

MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM.

Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 3.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN INDIA;
DEFORMITY AND MUTILATION;
ÚRÁLIS, SHÓLAGAS, AND IRULAS;
FIRE-WALKING IN GANJÁM; CORPORAL PUNISHMENT
IN VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

With Six Plates.



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SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

IN the following account of various forms of marriage ceremonial in Southern India I have attempted to bring together the mass of valuable information relating thereto, which, for the most part, lies buried in manuals, gazetteers, census reports, etc., in the hope that it may be of some slight use to those who have made a special study of marriage in many lands.

At the outset I may appropriately quote the account of the Bráhmaṇ marriage ceremony as given in the Census report, 1891, to show how the Bráhmaṇ ritual has been grafted on the non-Bráhmaṇ community. "On the marriage day the bridegroom, dressed in true Vaidiki * fashion with cadjan (palm leaf) books and a bundle of rice on his shoulder, pretends to be setting out for Benares,† there to lead an ascetic life, and the girl's father, meeting him, begs that he will accept the hand of his daughter. He is then taken to the marriage booth (pandál), and is formally entrusted with the girl. The sacred fire (homam) is prepared and worshipped with oblations of ghee (clarified butter), the blessings of the gods are invoked, and the táli or bottu (marriage badge) is tied round the neck of the girl by the bridegroom. The couple then go round the sacred fire, and the bridegroom takes up in his hands the right foot of the bride, and places it on a stone (a mill-stone) seven times. This is known as saptapadi (seven feet), and is the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom, holding the bride's right hand, repeats the mantras (prayers) recited by the family priest, pronouncing, in the presence of the sacred fire, the gods invoked, and the Bráhmaṇs assembled, that he shall have her as his inseparable companion, be faithful and so forth. And lastly the bride and bridegroom exchange garlands of flowers. Seed-grains of five or nine sorts are mixed up, and sown in small

* The Vaidíkis are the first class of Bráhmaṇs, whose occupation is teaching the Védas, performing and superintending sacrifices, and preserving the moral principles of the people.

† The mock flight to Benares is known as Kásiyátra.

earthen vessels specially made for the purpose and filled with earth. The couple water these both morning and evening for four days. On the fifth day they are removed, and the sprouts are thrown into a tank or a river. The boy and girl play every evening with balls of flowers, when women sing songs and much mirth and laughter prevail. On the second night the girl takes her husband to an open place, and points out to him the star *Arúndati*, implying that she will remain as chaste and faithful as that goddess." The earth, in which the seed-grains are sown, is generally obtained from a white-ant hill.

Among some sections of the Bráhmans, especially the Tamil sections, prominence is given to the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom on the fourth day after marriage, and at the ceremony called *malaimáththal* (garland changing). At this ceremonial both bride and bridegroom should be carried astride on the shoulders of their maternal uncles. Outside the wedding booths the uncles, bearing their nephew and niece, dance to the strains of a band, and, when they meet, the bride and bridegroom exchange garlands. On the fourth day a procession is got up at the expense of the maternal uncle of the bride, and is hence named *ammán kolam*. The bride is dressed up as a boy, and some other girl is dressed up to represent the bride. They are taken in procession through the street, and, on returning, the pseudo-bridegroom is made to speak to the real bridegroom in somewhat insolent tones, and some mock play is indulged in. The real bridegroom is addressed as if he was the *syce* (groom) or *gumasta* (clerk) of the pseudo-bridegroom, and is sometimes treated as a thief, and judgment passed on him by the latter.

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

The *Mádhva* Bráhmans commence the marriage ceremony by asking the ancestors of the bridal couple to bless them, and be present throughout the performance of the rite. To represent the ancestors, a *ravike* (bodice) and *thothra* (man's cloth) are tied to a stick, which is placed near the box containing the *salagrâma* stone and household

gods. In consequence of these ancestors being represented, orthodox Vaidiki Bráhmans refuse to take food prepared in the marriage house. When the bridegroom is conducted to the marriage booth by his future father-in-law, all those who have taken part in the Kásyátra ceremony throw rice over him. A quaint ceremony, called rangavriksha (drawing) is performed on the morning of the second day. After the usual playing with balls of flowers (nalagu or nalangu), the boy takes hold of the right hand of the bride, and, after dipping her right forefinger in turmeric and lime paste, traces on a white wall the outline of a plantain tree, of which a sketch has previously been made by a married woman. The tracing goes on for three days. First the base of the plant is drawn, and, on the evening of the third day, it is completed by putting in the flower spikes. On the third night the bridegroom is served with sweets and other refreshments by his mother-in-law, from whose hands he snatches the vessels containing them. He picks out what he likes best, and scatters the remainder about the room. The pollution caused thereby is removed by sprinkling water and cow-dung, which is done by the cook engaged for the marriage by the bridegroom's family. After washing his hands, the bridegroom goes home, taking with him a silver vessel, which he surreptitiously removes from near the gods. Along with this vessel he is supposed to steal a rope for drawing water, and a rice-pounding stone. But in practice he only steals the vessel, and the other articles are claimed by his people on their return home. On the fourth morning the bridegroom once more returns to the booth, where he ties a tali of black glass beads and a small gold disc round the bride's neck in the presence of 33 crores (330 millions) of gods, who are represented by a number of variously coloured large and small pots. Close to the pots are the figures of two elephants, designed in rice grains and salt respectively. After going round the pots, the bridal couple separate, and the groom stands by the salt elephant, and the bride by the other. They then begin to talk about the money value of the two animals, and an altercation takes place, during which they again go round the pots, and stand, the bridegroom near the rice elephant, and the bride by the salt one. The bargaining as to the price of the animals is renewed, and the bride and bridegroom again go round the pots. This ceremonial is succeeded by a burlesque of domestic life. The bride is presented with two wooden dolls from Tirupati, and told to make a cradle

out of the bridegroom's turmeric-coloured turban, which he wore on the *táli-tying* day (*moochoortham*). The contracting couple are made to converse with each other on domestic matters, and the bridegroom asks the bride to attend to her household affairs, so that he may go to his duties. She pleads her inability to do so because of the children, and asks him to take charge of them. She then shows the babies (dolls) to all those who are present, and a good deal of fun is made out of the incident. The bride, with her mother standing by her side near two empty chairs, is then introduced to her new relations by marriage, who sit, in pairs, on the chairs, and make presents of *pán-supári* and turmeric. She is then formally handed over to her husband.

At a wedding among *Srí Vaishnava Bráhmans*, at an auspicious hour on the fourth day, the bridal pair are seated in the wedding booth, and made to roll a cocoanut to and fro across the dais. The assembled *Bráhmans* keep on chanting some ten stanzas in *tamil*, composed by a *Vaishnava* lady, named *Āṇḍal*, who lived some centuries ago, and dedicated herself to *Vishnu*. She narrates to her attendants, in the stanzas, her dream in which she went through the marriage ceremony after her dedication to the god. *Pán-supári*, of which a little, together with some money, is set apart for *Āṇḍal*, is then distributed to all who are present. Generally a large crowd is assembled as they believe that the chanting of *Āṇḍal's* *srisukthi* brings a general blessing. The family priest then calls out the names and *gótras* of those who have become related to the bridegroom and the bride through their marriage, and, as each person's name is called out, he or she is supposed to make a present of cloths, money, etc., to the bride or bridegroom.*

"The Hindus," Sir Walter Elliot writes, "recognise eight descriptions of marriage, two of which, the most ancient, are characterised as accomplished by force. That called *irákkadan* is thus described. When bold men, becoming enamoured of a damsel adorned with large ornaments of gold, resolve to seize her by force: this is the marriage rite peculiar to the broad and high-shouldered giants, who wander over the earth, exhibiting their prowess.†

* K. Rangachari: M.S.

