

and the pyre lighted by the eldest son standing at the head. The sticks of which the car was constructed are added to the fuel, of which the pyre is built up. In some places the son, when lighting the pyre, repeats the words "Being begotten by my father and mother, I, in the presence of all and the dēva, set fire at the head after the manner of my ancestors and forefathers." On the day following the funeral, the bereaved family distribute rice to all the Badagas of the hamlet, and all the near relations of the deceased go to the burning ground, taking with them two new pots. The fire is extinguished, and the fragments of the bones are collected. A tray is made of the fronds of the bracken fern (*Pteris aquilina*) covered with a cloth, on which the bones are placed together with culms of *Cynodon* grass and ghī. The Badagas of the hamlet who are younger than the deceased salute the bones by touching them, and a few men, including the chief mourner, hold the tray, and convey it to the bone pit, which every hamlet possesses. Into it the bones are thrown, while an elder repeats the words "Become united with the line of your relations, with your clan, and with the big people," or "May the young and old who have died, may all those who have died from time immemorial up to the present time, mingle in one." When the pit has been closed up, all return to the spot where the body was burnt, and, clearing a space, make a puddle, round which they stand, and throw into it a handful of korali (*Setaria italica*), uttering the words "May deaths cease; may evils cease; may good prevail in the village; in virtue of the good deeds of the ancestors and

forefathers, may this one mingle with them." This ceremony concluded, they repair to a stream, where a member of the bereaved family shaves a Toreya partially or completely. Some take a razor, and, after removing a patch of hair, pass the Toreya on to a barber. All the agnates are then shaved by a Badaga or a barber. The chief mourner then prostrates himself on the ground, and is blessed by all. He and the Toreya then proceed to the house of the deceased. Taking a three-pronged twig of *Rhodomirtus tomentosus*, and placing a minige (*Argyria*, sp.) leaf on the prongs, he thrusts it into a rubbish heap near the house. He then places a small quantity of sâmai grain (which is called street food) on the leaf, and, after sprinkling it thrice with water, goes away. The final death ceremonies are carried out on a Sunday following the day of death.

The funeral rites of the Udaya (Lingayat) sub-division of the Badagas differ in some important details from those of the Badaga sub-division. The buffalo catching, and leading the animal round the corpse are omitted. But a steer and heifer are selected, and branded on the thigh, by means of a hot iron, with the lingam and other emblems. Bedecked with cloths and jewels, they are led to the side of the corpse, and made to stand on a blanket spread on the ground. They are treated as if they were lingams, and pūja is done to them by offering cocoanuts and betel leaves, and throwing flowers over them. Round their necks kankanams (marriage threads) are tied. They are made to turn so as to face away from the corpse, and their tails are placed in the

hands thereof. An elder then proceeds with the recitation of the dead person's sins. The Udayas bury their dead in a sitting posture in a cell dug out of the side of the grave, and, like the Irulas, prefer to use a grave in which a previous burial has taken place. At the four corners of the grave they place in the ground a plant of *Leucas aspera*, and pass a cotton thread laterally and diagonally across the grave, leaving out the side opposite the cell. Two men descend into the grave, and deposit the corpse in its resting place with two lighted lamps.

Quite recently (1905) an elaborate Badaga memorial ceremony for ancestors, called *manavalai*, which takes place at long intervals, was held on the Nilgiris. I gather from the notes of a native official that an enormous car, called *elu kudi tēru* (seven-storeyed car) was built of wood and bamboo, and decorated with silk and woollen fabrics, flags, and umbrellas. Inside the ground floor were a cot with a mattress and pillow, and the stem of a plantain tree. The souls of the ancestors are supposed to be reclining on the cot, resting their heads on the pillow, and chewing the plantain, while the umbrellas protect them from the sun and rain. The ear ornaments of all those who have died since the previous ceremony should be placed on the cot. "A Badaga fell and hurt himself during the erection of the car. Whereupon, another Badaga became possessed, and announced that the god was angry because a Kurumba had something to do with the building of the structure. A council meeting was held, and the Kurumba fined twenty-five rupees, which were credited to the god. Sixty-nine petty

bazârs and three beer taverns had been opened for the convenience of all classes of people that had assembled. One very old Badaga woman said that she was twelve years old when the first European was carried in a chair by the Todas, and brought up the ghât to the Nîlgiris from Coimbatore. On Wednesday at 10 A.M. people from the adjoining villages were announced, and the Kota band, with the village people, went forward, greeted them, and brought them to the tower (car). As each man approached it, he removed his turban, stooped over the pillow and laid his head on it, and then went to form a ring for the dance. The dancers wore skirts made of white long-cloth, white and cream silks and satins with border of red and blue trimming, frock dresses, and dressing-gowns, while the coats, blouses, and jackets were of the most gaudy colours of silk, velvet, velveteen, tweed, and home-spun. As each group of people arrived, they went first to the temple door, saluted the god, and went to the basement of the tower to venerate the deceased, and then proceeded to join the ring for the dance, where they danced for an hour, received their supplies of rice, etc., and cleared off. Thursday and Friday were the grandest days. Nearly three thousand females and six thousand males assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamoties (spades). They came on dancing from some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the tower. These Badagas belonged to the gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was

slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

The Urâlis of the Combatore hills are familiar with the Badagas, who have a settlement not many miles distant, and their death ceremonies are, to some extent, copied from those of the Badagas. As soon as a member of the tribe dies, the corpse is anointed, washed, and dressed in new clothes and a turban. On the face three silver coins are stuck, viz.:—a rupee on the forehead, and a quarter rupee outside each eye. When all have assembled for the funeral, the corpse is brought out and placed within a car (*têru*) of six storeys, made of bamboo and sticks, covered with coloured cloths and flags, and having at the top a kalasa (brass vessel) and umbrella. To the accompaniment of a band a dance takes place around the car, and the procession then moves on to the burial ground, where a cow-buffalo is brought near the car, and a little milk drawn, and poured three times into the mouth of the corpse. A cow and one or two calves are then taken round the car, and the calves presented to the sister of the deceased. The car is broken up, after the decorations have been stripped off. The corpse

is buried either on the spot, or taken away to distant Nīrgundi, and buried there. On the eighth day after the funeral or return from Nīrgundi, the eldest son of the deceased has his head shaved, and, together with his brother's wife, fasts. If the funeral has been at Nīrgundi, the son, accompanied by his relations, proceeds thither after tying some cooked rice in a cloth. On arrival he offers this to all the memorial stones in the burial ground (goppamanā), and erects a stone, which he has brought with him, in memory of the deceased. He then anoints all the stones with ghī, which is contained in a green bamboo measure. He next collects the rice, which has been offered, and one of the party, becoming inspired, gives vent to oracular declarations as to the season's prospects, the future of the bereaved family, etc. The collected rice is regarded as sacred, and is partaken of by all. Each sept has its own goppamanā, which is a rectangular space with mud walls on three sides. In cases in which the corpse has been buried close to the village, the grave is marked by a pile of stones. Two or three years afterwards the body is exhumed, and the bones are collected, and placed in front of the house of the deceased. All the relations weep, and the son conveys the bones to Nīrgundi, where he buries them. On the eighth day he revisits the spot, and erects a stone with due ceremony.

On the twelfth day after the death of a Bant in South Canara, a barber, washerman, and carpenter, erect a lofty structure made of bamboo and areca palm, on the spot where the corpse was burnt. The structure must be supported on an odd number of posts, and possess an

odd number of tiers. It is dressed with red, white, and black cloths, fruits, tender cocoanuts, sugar-cane, mango leaves, etc., and a fence is set up round it. The sons and nephews of the dead person bring three balls of rice (pinda) coloured with turmeric, raw rice, green plantain fruit, pumpkin and cocoanut on trays, and go thrice round the structure, carrying the trays on their heads. They then deposit the various articles within the structure, and a little of the raw rice is thrown into it. One of the castemen present then sprinkles water contained in a mango leaf over their hands, and they bathe, and return home, where a further ceremonial is carried out.

On the eleventh or thirteenth day after a death among the Baidyas (Billavas) of South Canara, a ceremony called bojja is performed. Its celebration is essential, as the dead are believed to fast until it has been carried out. For this ceremony the near relations of the deceased come in a body in procession, accompanied by music, and bringing loads of provisions. Sometimes devil-dancers don their professional costume, and accompany the procession. Early in the morning a few handfuls of earth from the burial place are burnt with various kinds of grain, as a symbol of cremation, and the ashes are deposited in the garden of the house of the deceased. Over them a barber erects a lofty bamboo structure, called doope, composed of five, seven, or nine conical tiers, and topped with a wooden dome covered with gilt paper. The doope is decorated with coloured cloths. Within the house, where the females have to sit, a similar structure, but on a smaller scale, is set up. When the guests have arrived,

uncooked rice mixed with saffron paste, and rice cakes are handed to them by the female mourners, and are carried on a palanquin brought by the barber in procession, with music, to the doope, in the lowest tier whereof they are deposited. The ghost of the dead person is believed to be propitiated thereby, and to be admitted to the ghost fraternity by the ancestors.* By the Baidyas a further quaint ceremony called *kale deppuni* (driving the ghost) is carried out. The ghost of a dead person is believed to haunt the house until the fifth day. Before retiring to bed on the evening of this day, the inmates sprinkle the portico with ashes from the spot where the deceased breathed his last, and take great care to abstain from walking thereon, or approaching the sprinkled spot, lest the ghost should strike them. Early next morning they examine the ashes, to see if the marks of the cloven feet of the ghost are left thereon. If the marks are clear, it is a sign that the ghost has departed; otherwise a magician is called in to drive it out. My informant naively remarks that, when he has examined the marks which are left on the ashes, they were those of the family cat.

The origin of the funeral cars, which play a conspicuous part in the death ceremonies of the Badagas, Kotas, Urālis, Okkiliyans, Bants, Baidyas, and others, must, I imagine, be sought for in the *vimānam* or bamboo chair decorated with plantain stems, coloured cloths, and flags, which has already (p. 139) been referred to in the account of the Lingayat death ceremonies.

* M. Venkatappa, M.S.

“The Eastern Kullans sometimes, after a corpse has been buried, bring a bier to the grave. The brother of the widow of the deceased digs up the body, removes the skull, which he washes, and smears with sandalwood powder and spices. This man, whose relation to the deceased is an indication of the matriarchate, is seated on the bier, and, holding the skull in his hands, is carried to a shed erected in front of the dead man’s house. The skull is set down, and all the relations mourn over it till the next day at noon. The following twenty-four hours are given over to drunken revelry. Then the brother-in-law is again seated on the bier, skull in hand, and is carried back to the grave. The son, or heir of the deceased, then burns the skull, and breaks an earthen pot, apparently with the object of releasing the ghost.”*

“The Coorgs,” Mr. A. Rea writes, † “bury the corpses of women and boys under sixteen years of age, while those of men are burnt. One male and one female of every house in the village must attend the funeral. A light is lit in the half of a broken cocoanut, the oil being clarified butter. This is set on a quantity of rice in a dish, which is placed close by the corpse. There is also a dish with cocoa-milk, saffron, rice and water, into which each of the villagers who attend the rites puts some money, after they have poured some water into the mouth of the corpse. This collection goes towards the funeral expenses. The dead is honoured by the firing of guns. At the burial ground, all the villagers moisten the lips of the corpse

* W. Crooke. *Fide* Folk-lore, V, 86.

