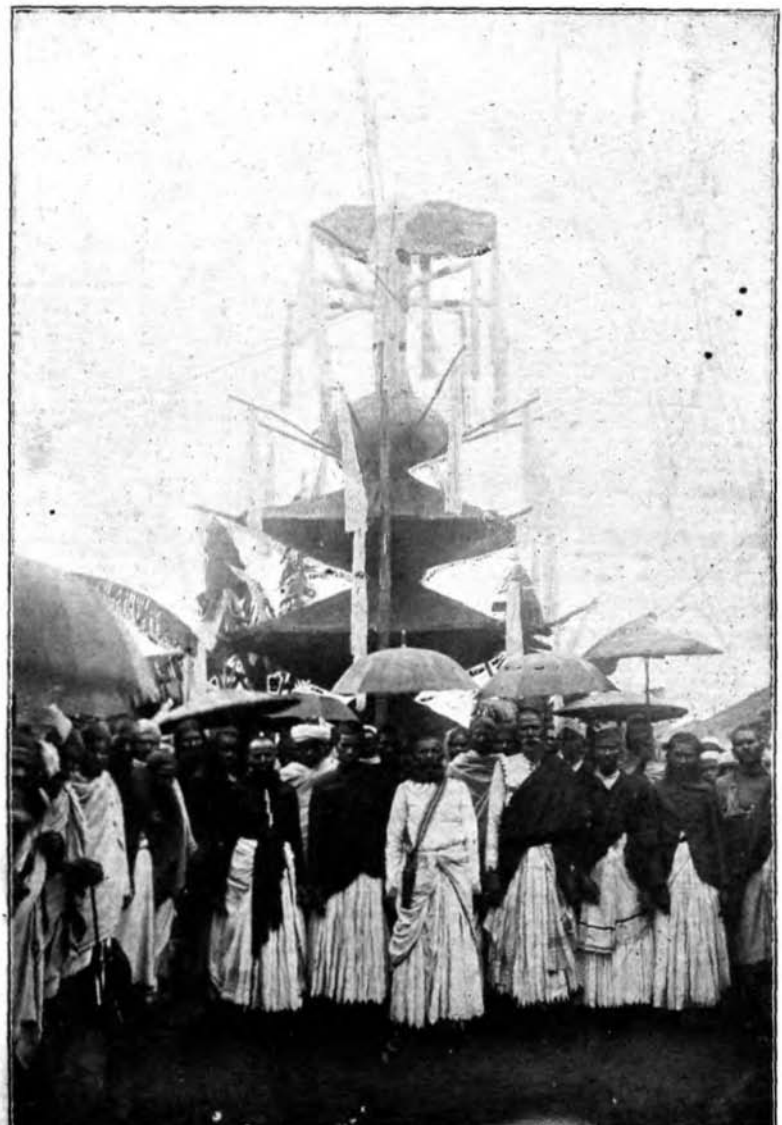
ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

IN

SOUTHERN INDIA.

Frontispiece.



Badaga Funeral Car.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

IN

SOUTHERN INDIA.

With 40 Plates.

BY

EDGAR THURSTON,

SUPERINTENDENT, MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM;
SUPERINTENDENT OF ETHNOGRAPHY, MADRAS;
CORRESPONDENT ÉTRANGER, SOCIÉTÉ D'ANTHROPOLOGIE DE PARIS.

MADRAS:
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1906.

PREFACE.

IT has been well said that "there will be plenty of money and people available for anthropological research, when there are no more aborigines. And it behoves our museums to waste no time in completing their anthropological collections." Under the scheme for a systematic ethnographic survey of the whole of India, a superintendent for each Presidency and Province was appointed in 1901, to carry out the work of the survey in addition to his other duties. The other duty, in my particular case—the direction of a large local museum—luckily makes an excellent blend with the survey operations, as the work of collection for the ethnological section goes on synchronously with that of investigation.

For many years I have been engaged in bringing together the scattered information bearing on 'Manners and Customs' in South India, surviving, moribund, or deceased, which lies buried in official reports, manuals, journals of societies, and other publications. The information thus collected has been supplemented by correspondence with district officers and private individuals, and by the personal wanderings of myself and my assistants, Mr. K. Rangachari (from whose negatives most of the illustrations have been made), Mr. V. Govindan and Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, in various parts of the Madras Presidency, Mysore, and Travancore, in connection with the work of the survey, which demands the writing of a book on lines similar to Risley's 'Tribes and Castes of

Bengal.' For the issue of this book the time is not yet ripe, and, as an *ad interim* measure, I send forth the present farrago in the hope that it may be of some little use and interest to those who are engaged in the study of ethnological and sociological questions in the arm-chair or the field. For such, rather than for the general public, it is intended.

To the many friends and correspondents, European and Native, who have helped me in the accumulation of facts, or whose published writings I have made liberal use of, I would express collectively, and with all sincerity, my great sense of indebtedness. And I would further express a hope that readers will draw my attention to the errors, such as must inevitably arise when one is dealing with a mass of evidence derived from a variety of sources, and provide me with material for a possible future edition.

"Let those now send who never sent before;
And those who have sent, kindly send me more."

Some of the articles, originally published in my Museum Bulletins, are now reproduced with additions.

I may add that the chapter devoted to omens, evil eye, etc., is intended only as a mere outline sketch of a group of subjects, which, if worked up in detail, would furnish material for a very bulky volume.

E. T.

CONTENTS.

PLATES.

SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

At the outset I may appropriately quote the account of the Brāhman marriage ceremony as given in the Census report, 1891, to show how the Brāhman ritual has been grafted on the non-Brāhman community. "On the marriage day the bridegroom, dressed in true Vaidiki * fashion with cadjan (palm leaf) books and a bundle of rice on his shoulder, pretends to be setting out for Benares,† there to lead an ascetic life, and the girl's father, meeting him, begs that he will accept the hand of his daughter. He is then taken to the marriage booth (pandal), and is formally entrusted with the girl. The sacred fire (hōmam) is prepared, and worshipped with oblations of ghī (clarified butter), the blessings of the gods are invoked, and the tāli or bottu (marriage badge) ‡ is tied round the neck of the girl by the bridegroom. The couple then go round the sacred fire, and the bridegroom takes up in his hands the right foot of the bride, and places it on a mill-stone seven times. This is known as saptapadi (seven feet), and is the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony. The bride is exhorted to be as fixed in constancy as the stone, on which her foot has been thus placed. The bridegroom, holding the

* The Vaidikis are the first class of Brāhmans, whose occupation is teaching the Vēdas, performing and superintending sacrifices, and preserving the moral principles of the people.

† The mock flight to Benares is known as Kāsiyātra.

‡ The tāli or bottu corresponds to the ring of European Christendom.

bride's right hand,* repeats the mantrams (prayers) recited by the family priest, and announces, in the presence of the sacred fire, the gods invoked, and the Brāhmans assembled, that he will have her as his inseparable companion, be faithful and so forth. And lastly the bride and bridegroom exchange garlands of flowers. Seed-grains of five or nine kinds are mixed up, and sown in small earthern vessels specially made for the purpose, and filled with earth. The couple water these both morning and evening for four days. On the fifth day the seed-lings are thrown into a tank (pond) or river. The boy and girl play every evening with balls of flowers, when women sing songs, and much merriment prevails. On the second night the girl takes her husband to an open place, and points out to him the star Arūndati, (pole star) implying that she will remain as chaste and faithful as that goddess." The earth, in which the seed-grains are sown, is generally obtained from a white-ant hill.

Among some sections of the Brāhmans, especially the Tamil sections, prominence is given to the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom on the fourth day after marriage, and at the ceremony called mālaimāththal (exchange of garlands). At this ceremonial both bride and bridegroom should be carried astride on the shoulders of their maternal uncles. Outside the wedding booth the uncles, bearing their nephew and niece, dance to the strains of a band, and, when they meet, the bride and bridegroom exchange garlands. On the fourth

* The marriage is sometimes called, for this reason, pāni grahanam, or grasping the hand.

day a procession is got up at the expense of the maternal uncle of the bride, and is hence named Ammān kōlam. The bride is dressed up as a boy, and another girl is dressed up to represent the bride. They are taken in procession through the street, and, on returning, the pseudo-bridegroom is made to speak to the real bridegroom in somewhat insolent tones, and some mock play is indulged in. The real bridegroom is addressed as if he was the syce (groom) or gumasta (clerk) of the pseudo-bridegroom, and is sometimes treated as a thief, and judgment passed on him by the latter.

It is said that, on the dhiksha visarjana (shaving) day, six months after marriage, in cases where the Brāhman bridegroom is a young boy, he is dressed up as a girl, and the bride's party, when they detect the fraud, jeer at him and his relations for having deceived them. Brāhmans may not shave for six months after marriage, for a year after the death of a parent, and till the birth of the child when their wives are pregnant.