† According to the *Hinda* *Shastras*, marriage after forcible abduction is known as *rákshasa*.



NAIDU BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

Still more applicable to the Australian mode is the *paisácha* union, in which the possession of the persons of females is obtained, while under the protection of their non-consenting relations, by violence, and in a state of insensibility.”*

In savage societies, it has been said, sexual unions were generally effected by the violent capture of the woman. By degrees these captures have become friendly ones, and have ended in a peaceful exogamy, retaining the ancient custom only in the ceremonial form. Whereof an excellent example is afforded by the Khonds of Ganjám. “They hold a feast,” Macpherson writes,† “at the bride’s house. Far in the night the principals in the scene are raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulders, and borne through the dance. The burdens are suddenly exchanged, and the uncle of the youth disappears with the bride. The assembly divides itself into two parties. The friends of the bride endeavour to arrest, those of the bridegroom to cover her flight, and men, women, and children mingle in mock conflict. I saw a man bearing away upon his back something enveloped in an ample covering of scarlet cloth. He was surrounded by twenty or thirty young fellows, and by them protected from the desperate attacks made upon him by a party of young women. The man was just married, and the burden was his blooming bride, whom he was conveying to his own village. Her youthful friends were, according to custom, seeking to regain possession of her, and hurled stones and bamboos at the head of the devoted bridegroom until he reached the confines of his own village. Then the tables were turned, and the bride was fairly won : and off her young friends scampered, screaming and laughing, but not relaxing their speed till they reached their own village.” Among the Khonds of Gúmsúr, the friends and relations of the bride and bridegroom collect at an appointed spot. The people of the female convoy call out to the others to come and take the bride, and then a mock fight with stones and thorny brambles is begun by the female convoy against the parties composing the other one. In the midst of the beating the assaulted party take possession of the bride, and all the furniture brought with her, and carry all off together.‡ According to another account the

* ‘Ind. Antiquary,’ Vol. XVI, 1887.

† ‘Report upon the Khonds,’ 1842 ; and Campbell : ‘Personal Narrative of Service in Kondistan,’ 1864.

‡ J. A. R. Stevenson : ‘Madras Journ. Lit. Science,’ Vol. VI, 1837.

bride, as soon as she enters the bridegroom's house, has two enormous bracelets, or rather handcuffs of brass, each weighing from 20 to 30 lbs. attached to each wrist. The unfortunate girl has to sit with her two wrists resting on her shoulders, so as to support these enormous weights. This is to prevent her from running away to her old home. On the third day the bangles are removed, as it is supposed that by then the girl has become reconciled to her fate. These marriage bangles are made on the hills, and are curiously carved in fluted and zigzag lines, and kept as heir-looms in the family to be used at the next marriage in the house.* Among the Kutiya Khonds chastity is said to be not known, or at least practised by the girls. They go naked till marriage, and the unmarried men and girls sleep together in a house set apart for the purpose in some villages. In others, by invitation of the girl, any man she fancies visits her at her parent's house. When a man proposes marriage to a girl, he offers to buy her a new cloth, and, after that, she is expected to remain virtuous.† According to a still more recent account of marriage among the Khonds‡, an old woman suddenly rushes forward, seizes the bride, flings her on her back, and carries her off. A man comes to the front similarly, catches the groom, and places him astride on his shoulder. The human horses neigh and prance about like the live quadruped, and finally rush away to the outskirts of the village. This is a signal for the bride's girl friends to chase the couple, and pelt them with clods of earth, stones, mud, cow-dung, and rice. When the mock assault is at an end, the older people come up, and all accompany the bridal pair to the groom's village. At the ceremonial for settling the preliminaries of a Khond marriage, a knotted string is put into the hands of the séri dáh'pa gátáru (searchers for the bride), and a similar string is kept by the girl's people. The reckoning of the date of the betrothal ceremony is kept by undoing a knot in the string every morning. Among the Kois of the Gódávári district, if the would-be bridegroom is poor, he fixes upon a suitable young girl, and sends his father and friends to take counsel with the headman of the village, where his future partner lives. A judicious and liberal bestowal of a few rupees and arrack obtain the consent of the guardian of the village to

* Le Loup Blanc: 'Madras Mail,' 1894.

† 'Manual of the Ganjam District,' 1882.

‡ J. E. F. Pereira: 'Journ. As. Soc., Beng.,' Vol. LXXI, 1902.

the proposed marriage. This done, the party watch for a favourable opportunity to carry off the bride, which is sure to occur when she comes outside her village to fetch water or wood, or it may be when she is left alone in her house. (The headman is generally consulted, but not always, as sometime ago a wealthy widow was forcibly carried off from the house of a rich Koi, and, when the master of the house opposed the proceedings, he was knocked down by the invading party.) The bridegroom generally anxiously awaits the return home of his friends with their captive, and the ceremony is proceeded with that evening, due notice having been sent to the bereaved parents. A more simple ceremony among the Kois is that of causing the woman to bend her head down; and then, having made the man lean over her, the friends pour water on his head, and, when the water has run off his head to that of the woman, they are regarded as man and wife. The water is generally poured out of a bottle-gourd.*

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

* The Rev. J. Cain: 'Ind. Antiquary,' Vol. V, 1876.

† 'Journ. Anth. Soc., Bombay,' Vol. I, 1888.

spirits. Just as, among the Bechuanas, the bridegroom throws an arrow into the hut before he enters to take up his bride.

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

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

A Palli or Vanniyan (agriculturist) bridegroom, at the close of the marriage ceremony, goes to a plot of ground outside the village near a tank, carrying a toy yoke, crowbar and spade. He is followed by his wife carrying some rice gruel in an old pot. On reaching the tank, the man turns up some soil with the spade, and, after pretending to plough

* P. V. Ramuni : 'Madras Christian Coll. Magazine.'

† Reclus : 'Primitive Folk.'

‡ 'Manual of the Nellore District,' 1873.

§ 'Manual of the Madura District.'

|| 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

with the yoke, feigns fatigue, and sits down. The bride offers him some rice gruel, which he accepts, and throws it into the tank. Mixed grains sown in earthen vessels are then worshipped, and also thrown into the tank. The bride fills her pot with water, and carries it home, to be used on the following day when the marriage is consummated.

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

At a wedding among the Bagatas (fishing caste) of Vizagapatam the bridegroom is struck by his brother-in-law, who is then presented with a pair of new cloths.† In like manner, part of the marriage ceremony of the Oriya Haddis consists in the bride's striking the bridegroom.‡ At a wedding among the Ghásis (scavengers) of Ganjam, an earthen pot filled with water is suspended from the marriage booth. On the last day but one of the protracted ceremony, the bridegroom breaks the vessel. The bride's brother then strikes him on the back, and the bridegroom leaves the house in mock anger. Next day the bride goes to his house, and invites him back.§ At a wedding among the Muhammadan Marakayars of the east coast, the Hindu fashion of tying a *táli* round the neck of the bride is observed. On the fourth day the bride is dressed like a Bráhmaṇ woman, and holds a small brass vessel in one hand, and a stick in the other. Approaching the bridegroom, she strikes him gently, and

* G. F. Paddison: MS.

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ Ibid.

