the only aboriginal tribe which found a home in Mirzapur. In the hills and jungles of the east and south are found *Çeru*, *Seorī*, *Kol*, and *Kharwār*. The *Çeru* are now fallen, and insignificant in number, but they claim to be of Nāgā race. As to the *Seorī*, 'their traditions tell of wide dominions in Shāhābād and Ghāzipur and the adjacent parts of this (Mirzapur) district. The memory of a great conflict between them and the *Çeru*, and their final victory and the occupation of the lands of the vanquished, still lives.' The *Kharwār* are also described, and the remains (including archaic sculptures) of a great city, the capital, are alluded to.

I could multiply quotations relating to all the districts of the Agra and Allāhābād divisions as to the *Bhaṛ*; and they are still frequently mentioned in conjunction with the *Seorī* and the *Çeru*.[1]

[1] I will not attempt to discuss the question whether the *Bhaṛ* is connected with the *Bhārata* of Sanskrit writers. Dr. G. Oppert thinks the identity highly probable (see the story of the race in his book, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, p. 587 ff.). The *Bhārata* are first mentioned in the Veda (*Ṛgveda*, 3. 53. 13 and 7. 33. 6): they are a people who 'come from afar'; they fight the *Tṛtsu* tribe under *Vasishtha*; being defeated, they return eastward across the Biās and Sutlej rivers. *Viçwamitra*, the priest and bard attached to this tribe, is himself probably an Aryan, as he is the author of one of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. He is represented as the son of *Kuçika* (p. 590-1), and the tribe called by this name are in close relationship with the *Bhārata* (Zimmer, p. 128). He is also leader of the people, and his *gayātri*, or hymn, secures their well-being. It is this people who afterwards establish a kingdom in Magadhā. *Viçwamitra* is at first in favour with the *Tṛtsu* and their king *Sudās*, to whom, for a time, he acts as bard and priest; but a bitter quarrel ensues, and he withdraws with the *Bhārata*, and the end is the battle above alluded to. If the *Bhārata* were of non-Aryan origin they probably early adopted many Aryan customs. 'Being very numerous,' the *Harivaṁsa* says, 'they acquired great influence.' It is noteworthy that in *Ṛgveda*, 7. 33. 6, they are

I have not space to say anything of the less prominent races such as the *Āhīr*,[1] the *Gauṛ*, and the *Thaṭera*. In the Hardoi district of Oudh and elsewhere, I find mention of a tribe called *Pasī*, who are stated to have owned in former days an extensive domain, and who are still numerous in the district.

The *Çeru* mentioned above were a very important people further east. They dominated Bengal; and as late as the time of the Bengal sovereign Sher Shāh (*post* 1537 A.D.) we find that monarch rejoicing that his general had defeated the *Çeru* chief of Bihār.[2]

The *Çeru* belong, indeed, more to Bihār than to Oudh and the North-West Provinces, and the mention of them naturally carries us further east. Here (Upper Bengal) the population seems to have less and less of the Aryan element; the greater part of the

described by the epithet *arbhakāsah*, which Muir (*A. S. T.* i. 320) translates 'contemptible.' Zimmer (p. 128) uses the more equivocal term '*winzigen*.' Professor Macdonell informs me that the word in Sanskrit means 'puny, small.' Whether this can be taken in a literal sense to describe a stature different from that of the Aryan tribes, or is merely a term applied by victors to a conquered enemy, I cannot pretend to determine. As usual, in the later Epics, tradition found for them an Aryan origin. *Bhārata* is now a king, and the son of *Viçwamitra's* daughter *Sakuntalā*. *Viçwamitra* himself, is, however, curiously connected with the aboriginal, or mixed, races by the legend that makes his sons, owing to a curse, the progenitors of the mixed or non-Aryan races *Āndhra*, *Puṇḍra*, *Śābara*, *Pulinda*, and *Mūtiba* (*Aitareya Brāhmana*, quoted by G. Oppert, pp. 592, 593). The *Mahābhāratā* represents King *Bhārata* as conqueror of all the races of *Kirāta*, *Hūna*, *Yāvana*, *Āndhra*, *Khaçā* and *Saka*—all these including northern, mixed, and non-Aryan tribes (see Lassen, ii. App. xxiv.).

[1] The *Āhīr* seem to have a wide distribution. They occur in the South-eastern Panjāb, and in the North-West Provinces in the districts of Budāon and Murādābād (*S.R. Murādābād*, pp. 8, 9). In Mainpuri (*Gazetteer, North-West Provinces*, iv. 558) they are so numerous as to form 16·8 per cent. of the population. They are found again in the Central Provinces, which make it possible they were the *Abhīra* of Sanskrit books, and connected with the Abhiria country of Ptolemy, on the western side of India (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 140). They are divided into *Āhīr* and *Āher*, and into many minor subdivisions, some claiming, as usual, Rājput and sometimes Brahman, connection. Others assert a 'Yādu' origin, which is likely enough if their original home was Upper Western India.