The Mādhva Brāhmans commence the marriage ceremony by asking the ancestors of the bridal couple to bless them, and be present throughout the performance of the rite. To represent the ancestors, a ravike (bodice) and dhotra (man's cloth) are tied to a stick, which is placed near the box containing the sālagrāma stone * and household gods. In consequence of these ancestors being represented, orthodox Vaidiki Brāhmans refuse to take food prepared in the marriage house. When the

* The Sālagrāma stone is a fossil ammonite, found in certain rivers, *e.g.* Gandak, Son, etc., which is worshipped by Brāhmans. "The Sālagrāma is often adopted as the representative of some god, and the worship of any god may be performed before it."—YULE and BURNELL, HOBSON-JOBSON.

bridegroom is conducted to the marriage booth by his future father-in-law, all those who have taken part in the Kāsiyātra ceremony throw rice over him. A quaint ceremony, called rangavriksha (drawing), is performed on the morning of the second day. After the usual playing with balls of flowers (nalagu or nalangu), the boy takes hold of the right hand of the bride, and, after dipping her right forefinger in turmeric and lime paste, traces on a white wall the outline of a plantain tree, of which a sketch has previously been made by a married woman. The tracing goes on for three days. First the base of the plant is drawn, and, on the evening of the third day, it is completed by putting in the flower spikes. On the third night the bridegroom is served with sweets and other refreshments by his mother-in-law, from whose hands he snatches the vessels containing them. He picks out what he likes best, and scatters the remainder about the room. The pollution caused thereby is removed by sprinkling water and cow-dung, which is done by the cook engaged for the marriage by the bridegroom's family. After washing his hands, the bridegroom goes home, taking with him a silver vessel, which he surreptitiously removes from near the gods. Along with this vessel he is supposed to steal a rope for drawing water, and a rice-pounding stone. But in practice he only steals the vessel, and the other articles are claimed by his people on their return home. On the fourth morning the bridegroom once more returns to the booth, where he ties a tāli of black glass beads and a small gold disc round the bride's neck in the presence of 33 crores (33 millions) of gods, who are represented by a number of variously coloured

large and small pots. Close to the pots are the figures of two elephants, designed in rice grains and salt respectively. After going round the pots, the bridal couple separate, and the groom stands by the salt elephant, and the bride by the other. They then begin to talk about the money value of the two animals, and an altercation takes place, during which they again go round the pots, and stand, the bridegroom near the rice elephant, and the bride by the salt one. The bargaining as to the price of the animals is renewed, and the bride and bridegroom again go round the pots. This ceremonial is succeeded by a burlesque of domestic life. The bride is presented with two wooden dolls from Tirupati, and told to make a cradle out of the bridegroom's turmeric-coloured turban, which he wore on the tāli-tying day (muhurtham). The contracting couple are made to converse with each other on domestic matters, and the bridegroom asks the bride to attend to her household affairs, so that he may go to his duties. She pleads her inability to do so because of the children, and asks him to take charge of them. She then shows the babies (dolls) to all those who are present, and a good deal of fun is made out of the incident. The bride, with her mother standing by her side near two empty chairs, is then introduced to her new relations by marriage, who sit in pairs on the chairs, and make presents of pān-supāri (betel leaves and nuts), and turmeric. She is then formally handed over to her husband.

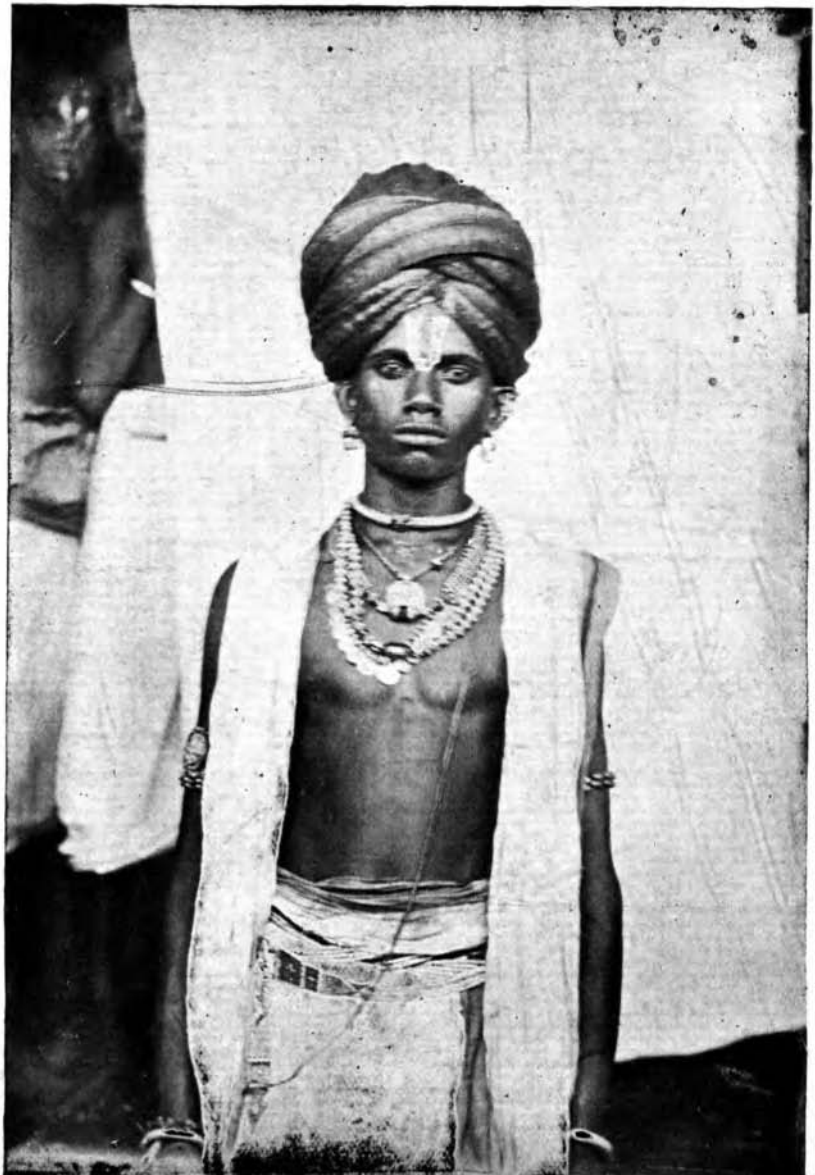
At a wedding among Srī Vaishnava Brāhmans, at an auspicious hour on the fourth day, the bridal pair are seated in the wedding booth, and made to roll a cocoanut to and fro across the dais. The assembled Brāhmans

keep on chanting some ten stanzas in Tamil, composed by a Vaishnava lady, named Āndāl, (an avātar of Lakshmi) who dedicated herself to Vishnu. She narrates to her attendants, in the stanzas, the dream in which she went through the marriage ceremony after her dedication to the god. Pān-supāri, of which a little, together with some money, is set apart for Āndāl, is then distributed to all who are present. Generally a large crowd is assembled, as they believe that the chanting of Āndāl's srisukthi (praise of Lakshmi) brings a general blessing. The family priest then calls out the names and gōtras (house names) of those who have become related to the bridegroom and the bride through their marriage, and, as each person's name is called out, he or she is supposed to make a present of cloths, money, etc., to the bride or bridegroom.

Reference has been made (page 4) to the nalagu or nalangu ceremony. This, among Telugu non-Brāhman castes, consists of the anointing of the bride and bridegroom with oil, and smearing the shoulders and arms with turmeric or flour paste, or a paste made with the pods of *Acacia concinna*, or *Phaseolus Mungo*. With some castes it consists of the rolling of a cocoanut, or ball made of flowers, between the bridal couple. By Brāhmans nalangu is restricted to the painting of the feet of the couple with a mixture of turmeric paste and chunām (lime) called nalangu māvu. But the smearing with sandal, turmeric paste, etc., is also carried out.

The Rāzus (Telugu agriculturists), who are settled in Tinnevelly, claim to be Kshatriyas, and to belong to the second of Manu's four castes, Brāhman, Kshatriya,

Plate I.



Rāzu Bridegroom.

Vaisya, and Sūdra. Some of their women are gōsha (kept in seclusion). Men may not shave the face, and wear a beard until their marriage. Nor are they, so long as they remain bachelors, invested with the sacred thread. At the marriage the bridegroom goes through the birth, naming, tonsure, and thread investiture ceremonies on the tāli-tying day. These ceremonies are performed as with Brāhmans, except that, in lieu of passages from the Vēdas, slokas specially prepared for the classes below the Brāhmans are chanted. When the bride is with the bridegroom on the dais, a wide-meshed green curtain is thrown over her shoulders, and her hands are pressed over her eyes, and held there by one of her brothers, so that she cannot see. Generally two brothers sit by her side, and, when one is tired, the other relieves him. At the moment when the tāli is tied, the bride's hands are removed from her face, and she is permitted to see her husband. On the third day the bride is brought to the marriage booth in a closed palanquin, and she is once more blind-folded while an elaborate ceremonial with pots is gone through. "In the Godāvari district," the Rev. J. Cain writes, "there are several families of the Sūryavamsapu Rāzus who are called Basava Rāzulu, in consequence, it is said, of one of their ancestors having accidentally killed a basava or sacred bull. As a penalty for this crime, before a marriage takes place in these families, they are bound to select a young bull and a young cow, and cause these two to be duly married, and then they are at liberty to proceed with their own ceremony."*

* Ind. Ant., VIII, 1879.

"The Hindus," Sir Walter Elliot writes, "recognise eight descriptions of marriage, two of which, the most ancient, are characterised as accomplished by force. That called irākkadan is thus described. When bold men, becoming enamoured of a damsel, adorned with large ornaments of gold, resolve to seize her by force: this is the marriage rite peculiar to the broad and high-shouldered giants, who wander over the earth, exhibiting their prowess.* Still more applicable to the Australian mode is the paisācha union, in which the possession of the persons of females is obtained, while under the protection of their non-consenting relations, by violence, and in a state of insensibility."†

In savage societies, it has been said, sexual unions were generally effected by the violent capture of the woman. By degrees these captures have become friendly ones, and have ended in a peaceful exogamy, retaining the ancient custom only in the ceremonial form. Whereof an excellent example is afforded by the Khonds (hill tribe) of Ganjam, concerning whom the author of the Ganjam Manual writes as follows. "The parents arrange the marriages of their children. The bride is looked upon as a commercial speculation, and is paid for in gontis. A gonti is one of anything, such as a buffalo, a pig, or a brass pot; for instance, a hundred gontis might consist of ten bullocks, ten buffaloes, ten sacks of corn, ten sets of brass, twenty sheep, ten pigs, and thirty fowls. The usual price, however, paid by the bridegroom's father for

* According to the Hindu Shastras, marriage after forcible abduction is known as rākshasa, which becomes in Tamil irrākkadhan.