† Arch. Survey, Madras. Ann. Report, 1901-02.

with a drop or two of water, and put a coin in a dish placed for the purpose. On the twenty-eighth day after death all the villagers are invited to a feast." As soon as a Malaiāli of the Javādi hills dies, guns are fired off at short intervals, till the burial is over. A few bundles of tobacco are buried with the dead body.* As soon as a Savara dies, a gun is fired off at the door, to frighten away the kulba (spirit). The dead body is washed and carried away to the family cremation ground, where it is burned. Every thing a man has—his bows and arrows, tangi (axe), dagger, necklaces, cloths, rice, etc.—are burnt with his body.† Among the jungle Chenchus, if an old man dies, leaving no children or other near relations, his bows and arrows, axe, clothing, etc., are buried with him.

Of the death ceremonies among the Nāyars of Malabar, the following detailed account is given by Mr. F. Fawcett.‡ "When the dying person is about to embark for that bourne from which no traveller returns, and the breath is about to leave his body, the members of the household, and all friends who may be present, one by one, pour a little water, a few drops from a tiny cup made of a leaf or two of the tulsi (*Ocimum*) plant, into his mouth, holding in the hand a piece of gold or a gold ring; the idea being that the water should touch gold ere it enters the mouth of the person who is dying. If the taravād (or tarwad) is rich enough to afford it, a small gold coin (a Rāsi fanam, if one can be procured) is

* Manual of the North Arcot district.

† Madras Census Report, 1891.

‡ Madras Mus. Bull., III, 8, 1901.

placed in the mouth, and the lips are closed. As soon as death has taken place, the corpse is removed from the cot or bed, and carried to the vatakkini (a room in the northern end of the house), where it is placed on long plantain leaves spread out on the floor; and while it is in the room, whether by day or by night, a lamp is kept burning, and one member of the taravād holds the head in his lap, and another the feet in the same way; and here the neighbours come to take a farewell look at the dead. As the Malayālis believe that disposal of a corpse by cremation or burial as soon as possible after death is conducive to the happiness of the spirit of the departed, no time is lost in setting about the funeral. The bodies of senior members of a taravād, male or female, are burned; those of children under two are buried; so too are the bodies of all persons who have died of cholera or small-pox.* When preparations for the funeral have been made, the corpse is removed to the natumuttam or central yard of the house if there is one (there always is in the larger houses), and, if there is not, is taken to the front yard, where it is again laid on plantain leaves. It is washed and anointed, the usual marks are made with sandalwood paste and ashes as in life, and it is neatly clothed. There is then done what is called the potavekkuka ceremony, or placing new cotton cloths (kōti mundu) over the corpse by the senior member of the deceased's taravād followed by all the other members, also sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and all relatives.

* It is the same among the Khonds of Ganjam.

These cloths are used for tying up the corpse, when being taken to the place of burial or cremation. In some parts of Malabar the corpse is carried on a bier made of fresh bamboos, tied up in these cloths, while in others it is carried, well covered in the cloths, by hand. In either case it is carried by the relatives. Before the corpse is removed, there is done another ceremony called *pāra virakkuka* (filling up *pāras*—a *pāra* is a measure nearly as big as a gallon). All adult male members of the *taravād* take part in it under the direction of a man of the *Atikkurissi* clan, who occupies the position of director of the ceremonies during the next fifteen days, receiving as his perquisite all the rice and other offerings made to the deceased's spirit. It consists in filling up three *pāra* measures with paddy, and one *odangāli* ($\frac{1}{10}$ of a *pāra*) with raw rice. These offerings of paddy and rice are placed very near the corpse, together with a burning lamp of the kind commonly used in Malabar, called *nela villāku*.* If the *taravād* is rich enough to afford one, a silk cloth is placed over the corpse before removal for cremation. As much fuel as is necessary having been got ready at the place of cremation, a small pit about the size of the corpse is dug, and across this are placed three long stumps of a plantain tree, one at each end, one in the middle, on which as a foundation the pyre is laid. The whole, or at least a part of the wood used should be that of the mango tree. As the corpse is being removed to the pyre, the senior

* In this connection it is interesting to note that, amongst many Tamil castes, it is the custom to place a measure filled with paddy, and a lamp, at the head of the corpse, and to take them round it.

Anandravan * who is next in age (junior) to the deceased, tears from one of the new cloths laid on the corpse a piece sufficient to go round his waist, ties it round his waist, and holds in his hand, or tucks into his cloth at the waist a piece of iron, generally a long key. This individual is throughout chief among the offerers of pindam (balls of rice) to the deceased. The corpse is laid on the bier, with the head to the south, with the fuel laid over it, and a little camphor, sandalwood and ghī, if these things are within the means of the taravād. Here must be stated the invariable rule that no member of the taravād, male or female, who is older than the deceased shall take any part whatever in the ceremony, or in any subsequent ceremony following on the cremation or burial. All adult males junior to the deceased should be present when the pyre is lighted. The deceased's younger brother, or, if there is none surviving, his nephew (his sister's eldest son), sets fire to the pyre at the head of the corpse. If the deceased left a son, this son sets fire at the same time to the pyre at the feet of the corpse. In the case of the deceased being a woman, her son sets fire to the pyre; failing a son, the next junior in age to her has the right to do it. It is a matter of great importance that the whole pyre burns at once. The greatest care is taken that it burns as a whole, consuming every part of the corpse. While the corpse is being consumed, all the members of the deceased's taravād who carried it to the

* The eldest male member of the Malabar taravād is called the Kāranavan. All male members, brothers, nephews and so on, who are junior to him, are called Anandravans of the taravād.

pyre go and bathe in a tank (there is always one in the compound or garden around every Nāyar's house). The eldest, he who bears the piece of torn cloth and the piece of iron (the key), carries an earthen pot of water, and all return together to the place of cremation. It should be said that, on the news of a death, the neighbours assemble, assisting in digging the grave, preparing the pyre, and so on, and, while the members of the taravād go and bathe, they remain near the corpse. By the time the relatives return it is almost consumed by the fire, and the senior Anandravan carries the pot of water thrice round the pyre, letting the water leak out by making holes in the pot as he walks round. On completing the third round, he dashes the pot on the ground close by where the head of the dead had been placed. A small image of the deceased is then made out of raw rice representing the deceased, and to this image a few grains of rice and gingelly seeds are offered. When this has been done, the relatives go home and the neighbours depart, bathing before entering their houses. When the cremation has been done by night, the duty of sēshakriya (making offerings to the deceased's spirit) must be begun the next day between 10 and 11 A.M., and is done on seven consecutive days. In any case the time for this ceremony is after 10 and before 11, and it continues for seven days. It is performed as follows. All male members of the taravād younger than the deceased go together to a tank and bathe, *i.e.*, they souse themselves in the water, and return to the house. The eldest of them, the man who tore off the strip of cloth from the corpse, has with him

the same strip of cloth and the piece of iron, and all assemble in the central court-yard of the house, where there has been placed ready by an *euangan*, some rice which has been half boiled, a few grains of gingelly, a few leaves of the *cherūla* (*Arna lanata*) some curds, a smaller measure of paddy, and a smaller measure of raw rice. These are placed in the north-east corner with a lamp of the ordinary Malabar pattern. A piece of palmyra leaf, about a foot or so in length and the width of a finger, is taken, and one end of it knotted. The knotted end is placed in the ground, and the long end is left sticking up. This represents the deceased. The rice and other things are offered to this. The belief concerning this piece of palmyra leaf is explained thus. There are in the human body ten humours:--*Vāyūs*; *Prānan*; *Apānan*; *Samānan*; *Udānan*, *Vyānan*; *Nāgan*; *Kūrman*; *Krikalan*; *Dēvadattan*; *Dhananjayan*. These are called *Dasavāyu*, i.e., ten airs. When cremation was done for the first time, all these, excepting the last, were destroyed by the fire. The last one flew up, and settled on a palmyra leaf. Its existence was discovered by some *Brāhman* sages, who, by means of mantrams, forced it down to a piece of palmyra leaf on the earth. So it is thought that, by making offerings to this *dhananjayan* leaf for seven days, the spirit of the deceased will be mollified, should he have any anger to vent on the living members of the *taravād*. The place where the piece of leaf is to be fixed has been carefully cleaned, and the leaf is fixed in the centre of this prepared surface. The offerings made to it go direct to the spirit of the deceased,

and the peace of the taravād is ensured. The men who have bathed and returned have brought with them, plucked on their way back to the house, some grass (*karuka pulla*). They kneel in front of the piece of palmyra with the right knee on the ground. Some of the grass is spread on the ground near the piece of leaf, and rings made with it are placed on the ring finger of the right hand by each one present. The first offerings consist of water, sandalwood paste, and leaves of the *cherūla*, the eldest of the Anandravans leading the way. Boys need not go through the actual performance of offerings; it suffices for them to touch the eldest as he is making his offerings. The half-boiled rice is made into balls (*pindams*), and each one present takes one of these in his right hand, and places it on the grass near the piece of palmyra leaf. Some gingelly seeds are put into the curd, which is poured so as to make three rings round the *pindams*. It is poured out of a small cup made with the leaf on which the half-boiled rice had been placed. It should not be poured from any other kind of vessel. The whole is then covered with this same plantain leaf, a lighted wick is waved, and some milk is put under the leaf. It is undisturbed for some moments, and the leaf is tapped gently with the back of the fingers of the right hand. The leaf is then removed, and torn in two at its midrib, one piece being placed on either side of the *pindams*. The ceremony is then over for the day. The performers rise, and remove the wet clothing they have been wearing. The eldest of the Anandravans should, it was omitted to mention, be kept somewhat separated from

the other Anandravans while in the courtyard, and before the corpse is removed for cremation; a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law, or some such kind of relation remaining, as it were, between him and them. He has had the piece of cloth torn from the covering of the corpse tied round his waist, and he has had the piece of iron in the folds of his cloth, or stuck in his waist during the ceremony which has just been described. Now, when it has been completed, he ties the piece of cloth to the pillar of the house nearest to the piece of palmyra leaf which has been stuck in the ground, and puts the piece of iron in a safe place. The piece of palmyra leaf is covered with a basket. It is uncovered every day for seven days at the same hour, while the same ceremony is repeated. The balls of rice are removed by women and girls of the taravād who are junior to the deceased. They place them in the bell-metal vessel, in which the rice was boiled. The senior places the vessel on her head, and leads the way to a tank, on the banks of which the rice is thrown. It is hoped that crows will come and eat it; for, if they do, the impression is received that the deceased's spirit is pleased with the offering; but, if somehow it is thought that the crows will not come and eat it, the rice is thrown into the tank. Dogs are not to be allowed to eat it. The women bathe after the rice has been thrown away. When the ceremony which has been described has been performed for the seventh time, *i.e.*, on the seventh day after death, the piece of palmyra leaf is removed from the ground, and thrown on the ashes of the deceased at the place of cremation. During these seven days, no