[2] Beames' *Elliot's Glossary*, i. 59, s.v. *Çeru*; G. Oppert, p. 39.

peasant class is, in fact, almost purely 'aboriginal.' In the north-east of Bengal the tribes are probably much connected with the Tibetan stock and with some of those branches of it that peopled Assam. The *Kūçch* (or *Koch*) have left a relic of their existence in the name of the Native State Kuch-Bihār. In the eastern districts, up to the sea-board, the *Magh* tribes, probably indicated by the Macco-Kalingae of the geographers, gave their name to the kingdom or country of Magadhā.[1]

These facts tend to show how small an element numerically the Aryan really was; but it was the ruling power. It is evident that while the mass of the existing population is largely aboriginal in its character, nevertheless the whole of Bengal came under the dominion of Aryan princes. Indeed, in the course of time, these became sufficiently powerful, and by means of their command of the Ganges mouths, to send out expeditions by sea, as I have already mentioned.

The country of Chutiyā-Nāgpur, in South-western Bengal, is full of interest ethnologically; and so is the hill country of Orissa, with the adjoining Tributary States; for here is the refuge ground of both Kolarian and Dravidian tribes. In Chutiyā-Nāgpur the plateau land is culturable and adapted to fixed village settlements;[2] so here we can still find the original form of village in survival. The non-Aryan races are represented by the *Urāoñ*, who overcame the (Kolarian) *Ho* and *Mundā* tribes, and who gave their name to Orissa long before the conquests of the Hindu Gajapatī kings.[3]

[1] In the *Laws of Manu*, 'Magadhā' is one of the mixed *races* mentioned in Chapter X. This country, afterwards so celebrated, was very early the seat of an Aryan kingdom or overlordship. The old accounts are not easy to reconcile. Some relate that a kingdom was founded by the (Solar) *Kuçika*, descendants of *Kuça*; the Mahābhāratā speaks of a Lunar origin, or *Yādava*, if they are to be reckoned as separate, and has much to say of King Jārasandhā, who is probably a real person. Possibly, as tradition also gives Solar princes to the first kingdoms of Mithilā and Vaiçālī in this neighbourhood, there may have been some early Solar prince overthrown by the other race. Certainly Magadhā became a centre of Buddhism and was the kingdom of Çandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Western historians.

[2] See *ante*, p. 47.

[3] The distinctness of the *Urāoñ* from the *Mundā*, &c., is recognised by Dalton (G. Oppert, p. 122). See also Risley, *T. and C. of Bengal*, ii. Glossary,

Section III.—India South of the Vindhyan Ranges

(1) *The Population of Upper Western and Central India*

It will be remembered that in speaking of the Vindhyan Hills as a barrier between Upper India and the South, we noticed how, at the western end, the upper barrier ceased, and through the second or south range also a route was open, so that access could be had to the plains of Gujarāt, and thence easily to the Narbadā and Taptī Valleys and to Berār. There can be no doubt that this route was used in early immigrations from the Indus Valley and the west frontier, just as it was afterwards when Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī swept down on Somnāth. The population of Upper Western India, Berār, and part of the Central Provinces exhibits a considerable mixture with Aryan or other Northern races which affected both physical appearance and language. Owing to this admixture, the people of the West are very different from the more purely Dravidian races of the South; and it is, therefore, a matter of convenience to give them a brief separate consideration. Moreover, it is to be remembered that, access being from the Indus Valley by the desert and Kaṇṭh, the immigration was very probably sustained by Northern or 'Scythic' races like the Kāthī, as well as by tribes who had the religion and language of the Vedas. And while one at least of the tribes named in the Vedas (the *Yādavā*) is prominent in the traditions both in Sindh and in the West of India, it is remembered that they belonged to the 'non-Brahmanical' section.[1] Brahmanic caste and religious ideas were not introduced till long after the

138. As to the Dravidian element in the language of Orissa, though it has been much obscured by the Sanskritic element, it is distinctly traceable (see Caldwell, p. 40 and Appendix). The history of Orissa before the Aryan rule is an absolute blank; for the earliest writers of the temple records were Brāhmans, and they, of course, would not care to preserve the memory of real ancient historic events, still less to notice a non-Aryan people, even if the materials then existed. Neither the Hindus nor the Moslems, nor later still the Marāthās, really had any hold on Orissa beyond the level rice-plains which could yield a revenue.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 80–1.

