to her father or brother the dowry, which she received at the time of her marriage, and this is given to the man who had the claim upon the girl.*

Among the Goundans (cultivators) of Coimbatore, a boy of seven or eight is occasionally married to a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter of sixteen or eighteen. In this case it is said that the boy's father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and is hardly practised, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that, upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently the case), she will incite her friends to tie a tāli on the girl by fraud or force. The maternal uncle's daughter is absolutely the correct relationship for a wife. It is the bride's maternal uncle who carries her to the nāttu-kal (place where grain seedlings are raised) at the village boundary, and this is the equivalent to a publication of the banns.† A Paraiyan bride, at Coimbatore, is carried in the arms of her maternal uncle thrice round the wedding booth. At the same place, after the tāli has been tied round the Odde (navvy) bride's neck, her maternal uncle ties a four-anna piece in her cloth, and carries her in his arms to the marriage booth. The Idaiyan (Tamil shepherd) bridegroom makes a present of four annas and betel to each of the bride's maternal uncles' sons, who have a natural right to marry her. The acceptance of

* Madras Census Report, 1901. † Manual of the Coimbatore district.

the presents indicates their consent to the marriage. One of the bride's maternal uncles carries her in his arms to the marriage booth, while another uncle carries a lighted torch on a mortar. The light is placed in front of the contracting couple, who are seated side by side. The bride and bridegroom's wrists are tied together by the maternal uncles' sons. When they retire to the bride's house, she is carried in the arms of the elder brother of the bridegroom. They are stopped by the maternal uncles' sons, who may beat the man who is carrying the bride. But, on payment by the bridegroom of four annas to each of his cousins, he and his bride are permitted to enter the house. Among the Yerukalas (a nomad tribe in the Telugu country) polygamy is practised, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. Marriage of relations within the degree of first cousins is not allowed. The rule is relaxed with respect to a man marrying the daughter of his father's sister, which is not only allowed, but a custom prevails that the two first daughters of a family may be claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his sons.* "The value of a wife," Dr. Shortt writes,† "is fixed at twenty pagodas. The maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters is valued at eight out of twenty pagodas, and is carried out thus. If he urges his preferential claim, and marries his own sons to his nieces, he pays for each only twelve pagodas; and, similarly, if he, from not having sons or any other cause, foregoes his claim, he receives eight pagodas out of the twenty

* Manual of the Nellore district. † Trans. Eth. Soc. N.S., VII.

Plate IV.

Naidu Bride and Bridegroom.

paid to the girl's parents by anybody else who may marry them." In the formal marriage ceremony among the jungle Shōlagas of Coimbatore, the tāli is tied by the bridegroom inside a booth. The maternal uncle, if he can afford it, presents a new cloth to the bride, and a feast is held. Sometimes even this simple rite is dispensed with, and the couple, without any formality, live together as man and wife on the understanding that, at some time, a feast must be given to a few of the community.

At a Sembadavan (Tamil fishermen) wedding small gold and silver plates, called pattam, are tied to the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom. Of these, the most conspicuous are those tied by the maternal uncles, which have for the bridegroom a V-shape like a nāmam, and fort he bride the shape of a pīpal (*Ficus religiosa*) leaf.

On the wedding day among the Mādigas (Telugu Pariahs) the bridegroom's party bring betel nuts, limes, a golden head, a bonthu (unbleached cotton thread), rice, and turmeric paste. The maternal uncle of the bride gives five betel leaves and nuts to the Pedda Mādiga (head-man), and putting the bonthu round the bride's neck, ties the golden bead thereon. At a wedding among the Jōgis (Telugu mendicants) the kankanam (wrist threads), which are made of human hair, are tied by the maternal uncles to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom.

Among many of the classes which inhabit the plains of Ganjam, the younger brother has a claim to marry the widow of an elder brother.

The Pulluvans (astrologers and medicine men) of Malabar, it is said, permit marriage between even brother and sister. Whatever the truth may be, it is probable that something of the kind was once the case, for, when a man is suspected of incest, they say "He is like the Pulluvans." *

A quaint custom among the Lambādis of Mysore is that the officiating Brāhman priest is the only male who is permitted to be present. Immediately after the betrothal, the females surround and pinch him on all sides, and try to strip him stark naked, repeating all the time songs in their mixed Kutni dialect. The vicarious punishment, to which the solitary male Brāhman is thus subjected, is said to be apt retribution for the cruel conduct of a Brāhman parent, who, in an age gone-by, heartlessly abandoned his two daughters in the jungle, as they had attained puberty before marriage. The pinching episode is a painful reality. It is said, however, that the Brāhman willingly undergoes the operation in consideration of the fee paid.† An equally mauvais quart d'heure is passed by a Brāhman at a wedding among the Lingayats (Kannadiyans) of Chingleput. On the tāli-tying day a Brāhman (generally a Saivite) is formally invited to attend, and pretends that he is unable to do so. But he is, with mock gravity, pressed hard to come, and, after repeated guarantees of good faith, he finally consents with great reluctance and misgivings. On his arrival at the marriage booth, the headman of the family in which the marriage is taking

* Madras Census Report, 1891. † Mysore Census Report, 1891.

place seizes him roughly by the head, and ties five cocoanuts as tightly as possible to his kudumi, or bunch of hair at the back of his head, amid the loud, though not real protestations of the victim. Those present, with all seriousness, pacify him, and he is cheered by the sight of five rupees, which are presented to him together with a pair of new cloths, and pān-supāri. Meanwhile the young folk have been making sport of him by throwing at his new and old cloths big empty brinjal (*Solanum Melongena*) fruits filled with turmeric powder and chunām (powdered shell-lime). He goes for the boys, who dodge him, and at last the elders beat off the youngsters with the remark that "after all he is a Brāhman, and ought not to be trifled with in this way." The Brāhman then takes leave, and is heard of no more in connection with the marriage rites. The whole ceremony has a decided ring of mockery about it, and leads one to the conclusion that it is celebrated more in derision than in honour of the Brāhmans. It is notorious that the Lingayats will not even accept water from a Brāhman's hands, and do not, like many other castes, require his services in connection with marriage or funeral rites. The ceremony of tying cocoanuts to the hair of the Brāhman appears to be observed by the bamboo section of the Kannadiyans, and not by the rattan section. These two sections carry their pots of curds in rattan and bamboo baskets respectively. By the rattan section a quaint ceremonial is observed. The village barber is invited to be present, and the infant bride and bridegroom are seated before him in a state of nudity. He is provided with some good

ghī in a cocoanut shell, and has to sprinkle this over the heads of the contracting couple by means of a grass or reed. This he is prevented from doing by a cruel contrivance. A large stone is suspended from his neck by a rope, and, by means of another rope, he is kept nodding backwards and forwards by urchins at his back. Eventually he succeeds in his efforts, and, after receiving a small fee, ghī, and pān-supāri, he is dismissed. The bride and bridegroom then take an oil bath, and the marriage ceremony it proceeded with.* The stone round the neck probably represents the linga, and the barber becomes for the moment a Lingayat.

In an account of the marriage ceremony among the Lambādis, Mr. Francis writes † that the right hands of the couple are joined, and they walk seven times round two grain-pounding pestles, while the women chant the following song, one line being sung for each journey round the pestle :—

To yourself and myself marriage has taken place.
Together we will walk round the marriage pole.
Walk the third time. Marriage has taken place.
You are mine by marriage.
Walk the fifth time. Marriage has taken place.
Walk the sixth time. Marriage has taken place.
Walk the seventh time. Marriage has taken place.
We have walked seven times. I am yours.
Walk the seventh time. You are mine.

This Lambādi ceremonial, at which a Brāhman is present, may be compared with the Brāhmanical saptapadi

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

(seven feet), which has already (p. 1) been described as the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony.

At a wedding among the Lingayats, in the case of a four-day marriage, the first day is spent in worshipping ancestors. On the second day, rice and oil are sent to the local mutt (place where the priest stays) and oil alone to the relatives. New pots are brought with much shouting, and deposited in the room in which the household god is kept. A booth is erected, and the bridegroom sits under it side by side with a married female relative, and goes through a performance called surigi. An enclosure is made round them with cotton thread passed ten times round four earthen pitchers placed at the four corners. Five married women come with boiled water, and wash off the oil and turmeric, with which the bride and bridegroom and his companion have been anointed. The matrons then clothe them with the new cloths offered to the ancestors on the first day. After some ceremonial, the thread forming the enclosure is removed, and given to a Jangam (priest). The surigi being now over, the bridegroom and his relative are taken back to the god's room. The bride and one of her relations are now taken to the booth, and another surigi is gone through. When this is over, the bride is taken to her room, and decorated with flowers. At the same time the bridegroom is decorated in the god's room, and, mounting on a bullock, goes to the village temple, where he offers a cocoanut. A chaplet of flowers (bashingam) is tied to his forehead, and he returns to the house. In the god's room a pānchakalāsam, consisting of five metal vessels,

with betel and vibhūti (sacred ashes) has been arranged, one vessel being placed at each corner of a square, and one in the middle. By each kalasam is a cocoanut, a date-fruit, a betel leaf and areca nut, and one pice (copper coin) tied in a handkerchief. A cotton thread is passed round the square, and round the centre kalasam another thread, one end of which is held by the family guru (priest), the other by the bridegroom, who sits opposite to him. The guru wears a ring made of kusa grass on the big toe of his right foot. The bride sits on the left of the bridegroom, and the guru ties their right and left hands together with kusa grass. The joined hands are washed, and bilva (*Ægle Marmelos*) leaves and flowers are offered. The officiating priest then consecrates the tāli and the kankanam (consecrated thread); ties the latter on the wrist of the joined hands; and gives the tāli to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck, repeating some words after the priest. On the fourth day the married couple worship Jangams and the elders, and take off the kankanam from their wrists, and tie it to the doorway.

In a report by Lieutenant Evans in 1820, it is stated that the marriages of the Kotas of the Nīlgiri hills remind one of what is called bundling in Wales. The young man and girl, being together for the night, the girl is questioned next morning by her relatives whether she is pleased with her husband-elect. If she answers in the affirmative, it is a marriage; if not, the young man is immediately dismissed, and the girl does not suffer in reputation if she thus discards half a dozen suitors.

At a wedding among the Muhammadan Māppillas or Moplahs of Malabar, the bridegroom and his suite are conducted to a room in the bride's house specially prepared for their reception. After a few minutes' stay in the room, the party withdraws, leaving the bridegroom alone. The bride is next introduced into the room by her female relations, and the door is closed by them. The bridegroom and the bride are left together for a few minutes. The bride then leaves, and the bridegroom's party enters, and take him back to his house. In some places the bride and bridegroom are permitted to spend the whole night together, and the latter takes leave only the next morning. In some of the southern talūks (divisions) the custom is the reverse of what has just been described. The bride is first conducted into the room, and persuaded or forced to lie on a sofa, and the bridegroom is next introduced into it, tarries there a few moments, and then leaves. This is practicable only in the case of girls of tender age, who are ignorant of the meaning of what they are made to do.*

The marriage customs of the Nayādis of Malabar have recently been described by Mr. Gopal Panikkar, who writes as follows.† "A large hut is constructed of leaves, inside which the girl is ensconced. Then all the young men and women of the village gather round the hut, and form a ring about it. The girl's father, or the nearest male relative, sits at a short

* P. Kunjain, Malabar Quart. Review, II, 1903.

† Malabar and its Folk, 1900. The Nayādis are a very polluting class, who live by begging, etc.

distance from the crowd with a tom-tom in his hands. Then the music commences, and a chant is sung by the father, which has been freely translated as follows :—

Take the stick, my sweetest daughter;
Now seize the stick, my dearest love;
Should you not capture the husband you wish for;
Remember, 'tis fate decides whom you shall have.

