

**A Comparative Analysis of the Contributions of Professor
L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Professor A. Aiyappan
to the Field of Anthropology from a Sociology
of Knowledge Perspective**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

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NEW DELHI - 110067, INDIA
1993**



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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "A Comparative Analysis of the Contributions of Professor L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Professor A.Aiyappan to the Field of Anthropology from a Sociology of Knowledge Perspective", in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Jawaharlal Nehru University, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. To the best of our knowledge this is an original work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chairperson

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Supervisor

DEDICATED TO
MY
ACHHAN AND AMMA

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PREFACE

Role of historical and other forces could be seen to determine dynamics of knowledge vis-a-vis dynamics of society. The social and historical rootings of the scholars influence drastically in their world view and in turn their contribution to the field of knowledge. This is especially true in the case of contributions of social scientists rather than that of natural scientists. In this dissertation titled 'A Comparative Analysis of the Contributions of Professor. L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Professor. A.Aiyappan to the Field of Anthropology from a Sociology of Knowledge Perspective', I have made a moderate attempt to analyse the influence of genetic and social environment on the contributions of two outstanding social anthropologists from South India to the field of knowledge.

Sociology of knowledge is that part of Sociology which discusses the doctrine that we do not acquire our knowledge, opinion and belief in a vacuum but do so in a social and political atmosphere. It seeks to analyse the relationship between knowledge and existence. As a field of enquiry, sociology of knowledge becomes an intellectual biography with a sociological twist. It reveals the process in which the mind of a thinker is moulded by his social habitat. In

essence it is seen as the joint effect of a thinker's genetic endowment and social forces that shape it.

My aim in this study is to analyse comparatively the contributions of Professors L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and A. Aiyappan to the field of social anthropology in perspective of their time. This is, to say, in the context of the social and academic forces and environment around them which shaped their thinking and consequently their contributions to anthropology. Since the two intellectuals present the two phases of the development of anthropology in India - colonial and post-colonial - a comparison is more interesting and relevant to comprehend the theory of Sociology of knowledge.

L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, who was a Tamil Brahmin and had access to higher education, started his professional life of anthropologist as an ethnographic surveyor. He had made invaluable contributions to the study of caste and tribes of South India especially that of Kerala and Mysore. Aiyappan had received his training in anthropology from the Western scholars. Though he belonged to a low caste and faced many financial difficulties for his studies, he reached the highest position in academics as a Vice-Chancellor and also left a prominent mark in anthropology in India. His contribution to the field of anthropology is

vast and multidimensional and he proved his eminence as a museologist, archaeologist, and administrator.

In chapter one an attempt has been made to give a general introduction to the subject, Anthropology. Here it has been discussed the development of Anthropology as a discipline, how the development of Anthropology is related to colonialism and also the development of Anthropology in India.

Chapter two deals with the life and works of Professor. L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer where a biographical sketch of Iyer, summary of his works and conclusion has been given. To get a detailed account of his life, I have mainly depended on the book by L.K.Balaratnam, Anthropology on the March; and the articles by L.A.Ramdass, K.S.Singh and Professor. A.Aiyappan, published in Man in India: Ananthakrishna Iyer - Commemoration Volume.

Chapter three, life and works of Professor. A.Aiyappan, contains a biographical sketch of his life, summary of his works and a conclusion. To get the details of Professor. Aiyappan's life I have consulted his incomplete and unpublished autobiography and also the book Culture and Society by B.N.Nair. In order to write this chapter I have also used certain non-available and rare articles and unpublished works of Aiyappan with the help of his family members.

Chapter four is a comparative analysis of the contributions of Professor Iyer and Professor Aiyappan to the field of Anthropology and the conclusions of the study.

During the course of my research work, I have received great encouragement and guidance from my supervisor, Professor R.K.Jain, the Dean of the School of Social Sciences. He always showed the utmost kindness and concern to me. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him who inspite of his busy schedule rendered his valuable guidance and useful suggestions throughout this work. I am also thankful to all other faculty members of the Centre for the Study of Social Systems.

My thanks are due to Prof.K.N.Panikkar for his encouragement and guidance. I am especially thankful to Dr.Santha Balachandran, daughter of Prof. Aiyappan for allowing me to use the personal library of Prof.Aiyappan. I would also like to thank Prof. Balaratnam, grandson of Prof. Iyer for his encouragements.

I am grateful to my parents for their encouragement throughout my life and also for the financial assistance.

I have completed this study with the help of primary and secondary source materials. For this purpose I have consulted various libraries in New Delhi. In this connection special mention may be made to Jawaharlal Nehru

University library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Ratan Tata library, National Museum library and ICSSR library. I am thankful to the librarians and staff of all this libraries for all the assistance they had extended to me.

I am also thankful to Mr.Chandra Mohan, Fr.Abraham Kallarakkal, and Miss Archana Singh for their help during the course of this work. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Swarabji,B for his invaluable help at various stages of this work.

My thanks are due to Mr.T.M.Varghese and Mrs.Kunjamma Varghese for typing this dissertation with utmost care and dedication.



(JITHA J.J.)

CHAPTER-I
INTRODUCTION

Development of Anthropology

"Anthropology may said to have begun with the earliest speculations of mankind, for everywhere and at all times men have propounded theories about the nature of society. In this sense there is no definite point at which Social Anthropology can be said to have begun."¹ Nevertheless, the history of anthropology as a study of human beings can be drawn back to 16th century A.D. The age of geographical discovery has been a burst of interest in the new kinds of society that the explorers have found out. The explorers and colonizers who followed, however being accustomed to take it for granted that they were themselves the standards of what people ought to be like, were always prompted to ask why other peoples were so unlike than themselves.² The 16th and 18th centuries were important in this respect. They started by emphasizing how different are the 'others' and made them not only different but remote and inferior.

Books of travel are among the oldest forms of literature on Anthropology. Some of them have included

1. Evans Pritchard E.E., Essays in Social Anthropology, 1962, p.14.
2. Lucy Mair, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, 1972, p.16.

speculations on the reasons for differences between human societies. The French essayist Montaigne (1533-92) was much interested in the apparently paradoxical contrasts between the customs of his own country and others. Shakespear's Tempest which is a paradigm of the crude form of colonialist attitude got its source from Montaigne's essay on cannibals.

By the end of 18th century reports on the manners and customs of distant lands began to be treated not just as bits of interesting information but as data for constructing historical schemes of the development of society. "Some writers start the history of comparative ethnography with the Jesuit missionary Liafitan who in 1724 published a book comparing American Indian customs with those of ancient world as described by Latin and Greek writers".³

In the second half of the 19th century anthropologists speculated about the development of human culture. Though a number of men were seeking to trace the evolution of society it came into the scene with the discovery of the theory of evolution by Darwin. The human body developed on the lines as Darwin indicated and it was thought that, culture and civilization were also evolutionary in character.⁴

3. Ibid, p.18.

4. L.A. Krishna Iyer and L.K. Balarathnam, Anthropology in India, 1961, p.21.

Differences of cultural forms were sought to be explained in terms of evolution. People like Montesquieu, Adam Ferguson and Adam Smith wrote on the evolution of society from a mere brutal one to a perfect state in ancient Greece. Their generalizations were based on the widest reading about the institution of different societies that were available in their days.

The 19th century saw the beginning of travel for the sake of the observation of different examples of human society. Some of the travellers who were in touch with different societies believed that the similarities between the objects found in places far apart are the evidences of migration, by which, they were supposed to have spread over the world. This theory is called diffusionism. The diffusionist perspective is that the culture is borrowed rather than emerged simultaneously in different societies.

"The founding fathers of modern anthropology were the scholars from Western Europe and United States. They began to see themselves as distinct academic species sometime around 1840."⁵ Even at that period their interests were very diverse. Ethnology which was primarily concerned with the history of peoples and their customs was well established at that time. Other areas such as archaeology,

5. Edmund Leach, Social Anthropology, 1982, p.28.

linguistics and physical anthropology were in varying stages of development. Social anthropology as the comparative study of social and cultural aspects had not clearly formulated.

"Social anthropology has to a large extent developed independently in England. Social anthropology is a title used in England and to some extent in the United States, to designate a department of the larger subject of anthropology, the study of man from a number of aspects."⁶ What was called social anthropology in England was Ethnology or Sociology in America. For contemporary social anthropologists most primarily remembered intellectual ancestors of that era are Edward Tylor and James Frazer in England, Emile Durkheim in France and Lewis Henry Morgan in the United States. They studied the institutions, rituals, customs and habits of thought through the contrasts of evolutionary stages in the development of human society. "For those studies they mainly depended on such sources as travellers' accounts, colonial records and missionary scholarship, for first hand data on such peoples. Hence it was called as an era of armchair ethnology."⁷

6. Evans-Pritchard E.E., Social Anthropology, 1951, p.3.

7. George. E. Marcus, and Michael M.J. Fisher, Anthropology as Cultural Critique, 1986, p.17.

The founding fathers had a common concern for an understanding and explanation of the nature and origin of man and his works in all their rich variety. All of them showed an interest in studying the others whom they believed to be wild, natural and primitive, non-Christians and outside the literary heritage of Greece and Rome. This bias resulted in the obliteration of the area of study of anthropology into the study of primitive man.

"The period from 1860-1900 represents the first important stage in the professionalization of anthropology".⁸ The pioneers in the study of anthropology in all its branches followed Darwinian principle. During that period ethnology came to be associated with the historical study of culture and ethnologists became primarily concerned with the methods of reconstructing history. The first ethnological works were mainly compilations of monographs arranged to facilitate comparison of all that was then known as the various peoples of the world. There were two ethnological traditions dominated the second half of 19th century - Evolutionism and Diffusionism.

Morgan, Tylor, Spencer and others - the classical evolutionists - assumed that the cultural developments

8. Fred Eggan, "One Hundred years of Ethnology and Social Anthropology", in Brew J.O., ed., One Hundred Years of Anthropology, 1968, p.119.

everywhere followed definite laws - unfolding uniformly from simple to complex and culminating in the institutions of Western Europe. The evolutionists were largely concerned with social and religious institutions.

In the mean time the works of Friedrich Ratzel and his associates were centred around the regional formulation of ethnographic data. They studied the spatial distribution of cultural elements and emphasized the importance of natural environment in cultural development and the role of diffusion and migration in bringing about cultural similarities. These anthropogeographers dealt mainly with material culture.

The most famous of the early evolutionists was an American, Lewis H. Morgan. He was the first scholar to carry out organized field research in terms of particular problems and his discovery of classificatory kinship systems opened up an area of research that has had an important influence on the development of social anthropology. He compared kinship system of American Indian and Hawaiian in classificatory terms and gave an evolutionary explanation for the social institutions.

His contemporaries in America were Robertson Smith, J.W.Powell, F.W.Putnam, Frank H.Cushing and Alice Fletcher. Robertson Smith travelled widely in Arabia and developed his theories from the then Arab society. Bureau of American

Ethnology was established under the leadership of J.W.Powell. Frank H. Cushing participated in Zuni life and made a series of remarkable contributions. Alice Fletcher's monograph on the Omaha tribe and her account of Pawnee Hake ceremony, on which she emphasized the native interpretation and meaning were remarkable achievements.

At the same time his contemporaries in Europe such as Bachofen, J.F.McLennan, Henry Sumner Maine, E.B.Tylor, Spencer, all made contributions to the development of classical evolution. They along with Morgan termed as 'historical evolutionary school' of Anthropology.⁹ Bachofen, a Swiss jurist developed a theory about society's evolution from matriarchal to patriarchal. McLennan coined the terms exogamy and endogamy for marrying outside and inside a defined group. Henry Maine after studying the recorded laws of ancient Rome and ancient India believed that patriliney was the original rule of descent. Herbert Spencer was the first one to use function as a technical term for the analysis of society. He saw close parallels between human societies and biological organisms and their existence is maintained by the functional dependence of its parts. "Tylor who was one of the foremost English

9. Sol Tax, From Uafitan to Radcliffe Brown: A Short History of the Study of Social Organization, in Fred Eggan, ed., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, 1955, p.481.

anthropologists thought of humanity as growing through the ages from childhood to maturity and primitive peoples are still in the stage of childhood."¹⁰ He sought to make anthropology scientific by the use of statistical method in ethnological problems.

The classical evolutionists also had a method - the comparative method. By viewing primitive people as contemporary ancestors of the more advanced civilizations, comparisons became a method for assigning groups to their proper stage of development or for revealing survivals of earlier stages. But when evolutionary stages were discredited the comparative method was largely abandoned.

Both in England and America ethnology had its primary development in connection with museum during the latter part of the 19th century. American Museum of Natural History, Bureau of American Ethnology, Peabody museum and Field Columbian museum were a few to name. Along with museums there were established a number of societies for ethnological studies, which provided forums for discussion and journals for publication.

Though way back in 18th century anthropological studies were started in U.S. and Britain, it became a whole time professional study only by the 20th century. The turn of

10. Lucy Mair, op.cit., p.23.

the century brought major changes in the direction of ethnology. Anthropology for the first time became associated with the newly established graduate schools in the U.S., and the professional training of students was systematically developed. Field research - "the understanding of the way of life of a single particular people"¹¹ - became the hallmark of the ethnologists and the museums employed the new research scholars to enlarge and interpret the growing collections. In England, field research got under way with the Torres Straits Expedition of 1898-1900. Diffusion began to be emphasized and functionalism developed. The term social anthropology was a British invention. J.G.Frazer first made the general public aware of anthropology by his famous work 'Gold Bough'.

Among the anthropologists in America Franz Boas was prominent. He was trained in the natural sciences and turned to the study of human society after an expedition to the Eskimo country which was primarily geographical in intention. Boas' scientific training caused him to look very sceptically at current theories of evolution of society or the diffusion of culture. He not only salvaged the evolutionist objective of historical laws, but also

11. Edmund Leach, Rethinking Anthropology, 1961, p.1.

substituted what he called the historical method for the discredited comparative method.

In England, Haddon, Rivers and Seligman all became ethnologists as a result of the Torres Straits Expedition, and Cambridge University and later the London School of Economics became centres for research and training.¹² Though Sir James Frazer was appointed as the honorary chair of social anthropology at the University of Liverpool as early as 1907, the dominant intellectual influence in British academic anthropology then was that of W.H.R.Rivers. His studies in kinship and social organization laid some of the foundations for the development of modern social anthropology.

In Germany evolutionary formulations were not popular, but the work of anthropogeographers was soon remodelled into an elaborate theoretical structure designed to explain cultural development everywhere in terms of a series of migrations of cultural complexes. The rules for historical reconstruction were developed by Graebner Peter Schmidt and his followers in Vienna tried to reformulate history of culture.

In the meantime the development of a new school of Sociology in France profoundly influenced the leading

12. Fred Eggan, op:cit., p.131.

British anthropologists of the 20th century. The French scholars were led by Emile Durkheim. The best noted contemporaries of Durkheim were Marcel Mauss and Van Gennep. Their successor in the present generation is Levi-Strauss. "He is considered as the chief exponent of the structural method with the understanding that he created structural anthropology."¹³

The modern basis for social anthropology was laid by Durkheim and his French sociological school in the 18th century. Two anthropologists, Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown are primarily responsible for the rise of social anthropology to a dominant place before the Second World War a third, Levi-Strauss has played an important role in post War period.

The critical transition in the nature of British and American anthropological scholarship came during the first three decades of present century. The period saw the rise of social anthropology and the apparent decline of ethnology. "Ethnography and social anthropology are clearly complimentary. The first is the raw material for the second."¹⁴ The post-War expansion of anthropology in the

13. Mann. R.S., Anthropological and Sociological Theory, 1984, p.51.

14. S.F.Nadel, The Foundation of Social Anthropology, 1951, p.21.

U.S. had led to a synthesis of social and cultural anthropology. There developed a world wide consensus with regard to anthropology in most of its branches.

"Finding an institutional place in the university as one of the social sciences, anthropology had been the most disorderly and interdisciplinary of disciplines".¹⁵ While both the rhetoric and spirit of the 19th century vision still survive in anthropology and some committed to a general science of man, anthropologists have practically become more specialized in their methods and remarkably diffuse in their interests. This shift made a distinctive kind of method - an integration of both collection and analysis of the data - the ethnography.

One anthropologist now remembered by both American and British anthropologists as founder of the ethnographic method is Bronislaw Malinowski. He was a Polish scientist who had become interested in anthropology after reading the works of Frazer and had studied at London School of Economics under Hobhouse, Westermarck and Seligman. As an enemy alien he was liable to internment during the First World War, but he was allowed as an alternative to study in Trobriands. This long stay in one little island enabled him to see the actual process of Trobriand social life, emerging

15. George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fisher, op.cit., p.18.

after the War to write 'Argonauts of the western Pacific' and a series of other monographs. And also to develop a new functional approach to the study of culture.

Herbert Spencer who for the first time used the term function, technically saw the close parallels between human societies and biological organisms, both in their evolution and living. He argued that their existence is maintained by the functional dependence of parts. Societies, he believed that developed through the differentiation of functions as biological organisms had been shown to do. "Referring to any or all features contributing to the make up of societies, the term, social structure appears in the writings of Spencer and Durkheim."¹⁶

It will be seen that the writers who had sought to attribute to different parts of a social system had been far from unanimous in their choice of analogies. Whereas Spencer drew his comparisons from the lowest forms of life, later writers made theirs with organs of the human body. Thus Durkheim, when he elaborated his principles of sociological method, said that to explain social phenomena one must seek both the cause that produced it and the function to that of end or aim. His stress was on how the phenomena that together constitute social life combine to

16. R.S.Mann, op.cit., p.50.

produce harmony within the society and a satisfactory adaptation to the environment.

Malinowski drawing inspiration from Durkheim developed the conception of function to its greatest elaboration and himself and his pupils later known as the functional school. He also argued that only those phenomena which are of some use to the people who practice it, will exist. "Malinowski tried to relate all human institutions to the fundamental needs of mankind which amidst a certain constancy vary considerably in different environments and can be related both to the universal and variable elements of culture."¹⁷

Anthropology to Malinowski was not simply the study of the savage, but the study he thought, that which by understanding the savage we might come to a better understanding of ourselves. He was of the view that the anthropologist must live right among the people; must use their speech without interpreters, must observe what people actually do and not just writing down the account given by them. He must see their institutions not as the quaint habits of the primitive, but as ways of meeting real broad problems of living the struggle against nature, the personal relations created by sex and family, the need for principles

17. M. Ginsberg, Professor Bronislaw Malinowski: An Account of the Memorial Meeting Held at Royal Institution in London, 1942, pp.8-12.

of law and order in a social life. His functional method embodies his ideas about human culture and the interdependence of all aspects of that culture. Apart from its value as anthropological theory, this method has been a most powerful stimulus to all field workers.

E.R. Leach a contemporary Cambridge anthropologist has contrasted Malinowski's use of the idea of needs with that of Durkheim. He says that, whereas Malinowski sought to relate social arrangements to biological needs, what Durkheim did was to draw the same analogy as Spencer between the biological function of a biological organ and the social function of a form of regularly recurring social behaviour.¹⁸

Radcliffe Brown drawing on Spencer, liked to elaborate the analogy between biological systems and social organisms. He was the first ethnological student of Rivers and Haddon at Cambridge and carried out his initial field research in the Andamans in 1906-1908.

He argued that functional relationships could properly be established only through a series of comparisons which would enable the analyst to determine which relationships are necessary and which contingent. Ultimately he hoped to establish functional relationships of such generality as to constitute 'laws'.¹⁹

18. E.R. Leach, Social Anthropology, 1982, p.31.

19. Adam Kuper, The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe Brown, 1977, p.4.

His attention was on the social organization and its structural aspects and thus adding a new dimension to the functionalism that he shared with Malinowski. Brown wrote of society as a thing in itself, a self sustaining organism or system which already exists when the individual is born into it and which constrains the freedom of the individual through a complex structure of jural rules and sanctions which are implicit in the traditional mythology and ceremonials of the people concerned.

Malinowski's functionalism, centred on culture and the interrelation of institutions and oriented toward the needs of the individual. But Radcliffe-Brown's emphasis was upon society as a central concept and his utilization of organic analogies in defining social function. The confrontation of the two partly opposing sets of views continued throughout the decade of 1930s. Many of the anthropologists in America showed a considerable ambivalence towards the theory of Radcliffe Brown.

In England ethnological activities began by Haddon Seligman and Rivers came to be of a diminished vigour during 1930s as the functionalist movement developed and gradually supplimented historically oriented inquiries. By 1930s social anthropology has emerged as a basic discipline with ethnology as a bridge to physical anthropology.

Though British functional anthropology began to emerge as a distinctive discipline shortly after First World War, it was only after Second World War that it gained an assured academic status in the universities. The post Second World War period witnessed a spurt in anthropological researches and publications compared to the pre-World War period. Within this brief period its claim to academic respectability was virtually unchallenged. In the post war decades many of the researchers adopted the model developed by Malinowski for their field studies. They also utilized the structural framework developed by Radcliffe Brown, as well as new ideas concerning the organization of culture.

The third quarter of the present century opens, in Anthropology, under the influence of A.L. Kroeber, the unquestioned leader of American Anthropology. According to him anthropology attempts to understand and interrelate all principal aspects of mankind, with central emphasis on man's most distinctive product, namely culture.²⁰

Thus there occurred fundamental changes in the world in which social anthropology inhabited, changes which affected the object, the ideological support and the organizational base of social anthropology itself. "After the political independence of colonial countries in the late fifties and early sixties the researchers were more particularly

20. L.P.Vidyarthi, "Development in Social and Cultural Anthropology", in Stein Rokkan, ed., A Quarter Century of International Social Science, 1979, p.49.

concerned with the problems faced by emerging nations and concentrated much of their attention on political development and modernization."²¹ The anthropologist now is someone who studies societies both simple and complex; resorts to participant observation, statistical techniques, historical archives and other literary sources; finds intellectually closer to economists or political scientists or psychoanalysts or structural linguists or animal behaviourists than he does other anthropologists.

In America cultural anthropology had gradually replaced by the term social anthropology and come to have more weighting. The term socio-cultural anthropology often used to refer to both the above ideas. In Harvard, Talcott Parson an associate of Kluckhohn has developed structural functional theory in a sophisticated manner.

The integration of social and cultural anthropology has been developed in new directions by Claude Levi-Strauss under the rubric of structural anthropology. Levi-Strauss a disciple of Mauss went to Brazil in the 1930s on a cultural mission; the field research among the Brazilian Indians led him to become a social anthropologist. His structural analysis derives in part from linguistic research. He was concerned with basic mental processes of which social and

21. George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fisher, op.cit., p.18.

cultural institutions are empirical manifestations and he was searching for general principles which should be applicable to all societies.

The gradual merging of social and cultural anthropology along with the acceptance of structural functional theory was the major development in 1960s. A number of contributions have become landmarks since the early observations of Tylor and Morgan such as Van Gennep's conceptualization of the rites of passage; Malinowski's and Mause's formulation of reciprocity as a basic pattern for interaction; the concept of social integration and the lineage principle, as formulated by Radcliffe Brown and developed by Fortes and others; and more recently the development of alliance theory by Levi-Strauss, Damont and Leach. In last few years the principle of binary opposition borrowed from the linguists has been utilized by Levi-Strauss and others to give further understanding of social and cultural institutions and of the mind.

Social and cultural anthropology continues to be both a generalizing discipline and historical one. Evans-Pritchard argues social anthropology is closer to some kind of history than to natural sciences. According to him social anthropology is less interested in process than in design and seeks patterns and not laws, demonstrates consistency and not necessary relations between social activities and

interprets rather than explains.²² Criticizing Pritchard's view Fortes argued that the main aim of social anthropology is to investigate general tendencies or laws manifested in social organization and culture.

One of the major contributions of socio-cultural anthropology from the mid-twentieth century onwards has been in the comparative study of values and belief systems not to mention that of rationality itself. In this respect the pioneering studies of Evans Pritchard and seminal work of Robert Redfield and his associates together present societies and civilizational structures within the ambit of American cultural anthropological approaches have been particularly influential.²³

Anthropology and Colonialism

Social anthropology emerged as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of the colonial era, became a flourishing academic profession towards its close. Throughout this period "its efforts were devoted to description and analysis - carried out by Europeans for a European audience - of non-European societies dominated by European power."²⁴

Anthropological studies in Britain grew up in the context of European and especially British colonialism as a part of the colonial situation.

22. Evans Pritchard, Essays in Social Anthropology, 1962, p.26.

23. R.K.Jain, Social Anthropology of India: Theory and Method, ICSSR, p.10.

24. George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fisher, op.cit., p.18.

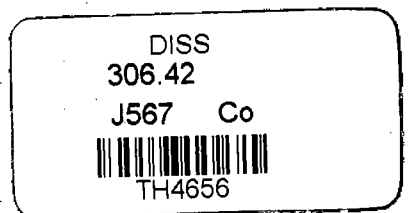
Anthropologists for the most part did not question the colonial situation and the fact was that they participated in it by investigating subjugated people. As they took the colonial situation for granted, often capitalizing on it and sometimes actively supporting it, they did not perceive that colonialism created a colonial people - the native peoples - under the economic, political and spiritual domination of an alien power which possessed ruthlessly used the means of violence against them. Instead, they chose to see colonial peoples in terms of a primitive concept, denying in effect their colonial status.²⁵

The origin of anthropology was with an exclusive concern with the study of exotic and non-literate peoples. The centre of interest of anthropology has always been the peoples who were called primitive or about the people who do very differently from the so called western society. The contemporary people were looked upon as the living fossils. The Europeans believed that the white man's burden was to rescue these later-day people from centuries of decay, disease, ignorance and political corruption.²⁶ They started reconstructing history accordingly. There were distortions in the ways non-western peoples have been portrayed in scholarship which has depended on disruptive, semi-literary forms for its expression.

25. David Goddard, "Anthropology: The Limits of Functionalism", in Robin Blackburn, ed., Ideology in Social Science Readings in Critical Social Theory, p.61.

26. George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fisher, op.cit., p.2.

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Ethnography is a research process in which the anthropologist closely observes, records and engages in the daily life of another culture and then write accounts of their culture emphasizing descriptive data. The dialogue between cultures has been the stock-in-trade of anthropology. Culture is something made or rather co-created by anthropologist and informant in a conversation. "The interaction between cultures in anthropology during much of the colonial period has been marked by an absence of vocalization of the dialogue."²⁷ The style of writing was imperial seeking to embrace the whole of humanity within its domain.

"During dialogue there will be a communication between the anthropologist and informant. Communication could be represented at its extremes by transmit, a one way process and share a common or mutual process."²⁸ The rhetorical devices used by the western scholars made themselves active leaving their subjects passive. Traditionally anthropologists have been going to the natives, speaking their language and even dressing and behaving like them in order to get for themselves information about these 'others'.

27. R.K.Jain, "Worm in Apple", Seminar, June 1992, p.16.

28. David Sless, In Search of Semiotics, 1986, p.19.

Anthropology is not only a product of enlightenment but also rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and the Third World. The structure of power certainly affected the theoretical choice of treatment of what social anthropology objectified - more so in some matters than in others. Its analysis were affected by a readiness to accept colonial ideology. It happens mainly because of two reasons. First, Anthropology is a study of man exclusively undertaken by the West. The powerful who supports research expect the kind of understanding which will both exemplify and reinforce Western domination. Moreover the rhetorical devices they were using itself was an exercise in power, in effect denying subjects the right to express contrary views;

Another thing is that anthropological understanding is overwhelmingly objectified in European languages. So also the readership of anthropological readings included only Europeans and Europeanized elites. A condition of something being a text is that an author or a reader project on to it their absent counterpart. The author always creates an image of reader and similarly the reader creates an image of the author in order to make communication possible, to bring the author closer to reader. Thus the anthropologists visit, operate upon and articulate the cultures of natives for a coterie consisting of anthropological fraternity and elite readers. The quest of anthropologist authors was at

the most to see themselves as the representatives of their own cultures to be reflected in a mirror provided by the other culture.

In the colonial period, the native anthropologists also had contributed, sometimes indirectly, toward maintaining the structure of power represented by the colonial system. For any object which is subordinated and manipulated is partly the product of a power relationship and to ignore this fact is to misapprehend the nature of that object. The scientific definition of anthropology as a disinterested, that is an objective study of 'other culture' also rendered the native anthropologist unable to envisage and argue for a radically different political figure for subordinate people. He objectified and thus serve to merge that enterprise in effect with that of dominant status-quo Europeans.

In the post-colonial times the situation has changed. Anthropologist have become much more self-conscious and critical of themselves, while their reading public now includes a considerably larger proportion of natives. The transition is evident for the anthropologist, as the dialogue is now not only between self and the other but with the self as the other.²⁹

It can be said that social anthropology in the colonial era was not only an aid to colonial administration but also an intellectual product of bourgeois consciousness in the

29. R.K.Jain, "Worm in Apple", op.cit., p.17.

historical power relationship between the West and the Third World.

Anthropology in India

Indian Anthropology was born and brought up under the prominent influence of British anthropology. It was brought into this country by men like Risely, Wesfield, Ibbeton, Crooke, Russel and Thurston in order to meet the needs of British administration and also owing to the scientific interest in the Indian people over whom they have to rule. The compilation of district manuals, gazetteers and census reports in the latter half of the 19th century along with the progress of anthropology in Europe provided the occasion for its introduction in India.

In India, anthropological studies can be said to have its beginning in the investigations of Indologists like Sir William Jones (1746-1794) a judge, linguistic genius and Indologist.³⁰ The Asiatic society of Bengal was founded in 1774 by Sir William Jones which became a land mark in the development of anthropology in India. By the middle of 19th century, the society started serving as a forum for organizing ethnographic and ethnological studies and publishing results of such inquiries in the journals of

30. T.N.Madan and G.Saran, Anthropology in India, 1962.

Asiatic Society. The early investigators were all foreigners who tried to understand alien culture and their writings were a reflection of colonial ideology. Their work was in tune with prevailing fashion of British anthropology at that period. The studies were conducted under the inspiration and patronage of high officials of the British government.

The compilation of demographic data about the inhabitants of India and religion started as early as 1807. After the census of 1881, to collect more information about the castes and people of India, Sir Herbert Risely for Bengal and Dr. William Crooke for U.P. took charge. Only British administrator anthropologists started joining them in conducting studies of tribes and castes. "At the turn of the century some Indians also joined them either as collaborators like Hiralal who worked with Russal or as independent investigators as L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer".³¹ Sarat Chandra Roy viewed their works as "more general and superficial surveys that fail to furnish that exposition of kinship organization and social system which is needed for the purpose of scientific anthropology".³²

31. G. Saran, "Indian Anthropology: Retrospect and Prospect", in I.J.S. Bansal, ed., Anthropology in Indian Context, 1963, p.72.

32. S.C. Roy, "Researches in Anthropology in India", Man in India, vol.2, 1922.

In India, we owe our knowledge of the life and culture of the Tribes and castes to a select band of anthropologists who had made their work a mission. Three names had dominated the anthropological scene - the names of Dewan Bahadur L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer in Kerala; Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in Bihar; and Dr. Verrier Elwin in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and the North Eastern Region.

It may be noted that Ananthakrishna Iyer, in fact, could be regarded as the founder of field studies in Anthropology in India, and that his contribution to the growth and development of social and cultural anthropology had been the most outstanding. In the early decades of this century when the country depended on Western scholars for systematic studies of subjects such as anthropology, his own works showed the world that India was not lacking in talent in this field. His works opened a way to an understanding of social institutions, and his straightforward manner of presenting ideas, and great concern for fidelity to facts raised the status of anthropological research in the country.

Another noted anthropologist of the first quarter of the present century was Sarat Chandra Roy. He was deeply interested in the tribal people of Chotanagpur and their problems. He published his first epoch making work on Munda tribe followed by a series of five monographs. His work was

essentially prefunctionalist in nature. He started the publication of the journal, Man in India, in 1921, which is the oldest internationally known journal in Anthropology published in India.³³ Through the width and depth of his knowledge S.C.Roy contributed towards strengthening the integrated character of Anthropology in India.

At the turn of the century Anthropology was almost exclusively concerned with the study of exotic and non-literate people. Anthropology then was a general anthropology in the sense that anthropologists worked in all fields of anthropology such as physical, social and prehistoric archaeology. Another feature was that the descriptive nature of the subject. Social and cultural anthropology meant writing of monographs on single tribes which give details of their look and appearance, clothing and adornment, food and shelter, history and traditions, social life, economic life, religion and magic and even folklore.

The study of native Indian population was undertaken by administrator anthropologist of British origin to begin with. Their studies were other culture studies. Their emphasis on primitive tribes and backward castes were also

33. K.S.Mathur, "Anthropology in India: Then and Now", in K.S. Mathur and S.C.Varma, eds., Man and Society, p.22.

in tune with the anthropological practise of proceeding from the more simple to relatively more complex. Indian-born anthropologists entered the scene and started conducting studies in the same manner as was being done by the British administrator anthropologists. They wrote monographs on Indian tribal communities as though they were studying other cultures.³⁴ In terms of ideas, framework and procedure the Indian anthropologist has freely borrowed from the work of western anthropologist who have almost exclusively worked in other cultures.

Social anthropology got a solid foundation when it accorded academic recognition in 1918. Anthropology as a discipline started in Calcutta university in 1918 and in 1920 it became an independent discipline for masters degree. Indian Science Congress has had a section on anthropology since its very inception. This in turn inspired the starting of an Anthropology department in Calcutta University under the guidance of Sir Asuthosh Mukherjee. R.P.Chandra was the first lecturer in charge of the department. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer came subsequently and headed the department till 1931-32.³⁵ During his tenure in

34. G.Saran, op.cit., p.73.

35. L.A.Ramdass, "L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer", Man in India, vol.66, 1986, p.284.

Calcutta University he successfully conducted several field trips with students of anthropology and published many important papers on the social and religious institutions of the peoples of India.

Very soon obscure subjects like kinship studies, social organization, ideological studies, Hindu tradition etc. were undertaken by trained scholars namely G.S.Ghurye, Iravathi Karve, K.P.Chattopadhyay, T.C.Das, D.N.Majumdar in Eastern and Northern India and G.S.Ghurye, Iravathi Kurve and A.Aiyappan in the western and southern India. This provided the initial stimulation to organize scientific anthropological researches by conducting field expeditions, writing books and articles and by training researchers for anthropological researches on tribal and rural cultures.

In 1938 a joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association and British Association reviewed the progress of anthropology in India.³⁶ During this, a few anthropologists after their doctoral works provided some theoretical leads in social anthropological researches. They critically studied and analyzed their data on Indian societies and brought about certain amount of theoretical sophistication in anthropological researches in India. Majumdar, Srinivas,

36. L.P.Vidyardhi, "Two Hundred years of Social Anthropology in India: A Historical Appraisal", in L.P.Vidyardhi, ed., Rise of World Anthropology as Reflected Through the International Congress, 1979, p.12.

N.K.Bose and A.Aiyappan were the prominent among them. After Thurston and Ananthakrishna Iyer the next outstanding specialist on South Indian ethnography was A.Aiyappan who had his training in Social Anthropology by eminent and pioneering anthropologists such as Malinowski and Raymond Firth, as a consequence of which he could combine social anthropology along with ethnographic descriptions.³⁷

At the academic level Delhi university started a post-graduate course in Anthropology in 1927-28. Lucknow came next with both degree and post-graduate courses in 1951. In the decade 1950-60 Ranchi, Gauhati, Sagar, Poona, Bhubaneswar, Dharwar and Chandigarh opened university departments of Anthropology and between 1961 and 1970 Anthropology departments at the university level were opened at Raipur, Dibrugarh, Patiala, Waltair and Thirupathi. Besides university departments of Anthropology, some part or other of the discipline is included in the syllabi of such other subjects as sociology, political science etc.

Till the end of forties the exclusive focus of the anthropologists was on the tribal studies. After Second World War, especially after India's independence the academic scene changed rapidly. The Indian Government

37. U.C.Mohanthy, Tribal Culture and Tribal Welfare, 1988, p.vi.

started encouraging the development of all disciplines with varying strategies.

"The colonial roots of anthropology rendered it suspect to the nationalists in India. It smelt of British ethnocentrism as Wissler had pointed out, its point of view was that of the 'European observing the rest of the mankind'."³⁸ "Due to this connotation of the discipline of Anthropology, the academic climate was not wholly propitious for it after independence unlike Sociology. Sociology as a discipline has from the beginning, enjoyed greater esteem because of its proximity to philosophy and Indology - two disciplines highly rated in the country."³⁹

There was a positive increase in contacts of the American social anthropologists with India after independence. In the sphere of research methods Anthropology in India has grown out of its traditional limits and has freely adopted methods and techniques from cognate disciplines. Today it shows greater concern with problems and interpretations than with simple descriptions and classifications. The main trends of social or cultural anthropological research in India belongs firmly to -----

38. D.N. Majumdar, The Matrix of Indian Culture, 1947, p.1.

39. S.C.Dube, Social Science in the Changing Society, D.N. Majumdar Lectures, 1973, p.39.

structural functionalism and social and cultural changes. It is a mark of the maturity and integrity of contemporary Indian anthropologists specializing in tribal studies that they stubbornly refused to be enticed by imported analytical models deriving from historically and culturally specific situations.⁴⁰

40. R.K.Jain, "Social Anthropology of India", op.cit., p.40.

CHAPTER-II

PROFESSOR L.K.ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER: LIFE AND WORKS

A Short Biographical Sketch of Prof. Ananthakrishna Iyer

Dewan Bahadur Dr. L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer (1861-1937), the doyen of Indian Anthropologists has often been hailed as the father of Indian Anthropology.¹ Starting his career as a teacher, L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer strayed into anthropological field and stayed there, much to the enrichment of the science and inspiration to the later scholars. His established position in Anthropology is beyond question. The testimony of his students and contemporaries reveal his influence in promoting the interest in Anthropology in India. He put Kerala and Mysore on the anthropological map of India through his masterpiece works. The life of L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is certainly great by many ways.

