

herself at Siva's feet, and represented the certain ruin of her family if her husband should be disabled for some months from performing the labours of the farm, and besought the deity to accept two of her fingers instead of one from her husband. Siva, pleased with so sincere a proof of conjugal affection, accepted the exchange, and ordered that her family posterity in all future generations should sacrifice two fingers at his temple as a memorial of the transaction, and of their exclusive devotion to the god of the lingam. For the following account of the performance of the rite, as carried out by the Morasa Vakkaligaru of Mysore I am indebted to an article by Mr. V. N. Narasimmiyengar.* These people are roughly classed under three heads, viz. : "(1) those whose women offer the sacrifice; (2) those who substitute for the fingers a piece of gold wire, twisted round the fingers in the shape of rings. Instead of cutting the fingers off, the carpenter removes and appropriates the rings; (3) those who do not perform the rite. The *modus operandi* is as nearly as possible the following. About the time of the new moon in Chaitra, a propitious day is fixed by the village astrologer, and the woman who is to offer the sacrifice performs certain ceremonies or pūja in honour of Sīva, taking food only once a day. For three days before the operation she has to support herself with milk, sugar, fruits, etc., all substantial food being eschewed. On the day appointed, a common cart is brought out, painted in alternate stripes with white and red ochre, and adorned with gay flags, flowers, etc.,

* Ind. Ant. II., 1878.

in imitation of a car. Sheep or pigs are slaughtered before it, their number being generally governed by the number of children borne by the sacrificing woman. The cart is then dragged by bullocks, preceded by music, the woman and her husband following, with new pots filled with water and small pieces of silver money, borne on their heads, and accompanied by a retinue of friends and relatives. The village washerman has to spread clean cloths along the path of the procession, which stops near the boundary of the village, where a leafy bower is prepared, with three pieces of stone installed in it, symbolising the god Siva. Flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, incense, etc., are then offered, varied occasionally by an additional sheep or pig. A wooden seat is placed before the image, and the sacrificing woman places upon it her right hand with the fingers spread out. A man holds her hand firmly, and the village carpenter, placing his chisel on the first joints of her ring and little fingers, chops them off with a single stroke. The pieces lopped off are thrown into an ant-hill, and the tips of the mutilated fingers, round which rags are bound, are dipped into a vessel containing boiling gingily oil. A good skin eventually forms over the stump, which looks like a congenital malformation. The fee of the carpenter is one kanthirāya fanam (four annas eight pies) for each maimed finger, besides presents in kind. The woman undergoes the barbarous and painful ceremony without a murmur, and it is an article of the popular belief that, were it neglected, or if nails grow on the stump, dire ruin and misfortune will overtake the recusant family.

Staid matrons, who have had their fingers maimed for life in the above manner, exhibit their stumps with a pride worthy of a better cause. At the termination of the sacrifice, the woman is presented with cloths, flowers, etc., by her friends and relations, to whom a feast is given. Her children are placed on an adorned seat, and, after receiving presents of flowers, fruits, etc., their ears are pierced in the usual way. It is said that to do so before would be sacrilege." In a very full account of deformation of the hand by the Berulu Kodo sub-sect of the Vakkaliga caste in Mysore, Mr. F. Fawcett says,* that it was regularly practised until the Commissioner of Mysore put a stop to it about twenty years ago. "At present some take gold or silver pieces, stick them on to the finger's ends with flour paste, and either cut or pull them off. Others simply substitute an offering of small pieces of gold or silver for the amputation. Others, again, tie flowers round the fingers that used to be cut, and go through a pantomime of cutting by putting the chisel on the joint, and taking it away again. All the rest of the ceremony is just as it used to be." The introduction of the decorated cart, which has been referred to, is connected by Mr. Fawcett with a legend concerning a zamindar, who sought the daughters of seven brothers in marriage with three youths of his family. As carts were used in the flight from the zamindar, the ceremony is, to commemorate the event, called *bandi dēvuru*, or god of cars. As by throwing ear-rings into a river the fugitives passed through it, while the zamindar was

* Journ. Anth. Soc., Bombay, I, 1889.

drowned, the caste people insist on their women's ears being bored for earrings. And, in honour of the girls who cared more for the honour of their caste than for the distinction of marriage into a great family, the amputation of part of two fingers of women of the caste was instituted. Since the prohibition to cut off fingers, Mr. Rice says * that the women content themselves with putting on a gold or silver finger-stall or thimble, which is pulled off instead of the end of the finger itself.

I pass on to the subject of the manufacture of eunuchs by castration, for the following account of which I have to indent on an article on the Kojahs by Dr. J. Shortt.† “The Kojahs,” he writes, “are the artificially created eunuchs, in contradistinction to the Higras (impotents) or natural eunuchs. Some years ago there were three Kojahs at the head of the State prison or royal mahāl at Vellore, in charge of some of the wives, descendants, and other female connections of Tippu Sultan. These men were highly respected, held charges of considerable trust, and were Muhammadans by birth. Tales were often repeated that the zenāna women (slaves and adopted girls) were in the habit of stripping them naked, and poking fun at their helplessness. There were two Kojahs in the employ of the late Nabob of the Carnatic. They were both Africans. On the death of the Nabob the Government allowed one of them a pension of fifteen rupees a month. Sometimes Hindus, Sūdras, and Brāhmīns subject themselves to the operation (of castration) of their own accord

* Mysore.

† Journ. Anth. Inst., II, 1873.

from a religious impression. Others, finding themselves naturally impotent, consider it necessary to undergo the operation, to avoid being born again at a future birth in the same helpless state. The operation is generally performed by a class of barbers, sometime by some of the more intelligent of the eunuchs themselves, in the following manner. The patient is made to sit on an upturned new earthen pot, being previously well drugged with opium or bhang. The entire genitals being seized by the left hand, an assistant, who has a bamboo lath slit in the centre, runs it down quick close to the pubis, the slit firmly embracing the whole of the genitals at the root, when the operator, with a sharp razor, runs it down along the face of the lath, and removes penis, testicles, and scrotum in one swoop, leaving a large clean open wound behind, in which boiling gingily oil is poured to staunch the bleeding, and the wound covered over with a soft rag steeped in warm oil. This is the only dressing applied to the wound, which is renewed daily, while the patient is confined in a supine position to his bed, and lightly fed with conjee (rice gruel), milk, etc. During the operation the patient is urged to cry out 'Dīn' (the faith in Mahomed) three times." A local eunuch, whom I interviewed, informed me that castration used to be performed in Hyderabad at about the age of sixteen. A pit, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, was dug in the ground, and filled with ashes. And, after the operation, the patient had to sit on the ashes, with crossed legs, for three days. The operation was performed under the influence of narcotics by a Pir—the head of the Kojah community.

Of branding as a form of mutilation many examples are afforded in Southern India. The Kota men of the Nilgiris have the cicatrix of a burn made as a tribal mark with a burning cloth across the lower end of the back of the forearm when they are more than eight years old. Many of the Toda men have one or more raised cicatrices forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin with red-hot sticks of *Litsua* (the sacred fire-sticks); and the Todas believe that the branding enables them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease. When the birth of a first child is expected in a Toda family, on the first new moon day a ceremony called *ur vot pimmi* takes place, during which an elderly woman rolls up a rag to the size of a small wick, dips it in oil, lights it, and with the burning end brands the pregnant woman's hands in four places, one at each end of the lowest joints of the right and left thumbs, and one dot on each wrist. Sometimes branding is resorted to as a curative agent, and, when sick people are in a state of collapse from high fever, they are branded between the eyebrows, on the toes, or nape of the neck, with a piece of bangle glass, leather, nīm stick, or piece of turmeric.

Flat, round cicatrices on the forehead, chest, and nape of the neck, are said to be found in every caste in some parts of the Kistna district. They are caused by branding with turmeric or a cheroot for infantile convulsions, which are believed to be caused by the babies inhaling tobacco smoke in ill-ventilated rooms. I have seen men of the Māla and other castes branded with a circle round

the navel as a cure for colic, and a Kaikōlan man branded with a series of large and small discs on the chest and abdomen for illness when he was a baby. The Rev. S. Nicholson informs me that, after a new-born Māla child has been washed, it is branded with a hot needle in twenty vital parts and handed back, roaring lustily, to its mother. Some Lingayat children are branded with a hot needle on the stomach, under the idea that disease is hereby warded off. Children who suffer from fits are branded with a heated twig of *margosa* or a glass bangle. Some Shānāns, at Nazareth, were branded on the forehead to cure sore-eyes during childhood. The Kathira vandlu (scissors people), and other nomadic tribes, are branded under the following conditions. As the gangs move on, exposed to changes of weather, the children sometimes get a disease called sandukatlu or palakurkura. The symptoms are similar to those which children sometimes have when they are teething. As a curative agent, they are branded on the face between the eyebrows, or the outer corners of the eyes, and sometimes on the abdomen. The brand-marks on the face and corners of the eyes are circular, and those on the abdomen generally horizontal. The circular marks are made with a long piece of saffron, one end of which is burnt for the purpose, or with an indigo-dyed cloth rolled like a pencil, and burnt at one end. The horizontal marks are made with a hot needle. Similar brand-marks are made by some caste Hindus on their children. In some parts of the Mysore province and Salem district, when a child is born, it is at once branded on various parts of the body, *e.g.*, near the

navel, on the foot, back of the hands, face, nape of the neck, and sides of the abdomen. The Bestas of North Arcot are divided into Telugu Bestas and Parikiti Bestas, the difference between whom is chiefly one of religious observance, the former being in the habit of getting themselves branded on the shoulders with the Vaishnavite emblems, the chank and chakra,* and the latter never undergoing this ceremony † At the ceremony of dedication of a girl as a Basivi (dedicated prostitute) in the Bellary district, "a tāli, on which is depicted the nāmam of Vishnu, fastened to a necklace of black beads, is tied round her neck. She is given, by way of insignia, a canca as a wand, carried in the right hand, and a gopālam or begging basket, which is slung on the left arm. She is then branded with a heated brass instrument with a chakra on the right shoulder, a chank on the left shoulder, and a chakra over the right breast. The mark over the breast is never done, if there is any suspicion that the girl is not a virgin. The branding in Vishnu temples is sometimes merely a pretence, when the girl under dedication is very young, sandalwood paste being interposed between her skin and the heated instrument. Among the castes (Boyas, Kurubas, etc.), who make Basivis of their girls, a few men are branded on both shoulders with the chank and chakra, in order to obtain a closer communication with the deity, and to ensure their salvation. They are somewhat honoured among

* The chank is the shell of the mollusc *Turbinella rapa*, of which the right-handed variety is held very sacred. The chakra is the wheel of the law.