† Ind. Ant., XVI., 1887; Ellis. Kural.

the bride is twenty or thirty gontis.* A Khond finds his wife from among the women of any mutāh (village) than his own. On the day fixed for the bride being taken home to her husband's house, the pieces of broom in her ears are removed, and are replaced by brass rings. The bride is covered over with a red blanket, and carried astride on her uncle's back towards the husband's village, accompanied by the young women of her own village. Music is played, and in the rear are carried brass play-things, such as horses, etc., for the bridegroom, and cloths and brass pins as presents for the bridegroom from the bride's father. On the road, at the village boundary, the procession is met by the bridegroom and the young men of his village, with their heads and bodies wrapped up in blankets and cloths. Each is armed with a bundle of long thin bamboo sticks. The young women of the bride's village at once attack the bridegroom's party with sticks, stones, and clods of earth, which the young men ward off with the bamboo sticks. A running fight is in this manner kept up until the village is reached, when the stone-throwing invariably ceases, and the bridegroom's uncle, snatching up the bride, carries her off to her husband's house. This fighting is by no means child's play, and the men are sometimes seriously injured. The whole party is then entertained by the bridegroom as lavishly as his means will permit. On the day after the bride's arrival, a

* Money being till recently unknown in Khondistan, the value of all property is estimated in lives; a bullock, goat, pig or fowl, a bag of grain or a set of brass pots being each, with anything else that may be agreed upon, a life.—Vizagapatam Manual.

buffalo and a pig are slaughtered and eaten, and, upon the bride's attendants returning home on the evening of the second day, a male and female buffalo, or some less valuable present is given to them. On the third day all the Khonds of the village have a grand dance or tamāsha (festivity) and on the fourth day there is another grand assembly at the house of the bridegroom. The bride and bridegroom are then made to sit down on a cot, and the bridegroom's brother, pointing upwards to the roof of the house, says: "As long as this girl stays with us, may her children be as men and tigers; but, if she goes astray, may her children be as snakes and monkeys, and die and be destroyed!" In his report upon the Khonds (1842) Macpherson tells us that "they hold a feast at the bride's house. Far into the night the principals in the scene are raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulders, and borne through the dance. The burdens are suddenly exchanged, and the uncle of the youth disappears with the bride. The assembly divides itself into two parties. The friends of the bride endeavour to arrest, those of the bridegroom to cover her flight, and men, women, and children mingle in mock conflict. I saw a man bearing away upon his back something enveloped in an ample covering of scarlet cloth. He was surrounded by twenty or thirty young fellows, and by them protected from the desperate attacks made upon him by a party of young women. The man was just married, and the burden was his blooming bride, whom he was conveying to his own village. Her youthful friends were, according to custom, seeking to regain possession of her, and hurled stones and bamboos

at the head of the devoted bridegroom, until he reached the confines of his own village. Then the tables were turned, and the bride was fairly won; and off her young friends scampered, screaming and laughing, but not relaxing their speed till they reached their own village." Among the Khonds of Gūmsūr, the friends and relations of the bride and bridegroom collect at an appointed spot. The people of the female convoy call out to the others to come and take the bride, and then a mock fight with stones and thorny brambles is begun by the female convoy against the parties composing the other one. In the midst of the tumult the assaulted party take possession of the bride, and all the furniture brought with her, and carry all off together.* According to another account, the bride, as soon as she enters the bridegroom's house, has two enormous bracelets, or rather handcuffs of brass, each weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, attached to each wrist. The unfortunate girl has to sit with her two wrists resting on her shoulders, so as to support these enormous weights. This is to prevent her from running away to her old home. On the third day the bangles are removed, as it is supposed that by then the girl has become reconciled to her fate. These marriage bangles are made on the hills, and are curiously carved in fluted and zigzag lines, and kept as heir-looms in the family, to be used at the next marriage in the house.† Among the Kutiya Khonds chastity is said not to be known, or at least practised by the girls. They

* J. A. R. Stevenson, Madras Journ. Lit. Science, VI, 1837.
† Madras Mail, 1894.

go naked till marriage, and the unmarried men and girls sleep together in a house set apart for the purpose in some villages. In others, by invitation of the girl, any man she fancies visits her at her parent's house. When a man proposes marriage to a girl, he offers to buy her a new cloth, and, after that, she is expected to remain virtuous.* According to a still more recent account of marriage among the Khonds,† an old woman suddenly rushes forward, seizes the bride, flings her on her back, and carries her off. A man comes to the front similarly, catches the groom, and places him astride on his shoulder. The human horses neigh and prance about like the live quadruped, and finally rush away to the outskirts of the village. This is a signal for the bride's girl friends to chase the couple, and pelt them with clods of earth, stones, mud, cowdung, and rice. When the mock assault is at an end, the older people come up, and all accompany the bridal pair to the groom's village.

A correspondent informs me that he once saw a Khond bride going to her new home, riding on her uncle's shoulders, and wrapped in a red blanket. She was followed by a bevy of girls and relations, and preceded by drums and horns. He was told that the uncle had to carry her the whole way, and that, if he had to put her down, a fine in the shape of a buffalo was inflicted, the animal being killed and eaten on the spot. It is recorded that a European magistrate once mistook a Khond marriage for a riot, but, on enquiry, discovered

* Manual of the Ganjam district.

† J. E. F. Pereira, Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, LXXI, 1902.

his mistake. At the ceremonial for settling the preliminaries of a Khond marriage, a knotted string is put into the hands of the sēridāh'pa gātāru (searchers for the bride), and a similar string is kept by the girl's people. The reckoning of the date of the betrothal ceremony is kept by undoing a knot in the string every morning.

Some years ago, a young Khond was betrothed to the daughter of another Khond, and, after a few years, managed to pay up the necessary number of gifts. He then applied to the girl's father to name the day of the marriage. Before the wedding took place, however, a Pāno (hill weaver) went to the girl's father, and said that she was his daughter (she had been born before her parents were married), and that he was the man to whom the gifts should have been paid. The case was referred to a panchayat (council), which decided in favour of the Pāno.

Among the hill Muduvans, who are said to have migrated from the Tamil country to Travancore, after a marriage has been settled, the bridegroom forcibly takes away the maiden from her mother's house, when she goes for water or firewood, and lives with her for a few days or weeks in a secluded part of the forest. They then return, unless in the meanwhile they have been found by their relations.*

"The Kois (cultivating hill tribe) of the Godāvari district," the Rev. J. Cain writes,† "generally marry when of fair age, but infant marriages are not unknown. If the would-be bridegroom is comparatively wealthy, he can easily secure a bride by a peaceable arrangement

* Travancore Census Report, 1901. † Ind. Ant., V, 1876.

with her parents; but, if too poor to do this, he consults with his parents, and friends, and, having fixed upon a suitable young girl, he sends his father and friends to take counsel with the headman of the village where his future partner resides. A judicious and liberal bestowal of a few rupees and arak (liquor) secure the consent of the guardian of the village to the proposed marriage. This done, the party watch for a favourable opportunity to carry off the bride, which is sure to occur when she comes outside her village to fetch water or wood, or it may be when her parents and friends are away, and she is left alone in the house. [The head-man is generally consulted, but not always, as in 1876 a wealthy widow was forcibly carried off from the house of the chief Koi of a village, and, when the master of the house opposed the proceedings, he was knocked down by the invading party.] The bridegroom generally anxiously awaits the return home of his friends with their captive, and the ceremony is proceeded with that evening, notice having been sent to the bereaved parents. Some of the Kois are polygamists, and it not unfrequently happens that a widow is chosen and carried off, it may be a day or two after the death of her husband. Bride and bridegroom are not always married in the same way. The more simple ceremony is that of causing the woman to bend her head down, and then, having made the man lean over her, the friends pour water on his head, and, when the water has run off his head on to that of the woman, they are regarded as man and wife. The water is generally poured out of a bottle-gourd. But usually, on this all-important occasion,

the two are brought together, and, having promised to be faithful to each other, drink some milk. Some rice is then placed before them, and, having again renewed their promises, they eat the rice. Then they go outside the house, and march round a low heap of earth which has been thrown up under a small pandal (booth), singing a simple song as they proceed. Afterwards they pay their respects to the elders present, and beg for their blessing, which is generally bestowed in the form of 'May you be happy'! 'May you not fight and quarrel!' etc. This over, all present fall to the task of devouring the quantity of provisions provided for the occasion. If the happy couple and their friends are comparatively wealthy, the festival lasts several days . . . . Even at the present day more disputes arise from bride-stealing than from any other cause."

In a recent case, two Mālas (Telugu Pariahs) of the Godāvari district seized a girl, who had just reached maturity, by the shoulders when she went to a stream to fetch water, and carried her off to their house, where she was locked in. At night she was either married, or an attempt made to marry her to one of the men. In one statement the girl said that she was married, but she subsequently stated that she was unwilling, and broke the string of the tāli. The accused man stated that he married her with her consent, and that it was a custom of his caste to carry off a girl by force and marry her, and that he was related through her ancestors. Three witnesses stated that a man might carry off a girl who was his paternal aunt's daughter or maternal uncle's

daughter. But the accused did not allege that the girl was so related to him. The Judge ruled that the girl was kidnapped and abducted, and the men were sent to prison.