Ananthakrishna was born in 1861. He came from a family that had settled down a century earlier at Lakshminarayanapuram, a Brahmin village in Palghat which was a part of the Malabar region in the Madras Presidency and in

1. L.K. Balarathnam, "Ananthakrishna's Pioneering Work in Anthropology", paper presented at the National Workshop on Anthropology and Development Administration, Palghat, March 1981.

1956 it became part of modern Kerala.² Lakshminarayanapuram village was one of the later settlements of the Brahmin immigrants from the eastern districts of Madras. The chain of Brahmin villages of Palghat consists of settlements along and near the river Bharatapuzha flowing westwards into the Arabian sea. Palghat which is situated in the gap between the Western and Eastern Ghats gives a picturesque scenery and the rivers made Brahmins feasible to do their daily rituals.

Ananthakrishna was the eldest son of Mr. L.N. Krishna Iyer and Mrs. Subbalakshmi Ammal who had four sons and two daughters. Krishna Iyer was a Vedic scholar, and his children were brought up in the best traditions of an orthodox and cultured Brahmin family.³ Ananthakrishna's mother was a god-fearing orthodox woman.

Though confining to the strict discipline of a young Vedic scholar, Ananthakrishna had his education in English medium. Not much is known about Ananthakrishna's early years of boyhood and education. But L.K. Balarathnam states that, "there was manifest in his boyhood that combination of

2. L.K.Balarathnam, "Ananthakrishna's Contribution to Anthropological Literature", Man in India, vol.66, no.4, December 1986, p.293.
3. L.A.Ramdas, "L.K.Anantha Krishna Iyer," Man in India vol.66, no.4, December 1986, p.282.

traits which were to shape his life and work - a keen sense of observation and an inquiring mind.⁴

Ananthakrishna broke the conventional education which was limited in the Vedic studies and joined a local school. He passed matriculation in 1878 with distinction from Palghat high school. Then, he joined Kerala Vidyasala at Calicut, for his undergraduation in 1883. After completing his F.A. he joined Madras Christian College and got his B.A. degree in 1883 with Natural Science as his main subject and Psychology, Philosophy and History as subsidiary courses. He had fairly brilliant academic career and gave unmistakable evidence of his future eminence as teacher. At the Christian College, he came under the spell of Willian Miller-one of the then distinguished educationist - who made a profound impact on him.⁵

Being the eldest son, the responsibility came upon his shoulders from the very threshold of his career. He took the burden of financial crisis that his family was facing. He faced other misfortunes also. At the very start of his career, Ananthakrishna lost his first wife, Meenakshi, and a few years later his second wife, Subbalakshmi. By his

4. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember: Anantha Krishna Blazes a Trail", in L.K.Balarathnam, ed., Anthropology on the March, 1963, p.27.

5. L.A.Ramdas, op.cit., p.282.

second wife he had a daughter and two sons. His third wife and life long partner was Gangai Ammal by whom he had two more sons and three more daughters.

Ananthakrishna started his career as a clerk in the Land Settlement Office at Wynad (in Ootacamund 1888-1890). But very soon he entered the teaching profession and joined the Victoria College at Palghat. While he was in Victoria College, he met Cecil M. Barrow, the principal of that college. Ananthakrishna had a life long influence of him. Nine years later he took the L.T. degree from the Madras University, and for a short time, worked as a headmaster of a school run by the local Christian Mission at Changanacherry in the erstwhile state of Travancore. In 1897, he was appointed as assistant master at the Ernakulam College. There the foundation of his subsequent career was firmly laid. His teaching was clear, and marked by clarity and forcefulness and adapted to those to whom it was addressed.⁶

Ananthakrishna showed special interest in the study of the development of human society. He had an immense capacity to enrich his knowledge through experience. He developed the habits of close and critical observation of men and manners. This experience provided the foundation

6. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember....", op.cit., p.31.

for his interest in anthropological studies. The early classical works in Anthropology such as that of Henry Maine, Bachofen, Mc Lenan, Tylor, Morgan etc. started appearing in the second half of 18th century. Ananthakrishna was familiar with the works of these founding fathers of anthropology. It was a fashion at that time to emulate some of the attitudes and techniques that had been so successful in its rapid advance in Britain and America.

Ananthakrishna's early interest in the customs and manners of people in both primitive and civilized societies was the starting point of his being attracted to Anthropology. When the Ethnographic Survey of the Indian Empire was launched by the Government of India in 1902, the Government of Cochin entrusted Ananthakrishna with the state's systematic ethnographic survey, and this verily marked the beginning of a new epoch in his life. He showed a deep interest in the new assignment which was in addition to the teaching job. He was never hasty in coming to conclusions and had a large measure of scientific skepticism.

An admirable blend of self confidence and humility, rare power of extracting the significant details from fragmentary evidences, quick eye for the essential, firm hold of the main points, above all his feeling for human motives and emotions gave life to his writings.

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7. L.K.Balarathnam, "Ananthakrishna's Contribution....", op.cit., p.295.

How Ananthakrishna commenced his work on the ethnographic survey of Cochin state was briefly indicated by him thus :

The work had to be done without prejudice to my duties in the Ernakulam College. My proposal to deal first with the purely Malayali, Hindu and animistic castes of the state was accepted by the Government, and investigation of the customs and manners of the hill and jungle tribes and the low castes was made there upon. The results of these investigations were published from time to time in the form of a monograph for each tribe or caste, the total number of monographs issued from the Government press Ernakulam being 12 between 1904 and 1906.⁸

His work as a science teacher ceased in 1908 when he was promoted to the Inspectorate of Schools as Deputy Inspector. The ethnographic work continued till his retirement and for some years thereafter. Clarity of exposition and lucidity of style had much to do with the wide audience for his writings in India and abroad. He corresponded with the leading foreign anthropologists of his time - such as A.C. Haddon, A.H. Keane, John Beddoe, E.B. Tylor, James Frazer, R.R. Marett, W.H.R. Rivers, William Crooke etc. - and received admiration, affection and friendship.

Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of Ethnographic Survey, Madras Presidency, wanted to incorporate in his volumes,

8. L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. iv.

titled *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, the material collected in Travancore and Cochin. While the Travancore Government agreed to it, the Cochin Government preferred to publish the work done by Ananthakrishna.⁹ In 1908 when Sir Albion Banerjee became the Dewan of Cochin, Ananthakrishna got the encouragement to publish the materials collected by him and he was placed on special duty as Superintendent of Ethnography. In that very year his *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, volume I, came out in a book form. The book was based on the materials collected by Ananthakrishna himself. The second volume of *Cochin Tribes and Castes* was published in 1912. The publication of these two sumptuous volumes elicited the warmest encomiums from Dr. John Beddoe and M. Bougle who were impressed at once by the painstaking industry of the author, and the care with which a great mass of facts had been sifted and recorded in true scientific spirit.¹⁰ A.H. Keane in his introduction to volume I, called the attention of the readers to the "inestimable value of the great body of primitive customs and social institutions which Mr. Iyer has rescued from oblivion and placed at the disposal of ethnical students."¹¹

9. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember...", op.cit., p.34.

10. A.Aiyappan, "Recollections and Reminiscences", Man in India, 1986, p.314.

11. A.H.Keane, in the "Introduction" to *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol.I, 1909, p.xix.

Ananthakrishna's reputation as an anthropologist was firmly established by 1913 and he was chosen as the president of the section of Ethnology in the first session of Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta in 1914. Meanwhile the Cochin Government utilized his organising abilities and scientific training and assigned to him the additional responsibility of creating the state Museum, Zoological gardens and an Industrial Bureau. At that time in the world over the development of Anthropology was closely connected with museums.¹² His interest in the subject of Anthropology was evidenced from the uniqueness of the exhibits both in the Museum and Zoo. The Ethnological section were housed the types of ornaments worn by different classes of people, the musical instruments used by them, and a rare and precious collection of masks, drums and costumes used by the Kathakali dancers.

In 1916, he was appointed as Reader of Indian Ethnology in the University of Madras to deliver a series of ten lectures. The lectures contained all essential theoretical points which he later elaborated in the series of lectures delivered at Calcutta University. During 1912-1920 he was engaged in further studies with the intention of completing

12. G.Sarana, "Indian Anthropology: Retrospect and Prospect", in I.J.S. Bansal., ed., Anthropology in Indian Context, p.75.

the Cochin Survey with a third volume. This was interrupted by an independent work on the Anthropology of the Syrian Christians of malabar, Cochin and Travancore which was completed in 1924 and was published in 1926.

Early in 1920, Sir Asuthosh Mukerjee who was the Director of the first Indian Science Congress and the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, invited Ananthakrishna to deliver a course of 12 extensive lectures on Indian Ethnography. At the concluding lecture the Vice-Chancellor announced the appointment of Mr. Iyer as the head of the new P.G. Department of Anthropology. He joined the department in 1920 and was in charge till 1933, after which he retired from the service of the University. The exceptional opportunities provided at Calcutta during this twelve years had enabled Ananthakrishna Iyer to extend considerably his researches in Anthropology.

Ananthakrishna's success as a teacher of Anthropology was, in many ways, due to his personality traits which made him such a successful field worker, and talents which placed his ethnological treatises on a new level of descriptive excellence. It was the intensity of his work that made the strongest impression on his students. He brought to them a great wealth of detailed knowledge, and profound critical acumen in the treatment of scientific data. Nirmal Kumar Bose, one of his students, who became Director of the

Anthropological survey of India, stated in a letter that,

Prof. Iyer used to take classes in Durkheim's concept of society and religion, and thus rightly introduced us to one of the most fascinating thinkers in the field of modern anthropology. I can only recall the days of my study at the University of Calcutta, with gratefulness, because of the presence of teachers of the stamp of Prof. Iyer.¹³

In 1925, the special Readership lectures delivered by him at Calcutta University in 1920 got published under the title "Lectures on Ethnography". In the following year the Government of India awarded him the title of Rao Bahadur in recognition to his work at Cochin.

In 1924 the Mysore Government invited Ananthakrishna to undertake the ethnographic survey of Mysore initiated earlier by H.V. Nanjundayya Ananthakrishna. He undertook many field trips and collected large amounts of data which he processed and published in four volumes. This had been completed in the decade 1924-34. The printed matter of the entire work ran into about 2,400 pages, besides 300 photographic illustrations. In the following decades many anthropologists and sociologists drawn heavily on the data accumulated by him. Says M.N. Srinivas :

During the course of my professional life I have had to study most of the writings of Ananthakrishna and I have derived much benefit and stimulus from them. My first book "Marriage and

13. L.K.Balarathnam, "Ananthakrishna's Contribution...", op.cit., p.299.

Family in Mysore' (Bombay 1942) drew heavily on the data to be found in the four monumental volumes of the 'Mysore Tribes and Castes'.¹⁴

After his retirement from the University of Calcutta in 1933, a series of lectures were arranged for him by some of his friends in England and Europe. On 23 April 1934, at an age of 72 he went abroad and stayed about 5 months out of India. In many universities he delivered lectures on topics of South Indian ethnography and anthropology which were universally admired and appreciated. Some of the topics that he dealt with like 'Black Magic in India', 'Primitive Culture in Southern Indian' were characterised by remarkable scholarship and wide researches. Wherever he gone, he was honoured with medals.

In Paris, he addressed the members and Fellows of the Anthropological Institute and School of Indology and immediately after this he was invited to the Pitt Rivers Museum for giving a lecture on South Indian Culture. At Vienna, on June 12, he lectured at the Asiatic Society. The hall was full, and included Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. On the 13th, he gave a lecture at the Institute of Ethnology. William Koppers presented him with a German translation of his Cochin Tribes and Castes, much to his pleasant

14. Ibid, p.301.

surprise.¹⁵ He toured widely in Austria and Germany and addressed various institutions on the different cultural and social aspects of South Indian Anthropology. Ananthakrishna Iyer was elected as the Vice-President of the Section of General Ethnology and Sociology at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held at London in 1934. He was elected unanimously to the Comité d'Honneur of the Congress. In recognition to his great achievements, the President of France honoured him by electing him to the distinction of the Officer d'Académie of the French Academy of Sciences. The Government of India conferred on him the title of Diwan Bahadur in 1935. The University of Breslau awarded him the Honorary doctorate of Medicine and Surgery. He returned to India towards the end of 1934.

On his return to India, Ananthakrishna agreed to take up the study of the tribes and castes of Coorg in association with Prof. Lideo Cipriani of Italy, but as death snatched him away the study remained incomplete. Till the very day of his death, he was busy in revising his material on the Coorgs.

The influence of religion and piety on Ananthakrishna's early years of life were always a source of inspiration and

15. L.A.Ramdas, op.cit., p.288.

strength to him. Early in 1937 he went for a pilgrimage along with his wife starting from the extreme south to Haridwar. On his way back he attended the Indian Science Congress at Secunderabad and delivered the presidential address. He returned to Palghat in January 1937. On 25th February, of that year a fatal stroke took him away. "By his death" wrote R.E. Enthoven, author of the Tribes and Castes of Bombay Presidency, in *Nature* (London, 1937), "India lost an indefatigable and learned worker in the field of ethnographic study who cannot be readily replaced."¹⁶ Dr. B. S. Guha, eminent anthropologist and the first Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, writing in Current Science (1937) says "...By his death India has lost a distinguished Indian who made important contribution to our knowledge of the habits and customs of the primitive tribes of India and on some of which he was the acknowledged authority."¹⁷

Ananthakrishna was an outstanding fieldworker and can be regarded as the founder of field studies in anthropology in India. He made a formal entry into the field as an ethnographer, and for nearly four decades continued actively

16. L.K. Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember....", op.cit., p.53.

17. Ajit K. Danda, and Chakrabarti Satyabrata, eds., A Biographical Sketch of L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, in Anantha Krishna Iyer Festschrift, p.2.

in the forefront. Indian Anthropology since Ananthakrishna's time has taken new turns as a result of several innovations in techniques of research as well as theoretical developments in this field. Even then, the vast storehouse of knowledge of the customs and manners of the various people that has been so well built by him and some of his contemporaries, remains to this day the very foundation of which fresh advances are being made in the spheres of social and cultural Anthropology. Verrier Elwin wrote on the occasion of Ananthakrishna's birth centenary, "Ananthakrishna was a fine scholar and a good generous hearted man.... The name of Ananthakrishna is a famous one in Indian Anthropology and is regarded with respect and affectionate remembrance not only in India but also in other countries."¹⁸

Summary of the Works of Ananthakrishna Iyear

When Ananthakrishna Iyer entered the field of anthropology in the first decade of this century, anthropology was undeveloped in India, and the facilities, resources and prospects which exist for anthropologists now a days were non-existent then. It must have required singular courage and devotion to have started on a career of anthropologists in those days. That is why Ananthakrishna Iyear became a legend to subsequent generations of anthropologists. In fact

18. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Note on Dr. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer", Ananthakrishna's Birth Centenary Publication, 1987, p.vi.

Anthropology was jokingly referred to as 'Ananthropology'. It can be said with justice that the work and example of Ananthakrishna Iyear contributed substantially to the building up of a scientific tradition in modern India,¹⁹

says M.N.Srinivas. Ananthakrishna Iyer started as an ethnographic surveyor in Cochin and ended up with his survey of Mysore tribes and castes. The state of Cochin had paid a handsome tribute to Dr.Ananthakrishna Iyear and a Gazette Extraordinary, in 1920, had referred to his valuable services appreciatively thus -

The Government desires to place on record their high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer during his 23 years' service. His work in the field of Indian Ethnology is known throughout India and Europe and has brought honour not only to himself, but also to the State under which he was employed.²⁰

First on the list of Ananthakrishna's achievement is the almost incredible bulk of ethnographic material he collected and collated. As an anthropologist, Ananthakrishna was a non-professional to start with and took to Anthropology as his life long passion and avocation. In taking up the work for Indian census and for compiling the gazetteers, the British administrators to associate Indian workers with them. This created opportunities for men

19. Ibid.

20. Quoted from Biographical memoirs of Fellows, vol.III, p.19.

like Ananthakrishna.²¹ Ananthakrishna has five books and eleven published articles to his credit. Among them, as already indicated, the Cochin Tribes and Castes is in two volumes and the Mysore Tribes and Castes is in four volumes. Besides, he was a regular contributor to the Indian Science Congress Association meetings.

The work on 'The Castes and Tribes of Cochin' by L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is a rich and varied collection of data on the numerous castes in the former state of Cochin, now a part of Kerala. The second and third volume of this most important monograph on a part of the country, which is most fortunate in possessing an assemblage of tribes and castes which is without parallel elsewhere in an area of equal size, deals with other groups which are higher in social grade.

Kerala being a land of thousands of castes and tribes and with all its customs and practices offers tremendous avenues to the study of Anthropology. Ananthakrishna Iyer exploited the vast resources and gave an authoritative and superb exposure through his book of Tribes and Castes of Cochin (see Appendix A and B).

21. A.K.Mitra, "Indian Anthropology Gets into Stride", in L.K.Balarathnam, ed., Anthropology on the March, 1963, p.4.

In the first volume he gives a descriptive account of the hill and jungle tribes and other low castes of the state in the ascending order of social status. These tribal folks had been of a peculiar interest for anthropologists as they appear to retain mass of the customs and beliefs which we may well suppose characterised mankind in very ancient times. The volume thus deals with all the Malayali and animistic castes, the members of which pollute the high caste-men at various distances and cannot approach the outer walls of the temples of the higher castes.

The first volume comprises eighteen chapters that deals with the Kadar, the Malayars, the Eravallans, the Nayadis, the Ulladans, the Vettuvans, the Koodans, the Kanakkans, the Pulluvans, the Velans, the Parans, the Vilkurups, the Kaniyans, the Valans, the Katararayangans, the Mukkuvans, the Izhuvans and the Kammalans. Of these Kadars, Malayans, Eravallans, Pulayans, Vettuvans, Koodans and Kanakkans come under the group of hill and jungle tribes and the rest are the lowest castes of the plains which fall outside the four fold division of caste Hindus.²²

Iyer described each and every tribe and caste in a fourteen point format which included the introduction of a

22. Iyer does not differentiate caste and tribe in the book Cochin Tribes and Castes. In the illustrations he termed the group as caste or tribe.

particular tribe or caste, their origin and tradition, habitation, marriage customs, pregnancy and child birth, inheritance and tribal organization, religion, magic and sorcery, funeral ceremonies, occupation, physical and mental characteristics, food, social status and conclusion.

Generally, in the introduction to each tribe or caste Iyer talks about the etymology of the name of that particular tribe or caste. And also the numerical strength of the tribe or the caste with sexwise split as in the 1901 census report, the areas in which they generally do stay and the divisions of the caste, if any, and also the language that they speak. Before going into details, Iyer gives a general account of the tribe or caste in the introduction.

While discussing about Malayans, he says the word Malayans means hill men. The name is apparently derived from *mala* a hill and *kaira* to go up. For 'Parayan' he says the word is derived from *para* a drum and hence they are considered to be drummer caste. Likewise for 'Pulayan' the word is derived from *Pula* means pollution or 'Palla' a tribe seen in Tamil districts. The 'Vettuvans' appear to be derived from the same root meaning 'hunter' and 'Pulluvan'. is forcefully derived from 'pulla' a hawk. The term 'Valans' is derived from *vala* which means a kind of fish in a tank.

Almost all the tribes and low caste people speak a

mixture of Tamil and Malayalm or a very crude form of Malayalam, such that the high caste people find it difficult to follow. Iyer considers the 'Pulayans' are the real descendants of the original inhabitants of Kerala who might had been Tamil speaking people. After referring to A.H. Keane's remarks of analogy of the Dravidian Malayalam to the English of the Negroes of North America Iyer says they had a language now forgotten.²³

Except for a few castes and tribes such as Vettuvans, Koodans, Vilkurups, Katararayans and Mukkuvans, Iyer has given a somewhat detailed account of the myths and legends of the origin of the caste or tribe. Without discussing the logical truth of these legendary beliefs of people about their origin, Iyer had given account of all the legends persisted among people of all the castes and tribes. Iyer seemed to have collected first hand information from the people about these beliefs. Regarding the race of many of the tribes, who speak the Dravidian dialects, Iyer did not consider them to be full blooded Dravidians, but represent Negrito, Kolarian, Dravidian and Aryan blends. As these tribes never came into contact with the Aryan intruders or other castes, they did preserve Negroid strain and other

23. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes and Castes, vol.2 (1909), reprint 1981, p.87.

primitive nor Aryan characters. He accepted the theory of Dr.A.H.Keane, about the origin of races in India.²⁴

While describing habitation Iyer started with the locality where the group of huts are seen. The Kadar village is situated on the outskirts of the hills or on the top; the Ulladans huts near paddy fields or coconut gardens, away from the habitation of high caste people. Along with he had described the nature of the hut, the roof, walls and doors, the furniture, the number of rooms that they generally do have, the way they preserve fire and also about the collection and storage of water.

Iyer explains the marriage customs of each and every tribe or caste group in detail., Not only that, also he give descriptions of varying customs of the same group depending on locality of different subgroups. For example, among Pulayans the four subdivisions and also Cherumans of Malabar and northern part, have got different customary practices. The major points that Iyer explaining are whether the group follows infant or adult marriage, exogamy or endogamy, the manner of engagement, place of marriage, bride's price, the marriage proper and also place of living after marriage.

Except among the Malayans all other groups may have either infant or adult marriage or both. For Velans,

24. Quoted in *ibid*, p.2.

Panans, Valans and Izhuvans *tali kettu kalyanam* for children is indispensable, the avoidance of which will meet with penalty. Among Malayans the child marriage is the rule.

All the groups are exogamous in terms of clan, gothram, *kiriyam* or *illam*. Almost all the group conducts a formal engagement before marriage, which includes exchange of betel leaves and horoscope and also a portion of the bridal price is given. Among Malayans the groom's mother ties a thread round the neck of the girl. For them marriage proper is two feasts, first at girl's and second at groom's huts.

Except Koodans all the tribes and castes have marriage ceremonies. Koodan boy and girl with their parent's consent start conjugal life. For Malayans, Eravallens, Nayadis and Ulladans the main ceremony is a feast and presentation of new cloth to the bride. For the rest of the groups *talitizing* is the prime ceremony. Among Kadans the boy's mother ties the *tali*. Among Parayans, Pulayans, Vettuvans, and Pulluvans, *tali* is tied by the groom.

The castes starting from Velans, as going up in the social ladder *talikettukalyanam* becomes an indispensable customary practice for children. Before the girls attain puberty they conduct a ceremony called *tali kettu kalyanam* which lasts for four days. During this ceremony, the cross cousin of the girl or any other caste member ties the *tali* round the neck of the girl. On the fourth day morning after

bathing the tali-tier will be entertained with a feast and he will no more be the husband of the girl. After puberty, another form of marriage is conducted called *sambandham*. For this there is no talitying, the couple is given a sweet preparation made of milk, sugar and a few pieces of plantain fruit.

Divorce is permitted among all these castes and tribes. Among the castes and tribes, Vettuvans and Koodans are monogamists. And also Eruvallans, Ulladans, Kanakkans, Pulluvans, Kattalarayans, Mukkuvans, Izhuvans and Kammalans do not practice either polygamy or polyandry. Malayans, Parayans, Velans and Valans practise polygamy but polyandry is unknown to them. Panans and Vilkurups practise fraternal polyandry. Kaniyans are a group who practice polyandry. Widow marriage is pratise among almost all the groups. Among Eravallens a widow could remarry a widower only.

In connection with pregnancy and child birth, Iyer discusses the ceremonies performed for the pregnant woman, the length of pollution, the ceremonies conducted to get over the pollution, the ceremonies held after child birth and also the diet of mother and child. Among the hill tribes such as Kadars, Malayans, Eravallans and Nayadis no particular ceremony is performed before child birth. But in the case of the woman found to be under demoniacal influence, a devil driver is called for its removal by his

magical strength. If the pregnant woman dreams of dogs, cats or wild animals coming to threaten her she is believed to be possessed of devils. For them the delivery pollution lasts for ten days. A separate hut is erected for the purpose of delivery. The diet of the mother is *chama* and boiled rice.

For the castes starting from Ulladans, as go up in the social grade a ceremony called *Pulikudi* or drinking of tamarind juice is performed for the pregnant women in the seventh and ninth month. Parayans do not observe any such ceremony. For Izhuvans the ceremony lasts for three days, the end of which is done by *kalam thullal*, to ward off devils.²⁵ Pulayans perform *garbha-bali* to drive away devils. The Pulluvan woman receives a piece of cloth and plate from her mother-in-law. Among all the castes after *pulikudi* performance the woman goes to her parent's house for delivery. For the purpose of delivery a separate hut or room is kept. The pollution lasts for 15 days. To get free of pollution the Parayans receive water from the landlord which they sprinkle on the hut. Besides boiled rice, the mother takes *pettu marunnu* (delivery medicine) which is made of pepper, garlic, aloes, cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon, coriander seeds and anise; all these are powdered and mixed

25. Ibid, p.296.

with gingelly oil.²⁶ The naming ceremony falls on the 28th day or any other auspicious day after that.

Among Malayans, Ulladans, Parayans, Pulayans and Koodans the nephews inherit the property. Most of the tribes and low caste people hardly have anything to inherit. In the case of rest of the castes and tribes sons inherit the property. Sons or nephews inherit the property in the case of Mukkuvans and Izuvans depending on the regional variations. Among Koodens the disputes were settled by their land lords. Except Koodans all the castes and tribes have got their own caste assemblies. The assemblies are constituted by the elderly people of the same village. The elderly people of the neighbouring villages constitute the caste assemblies for Kaniyans. For Velans, Vilkurups, Kammalans etc. the caste organization do not have any particular headman. *Muppan* is the name given to the headman of Kadars, Malayas, and Ulladans. The headman of Pulayans is called *Vallon* or *Valiyavan*, that of Vettuvans is *Kuruppan* or *Kanakkan*, that of Panans is *apradan* and that of fishing castes is called as *Alavan*. The decision of caste assemblies is final. Any theft or adultery committed by a member of the caste or when the caste rules are outraged, the caste assembly meets to take deliberations.

26. Ibid.

In the section of religion, magic and sorcery Iyer talks about the way of worship of the people, the names of the gods, the religious festivals and ceremonies and in detail accounts, in some instances, about the practice of black art by the people. Almost all the tribes and low castes are pure animists or demon worshippers. They represent their gods by stones under the trees. They do perform animal sacrifices. They also worship their dead ancestors. Some of them, such as Kadars talk vaguely about Hindu gods and Iyer says it is the first step towards the insensible adoption of externals of Hinduism.²⁷ When going up in the social order the castes start to profess lower forms of Hinduism. Here the caste members worship besides demons, the Hindu gods also such as Siva, Vishnu, Ganapathi, etc. In the case of Izhuvans, Iyer explains the nature of their worship in detail²⁸ - Sakthiworship, serpent worship, ancestor worship and religious customs such as hook swinging and *thookkam*.²⁹ The Izhuvans and Kammalans have their own temples. Almost all the castes and tribes believe in magic and sorcery, but Parayans are the most notorious in the practice of black art. People believe that Parayans who are proficient in it, can render themselves invisible and also

27. Ibid, p.12.

28. Ibid, pp.315-324

29. Ibid, p.324.

can take any form. The origin of the famous temple of Puri is closely connected with a low caste Parayan.³⁰

Except Valans, who burn their dead bodies, the others either bury or burn the dead bodies. The Kadars do have funeral dance and Pulayans play music when somebody dies. Generally the community is informed about the death. The body is taken to the pyre by the chief mourner - either nephew or son - and other close relatives. The days for pollution varies from 10 to 16 days. The Nayadis make a sand heap or a figure out of sand as a monument at the burial place. The Parayan keep rice in the grave as food for the deceased. The funeral ceremonies of Vettuvans are elaborate. Among them the son keeps mourning for one year.

The chief occupation of the jungle tribes is collection of forest products such as honey, plant roots etc. The low caste people depend on agriculture and other sorts of daily labours. Some of the castes have their traditional occupation such as of washermen, hunters etc. The Nayadis get alms from the high caste people at the time of a death in a house hold. The traditional occupation of Parayans is making baskets, mats and umbrellas. The Pulluvans get alms at some religious ceremonies. The Velans give washed cloths to the high caste people. Parayans are barbers, Kaniyans

30. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes.... op.cit., p.xx.

are astrologers and also train Nayars in arms and athletic sports. The fishing castes do fishing and boating, Izhuvans rear and cultivate palmiyras and Kammalans are the artisan group. In some instances Iyer elaborately explains the aspects of occupations.

Iyer illustrated the tribes and castes in their ascending order. Each group does not eat at the hands of all below them in social status. Starting from the lowest of the groups, all of them profess pollution. All of these tribes and low caste groups pollute the caste upper to them either by approach or by touch.

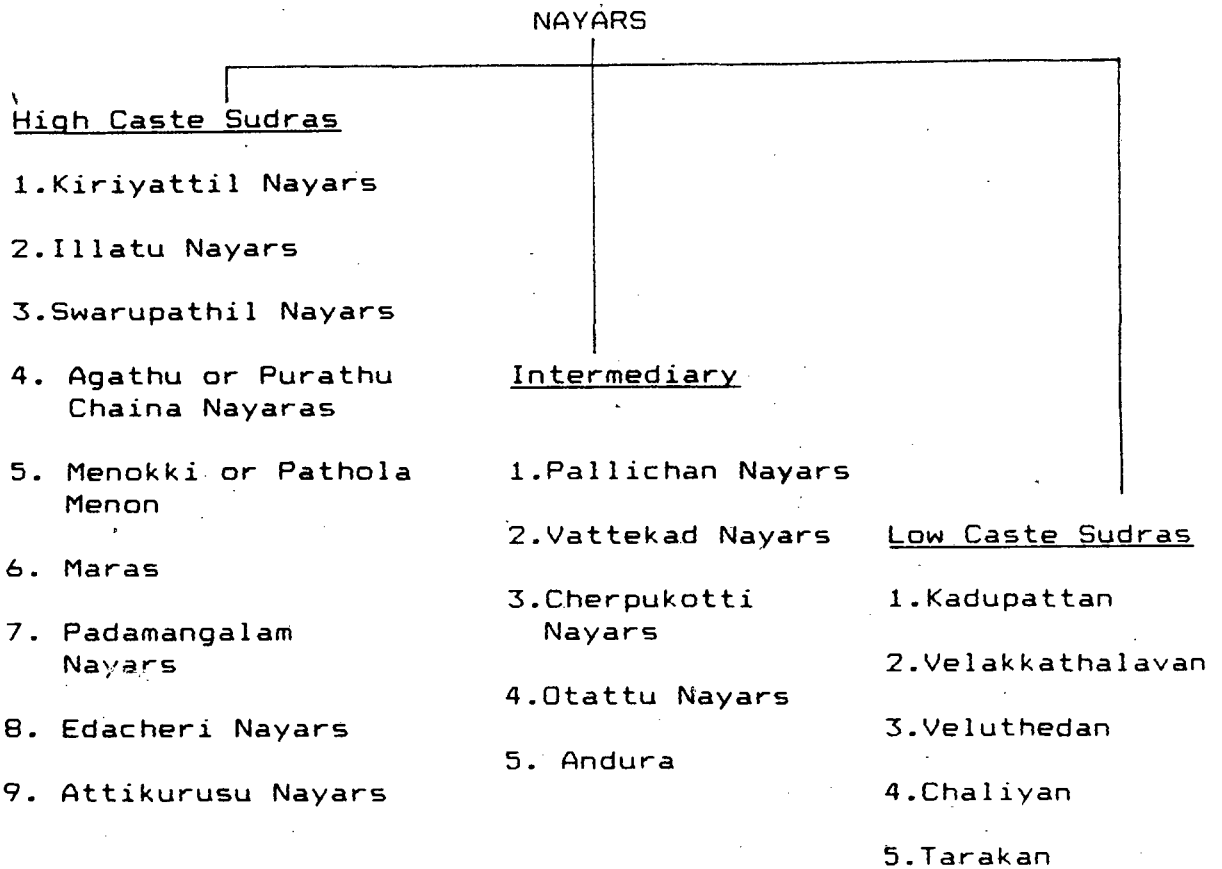
The second volume of the Cochin Tribes and Castes was published in 1912. In about 500 pages supported by apt illustrations, it deals with groups of people higher in social grade. The first five chapters deal with Nairs. This was followed by accounts of the Kadupattans, Velakkathalavans, Veluttedans, Chaliyans and Tarakans and then the higher social group consisting of the Ambalavasis, Nambidis, and Samanthans. An account of the Kshatriyas followed and the treatment of Brahmins covered five chapters in all. The accounts of Nambuthiris, the Tamil Brahmins, the Embrans and the Konkani Brahmins embodied details of their origin, their social and religious life, ceremonies and religious institutions, temples, observances etc. A separate chapter had devoted to the non-indigenous castes,

comprising the Ambattans, Andichakkahs, Devangas, Kaikkolans, Kakkalans, Karavaras, Kudumbichettis, Kumbarans, Oddens, Otans, Pandarams and Vezhambars, and also Jews along with their traditions, customs, rites and ceremonies.

Nayars constitute the third and last of the honoured castes under the name of the pure 'Sudras of Malayala'. They were mostly nobles who engaged in the occupation of arms. Their customs widely differ from those of other people; in marriage, family and other social organization as also in material filiation. Iyer opines that Nayars are the immigrants from Tamil country and they belong to the Dravidian race with no doubt a considerable admixture of Aryan blood.³¹ Based on occupational differences Nayars are divided into various sub-castes. Iyer noticed fourteen subdivisions, though he is not sure about the exact number.³² It includes nine high caste sudras and five intermediary groups. Besides them there are four low caste sudras. As a general rule, among the high caste sudras, marriage is hypergamous while among the low caste sudras it is endogamous. A Nayar is allowed to cohabit with a woman lower in social scale than himself, but their women kind are prohibited from exercising the same liberty.

31. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes...., op.cit., p.3

32. Ibid, p.15.



Among Nayars cross-cousin marriage is the most desirable one. Two forms of marriage - *thalikettu kalyanam* and *sambandham* - are in vogue among them. The former is performed for every girl before puberty and the latter, the real adult marriage is celebrated after she comes of age. The talitying for every girl is compulsory before she arrives at maturity. In every *tharavad* or family, the ceremony is performed once in ten or twelve years and all the girls who have not undergone this ceremony are married in this fashion for the sake of ceremony. *Thirandukuli* is the celebration when the girl reaches the age of maturity.

The *sambandham* the customary union of man and woman, is not a marriage in the legal or sacramental sense of the term. *Sambandham* is the principal word denoting marriage among the *marumakkathayam* Nayers. As there are different local names denoting marriage, so there may be found local variations in the performance of the ceremony. Iyer discusses these variations. The Nayers practice polyandry. The Nayers of the ancient times were in most cases, neither did regular marriage nor did they care much when married, to support their wives and children. Nayar women generally mate with people of their own caste and the caste above them. At present the custom of polyandry and polygamy is dead.

Nayar women observe *pulikudi* (drinking of tamarind juice) in the ninth month of pregnancy. After the childbirth in a household, all the members of the family observes pollution for fifteen days. The *tharavad* of *marumakkathayam* family consists, in theory, all persons who can trace their descent in the female line from a single ancestor. *Karanavan* is the manager of all affairs in the Nair family. Many of the old time-honoured customs have already disappeared or began to disappear. In these days of civilization, with the growing wants of the members coupled with the indifference and selfishness of the *Karanavans* and the other members, the joint family tends to disintegrate.

The Nayars follow the *Marumakkathayam* law of succession. In the partition of a Nayar *tharavad*, all the members are equally entitled to a share. The self acquisitions of each member of a *tharavad* are of his absolute disposal during his life-time, but this right lapses to the *tharavad* on his death.

Iyer has dealt in detail the administration of justice. Brahmins and women were exempted from severe punishments. The punishments to crimes were very cruel. These systems have been completely forgotten and given place to the institution of regular courts, where justice is administered in accordance with the principles of British jurisprudence. Administration of the state also has been discussed. The country was divided into 'nads' or principalities and the smallest territorial unit in it was 'desam'. Each of the 'desam' and 'nads' were designated by the allotted quota of Nayars, it was required to put into the field. The village life is undergoing transition due to the western civilization. Iyer gives descriptions about the village pastime and festivals with much detail.³³

The high caste Nayars profess Hinduism and follow most of the religious practices of the Brahmins whose influence in matters of religious as well as social life is supreme

33. Ibid, pp.63-79.

all over the state. They worship the superior deities of the Hindu Pantheon in temples. They also adore the minor deities. The Cochin state as well as Malabar and Travancore are the land of magic, sorcery and witchcraft. The belief in animism and all these are largely mixed up with the religion of the Nayars. Evidence of wide spread belief in the worship of ancestors can be seen in the ceremonies performed and the offerings made for the spirits of the dead. Worship of serpent shrines kept in the compound of the houses occupies a prominent place in the religious life of the Nayars and other castes. The temples of Nayars in which the village deities or *gramadevathas* have been enshrined are far less imposing than those of the Brahmins and are called *Kavus*. The deities include Durga and Aiyappa or Sasta. Demon worship and worship of animals and plants are prevalent among the Nayars.

The Nayars generally burn their dead bodies. But that of children under 2 or 3 years of age and as well as the persons who were died of small pox or cholera are buried. There are certain religious ceremonies in connection with funerals.

Among high caste Sudras the recognition of caste by occupation is not possible. They were at one time a military caste. Among the lower castes of Nayars there are sub-castes who by occupation were potters, weavers, oil

mongers and coppersmiths. Among them there are tenant farmers, agricultural labourers, growers of special products and those connected with agricultural farming and forests. They are second in the list of the castes as regards learning and only five per cent of the population belong to the learned professions. They are found in all departments of public service.

Nayar men wear a piece of cloth, two or two and a half yards long and a half yard broad, round the loins. It must touch the ground or very nearly so. A small upper garment is worn while at home. The men shave their face and head leaving an oval patch of hair on the top of the head. The Nair women wear an inner garment round the loins which is covered by an outer garment. A small upper cloth serves as a covering above the waist. The women of the present day wear petticoats to cover their upper part of the body. The Nayar women are fond of jewellery.