All the young men who are eligible for matrimony arm themselves with a stick each, and begin to dance round the little hut, inside which the girl is seated. This goes on for close on an hour, when each of them thrusts his stick inside the hut through the leaf covering. The girl has then to take hold of one of these sticks from the inside, and the owner of the stick which is seized by her becomes the husband of the concealed bride. This ceremony is followed by feasting, after which the marriage is consummated." Among the jungle Kurumbas of the Nīlgiris there is, as a rule, no marriage rite. A man and woman will mate together, and live as man and wife. And, if it happens that in a family there has been a succession of such wives for one or two generations without the woman deserting her man in favour of another, it becomes an event, and is celebrated as such. The pair sit together, and pour water over each other from pots. They then put on new cloths, and a feast is partaken of. Among the jungle Shōlagas, when a man falls in love with a girl, and she likes him, they go off to the jungle for three days. On the fourth day the whole village turns out with tom-toms and other musical instruments. They go into the jungle and find the young couple, whom

they bring in procession to the temple, where the marriage ceremony is performed. According to another account, the couple elope to a distant jungle, and return home only after the bride has become a mother.*

There exists, among the hill Urālis of Coimbatore, a kind of informal union called kuduvali. A man and woman will, by mutual consent, elope into the jungle, and live there together till they are discovered, and brought back by their relations. A council-meeting is held, and they are recognised as man and wife if the bride-money and fine inflicted are paid. Failure to pay up would render them liable to excommunication. To celebrate the event, a feast must be given by the man, and, if he should die without having fed the community, any children born to him are considered as illegitimate. In such a case, the widow or her near relatives are asked to give food to at least a few before the corpse is removed, so as to legitimatise the children.

Shubernagiri, in the Ganjam Māliahs, has two trysting trees, consisting of a jāk and mango growing close together. The custom was for a Khond, unable to pay the marriage fees to the Patro, (head-man) to meet his love here at night and plight his troth, and then for the two to retire into the jungles for three days and nights before returning to the village. Afterwards, they were considered to be man and wife.

In one form of marriage among the jungle Chenchus, a man, wishing to marry, selects his bride, and both retire for one night by mutual consent from the gudēm

* Mysore Census Report, 1891.

(village). On the following morning, when they return, their parents invite their friends and relatives, and, by formally investing them with new cloths, declare them duly married. To complete the ceremony, a meal is given to those assembled.*

Until she is seven or eight years old, a Thanda Pulayan (agrestic serf) girl of Cochin, wears no covering except a strip of the tender bark of the areca palm. When she assumes the garment made of the leaves of the thanda (a sedge), a ceremony called thanda kalyānam (marriage) is celebrated at an auspicious hour on an appointed day. The garment is generally made by a female relative. The investiture is the occasion of a feast of curry and rice, fish and toddy.

With the Tangalān Paraiyans, the betrothal ceremony, or pariyam, is binding as long as the contracting couple are alive. They may live together as man and wife without performing the marriage ceremonial, and children born to them are considered as legitimate. But, when their offspring marry, the parents must first go through the marriage rites, and the children are then married in the same pandal on the same day.

I have previously stated † that "the Yerukalas of the Kistna district are divided into two classes—sheep and goats practically. Of these, the latter are the bastard offspring of the former. They are not allowed to marry among the legitimate members. But, in order to prevent them from becoming a separate caste, the sons and

* Manual of the Kurnool district. † Madras Mus. Bull., IV, 3.

daughters of a bastard couple are not allowed to marry a bastard. They must marry a legitimate, and so the second generation is clean again." The Collector of the district informs me that legitimate may not marry illegitimate. Illegitimate must marry illegitimate. The offspring thereof is *ipso facto* whitewashed, and becomes legitimate, and must marry a legitimate. According to the Rev. J. Cain, * on the birth of a daughter to a Yerukala, the father of an unmarried little boy often brings a rupee, and ties it in the cloth of the father of the newly born girl. When the girl is grown up, he can claim her for his son. For twenty-five rupees he can claim her much earlier.

Among the Nanga Porojas (cultivating hill tribe) of Vizagapatam, pits are dug in the ground, in which during the cold season the children are put at night to keep them warm. The pit is about nine feet in diameter. In the spring all the marriageable girls of a settlement are put into one pit, and a young man, who has really selected his bride with the consent of his parents, comes and sings to her by name. Whereupon, if she likes him, she comes out, a fire is lighted, and a dance takes place. If the girl sings back that she will not have him, he tries some other girl's name. On one occasion a leopard jumped into the pit, and killed some of the maidens. According to another version, a number of Bhonda youths, who are candidates for matrimony, start off for a village, where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women, and make known their

* Ind. Ant., III 1874.

wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. The juice of the salop (sago palm, *Caryota urens*) in a fermented state is in great requisition, as nothing can be done without the exhilarating effects of this, their favourite beverage. The youths excavate an underground chamber (if one is not already prepared) having an aperture at the top, admitting of the entrance of one at a time. Into this the young gentlemen, with a corresponding number of young girls, are introduced, when they grope about and make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands. Bracelets are then put on her arms by the elders.*

Dr. Rivers informs me that, when a Toda marriage is arranged, the future husband gives a cloth, and salutes (head to foot) the father, mother and brothers of his future bride. I am told that, in like manner, the prospective bride bows down with her face to the ground, and her husband-elect places first the right, and then the left foot on her head.

Unusual details in the marriage ceremony of the Chettis (traders) are the wearing of a toe-ring by the bridegroom, and a custom, said to be now dying out, of inviting a carpenter to bless the happy pair. Unmarried girls usually wear a necklace of cowry (*Cypræa moneta*) shells and beads. This is noteworthy, for, though married women in many castes are distinguished by the tāli round their necks and the silver rings on their second toes, and in the case of Brāhmans by wearing one end

* J. A. May, Ind. Ant., II, 1875.

of their cloths passed between their legs, it is unusual for unmarried girls to wear any badge of their condition.*

The Ilaiyāttakudi section of the Chettis has seven exogamous sub-divisions, called kovils or temples, which derive their names from seven favourite temples. Ilaiyāttakudi is considered the parent temple, and, when a man of any of the other six kovils is married, he has to obtain two garlands of flowers, one from the temple at that place, and one from the temple after which his sub-division is named.*

The Kondayamkottai Maravans, Mr. F. Fawcett tells us, † are divided into six sub-tribes or trees. Each tree or kothu (branch) is divided into three khilais or branches. Those of the khilais belonging to the same tree or kothu are never allowed to intermarry. "A man or woman must marry with one of a khilai belonging to another tree than his own, his or her own being that of his or her mother, and not of the father. But marriage is not permissible between those of any two trees or kothus. There are some restrictions. For instance, a branch of betel-vine or leaves may marry with a branch of cocoanut, but not with areca nuts or dates. The tāli must be obtained at the cost of the bridegroom's sister. The bride's father, uncle, or other relations, present the bridegroom with money, the amount of which must be an odd number."

Among Telugu Brāhmans, the interposition of a cloth as a screen between the bride and bridegroom, just before

* Madras Census Report, 1901. † Journ. Anthrop. Inst., XXXIII, 1903.

the tying of the mangala suthram (tāli) is fairly common. It is resorted to, so that the bride may not be seen by the bridegroom. Further, the bride is, like the Santhal bride in Bengal, made to sit in a capacious basket, which is either empty or partly filled with paddy. The tāli is tied while she is in the basket. Among all the Telugu-speaking castes, from Brāhmans to Mādigas, small black glass beads form part of the mangala suthram. At a marriage among the Izhavans or Iluvans (toddy-drawers) of Travancore, it is a barber woman that ties the pratisaram or the diksha thread (the equivalent of the kankanam) round the bride's wrist, and formally hands over the tāli to the bridegroom. It is pointed out by Mr. N. Subramani Iyer * that shaving was originally not a mere question of personal toilette, but a sacrament, and the priestly function was combined with that of the barber. On the wedding day among the Iluvans of Malabar, the bridegroom's face is shaved, and, after being rubbed with oil, he is bathed by seven young men. He is carried, or walks on planks from the bathing-place to the marriage booth, and must not touch the ground with his feet. The barber cuts the nails of an Okkiliyan bride and bridegroom. The barber also, after worshipping, shaves the face of an Idaiyan bridegroom, and receives as his fee four annas, some rice, and the cloth which the young man was wearing. An Odde may not shave his face till it has been shaved by the barber on his wedding day.

* Travancore Census Report, 1901.

It is the barber, at a marriage among the Konga Vellālas (cultivators) of the Salem district, who officiates at the marriage rites, and ties the tāli. Brāhmans are invited to the wedding, and treated with due respect, and presented with money, rice, betel leaves and nuts. The barber, when he ties the tāli, mutters something about Brāhman and Vēdas in a respectful manner. The story goes that, during the days of the Chēra, Chola, and Pandyan kings, a Brāhman and an Ambattan (barber) were both invited to a marriage feast. But the Brāhman, on his arrival, died, and the folk, believing his death to be an evil omen, ruled that, the Brāhman being missing, they would have the Ambattan; and it has ever since been the custom for the Ambattan to officiate at weddings. The purōhits (priests) of the Kallan Muppans (stone workers) of Malabar are Tamil barbers, who officiate at their marriages. The barber shaves the bridegroom before the marriage ceremony, and the purōhit has to blow the conch shell all the way from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride.*

At a wedding among the low-class Mālas of the Telugu country, a barber pares the bridegroom's toe-nails, and, as a mere form, touches his chin with a razor. Then, taking two rice-pounders, he dips the ends in milk and ghī, and touches the shoulders of the bride and bridegroom as a signal to retire for bathing, while he salutes them with the words "Good be to you."† In like manner, at a Kamma wedding, the barber pares

* C. Karunakara Menon. † Manual of the Nellore district.

the nails of the bridegroom, and touches those of the bride with a mango leaf dipped in milk. A Kāpu (Telugu agriculturist) bridegroom is invested with a new cloth, and the bride placed beside him. Their cloths are then tied together in a knot. A barber next approaches with a brass cup of water, and a plate containing rice stained with turmeric is placed upon the ground. Each of the visitors takes up a few grains of rice, and sprinkles them on the head of the couple, and waves round their heads some small pieces of money to avert the evil eye. The coins so used are thrown into the barber's cup. The barber then cuts the toe-nails of the bridegroom. This, with the Sūdras, answers to the ceremony of shaving the head among the Brāhmans. Later, a cloth is held up between the bride and bridegroom, and she is presented to him by her father. The couple unite hands, and walk round the dais thrice. Then, the veil being again held up between them, the bridegroom places his right foot upon a black pounding stone, and the bride puts her left foot three times upon his right. Then she treads with her right foot upon the stone, and he places his left foot upon it three times. The temporary screen is then again removed, and the bride puts on the saffron-coloured cloth brought as a present for her by the bridegroom's father. Bride and bridegroom look up at the sky to catch a glimpse of the pole-star, (Arūndati) and then enter the apartment, when the marriage feast commences. At a Brāhman marriage ceremony, the bridegroom shows the bride the pole-star, and recites the following text: "Heaven is stable; the earth is stable; this universe is

stable; these mountains are stable. May this woman be stable in her husband's family."

At an Idaiyan (Tamil shepherd) wedding, at Coimbatore, the bridegroom places his right foot, and the bride her left foot on a grindstone, and they look at the pole-star, which represents the wife of the ascetic Vashista, who is the pattern of chastity. The grindstone represents Ahalliya, who was the wife of a saint, Gauthama. She was cursed by her husband for her misconduct with Indra, and turned into a stone. By placing their feet on the grindstone, the young couple express a wish to keep in check unchaste desires. The bride decorates a small grindstone with cloths and ornaments, gives it to the bridegroom, and takes it to all the assembled relations who give her something, and bless her with a hope that she will bring forth many children.

During the marriage ceremony among the Oddes (navvies) of Coimbatore, a woman, belonging to a Pedda (big) Boyan family, puts turmeric water mixed with chunām (burnt lime), betel leaves, and a coral necklet in a vessel, and waves it in front of the bridegroom's face. This is arathi, and is done to avert the evil eye. At the close of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom tie the ends of a single cloth round their bodies, and are bathed in turmeric water, which they pour over each other. They then look at the sky, and, taking water in both hands, throw it down thrice. The kankanams (wrist threads) are then untied.

Many variants of the Kāpu screen-scene occur in the Telugu country, and it has been adopted by the less civilised classes. For example, at a Yānādi (Telugu

forest tribe), wedding, the bride and bridegroom sit side by side on two planks upon a raised platform. The mothers of the contracting parties then anoint them with oil, turmeric, and sandal paste. The pair retire to bathe, and return from the bath decorated with jewelry, and wearing new cloths, which have been dipped in turmeric water and dried. They next stand, one at each end of the platform, and a cloth is interposed as a screen between them, after the kankanam, or cotton thread dipped in turmeric water, has been tied to the wrist. To this thread a folded mango (*Mangifera indica*) leaf is sometimes attached. The couple next approach the screen, and the bridegroom, stretching his right leg underneath the screen, places his right foot on the right foot of the bride. He then takes up the bottu, or gold ornament, attached to a cotton thread dyed with turmeric, and ties it round the neck of the bride, his foot still on hers. In some cases a cotton thread (bashingam) with a folded mango leaf attached to it is further tied on the head, in imitation of the custom among the Nayudus, Kāpus, and others.