At a wedding among the hill Urālis of Coimbatore, when the bridegroom's procession arrives at the home of the bride, entrance into the marriage booth is prevented by a stick held across it by people of the bride's village. A mock struggle takes place, during which turmeric water is thrown by both sides, and an entrance into the house is finally effected. At a Jōgi (Telugu beggars and pig-breeders) wedding, when the bridegroom and his party proceed to the bride's hut for the ceremony of tying the bottu (marriage badge), they are stopped by a rope or bamboo screen, which is held by the relations of the bride and others. After a short struggle, money is paid to the men who hold the rope or screen, and the ceremonial is proceeded with. The rope is called vallepu thadu or relationship rope, and is made to imply legitimate connection, as distinguished from incest. In the marriage ceremony of the Toreyas (Canarese fishermen) of Coimbatore, the bridegroom's sister meets the newly-married couple as they approach the bride's home, and prevents them from entering till she has extracted a promise from them that their child shall marry her child. In like manner, on the last day of the marriage ceremonies among the Telugu Balijas and Kammas, during the mock ploughing and sowing rite, the sister of the bridegroom puts a cloth over the basket containing earth, wherein seeds are to be sown by the bridegroom, and will not allow him to go on with

the ceremony till she has extracted a promise that his first-born daughter shall marry her son. When a Tangalān Paraiyan bridegroom brings his bride to her house a few days after the marriage ceremony, he is met at the entrance by his brother-in-law, who puts rings on his second toe, and keeps on pinching his feet till he has received a promise that the bridegroom will give his daughter, if one is born to him, in marriage to the son of his brother-in-law. At the first menstrual ceremony among the Tangalān Paraiyans, the girl is sometimes beaten with a flour-cake (puttu) tied in a cloth by her mother-in-law or paternal aunt, and the latter repeatedly asks the girl to promise that, if a female child is born to her, she shall marry her son. At an Odde or Wudder (navvy class) wedding, at Coimbatore, when the bridegroom and his party try to enter the bride's house, they are met on the threshold by some of the relatives of the bride, who ask them to sing at least one song before going in.

A Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence, which he approaches bare-footed, and advances like a traveller of old on a long journey, with an alpine staff in his hand. When he has advanced within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded by this race as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the

survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children, which prevails elsewhere. The shooting of a tiger is a glorious event in a Coorg man's life. The hero goes through a formal ceremony of marriage with the dead monster.* At the Mattupongal festival "towards evening festoons of aloe fibre and cloths containing coins are tied to the horns of bullocks and cows, and the animals are driven through the streets with tom-tom and music. In the villages, especially those inhabited by the Kallans (thief caste) in Madura and Tinnevelly, the maiden chooses as her husband the man who has safely untied and brought to her the cloth tied to the horn of the fiercest bull. The animals are let loose, with their horns containing valuables, amidst the din of tom-tom (native drum) and harsh music, which terrifies and bewilders them. They run madly about, and are purposely excited by the crowd. A young Kallan will declare that he will run after such and such a bull—and this is sometimes a risky pursuit—and recover the valuables tied to its horn. The Kallan considers it a great disgrace to be injured while chasing the bull.†"

The custom of carrying off the bride with some show of resistance is still observed by the Savaras (hill tribe) of Ganjam. In a case which occurred a few years ago, the bridegroom did not comply with the usual custom of giving a feast to the bride's people, and her mother objected to the marriage on that account. The bridegroom's party, however, managed to carry off the bride.

* T. C. Rice, Malabar Quart. Review, 1902.

† S. M. Natesa Sastri, Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies, 1903.

Her mother raised an alarm, on which a number of people ran up, and tried to stop the bridegroom's party. They were outnumbered, and one man was knocked down, and died immediately from rupture of the spleen.

A detailed account of a form of wedding ceremony among the Savaras or Sauras of Ganjam has been published by Mr. F. Fawcett.* A young man, who wished to marry a girl, went to her house with a pot of liquor, an arrow, and a brass bangle for her mother. The liquor and arrow were placed on the floor, and the young man and two of his relations drank the liquor. The father of the girl suggested that, if more liquor was brought, they would talk over the matter. The young man then struck the arrow in the thatch of the roof, and went off with the empty pot. On the next occasion, the father of the girl smashed the pot of liquor, and beat the young man. Again he went to the house, and stuck an arrow in the thatch by the side of the first one. The father and the girl's nearest male relative each took one of the arrows, and, holding them in their left hands, drank some of the liquor. More presentations of arrows and liquor followed, and eventually the young man, with about ten men of his village, went to watch for the girl going to the stream for water, and, when they saw her, caught her, and ran off with her. She cried out, and the people of the village came out, and fought for her, but she was got away to the young man's village, and remained with him as his wife. The object of the arrow is probably to keep off evil spirits. At a marriage among

* Journ. Anth. Soc., Bombay, I, 1888.

the Khonds of Balliguda, after the heads of the bride and bridegroom have been brought together, an arrow is discharged from a bow by the younger brother of the bridegroom into the grass roof of the hut. In like manner, among the Bechuanas, the bridegroom throws an arrow into the hut before he enters to take up his bride. At a wedding among the Krishnavakkars of Travancore, the brides' party go, on the third day, to the house of the bridegroom, with an air of burning indignation, and every effort is made to appease them. They finally depart without partaking of the proferred hospitality. On the seventh day the newly-married couple return to the bride's house. The practice is said to be carried out as symbolising the act of bride-capture resorted to by their divine ancestor Krishna in securing an alliance with Rukmani.

At a Māppilla (class of Muhammadans) wedding in Malabar, the bridegroom, after the tāli has been tied round the bride's neck, takes her up, and runs away with her to the adjoining bridal chamber. This custom is very rigorously observed by the Labbai Muhammadans of the east coast for three consecutive days after marriage.*

At a wedding among the Mala (hill) Arayans of Travancore, the bride and bridegroom sit and eat from the same plantain leaf, after which the tāli is tied. The bride then seizes any ornament or cooking vessel in the house, saying that it is her father's. The bridegroom snatches

* P. V. Ramuni, Madras Christ. Col. Mag., 1896.

it from her, and the marriage rite is concluded.* The mother of a Pulayan (agrestic serf) bride in Travancore, is, by a curious custom, not permitted to approach the bridegroom on the wedding day or after, lest she should cause ceremonial pollution.†

A young Badaga of the Nilgiri hills, who cannot obtain the girl of his choice, makes known that he will have her or kill himself. Understanding which, some friends place him at their head, go, if need be, to seek reinforcements among the Todas, and return with a band of sturdy fellows. Generally the abduction is successful.‡ When a Golla (Telugu shepherd) bridegroom sets out for the house of his mother-in-law, he is seized on the way by his companions, who will not release him until he has paid a piece of gold.§ The same custom is recorded as occurring among the Idaiyans (Tamil shepherds) of the Madura district. At their weddings, on the third day, when the favourite amusement of sprinkling turmeric-water over the guests is concluded, the whole party betake themselves to the village tank (pond). A friend of the bridegroom brings a hoe and a basket, and the young husband fills three baskets with earth from the bottom of the tank while the wife takes them away, and throws the earth behind. They then say "We have dug a ditch for charity." This practice may be probably explained by remembering that, in arid districts, where the Idaiyans often tend their cattle, the tank is of the greatest importance.‖

* Travancore Census Report, 1901.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Reclus, Primitive Folk.
§ Manual of the Nellore district.
‖ Manual of the Madura district.

A Palli or Vanniyan (Tamil agriculturist) bridegroom, at the close of the marriage ceremony, goes to a plot of ground outside the village near a tank, carrying a toy yoke, crowbar and spade. He is followed by his wife carrying some rice gruel in an old pot. On reaching the tank, the man turns up some soil with the spade, and, after pretending to plough with the yoke, feigns fatigue, and sits down. The bride offers him some rice gruel, which he accepts, and throws it into the tank. Mixed grains sown in earthen vessels are then worshipped, and also thrown into the tank. The bride fills her pot with water, and carries it home, to be used on the following day for cooking purposes.

The Parenga Gadabas of Vizagapatam have two forms of marriage, one of which (bibā) is accompanied by much feasting, gifts of bullocks, toddy, rice, etc. The most interesting feature is the fight with fists for the bride. All the men on each side fight, and the bridegroom has to carry off the bride by force. Then they all sit down, and feast together. In the other form (lethulia) the couple go off together to the jungle, and, when they return, pay twenty rupees, or whatever they can afford, to the girl's father. Among the Bonda Gadabas, a young man and a maid retire to the jungle, and light a fire. Then the maid, taking a burning stick, applies it to the man's gluteal region. If he cries out Am! Am! Am! he is unworthy of her, and she remains a maid. If he does not, the marriage is at once consummated. The application of the brand is probably light or severe according to the girl's feelings towards the young man. According to

another version, the girl goes off to the jungle with several men, and the scene has been described as being like a figure in the cotillion, as they come up to be switched with the brand.

At a wedding among the Bagatas (fishing caste) of Vizagapatam, the bridegroom is struck by his brother-in-law, who is then presented with a pair of new cloths.* In like manner, part of the marriage ceremony of the Oriya Haddis (cultivators) consists in the bride's striking the bridegroom.† At a wedding among the Ghāsis (scavengers) of Ganjam, an earthen pot filled with water is suspended from the marriage booth. On the last day but one of the protracted ceremony, the bridegroom breaks the vessel. The bride's brother then strikes him on the back, and he leaves the house in mock anger. Next day the bride goes to his house, and invites him back.‡ At a wedding among the Muhammadan Marakayars of the east coast, the Hindu custom of tying a tāli round the neck of the bride is observed. On the fourth day the bride is dressed like a Brāhman woman, and holds a small brass vessel in one hand, and a stick in the other. Approaching the bridegroom, she strikes him gently, and says: "Did not I give you butter-milk and curds? Pay me for them." The bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the brass vessel, but the bride objects to this, and demands money, accompanying the demand by strokes of the stick. The man then places copper, silver and gold coins in the vessel, and the bride

* Madras Census Report, 1901. † *Ibid.*
‡ S. P. Rice, Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life.

retires in triumph to her chamber.* The Dūdēkulas (cotton cleaners), though Muhammadans, have adopted or retained many of the customs of the Hindus around them, tying a tāli (a bead necklace) to the neck of the bride at marriage, being very ignorant of the Muhammadan religion, and even joining in Hindu worship as far as allowable. They pray in mosques, and circumcise their boys before the age of ten, and yet some of them observe the Hindu festivals.† The Sirukudi Kallans (Tamil thief caste) use a tāli, on which, curiously enough, the Muhammadan badge of a crescent and a star is engraved. The Puramalai-nādu sub-division also follow the Muhammadan practice of circumcision.‡

A singular custom called alaka or offence is said to be common at weddings among many classes in the Nellore district. In the middle of the celebrations on the fourth night, the bridegroom and his party make a pretence to take offence at something done by the bride's people. They stop the proceedings, and withdraw in affected anger. Whereupon the bride's relations and friends follow them with presents, seeking a reconciliation, which is speedily effected, and then both parties return together to the bride's house with much show of rejoicing.§

At a marriage among the Badhoyis, (carpenters and blacksmiths) and various other castes in Ganjam, two pith crowns are placed on the forehead of the bridegroom. On his way to the bride's house he is met by her purōhit

* Madras Mail, 1900.
† Manual of the North Arcot district; Census Report, 1901.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901. § Manual of the Nellore district.