member of the taravād goes to any other house. The house of the dead, and all its inmates are under pollution. No outsider enters it but under ban of pollution, which is, however, removable by bathing. A visitor entering the house of the dead during these seven days must bathe before he can enter his own house. During these seven days, the Kāranavan of the family receives visits of condolence from relatives and friends to whom he is "at home" on Monday, Wednesday or Saturday. They sit and chat, chew betel and go home, bathing ere they enter their houses. It is said that, in some parts of Malabar, the visitors bring with them small presents in money or kind, to help the Kāranavan through the expenditure to which the funeral rites necessarily put him. To hark back a little, it must not be omitted that on the third day after the death, all those who are related by marriage to the taravād of the deceased combine, and give a good feast to the inmates of the house and to the neighbours, who are invited, one man or one woman from each house. The person so invited is expected to come. This feast is called *patni karigi*. On the seventh day a return feast will be given by the taravād of the deceased to all relatives and neighbours. Between the seventh and fourteenth day after death no ceremony is observed; but the members of the taravād remain under death pollution, and then on the fourteenth day comes the *sanchayanam*. It is the disposal of the calcined remains; the ashes of the deceased. The male members of the taravād go to the place of cremation, and, picking up the pieces of unburnt

bones which they find there, place these in an earthen pot which has been sun-dried (not burnt by fire in the usual way), cover up the mouth of this pot with a piece of new cloth, and, all following the eldest who carries it, proceed to the nearest river (it must be running water), which receives the remains of the dead. The men then bathe, and return home. In some parts of Malabar the bones are collected on the seventh day, but it is not orthodox to do so. Better by far than taking the remains to the nearest river is it to take them to some specially sacred place, Benares, Gāya, Ramēsvaram, or even to some place of sanctity much nearer home, as to Tirunelli in Wynnād, and there dispose of them in the same manner. The bones or ashes of any one having been taken to Gāya and there deposited in the river, the survivors of the taravād have no need to continue the annual ceremony for that person. This is called *ashta-gāya srādh*. It puts an end to the need for all earthly ceremonial. It is believed that the collection and careful disposal of the ashes of the dead gives peace to his spirit, and, what is more important, the pacified spirit will not thereafter injure the living members of the taravād, cause miscarriage to the women, possess the men (as with an evil spirit), and so on. On the fifteenth day after death is the purificatory ceremony. Until this has been done, any one touched by any member of the taravād should bathe before he enters his house, or partakes of any food. A man of the Athikkurisi clan officiates. He sprinkles milk oil, in which some gingelly seeds have been put, over the persons of those

under pollution. This sprinkling, and the bath which follows it, remove the death pollution. The purifier receives a fixed remuneration for his offices on this occasion, as well as when there is a birth in the taravād. In the case of death of a senior member of a taravād, well-to-do and reckoned as of some importance, there is the feast called pinda atiyantaram on the sixteenth day after death, given to the neighbours and friends. The word neighbours, as used here, does not mean those who live close by, but, owing to the custom of Malabar under which each house is in its own paramba (garden or enclosure) which may be a large one, those of the caste living within a considerable area round about. I am not sure whether in connection with these ceremonies there is mutual assistance in preparation for the funeral, or whether there is any recognized obligation between members of the same amsham, dēsam, or tara; or whether this kind of mutual obligation obtains generally between any taravād and those of the caste round about, irrespective of boundaries. With the observance of the pinda atiyantaram or feast of pindams, there is involved the dīksha, or leaving the entire body unshaved for forty-one days, or for a year. There is no variable limit between forty-one days or a year. Forty-one days is permissible as the period for the dīksha, but a year is correct. The forty-one day period is the rule in North Malabar.

“I have seen many who were under the dīksha for a year. He who lets his hair grow may be a son or nephew of the deceased. One member only of the taravād bears the mark of mourning by his growth

of hair, remarkable enough in Malabar where every one as a rule, excepting the Māppila Muhammadans (and they shave their heads), shaves his face, head (except the patch on the crown) chest and arms, or at any rate his wrists. He who is under the *dikṣha* offers half-boiled rice and gingelly seeds to the spirit of the deceased every morning after his bath; and he is under restriction from women, from alcoholic drinks, and from chewing betel, also tobacco. When the *dikṣha* is observed, the ashes of the dead are not deposited as described already (in the sun-dried vessel) until its last day—the forty-first or a year after death. When it is carried on for a year there is observed every month a ceremony called *bali*. It is noteworthy that, in this monthly ceremony and for the conclusion of the *dikṣha*, it is not the thirtieth or three hundred and sixty-fifth day which marks the date for the ceremonies, but it is the day (of the month) of the star which was presiding when the deceased met his death: the returning day on which the star presides.* For the *bali*, a man of the *Elāyatu* caste officiates. The *Elāyatus* are priests for the *Nāyars*. They wear the *Brāhman's* thread, but they are not *Brāhman's*. They are not permitted to study the *Vēdas*, but to the *Nāyars* they stand in the place of the ordinary *purōhit*. The officiating *Elāyatu* prepares the rice for the *bali*, when the deceased, represented by *karūka* grass, is offered boiled rice, curds, gingelly seeds and some other things. The *Elāyatu*

* All caste Hindus who perform the *śrādh* ceremony calculate the day of death, not by the day of the month, but by the *thithi* (day after the full or new moon).

should be paid a rupee for his ^vservices, which are considered necessary even when the man under dikṣha himself is familiar with the required ceremonial. The last day of the dikṣha is one of festivity. After the bali the man under dikṣha is shaved. All this over, the only thing to be done for the deceased is the annual srādh or yearly funeral commemorative rite. Rice balls are made, and given to crows. Clapping of hands announces to these birds that the rice is being thrown for them, and, should they come at once and eat it, it is obvious that the spirit of the deceased is pleased with the offering, and is not likely to be troublesome. But, on the other hand, should they not come and eat, it is evident that the spirit is displeased, and the taravād had better look out. The spirits of those who have committed suicide, or met death by any violent means, are always particularly vicious and troublesome to the taravād, their spirit possessing and rendering miserable some unfortunate member of it. Unless pacified, they will ruin the taravād, so Brāhman priests are called in, and appease them by means of tilahōmam, a rite in which sacrificial fire is raised, and ghī, gingelly, and other things are offered through it."

Among the Tiyaṇs of Malabar, on the morning of the third day the kurup, or caste barber, adopts measures to entice the spirit of the deceased out of the room in which the deceased breathed his last. This is done by the nearest relative bringing into the room a steaming pot of savoury funeral rice. It is immediately removed, and the spirit, after three days' fasting, is understood to greedily

follow the odour of the tempting food. The *kurup* at once closes the door, and shuts out the spirit.*

After the cremation of an Ambattan of Travancore, a rope is held by two of the relations between the cremated body and the *karta* (chief mourner), and is cut in two, as if to indicate that all connection between the *karta* and the deceased has ceased. This is called *bandham aruppu* (severing of connection).†

The Ambalakārans employ Brāhman *purōhīts* and wear the sacred thread at funerals, and perform *srādh*. Yet they eat mutton, pork and fowls, and drink alcohol, and allow the marriage of widows and divorced women. A curious custom among the Nānchināt and other Vellālas is that, for their funeral ceremonies, the head of the chief mourner is shaved clean, while, in the case of other castes, his hair is kept sacred from the barber's hand for a variable period. He wears the Brāhmanical thread during the period of pollution.‡ The Bhatrāzns, who were formerly bards and panegyrists in the Telugu country, employ Brāhman priests for their marriages, but Jangams and Sātānis for funerals, and follow the lower Purānic, instead of the higher Vēdic ritual.§

* A curious mode of carrying the dead among the Namadari or Vaishnavite Nagarthas of Mysore is that the corpse is rolled up in a blanket, and carried by its four corners to the burial-ground. In like manner, the corpse of an unmarried Yerukala man is carried to the burial-ground, not on a bier, but wrapped up in a mat or cloth.

* Malabar Manual.

† Travancore Census Report, 1901.

‡ Travancore Census Report, 1901.

§ Madras Census Reprt, 1901.

On the last day of the death rites, a new cloth is purchased, and on it a human figure, representing the deceased, is drawn. Pumpkins, onions, brinjals, pork, and fowls are spread on castor-oil leaves, and offered to the deceased. By some Oddes a corpse is carried to the burial-place by four men on a dhupati (cloth). The corpse may not be washed in the house, but is bathed and decorated *en route* to the graveyard. A widower cuts through his waist-string on the peddhadinam ceremony for his deceased wife.

The nomad Kuravans, on the third day after the funeral, offer toddy and pork to the spirit of the deceased.*

A ceremonial rite, called mayanakollai, or robbery in the smasānam or māyanam (burning-ground), forms part of the festival celebrated by the Sembadavan fishermen on a new-moon day in honour of the goddess Ankalamma. Its origin is based on the following legend. One Vallāla Māharāja, by severe penance and austerity, secured a boon, whereby to beget a child capable of destroying everything in the universe. Learning this, the Dēvas hurried to the three Murtis, Brāhma, Vishnu, and Śiva. Śiva placed a curse on the Rāja, so that his wife should not conceive. After some years, however, the Rāni became pregnant, but still no child was born. Finally, Ankalamma, a Sembadavan woman married to the god Śiva, came to the Rāja's territory disguised as a midwife. Hearing of her arrival, Vallāla Rāja sent for her, and asked her to assist the Rāni. This the mock midwife promised to do, on condition that no male should

* Madras Census Report, 1901.



Šembadavan Māyana Kollai.

be allowed to enter the precincts of the building, in which the Rāni was to be delivered. Securing this condition, Ankalamma went to the Rāni, and assumed her real form. The Rāni thereon fainted, and Ankalamma tore open her abdomen and destroyed the child. Simultaneously, her son Vīrabhadra entered the palace, and killed Vallāla Rāja. The whole town was then sacked, and it was converted into a burning-ground. In commemoration of this event, the festival is celebrated. On the last day, or in the afternoon if it lasts only for a single day, the god and goddess are carried in procession to the burning-ground. Two people dress up to represent Vīrabhadra and Ankalamma, and a boy, disguised as Katteri (a devil) accompanies them. Vīrabhadra carries in one hand a long sword with a lime-fruit stuck on the point, and in the other the head of Vallāla Rāja. Ankalamma, in like manner, carries a scimitar with a lime on the point, and a new winnow containing the well-washed and cleaned viscera of a sheep. A portion of the intestines is kept in the mouth of the mock goddess (plate XII) till the return of the god and goddess, at the end of ten or twelve hours, to the village temple. When the burning-ground is reached, a plantain leaf is placed on the recent ashes of a corpse, or on the bare ground, where a body has once been cremated. On the leaf are set a small quantity of mutton, cooked rice, dried fish, cakes, pulses, a piece of a human bone, and a bottle of arrack (liquor). The men disguised as Vīrabhadra and Ankalamma, accompanied by the Katteri, go thrice round the plantain leaf,

which is then lifted, and thrown high into the air. The crowd then scramble for a share of the food-stuffs, and for some minutes there is a regular *melée*.