§ S. P. Rice: 'Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life.'

says: "Did not I give you butter-milk and curds? Pay me for them." The bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the brass vessel, but the bride objects to this, and demands money, accompanying the demand by strokes of the stick. The man then places copper, silver and gold coins in the vessel, and the bride retires in triumph to her chamber.* The Dúdekulas (cotton cleaners), though Muhammadans, have adopted or retained many of the customs of the Hindus around them, tying a táli (a necklace of beads) to the bride at marriage, being very ignorant of the Muhammadan religion, and even joining in Hindu worship as far as allowable. They pray in mosques, and circumcise their boys before the age of ten, and yet some of them observe the Hindu festivals.† The Sirukudi Kallans use a táli, on which, curiously enough, the Musalman badge of a crescent and a star is engraved. The Puramulai-nádu sub-division also follow the Musalman practice of circumcision.‡

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

At a marriage among the Badhoyis, and various other castes in Ganjam, two pith crowns are placed on the forehead of the bridegroom. On his way to the bride's house he is met by her puróhit (priest) and relations, and her barber washes his feet, and presents him with a new yellow cloth, flowers, and kusa grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). When he arrives at the house, amid the recitations of stanzas by the priest, the blowing of conch-shells and other music, the women of the bride's party make a noise called huluhuli, and shower kusa grass over him. At the marriage booth the bridegroom sits upon a raised 'altar', and the bride, who arrives accompanied by her maternal uncle, pours salt, yellow-coloured rice, and parched paddy over the head of

* 'Madras Mail,' 1900.

† 'Manual of the North Arcot District'; Census report, 1901.

‡ 'Manual of the Nellore District.'

the bridegroom, by whose side she seats herself. Various Bráhmancial rites are then performed, and the bride's father places her hand in that of the bridegroom. A bundle of straw is now placed on the altar, on which the contracting parties sit, the bridegroom facing east and the bride west. The puróhit rubs a little jaggery (molasses) over the bridegroom's right palm, joins it to the palm of the bride, and ties their two hands together with a rope made of kusa grass. A yellow cloth is tied to the cloths which the bridal pair are wearing, and stretched over their shoulders. One of the pith crowns is next removed from the bridegroom's forehead, and placed on that of the bride. The hands are then untied by a married woman. Srádha is performed for the propitiation of ancestors, and the puróhit, repeating some mantrams, blesses the pair by throwing yellow rice over them. On the sixth day of the ceremony the bridegroom runs away from the house of his father-in-law, as if he was displeased, and goes to the house of a relation in the same or an adjacent village. His brother-in-law, or other male relation of the bride, goes in search of him, and, when he has found him rubs some jaggery over his face, and brings him back.*

The Relli (gardener) bridegroom of Ganjám, with the permission of the village magistrate, marches straight into the bride's house, and ties a wedding necklace round her neck. A gift of seven and-a-half rupees and a pig to the caste-men, and of five rupees to the bride's father, completes this very primitive ceremony.† The usual bride price among the Jógis (beggar caste) is a pig and Rs. 19-4-0, and on the wedding day the pig is killed, and its head is taken by the bride's party, while its body is reserved for a general feast.‡

At a Pallar wedding, before the wedding is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he had suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that had been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way, and persuades him to return, promising to give his daughter as a wife. To this the bridegroom consents.§ A Kamsala (artisan) bridegroom, in the course of the marriage ceremony,

* D. Mahanty : MS.

† S. P. Rice : 'Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life.'

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

§ G. Oppert : 'Madras Journ. Lit. and Science,' 1888.

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

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

* 'Manual of the Nellore District.'

† Machchún = mother's brother's, or father's sister's son.

‡ Marumakkatáyam: the law of inheritance through the female line.

§ 'Manual of Malabar,' 1887.

On the second day of a Heggade (Canarese cultivator) marriage, a pretence of stealing a jewel from the person of the bride is made. The bridegroom makes away with the jewel before dawn, and, in the evening, the bride's party proceeds to the house where the bridegroom is to be found. The owner of the house is told that a theft has occurred in the bride's house, and is asked whether the thief has taken shelter in his house. A negative answer is given, but the bride's party conducts a regular search. In the meanwhile a boy is dressed up to represent the bridegroom. The searching party mistake this boy for the bridegroom, arrest him, and produce him before the audience as the culprit. This disguised bridegroom, who is proclaimed to be the thief, throws his mask at the bride; when it is found to the amusement of all that he is not the bridegroom. The bride's party then, confessing their inability to find the bridegroom, request the owner of the house to produce him. He is then produced, and conducted in procession to the bride's house.*

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

A Malaiáli of the North Arcot district has to serve at least for a year in the house of the bride in order to receive the consent of her parents, in the same way that a Paniyan of Malabar has to serve for six months. In like manner a Kádir goes to the village of his bride-elect, and gives her a dowry by working there for a year.‡ And, among the Badagas of the Nilgiris, it is said to be common for one who is in want of labourers to promise his daughter in marriage to the son or other relative of a neighbour not in circumstances so flourishing as himself. And these engagements being entered into, the intended bridegroom serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own family

* 'Manual of South Canara,' 2nd ed., 1894.

† 'Manual of the Salem District,' 1883.

‡ T. K. Gopal Panikar : 'Malabar and its Folk,' 1900.

till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law.* Formerly the prospective Gadaba bridegroom of Vizagapatam used to work in his father-in-law's house for one year before marriage, but a cash payment is now substituted for service.† Now and then a Malaiáli bride is carried off by force, but this custom is viewed with much disfavour, and the bridegroom who resorts to it must paint his face with black and white dots, and carry an old basket filled with broken pots and other rubbish, holding a torn sieve over him as an umbrella before the celebration of the marriage. At the wedding, the bridegroom gives the girl's father a present of money, and a pile of firewood sufficient for the two days' feast. On the first day the food consists of rice and dhál (*Cajanus indicus*), and on the second day pork curry is consumed. At sunrise on the third day the bridegroom produces the táli, and ties it. A sword is then laid upon the laps of the bridal pair, and the náttan (headman), or an elderly man blesses the táli, and gives it to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck.‡ Among the Alias (cultivators) of Ganjam, if a girl cannot find a proper match before puberty, a nominal marriage, called gando bibáho, is performed with a bow in the place of a husband.† The jungle Chenchus believe in clandestine unions. Either the couple run away at night and return next day man and wife, or they go round a bow and arrow planted in the ground, in a circular space, cleaned and besmeared with cow-dung, and their relatives throw rice on them and bless them.§

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

At a marriage among the Pallis or Vanniyans, the bride, after her betrothal, is asked to touch the bow and sword of the bridegroom. The latter adorns himself with all regal pomp, and, mounting a horse, goes in procession

* Harkness : 'Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills,' 1832.

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

‡ 'Manual of the North Arcot District,' 1895.

§ G. F. D'Penha : 'Ind. Antiquary,' Vol. XXV, 1896.

|| Rev. H. Moegling, 'Coorg Memoirs.'

to the bride's house, where the marriage ceremony is celebrated.*

A Nair girl of Travancore must get married with the *táli* before the age of eleven, to avoid reproach from friends and neighbours. In case of need a sword may even be made to represent a bridegroom.† If a suitable husband has not been found for an Odia (Uriya farmer) girl before puberty, she is married to an arrow.‡ At the *pudamuri* (*pudaya*, a woman's cloth; *muri*, cutting) form of marriage among the Nayars, in a room decorated and turned into a bed-room for the occasion, are placed a number of lighted lamps, and *ashtamangaliam*, which consists of eight articles symbolical of *mangaliam* or marriage. These are rice, paddy, the tender leaves of the cocoanut, an arrow, a looking-glass, a well washed cloth, burning fire, and a small round wooden box called *cheppu*, made in a particular fashion.§ At the *Náyar táli-kettu* (*táli-tying*) marriage, the girl is brought before the *manaválan* (bridegroom), covered up like a *gosha* woman, and holding an arrow in her hand.‡ Basava women (dedicated prostitutes) are sometimes married to a dagger, sometimes to an idol. In making a female child over to the service of the temple, she is taken and dedicated for life to some idol. A *khanjar* or dagger is placed on the ground, and the girl who is to undergo the ceremony puts a garland thereon. Her mother then puts rice on the girl's forehead. The officiating priest then weds the girl to the dagger, just as if he was uniting her to a boy in marriage, by reciting the marriage stanzas, a curtain being held between the girl and the dagger.|| In an account of the initiation ceremony of the Basavis of the Bellary district Mr. F. Fawcett writes as follows: ¶ “A sword with a lime stuck on its point is placed upright beside the novice, and held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom, who, in the corresponding ceremony of the Hindu marriage, sits on the bride's right. A tray, on which are a *kalasyam* (vessel of water) and a lamp, is then produced, and moved thrice in front of the girl from right to left. She rises, and, carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the god's sanctuary. Among

* T. Aiyakannu Nayakar: ‘Vannikula Vilakkam.’