Aryan settlements east of the Jamnā were in an advanced stage of development.[1]

In nearly every case tradition ascribes the Western ruling castes (that have evidently resulted from a mixture of races) either to *Yādavā* origin or to some evidently 'Scythian' or Northern serpent-worshipping stock. Most of the princely houses that conquered and ruled in these parts in the earlier days are connected with the name of *Yādu*. The *Sāmā* who reigned in Sindh, the *Jhaṛeja* (or *Jaḍeja*) and their kindred the *Bhātī* (who afterwards made a settlement in the Panjāb, where they are called *Bhattī*), are all *Jāduñ* (to use the dialectic form). To this day many Marāthā chiefs claim descent from '*Jadu*.' The *Haihaya* (or *Haibañsī*), who are among the very earliest of so-called Aryan rulers in the Narbadā Valley, are said to belong to this race.[2]

It is impossible to find any more definite traces of the early non-Brahmanic Aryans. It is highly probable that a number of the best races—*e.g.* those collectively called '*Marāthā*' were the result of a fusion of Aryan and Dravidian blood. And the same may be true of the *Kunbi* caste, and the *Ahīr*, as will presently

[1] And so the Marāthī language was probably not developed in its present form till later times, as it is said to be 'particularly Brahmanic in all its elements and connected with *later* Sanskrit (*Indian Census of* 1891, Parliamentary Report, J. A. Baines, p. 141). The Marāthā Brahmans are a class apart—just as the Draviṛa Brahmans or the Gaur Brahmans are elsewhere—all missionary immigrants from Upper India. It is curious, as noted by Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, i. 25), that while the Marāthā people have great veneration for the hermit and the ascetic, they have very little for the Brahmans as a class. The limits of the Sanskritic speech, as judged by linguistic evidence, are given in some detail by Professor Christian Lassen (i. 423). But it must be borne in mind that this includes the results of the later Brahmanic influence. Along the west coast, southward, an Aryan element in the speech is discerned as far as Gokarnā in North Kānarā; while for the inland Marāthā country, a line drawn from Pānā eastwards up to the Central Provinces, and including all the northern part of Bombay, with Gujarāt, Mālwā, &c., would generally mark the limits. Below Pūnā, the dialect varies somewhat, showing a distinct trace of the non-Aryan or original element.

[2] See Tod, i. 36, 78: if they were not really Turanian or Northern tribesmen, which is just as likely. Mr. J. F. Hewitt connects them directly with the '*Nāgbañsī*' houses. Sleeman wrote a long article on the *Haihaya* princes of *Garhā-Maṇḍlā* in *J. A. Soc. Bengal*, vi. part ii. 623.

appear. But the population of Western India owes as much to Northern (non-Aryan) races as to any other. Thus one part of the country was anciently called Saurāshtra, after the *Saurā*, or *Çāwarā*, a tribe called 'Rājput,' but neither 'Solar' nor 'Lunar.'[1] Indeed, it is curious that the whole of this region is connected with the royal houses of '*Agnikulā*' descent—*Solankhi* (*Çālukyā*), *Çauhān*, *Pramārā*, &c.—tribes which so often adopted Buddhism and whose traditional birth shows that they were later and probably foreign additions to the true Kshatriyā Aryans.[2]

Other confessedly early Northern tribes established their rule in these districts, though the later conquests of Rājput houses have done much to fuse the races together. Thus, the country still called Kāthiāwār owes its name to the Kāthī. These exhibit Northern customs, such as the worship of the Sun and of Weapons.[3] The Bālā, another Northern tribe, appear also in the West; how far they may be connected with the princely house that founded Bālabhipur I will not attempt to discuss.[4] Before the eighth century we have no real history, but vague traditions of kingdoms and chiefships which disappeared, first before the incursions of later Rājputs from Mālwā and the vicinity, and finally under the effects of the early Moslem conquests.

It is very probably to these early Aryan and Northern races that we owe the presence of an element in Western and Central Indian races which distinguishes them from the Dravidians of the South.

As might be expected, in Western and Central India there are still many remnants of the non-Aryan races in the hill

[1] Forbes, *Rāsmālā*, p. 27.

[2] The tradition was that the ancestors of four tribes sprang from the sacrificial fire (Agni), at Mount Abū; and that they were miraculously born in aid of the Brahmanic cause. This the tribes did not always afterwards maintain. The Pramārā, for instance, founded a Buddhist kingdom in Mālwā; and Chandragupta and Asoka, of the Mauryā house, were notoriously Buddhist (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, art. Nimār, p. 377).

[3] See Tod (i. 101 ff) for an account of the customs of the Kāthī, and see also the whole passage at p. 60 ff, which is curious. Colonel Tod was by no means critical or reliable as to points of date and history; but on matters of custom and legend where his own personal knowledge and experience are placed on record, his authority is as good as can be desired.