My Assistant, Mr. Govindan, was present at the festival called *Smasānakollai*, held at *Walajapet* in honour of *Ankamma*, the goddess of *Malayauṇr*, on the day following *Sīvarātri*. A huge figure, representing the goddess, was made at the burning-ground out of the ashes of burnt bodies mixed with water, the eyes being made of two hens' eggs painted black in the centre to represent the pupils. It was covered with a yellow cloth, and a sweet-smelling powder (*kadambam*) was sprinkled over it. The following articles, which are required by a married woman, were placed on it—a comb, a pot containing colour-powder, glass bangles, rolls of palm-leaf for dilating the ear-lobes, and a string of black beads. Devotees presented as offerings limes, plantains, toddy, arrack, sugar-cane, and various kinds of cooked grains and other eatables. About midday the goddess was taken in procession from her shrine to the burning-ground, and placed in front of the figure. The *pūjāri* (a fisherman), who wore a special dress for the occasion, walked in front of the idol, carrying in one hand a brass cup representing the skull which *Sīva* carried in his hand, and in the other a piece of human skull-bone, which he bit and chewed as the procession moved onwards. When the burning-ground was reached, he performed *pūja* by breaking a cocoanut, and going round the figure with burning camphor in his hand. Goats and fowls were sacrificed. A woman, pos-

sessed by a devil, seated herself at the feet of the figure, and became wild and agitated. The pūja completed, the assembled multitude fell on the figure, and carried off whatever they could grab of the articles placed on it, which are believed to possess healing and other virtues. They also smeared their bodies with the ashes. The pūjāri, and some of the devotees, then became possessed, and ran about the burning-ground, seizing and eating partly burnt bones. Tradition runs to the effect that, in olden times, they used to eat even the dead bodies, if they came across any, and the people are so afraid of their doing this that, if a death should occur, the corpse is not taken to the burning-ground till the festival is over. "In some cases," Herbert Spencer writes,* "parts of the dead are swallowed by the living, who seek thus to inspire themselves with the good qualities of the dead; and we saw that the dead are supposed to be honoured by this act."

The celebration of the smasāna or mayanakollai at Malayanūr is thus described by Mr. K. Rangachari. The village of Malayanūr is famous for its Ankamma temple, and during the festival, which takes place immediately after the Sivarātri, some thousands of people congregate at the temple, which is near the burning-ground. In front of the stone idol is a large ant-hill, on which two copper idols are placed, and a brass vessel, called korakkūdai, is placed at the base of the hill, to receive the various votive offerings. Early in the day

* Principles of Sociology.

the pūjāri (a Sembadavan fisherman) goes to a tank, and brings a decorated pot, called pūṅkaragam, to the temple. Offerings are made to a new pot; and, after a sheep has been sacrificed, the pot is filled with water, and carried on the head of a pūjāri, who shows signs of possession by the deity, through the streets of the village to the temple, dancing wildly, and never touching the pot with his hands. It is believed that the pot remains on the head, without falling, through the influence of the goddess. When the temple is reached, another pūjāri takes up a framework, to which are tied a head made of rice flour, with three faces coloured white, black, and red, representing the head of Brāhma which was cut off by Sīva, and a pot with three faces on it. The eyes of the flour figure are represented by hen's eggs. The pot is placed beneath the head. Carrying the framework, and accompanied by music, the pūjāri goes in procession to the burning-ground, and, after offerings of a sheep, arrack, betel and fruits have been made to the head of Brāhma, it is thrown away. Close to the spot where corpses are burnt, the pūjāris place on the ground five conical heaps representing Ganēsa, made of the ashes of a corpse. To these are offered the various articles brought by those who have made vows, which include cooked pulses, bangles, betel, parts of the human body modelled in rice flour, etc. The offerings are piled up in a heap, which is said to reach ten or twelve feet in height. Soon afterwards, the people assembled fall on the heap, and carry off whatever they can secure. Hundreds of persons are said to

become possessed, eat the ashes of the corpses, and bite any human bones, which they may come across. The ashes and earth are much prized, as they are supposed to drive away evil spirits, and secure offspring to barren women. Some persons make a vow that they will disguise themselves as Śiva, for which purpose they smear their faces with ashes, put on a cap decorated with feathers of the crow, egret, and peacock, and carry in one hand a brass vessel called Brāhma kapalam. Round their waist they tie a number of strings, to which are attached rags and feathers. Instead of the cap, Paraiyans and Valluvans wear a crown. The brass vessel, cap, and strings are said to be kept by the pūjāris, and hired out for a rupee or two per head. The festival is reputed to be based on the following legend. Śiva and Brāhma had the same number of faces. During the swayamvaram, Parvati, the wife of Śiva, found it difficult to recognise her husband, so Śiva cut off Brāhma's head. The head stuck on to Śiva's hand, and he could not get rid of it. To get rid of the skull, and throw off the crime of the murder, Śiva wandered far and wide, and came to the burning-ground at Malayanūr, where various Bhūthas were busy eating the remains of corpses. Parvati also arrived there, and failed to recognise Śiva. Thereon the skull laughed, and fell to the ground. The Bhūthas were so delighted that they put various kinds of herbs into a big vessel, and made out of them a sweet liquor, by drinking which Śiva was absolved from his crime. For this reason, arrack is offered to him at the festival.

An unpleasant reflection is that the Vannāns, or washermen, add to their income by hiring out the cloths of their customers for funeral parties, who lay them on the ground before the pall-bearers, so that they may not step upon the ground.* On one occasion a party of Europeans, when out shooting near the village of a hill-tribe, met a funeral procession on its way to the burial-ground. The bier was draped in many folds of clean cloth, which one of the party recognised by the initials as one of his bed-sheets. Another identified as his sheet the cloth on which the corpse was lying. He cut off the corner with the initial, and a few days later the sheet was returned by the dhobi (washerman) who pretended ignorance of the mutilation, and gave as an explanation that it must have been done, in his absence, by one of his assistants.

The Boras, or Muhammadan converts from Bombay, who in Madras have their own high-priest and mosque, are said to have a custom that, when one of their community dies, the high-priest writes a note to the Archangels Michael, Israel, and Gabriel, asking them to take care of him in Paradise, and the note is placed in the coffin.†

The bones of a dead person are consigned by Panta Reddis of the Tamil districts by parcel-post to a paid agent at Benares, and thrown into the Ganges.

Among various Hindu castes it is the custom, if a death occurs on an inauspicious day, to remove the

* Manual of the North Arcot district

† Madras Census Report, 1901.

corpse from the house not through the door, but through a temporary hole made in the wall.

To bring down rain, Brāhmins, and these non-Brāhmins who copy their ceremonial rites, have their Varūna japam, or prayers to Varūna. Some of the lower classes, instead of addressing their prayers to the rain-god Varūna, try to induce a spirit or dēvata named Kodumpāvi (wicked one) to send her paramour Sukra to the affected area. The belief seems to be that Sukra goes away to his concubine for about six months, and, if he does not then return, drought ensues. The ceremony consists in making a huge figure of Kodumpāvi in clay, which is placed on a cart, and dragged through the streets for seven to ten days. On the last day, the final death ceremonies of the figure are celebrated. It is disfigured, especially in those parts which are usually concealed. Vettiyaṅs (Paraiyan grave-diggers), who have been shaved, accompany the figure, and perform the funeral ceremonies. This procedure is believed to put Kodumpāvi to shame, and to get her to induce Sukra to return, and stay the drought.

In conclusion I may make a brief reference to death songs, for the following note on which I am indebted to Mr. Hayavadana Rao. These songs are sung over the bodies of dead relations by most castes in Southern India, including Brāhmins. They are taught, together with festival and other songs, to little girls, and are sung by females, not only immediately after the death of a relation, but also once a fortnight or more frequently until the first annual ceremony is performed. A woman

should know at least one song about her grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters, husband, children, and father and mother-in-law. On the occurrence of a death in a family, all the members of the household collect at the death-bed, weeping aloud, and embracing each other. Female relations, friends, and neighbours, as they arrive, sit down, and, putting their arms round each others' necks, raise up a cry of lamentation. Their long tresses of hair fall dishevelled to the ground, and they strike their uncovered bosoms with the hands, as they sing the appropriate song. Each song is divided into the following four parts:—

1. Pulambal, or the cry.
2. Mār adippu or breast-beating.
3. Mayir azhivu, or hair separation. The songster runs her fingers through, and disentangles her dishevelled locks.
4. Marupadiyum nūrudukkam, or standing bemoaning. The mourners collect in a circle, and go round and round with their arms on each others' shoulders.

Writing nearly a century ago concerning similar songs among Hindus in Ceylon, Colebrook remarks * that “whether the feelings which these lamentations express have existence in all cases in the hearts of the mourners or otherwise, is not at present the consideration. The observance implies that such feelings are held in high estimation, and the striking resemblance which these lamentations bear to those in the scripture, and in

* Journ. Roy. As. Soc. II.

particular to that over Saul, appealing to the common sympathies which the occasion naturally calls forth, and uttered in short emphatic and unconnected sentences, renders them not the less worthy of observation." The authorship of the songs is attributed to the great Tamil poet Pughalēnthi Pulavar. Born in a village in what is now the Chingleput district, he is said to have become the court poet of the Pāndyan king Varaguna, and to have been part of the dowry of the king's daughter who married a Chola prince. When at the Chola court, he was, at the instigation of a local bard, imprisoned, and, during his confinement, amused himself by composing the death songs, and teaching them to women who passed by on their way to the tank for water.

The following fragmentary examples of the songs are selected from a very large repertoire. -

A — SONG SUNG BY THE WIFE IN HONOUR OF HER
DEAD HUSBAND.

1. *The cry.*

My protector, my lord. Oh ! God.
The apple of mine eye. We cannot find
My husband, my lord. Oh ! God.
My wealth we cannot see.
Me, in my fifth year, my lord,
Me, when I was an infant.
In my tenth year, my lord,
In my milk-sucking age
Thou, beautiful-visaged, garlanded me, * my lord.

* The reference is to the custom of exchanging garlands on the occasion of marriage.

And kept me splendidly.
 Thou, graceful-visaged, garlanding me, my lord,
 Kept me with great affection.
 My sight thou hast plundered, my lord.
 Thou hast reached the Lord Protector's foot
 Thou hast destroyed my pleasure, my lord.
 Thou hast gone and laid thyself on earth.
 With what rare love you took me, my lord
 With what splendour we came in procession.
 Making me now the world's laughing-stock, my lord.
 Thou hast travelled away to Kylas *
 The majesty of thy bedroom, my lord.
 The service under the Pandya (king).
 The golden palace, my lord
 Thy forbearing words
 Thy office and audience hall, my lord.
 While crores of persons are come,
 While elephants are beautified, my lord,
 While thousands of persons are waiting for thee,
 Thou, discarding all these, my lord,
 Hast travelled away to heaven.

2. *Breast beating*

Oh ! protector ; Oh ! my lord. Hast
 Thou reached Kylas ? Oh ! the superior, my lord.
 Hast thou reached the lord of heaven ? Leaving me alone.
 Is it just for thee
 To run away, making me solitary ?
 Is it right to jump away ? Not separating
 Even for a day, thou hast separated thyself from thy wife.
 For many days not separating, why hast thou separated
 thyself.

* Kylas, the abode of Siva, whither the blessed go after death.

From the servant? Leaving me solitary. [law.*
 Thou hast gone away somewhere. Oh! my golden brother-in-
 Even after thou hast gone, would I survive thee in this
 world.

Oh! thou beautiful-visaged, separated from thee could I
 With these eyes, Oh! my king, separated from thee, [live?
 Could I wander on this earth? Oh! my protector.

3. *Hair separation.*

I have untied the false hair † Oh! my golden brother-in-law.
 I have cast down the flower (from my head) on this earth.
 I have loosened the string of the hair-knot, Oh! my golden
 brother-in-law.

In thy side-room I have pulled off the flower,
 The hair-knot that I had combed and worn. Oh! my golden
 brother-in-law.