The marriage ceremonies of the Kavarais (Tamil synonym for Balija) who are settled in Tinnevelly are like those of many other Telugu castes, and the interposition of a screen between the bride and bridegroom, and tying of the second tāli or string of black beads on the nagavali day (sacrifice to the Dēvas) are performed. But those who belong to the Sīmaneli sept go through two additional ceremonies. One of these, called Krishnamma parantalu, is performed on the day previous

to the tying of the tāli. It consists in the worship of the soul of Krishnamma, a married woman. A new cloth is purchased, and presented, together with money, betel, etc., to a married woman, who eats before those who are assembled. All the formalities of the srādh, (memorial ceremony) are observed, except the burning of the sacred fire (hōmam) and repeating of mantrams from the Vēdas. This ceremony is very commonly observed by Brāhmans, and castes which employ Brāhman priests for their ceremonials. The main idea is the propitiation of the soul of the deceased married woman. If in a family a married woman dies, every ceremony of an auspicious nature should be preceded by the worship of the Sumangali (married woman), which is known as Sumangali-prarthana. Orthodox women think that, if the soul of Sumangali is not thus worshipped, she may do some injury to those who are performing the ceremony. On the tāli-tying day the Kavarai bride and bridegroom proceed to the temple to worship. A few small pots are placed on the turban of the bridegroom, and on the head of the bride, where they are kept in position by the kongu or free end of her cloth. The sacred thread is worn during the marriage ceremony, but not afterwards.

On the occasion of a wedding among the Kurubas (Canarese shepherds) of western Bellary, a square space is marked out by pots filled with water, which are placed at each corner. Round the pots five turns of cotton thread are wound. Within the square a pestle, painted with red and white stripes, is placed, on which the bridal couple, with two young girls, sit. Rice is

thrown over them, they are anointed and washed, and receive presents. Later on, the marriage dais is covered with a blanket (kambli), on which a mill-stone and basket filled with cholum (*Andropogon Sorghum*), are placed. The bridegroom standing with a foot on the stone, and the bride with a foot on the basket, the tāli is tied by the officiating Brāhman priest, while those assembled throw rice over the happy pair. On the night of the sixth day after marriage, a large metal plate or gangalam is filled with rice, ghī, curds, and sugar. Round this some of the relatives of the bride and bridegroom sit, and finish off the food. The number of those who partake thereof must be an odd one, and they must eat the food as quickly as possible. If anything goes wrong with them while eating or afterwards, it is regarded as an omen of impending misfortune. Some even consider it as an indication of the bad character of the bride.

The Patnūlkārans found in the Tamil districts have adopted some of the marriage customs of the Telugus, and a number of small pots are set up in a room, and worshipped daily throughout the marriage ceremony. A figure of a car (plate V) is drawn on the wall with red earth or laterite stone, and on it the gōtra of the bridegroom is written. The Patnūlkārans are a caste of weavers, who speak a dialect of Gujarati, and migrated to the south from Gujarat. They claim to be Saurashtra Brāhmans.

During the wedding ceremony among the Paraiyans of Coimbatore, a pestle is placed in the marriage booth,

Plate V.

Patnūlkāran Wall Design.

and the bridegroom sits on it. The bride's father and brothers rub oil over his head, and he is bathed. The bride then sits on the pestle, and is in like manner anointed with oil and bathed. The pestle is then removed, and a plank placed in its stead. A four-anna piece, and a small chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*) such as is used as a baby's pap-bowl, are thrown into a pot containing turmeric water, from which the bride is expected to pick up the shell, and the bridegroom the coin. This is repeated three times, and the kankanams (wrist threads) are then untied, and put into the pot. When an Odde bride and bridegroom enter the bride's house, a pot of water is brought, and they put their hands into it. A ring is dropped into the pot, and they both try to pick it up. Whoever first does so is considered to be the more clever. This is repeated three times. At a wedding among the Dēvāngas (weavers), a pap-bowl and ring are put into a pot. If the bride picks out the pap-bowl, her first child will be a girl; if the bridegroom picks out the ring, it will be a boy. At an Idaiyan (Tamil shepherd) wedding, a gold and silver ring are placed in a large pot, and in another pot a style, such as is used for writing on palm leaves, and a piece of palm leaf are placed. The bride and bridegroom then struggle to catch hold of these objects. Included among the presents to a Nānchināt Vellāla bridegroom in Travancore are an iron writing style and a knife.*

* Travancore Census Report, 1901.

At a marriage among the Iluvans (toddy-tappers) of Malabar, the bridegroom removes seven threads from the new cloth brought for the bride, and makes a string with them, which is coloured yellow with turmeric. To the string he attaches the tāli, which he places on betel leaves, and hands over to his sister. During the ceremony the bride stands on rice, and covers her face with betel leaves. To bring good luck to the young couple, a married woman with a child meets them as they approach the bridegroom's house.

At a wedding among the Holeyas (agrestic serfs) of South Canara, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house with rice, betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and wait the whole night outside the bride's hut, the bridegroom being seated on a mat specially made by the bride. Next morning the bride is made to sit opposite the bridegroom with a winnowing fan, filled with betel-leaves, etc., between them. Meanwhile the men and women throw rice over the heads of the contracting couple. The bride then accompanies the bridegroom to his hut, carrying the mat with her. The marriage ceremony lasts four days, during which time none of the party should fail to sit on the mat. On the last day the couple take the mat to a river or tank (pond), where fish are to be found, and catch some fish, which they let go after kissing them.* At a wedding among the leaf-wearing Koragas of South Canara, the bride and bridegroom take a cold bath, and seat themselves side by side on a mat with a handful of rice between them. The blessings

* Manual of the South Canara district.

of the sun are invoked, and then an elderly man of the tribe takes up a few grains of rice, and sprinkles them over the heads of the couple. His example is followed by the others present. The bridegroom has then to present two silver pieces to the bride.* At a wedding among the Kannadiyans (Canarese shepherds), married women are selected, who are required to bathe as each of the more important ceremonies is performed, and are alone allowed to cook for or to touch the happy couple. Weddings last eight days, during which time the bride and bridegroom must not sit on anything but woollen blankets.†

The custom of the bridal couple bathing in water brought from seven different villages obtains among many Oriya castes, including Brāhmans. It is known by the name of pāni-tula. The water is brought by married girls who have not reached puberty on the night preceding the wedding day, and the bride and bridegroom wash in it before dawn. This bath is called koili-pāni-snāno, or cuckoo water bath. The koil is the Indian koel or cuckoo (*Eudynamis honorata*), whose crescendo cry ku-il, ku-il, is trying to the nerves during the hot season.

The essential and binding part of the marriage ceremony among the Bants (cultivators) of South Canara is called dhāre. The right hand of the bride being placed over the right hand of the bridegroom, a silver vessel (dhāre gindi) filled with water, with a cocoanut over the mouth and the flower of the areca palm over the

* Manual of the South Canara district. † Madras Census Report, 1901.

cocoanut, is placed on the joined hands. The parents, the managers of the two families, and the village headmen, all touch the vessel, which, with the hands of the bridal pair, is moved up and down three times. In some families the water is poured from the vessel into the united hands of the couple, and this betokens the gift of the bride. The bride and bridegroom then receive the congratulations of the guests, who express a hope that they may become the parents of twelve sons and twelve daughters. An empty plate, and another containing rice, are next placed before the pair, and their friends sprinkle them with rice from the one, and place a small gift, generally four annas, in the other. The bridegroom then makes a gift to the bride, which is called tirdochi, and varies in amount according to the position of the parties. Among the Ares* the pot contains a mixture of water, milk, ghī, honey, and curds instead of plain water. In the dhāre ceremony as performed by the Gaudas (Canarese farmers), the bridal pair hold in their joined hands five betel leaves, an areca nut, and four annas; and, after the water has been poured, the bride-groom ties a tāli on the neck of the bride.† At marriages among the Mogers (Canarese fishermen) the bride and bridegroom sit under a pandal, and join hands, palms uppermost. Upon their hands the maternal uncle of the bride places first some rice, next five betel leaves, then an unhusked arecanut, and last of all a lighted wick. The bridal couple slowly lower their hands, and deposit

* The Ares are said to be closely allied to the Marathis, and speak Marathi or Konkani.

† Manual of the South Canara district.

all these things on the ground. The bride's maternal uncle then takes her by the hand, and formally makes her over to the maternal uncle of the bridegroom.*

Among various Oriya classes in Ganjam, a bachelor wishing to marry a widow, or a widower wishing to remarry, has first to marry a sahāda or shādi tree, called in Telugu bharinike chettu, which is afterwards cut down. This tree is apparently *Streblus asper*, the twigs of which are struck in and around thatched houses to ward off lightning.

The essential portion of the marriage ceremony among the Badhoyis (Oriya carpenters and blacksmiths) is the tying together of the hands of the bride and bridegroom.† In like manner, at a wedding among the Bolāsis and Samantiyas (Oriya cultivators), the binding portion of the ceremony is hasthōgonthi, or the tying together of the hands of the bridal pair with a cotton thread soaked in turmeric water.† The contracting parties at a wedding among the jungle Kādirs of the western ghāts link together the little fingers of their right hands as a token of their union, and walk in procession round the marriage booth. So, too, the Pāno (hill tribe of Ganjam) bride and bridegroom have to join their little fingers to make the ceremony binding.‡ At a marriage among the Paraiyans of Coimbatore, the little finger of the bridegroom's right hand is linked with the little finger of the bride's left hand, the two hands being covered with a cloth. The ends of the

* Manual of the South Canara district.
† Madras Census Report, 1901. ‡ *Ibid.*

cloth of an Okkiliyan (cultivator) bride and bridegroom, with betel leaves and nuts in them, are tied together, and the little fingers of their right hands are linked. The contracting parties, among the hill Urālis, sit on a plank with their little fingers linked, while the bride-money is paid to the father-in-law and the milk-money to the mother-in-law. In one form of the marriage ceremony among the Kondayamkottai Maravans, the Brāhman priest ties together the little fingers of the right hands of the contracting couple, which are interlocked, with a silken thread.* Among the Kāppiliyans (Canarese cultivators) who have settled in the Madura district, the tāli is entirely dispensed with. The binding portion of the marriage ceremony is the locking of the fingers of the bridal couple under a cloth by their maternal uncles. The wedding-day is called kai kudako dhina (hand-joining day).

A curious ceremony during a marriage among the Goundans (cultivators) of Coimbatore is the visit of the bride to the nāttu-kal (place where seedlings are raised) where a Pillayar (elephant god) is made of cow-dung or mud, worshipped, and broken up. At this spot the nāttu-kal and the sun are also worshipped.†

At a marriage among the Pallans (agricultural labourers) of Coimbatore, cocoanuts are broken, and offered to a Pillayar made of cow-dung. The tāli is taken round in one of the fragments, to be blessed by those assembled. When a marriage is contemplated among

* F. Fawcett, Journ. Anthrop. Inst., XXXIII, 1903.
† Manual of the Coimbatore district.

the Idaiyans (Tamil shepherds) of the same place, the parents of the prospective bride and bridegroom go to the temple, and throw before the idol a red and a white flower, each wrapped in a betel-leaf. A small child is then asked to pick up one of the leaves. If the one selected contains the white flower, it is considered auspicious, and the marriage will be contracted. During the marriage ceremony the officiating Brāhman places a cow-dung Pillayar in the marriage booth. The bride husks some paddy. The relations of the bride and bridegroom fetch from the potter's house seven pots called adukupanai (pots kept one over the other), two large pots called arasanipanai, and seven earthen trays, and place them in front of the mud platform. The pots are filled with water, and a small piece of gold is dropped into each. The pots are worshipped daily during the marriage ceremony.