† Manual of the North Arcot district.

their fellows, and, at a marriage, receive the first betel leaf and other tokens of respect. Men who are branded are buried face downwards. Curiously, there are men of these castes who are dedicated to goddesses. They are generally beggars and wear female attire. They are not celibates, and may be branded at any time." * A recent petition to a European Magistrate in the Bellary district runs as follows. Petition of —, aged about 17 or 18. I have agreed to become a Basivi, and get myself stamped by my guru (priest) according to the custom of my caste. I request that my proper age, which entitles me to be stamped, may be ascertained personally, and permission granted to be stamped. A case, in which branding was resorted to as a means of extorting a confession, is recorded by Mr. M. Lewin.† Two prisoners appeared before him with their bodies branded, while the arms of one of them were swollen from the effects of a tight ligature. It is noted in the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai‡ that, in 1738, the Governor of Pondicherry decided that "those who brought into the town pagoda coins having a fineness of less than eight touches would not only render themselves liable to a fine of 1,000 pagodas, but would be treated with ignominy by being branded with the figure of a dog, and being severely dealt with in other ways." The Oriya Haddis are said to admit to their ranks persons from all castes, except the Rellis and Mēdaras, after first branding their tongues with a

* F. Fawcett. Journ. Anth. Soc., Bombay, 1891.

† Torture in Madras, 1851.

‡ Edited by Sir J. F. Price, Vol. I, 1904.

piece of gold wire.* When an outsider is received into the fraternity of the Donga (thieving) Dāsaris, they take him "to the side of a river, make him bathe in oil, give him a new cloth, hold a council, and give a feast. They burn a twig of the sami (*Prosopis spicigera*) or margosa tree, and slightly burn the tongue of the party who has joined them, to make him a Donga-Dāsari. This is their way of purification and acceptance of every new member, who, soon after the tongue-burning ceremony, is given a seat in the general company, and made to partake of a common feast."† When an excommunicated Badaga of the Nīlgiris is received back into the tribe, his tongue is burnt with sandal wood.

When proceeding on a pilgrimage to the temple of Subramaniya Swāmi at Palni, some devotees pierce their cheeks with a long silver needle, which traverses the mouth cavity; pierce the tongue with a silver arrow, which is passed vertically through the protruded organ; and place a silver shield in front of the mouth, so that it may not be opened except when they are drinking milk. Some Dāsaris (Vaishnavite mendicants) have permanent holes in their cheeks, into which they insert the needles when they go about the country in pursuit of their profession. Writing concerning pilgrims, Mr. Fawcett says ‡ that "one had his tongue protruding outside his teeth, and kept in position by a silver skewer through it. The skewer was to be left in for forty days. Several of the

* Madras Census Report, 1901.

† T. M. Natesa Sastri, Calcutta Review, October 1905.

‡ Journ. Anth. Soc., Bombay, II. 1890.

pilgrims wore a handkerchief tied over the mouth, they being under a vow of silence. One poor man wore the regular instrument of silence, the mouth-lock (a wide silver band over the mouth, the ends reaching over the cheeks) a skewer through both cheeks keeping the ends together, and of course the mouth open. People fed him, as he sat patiently in a nice tent-like affair, with rice, etc."

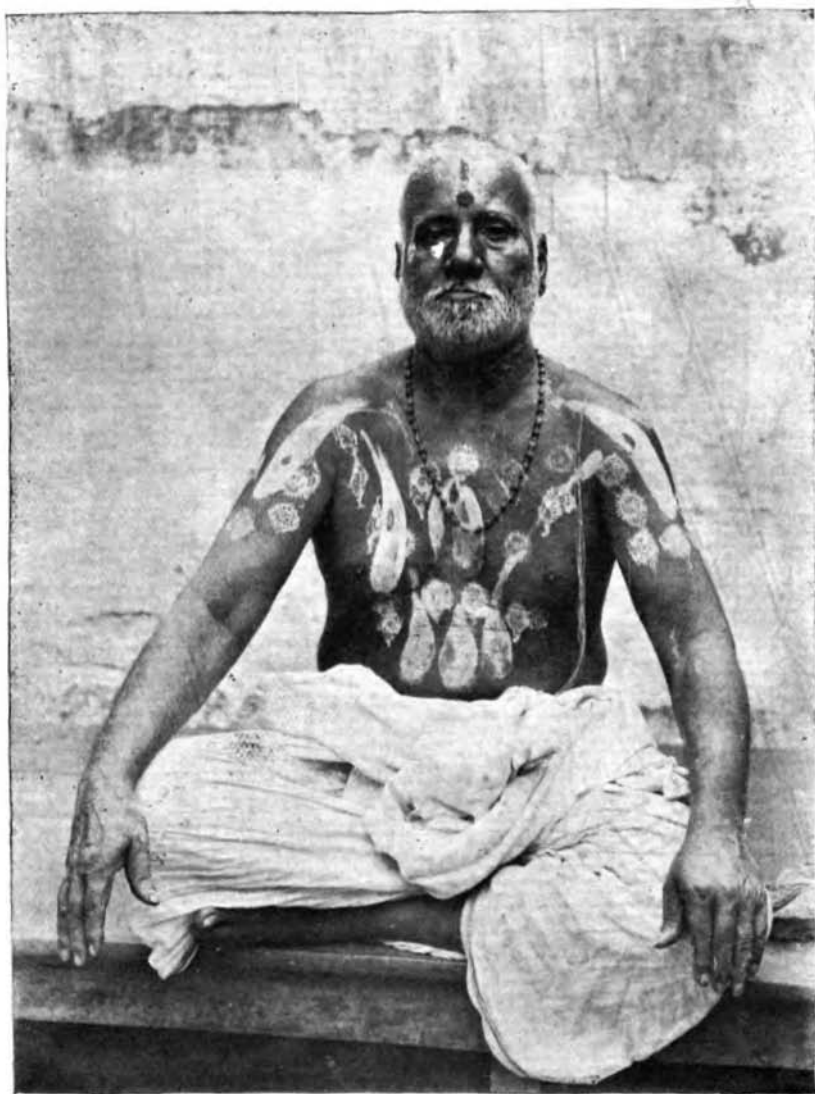
For the following note on branding as a religious ceremonial I am indebted to Mr. K. Rangachari. Branding for religious purposes is confined to the two sections—Sri Vaishnavas and Mādhvas—of the Hindu community. Sri Vaishnava Brāhmans are expected to undergo this ordeal at least once during their life-time, whereas Mādhva Brāhmans have to submit to it as often as they visit their guru (head of a mutt or religious institution). Of men of other castes, those who become followers of a Vaishnava or Mādhva Achārya (guru) or mutt, are expected to present themselves before the guru for the purpose of being branded. But the ceremony is optional, and not compulsory as in the case of the Brāhmans. Among Sri Vaishnavites the privilege of branding is confined to the elder members of a family, Sanyāsis (ascetics), and the heads of the various mutts. All individuals, male and female, must be branded, after the upanayanam ceremony (thread marriage) in the case of males, and after marriage in the case of women. The disciples after a purificatory bath, and the usual worship to their god, proceed to the residence of the Achārya or to the mutt, where they are initiated into their religion,

and branded with the *chakra* on the right shoulder and *chank* on the left. The initiation consists in imparting to the disciple, in a very low tone, the *mula munthra*, the words *namonarayanaya*, the sacred syllable *Om*, and a few mantrams from the *Brāhma Rahasyam* (secrets about god). A person who has not been initiated thus is regarded as unfit to take part in the ceremonies which have to be performed by *Brāhmans*. Even close relations, if orthodox, will refuse to take food prepared or touched by the uninitiated.

Concerning *Mādhvas*, Monier Williams writes as follows.* “They firmly believe that it is a duty of *Vaishnavas* to carry throughout life a memorial of their god on their persons, and that such a lasting outward and visible sign of his presence helps them to obtain salvation through him. ‘On his right arm let the *Brāhman* wear the discus, on his left the conch-shell.’ When I was at Tanjore, I found that one of the successors of *Mādhva* had recently arrived on his branding visitation. He was engaged throughout the entire day in stamping his disciples, and receiving fees from all according to their means.”

Mādhvas have four mutts to which they repair for the branding ceremony, viz. : *Vyasaraya*, *Sumathendra* and *Mulabagal* in Mysore, and *Uttarāja* in South Canara. The followers of the *Uttarāja* mutt are branded in five places in the case of male adults, and boys after the thread marriage. The situations and emblems selected are the *chakra* on the right upper arm, right side of the

* *Brahmanism and Hinduism*.



Mādhva Brāhman.

chest, and above the navel; the chank on the left shoulder and left side of the chest. Women, and girls after marriage, are branded with the chakra on the right forearm and the chank on the left. In the case of widows, the marks are impressed on the shoulders as in the case of males. The disciples of the three other mutts are generally branded with the chakra on the right upper arm, and chank on the left. As the branding is supposed to remove sins committed during the interval, they get it done every time they see their guru. There is with Mādhvas no restriction as to the age at which the ceremony should be performed. Even a new-born babe, after the pollution period of ten days, must receive the mark of the chakra, if the guru should turn up. Boys before the upanayanam, and girls before marriage, are branded with the chakra on the abdomen just above the navel. The copper or brass branding instruments (*mutthras*) are not heated to a very high temperature, but sufficient to singe the skin, and leave a deep black mark in the case of adults, and a light mark in that of young people and babies. In some cases, disciples, who are afraid of being hurt, bribe the person who heats the instruments; but, as a rule, the guru regulates the temperature so as to suit the individual. If, for example, the disciple is a strong, well-built man, the instruments are well heated, and, if he is a weakling, allowed to cool somewhat before their application. If the operator has to deal with babies, he presses the instrument against a wet rag before applying it to the infant's skin. Some *mata-thipathis* (head priests of the mutt) are, it is said, inclined

to be vindictive, and to make a very hot application of the instruments, if the disciple has not paid the fee (*gurukānika*) to his satisfaction. The fee is not fixed in the case of Sri Vaishnavas, whereas Mādhvas are expected to pay from one to three months' income for being branded. Failure to pay is punished with excommunication on some pretext or other. The area of skin branded generally peels off within a week, leaving a pale mark of the muthra, which either disappears in a few months, or persists throughout life. Mādhvas should smear daily with gopi paste (white kaolin) five muthras on the following places: forehead, outer corners of the eyes, three places on the neck, the upper arms, chest, and three places on the abdomen. The names of these muthras are: *chakra*, *chank* or *shanka*, *gātha* (weapon of war used by Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍavas), *padma* (lotus), and *Narayana*.

TORTURE IN BYGONE DAYS AND A FEW STRAY SURVIVALS.