† S. Mateer: ‘Journ. Anthropol. Inst.,’ Vol. XII, 1883.

‡ ‘Madras Census Report,’ 1891.

§ ‘Report of the Malabar Commission,’ 1894.

|| E. Balfour: ‘Cyclopædia of India.’

¶ ‘Journ. Anth. Soc.,’ Bombay, Vol. II.

the dancing girls very similar ceremonies are performed. With them the girl's spouse is represented by a drum instead of a sword, and she bows to it. Her insigne consists of a drum and bells." In another account of the marriage ceremony among dancing girls, it is stated that the Bhogams or dancing girls, who are without exception prostitutes, though they are not allowed to marry, go through a marriage ceremony, which is rather a costly one. Sometimes a wealthy native bears the expense, makes large presents to the bride, and receives her first favours. Where no such opportunity presents itself, a sword or other weapon represents the bridegroom, and an imaginary nuptial ceremony is performed. Should the Bhoga woman have no daughter, she invariably adopts one, usually paying a price for her, the Kaikóla (weaver) caste being the ordinary one from which to take a child.* The custom of sending a sword to represent an unavoidably absent bridegroom at a wedding is not uncommon among the Telugu Rázus and Velamas.† The Rázus at their weddings worship a sword, which is a ceremony usually denoting a soldier caste. They say they are Kshatriyas, and at marriages use a wrist string made of cotton and wool, the combination peculiar to Kshatriyas, to tie the wrists of the happy couple.‡ Among the Gaudas, or pastoral caste of Ganjám Oriyas, if a girl is not married before puberty, she has to marry an arrow before she can be married to a man.§

The Maravar zemindars (landlords) of Tinnevely celebrate marriage by means of a stick, which is sent by the bridegroom, and set up in the marriage booth in his place. The táli is tied by some one representing the bridegroom, and the marriage then becomes complete.||

On the first day of a marriage among the Palayakkárans (Telugu cultivators) the bridegroom worships a jambu (*Eugenia Jambolana*) twig by offering milk, ghee, and frankincense to it, and ties it to the central pillar of the marriage booth. On the morning of the second day the married couple go in procession to a white-ant (*Termites*) hill outside the village, pour milk and ghee over it, and carry home five baskets of earth from it. The bridegroom mixes the earth with water, and places a lump of it at each

* 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

† H. G. Prendergast. 'Ind. Ant.' Vol. XX, 1891.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

§ Ibid.

|| 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

of the twelve pillars of the booth. On the third day he goes, accompanied by some of his relations, to a plot of ground outside the village, taking with him two bullocks, a plough, two yokes, and nine kinds of grain. He yokes the bullocks to the plough, turns up a small space of ground, and sows the grain.* At a wedding among the forest Irulas, it is necessary that the two front posts of the marriage booth should have twelve twigs of the pála (milk) tree tied to them. The happy pair have to fetch a basketful of earth from an ant-hill, and place it beneath the pála twigs. The binding part of the ceremony is said to consist in the woman smoking the bridegroom's cheroot, or eating out of the same dish with him.† All castes erect certain posts, called pála-kambam (milk posts) or pála maram (milk tree), for the marriage booth. Some sections of Sudras set up posts made of branches of the pála tree (*Mimusops hexandra*), but the tree commonly used is the peepul (*Ficus religiosa*).

At a wedding among the Goundans of Coimbatore the first pole (mugúrtha-kól) of the marriage booth must be planted by the arumeikáran (lay priest) and the arumeikári ties the táli on the bride's neck.‡

The bridegroom among the shikári (hunting) Boyas of the Deccan districts has to collect some earth from an ant-hill, in which seeds are then sown, and he carries a dagger.§

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

A curious mock marriage ceremony is celebrated among Bráhmans when an individual marries a third wife. It is believed that a third marriage is very inauspicious, and that the bride will become a widow. To prevent this mishap, the man is made to marry the arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), and the real marriage thus becomes the fourth. If this ceremony is carried out in orthodox fashion, it is generally celebrated on a Sunday or Monday, when the constellation Astham is visible. The bridegroom and a Bráhman priest, accompanied by a third Bráhman, repair to

* 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ 'Manual of the Coimbatore District.'

§ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

|| 'Manual of the Ganjám District.'

a spot where the arka plant (a very common weed) is growing. The plant is decorated with a cloth and piece of string, and symbolised by the priest into the sun. The bridegroom then invokes it thus: "Oh! master of three lóks, Oh! the seven-horsed, Oh! Rávi, avert the evils of the third marriage." Next the plant is addressed with the words "You are the oldest of the plants of this world. Bráhma created you to save such of us as have to marry a third time, so please become my wife." The Bráhman who accompanies the bridegroom becomes his father-in-law for the moment, and says to him "I give you in marriage Aditya's great granddaughter, Savi's granddaughter and my daughter Arkakanya." All the ceremonies, such as doing homam, táli-tying, etc., are performed as at a regular marriage, and, after the recitation of a few sentences from the Védas, the plant is cut down. At a form of marriage called rambha or kathali (plantain tree) marriage the Calotropis plant is replaced by a plantain tree (*Musa sapientum*). It is performed by those who happen to be eldest brothers, and are incapable of getting married, as younger brothers are not allowed to marry unless the elder brother or brothers is already married.*

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

At a wedding among the Cherumans (agricultural serfs) of Malabar, when the wedding party sets out, they form a large gang of people, and at intervals the men set to

* K. Rangachari: MS.

† 'Manual of the South Canara District.'

‡ 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

§ 'Manual of the Madura District.'

at stick play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them "Let us see—let us see—the stick play (*paditallu*) Oh! Cherumar." At their weddings men and women mingle indiscriminately in dancing. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's hut, she is expected to weep loudly and deplore her fate; and, on entering, she must tread on a pestle placed across the threshold.* When a *Gúdala* (Telugu basket-maker) widow is married, the *táli* is put on near a mortar.† At the marriage of a *Malai Vellála* girl of the Coimbatore district, she has to cry during the whole ceremony, which lasts three days. Otherwise she is considered an "ill woman." When she can no longer produce genuine tears, she must proceed to bawl out. If she does not do this, the bridegroom will not marry her. Two curious points in connection with the marriage ceremony of the *Lambádis* may be noticed. The women are said to weep and cry aloud at their weddings, which may be a relic of marriage by capture, and the bride and bridegroom are stated to pour milk down some snake's hole, and offer to the snake coconuts, flowers, and so on. *Bráhmans* are sometimes engaged to celebrate weddings, and, failing a *Bráhman*, a youth of the tribe will put on the marriage thread and perform the ceremony.‡

Of substitutional child marriage many examples are forthcoming. The custom, which illustrates the Hindu love of offspring, prevails, for example, among the *Malaiális* (hill cultivators of the Salem district). The sons, when mere children, are married to mature females, and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function, thus assuring for himself and his son a descendant to take them out of Put. When the putative father comes of age, and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married, he performs for them the same office which his father did for him. Thus not only is the religious idea involved in the words *Putra* and *Kumáran* § carried out, but also the premature strain on the generative faculties, which this tradition entails, is avoided. The accommodation is reciprocal, and there is something on physiological grounds to recommend

* 'Manual of Malabar.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ Ibid.