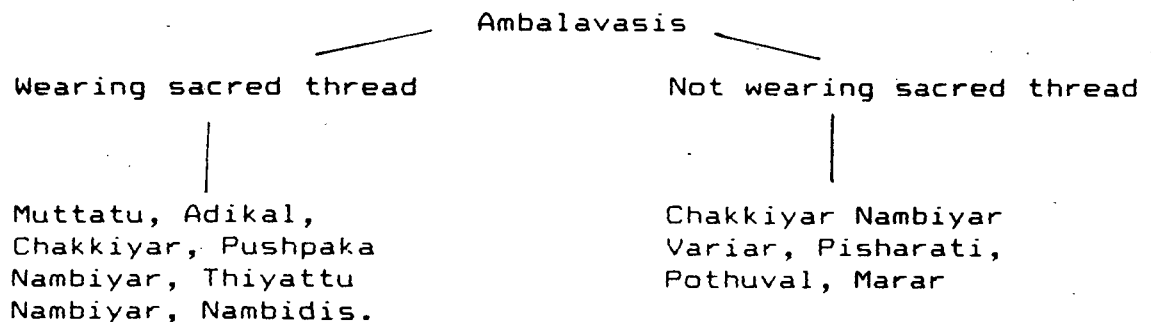
The Nayars ranked below Ambalavasis and above the polluting castes. The touch of the Nayar pollutes the Brahmins and they themselves in turn are polluted by the low caste sudras. The customs and practices of the low caste Nayars are slightly different from that of high caste Nayars. Iyer deals with them separately.

Antharala jatis are castes below the Brahmins and Kshatriyas and above the Sudras. Nambidis, Ambalavasis and

Samanthas fall under this category. Most people in this group engage in some or other sort of temple services.³⁴

Nambidīs have been divided into wearers and non-wearers of *Punul* (sacred thread). Their marriage customs are like that of Brahmins and the bridegroom who is also the tali-tier is a member of the same caste. Their women consort with Nambuthiris by *sambandham* alliance, while the males generally consort with Nayar women. Inheritance is in the female line.

The term *Ambalavasi* is a generic caste name, which includes various sub-divisions, or sub-castes whose occupation is temple service in some form or other. They are broadly divided into two communities viz., those who wear *punul* or sacred thread and those who do not.



The word 'Adikals' means slaves or servants. Adikals are said to have been originally Brahmins and their degradation is ascribed to their own misdeeds. Birth and

34. Iyer does not make any clear distinction of this caste group in this particular volume. But later on in his 'Lectures on Ethnography' he make the distiction.

death pollutions last for seven days. They have their own priests. They follow inheritance in female line.

The Muttatus are the highest among the Ambalavasis. The members of this caste seem to have undergone slight elevation and they now observe the customs of the Brahmins in all respects. The caste is endogamous. Only the eldest son of the family enter in marriage while the junior members enter in *sambandham* with Nayar women. Polygamy is in vogue among them. Inheritance is on the male line. In all matters connected with caste disputes, the Nambuthiri *vaidiks* are consulted and their decisions are final. They are *saivites* in religion. Karuga Musads and Kovil Musads are a class of people closely allied to Muttatus.

The Ilayatus are divided into two minor divisions called 'Onnam parisha' and 'Randam parisha' (first and second parties) and between these two divisions there is neither interdining nor intermarriage. All customs relating to *Upanayanam*, marriage, funeral and other ceremonies as well as the law of inheritance are precisely similar to those of Brahmins. They are not entitled to study Vedas.

The Chakkiyars said to be the sons of Nambuthiri women found guilty of adultery after the date at which such adultery is said to have begun.³⁵ A Brahmin alone can enter

35. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes...vol.II, op.cit, p.129.

into matrimonial alliance with Chakkiyar girls besides men of her own caste. The males, on the other hand can enter into wedlock with a girl of their own caste or of the Nambiyar caste. They live chiefly by their traditional occupation known as Chakkiyar *Kuthu*. It is a kind of performance which consists of recitations of puranic stories and their explanation in a dramatic style for the edification of the audience composed of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Ambalavasis and Sudras.

There are four classes of Nambiyars. They are Pushpakam Nambiyar, Tiyyattu Nambiyar, Chakkiyar Nambiyar and Chengazhi Nambiyar. The traditional occupation of Pushpakam Nambiyar is sweeping the inner precincts of the temples, cleaning the utensils, collecting flowers and making garlands. Thiyattu Nambiyars paint the image of goddesses in lively colours and also praise the goddesses with songs and propitiating her with offerings particularly when small-pox prevails in any locality. They do their traditional occupation of *Thiyyattam* that is fire dancing, but nowadays it seldom takes place. The Chakkiyar Nambiyars are the offsprings of unholy connections of Brahmin women. The original habitat of Chengazhi Nambiyars is in a village called Chengazhikode in Talapilli Taluk. All of these sub-groups of Nambiyars enter in *sambandham* relation.

Varriars are the group of people who engaged in temple services like making garlands, beating drum etc. A Variyan can marry a woman of his own caste or enter in *sambandham* relation with Nayars. They generally inherit in the female line. They are Saivites in religion. The house of a Variyar is styled *Variyam* and their women are called Varisars.

The traditional occupation of Pisharotis is making of flower garlands for Vishnu temples. Pothuvals are of two groups Mala pothuvals (garland makers) and Chenda pothuvals (drummers). The Marars are said to be sudras and rightly to be classed among the Nayars, but owing perhaps to their close connections with the temple services and the absence of intermarriage and interdining with the Nayars, they are classed as sub-caste of the Ambalavasis. They are generally drummers, musicians and store keepers in temples.

Samanthans are a group of caste men who are the personal attendants of the members of Zamorins and his relations. The word 'Samanthan' is a generic name for a group of castes which form the aristocracy of Malabar formally ruling over varying extends of territories. They are said to be higher in social scale and yet their customs do closely resemble those of the Nayars. There are several minor divisions among the Samanthans, namely Nambiyar, Unnithiri and Adiyodi, all belonging to North Malabar and

Nedungadi, Vellodi, Eradi Thirumulpad belonging to South Malabar.

The members of the family of His Highness the Raja, the members of the family of the chief of Cranganore (Kodungallur) and others, called Thambans and Thirumulpads come under Kshatriya caste. The principal Thampan families are related to the ruling families and are superior in social status to those of Thirumulpads. The prince has the title 'Thampuran' and the princess 'Thampuratti'.

They practice both *talikettu kalyanam* and *sambandham* forms of marriages. They follow *marumakkathayam* law of inheritance. The names of the males end in the suffix 'Varma' and those of females end in 'Devi'. The religion of Kshatriyas may be described as Hinduism largely mixed with animism. The caste people are exclusively vegetarians. In temples the Kshatriyas can approach for worship into the very threshold of the shrine in which the deity is placed. The entry is however forbidden in certain temples where the tradition attributes the consecration to Parasurama the enemy of Kshatriyas.

The Kshatriya community is an intermediate caste between Brahmins and Nayars, and has affinities to both. In Kerala, the Nambuthiri class (Aryans) has become Dravidianised and Dravidian Nayar population has become Aryanised though to a lesser degree. The intermediary caste

that is Kshatriyas therefore must be the Aryans more Dravidianised or Dravidians more Aryanised.³⁶

The caste that occupies the highest position in the order of social precedence is that of the Brahmins. They are generally classed under two equal groups. These groups are Panchagaudas and Panchadravidas. The former being the Brahmins living North and the latter South of the Vindhya ranges. Panchagaudas are Saraswatha, Kanyakubja, Gandara, Utkala and Mithila Brahmins. The Panchadravidas are Maharastra, Telugu, Canrese, Tamil and Malayalam Brahmins.

Nambuthiri, Muthathu and Elayathu come under the group of Brahmin and the allied castes in Cochin. Among the Dravida Brahmins, Nambuthiris occupy the foremost position. They are the Vedic Brahmins of the purest Aryan type leading a high spiritual life. They are also the aristocracy of the land, marked most conspicuously by two characteristics, simplicity and exclusiveness. There are six subdivisions among the Nambuthiris arranged in the order of social precedence. They are Thampurakkals, Adhyans, Visista Nambuthiris, Samanyas Jatimatras and Sapagasthas.

Brahmins are strictly an endogamous group. According to Sasthras, persons who are related as sapindas cannot marry. This relationship extends six degrees where the common ancestor is a male. Among Nambuthiris only the

36. Ibid, p.168.

eldest son is allowed to marry and this custom has long been in force to keep the family property intact and to prevent its disintegration by partition which the younger sons might necessitate. It is only under exceptional circumstances that the second or other junior members enter into wedlock with women of the same caste. As a rule however, the junior members enter into *sambandham* with the women of other castes below them up to Nayars.

Nambuthiri girls are married both before and after they reach the age of puberty. The marriage ceremonies are elaborated and includes a lot of performances. It must be noted that the *mangalya suthram* or the tali tying is nowhere among the Brahmins looked upon as a marriage rite, though the popular belief is otherwise. Among the Nambuthiris, the father ties the tali round the girl's neck, while among the other classes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisas and even among most of the Sudras, the bridegroom does it at an auspicious hour.

The delivery of a Nambuthiri woman takes place on the base floor of the house. The umbilical cord is cut off by a barber woman who is a midwife. Soon after delivery the woman is attended by a sudra woman for 10 days. It is curious to note that the sudra woman's touch or the taking of meals in her presence entails no pollution during the period of confinement. At other times this deviation is

highly reprehensible and entails her loss of caste.³⁷ The naming of the child falls on the twelfth day after the birth of the child. *Annaprasana* or the first rice giving of the child is done on the sixth month. *Chowla* or the shaving of the head for the first time for both girls or boys is done on third or fifth year. *Karnavedam* or piercing of the earlobe takes place at the close of the year. *Vidyarambham* is done during the third or fifth year of the boy's age. *Upanayanam* or the investing of holy thread takes place in the seventh or eighth year. The boy's studentship begins immediately after *Upanayanam*, which stops with a ceremony, called *samavratham*.

Nambuthiris are often indulged in polygamy owing partly to their desire to have a son to perform funeral and other ceremonies for the spirits of the departed soul and partly to dispose of the superfluous number of girls.³⁸ Polyandry and widow marriage are absolutely unknown among them. Chastity of the woman is considered as the highest virtue.

The family property of a Nambuthiri is called *Brahmaswam* and every member there of has an equal claim to it, but practically it is the eldest son who succeeds to the

37. Ibid, p.200.

38. Ibid, p.253.

property of his father while the junior members are entitled to get maintenance. If the senior member of a Nambuthiri family has no legal heirs - his own sons, his brother's sons or any near relation - he may adopt heirs, but in the event of his having any heir in the male line however distant he is not entitled to exercise the right of adoption. In the latter case, the nearest and oldest relative must marry and thus preserve the family continuity.

The Nambuthiris are Vedic Brahmins and are non sectarian in religion. Their religion may be described as being bound up in the bundle of their everyday experience. There are, it is said, sixty-four rules of conduct observed by them. Closely connected with the caste system are the rigid theories of pollution which may be classed under two heads - unapproachability and untouchability. Nambuthiris have been occupying and still occupy the highest position in the order of social precedence and are looked upon by the Nayers and the members of the lower castes as the holiest of human beings. They are a peace loving people entirely devoted to their religion, untouched by progress and unspoiled by the views of modern civilization it will be, if they continue to represent, only unalloyed vestiges of 'Vedic Brahmins'.³⁹

39. Ibid, p.288.

In the second division of the Dravida Brahmins falls Tamil Brahmins who have immigrated and settled in Cochin state in early times. They are considered as foreign Brahmins as contrasted with Nambuthiris or native Brahmins. The Tamil Brahmins are divided into Smarthas and Vaishnavas. The former are again divided into Vadman, Brahacharanam, Vadhyaman, Ashta Sahasram and Kanial.

The Brahmins of all sections are found throughout the state. Brahmins of Chittur, and Palghat Taluks live in *agraharams*. Each division of Tamil Brahmins are endogamous. They conduct only pre-puberty marriages. Their marriages are irrevocable. In some instances they do practice polygamy, however, the first wife joins the husband in all ceremonies. Adultery is punished by excommunication. Their succession to the property is in the male line. They worship Siva and Vishnu. The status of widow is one of degradation. Widow marriage is strictly prohibited among them. The Brahmins were by Sasthras, required to teach the Vedas, to look after the moral, social and religious principles of the people, to perform and preside over the religious and sacrificial ceremonies and also to aid rulers in the administraton of justice.⁴⁰

In strictly speaking Embrans are Brahmins of Kerala. They are engaged in temple services as assistants of

40. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Cochin Tribes...., op.cit., vol.III, p.343.

Nambuthiris who generally interdine with them. Konkani Brahmins are the immigrated ones from Konkani region. They come under the division of Panchagaudas. They are endogamous groups occupied as traders. They also do law, medicine, teaching and other learned professions.

Iyer gives brief account of indigenous caste groups seen in Kerala. Ambattans are Tamil barbers. The Andis are a class of Tamil badgers who profess saivite faith. Chakkalans are Tamil oil pressers and dealers in oil. Devangas are a caste of weavers speaking Telugu and Canarese. The Kaikolans are also a caste of Tamil weavers. The Kakkalans are a vagrant tribe. Kavaras are a Tulu caste who speak a mutilated form of Tulu. Konkani Chettis are the Konkani sudras who work as domestic servants of Konkani Brahmins. Kamarans are a Telugu caste of potters. Oddens are also called Voddens are Telugu people who originally came from Orissa. Otans are a class of potters who were originally Tamil sudras. The Pandarams are Tamil beggars who take a highest position among beggars. Vezhambars are clever in magic and sorcery.

Among the people of Cochin there are Jews, a unique community which had settled from early times in the state, the Syrian Christian and Jonakan Mappillas. During the years 1912-20 Ananthakrishna was engaged in the work among these groups of people. This resulted in the publication of

'Anthropology of Syrian Christians', which was completed in 1924.

In the midst of the native or Hindu population of Cochin state is found a small, but interesting colony of Jews, consisting of a small number of families scattered about in a few localities. It is believed that they are first settled in Cranganore near about 490 A.D. and they have got a Charter from the ruling king. The customs of Jews are similar to that of Spanish Jews.

Among the sons of Israel cousins of all degrees, both on the father's and mothers side, intermarry. Amongst them celibacy is unknown. The three essential ceremonies in connection with their marriage are the engagement, betrothal and actual wedding. The betrothal is the first step on the ceremony and therefore irrevocable. The bride will be tied with tali by her mother or sister. The minister of synagogue officiates the ceremonies with the recital from Hebrew books. The marriage festivities last for seven days.

After delivery of the child a knife is kept on the bedside to ward off evil spirits. Circumcision to male child will be performed on eighth day of its birth by the minister of the synagogue or an expert from the community. In the case of female children the ear is bored at three places any day after three months. Polyandry is unknown among them. It is obligatory on the brother of a deceased

husband to marry the latter's wife. Adultery is punished among them. For them inheritance is in the male line. The Brown, White and Black Jews have their own social organization.

The religion of Jews is called Judaism and the essence of their faith is summed up in the formula that Jehovah is the god of Israel and Israel is the people of Jehovah. They have some religious festivals and feasts. Their dead are buried. They are mainly traders. Their children are taught 'Hebrew'. They can speak the language of the people around them. Their social conditions are very much governed by their religion, the sabbath and dietary laws. Iyer gives an account of anthropological examination of the Jews, their physical characteristics, pigmentation, purity of race etc.⁴¹

The Syrian Christians, who form the large majority of Christians in Cochin and Travancore are the representatives of the ancient orient church on the west coast of South India. They are generally called St.Thomas Christians or *Nazarene Mappillas*. It is believed that in 52 A.D. Apostle St.Thomas established Christianity in Malabar. The Christians in Cochin belong to various denominations. They are Roman Catholics, Jacobite Syrians, Chaldean Syrians and

41. Ibid, p.434.

Protestants. Each division is an endogamous sect.

The Catholics avoid all conjugal relations among relatives and even cousins up to fourth degree. Dowry is an essential part of the marriage. The bride groom ties the tali. Sundays are the most preferable days for marriage. Among the Roman Syrians Mondays are considered most auspicious.

The Christians do not observe any purity of pollution connected with puberty, birth, death etc. They practice neither polygamy nor polyandry. The Syrian Christians are an industrious and enterprising class of people. Ethnically they are not a race, but are only the descendants of converts from all castes from ancient times and those recruited in recent times. There are many survivals of Hindu customs observed at their weddings and other ceremonies. They believe in astrology, sorcery and witchcraft. In religion they are under the wholesome discipline of the church.

The Jonakan Mappillas are a Muhammadean sect and also called as Mappillas. They are mostly either the descendants of the offsprings of Arab traders and the low caste women of Malabar or converts to the faith of Islam from the lower Hindu castes. Of the four sects into which the Muhammadeans are divided viz., Shafee, Hanafee, Ambalick and Malick; the Mappillas belong to the first.

The Mappillas do not have any objection to enter into conjugal relations with close relatives. Polygamy is very much vogue among them. The 'Koran' loudly proclaims the inferiority of women. Men can divorce their wives on any grounds. The Mappillas belong to the Shafi school of the Sunni sect, that is they acknowledge, besides Koran, the authority of the Sunneh or the customary law of Arabian theology as interpreted by Shafi. The Tangals are their religious leader and they are regarded with a high degree of respect. The Mappillas bury their dead. They are in all grades of work. Physically they are, on the whole, a fine class of people, and are fit for any hard and enduring labour.

Ananthakrishna Iyer's 'Lectures on Ethnography' (1925), is a compilation of the lectures delivered by him in 1920 and it was published in 1925 by Calcutta university. The lectures were on Anthropology; Ethnology and Ethnography; Race; Racial history of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore; caste, sex and marriage; family, kinship and social organization; magic, sorcery and witchcraft; evolution of tastes in dress and ornaments and finally village community in South India.

The lectures on Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography are reflections of Ananthakrishnan's ideas on these topics. According to him "Anthropology is that branch of Natural

History which treats of man. It may also be defined as the Science of Man which includes two main divisions, the one which deals with the natural man and the other the social man i.e., man in relation to his fellows"⁴². The science of Ethnology has been defined as that branch of general Anthropology which deals with the relations of the different varieties of mankind to each other. Anthropology deals with the question of several races, their anatomy, physiology and pathology and analyses the great problem of evolution. Ethnology treats the same subject from the physical and psychological sides and borrows its anatomical data. "Ethnographers deal with particular tribes and with particular institutions and particular customs prevailing among the several peoples of the world and especially among the so-called savages."⁴³ The task of ethnography is to indicate not only the distinctions but also the points of transition and intimate affinities which exist among mankind.⁴⁴ Though there is a clear cut distinction between Ethnology and Ethnography they are not water tight compartments. As Anthropology treats of mankind as a whole

42. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Lectures on Ethnography, 1925, p.4.

43. Ibid, p.5

44. Ibid, p.10.

it has a far wider scope, though in the former times, the work of Anthropologists were looked upon with suspicion. Anthropology became a subject of study in many universities world over.

Iyer gives a short account of the work done in Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography in India. Dr. John Short was the first to make systematic observations in Physical Anthropology.⁴⁵ Soon the government of India started taking sympathetic attitudes to the study of its people and their culture. There were efficient government officers who were ready to assist actively in the collection of Ethnographic data in addition to their official duties. As directed by the Government of India, the provincial governments of Northwest Provinces and Bengal appointed Mr. Croke and Mr. Dalton respectively to collect ethnographic data of that regions and this resulted in admirable volumes of castes and tribes of the respective regions. Following the lines in Bengal, the government decided for a comprehensive ethnographic survey of the customs of most important tribes and castes of various provinces by the Superintendents appointed for the purpose. On 18 April 1913 the Secretary of the State of India stressed the importance of the study of Social Anthropology in the Oriental Research

45. Ibid, p.11.

Institute proposed to found in India.⁴⁶ In accordance to the conference held at Simla in July 1911, the government recognized the urgent need in India to start Ethnographic Museums under scientific management to illustrate Indian civilization in varied phases. All these initiatives taken by the Indian government attributed more popularity to the subject.

Iyer says that the fossils for Anthropologists are primitive people. As these fossils are fast disappearing or becoming so changed by contact or crossing with the higher forms of humanity, the early collection of anthropological materials becomes an urgent necessity. As some physical characteristics show more persistence, it gives more value to the study of Physical anthropology. Iyer gives an account of the channels to collect and preserve the materials about the aboriginal tribes. In India, a country with various creeds and ruled by an alien race, the important branch of Anthropology is what is known as social Anthropology. Iyer concludes that

the work hitherto done in Indian Anthropology has been mainly for administrative purposes. But nothing worthy of the name has been done to ascertain the types persisting in a country to which no other country in the world can be compared as possessing so many varieties.⁴⁷

46. Ibid, p.12.

47. Ibid, p.18.

In the second lecture which was on 'Race', Iyer discusses distribution of races, causes of variation, race prejudices, purity of races etc. By race, Iyer means, the inherited breed and all that it covers whether bodily or mental features. Race-mark is based upon the inheritance of acquired characters or heredity. Heredity and race are synonymous in respect of physical characteristics but with mental attributes they are different. Race is responsible only for peculiarities-bodily or mental -which are transmitted with constancy along the lines of direct descent from father to son. Race has a larger influence than the ways and means upon sociological development.

Geographical position must have been one of the main elements in determining the formation and permanence of races.⁴⁸ Racial migrations and distributions have been going on at all times and they lead to the intermingling of races in all parts of the world. Whenever two races occupy the same geographical area, a mixed population arise and a large percentage of the population of the world come into existence by race-crossing. Consequently purity of race or purity of type is only live in imagination. In all parts of the world, the advanced or white races hold the backward races in more or less complete dependence and this brings

48. Ibid; p.21.

social, economic and other hostile conflicts mostly to the disadvantage of the latter.⁴⁹

The third lecture was on the 'Racial history of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore which form the present-day Kerala state. The Kingdom of Kerala is one of the three Dravidian kingdoms of South India. Iyer examines the early history of Kerala and his finding is that, though the early history of the Kingdom is buried in obscurity, the prehistoric monuments found in various parts of the kingdom reveal the existence of a people during the later neolithic period. Probably they were the Dravidians who developed a civilization of their own.

The Aryan invasion into the South Indian region might have started in eighth century B.C. The Aryan civilization had completely absorbed the pre-existing Dravidian traditions. Though the Aryan immigration to the Kerala kingdom started in the remote past, the colonization started long afterwards.⁵⁰ Though the Aryan Nambuthiris settled in villages occupied by the agricultural Dravidians, the social assimilation was not a smooth process. The Nambuthiris entered into matrimonial relations with the women of the conquered community which in turn resulted in a mixed race

49. Ibid, p.39.

50. Ibid, p.53.

of Aryan and Dravidian blood.⁵¹ The early Dravidian social organization was greatly modified by the Aryan culture. The original inhabitants were divided into two - the earlier or savage section who were those driven to the jungles by the Aryan intruders and the other semi-civilized section who were conquered by the Aryans. The former are represented by Izhuvans and other low castes and the later by Nayars.

Nayars though styled as Malayali Sudras, differ ethnically no way from the Malayali Brahmins because of marital and other close alliances. The Nayars are in every way superior to their brethren in other parts of India. The hill tribes and agrestic serfs present negroid features, while others exhibit Dravidian characteristics. There is a greater blending of the Aryan and Dravidian races in Malabar than in other parts of India.

The fourth lecture given by Iyer was on 'caste'. Caste as a religious and social organization exercised a very powerful influence upon the people of India. It was much to the credit of Ancient India, that caste existed in its perfect form. The earliest references were found in the Vedas; and in the Puranas and varying accounts of it is given by Iyer. The fourfold division of caste had assigned special duties to each division and the performance of which

51. Ibid, p.58.

alone justified the name and existence of every members in each division. But at present there are numerous castes that do not owe their origin to any particular functions. The major caste formations are those of race castes, sectarian castes, functional castes, castes formed by crossing and also the castes formed due to migration.

The castes of Kerala have a racial, marital and functional basis. At present the term Sudras represent all castes of the non-Aryan groups. By the practice of hypergamy Brahmins prevented the degradation of their caste. The union of Kshatriya with Sudra women gave rise to the caste 'Samanthans' who are in higher status than Nayars. Besides the Hindu castes peculiar to Malayalam land, there are other permanent and temporary emigrants from other parts of India. There are also group of castes called Ambalavasis who enjoy a position between Brahmins and Kshatriyas on the one hand and Nayars on the other. Iyer says, "caste as a socio-religious institution is not observed by the Christians and Muhammedans of Kerala."⁵²

According to Iyer marriage as understood in the modern spirit is the idea of race production and the complete union of personalities. In India marriage is looked upon with high value by all religious groups. Among all the Hindu

52. Ibid, p.86.

castes from Pulaya to Brahmins, matrimonial alliance is selected by the parents. Among other religious groups also the same practice prevails. Almost all religious groups prohibits intermarriage between kindard. Endogamy restricts intermarriage in one direction by creating a number of artificially small groups within which people must marry. Hypergamy which forbids a woman to marry a man of a group lower than her own.

The marriage ceremony often indicates the new relation into which a man and woman enters. Among the castes up to Nambuthiri the binding process of marriage, the tali tying, is done by the groom. Among the latter the tali is tied by bride's father. For them binding portion of the wedding ceremony is called *saptapadi* during which the groom takes in hand the right foot of the bride and placing it on a hillstone. Both Hindus and Christians give a religious colouring to their marriage ceremonies. Iyer differentiates the *talikettu kalyanam* and *sambandham*.

Many of the low castes practises cross-cousin marriages. It may keep the family together and prevent the dispersion of family property. Another reason for the preference for the close relatives to marry as Iyer says, is that in a primitive state of society, the smaller groups always wish to increase their numbers, and consequently

their powers of defence.⁵³ Iyer discusses briefly various forms of marriages. Marriage by capture is in vogue among the primitive communities such as Mulla Kurumbans of Wynad, aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur, etc. Marriage by purchase is practised by both aboriginal tribes and high castes. It has been said, that marriage by purchase arose out of marriage by capture and elopement. Abduction in spite of the resistance of parents was the primary form which resulted in the beginning of giving compensation to escape vengeance.⁵⁴ The bride price which is generally given to the father, goes to meet either wholly or partly the expenses of marriage. Marriage by exchange is in fact a modified form of marriage by purchase, in which the bride price is compensated by the offer of a girl in return. Marriage by service is the custom of obtaining the girl by services rendered to her father.

The custom of return gift by the parents of the girl benefitted the husband and this sort of dowry system prevailed from historic past. The Jews and Muhammedans provide their daughters with dowries to protect against widowhood and divorce. The important change has taken place in the gift of dowry is that it had become the bridegroom's

53. Ibid, p.130.

54. Ibid, p.134.

price. Among the Brahmins the third marriage is considered as inauspicious. Hence they often go through a mock marriage with a sheep, pigeon or some plant, so that his next wife may be considered as his fourth wife. Group marriage is one in which all the men of one class are regarded as the actual or at all events the potential husbands of all women in another class.

Polygamy, the marriage of one man with several women, is now looked upon with much disfavour by the respectable classes. It has a tendency to impoverish society imposing on the ordinary man with greater responsibility. Polyandry, the marriage of a woman to several men, caused due to many reasons, such as in Tibetan society it was due to scarcity of women at a marriageable state. It is also attributed to barrenness of the country and scarcity of cultivable lands. The poverty and also childlessness results in polyandry and polygamy.⁵⁵ Lending and exchange of wives are survivals of ancient promiscuity. Levirate is a widespread custom among most of the races of the world. Levirate is the practice that the brother of the deceased husband marries his sister-in-law. Sororate is a form of marital alliance in which several sisters of a family are all regarded as the wives of the man who marries the elder one. The marital relations

55. Ibid, p.153.

polyandry, polygamy, levirate, sororate etc. are slowly disappearing. Adultery, barrenness, thevishness, loquacity and inveterate infidelity are good grounds for divorce. The men are hardly punished for their adulterous character whereas women are punished severely.

The most essential rite in all or most of the forms of Hindu marriage in South India is the tying of the tali or marriage badge as the symbol of marriage. The tali indicates the permanent union that is established between the bride and groom. The practice of tali tying is to a certain extent prevailing in North India also. Iyer says "the indispensable use of the tali tied to a string and worn round the neck of the bride reminds one of the ancient systems of marriage by purchase in form, if not in substance."⁵⁶

Family might have evolved at a time when people started settling down in villages. Matriarchal family arose in the beginning, in which women were leaders and rulers. Iyer says there are sufficient reasons to suppose that the patriarchal family succeeded the matriarchal ones.⁵⁷ The essential characteristics of the patriarchal family is the permanent power of the father over the adult members of the family.

56. Ibid, p.165.

57. Ibid, p.167.

The ordinary Hindu family in the former times is of the joint family type which implies a common habitation, community of property, of means and of cultures. Closely connected with the family are the family name and house name. Kinship is based on consanguinity. Morgan divided kinship terms into two classes descriptive and classificatory. The terms of relationship, are derived more or less from clan organization. Convude is a custom in which the husband undergoes the same situation as that of wife at the time of delivery. This custom prevails among numerous tribes such as Nayadis, Pulayans, Parayans etc. The explanation to this custom as given by Bachofen is that this takes it to belong to a turning point of society when the tie of parentage, till then recognized in maternity extended to take in paternity.⁵⁸ Iyer concludes the lecture pointing out that from a purely anthropological standpoint it is sometimes said that marriage appears to be an artificial institution which fails to do justice to the human need for sexual variety, since vast numbers of men do live de jure monogamously but defacto polygamously.⁵⁹

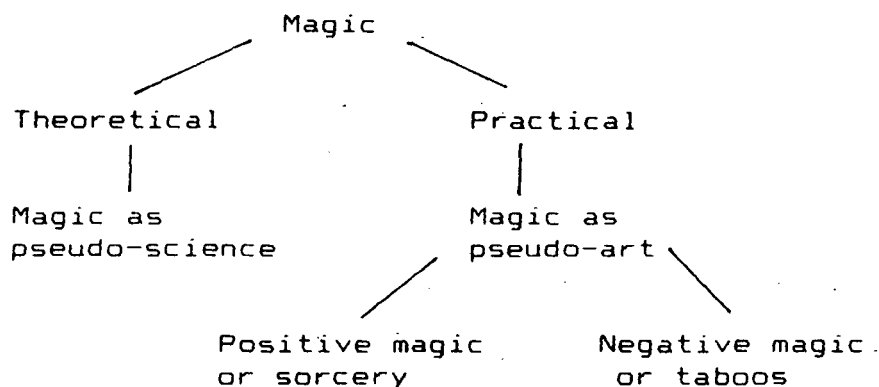
Magic is characterised as one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind. According to the laws of

58. Quoted in *ibid*, p.186.

59. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Lectures on.... op.cit., p.187.

thought magic may be conveniently divided into two classes namely homoeopathic or imitative and contiguous. In homoeopathic magic, what is wanted to happen in the real life will be done symbolically as a part of magic. For example, for killing the enemy of a person or to injure him, first the magician will make a figure in clay and then transfix with an arrow. Frazer points out, magic is not only composed of positive percepts but contains a large number of negative percepts or prohibitions which are called taboos while the positive percepts are known as charms.

Positive magic or sorcery says, do this in order that so and so may happen, while negative magic or taboos says do not do in order that so and so may happen. The relation of magic to sorcery and taboos may be thus expressed.⁶⁰



Magic, according to Frazer, represents a more primitive mode of thought than religion.⁶¹ Religion, he says, is the

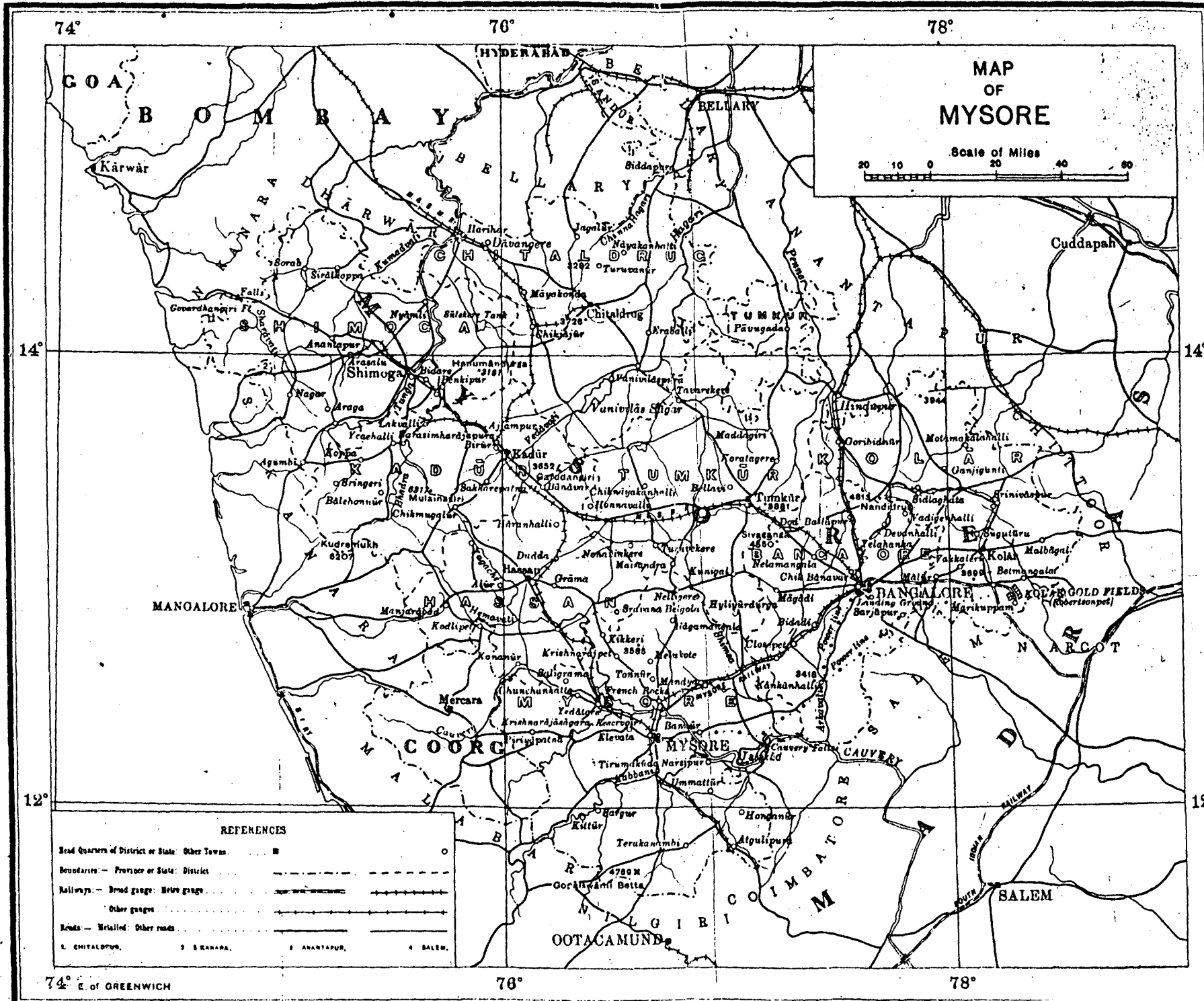
60. Ibid, p.209.

61. Ibid, p.219.

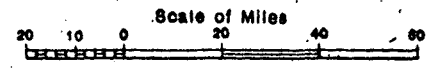
propitiation and the conciliation of powers superior to man, and is believed to direct and control the course of nature in human life. Religion is essentially an invention coordinate with the gradual growth in man of the conviction that magic is inefficacious. In the early society the king was a magician and priest and he gained his power by his proficiency in the black or white art. All along, the magician was an intermediary between God and man. The profession of magic was one of the roads through which the ablest man have passed into supreme power. Thus Iyer concludes if black art has done much evil, it has also been the source of much good, the mother of freedom and truth.

Iyer's last two lectures on evolution of taste in dress and ornaments and village community in South India are included in the first volume of Mysore Tribes and Castes with special reference to Mysore. To avoid repetition I am not summarising these chapters here as it will be more appropriate to discuss as a part of the first volume of Mysore Tribes and Castes.

It was during his lecturership in the University of Calcutta that Ananthakrishna completed his four volume compendium on 'The Mysore Tribes and Castes' published during 1928-35. "These four volumes are considered as the monumental contribution to the descriptive ethnography of



MAP
OF
MYSORE



REFERENCES

- Head Quarters of District or State: Other Towns
 - Boundaries:— Province or State: District
 - Railways:— Broad gauge: Metro gauge
 - Other gauges
 - Roads:— Metalled: Other roads
1. CHITALDRUG. 2. BELLARY. 3. ANANTAPUR. 4. SALEM.

74° E. of GREENWICH

76°

78°

the present day Karnataka"⁶². In 1924, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore invited Ananthakrishna Iyer to undertake the ethnographic survey of Mysore state.⁶³ A certain amount of work on some of the tribes had already been done by H.V. Nanjundayya, who died before he could complete the survey. Ananthakrishna was engaged on the ethnographic survey from 1924. He used to spend the Puja and summer vacations touring Mysore to study the castes and tribes of the state. He collected his data during the field trips and on return to Calcutta, during the academic sessions, prepared the draft accounts of castes and tribes.⁶⁴

The results of the survey appeared in four volumes. The second volume dealing with fifteen tribes and castes appeared first, in 1928, and this was followed in 1930 by the third containing descriptive accounts of thirty four tribes and castes. The fourth volume devoted to a survey of the remaining forty-three tribes and castes which was published in 1932. The data for second and third volumes had already collected by Nanjundayya. Ananthakrishna Iyer carefully revised and edited the thirty four monographs

62. Ajit Danda and Chakrabarthi Satybarata, op.cit., p.3.

63. L.K.Balarathnam, "Ananthakrishna's Contribution....", op.cit., p.30.

64. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember....", op.cit., p.44.

published between 1903-18 in the light of the fresh additional material added by him. He found the notes on fifty other tribes and castes were most fragmentary. As he says: "But most of them were field notes in pencil on a few topics out of which nothing could be done. If these tribes and castes were to be dealt with it was clear that a fresh investigation into the manners and customs of all these tribes was imperative".⁶⁵ Volume I being introductory and dealing with the general conclusions of the survey came out last in 1934. A consolidated index to these volumes was finally added as a separate publication. The printed matter of the entire work ran into about 2400 pages besides 300 photo-graphic illustrations.