[4] See G. Oppert, p. 78.

country; and some tribes who are perhaps Dravidian slightly mixed with a Northern element. The *Kolī* tribes of the Vindhyan Hills (not to be confused with the Eastern *Ho* and *Mundā* tribes called '*Kol*') need hardly more than a bare mention. The *Bhīl* have already been alluded to, and it may here be added that they have a sort of upper class called *Bhīlāla*, whose persistent tradition is that they have a share of 'Rājput' blood.[1] In the Bombay Dakhan, scattered families of *Mahār* or *Mhār* are still found—the relics of a once numerous people—now chiefly acting as hereditary guardians of village boundaries. This circumstance has led Mr. J. F. Hewitt to suggest that the position is due to their once being associated with the land as its owners. Dr. G. Oppert says that the *Mahār* claim to have been once the ruling race in '*Mahārāshtra*.'[2] More towards the centre of the continent there are groups of non-Aryan tribes, often represented partly by humble agriculturist castes in the plains, or by primitive hill-dwellers, who have either lapsed into, or never emerged from, a half savage state. Among them are found the *Gond* races, who gave their name to *Gondwāna* of the ancient maps. They occupied the whole of the central districts up to Chutiyā-Nāgpur, and Orissa, to the east, and part of Haidarābād to the south.[3] The original *Gond* population can hardly, I think, be doubted to have had some early Northern connection. It is worth while to

[1] Within historical times powerful local chieftains of this class were met with. The Puranic literature even has a legend to account for the origin of the *Bhīl*. (See *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, art. Nimār.)

[2] And if this author's identification can be accepted, it will unite this race, locally called also *Parvārī*, with the *Mālā* and *Malli*, who appear so widely in India, and with the *Paraiyar* (Pariah) of the South (G. Oppert, pp. 21, 22, 31). The *Paraiyār* are called *Mālā* (*vaṇḍlu*) in Telugu (Caldwell, Appendix, p. 543). G. Oppert quotes Dr. J. Wilson as connecting them with the Pōruaroi of Ptolemy.

The Sanskrit writers called the Western Dakhan *Māhārāshtra*, and some have suggested that the name is from *mahā* = great; sc. 'magna regio.' But there seems no reason for such a designation, while 'country of the *Mahār*' would be in every way intelligible.'

The name now commonly used, *Gond*, or rather *Gauḍ* or *Gauṅr*, is apparently not recognised by the existing relics of the people, who call themselves *Koitūr*. As a class the *Gonds*, in the Central Provinces, are divided into *Rāj-Gond*, who claim to be connected with the former ruling families, and *Dhūr-Gond*, who were the plebeian section.

note that we have no definite tradition even, of Gonds as rulers till quite modern times. But when the Bhoñslā Marāthās attacked Central India, Gond princes were in power. The Marāthā Rājā seized the Gond Rājā's demesne (Nāgpur, &c.), but left the less valuable and outlying districts in the hands of the original subordinate chiefs; it is, in fact, the descendants of these chiefs who still hold the land, some of the greater ones being regarded as Feudatory chiefs, and the minor ones having been recognised as 'Zamīndārs,' or landlords of estates. Besides the Gond we have also some local traditions of *Gāulī* rulers in the central districts, and of *Ahīr* chiefs, a people whose name we have already met with, and who, from the places in which notices of them are found, must have extended from the Indus mouths to the Chambal River and beyond.[1]

Of the modern population it is not necessary to say much. The northern part of the country has received many Hindu emigrants from Mālwā and the north, but only in comparatively late times.[2] The rest is still largely populated by the 'Marāthā' races.[3] I have already suggested that these are really of mixed Dravidian and Aryan origin, and their superior families may be more Aryan than the rest. The originators of the modern Marāthas completely disappear from history; and the race only reappears towards the close of the seventeenth century under Sivājī. This chief himself belonged to the caste or race, also widely distributed, called Kunbī or Kurmī. They are noted agriculturists, and as such have wandered far and wide—to Oudh, and Bengal even, in search of land-holdings. They have now no distinctive language; they are called *Kunbī* in Marāthī, *Kunabī* in the South Marāthā country, *Kumbhī* and *Kurmī* among the people of Hindustan.

[1] See also at p. 109, *ante*, as to the wide distribution of this people.

[2] *Ante*, pp. 44–5.

[3] As to the name of this people or tribe, I have preferred the form above employed to the common term *Mahratta—i.e. Marhaṭṭā*—which latter is not recognised by the people themselves, and means in Hindī 'robber,' being an opprobrious epithet applied by the Mughal soldiers. (See also Tod, ii. 420). At one time these races seem to have been called (for instance, in Firishta's *History of the Nizām-Shāhi Kings*) by the name of *Bargī*, or Bhargi. (See Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i. 69).

(2) *The Population of Southern India*

Except for the openings at the western end, and to a lesser extent at the eastern end also, the Vindhyan Range served as a complete barrier confining the bulk of the Aryan conquerors, or colonists, to Upper India; it opposed any further advance to the south, at least as regards any considerable number of clans bent on conquest. It was only at a much later time, when the Aryans of Northern India had spread as far as the Ganges mouths, that adventurous princes with their armies made expeditions to Orissa and the northern part of the Telugu country. When we come to the real South—to the Madras Presidency—we are brought face to face with the genuine representatives of an almost purely Dravidian population. At the same time we find the Brahmanic religion and caste well established, and the languages to some extent—very much less than in the North, affected by Sanskritic additions.

The earliest traditions show no sign of any general immigration of Aryan clans. As Dr. Macleane[1] has justly observed, 'The view of the Aryans marching in bodies in this direction or that is supported by no facts of any sort in the case of the country south of the Vindhyans.'