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

it.* Writing to me recently concerning this custom among the Malaiális, a native says that "the custom of linking a boy in marriage to a mature female, though still existing, has, with the advance of the times, undergone a slight yet decent change. The father-in-law of the bride has relieved himself of the awkward predicament into which the *mámúl* (custom) drove him, and now leaves the performance of the procreative function to others accepted by the bride." The Malaiális claim to be Vellálas who emigrated to the hills from the city of Káncchipúram (Conjeveram); and, like them, a section of Vellálas in the Coimbatore district is said to have had the custom of the father of a family living in incestuous intercourse with his own daughter-in-law during the period that his son, the youthful husband, was in non-age.† The Kammas tie a bunch of *dhál* (*Cajanus indicus*) leaves to the north-east post of the marriage booth, to commemorate the escape of a party of Kammas who concealed themselves in a field of *dhál*. Among the Kammas of the Tamil country, the bridegroom is sometimes much younger than the bride, and a case is on record of a wife of twenty-two years of age, who used to carry her boy-husband on her hip, as a mother carries her child.‡ A parallel is to be found in Russia, where not very long ago grown-up women were to be seen carrying about boys of six, to whom they had been betrothed.§ Among the western Kunnúvans (Mannádis) of the Madura district, when an estate is likely to descend to a female in default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or a portion of her father's dwelling house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of her caste, to whom she may take a fancy. And her issue, so begotten, inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom, and Madura magistrates have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve.|| At the marriage of Kongas, barbers officiate as the priests, and the *táli* is tied round the neck of the bride, not by the

* 'Manual of the Salem District,' 1883.

† J. Shortt: 'Tribes of the Neilgherries,' 1868.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

§ Hutchinson: 'Marriage Customs in many Lands,' 1897.

|| 'Manual of the Madura District,' 1868.

bridegroom, but by a person known as the arumaikkáran, who is assisted by the barber. Marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is looked upon as the most desirable union, and this frequently results in a boy of seven or eight being married to a girl twice his age, who lives with her father-in-law until her husband grows up. This custom is said to be dying out.* Among the Tottiyans (Telugu cultivators) the custom of marrying boys to their paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, however old she may be, obtains, and, in such cases, the bridegroom's father is said to take upon himself the duty of begetting children to his own son.† In like manner, among the Káppiliyans (Canarese-speaking farmers) the right of a man to marry his sister's or aunt's daughter is so strong that it frequently happens that small boys are married to adult women, and, in such cases, morality is naturally lax. Children of such ill-matched unions inherit the property of the nominal father, even though he was quite a child at the time of their birth.‡ Among the Reddis of Tinnevely, a young woman of sixteen or twenty years of age, is frequently married to a boy of five or six years, or even of a more tender age. After marriage she, the wife, lives with some other man, a near relative on the maternal side, frequently an uncle, and sometimes with her boy-husband's own father. The progeny so begotten are affiliated on the boy-husband. When he comes of age he finds his wife an old woman, and perhaps past child-bearing. So he, in his turn, contracts a *liaison* with some other boy's wife, and procreates children for him.§ In an account of the Ayódhya Reddis of Tinnevely it is stated that the *táli* is peculiar, consisting of a number of cotton threads besmeared with turmeric, without any gold ornament. They have a proverb that "he who went forth to procure a *táli* and a cloth never returned." The bridegroom may be a child, and, in that case, the bride cohabits with some adult member of her husband's family, or at least of his caste, though it is said that the husband's representative may even be a member of another caste. The children born during the non-age of the husband are regarded in every way as his children.|| Khond boys of ten or twelve years of age are said to be married to

* 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ Ibid.

§ Shortt : op. cit.

|| 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

girls of fifteen or sixteen. The new wife lives with her boy husband in his father's house, occupying the same couch. When her husband grows up, he gets a house of his own, unless he is the youngest son.* Marriage among the Kallans is said to depend entirely upon consanguinity. The most proper alliance is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister; and, if an individual has such a cousin, he must marry her, whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy, for example, of fifteen must marry such a cousin, even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon his so doing. Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece, or any near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter, and insists upon his marrying her, he cannot refuse: and this whatever may be the woman's age.† One of the customs of the Komatis (Telugu traders) is that which renders it the duty of a man to marry his uncle's daughter, however sickly or deformed she may be. This custom is known as *ménarikam*, and is followed by a number of Dravidian castes, but it is perhaps more strictly observed by the Komatis than by others.‡ Some Komatis have, in recent times, given up this custom, and, as the common folk among them put it, have suffered by the loss of their sons-in-law and other mishaps. Kanyakapuran, the sacred book of the Komatis, is a lasting monument of the rigidity with which *ménarikam* was maintained in ancient days. The custom has apparently been copied by the Désásta Bráhmans of Southern India, in whom it would, but for modern enlightenment, have almost been crystallised into law. It was not until lately prevalent among the Ayyar Bráhmans, who have adopted it in order to keep the family property intact within it.§

Among the Goundans of Coimbatore, a boy of seven or eight is occasionally married to a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter of sixteen or eighteen. In this case it is said that the boy's father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and is hardly practised, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that, upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself

* Macpherson: op. cit.

† 'Manual of the Madura District.'

‡ 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

§ C. Hayavadana Rao: MS.

in a well, or (as is not unfrequently the case), she will incite her friends to tie a *táli* on the girl by fraud or force. The maternal uncle's daughter is absolutely the correct relationship for a wife. It is the bride's maternal uncle who carries her to the *náttu-kal* (place where grain seedlings are raised) at the village boundaries, which is, the equivalent to a publication of the banns.*

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

A quaint custom among the Lambádis of Mysore is that the officiating Bráhmaṇ priest is the only male who is permitted to be present. Immediately after the betrothal, the females surround and pinch him on all sides, repeating all the time songs in their mixed Kutni dialect. The vicarious punishment, to which the solitary male Bráhmaṇ is thus subjected, is said to be apt retribution for the cruel conduct of a Bráhmaṇ parent, who, in an age gone-by, heartlessly abandoned his two daughters in the jungle, as they had attained puberty before marriage. The pinching episode is a painful reality. It is said, however, that the Bráhmaṇ willingly undergoes the operation in consideration of the fee paid.‡ An equally mauvais quart d'heure is passed by a Bráhmaṇ at a wedding among the Lingayats (Kannádiyans) of Chingleput. On the *táli*-tying day a Bráhmaṇ (generally a Saivite) is formally invited to attend, and pretends that he is unable to do so. But he is, with mock gravity, pressed hard to do so, and, after repeated guarantees of good faith, he finally consents with great reluctance and misgivings. On his arrival at the marriage booth, the headman of the family in which the marriage is taking place seizes him roughly by the head, and ties five cocoanuts as tightly as possible to his kudumi, or bunch of hair at the back of his head, amid the loud, though not real protestations of the victim. Those present, with all seriousness, pacify him, and he is cheered by the sight of five rupees, which are presented to him together with a pair of new cloths, and *pán-supári* (betel leaves and nuts). Meanwhile the young folk have been making sport of him by throwing at his new and old

* 'Manual of the Coimbatore District,

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

‡ 'Mysore Census Report,' 1891.'

cloths big empty brinjal (*Solanum Melongena*) fruits filled with turmeric powder and chunam (powdered shell-lime). He goes for the boys, who dodge him, and at last the elders beat off the youngsters with the remark that "after all he is a Bráhmaṇ, and ought not to be trifled with in this way." The Bráhmaṇ then takes leave, and is heard of no more in connection with the marriage rites. The whole ceremony has a decided ring of mockery about it, and leads one to the conclusion that it is celebrated more in derision than in honour of the Bráhmaṇs. It is notorious that the Lingayats will not even accept water from a Bráhmaṇ's hands, and do not, like many other castes, require his services in connection with marriage or funeral rites. The ceremony of tying cocoanuts to the hair of the Bráhmaṇ appears to be observed by the bamboo section of the Kannádiyaṇs, and not by the rattan section. By the latter an equally quaint ceremonial is observed. The village barber is invited to be present, and the infant bride and bridegroom are seated before him in a state of nudity. He is provided with some good ghí in a cocoanut shell, and has to sprinkle this over the heads of the contracting couple by means of a grass or reed. This he is prevented from doing by a cruel contrivance. A large stone is suspended from his neck by a rope, and, by means of another rope, he is kept nodding backwards and forwards by urchins at his back. Eventually he succeeds in his efforts, and, after receiving a small fee, ghí, and pán supári, he is dismissed. The bride and bridegroom then take an oil bath, and the marriage ceremony is proceeded with.* The stone round the neck probably represents the linga, and the barber becomes for the moment a Lingayat.