Thou hast wrecked my usual toilet.

In thy ruby-like side-room, Oh! my golden brother-in-law,
 It is time that I should dishevel my hair.

On my chāndu ‡ adorned forehead, Oh! my golden brother-
 in-law,

Thou hast settled ashes. §

On my chāndu-adorned forehead, Oh! my lord,

Thou hast settled mud.

To me saffron has become rare, Oh! my golden brother-
 in-law.

To me marudāni|| has become bitter.

To me flowers have become rare, Oh! my golden brother-
 in-law.

* Term by which, in the Tamil country, a wife calls her husband.

† False hair worn by married women.

‡ Chāndu, a round moon-shaped dot made with black paste on the fore-
 head. Widows may not adorn themselves with it

§ Widows mark their foreheads with the sacred ashes (vibhuthi).

|| Ifenna (*Laukonia alba*) leaves, with which women stain their nails red.
 Widows are not allowed to do this.

To me my husband's face has become bitter.
 Taking out the saffron-stringed tali,* Oh ! my golden
 brother-in-law.
 I stood in thy mansion and mourned.
 Rubbing out the kunkunam† dot, Oh ! my lord,
 I stood in thy fort and mourned.
 Born in a family of sisters, Oh ! my golden brother-in-law,
 I stood in thy ornamented house and mourned.
 Bred up in a mansion, Oh ! my lord,
 I stood in thy house and mourned. [law.
 Having lost thy golden head, Oh ! my golden brother-in-
 I have cast off the tali thread.‡
 Having lost thy golden head, Oh ! my lord,
 I have forgotten the flower [law,
 Is it not by losing my neck jewel, Oh ! my golden brother in-
 That I have become half-necked ? §
 Is it not by losing my grass-like tali, || Oh ! my lord,
 That I have become dwarf-necked ?

4. *Standing bemoaning.*

Oh ! my golden brother-in-law ; Oh ! my lord,
 Hast thou reached the golden abode ? [brother-in-law,
 Me, thy most precious servant while here, Oh ! my golden
 Why hast thou gone to Kylās ?
 Me, thy most beloved servant while here, Oh ! my lord,
 Why hast thou gone to the golden abode ?
 Me, as a husbandless woman, Oh ! my golden brother-in-law,
 People will backbite me.

* The tali is generally daubed with saffron before it is tied round the neck.

† Anilin powder, with which married women mark their foreheads.

‡ A woman, on the death of her husband, removes her tali.

§ A term of abuse for a widow.

|| Tali which has proved as unsubstantial as grass.

Even though I behave with humility, Oh ! my lord,
 They will call me the rulerless sinner. [brother-in-law,
 Even though I conduct myself trembling, Oh ! my golden
 They will call me the lordless woman.
 For thy palanquin's service, * Oh ! my lord,
 If I accompanied thee, it would be no mistake.
 Riding upon an elephant, Oh ! my god,
 Oh ! my lord, if thou camest to the river bank,
 Hearing the elephant bell ringing,
 I would light the cooking fire.
 Riding a horse, Oh ! my god, Oh ! my lord,
 If thou camest to the tank bund,
 Hearing the horse-bell ringing,
 I would get thy hot bath ready.
 We, like milk and water, Oh ! my lord,
 Were affectionately bound to each other. [brother-in-law,
 We like milk and water, to be separated, Oh ! my golden
 Is it the decree of lord Siva ?
 We, like the small bird for a while, Oh ! my lord,
 Building its nest.
 We, as husband and wife, Oh ! god.
 While we were united together.
 For that bull-like Yama † to come, Oh ! lord,
 And separate us, is there any right ? [brother-in-law.
 For that Yama, who comes to call thee, Oh ! my golden
 I say that I will give a goat as a sacrifice.
 For that Yama, who comes to kill thee, Oh ! my lord,
 I say that I will give a cock as a sacrifice.
 He, refusing even that, Oh ! my golden brother-in-law,
 Wants to plunder thy beautiful head,
 Whilst we were enjoying our better days, Oh ! my lord,

* The bier is often constructed in the form of a palanquin.

† Yama, the god of death.

Thou hast reached the feet of Siva. [brother-in-law.
 When we were entering on a life of plenty Oh! my golden
 Thou hast reached the feet of Hara.
 The children crying, Oh! my lord,
 Me, the housewife mourning,
 The voice of thy children crying, Oh! god.
 Dost thou not hear even a little? [law.
 Seeing the faces of thy children, Oh! my golden brother-in-
 Wouldst thou not leave that place, and come?

B.—SONG OF A MOTHER ON THE DEATH OF THE CHILD.

Oh! the apple of my eye; Oh! my darling; my blissful
 paradise.
 Oh! the apple of my eye, where hast thou hidden thyself?
 Oh! my golden bead; Oh! my eyes;
 Oh! my flower, where hast thou hidden thyself?
 Oh! gem-like apple of my eye; Oh! my blissful paradise,
 I do not know how thou hast gone away.
 Even as a capering deer leaps, Oh! the apple of my eye.
 Hast thou leaped into the well.
 Even as the capering deer, Oh! my blissful paradise,
 Hast thou jumped into the tank.

* * * *

From the moment thou wast born in my bosom, Oh! the
 apple of my eye,
 Thou hast lit a ceaseless fire therein.
 From the time thou wast born in my belly, Oh! my darling,
 Thou hast put inextinguishable fire therein.
 Is this anyone's curse on me? Oh! the apple of my eye.
 Is this the worst sin of my sons?
 Is this anyone's curse on me? Oh! my darling.
 Is this God's wickedness?
 As the yak leaps, Oh! the apple of my eye,
 Why has Yama carried you off?

The ornaments which you wore not sufficing, Oh ! my darling,
 We are searching for more
 The jewelry with which we decorated thee,
 Not sufficing, Oh ! the apple of my eye,
 We are searching for more [my eye,
 We are taking ships, and traversing ports, Oh ! the apple of
 And searching for valuable jewels for thee
 Traversing islands, Oh ! my darling,
 We are searching for many jewels
 All of them not caring, Oh ! my gold,
 Why hast thou gone to Indra's feet ? [of my eye
 Was it for the white-ant eaten burial ground, Oh ! the apple
 We reared thee up fondly ? [garland.
 Was it for the beetle-trodden burial ground, Oh ! my
 We combed, and brought thee up ? [diamond.
 Thou hast thought of borrowed fire * for me, Oh ! my
 Thou hast thought of a borrowed pot † for me

C — LAMENT OF A DAUGHTER FOR HER MOTHER.

Oh ! my mother ; Oh ! my mother.
 Oh ! my mother, who gave birth to me.
 Losing a mother's love, Oh ! my mother,
 Could we stay in this world ?
 Losing our progenitor, Oh ! my mother,
 Could we live in this world ?
 Separated from our mother, Oh ! my mother,
 Could we live on this earth ?
 Feeling our stomachs, Oh ! my mother,
 Didst thou give us plenty of rice ?
 Feeling our sides, Oh ! my mother,
 Didst thou nourish us with milk ?

* It is the sacred duty of a son who outlives his parents to light the funeral pyre.

† The son should go round the pyre, carrying a pot of water on his shoulder.

While thy children are here, Oh ! my mother,
 Thou hast reached the golden world.
 While thy begotten are here, Oh ! my mother.
 Thou hast graced Yama's feet.
 While thy kith and kin are here, Oh ! my mother,
 Thou hast graced Siva's feet.
 While thy beloved ones are here, Oh ! my mother,
 Thou hast reached Indra's feet.

D.—SONG OF A DAUGHTER-IN-LAW ON THE DEATH OF HER
 MOTHER-IN-LAW.

Oh ! my eye-like mother-in-law,
 Thou hast travelled away to mount Kylas.
 Mounting the flower-car, Oh ! mother,
 Thou hast gone to the golden abode.
 Mounting the golden car, Oh ! my mother,
 Thou hast gone slowly away.
 I have not known my own mother, Oh ! mother.
 I have heard of her being talked of by others.
 I have not known her who reared me, Oh ! mother.
 I have heard of her being talked of.
 On curds didst thou bring me up, Oh ! mother,
 And made me forget my mother.
 On milk diet didst thou bring me up, Oh ! mother,
 And made me forget my ties (to my mother).
 I have forgotten my mother, Oh ! mother,
 I have forgotten every one.
 Thou hast cast away all my ties, Oh ! mother.
 Thou hast made us beggars.

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Bird-like, thou hast flown away.

Is there no time when thou wilt come back ? Oh ! mother.

Shall I not expect thee ?
The expectant eye, Oh ! mother,
Thou has blindfolded.
While we, servants and others, are here, Oh ! mother.
Why hast thou gone to Yama's feet ?
Whilst thine own men are here, Oh ! mother,
Why hast thou gone away to Svarga * ?
Thou, remaining some time longer here, Oh ! mother,
Shouldst thou not help us awhile ?
Thou remaining some time longer here, Oh ! mother,
Shouldst thou not help us on a little ?

* The Vaishnava abode of bliss.

OMENS, EVIL EYE, CHARMS, ANIMAL SUPERSTITIONS, SORCERY, ETC., VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

IN seeking for omens, natives consult the so-called science of omens or science of the five birds, and are guided by them. Selected omens are always included in native calendars or panchāngams. To the quivering and throbbing of various parts of the body as omens, repeated reference is made in the Hindu classics. Thus, in Kalidāsa's *Sakuntala*, king Dushyanta says :—" This hermitage is tranquil, and yet my arm throbs. Whence can there be any result from this in such a place? But yet the gates of destiny are everywhere." Again, *Sakuntala* says :—" Alas ! why does my right eye throb ? ", to which Gautami replies :—" Child, the evil be averted. May the tutelary deities of your husband's family confer happy prospects ! " In the *Raghuvamśa* the statement occurs that " the son of Paulastya, being greatly incensed, drove an arrow deep into his right arm, which was throbbing, and which, therefore, prognosticated his union with Sita." A quivering sensation in the right arm is supposed to indicate marriage with a beautiful woman ; in the right eye some good luck. A tickling sensation in the right sole foretells that the person has to go on a journey.

Night, but not day dreams are considered as omens for good or evil. Among those which are auspicious may

be mentioned riding on a cow, bull, or elephant; entering a temple or palace; a golden horse; climbing a mountain or tree; drinking liquor; eating flesh, curds and rice; wearing white cloths, or jewels set with precious stones; being dressed in white cloths, and embracing a woman, whose body is smeared with sandal paste. A person will be cured of sickness if he dreams of Brāhmans, kings, flowers, jewels, women, or a looking-glass. Wealth is ensured by a dream that one is bitten in the shade by a snake, or stung by a scorpion. If a person has an auspicious dream, he should get up, and not go to sleep again. But, if the dream is of evil omen, he should pray that he may be spared from its effects, and may go to sleep again.