The methodology he used in collecting the materials for Mysore Tribes and Castes was a bit different from that of Cochin Tribes and Castes. A week or ten days before the commencement of the Puja or summer vacations, he used to prepare for the field trip. After reaching either Bangalore or Mysore, he would proceed to the outstations, step in the travellers' bungalows or circuit houses accompanied by the local revenue officials, visit the villages or settlements of the different castes and tribes. He studied whatever materials was available regarding their habitat, manners and

65. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyear, "Cochin Tribes...", vol.I, op.cit., p.x.

customs. He used to interrogate the head man of the tribe or caste and the more important persons belonging to the group about the different social institutions and prepared the notes. He had also taken a number of photographs. Most of the photographic illustrations in his books were taken by him, using a half plate and stand camera, after assembling the group. Ananthakrishna had an unusual knack of extracting information from people belonging to any class of society, profession or walk of life. The friendly manner in which he used to talk about the domestic, family or community affairs was an expression of his understanding and sympathy and he could enter into the motivations and emotions of the persons concerned in regard to their attitudes, views and reactions.⁶⁶

Iyer was an ethnographer par excellence. He was deeply aware of the macro-historical processes of change.⁶⁷ He devoted a full volume - the first volume on Mysore to describe the context in which the community lived. Volume I is not only an introduction to the other three volumes but also it deals with Ethnology in India with special reference to Mysore. The first chapter of this volume is on Racial History of India, written by Baron Von Eickstedt. The

66. L.K.Balarathnam, "A Name to Remember...", op.cit., p.45.

67. K.S.Singh, "Ethnography of Ananthakrishna Iyer", in Ananthakrishna Iyer Festschrift, p.10.

second chapter on the cultural geography of Mysore had been contributed by Mr.F.J.Richards. The rest of the 13 chapters were authored by Ananthakrishna Iyer. These are on caste, marriage and family, totemism, magic, animism, religion, festivals, fasts and vows, funeral customs, occupation, village community; evolution of taste in dress etc. and food, games and dancing. Besides, the book has an appendix in which description of four tribal groups which had been left out from other volumes are given.

Discussing about caste Iyer starts with the origin of caste in India from the historical past and concludes with the castes and tribes of Mysore. The earliest references to caste are found in the Rig Veda in which mention has made of four castes - Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra - which were originated from the lord Brahma. From the beginning of the Vedic period to the middle of the 'Sutra' or Buddhist period, the four fold division represented only classes.⁶⁸ During the Buddhist period, Kshatriya headed the list of four varnas. The Brahmin is held in status inferior to the Kshatriya nobility. The varnas had not then become castes. The birth qualification had not developed to make people close corporations. Anybody could be able to become a Brahmin by becoming a priest.

68. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer, Mysore Tribes and Castes, vol.I, 1935, p.129.

The nature of caste system is evident from the writing of Megasthenes (300 B.C.). His classification of the people of his day into seven groups is somewhat confusing. Regarding the six centuries between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D., information bearing on the development of caste is rather scanty. During this period there came many invaders who must have left their own mark on the Hindu society. Manu's institutes (330-450A.D.) contain a fairly good account of the social system as it existed in his time. In the early Buddhist period the Kshatriya was socially supreme. In Manu's account it is evident that supremacy passed to the Brahmins. The causes may be found in the history of time. The Vaisyas had been herdsmen and sheperds, who entered India, took to agriculture and settled down to the practice of cultivation.

The word caste is derived from Portuguese 'casta' pure or chaste. The main ideas involved in the conception of caste are: a homogenous community, hereditary membership, intermarriage and interdining. The test of caste is not interdining or intermarriage, but defilement by eating and touching what is unclean.⁶⁹ Both caste and tribe are loosely applied to the social group. A tribe is not a close corporation. In its original form, it is an aggregate of

69. Ibid, p.141.

persons who have or believe themselves to have a common origin. This, together with common political interests and mutual defence hold them together. Sometimes it admits of aliens who wish to throw on their lot with it, especially women, obtained by purchase or capture. It is not endogamous though circumstances tend to favour endogamy. The modern tendency for tribes is to transform into a caste. In fact, a tribe is a prospective caste. By adopting the customs and practices of the higher caste, the lower castes elevate in the social ladder. Subcastes consists of groups within the caste which vary in certain aspects among themselves.

The total number of castes in Mysore varies in different census reports and other documents. According to the 1871 census the number of castes were 101 and 1931 census numbered it as 34 which, Iyer says, not satisfactory.⁷⁰ Mysore have indigenous tribes and castes, the number of which cannot be accurately determined. In Mysore migration was an ongoing process which resulted in owing to the great number of castes, subcastes and tribes. In the treatment of them, Iyer has adopted alphabetical order of arrangement.

70. Ibid, p.153.

According to Iyer "marriage may be subserved under its ethical aspect as a physico-spiritual communion between man and woman for the purpose of procreation. Marriage then is the idea of race propagation and the complete union of personalities."⁷¹ Among Hindus celibacy is regarded as an impiety and misfortune. From ancient times marital relations between a young man and a girl were always regulated by two families. The Hindu law expressly condemns as immoral the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover. In Hindu law, maternal uncle has a chief role to play in the marriage. Bride price is the present which is customary to exchange on the occasion of marriage which is paid for the bride. In the laws of Manu marriage by this form, that is purchase, is prohibited. Still the non-Brahmin higher castes and Sudras practise it.

Cross cousin marriage is a fundamental social law with a large number of aboriginal tribes in South India and it has found its way into the higher castes also. It is found to be in vogue among most of the non-Brahmin castes of Mysore. The cross cousin marriage among the totemic tribes and castes of Mysore also, as of other parts of India and elsewhere must have had its origin on economic grounds. It keeps the related families together. Iyer views, the idea

71. Ibid, p.179.

of distance and ignorance of the tribe in other localities with whom they can enter into conjugal relation can also be attributed as the reasons for the preference of cross-cousin marriages.⁷² During Vedic period, marriage was a post puberty one. The transition from the adult marriage of the Vedic period to the infant marriage of the post-Vedic period cannot be accurately determined.

Customs connected with marriage rites and ceremonies are partly social and partly magico-religious and religious. In Mysore, as in other parts of South India, the higher non-Brahmin castes, for their marriage have adopted the customs and formalities of the Brahmins with the omission of Vedic recitation. The Brahmins officiate as priests. The term polygamy is applied to the marriage of one man with several women. Brahmins and other high castes do not permit widow marriage. Among the lower castes a kind of widow marriage called *kudike* where a widow can marry only a widower was permitted. In the sacred literature of the Hindus it is said that the intercourse with a wedded woman will cause destruction for man in both worlds. Levirate is the custom where the brother of a deceased husband marry his sister-in-law. The practice of dedicating girls to temples or as

72. Ibid, p.188.

public woman known as 'Basavis', observes among some of the low castes of Mysore.

Puberty is the period in the life of a girl at which the reproductive organs began to be functionally active. The girls during their mensus are under seclusion, the period which varies with different tribes and castes. Among the hill tribes and others of very low culture, it varies from 10 to 16 or more days, while with those higher castes the period is limited to 3, 5 or 7 days. The motive for seclusion so commonly imposed on girls and women during this period of uncleanness is deeply ingrained dread which primitive men universally entertain with the menstrual blood. This is because they believe that the forest is pure and entrusted to them by God, and that any defilement of it will bring all sorts of epidemics.⁷³ The prevention of future harm, illness and weakness and loss of strength and vitality are one special object of the ceremonies at puberty. Iyer gives an extract from the 'Sanatanist' of Madras relating to Indian practice of segregating a menstruating woman, which in turn shows his own belief in the customary practices related to puberty.⁷⁴ Taboos connected with childbirth are the same as those connected

73. Ibid, p.244.

74. Ibid, p.226.

with menstruation. More often women in childbirth are said to be unclean.

The family is the institution charged with the duty of social perpetuation. It is the regulation of parental and filial behaviour. It is in discharging the functions of procreation and rearing of children and the family serves amongst most people as the primary economic unit in social organizations. In quite recent times the commencement of the decline of the Hindu joint families among the higher castes is mainly owing to the influence of western education and culture. Closely connected with the family are the house name and house. Both contribute very much to its strength and preservation. According to the census statistics, the average number of children is 4 or 5 per family in Mysore. Convuade is a piece of symbolism where the father asserts his paternity and according to his rights as against the maternal system of descent and inheritance.

The modern education and industrialization at varying degrees had affected the marriage and family structure in Mysore as in other parts of India. There is a tendency to reduce the marriage expenses. Hindu joint family is breaking up in favour of individual ones. Signs of feminism are beginning to be visible.

The idea of intimate relation existing between a man and a natural object is known as a totem.⁷⁵ A careful study of totemism in Mysore reveals its existence among most of the tribes and castes of non-Aryan origin. It is now in a state of decadence owing to the process of transformation of tribes into castes. Tribes of very low culture have been imbibing the culture of the higher Hindu castes, as endogamous groups, by the adoption of the Brahminic gotras, or the names of the Puranic heroes as their original ancestors. Totemism is closely connected with exogamy and clan organization, as also with magic and animism. Anthropologists are still at variance as to its origin. Many theories have been propounded and very few of them are satisfactory. Originally totemism and matriarchy went together.

The origin of magic is buried in obscurity. Probably it dates back from the old and new stone ages. It can be studied only from what is prevailing among the people of low culture. Closely connected with it are sorcery and witchcraft. It was at one time thought that the magicians and sorcerers could achieve anything by their black art, but people soon discovered their mistake and resorted to prayers and sacrifices. Magic and religion belong to the elementary

75. Ibid, p.226.

religion without having any connection between them. Some believe that magic belongs to two distinct phases of thought while others opine that religion is situated with magic and ultimately it pervades in all forms of worship among the civilized races of the world.

Animism is the doctrine which places the source of mental and physical life in an energy independent of, or at least distant from the body. It includes the idea of personal soul and spiritual beings generally as determiners of human destiny.⁷⁶ The doctrine of animism reveals the belief in a separate spiritual existence, as the germ of religious ideas. E.B.Tylor adopted this as his minimum definition of religion. It is considered to have risen simply from the evidences of the senses interpreted by the crude child like science of the savage. Stahl on the other hand regards the vital principle of the soul is identical. From this has risen the existence of demons, spirits, ghosts and *bhutas* all of which are worshipped by the people of lower culture owing to their malevolent propensities to do harm. It is believed that they are supposed to afflict mankind with all kinds of epidemics. Numerous village festivals bear testimony to their propitiation of them with prayers and sacrifices. Animism leads to animal worship.

76. Ibid, p.285.

The control of demons by magicians play an important part in the worship of village gods and goddesses.⁷⁷ Mysore was a stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism, wherein Hinduism and Brahminism flourish with all its religious sects. The religion as depicted in the Rigveda is a worship of natural phenomena personified as gods with powers which man cannot control, yet amenable to prayers and sacrifices.

All Hindu festivals and feasts are of a socio religious character and the seasons auspicious and inauspicious for the celebration are described in the sacred literature of the Hindus. The two seasons into which the year is divided are Uttarayana and Dakshinayana, each consisting of six months determined by the movements of sun. It is during the Uttarayana or the bright half of the year, that most of important festivals are held. During the other half the worships of the ancestors take place.

There are also special festivals and fasts in honour of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Among the Hindus, women play a secondary role in the performance of religious ceremonies. But there are forms of worship (*vratham*) special to them where men play only a subordinate part. The object of the special worship is confined to the attainment of happy

77. Ibid, p.324.

married life, children, wealth, desire for the long life of their husbands and the like.

The religion of Hindus especially that of Brahmins is that which described in the Vedas, the Brahmanas and Upanishads. It is one of the polytheism derived from nature worship. Gradually it became a philosophic and pessimistic one. The philosophy of the Upanishads reveals but one existence in the universe, the supreme Atman. The pessimism of the Upanishads is intensified by the belief in the transmigration and *karma* exercise a profound influence on Indian thought. This philosophic side of worship was further developed into monism by Sankara, Ramaniya and Madhawa.⁷⁸

By the process of evolution, there has been a transition from Vedism to Neo-Brahmanism which is said to be the work of, or inspired by, the Brahmin hierarchy. The Vedic deities became transformed into others with distinct powers. The trinity - Brahma, Vishnu and Siva - and their consorts became the chief gods and goddesses for human adoration. Their sons also became the secondary gods. To these, are added the non-Aryan gods and goddesses. Further, two other religions - Buddhism and Jainism - had their profound influence on Hinduism which had become an all

78. Ibid, p.356.

absorbing one. Finally, plants and animals became associated with the deities and became objects of adoration. Closely connected with the worship mentioned above, are the feasts and festivals celebrated in honour of each deity. These continue throughout the year. The deities are located in temples and the religion is a socio-religious one.

Iyer's view is that primitive man all over the world has no clear conception of death. They believe that it is caused by malevolent spirits to whom prayers and sacrifices have not been offered.⁷⁹ Primitive man believes in a continued life which undergoes three different stages of evolution. In the first stage, the difference between life and death is vaguely understood. The dead are thought of as yet bodily living. In the second stage death is recognized as a physical fact and is regarded as temporary. In the third stage, the soul is regarded as distinct from the body; it survives in a separate and shadowy form and in this stage it is believed to be immortal. The element of fear in the mind of primitive man arose from his belief in the existence of spirits or ghosts. From this arise all funeral customs and ceremonies for the worship of dead. By a process of evolution, these beliefs are current among the people of higher culture, to which the Hindus are no exception.⁸⁰

79. Ibid, p.358.

80. Ibid, p.378.

The term material culture includes technology and economics. Iyer agrees with Hankin's division of the stages of material culture of man into five broad types namely, (1) the collectional stage, (2) the pastoral stage, (3) the horticultural stage, (4) the stage of settled agriculture, and (5) the stage of commerce and industry or of urban economy. Iyer illustrates the stages of culture found among the various tribes in Mysore and South India in detail.

The collectional period includes hunting and fishing. Before the close of collectional period man must had considerable knowledge of plants and animals, as also great skill in hunting and fishing. A very effective check on progress was caused by the migratory character of the hunting community which depended upon either the seasonal movement of the game or due to scarcity. The culture of a hunter was generally of a rude type and his implements and weapons, made out of the materials existing within his reach showed a remarkable capacity to adopt himself to his environment. The tribes of Mysore are no more migratory.

Horticulture is a distinct type of occupation based on the cultivation of plants. The jungle tribe of Mysore shifted to Horticulture and this necessitated an increase of tools and weapons as also methods of food, storage and preservation. The peculiar situation of Mysore within the

tropics, surrounded by lofty mountain chains which give it a temperate climate, gives rise to the formation of a rich and varied flora. In the past agriculturists move from place to place due to the exhaustion of land. Soon they started learning how to gather abundant subsistence from a given habitat so as to make possible permanent villages.

Agriculture in Mysore where irrigation is absent, is chiefly dependent on the rains. Among the principal crops, the staple food grains are ragi, rice, jobber, other millets, gram and other pulses. Oil seeds include gingelly and caster, the chief fibres are cotton and sar-hemp, among the spices are chilli, ginger, corriander, cummin seeds etc and among miscellaneous crops are tobacco, mustard, onions, garlic, etc. The months for sowing the principal crops are June and July and November is the general harvest time. The sources of irrigation are channels drawn from river dams besides tanks and wells. Agricultural implements in general are such as those in use for ages.

Besides the cottage industries like pottery and basketary there are also oil milling and gold-smithy, black smithy, carpentary, sandalwood carving etc. which form a part of old rural economy throughout Mysore state. A list of rural industries and the places where they are carried, on are given.

The tools necessary for these stages of cultural

development of life were invented by the people as necessity arose. This survivals can be noticed among the people of different cultures in Mysore as in the rest of South India. The primitive implements are still in use in all primitive agricultural and industrial operations. Nevertheless modern methods in agriculture and industries are being introduced. Cottage industries which people have been long perceiving are being displaced by machine industries of the western model.

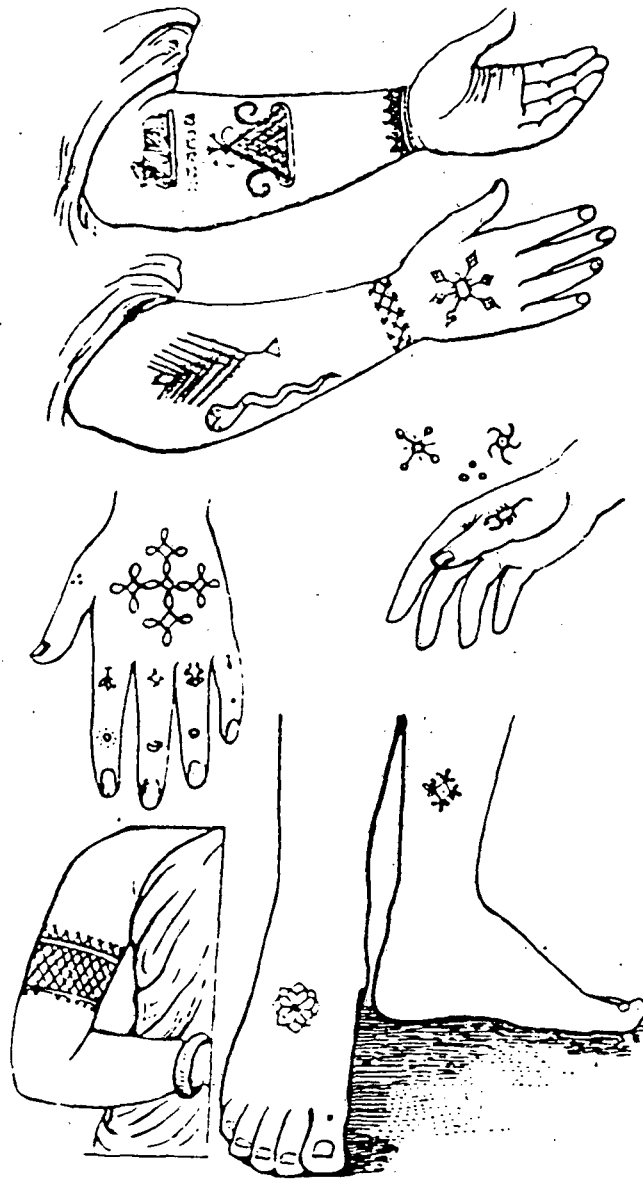
The village community in India is a very ancient institution. Its starting point may be fixed at a very early stage of human history. The ruins of villages probably of the neolithic age are still can be found. Iyer says the earliest villages in India are those founded by the Dravidian races -the delichocephalic Austroloids who were called themselves the sons of tree.⁸¹ They are now represented by the South Indian jungle tribes and their cognates, some of whom still use the boomerang. Briefly speaking there are two types of the village communities, the Aryan or joint village peculiar to North India and the Dravidian or Ryotwary village of the South. The distinguishing features of the Dravidian village show a strong central government, great advance towards territorial

81. Ibid, p.380.

settlements and boundaries, the redistribution of village land at the time of admission of a new village, imposition of dues or payments for the purpose of government.

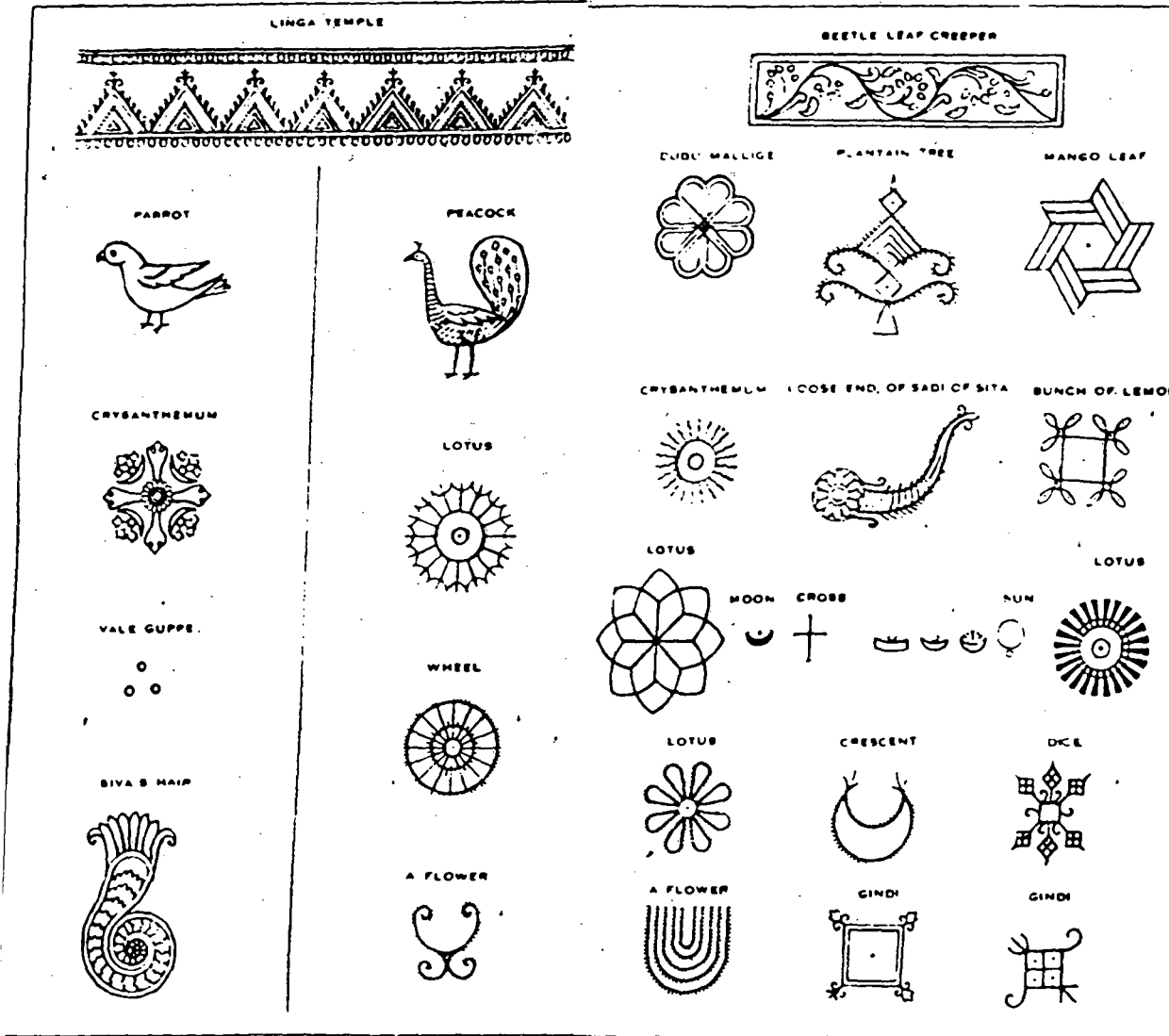
The unit of body politic in a Mysore village constituted by twelve hereditary offices established by Vijayanagar rulers. They are (1) Shanbhog (accountant), (2) Gauda (headman), (3) Kammara (ironsmith), (4) Badagi (carpenter), (5) Agasa (washermen), (6) Panchangi (astrologer), (7) Nayindia (barber), (8) Madiga (shoe-maker) (9) Akasale (goldsmith), (10) Taleri (watchman of the village), (11) Nirganti (watchman of the tanks), (12) Kumbars (potter). A group of 10 to 40 villagers were called a *iobli* or *taraf* and that of 4 to 10 of these constitute a *gadi*. 10 to 20 of these *gadis* annexed to a *kara* or capital town contributes a *sima* or country. For the distribution of social justice there were powerful organization or self government. After 1911 census the government started village improvement programmes.

Primitive man was at first in a state of nudity. He then thought of painting and tattooing particularly those parts of the body which would lend themselves to ornamentation. Iyer discusses three aspects of human decoration namely painting; tattooing and clothing; deformation and mutilation, which have been noticed in the customs and practices prevailing among the castes and tribes



Tattoo Designs

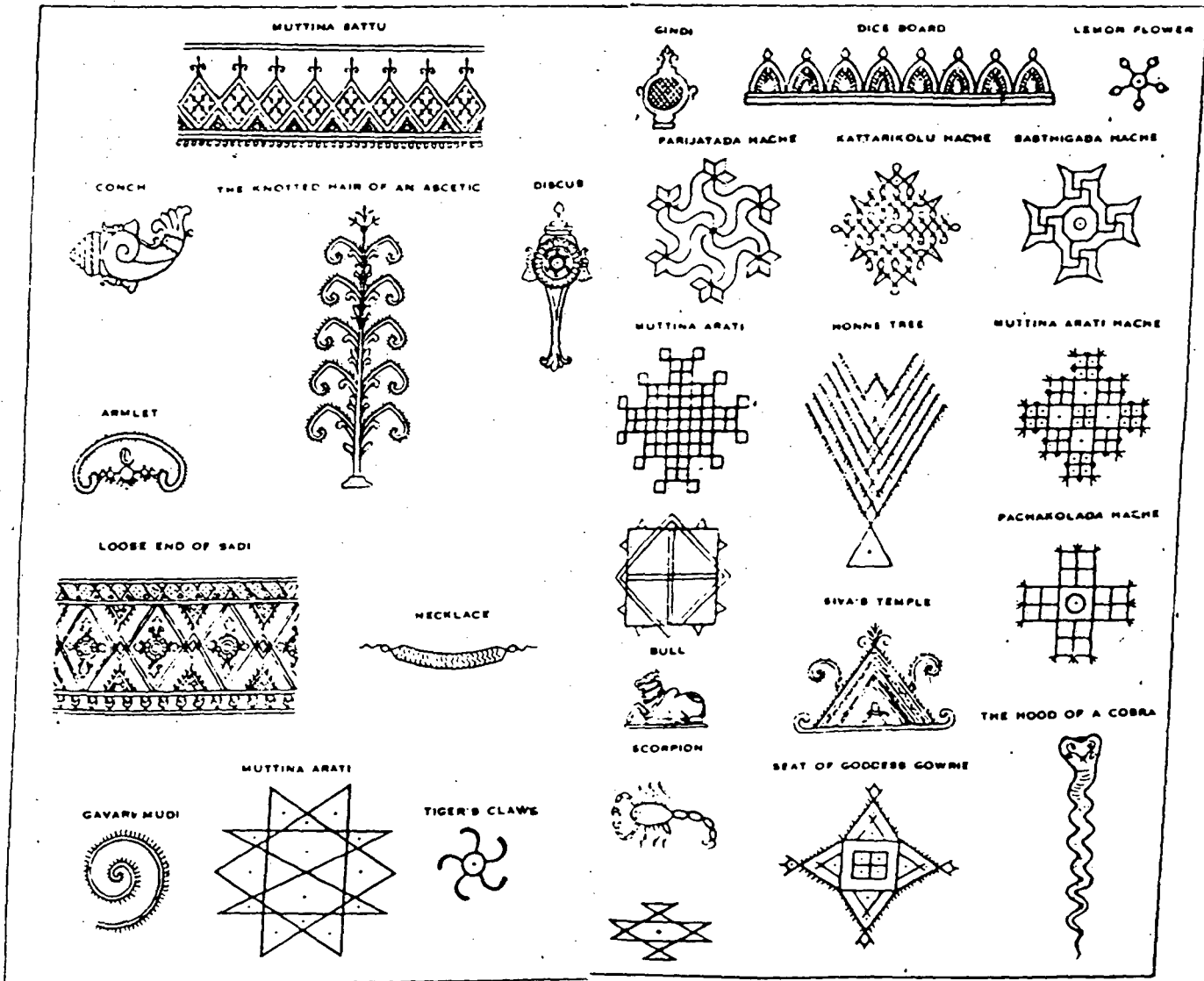
Source: "Mysore Tribes and Castes", vol. I



LATOO DESIGNS.

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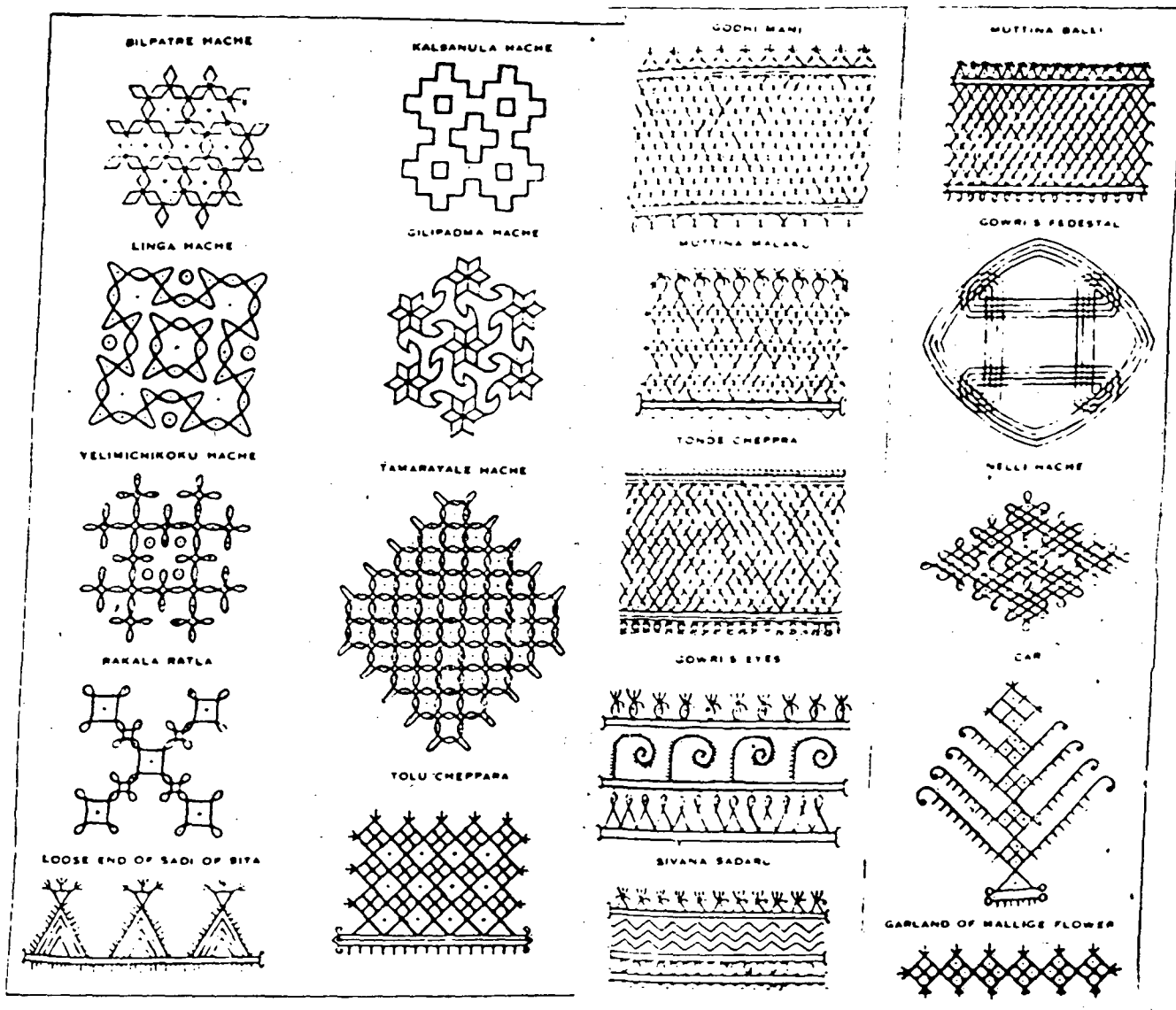
Source: "Mysore Tribes and Castes", vol. I



TATOO DESIGNS.

TATOO DESIGNS.

Source: "Mysore Tribes and Castes", vol. I



Tatoo Designs

Source: "Mysore Tribes and Castes", vol. I

of Mysore and other parts of India.

Iyer says the practice of painting the body is said to have existed at the end of the quarternary and during the Neolithic period.⁸² Different motives were attributed to this means of adornment. According to Ananthakrishna the painting in the early stage of adornment was probably a protection against mosquitos and other insects and in a later stage a means of adornment. Next to painting and closely connected with it is the practice of tattooing which was most widespread all over the world both among savages and the civilized people in pre-historic and historic times. In Mysore both the sexes are tattooed by trained women of some particular castes. Iyer explains various methods of preparing the pigments generally used for tattooing in Mysore and also various designs that are generally tattooed on the different parts of the body. He also gives the diagrams showing tattoo designs.

The traditional introduction of the custom of tattooing is more or less connected with the religious belief of the people. Tattooing seems to be associated with totemism at all events, in cases where the person assimilates himself with the totem by painting or tattooing his body with the figure of totems. The superstitious beliefs of the people

82. Ibid, p.434.

act as a motive for tattooing. Painting and tattooing of the body are regarded as the primitive stage of clothing and colouration of skin in the operation as a means of allurements.

With the development of human beings, started mutilating their body parts for the sake of adornment. The ear boring and nose boring for girls, dilating the earlobes of women etc. were part of this. The taste for jewellery and bright coloured clothing is the last stage in man's love for dress. Iyer views that the sense of shame and modesty is not innate in man and woman. It is a product of modern civilization. It has resulted in capitalism, which has wiped the older forms by the introduction of new ones.⁸³

From a religious point of view, the subject of food is considered to be very important. Various taboos are connected with the choice of foodstuffs, preparations, vessels to be used and cleaned, the places for cooking, the priority of taking it, interdining with members of other castes, formality observed for guests and similar rules are also prescribed as to the taking of meals.

Games have a magico-religious origin and significance. Indigenous games have given place to foreign ones. Nevertheless, the survival of them are seen among the boys.

83. Ibid, p.458.

of the villages and towns. Dancing and music are time honoured institution in India from ancient times among all classes of people. It has been declining among the upper classes.

In the appendix of the book the description of four caste groups have been given. They are Telugugauda, Kepmari, Koma and Takku odden.

Volume II consists of the illustrations of 19 castes and tribes in 559 pages along with 78 plates. The following accounts of each caste or tribe are given: origin and tradition of the caste, distribution of population, habitation, furniture and utensils, internal structure of the caste, marriage prohibitions, marriage customs and ceremonies, bride price, puberty customs, widow marriage and divorce, customs connected with pregnancy and child birth, family life, inheritance and adoption, caste organization, magic and religion, funeral customs, occupation, social status, and finally appearance, dress and ornaments.

Descriptions of each caste or tribe starts with an introduction, where he gives a general account of the group. The details of language of the caste members, the caste status, the major localities in Mysore and other neighbouring states where the caste members seen were given in the introduction. In some instances Iyer had given the Tamil and Malayalam equivalents of the caste groups. For

example, Agasas, the washerman caste group of Mysore state was of the same status of Tamil Vannan and Malayalam Mannan. Bedas, the hunting tribe of Mysore are identical with Boyis of Telungana and the Ramoshis of Marathwada.

While talking about the origin and tradition of the caste, Iyer gives an account of the popular legends. To get this accounts of myths and legends he had referred to E.Thurston's 'Caste and Tribes of Southern India' and Fr.Buchanan's 'Travels through Mysore, Malabar and Canara.'⁸⁴ In Some cases the early history of the caste, pointing some historical evidences were given. While tracing the history of Banjara, Iyer refers to a minimum of five historical evidences.⁸⁵

The details of population distribution of each and every caste group had been given referring to Mysore census report and census of India. Iyer also gives distribution of the population in different cities with the sex ratio.

Each caste group might have divisions within it depending on the language they speak, the locality they live and also based on different clans and occupation divisions. Iyer explains these sort of divisions of each caste or

84. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer (with H.V.Nanjundyya), Mysore Tribes and Castes, vol.II, 1928, p.100.

85. Ibid, pp.136-48.

tribe. Iyer also illustrates the sub-groups of the castes briefly.

In describing the habitation of each caste group, Iyer talks about the manner in building the houses, the things used to make houses, the furniture and utensils that people use etc. The making of the houses, the form of houses etc. clearly shows the economic and social status of each group of people.

Iyer explains marriage customs and marriage ceremonies of each and every caste and sub caste in depth. The important points that he stresses while explaining marriage are engagement, bride price and marriage proper. He also discusses matters like divorce, whether divorce is permissible, the conditions of divorce, the procedures of divorce and also the status of divorcee in the society. Divorce may be an easy affair as amongst Banjaras or loss of caste or adultery could be the only reason for divorce as in Beda, Arasu etc. The marriage of divorced women is generally simple than legal marriage. Among some caste groups widow marriage is strictly prohibited as in Banajiga and Arasu. Yet some others practise widow marriage with a condition that the spouse should be a widower. Generally the ceremonies of widow marriage differs considerably from the regular marriages as among Bedas. While explaining divorce among Brahmins Iyer had given quotation, from

'Smrithis'. He had dealt with adultery and punishments of almost all castes. After giving an account of marriage ceremonies he had given the significance of marriage ceremonies.⁸⁶ He finds marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralize the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It refers to the permanent joint life of man and woman and the essence of the union is the joining of the bridal pair. Marriage could be a lengthy and complicated ceremony like that among Bagaias or simple as among Ares.

When a girl first shows signs of puberty, she is considered impure and kept in seclusion. The days of seclusion varies in different castes. There were also a series of ceremonies observed by each caste group. Iyer had dealt with the puberty customs for married and unmarried girls separately of each and every caste.

Connected with pregnancy and child birth all the castes observe different sorts of ceremonies. The nature of delivery, the feeding of the child and mother, ceremonies such as naming, ear-boring etc. may vary from caste to caste. Iyer had dealt with the above said customs in detail with all the castes and tribes. The usual names given to the children also were listed. In the case of Brahmins

86. Ibid, pp.352-4.

there were various religious ceremonies performed in the boyhood, such as *Chudakaema*, *Upanayana* and *Savitrivratam*. Iyer had given detailed accounts of these.⁸⁷

Many castes follow Hindu law of inheritance and adoption. Among the caste group Beda, if the parents do not have any male issue, instead of adopting a son, they dedicate their daughter to the god of some temple - a practise of making *basavi*. She takes the place of a son.