The match-making among the hill Urālis of Coimbatore is carried out by the boy's parents, who, with his other relations, pay two visits, one with and one without the boy, to the parents of the girl. The party must be received with due respect, which is shown by taking hold of the walking-sticks of the guests on arrival, and receiving them on a mat. A flower is placed on the top of a stone or figure representing the tribal goddess, and, after pūja has been done to it, it is addressed in the words "Oh! swāmi (god), drop the flower to the right if the marriage is going to be propitious, and to the left if otherwise." Should the flower remain on the image without falling either way, it is greeted as a very happy

omen. On the occasion of the betrothal ceremony, if the bridegroom's party, on their way to the bride's village, have to cross a stream, running or dry, the bridegroom is not allowed to walk across it, but must be carried over on the back of his maternal uncle. During the marriage ceremony, after the bridal couple have worshipped at a pond, they must, on their return thence, be accompanied by their maternal uncles, who should keep on dancing, while cocoanuts are broken in front of them till the house is reached.

As a preliminary to marriage among the Kurubas, (Canarese shepherds) the bridegroom's father observes certain marks or curls on the head of the proposed bride. Some of these are believed to forbode prosperity, and others misery to the family into which the girl enters. They are, therefore, very cautious in selecting only such girls as possess curls (suli) of good fortune. This curious custom is observed by others only in the case of the purchase of cows, bulls, and horses. One of the good curls is the bāshingam found on the forehead, and the bad ones are the pēyanākallu at the back of the head, and the edirsuli near the right temple. As a nuptial tie, the ends of the garments of the contracting Kuruba parties are, at the wedding, tied together.* The curl on the forehead appears to be considered a good omen by the Kurubas at Hospet, and bad by those at Sandūr. A curl on the chest (theggu) is considered unlucky by both. Like the Kurubas, the Pallis (Tamil agriculturists) also

* Manual of the North Arcot district.

examine the curls in the selection of a bride. A curl on the forehead is considered as an indication that the girl will become a widow; and one on the back of the head portends the death of the eldest brother of her husband. On the subject of curls in the horse Mr. J. Walhouse writes as follows. "When a wealthy Hindu meditates purchasing a horse, he looks to the presence or not of certain circles or curls on particular parts of the body. These are called in Tamil suri or flowers, and by them a judgment is formed of the temper and quality of the horse. Each curl indicates a particular god, and a Hindu will not purchase unless the hair-curls are present, turning in the proper direction, and in their right places." * Of omens from the examination of horses' curls, the following may be cited. (1) The horse which has a ringlet under the eyes, in the chin, cheek, heart, neck, the part between the nostrils, temples, the buttocks, part below the nostrils, knees, testicles, navel, hump on the back, anus, right belly and feet, will bring on evil. (2) The horse which has ringlets in the upper lip, neck, ears, back, loins, eyes, lips, thighs, front legs, belly, sides and forehead, will bring on prosperity.†

I have heard of a Eurasian police officer, who attributed the theft of five hundred rupees, his official transfer to the Cuddapah district, and other strokes of bad luck, to the purchase of a horse with unlucky curls. All went well with him after he had got rid of the animal.

At the marriage ceremony of some Kurubas, a golden image of the tribal hero is taken out of the saffron

* Ind. Ant., XI, 1881. † Brihat Samhita.

powder, in which it has lain in its casket, and placed before the bride and bridegroom, who call aloud the hero's name. The pūjāri (officiating priest) then breaks a few cocoanuts on the heads of the hereditary cocoanut-breakers, and ties a piece of saffron to the right arm of the bride. With the Patha Kurubas the string used must be of cotton and wool mixed; with the Kottha Kurubas of wool alone; and with the Andē Kurubas of wool alone, this being regarded as an important distinction. Next the gaudu (head-man) and pūjāri throw rice upon the bride's head, and, the bridegroom tying a tāli round her neck, the ceremony is completed.* According to another account † "the Kurubas are divided into three endogamous divisions, viz., attikankana, unnekankana, and andē. In Canarese atti means cotton, unne woollen, while kankana is a thread tied round the wrist at the time of marriage, and the first and second subdivisions use respectively cotton and woollen threads at their marriages. Andē is a small vessel used by the Andē Kurubas for milking goats. According to a popular legend, an ancestral Kuruba, by name Undala Padmanna, whose material welfare was provided for by Sīva, contracted alliances with a Brāhman girl whom he rescued from rākshasas (giants), and with a girl of his own caste. At the marriage of his sons, a cotton (atti) kankanam was tied to the wrist of the caste woman's offspring, and a woollen (unni) kankanam to that of the Brāhman girl's sons. Marriage is celebrated in the bridegroom's house, and, if the bride belongs to a different

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

village, she is escorted to that of the bridegroom, and made to wait in a particular spot outside it. On the first day of the marriage, purna kumbam, a small decorated vessel containing milk or ghī, with a two-anna piece and a cocoanut placed on the betel-leaf spread over the mouth of it, is taken by the bridegroom's relations to meet the bride's party. There the distribution of pān supāri takes place, and both parties return to the village. Meanwhile the marriage booth is erected, and twelve twigs of nāval (*Eugenia Jambolana*) are tied to the twelve pillars, the central or milk post, under which the bridal pair sit, being smeared with saffron, and a yellow thread being tied thereto. At an auspicious hour of the third day, the couple are made to sit in the booth, the bridegroom facing the east and the bride facing west. On a blanket spread near the kumbam 2½ measures of rice, a tāli or bottu, a cocoanut, betel-leaf, and camphor are placed. The gaudu places a ball of vibhūti (sacred ashes) thereon, breaks a cocoanut, and worships the kumbam, while camphor is burnt. The gaudu next takes the tāli, blesses it, and gives it to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck. The gaudu then, throwing rice on the heads of the pair, recites certain verses. The girl next removes her veil, and the men and women assembled throw rice on the heads of the bridal pair. The ends of their garments are then tied together, and two girls and three boys are made to eat out of the plates placed before the married couple. A feast completes the ceremony.

At a Coorg wedding, the Aruva (family adviser) puts three pebbles in the hands of the bride, who ties them

in one of the corners of her garment as a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom throws some coloured rice on the head of his new wife, gives a little milk to her to drink, and presents her with a gift, such as a ring, or anything according to his means. When the bridegroom enters the bride's house on the evening of the marriage day, several thick plantain tree trunks are placed across the entrance, each of which he has to cut in a single stroke, showing his strength of arm, and confirming thereby his fitness to marry the bride.*

"It is generally believed that, when a marriage takes place in the family of a Kōmati (Telugu merchant),† some member of this family is obliged to go through the form of inviting the low-class Mādigas (leather-workers) of the place. If the Mādigas were to hear the invitation, the Kōmati would certainly be assaulted, and treated roughly; for the Mādigas look on the invitation as an insult and unlucky. In order to prevent the Mādigas hearing the invitation, the Kōmati takes care to go to the back of the Mādiga's house at a time when he is not likely to be seen, and whispers into an iron vessel commonly used for measuring out grain an invitation in the following words: 'In the house of the small ones (*i.e.*, Kōmatis) a marriage is going to take place. The members of the big house (*i.e.*, Mādigas) are to come.' The light to kindle the fire during the marriage ceremony must be obtained from a Mādiga's house, but, since the Mādigas object to giving it, some artifice has to be used in getting this

* A. Rea, Ann. Report, Arch. Survey, Madras, 1901–1902.

† The Kōmatis (Telugu traders) claim to be Vaisyas.

fire." * It is a curious fact, though many Kōmatis deny it, that at their marriage ceremonies they have to present betel-nuts and leaves to some Mādiga family.† Concerning this custom Mr. W. Francis writes as follows:‡ "The statement about the presentation of the betel-leaf and nut seems to be accurate, though no doubt the custom is not universal. It rests on the authority of Sir Walter Elliot ('Trans. London Ethn. Soc.,' 1869) and Major Mackenzie ('Ind. Ant.,' Vol. VIII, p. 36); and, in a foot-note on p. 55 of the 'Original Inhabitants of Bharata Varsha or India,' Dr. Oppert states that he has in his possession documents which confirm the story. It is said that now-a-days the presentation is sometimes veiled by the Kōmati concerned sending his shoes to be mended by the Mādiga a few days before the wedding, deferring payment till the wedding day, and then handing the Mādiga the leaf and nut with the amount of his bill." According to another account, the Kōmati of set purpose unbinds the toe-ring of his native shoes (chēruppu), and summons a Mādiga, whose profession it is to make and repair these articles of attire. The Mādiga quietly accepts the job, and is paid more amply than is perhaps necessary in the shape of pān supāri, flowers and money. "Formerly," the Rev. J. Cain writes,§ "before a marriage took place between two Vaisyalu (Kōmatis), they had to arrange for, and pay all the marriage expenses of two Mādigas, but this custom has been

* J. S. F. Mackenzie, Ind. Ant., VIII, 1879.
† Madras Census Report, 1891.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.
§ Ind. Ant., VII, VIII, 1879.

abandoned, and they content themselves by giving an invitation to their wedding." "I cannot," Mackenzie writes,* "discover the connection between two such different castes as the Kōmatis and Mādigas, who belong to different divisions. The Kōmatis belong to the 18 pana division, while the Mādigas are members of the 9 pana. One reason has been suggested. The caste goddess of the Kōmatis is the virgin Kannikā Amma, who destroyed herself rather than marry a prince, because he was of another caste. She is usually represented by a vessel full of water, and, before the marriage ceremonies are commenced, she is brought in state from her temple, and placed in the seat of honour in the house. The Mādigas claim Kannikā as their goddess, worship her under the name of Māhatangi, and object to the Kōmatis taking their goddess." There is said to be another queer custom among the Kōmatis, and one from which some of the families derive their distinguishing names. After a marriage has been completed, the figure of a cow is made of flour, and into its stomach is put a mixture of turmeric, lime, and water, called wokale. After the cow has been worshipped in due form, it is cut up, and to each different family is secretly sent that portion of the cow which, according to custom, they are entitled to receive. For example, the Kōmarlavaru receive the horns, the Guntla the neck, etc.† It is noted by Frazer ‡ as a remarkable feature of some of the Oraon totems, that they are not

* Ind. Ant., VIII, 1879. The pana divisions correspond to the right and left hand sections.

† Mackenzie, *loc. cit.*

‡ Totemism, 1887.

whole animals, but parts of animals, as the head of a tortoise, the stomach of a pig. And, he adds, in such cases (which are not confined to Bengal) it is of course not the whole animal, but only the special part which the clansmen are forbidden to eat.

The Kōmatis, at the present day, during the marriage ceremonial, perform a rite called gōtra pūja. On the fifth day, they offer two large lumps of flour paste to the goddess Kannikamma, out of which they make a number of small balls, the number being usually twice or four times that of the gōtras among the local Kōmatis. On the second or third day after the tying of the tāli, the goddess is worshipped by two Kōmati women, who have to fast during the entire day. When the Kōmati males have partaken of a meal, a member of the community, carrying a cup containing turmeric water coloured red with chunām, makes a mark therewith on the cloth over the right thigh of all the castemen present, beginning with an individual belonging to the Pendlikūla gōtra. Towards evening Kannikamma, represented by a kalasam (brass vessel), is worshipped with an elaborate ritual.

The Mādigas (Telugu Pariahs) are divided into endogamous sections called dhomptis. During the marriage ceremonies, dhomptis, or offerings of food to the gods, are made, with variations according to the dhompti to which the celebrants belong. An illustration may be taken from the Gampa (basket) dhompti. The contracting parties procure a quantity of rice, jaggery, and ghī, which are cooked, and moulded into an elongated mass, and placed in a new bamboo basket. In the middle of

the mass, which is determined with a string, a twig with a wick at one end is set up, and two similar twigs are stuck into the ends. Pūja is performed, and the mass is distributed among the daughters of the house and other near relations, but not among members of other dhomptis. The bride and bridegroom take a small portion from the mass, which is called dhonga muddha, or the mass that is stolen.