Of omens, both good and bad, in Malabar, the following comprehensive list is given in the Malabar Manual:—

“ Good.—Crows, pigeons, etc., and beasts as deer, etc., moving from left to right, and dogs and jackals moving inversely, and other beasts found similarly and singly; wild crow, cock, ruddy goose, mongoose, goat and peacock seen singly or in couples either at the right or left. A rainbow seen on the right or left, or behind, prognosticates good, but the reverse if seen in front. Butter-milk, raw rice, puttalpira (*Trichosanthes anguina*, snake-gourd); priyangu flower; honey, ghī; red cotton juice; antimony sulphurate; metal mug; bell ringing; lamp; lotus; karuka grass; raw fish; flesh; flour; ripe fruits; sweetmeats; gems; sandal-wood; elephants; pots filled with water; a virgin; a couple of Brāhmans; Rājas;

respectable men; white flower; white yak tail; * white cloth; and white horse. Chank shell; flagstaff; turban; triumphal arch; fruitful soil; burning fire; elegant eatables or drinkables; carts with men in; cows with their young; mares; bulls or cows with ropes tied to their necks; palanquin; swans; peacock and Indian crane warbling sweetly. Bracelets, looking-glass; mustard; bezoar; any substance of white colour; the bellowing of oxen; auspicious words; harmonious human voice; such sounds made by birds or beasts; the uplifting of umbrellas; hailing acclamations; sound of harp, flute, timbrel, tabor, and other instruments of music; sounds of hymns of consecration and Vēdic recitations; gentle breeze all round at the time of a journey.

“Bad.—Men deprived of any of their limbs; lame or blind; a corpse or wearer of a cloth put on a corpse; coir (cocoanut fibre); broken vessels; hearing of words expressive of breaking, burning, destroying, etc.; the alarming cry of alas! alas!; loud screams; cursing; tumbling; sneezing; the sight of a man in sorrow; one with a stick; a barber; a widow; pepper and other pungent substances. A snake; cat; iguana (*Varanus*); blood-sucker (lizard); or monkey passing across the road; vociferous beasts such as jackals, dogs, and kites; loud crying from the east; buffalo, donkey, or temple bull; black grains; salt; liquor; hide; grass; dirt; faggots; iron; flowers used for funeral ceremonies; a eunuch; ruffian; outcaste; vomit; excrement; stench; any horrible figure; bamboo; cotton; lead; cot; stool

* Used as a fly-flapper/(ohamara).

or other vehicle carried with legs upward ; dishes, cups, etc., with mouth downward ; vessels filled with live coals, which are broken and not burning ; broomstick ; ashes ; winnow ; hatchet, etc."

Hindus are very particular about catching sight of some auspicious object on the morning of new year's day, as the effects of omens seen on that occasion are believed to last throughout the year. In Malabar, on new year's eve, a room is decorated with garlands of flowers, and small stools or benches covered with silk or white cloth are placed therein. Various kinds of sweets, fruits, flowers, and other auspicious things are arranged, together with jewels and gold coins. The room is well lighted, incense burnt, and the door closed. Early on the following morning the inmates of the house get up, and, with eyes shut, proceed to the door, which is then opened, so that they are greeted with all the articles of good omen within the room.

It is a good omen for the day if when he gets up in the morning, a man sees any of the following:—his wife's face, the lines on the palm of his right hand, his face in a mirror, the face of a rich man, the tail of a black cow, the face of a black monkey, or his rice fields. There is a legend that Sita used to rise early and present herself, bathed and well dressed, before her lord Rāma, so that he might gaze on her face, and be lucky during the day. This custom is carried out by all good housewives in Hindu families. A fair-skinned Paraiyan or a dark-skinned Brāhman should not, in accordance with a proverb, be seen the first thing in the morning.

The omens are favourable if a person comes across any of the following, when starting on a journey or special errand :—

Married woman.
 Virgin.
 Prostitute.
 Two Brāhmanas.
 Playing of music.
 One carrying musical instruments
 Money.
 Fruit or flowers
 A light, or clear blazing fire.
 Umbrella
 Cooked food.
 Milk or curds.
 Cow
 Deer
 Corpse.
 Two fishes
 Recital of Vēdas
 Sound of a drum or horn
 Spirituous liquor
 Bullock

Mutton.
 Precious stones
 One bearing a silver armlet
 Sandal wood
 Rice.
 Elephant
 Horse
 Pot full of water.
 Married woman carrying a water pot from a tank
 Pot of toddy
 Black monkey
 Dog.
 Royal eagle
 Honey.
 Parrot
 Hearing kind words.
 A Gāzula Baliya with his pile of bangles on his back

If, on similar occasions, a person comes across any of the following, the omens are unfavourable :—

Widow
 Lightning.
 Fuel.
 Smoky fire.

Pot of oil.
 Leather.
 Dog barking on house top.

Hare.	Bundle of sticks.
Crow flying from right to left.	Butter-milk.
Snake.	Empty vessel.
New pot.	A quarrel.
Blind man.	Man with dishevelled hair.
Lame man.	Oil-man.
Sick man.	Leper.
Salt.	Mendicant.
Tiger.	

In a recent judicial case a witness gave evidence to the effect that he was starting on a journey, and, when he had proceeded a short way, a snake crossed the road. This being an evil omen, he went back, and put off his journey till the following day. On his way he passed through a village, in which some men had been arrested for murder, and found that one of two men, whom he had promised to accompany, and had gone on without him, had been murdered.

. Inauspicious days for starting on a journey are *vāra-sūlai*, or days on which Śiva's trident (*sula*) is kept on the ground. The direction in which it lies varies according to the day of the week. For example, Sunday before noon is a bad time to start towards the west, as the trident is turned that way. To one proceeding on a journey, a dog crossing from right to left is auspicious. But, if it gets on his person or his feet, shaking its ears, the journey will be unlucky. If the dog scratches its body, the traveller will fall ill, and, if it lies down and wags its tail, some disaster will follow. If a dog scratches the wall of a house, it will be broken into by

thieves; and, if it makes a hole in the ground within a cattle-shed, the cattle will be stolen. A dog approaching a person with a bit of shoe-leather augurs success; with flesh gain; with a meaty bone good luck; with a dry bone death. If a dog enters a house with wire or thread in its mouth, the master of the house must expect to be put in prison. A dog barking on the roof of a house during the dry weather portends an epidemic, and in the wet season a heavy fall of rain. House dogs should, if they are to bring good luck, possess more than eighteen visible claws. The sight of a jackal is very lucky to one proceeding on an errand. Its cry to the east and north of a village foretells some thing good for the village, whereas the cry at midday means an impending calamity. If a jackal crys towards the south in reply to the call of another jackal, some one will be hung, and, if it cries towards the west, some one will be drowned. A bachelor, who sees a jackal running, may expect to be married shortly. The sight of a cat, on getting out of bed, is extremely unlucky, and he who sees it will fail in all his undertakings during the day. "I faced the cat this morning," or "Did you see a cat this morning?" are common sayings when one fails in anything. The Paraiyans are said to be very particular about omens, and if, when a Paraiyan sets out to arrange a marriage with a certain girl, a cat or a Valiyan crosses his path, he will give up the girl. I have heard of a superstitious European police officer, who would not start in search of a criminal, because he came across a cat. Even the braying of a donkey is considered a good or

bad omen, according to the direction from which it proceeds.

I have already (pp. 81-85) referred briefly to the examination of horses' curls as omens. "Throughout India," Mr. J. D. E. Holmes writes, * "but more especially in the Southern Presidency, among the native population, the value of a horse or ox principally depends on the existence and situation of certain hair marks on the body of the animal. These hair marks are formed by the changes in the direction in which the hair grows at certain places, and, according to their shape, are called a crown, ridge, or feather mark. The relative position of these marks is supposed to indicate that the animal will bring good luck to the owner and his relatives. There is a saying that 'a man may face a rifle and escape, but he cannot avoid the luck, good or evil, foretold by hair marks.' So much are the people influenced by these omens that they seldom keep an animal with unlucky marks, and would not allow their mares to be covered by a stallion having unpropitious marks." The following are some of the marks recorded by Mr. Holmes :—

(a) *Horses.*

1. *Deobund* (having control over evil spirits), also termed *dēvuman* or *dēvumam*. Said by Muhammadans to represent the Prophet's finger, and by Hindus to represent a temple bell. This mark is a ridge, one to three inches long, situated between the throat and counter along the line of the trachea. It is the most

lucky mark a horse can possess. It is compared to the sun, and therefore, when it is present, none of the evil stars can shine, and all unlucky omens are overruled.

2. Khorta-gad (peg-driver) or khila-gad is a ridge of hair directed downwards on one or both hind legs. It is said that no horse in the stable will be sold, so long as the horse with these marks is kept.

3. Badi (fetter), a ridge of hair directed upwards on one or both forearms on the outer side, and said to indicate that the owner of the animal will be sent to jail.

4. Thanm (teat). Teat-like projections on the sheath of the male are considered unlucky.

(b) Cattle.

5. Bhashicam suli is a crown on the forehead above the line of the eyes. Bhashicam is the name of the wreath worn by bride and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony. If the purchaser be a bachelor or widower, this mark indicates that he will marry soon. If the purchaser be a married man, he will either have the misfortune to lose his wife and marry again, or the good fortune to obtain two wives.

6. Mukkanti suli. Three crowns on the forehead, arranged in the form of a triangle, said to represent the three eyes of Siva, of which the one in the forehead will, if opened, burn up all things within the range of vision.

7. Pā dai suli. Two ridges of hair on the back on either side of the middle line, indicating that the purchaser will soon need a coffin.

8. Tattu suli. A crown situated on the back between the points of the hips, indicating that any business undertaken by the purchaser will fail.

9. A bullock with numerous spots over the body, like a deer, is considered very lucky.

It is said that, if a cow voids urine at the time of purchase, it is considered a very good omen, but, if she passes dung, a bad omen. The reverse is the case with a bullock.

The sight of a Brāhmani kite on a Sunday morning is very auspicious, so on this day people may be seen throwing pieces of mutton or lumps of butter to these birds. If the bird is seen flying, the omen is good, but, if seen perching, bad. I am told that the Khonds show no reverence for the Brāhmani kite, but will kill it if it carries off their chickens.

Sometimes people leave their house, and sleep elsewhere on the night preceding an inauspicious day, on which a journey must be made. When a student starts for the examination hall, he will, if he sees a widow or a Brāhman, retrace his steps, and start again after the lapse of a few minutes. Meeting two Brāhmins would indicate good luck, and he would press forward.

If, when a person is leaving the house, the head or feet strike accidentally against the threshold, he should not go out, as it forebodes some impending mischief. If one dines with a friend or relation on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, it is well; if on a Tuesday, ill-feeling will ensue; if on a Thursday, endless enmity; if on a Sunday, hatred. If one places the head towards the east when sleeping, he will obtain wealth and health; if towards the south, a lengthening of life; if towards the west, fame; if towards

the north, sickness. The last position should, therefore be avoided.* It is unlucky to go westward on Friday or Sunday, eastward on Monday or Saturday, north on Tuesday or Wednesday, south on Thursday. A journey begun on Tuesday is liable to result in loss by thieves or fire at home. Loss, too, is likely to follow a journey begun on Saturday, and sickness a start on Sunday. Wednesday and Friday are both propitious days, and a journey begun on either with a view to business will be lucrative. The worst days for travelling are Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday.†

Sneezing once is a good sign, twice a bad sign. More than twice is not regarded. When a child sneezes, those near it usually say "dīrgayus" (long life), or sathāyus (a hundred years). Adults who sneeze pronounce the name of some god, the common expression being "Sṛīmadrangam." When a Badaga baby is born, it is a good omen if the father sneezes before the umbilical cord has been cut, and an evil one if he sneezes after its severance. Gaping is an indication that evil spirits have effected an entrance into the body. Hence many Brāhmins, when they gape, snap their fingers as a preventive.‡ It was noted by Alberuni that Hindus "spit out and blow their noses without any respect for the elder ones present, and crack their lice before them. They consider the *crepitus ventris* as a good omen, sneezing as a bad omen." When a great man yawns, his sleep is promoted by all the company with

* K. Srikantaliyar. Ind. Ant., XXI., 1892.