IN 1855 a Commission was appointed by the Government of Madras to investigate all cases, which might be brought before the Commissioners, either of torture inflicted by instruments or other means, or of punishment of any kind illegally administered. In their report the Commissioners stated that to those to whom the word torture necessarily and immediately conveys ideas of the inquisition, thumb-screws, rack and wheel, such a term would probably appear inapplicable, as expressive of the degree of violence which their enquiries brought to light. On the other hand, if the word be used in the ordinary acceptation assigned to it by Dr. Johnson. "pain by which guilt is punished, or confession (and we may add money) extorted, then we think that it may with perfect propriety be applied to designate the practices prevalent in Madras." The very plays of the populace are said to have often excited the laughter of many a rural audience by the exhibition of revenue squeezed out of defaulters coin by coin, through the application of familiar "provocatives" under the superintendence of a caricatured Tahsildar (native magistrate). It is recorded that, on one occasion, a Tahsildar naively remarked that, had he not buried some suspected parties up to their necks in mud, and dipped others at the end of a picottah pole into a well within an inch of their lives, he would never have got the evidence which led to the conviction of a pack

of villains. A picottah is the old-fashioned form of machine still used for raising water, and consists of a long lever or yard pivotted on an upright post, weighted on the short arm, and bearing a line and bucket on the long arm. The Commissioners, in their report, incidentally refer to one Ali Khān, who became Nawāb of Bengal in 1718, and used to oblige defaulters to wear leather long-drawers filled with live cats. And one of his people ordered a pond to be filled with everything disgusting, to which, in scorn of the Hindus, he gave the name of 'Bickoont' (Paradise), and through this detestable pool the defaulters were dragged by a rope tied under their arms.

The following forms of torture and coercion, mainly culled from the report of the Commissioners, with additions, have been proved, or reported to have been inflicted for non-payment of Government tax or the elucidation of confession :—

1. Preventing an individual from going to his meals or other calls of nature, bringing water for cooking food, and sleeping; and preventing cattle from going to pasture by confining them in the house with its occupants.

2. Confinement in the stocks. In connection with this "penal and pedal machine" (Dean Hole) it was exacted by Regulation XI, 1816, that heads of villages have, in cases of a trivial nature such as abusive language and inconsiderable assaults or affrays, power to confine the offending parties in the village choultry (lock-up) for a time not exceeding twelve hours; or, if the offending parties are of the lower castes of the people, on whom it

may not be improper to inflict so degrading a punishment, to order them to be put in the stocks for a time not exceeding six hours. Some years ago a case was tried on appeal before the High Court of Madras,* in which a Muhammadan dealer in miscellaneous wares was convicted by a native petty magistrate in the Trichinopoly district of theft of an iron measure and eight annas worth of copper coin, and sentenced to be put in the stocks for three hours. The High Court, on appeal, ruled that a Muhammadan cannot be said to belong to the lower castes of the people, and that it is probable that the framers of the regulation had in view those castes which, prior to the introduction of British rule, were regarded as servile. In another case which was argued before the High Court of Madras, a Māla, who was a convert to Christianity, was sentenced to confinement in the stocks for using abusive language. The Judge, in summing up, stated that "the test seems to be not what is the offender's creed, whether Muhammadan, Christian, or Hindu, but what is his caste. If he belongs to one of the lower castes, a change of creed would not, of itself, in my judgment, make any difference, provided he continues to belong to the caste. If he continues to accept the rules of the caste in social and moral matters, acknowledges the authority of the headmen, takes part in caste meetings and ceremonies, and, in fact, generally continues to belong to the caste, then, in my judgment, he would be within the purview of the regulation." If, on the other hand, he adopts the

moral standards of Christianity instead of those in his caste, if he accepts the authority of his pastors and teachers in place of that of the headman of the caste, if he no longer takes part in the distinctive meetings and ceremonies of the caste . . . then he can no longer be said 'to belong to one of the lower castes of the people,' and his punishment by confinement in the stocks is no longer legal.*

More recently (1903) it was ruled by the High Court that the Shānāns belong to the lower classes, who may be punished by confinement in the stocks.

Some years ago a Brāhman was employed as the custodian of a village god and his appurtenances. A festival was coming on, and an inventory was taken. Some jewels, valued at about three hundred rupees, were missing. The Brāhman was suspected and questioned, but naturally made no confession. He was confined in the village stocks for a whole night under the order of the village munsif (magistrate) sitting in council with the kurnam (village accountant), and was subjected to various indignities. As morning broke, he confessed, and promised to point out where he had hidden the spoil. On his being released, he managed to put a pen-knife, which he had concealed, into the village munsif, and then cut his throat. The case was enquired into, and the police officer was satisfied that the man had suffered torture, but not at the hands of the police. The stocks were *en evidence* in a recent dispute between the Nāttukōttai Chettis landlords and their tenants in the Madura district.

* *Ibid.* 1901.

3. Flogging with an instrument composed of four or five plaited thongs of leather, three or four feet long. The thongs were attached to a ring, with another ring to serve as a handle. This form of scourge was known by Muhammadans as *zîrbund* (a martingale).

4. Beating with slippers.

5. Beating the legs, and other parts of the body, with a leather strap or tamarind switch.

6. *Sembadavans* (Tamil fishermen) are punished, by the village council, by being bound with ropes. Twigs of the tamarind tree are kept near them, to indicate flogging, and a knife to denote cutting of the tongue. Women are, as a punishment, made to carry a basket of rubbish and a broom round the village. It is on record * that some European prisoners, serving under Haidar Ali, who had been circumcised, and made officers of a battalion of *Chaylahs*, were brought in front of their men, with their hands tied behind, and received three lashes with a bunch of tamarind twigs from each of the *Chaylahs*, which amounted to fifteen hundred lashes.

7. The *kittie* or *cheerata*.—Defined as a simple machine, consisting merely of two sticks tied together at one end, between which the fingers were placed as in a lemon squeezer. By means of this instrument the fingers were gradually bent backwards towards the back of the hand, until the sufferer, no longer able to endure the excruciating pain, yielded to the demands made on him. One case of squeezing the breast of a woman with the "*kitty*" was reported. If no kitties were ready at

* *Narrative of the sufferings of James Bristow, 1794.*

hand, an order for them was given to the village carpenter. Strings of them, ready for application, are said to have been commonly and openly hung up in some zamindar's cutcherries (court-houses). In 1832 a European Judge gave evidence to the effect that he had seen a man with a finger double the usual thickness from injury by a kittle, consisting of two pieces of stick, like a vice, tied together at the end, on which the foot was stamped.

8. Placing the wrists between two pieces of wood, which were repeatedly squeezed together with great force, and binding very tightly round the arm a rough rope, charged with powdered chillies and mustard seed, and moistened with a solution of salt, which sometimes gave rise to extensive ulceration.

9. Beating the joints of the arms and legs with a wooden mallet.

10. Application of smart blows on the ankle bones with a short thick stick.

11. Compelling an individual to interlace his fingers, of which the ends were squeezed by the hands of peons (orderlies), who occasionally introduced the use of sand to secure a firmer grip.

12. Placing the hand flat on the ground, and then pressing downward at either end a stick placed horizontally over the back of the fingers.

13. A common form of extracting information is said to be entwining a wet string round the first joints of the fingers, bringing the end between the middle fingers, and tying the hand tightly back towards the elbow. The string is then beaten with a stick, as if it was a cotton-

carding machine. The vibration causes sufficient pain to make the most obdurate person speak out. Or cotton-wicks, saturated with oil, are wrapped round the fingers, and lighted in succession.

14. Tying by the hands to a tree, and beating with tamarind switches.

15. Tying in a stooping position to the wheel of a bandy (country cart).

16. Hanging up head downwards.

17. Suspension by the arms tied behind the back.

18. Striking two defaulters' heads against each other, or tying them together by the back hair.

19. Annānthāl.—Placing an individual in a stooping position, fastening a string to each great toe, passing the bight over the back of the neck, and putting a stone on his back. The angavastram or handkerchief of the defaulter was sometimes used as a substitute for the rope. Or the rope was made of a creeper, or straw, which could always be obtained in a village. In reporting on this form of ordeal, an officer commanding a regiment expressed his opinion as follows. "The stooping posture enforced by the leg and neck being held in proximity no doubt must be highly inconvenient, and to a plethoric Englishman might almost amount to torture, but to the supple cool-blooded native I should hesitate in describing the enforced attitude as one of torture."

20. Standing exposed to the sun, with a heavy stone on the head, on the back between the shoulders, or on the nape of the neck, with one foot on the ground, and the other leg raised by means of a string passed round the neck and big toe.

21. Placing a person in the sun with a stone on his head, and the trigger of a matchlock shut upon his ear.

22. If a Jōgi pleads inability to pay the fine inflicted for committing adultery, he has to walk a furlong with a mill-stone on his head.

23. Squatting with the gluteal region touching the ground. The arms were then placed under and inside the thighs, and the individual was made to take hold of his ears, one with each hand. If he attempted to move, he was struck with a cane.

24. Passing an individual's turban or a wisp of grass over his neck, fastening it under the knees so as to put him in a bending posture, and placing a heavy stone on the back. In lieu of stones, lumps of mud were sometimes applied. And, in one case, a portion of a mud wall is specified.

25. Sitting in the sun, during the hottest part of the day, with the head of the hair all loose, and executing a curious operation of turning the head in a whirling manner, which was known as extracting the devil, the driving out of which was assisted by flagellation.

26. Sitting down with a stone in each hand, the palms upwards in line with the shoulder.

27. A large slab of stone, such as is used for building purposes, is placed on a man's chest and abdomen, with turbans between it and the skin, so that no mark of the stone is left thereon. Another man sits astride the stone, and brings pressure to bear.

28. Keeping an individual in a stooping posture by holding him down by the back-hair, while others were placed astride on his back.

29. Standing in water or mud, exposed to the heat or inclemency of the weather.

30. Standing upon one leg, with a large log of wood on the head.

31. One of a man's legs was pulled and tied to a tree, in the heat of the sun, as high as possible, while his body was secured to another tree, thereby compelling him to support himself only on one leg.

32. Suspension by the feet to the bough of a tree, or fastening an individual to a tree, under which a fire had been kindled for the purpose of suffocating him with the smoke. A woman, with a view to extorting a confession of theft (which she had not committed), was tied up by one arm to the branch of a tree, and, while suspended above the ground, her cloth having partly fallen off, she was whipped with tamarind switches on her private parts.

33. Binding the arms backwards very tightly with cords, to act as a tourniquet, and impede the circulation.

34. A man was reported to have swung a young girl by her hands and hair to the beam of his house, beaten her, and branded her face and arm with a hot knife, because she had taken nine pice (small coin) from his room.

35. Placing sharp-pointed stones in the hollows of the knees, and making the individual sit for hours together on his haunches.

36. Muskets were turned down by making a man support them with the muzzles resting on his great toes, in which position he continued for hours together in the heat of the mid-day sun.

37. A man was made to support another, exposed to the heat of the sun, in the position of horse and rider for a few hours, when the rider dismounted and was ridden by the other for the same length of time.

38. Twisting the ears, or the application of ear-twitchers.

39. Pounding the back with the fists.

40. Pinching the fleshy parts with sand.

41. Compression of small portions of the skin of the inner part of the thighs and other sensitive spots between the points of iron pincers.

42. Application of hot oil to the skin.

43. A man, having lost some small article from his house, proceeded, as a matter of ordinary routine, to dip the hands of his three wives into boiling cow dung, to induce them to confess.