In religion and magic Iyer explains the belief system, the gods they worship, the ceremonies related to worship, the procedures of worship, the attitude towards magic and also the practice of magic.

In some cases accounts of major religious festivals had given. Iyer believes many festivals like *Navaratri* have chief concern with the cultural aspect of life as they express the cultivation of the land for food and the cultivation of mind for human expression, from which aspects of culture proceed to physical and intellectual prosperity.

The *kumri* cultivation is the occupation of Ares in which a majority of caste members are engaged. Iyer explains the technique of *Kumri* tillage.⁸⁸

87. Ibid, pp.382-94.

88. Ibid, pp.182-3.



Iyer discusses the nature of leadership, caste organization, the nature of punishments for deviation, the implementation of unwritten law etc.

The major points Iyer explains in funeral custom are that of cremation of the body, the chief mourners, the ceremonies connected with cremation, nature of pollution and its length, yearly ceremonies, the belief of the people about the soul etc.

The general occupation of the caste members and in some instance, sociology of occupation has explained. Among Agasas, the washerman caste, the process of washing were explained. Iyer had given accounts of the social status that each caste enjoys along with their rights and privileges. The colour complexion of the caste members, their dress pattern, the nature of ornament they wear etc. had also been given.

The castes that had been explained in their alphabetical order are the following.

Agasas or Madivals are the Canarese speaking washermen of the Mysore state. There are also Lingayat Agasas found all over Mysore who do not enter into conjugal relations with Canarese and Telugu speaking Agasas of the state. The Aradhyas are a sect of Brahmins found chiefly in and around the district of Mysore. They appear to have been the early emigrants from the Telugu districts to the kingdom of

Vijayanagar, after the downfall of which they became the dependents of the Palayagars. After their decline, they immigrated to the province of Mysore.

The Arasus belong to the Rajapaide branch of the Kshatriya caste and come under three divisions, namely, Arasu proper (ruling class), Kumarapatta and Bada Arasus. One of the interesting practice of the group is that they bury their dead naked.

The Ares, a cultivator caste are the descendants of Maharattas. Bairagi is a beggar caste mainly occupied at sacred places. Iyer points out the references of the caste by Francis Buchanan in his 'Travels through Mysore'. Bakkaru or Baggaru is a cultivator caste. Banajigas are a trading people divided into two divisions based on the language they speak such as Telugu or Canarese. The Banjaras are a caste of carriers and drivers of pack bullocks. They are also called Lambanis and Charans. Tribal organization is very strong among Banjaras. Iyer gives an account of General Brigg's writings in 1813 about the constitution of tribal government. He also has given an account of instances of Banjaras having practised human sacrifice.⁸⁹

39. Ibid, pp.182-3.

Bedas or Bedars are the hunting and agricultural tribe of Mysore. They are an aboriginal tribe of the Telugu and Canarese districts. Myasa Bedas form a distinct endogamous division of the Bedas. Bestas are a caste of fishermen scattered all over the state and are found in large numbers in the river districts of Mysore and Shimoga. Bhatrazus are a caste of bards and genealogists. Bili Maygs are a division of the weaver caste of Mysore. The Billavas are a Tulu speaking caste of Toddy drawers. The caste is divided into 16 sects. Their men do not marry their niece. Among most of the caste groups one of the preferable marriage is that of uncle marrying the niece.

One third of the second volume has meant for the illustration of Brahmin castes. The Brahmins come under two broad divisions, each of which is divided into five groups: the group is called Panchagauda or the five northern and the second Panchadravida or the five southern and Nerluda forming the line as boundary between them. A lengthy description of the origin and development of gotras had given. A brief sketch of Smarta Brahmins - a sect established by Sankaracharya has given. They were meant for refounding the Vedic religion in India.

Religious seclusion has always been the guiding principle in the choice of Brahmin habitation. Iyer talks about the rules of endogamy and exogamy referring to

'Sruthi'. Besides he discusses the view points of various sociologists on exogamy such as James Frazer, Durkheim, Westermarck, Betham and Hanelock Ellis.⁹⁰ After giving a detailed account of marriage ceremonies, Iyer looks into the present conditions of matrimonial relations. He has given a short account about the custom of dowry. He also discusses status of women, daily observances of worship, and other forms of worship, tonsure of widows etc.

The Badubudikis are a caste of gypsy beggars and fortune tellers from the Mahratta country who pretend to consult birds and reptiles to predict future events.

The third volume of Mysore castes and tribes consists of the illustrations of 34 castes and tribes and 75 plates elaborated in 583 pages. In the third volume Iyer starts with the illustration of Indian Christians both Roman and Protestants. The first systematic attempt to convert Mysore to Christianity was made by the Dominicans about 1325 A.D. At the time of the study Roman Catholics form three fourth of the Christian population in Mysore state. Pointing out the historical evidences, Iyer discusses the origin of Christianity in Mysore. He explains the doctrines of Christianity, the divine trinity, the holy church, the seven

90. Ananthakrishna Iyer (with H.V.Nanjudayya), Mysore Tribes and Castes, vol.III (1930), p.326.

sacraments, religious worship and devotional practices. At many instances he has given Tamil and Canarese translation of technical words. While discussing marriage customs he is giving statements from Holy Bible. Christian marriage is a contract and at the same time a sacrament also.

Darzi is a caste of tailors found all over the Mysore state. Dasari is a caste of religious mendicants recruited from some of Sudra castes. Devanga is one of the castes that has weaving as its special occupation. Linguistically they are divided into two endogamous groups namely Canarese and Telugu Devangas. They offer animal sacrifices to Sakti. Iyer says that the castemen are excellent weavers but unable to compete machine made article and government help can only save them.⁹¹

Dombars are essentially a wandering tribe. They are acrobats and tumblers by profession. All of the castemen speak Telugu. They practised polygamy. They did not permit widow marriage. Divorce is an easy affair. The Dombar caste is notorious in dedicating girls to prostitution. They freely admit outsiders into their caste, not lower than their own. They have faith in sorcery, magic, omen, etc. The castemen are found in various grades culture and social elevation, owing to their residence in towns and their

91. Ibid, p.138.

frequent contact with high caste members.⁹² The Gangadikaras are an important division of the Okkaligas. They have two main endogamous groups. They are totemistic. Widow marriage is in vogue among them. They are mostly agriculturists, but some are engaged in other walks of life.

The Ganigas are oil pressers and oil mongers. They are known by different names according to the peculiar customs of their groups namely, Heggamniga those who yoke two bullocks to their stone oil-mills; and Kiruganiga those who make oil in wooden mills. They are collectively known as *Jyotiphana* or *Jyotinagara*, the light giving caste.

The Gollas are a pastoral and indigenous caste in Mysore. They are as a class of illiterate people. Their original occupation the tending of cattle and selling milk and its products. They are however, now found in all professions. The Kadu Gollas are a nomadic tribe living in thatched huts outside villages. Their women do not wear upper garments. They are polygamous. Widows are not allowed to remarry. The Gondalis are of Maharatta origin. They make their living chiefly by the performance of the Gondhali dance a kind of torch light dance and begging in the name of goddess.

92. Ibid, p.185.

The Gosayis, a religious mendicant group, are immigrants from Northern and Western India. The Gosayi is not a caste and generally any devotee may be called as such. Most of them wear a brown cloth by which they make themselves conspicuous. The Gudikars are carvers in sandal wood. They call themselves Kshatriyas. They have no endogamous groups but have exogamous clans called gotras. They are skillful in carving, painting and picture drawing. The Hallikar or Hallikar Okkaligas are cultivators and cattle breeders. Their marriage and other customs are similar to Sudras. The Hale Paik are a caste of palm tappers. They are somewhat similar to the Idigas. They were formerly employed as soldiers under local chieftains. Many of them are now in household services and also agriculturists. The Hasalars are a jungle tribe living in the forest. There are several endogamous groups, based probably on geographical distribution. They are totemistic. Their marriage customs are like those of the castes living close to them. They are animists in religion. The Helaves are a caste of beggars found all over Mysore. They are totemistic and have a large number of exogamous clans. They are considered as the children of Okkaligas having begging as their profession. Many have now taken to agriculture. The Holeyas were the agrestic slaves of the soil as in other parts of Southern India. They were emancipated about the

middle of the last century. There are numerous endogamous groups among the Holeyas and the caste is well organized. As the original inhabitants of the land their services were and are even now requisitioned in determining the boundaries connected with land disputes. They now prefer to call themselves Adikarnatakas corresponding to Adidravidas of the Madras presidency.⁹³

The Idigas are a toddy-drawing caste. They are of Telugu origin and many of them still speak the same language. They are polygamous. Their widows are permitted to remarry. They are prohibited from drinking spirituous liquor. The Irligas are a jungle tribe found in Bangalore district, as also on the borders of the Nilgiris and Mysore. They have no endogamous groups. Wherever they live in contact with the lower castes of the plains, they have imbibed their customs. They are skilful in tree-climbing and are collectors of forest produce, especially honey gathering.

The Jains of Mysore have a history of their own from the time of their migration under their guru Sruthkevali Badrabahu. Mahavira is said to be the founding father of Jainism; but the Jains entertain quite a different view of their religion which in their opinion is eternal. It is

93. Ibid, p.352.

monastic religion and denies the authority of the Vedas. The Jains are therefore regarded as heretics by the Brahmins. The ideas of Gods and spirits are either absent or merely play a secondary role. They admit of no creator and for them the world is eternal. They explicitly deny the possibility of a perfect being. The Jina became perfect. The religion flourished in South India for a long time to a great extent, and considerably influenced Brahminism. The Jains contributed a great deal to the Tamil literature. The community is purely a social institution. In spite of their revolt against Brahmanism, they observe many of the Brahmin customs. They are divided into two distinct groups.⁹⁴

The Jambavas, a Holeyia priest group are a class of Madigas. The Jangalas, a low caste were originally beggars but now taken to agriculture and trade. The Jettis are a caste of professional wrestlers and gymnasts. They profess to be Kshatriyas and adopt Brahminic gotras. In the art of wrestling, they have exhibited their feats with remarkable skill.

The Jingars are a class of Maharatta immigrants into the Mysore state. Their traditional occupation is saddle making and saddlery in former times contained no leather,

94. Ibid, p.463.

but subsequently owing to their work in leather, they suffered from some social degradation.⁹⁵ The Handichikka or Handijogi caste is traced to the Pakanati sub-section of the Jogi to which it belonged some five generations ago, when the traditional calling was buffalo-breeding.

The Kahars are immigrants from the Bombay presidency. The traditional occupation of the caste is palanquin bearing and catching and selling fish. The Kare okkalus are a cultivating sub-caste of Okkaligas. The Kacha Gauligas of Mysore are the Dhangaras of the Bombay presidency. They appear to be somewhat aboriginal. Their habitation are in the forests or in places where their buffaloes can find abundance of grass for grazing. Gauligas closely allied to the Kacha Gauligas are another tribe who rear large number of buffaloes. The Kiltkyatas are a wandering tribe of picture showmen found scattered all over the state and a group of which are expert swimmers in rivers during flood. The Komatis a mercantile class, are widely spread all over Madras and Bombay presidencies. Their claim for the designation Vaisya is disputed by a few of the castes with corresponding status and occupations. Nevertheless, the caste as a highly organized community has undergone considerable elevation by following the manners and customs

95. Ibid, p.458.

of the Brahmins. The Koraches of Mysore like their brethren Koravers of the Madras Presidency were one of the aboriginal tribes of South India. They must have developed themselves into one of the robber tribes in the Madras Presidency. They are a kind of gypsy tribe travelling from village to village.

The Kotte Okkalus are found in the Sagar and Sorab taluks of the Shimoga district. They are so called because of the fact that they are employed in covering bunches of tender betel nuts with *kottes* or bags made of the canvas like sheaths of the betel palm. The caste has no endogamous groups. Persons belonging to the same *bali* cannot intermarry. Widow marriage and polygamy are allowed. The members of the caste work in gardens and fields and do not differ in condition from other cultivating castes.

Kumbaras are makers of earthen pots and tiles. They are found all over the state. They like the Agasas, are an important factor in the village organization. They are conservatives by nature. The potters' wheel is very primitive and his tools are very rudimentary, and their articles are very handsome. They are still rendering useful services to the poorer members who cannot purchase metallic vessels.

Kunchitigas form a subdivision belonging to the group of castes known as Okkaligas. In rural parts, they affix

Gauda as an honorific title. Elsewhere the usual suffix is Ama. They formed one homogenous community in the former times. Widows are not generally allowed to marry, and divorce is not common. They formed part of the native militia in ancient times. Women were once buried with the dead bodies of their husbands in the former times. Agriculture is their chief occupation. Some are merchants, while others are skilful in carpentry.

The Kurubas are a caste of sheperds. Their language is Kannada. There are 3 main endogamous groups in the caste. Marriages are generally adult marriages; but infant marriages are also common. They dedicate their girls as 'Basavis'. They are the modern representatives of the ancient Pallavas, who were at one time very powerful in Southern India. They are found at present in various grades of culture. Those who live in the plains have imbibed the manners and customs of the Sudras in whose midst they live, while those inhabit on the hills are still in their primitive state.

Kadu Kuruba is a wild tribe. There are two endogamous groups among them. There are two forms of marriage vogue among them. They believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. They are pure animists. The dead bodies of children are buried and of adults are burned. They do collect forest materials and also do 'kumri' cultivation.

Ladars are a class of general merchants found chiefly in cities. There are seven endogamous groups. Their marriage ceremonies last for 5 days. They burn their dead bodies. They were formerly cavalrymen. At present, they are mostly traders. The Khatri Ladars invariably wear the sacred thread, and with others it is optional. They are found of tattooing.

The Lingayats are a religious community consisting of various castes held together by the bond of their common religion.⁹⁶ They are divided into four groups. They now a days present the curious spectacle of a religious sect broken up in the course of centuries into social fragments of which the older sections remain essentially sectarian, while the most recent in origin possess typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. This bears a close analogy to the Hindu Christian converts.

The Madigas who are known as the left hand caste are regarded as lower than the Holeyas or the right handd caste in the social scale. They differ much more appreciably in outward appearance from the higher castes. They are generally strong and muscular and somewhat short in stature and dark in colour with some what flat noses. It is

96. L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer (with H.V.Nanjundayya), Mysore Tribes and Castes, vol.IV, 1931, p.81.

generally said that one cannot be certain of the origin of a fair Madiga or a dark Brahmin. The caste has two main divisions based on the language they speak. There is no limit in age for marriage in either sex. Polyandry is unknown to them. They dedicate their girls as Basvis. They are workers in leather.

The Maharattas are land owners, soldiers and agriculturists. In Mysore they are called Are Kunbis and Maharatta Kunbis. They speak Mahratti which is a corruption of Sanskrit. Both infant and adult marriage are vogue among them. They follow Hindu law of inheritance. They say war is their profession, however, some of them from good families are well educated.

Mailaris, also known as Bala Jagams are a class of beggars who call themselves a sub-division of the Balijan. The castemen form an organized society. They are Saivites. They bury their dead. They are non-vegetarians in diet. Malerus are a unique community existing in the Malnad taluks of the western division. They form an outcast Brahmin community. Maleru are a jungle tribe confined to the wild regions of the Western Malnad. Mallavas are a caste of Lingayat faith. There are fine endogamous groups of the caste who do interdine but do not intermarry.

The Medars are a caste of men who make bamboo articles, such as mats and baskets and carry on the same trade. In

the former times they made basket caps for sepoy's. They are divided into two linguistic groups. Polygamy and widow marriage are allowed. They are both Vaishnavas and Saivas and animists as well.

Mochis in Mysore are a caste of leather workers and painters. They have three endogamous groups. They follow Hindu law of inheritance. They were originally Rajputs. They are said to be a mixed breed from which they have originated. They claim to be Kshatriyas. Their caste chief is elected by an assembly of their caste men.

The Modaliyars are an agricultural caste of the Tamil districts of the Madras presidency, from which they have immigrated into the Mysore state. There are no endogamous groups among them. Marriages are both infant and adult and are arranged between the parents of the boy and girl. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. They are Saivas as well as Vaishnavas in religion. They are rich contractors, traders, brokers and agents to firms.

The Mondarus form a small caste of low status. The caste has five endogamous groups. widow marriage is permitted. They are beggars by profession. The caste is divided into several groups each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area.

Morasu Okkalu are a caste of cultivators, consisting of various endogamous groups, some of which have become

separate castes. Many of them are Lingayats. They abstain from drinking liquor but eat meat. Among them several families hold, by hereditary right, the low village offices of 'Toti' and 'Nirganti' or watchmen and conductors of water. They are both Vaishnavas and Saivas.

Musalman of Mysore as in other parts of India are divided into four groups: Sayyid, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan. The Musalman are divided into two main sects the Sunni and the Shiah. A Musalman family is somewhat in definite and complicated; because a legal marriage does not debar a man from having a subsequent union.⁹⁷ Polygamy is quite legal. An examination of the social functions of kinship relationship shows that a given relative may be subject to an obligation to perform certain social actions or may perform certain actions which are not permitted to others or may not be permitted to perform actions which are allowed to others. They believe in magic. Islam is the religion of Musalman. The Musalman of Mysore follow most of the professions of the state. Mahdavia Musalman, Bohra Musalman, Meman Musalman, Jonakan Mappilas and Labbai are Muhammadan community found in Mysore and other parts of the country. Among the Pinjaris there are both Hindus and Musalman.

97. Ibid, p.279.

The Nadu Gaudas are an agricultural caste living in the Malnad Taluks. They are a caste of Corarese farmers found only in South Canara from where they have migrated to Mysore. They are one of the endogamous groups of Bants, and follow the inheritance in both the lines. The Nadava means people of the country.

Nagrathas are a caste of traders, found in Bangalore and Kolar districts. The caste has two main endogamous divisions which in turn has exogamous gotras. Widow marriage is not allowed. The marriage ceremonies last for five days. They wear sacred thread. Adoption is practised under general law. The caste has a well organized tribal constitution. They maintain that they are true Vaisyas and closely imitate the Brahminical ceremonies of marriage and death.

The Nattuvans do not form a caste, but they are a social group by occupation.⁹⁸ The designation of Nattuvan is applied to a dancing master who teaches dancing to the girls of certain castes. When Devadasis dance, Nattuvans play the accompaniment of drum, bagpipe, flute, clarinet and cymbals. Both men and women are of average stature with well proportioned heads and features.

The Nayindas are a caste of barbers. They are found in

98. Ibid, p.279.

all shades of complexion. They are the members of the village hierarchy, and are paid in kind for their services. They have the exclusive right of using wind instruments. They are both Saivas and Vaishnavas. Some among them are Lingayats. They are also known as Silavants. They are largely requisitioned at feasts and marriages. Their marriages last for five days. They admit high caste people into their caste.

The Panchalas are a caste that follow five different occupations, namely those of goldsmithy, carpentary, blacksmithy, masonry and coppersmithy. These occupations do not give rise to any difference in status. Each group has a headman, but all the groups are subject to a hereditary chief who is a goldsmith. Their occupation is interchangeable and all the groups can intermarry and interdine. They belong to the left hand section. They are both Vaishnavas and Saivas. Kali is considered to be the proper deity of the caste, but receives no bloody sacrifices from her votaries. They compete with the Brahmins in point of social status.

The caste Parivars are largely found in Mysore city. There are two endogamous groups among them. They are occupied in agriculture, fishing and trade. Patnulkarans are a caste of weavers found in Tamil districts. Their occupation is manufacturing 'kutni' with silk. Patnagars

are a caste of silk weavers who speak a mixture of Mahratti, Gujarati and Hindi. They worship all Hindu deities especially *Sakthi*.

The Rahevars are a caste of painters and agriculturists. They are also in the military services. They claim to be Kshatriyas. There are three endogamous groups based on the traditional occupation. The caste members of Reddies are Telugu agriculturists. They are also traders. They have once formed a part of the foot militia. Some of them are Telugu while others are Canarese. they do interdine but do not intermarry. They have ordinary caste panchayats. They are both Vaishnavas and Saivas.

The Sadas or Sadara Okkaligas are a cultivating caste. By religion they are divided into three sects: some are Vaishnavas, some are Saiva and others follow the Jain faith. Their families belong to a number of gotras. The Vaishnava section take the vow of Dasaris, and bury the dead. They refrain from animal food and drinking spirituous liquors.

Salahuva Vakkalu are a caste of iron minors. With the incoming of foreign iron their occupation declined. They have shifted to agriculture. There are two endogamous groups of the caste. They worship Goddess Lakshmi. Sab is a general term applied to a group of castes who have adopted weaving as their profession. They are divided into two main endogamous groups, Padma Sabs and Pattu Sabs of whom the

former do not wear sacred thread while the latter wear it. Each group has a number of exogamous clans. The religious distinction is no bar for inter-marriage. The Goddess of the Sab cult is Chamundeswari, a sylvan deity located in groves.

Sanyasis form a caste of itinerant mendicants of the Saiva order. Begging being their occupation they lead a wandering life. Usual pattern is that the men go for alms fixing a date for returning to the house failing which will result in loss of caste.⁹⁹ The Satanis are a class of temple servants. They shave their heads completely and tie their loin cloth like a Brahmin bachelor. Adult marriage and widow remarriage are strictly prohibited. They are Vaishnavites.

The Sholigas are an aboriginal forest tribe inhabiting the interior of forests. There are four endogamous groups among them. Widows are allowed to marry. They are animists, and are devotees of Biligiri Rangan, a Vaishnava God. they do not come under any caste gradation. Their chief occupation is the collection of forest produce and honey. Sadugadu Siddas are a tribe of mendicants. They practice both infant and adult marriages. Their traditional occupation is begging.

99. Ibid, p.571.

Thammadis are, by profession, worshippers of Iswara in Siva and other temples. On marriage occasions, they worship a small branch of Korde tree which they cut and install as their family god in their houses.¹⁰⁰ They wear sacred thread. The Tigalars are a caste of kitchen and market gardeners. They are divided into three endogamous groups. they have their caste organization and the office of the headman is hereditary. They are said to be descended from the first born hero Agni Banniraya. They are both Saivas and Vaishnavas.

The Togatas are a class of Telugu weavers who manufacture coarse cotton clothes for the poorer classes. They are generally Vaishnavas, wearing sacred thread, and have for their priests, Vaishnava Brahmin or Satanis. They eat flesh and their widows do not marry, but are expected to kill themselves. They have their regular caste organization with the hereditary headman. Torea were a group of fishermen and palanquin bearers in the former days. Presently they are engaged in agriculture.

The Upparas are a caste of people with the traditional occupation of salt manufacture in former times. They are also described as a caste of tank diggers and earth diggers. They profess to worship the village deities. The caste

100. Ibid, p.611.

appears to be a homogenous group, but is divided into a number of endogamous groups and exogamous class. They are generally ignorant and illiterate. The Vaders are the priest and devotees of the Lingayat community. The Voddas are a Telugu caste of earth diggers who originally came from Orissa. They are very ignorant and cannot calculate how much work they have done. They are an open-hearted good natured lot with loose morals. Polygamy and divorce are freely allowed.

The fifth volume of Mysore Tribes and Castes is an appendix to the other four volumes of the same. It is an integrated index to the four volumes, consisting of subject index with its glossary of vernacular terms, index of endogamous groups and exogamous clans and bibliography. It also contains a list of abbreviations of the names of the tribes and castes.

Conclusion

From the above account it is evident that Ananthakrishna Iyer is one of the great contributors to the enrichment of Indian anthropology. It was fortunate for him that he had exciting work throughout his life and it is certainly remarkable that in spite of various difficulties he could accomplish so much. In fact he started as an ethnographic surveyor in Cochin and ended up with his magnum

opus survey of Mysore tribes and castes. Encouraged at the reception of his individual monographs on the Cochin tribes, he continued to collect facts and to study the drama of human existence. His notes-taking continued for thirty five years from 1902. When the study of anthropology as a science was in its infancy, Iyer contributed greatly to it being laid on scientific lines and had indeed set the pace to many modern anthropologists.

First on the list of Ananthakrishna's achievements is the almost incredible bulk of ethnographic material that he collected. He was extremely careful and thorough and had a passion for collecting and classifying vast amount of raw data. His works reveal his conviction that the collection of factual information, not from libraries, but from original work in the field - was the safest and most permanent contribution an anthropologist can make. His establishment of precision in anthropology should be seen as another significant achievement. Yet another characteristic of his works is his straightforward manner of presenting ideas and the simplicity of his style which made the world of living tribesmen intelligible for the first time. He probed into their popular rites, customs and beliefs, myths and legends and presented his material with a remarkable clarity of detail and lucidity of style. His proficiency in English language helped him to convey his ideas and

observations clearly and unequivocally in that language. This speciality of his can be attributed to his nonconventional English education that he had from the primary level.

Ananthakrishna Iyer considered an intimate knowledge of the local language as indispensable to the study of a culture. He emphasized the importance of the observer's command of the language which enables him to grasp the subtleties of daily life revealed through informal conversations and activities. The restraint and detachment he used in describing a tribal custom or institution had been attributed to his zealous concern for ensuring fidelity to facts, so far as they could be ascertained. He did not let sentiments creep into his observation of people. For the most part he approached his field work with this kind of objectivity. In his studies he followed a system of investigation design to secure all the details necessary for an understanding of the people whom he studied. In support of all his views he marshalled overwhelming evidences and the pages of 'Lectures on Ethnography' are filled with a hundred facts to support every essential point of his theoretical argument. His Cochin volumes, which set the stage for his later work on the 'Mysore Tribes and Castes', provide a landmark in anthropology and established him as an undisputed authority on the subject.

According to Iyer the work hitherto (1925) done in Indian Anthropology has been mainly for administrative purposes. Ananthakrishna entered the field of anthropology as a non-professional when the British administrators started incorporating Indians in collecting data about the customs and manners of the Indian people. In accumulating data the British administrator-anthropologist followed that sort of methodology which could make the administration of the subjects more feasible. Iyer was one of that band of anthropologists who worked with Sir Herbert Risely in 1901.

Iyer for his conceptual framework adhered to the twenty-seven point format drawn up in 1805 by H.H. Risely for the ethnographic survey of India. He simplified this format into a fourteen point one. He also borrowed the conceptual framework of Nesfield on the occupational categories, though he stuck to the ethnographic format.

True to the ethnographic tradition of British India, Iyer gave a greater weightage to the description of life cycle ceremonies. He treated a caste or tribe as an isolate and did not describe its interaction and linkages with other groups. Internal structure of a caste was described in some detail. The differences among various sub-groups in terms of myths or origin, ritual performance etc. were not mentioned. Iyer treats a religious group, as a homogenous whole, as a unit of his survey. He did not identify the

various groups within the religious community or within a community in terms of its traditional and ethnic categories. His ethnography was a synchronic one, just like one that practised in his days.

Unlike other colonial ethnographers, Iyer was in an advantageous position by virtue of his nativity. This advantage helped him to acquire the vast amount of information on subjects which the native people were usually reluctant to disclose to the Europeans. Thus working in his official capacity, within the frame work of the ethnographic survey established by others, Iyer brought to bear an insider's view that marks out his ethnographic survey.

In studying the social institutions Iyer took a social evolutionistic approach, just like his contemporary anthropologists in the world over. From the vast amount of data he collected he tried to reconstruct the history of people commencing from their primitive stages through the development of various institutions. Using comparative historical method Iyer explained the origin and development of social institutions, the development of monogamous marriage from promiscuity, property from communism, industry from nomadism and monotheism from animism. Even though, Iyer's views on theoretical problems have been scattered throughout his works, the book 'Lectures on Ethnography' remained as his main theoretical work.

The nature of field work of Iyer was different from that of administrative-cum-anthropologists of the colonial India. While the latter collected information with the help of their subordinates in the administration the former personally went to the field, made rapport with the people and collected information. But Iyer hardly bothered about verifying the information he collected with the actual practice of the people just like the English and American theorists.

As a professional anthropologist and academician Iyer always remained in his area of specialization that is the study of tribes and castes. He took special care to undertake objective studies. He never showed any personal sentiment or attachment to the people he studied. Rather than being practical in his studies, he was always academically oriented.

Iyer will be remembered by posterity as a sound ethnographer. Future generations of anthropologists will be grateful to Ananthakrishna Iyer for the authentic basic data which he gathered with meticulous care and analysed and recorded without prejudice and with greatest objectivity.

CHAPTER III

PROFESSOR A. AIYAPPAN: LIFE AND WORKS

A Short Biographical Sketch of Dr. Aiyappan

A. Aiyappan (1905-1988), who trained in Social Anthropology by eminent and pioneering anthropologists such as Malinowski and Raymond Firth, is an authority in South Indian ethnography. A roughly four decade long career of creative teaching and research coupled with organizational skills and faculty of human engineering epitomizes Aiyappan, as a solid scholar, a veritable institution, and a rare humanist.¹ Aiyappan used to popularize anthropology by various communication channels such as newspapers, radio talks, review articles, besides a large number of papers published in scientific journals.

Ayinapalli Aiyappan was born on 5 February 1905 at Maruthayur *desam* in the Pavartty *amsam* of the old Malabar district of Madras province which is now in the Trichur district of the Kerala state.² He belonged to the Ezhava

1. Samarendra Saraf, "Professor Aiyinipally Aiyappan scholar, Institution, Humanist", in Jacob John Kattakayam and Mathew Thamarakkad, eds., Dr. A. Aiyappan: Fest Schrift, p. 229.
2. B. N. Nair, "Dr. A. Aiyappan - Life and Work", in B. N. Nair, ed., Culture and Society, p. 2.

caste which was an exterior caste in those days. Aiyappan lost his father when he was only 14 years old. His elder brother, though had financial difficulty, showed special interest in educating young Aiyappan. Even at the evenings of his life Aiyappan remembered his brother with gratefulness.³ Aiyappan's mother influenced him a lot and helped him in developing an interest about the society in which he lived. He remembered that her conversations with her friends were the earliest introduction that he had to the cross-cultural traits of Kerala folk-lore.⁴

At an age of six, Aiyappan joined the primary school at Maruthayur. He was one of the best students of the local school, so that, he got double promotion. Later he joined in St. Joseph's High School, Pavartty where he completed his higher secondary. He had a deep interest in the literary works in Malayalam and Sanskrit.

Even though Aiyappan's brother had financial inabilities, he persuaded Aiyappan to continue his studies. Thus he had done his intermediate course at Victoria College, Palghat with the money he earned from tutions. Aiyappan took his B.A. (Hons.) from Presidency college,

3. Dr.A.Aiyappan, Autobiography (manuscript).

4. Ibid.

Madras. While doing B.A. (Hons.) in Zoology, he took a diploma course in Economics under the guidance of Gilbert Slater.⁵

In his B.A. (Hons.) exam (1927) he could not score high rank or class. In his own writings he remembered that he passed both his B.A. and diploma course due to out of sheer luck.⁶ Aiyappan was very disappointed when he realized that a third class pass in B.A. could not fetch him any good job. Once again he checked his luck and appeared for Indian Forest Service Exam in the following August conducted at Delhi, but he could not get through. As he was aware of the financial condition of his elder brother - who borrowed money from the bank to give Aiyappan for his Delhi journey - he never wanted to go back. He tried for a job in Delhi itself. He got the job as a school teacher at Ambala in Punjab. The pathetic condition of the school and his own life over there compelled him to search for another job. Through his relations with top bureaucrats he could manage to get the job as a research assistant in the Zoological Survey of India, at Calcutta.⁷

The turning point of a Zoologist to Anthropologist came in 1929. In July 1929 hardly after two months of his job at

5. B.N.Nair, op.cit., p.3.

6. Dr. A.Aiyappan, Autobiography.

7. Ibid.

Calcutta, he was appointed as anthropological assistant (later renamed as Curator) in the newly formed Madras Government Museum. In those days development of Anthropology was closely connected with the museums. Due to the lack of trained anthropologists, the trend at that time was to train up Biology graduates in Anthropology.⁸ Diwan Bahadur K.Rangachari, who was a good field anthropologist, initiated Aiyappan into the intricacies of field work. Aiyappan was sent to the Madras medical college to undergo a full one year course in human anatomy and in 1930 to the Indian Museum for training under B.S.Guha in physical anthropology. Thus trained in Zoology and Economics, Aiyappan now turned as museologist, archeologist, ethnologist and physical anthropologist - all rolled in one.

By 1932, Aiyappan's attention was turned towards the works of Bronislaw Malinowski. Aiyappan finished reading Malinowski's 'The Argonauts of Western Pacific' while he was exploring Cist graves in the Tengakal Estate, Vandiperiyar, Travancore and was fascinated by the book.⁹ Aiyappan corresponded with Malinowski and received the invitation to join as his student.

There was a coincidence of his marriage and his joining in London School of Economics. In 1934, in London there was

8. Ibid.

9. B.N.Nair, op.cit., p.4.

the meeting of First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological sciences. By this time he had developed an uncontrollable desire to take a Ph.D degree under Malinowski. Nothing could prevent him from his desire to participate in the International Congress. He tried to get a government scholarship in vein. The only option he had then was to marry, so that he can get money as dowry. Since taking money was against his principles, with a guilty consciousness he got married and accumulated enough money to go to London.¹⁰ This simply shows his lure to study Anthropology. He recollected later that he had returned that money to his father-in-law a few years later. Though he started his married life for money, it was very happy and he survived with two daughters and a son. He was totally against the dowry system and had not given or taken a single penny for his children's marriages.¹¹

Aiyappan read the paper "Cross-Cousin and Uncle-Niece Marriages in South India" in the First International Congress. He joined in London School of Economics in 1934. Later Aiyappan recollected, "He (Malinowski) was instrumental in getting me admission for the Ph.D. course in Anthropology in the London School of Economics and Politics

10. Dr.A.Aiyappan, Autobiography.

11. Ibid.

in the year 1934".¹² Without having any degree in Anthropology, he got admission for Ph.D. During the period 1934-37, Aiyappan worked for his Ph.D and also for his Diploma of the London Museums Association. Raymond Firth, then Reader, was Aiyappan's research guide. Aiyappan attended the seminars of Malinowski which were attended by almost all the then leading anthropologists and sociologists. Attending the meetings of the Royal Anthropological institute and using its excellent library and making friends there among visiting anthropologists helped very much to broaden his vision.

During his stay in United Kingdom a whole generation of leading British Anthropologists came to be known to him. A.C.Haddon, C.G.Seligman, besides Malinowski and Firth. One of the most pleasant experiences of Aiyappan in London was his meeting with A.C.Haddon on his 80th birthday celebrations at London. On that occasion as per the directive of Malinowski, Aiyappan spoke on Haddon's book on Decorative Art and how it helped the development of Anthropology in India through a more understanding of folk arts. Aiyappan met C.G.Seligman who was the guide of Malinowski, in 1934.¹³

12. Ibid.

13. B.N.Nair, op.cit., p.5.

Aiyappan's first published lengthy paper was an excavation report on rock-cut megalithic burials (1933). His second and third monographs were "Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis" and "Iravas and Culture Change" respectively. He published papers on blood groups (1936) and two short interpretative articles relating to pottery and seals from Mohenjodaro (1939, 1940). Other major papers in prehistory were on the stone age of the Nellore district (1942), a report on the trial excavations at Arikamedu, the Indo-Roman trading port of the first century A.D. near Pondicherry and the middle stone age tools from the red sand dunes near Sawyerpuram in the Thirunelveli district (1945).

Aiyappan came back from London after completing his Ph.D. and took up the job as the Director of Madras Museum which was founded in 1851. He was the first Indian to take up that post. After returning to India, Aiyappan conducted a number of research studies. At Madras he made his first field trip to study the Tangalan Parayas, a scheduled caste at Poonamallee. Later he started working on Nayadis, the lowest of Kerala castes. For the purpose of this study he visited almost all Nayadi houses from Calicut to Ernakulam. The fieldwork of another masterpiece monograph "Iravas and Culture Change" was done from one end of Kerala to the other. After about 1947, Aiyappan stopped doing active

research in branches of anthropology other than Social and Cultural anthropology.

During his time as the head of the Madras museum, Aiyappan tried several innovations to bring together the museum, the public and the government departments closer. There Aiyappan edited the Bulletin of the government museum, both the natural history and a general series, the latter covering anthropology, archaeology, numismatics and art. Besides, he organized a short course in museum methods to help teachers to build up their own school museums and to collect and prepare the specimens for that purpose. This aroused a need for a handbook to help the teachers and resulted in the publication of Handbook of Museum technique in 1960. He also introduced a guide service in the museum to help illiterate visitors. When he was at Madras he has been doing periodical field trips to Wynad and Attapady and published short notes on the tribes based on his study. One of the happiest moments in Aiyappan's life was the occasion of inauguration of National Art Gallery of Madras in connection with centenary celebrations (1951) of Madras museum. He was very satisfied to know the compliment by Jawaharlal Nehru, the then prime minister, who inaugurated the gallery, that 'this is the best museum in India'.¹⁴

14. Dr.A.Aiyappan, Autobiography.

Another instant he remembered was his recommendation for the use of anthropology in the adjudication of the election case of V.V.Giri in early 1950s.¹⁵

Aiyappan spent a short period from September 1953 to July 1954 as Fullbright Visiting Professor of Social Anthropology in the Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. At Cornell Aiyappan was insisted to give courses during 'India Programme'.¹⁶ Further, he was invited to participate in the India Week celebrations at the University of Rochester where he was asked to speak on the Role of Religion in India. There he was awarded Honorary Fellowship of the Rochester Museums Association in 1954. Later he was invited to Chicago by Robert Redfield to address a seminar in the department of Anthropology where he met his old friend Milton Singer. On his way back to India by ship, he halted for a short time in London to revisit his teachers and colleagues at London School of Economics, and there he spoke on the relation between ritual and belief.