† M. J. Walhouse. Ind. Ant., X, 1881.

‡ Ibid., V, 1876.

him snapping their fingers with great vehemence, and making a singular noise. In the Telugu country, when a child is roused from sleep by a thunder-clap, the mother, pressing it to her breast, murmurs "Arjuna Sahādēva." The invocation implies the idea that thunder is caused by the Mahābhārata heroes Arjuna and Sahādēva.*

If a child is born with the umbilical cord round its neck like a garland, it is believed to be inauspicious for its uncle, who is not allowed to see it for ten days, or even longer and then a propitiatory ceremony has to be performed. If the cord is entwined across the breast, and passes under the armpit, it is believed to be an unlucky omen for the father and paternal uncle. In such cases, some special ceremony, as looking into vessels of oil, is performed. When the tāb of a Brāhman woman is lost, it is an omen that her husband will fall ill, or be lost soon.

Arrack (liquor) vendors consider it unlucky to set their measures upside down. Sometime ago, the Excise Commissioner informs me, the Madras Excise Department had some aluminium measures made for measuring arrack in liquor shops. It was found that the arrack corroded the aluminium, and the measures soon leaked. The shop-keepers were told to turn their measures upside down, in order that they might drain. This they refused to do, as it would bring bad luck to their shop. New measures with round bottoms were evolved, which would not stand up. But the shop-keepers began to use rings of

* M. N. Venkataswami, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIV, 1905.

India-rubber from soda water bottles, to make them stand. An endeavour has since been made to induce them to keep their measures inverted by hanging them on pegs, so that they will drain without being turned upside down. The case illustrates well how important a knowledge of the superstitions of the people is in the administration of their affairs. So trifling an innovation as the introduction of a new arrangement for maintaining tension in the warp during the process of weaving gave rise quite recently to a strike among the hand-loom weavers at the Madras School of Arts.

A bazār shopkeeper who deals in colours will not sell white paint after the lamps have been lighted. And, in like manner, a cloth dealer refuses to sell black cloth, and the dealer in hardware to sell nails, needles, etc., lest poverty should ensue. Digging operations with a spade must be stopped before the lamps are lighted. A betel-vine cultivator objects to entering his garden or plucking a leaf after the lighting of the lamps, but, if some leaves are urgently required, he will, before plucking them, pour water from a pot at the foot of the tree on which the vine is growing.

In teaching the Grāndha alphabet to children, they are made to repeat the letter *ça* twice quickly without pausing, as the word *ça* means "die." To mention the number seven in Telugu is unlucky, because the word is the same as that for weeping (*yedu*). Even a Treasury officer, who is an enlightened University graduate, in counting money, will say six and one. In Tamil the word ten is, in like manner, inauspicious, because, on the

tenth day after the death of her husband, a widow removes all the emblems of married life. Probably for this reason the offspring of Kallan polyandrous marriages style themselves the children of eight and two, not ten fathers. *Lābha* is a Sanskrit word meaning profit or gain, and has its equivalent in all the vernacular languages. Hindus, when counting, commence with this word instead of the word signifying one. And, in like manner, Muhamadans use the words *Bismillah* or *Burketh*, apparently as an invocation like the medicinal *R* (Oh! Jupiter aid us). When the number a hundred has been counted, they again begin with the substitute for one, and this serves as a one for the person who is keeping tally. Oriya merchants say *lābo* instead of *eko* (one), when counting out the seers of rice for the elephants' rations.

The birth of a male child on the day in which the constellation *Rohini* is visible portends evil to the maternal uncle; and a female born under the constellation *Moolam* is supposed to carry misery with her to the house which she enters by marriage. While eating, one should face east, south, west, or north, according as one wishes for long life, fame, to become vain-glorious, or for justice or truth. Chewing a single betel nut along with betel leaves secures vigour; two nuts are inauspicious; three are excellent; and more bring indifferent luck. The basal portion of the betel leaf must be rejected, as it produces disease; the apical part as it induces sin; and the midrib and veins as they destroy the intellect. A leaf on which *chunām* (lime) has been kept should be avoided, as it may shorten life.

It is considered by a Hindu unlucky; to get shaved for ceremonial purposes in the months of Ādi, Purattāsi, Margali, and Māsi, and in the remaining months Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday should be avoided. Further, the star under which a man was born has to be taken into consideration, and it may happen that an auspicious day for being shaved does not occur for some weeks. It is on this account that orthodox Hindus are sometimes compelled to go about with unkempt chins.

Even for anointing the body, auspicious and inauspicious days are prescribed, e.g., anointing on Sunday causes loss of beauty, on Monday brings increase of riches, on Thursday loss of intellect. If a person is obliged to anoint himself on Sunday, he puts a bit of the root of *Nerium* (oleander) in the oil, and heats it before applying it. This is supposed to avert the evil influence. Similarly, on Tuesday dry earth, on Thursday roots of *Cynodon Dactylon*, and on Friday ashes must be used. The Kalinga Kōmatis of Vizagapatam will not reside at any place from which the Padmanābham hill near Bimlipatam can be seen, owing to a tradition that residence near these formerly proved inauspicious to their class.*

It is considered auspicious if a girl attains puberty on a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, and the omens vary according to the month in which the first menstrual period occurs. Thus the month of Vaiyāsi ensures prosperity; Āni male issue; Māsi happiness; Margali well-behaved children; Punguni long life and many children.

* Manual of the Vizagapatam District.



Evil Eye Figures

It is believed that the sight or breath of Muham-madans, just after they have said their prayers at a mosque, will do good to children suffering from various disorders. For this purpose women carry or take their children, and post themselves at the entrance to a mosque at the time when the worshippers leave it. Most of them are Hindus, but sometimes poor Eurasians may be seen there.

Evil eye.—The indecent carvings on temple cars are introduced thereon to avert the evil eye. During temple or marriage processions, two huge human figures, male and female, made of bamboo wicker-work, are carried in front for the same purpose. In Malabar, fear of the evil eye is very general. At the corner of the upper storey of almost every Nāyar house near a road or path is suspended some object, often a doll-like hideous creature, on which the eye of the passer-by may rest (plate XIII).* “A crop is being raised in a garden visible from the road. The vegetables will never reach maturity unless a bogey of some sort is set up in their midst. A cow will stop giving milk, unless a conch shell is tied conspicuously about her horns. When a house or shop is being built, there surely is to be found exposed in some conspicuous position an image, sometimes of extreme indecency, a pot covered with cabalistic signs, a prickly branch of cactus, or what not, to catch the evil eye of passers by, and divert their attention from the important work in hand.”† Many of the carved wooden images recall

* F. Fawcett, Madras Mus. Bull., III. 3, 1901.

† Logan, Malabar Manual.

forcibly to mind the Horatian ode "Olim truncus eram. . . Obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus." Monstrous Priapi made in straw, with painted clay pots for heads, pots smeared with chunām and studded with black dots, or palmyra palm fruits coated with chunām, (plate XIV) may often be seen set up in fields, to guard the ripening crop. For the following note on the evil eye in Malabar I am indebted to Mr. S. Appadorai Iyer. "It is not the eye alone that commits the mischief, but also the mind and tongue. Man is said to do good or evil through the mind, word and deed, *i.e.* manasa, vācha, and karmana. When a new house is being constructed, or a vegetable garden or rice field are in a flourishing condition, the following precautions are taken to ward off the evil eye:—

a. In buildings—

1. A pot with black and white marks on it is suspended mouth downwards.

2. A wooden figure of a monkey, with pendulous testes, is suspended.

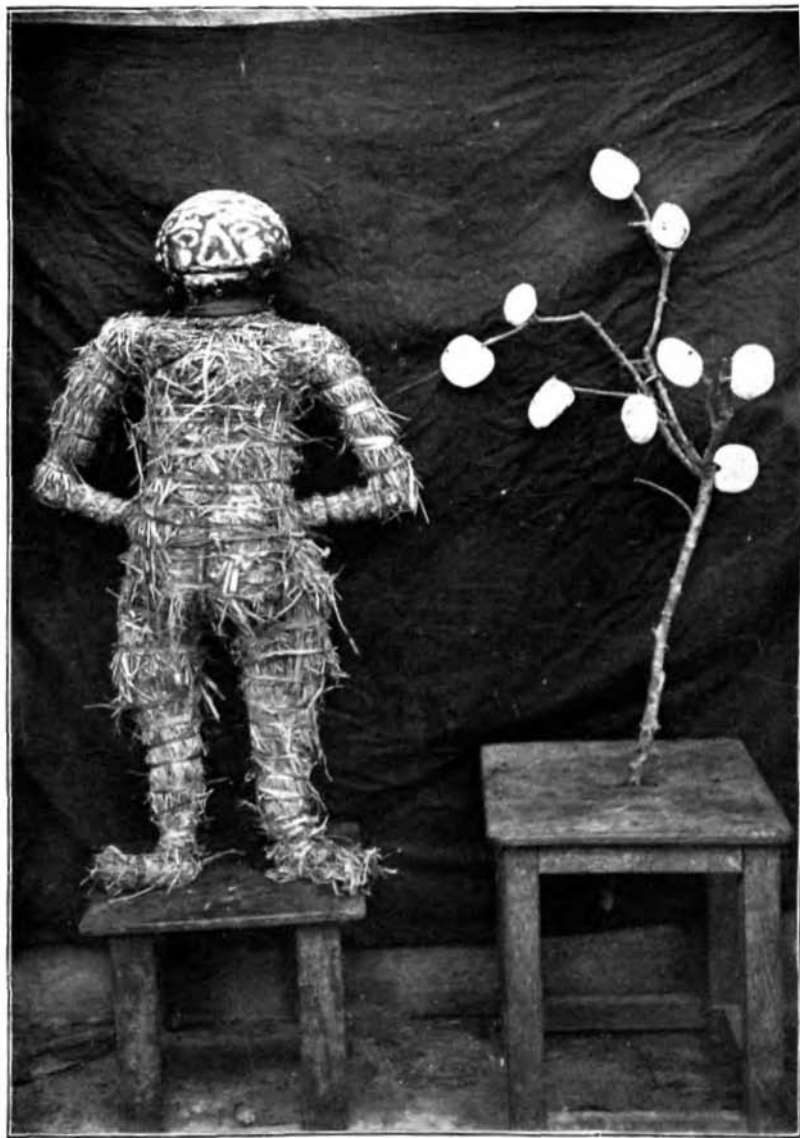
3. The figure of a Malayāli woman, with protuberant breasts, is suspended.

b. In fields and gardens.

1. A straw figure covered with a black cloth daubed with black and white dots, is placed on a long pole. If the figure represents a male, it has pendent testes, and, if a woman, well developed breasts. Sometimes male and female figures are placed together in an embracing posture.

2. Pots, as described above, are placed on bamboo poles.

Plate XIV.



Evil-eye Scare-crows.