It is, as I have remarked, only in the north-eastern districts that there could have been any communication of a general character with the Aryanised people of Upper India, and that, at such a distance from the Aryan centre, could only have been with people of very mixed blood. The sovereigns of Magadhā at one time extended their suzerainty further south, and other dynasties may have claimed or exercised sway in the north-west of Madras, but that is no proof of any large importation of an Aryan population.[2]

[1] *Manual* (*History*), p. 53. See also Lassen, i. 116, confirming this statement, which is, however, quite indisputable.

[2] From early times, the Upper or Telugu country seems to have been partly peopled or occupied by a race called by a name which Western geographers turned into Kalinga. The Greek geographers speak of a threefold division of this people—the Kalinga, Makko-Kalinga, and the Gangarid-Kalinga. Those living inland were connected with the name *Āndhra*, which occurs in Manu, and still earlier, *e.g.* in the *Aitareyā*

The effects actually produced upon the Southern people and the introduction of caste and religion must have been the result of a gradual intercourse, which had nothing to do with tribal conquest or with a general settlement of the Aryan people. It was effected by the individual, but repeated and cumulative, efforts of the Brahmans. In no field is their peculiar genius better displayed than in this new kind of conquest. They used no force, they did not even displace the local deities; they wove all cults into one general scheme, and made their ideals acceptable to the people, so that in time it became a mark of respectability or superiority to become 'Hindu' and to be 'in caste.' The causes which led to so ready an acceptance of the philosophical and religious teaching, but more especially of the social and ceremonial system which is the essence of Hinduism, are beyond our province: we must be content with saying that this change was effected mainly by the efforts of hermit missionaries, but was also furthered by the admission of Brahman advisers to the Courts of indigenous princes, and possibly by the occasional reception of military (Aryan) chiefs, who were welcomed as organisers of local armies and the like, and would soon establish themselves as lords of estates and territorial chiefships. Such adventurers would naturally have won their way to local rank by the romance attaching to their long adventurous journey so far south, by the mystery of their distant northern home, and by their general prowess and superiority.

Everything in the Madras country points to the existence, from the most ancient times, of numerous, and, considering the age, civilized, groups of non-Aryan races who occupied the more fertile and level portions of the country, leaving, no doubt, wide

Brāhmana. (See Caldwell, Introduction, p. 30.) The Makko-Kalinga were coast people, and probably represent the *Magh* of Eastern Bengal and Chittagong. The Mauryan kings of Magadhā, deriving origin from one of the *Agnikulā* houses of the royal Rājput stock as reckoned by the bards, nominally ruled as far as Ganjam, since Asoka's edicts are found there in inscriptions. And a later offshoot of this dynasty founded the Āndhra kingdom during the first centuries of our era. This, however, was a military occupation only. Macleane (*History*), p. 182; and see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 529, for Hwen Thsang's account of the Telugu country.

stretches of jungle and forest which spread over the north, and covered the hills of the centre and south. Among the jungle-clad hills, tribes, still nomad, would continue to wander, being cut off from the civilising influences to which the people of the arable plains were accessible.

Early legends speak of Āgastyā—the *Tamiṛ-muni*, or sage of the Tamulians—coming as a hermit across the Vindhyan Ranges, and by his power commanding them to bow down till his return. As he never did return (according to the Southern version), the ranges continued to be lower than other mountains to this day.[1] The names for Brahmans—*Ayyār* (fathers) and *Parpār* (overseers)—go some way to indicate the position they held as missionaries and founders of a new order.[2]

When the Brahmanic teaching at last spread widely, a large part of the population adopted Hindu forms, and were of course classed by their teachers as *Çūdra*—the only possible caste on the developed Brahmanic theory;[3] while the bulk of the humbler

[1] For the story of Āgastyā, see G. Oppert, p. 24.

[2] It is remarkable at how early a date the natural genius of the Brahman caste for a hermit life, for the discovery of places of pilgrimage, and for the location of shrines at all points of natural scenic beauty or physical peculiarity, led them to wander all over India. In the Rāmāyana we have a highly coloured picture of the hermits settled in the southern forest beyond the Narbadā River, and of the interruptions they suffered from the forest tribes. 'These base-born wretches implicate the hermits in impure practices and perpetrate the grossest outrages. Changing their shapes and hiding in the thickets adjoining the hermitages, these frightful beings delight in terrifying the devotees. They cast away the sacrificial ladles and vessels, they pollute the cooked oblations, and utterly defile the offerings with blood. These faithless creatures inject frightful sounds into the ears of the faithful and austere eremites. At the times of sacrifice they snatch away the jars, the flowers, the fuel and the sacred grass of these sober-minded men' (Rāmāyana, iii. 1, 15, in Muir's *A. S. T.* part ii. chapter iii. section iv. p. 427). When at last such hermits reached the inhabited parts, their message must have been received with something like awe from the mystery of their origin. Even to the present day, the crowds that any new Jogī, or mysterious ascetic, will draw are quite wonderful.