44. Application of the end of a lighted cigar to various parts of the body.

45. Confinement in a small room, with a rat-snake for company.

46. Searing with hot irons, or branding with a hot sickle.

47. Driving thorns under the nails.

48. Putting a person into a room or cage, the floor of which is thickly studded with sharp nails, or into a closed room full of smoke. In the days of the Portuguese in Malabar, criminals are said to have been put into a barrel with the points of nails projecting into its interior, and rolled about.

49. Tightening a strong tape applied round the waist.

50. Making a man run up and down, while he was held by the ears, or pulled by the back-hair.

51. Pulling out, singeing, or lifting by the hairs of the moustache, which, besides inflicting physical pain, were considered a mark of disgrace.

52. Tying a scratching and burrowing beetle called the carpenter or potter's beetle or poolay insect, within a half cocoanut shell or cloth over the navel or scrotum. A European Police Officer tells me that he has tried the burrowing beetle on himself, and writes to me as follows. "My experiences were so dreadful that I should have willingly confessed to any crime to the District Magistrate, who was with me at the time. The subject's arms have to be tied behind his back, and he must lie flat on his back. The sensation is at first rather amusing, it then becomes annoying, and in a very few minutes positive agony. It is just as if the insects are getting into your vitals in swarms. A cold sweat, and an 'all gone,' feeling was the result. When the shell is removed, all unpleasant symptoms disappear, and no mark of any description in the region of the navel can be seen. This is, of course, very important in torture cases. I believe it is a common practice in the southern districts, and not confined to the police, but resorted to by village councils in the settlement of disputes."

53. Introduction of live blood-suckers (lizards with sharp claws) within the clothes. In recent years, a woman who was convicted of murder stated, in her appeal,

that she confessed because the police suspended her head downwards, beat her, stripped off her clothes, and threatened to let a live blood-sucker into her "body." In cases where confession by a woman is sought for, the following treatment is said to be resorted to. She is put into a pair of baggy Muhammadan trousers, which are tightly tied round the knees and waist. Within the trousers a large blood-sucker is let loose. The sharp claws and spines of the dorsal crest are said to be excessively irritating, as the animal wanders about in search of a haven between the legs or under the gluteal region from the prodding which it receives to keep it on the move. Two men who were living in concubinage with a widow could not get her to disgorge money wherewith they might indulge in cock-fighting and other local sports. They, accordingly, tied her knees into her arm-pits, and threatened to torture her with a blood-sucker. The threat was most effective, as they went off with some thing like twelve hundred rupees, leaving the widow trussed.

54. Application to the eyes of the acrid juice of the cashew-nut (*Anacardium occidentale*). The oil is at the present day used medicinally as a powerful rubefacient and vesicant. The Judge of Mangalore, many years ago, met with a case in which a person who found a boy stealing his cashew-nuts, rubbed the acrid juice into his eyes.*

55. Beating the soles of the feet with twigs of the milk-hedge plant (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*), the juice of which

* Chevers. *Op. cit.*

produces severe blistering. In a false charge of torture the juice of this plant was used to produce the appearance of branding.

56. In the Vizagapatam hill tracts, a species of nettle grows, which causes excruciating irritation of the skin, but leaves no mark. A person, tied down, and gently stroked with the nettle on the most sensitive portions of his external anatomy, will, it is reported, say whatever is required of him.

57. Squeezing the testicles.

58. Inserting chillies into the eyes, nostrils, or urethra. For the purpose of extracting confessions from women, a disgusting application of chillies was sometimes resorted to. A clergyman, many years ago, informed the Collector of Tanjore that, having missed a cheque from his table, he made enquiry among his servants concerning it. In order to ascertain whether it had been taken by the only child on the establishment, his eyes were filled with red chillies by the other servants *

59. Insertion of iron wire, a heated bougie, or straw into the urethra. A few years ago, a man who was admitted into hospital made a statement that he had been attacked three weeks previously by robbers, who thought he had some money concealed in a field. They threw him on his back, forced a piece of stiff spikey grass (spear-grass) into his urethra, and worked it up and down till it broke off short. The piece of grass, which was seven inches long, was removed by urethral incision. In a parallel case, a narrow strip of bamboo, and the midrib

of the leaflet of a cocoanut tree smeared with powdered chillies, were used instead of a blade of grass.

60. A young girl was dropped down a well by a rope fastened round her neck, with a view to extorting a confession of theft.

61. Ducking in a pond on a cold morning, and then having the subject punkahed vigorously (presumably with a hand fan).

62. Dipping in wells and rivers, till the individual was half suffocated.

63. Putting a person into a nest of red ants is said to have been an effective method of extracting a confession. This, with the recollection of an encounter with red ants before me, I can readily believe.

64. A Urāli woman of the Coimbatore hills, who, after marriage, refuses to live with her husband, is punished thus. She is tied to a tree, and the Kolkāran (assistant to the head-man) empties the contents of a hornet or wasp's nest at her feet. After a few minutes the woman is questioned, and, if she agrees to live with her husband, she must, in token of assent, lick a mark made on his back by the Kolkāran with fowl's excrement, saying "You are my husband. In future I shall not quarrel with you, and will obey you" Even after this ordeal has been gone through, a woman may, on payment of a fine, leave her husband in favour of another man of the tribe.

65. Another form of punishment for a woman found guilty of adultery is to tie a mortar in front, and a cat on her back, and drag her through the streets, while the mortar drags her towards the ground, and the cat scratches her in its struggles to get free.

66. If a Malaiāli woman of the Javādi hills commits adultery, the young men of the tribe are set loose on her to work their wicked way, after which she is put in a pit filled with cow-dung and other filth. An old man naively remarked that adultery was very rare.

67. When a man of the Baidya (Billava) caste in South Canara had criminal intercourse with a Paraiyan woman, a form of punishment, known as gudi shudda, was resorted to in former days. Seven huts were erected, and set on fire. The delinquent was then made to pass through the fiery furnace.

68. Compelling a person to eat human excrement.

69. Tying bullock bones, and other degrading articles, round the neck.

70. Putting a low-caste man on the back of a man of higher caste.

71. Bringing a man's wife, sisters, or daughters, removing their clothing by force, and making them appear naked before himself and other men.

72. Tying the hair of the head to a donkey or buffalo's tail, and parading through the streets of the village.

73. Of trial by ordeal with boiling lead and oil, the following cases are recorded in the 'Tellicherry Factory diary, 1762. "The king regent of Colastria's minister being arrived, the Moorman accused, by the Tivity this day dipped his fingers three times into boiling lead, scooping out some every time, after which his hand was sealed up in a bag as customary, to be opened on the third day. Three days later it is recorded that,

the Moorman's hand being this day unsealed, no burn or blister appeared upon it, whereon he was released, and the Tivity, his accuser, sentenced to pay him the sum of . . . fanams as a retaliation. A Nair, being accused by a Moor of intending to kill him with a musquet offered to clear himself by dipping his hand in boiling oil, which the Moor was at first willing to abide by. But an entry in the diary states that the Moor, having declined to abide by the decision of the Tryal of boiling oil, the Nair is released, and the Moor and two witnesses produced by him fined the sum of fifty fanams each, being esteemed agreeable to the custom of the country to have falsely accused him."

74. Among the Jōgis, as a proof of chastity, the ordeal of drinking a potful of cow-dung or chilly water has to be undergone. In former days, a person accused of adultery in Travancore was permitted to submit to the ordeal of dipping the hands in boiling ghī at the temple of Suchindram. This temple derives its name from Indra, who according to the legend, had illicit intercourse with Ahalya, the wife of Gautama Rishi, and had to undergo this form of ordeal.*

From a collection of reports (1793) from Rājas and other native chiefs in Malabar relative to the system and usages observed by them and their ancestors in the administration of justice, I gather that, if any Brāhman was suspected of theft or cohabitation with a woman of low caste, the Rāja sent him, together with the four principal people of the country, with a letter to the

pagoda of Sujindrah, where they were to inform the heads of the pagoda of all particulars. After the usual custom had been paid to them, a pot of cocoanut oil was boiled on a fire; and, when it was properly boiled, the suspected person dipped his hand into it. If the hand blistered, he was pronounced guilty. If a Nāyar was, in like manner, suspected, he had to submit to the ordeal in the fort of Baliapatnam.

75. To test the chastity of a T'angalān Paraiyan bride, the following ordeal had to be undergone on the wedding day, immediately after the tāli-tying ceremony. Some cakes were placed in boiling oil in an earthen or iron receptacle. The bride, after a bath and clad in wet clothes, had to pick out the cakes with her hand, after an examination of her hair, nails, and cloth, to see if she had about her any charm or magical drug. Immediately after taking out the cakes from the oil, she had to husk a small quantity of rice. And, if she did this successfully, her chastity was established. One form of punishment inflicted on Paraiyans by their head-man is making a man crawl on his hands and knees between the legs of a Paraiyan woman.

76. The following form of ordeal among the Koravans is described by Mr. F. S. Mullaly.* “Should a Koravan suspect another of having committed a crime, and he denies it, several persons take new pots, put rice and water in them, and place them on the fire. Whosoever's rice boils first has not committed the offence, but the owner of the second pot which boils is deemed the

* Criminal Cases of the Madras Presidency.

guilty one, and he has to pay all the expenses. If two pots boil at the same time, they resort to trial by ordeal. A new pot is filled with boiling ghī with a four-anna piece in it, and the suspected person is told to take it out. If he is innocent, he will at once offer to do so; but, if guilty, so great is their superstition, he will at once confess."

77. In Travancore there was a judicial ordeal by snake bite. The accused thrust his hand into a mantle, in which a cobra was wrapped up. If it bit him, he was guilty; if not, he was innocent. "That we have here," Frazer writes,* "a relic of totemism appears not only from the worship of snakes in the district, but also from the fact that, if a dead cobra was found by the people, it was burned with the same ceremonies as the body of a man of high caste."

78. The crocodile ordeal, in which a man swam across a sheet of water swarming with these beasts, was in vogue in Malabar, to determine the guilt or innocence of criminals. "The accused," Visscher writes,† "is compelled, after a solemn profession of innocence in the presence of the Brāhmins and nobles, and of a great concourse of people to swim across this (Cranganor) river and back; or, if he cannot do this, he must be dragged through, holding on with his hands to a boat. If the crocodile pulls him under, it is a sign of his guilt; if otherwise, he is released as innocent."

79. The following method of discovering theft or any kind of concealment by chewing rice is described by

* Totemism, 1887.

† Letters from Malabar.