3. A portion of the skull of a bull, with horns attached, is set up on a long pole.

The figures, pots and skulls are primarily intended to scare away crows, stray cattle, and other marauders, and secondly to ward off the evil eye. Instances are quoted, in which handsome buildings have fallen down, and ripe fruits and grain crops have withered through the influence of the eye, which has also been held responsible for the bursting of a woman's breasts."

In Madras, human figures are made of broken bricks and mortar, and kept permanently in the front of the upstairs verandah. In this city, too, cows may be seen, with a chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*) tied with a black string round the neck, to ward off the evil eye. Māppilla cart-drivers in Malabar tie black ropes round the neck or across the face of their bullocks, for the same purpose. In villages, strangers are not allowed to be present when the cows are milked. Sudden failure of milk, or blood-stained milk, are attributed to the evil eye, to remove the influence of which the owner of the affected cow resorts to the magician. Matrons among all castes make the faces of children ugly by painting two or three black dots on the chin and cheeks, and painting the eyelids black with lamp-black paste. On occasions of auspicious ceremonies, coloured water (arathi), or balls of rice, are waved in front of or around the parties concerned. In like manner, at weddings among some castes, when the bridegroom's party reach the bride's house, her sister waves a vessel containing turmeric water, etc., in front of his face, to ward off the evil eye. Later on in the

ceremonial, rice-cakes are placed on various parts of the bodies of the bride and bridegroom, and seven vessels containing turmeric water, charcoal, rice, salt, betel, fruits, and flowers are waved in front of their faces. Sometimes a figure is made of rice-flour paste, and five kinds of flowers are placed near it. Copper coins are stuck on the head, hands, and abdomen of the figure, which is waved in front of a sick person, and taken to a place where three roads or paths meet, and left there. For curing sprains, it is a common practice to have in front of the patient a sickle, an iron measure, or any article made of iron which is at hand. Sometimes a hole is made in a gourd (*Benincasa cerifera* or *Lagenaria vulgaris*), which is filled with turmeric and chunām, and waved round a sick person. It is then taken to a place where three roads meet, and broken. The sudden illness of children is often attributed to the evil eye. In such cases, the following remedies are considered efficacious:—

(1) A few sticks from a new unused broom are set fire to, waved several times round the child, and placed in a corner. With some of the ashes the mother makes a mark on the child's forehead. If the broom burns to ashes without making a noise, the women cry "Look at it. It burns without the slightest noise. The creature's eyes are really very bad." Abuse is then heaped on the person, whose eyes are supposed to be wicked.

(2) Some chillies, salt, human hair, nail-cuttings, and finely powdered earth from the pit of the door-post are mixed together, waved three times in front of the

baby, and thrown on to the fire. Woe betide the possessor of the evil eye, if no pungent, suffocating smell arises while it is burning.

(3) A piece of burning camphor is waved in front of the baby.

(4) Cooked rice-balls, painted red, black and yellow, and white (with curds) are waved in front of the child.

Loss of appetite in children is attributed by mothers to the visit of a supposed evil person to the house. On that person appearing again, the mother will take a little sand or dust from under the visitor's foot, whirl it round the head of the child, and throw it on the hearth. If the suspected person is not likely to turn up again, a handful of cotton seeds, red chillies, and dust from the middle of the street, are whirled round the child's head, and thrown on the hearth. If the chillies produce a strong smell, the evil eye has been averted. If they do not do so, the suspect is roundly abused by the mother, and never again admitted to the house. It is a good thing to frighten any one who expresses admiration of one's belongings. For example, if a friend praises your son's eyes, say to him "Look out. There is a snake at your feet." If he is frightened, the evil eye has been averted.

During a marriage among the Mādigas, a sheep or goat is sacrificed to the marriage (aravēni) pots. The sacrificer dips his hands in the blood of the animal, and impresses the blood on his palms on the wall near the door leading to the room in which the pots are kept. This is said to ward off the evil eye. The nomad

Tottiyans kill a fowl near the pots, and with its blood make a mark on the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom on their entry into the marriage booths erected outside the village. The Vekkiliya Tottiyans sacrifice a goat or sheep instead of a fowl, and the more advanced among them substitute the breaking of a coconut for the animal sacrifice.

The objection which a high-caste Brāhman has to being seen by a low-caste man when he is eating his food is based on a belief allied to that of the evil eye. The Brāhmanical theory of vision, as propounded in the sacred writings, and understood by orthodox pandits corresponds with the old corpuscular theory. The low-caste man being inferior in every respect to the Brāhman, the matter or subtle substance proceeding from his eye, and mixing with the objects seen by him, must of necessity be inferior and bad. So food, which is seen by a low-caste man, in virtue of the *radii perniciosi* which it has received, will contaminate the Brāhman.

If a man of another caste enters the house of a Mysore Holeyā, the owner takes care to tear the intruder's cloth, and turn him out. This will avert any evil, which might have befallen him.* It is said that Brāhmans consider great luck will wait upon them, if they can manage to pass through a Holeyā village unmolested. Should a Brāhman attempt to enter their quarters, the Holeyas turn him out, and slipper him, in former times it is said to death.†

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

† Ibid.

Charms.—Mantrams, or consecrated formulæ, are supposed to be very powerful, and by their aid even gods can be brought under control. Such charms are *inter alia* believed to be efficacious in curing disease, in protecting children against devils, and women against miscarriage, in promoting development of the breasts, in bringing offspring to barren women, and warding off misfortune consequent on marriage with a girl who has a bad mark on her, in keeping wild pigs from the fields, and warding off cattle disease. For the last purpose the magical formula is carved on a stone pillar, which is set up in the village. They are divided into four classes, viz., mantrasara, or the real essence of magic; yantrasara, or the science of cabalistic figures; prayogasara, or the method of using the above for the attainment of any object; tantrasara, or the science of symbolical acts with or without words.

Mantrasara includes all mantrams, with their efficacy for good and evil, and the methods of learning or reciting them with the aid of the guru (spiritual instructor). Mantrams are combinations of the five initial letters of the five sacred elements, which produce sounds, but not words. These are believed to vibrate on the ether, and act on latent forces which are there.

Yantrasara includes all cabalistic figures, and the method of drawing and using them, and objects to be attained by them. They are drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper or lead. The efficacy of the figures, when drawn on gold, will, it is said, last for a century, while those drawn on the less precious metals will only be

effective for six months or a year. Lead plates are made use of when the mantrams have to be buried underground. These figures should possess the symbols of life, eyes, tongue, the eight cardinal points of the compass, and the five elements.

Prayogasara includes attraction or summoning by enchantment, driving out evil spirits, stupefaction, tempting or bringing a deity or evil spirits under control, and enticement for love, destruction, and separation of friends. The mantras are effective only when the individual who resorts to them is pure in mind and body. This can be attained by the recital of *ajapagayithry* (216,000 exhalations and inhalations in twenty-four hours). These have to be divided among the deities *Ganēsa*, *Brāhma*, *Vishnu*, *Rudra*, *Jīvathma*, *Paramathma*, and the guru in the proportion of 600, 6000, 6000, 6000, 1000, 1000, 1000. A man can only become learned in mantrams (*mantravādi*) by the regular performance of the recognised ceremonial, by learning them from a guru, by proper recitals of them, burning the sacred fire (*hōmam*), and taking food. As examples of yantrams, the following, selected from a very large repertoire, may be cited.

Ganapathi yantram should be drawn on metal, and worship performed. It is then enclosed in a metal cylinder, and tied by a thread round the neck of females, or the waist or arm of men. It will cure disease, conquer an enemy, or entice any one. If the sacred fire is kept up while the formula is repeated, and dry cocoanuts, plantain fruits, money, ghee, beaten rice and sweet bread

put into it, its owner will be blessed with wealth and prosperity.

Bhadrakālī yantram.—The figure is drawn on the floor with flour of rice, turmeric, charcoal powder, and leaves of the castor-oil plant; and, if pūja is done at night to the deity, it will lead to the acquisition of knowledge, strength, freedom from disease and impending calamities, wealth and prosperity. If the pūja is celebrated by a mantravādi for twelve days with his face turned towards the south, it will produce the death of an enemy.

The utterance of a certain mantram, and recital of puruṣa sooktham (a Vēdic hymn) before 11 A.M., and the distribution of milk among children, will produce increase of children, wealth, cows, and prosperity. If butter is taken by barren women, with the recital of this mantram, they will be blessed with children.

Sudarsana yantram, when drawn on a metal sheet, and enclosed in a cylinder worn round the neck or on the arm, will relieve those who are ill or possessed of devils. For driving out devils, an oblation to Agni must be offered, while the mantram *Om nama sahasrarahun pul* is uttered. If the yantram Sudarsana is drawn on butter spread on a plantain leaf, pūja performed, and the butter given to a barren woman, there will be no danger to herself or future issue.

Suthakadhosham yantram.—Children under one year of age are supposed to be affected, if they are seen by a woman on the fourth day of menstruation with wet clothes and empty stomach after bathing. She may not even see her own baby or husband till she has changed

her clothes, and taken food. To avert the evil, a waist-band, made of the bark of the arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), is worn.

Sarabha yantram will cure persons suffering from epilepsy or intermittent fever.

Subramaniya yantram, if drawn and regularly worshipped, will expel devils from both those attacked by them, and from houses.

Hanumān yantram, when worn, will protect those who are out on dark nights, and produce bodily strength and wisdom. If drawn on a gold sheet, enclosed in a casket, and pūja performed to it every Saturday, it will bring prosperity, and help pregnant women during their confinement.

Pakshi yantram, if drawn on a sheet of lead, and kept in several places round a house, will keep snakes away.

Moolathrigona yantram, if drawn on the floor, and a knife placed on it, will drive out devils from those attacked thereby.

Vatugabhairava yantram cures disease in those who are under eighteen years old, and drives out all kinds of evil spirits. If ashes are smeared on the face, and the mantram uttered sixteen times, it will be very effective.

Varati yantram is very useful to any one who wishes to kill an enemy. He should sit in a retired spot at night, with his face turned towards the south, and repeat the mantram a thousand times for twenty days.

Prathingiri yantram is drawn on a sheet of lead, and buried at a spot over which a person, whose death is

desired, will pass. It is then placed on the floor, on which the sacred fire is kindled. The mantram should be repeated eight hundred times for seven nights.

Chāmundi and Raktha Chāmundi are used for causing the death of enemies. The mantram should be written on a sheet of lead, and pūja, with the sacrifice of toddy and mutton, performed.

To produce an ulcer, which will cause the death of an enemy in ninety days, a mantram is written on a piece of cadjan (palm-leaf), enclosed in an egg with a small quantity of earth on which he has urinated, and buried in an ant-hill. A fowl is killed, and its blood and some toddy are poured over the egg. To cure fever, the formula is written with the finger in water contained in a basin, and the appropriate words repeated while the water is being drunk.

A charm, called the Asvārūda yantram enables a person wearing it to cover long distances on horseback; and he can make the most refractory horse amenable by tying it round its neck.* An inhabitant of Malabar presented Mr. Fawcett with a yantram against the evil eye, which, if whispered over a piece of string, and tied round any part of the body affected, would work an instantaneous cure. In a note regarding moon-shaped amulets against the evil eye described by Professor Tylor,† Mr. Walhouse mentions that crescents, made of thin plates of metal, sometimes gold, are worn by children on the west coast, suspended upon the breast with the

* F. Fawcett Madras Mus. Bull., III, 3, 1901.

† Journ. Anthropol. Inst., XIX, 1890.