[3] It is curious to note that in the South the 'Sudra' is spoken of as indicating a somewhat proud superiority, in contradistinction to the 'Pariah,' &c., a feeling quite out of keeping with the degraded position theoretically assigned to the *Çūdra* in Manu. Thus, I remember reading

classes and the remoter tribes were roughly classed as out-caste races—*Paraiyar* and the like.

This original isolation of the Southern people, and the mode of their subsequent conversion to Hinduism, are reflected in the local languages, and in the additions that have been made to the vocabulary. The whole of Southern India, as is well known, is divided between the Telugu-speaking races in the upper part, with Kanarese (language of Karnāta) in the north-west; Tuluva and Malāyālam in the west, and Tamil in the south. The Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Tuluva, and Malāyālam are all defined languages originating as branches from a common stock. Tamil in particular has a long history; it has for centuries been divided into a classical and a colloquial dialect, and has both ancient and modern written characters. The extant literature probably does not go back beyond the ninth century of our era; but the facts about the language and its dialects show its antiquity and indicate a considerable degree of civilisation of an archaic type. The Sanskrit had no part in the earlier language, and only added its terms and forms in comparatively later times. The further we go back with the Tamil language, the freer from Sanskrit words we find it.[1] As to the stage of civilisation anciently attained by the Dravidians, Dr. Caldwell has collected evidence, from the existence of pure Tamil names, as to what they were acquainted with. It does not follow that nothing else was known, but certainly agriculture was well understood; and some arts—*e.g.* pottery—had reached a considerable degree of excellence.[2]

From many parts of the country there come indications that at least some of the tribes had a settled monarchical govern-

in some old missionary report the complaint that only 'the Sudras' could make themselves heard by the officials; the humbler classes could get no redress, &c. The distinction may frequently be met with.

[1] All these facts are stated in detail in the Introduction to Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar*. Dr. Macleane in his *Manual* (i. *Ethnology*, 33–55 and notes) has collected a mass of information. See also Morris's *D. M. of the Godāvari District*, p. 165 ff.

[2] Caldwell's Introduction, p. 117 ff. And it is to be remembered that such proof is by no means exhaustive; for words may once have existed but become lost or superseded by Sanskrit words in the course of time.

ment. This will be further remarked on in speaking of Dravidian customs in the next chapter.[1]

In the remote past there is evidence that some of the now lowly-esteemed Dravidian races were once powerful peoples, divided into numerous clans or divisions each with its own *insignia*; and this alone shows some degree of wealth and even luxury to have existed among them.[2] 'They still cherish,' remarks Dr. G. Oppert, 'as the *Bhar* and *Mhār* do, the memory of former greatness, and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil.' They retain also some curious religious privileges.[3] Their priests, the *Vaḷḷuvar*, are 'probably the representatives of the ruling class of ancient times.'[4]

It would serve no useful purpose to enter into any detail about the different races of the South. What special characteristics some of them had will be noticed when we come to describe the surviving Dravidian customs affecting land. It is here sufficient to observe that the South owes little or nothing to the Aryan element in the matter of land-holding customs. Agricultural villages organised on a distinct plan must have long existed,[5] and there is every reason to believe that the form of villages in which the several families each constitute a separate land-holding unit, but having certain bonds of local union, and kept together under the rule of an hereditary village-chief, was the original Dravidian type, and one which is most nearly and obviously related to a still existing form (of unquestionably

[1] Dr. Macleane (*Manual [History]*, p. 113), states that 'the Dravidians were a practical people with considerable resources; in matters of Government they were—unless in the very earliest stages—under the monarchical system, with defined areas of country for the exercise of rule.'

[2] As to this, see G. Oppert, pp. 50–57. The note at p. 57 enumerates these tribal emblems; some of them, such as bells of victory, white *chaurī* (fly-flaps), white horse, ivory palankeen, golden pot, &c., indicate wealth and some degree of state.

[3] Cf. *ante*, p. 89, and G. Oppert, p. 54.

[4] Oppert, p. 69. A *Vaḷḷuva kon*, or chief, presided at the ancient assemblies of Malabār when a *Parumāl* or sovereign was elected for the country (the election was then periodical).

[5] Extensive kingdoms, with Courts, and armies, and cities, could hardly go on, or even come into existence, without an efficient provision for the regular cultivation of the soil. And we shall see *village* customs in Dravidian tribes evidently of great antiquity.

Dravidian origin), which has actually survived unchanged in the fastnesses of the Chutiyā-Nāgpur plateaux and in the hills of Orissa. This, however, is a matter the discussion of which belongs to a later stage.