Among the Urālis (Tamil agricultural labourers), a man detected in an intrigue with an unmarried woman is fined, and has to marry her; and, at the wedding, his waist string is tied round her neck instead of a tāli.* Among the Koramas (nomad Telugu tribe) the tāli is replaced by a string of black beads. The story goes that once upon a time a bridegroom forgot to bring the tāli, and he was at once told off to procure the necessary piece of gold from a goldsmith. The parties waited and waited, but the young man did not return. Since then the tāli has not been forthcoming, and the little string of beads is used as a substitute.† Instead of the tāli, the Reddis (Telugu cultivators) use a plain twisted cord of cotton thread besmeared with saffron, and devoid of ornament of any kind. They have a legend, which accounts for this. In days of yore a Reddi chief was about to be married, and he accordingly sent for a goldsmith, and, desiring him to make a splendid tāli, gave him the price of it beforehand. The smith was a drunkard, and neglected his work. The day for the celebration of the marriage arrived, but there was no tāli. Whereupon the old chief,

* Madras Census Report, 1901. † Madras Mail, 1900.

plucking a few threads from his garment, twisted them into a cord, and tied it round the neck of the bride, and this became a custom.* The insigne of marriage among the Gāndlas (oil-pressers) is a bundle of 101 yellow coloured threads without a tāli or bottu, which is put on only after the marriage ceremony.†

Some Kāpus, especially the Motāti Kāpus, do not wear the tāli during marriage, its place being taken by a cotton string. Concerning the origin of this custom, the following story is narrated. During the reign of Bharatha, the brother of Rāma, Pillala Mari Belthi Reddi and his sons deceived him by appropriating all the grain, and giving up only the straw. On the return of Rāma from exile, he, to punish the Kāpus, directed them to bring *Cucurbita* (pumpkin) fruits for the srādh of Dasaratha. They eagerly consented, and cultivated the plant. A few days before the ceremony, Hanumān uprooted all the plants, so that, on the appointed day, they could not comply with Rāma's order. They, however, promised to pay a sum of money equal in weight to a pumpkin fruit. This proposal was accepted, and the Kāpus brought all the money they possessed, and yet the scale containing the fruit did not rise. They, accordingly, took the tālis from their wives' necks, and placed them on the scale containing the money, when the pumpkin immediately rose. A similar legend is current among the Vakkaligas (cultivators) of Mysore, who, instead of giving up the tāli, seem to have abandoned the cultivation of the plant.

* J. F. Kearns, Kalyana Shatanku.
† Manual of the North Arcot district.

The legend is thus narrated by Mr. Narasimmiyengar.* In the days of Rāma, when he was exiled to the wilds of Dandaka, Bharatha was appointed regent. The rayats (agriculturists) waxed rich, and tried every dodge to cozen the king, and defraud him of his revenues. If required to give to Government the upper crop as rent, they cultivated roots, ground-nuts, saffron, etc., and brought only the stalks and straw to the treasury; and when, in the following year, the state officers wanted the lower crop, they sowed rice, rāgi, wheat, etc., and the tax-gatherer was obliged to be content with the straw. The result of this state of things was emptiness of the exchequer. On Rāma's return and restoration, he examined the treasury, and hit upon an expedient for replenishing it. He sent for a grey pumpkin, took out the seeds, and, keeping one for himself, had the remainder boiled in milk. He then sent for all the rayats, gave each of them a seed, and told them that each rayat should pay a pumpkin as rent. At the time of the kist (payment of revenue) the rayats pleaded that their seeds were useless, and, on Rāma showing them his own pumpkin, which had grown, offered to pay its weight in gold. But not until the rayat placed his wife's tāli in the scale did the beam kick, and, in this manner, all the gold in the realm found its way to the public treasury. As it was the means of their ruin, the Vakkaligas do not cultivate the grey pumpkin, or taste it even at the present day.

* Ind. Ant., III, 1874.

At a wedding among the Rājpūts of North Arcot, the marriage booth must be made with mango posts, and not with those of *Ficus religiosa*, and the bride and bridegroom must walk round it seven times. These people assert that they are true Kshatriyas, who came south from Rājputāna with the Muhammadan armies.* In the marriage ceremony of the Vanniyans or Pallis (agriculturists), the first of the posts supporting the booth must be cut from the vanni (*Prosopis spicigera*), a tree which they hold in much reverence because they believe that the five Pāndava princes, who were like themselves Kshatriyas, during the last year of their wanderings, deposited their arms in a tree of this species. On the tree the arms turned into snakes, and remained untouched till the owners' return.* The *Prosopis* tree is worshipped in order to obtain pardon from sins, success over enemies, and the realisation of the devotee's wishes. The Jālāris (Telugu fishermen) are divided into two endogamous sections called the people of the twelve poles and the people of the eight poles, according to the number of poles or posts used for the marriage booths. Similar sections are said to exist among the Pallis.†

At a wedding among the Jōgis (Telugu beggars), the marriage booth must contain twelve posts, and both bride and bridegroom must present four sheep and ten pots to the assembled guests. Should either fail, he or she receives three blows on the hand, is fined three rupees, and has cowdung and water poured over the head. Part

* Manual of the North Arcot district.

† Madras Census Report, 1901.

of the fine goes to the head of the caste, and the rest is spent in liquor, with which the party make merry.*

The milk-post, at a wedding among the Okkiliyans (cultivators) of Coimbatore, is made of the milk-hedge (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*), to which mango leaves and a kankanam (wrist thread) are tied. To the marriage post of the weaver Kaikōlans a cloth dipped in turmeric, in which pearls, coral, pieces of gold, and nine kinds of grain are tied up, is fixed. A four-anna piece, wrapped in a cloth, is tied to the milk-post of the Oddes (navvies). At a wedding among the Bēri Chettis (merchants), who belong to the left-hand faction, they are not allowed to tie plantain trees to the posts of the wedding booth with the trees touching the ground. If they do so, the Paraiyans, who belong to the right-hand section, cut them down. This custom is still observed in some out-of-the-way villages.

The mother of a Paraiyan bride, at Coimbatore, places seven rice cakes on the bridegroom's body, viz., on the head, above the shoulders, in the bend of the elbows, and in each hand. She removes all except the one on the head, and replaces them three times, when the cake on the head is removed with the others. A similar ceremony is performed on the bride.

The Toreyan (Canarese fisherman) bridegroom places his hands together, and small rice cakes are placed on his body in the following positions: one on the head, two above the shoulders, two in the bends of the elbows, two

* Madras Census Report, 1901.

in the knees, and four between the fingers. Cakes are, in like manner, placed on the bride's body. At a Toreya wedding cooked rice, white and coloured red, yellow, black, and green, is placed in trays, and waved before the contracting couple. Then nine lighted wicks are placed in a tray, and waved to avert the evil eye. Marriage, among the Toreyans, is always celebrated at the house of the bridegroom, never at that of the bride, as there is a legend that there was once a Rājah belonging to this caste, whose son was taken to the house of his bride-elect, and there murdered.

The marriage ceremony among the nomad Kuravans merely consists in tying a thread soaked in turmeric round the bride's neck, feasting the relations, and paying the bride-price.* The Kuravans seem to be even more previous than fathers who enter their infant sons for a popular house at a public school. For their children are said to be espoused even before they are born. Two men, who wish to have marriages between their children, say to one another: "If your wife should have a girl and mine a boy (or *vice versâ*), they must marry." And, to bind themselves to this, they exchange tobacco, and the bridegroom's father stands a carouse of arrack or toddy to the future bride's relations. But if, after the children are grown up, a Brāhman should pronounce the omens unpropitious, the marriage is not consummated, and the bride's father pays back the cost of the spirits used at the betrothal. When a marriage is arranged, a pot of water is placed before the couple, and a grass called thurvi

* Madras Census Report, 1901.

(*Cynodon Dactylon*) put into the water. This is equal to a binding oath between them.* Of this grass it is said in the Atharwana Vēda: "May this grass, which rose from the water of life, which has a hundred roots and a hundred stems, efface a hundred of my sins, and prolong my existence on earth for a hundred years." Writing concerning the Kuravans, Mr. Francis says: † "Kuravas have usually been treated as being the same as the Yerukalas . . . . But they do not intermarry or eat together. The Kuravas are said to tie a piece of black thread soaked in turmeric water round the bride's neck at weddings, while the Yerukalas use a necklace of black beads . . . . The (Kuravan) wife is apparently regarded as of small account, and, in a recent case in the Madras High Court, a husband stated that he had sold one of his wives for Rs. 21. The marriage ceremony consists merely in tying the thread soaked in turmeric round the woman's neck, feasting the relations, and paying the bride-price. Among the Kongu sub-division this latter can be paid by instalments in the following manner. A Kurava can marry his sister's daughter, and, when he gives his sister in marriage, he expects her to produce a bride for him. His sister's husband accordingly pays Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ out of the Rs. 60, of which the bride-price consists at the wedding itself, and Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ more each year until the woman bears a daughter." A Yerukala man can claim a girl in marriage for his son, when she attains a marriageable age, by tying, with the consent of the Berumanusan (headman), some money in her

* J. F. Kearns, *loc. cit.* † Madras Census Report, 1901.

father's cloth, or at least give a treat of toddy to the headman, the girl's father, and others.

At a Cheruman (agriculture serf) wedding, the groom receives from his brother-in-law a kerchief, which the giver ties round his waist, and a bangle which is placed on his arm. The bride receives a pewter vessel from her brother. Next her cousin ties a kerchief round the groom's forehead, and sticks a betel-leaf into it. The bride is then handed over to the bridegroom.* A Boya (Telugu hunter) bride, besides having a golden tāli tied to her neck, has an iron ring fastened to her waist with a black string, and the bridegroom has the same.† An unusual item in the marriage ceremony of the Malasars (forest tribe) of Coimbatore is the tying of an iron ring to the bridegroom's wrist.‡ The tāli is, among the Nāttukottai Chettis (traders) tied, not by the bridegroom, but by some old man who is the father of many children. During the ceremony, the bridegroom should invariably carry on his shoulder a bag containing betel-leaves and nuts. At a wedding among the jungle Kānikars of Travancore, the bridegroom offers a cloth as a present to the bride's mother, besides one to the bride; and a present of $5\frac{1}{2}$ fanams (coins) in the case of a bride who has reached puberty, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanams in the case of a bride who has not, to the uncle or father-in-law, four chuckrams (small coins) of which go to the bride's father. A silver tāli is tied by the bridegroom himself

* Madras Mail, 1899.

† Manual of the North Arcot district.

‡ Madras Census Report, 1901.

in the case of a girl of the latter kind, and through his sister to one of the former. On the marriage day the feast is held at the bride's father's house, and on the next at the bridegroom's.*

The chief ceremonies at a marriage among the Bāvuris (basket-makers and earth-diggers) of Ganjam are the tying of betel-leaf and nut in the cloths of the bridal pair, the throwing of rice over the shoulder of the bridegroom by the bride, and the adornment of the bride with bangles.† Unusual items at a wedding among the Konda Doras (hill cultivators) of Vizagapatam are that the bridegroom is bathed in saffron water, and that the tāli is handed to him by an old man.†

In years gone by, members of the Gūna Velama class (Telugu cultivators), who were desirous of getting married, had to arrange and pay the expenses of the marriage of two of the Palli (fisherman) caste, but now it is regarded as sufficient to hang up a net in the house during the time of the marriage ceremony. The custom had its origin in a legend that, generations ago, when all the members of the caste were in danger of being swept off the face of the earth by their enemies, the Pallis came to the rescue with their boats, and carried the Velamas to a place of safety.‡

A custom called araveni or aireni is described as being observed at weddings of Sūdras in the Nellore district. Previous to the marriage day a potter is called

* M. Ratnasami Aiyar, Indian Review, 1902.
† Madras Census Report, 1901.
‡ Rev. J. Cain, Ind. Ant., VIII, 1879.

on to make from nine to twenty-one pots, the largest of which is about twelve feet in circumference, and the smallest a foot. These pots are painted outside with ornamental designs. The bride's relatives take two or three plates full of rice, pulse, and cakes under a canopy, and offer them to the pots. The offering is taken by the potter. The pots are then brought to the dwelling of the bride, and red coloured rice is whirled round each, to avert the evil eye, and then thrown away. The pots are brought into the house, and ranged each upon a settle of paddy. Lights are kept burning near this day and night, and are not allowed to go out. The married couple repair to the pots and worship them, and repeat the ceremony morning and evening for five days. Each morning and evening some matrons take the smaller pots to a well under a canopy, accompanied by music, and, after worshipping the well, they fill the pots with water, and bear them to the house. This water is for the bride and bridegroom to bathe with. Both morning and evening the bridal couple are seated upon a bedstead, and benedictory hymns are sung round them.* The marriage ceremony among the Uppiliyans (salt workers) is unusual. The couple are made to sit inside a wall made of piled-up water pots. The ends of their cloths are tied together, and then the women present pour the contents of some of the pots over them.†

The Panta Reddis (cultivators) of the Telugu country worship, at their marriages, the Ganga idol, which is

* Manual of the Nellore district. † Madras Census Report, 1901.

kept in the custody of a washerman belonging to a particular section of the Tsākalis. On the morning of the wedding day the Tsākali brings the idol, represented by a wooden head, and deposits it in the room where the araveni pots are kept. It is worshipped daily during the marriage ceremony, just before pūja is done to the pots. Towards evening on the fourth day, the idol, together with a goat and a kāvadi (bamboo pole with baskets of rice, cakes, betel leaves and nuts) is carried in procession to a pond or temple. The Tsākali, dressed up like a woman, heads the procession, and keeps on dancing and singing till the destination is reached. The idol is placed inside a rude triangular hut made of three sheaves of straw, and the articles brought in the baskets are spread before it. On the heap of rice small lumps of flour paste are placed, and these are made into lights by scooping out cavities, and feeding the wicks with ghī. One of the ears of the goat is then cut, and it is brought near the food. This done, the lights are extinguished, and the assembly return home without the least noise. The washerman takes charge of the idol, and goes his way. With the Panta Reddis of the southern (Tamil) districts, the details of the ceremony are somewhat different. The idol is taken in procession by the washerman two or three days before the marriage, and he goes to every Reddi house, and receives a present of money. The idol is then set up in the verandah, and worshipped daily till the conclusion of the marriage ceremony. Concerning the origin of the Ganga pūja the following legend is narrated. The Reddis who came southward had to cross the Silanathi, or petrifying river, and, if they

Plate VI.