In a report by Lieutenant Evans in 1820, it is stated that the marriages of the Kotas of the Nilgiris remind one of what is called bundling in Wales. The bride and bridegroom, being together for the night, the bride is questioned next morning by her relatives whether she is pleased with her husband-elect. If she answers in the affirmative, it is a marriage: if not, the bridegroom is immediately dismissed, and the girl does not suffer in reputation if she thus discards half-a-dozen suitors. The marriage customs of the Nayádis of Malabar have recently been described by Mr. T. K. Gopal Panikkar, who writes as follows.† "A large hut is

* Hayavadana Rao: MŚ.

† 'Malabar and its Folk,' 1900.

constructed of 'holly' and other leaves, inside which the girl is ensconced. Then all the young men and women of the village gather round the hut, and form a ring about it. The girl's father, or the nearest male relative, sits at a short distance from the crowd with a tom-tom in his hands. Then the music commences, and a chant is sung by the father, which has been freely translated as follows :—

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

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

In one form of marriage among the Chenchus, a man, wishing to marry, selects his bride, and both retire for one night by mutual consent from the gudém (village). On the following morning, when they return, their parents invite their friends and relatives, and, by formally investing

* 'Mysore Census Report,' 1891.

them with new cloths, declare them duly married. To complete the ceremony, a meal is given to those assembled.*

When a Tanda Pulayan of Travancore puts on her sedge (tanda) apron for the first time, as a sign that puberty has been reached, there is a ceremony called the tanda marriage.† The Yerukalas of the Kistna district are divided into two classes—sheep and goats practically. Of these, the latter are the bastard offspring of the former. They are not allowed to marry among the legitimate members. But, in order to prevent their becoming a separate caste, the sons and daughters of a bastard couple are not allowed to marry a bastard. They must marry a legitimate, and so the second generation is clean again.‡ Among the Nanga Porojas of Vizagapatam, pits are dug in the ground, in which during the cold season the children are put at night to keep them warm. The pit is about nine feet in diameter. In the spring all the marriageable girls of a settlement are put into one pit, and a young man, who has really selected his bride with the consent of his parents, comes and proposes to her. If she refuses him, he tries one after another till he is accepted. On one occasion a leopard jumped into the pit, and killed some of the maidens. According to another version, a number of Bhonda youths, candidates for matrimony, start off for a village, where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women, and make known their wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. The juice of the salop (sago palm, *Caryota urens*) in a fermented state is in great requisition, as nothing can be done without the exhilarating effects of this, their favourite beverage. The youths excavate an underground chamber (if one is not already prepared) having an aperture at the top, admitting of the entrance of one at a time. Into this the young gentlemen, with a corresponding number of young girls, are introduced, when they grope about and make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands. Bracelets are then put on her arms by the elders.§ No girl among the Gadabas is permitted to marry till she can weave her own cloth.

* 'Manual of the Kurnool District.'

† W. J. Richards: 'Ind. Ant.,' Vol. IX, 1880.

‡ G. F. Paddison: MS.

§ J. A. May: Bhondas of Jeypore, 'Ind. Ant.,' Vol. II, 1873.



TANDA PULAIYAN.

At a Toda wedding the bride bows down with her face to the ground, and the bridegroom places first the right, and then the left foot on her head. She then brings water for cooking purposes, and becomes a housewife.

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

Among Telugu Bráhmans, the interposition of a cloth as a screen between the bride and bridegroom, just before the tying of the mangala soothram (*táli*) is fairly common. It is resorted to so that the bride may not be seen by the bridegroom. Further, the bride is, like the Santhal bride in Bengal, made to sit in a capacious basket, which is either empty or partly filled with paddy. The *táli* is tied while she is in the basket. Among all the Telugu-speaking castes, from Bráhmans to Mádigas, small black glass beads form part of the mangala soothram.†

At a wedding among the low-class Málas, a barber pares the bridegroom's toe-nails, and, as a mere form, touches his chin with a razor. Then, taking two rice-pounders, he dips the ends in milk and ghee (clarified butter), and touches the shoulders of the bride and bridegroom as a signal to retire for bathing, while he salutes them with the words "Good be to you."‡ A Kápu bridegroom is invested with a new cloth, and the bride placed beside him. Their cloths are then tied together in a knot. A barber next approaches with a brass cup of water, and a plate containing rice stained with turmeric is placed upon the ground. Each of the visitors takes up a few grains of rice, and sprinkles them on the head of the couple, and waves round their heads some small pieces of money to avert the evil eye. The coins so used are thrown into the barber's cup. The barber then cuts the toe-nails

* 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

† K. Rangachari: MS.

‡ 'Manual of the Nellore District.'

of the bridegroom. This, with the Sudras, answers to the ceremony of shaving the head among the Bráhmans. Later a cloth is held up between the bride and bridegroom, and she is presented to him by her father. The couple unite hands, and walk round the dais thrice. Then, the veil being again held up between them, the bridegroom places his right foot upon a black pounding stone, and the bride puts her left foot three times upon his right. Then she treads with her right foot upon the stone, and he places his left foot upon it three times. The temporary screen is then again removed, and the bride puts on the saffron-coloured cloth brought her as a present by the bridegroom's father. Bride and bridegroom look up at the sky to catch a glimpse of the polar star, and then enter the apartment, when the marriage feast commences.* At a Bráhman marriage ceremony, the bridegroom shows the bride the polar star, reciting the following text. "Heaven is stable; the earth is stable; this universe is stable; these mountains are stable. May this woman be stable in her husband's family."† Many variants of the Kápu screen-scene occur in the Telugu country, and it has been adopted by the less civilised classes. For example, at a Yánádi wedding the bride and bridegroom sit side by side on two planks upon a raised platform. The mothers of the contracting parties then anoint them with oil, turmeric, and sandal paste. The pair retire to bathe, and return from the bath decorated with jewelry, and wearing new cloths, which have been dipped in turmeric water and dried. They next stand, one at each end of the platform, and a cloth is interposed as a screen between them, after the kankanam, or cotton thread dipped in turmeric water, has been tied to the wrist. To this thread a folded mango (*Mangifera indica*) leaf is sometimes attached. The couple next approach the screen, and the bridegroom, stretching his right leg underneath the screen, places his right foot on the right foot of the bride. He then takes up the bottu, or gold ornament, attached to a cotton thread dyed with turmeric, and ties it round the neck of the bride, his foot still on hers. In some cases a cotton thread (bashingamu) with a folded mango leaf attached to it is further tied on the head, in imitation of the custom among the Nayudus, Kápus, and others.‡

* 'Manual of the Nellore District.'

† J. F. Kearns: 'Kalyána Shatanku,' 1868.

‡ 'Madras Museum Bull.,' Vol. IV, No. 2, 1901.

