Among females the most common names are Tai, Parpathi, Ammai, Kanni, Muttammāl, Rājammāl, Ammani, Selli, Gangammāl. In one village, where the Paraiyans were almost all Vaishnavas, by profession not by practice, Mr. Clayton found the inhabitants all named after heroes of the Mahābhārata, and dirty naked children answered to the names of Ikshvakan, Karnan, Bhiman, and Draupadi. It is usual to give the father's name when distinguishing one Paraiyan from another, e.g., Tamburan; son of Kannan. In legal documents the prefix Para denotes a Paraiyan, e.g., Para Kanni, the Paraiyan Kanni, but this is a purely clerical formula. The Paraiyan delights in nicknames, and men sometimes grow so accustomed to these that they have almost forgotten their real names. The following nicknames are very common :-

Nondi, lame.
Kallan, thief.
Kullan, dwarf.
Vellei, white or light
complexioned.

Kannan, with eyes. Muthalai, crocodile. Kudiyan, drunkard.

No name, indicating virtue or merit, is given, lest the wrath of malevolent spirits should be aroused.

At the census, 1891, 348 sub-divisions were returned, of which the following were strongest in point of numbers:—Amma found chiefly in Tanjore and Madura; Katti in Salem and Trichinopoly; Kīzhakkatti (eastern) in Salem; Kōliyan (weavers) in Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly; Konga in Salem; Korava in Coimbatore; Kōttai (fort) in South Arcot; Morasu (drum) in Salem; Mottai in Madura; Pacchai (green) in Coimbatore; Sāmbān in South Arcot; Sangidum (sanku, conch, or chank shell) in Coimbatore; Sōzhia (natives of the Sōzha or Chōla country) in Tanjore and Madura;

Tangalān in North and South Arcot, Chingleput, Salem, and Trichinopoly; and Valangamattu in South Arcot. The members of the various sub-divisions do not intermarry.

It has been suggested to me that the Morasu Paraiyans, included in the above list, are Canarese Holeyas, who have settled in the Tamil country. In the south their women, like the Kallans, wear a horsehair thread round the neck. As additional sub-divisions, the following may be noted:—

Aruththukattātha, or those who, having once cut the tāli-string, do not tie it a second time, *i.e.*, those who do not permit remarriage of widows.

Valai (a net).—Paraiyans who hunt.

Sanku (conch-shell).—Those who act as conchblowers at funerals.

Thātha.—Thāthan is the name given to mendicants who profess Vaishnavism. Such Paraiyans are Vaishnavites, and some are beggars.

In the Census Report, 1901, Mr. Francis notes that the term Paraiyan "is now almost a generic one, and the caste is split up into many sub-divisions, which differ in manners and ways. For example, the Köliyans, who are weavers, and the Valluvans, who are medicine men and priests and wear the sacred thread, will not intermarry or eat with the others, and are now practically distinct castes." As occupational titles of Paraiyans Mr. Francis gives Urumikkāran and Pambaikkāran, or those who play on drums (urumi and pambai), and Podarayan or Podara Vannān, who are washermen. The title Valangamattān, or people of the right-hand division, is assumed by some Paraiyans.

Mr. Clayton states that he knows of no legend or popular belief among the Paraiyans, indicating that Pallicchan.—A sub-division of Nāyars, the hereditary occupation of which is palanquin-bearing. In the Cochin Census Report, the Pallicchans are recorded as being palanquin-bearers for Brāhmans.

Pallikkillam.—An exogamous sept or illam of Tamil Panikkans.

Pālua.—A sub-division of Badhōyi.

Pambaikkāran.—An occupational name for Paraiyans, who play on a drum called pambai.

Pambala.—The Pambalas, or drum (pamba) people, are Mālas who act as musicians at Māla marriages and festivals in honour of their deities. They also take part in the recitation of the story of Ankamma, and making muggu (designs on the floor) at the peddadinamu death ceremony of the Gamallas.

**Pammi** (a common lamp).—An exogamous sept of Dēvānga.

**Pāmula**(snake people).—A name for snake-charming Koravas, and Jōgis, who, in the character of itinerant showmen, exhibit snakes to the public. The name also occurs as an exogamous sept of Māla and Yānādi.

**Panam** (palmyra palm: *Borassus flabellifer*.)—A sub-division of Shānān. It also occurs as a branch or kothu of Kondaiyamkotti Maravans.

Pānān.—The Tamil Pānāns are said, in the Census Report, 1901, to be also called Mēstris. They are "tailors among Tamils in Madura and Tinnevelly. They employ Brāhmans and Vellālas as purōhits. Though barbers and washermen will not eat food prepared by them, they are allowed to enter Hindu temples." The Malayālam Pānāns are described in the same report as "exorcists and devil-dancers. The men

also make umbrellas, and the women act as midwives. In parts they are called Malayans, and they may be

PĀNĀN

hundred) are returned as sub-castes of the Malayalan Panans.