Pūni Golla Muggu.

passed through the water, they would have become petrified. So one of the Reddis took the party back to a place called Dhonakonda, and, after worshipping Ganga, the head of the idol was cut off, and brought to the river-bank. The waters, like those of the Red Sea in the time of Pharoah, were divided, and the Reddis crossed on dry ground.

To propitiate their ancestors, the Pūni Gollas (Telugu cultivators), on the occasion of a marriage, go through an elaborate ceremonial called Ganga pūja, which was witnessed by Mr. K. Rangachari. Nine devices (muggu) are drawn on the floor of the court-yard by Mādigas or Mālas in five colours, viz., rice-flour (white), turmeric (yellow), turmeric and chunām (red), powdered leaves of *Cassia auriculata* (green), and charred paddy husk (black). These patterns represent a lotus flower, pandal or booth, tridents, snakes, throne of Sakti, a hero and his wife, Rāni's palace, offerings of food, and a female figure of Ganga. Of these the last is the most elaborate (plate VI). People, especially boys, are not allowed to witness the drawing of the devices, as the sight of the muggu in preparation would bring on illness, especially to boys and those of weak mind. Near the head of the figure of Ganga, an old bamboo box containing metal idols, ropes, betel, flowers, and a sword is placed. On its left side are set a brass vessel representing Sīva, three brass vessels (called bonalu or food-vessels), topped with betel, a small empty box tied up in a turmeric-dyed cloth called Brāmayya, and a sword. On the right side are an earthen tray and

lamp. Near the legs are placed a brass pot filled with water, a lump of food coloured red, and frankincense. Food is piled up, in large and small conical heaps, and broom-sticks, bearing betel leaves, are placed on them. The pūja commenced with waving of the red food and incense. A fowl was then smoked over the vessel containing the incense, and, after being waved over the Ganga figure, its neck was wrung. Cocoanuts and fruit were then offered. One of the men officiating at the ceremonial, tying to his legs bells like those used by dancing-girls, became possessed by the spirit of an ancestor, and cut himself with a sword, which was wrested from him, and placed on the figure. The bridegroom then arrived, and seated himself by the feet of Ganga. He, too, becoming inspired, threw off his turban and body-cloth, and began to kick about, while declaring that he was Kariyāvala Rāja (an ancestor). Gradually becoming calm, he began to cry. Incense and lights were then carried round the figure, and the bride and bridegroom were blessed by those assembled.

Among the Vellūr-nādu Kallans a curious custom is said to be followed in the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy. Patterns are drawn on her back with rice flour, and milk is poured over them. The husband's sister decorates a grinding stone in the same way, invokes blessings on the woman, and expresses a hope that she may have a male child as strong as a stone.*

Concerning a form of marriage between the living and the dead among the Kōmatis, if a man and woman have

* Madras Census Report, 1901.

been living together and the man dies, Mr. Hutchinson writes as follows: * "The sad intelligence of her man's death is communicated to the neighbours; a guru or priest is summoned, and the ceremony takes place. According to a writer who once witnessed such a proceeding, the dead body of the man was placed against the outer wall of the verandah of the house in a sitting posture, attired like a bridegroom, and the face and hands besmeared with turmeric. The woman was clothed like a bride, and adorned with the usual tinsel ornament over the face, which, as well as the arms, was daubed over with yellow. She sat opposite the dead body, and spoke to it in light unmeaning words, and then chewed bits of dry cocoanut, and squirted them on the face of the dead man. This continued for hours, and not till near sunset was the ceremony brought to a close. Then the head of the corpse was bathed, and covered with a cloth of silk, the face rubbed over with some red powder, and betel leaves placed in the mouth. Now she might consider herself married, and the funeral procession started." At the funeral of an unmarried Toda girl, which I witnessed, the corpse was made to go through a form of marriage ceremony. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a grass and the twig of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli (cloth) in which it was wrapped, and the boy placed the grass

* *Op. cit.*

and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and covered him with it from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. When an unmarried member of the Vāniyan or Onti-eddu Gāniga (Canarese oil-pressers) communities dies, a mock marriage ceremony is performed, and the corpse is decorated with a wreath of arka (*Calotropis gigantea*) flowers. Among the Maravars, if the parties are too poor to afford all the rites and entertainments, the tying of the tāli is alone performed at first, and the man and woman begin to cohabit forthwith. But the other ceremonies must be performed at some time, or, as the phrase goes, "the defect must be cured." Sometimes the ancillary ceremonies will take place after the wife has borne three or four children. And, should the husband happen to die before he can afford to cure the defect, his friends and relations will at once borrow money, and the marriage will be duly completed in the presence and on behalf of the corpse, which must be placed on one seat with the woman, and be made to represent a bridegroom. The tāli is then taken off, and the widow is free to marry again.* In Malabar an unmarried woman cannot be cremated until the tāli has been tied round the neck of the corpse, while it lies on the funeral

* Manual of the Madura district.

Gāniga Bride and Bridegroom.

pyre by some relation. The following horrible rite has been described by the Abbé Dubois as existing among the Nambūtiri Brāhmans. "Observant Nambudrii morem quam pravissimum turpissimumque. Apud hos immaturæ adhuc nubunt plerumque puellæ. Si forte mortua fuerit virgo, apud quam exstiterint jam pubertatis indicia, more gentili quasi religio est in cadaver ejus exercendum esse stuprum monstruosum. Necesse est igitur mercede conducant parentes qui tam obscæni conjugii munere fungi velit, quo omissō sibi quasi maculam hærere existimant propinqui." But Mr. T. A. Kalyanakrishna Aiyar, writing recently,* stated that he had had the advantage of an interview with the greatest living authority among the Nambūtiris on their customs and observances, who assured him that not only did the custom not exist at the present day, but there was not the slightest vestige of any tradition that it ever existed among them at any time.

In bygone days there was, in Coorg, a custom of so-called cloth marriages. "In these," F. Kittel writes † "a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during the connection. The custom was abolished by one of the Lingayat Rājas, who, being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished, from wanton selfishness put a stop to it."

* Malabar Quart. Review, I. 1902. † Ind. Ant., II, 1873.

I pass on to the custom of polyandry. As an example of *quasi*-polyandry, the Tottiyans or Kambalattars (Telugu cultivators) may be cited. When a marriage has been agreed to, two booths are erected outside the village, and decked with leaves of the pongu tree. In each of them is placed a bullock-saddle, and upon these the bride and bridegroom are seated while the relations are marshalled and addressed by the priest. After marriage it is customary for the women to cohabit with their husband's brothers and near relatives, and with their uncles; and, so far from any disgrace attaching to them in consequence, their priests compel them to keep up the custom if by any chance they are unwilling.* Among the Kāppiliyans (Canarese cultivators) who have settled in the Tamil country, it is said to be permissible for a woman to cohabit with her brothers-in-law, without thereby suffering any social degradation. One of the customs of the western Kallans is specially curious. It constantly happens that a woman is the wife of ten, eight, six, or two husbands, who are held to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be born of her body, and, when the children grow up, they will call themselves the children not of ten, but of eight and two fathers. This is probably to avoid mentioning the number ten, which is inauspicious.

Concerning the system of polyandry, as carried out by the Todas of the Nīlgiris, Dr. Rivers writes as follows.† "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people,

* Manual of the Madura district. † Man. No. 97, 1903.

and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order among them. When the girl becomes the wife of a boy, it is usually understood that she becomes also the wife of his brothers. In nearly every case at the present time, and in recent generations, the husbands of a woman are own brothers. In a few cases, though not brothers, they are of the same clan. Very rarely do they belong to different clans. One of the most interesting features of Toda polyandry is the method by which it is arranged who shall be regarded as the father of a child. For all social and legal purposes, the father of a child is the man who performs a certain ceremony about the seventh month of pregnancy, in which an imitation bow and arrow are given to the woman. When the husbands are own brothers, the eldest brother usually gives the bow and arrow, and is the father of the child, though, so long as the brothers live together, the other brothers are also regarded as fathers. It is in the cases in which the husbands are not own brothers that the ceremony becomes of real social importance. In these cases it is arranged that one of the husbands shall give the bow and arrow, and this man is the father, not only of the child born shortly afterwards, but also of all succeeding children, till another husband performs the essential ceremony. Fatherhood is determined so absolutely by this ceremony that a man who has been dead for several years is regarded as the father of any children borne by his widow, if no other man has given the bow and arrow. There is no doubt that, in former times, the polyandry of the Todas was associated with

female infanticide, and it is probable that the latter custom still exists to some extent, though strenuously denied. There is reason to believe that women are now more plentiful than formerly, though they are still in a distinct minority. Any increase, however, in the number of women does not appear to have led to any great diminution of polyandrous marriages, but polyandry is often combined with polygyny. Two or more brothers may have two or more wives in common. In such marriages, however, it seems to be a growing custom that one brother should give the bow and arrow to one wife, and another brother to another wife. It seems possible that the Todas are moving from polyandry to polygyny through an intermediate stage of combined polyandry and polygyny."

In the ceremony referred to by Dr. Rivers, according to the account given to me by several independent witnesses, the Toda woman proceeds, accompanied by members of the tribe, on a new moon day in the fifth or seventh month of her pregnancy, to a shola (grove), where she sits with the man who is to become the father of her child near a kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*). The man asks the father of the woman if he may bring the bow, and, on obtaining his consent, goes in search of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), from a twig of which he makes a mimic bow. The arrow is represented by a blade of grass called nark. Meanwhile a triangular niche has been cut in the kiaz tree, in which a lighted lamp is placed. The woman seats herself in front of the lamp, and, on the return of the man, asks thrice "Whose bow is it"? or "What is

it?" meaning to whom, or to which mand does the child belong? The answer varies according to the group of mands which is concerned. Those, for example, who belong to the school mand group say Pulkoroff, and those who belong to the Tarnād mand say Purzesthi. The bow and arrow are handed to the woman, who raises them to her head, touches her forehead with them, and places them near the tree. From this moment the lawful husband of the child is the man from whom she has received the bow and arrow. He places on the ground at the foot of the tree some rice, various kinds of grain, chillies, jaggery, and salt tied in a cloth. All those present then leave, except the man and woman, who remain near the tree till about six o'clock in the evening, when they return to the mand. The time is determined, in the vicinity of Ootacamund, by the opening of the flowers of *Œnothera tetraptera*, a garden escape called by the Todas āru mani puff (six o'clock flower), which opens towards evening.

A few years ago (1902) the Todas, in a petition to Government, prayed for special legislation to legalise their marriages on the lines of the Malabar Marriage Act. The Government was of opinion that legislation is at present unnecessary, and that it is open to such of the Todas as are willing to sign the declaration prescribed by section 10 of the Marriage Act, III of 1872, to contract legal marriages under the provision of that Act. The Treasury Deputy Collector of the Nīlgiris was appointed Registrar of Toda Marriages. No marriage has been registered up to the present time, because, I am informed, the Act requires a declaration of being

unmarried, which cannot be made by a Toda who has gone through a form of marriage according to Toda rites, and whose marriage has not been formally dissolved.