On the occasion of a wedding among the Kurubas of western Bellary, a square space is marked out by pots filled with water, which are placed at each corner. Round the pots five turns of cotton thread are wound. Within the square a pestle, painted with red and white stripes, is placed, on which the bridal couple, with two young girls, sit. Rice is thrown over them, they are anointed and washed, and receive presents. Later on, the marriage dais is covered with a blanket (kumbli), on which a mill-stone and basket filled with cholum (*Andropogon Sorghum*), are placed. The bridegroom standing with a foot on the stone, and the bride with a foot on the basket, the tali is tied by the officiating Bráhmaṇ priest, while those assembled throw rice over the happy pair. On the night of the sixth day after marriage, a large metal plate or gangalam is filled with rice, ghee, curds, and sugar. Round this some of the relatives of the bride and bridegroom sit, and finish off the food. The number of those who partake thereof must be an odd one, and they must eat the food as quickly as possible. If anything goes wrong with them while eating or afterwards, it is regarded as an omen of impending misfortune. Some even consider it as an indication of the bad character of the bride.

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

* 'Manual of the S. Canara District.'

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

The essential and binding part of the marriage among the Bants of South Canara is called dháre. The right hand of the bride being placed over the right hand of the bridegroom, a silver vessel (dháre-gindi) filled with water, with a cocoanut over the mouth and the flower of the areca-nut palm over the cocoanut, is placed on the joined hands. The parents, the managers of the two families, and the village headmen all touch the vessel, which, with the hands of the bridal pair, is moved up and down three times. In some families the water is poured from the vessel into the united hands of the couple, and this betokens the gift of the bride. The bride and bridegroom then receive the congratulations of the guests, who express a hope that they may become the parents of twelve sons and twelve daughters. An empty plate, and another containing rice, are next placed before the pair, and their friends sprinkle them with rice from the one, and place a small gift, generally four annas, in the other. The bridegroom then makes a gift to the bride, which is called tirdóchi, and varies in amount according to the position of the parties.* Among the Ares the pot contains a mixture of water, milk, honey, and curds instead of the usual plain water.* In the dháre ceremony as performed by the Gaudas, the bridal pair hold in their joined hands five betel-leaves, an areca-nut, and four annas; and, after the water has been poured, the bridegroom ties a táli on the neck of the bride.* At marriages among the Mogers (fishermen) the bride and bridegroom sit under a pandál (booth), and join hands, palms uppermost. Upon their hands the maternal uncle of the bride places first some rice, next five betel-leaves, then an

* 'Manual of the S. Canara District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

unhusked areca nut, and last of all a lighted wick. The bridal couple slowly lower their hands, and deposit all these things on the ground. The bride's maternal uncle then takes her by the hand, and formally makes her over to the maternal uncle of the bridegroom.*

Among the Dandásis (village watchmen) of Ganjám, putting bangles on the wrists of the bride is the essential part of the marriage ceremony. Widows may not marry the elder brothers of their deceased husbands, and a bachelor wishing to marry a widow has first to marry a saháda tree. The tree is afterwards cut down, and the man is thus converted into a widower.† The essential portion of the wedding ceremony with the Badhóyis (Oriya carpenters and blacksmiths) is the tying together of the hands of the bride and bridegroom.‡ In like manner, at a wedding among the Bolásis and Sámantiyas (Oriya cultivators), the binding portion of the ceremony is hasthogónthi, or the tying together of the hands of the bridal pair with a cotton thread soaked in turmeric water.† The contracting parties at a wedding among the jungle Kádírs of the western gháts link together the little fingers of their right hands as a token of their union, and walk in procession round the marriage booth. So, too, the Páno (hill tribe of Ganjám) bride and bridegroom have to join their little fingers to make the ceremony binding.‡

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

As a preliminary to marriage among the Kurubas, the bridegroom's father observes certain marks or curls on the head of the proposed bride. Some of these are believed to forbode prosperity, and others misery to the family into which the girl enters. They are, therefore, very cautious in selecting only such girls as possess curls (suli) of good fortune. This curious custom is observed by others only in the case of the purchase of cows, bulls, and horses. One of the good curls is the báshingan found on the forehead,

* 'Manual of the S. Canara District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ 'Manual of the Coimbatore District.'

and the bad ones are the péyanákallu at the back of the head, and the edirsuli near the right temple. As a nuptial tie, the ends of the garments of the contracting Kuruba parties are, at the wedding, tied together.* The curl on the forehead appears to be considered a good omen by the Kurubas at Hospet, and bad by those at Sandúr. A curl on the chest (theggoo) is considered unlucky by both. Bad curls are by them supposed to cause the death of the man who marries their possessor, who is accordingly mated to a widower. Like the Kurubas, the Pallis also examine the curls in the selection of a bride. A curl on the forehead is considered as an indication that the girl will become a widow; and one on the back of the head portends the death of the eldest brother of her husband. On the subject of curls in the horse Mr. J. Wallhouse writes as follows: "When a wealthy Hindu meditates purchasing a horse, he looks to the presence or not of certain circles or curls on particular parts of the body. These are called in Tamil suri or flowers, and by them a judgment is formed of the temper and quality of the horse. Each curl indicates a particular god, and a Hindu will not purchase unless the hair-curls are present, turning in the proper direction, and in their right places."† At the marriage ceremony of some Kurubas, a golden image of the tribal hero is taken out of the saffron powder, in which it has lain in its casket, and placed before the bride and bridegroom, who call aloud the hero's name. The pujári (officiating priest) then breaks a few cocoanuts on the heads of the hereditary coconut-breakers, and ties a piece of saffron to the right arm of the bride. With the Patha Kurubas the string used must be of cotton and wool mixed; with the Kottha Kurubas of wool alone; and with the Ándé Kurubas of wool alone, this being regarded as an important distinction. Next the goundu (head-man) and pujári throw rice upon the bride's head, and the bridegroom tying a táli round her neck, the ceremony is completed.‡ According to another account* the Kurubas are divided into three endogamous divisions, viz., attikankana, unnekan-kana, and andé. In Canarese atti means cotton, unne woollen, while kankana is a thread tied round the wrist at the time of marriage, and the first and second sub-divisions use respectively cotton and woollen threads at their marriages.

* 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

† 'Ind. Ant.,' Vol. XI, 1881.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

Andé is a small vessel used by the Andé Kurubas for milking goats. According to a popular legend, an ancestral Kuruba, by name Undala Padmanna, whose material welfare was provided for by Siva, contracted alliances with a Bráhmaṇ girl whom he rescued from Rákshasas, and with a girl of his own caste. At the marriage of his sons, a cotton (atti) kankanam was tied to the wrist of the caste woman's offspring, and a woollen (unni) kankanam to that of the Bráhmaṇ girl's sons. Marriage is celebrated in the bridegroom's house, and, if the bride belongs to a different village, she is escorted to that of the bridegroom, and made to wait in a particular spot outside it. On the first day of the marriage, purna kumbam, a small decorated vessel containing milk or ghee, with a two-anna piece and a cocoanut placed on the betel-leaf spread over the mouth of it, is taken by the bridegroom's relations to meet the bride's party. There the distribution of pán-supári takes place, and both parties return to the village. Meanwhile the marriage booth is erected, and twelve twigs of nával (*Eugenia caryophyllaea*) are tied to the twelve pillars, the central or milkpost, under which the bridal pair sit, being smeared with saffron, and a yellow thread being tied thereto. In an auspicious hour of the third day, the couple are made to sit in the booth, the bridegroom facing the east and the bride facing west. On a blanket spread near the kumbam $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures of rice, a táli or bottu, a cocoanut, betel-leaf, and camphor are placed. The gaudu places a ball of vibhúti (sacred ashes) thereon, breaks a cocoanut, and worships the kumbam, while camphor is burnt. The gaudu next takes the táli, blesses it, and gives it to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck. The gaudu then, throwing rice on the heads of the pair, recites certain verses. The girl next removes her veil, and the men and women assembled throw rice on the heads of the bridal pair. The ends of their garments are then tied, and two girls and three boys are made to eat out of the plates placed before the married couple. A feast completes the ceremony.