Daniel Johnson.* "A Brāhmin is sent for, who writes down all the names of the people in the house, or who are suspected. Next day he consecrates a piece of ground by covering it with cow-dung and water, over which he says a long prayer. The people then assemble on this spot in a line facing the Brāhmin, who has with him some dry rice, of which he delivers to each person the weight of a four-cornered rupee, or that quantity weighed with the sacred stone called salagram, which is deposited in a leaf of the pippal or banyan tree. At the time of delivering it, the Brāhmin puts his right hand on each person's head, and repeats a short prayer; and, when finished, he directs them all to chew the rice, which at a given time must be produced on the leaves masticated. The person or persons, whose rice is not thoroughly masticated, or exhibits any blood with it, is considered guilty. The faith they all have of the power of the Brāhmin, and a guilty conscience operating at the same time, suppresses the natural flow of saliva to the mouth, without which the hard particles of the rice bruise and cut the gums, causing them to bleed, which they themselves are sensible of, and in most instances confess the crime." The same writer gives the three following modes of ascertaining the persons guilty of practising witchcraft:—

First.—Branches of the saul (*Shorea robusta*) tree, marked with the names of all the females in the village, whether married or unmarried, who have attained the age of twelve years, are planted in the water in the morning

* Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the Natives of India, 1822.

for the space of four hours and-a-half; and the withering of any of these branches is proof of witchcraft against the person whose name is annexed to it.

Second.—Small portions of rice enveloped in cloths, marked as above, are placed in a nest of white ants. The consumption of the rice in any of the bags establishes sorcery against the woman whose name it bears.

Third.—Lamps are lighted at night. Water is placed in cups made of leaves, and mustard-seed and oil are poured, drop by drop, into the water, whilst the name of each woman in the village is pronounced. The appearance of the shadow of any woman on the water, during the ceremony, proves her a witch.

80. A queer form of punishment is sometimes inflicted by the caste council when a Râvelo (Oriya temple servant) ill-treats and deserts his wife. He is made to sit under one of the bamboo coops with which fish are caught, and his wife sits on the top of it. Five pots of water are then poured over the pair of them, in imitation of the caste custom of pouring five pots of water over a dead body before it is taken to the burning ground, the ceremony taking place in the part of the house where the corpse would be washed. The wife then throws away a ladle, and breaks a cooking-pot, just as she would have done had her husband really been dead, and further breaks her bangles, and tears off her necklace, as she would have done if she was really a widow. Having thus signified that her husband is dead to her, she goes straight off to her parents' house, and is free to marry again.*

* Madras Census Report, 1901.

81. A Koraga woman of South Canara, when found guilty of adultery, is said to be treated in the following extraordinary way. If her paramour is of low caste similar to herself, he has to marry her. But, in order to purify her for the ceremony, he has to build a hut, and put the woman inside. It is then set on fire, and the woman escapes as best she can to another place where the same performance is gone through, and so on until she has been burnt out seven times. She is then considered once more an honest woman, and fit to be again married.

82. "Sometimes," a recent writer states "a big chain hangs suspended from a tree, and the village panchayats (tribunals) are held in the Aiyanar (or Sangali Karuppan) temple. The accused is made to submit to an ordeal in proof of his innocence. The ordeal consists in his swearing on the chain, which he is made to touch. He has such a dread for this procedure that, as soon as he touches the chain, he comes out with the truth, failure to speak the truth being punished by some calamity, which he believes will overtake him within a week. These chains are also suspended to the trees near the temples of village goddesses, and used by village panchayats to swear the accused in any trial before the panchayat."

83. *Gallows*.—In the Bellary Manual (1872) it is recorded that "the hills through which the Otikanama ghāt passes, were till recently the haunt of some of the worst characters in the district, where they met to arrange their plans for gang robberies, and into the recesses of which they retreated with their plunder obtained from

the rich villages around. About thirty years ago, one of these gangs attacked a village on the Otikanama ghât, and, having looted it, set fire to a large hut in which some seventy women and children had taken refuge. Some of the ring-leaders were captured, and, after being executed, were hung up in chains near the scene of their crime, where their bones are still to be seen in the iron cages, in which they were suspended." In the jungles of Anantapur, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the village of Bukkapatnam, is a gallows,* said to have been erected by order of Sir Thomas Munro. The cross-beams and supports are made of teak, and the two iron cages suspended to the cross-beam by big iron hooks. Local people say that it was used only once, when the two ring-leaders of a band of dacoits, the terror of the neighbourhood, were bound, put alive into the cages, each of which is only just big enough to hold a man, and starved to death. The mode of torture had such an excellent effect on the rest that no more was heard of dacoity. On a stone near one of the gallows, an inscription in Telugu records that Hoosain Sahib and Badē Ibrahim Jemadar, were hung near Pasikallu, by order of the Foujdari Court, on September 8th, 1837, for killing a man by throwing a noose.

84. The manner of carrying out capital punishment in Malabar, in days gone by, was sometimes barbarous in the extreme "Criminals," Mr. Logan writes,† "were cut in half and exposed on a cross-bar, in the manner still adopted with tigers and panthers slain in hunting

* Recently transferred to the Madras Museum.

† Malabar Manual, 1897.

expeditions, and offered as a sacrifice to local deities. Thieves were similarly cut in two and impaled on a stake, which probably had a cross-bar, as the word for it and that for an eagle or vulture are identical. But impaling alive was also known, and, in 1795, two Māppilas were thus treated after a pretended trial for alleged robbery in a Nayar's house. Finally, great criminals were at times wrapped up in green palm leaves, and torn asunder, probably by elephants."

85. The Civil Surgeon of Coimbatore, many years ago, mentions a case in which a subordinate official, to extort a confession, enveloped the limbs of a person in cotton soaked in oil, which he set fire to.* Professional burglars, who wish to find out where valuables are concealed, even nowadays pour kerosine oil over those from whom they wish to extract the information, and threaten to set fire to it if they do not reveal their secret. A successful method of extorting a confession, which is still resorted to, is to keep on talking by relays to the suspect, and continue to ply him with the same question without ceasing both by day and night. Some years ago, in Malabar, a man was accused, and, being strongly suspected, was taken into nominal custody for the purpose of investigation. He gave several rambling and contradictory statements, so the police officer kept him on the march, with orders that he was not to be allowed to sleep until he revealed the truth. He was kept going from station to station for nearly four days, and finally gave a full confession.

* Chevers. *Op. cit.*

From the collection of reports already referred to, I have gathered the following information relating to punishment and ordeal in bygone days in Malabar:—

1. If any Kurian detected another at night in an apartment with his wife or mistress, he was permitted to kill him, and cut off the woman's hair and repudiate her.

2. If any Kurian robbed the treasury, or anything else belonging to the Rāja, he was first to repay the value of what he had stolen, and sometimes had his hand or a finger cut off, or was put to death.

3. For various forms of petty larceny, the offender was confined and received corporal punishment. If proved guilty a second time, he was deprived of a member, and put to death with a sword for a further offence.

4. If a person committed theft, he was kept in confinement for six months or a year, and a little of his flesh or nose cut off.

5. If a Tiyan, Māppila, or other Kurian was accused of robbery or illicit cohabitation, and the charge was not clearly proved, those learned in the shāstras assembled with a court, and an iron hatchet was made red-hot. The accused, after declaring his innocence, had to take the hatchet in his hand, and, if the hand was burnt, he was pronounced guilty, and punished by amputation of a hand or finger, or with death.

6. If anyone was convicted of a serious theft, he was put to death, unless he was a Brāhman, in which case he was excommunicated.

7. If the Rāja's Protikars levied more than their just dues, and extorted money from or otherwise oppressed

the people, the Rāja caused the offender to be seized and exposed to the public gaze on the high-road with his hands and feet in irons.

8. In the event of a personal quarrel between two persons, when the wounds were equal, the parties had to pay their own expenses until they were cured. But if only one of the parties was wounded, the other was ordered to pay the expenses of the wounded man till his wounds healed.

9. For adultery between a man of low caste and a woman of high caste, the man was put on the cahu, and the woman given by the Rāja as a slave to whom he pleased.

10. When a person committed murder, he was, before the death sentence was carried out, given rice or betel, or whatever he desired to eat. He was then put to death by "having his skull taken off by a scalping knife, the body to be fixed on the cahu, a pole fixed in the ground for the purpose." If the criminal escaped, and endeavours to catch him were ineffectual, his effects were secured, and the corpse of the deceased was burnt in his house. The practice of hanging criminals is said not to have been introduced till the time of Haidar Ali.

11. Sometimes criminals were put to death by shooting. It is noted, for example, that, if a woman was caught by anyone in fornication, she was put to death with a sword or musket.

12. If a difference arose between two people meeting of the principal men of the thirty thousand was convened, and they sometimes decreed that the plantain trees, betel vines, betel-nut and cocoanut trees in the garden of the

guilty person should be cut down, other plants destroyed with a sword, and his house unroofed.

13. If, in a dispute, one man killed another, the principal men of the thirty thousand met at the fort of Valachereecota, and on entering the first house thereof turned their targets and sat thereon while they awaited the sentence of the oracle Paradēvada.

14. Any person wounding a Brāhman or a cow was, if blood was seen to issue from the wound, punished with death.

15. If a Brāhman killed a cow, he was excommunicated, or subjected to the expiation required by the shāstras.

16. If a Brāhman woman was ruined in character, she was excommunicated, and, the ceremonies of her obsequies having been performed, she was made over as a part of the property of Government.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

THE following account is based on notes supplied by native correspondents who have in their early youth witnessed some of the punitive methods here described. Many of the forms of punishment have been demonstrated to me, when in camp, by young and old, who were evidently giving a graphic description of what they had themselves seen or undergone. It is worthy of notice that, in many cases, the school-mates of the culprit took part in the administration of the punishment, as, in former days, every soldier of a regiment was made a public executioner in the punishment of running the gauntlet (or gantlope).

1. The teacher in vernacular schools, like members of his calling in other parts of the world, uses the rod, which is a rattan about a quarter of an inch thick and three feet in length, sometimes ornamented with a silver ferrule at each end. This, and the style used for writing on palm leaves, are the insignia of his profession. There is no restriction as to the parts of the body to which the rod is applied, but the palms of the hands, buttocks, and back are the most favourite spots. Caning is sometimes resorted to in lieu of a fine for bad conduct. Sometimes boys had to keep their buttocks uncovered during the whole time they were in school, so that they were ready for caning if they were naughty.

In addition to caning, the following forms of punishment are, or were, formerly inflicted.

2. Pulling and screwing the lobe or helix of the ears, or boxing the ears.

3. Hitting the head with the knuckles.

4. Slapping the cheeks, which may be done by the teacher, another boy in the class, or the culprit himself, if his previous conduct has been good.

5. Two naughty boys slap each other on the cheeks.

6. Pinching the fleshy parts of the body, more especially the thigh.

7. Putting some sand or powdered granite dust on the bare thigh, and pinching the part. In village schools the children are seated on the floor with sand spread out in front of them. They learn the alphabet by writing with the forefinger in the sand, which is always at hand as a punitive medium.

8. The boy stands with his feet together, and, crossing his arms in front, holds the lobe of his right ear with the left hand, and of his left ear with the right hand. He is then made to stoop down, and touch the ground with his elbows from ten to a hundred times according to the gravity of the offence.