Section IV.—The Present Location of Aryan (Rājput) Land-holding Communities

There is one other subject which it is necessary to deal with before directly inquiring into the different forms of village. That the Aryan communities of land-holders should be confined to Upper India, and should especially be prominent in the Central Ganges Plain, as far as Bihār, is very natural; but it is not so easily understood that the village groups and landlord estates of the Rājput domination or of Brahman possession do not occur in the sites in which the ancient settlements took place according to tradition and literature. Here and there the local belief suggests a settlement which has been more or less undisturbed, but it is rare; and in general the existing tribal and individual villages are the result of later movements—most of them dating back to the Mughal or to the earlier Pathān conquests.

From the earliest times the Aryan clans were subject to internecine feuds and wars, and the spread of Buddhism certainly tended to promote such quarrels. However much these two creeds may have existed side by side, religious differences formed at least the pretext of dynastic wars, and to these we must ascribe that repeated devastation and abandonment of the local kingdoms, and the reversion of cultivated tracts to jungle which is so noticeable a feature in the early legendary history of Upper India. And then came the Moslem invasions from the eleventh century and onwards. At no period did the Aryan princes make really common cause against the invaders; but in general, if they did combine for a time, it was only to break out into hostility again, as soon as the immediate cause of danger passed by. Various tribes were then dispersed, and, driven from the domains directly occupied by the Moslems, they sought new homes in the further parts of Rājputāna.[1] Others took service

[1] The sort of dispersion that followed these local wars and invasions is well pictured by the author of the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* (i. 39), where

under the Emperors, and were encouraged or allowed to return in more scattered parties to the provinces where Aryan kingdoms had once flourished. The Himalayan districts, too, afforded a refuge; for the original petty chiefs of those localities, unable to combine and oppose the Rājput leaders, soon fell before their attack.

The following local quotations, selected out of many, will better illustrate the subject than any further general observations. Take, for example, the Unão district of OUDH.[1] 'Previous to the dawn of authentic history,' says the writer, 'we find a trace of Rājput dominion. . . . But the *Bisen* alone appear to have had any actual colonies, for they alone have left a distinct trace of the estates they held; the others appear to have merely exerted a nominal sovereignty over the aborigines.' The real colonisers, the writer goes on to say, were the Rājputs, who fled across the Ganges on their defeat by the Muhammadan Ghori kings (end of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries), and afterwards, those who, having entered the service of the Delhi Emperors, received grants of land, or took possession as adventurers.

In the northern part of Oudh (Bahraich and Gondā) we have the location of one of the great Buddhist centres. But the cities of Sravastī, Kapilanagara, and others, perished. When, in A.D. 410, Fa Hian, the Chinese pilgrim, visited the country, Sravasti

he describes how the Rājput clans, ejected from the more fertile homes they had first selected, were pushed into the drier and less valuable parts of the present Rājput States, and into the hilly country around Mālwā above alluded to. 'When the dominant families of a clan lost their dominions in the fertile regions of the North-west, one part of the clan seems to have remained in the conquered country—here obtaining service and the landlordship of scattered villages—while another part, probably the defeated chiefs, kinsmen, and followers, went off westward and carved out another, though much poorer, dominion. . . . Having there made a settlement and built a city of refuge, each clan started on an interminable course of feuds and forays, striving to enlarge its borders at the cost of its neighbour. When the land grew too strait for the support of the chief's family or of the increased clan, a band would assemble under some new leader and go forth to plant itself elsewhere.'

[1] *Oudh Gazetteer*, iii. 452.

was in ruins and the country desolate; and when Hwen Thsang came (640 A.D.), it had still more hopelessly relapsed into forest. Bhar and Thāru tribes[1] resumed possession; and there is some historical evidence that in the eleventh century Sayyad Sālār overthrew the Bhar chief Suhildeo.[2] In A.D. 1226 we find a Moslem chief 'overthrowing the accursed Bhartuh'; and it is not till 1340–1450 that we find *Ṣhatrī* leaders again establishing their colonies in the country.

In the Gondā district, if early Aryans had ever established themselves, they must have disappeared. Ptolemy, writing in the second century,[3] names the inhabitants Tanganoi, who are apparently the *Tangana* of the Mahābhāratā, where they are mentioned as a tribe bringing a tribute of gold and horses to the King of Hastināpurā. A king, apparently Brahmanical, named Vikramāditya, was then reigning at Sravasti. I have already mentioned how, two centuries later, Sravasti was in ruins. Some attempt was made—traditionally by Sombaṅsi Rājputs—to colonise, but the cultivation of the district dates from the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[4]

Mr. P. Carnegy, whose long residence in Oudh gave him ample opportunities of knowing the facts, has stated not only that the Bhar tribes held all the land in a great part of the cultivated districts, but that even the existing Aryan land-hold-

[1] The *Thāru* here appear as one of the aboriginal tribes; but I should like to call attention to the suggestion (Gorakhpur District *North-West Provinces Gazetteer*, vi. 357), that the Thāru may be really relics of an early Aryan clan, who were cut off when their brethren were expelled. If so, they must have become a very mixed race. Cf. p. 105 *ante*.