For the following account of the Pānāns of Travancore, I am indebted to Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar. The word is of Tamil origin, and means a tailor. The title taken by them is Panikkan, the usual honorific appellation of most of the industrial castes of Malabar. They are supposed to be one with the Pānāns of the Tamil country, though much below them in the social scale. They

observe a pollution distance of thirty-six feet, but keep Mannans and Vēdans at a distance of eight, and Pulayas and Paraiyas at a distance of thirty-two feet from them. They are their own barbers and washermen. They will eat food prepared by Kammālans, of whom there is a tradition that they are a degraded branch. Tiruvarangan, one of the popular sages of Malabar, who are reputed to be the descendants of a Paraiya woman, is said to have been a Pānān, and the Pānāns pay him due reverence. In the Kēralolpatti, the traditional occupation of the Pānāns is said to be exorcism, and in British Malabar this occupation seems to be continued at the present day. Umbrella-making is a secondary occupation for the men. In Travancore, however, the only occupation pursued by the Pānāns is tailoring. The tāli-kettu celebration takes place before the girl attains puberty. If this ceremony is intended to signify a real marriage, the girl is taken to her husband's house on the fourth day of the first menstrual period, and they remain thenceforth man and wife. Otherwise a sambandham ceremony has to be performed either by the tali-tier or some one else, to establish conjugal relations. Inheritance is mostly paternal. The dead are buried, and death pollution lasts for sixteen days. The spirits of deceased ancestors are appeased once a year by the offering of cooked food

Table 4: Castes enumerated in all four taluk returns, with headings, in order of appearance in (1923) Census tables

	Total	%	1823	Total	%
Brahmans			Sudras continued		
Smarta Telugu	2,177	1.3	Intermixed Sudra	447	.3
Smarta Tamil	6,187	3.7	Panchalar/artisan	6,064	3.7
Sri Vaishnava	1,367	.8	Cuddashelkaran	125	.1
Mudivar Tadvati	551	.3	Potter (Koshavar)	1,031	.6
Shiva Bhaktar	510	.3	Barber (Ambatan)	2,019	1.2
Vishnu Nambiyar	221	. 1	Washerman (Vannan)	1,707	1.0
Total	12,499	7.5	Dyer (Shoyakaran)	200	
Religious Establishment			Total Sudras	83,620	50.4
Oduvar or Gurukle	382	.2	Muslims		
Hundi Thauthen	. 477	.3	Pattulu	520	.3
Vyraver	885	.5	Lubbay	7,508	4.5
Ochen & Mulacaren	653	.4	Total	8,028	4.8
Dasi or dancing girl	757	.5	Christians		
Total	3,950	2.4	Parava	59	.0
Sudras			Shanar	361	.2
Pandy Vellala	16,294	9.8	Pariah	469	.3
Karaikkattu Vellalas	1,428	.9	Total	1,244	.8
Sholleah & Tulu V.	550	.3	Inferior Sudras		
T. Mudaliyars	803	.5	Elava	2,041	1.5
Chetties	2,740	1.7	Shanar	17,493	10.5
Villay Jeddiyan	1,256	.8	Cunniyan	122	0.
Vaniyan	2,902	1.8	Korava	220	. 1
Patnulkar + P.	1,684	1.0	Total	21,528	13.0
Kaikkolar	5,160	3.1	Low Caste		
K. Maravas	9,100	5.5	Palla	21,293	12.8
Kotaly Maravas	5,040	3.0	Vallava	132	.0
Panan	199	.1	Pariah	8,727	5.2
Chalupan	245	.2	Shinimaun/Chuckler	2,028	1.2
Continued next column			Total	32,596	19.6

Notes: Totals for each caste category may include castes not listed here. Census village averages are for villages with populations over 100. The 159 villages are in four taluks: Tenkasi, Shankarankoil (without zamindaris), Brahmadesam, and Shermadevi. K = Kondaiyankottai; P = Pattashalaiyan; T = Tondaimandala; V= Vellala. Source: See note 30.

Source: Ludden (1996, p. 123)

In the ninth year of the reign of Śrī Kulottuńkacoladevar, it is agreed (this) first day of the ninth year that gold and paddy are to be provided as they were formerly provided for the pāṇar in this temple, at the rate of 1 kalam of paddy, measured by the ūrkkāl, per person, for the basic living allowance (mutal kāṇiperrapaṭi) for Irumuṭicolan Pirān alias Acañcalapperayan—who is to sing for the Lord of Tiruviṭaimarutu in Tiraimūrnāṭu in Uyyakoṇṭārvaḷanāṭu, who is to cause the taḷiyillār tevaraṭiyār to sing in the temple, and who is to dwell here as the person of this place responsible for the pāṇar—and for his descendents (vanśattār).

We, together with those servants of the temple (palapaṇi nivantakkārar) who are partners in this agreement, assign, as formerly to the pāṇar, the land necessary to produce this paddy and additional expense money—land that is part of the tevatānam of this god—as land for the support of pāṇar (pāṇakāṇi), as their "livelihood" (jīvitam).

And, as a place of residence, a house is given for dwelling here, and the terms of this allowance (paţi) are inscribed in stone as what is approved this ninth year and first day, according to royal order (tirumukam).

This royal proclamation (tirumantira olai) is signed by Malaiyappirāyar and Putukkaţaiyār, the tax accountants Neţumaṇamuţaiyān, Ponnulān, Paṇṇainallūruṭaiyān, Velārkilavan, Aracūruṭaiyān, and Cerrūruṭaiyān, [and others].

[The boundaries of the land are given and the yield in paddy.]

Signed: the temple accountant Kuntaiyūrkilavan, the temple servant (tevarkanmi) Tiruccirrampalapattan, the temple manager (śrīkāriyam) Mulankutaiyān, and the śrīmāheśvara kankāni Tiruviti Anparkaracu.