9. Passing one hand under the leg, catching hold of the nose, and rising and sinking alternately.

10. A stick, four or five feet long, is passed under the knees, and the boy places his elbows beneath it. The thumbs and big toes are tied together by separate strings. Thus trussed, he is rolled away into a corner of the school-room, there to meditate on his fault.

11. The boy is converted into a horse, and made to carry about another boy seated on his back, with frequent turnings.

12. The arms are crossed so that the fingers of the right hand grasp the tip of the left ear, and *vice versa*. The boy then has to sit down and stand up alternately a number of times proportionate to the gravity of his offence.

13. There are some plants (nettles), the leaves of which, when rubbed into the skin, cause a burning and pricking sensation. The hands of the boy are tied in front, and the leaves applied to the back. The effect lasts for several hours, at the end of which time cocoanut oil is rubbed in to prevent swelling.

14. The boy is made to stoop, with only the big toe and forefinger of the right side touching the ground, and the whole weight of the body is thrown on the toe and forefinger. If the other toes and fingers touch the ground, they are rapped with the cane. This punishment is called standing on needles.

15. The right ankle being crossed over the left thigh, the boy has to stoop with the tip of the right forefinger touching the ground.

16. The boy stoops down with his legs stretched apart, and his right hand on the ground about three feet in front of him, while he reads a book held in the left hand.

17. Kneeling alternately on the right and left knee, while the ears are clutched with the hands of the crossed arms.

18. Standing or hopping on one leg.

19. Another form of punishment is known as sitting like a chair. In this the boy, with his hands tied or crossed in front, or stretched out at right angles to the trunk, is made to squat with his back touching a wall, and the buttocks on a level with the knees. Sometimes spiny fruits are placed in the hollow of the bent knee-joints. A line is drawn on the wall above his head, which must not be raised above the line. The steel style used for writing is fixed into the ground with its sharp-pointed end towards the buttocks. In a modified form of this subtle punishment, the school slates are piled up on the boy's lap or head.

20. The feet being several feet from a wall, the forehead is made to touch the wall, and, in this uncomfortable attitude, a book held in the hands is read.

21. The legs being stretched wide apart, the boy has to sit alternately on the right and left buttock.

22. The boy sits on the floor, with his clothes removed, and hands and feet tied. His face, body, and limbs, and the ground around him, are smeared with jaggery water. Ants and other insects are attracted by this, and the skin becomes covered with them.

23. He is made to stand up with the arms crossed in front. His feet are then dragged apart, and he has to stand with the legs widely separated.

24. He has to crawl between the outstretched legs of the other pupils.

25. He is made to stoop down. A loop of string is passed round his neck and one of the big toes, or the

thumbs are tied to the toes. The punishment may be increased by placing a heavy stone or another boy on his back.

25A. As a punishment for bad handwriting, the boy is made to hold his right arm horizontally, bent as in the act of writing. Then any article which is at hand, such as a slate, piece of paper, or strip of palm-leaf (olei) is placed over the elbow-joint, and the boy has to write without letting the article fall off. If it does, he is caned, and the performance is repeated.

26. There is a species of red ant, which builds its nest in trees, and whose bite produces severe pain. A boy may be punished by scattering the live occupants of a nest over his body.

27. Hanging by the hands, or punishment of the bow. A rope or bar, which is sometimes bow-shaped, strong enough to bear the weight of the boy, is suspended like a trapeze from the roof, and clutched with interlocked or tied fingers. Burning paddy husk or chillies, sharp stones, thorns, or prickly-pear, are spread on the floor beneath him, so that he is afraid to let go his hold. To make this punishment more severe, it was sometimes combined with number 26.

28. If a boy wants to relieve nature, he is made to spit on a tile heated by exposure to the sun, and must return before the saliva, which takes the part of a sand-glass, has dried up.

29. The boy is made to masticate straw, like donkeys or bullocks.

30. He has to spit on the joints of the fingers, dip them in the sand, and strike them forcibly on a bench or stone.

31. If a boy refuses to do his lessons, another lad tells him that he will bring butter out of his thumb, the back of which he rubs with dry earth or sand till it begins to abrade the skin.

32. The boy is ordered to stand in the blazing sun with a weight, *e.g.*, a stone, on his head or in his hands; and, if he refuses to obey, receives a caning, or is pushed out of the room by the other boys. It may be noted that, as punishment for adultery, an unfaithful Yānādi woman is made to stand, with her legs tied, for a whole day in the sun, with a basket full of sand on her head.

33. Two naughty boys are made to seize each other by the ears, and stand up and sink down alternately, while they sing "You and I are shameless fellows."

34. The boy kneels down, and heavy stones are placed on his calves.

35. He is rolled in the sand during the hottest part of the day.

36. The block and chain (a variant of the bilboes). This consists of a block of heavy wood, sometimes shaped like an Indian club, to which is attached a strong iron chain four or five feet in length. The log may be placed on the back of the naughty boy, who has to read a book while in a stooping attitude; or the free end of the chain is fastened by a padlock to the leg of the boy, who has to drag or carry the block about with him, it may be for several days. This form of punishment is still practised

in the city of Madras, where a carpenter's apprentice was recently seen dragging after him a block, to which he was chained. It is resorted to by rural schoolmasters, carpenters and blacksmiths, parents and guardians. Some years ago a native of Madura, whose young wife was fond of gadding about, punished her by making her drag about a log chained and padlocked round her leg.

37. In the case of boys who shirk attendance at school, the teacher, accompanied by his pupils, proceeds to the house of the truant, and puts on his head a fool's-cap made of paper, bamboo, palm-leaf, or grass matting. He is then marched off, or carried by his fellow students to school amid the clapping of hands and beating of drums.

38. Two boys, who are guilty of chatting or quarrelling in the school-room, are made to stand face to face. They get a good grip of each other's ears, and tug thereat till their foreheads come in painful contact. If they are slow, the teacher seizes hold of their heads, and brings them forcibly together. As a variant, they may, while hanging on to the ears, be made to sit down and stand up alternately.

39. Boys are made to kneel down on the hard ground, sometimes with arms outstretched and a heavy stone in the hands, till they have learnt their lesson.

40. The introduction of benches into school-rooms has created a novel form of punishment. The boy lies flat on the bench, back upwards, and is tied to it by strings round the neck, waist, and legs. While he is thus captive, his arms are stretched out by two other boys, and he receives a caning.

41. The naughty boy is made to do menial services for the schoolmaster, such as drawing water from the well, etc.

42. The boy's parents, sister or other near relations, are spoken of, in his presence, in vulgar and abusive language.

Since the introduction of the Grant-in-aid Code the punishment of the young idea has undergone considerable modification. The old schoolmaster is, like Dominie Dobiensis, often loved and respected by his pupils, and there is a Tamil proverb that "the schoolmaster will attain the abode of Vishnu (*i.e.*, bliss), and the doctor will go to hell."

SLAVERY

IN a note on slavery, the Madras Census Commissioner, 1871, writes as follows "In times prior to British rule, the whole of the Pariah community, without exception, were the slaves of the superior castes. The Pariahs were not the only slaves in these times, for almost all the inferior agricultural tribes were in a similar position. The Hindu law recognised five descriptions of service, four of which might be performed by any one without loss of dignity or caste, but the fifth order of service was to be performed by slaves only, styled Dass, from their Dasyan or aboriginal descent. The 'undue service' to be exacted of the latter class included the sweeping and cleaning of the house, the doorway, the necessary and other impure places, and, in times of sickness, attendance upon the patient after the natural evacuations, and to take away the excrement, and rub the feet." There were fifteen species of slavery recognised :—

- (1) Those born of female slaves.
- (2) Those purchased for a price.
- (3) Those found by chance.
- (4) Slaves by descent.
- (5) Those fed and kept alive in famine times.
- (6) Those given up as a pledge for money borrowed.
- (7) Those binding themselves for money borrowed.
- (8) Those captured in battle.

- (9) Those unable to pay gambling debts.
- (10) Those becoming slaves of their own wish.
- (11) Apostates from a religious life.
- (12) Slaves for a limited period.
- (13) Slaves for subsistence.
- (14) Those who for love of slave women became slaves.
- (15) By voluntary sale of liberty.

Of these fifteen descriptions of slaves, the first four could never obtain their liberty without the consent of their owners. The other kinds of slaves might obtain their freedom under stipulated conditions. Slave women, however, bearing sons to their masters, became free. People of any caste might sell themselves into slavery, or be made slaves by conquest, etc., but "the Brāhmin alone can never be a slave." "The Pallans," it is stated in the Tanjore Manual, "are prædial labourers, and are employed exclusively in the cultivation of lands. They have everywhere a separate spot allotted to them for residence, which is called Pallachēri, in distinction from that occupied by the Pareiya class, which is called Paracchēri. The Palla women expose their body above the waist—a distinctive mark of their primitive condition of slavery, of which, however, no trace now exists."

Of the history of slavery in Malabar, the following admirable account is given* by Mr. W. Logan, who was for many years Collector of that district. "The question of slavery and the slave trade attracted the

* Malabar Manual.

early attention of the Honourable Company's Government. In 1792, the year in which British rule commenced, a proclamation was issued against dealing in slaves. A person offering a slave for sale was considered to be a thief. The slave was to be forfeited, and the person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value. The purchaser was to be similarly treated. The houses of suspected slave traders were to be well watched, and the traders caught *in flagrante delicto* were to be handed over to the Rājas to be dealt with. Fishermen and Māppillas conveying slaves were to be severely flogged, and fined at the rate of ten rupees each slave. Vessels used in trade (except fisher-boats) were to be confiscated. But the proclamation was not to prevent the privileged superior castes from purchasing the children of famine-stricken parents, on condition that the parents might re-purchase their children on the advent of better times. This proclamation was chiefly directed against the prevalent practice of robbers carrying off by force the children of the most useful inhabitants, the Tiyars and other cultivators. This practice was kept alive by the facility with which the slaves could be sold on the coast to the agents of vessels engaged in the trade, sailing from the French settlement at Mahé and the Dutch settlement at Cochin. These ships in general carried the slaves to the French islands. In 1819 the Principal Collector wrote a report on the condition of the Cherumar, and received orders that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of revenue be immediately discontinued. In 1821, the Court of Directors expressed

considerable dissatisfaction at the lack of precise information which had been vouchsafed to them, and said 'We are told that part of the cultivators are held as slaves : that they are attached to the soil and marketable property.' In 1836 the Government ordered the remission in the Collector's accounts of Rs. 927-13-0, which was the 'annual revenue' from slaves on the Government lands in Malabar, and the Government was at the same time 'pleased to accede to the recommendation in favour of emancipating the slaves on the Government lands in Malabar.' This freedom was not, however, to be proclaimed, and the measure was to be carried out in such a manner 'as not to create any unnecessary alarm or aversion to it on the part of other proprietors, or premature hopes of emancipation on that of other slaves.' This was a wise step on the part of Government, for it strengthened their hands in future years in recommending others to do as they had already done. But, at the same time, they need have been under no apprehension as to the effects of such an emancipation on the minds of other slaves. It is only people with *initial* ideas of liberty who fret under a system of compulsory customary employments. In 1841 Mr. E. B. Thomas, the Judge at Calicut, wrote in strong terms a letter to the Šadr Adālat, in which he pointed out that women in some talūks (divisions) fetched higher prices, in order to breed slaves ; that the average cost of a young male under ten years was about Rs. 3-8-0, of a female somewhat less ; that an infant ten months old was sold in a court auction for Rs. 1-10-6 independent of the price of its mother ; and that,