(priest) and relations, and the barber washes his feet, and presents him with a new yellow cloth, flowers, and kusa grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). When he arrives at the house, amid the recitations of stanzas by the priest, the blowing of conch-shells and other music, the women of the bride's party make a noise called hulahuli, and shower kusa grass over him. At the marriage booth the bridegroom sits upon a raised 'altar,' and the bride, who arrives accompanied by her maternal uncle, pours salt, yellow-coloured rice, and parched paddy over the head of the bridegroom, by whose side she seats herself. Various Brāhmanical rites are then performed, and the bride's father places her hand in that of the bridegroom. A bundle of straw is now placed on the altar, on which the contracting parties sit, the bridegroom facing east and the bride west. The purōhit rubs a little jaggery (molasses) over the bridegroom's right palm, joins it to the palm of the bride, and ties their two hands together with a rope made of kusa grass. A yellow cloth is tied to the cloths which the bridal pair are wearing, and stretched over their shoulders. One of the pith crowns is next removed from the bridegroom's forehead, and placed on that of the bride. The hands are then untied by a married woman. Srādh (memorial service for the dead) is performed for the propitiation of ancestors, and the purōhit, repeating some mantrams, blesses the pair by throwing yellow rice over them. On the sixth day of the ceremony the bridegroom runs away from the house of his father-in-law, as if he was displeased, and goes to the house of a relation in the same or an adjacent

village. His brother-in-law, or other male relation of the bride, goes in search of him, and, when he has found him, rubs some jaggery over his face, and brings him back.*

The Relli (gardener) bridegroom of Ganjam, with the permission of the village magistrate, marches straight into the bride's house, and ties a wedding necklace round her neck. A gift of seven and-a-half rupees and a pig to the caste-men, and of five rupees to the bride's father, completes this very primitive ceremony.† The usual bride price among the Jōgis (Telugu beggar caste) is a pig and Rs. 19–4–0, and on the wedding day the pig is killed, and its head is taken by the bride's party, while its body is reserved for a general feast.‡ At the betrothal ceremony of some Khonds, a buffalo and pig are killed, and some of the viscera eaten. Various parts are distributed according to an abiding rule, viz., the head to the bridegroom's maternal uncle, the flesh of the sides to his sisters, and of the back among other relations and friends.

At a Pallan (Tamil agriculturist) wedding, before the wedding is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he had suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that had been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way, and persuades him to

* D. Mahanty. MS.
† S. P. Rice, Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.

Kāpu Bride and Bridegroom.

return, promising to give his daughter as a wife. To this the bridegroom consents.* A Kamsala (artisan) bridegroom, in the course of the marriage ceremony, ties a pilgrim's cloth upon him, places a brass water-pot on his head, holds a torn umbrella in his hands, and starts off from the booth, saying that he is going on a pilgrimage to Benares, when the bride's brother runs after him, and promises that he will give him his sister in marriage. The bridegroom, satisfied with this promise, abandons his pretended journey, takes off his pilgrim's clothes, and gives them, together with the umbrella, to the officiating Brāhman.† According to the shāstras, after the Brāhmachārya asramam (bachelorhood or studentship), all the twice-born are expected to enter grahastha asramam, or married life. Immediately on the close of the student stage, they are expected to travel to Benares, and bathe in the river Ganges. The qualifications for a bridegroom are such a bath, and a knowledge of the Vēdas. So fathers who have marriageable daughters are expected to go in search of young men who are learned in the Vēdas, and are snathakas (men who have bathed in the Ganges). Even the mere thought or proposal of a pilgrimage to Benares is said to be sufficient to obtain some pūnyam (good as opposed to sin). Consequently the mock pilgrimage to Benares is resorted to.

The Tiyan (toddy tapping caste) bridegroom of Malabar sets out with his relations and friends for the

* G. Oppert, Madras Journ. Lit. and Science, 1888.
† Manual of the Nellore district.

bride's house, accompanied by two other youths dressed exactly like himself. Some of his male relations and friends, armed with swords and targets, play in front of him. The bridegroom, and two other youths dressed alike, sit together, and have rice thrown over them in common. The tāli-tying ceremony is carried out, and, as the bride and bridegroom, with the two groomsmen, leave the wedding pavilion, they are met by the machchūnan* or uncle's son prepared to contest with them for the bride as a prize, he having, according to marumakkatāyam† ideas, a better claim to her than any one else. It is on this account that the two groomsmen are dressed up like the groom himself, in order to puzzle the machchūnan as to his identity. The machchūnan's claims are bought off with two fanams (a small sum of money), and he in turn presents betel-leaf in token of conciliation. On reaching the bridegroom's house, the bride and groom must enter the door placing their right feet simultaneously on the door-step.‡

On the second day of a Heggade (Canarese cultivator) marriage, a pretence of stealing a jewel from the person of the bride is made. The bridegroom makes away with the jewel before dawn, and, in the evening, the bride's party proceeds to the house where the bridegroom is to be found. The owner of the house is told that a theft has occurred in the bride's house, and is asked whether the thief has taken shelter in his house.

* Machunan = mother's brother's, or father's sister's son.
† Marumakkatāyam: the law of inheritance through the female line.
‡ Manual of Malabar.

A negative answer is given, but the bride's party conducts a regular search. In the meantime a boy has been dressed up to represent the bridegroom. The searching party mistake this boy for the bridegroom, arrest him, and produce him before the audience as the culprit. This disguised bridegroom, who is proclaimed to be the thief, throws his mask at the bride, when it is found to the amusement of all that he is not the bridegroom. The bride's party then, confessing their inability to find the bridegroom, request the owner of the house to produce him. He is then produced, and conducted in procession to the bride's house.*

A custom prevails among the Kaikōlans (weavers) by which one woman in each family becomes a prostitute, while retaining her caste. The girl chosen is taken to the temple, where a sword is placed beside her with a tāli (marriage badge) under it. The tāli is then tied round her neck by any woman present, and she returns to her own house, where she is permitted to carry on any amours she chooses. She receives her share of the family property, just as if no such ceremony had taken place.†

Among the Kaikōlan musicians of Coimbatore, at least one girl in every family should be set apart for the temple service, and she is instructed in music and dancing. At the tāli-tying ceremony she is decorated with jewels, and made to stand on a heap of paddy (unhusked rice). A folded cloth is held before her by two Dāsis (dancing girls), who also stand on heaps of

* Manual of South Canara. † Manual of the Salem district.

paddy. The girl catches hold of the cloth, and her dancing master, who is seated behind her, grasping her legs, moves them up and down in time with the music which is played. In the evening she is taken, seated astride a pony, to the temple, where a new cloth for the idol, the tāli, and other articles required for doing pūja have been got ready. The girl is seated facing the idol, and the officiating Brāhman gives sandal and flowers to her, and ties the tāli, which has been lying at the feet of the idol, round her neck. The tāli consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn music and dancing, and the *ars amoris*, and eventually goes through the form of a nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited for an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle, or his representative, ties a golden band on the girl's forehead, and, carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brāhman priest recites mantrams, and prepares the sacred fire (hōmam). For the actual nuptials a rich Brāhman if possible, and, if not, a Brāhman of more lowly status is invited. A Brāhman is called in as he is next in importance to, and the representative of the idol. It is said that, when the man who is to receive the first favours of a Kaikōlan Dāsi joins her, a sword must be placed, at least for a few minutes, by the side of the girl. A peculiar method of selecting a bride, called siru tāli-kattu (tying the small tāli) is said to be in vogue among some Kaikōlans. A man, who wishes to marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, has to tie a tāli, or simply a bit of cloth torn from her clothing, round her neck, and report the

fact to his parents and the headman. If the girl eludes him, he cannot claim her, but, should he succeed, she belongs to him.

As a Dāsi can never become a widow, the beads in her tāli are considered to bring good luck to women who wear them. Some people send the tāli required for a marriage to a Dāsi, who prepares the string for it, and attaches to it black beads from her own tāli.

The Jakkulas are, in the Census report, 1901, returned as an inferior class of prostitutes, mostly of the Balija (Telugu trader) caste. At Tenali, in the Kistna district, it was customary for each Jakkula family to give up one girl for prostitution. She was "married" to any chance comer for one night with the usual ceremonies. Under the influence of social reform, the members of the caste entered into a written agreement to give up the practice. A family went back on this, so the head of the caste prosecuted them and the "husband" for disposing of a minor for the purpose of prostitution.

Among a certain tribe of the Jeypore hill-tracts, it is the custom, at the feast of the green mango, when the fruit is about three-quarters grown, for all the men of the village to go out hunting. If they come back without any spoil, the women will not let them into the village, but pelt them with cow-dung, and anything else which is at hand. If the hunt has been successful, a great feast is held, whereat the older men and women get intoxicated. At night all the marriageable young men and maidens go into a large house, generally situated in the centre of the village, and lie together in a crowd. If, as the result

of the orgy, any of the girls becomes pregnant, she names the father of the child, and he has to marry her.