In 1955, Aiyappan and C.J.Jayadev presented a paper on 'Suicide in South India' at the Conference of Sociologists

15. Ibid.

16. India programme was organized by Morris Opler, Cornell University, to give scholarship to Indian students. All the Indian and Ceylonese student should had to attend the programme.

and Anthropologists. During the fieldwork for the same he was touched by the cases of neglected men and women who had none to care for them. This may be the reason why he took initiatives in later years to start an organization for the aged. Aiyappan also made an effort to control the attitude towards death by suicides with that of persons of iron will who end their lives voluntarily called *Sakama Mrithyu* in socially recognized and approved manner in his paper on voluntary death (1967).

In 1956, when he was working in the Madras Museum, he conducted a Buddha Jayanthi exhibition. This resulted in the publication of the book 'Story of Buddhism with Special Reference to South India' edited by Aiyappan and P.R.Srinivasan.

After his retirement from the Madras Government Museum in September 1958, Aiyappan took up the post as Professor of Anthropology at the Utkal University, Orissa, where he worked till 1966. There, besides teaching and building up good library facilities in the department, Aiyappan was forced to take up work on several committees. The then Chief Minister of Orissa invited him to be the Chairman of a committee to organize the State museum. He became a member of a committee on Handicrafts and he was in charge of the Tribal Research Institute at Bhubaneswar as the Director and also was the editor of the journal, Historical Research. He

undertook field trips to collect things that enrich the departmental museum. Inspiring and enthusing as a teacher as well as painstaking as a guide, he produced a whole team of students committed to the ideal of scholarship. To quote Uma Charan Mohanty "His life long devotion to research made his teaching research oriented."¹⁷ He always helped his students to get jobs and when he left Orissa none of his students was unemployed.

While in Orissa, Aiyappan collected materials for his paper on the "Sociology of Friendship", and also the data for his lecture on the comparative sociology of the practice of avoidance. During the last two years of his stay in Bhubaneswar, Aiyappan was the administrative head of all post-graduate departments of the Utkal University.

In 1966, Aiyappan's microsociological study of a lillipution entity in the background of Kerala, "Social Revolution in a Kerala Village" got published. It was a combination of village survey and study of social change. In the words of M.N.Srinivas who has contributed the Forward to the book, "Aiyappan has combined the descriptions of the social structure of a single village along with a description of all India and State forces at the level of

17. U.C.Mohanthy, "Professor Aiyappan as a Teacher", in B.N. Nair, ed., op.cit., p.60.

village and caste".¹⁸ It was a restudy 'a generation later' of the Iravas of whom Aiyappan studied in the 1930s.

From 1966-1968, Aiyappan worked at the Andhra University under the UGC retired teacher's scheme. During this period, Aiyappan was able to do short spells of field work in Wynad on the Kurichiyas and to renew his acquaintance with the Andhra tribes of the Aruku valley which he had visited in 1946.

From Waltair, Aiyappan came to Trivandrum as Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University in March 1969. There he continued till October 1970. Being an expert educationist and administrator he was able to discharge his duties without much difficulties. In the words of A.Sreedhara Menon, "A person of liberal outlook, gifted with sympathy and understanding was needed to shoulder the responsibilities of the high office of the Vice-Chancellor.... It is not surprising that the choice fell on Dr. Aiyappan."¹⁹ He had his own outlook on education. He was against the proliferation of universities and producing graduates as goods in a factory. While giving the convocational address to the Calicut University, he said,

18. M.N.Srinivas in the Foreword to Social Revolution in Kerala Village, 1965, p.viii.

19. A.Sreedhara Menon, "Dr.A.Aiyappan as Vice-Chancellor", in B.N.Nair, ed., op.cit., p.55.

"education should be modernized in the process of modernizing India and work and education should go hand in hand."²⁰

In September 1970, he got an invitation to participate on the occasion of the inauguration of the first university in Kenya.²¹

After he relinquished the office of Vice-Chancellor and returned from Kenya, he was appointed by the Government of Kerala as special officer to organize the Tribal Research and Training centre. Even though he was deeply interested in the welfare of tribals, he was not happy with the manner in which affairs of the Centre were handled by the governmental authorities and he left the job on his own. Aiyappan's concern for the welfare of the tribal and backward communities was not a by-product of his professional interests in them. In 1973 he was selected as the Chairman of the Task Force on the welfare of backward classes of the state planning board and a member of the steering committee on social welfare of the Union Planning Commission. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta awarded Aiyappan, its Sarat Chandra Roy medal for Anthropology at its annual meeting in 1971.

20. Mathrubhumi (Malayalam daily), 11 November 1970.

21. Dr.A.Aiyappan, Autobiography.

By 1974 at an age of 69, he went back to Madras and stayed there with his wife and son. He never sat idle and was always engaged in research works. He had started collecting data for his work 'Rajas in Kerala'. Though he collected almost all data available from all sources, he could not make it in a book form because of his bad health. Another unpublished work of his is 'Paniyas of Wynad'. He started working on Kurichiyas of Wynad way back in 1950 and the results were published after his death in 1990.

In 1974, he organized an association for the aged called 'Sixty Up Association' under the auspices of Social Science Association of South India which was registered in 1955 after his return from USA. He received encouragements from all walks of life for his efforts. He conducted seminars under the name of the association for the aged.

In 1978 Aiyappan chaired the Ninth International Anthropological Congress, conducted in Delhi. There was a cold war between the two groups of anthropologists lined behind L.P.Vidyarthi on one side and S.C.Dube and M.N. Srinivas on the other. Though Aiyappan was very much disappointed due to this groupisms he managed to participate both the groups in the Congress. He was very much satisfied when it was over and later he claimed it was much successful when compared to the preceded and succeeded Congresses.²²

22. Ibid.

By 1980 he started a retired life though he never left doing researches in his own possible ways. He started writing an autobiography but could not complete it. In the period 1982-83 he went to USA with his wife on a holiday trip. He had a mental stroke which paralysed his body. He partly recovered by the treatment over there. Still the only difference was that he is conscious but cannot do anything on his own. He returned to Kerala in this state, stayed at Thrissur district where he had undergone Ayurveda treatment and recovered completely.

As soon as he was in a condition which enabled him to resume his works, he went back to Madras. After a short period of stay over there again he came back to Trichur by the end of 1984. He and his wife stayed there with his younger daughter till his death on 28th June 1988 at an age of 83.

For over five decades he had striven hard to uphold the ideals and traditions of scholarship in the multi-disciplinary fields of anthropology, the true science of man.

Summary and Analysis of the Works of A.Aiyappan

Aiyappan, who is an authority in South Indian ethnography, earnestly believed that popularization of anthropology can help intercaste and intercommunal

understanding in India by raising the level of mutual knowledge and by cutting the roots of group ethnocentrism. Aiyappan's contributions to anthropology is vast and multidimensional. His books and articles are of inestimable value to anthropologists and ethnographers. Most of his papers are brief, written in a simple style and free from technical jargons. At the same time all these papers contained of scientific data and insightful ideas. This makes them available to everyone with an interest in Indian society. Also his writings are filled with a warm concern for the people whose lives and culture are being studied.

Aiyappan in the words of Kathaleen Gough: "Among ethnographers of India I would therefore place Dr.A.Aiyappan at the top along with only one or two other writers, and with countless others. I am for ever grateful for the insight and dedication with which he has done his work."²³ What B.N.Nair says in 1974 about Aiyappan that, "Aiyappan is very few social anthropologists living in India who can (and do) usefully participate with equal ease in a conference say on the status of Astralopithecinae or the mid-Pleistocenelithic industries of India as in seminars on social development."²⁴ M.N. Srinivas puts it that

23. Kathaleen Gough, "Dr.A.Aiyappan as an Ethnographer", in B.N.Nair, ed., op.cit., p.54.

24. B.N.Nair, op.cit., p.1.

"Professor Aiyappan's range of interests has been wide as well as deep, including at one end problems of social and cultural change, and at the other, pre-historic archaeology."²⁵ Kulamoni Mohapatra who was a student of Aiyappan puts it like, "In Prof. Aiyappan we find a curious blend of the spirit of impartial enquiry with strong affective values, one enriching the other."

Aiyappan has fifteen published, some of them edited works, and one unpublished book to his credit. Besides this, there are about 70 articles written and published in various national and international journals.

In the present study, for convenience, the writings of Aiyappan are divided into three sections - contributions to the study of Pre-history, Contributions to the study of Physical anthropology and Contributions to socio-cultural anthropology. The third section is again divided into two - contributions to the study of simple societies and complex societies. In each sections his works are analyzed in a chronological order. In the present study a summary of all available books and articles have been done in order to assess his contributions to Anthropology.

Contributions to Pre-history and History

Aiyappan's interest in pre-historic archaeology has always been more than peripheral. This has been partly due

25. M.N. Srinivas, op.cit., p.v.

to the exigencies of his work in the Madras Museum where he had charge of the galleries dealing with prehistoric antiquities which housed the vast, pioneering collections of the father of Indian pre-history, Robert Bruce Foote. Basically, Aiyappan has been of the view that in India with its long unbroken history, the historical dimension of the social sciences can be neglected only at considerable risk. Exogenous factors have had massive influences on Indian society, not only during the British period, but also earlier and the sociologists and anthropologists have to look for them diligently. Mere structural interpretations may end up in wrong conclusions. Whatever be the reasons for his archaeological venture they have been remarkably fruitful.²⁶

Aiyappan's first article on archaeological survey was published in 1933, namely "Rock-cut Cave Tombs of Feroke, Malabar", in 'Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society'. From there upon he had published around nine articles on the related topics of pre-historic and historic India in the leading journals and newspapers such as the journals 'Man', 'Current Science', 'Journal of Asiatic Society', 'Journal of Bombay Natural Society' etc. and newspapers 'The Hindu', 'Mathrubhumi', 'Illustrated Weekly of India', etc.

26. B.N.Nair, op.cit., p.17.

In 1942 his work 'The Manely Collections of Stone Age Tools' in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no.68 was published. With the exception of fourteen specimens from the Chingelput and Guntur districts the artifacts catalogued and described in this memoir were collected by Frank P. Manely of the American Baptist Telugu Mission, from various sites in the Nellore district in Andhra Pradesh. In the course of his long stay in this district Manley had acquired a thorough knowledge of its geology and topography and from these subjects it was a natural transition to its pre-historic archaeology.²⁷ During those days Aiyappan showed a deep interest in archaeological excavations. Knowing this and as Aiyappan was famous in this field, Manely invited him and F.H.Gravelly, the then Superintendent of the Government Museum, in 1939 to see his collections.²⁸

Aiyappan begins the book with a brief account of the geography of the Nellore district. He proceeds to explain the various aspects of the artifacts. In the given map, the sites have been indicated by letters of the alphabet and after the letters of the alphabet had been exhausted, by Arabic numerals.

27. A.Aiyappan, "The Manely Collections of Stone Age Tools", Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, no.68, 1942, p.4.

28. Ibid, p.15.

A total of 58 sites and the artifacts discovered from that places have been explained. The type, size, and shape and condition of artifacts along with short descriptions about the artifacts have been arranged as a catalogue in the book.

The most interesting tools in the collection were the coups-de-poing, blades and awls made of quartz. All these collections were better in size and excellence. Only one tool and one scrapper was made of dirt. The rest of the artifacts are all made of quartzite. This raw material was available in the form of rounded pebbles which are common in stream beds.

The aspects such as fracture weathering and patiation of Manely collections have also been explained briefly by Aiyappan. The most primitive artifacts in the Manely collections are the pebble tools - choppers and axes which occurred at several of the major sites. The best classification of pebble tools is that based on the nature of the cutting edges which either broad or pointed and is, as a rule formed by the intersection of the fake scars on the ventral and dorsal sides.

The second half of the book is enriched with the pictures of these tools and artifacts.

From an in-depth study of these tools, that which enlight the pre-history of South India, and artifacts

Aiyappan reaches in some conclusions. He says the generalizations that can be made from the present study are tentative.²⁹ Typologically most primitive artifacts namely the pebble tools form numerically only the insignificant part of the whole collection. The hand axes are the most predominant tool type in the Nellore district, both in its number and the skill exhibited in the manufacture. The oldest-looking ones among these hand axes made from cores. The upper paleolithic culture is represented by definite classes of special tools designed for special purposes. No previous collector in South India has been as successful as Manely in the matter of these late artifacts which on account of their small size have a tendency to disappear or to escape of notice. Nellore is not far away from the great neolithic centres on the western side of the Ghats, this fact also may explain why artifacts leading to the final stage of the stone age culture have been found in this district in greater numbers than in others to the North or the South.³⁰

In a radio talk, titled 'The Deccan Plateau: Ethnology', in 1952 Aiyappan tried to present human history of Deccan over a vast stretch of time and space. At present

29. Ibid, p.23.

30. Ibid, p.28.

the population in the plateau is very low, and the people are economically backward. The history of the nature of the place shows that it was a fertile land at once upon a time. The ethnologists of the historic schools have tried to reconstruct the course of long history of the way in which India got to have its present population. Some believe that India began with negroid race and according to another group of people Indian population began with Proto-Mediterraneans. His view is that these Proto-Mediterranean, most probably, were the carriers of Dravidian speech. The culture we know as Indian today is the main product of the creative activities of the Proto-Mediterraneans.³¹ Soon many races started coming to India and it became a racial complex.

Aiyappan states that mankind in the small area of Deccan is an amalgum and that the communal and religious cleavages which now loom so large are just superficial cracks in its very thin crust.³² This statement clearly indicates his concern about the growing religious, communal and other sorts of rifts resulting in murderous attack on each other.

31. A.Aiyappan, "The Deccan Plateau Ethnology", From U.C.Mohanthy, ed., Tribal Culture and Tribal Welfare, Selected Papers by A. Aiyappan, 1988, p.15.

32. Ibid, p.17.

In 1962 Aiyappan's book, 'Bharata Pazhama' (Pre-historic India) which was written in Malayalam was published. It is one of the foremost books in Malayalam dealing with Indian prehistory based on archaeological investigation. As it is written in Malayalam language, the book is meant for Kerala people.

Every region in which civilization has developed, in which art, literature and science have flourished has a cultural background extending for thousands of years into the remote past.³³ In 'Bharatha Pazhama', Aiyappan makes a gauge in to the pre-history of India. When it has become clear that India had relations with the West Asia even 3000 years before Christ, it has become an imperative to understand the real nature of India's relations with Iran, central Asia and Arabia before the coming of Aryans.

In the first chapter of the book a general account about the archaeological research has been given. Details showing how the researcher should do excavations carefully, how the researcher can detect that there are archaeological materials underneath, how once excavated piece of evidence should be preserved etc. have been explained in this book. Since archeology has developed into a science, Aiyappan wants to have the readers an idea of the research procedure.

33. A.Aiyappan, Bharathapazhama, 1985, p.10.

Since cultural development was intrinsically connected to the kinds of tools, based on that it is divided into stone age, copper age and bronze age. Second and third chapters of the book deals with the stone age of India. Aiyappan comments that certain old history books have made a blunder that it was the ancestors of Kerala who have discovered the techniques of making stone. Only very few evidences of stone age have been available in India.

In East Africa there was a semi-human race, Sinanthropus, who were able to run, walk and hunt. Sinanthropus were similar to apes in physical appearance except the capacity to walk. The Sinanthropus had made stone axes after carving round rocks. In the course of evolution, compared to Sinanthropus, the more developed jawa (Pithecanthropus) people and Neanderthal people who belonged to the genus of human beings were able to use languages other than stone tool making technique. The use of language is the first step of elevation from animals to human beings. The second step of cultural development is the making and use of fire. There are unequivocal evidences about the belief of Neanderthal people on their sense of art and transmigration of souls. The discovery of Neanderthal people in Afghanistan and also their weapons in the

neighbouring areas made Aiyappan strongly believe that they might have lived in India.³⁴

The second part of the book deals with copper age. At the beginning of copper age Dravidian and Munda language speaking people had been inhabited in India. Aiyappan believes that Aryans came to India during copper age, even though more evidences are needed to prove it. He invites for more research in the field.³⁵ It is difficult to predict the beginning of iron age in India. Iron weapons were common in India since 3rd century B.C. Aiyappan has given descriptions of stone pits where large number of stone ages were foundout.

Arikkamedu excavations were the first scientific one in South india. Aiyappan along with Sir Mortimer Wheeler participated in the preliminary excavations.³⁶ The finding of Roman vessals from Arikkamedu proclaims the long historical connections of South India with Europe. There were also clear evidences showing the human inhabitation during the stone age in Kerala. Aiyappan stresses the need for more scientific timing by using carbon dating tests.³⁷

34. Ibid, p.28.

35. Ibid, p.51.

36. Ibid, p.83.

37. Ibid, p.111.

Aiyappan's interests in the researches connected with the history is clearly evident from his paper "Voluntary death and confession among certain Hindu communities: the possible survivals of Jainism", which he read at the conference on medieval history, Andhra University in 1967. In this paper Aiyappan makes an attempt to trace survivals of distinctively Jaina cultural traits in areas where Jainism was once prevalent but now almost completely forgotten.³⁸

With suitable example the author shows that Jainism was prevalent in South India. And it is an ethnographic fact that most of the believers got absorbed as Mudaliars and Chettiars. Aiyappan opines that the present process of transformation of Jains into Hindus is a continuation of the process that has been going on in South India from at least medieval ages.

It is a customary practice among Jains that when a person is dishonoured or is frustrated beyond endurance he decides to retire to a secluded place and to starve himself to death. The rules about the procedure of voluntary death have been clearly stated in the sacred books of Jainas.

38. A.Aiyappan, Voluntary Death and Confession Among Certain Hindu Communities: The Possible Survivals of Jainism, paper read at the Conference of Medieval History, Andhra University, 1967, p.1.

They believe voluntary death is better than natural death. Also Mahavira made confession compulsory for Jaina monks.

Such cases of voluntary death and confession of sins and *prayaschita* are practised among the Hindus in Orissa. So it can be concluded that they were Jains absorbed into Hindu religion.

Citing suitable examples Aiyappan argues in his Paper "Meaning of the tali rite: An essay in Ethnohistory" (1972) that matrilineal descent is very ancient in Tamil, Tulu and Malayalam speaking regions. He gives an account of the tali rites of several communities of Kerala in order to prove his theory that *talikettu kalyanam* was a primitive Rite de Passage among the people of Malabar.³⁹

Aiyappan gives counter arguments to those who are of the view that talitying is a recent innovation. He says even before the Muslim invasion such a practice was observed by almost all castes. He illustrates in detail the custom practised by Kurichiyas. According to Aiyappan, the tali marks a change of status from girl to woman. Analysing comparative data Aiyappan argues that the ceremony is a passage rite making a sociological stage in the life of girls anticipatory or preparatory to their biological and

39. A. Aiyappan, "Meaning of Tali Rite: An Essey in Ethnohistory", Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute, vol.10, part 2, 1971, p.34.

cultural roles. These girls ritually assume adult roles long before they are physiologically fit for their performance. The motive for such a practice may be due to the anxiety and concern of the parents and relatives about their girl children.⁴⁰

There is no special bond between girl and the tali tier. Among Brahmins, Thiyyas, Poduvals etc. the tali was tied by the girl's father or any other close relative. For them the marriage proper was presentation of cloth given by the groom. The ceremony of tali tying underwent local changes according to prevailing circumstances. According to Aiyappan the elaboration of this rite from the simplest to the most complex stimulation of the Brahmanical marriage ceremonies can be understood in terms of the processes of Sanskritization of non-Brahmins which has been going on all over India for centuries.

'The Personality of Kerala', a compilation of Aiyappan's Tagore Endowment Lectures conducted by the University of Kerala got published in 1985. The book deals with the history of Kerala.

In this book Aiyappan traces the earliest roots of the culture of Kerala. The cultural and linguistic identity of

40. A.Aiyappan, in the Introduction of C.J.Jayadev, The Tali in Relation to South Indian Initiation Rites, 1979, pp.1-4.

Kerala, according to him, is far earlier than that suggested by Tamil scholars like Zévelbil and Malayalam scholars like Kunjan Pillai. For the best part of its long history, Kerala and Tamil Nadu shared a common language and culture, but the relatively recent development of divergences had crowded out the memories of common heritage.⁴¹

Iron age begins in South India about 1000 B.C. together with rude stone funerary structures broadly classed as megaliths. As the latter are found in good numbers in Kerala, it is presumed that iron tools helped to enlarge human settlements in Kerala and keep pace with developments elsewhere. Throughout the long millenia, i.e., over 30,000 years of the stone ages and down to about 1000 B.C., Kerala was at the receiving end of the populations and culture complexes from Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. To get a more insight into the nature of life in those days, Aiyappan has given accounts of stone ages in Ceylon, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh about which more research data is available than Kerala.

From his close observations of historical evidences, Aiyappan says, the population of Kerala was small, little organized and preferred to live in small, scattered independent family settlements characteristic of pre-

41. A.Aiyappan, Personality of Kerala, 1982, p.13.

neolithic populations. During the iron age, with better tools, it was possible to clear the jungles and add to the arable land, but there was no state power and organization to change the habits of the people and local civilization developed on the foundations of pre-neolithic patterns without much change in the residence pattern.⁴² The people of Kerala were late starters in the march towards civilization, securing both cultural and human resources from the neighbouring states and building up institutions in their own way.⁴³ Thus the identity of Kerala remained past oriented and post figurative until recently.

In an attempt to give a picture of India half a million years ago, Aiyappan gives brief accounts of the climatic changes that the earth had undergone, evolution of man, starting from Pithecanthropus sinensis and Pithecanthropus erects and going through various phases such as Ramapithecus, etc. He also gives an account of the first discovery of Neanderthal men who were later on replaced by the true man Homosapiens. Brief accounts of Indian tools, blade and microlithic cultures, detailed studies of Indian Pluvial periods, microlithic culture at Langhnaj (South India) are given.

42. Ibid, p.33.

43. Ibid, pp.69-73.

The discovery of old stone age tools in Kerala in 1974 by Joshi and Rajendran of the Deccan College placed Kerala on the paleolithic map of India. Aiyappan gives the descriptions of each and every findings of them, besides his attempt to date them. The mesoliths of Kerala are likely to the same age of Tinnevelly mesolithic industry that is circa 5000 B.C.⁴⁴ He also discusses neolithic culture in the Indian subcontinent, neolithic Kashmir, neolithic Kerala and life in neolithic chalcolithic South India.

Contributions to Physical Anthropology

According to Aiyappan, Physical anthropology concerns itself with the study of the nature and heredity of the whole range of variations in the bodily types of the various human groups. The foundations of the study were laid about a hundred years ago by Blumenbach. With the help of detailed measurements of the various parts of the body, the physical anthropologist tries to find the norm and range of variations for the characters he is investigating.⁴⁵

Aiyappan's contributions to physical anthropology is not much. The second part, having a 17 pages of 'Social and -----

44. Ibid, pp.69-73.

45. A.Aiyappan, "Applied Anthropology", from Mohanty, ed., op.cit., p.170.

Physical Anthropology of Nayadis' which is published in 1937, devoted to explain the physical anthropology of Nayadis. He added to his account of writings in Physical anthropology by another article in 1939. In other cases he talks about Physical anthropology of the castes or tribes that he has studied in general along with the rest of the informations.

The techniques used in measuring the Nayadis is the same as that of B.S.Guha, Anthropologist, Zoological Survey of India, under whom Aiyappan received his early training.⁴⁶ Aiyappan had compared and checked his technique with that of Kraus of Upsala, Theodor Mollison at Munich and Fleure at the Royal anthropological Institute, London, though Fleure followed an entirely different technique.

Among other things the measurements he had taken are of stature, auricular height, head length, head breadth, minimum frontal breadth, maximum, fizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, inter orbital breadth, nasal height, nasal breadth, nasal depth, orbito-nasal-breadth, orbito nascal arc, upper facial length, total facial length, horizontal circumference of the head, sagittal arc of the head and transverse arc of the head. The observations made are for skin colour, hair colour and distribution of hair, hair

46. A.Aiyappan, Social and Physical Anthropology of Nayadis, 1937, p.102.

form, eye colour and shape, nose form, forehead supra orbital ridge, prognathism, lips, chin, ears, teeth.

The tables given in the book are the data showing comparison of stature, cephalic and nasal indices of the Nayadis with neighbouring castes and tribes of Malabar, frequency of stature group, comparison of stature, comparison of head length, comparison of head breadth, frequency of head types in the sample frequency of head types in the sample, frequency of cranial types in the sample, frequency of grades in the transverse front-parital index, distribution of types of nose forms, comparison of the nasal index of the Nayadis with those neighbouring, frequency of face types, skin colour of the forehead, hair form, body hair, beard and moustaches, nose form, forehead length, breadth, slope, supra orbital ridge, alveolar prognathism lips, chin and comparison of sexes measurements and indices.

From the inferences of the above said generalizations, Aiyappan reaches in some general conclusions. According to their physical characters the Nayadis fall midway between the hill tribes and the castes of the plains. Estimated cranial capacity shows that they belong to the microcephalic group. They are not lower in stature than the Cherumans and Iravas, both castes of the plains, but are distinctly low compared to the Nayars and the Nambuthiris who are of the

higher castes. In cephalic Index the Nayadis are indistinguishable from the rest of Malabar castes, all being delicocephalic. There is, however, a very significant difference when the nasal index is taken into consideration. The Nayadis are more platyrshine than the Cherumans and the Iravas, but less than the Paniyans of Wynad hills. In the non-measurable characters such as skin colour, length of hair, etc. this intermediate position is maintained. Though the figures do not reveal it sufficiently, there is present among the Nayadis, a very large percentage of individuals relatively shorter in stature and darker in complexion and with broader face than the rest, closely resembling Veddoid primitive.⁴⁷ The book also contains plates showing the stature and shape of head.

Contributions to Socio-Cultural Anthropology

According to Aiyappan, to have an acquaintance with one's own society, study of Sociology is indispensable. As democracy gets stronger and welfare work increases in India, the demand for pure and applied sociologists and anthropologists become greater.⁴⁸

47. Ibid, pp.103-104.

48. A.Aiyappan and L.K.Balarathnam, Society in India, 1956, p.10.

Aiyappan always stressed the need for participant observation amongst the group which is being studied. For that he consider B. Malinowski as his master. According to him, the fullest understanding is possible by being a part of peoples' life.

Aiyappan's opinion about the subject is that even if, the subject seems to concentrate on that which is known to everybody, the point of view of the anthropology will be different. He says, the anthropologist studies why a particular custom practises in certain parts, while it is legally or otherwise forbidden at other places. Another fact is that the truth will be different from the common belief of the people.⁴⁹ He always believed that social researcher has a social duty and he always tried to fulfill his social duty.

As Aiyappan's contributions to socio-cultural anthropology is vast, it is divided into two sections contributions to the study of simple society which includes tribes and isolated low caste groups and contribution to the study of modern complex society.

Contributions to the Study of Simple Society

Aiyappan's concern for the welfare of the scheduled tribes and castes is evident from all his writings and he

49. Ibid, p.22.

had spared no pains to present their case and plead their cause, and he was engaged in this labour till the end of his life. Aiyappan was of the opinion that the anthropologists should work hard for the welfare work, both in the interest of the tribes and also in the interest of anthropological research. In the matter of personal involvement during the scientific work, Aiyappan agrees with S.F. Nadel who writes, the anthropologist has his human right and also his scientific right to stand up for the rights of tribesmen.⁵⁰

In India development of Anthropology was through the compilation of demographic data. "The ethnological works" Aiyappan says, "much depend on the degree of personal contact with human material, the ethnographer's capacity to understand the shades of difference in the linguistic expression used—and above all - perfect empathy with the subjects."⁵¹

Aiyappan's first published article on tribes, "Problem of the Primitive tribes in India" (1935) was a paper read at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London. In this paper he invites the attention of the anthropologists to the problems and cultural changes of tribes, particularly in India, due to cultural contact and

50. A.Aiyappan, "Anthropology and Practical Affairs", 1960 from V.C. Mohanty, ed., op.cit., p.187.

51. A.Aiyappan, Social and Physical..., op.cit., p.2.

other reasons. He also discusses how the governmental measures to check the exploitation of tribes failed because of the improper understanding.

The primitive tribes of India are undergoing changes, stress and strains because of the contacts with cultures of very different and diametrically opposite natures. The aboriginal Indian tribes are the relics of pre-historic ethno-dynamic movements, a resultant of the occupation of tribal area by the dominant immigrant groups.⁵²

The process of culture contact and change speeded up with the British power in India. The British government had taken steps for the improvement of tribal area. But due to the lack of reliable sociological data many of the initiatives were wrong and people like S.C. Roy strongly criticized such moves.⁵³

The primary purpose of the paper, it seems, to make aware attention of the Britishers about their wrong policies which make the life of tribals miserable.

The possible solution, Aiyappan says, quoting Hatton that, is to create self governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination in regard to the adjacent provincial units. For this purpose it is possible to remove

52. A.Aiyappan, "Problem of Primitive Tribe", The Journal of Madras University, vol.8, no.3, 1935, p.1.

53. Ibid, p.5.

certain boundaries or district boundaries to form a larger tribal units, where tribals are now divided into separate and differentially administered categories on quite arbitrary and accidental basis.⁵⁴

Aiyappan always showed interest in peculiar institutions existed in a community. His inquisitiveness goes like, why a particular institution does present in one community and does not in another. This may be the incentive for his article 'Marriage by Elopement Among the Paniyas of Wynad' (1936), published in 'Man'. Paniyas are an ex-slave caste. He had acquaintance with these people for a time span of four decades. Later in his life he wrote a book on Paniyas but unfortunately he could not publish it.

After giving an analysis of the general sociology of Paniyas, Aiyappan discusses the heterodox form of marriage by elopement prevailing among them. Though it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, he gives a rough estimation that 50% do marry by elopement. A young couple who are familiar to each other decide to run away and stay in the interior forests for three days and on the fourth day they come back to the boy's parental village. The boy's relatives welcome them and then the girl's relatives also join them. The boy has to pay a fine of Rs.5/- by installments. Aiyappan says, the advantage of elopement

54. Ibid, p.11.

marriage is that the boy need not pay the bride's price in lumpsum and also can save the expense for a feast.⁵⁵

Blood typing data on an area controlled by anthropometric measurements give evidence that the blood-typing approach to the study of anthropology has value.⁵⁶ This fact might have been what made Aiyappan to make a study of 'Blood groups of the pre-Dravidians of the Wynad plateau, India (1936)'.

The aim of the study was to check whether serological tests would support and supplement the physical anthropologists' findings regarding the affinity of the hill tribes of South India with Australians and what serological relationship exists between the higher Hindu castes and the hill tribes.⁵⁷

Two hundred and fifty Paniyans a comparatively purer pre-Dravidian tribe in Wynad, are taken to compare with Australians. The resemblance between Paniyans and Australians is that the percentage of B group blood is extremely small. The data also supported the argument of

55. A.Aiyappan, "Marriage by Elopement Among the Paniyas of Wynad", (1936), from V.C. Mohanty, ed., op.cit., p.107.

56. A.Aiyappan, "Blood Groups of the Pre-Dravidians of the Wynad Plateau" (1936), Mohanty, ed., op.cit., p.83.

57. Ibid, p.84.

Von Eickstedt that the pre-Dravidians may be regarded as Palaeo-Europoid type. The main difference was in the percentage of O group. A sample of central Australian natives resembles the data of Paniyans proving that serologically Paniyans and Central Australians are closely linked. Blood group data also supports physical anthropology in distinguishing the pre-Dravidians from the higher caste Hindus. Among the high caste the percentage of 'B' blood group is high.⁵⁸

Aiyappan says that, one of the unsolved problems in Indian Ethnology is caste. Most of the caste studies do not deal with the working of caste on and among the lowest of the Hindu population that is the 'untouchables'.⁵⁹ The book of Aiyappan, 'Social and Physical Anthropology of Nayadis of Malabar', is on the sociology of a small group, the Nayadis a beggary caste centres around the meaning of the caste to the lowest untouchables. Aiyappan was the first to conduct a study of Nayadis who in those days occupied an extremely despised position in the caste ridden Kerala. The book deals with the behaviour and attitude between higher and lower castes in the action of caste status on the economic life of a low caste, in the rather rare institution of

58. Ibid, p.87.

59. Aiyappan, Social and Physical Anthropology..., op.cit., p.1.

hereditary and professional beggary and in the manner of infiltration of Hindu concepts into a peripheral group only nominally within the Hindu fold.

While describing the features of any group, Aiyappan does not forget to focus on the recent change, impact of present developmental activities and their shortcomings. Indeed these accounts will be helpful to planners, administrators, social workers and scholars. The speciality in narration is evident in this book also.

While studying Nayadis the native identity gave Aiyappan more accessibility to the subject of study. The material for the study was collected by him during five anthropological trips to the Nayadi areas from 1930-35, during which he had personal contact with Nayadis.⁶⁰ The Nayadis whose earlier home were forests came out of it, when it started vanishing, for food and started wandering.

According to Aiyappan,

the test of Hinduisation has been suggested to divide whether a people are to be styled a tribe or caste; if Hinduised it is a caste, if not, a tribe. Besides adopting a Hindu way of life, Hinduisation needs a degree of integration with the general body of Hindus. The integration starts with the settlement in Hindu locality followed by economic and cultural association of Hindus which later on determines the privileges and duties of caste.⁶¹

60. Ibid, p.2.

61. Ibid, p.5.

Placing these points to differentiate caste and tribe, Aiyappan suggests, Nayadis are a caste rather than a tribe.

For discussing social environment, Aiyappan gives accounts about the etymology of the caste name Nayadi, the caste setting in villages, the social relations between Nayadis on the one hand, Cherumans, Iravas and Nayars on the other, the nature of pollution etc. According to Aiyappan, 'each caste, however insignificant, contributes to the cultural whole of the country and its life.' Hence "it is important that the Nayadis should be studied on their social setting in order to understand their contribution to the culture of Malabar and their relationship with other castes and to analyse the forces that tend to keep them together or act in opposite direction."⁶²

Aiyappan gives account of how he made rapport with respondents. The village setting, the nature of their hut, the furnitures, equipments etc. are explained. Some of the Nayadis do engage in rope making. They also do make soaps from the bark of a tree. During festival season such as *Onam*, *Vishu* etc., they supply soaps to high caste people of the village. It is customary to give presents to Nayadis in return. Aiyappan views this as a clear indication of their having been well integrated into the Hindu community.⁶³ The

62. Ibid, p.6.

63. Ibid, p.8.

Nayadis thus have little of the material things of this world, neither land nor raw materials.

Each kinship and family group have their area or *desam* for begging. The Nayadis belong to different *illoms* which are exogamous units. They follow joint family system. In a settlement of Nayadis, the eldest member exercises control over the rest. The differences between *pulakkar*, *seshakkar*, *bandukal*, *jatikkar* etc. are given. *Inangan*, one who is related through a close marriage. He acts as priest and barber.

Relationship terms and relationship usages among the Nayadis conform to the usual type that obtain among the lower patrilineal castes of Malabar. Special days are fixed for giving charity. On the festive days and also on birth days it is believed that it is good to give charity to Nayadis. It is customary to give death gifts to Nayadis, which is economically important to them. Though in the history of Kerala, it is said that the traditional occupation of Nayadis is hunting, only few are engaged in it.

Aiyappan is making an attempt to do a sociological study of the production and distribution of food in the family, kinship group and the larger local group.⁶⁴ Here he is discussing about the sources of food material, the

64. Ibid, pp.51-53.

preparation of rice - the main food, and also the subsidiary items of food such as tapioca, banana, sweet potato etc. They eat the flesh of wild animals. They consider rat flesh as most delicious dish. Cross-cousin marriage is very common among Nayadis. The pre-marital relationship, the marriage ceremony and custom and their difference in different localities are all explained. The custom and ceremonies related with death is given with much detail.

Aiyappan is giving a fair description of religion and magic with illustration. From his observations he predicts that the worship of low animistic and ancestral Gods will disappear from the colony as soon as a few old men who are attached to it die.⁶⁵ Hinduisation in all its aspects is visible in the day to day life of Nayadis.

Aiyappan has given an account of reclamation process of Nayadis and also a few case studies of individuals who had moved up in the social ladder. The author concludes that in the present circumstances (1930s), it is not practicable to stop Nayadis from begging because the concerned schemes for their upliftment could not do much and donot have enough funds.⁶⁶

The tribal people in India have been undergoing centuries of exploitation. What Aiyappan wanted to convey

65. Ibid, pp.72-85

66. Ibid, p.101.

in his brief radio talk 'On Welfare of Indian Tribes' (1947) was that both tribes and plainsmen are of the same stock of human beings and the main differences are in matters of economic factors and adaptability. An understanding of this fact is essential to stop the exploitation of tribals.⁶⁷

There were several economic revolution in the history. While majority of the native people have got adopted to the changing environment resulted from these revolutions, some have withdrawn into the jungles. They considered the new innovations as taboos and fought for the cultural conservation. They are the tribal people.⁶⁸ The rehabilitation of these tribal people is not only a social or human problem but also a national problem. Aiyappan urges everybody to consider the hillmen as equal fellow being.

In 1946, the Government of Madras constituted "Aboriginal tribes welfare committee" to enquire into the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes living in the Madras province and to suggest ways and means for their upliftment. Aiyappan was the only official member of the seven member committee. Later he was appointed as the secretary to the committee and in that capacity he prepared

67. A.Aiyappan, "On Welfare of Indian Tribes" (1942), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.182.

68. Ibid., p.185.

the report of the committee, the "Report on the socio economic conditions of Aboriginal tribes of Madras province." (1947).

The terms and references of the committee were comprehensive and covered the entire aspects of the life of the tribes such as customs, practices, traditions, marriage, worship, education, agricultural activities and the problems and grievances. The committee undertook tours to Chingleput, Nellore, Krishna, East and West Godavari districts, Vizagapatnam, South Kanara, Malabar, Chittoor, Anantpur, Bellary and Kurnool districts. Oral evidence of 168 persons, both officials and non-officials were recorded in addition to a number of written memorandum submitted by the tribesmen and welfare workers. A questionnaire was issued by the committee and answers were received from 48 persons. Tribal conferences were held and addressed by the members of the committee.⁶⁹

The report was based on the materials collected by the committee. They could not go into details of the terms of references because of lack of time and early dissolution of the committee. Especially in cases of customs and habits, modes of worship and marriage laws only peripheral studies

69. A.Aiyappan, Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of Aboriginal Tribes of Madras province, 1946, p.3.

have been done.⁷⁰ For convenience the report classified the tribes in separate groups such as Tribes of Wynad, Tribes of Kanara, Tribes of Nilgiris, other Tribes of Tamil Nadu and Agency tribes.