in a recent suit, the right to twenty-seven slaves was the 'sole matter of litigation, and was disposed of on its merits.' In a further letter Mr. Thomas pointed out that the slaves had increased in numbers from 144,000 in the census 1835 to 159,000 in the census 1842. It was apparently these letters which decided the Board of Directors to send out orders to legislate. And the Government of India passed Act V of 1843, of which the provisions were widely published throughout Malabar. The Collector explained to the Cherumar that it was in their interest, as well as their duty, to remain with their masters, if treated kindly. He proclaimed that 'the Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant; nor will the Government interfere with the slave's inclination as to where he wishes to work.' And again, 'Any person claiming a slave as janmam, kānam or panayam, the right of such claim or claims will not be investigated into at any one of the public offices or courts.' These measures received the cordial approval of the Court of Directors, who, in 1845, wrote as follows. 'It would defeat the very object in view to create any estrangement between them and their masters, and moreover would be an act of injustice and bad faith, of which the masters would be entitled to complain.' In 1852, and again in 1855, the fact that traffic in slaves still continued was brought to the notice of Government, but on full consideration no further measures for the emancipation of the Cherumar were deemed to be necessary. The Cherumar even yet have

not realised what public opinion in England would probably have forced down their throats fifty years ago, and there is reason to think that they are still, even now, with their full consent, bought and sold and hired out, although, of course, the transaction must be kept secret for fear of the penalties of the Penal Code, which came into force in 1862, and was the real final blow at slavery in India. The slaves, however, as a caste will never understand what real freedom means, until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards occupied by them as house sites."

Writing to me concerning Malabar at the present day, a correspondent states that "in almost every taluk we have jungle tribes, who call themselves the 'men' of Jenmis.* In the old days, when forests were sold' the inhabitants were actually entered in the contract as part of the effects, as, in former times, the landlord sold the *adscripti* or *ascripti glebae* with the land. Now that is not done. However, the relationship exists to the following extent, according to what a Tahsildar (revenue official) tells me. The tribesmen roam about the forests at will, and each year select a place, which has lain fallow for five years or more for all kinds of cultivation. Sometimes they inform the Jenmi that they have done so, sometimes they do not. Then, at harvest time, the Jenmi, or his agent, goes up and takes his share of the produce. They never try to deceive the Jenmi. He is asked to settle their disputes, but these are rare. They never go

* Jenmi or Janmi. Proprietor or landlord.

to law. The Jenmi can call on them for labour, and they give it willingly. If badly treated, as they have been at times by encroaching plainsmen, they run off to another forest, and serve another Jenmi. At the Onam festival they come with gifts for the Jenmi, who stands them a feast. The relation between the jungle folk and the Jenmi shows the instinct in a primitive people to have a lord. There seems to be no gain in having a Jenmi. His protection is not needed, and he is hardly ever called in to interfere. If they refused to pay the Jenmi his dues, he would find it very hard to get them. Still they keep to him."

"Conversion to Muhammadanism," Mr. Logan writes, "has had a marked effect in freeing the slave caste in Malabar from their former burthens. By conversion a Cheruman obtains a distinct rise in the social scale, and, if he is in consequence bullied or beaten, the influence of the whole Muhammadan community comes to his aid." The same applies to the Nayādis, of whom some have escaped from their degraded position by conversion to Islam. In the scale of pollution the Nayādi holds the lowest place, and consequently labours under the greatest disadvantage, which is removed with his change of religion.

In the middle of the last century, when planters first began to settle in the Wynād (in Malabar), they purchased the land with the Paniyans living on it, who were practically slaves of the land-owners. In some localities, where the Janmis have sold the bulk of the land, and have consequently ceased to find regular employment for

them, the Paniyans have taken kindly to working on coffee estates under European control.

In Wigram's 'Malabar Law and Custom,'* the word *adima* is defined as "feudal dependency of a Nayar upon his patron: slavery." And the terms *adima* and *kūdima* are said to mean "a slave or one subject to the landlord, the grant (of land) being generally made to such persons. A nominal fee of about two fanams a year is payable to the landlord, to show that he still retains the proprietary title."

In his report on the forest administration in Coorg, 1902-03, Mr. C. McCarthy writes as follows concerning the jungle Kurumbas, who now work for the forest department. "We experienced, in connection with the Kurubas, one of those apparent aberrations of sense and intellect, the occurrence of which amongst this peculiar race was foreshadowed in the last report. The Chief Commissioner is aware that, in the interests of the Kurubas themselves, we substitute for a single cash payment distributions of the same value of food-grains, clothes and cash in equal proportions of each. Now, seventy years ago, before the annexation of Coorg, the Kurubas and similar castes were prædial slaves of the dominant Coorgs, receiving no other remuneration for service than food and clothing. In fact, this institution, nothing less than real slavery, was not entirely broken up until the great demand for local labour created by the opening up of the country for coffee cultivation so late as 1860-70, so that

* 2nd Ed. By L. Moore, 1900.

the existing generation are still cognisant of the old state of affairs. Last year, during the distribution of rewards for the successful protection of the reserves that season from fire, it seems that the idea was put into the heads of these people that our system of remuneration, which includes the distribution of food and clothing, was an attempt to create again at their expense a system of, as it were, forest slavery; with the result that for a time nothing would induce many of them to accept any form of remuneration for the work already performed, much less to undertake the same duties for the approaching season. It was some time, and after no little trouble, that the wherefore of this strange conduct was discovered, and the suspicions aroused put at rest."

In an article on the hill tribes of Travancore,* Mr. Conner states that "in earlier times the murder of a slave was scarcely considered a crime. The deed of transfer goes to say 'You may sell or kill him or her.' The latter privilege has now of course ceased."

Of slavery on the west coast, an excellent account is given by the Rev. S. Mateer,† from which the following extracts are taken. "Every wealthy man, and even individuals of inferior caste, had a number of bondsmen born in slavery. The number of persons originally reduced to a state of slavery were increased by the sale of children in times of famine and distress, which has occurred even in our own day. Other additions have been made, from time to time, by petty princes

* Madras Journ. Lit. Science, I, 1838.

† Native Life in Travancore, 1863.

carrying away captives in their wars, by the fraud or violence of kidnappers, as a judgment on criminals, as a punishment on females of the higher classes who have fallen, and are cast out to associate with the lowest of the population. Muhammadans and Roman Catholics of property also purchased slaves, in order to proselytise them to their own religion. On account of the law of caste pollution, these slaves have all been engaged solely in prædial or field work, not domestic service, as they could not enter the houses of their masters, nor be used for personal attendauce. Even in the fields, their work must be superintended from a certain distance. A curious custom existed, which is said to have added to the numbers of the enslaved. The various castes met at fighting grounds at Pallam, Ochira, etc., and at this season it was supposed that low-caste men were at liberty to seize high-caste women if they could manage it, and to retain them. A certain woman at Mundakayam, with fair Syrian features, is said to have been carried off thus. Hence arose a popular error that, during the months of February and March, if a Pulayan meets a Sūdra woman alone, he may seize her, unless she is accompanied by a Shānar boy. Gundert says that this time was in the month Karkadam (15th July to 15th August), during which high caste women may lose caste if a slave happens to throw a stone at them after sunset. The Pariahs in North Travancore formerly kidnapped females of high caste, whom they were said to treat afterwards in a brutal manner. Their custom was to turn robbers in the month of February, just after the ingathering of the

harvest, when they were free from field work, and at the same time excited by demon worship, dancing, and drink. They broke into the houses of Brāhmans and Nāyars, carrying away their children and property, in excuse for which they pretended motives of revenge, urging a tradition that they were once a division of the Brāhmans, but entrapped into a breach of caste rules by their enemies making them eat beef."

Concerning the Paraiyans of Travancore, the Rev. S. Mateer writes further * that "during the war with Tippu, proclamation was made that every Parayan in this district must have a Nāyar or master, and belong to someone or other. All who were not private property would be made slaves of the sirkar (Government), which was greatly dreaded on account of the merciless oppression, and obliged to cut grass for the troops, and do other services. Many, therefore, became nominally slaves to some respectable man, asking it as a kindness to free them from Government slavery. This reminds us of the Roman clients and patrons. Several respectable families begged the Nambūri high priest, visiting Suchindram and other temples, to call them his slaves for which they paid him one fanam a head per annum. This payment is still kept up. This priest conferred upon them additional benefits, for in their troubles and oppressions he wrote to the Government, requiring for them justice and proper treatment. The slaves of a Nambūri would also be treated with consideration on account of his sacred position and rank. These families,

* Journ. Roy. As. Soc. XVI.

'pōtty slaves,' still intermarry only among themselves, as in this case the wife could not be claimed by a different owner from the husband's."

The following account of the social status of the leaf weaving Thanda Pulayans of Cochin is given by Mr. L. K. Anantha Krishna Aiyer.* "The Thanda Pulayans appear to have been the slaves of the soil till 1854, when they were emancipated. Even now their condition has not undergone any material improvement. Though they are left more to themselves, they still work for farmers or landlords for a daily wage of paddy. If they run away, they are brought back, and punished. There is even now a custom that, when a farmer or landlord wants a few Pulayans to work in the fields, he obtains their services on payment of fifteen to twenty rupees to them, or to their master. When a Pulayan's services are thus obtained, he works for his new master for two edangalis of paddy a day. They can obtain their liberation on the return of the purchase money, which they can never hope to earn. Having no property which they can claim as their own, and conscious perhaps that their lot will be the same wherever they go, they remain cheerful and contented, drudging on from day to day, and have no inclination to emigrate to places where they can get higher wages. The Cherumans of Palghāt, on the contrary, enjoy more freedom. Many go to the Wynād, and some to the Kolar gold-fields, where they receive a good money-wage. The Thanda Pulayans, as has been said, work for some landlord, who allows them small bits of

* Monograph. Eth. Survey of Cochin.

land. The trees thereon belong to the master, but they are allowed to enjoy their produce during their residence there. When not required by the master, they can work where they like. They have to work for him for six months, and sometimes throughout the year. They have little to do after the crop has been garnered. They work in the rice-fields, pumping water, erecting bunds (mud embankments), weeding, transplanting, and reaping. Men, women, and children may be seen working together. After a day's hard work in the sun or rain, they receive their wages, which they take to the nearest shop, called *mattupitica* (exchange shop), where they receive salt, chillies, etc., in exchange for a portion of the paddy, of which the remainder is cooked. The master's field must be guarded at night against the encroachment of cattle, and the depredations of thieves and wild beasts. They keep awake by shouting aloud, singing in a dull monotone, or beating a drum. Given a drink of toddy, the Pulayan will work for any length of time. It is not uncommon to see them thrashed for slight offences. If a man is thrashed with a *thanda* or leafy woman's garment, he is so much disgraced in the eyes of his fellowmen that he is not admitted into their society. Some improve their condition by becoming converts to Christianity. Others believe that the spirits of the departed would be displeased if they became Christians."