The father of a would-be bride among the Malaiālis (hill people) of the Yelagiri hills, in the Salem district, when he hears of the existence of a suitable bride, repairs to her village with some of his relations, and seeks out the Ur-Goundan, or headman, between whom and the visitors mutual embraces are exchanged. The object of the visit is explained, and the father says that he will abide by the "voice of four" in the matter. If the match is fixed up, he gives a feast in honour of the event. When the visitors enter the future bride's house, the eldest daughter-in-law of the house appears on the threshold, and takes charge of the walking-stick of each person who goes in. She then, with some specially prepared sandal paste, makes a circular mark on the foreheads of the guests, and retires. The feast then takes place, and, before the parties retire, the daughter-in-law again appears, and returns the walking-sticks.* It is said that, even if the number thereof is more than fifty, she, like an American lift-boy, who remembers the numbers of all those staying in a hotel, always hands over the sticks to their owners. When a stranger of the caste approaches a Malaiāli village, the first man who sees him, salutes him and relieves him of the bamboo stick, which all carry. He then conducts him to his house, and places the stick in a corner as a sign that the visitor shall receive hospitality in that house alone.†

* C. Hayavadana Rao, MS. † Manual of the North Arcot district.

A Malaiāli of the North Arcot district has to serve for a year in the house of the bride in order to receive the consent of her parents, in the same way that some Paniyans of Malabar have to serve for six months. A Kādir (jungle man of the Cochin hills) goes out of his own village, and lives in another for a whole year, during which period he makes a choice of a wife. At the end of the year he returns to his own village, and obtains permission from the villagers to effect the contemplated union. Then he goes away again to the village of his bride-elect, and gives her a dowry by working there for another year. He then makes presents of cloths and iron tools to the girl's mother, after which follows a feast, which completes the ceremony. Among the Badagas of the Nīlgiris, it is said to be common for one who is in want of labourers to promise his daughter in marriage to the son or other relative of a neighbour not in circumstances so flourishing as himself, and, these engagements being entered into, the intended bridegroom serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law.* Formerly the prospective Gadaba (hunting and agricultural tribe) bridegroom in Vizagapatam used to work in his father-in-law's house for one year before marriage, but a cash payment is now substituted for service.† Now and then a Malaiāli bride is carried off by force, but this custom

* Harkness. Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Neilgherry hills, 1832.

† Madras Census Report, 1901.

is viewed with much disfavour, and the bridegroom who resorts to it must paint his face with black and white dots, and carry an old basket filled with broken pots and other rubbish, holding a torn sieve over him as an umbrella before the celebration of the marriage. At the wedding, the bridegroom gives the girl's father a present of money, and a pile of firewood sufficient for the cooking of the two days' feast. On the first day the food consists of rice and dhāl (*Cajanus indicus*), and on the second day pork curry is consumed. At sunrise on the third day the bridegroom produces the tāli, and ties it. A sword is then laid upon the laps of the bridal pair, and the Nāttan (headman), or an elderly man blesses the tāli, and gives it to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck.* Among the Alias (cultivators) of Ganjam, if a girl cannot find a proper match before puberty, a nominal marriage, called gaudo bibāho, is performed with a bow in the place of a husband. The Chenchus, who inhabit the jungles of the Nallamalai hills, stick three or four arrows in a row, or arranged in the form of a square, between the bridal couple. This is done with the object of finding out the auspicious hour for throwing rice over their heads. Midday, when the arrow casts no shadow, is believed to be the most auspicious time. The Yānādis, who are allied to the Chenchus, believe that noon is the proper time for tying the tāli, and, as they do not possess bows and arrows, they use a straight stick for determining the proper moment for the ceremony.

* Manual of the North Arcot district.

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow made of a castor-oil plant stick, with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior.*

I am informed that, among all the Oriya castes, except Brāhmans, which follow the rule of infant marriage, a girl is married to an arrow, if a suitable husband has not been found for her before she reaches puberty. The actual marriage may take place at any time afterwards.

A Nāyar girl of Travancore must get married with the tāli before the age of eleven, to avoid reproach from friends and neighbours. In case of need, a sword may be made to represent the bridegroom.† Among the Dhōbis (washermen) of Mysore, pre-puberty marriage is the rule, but puberty is no bar. The girl must, however, be first married to a tree or a sword, before being married to the bridegroom.‡

At an Idiga (Telugu toddy-drawer) wedding the maternal uncle of the bride bathes, and, going to the place where kalli (*Euphorbia*) bushes are growing, performs pūja to the plant, and cuts a twig with five sub-branches, which is taken to the temple and worshipped. On the wedding day, the brother of the bride is fantastically dressed, with margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) leaves tied to his turban, and carries a bow and arrow. This kodangi (buffoon) is conducted in procession to the

* H. Moegling, Coorg Memoirs.
† S. Mateer, Journ. Anth. Inst., XII, 1883.
‡ Mysore Census Report, 1901.

temple by a few married women, and made to walk on cloths spread in front of him by the village washerman. On reaching the temple, he and the women worship a vessel placed in a tray along with betel leaves, plantain fruits, and a mirror. The boy, while thus worshipping, is surrounded by a screen, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, goes three times round the vessel and screen. At the close of each revolution, three plantains and sweet cakes are stuck on to the arrow which he carries.

At the pudamuri (pudaya, a woman's cloth; muri, cutting) form of marriage among the Nāyars of Malabar, in a room decorated and turned into a bed-room for the occasion, are placed a number of lighted lamps, and ashtamangaliam, which consists of eight articles symbolical of mangaliam or marriage. These are rice, paddy, the tender leaves of the cocoanut, an arrow, a looking-glass, a well-washed cloth, burning fire, and a small round wooden box called cheppu, made in a particular fashion.* At the Nāyar tāli-kettu (tāli-tying) ceremony, the girl is brought before the manavālan (bridegroom), covered up like a gōsha woman, and holding an arrow in her hand. Basavi women (dedicated prostitutes) are sometimes married to a dagger, sometimes to an idol. In making a female child over to the service of the temple, she is taken, and dedicated for life to some idol. A khanjar or dagger is placed on the ground, and the girl who is undergoing the ceremony puts a garland thereon. Her mother then puts rice on the girl's forehead. The officiating priest weds the girl to the dagger, just as if

* Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, 1894.

he was uniting her to a young man, by reciting the marriage stanzas, a curtain being held between the girl and the dagger.*

Among the Kavarais (Telugu traders), who have settled in Tinnevelly, a custom, which is now dying out, was the wearing by the bridegroom of a dagger, called jintadu, at the waist. The Vakkaligas (cultivators) of Mysore use a katar or vanki (dagger) during the marriage ceremony. The best man usually carries it in his hand. The bridegroom's sister carries a pot of rice, into which a four-anna piece has been dropped. When the bridegroom goes to the temple, prior to the tying of the tāli, he is accompanied by these articles. The dagger, which has a red cloth tied round the blade, must be close to the bridegroom when he comes to the marriage booth. On the third day, when he goes to his father-in-law's house, the dagger must go with him, and is then returned to its owner. Just before the tāli is tied, a screen is stretched between the bridal couple, over whom jaggery (molasses) and cummin seeds are thrown. The screen is then removed, and the tāli and silver bracelets are placed in the bridegroom's hands. The bride places her hands beneath his, and the relations pour milk over the tāli. The tāli and bracelets are then placed in the bride's hands, and the bridegroom sets his hands beneath hers. The milk-pouring is repeated. The tāli is placed on a piece of jaggery, and passed round to be blessed. It is then tied on the bride's neck by the bridegroom.

* Balfour, Cyclopædia of India.

At a marriage among the Okkiliyans (cultivators) of Coimbatore, the bridegroom carries a katar (dagger) with a lime stuck on the point, wrapped up in a cloth, which he keeps by him until the kankanam (marriage wrist-thread) is untied. An Odde (navvy) bridegroom, when he proceeds to the bride's house, carries a curved knife partly concealed by a cloth. When the tāli is tied round the bride's neck, she stoops down, and the bridegroom touches the knot of the tāli string thrice with the knife, implying thereby that the knot has been so firmly tied that even a knife cannot cut it. Hence their union will also be strong. At a Toreya (Canarese fisherman) marriage, the Brāhman priest ties on the head of both bride and bridegroom an ornament made of gold leaf or tinsel, called mandai-kattu. The bridegroom puts on the sacred thread, and, holding a katar in his hand, sits in the wedding booth with a cloth screen surrounding him on all sides. The tying of a bashingam, made of pith or flowers, on the forehead (plate III) during the marriage ceremony is a general custom among the Telugu and Canarese classes.

Concerning the marriage ceremony of the Tottiyans or Kambalas (Telugu cultivators) of Madura and Tinnevelly, I gather that it is carried out in two temporary huts, one for the bridegroom, the other for the bride. *The tāli is tied round the bride's neck by* an elderly male or female belonging to the family. If the marriage is contracted with a woman of a lower class, the bridegroom's hut is not made use of, and he does not personally take part in the ceremony. A dagger

Vakkaliga Bride.

(katar), or sword is sent to represent him, and the tāli is tied in the presence thereof. In a Zamindāri suit some years ago, details of which are published in the Madras Law Reports, Vol. XVII, 1894, the Judge found that the plaintiff's mother was married to the plaintiff's father in the dagger form; that a dagger is used by the Saptūr Zamindars, (landlords) who are called Kattari Kamaya, in the case of inequality in the caste or social position of the bride; that, though the customary rites of the Kambla caste were also performed, yet the use of the dagger was an essential addition; and that, though she was of a different and inferior caste to that of the plaintiff's father, yet that did not invalidate the marriage. The defendant's argument was that the dagger was used to represent the Zamindar bridegroom as he did not attend in person, and that, by his non-attendance, there could have been no joining of hands or other essential for constituting a valid marriage. The plaintiff argued that the nuptial rites were duly performed, the Zamindar being present; that the dagger was there merely as an ornament, and that it was customary for people of the Zamindar's caste to have a dagger paraded on the occasion of marriages. The Judge found that the dagger was there for the purpose of indicating that the two ladies, whom the Zamindar married, were of an inferior caste and rank.