The report had been presented in two parts. The first part was on the tribal problems and remedial measures and the second part was a descriptive account of the tribes studied. The book also includes twenty one plates and five appendices.

Aiyappan himself believed that, historical reconstruction of the tribal people will enable us to get a better understanding of history and culture.⁷¹ Because historical evidences in visualising the social process involved in intermingling of peoples are very little. He tries in many an instances to make some sort of historical reconstruction, such as in his paper 'The Tribes of South and South-West India' (1955).

He agrees with the historians' conclusions that the Aryanization of south was peaceful process in which the Brahmins carried with them great prestige for their cultural equipment.⁷² Malabar in Kerala state is an ethnographically

70. Ibid, p.5.

71. A.Aiyappan, "The Tribes of South and South West India" (1955), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.19.

72. Ibid, p.22.

unique place where, social systems and processes which disappeared in other regions were survived for a much longer period. There, the small Brahmin community fetched much respect. In Malabar, Aiyappan argues, it was not the imposition of one culture over other but a slow synthesis having give and take.⁷³

While it was a synthesis in South, it was a superimposition of Aryan culture over Dravidian in North. In South it was cultural continuum with a Brahmin at one end and the tribes at the other with the biological and cultural admixture least at the tribal terminus. There is also cultural traits other than languages common to several far flung of the Dravidan population.

He gives a theory to explain how the tribes and plainsmen turned to the present day status. When a social change was caused due to technological advance and Aryanization, some tribes withdrew themselves and retired into the interior forests who later termed as fossils of ancient world. Some others resisted conquest, of them a part were beaten and chased into forests and others enslaved or integrated as the lowest caste. Some others closely associated with rulers, become administrative caste, for example Nayars in Kerala and Mudaliar in Tamil Nadu.⁷⁴ In -

73. Ibid, p.29.

74. Ibid, p.33.

order to check this theory, he analyses the history of some tribes.

Aiyappan gives brief accounts of Aranadan of Nilambur forests; the Muthuvans, Kanikkars and Kadars of Travancore hills; Toda, Kota, Chenchus, Yenadi, Kurichiya, Urali Kurumbas, Savaras, Kondas, Koyas etc. and also of criminal tribes. He shows his sympathy towards them in the conclusion by saying that though there were many programmes undertaken by the government for the upliftment of the tribes, they were not reaching to the tribes. Much more have to do for their improvement.⁷⁵

In his paper 'Some tribes of Kerala' (1958) published in Malayalam he gives an account of those tribes in Kerala, about whom he has a first hand information. He talks about the socio-economic conditions of Kurichiyas, Urali Kurumbans, Paniyans and Mulla Kurumbans of Wynad forests, Irulas of Attapady valley, Aranadans of north Palghat, and Mudugas of Attapady.

According to Aiyappan, Anthropological research and education is of greater significance in India because in India each region, each caste, each tribe has its own cultural and social specialities and idio-syncrasies. Studies have proved, only with a few exceptions, the tribal

75. Ibid, p.40.

population is of the same racial group of the total population in India. The difference is mostly on cultural⁷⁶ factors.

Aiyappan stressed the need for a subjective anthropological study for the welfare of tribes while delivering the presidential address as Chairman of the Anthropology section of Sixth Tribal Welfare Conference, at Ootacamund in 1960. Aiyappan complained that the Government of India had not yet recognized the need of anthropological research to aid administration and hence not giving the necessary encouragement.⁷⁷ A special cadre of welfare officers to work among the tribes is the best way to implement government welfare programmes successfully. Though India is heading for a casteless and tribeless society, Aiyappan opines, casteism and tribalism are still social problems here. His view is that anthropologists are the best friends of the tribes to make their way to the national mainstream. He also supports the missionary work among the tribals, because they bring a security feeling to those people, even though they interfere in tribal institutions. It is very much clear that he always wished for the welfare of tribals more than anything.

76. A.Aiyappan, "Some Tribes of Kerala", (1958) from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.63.

77. Ibid, p.86

In his article 'Tribes of Southern India' published in 'Seminar' in 1960, Aiyappan after giving an account of the economic and cultural conditions of tribes in the four southern states of India, unleashes criticism against the Government. He says, beyond policy announcements and lamentation, the Government do nothing substantially for their upliftment. The programmes of the Government hardly reach the masses who genuinely need it. The missionaries are the best at the present who are doing better work for the depressed classes.⁷⁸

Aiyappan says that, the Government is doing the welfare work as a charity. There should be efficient officers who have the spirit to help the tribals and the welfare work should be more personal. And also more attention should be paid for research about tribals which is a neglected area in South India.⁷⁹

In one of his articles on 'The Todas', Aiyappan invites attention to the demographic decline that the tribe undergoes, because of the practice of female infanticide, which may result in the total disappearance of the tribal group within decades.

78. A.Aiyappan, "Tribes of Southern India" (1960), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.46.

79. Ibid, p.48.

Aiyappan had written about Chenchus also, who are an important tribe seen in Andhra Pradesh. They are of historical and human interest because the Chenchus illustrate the manner in which a jungle tribe becomes Hindu caste; how in the absence of a proper policy of social engineering, peace loving but famine-stricken people taken to crime and become criminal tribe; and how the sub-castes arise among the forest dwellers with economic changes and changes in the mode of living and earning livelihood. His opinion about Chenchus was that they as a class are physically far above the plains average people and if the conditions have been favourable, they might have become good farmers.⁸⁰

According to Aiyappan, for social scientists, language is a part of totality of peoples' culture. The functions of languages are communication, transmission, conservation of culture and also to set a limit to intimate group interaction. By examining the languages, the history of people can be drawn. As for cultures, for languages also there is no value free scales for judgement to term it low or high.⁸¹ Aiyappan's idea about the languages have been included in his paper 'Tribal languages of Orissa' (1964).

80. Ibid, p.51.

81. A.Aiyappan, "Tribal Languages of Orissa" (1964), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.88.

The tribal languages of Orissa which have no script of their own, fall into two broad divisions of Muderian and Dravidian. Aiyappan considered that Dravidian speakers were the early pre-Aryan, and pre-Muderian ethnic stock. The growth of bilingualism and trilingualism⁸² is a recent phenomenon among the tribals. By studying and analysing the languages of tribes in Orissa, it may be possible to reconstruct proto-Dravidian and proto-Muderian languages.

The slow piece-meal efforts made to develop tribal areas will not be effective in bridging the gap in progress between tribal and non-tribal communities, is the argument the Aiyappan has made in his paper on 'Development of Tribal Areas' (1965).⁸³

Instead of frittering away scarce resources on fragmented and ill-planned programmes, concentrated use of funds for large scale agro-industrial projects as suggested by 'Malayappan Committee' (1950) in Madras and National Council of applied economic research in 1965 for Orissa tribal areas may be more useful and productive for tribes and nation as a whole. Comparative data from other parts of the world show that the arguments of those who suggest that

82. Ibid, p.91.

83. A.Aiyappan, "Development of Tribal Areas" (1965), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.180.

our tribals may not be able to participate in large scale projects are baseless.

While talking about tribal leadership in his article 'Some patterns of tribal leadership' (1965) Aiyappan describes briefly a few typical situations and the history of group or individual leadership emerging in those situations in order to suggest the kind of problems which the researcher is likely to meet within tribal societies.

Aiyappan considers that most of the traditional kind of leadership lost their power and replaced with representative councils with the coming of Britishers. He also illustrates with an example how the traditional pattern of tribal leaders after stabilizing their own economic and political status sanskritizes and lead themselves up.⁸⁴

The rate and mode of replacement of Dravidian kinship terms by Dravidian speaking people in Central and Eastern India are of both linguistic and sociological interest. In 'Aryanization and Sanskritization of Dravidian speaking tribal groups in Central and Eastern India' (1971) Aiyappan shows with examples how the Dravidian languages are turned to Aryan languages.

The Dravidian speaking people in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are constituted by about three dozen

84. A.Aiyappan, "Some Patterns of Tribal Leadership" (1965), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.112.

tribal communities in various stages of cultural and economic development and degrees of linguistic and cultural transformation. They are surrounded by economically and politically powerful Aryan speaking people and are under pressures to change the language. They might have reacted first being bilingual or trilingual and then eventually gave up their mother tongue.⁸⁵ The intensified contacts of tribals with plainsmen, the medium of instruction in schools and educational institutions pressurised them to gave up their mother tongue. Thus with the increased tempo of Hinduisation and conversion, tribal cultures have little chances of survival. He appeals to the linguists to save the dying language to protect the culture from ruin.

The Paniyas are the most numerous of the jungle tribes of Malabar in Kerala. The Paniyas were originally agrestic slaves, bought and sold with the land, to which they were attached as slave labourers. Since slavery, in any form, is now an offence the Paniyas are theoretically free persons; but their freedom is even now limited by the hard conditions under which they live.⁸⁶ "The Paniyas of Wynad, South

85. A.Aiyappan, "Aryanization and Sanskritization of Dravidian Speaking Tribal Groups in Central and Eastern India" (1971), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.97.

86. A.Aiyappan, The Paniyas of Wynad, South India: First Ethnographi Account of an Ex-slave Caste, 1973 (unpublished), p.ii.

India: First Ethnographic Account of an Ex-slave Caste" is an unpublished work of Aiyappan which he completed in 1973. It is evidenced from study that the Paniyas were eager to build up a cultural system, though slowly, of their own by extensive borrowing and by limited inventions, but the hard conditions of serfdom reinforced by low caste status made the building of culture very difficult.⁸⁷

Aiyappan says that the investigation among Paniyas was difficult. They were very suspicious and non-cooperative and uncommunicative. The ethnographer is misunderstood as an agent of the police trying to get information on pretexts.⁸⁸ Knowing their language is the best way to make rapport with them. Once the credentials are established, they will be very much communicative.

The ecology and cultural history of Wynad, physical set up, ethnic groups of Wynad etc. are dealt within detail. Slavery in India, its historical evidence the emancipation of slaves and impact of slavery in Kerala society are also explained. In this work Aiyappan pinpoints two adverse effects of slavery in Kerala society. The slavery causes low production which in turn resulted in a low economic condition in Kerala. And also the institution of slavery affected the attitude of the people in general towards work,

87. Ibid, p.iii.

88. Ibid, p.13.

that is, any one who worked with his hands was considered to be low.⁸⁹

The primitive economy of Paniyas do not know saving. They have not had any land both in British and post-British period. Aiyappan finds Paniyas as slaves even now, not of individuals but of the modern economic system.⁹⁰ In pre-British period the Paniyas had exchanged their labours as bonded labourers, with employers during the annual festival of the Mother Goddess Temple. After independence the Government did try to stop this. Due to their dishonest and unfaithful behaviour the Paniyas had less demand as estate labourers.

Aiyappan gives case studies showing how they are cheated by employers. Family budgets give some idea of the economy of the people at the level of individual family. Incomes of the families depend on the locality and also on the employer and the age and capacity of the workers. The investigator finds it difficult to collect data in this regard because the memory of Paniyas is very poor and unless the investigator is with them every day, correct figures for the year can seldom to get especially of incomes from the casual work.⁹¹

89. Ibid, p.34.

90. Ibid, p.43.

91. Ibid, p.61.

In Aiyappan's view the way for rehabilitating Paniyas is to give them lands and to make them self employed farmers. The laziness of Paniyas coupled with the chances of exploitation by the plainsmen obstructs the success of developmental programmes. Aiyappan illustrates this with case studies. The survey of the economic situation of the Paniyas has shown how difficult it is for them to make any progress in the face of severe competition for steady, remunerative work and cut throat competition for land. They are almost without defence against the immigrants who virtually become exploiters. The only streak of light on the dark horizon is the sporadic campaign of political parties to organize agrarian labour. If the government can improve their tribal welfare administration, it may also help the Paniyas to help themselves. As a problem in social anthropology, the Paniyas are a good example of a group completely shorn of power and forced to be dependent on other groups of the larger society of which they are a part. Their low ritual status as untouchables has nothing to do with any unclean work, for agricultural work is clean work. Untouchability in this case is the means by which their distance from the focus of power is maintained. The exploitative power dimension of the caste system and the vested interests within it are well exemplified by the way

in which the Paniyas have been handled socio-economically in the social system of North Kerala.⁹²

The Paniyas do not have any sub-caste. The headman for a *nader* is called *Koyma*. *Kuttan* is the leader of slaves. In the days of slavery they identify themselves with the *illom* of their masters. Paniyans vaguely talk about creators, the Gods and spirits, life etc. Aiyappan points out the mistake that Thurston made in pronouncing their God's name, because of his inability to know their language. For Paniya men and women, music and dance, play a major role in day to day activities.

Aiyappan notices that many lower castes in Kerala and Tamil Nadu do not bother about distinguishing between Hindu and Muslim spiritual beings. This may be because they were in contact with Muslim invaders, from long back and since they do not observe any pollution, the low castes were in more contact with them than Hindus.⁹³

Aiyappan says that the geographical knowledge of the Paniyas are evident from the fact that they worship even the Gods of distant places. The dramatic and expressive part of the worship is the seance of deities, called *Urayal* coming to the light of the diety through a Shaman. The author states that the seances are the Dravidian element in the

92. Ibid, p.70.

93. Ibid, p.40.

Indo-Aryan-Dravidian amalgam, the South Indian Hinduism especially of the non Brahmin Hindus. The author thinks that there is great deal of unconscious acting. Through the shaman the Paniyas establish communication channels with the super-natural elements - that is between the seen and unseen forces. Their universe is unified by their implicit belief in the possession of spirits on human beings.⁹⁴ The worship of Paniyas is a dance called *tira*

They practiced sorcery for curing diseases etc. Now-a-days the practice of sorcery is on a decline. Aiyappan's argument is that, sorcery was an expression of resentment and aggression. Present days they are seldom subjected to the harsh treatment as prevalent in the past days. So also their frustration decreased and also the need for sorcery.

Aiyappan observed that now-a-days the Paniyas get the services of Malayans in performing rituals and the author views it as a progressive step towards their integration with the rest of Kerala Hindus. Another remarkable change is that the Paniyas slowly began to move up and mingle with other Hindus to participate in the common religious activities.. The marriage ceremonies, death ceremonies, puberty customs etc. are dealt with. The artistic expression of Paniyas are impressive.

94. Ibid, p.107.

As a corrective to the ethnographers tendency to ignore individuals and treat them as types, Aiyappan had collected a number of biographies which was a difficult task. Social progress is possible through education, organization and entering new fields of economic activities. Majority of them are illiterate, do not have any organization of their own. Having observed the general incapacity of the Paniyas to take advantage of whatever meagre facilities that available for education and also taking note of their lack of courage to change over to Christianity and Islam as a step towards individual self-improvement, Aiyappan concludes there is little hope of the state of affairs of the Paniyas as individuals or as a group taking a turn for the better in the foreseeable future.

Though vague and less systematized, the primitive and other backward groups also have world view - the systematised conceptions of the universe, the supernatural and its relations with the material and human world, of man's place in universal scheme and of inevitabilities of human life. Being an ethnohistorian Aiyappan interested in the reconstruction of the ethno-history of the prehistoric and proto-Dravidian speaking people even though he believed as detailed study of culture and social structure of various ethnic groups is lacking such reconstructions and

comparisons will be incomplete.⁹⁵

In his article "World View of Kurichiyas, a little known matrilineal tribe of Kerala" (1977), Aiyappan, is making a detailed study of Kurichiyas inhabiting the Wynad plateau of North Kerala. The Kurichiyas who might have migrated to Wynad at about 1st to 3rd century A.D. from the plains. Aiyappan hypothesis that at the time of their settlement in Wynad, they represented the unsanskritized and undifferentiated stock of proto-historic Dravidian speaking people of Kerala plains.⁹⁶ Aiyappan had four decades long contact with the Kurichiyas. The religion of Kurichiyas represent the archaic form of the pre-Brahmin faith of the Kerala people. kurichiyas do not know any of the Brahmin Gods and they do not use any Brahmin terminology, though they seek the help of Brahmins for purification after got polluted.⁹⁷

Kurichiyas worship their ancestral spritis as they worship God. Aiyappan points out an instance of contradiction in the customary practices of Nayars and Izhavans and which is absent in Kurichiya practices. The Nayars and Izhavans perform *Shradha* to help the soul to go

95. A.Aiyappan, "World View of Kurichiyas a Little Known Matrilineal Tribe of Kerala" (1977), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.116.

96. Ibid, p.123.

97. Ibid, p.128.

away from the earth which is in opposition to their belief and worship for the ancestor to take rebirth.⁹⁸ Aiyappan says that Kurichiyas have very clear cut idea about this. They consider their ancestors as Gods. Kurichiyas have modified the role of their God to meet the need in Wynad, by attaching myth to it.

Kurichiyas are deeply committed to purity-pollution syndrome. After giving accounts of the extreme form of untouchability they practised, Aiyappan argues that this was a part of their original culture and this analysis supports the presence of pollution in the early historic phase of cultural history of Tamil-Malayalam speaking people.⁹⁹

The Kurichiyas believe in rewards and punishments here on the earth. Rewards are the general economic and physical well being, and punishments are sickness, death and other calamities. The concern for the welfare of children and women are shown in their belief system by Goddess Karimpili. Kurichiyas follow matrilineal system of inheritance and they consider it to be superior to the patrilineal system. Their Goddess have high place in the belief system as they give high value to the sexuality and fertility of their women. The eldest member of the family rules the family.

98. Ibid, p.131.

99. Ibid, p.135.

There is an institution of *Koram* among Kurichiyas which they shared with the plainsmen from a remote past. The custom is that the oldest man becoming recluse or *Koram*, lives separately, cooks own food, with no contact with women etc. After death they were cremated as usual. In the past Kurichiyas had been administrators as Nayars under the Kings of Kerala. They also did tapping of palms for toddy, which is the occupation of Izhavas. Aiyappan argues that, it is evident at the time of the migration of Kurichiyas to Wynad, the Kerala society was not divided on the basis of occupation. Toddy tapping came to be of a low status occupation only with the intensification of Brahminical influence.¹⁰⁰ Aiyappan believes the washermen caste might have been formed when the people who did the work for Kurichiyas become outcasted. They themselves consider to be of equal status to Nayars. Due to their superiority feeling they hardly mix with outsiders. The deviants were excommunicated from the group.

Even in the evening of his life, Aiyappan showed much concern about the tribals. He gives a brief picture of the tribal land problem in his paper "Tribal situation in Southern India" (1980). He gave brief accounts of Paliyans, Malapandarams, Irulas, Paniyas and Kurichiyas, their social

100. Ibid, p.140.

organization, occupation and also how they are being exploited by plainsmen.

Aiyappan views that though there are various welfare programmes, by the government and a few people's representatives at the governmental level, they are not efficient and also not sufficient for the upliftment of the tribals. He points out many loopholes. He says there are not even sufficient research programmes to know more about the tribal people, the reasons, he finds, could be due to their low numerical strength. Aiyappan is of the view that an ethnologically oriented anthropologist should live with the people while studying about them and should collect first-hand information to get the genuine picture of their society. Aiyappan praises the study of Prof. Peter Gardner who studied Paliyans of Tamil Nadu who lived with them for nineteen months.¹⁰¹

The last book of Aiyappan 'Ecology, Matriliney and Fertility of Kurichiyas' is edited together with K. Mahadevan and was published in 1990 after Aiyappan's death. The book is an anthropological study of Kurichiyas who have been the inhabitants of Wyanad plateau of Western Ghat region in Kerala state, India. The collection of source

101. A. Aiyappan, "Tribal Situation in Southern India", from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.7.

material of this book has been stretching a period of four decades starting from 1940 onwards. It was Aiyappan who alone has completed the survey work of this peculiar tribe who have been little known to the outside world.¹⁰² Unfortunately Aiyappan could not publish his research work in a book, form. He left only two unfinished chapters of this book. Since he has done most of the ground work, the parentship can be attributed to Aiyappan even though Mahadevan and others have completed the work.

Kurichiyas are an exceptionally interesting tribe possessing a complex culture, economic self sufficiency and following a commune type of living. Their massive joint families maintain a matrilineal heritage. They are mainly agriculturists, herders and hunters. Co-operative training is common among them; equality in property, all amenities of life, space and food etc. form a facinating feature of this tribe. They are highly religious and follow an animistic form of religion. On account of the matrilineal heritage the Kurichiya woman enjoy an enviable position. Girls, old women, widows and old men have no problem and face no discrimination.

There is no authoritative explanation about the immigration of the Kurichiyas to Wynad region. From

102. A.Aiyappan, and K.Mahadevan, Ecology, Economy, Matriliney and Fertility of Kurichiyas, 1988, p.ii.

circumstantial evidence it is believed to have took place before 9th century A.D. The Kurichiyas themselves believe that they are a particular community having a distinctive culture and purity in all its manifestations. A high standard of conduct and history are the hall mark of Kurichiyas. Sense of equality within their community is one of the main aspect of the Kurichiya character. They intermarry disregarding the financial position of the parties and there is no dowry system. The *Pitan* (*Karanavar*) is the head of the family who looks after all affairs relating to the members of his family. His position is powerful compared to the *Karanavans* of the other castes of Kerala. Every group has its own *moonnaman*, a person whose presence is necessary for all rituals and functions.

While discussing the customs and practices of Kurichiyas the authors first give an account of the practice in other communities of Kerala and then proceed to the Kurichiya practices. Polygamy and widow remarriage are prevalent among the Kurichiya people. Mutual help is a norm for Kurichiyas in their respective *mittams* and among their people living in a *desam*. Thus the book touches practices and life style of the Kurichiyas. It is a comprehensive study of an isolated people who have been little known to the other part of the world.

In the case of marriage, Kurichiyas strictly follow the rules of tribe endogamy and clan exogamy. The marriage take place between 15 and 20 years of age. Age difference is not a carrier for marriage. The actual marriage among the Kurichiyas takes place in a most simple and non-pompous style with very little expenditure. On the other hand they celebrate the puberty ceremony in a great style. The book also deals with the longevity and health life, culture and fertility of the Kurichiyas.

Contributions to the Study of Complex Societies,

In the 1930s anthropologists had began to think in terms of social and cultural systems. Participant observation and linguistic controls replaced informants and interpreters and anthropologists became increasingly concerned with the structure and functions of social systems and the dynamic processes of social and cultural change.¹⁰³ This changed attitude of the anthropologists had a direct impact on Aiyappan. By the end of 1940s he stopped doing active research in the braches of anthropology other than socio-cultural anthropology. He showed interests in studying the urban societies with an equal weightage to tribal societies. He believed that the area of study of an

103. Fred Eggar, "Developments in Social and Cultural Anthropology: An Western Perspective", in Stein Rokkar, ed., A Quarter Century of of International Social Science, 1979, p.35.

anthropologist is never confined to any particular system. This idea of Aiyappan is very much evident in his works.

In 1935, Aiyappan published a paper in 'Man in India', titled 'Fraternal polyandry'. The paper was dealt with the polyandrous habits practised by many castes on Malabar coast. In 1930s it was a hastely degenerating practice among the people. Though the tradition in Malabar is poor in references on polyandry, Aiyappan peeps into the historical evidences which throw light into the fraternal polyandry in Malabar which may be the only place in the civilized world where it is actively practiced.¹⁰⁴ The justification for such a practice was many as given by the people. It keeps brothers together and co-operation gives them strength and they can be the best agriculturists. And also as the women will have one or other husband at all the time, the chances for adultery will be nil. Aiyappan briefly illustrates polyandrous marriages among Ilavans¹⁰⁵ and artisan castes. From his brief study, Aiyappan suggests that the Ilavans now have the normal sex ratio and as they are mainly an agricultural people, it would be advantageous

104. A. Aiyappan, "Fraternal Polyandry", Man in India, vol. 15, 1935, p. 108.

105. In various works, Aiyappan uses three different spellings for Izhava: Ilava, Irava, Izhava. In this dissertation these spellings are being used as given by Aiyappan.

for them to have more women married into a joint family.¹⁰⁶
His opinion is that neither the idea of economy nor paucity of women explains Ilavan polyandry.

Aiyappan gives a general account of his ideas about culture and culture contact in his paper "Theories of Culture Change and Culture contact" in 'Essays in Anthropology' presented to Sarat Chandra Roy in 1940.

Aiyappan finds that for the study of culture both evolutionary and diffusionist approaches are futile and unreal for the reasons, of first, there is a general failure to recognise the impossibility of reconstructing the past history of preliterate primitive cultures from their imperfectly known present and secondly, the absence of any large volume of data on the processes involved in the development of culture by borrowing, diffusion and imitation etc. While diffusion, environment and history have their roles in cultural evolution, the one sided development of these theories resulted in their non-acceptability.¹⁰⁷

The anthropologists studying the culture change should help the administration to bring changes in the society - both primitive and modern. Change in one area of culture should bring about changes in the allied areas so as to

106. A.Aiyappan, "Fraternal Polyandry", op.cit., p.118.

107. A.Aiyappan, "Theories of Culture Change and Culture Contact", Essays in Anthropology, 1940, p.3.

keep the stability. Change must be slow and people should be mentally prepared to accept the change.

Aiyappan supports functionalist approach for the study of culture and culture contact. The functionalist school emphasizes the interdependence of institutions and maintains that many normal social groups whose institutions have a fairly smooth running, integrated and organized culture. Aiyappan points out that culture to a functionalist is an instrumental reality, a process of effectively satisfying human needs both primary and derived. He also maintains that the anthropologist, while studying a group should be generous to note the changes.¹⁰⁸

Aiyappan states, it can be generalized about cultures, that the factors come in juxta-position in culture contact sooner or later being about equilibrium. He reaches on the following generalizations.¹⁰⁹

(1) When people come in contact with a superior culture, the change will take place in three stages initial enthusiasm in adopting material culture of the new culture, then react to this change and finally reorganize it as a blended culture.

(2) The various items of culture differ in the strength of

108. Ibid, p.5.

109. Ibid, p.7.

their attachment to the group and with it in their changeability.

(3) Depending on the principles of social stratification, differential rates of change are observed in various classes of people.

(4) Cultural compatibility decide what traits will be diffused, borrowed and assimilated.

(5) Cultural traits show a tendency under certain circumstances to hypertrophy and atrophy.

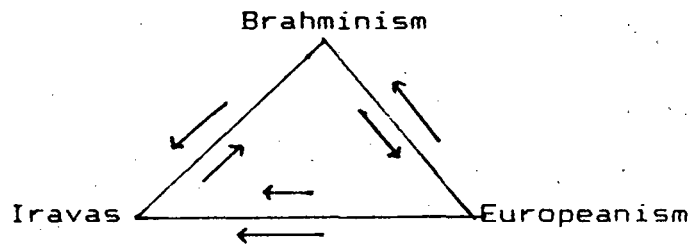
(6) The most important generalization as Aiyappan views is that mutations arise occasionally in culture due to the magnetic influence of great personalities.

The field work for Aiyappan's monograph 'Iravas and Cultural Change' (1945) was done from one end of Kerala to the other during 1936.¹¹⁰ It had the distinction of being one of the earliest Indian studies of endogamous social change of a caste. On account of World War II, its publication was delayed and the number of copies printed were small. In this study of culture change of the Iravas, a backward Hindu caste of Kerala, he made a general survey of changes during the British period.

In 'Iravas and culture change' Aiyappan tries to study a tricultural situation involving the process of action, reaction, on the one hand, between the culture of the -----

110. A.Aiyappan, Iravas and Culture Change, 1945, p.1.

Brahmins and that of Iravas of Malabar and on the other hand impact of Europeanism in a limited sphere.¹¹¹



According to Aiyappan:

the student of culture change is primarily interested in obtaining his data by direct observation in the field, for that is his cultural laboratory, he is interested in analysing present day realities, but in order to get to his generalizations that involve the time factor, he has to a limited extent to be the historian of his culture.¹¹²

He believes that in a diachronic study the time interval should not be too long or too short, for that it will invite more errors.

For studying the cultural change of Iravas, Aiyappan argues, a historical reconstruction is necessary. Hence he adopts the methodology which directs in that way. In order to get an account of pre-British village history, traveller's account and traditions, both written and oral of the people, contain much reliable sociological materials

111. Ibid, p.1.

112. Ibid, p.2.

which can be used positively as accounts of ancient culture of villages. This data along with the reports of communal assemblies act as an indicator to find the true culture trends and their effects. The study is limited to the history of culture of the past four generations for which direct evidence is available and so also the method is different from that of Graebnerian conceptual reconstruction - a transference of spatial relations into time relations.¹¹³ Aiyappan finds only regionwise studies dealing concretely with local problems about the European influence are faithful. Hence his field is limited to the South-Western corner of India, the Malabar coast and focussed on a single caste - Irava - which stands at the head of the polluting caste and the caste to which he himself belongs. In the presentation of the material, he had tried as far as possible to give concrete details and case histories and descriptions of typical situations. "The object of anthropological studies is," according to Aiyappan, "to understand the working of human institutions and since life is so full of common place incidents students of society cannot neglect them."¹¹⁴ Aiyappan argued for the necessity of the cross-sectional study of peoples' everyday

113. Ibid, p.3.

114. Ibid, p.4.

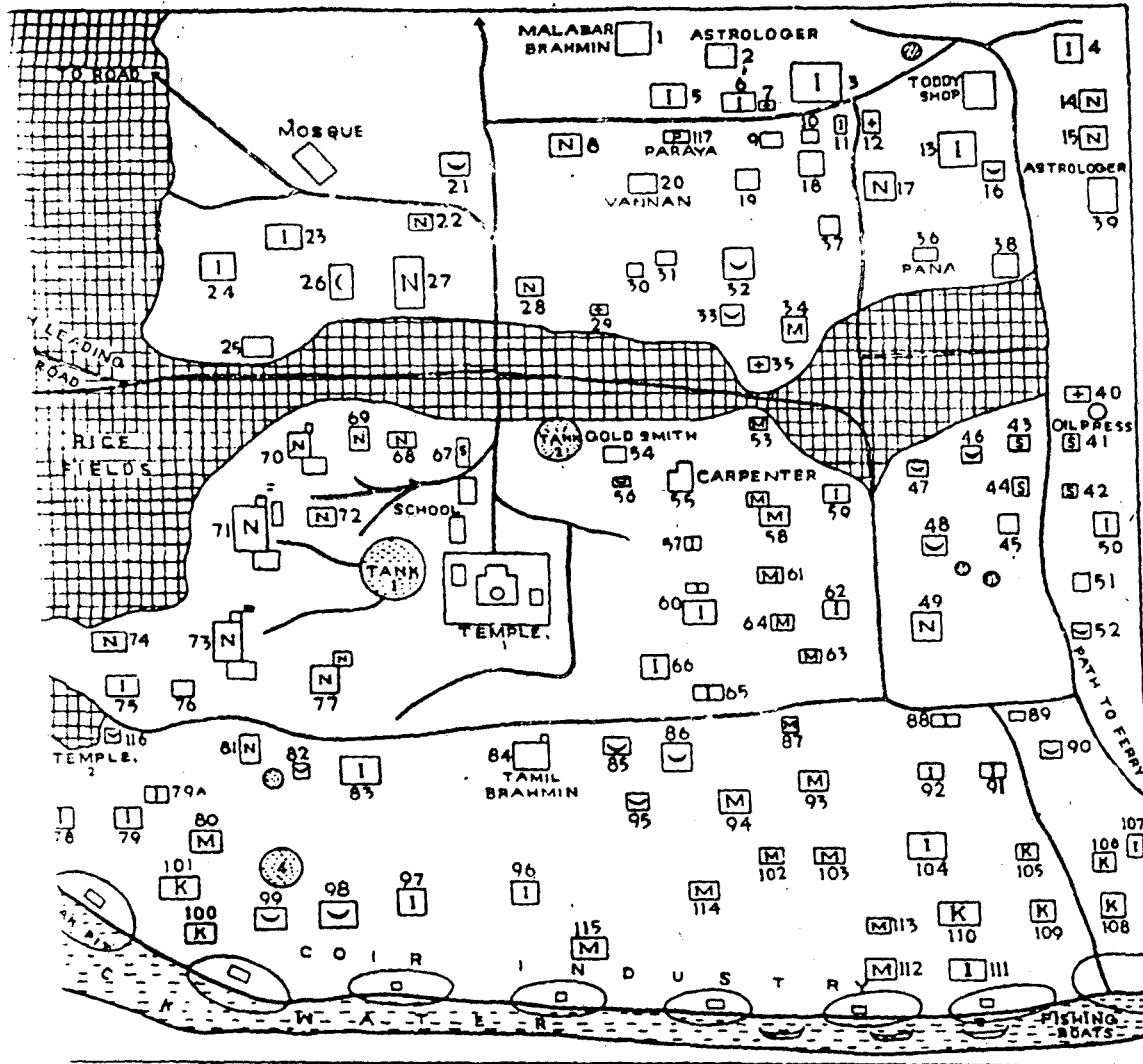
life so as to make it familiar with the reader on the proper background of the society.

As the caste Irava is distributed in a vast area, there are corresponding cultural differences also. The book has chapters on working of Irava caste, social organization of Iravas, kinship and marriage, economics-new and old, education, magic, religion and ritual and law and order and on conclusion. In the chapter on working of caste Aiyappan discusses legendary history of Iravas, village communities, village and its castes, caste and profession and also untouchability.

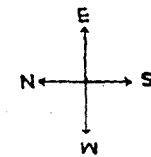
Aiyappan criticises L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Egar Thurston whose studies on Irava caste, he says are of little help in understanding Irava social institution and their study was a bare description based on data got by question and answer method.¹¹⁵ Aiyappan continues that Iyer was least bothered in studying the relationship between Iravas and other castes and sub-sects, the influence of caste on their economic conditions, the influence of Brahminism on the caste, their aspirations and ambitions and the effects of the impact of western culture.

Aiyappan illustrates how the new elected village panchayat gave way for the emancipation of Iravas and other

115. Ibid, p.14.



- ☐ N NAYARS.
- ☐ I IRAVAS.
- ☐ K KANAKKAS.
- ☐ V VETTUVAS.
- ☐ P PARAYAS.
- ☐ M MUKKUVAS.
- ☐ C CHRISTIANS.
- ☐ S MOHAMMEDANS.
- ☐ S SHOPS.



SOCIOLOGICAL MAP OF
VILLAGE M—
IN S. MALABAR

SOURCE:

Iravas and Culture Change

low castes. With the help of sociological map, Aiyappan portrays the village that which he is illustrating.¹¹⁶

There was a remarkable change in the nature of behaviour between the individuals and groups of Irava caste and other neighbouring castes both superior and inferior in the British period. The new administrative changes educational institutions, new sorts of occupation in the bureaucratic system etc. drawn a major change in the caste relations. The presence of Britishers, resulted in a gradual cultural change of the people in Malabar. In their new norms personal purity had no place. The present study of Aiyappan can be considered as the first sociological analysis ever made of untouchability in Malabar. Aiyappan's finding is that "by giving laws for all, the British paved the way for equality and also by appointing some of the lower castes they broke the backbone of the caste system."¹¹⁷

As a matter of fact, the Irava caste can said to be a microcosm that reflects the characteristics of the Hindu macrocosm. So also Aiyappan tries to bring a detailed description and analysis of the inter-relationship of underprivileged Iravas, the sub-castes of Iravas and how caste authority is canalised among them. He also analyses

116. Ibid, pp.17-21.

117. Ibid, p.47.

the more intimate forms of inter-relationship between members of the Irava community based on descent, sex, marriage and common residence. The cultural change can be observed in kinship terminology. Many kinship terms were no more in use, such as *aliyan* for brother-in-law, *appan* for father etc.¹¹⁸

Aiyappan makes an attempt to study the economic anthropology of Irava caste people, an analysis of the institutions concerned with the production and distribution of wealth deeper into intangible non-economic, that is, cultural realms. Economics cannot be isolated from other aspects of culture. While discussing the social organization of Iravas Aiyappan had made frequent references to the expansion of the economic sphere of the Iravas and its repercussions on caste in general and the internal organization of their own caste and family system in particular. Aiyappan also examines the manner in which indigenous system of education gave place to modern English system and how the latter acts in the sociology of culture change. The British educational system started making a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.¹¹⁹

118. Ibid, p.97.

119. Ibid, p.134.

The development of Malayalam literature, the introduction of printing press etc. broke the monopoly of Brahmins over knowledge. Malayalam literature gained considerably by its contact with English. The major themes of poetry had changed from the myth to social environment. Literature seemed to be a department of culture where contacts mean mostly gains and few losses.

The Irava reform movement namely Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana movement had a direct impact on the customs and practices of the caste people. Instead of imitating Brahmin rituals, Iravas adopted the new rituals to suit their changed conditions. With the changes in the social and cultural forms, the new laws became a need of the time. After analysing various factors of cultural change Aiyappan concludes that the changes were made possible by the influence of indirectly transmitted Europeanism which penetrated into the lines of the people.

As a result of English influence caste weakened, it has not led to chaos but only to the improvement of individuals and groups that had no opportunity to widen their culture. It made it possible to them to participate in the whole cultural heritage of their country of which they could formerly come in contact with an infinitesimal part. Culture contact under these circumstances has been beneficial to a backward people.¹²⁰

120. Ibid, p.192.

The Social Science Association, Madras sponsored an all India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists in 1955. The papers presented in the conference printed out as a book - 'Society in India' (1956) edited by A. Aiyappan and L.K. Balarathnam. In that Conference Aiyappan presented two papers. One on 'Problems of Teaching Anthropology and Sociology' and the other was on 'Suicide in South India' which was a report of a research project that he had done along with C.J. Jayadev.