The custom of fraternal polyandry is said to still survive among the Tiyans (toddy tappers) in a few talúks of Malabar, but to be dying out. After he has married his elder brother's wife, a man can marry again, and have a wife for himself. Property, however, devolves through the eldest brother's wife. A girl will not be given to an only son, for, they say "Where is the good? He may die, and she will have nothing. The more brothers, the better the match."* I am told that the Tiyan woman sleeps in a room, and her husbands outside. When one of them is engaged with her, a knife is placed on the door-frame as a signal that entrance into the room is forbidden to the other husbands.

In Ceylon the children of polyandrous marriages acknowledged all the husbands of their mother as their fathers, calling them, like the Nambūtiri Brāhman, Tiyan, and Nāyar, great father, little father, etc. It is recorded of a certain highland chieftain in Ceylon that, in speaking of the insolent behaviour of a certain lad towards him, he remarked: "He behaves thus to me who am one of his fathers."† And a native of Ceylon, speaking contemptuously of the inhabitants of a village in which Professor Haeckel was staying, spoke as follows. "Their reprobate nature is not to be wondered at. For these low country people have always had a number

* F. Fawcett, Madras Mus. Bull., MS.

† Papers on the custom of Polyandry as practised in Ceylon.

of fathers, and, as they inherit all the bad qualities of so many fathers, it is only natural that they should grow worse and worse."*

Among the jungle Kurumbas of the Nīlgiris it is said to be the custom for several brothers to take one wife in common, and they do not object to their women being open to others also.† In the Madras Census Report, 1891, Mr. H. A. Stuart states that he is "informed that polyandry of the fraternal type exists among the Panta sub-division of the Reddis, but the statement requires verification." I have been unable to establish the existence of the custom, belief in which seems to have been based on the fact that, among the Reddi sub-division of the Yānādis, who are employed by Panta Reddis as domestic servants, if a woman's husband dies, abandons or divorces her, she may marry his brother. The Kanisans (astrologers) of Malabar admit that polyandry of the fraternal type was formerly common among them, but this has now died out.‡ It is generally believed that fraternal polyandry once prevailed among the Krishnavakkakars of Travancore, and even to-day a widow may be taken as a wife by a brother of the deceased husband, even though he is younger than herself. Issue, thus procreated, is the legitimate issue of the deceased, and acquires full right of inheritance to his property.§

Of the fraternal form of polyandry in Malabar, Bartolomeo writes ‖ that "on the coast of Malabar, a

* Haeckel. A visit to Ceylon, 1883.
† A. Rajah Bahadur Mudaliar, MS.
‡ Madras Census Report, 1891.
§ N. Subramani Iyer, MS.
‖ Voyage to the East Indies, 1776-89.

custom prevails, in the caste to which the braziers belong, that the eldest, brother alone marries; but the rest, when he is absent, supply his place with their sister-in-law."

Of polyandry as practised by the Kammālans (artisans) of Malabar, I learn that, when a marriage is thought of, the village astrologer is summoned, and the horoscopes of the contracting parties are consulted. It is sufficient if the horoscope of one of the sons agrees with that of the girl. On the wedding day the bride and bridegrooms sit in a row, and the girl's parents give them fruits and sugar. A feast is then held, and a priest of the Kammālans takes some milk in a vessel, and pours it into the mouths of the bride and bridegrooms, who are seated in a row, the eldest on the right, the others in order of seniority, and lastly the bride. During the nuptials the parents of the bride have to present a water-vessel, lamp, eating-dish, cooking vessel, spittoon, and a vessel for drawing water from the well. The eldest brother cohabits with the bride on the wedding day, and special days are set apart for each brother. There seems to be a belief among the Kammālan women that, the more husbands they have, the greater will be their happiness. If one of the brothers, on the ground of incompatibility of temper, brings a new wife, she is privileged to cohabit with the other brothers. In some cases a girl will have brothers, ranging in age from twenty-five to five, whom she has to regard as her husbands, so that, by the time the youngest brother reaches puberty, she may be over thirty, and the young man has to perform the duties of a husband with a wife who is twice his age. Polyandry

is said to be most prevalent among the blacksmiths, who lead the most precarious existence, and have to observe the strictest economy. * The Kanisans, or astrologers of the west coast, Mr. Logan writes, " † like the Pāndava brothers, as they proudly point out, used formerly to have one wife in common among several brothers, and this custom is still observed by some of them." The custom among the Kāraikkāt Vellālas (Tamil cultivators) according to which wives are accustomed to grant the last favour to their husband's relations, is, it has been suggested, a survival of fraternal polyandry.‡

In illustration of the custom of polyandry among the Nāyars of Malabar in bygone days, the following extracts may be quoted :—

" On the continent of India," it is recorded in Ellis' edition of the Kural, " polyandry is still said to be practised in Orissa, and among particular tribes in other parts. In Malayālam, as is well known, the vision of Plato in his ideal republic is more completely realised, the women among the Nāyars not being restricted to family or number, but, after she has been consecrated by the usual rites before the nuptial fire, in which ceremony any indifferent person may officiate as the representative of her husband, being in her intercourse with the other sex only restrained by her inclinations; provided that the male with whom she associates be of an equal or superior tribe. But it must be stated, for the glory of the female character,

* S. Appadorai Iyer, MS. † Malabar Manual.
‡ Manual of the Madura district.

that, notwithstanding the latitude thus given to the Nāyattis, and that they are thus left to the guidance of their own free will and the play of their own fancy (which in other countries has not always been found the most efficient check on the conduct of either sex), it rarely happens that they cohabit with more than one person at the same time. Whenever the existing connexion is broken, whether from incompatibility of temper, disgust, caprice, or any of the thousand vexations by which, from the frailty of nature, domestic happiness is liable to be disturbed, the woman seeks another lover, the man another mistress. But it mostly happens that the bond of joint paternity is here, as elsewhere, too strong to be shaken off; and that the uninfluenced and uninterested union of love, when formed in youth, continues even in the decline of age."

Writing in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Grose * says that "it is among the Nairs that principally prevails the strange custom of one wife being common to a number; in which point the great power of custom is seen from its rarely or never producing any jealousies or quarrels among the co-tenants of the same woman. Their number is not so much limited by any specific law as by a kind of tacit convention, it scarce ever happening that it exceeds six or seven. The woman, however, is under no obligation to admit above a single attachment, though not less respected for using her privilege to its utmost extent. If one of the husbands happens to come

* Travels to the East Indies.

to the house when she is employed with another, he knows that circumstance by certain signals left at the door that his turn is not come, and departs very resignedly." Writing about the same time, Sonnerat * says that "these Brāhmans do not marry, but have the privilege of enjoying all the Nairesses. This privilege the Portuguese, who were esteemed as a great caste, obtained and preserved, till their drunkenness and debauchery betrayed them into a commerce with all sorts of women. The following right is established by the customs of the country. A woman without shame may abandon herself to all men who are not of an inferior caste to her own, because the children (notwithstanding what Mr. De Voltaire says) do not belong to the father, but to the mother's brother; they become his legitimate heirs at his birth, even of the crown if he is king." In his 'Voyages and Travels' Kerr writes as follows: † "By the laws of their country these Nayres cannot marry, so that no one has any certain or acknowledged son or father; all their children being born of mistresses, with each of whom three or four Nayres cohabit by agreement among themselves. Each one of this cofraternity dwells a day in his turn with the joint mistress, counting from noon of one day to the same time of the next, after which he departs, and another comes for the like time. Thus they spend their time without the care or trouble of wives and

* Voyage to the East Indies, 1774 and 1781.

† R. Kerr, General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, 1811, chapter VI, History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese between the years 1497 and 1525: from the original Portuguese of Herman Lopes de Castaneda.

children, yet maintain their mistresses well according to their rank. Any one may forsake his mistress at his pleasure; and, in like manner, the mistress may refuse admittance to any one of her lovers when she pleases. These mistresses are all gentlewomen of the Nayre caste, and the Nayres, besides being prohibited from marrying, must not attach themselves to any woman of a different rank. Considering that there are always several men attached to one woman, the Nayres never look upon any of the children born of their mistresses as belonging to them, however strong a resemblance may subsist, and all inheritances among the Nayres go to their brothers, or the sons of their sisters, born of the same mothers, all relationship being counted only by female consanguinity and descent. This strange law prohibiting marriage was established that they might have neither wives nor children on whom to fix their love and attachment: and that, being free from all family cares, they might be more willingly devote themselves entirely to warlike service." The term son of ten fathers is used as a term of abuse among Nāyars to this day.* Tīpū Sultān is said to have issued the following proclamation to the Nāyars, on the occasion of his visit to Calicut in 1788. "And, since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless in your connections than the beasts of the field; I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of

* Wigram, Malabar Law and Custom, Ed. 1900.

mankind."* As to the existence or non-existence of what has been called an expansive form of polyandry, which assumes as a postulate that the wisest child cannot be expected to know its own father, and that a man's heir-at-law is his sister's son, I must call recent writers into the witness box The Rev. S. Mateer, Mr F. Fawcett writes,† "informed me ten years ago—he was speaking of polyandry among the Nāyars of Travancore—that he had 'known an instance of six brothers keeping two women, four husbands to one, and two to the other. In a case where two brothers cohabited with one woman, and one was converted to Christianity, the other brother was indignant at the Christian's refusal to live any longer in this condition.' I have not known an admitted instance of polyandry amongst the Nāyars of Malabar at the present day, but there is no doubt that, if it does not exist now (and I think it does here and there), it certainly did not long ago." Mr. Gopal Panikkar says ‡ that "to enforce this social edict upon the Nairs, the Brāhmans made use of the powerful weapon of their aristocratic ascendancy in the country, and the Nairs readily submitted to the Brāhman supremacy. Thus it came about that the custom of concubinage so freely indulged in by the Brāhmans with Nair women obtained such firm hold upon the country that it has only been strengthened by the lapse of time. At the present day there are families, especially in the interior of the district, who look upon

* T. A. Kalyanakrishna Aiyar, Malabar Quart. Review, II, 1903.
† Madras Museum Bull., III, 1901.
‡ Malabar and its Folk, 1900.

it as an honour to be thus united with Brāhmans. But a reaction has begun to take place against this feeling; and Brāhman alliances are invariably looked down upon in respectable Nair tarwads.* This reactionary feeling took shape in the Malabar Marriage Act." And Mr. Justice K. Narayana Marar says: † "there is nothing strange or to be ashamed of in the fact that the Nāyars were originally of a stock that practised polyandry, nor if the practice continued till recently. Hamilton in his 'Account of the East Indies' and Buchanan in his 'Journey' say that, among the Nāyars of Malabar, a woman has several husbands, but these are not brothers. These travellers came to Malabar in the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they were not just recording what they saw. For I am not quite sure whether, even now, the practice is not lurking in some remote nooks and corners of the country." Lastly, Mr. Wigram writes as follows: ‡ "Polyandry may now be said to be dead, and, although the issue of a Nāyar marriage are still children of their mother rather than of their father, marriage may be defined as a contract based on mutual consent, and dissoluble at will. It has been well said (by Mr. Logan) that nowhere is the marriage tie, albeit informal, more rigidly observed or respected than it is in Malabar: nowhere is it more jealously guarded, or its neglect more savagely avenged."

* Tarwad: a Marumakkatāyam family consisting of all the descendants in the female line of one common female ancestor.

† Malabar Quart. Review, No. 1, 1902.

‡ Malabar Law and Custom, 1882.