At a wedding in the Gōda section of the Kammas (Telugu cultivators), one or more daggers are placed near a pīpal (*Ficus religiosa*) tree, round which a yellow cotton thread is wound three or five times. The tree is

then worshipped. As a substitute for the sacrifice of a sheep or goat, lime fruits are cut.

In an account of the initiation ceremony of the Basavis (dedicated prostitutes) of the Bellary district, Mr. F. Fawcett writes as follows.* "A sword with a lime stuck on its point is placed upright beside the novice, and held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom, who, in the corresponding ceremony of the Hindu marriage, sits on the bride's right. A tray, on which are a kalasyam (vessel of water) and a lamp, is then produced, and moved thrice in front of the girl from right to left. She rises, and, carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the god's sanctuary. Among the dancing girls very similar ceremonies are performed. With them the girl's spouse is represented by a drum instead of a sword, and she bows to it. Her insignia consist of a drum and bells." Concerning the ceremony of dedication of a girl as a Basavi, Mr. F. Fawcett writes further :† "A tāli, on which is depicted the nāmam of Vishnu, fastened to a necklace of black beads, is tied round her neck. She is given, by way of insignia, a cane as a wand carried in the right hand, and a gopālam or begging basket, which is slung on the left arm." She is then branded with the emblems of the chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*) and chakra (discus).

In another account of the marriage ceremony among dancing girls, it is stated that the Bhōgams or dancing girls, who are without exception prostitutes, though

* Journ. Anth. Soc., Bomb., 1891. † *Ibid.*

they are not allowed to marry, go through a marriage ceremony, which is rather a costly one. Sometimes a wealthy native bears the expense, makes large presents to the bride, and receives her first favours. Where no such opportunity presents itself, a sword or other weapon represents the bridegroom, and an imaginary nuptial ceremony is performed. Should the Bhōgam woman have no daughter, she invariably adopts one, usually paying a price for her, the Kaikōlan (weaver) caste being the ordinary one from which to take a child.* The custom of sending a sword to represent an unavoidably absent bridegroom at a wedding is not uncommon among the Telugu Rāzus and Velamas.† The Rāzus at their weddings worship a sword, which is a ceremony usually denoting a soldier caste. They say they are Kshatriyas, and at marriages use a wrist string made of cotton and wool, the combination peculiar to Kshatriyas, to tie the wrists of the happy couple.‡

Sūdra girls in Ganjam can, if a marriage has not been arranged in time, be married to the sun; and, if this ceremony is performed, they are eligible for marriage with a man, notwithstanding that they have arrived at womanhood.§

The Maravan Zamindars of Tinnevelly celebrate marriage by means of a stick, which is sent by the bridegroom, and set up in the marriage booth in his place.

* Manual of the North Arcot district.
† H. G. Prendergast, Ind. Ant., XX, 1891.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.
§ Manual of the Ganjam district.

The tāli is tied by some one representing the bridegroom, and the marriage then becomes complete.*

On the first day of a marriage among the Palayakkārans (Telugu cultivators), the bridegroom worships a jammi (*Prosopis spicigera*) twig by offering milk, ghī, and incense to it, and ties it to the central post of the marriage booth. On the morning of the second day, the married couple go in procession to a white-ant (*Termites*) hill outside the village, pour milk and ghī over it, and carry home five baskets of earth from it. The bridegroom mixes the earth with water, and places a lump of it at each of the twelve posts of the booth. On the third day he goes, accompanied by some of his relations, to a plot of ground outside the village, taking with him two bullocks, a plough, two yokes, and nine kinds of grain. He yokes the bullocks to the plough, turns up a small space of ground, and sows the grain.† At a wedding among the jungle Irulas, it is necessary that the two front posts of the marriage booth should have twelve twigs of the pāla (milk) tree tied to them. The happy pair have to fetch a basketful of earth from an ant-hill, and place it beneath the pāla twigs. The binding part of the ceremony is said to consist in the woman smoking the bridegroom's cheroot, or eating out of the same dish with him.‡ All castes erect certain posts, called pāla-kambam (milk posts) or pāla maram (milk tree), for the marriage booth. Some sections of Sūdras set up posts made of branches of the pāla tree (*Mimusops hexandra*), but the

* Madras Census Report, 1891. † Manual of the North Arcot district.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.

tree commonly used is the pīpal (*Ficus religiosa*). On the occasion of a marriage among the Oddes (navvies) of Coimbatore, three female relations of the bridegroom proceed to a white-ant hill, and, after worshipping it by breaking cocoanuts and burning camphor, fill their baskets with earth from the hill, and carry them to the marriage booth. They then bring from the potter's house three decorated pots and an earthen tray, and place them in the booth. A bit of turmeric with betel leaves is tied to each pot, and they are filled with water. In front of the booth a small platform is made with the ant-earth mixed with water. A wild sugar-cane, twig of *Ficus religiosa*, and of the milk-hedge (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*) are tied together, and planted in the centre of the platform. The bridegroom among the hunting Boyas of the Deccan districts has to collect some earth from an anthill, in which seeds are then sown, and he carries a dagger.* A Lambādi bride and bridegroom pour milk down an ant-hill, where a snake is said to live, and offer it cocoanuts, flowers, etc.†

Of marriage among the Arayans (fishing caste) of Travancore the Rev. A. W. Painter writes as follows.‡ "A curious ceremony prevails, copied, I believe, from the custom of Nairs and Chogans, though differing in several particulars. As soon as the woman attains maturity, relatives and friends are summoned to a feast.

* Madras Census Report 1901.

† Mysore Census Report, 1901. The Lambādis, Sugālis, or Banjāris are commonly described as gipsies. Some are nomad, while others have settled down as agriculturists.

‡ Journ. Anth. Soc., Bomb., 1890.

The pooshāri (priest) having fixed the propitious hour, the girl is brought in, and made to stand on a plank of jack-wood (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), a tree considered sacred by the Arayans. The father's sister then ties the tāli round her neck. A feast is then partaken of, and the ceremony is considered complete."

A curious mock marriage ceremony is celebrated among Brāhmans when an individual marries a third wife. It is believed that a third marriage is very inauspicious, and that the bride will become a widow. To prevent this mishap, the man is made to marry the arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), and the real marriage thus becomes the fourth. If this ceremony is carried on in orthodox fashion, it is generally celebrated on some Sunday or Monday, when the constellation Astham is visible. The bridegroom and a Brāhman priest, accompanied by a third Brāhman, repair to a spot where the arka plant (a very common weed) is growing. The plant is decorated with a cloth and piece of string, and symbolised by the priest into the sun. The bridegroom then invokes it thus: "Oh! master of three lōks, Oh! the seven-horsed, Oh! Rāvi, avert the evils of the third marriage." Next the plant is addressed with the words "You are the oldest of the plants of this world. Brāhma created you to save such of us as have to marry a third time, so please become my wife." The Brāhman who accompanies the bridegroom becomes his father-in-law for the moment, and says to him "I give you in marriage Aditya's great granddaughter, Savi's granddaughter, and my daughter Arkakanya." All the ceremonies, such

as making hōmam (sacred fire), tāli-tying, etc., are performed as at a regular marriage, and, after the recitation of a few sentences from the Vēdas, the plant is cut down. "The plant," Mr. A. Srinivasan writes,* "is named arka after the sun. When the car of the sun turns towards the north, every Hindu applies the leaves of this plant to his head before he bathes, in honour of the event. The plant is, besides, believed to be a willing scapegoat to others' ills. Oil and ghī applied to the head of the victim of persistent illness has only to be transferred to this plant, when it withers and saves the man, even as Baber is said to have saved his son. The poet Kalidāsa describes sweet Sakuntala, born of a shaggy dweller of the forest, as a garland of jasmine thrown on an arka plant. 'May the arka grow luxuriant in your house' is the commonest form of curse. 'Be thou belaboured with arka leaves' is familiar in the mouths of reprimanding mothers. Adulterers were, half a century ago, seated on an ass, face towards the tail, and marched through the village. The public disgrace was enhanced by placing a garland of the despised arka leaves on their head. A Telugu proverb asks in triumph 'Does the bee ever seek the arka flower'? The reasons for the ill-repute that this plant suffers from are not at all clear. The fact that it has a partiality for wastes has evidently brought on its devoted head the dismal associations of desolation, but there would seem to be more deep-seated hatred to the plant than has been explained." A Tamil proverb has it that "he earns merit who crushes the bud

* Madras Christian College Magazine, March 1903.

of the arka." Some Telugu and Kanarese Brāhmans, who follow the Yajur Vēda or Rig Vēda, consider the arka plant as sacred, and use the leaves thereof during the nanthi (ancestor invoking) ceremony, which is performed as one of the marriage rites. Two or three arka leaves, with betel leaves and nuts, are tied to the cloth, which is attached to a stick as representing the ancestors (pithrus). With some the arka leaves are replaced by leaves of *Pongamia glabra*. Brāhmans who follow the Sāma Vēda, during the annual upākarmam ceremony,* make use of arka leaves and flowers in worshipping the rishis and pithrus. On the upākarmam day the Sāma Vēdis invoke their sixty-two rishis and the last three ancestors, who are represented by sixty-five clay balls placed on arka leaves. To them are offered arka flowers, fruits of karai-chedi (*Canthium parviflorum*) and nāval (*Eugenia Jambolana*). In addition to this worship, they perform the rishi and pithru tharpanam by offering water, gingelly (*Sesamum indicum*) seeds, and rice. The celebrant, prior to dipping his hand into the water, places in his hands two arka leaves, gingelly and rice. The juice of the arka plant is a favourite agent in the hands of suicides. Among the Tangalān Paraiyans, if a young man dies before he is married, a ceremony called kanni-kazhiththal (removing bachelorhood) is performed. Before the corpse is laid on the bier, a garland of arka flowers is placed round its neck, and balls of mud from

* Upakarmam (bringing the Vēdas near) is a religious rite observed by Hindus on the full-moon day in the month of Sravanam. On this day all Brahmachāris commence the study of the Vēdas.

a gutter are laid on the head, knees, and other parts of the body. In some places a variant of the ceremony consists in the erection of a mimic marriage booth, which is covered with leaves of the arka plant, flowers of which are also placed round the neck as a garland.