Aiyappan, who was the President of Social Science Association in his inaugural address stressed the need for the study of Anthropology and Sociology in India. Though Sociology and Anthropology are young disciplines, as the time passes away, new methods like field research has introduced which in turn helped to widen and develop the knowledge. Aiyappan says for having an acquaintance with ones own society, study of Sociology is indispensable. As democracy gets stronger and welfare work increases in india, the demand for pure and applied sociologists and anthropologists would became greater.¹²¹ In his opinion Indian anthropologists and sociologists should not only confine their research to India but also to the South East

121. A.Aiyappan and L.K.Balarathnam, eds., Society in India, p.5.

Asian countries with whom India is having friendly relations. By establishing rapport and friendly relation with the neighbouring countries, the Indian researchers can exploit the chances to study their societies.

In his paper 'Problems of teaching Anthropology and Sociology' Aiyappan invites the attention of the delegates, to the future of teaching and research in Anthropology and Sociology in India from an organizational angle. Anthropology in India is developed as a collection of ethnographic data. Studies of problems or aspects of culture have begun to replace the old comprehensive monographic studies. Aiyappan found the importance of anthropological information in India at two facets. The ethnography provides the most important data for India's social history. Other than political or literary history, ethnography gives the details of social evolution and social process of the past. Another use of Sociology and Anthropology is that they act as a solvent of group ethnocentrism. The caste group or cultural groups will no more act as water tight compartments and thus the study of society helps for nation building.¹²²

Aiyappan and C.J. Jayadev were analysing the suicidal rate in South India in their paper 'Suicide in South India'.

122. A.Aiyappan, "Problems of Teaching Anthropology and Sociology", in *ibid*, p.13.

They have analysed the suicides of five districts in Tamil Nadu. They collected the data from the police records maintained at the district level.¹²³ They studied the recorded cases for the year 1954. From the data, among other things, they made percentage formulation on the proportion of the sexes among suicides, the rate of suicide per million of the population, the rate of suicides compared with the rate of suicide in foreign countries, sex and marital status of suiciders, the sex and age of suiciders, the economic status of suiciders and the causes and motives for suicide. Some typical cases of suicides were classified and examined as to their causes and motives and a few cases related to the Durkhemian morphological types of suicides.

In his paper 'Applied Anthropology' (1958) Aiyappan tried to show besides academics how anthropology can function for the people; how the subject helps the administrators, missionaries and social workers in carrying out their work effectively. Anthropology can accumulate data to control future of mankind to help in industry, public health, medicine etc.¹²⁴

Aiyappan began to be interested in the study of social change in the problem state of kerala about 1939 when

123. A.Aiyappan and C.Jayadev, in Aiyappan and Balarathnam, eds., op.cit., p.16.

124. A.Aiyappan, "Applied Anthropology" (1958), from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.174.

Anthropology was little practised in India. In his book 'Social Revolution in a Kerala Village' (1965) which is a combined village survey and study of social change, attention is focussed on the impact of massive social movements, on a backward industrial village - Mayur, pseudonym for a Kerala village and in particular on the Irava caste of the village. He analyses the situation in the village microcosm created by the revolutionary changes in inter-caste relationship by overpopulation, large scale emigration from the village, the feeble attempts to raise prestige, the influence of the communists and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R.S.S.) by tenancy and temple entry legislation and prohibition, and the emergence of new leadership. On the positive side, he showed how the general anomie is relieved by efforts of self help which, however, suffer from lack of sustained leadership.¹²⁵ Raymond Firth was particularly interested in this work as a restudy, a generation later¹²⁶ of the Iravas whom Aiyappan studied in the 1930s.¹²⁷

125. A.Aiyappan, Social Revolution in a Kerala Village, 1965, p.79.

126. B.N. Nair, op.cit., p.16.

127. The present study is a restudy of Iravas whom he studied in 1944 - the resultant book was Irawas and Culture Change.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with the village as a whole and has chapters on the field, method and problems, the village setting, aspects of economic life, land tenure, social change in general, communication, beliefs and health and local administration. The second part is concerned exclusively with the Iravas who are tenants and labourers and whose traditional occupation was toddy - tapping. It has chapters on the Iravas as an untouchable caste, the reduction of ritual social distance, Irava social distance, Irava leadership in the state and in the village studied, publications, the Iravas and politics and a resume.

The changes in Mayur are of such a fundamental nature that they have been rightly described by Aiyappan as revolutionary. The wants of the man in the street have multiplied fast whereas a decade or two earlier his consumption expenditure focussed on one major item, that is food; at present he hungers for a variety of commodities say for example, toilet goods, tea, costly cloths, books, newspaper, radio and all modern amenities.

The proliferation of wants does not necessarily mean a higher standard of living. With 1917 as the base, the wage rise till the time of study has been the order of 270 per cent to 500 per cent, which has been more than counter balanced by a rise in the prices. The village folk rarely

take milk, for all the milk produced in the village consumed in the tea shops. Eggs, meat and nutritive foods such as these are taken only under medical advice. Such is the pressure of population on the slender resources of the village that one-fourth of the male adults had to migrate to Ceylon or nearby towns. Many of the emigrants settled down outside Mayur, with the result of the brain drain and loss of economic feed back to the village, though it meant some sort of a 'lebensraum' for the rest of the villagers in the physical sense. Those who returned to Mayur treasure their memories of the dazzlingly high urbanism of Colombo or other principal cities visited by them and strongly crave for a variegated, fulsome life seen by them outside.

Formerly, the village lanes presented a spectacle of running brooks during the rainy season when the poor folk had to tuck up their cloths and wade through the water, and the rich one were escorted to hammocks. There is now a pucca road connecting the village to the nearby town. The road has wrought a revolution in the spatial mobility of the villagers as also in the nature and number of their means of conveyance.

It is the sphere of interpersonal relationships that Mayur has undergone a total revolution. Time was when the landed aristocracy of Brahmins looked down upon the Nayars as polluting vermins who in turn looked down upon the Iravas

as degraded beings. The Iravas though themselves oppressed and suppressed by the so called upper echelons of society, kept the serfs and Harijans under iron thumb. Each one of these clusters of castes regarded itself to be inherently superior to those hierarchically inferior in status and so did not permit them the liberty of touch or propinquity for fear of pollution.

This status configuration crystallised over centuries was regarded by all the perpetuators and the victims of social apartheid - as an ordainment of God. The superior weight of Muslim power under Tippu Sultan gave a jolt to this supposedly divine ordained scale of ordination. Tippu Sultan humiliated the Brahmins publicly which awakened the people of the region to the rude reality that basically there was no difference between Brahmin and a low caste.

Narayana Guru - the charismatic leader of the Iravas built separate temples for them playing also the esoteric role of consecrating them. This gave the down-trodden Iravas a new lease of life and a fresh wave of confidence. In 1936, the Maharaja of Travancore state outlawed untouchability, but it was not until 1947 that the temple entry for the untouchables had the full support and sanction of the state behind it. The passage of the act banning untouchability in Hindu temples did not mean a fact accomplished for the Vettuvans, who for a decade afterwards played for

safety for not exercising the right conferred on them by law.

Untouchability in Mayur or for that matter in Kerala, then finds its hardcore in the realm of rites and caste endogamy. There is otherwise a discernable move towards egalitarianism and equality in social stratification. While the Iravas of the North of Kerala did not mix up with those of the South, there was then a feeling of solidarity and oneness among the two. Thanks to the British law and modern institutions like the railways, schools, cinema halls etc. where all are treated equal, the bitter struggle for equality by the Iravas themselves and economic emancipation born of tenurial reforms in land, the members of various castes started intermingling freely.

In a nutshell, there was then little social distance psychic or physical vertical or horizontal among the caste men of Mayur. This stupenduous change is epitomed in an Irava becoming the Chief Minister of Kerala and two Iravas the chief justices of the High Court.

The political parties have made steady but successful inroads into the body politic of Mayur. The Communist Party, the Muslims League and the R.S.S all have their respective adherents who are ever on the look out for converting others to their respective view points. They have cut across the barriers of caste and the 'we' feeling

characteristic of a caste group. The old gemeinschaft relationships have given place to new gesellschaft relationships. The old norms of socio-economic conduct dictated by hoary tradition have given way to market values and democratic concepts of life.¹²⁸

Aiyappan's general conclusions are that "the village of Mayur has undergone changes which are significant and far-reaching in their own way in spite of its low capacity for the intake of general economic development."¹²⁹ Whilst the villagers had some idea of what improvements could be made which would raise their standard of life, they lack the necessary capital, leadership and education which would enable them to realise their hopes. However, apart from suggesting that the Cooperative Department might help, the author contents himself with a description of the situation and analysis of the factors underlying the social changes that had occurred.

Avoidance is one class of interaction pattern. Close relations sometimes keep away from each other in order to maintain the structure of their group bound together by ties of blood and marriage and common interests. In his paper "Sociology of Avoidance" (1968), Aiyappan makes an attempt

128. Aiyappan, Social Revolution.... op.cit.,p.173.

129. Ibid, p.178.

to see whether variations in the practice of avoidance are correlated with the structural differences in the first place between the North and South India and in the latter area between Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

The focal avoidances are between a man and his mother-in-law, a man and his daughter-in-law, and a man and his sister. The kind of avoidances may be different at different places and groups. The strictest form of avoidance is between a man and his younger brother's wife in Orissa, between the elder brother's wife and younger brother among Nambuthiris in Kerala and between a man and his mother-in-law among Kadars in Tamil Nadu.

Aiyappan concludes that avoidance practice though superficially similar, are differently conditioned in these regions. While an element of incest probably be the cause of some type of avoidance, that element need not be the main factor in the other types of avoidances. Avoidance may sometimes just a way of showing respect by circumscribing interaction.¹³⁰ In India people internalize the sexual prohibitions to a lesser degree. Consequently the society cannot rely on individual conscience for the enforcement of taboos and are compelled to bulwork those with external safeguards such as avoidance.

130. A. Aiyappan, "Sociology of Avoidance", Explorations in the Family and Other Essays, 1968, p.125.

With increased modernization and urbanization the change is rapid even among tribal people. Many caste groups and cultures are vanishing. Hence they should be documented before degeneration. Aiyappan in his article "Urgent Anthropology for Southern India" (1969) look into the present status of social science research, particularly Anthropology in India and also the image of Anthropology among Indian public. He views that due to the lack of effective communication between the subject and public the image of anthropology is still far from truth. Anthropology was considered as a study to impress the Britishers or as a study of the sexual life of tribals. Due to many reasons an urgent research in Anthropology is needed in India.¹³¹

In Kerala there are several caste and tribal groups about whom not a single monograph study is available. Those which studied were not complete and also according to the changing scene. Studies are necessary to undertake in all those neglected areas. Like in Kerala, both in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh the fundings for anthropological researches are very low. Aiyappan gives two suggestions. All the publishable theses should be published, so as to accessible as may as possible. The duplication of the study

131. A. Aiyappan, "Urgent Anthropology for Southern India", from Mohanthy, ed., op.cit., p.150.

of the same area by the central and state governments should be avoided by effective measures.

Friendship is one of the most dominant values of Indian culture. In his paper "Sociology of Friendship" (1971), Aiyappan analyses a few case studies of bond friendships in Orissa. This paper had been published in V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation volume. Aiyappan finds his friendship with Raghavan as "altruistic rooted in their shared interest in many facets of their traditional culture."¹³²

In the paper Aiyappan discusses the ideal friendship in the Eastern and Western traditions. In the modern world the individual and social goals of friendship are varying; Aiyappan concludes after analysing case studies that the kinship formed out of bond friend is strong.

Aiyappan's interest of study never confined to any particular area. His opinion is that while writing the biography of great personalities the information should be collected from the close associates of the greatman, especially those who constituted his personal staff.¹³³ This idea of his coined in his paper "Sree Narayana Guru. A

132. A.Aiyappan, "Sociology of Friendship", Dr.V.Raghavan Shashtyabdaparthi Felicitation Volume, 1971, p.242.

133. A.Aiyappan, Sree Narayana Guru: A Driver's Eye View, 1972

driver's eye view" in which he makes an attempt to draw the assessment of Narayana Guru's driver about the life of Narayana Guru. The driver who literally worships the Guru shown interest in the personal affairs. Guru's advises, Guru's indifferent attitude towards wealth and the spirit of adventure he has been explained in the paper.

Aiyappan's idea of what a race and his concern for the racial minorities both in India and abroad is very much clear from his article "Racial Minorities". According to Aiyappan a race is viewed as a breeding population sharing a common history and locale.¹³⁴ A breeding population may be a few hundreds or millions. Anthropologists talk about geographical race, local race and micro race, in the order of magnitude. Geographical races are large geographically delimited population collections and local races refer to race populations within the larger geographical region. Micro-races are statistically distinct population within a local race. In USA Negroes, a racial minority, always faced suppression. In India Harijans are a disadvantaged category of Hindus. There are also religious and cultural minorities. Among the tribes the Nagas can be said as a racial minority. Anglo-Indians are also a racial minority group.

134. A. Aiyappan, "Racial Minorities", Charithram: A Journal of History and Culture, October-December 1977, p. ...

The industrialization and modernization have made far reaching impacts in the social development of tribal as well as village communities. Aiyappan in his paper, "The effects of recent industrial and social developments" discusses the external manifestations of internal changes at the structural and cultural levels both in tribal and village community.¹³⁵

The increased transport and communication facilities affected the life of Mudugas, a tribal group. The new legislation affected their economic life and most of them were disgusted with the new developments. With the new discoveries in various fields, the traditional social organizations in the villages vanished. This directly affected the village community. The villagers generally show a deep rooted emotional opposition to the innovations. Among the new evils which hamper the progress, Aiyappan mentions a few. The new educational system do not stress the character building of the individuals. The legal procedure is so complicated as to be almost self-defeating and, ruinous to those who go to the courts. Another new development is the party politics and the professionalism in this field which runs counter to the grains of tradition.

135. A.Aiyappan, "The Effects of Recent Industrial and Social Developments", in *ibid*, p.16.

The beggar problem in India is essentially part of the bigger problem of Indian poverty. In India there are several legal actions to stop this practice of parasitic existence of the beggars. Aiyappan looks into this problem in his paper "Beggary in India" (1981). He analyses the socio-cultural facets of the beggar problem in India and in the light of the Indian traditions about beggary, he proceeds to evaluate the efforts made in two South Indian states to wean a small caste of beggars, now a scheduled caste, the Nayadis - from their hereditary caste occupation - begging. He gives accounts of beggary in Indian tradition, census data on beggars, categories of beggars, beggar castes in India, beggar gangs, beggar's perception of begging and legislative control on beggars.

From his study of Nayadis, Aiyappan observes that government programmes have had some impact but beggary still persists and the attitude of the members of the caste towards begging has registered only a marginal change. Till the employment market gets ready to absorb these people beggary will continue. As regards the general problem of beggary in India, Aiyappan concludes, controlling it by legislation and token rehabilitation plans would lead to the inference that we have to live with it for a long time unless revolutionary changes take place in our social,

economic and political structure as for example in China.¹³⁶

Kerala is a land of typical institutions. The cultural and linguistic identity of Kerala, according to Aiyappan is far earlier than that had been suggested by many historians.¹³⁷ Citing several new facets of the archaeology and social structure and castes of Kerala little known or unknown so far, Aiyappan attempts to prove the above said statement in his book "Personality of Kerala" (1982). One half of the book is meant for prehistory of Kerala and India, which have been dealt in the prehistory section.

Talking about the problems of personality of Kerala, Aiyappan discusses modernization and erosion of identity, antiquity of Malayalam and cultural comparisons of Kerala and Tamil nadu. He summarises that the people of Kerala were late starters in the march towards civilization. Initially receiving both the human and cultural resources from the neighbouring regions they built up institutions in their own style, showing all the while a tendency not to yield wholesale pressures from outside to change. Whenever did they change, the change was in non-essentials. This is illustrated by the way in which people of Kerala adopted a minimum of Indo-Aryan elements in their domestic rituals

136. A.Aiyappan, "Beggary in India", International Journal of Asian Studies, vol.1, 1981, p.47.

137. A.Aiyappan, Personality of Kerala.... op.cit., p.13.

unlike the Tamils who sanskritized their domestic rituals radically.¹³⁸ The pre-Aryan Dravidian culture had been conserved in Kerala in a greater measure than in any other region of India. In the development of state craft and administration the kings and chieftains of Kerala seemed to have lagged behind. There is no evidence of progressive thinking among people and it is doubtful that whether before mid-nineteenth century anyone in Kerala, publicly questioned the distributive injustice in the caste system. Thus, he concludes about the identity of Kerala that the culture of Kerala remained past oriented or post-figurative until recent times. Even now, it is doubtful if the people of Kerala as a whole have changed radically from their post-figurative cultural stance.¹³⁹

One way of synthesizing anthropological study of Hinduism is to make a beginning with crucial institutions or with the key actors in the social structures of the Hindus, namely, the Brahmins. In the paper "A Case for a Sub-discipline: Brahmanology", (1983) Aiyappan examines a number of themes that will be useful to make up the Anthropology of Brahmins or Brahmanology: parochialization of the Brahman, high valuation of the Brahmins, oppositions to Brahmins,

138. Ibid, p.132.

139. Ibid, p.190.

Brahman migrations, social organization, interaction patterns with non-Brahmins, inter-regional relationship and the changing Brahmins. In his brief but richly illustrated arguments, Aiyappan has clarified his point of view stating as to why he wants such a study and how it would be done.¹⁴⁰

The interest in village studies never exhausted in Aiyappan. This is evident from his last book published in his life time "Population and Social Change in an Indian Village" (1988) which was edited along with K.Mahadevan. The book is based on a microstudy of a village in Tamil Nadu focussing population control. In the introductory chapter Aiyappan points out the importance of a longitudinal or diachronic study such as one that he was doing. The base line data was obtained from the study of S.Chandrasekhar, a demographer who conducted the study two decades ago. This particular study is a demographic study giving much attention to the related variables of health and the wider social dimensions of population control. An attempt is made to carry an indepth study of the village to probe into the societal and cultural dimensions of reproductive behaviour. A genuine attempt to analyse more of the societal facets related to fertility behaviour has been done. Much

140. A.Aiyappan, "A Case for Subdiscipline, Brahminology", Man in India, vol.63, no.4, December 1983, pp.335-49.

importance has given to the caste relations, politicization, panchayats etc. It had been thought that new factors such as politicization, urban occupation and education widen the range of messages and penetrate caste barriers which would indirectly help to promote the population control programme.

The study had started with the assumption that the village have experienced changes between 1956 and 1978 on all facets of its life as a result of planned intervention in the field of health and family planning and also in the modernization of agriculture. The study was conducted at Mangadu village and surrounding cheris. Interview method was adopted to get information. Enumeration was done by three investigators. During the survey Aiyappan engaged in an extensive field work by participant observation, conducting in depth interviews, collecting biographies etc.¹⁴¹ For the assessment of social change the authors had depended on the biographies and statements of senior members of the village as there was no published data on it. Aiyappan had some acquaintance with the Harijans of the place as early as 1930 when he had his first stint of field work among them.¹⁴² The book has chapters on the village

141. A.Aiyappan and K.Mahadevan, Population and Social Change in an India Village, 1988, p.11.

142. Ibid, p.117.

and its people and culture, socio-economic change, demographic profile, health and family planning.

Conclusion

From the above account it is evident that Aiyappan had made important and multidimensional contributions to anthropology at a time when there were a few researchers in the subject. Besides being an anthropologist he had established his position as an administrator, organizer, editor, and teacher. Even though born in a poor and low caste family, through hard work and determination Aiyappan became one of the foremost anthropologists in India and achieved many important positions.

Aiyappan believed that for a better understanding of the community which is under study will be possible only through field research. In this respect he was much influenced by Malinowski's refined field methods of anthropology and his functional analysis to discover how each culture is a complexly inter-related super-organic whole. During his field work, Aiyappan stayed with the people as a member among them. He himself witnessed and experienced the customary practises and then he analyses how did these practises helped the integration of the society, besides various other aspects such as the impact of modernization and urabnziation, sanskritization etc.

While collecting data for his anthropological works, Aiyappan was conscious about the complex nature of social phenomena in which he was working. He never allowed any non-verifiable proposition to creep into his research. Every little statement is supported by facts, background details, items of routine behaviour, titbits of material, the exact words spoken together with the gestures and postures which all he regarded as vital.

He was of the opinion that the research in anthropology should be objective but subjectivity as a source of insight should not be ruled out. The welfare of the people should be the aim of the researchers. The explanation he had given for it is that the anthropologists have their human rights and scientific rights to stand up for the rights of the people. In all his writings about the tribes he had expressed his sentimental attachment to the community, especially, the down trodden and pleaded for their rights. He always used to focus on the exploitation which the tribals are undergoing and the failures of the government programmes for the upliftment of the tribals. Most of his studies were developmental and project oriented. During his active participation in governmental and quasi-governmental organizations he gave entirely new orientations, more rational and pragmatic, to the plans and policies.

Aiyappan always took care not to study any group of people in isolation and believed that the people of India belong to one race and every group has its role in nation building. In this modern era of industrialization and urbanization no single community can live in isolation and diffusion of cultural traits between different communities is a common phenomenon. He was of the opinion that popularization of anthropology can help inter-caste and inter-communal understanding in India by raising the level of mutual knowledge and by cutting the roots of group ethnocentrism.

While working as an anthropologist he was a good administrator also. As Curator of Madras Museum, Head of the Post-Graduate Departments of the Utkal University and as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Kerala he showed his administrative efficiency. He had organized various tribal research centres. And also various Associations and Institutions owe their genesis to Aiyappan.

As an archaeologist he conducted various excavations in many parts of South India. He had been editor of various journals including the 'Bulletin of Government Museum', Madras and 'International Journal of Sociology'. Moreover he was a respectful teacher from 1958 to 1966 at Utkal University.

Aiyappan always had striven hard to uphold the high ideals and traditions of scholarship in the multidisciplinary fields of anthropology. For over four decades of career of creative teaching and research coupled with organizational skill and faculty of human engineering epitomizes Aiyappan as a solid scholar, a veritable institution and a rare humanist.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The history of anthropology can be drawn back to the earliest speculations of mankind. But the science of anthropology can be considered as the child of Darwin's evolutionary theory. The founding fathers of the modern anthropology were the scholars from Western Europe and United States. All of them showed an interest in studying the 'others' whom they believed to be the wild, natural and primitive.

The professionalization of anthropology was started by the second half of the nineteenth century. From the very beginning the field of anthropology had branched into archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics and socio-cultural or social anthropology. The term social anthropology is a British invention. At that time this subject was known as ethnology in American continent.

Two ethnological traditions dominated the second half of the 19th century - evolutionism and diffusionism. The classical evolutionists used comparative method by which they viewed the primitive people as contemporary ancestors of the more advanced civilizations. These comparisons became a method for assigning groups to their proper stage

of development or for revealing as survivals of earlier stages.

Both in England and America ethnology had its primary development in connection with museums during the latter part of the 19th century. With the beginning of the twentieth century anthropology became an academic discipline and field research became a hallmark of ethnologists. While both the rhetoric and spirit of the 19th century vision still survived in anthropology, the anthropologists of the 20th century had practically become more specialized in their method and remarkably diffused in their interests. This shift made a distinctive kind of method - an integration of both collection and analysis of data - ethnography. The founder of ethnographic method is Bronislaw Malinowski. He developed the conception of function to its greatest elaboration. Along with the theoretical formulation of functionalism, there developed structuralism in America propounded by Radcliffe Brown and these two theoretical orientations dominated the field of anthropology till the middle of the 20th century.

With the political independence of the colonial countries the focus of anthropological studies turned to the new problems faced by the emerging nations. The subject matter of anthropology had been diversified to the fields other than that of the primitive people. The gradual

merging of social and cultural anthropology along with the acceptance of structural functional theory was the major development in 1960s.

Social anthropology emerged as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of colonial era and it became a flourishing academic profession towards its close. The colonial administrators were interested in studying the variegated people to know about their manners and customs. In the colonial period the native anthropologists also had contributed, sometimes indirectly, towards maintaining the structure of power represented by the colonial system. Anthropology was introduced into India in order to meet the needs of British administration along with the progress of the subject in Europe. The British administrators had to associate Indians in taking up the work for Indian census and gazetteers. At that time in India social and cultural anthropology was meant writing of monographs on a single tribes.

Social anthropology got a solid foundation when it accorded academic recognition in 1918. Very soon obscure subjects like kinship studies, social organizations, ideological studies, Hindu tradition etc., were undertaken by trained scholars. After independence, in the sphere of research methods, anthropology in India grown out of its traditional limits and had freely adopted methods and

techniques from cognate disciplines. Today it shows greater concern with problems and interpretations.

The contribution of an intellectual to field of study is a reflection of the history of the generation that he belongs to and the growth and development of his ideas. These ideas are acquired through a process of critical selection, conscious or unconscious. It occurs in a continuous process throughout the life time of that intellectual. In the process of acquiring ideas he might have influenced by the writings of his contemporaries and early intellectuals and their schools of thought. Socialization of the person and his genetic endowments also have a major role to play in the selection of ideas of the intellectual and his own interpretation of them. His creativity lies in the use of these ideas for the better understanding of his field of study. His contribution to this field, therefore, a sojourn of these dominant ideas, in shaping of the major issues of his time throughout his academic biography. This is what Sociology of knowledge attempts to illustrate.

L.K.Ananthakrishna Iyer and A.Aiyappan belonged to two different developmental phases of anthropology. In the study of contributions of the above anthropologists to the field of anthropology from a Sociology of knowledge perspective, it is endeavored to compare those major ideas

and trends which have shaped their writings. This is to say, in the context of the social and academic forces and environment around them which shaped their thinking and consequently their contributions to anthropology. Though they do have similarity in their expertises such as museologists, ethnographers and teachers, they lived in two historical era - colonial and post-colonial.

Ananthakrishna's contributions to the field of Anthropology is mainly in the study of castes and tribes. His Cochin and Mysore volumes were considered as classics in Indian ethnography. His works opened a way to an understanding of social institutions and his straightforward manner of presenting ideas and great concern for fidelity to facts raised the status of anthropological research in the country. In his works he had described each caste and tribe in detail and he puts on record the characteristic habits of various units composing the population of an entire state which afforded a remarkably clear view of its social stratiography from top to bottom.

Aiyappan's contributions were prominent in all the branches of Anthropology such as archaeology, prehistory, physical anthropology and socio-cultural anthropology though the main bulk falls under socio cultural anthropology. His emphasis was on the micro study of any particular area. He was the first senior anthropologist to have attempted to

unravel the changing facets of the Kerala scene. He studied the cultural changes of society through which it undergoes. Aiyappan used to popularize Anthropology by various communication channels such as newspapers, radio talks, review articles besides a large number of papers published in various scientific journals.

Ananthakrishna Iyer made a formal entry into the field of anthropology as an ethnographic surveyor when he was appointed as superintendent of ethnography of Cochin State Government. He took up the work in addition to his teaching job. Later on he was appointed as the superintendent of ethnography of Mysore State Government, while he was working as the head of the anthropology department of Calcutta University. These ethnographic works were resulted in the celebrated volumes of Cochin Tribes and Castes and Mysore Tribes and Castes. In between he completed 'The Anthropology of Syrian Christians' based on the data collected as an independent surveyor. His 'Lectures on Ethnography' was a compilation of the lectures delivered by him at the Calcutta University.

In his works he followed a system of investigation designed to secure all the details necessary for an understanding of the people whom he studied. He followed the conceptual framework drawn up by Risely for the ethnographic survey of India. Iyer conducted wide ranging

surveys among the caste and tribes. He had the advantage of the first Indian official ethnographer. He managed to do the surveys on holidays and vacations. Unlike other colonial ethnographers Iyer was in an advantageous position by virtue of his nativity. This advantage helped him to acquire the vast amount of information on subjects which the native people usually reluctant to disclose to the Europeans. Thus working in his official capacity within the framework of the ethnographic survey established by the colonial administration, Iyer brought to bear an insider's view that marks out his ethnographic survey.

Iyer carefully recorded accounts of the customs and practices, the languages, race institution etc., based on the details supplied by the people. Though he noted the changes and at some instances, he did not note the nature of changes, their causes. He always studied the group in isolation and did not study their interaction with other groups. He did not investigate the nature of oneness feeling of the people as they were ruled by one state government though they belonged to different caste groups. The data he collected used by the British government positively to get a detailed account of their ruling subjects and in that way they could make the ruling and administration more feasible. On that account, the writings of Ananthakrishna, to some extent helped in maintaining the

power structure represented by the colonial system as the other official ethnographers of his time.

Aiyappan, who was trained in social anthropology by eminent and pioneering anthropologists such as Malinowski and Raymond Firth, could combine social anthropology with ethnographic descriptions in accordance to the dominant trends of his time. Aiyappan became an eminent anthropologist towards the end of colonial regime. In the initial phase of his career he was as his contemporaries in India and abroad, a general anthropologist giving equal weightage to all the branches of the subject. Later on he turned to be a specialist in social anthropology, though his interests in other branches never exhausted. This could be attributed to his long career as a museum curator.

Aiyappan showed sentimental attachment with the people whom he studied. He always stressed the need for the upliftment of the tribes and low caste people. He took special interest in portraying the pathetic conditions of their life. His concern for the welfare of tribal and backward communities was not a by-product of his professional interest in them. This special interest may be an outcome of his own background as a member of low caste and poor family.

Ananthakrishna's high caste status as a Brahmin and his Vedic scholarship is clearly reflected in his writings. He

believed that no one in India has as much familiarity with Hindu religion and traditions as the Brahmins. Others, however learned, cannot equal the Brahmins in acquiring knowledge about the Hindu religion and traditions. He was of the opinion that a correct history of the country would emerge only from the efforts of the Brahmins. In his works he had given the best possible descriptions of Brahmins - their customs and practises. This can be attributed to his own high caste identity and also to his familiarity with their customs and practices which he practised in his own life as an orthodox Brahmin. He was very much punctual in bearing the mark of his religious sect on his forehead. When he had lost his first two wives, Ananthakrishna married a tree to pave the way for his third marriage as it was the custom among the Brahmins. At many an instances, in all his works Iyer quotes the Puranas, Vedas, Smritis, and Sruthis to explain his arguments without considering its logical aspects. He hardly discusses the theoretical explanation of the legendary beliefs of the people.

Iyer is considered as the founder of the field research in India. He insisted the first hand collection of the data for which he visited the villages and recorded them as explained by the people. He never did take care to live amongst the people to experience their customs and practices or to verify those accounts with the actual practices. From

those accounts he compared the stages of evolution of the society. His acceptance of evolutionary approach in studying the society and the social institutions is evident from his work 'Lectures on Ethnography'. It is a theoretical work compared to his rest of the works and it explains the evolution of various social institutions.

Aiyappan stressed the study of cultural change and he studied the social institutions taking into account their role in the social integration. He believed that each ingredient, however insignificant contributes to the cultural whole of any society. It is important to note down the customs and practices of the primitive people as they are undergoing rapid changes due to industrialization and urbanization. But he argued that the subject matter of anthropology is never confined to the study of primitive people. It is evident from his manifold approach to the study of anthropology. As early as 1940 he started studying groups other than tribes. He always stressed the need for participant observation amongst the group under study which in turn is a hallmark of functionalist approach. According to him the fullest understanding of any social group is possible only by being a part of people's life.

Aiyappan points out that culture to a functionalist is an instrumental reality, a process of effectively satisfying human needs both primary and derived. In his observation

the student of culture change is primarily interested in obtaining his data by direct observation in the field for that is his cultural laboratory and also he should analyse both the present day realities and history of that culture. Besides witnessing the customary practices of the people, he conducted lengthy interviews to extract more information from them. He also analyses case studies and gives descriptions of typical situations for a better understanding of the working of human institutions. In his works, Aiyappan had made an attempt to do a cross-sectional study of the people's everyday life so as to make it familiar with the reader on the proper background of the society. He always stressed the importance of maintaining rapport with the people during the field research because he believed in ethnographic work much depends on the personal contact with the human material and also in having a perfect empathy with the subjects. While describing the features of any group he focussed the recent changes and also analysed the factors of change and the impact of developmental activities and their shortcomings.

Aiyappan was very active throughout his life, participated in many developmental and other programmes rather than confining to his professional life. He believed every social scientist has got a social duty and Aiyappan always tried to fulfill his social duty. Even when Aiyappan

took the roles of museologist, teacher and administrator, he mingled with the people, participated in their problems and helped them in making the way out of it not as a part of his official duties but as a part of his personal life. Whereas Iyer was always confined to his professional life as a good teacher. He proved his eminence in that field as it is quite clear from the comments of his colleagues and students. During the major part of his life Iyer was a teacher and he was fully academically oriented.

A comparison of the two pioneers of socio-cultural anthropology from South India shows how the historical background, educational attainments, caste aspiration and environmental factors affect the development of skills and emphasis in practitioners of the human sciences. Such factors play a crucial role much more so in the making of social scientists than in that of natural scientists. And, of course, as our detailed account of life and works of Iyer and Aiyappan clearly shows the influence of background factors is paramount in the makings of anthropologists. We offer this dissertation as a pioneering attempt in delineating the forces at work in the construction of two outstanding anthropologists of South India.

APPENDIX A

The classification given below roughly indicates a scheme based upon the diversity of race, and the Brahmans constitute *Arya Varna*, the Aryan or noble race, characterised by their broad forehead, regular features and fair colour.

Group No.	Name of castes	Race	No. of divisions
I.	Nambuthiris and allied castes	Aryan	10
II.	Antarala-jatis or intermediate castes.		
	A.Nampidi (threaded)	Do.	1
	B.Ambalavasi (do)	Do.	7
	C. Do.(unthreaded)	Mixed Aryan and Dravidian	4
III.	Nayar, A.High caste...	Mostly Dravidian	14
	B. Low caste	Do.	4
IV.	Kammalans ...	Dravidian	6
V.	Other polluting castes below them	Do.	10
VI.	Chandalans	Probably aborigines	
	A. of the plains...	"	4
	B. of the forests...	"	4
TOTAL			64

APPENDIX B

Name of Caste	Remarks
I. Brahman and the allied castes:	
1.Nambuthiri	1. There are eight divisions: 4 vedic and 4 non-vedic.
2.Muthathu	2. Brahmans degraded on account of partaking the offerings made to Siva.
3.Elayad	3. They are Brahmans degraded for having officiated as the priests of Sudras.

II. Malayali Kshatriyas.

1. Thampuran
(member of the ruling family).

1. The three names denote titles. They follow certain Brahmanical customs. Brahmans inter-dine with them. Brahmans are their priests.

2. Tampans (distant relatives of the ruling family and a few others).

2 and 3 -do-

3. Thirumulpad.

III. Vysias and allied castes

Vysias are non-existent

IV. Antharala jatis or castes below the Brahmans and Kshatriyas and above Sudras

A. Nambidi

A. Brahmans and Kshatriyas will not take water from them. Brahmans officiate as priests. They wear the sacred thread.

B. Ambalavasi

1. Atikal
2. Chakkiyar
3. Chakkiyar Nambiar
4. Nambiaror Unni
5. Thiyattu Unni or Nambi
6. Pisharodi
7. Variar
8. Puthuval
9. Marar

B. 1. Degraded on account of priestly functions in Bhagavati temples
2. Originally belonged to the Sutha caste
3. Originated as No. 2
5. Degraded by profession
6-9. Do not wear the sacred thread.

Purifactory ceremonies alone are performed by the Brahmans. Other priestly functions are performed by their own castemen.

- C. Samantha.
1. Unithiri
2. Atiyodi

- C. 1 & 2. Children by Nayar women and Kshatriya husbands.

V. Sudras

- A. High caste Nayars

- V.A. Their touch pollutes all castes above them. The use of meat or liquor does not entail loss of caste, but many abstain from them. Elayathus are their priests.

- B. Low caste Nayars
1. Chaliyan
2. Velutheden
3. Velakkathalavan

- B. Their touch pollutes all castes above them. They pollute by touch, the high caste Brahman who uses clothes washed by no.2.

- VI. Castes which pollute by approach within graded distances and do not eat beef

1. Kallasari (mason)
2. Kollan (Blacksmith)
3. Marasari (Carpenter)
4. Musari (Bellmetal worker)
5. Thattan (Goldsmith)
6. Tholkollan (Leather worker)

- VI. Nos.1 to 5 inter-dine and inter-marry. No.6 pollutes 1 to 5. The approach of Kammalans within a distance of 2 feet pollutes castes above them.

- VII Other castes having pollution by distance, but do not eat beef

1. Izhuvan or Tiyyan (Toddy drawer).
2. Valan (Fisherman or boat man)

- VII. Their approach within 36 feet pollutes groups of castes 1 to 5. Some of the castes in the groups are polluted by touch.

3. Aryan (do)
4. Mukkuvan (do)
5. Marakkan (do)
6. Kaniyan (astrologer)
7. Vilkurup (makers of bows and arrows)
8. Panan (neero mancer)
9. Velan (washerman and low castes)
10. Pulluvan (Singer in serpent grooves)
11. Paravan.

Polyandry exists in some castes - Kaniyan, Panan and Vilkurup

- VIII 1. Kanakkan
2. Kootan

VIII. They are to keep themselves at a distance of 48 ft. from the high-caste Hindus. They pollute castes in groups VI and VII. They are Agricultural labourers.

- IX. 1. Pulayan or Cheruman
2. Parayan
3. Vettuvan

IX. In their case the distance causing pollution is 64 ft. They are Chandalans of the plains.

- X. 1. Ullatan
2. Nayati
3. Malayan
4. Kadan

X. They are Chandalans of the forests. They pollute the high-caste Hindus at a distance of 96 ft.

Conclusion: Caste, as a religious and social organization, exercised a very powerful influence upon the people of India. It was much to the credit of Ancient India, that it existed in its perfect form. The earliest references are found in the Vedas; and in the Puranas, varying accounts are given. The fourfold division of caste, had special duties assigned to each, the performance of which alone, justified the name and existence of every member in each division. The working of the caste system in India, has all along, been simply marvellous.

Source: L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Lectures on Ethnography, Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1925, pp.90-95.

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