[2] The detail is given in *Oudh Gazetteer*, i. 111.

[3] McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 210. It is supposed that the Tangana may survive in the Toṅk Rājputs, and in certain other clans.

[4] And, summing up the history of North Oudh, Mr. Benett writes (*S. R. Gondā*, § 17, p. 6): 'Here, as in the South, the internecine wars waged by the neighbouring Ṣhatrī clans, and, perhaps still more, the bloody rivalry of the Brahman and the Buddhist, had resulted in the complete collapse of the old Hindu power, and, here as there, the forest gained on the cultivated plain; a scanty population was ruled by the representatives of the aboriginal stocks; the country fell an easy prey to the Muhammadans, and the Hindu system only revived at the commencement of the fourteenth century with an immigration of *Ṣhatrīs* from the South-west.'

ing families are of mixed descent.[1] Speaking of the absence of any marks of a continuous Aryan occupation dating back from ancient times, he says: 'I can refer to the histories of many now land-holding Rājput clans . . . but none of these declare the arrival of an army of clansmen and colonisation by the victors, with their families and kin. . . . The Oudh clans, who claim an extra-provincial origin, trace their descent to single *Ṣhatrīs* and not to troops of invaders. Such are the *Bais* of Baiswāra[2] and the *Rājkumār*.' After enumerating some other locally well-known clans, he shows how their origin is lost, or is traditionally attributed to mothers of the *Ahīr* and *Bhar* (non-Aryan) race. 'Here,' he concludes, speaking of the *Pulwar* clan, 'we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely admitted.'

Throughout the NORTH-WEST PROVINCES similar testimony can be collected. The Rājput settlements now known are almost all the result of later movements of small bodies or clans; and frequently originated in individual adventure and in royal grants to settlers in available waste tracts. Indeed, it is worthy of remark that in so many of the districts of the North-West Provinces the Rājput proprietary bodies are locally called, not Rājput, but '*Thākur*' (lord or baron), implying that their original position was that of local lords. Throughout the districts we find that Rājput clans or single adventurers came to the place when driven from other provinces by the Muhammadan conquest. The great movement appears to have followed the overthrow of the Hindu kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer, and Kanauj, in the twelfth century.

As a somewhat curious instance I will refer to Mr. Wilton Oldham's account of the Ghāzipur district.[3] After remarking on the non-appearance of any general ancient or primeval settlement of Aryan tribes, and that the present higher caste tenures (villages held by co-sharing families) are of comparatively modern origin, Mr. Wilton Oldham goes on to say: 'With re-

[1] In a paper in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, xlv. 300–302, as quoted in G. Oppert, p. 45.

[2] The Bais are descendents of Rājā Tilokchand; there are other castes of this designation, but not so descended.

[3] *Memoirs of the Ghāzipur District*, p. 67 ff. This is one of the districts of the old Benares Province.

gard to the manner in which the Hindus supplanted the "aborigines," the traditions are entitled to some credit, because they often partake of the nature of evidence against interest, or, as it is sometimes called, self-disserving evidence. Tradition generally represents the "Hindu" as coming first a solitary adventurer, and taking service with an aboriginal chief, as gradually increasing in influence, and gathering round him his kindred and other adherents, till at last, on the evidence of some real or fancied indignity, he throws off the yoke of dependence, murders his employer, and makes himself master of his "estates." There is nothing to be proud of in such a method of acquiring property, and the Rājput and *Bhūiñhār* tribes are often chary of making known their traditions till interrogated by some one who has heard them from some other source. . . .' Here we have not only a case of individual foundation of estates, but also the late date is implied: no signs of any original Aryan invasion *en masse* appear.

In another part of the country—the Bandā district—where the Rājputs are called Thākur, I find it mentioned that at the time of the first British Settlement as much as two-thirds of the district was in the hands of Thākurs, and one-fifth in that of Brahmans. The Settlement officer's remark that 'the land was in possession of the tribes which had occupied it for centuries' merely means 'for perhaps six hundred years,' when the Chāndela clan were overthrown by the Chauhān.[1]

I must specially allude to the case of the Farūkhābād district, because in this, the ancient city of Kanauj was an important centre—apparently for long periods, if not always—of the Brahmanic Hindus.[2] Here we find one of the exceptional cases in which, at least in the northern part of the district, old Aryan settlers, possibly never removed, are found.

[1] *S. R. Bandā* (1881), p. 31, and see p. 61 as to the earlier Thākur clans. See also *S. R. Fatihpur* (1878), pp. 9, 10; *S. R. Allāhābad* (1878), p. 49, for similar accounts of Rājput re-settlement in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

[2] Kanauj, on the Ganges, was still a great city in Hwen Thsang's time, and was still such at the date of the Ghaznevide invasions, 1018 A.D. Fa-Hian mentions (fifth century) that the whole country from Mathurā up to the Panjāb was then Brahmanical; and we know that a Guptā dynasty lasted in Kanauj from 315 B.C. to 275 A.D.