In a note on the Koragas and Holeyas of South Canara,* Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao writes as follows. "The destined slave is washed and anointed with oil, and

* Ind. Ant. III, 1874.

new clothes are given him. The master takes a plate, pours some water into it, and drops in a piece of gold. The slave drinks the water, takes some earth from his future master's estate, and throws it on such spot as he chooses for his use, which is then given over to him, with the trees thereon. Although these slaves are in a degraded condition, yet they appear to be by no means dejected or unhappy. A male slave gets three hanis of paddy or a hani and-a-half of rice daily, besides a small quantity of salt. The female slave gets two hanis of paddy or one hani of rice, and, if they be man and wife, they may easily sell a portion of their rice, and procure other necessities. They are also allowed one cloth each every year, and besides, when transferred from one master to another, they get a cocoanut, a jack-tree and a spot in which they can sow a quarter or half a mura of paddy. The greater number of slaves belong to the aliya santānam* castes, and, among these people, a male slave is sold for three Bhaudri pagodas,† and a female slave for five pagodas; whereas the few slaves who follow the makkala santānam‡ custom fetch five pagodas for the man, and only three pagodas for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the aliya santānam slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services. He has, however, to pay the expenses of their marriage, which amount to a pagoda and-a-half; and, in like manner, the master of the

* Aliya santānam. Inheritance in the female line.

† Pagoda. A gold coin, worth Rs. 3-8-0.

‡ Makkala santānam. Inheritance in the male line.

makkala santānam slave pays two pagodas for his marriage, and gets possession of the female slave and children. The master has the power of hiring out his slaves, for whose services he receives annually one mura of rice. They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas."

The following account of slavery among the Holeyas of Mysore is taken from the Census report, 1891, where it is stated that "in the malnād the Holaya degenerated into the agrestic slave, and till a few decades ago under the British rule, not only as regards his property but also with regard to his body, he was not his own master. The vargdār, or land-holder, owned him as a hereditary slave. The genius of British rule has emancipated him, and his enfranchisement has been emphasised by the allurements of the coffee industry with its free labour and higher wages The Holaya in the far west of the province still continues in many respects the bondsman of the local land holder of influence, and some of the social customs now prevailing among the Holayas fully bear out this fact. In most of the purely malnād or hilly talūks, each vargdār owns a set of servants styled Huttālu or Huttu-Alu and Mannālu or Mannu-Alu. The former is the hereditary servitor of the family, born in servitude, and performing agricultural work for the land-holder from father to son. The latter is a serf attached to the soil, and changes hands with it. These are usually of the Holaya class. In order to rivet the ties which bind these hereditary labourers to the soil, it is alleged that the local capitalists have improvised a kind

of Gretna Green marriage among them. A legal marriage of the orthodox type contains the risk of a female servant being lost to the family in case the husband happened not to be a Huttālu or Mannālu. So, in order to obviate the possible loss, a custom prevails, according to which a female Huttālu or Mannālu is espoused in what is locally known as the *manikattu* form, which is neither more nor less than licensed concubinage. She may be given up after a time, subject to a small fine to the caste, and anybody else may then espouse her on like conditions. Not only does she thus remain in the family, but her children will also become the landlord's servants."

Until recent years the Kottai Vellālas, who live within a mud fort at Srivaiguntam in the Tinnevely district, housed within the fort certain *prædial* slaves (*kottar* or smiths) of inferior social status. "These slaves," Mr. Boyle writes,* "partly from the changed social atmosphere of the time, and partly from want of sufficient space within the fort, have within the last generation been turned out to live beyond the enclosure, but they still work for their hereditary masters at rates fixed far more by custom than the competition of the market."

In a note on the privileges of servile castes Mr. M. J. Walhouse writes† that "it is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brāhmanical race. Many curious vestiges of

* Ind. Ant. III, 1874.

† Ibid.

their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct state of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes, whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At the bull-games (jellikattu) at Dindigul in the Madura district, which have some resemblance to Spanish bull-fights, and are very solemn celebrations, the Kallar, or robber caste, can alone officiate as priests, and consult the presiding deity. On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brāhmans. In the great festival of Siva at Trivalūr in Tanjore, the head-man of the Parēyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his chauri. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a tāli is tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Parēyan is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste (Kōmatis), and in Vizagapatam the Brāhmans, had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriage, though the custom has now died out. At Mēlkote in Mysore, the chief seat of the followers of Rāmanuja Achārya, and at the Brāhman temple at Bēlur, the Holeyas or Parēyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year, specially set apart for them." At Mēlkote the Holeyas and Mādigas are said to have been granted the privilege of entering the *sanctum sanctorum*

along with Brāhmans and others on three days by Rāmanuja. In 1799, however, the right to enter the temple was stopped at the dhvaja-stambnam, or consecrated monolithic column. Besides the privilege of entering the temple, the Holeyas and Mādigas have the right to drag the car. At both Bēlur and Mēlkote, as soon as the festival is over, the temples are ceremonially purified. It is said that the Brāhmans in Mysore consider that great luck will wait upon them, if they can manage to pass through the Holeya quarter of a village unmolested, and that, should a Brāhman attempt to enter their quarters, they turn out in a body and slipper him, in former times, it is said to death.*

Should a Brāhman venture into a parachēri (Paraiyan quarter), water with which cow-dung has been mixed, is thrown over his head, and he is driven out. Some Brāhmans consider an abandoned parachēri an auspicious site for an agrahāra (Brāhman quarter). At the festival of Gangamma at Palmanēr † a Paraiyan assists the Tsākali (washerman) pūjāri, and, during the period of the ceremonies, he is allowed to wear the sacred thread of the twice-born † “Paraiyans,” the Rev. A. C. Clayton writes, ‡ “are allowed to take part in pulling the cars of the idols in the great festivals of Conjeevaram, Kumbakonam and Srivilliputtūr. Their touch is not reckoned to defile the ropes used, so that other Hindus will also pull with them. With this may be compared the fact that the Telugu Mālas are custodians of the

* J. S. F. Mackenzie, *Ind. Ant.*, II, 1873.

† *Manual of the North Arcot district.*

‡ *Madras Museum Bull.* V., 2, 1906.

goddess Gauri, the bull Nandi, and Ganēsa, the chief gods of the Saiva Kāpus and Baliyas." The Mālas of the Bellary district are considered to be the servants of the Banajigas (traders) for whom they act as caste messengers on the occasion of marriages and funerals. At marriages, six Mālas, selected from certain families, lead the procession carrying flags, etc., and sit in the verandah of the marriage house. At funerals a Māla carries the brass ladle bearing the insignia of the right hand section, which is the emblem of the authority of the Dēsai (head man of the section). At a Kamma funeral, when the corpse reaches a spot which is made to represent the temple of Arichandra, the bier is set down, and a Paraiyan or Māla repeats the following formula. "I am the first born (*i.e.*, the representative of the oldest caste). I wore the sacred thread at the outset. I am Sangu Paraiyan (or Reddi Māla). I was the patron of Arichandra. Lift the corpse, and turn it round with its head towards the smāsanam (burning-ground), and feet towards the house."

During the celebration of village festivals in some places, an unmarried Mādiga woman, called for the occasion Mātangi (a favourite deity), abuses and spits upon the people assembled, and they do not take this as an insult, because they think that her spittle removes the pollution. The woman is, indeed, regarded as the incarnation of the goddess herself. Similarly, the Mālas use very obscene language when the god is taken in procession to the streets of the caste people.* In an exceedingly interesting account of the festival of the

* Madras Census report, 1891.

village goddess Uramma, at Kudligi in the Bellary district, Mr. F. Fawcett writes as follows. "The Mādiga Basivis (dedicated prostitutes) are given alms, and join in the procession. A quantity of rice and rāgi (grain: *Lycine Coracana*) flour is poured into a basket, over which one of the village servants cuts the throat of a small black ram. The carcase is laid on the bloody flour, and the whole covered with old cloths, and placed on the head of a Mādiga, who stands for some time in front of the goddess. The goddess is then carried a few yards, the Mādiga walking in front, while a hole is dug close to her, and the basket of bloody flour and the ram's carcase are buried. After some dancing by the Mādiga Basivis to the music of the tom-tom, the Mādigas bring five new pots, and worship them. A buffalo, devoted to the goddess after the last festival, is then driven or dragged through the village with shouting and tom-tomung, walked round the temple, and beheaded by the Mādiga in front of the goddess. The head is placed in front of her, with the right foreleg in the mouth, and a lamp, lighted eight days previously, is placed on top. All then start in procession round the village, a Mādiga naked but for a few margosa leaves, and held by two others, leading the way. Behind him are all the other Mādigas, carrying six hundred seers of cholam (millet: *Sorghum*), which they scatter; and, following them, all the other villagers. . . . The Mādiga is said to be in mortal terror while leading the procession, for the spirit or influence of the goddess comes over him. He swoons before the procession is completed. At noon the people collect again at Uramma's temple, where a purchased buffalo is

sacrificed. The head is placed in front of the goddess as before, and removed at once for food. Then those of the lower Sūdra castes, and Mādigas who are under vows, come dressed in margosa leaves, with lamps on their heads, and sacrifice buffaloes, sheep, and goats to the goddess."

In an account of a village festival in the Cuddapah district, Bishop Whitehead informs us * that two buffaloes are brought by the Mādigas and Mālas. One of the Mālas, called the Asādi, chants the praises of the goddess during the ceremony. The animals are killed by a Mādiga, by cutting their throats with a knife, one being offered to Peddamma, and the other to Chinnamma. Some of the cholam is then taken in baskets, and put under the throats of the buffaloes till it is soaked with blood, and then put aside. A Mādiga then cuts off the heads of the buffaloes with a sword, and puts them before the idol. He also cuts off one of the forelegs of each, and puts it crosswise in the mouth. Some of the cholam is then put on the two heads, and two small earthen saucers put upon it. The stomachs are then cut open, and some of the fat taken out, melted, and put in each saucer with a lighted wick. A layer of fat is spread over the eyes and mouths of the two heads, some of the refuse of the stomach is mixed with the cholam soaked in blood, and a quantity of margosa leaves put over the cholam. The Asādi then takes some of the mixture, and sprinkles it round the shrine three times, saying *Kō bāli, i.e., accept the sacrifice*. Then the basket is given to another Māla, who asks permission from the village officials and ryots to sprinkle the cholam. He also asks that a lamb may be

* Madras Diocesan Record, April, 1905.