At a form of marriage called rambha or kathali (plantain tree) marriage, the *Calotropis* plant is replaced by a plantain tree (*Musa*). It is performed by those who happen to be eldest brothers, and who are incapable of getting married, so as to give a chance to younger brothers, who are not allowed to marry unless the elder brother or brothers are already married.

With the Billavas, or toddy-tappers of South Canara, sexual licence within the caste before matrimony is tolerated, but a woman who indulges in it is married with a different ceremony from that performed by virgins. She is first married to a plantain tree, and then the joining hands ceremony takes place, but pouring of water is omitted.* By the Chakkiliyans or Telugu leather-workers, the āvaram or tangēdu (*Cassia auriculata*) tree, the bark of which is widely used as a tanning agent, is held in much veneration, and the tāli is tied to a branch of it as a preliminary to marriage.† It is a curious fact that, in the Madura district, while the Chakkiliyan men belong to the right-hand faction, the women belong to, and are most energetic supporters of the left. It is even said that, during the entire period of a faction riot, the women keep aloof from their husbands, and deny

* Manual of the South Canara district.

† Manual of the North Arcot district.

them their marital rights.* The origin of the division of the Hindu castes of Southern India into right hand (valankai) and left hand (idankai) is lost in obscurity. "The fact of such a distinction," Surgeon-Major W. R. Cornish writes, "has frequently intruded itself unpleasantly upon the attention of Government, and, in many feuds between the rival 'hands,' the peace has only been restored by calling out the troops. Whatever the origin of the dispute, it seems certain that the castes of the right hand fraternity claim certain privileges, which they jealously deny to those of the left hand. The right hand castes, for instance, claim the prerogative of riding on horseback in processions, and of appearing with standards bearing certain devices, and of erecting twelve pillars to sustain their marriage booths, while the left hand castes may not have more than eleven pillars, nor use the standards and ensigns belonging to the right hand fraternity.†

At a wedding among the Cherumans (agricultural serfs) of Malabar, when the wedding party sets out, they form a large gang of people, and at intervals the men set to at stick play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them "Let us see—let us see—the stick play (paditallu) Oh! Cherumar." At their weddings men and women mingle indiscriminately in dancing. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's hut, she is expected to weep loudly and deplore her fate; and, on entering, she must tread on a pestle placed across the

* Manual of the Madura district. † Madras Census Report, 1871.

threshold.* When a Gūdala (Telugu basket-maker) widow is married, the tāli is put on near a mortar.† At the marriage of a Malai Vellāla (hill cultivator) girl of the Coimbatore district, she has to cry during the whole ceremony, which lasts three days. Otherwise she is considered an "ill woman." When she can no longer produce genuine tears, she must proceed to bawl out. If she does not do this, the bridegroom will not marry her. Two curious points in connection with the marriage ceremony of the Lambādis may be noticed. The women are said to weep and cry aloud at their weddings, which may be a relic of marriage by capture, and the bride and bridegroom are stated to pour milk down some snake's hole, and offer to the snake cocoanuts, flowers, and so on. Brāhmans are sometimes engaged to celebrate weddings, and, failing a Brāhman, a youth of the tribe will put on the marriage thread, and perform the ceremony.‡

Of substitutional child-marriage many examples are forthcoming. The custom, which illustrates the Hindu love of offspring, prevails, for example, among the Malaiālis (hill cultivators) of the Salem district. "The sons, when mere children, are married to mature females, and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function, thus assuring for himself and his son a descendant to take them out of Put. When the putative father comes of age, and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married, he performs for them the same

* Manual of Malabar. † Madras Census Report, 1901.
‡ *Ibid.*

office which his father did for him. Thus not only is the religious idea involved in the words Putra and Kumāran (both meaning son)* carried out, but also the premature strain on the generative faculties, which this tradition entails, is avoided. The accommodation is reciprocal, and there is something on physiological grounds to recommend it." † Writing to me recently concerning this custom among the Malaiālis, a native says that "the custom of linking a boy in marriage to a mature female, though still existing, has, with the advance of the times, undergone a slight yet decent change. The father-in-law of the bride has relieved himself of the awkward predicament into which the māmūl (custom) drove him, and now leaves the performance of the procreative function to others accepted by the bride." The Mālaiālis claim to be Vellālas who emigrated to the hills from the city of Kānchipuram (Conjeveram); and, like them, a section of Vellālas in the Coimbatore district is said to have had the custom of the father of a family living in incestuous intercourse with his own daughter-in-law during the period that his son, the youthful husband, was in nonage. ‡ The Kanarese proverb "stealing cotton is no theft; to go with a mother-in-law is no sin" would seem to indicate the practice of cohabitation with a wife's mother, but any knowledge of such a custom is firmly denied. The Kammas (Telugu cutivators) tie a bunch of

* Putra means one who saves from put, a hell into which those who have not produced a son fall. Kumāran is the second stage the life of an individual, which is divided into infancy, childhood, manhood and old age.

† Manual of the Salem district.

‡ J. Shortt, Tribes of the Neilgherries, 1868.

dhāl (*Cajanus indicus*) leaves to the north-east post of the marriage booth, to commemorate the escape of a party of Kammas who concealed themselves in a field of dhāl. Consummation does not take place till three months after the marriage ceremonies, as it is considered unlucky to have three heads in a household within a year of marriage. By the delay, the birth of a child should take place only in the second year, so that, during the first year, there will be only two heads, husband and wife. In like manner, it is noted by Mr. Francis that among the Gangimakkulu and Mālas, as among the Mādigas, the marriage is not consummated for three months after its celebration.*

Among the Kammas of the Tamil country, the bride-groom is sometimes much younger than the bride, and a case is on record of a wife of twenty-two years of age, who used to carry her boy-husband on her hip, as a mother carries her child. A parallel is to be found in Russia, where, not very long ago grown-up women were to be seen carrying about boys of six, to whom they had been betrothed.† Among the western Kunnuvans of the Madura hills, when an estate is likely to descend to a female in default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or a portion of her father's dwelling house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of her caste, to whom she may take a fancy. And her issue, so begotten,

* Manual of the Bellary district.

† Hutchinson, Marriage Customs in Many Lands, 1897.

inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom, and Madura magistrates have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve.* At the marriage of Kongas, (Tamil cultivators) barbers officiate as the priests, and the tāli is tied round the neck of the bride, not by the bridegroom, but by a person known as the arumaikkāran, who is assisted by the barber. Marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is looked upon as the most desirable union, and this frequently results in a boy of seven or eight being married to a girl twice his age, who lives with her father-in-law until her husband grows up. This custom is said to be dying out.† Among the Tottiyans (Telugu cultivators) the custom of marrying boys to their paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, however old she may be, obtains, and, in such cases, the bridegroom's father is said to take upon himself the duty of begetting children to his own son.‡ In like manner, among the Kāppiliyans (Canarese-speaking farmers) the right of a man to marry his sister's or aunt's daughter is so strong that it frequently happens that small boys are married to adult women, and, in such cases, morality is naturally lax. Children of such ill-matched unions inherit the property of the nominal father, even though he was quite a child at the time of their birth.§ Among the Reddis (Telugu cultivators) who have settled in

* Manual of the Madura district.
† Madras Census Report, 1891.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.
§ *Ibid.*

Tinnevelly, a young woman of sixteen or twenty years of age, is frequently married to a boy of five or six years, or even of a more tender age. After marriage she lives with some other man, a near relative on the maternal side, frequently an uncle, and sometimes with her boy-husband's own father. The progeny so begotten are affiliated on the boy-husband. When he comes of age he finds his wife an old woman, and perhaps past child-bearing. So he, in his turn, contracts a *liaison* with some other boy's wife, and procreates children for him.* Khond boys of ten or twelve years of age are said to be married to girls of fifteen or sixteen. The wife lives with her boy-husband in his father's house, occupying the same couch. When her husband grows up, he gets a house of his own, unless he is the youngest son.† Marriage among the Kallans is said to depend entirely upon consanguinity. The most proper alliance is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister; and, if an individual has such a cousin, he must marry her, whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy, for example, of fifteen must marry such a cousin, even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon his so doing. Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece, or some near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter, and insists upon his marrying her, he cannot refuse: and this whatever may be the woman's age.‡ Among the Vallambans (Tamil cultivators), the maternal uncle's

* Shortt. *Op. cit.* † Macpherson. *Op. cit.*
‡ Manual of the Madura district.

or paternal aunt's daughter is said * to be claimed as a matter of right by a boy, so that a lad of ten may be wedded to a mature woman of twenty or twenty-five years, if she happens to be unmarried and without issue. Any elderly male member of the boy's family—his elder brother, uncle, or even his father—will have intercourse with her, and beget children, which the boy, when he comes of age, will accept as his own, and legitimatise. One of the customs of the Kōmatis (Telugu traders) is that which renders it the duty of a man to marry his uncle's daughter, however sickly or deformed she may be. This custom is known as mēnarikam, and is followed by a number of Dravidian castes, but it is perhaps more strictly observed by the Kōmatis than by others.† Some Kōmatis have, in recent times, given up this custom, and, as the common folk among them put it, have suffered by the loss of their sons-in-law and other mishaps. Kanyakapurānam, the sacred book of the Kōmatis, is a lasting monument of the rigidity with which mēnarikam was maintained in ancient days. The custom has apparently been copied by the Dēsāsta Brāhmans of Southern India, in whom it would, but for modern enlightenment, have almost been crystallised into law. The Ayyar Brāhmans have adopted it in order to keep the family property intact within it.‡

A Nattamān (Tamil cultivator) man has a right to marry the daughter of his father's sister, and, if she is given to another man, the father's sister has to return

* Manual of the Madura district. † C. Hayavadana Rao, MS.
‡ *Ibid.*