Reference may be here appropriately made to the curious ceremony called Tāli-kettu-kalyānam (tāli-tying marriage), or mock marriage ceremony which every girl in a Nāyar tarwad goes through while still a child. For an account of this ceremony I must resort to Mr. K. R. Krishna Menon's evidence before the Malabar Marriage Commission.* "The Tāli-kattu-kalyānam is somewhat analogous to what a dēva-dāsi (dancing girl attached to temples) of other countries (districts) undergoes before she begins her profession. Among royal families, and those of certain Edaprabhus, a Kshatriya, and among the Charna sect a Nedungādi is invited to the girl's house at an auspicious hour appointed for the purpose, and, in the presence of friends and castemen, ties a tāli round her neck, and goes away after receiving a certain fee for his trouble. Among the other sects, the horoscope of the girl is examined along with those of her enangan (a recognised member of one's own class) families, and the boy whose horoscope is found to agree with hers is marked out as a fit person to tie the tāli, and a day is fixed for the tāli-tying ceremony by the astrologer, and information given to the karanavan (senior male in a tarwad) of the boy's family. On the appointed day the boy is invited to a house near that of the girl, where he is fed, with his friends, by the head of the girl's family. The feast is called ayaniūnu, and the boy is thenceforth called manavālan or pillai (bridegroom). From the house in which the manavālan is entertained a procession is formed, preceded by men with swords and shields shouting a kind of war-cry. In

* Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission, 1894.

the meantime a procession starts from the girl's house, with similar men and cries, and headed by a member of her tarwad, to meet the other procession, and, after meeting the manavālan, he escorts him to the girl's house. After entering the booth erected for the purpose, he is conducted to a seat of honour, and his feet are washed by the brother of the girl, who receives a pair of cloths. The manavālan is then taken to the centre of the booth, where bamboo mats, carpets, and white cloths are spread, and seated there. The brother of the girl then carries her from inside the house, and, after going round the booth three times, places her at the left side of the manavālan. The father of the girl then presents new cloths tied in a kambli (blanket) to the pair, and with this new cloth (called manthravadi), they change their dress. The wife of the karnavan of the girl's tarwad, if she be of the same caste, then decorates the girl by putting on anklets, etc. The purōhit (officiating priest) called Elayath (a low class of Brāhmans) then gives the tāli to the manavālan, and the family astrologer shouts muhurtham (auspicious hour), and the manavālan, putting his sword on the lap, ties the tāli round the neck of the girl, who is then required to hold an arrow and a looking glass in her hand. In rich families a Brāhmani sings certain songs intended to bless the couple. In ordinary families, who cannot procure her presence, a Nāyar, versed in songs, performs the office. The boy and girl are then carried by enangans to a decorated apartment in the inner part of the house, where they are required to remain under a sort of pollution

for three days. On the fourth day they bathe in some neighbouring tank or river, holding each other's hands. After changing their cloths, they come home, preceded by a procession. Tom-toms (native drums) and elephants usually form part of the procession, and saffron water is sprinkled. When they come home, all the doors of the house are shut, and the manavālan is required to force them open. He then enters the house, and takes his seat in the northern wing thereof. The aunt and female friends of the girl then approach, and give sweetmeats to the couple. The girl then serves food to the boy, and, after taking their meal together from the same leaf, they proceed to the booth, where a cloth is severed into two parts, and each part given to the manavālan and girl separately in the presence of enangans and friends. The severing of the cloth is supposed to constitute a divorce." Several variations of the rite as practised prevail in different localities, and it is said that, when the family is poor, a bridegroom is sometimes dispensed with altogether. The girl's mother makes an idol of clay, adorns it with flowers, and invests her daughter with the tāli in the presence of the idol. This would seem to be an almost exact counterpart of the consecration of the east coast dēva-dāsi to her profession as a temple prostitute. The opinion was expressed by Mr. (now Sir Henry) Winterbotham, one of the Malabar Marriage Commissioners, that the Brāhman tāli-tier was a relic of the time when the Nambūtiris were entitled to the first fruits, and it was considered the high privilege of every Nāyar maid to be introduced by them to womanhood.

Without giving any opinion as to the correctness or otherwise of this view, Mr. Justice Moore * draws attention to the following passage from Captain Hamilton's new account of the East Indies (1744). "When the Zamorin marries, he must not cohabit with his bride till the Nambūdri, or chief priest, has enjoyed her, and he, if he pleases, may have three nights of her company, because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships. And some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute, but the common people cannot have that compliment paid to them, but are forced to supply the priests' places themselves."

Concerning the Kammālans (artisans) of Malabar Mr. S. Appadorai Iyer writes that as with the Nāyars, the tāli-kettu-kalyānam has to be celebrated. For this the parents of the child have to find a suitable manavālan or bridegroom by the consultation of horoscopes. An auspicious day is fixed, and new cloths are given to the manavālan. The girl bathes, and puts on new clothes. The bride and bridegroom are brought to the marriage booth, where the tāli-tying ceremony takes place. This concluded, the bridegroom takes a thread from the new cloth, and breaks it in two, saying that his union with the girl has ceased. He then walks away without looking back.

With the Iluvans (toddy tappers) of Malabar the vītil kettu corresponds to the tāli-kettu ceremony of other castes. The girl is bathed by seven maidens, and made

* Malabar Law and Custom, 3rd Edition, 1905. The chapter therein devoted to quasi-marriage customs, is well worthy of careful study.

to stand on a plank. The boy's sister then ties the tāli round her neck. The maidens husk a measure of paddy, and they and the girl eat it. On the fourth day the girl is taken to a tank, and bathed. Flowers and three lighted wicks are placed on a raft made of a plantain stem, and floated on the water while she bathes. On her return from the tank, she is given a little jaggery and cocoanut to eat. The girl's father asks the boy's people that the marriage tie should be severed. Her mother, or one of her female relations, takes a thread from her cloth, and, saying that the girl and boy are separated, puts it in a vessel containing cooked rice. This vessel, and two other vessels containing curry and other food-stuffs, are sent to the boy's house. The girl is no longer his wife, and may be married to any one else. If a girl is to be married before the vītil-kettu has been performed, the sister of the bridegroom-elect carries a new cloth as a present from him to the bride's house. Instead of the tāli, a gold ring is tied on the girl's neck. The remaining ceremonies are as at any ordinary wedding. This form of marriage is called kannannī.

It is stated in a recent article * that among the Konars (cow-herds) of Pūndurai near Erode, in the Tamil country, who, according to tradition, originally belonged to the same tribe as the Gopas living in the southern part of Kerala, and now forming a section of Nāyars, the former matrimonial customs were exactly the same as those of the Nāyars. They, too, celebrated kettu-kalyānam, and, like the Nāyars, did not make it

* K. Kannan Nāyar, Malabar Quart. Review, 1903.

binding on the bride and bridegroom of the ceremony to live as husband and wife. They have now, however, abandoned the custom, and have made the tying of the tāli the actual marriage ceremony.

Of those who gave evidence before the Malabar Commission, some thought the tāli-kettu was a marriage, some not. Others called it a mock marriage, a formal marriage, a sham marriage, a fictitious marriage, a marriage sacrament, the preliminary part of marriage, a meaningless ceremony, an empty form, a ridiculous farce, an incongruous custom, a waste of money, and a device for becoming involved in debt. "While," the report states, "a small minority of strict conservatives still maintain that the tāli-kettu is a real marriage intended to confer on the bridegroom a right to cohabit with the bride, an immense majority describe it as a fictitious marriage, the origin of which they are at a loss to explain. And another large section tender the explanation accepted by our President (Sir T. Muttusami Aiyar) that in some way or other it is an essential caste observance preliminary to the formation of sexual relations."

In a recent note on marriage customs in Malabar,* Mr. T. A. Kalyanakrishna Aiyar states that "in some parts of Travancore and Cochin, and in the tarwads of Tirumalpāds and others belonging to the Kshatriya caste, the tāli-kettu ceremony is said to be performed after puberty. In a few Sūdra families also, here and there, such as at Manapuram and other places, now-a-days the ceremony is performed after the girl attains puberty."

* Malabar Quart. Review, 1902.

The tāli-kettu ceremony is, it may be noted, referred to by Kerr,* who, in his translation of Castaneda, states that "these sisters of the Zamorin, and other kings of Malabar, have handsome allowances to live upon; and, when any of them reaches the age of ten, their kindred send for a young man of the Nayre caste, out of the kingdom, and give him great presents to induce him to initiate the young virgin; after which he hangs a jewel round her neck, which she wears all the rest of her life, as a token that she is now at liberty to dispose of herself to any one she pleases as long as she lives."

In summing up the evidence collected by him, Mr. Justice Moore states that it seems to prove beyond all reasonable doubt that "from the sixteenth century at all events, and up to the early portion of the nineteenth century, the relations between the sexes in families governed by marumakkathayam were of as loose a description as it is possible to imagine. The tāli-kettu-kalyānam, introduced by the Brāhmans, brought about no improvement, and indeed in all probability made matters much worse by giving a quasi-religious sanction to a fictitious marriage, which bears an unpleasant resemblance to the sham marriage ceremonies performed among certain inferior castes elsewhere as a cloak for prostitution. As years passed, some time about the opening of the nineteenth century, the Kērala Mahatmyam and Kēralotpathi were concocted, probably by Nambūdris, and false and pernicious doctrines as to the obligations laid on the Nāyars by divine law to administer to the

* *Op. cit.*

lust of the Nambūdris were disseminated abroad. The better classes among the Nāyars revolted against the degrading system thus established, and a custom sprang up, especially in north Malabar, of making sambandham a more or less formal contract, approved and sanctioned by the karnavan (senior male) of the tarwad to which the lady belonged, and celebrated with elaborate ceremonies under the pudamuri form. That there was nothing analogous to the pudamuri prevalent in Malabar from A.D. 1550 to 1800 may, I think, be fairly presumed from the absence of all allusion to it in the works of the various European writers." According to Act IV, Madras, 1896, sambandham means an alliance between a man and a woman, by reason of which they, in accordance with the custom of the community to which they belong, or either of them belongs, cohabit or intend to cohabit as husband and wife.

Since the passing of the Malabar Marriage Act in 1896, only the following applications to register sambandhams were received until 1904:—

—	Nāyars.	Tiyans.	Others.	Total.
1897	28	6	2	36
1898	8	2	4	14
1899	8	2	4	14
1900	8	...	9	17
1901	3	...	1	4
1902	...	...	...	...
1903	2	...	...	2
Total ...	57	10	20	87

In his report for 1898–99, the Registrar-General of Marriages states that "the power conferred by the marriage law to make provision for one's wives and children has hitherto acted as some inducement to persons to register their sambandhams; but as the new testamentary law (Act V of 1898) enables the followers of marumakkatayam law to attain this object without registering their sambandhams, and thus 'unnecessarily curtailing their liberty of action, and risking the chance of divorce proceedings,' the Registrar of Calicut thinks it unlikely that registrations under the marriage law would increase in future." In the report for 1900–01, he writes further that "the mass of the population of the west coast is so strongly opposed to the provisions of the Act that even the educated classes find it difficult, if not impossible, to act upon their convictions, and run counter to popular opinion. This is especially the case in North Malabar, where not a single notice to register sambandhams has been received during the past two years, and only twelve sambandhams (confined chiefly to officials and vakils *) have been registered since the Marriage Act came into force. Since the passing of the Malabar Testamentary Act in 1898, the necessity for registering sambandhams, with the main object of making provision for their offspring, has practically disappeared, and there has been a large increase in the number of testamentary dispositions of property and deeds of gift registered in several of the registration offices."

* Law pleaders.

In the Madras Census Report, 1901, Mr. Francis refers to the form of hypergamy between different castes which exists on the west coast, where "women of castes equal to or higher than the Nāyars are prohibited from forming unions with men of castes below them in rank, though the men of these castes are not similarly restricted." Nāyars, for example, may marry Erumān (buffalo-drivers and keepers) women, but their men may not marry Nāyar girls. In this and other respects the Erumāns resemble the Erumān sub-division of the Kōlayān (cow-herd) caste, whose women may marry Nāyars, though the offspring of such unions cannot claim the same privileges in the temples as pure-bred Kōlayāns.* Of the children of marriages between Maravans and Agamudaiyan women, the females marry Maravans, the males Agamudaiyan.† Oriya Zamindar get wives from the Khondāita sub-caste of Odiyas or Oriyas, but the men of this sub-caste cannot marry into the Zamindar's families.*

A friend was, on one occasion, out after big game in the Jeypore hill-tracts, and shot a tiger. He asked his shikāri (tracker) what reward he should give him for putting him on to the beast. The shikāri replied that he would be quite satisfied with twenty-five rupees, as he wanted to get his younger brother out of pledge. Asked what he meant, he replied that, two years previously, he had purchased as his wife a Bhumia woman, who belonged to a caste higher than his own, for a

* Madras Census Report, 1901. † Rev. A. C. Clayton, MS.