At a Coorg wedding the Aruva (family adviser) puts three pebbles in the hands of the bride, who ties them in one of the corners of her garment as a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom throws some coloured rice on the head of his new wife, gives a little milk to her to drink and presents her with a gift, such as a ring, or anything according to his means. When the bridegroom enters the bride's house on the evening of the marriage day, several thick plantain tree trunks are placed

across the entrance, each of which he has to cut in single strokes, showing his strength of arm, and confirming thereby his fitness to marry the bride.*

It is generally believed that, when a marriage takes place in the family of a Komati,† some member of this family is obliged to go through the form of inviting the low-class Mádigas (leather-workers) of the place. If the Mádigas were to hear the invitation, the Komati would certainly be assaulted, and treated roughly ; for the Mádigas look on the invitation as an insult and unlucky. In order to prevent the Mádigas hearing the invitation, the Komati takes care to go to the back of the Mádiga's house at a time when he is not likely to be seen, and whispers into an iron vessel commonly used for measuring out grain an invitation in the following words: "In the house of the small ones (*i.e.*, Komatis) a marriage is going to take place. The members of the big house (*i.e.*, Mádigas) are to come." The light to kindle the fire during the marriage ceremony must be obtained from a Mádiga's house, but, since the Mádigas object to giving it, some artifice has to be used in getting this fire.‡ It is a curious fact, though many Komatis deny it, that at their marriage ceremonies they have to present betel-nuts and leaves to some Mádiga family.§ Concerning this custom Mr. W. Francis writes as follows.|| "The statement about the presentation of the betel-leaf and nut seems to be accurate, though no doubt the custom is not universal. It rests on the authority of Sir Walter Elliot (Trans. London Ethn. Soc., 1869) and Major Mackenzie (Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 36) ; and, in a foot-note on p. 55 of the 'Original Inhabitants of Bharata Varsha or India,' Dr. Oppert states that he has in his possession documents which confirm the story. It is said that now-a-days the presentation is sometimes veiled by the Komati concerned sending his shoes to be mended by the Mádiga a few days before the wedding, deferring payment till the wedding day, and then handing the Mádiga the leaf and nut with the amount of his bill." According to another account, the Komati of set purpose unbinds the toe-ring of his native shoes (chéruppu), and summons a Mádiga, whose profession it is to make and repair these articles of attire.

* A. Rea : 'Ann. Report, Arch. Survey, Madras,' 1901-1902.

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

‡ J. S. F. Mackenzie : 'Ind. Ant.,' Vol. VIII, 1879.

§ 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

|| 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

The Mádiga quietly accepts the job, and is paid more amply than is perhaps necessary in the shape of pán-supári, flowers, and money.* There is said to be another queer custom among the Komatis, and one from which some of the families derive their distinguishing names. After a marriage has been completed, the figure of a cow is made of flour, and into its stomach they put a mixture of turmeric, lime and water, called wokale. This is probably meant to represent blood. After the cow has been worshipped in due form, it is cut up, and to each different family is secretly sent that portion of the cow which, according to custom, they are entitled to receive. For example, the Komarlavaru receive the horns, the Guntla the neck, etc.†

Among the Urális (Tamil agricultural labourers), a man detected in an intrigue with an unmarried woman is fined, and has to marry her; and, at the wedding, his waist string is tied round her neck instead of a táli.‡ Among the Koramas the táli is replaced by a string of black beads. The story goes that once upon a time a bridegroom forgot to bring the táli, and he was at once told off to procure the necessary piece of gold from a goldsmith. The parties waited and waited, but the young man did not return. Since then the táli has not been forthcoming and the little string of beads is used as a substitute.§ Instead of the táli, the Reddis use a plain twisted cord of cotton thread besmeared with saffron, and devoid of ornament of any kind. They have a legend, which accounts for this. In days of yore a Reddi chief was about to be married, and he accordingly sent for a goldsmith, and, desiring him to make a splendid táli, gave him the price of it beforehand. The smith was a drunkard, and neglected his work. The day for the celebration of the marriage arrived, but there was no táli. Whereupon the old chief, plucking a few threads from his garment, twisted them into a cord, and tied it round the neck of the bride, and this became a custom.|| The Mél-nádu and Puramalai-nádu Kallans use a necklet made of horse-hair instead of a táli. The insigne of marriage among the Gándlas (oil-pressers) is a bundle of 101 yellow coloured threads without a táli or bottu.¶

* C. Hayavadana Rao. MS.

† Mackenzie: loc. cit.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

§ 'Madras Mail,' 1900.

|| J. F. Kearns: 'Kalyána Shatanku,' 1868.

¶ 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

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

At a wedding among the Jógis (beggars), the marriage booth must contain twelve posts, and both bride and bridegroom must present four sheep and ten pots to the assembled guests. Should either fail, he or she receives three blows on the hand, is fined 3 rupees, and has cowdung and water poured over the head. Part of the fine goes to the head of the caste, and the rest is spent in liquor, with which the party make merry.†

The marriage ceremony among the nomad Kuravans merely consists in tying a thread soaked in turmeric round the bride's neck, feasting the relations, and paying the bride-price.† The Kuravans seem to be even more previous than fathers who enter their infant sons for a popular house at a public school. For their children are said to be espoused even before they are born. Two men, who wish to have marriages between their children, say to one another:—"If your wife should have a girl and mine a boy (or *vice versâ*), they must marry." And, to bind themselves to this, they exchange tobacco, and the bridegroom's father stands a feast of arrack or toddy to the future bride's relations. But if, after the children are grown up, a

* 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

Bráhmaṇ should pronounce the omens unpropitious, the marriage is not consummated, and the bride's father pays back the cost of the spirits used at the betrothal. When a marriage is arranged, a pot of water is placed before the couple, and a grass called *thurvi* (*Cynodon Dactylon*) put into the water. This is equal to a binding oath between them.* Of this grass it is said in the Athawána Vēda: "May this grass, which rose from the water of life, which has a hundred roots and a hundred stems, efface a hundred of my sins, and prolong my existence on earth for a hundred years." Writing concerning the Kuravans, Mr. Francis says:† "Kuravas have usually been treated as being the same as the Yerukalas But they do not intermarry or eat together. The Kuravas are said to tie a piece of black thread soaked in turmeric water round the bride's neck at weddings, while the Yerukalas use a necklace of black beads The (Kuravan) wife is apparently regarded as of small account, and, in a recent case in the Madras High Court, a husband stated that he had sold one of his wives for Rs. 21. The marriage ceremony consists merely in tying the thread soaked in turmeric round the woman's neck, feasting the relations, and paying the bride-price. Among the Kongu sub-divisions, this latter can be paid by instalments in the following manner. A Kurava can marry his sister's daughter, and, when he gives his sister in marriage, he expects her to produce a bride for him. His sister's husband accordingly pays Rs. 7½ out of the Rs. 60, of which the bride-price consists at the wedding itself, and Rs. 2½ more each year until the woman bears a daughter."

At a Cheruman (agriculture serf) wedding, the groom receives from his brother-in-law a kerchief, which the giver ties round his waist, and a bangle which is placed on his arm. The bride receives a pewter vessel from her brother. Next her cousin ties a kerchief round the groom's forehead, and sticks a betel-leaf into it. The bride is then handed over to the bridegroom.‡ A Boya (Telugu hunter) bride, besides having a golden tāli tied to her neck, has an iron ring fastened to her waist with a black string, and

* J. F. Kearns : loc. cit.

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ 'Madras Mail,' 1899.

the bridegroom has the same.* An unusual item in the marriage ceremony of the Malasars of Coimbatore is the tying of an iron ring to the bridegroom's waist.† The táli is, among the Náttukottai Chettis (traders) tied, not by the bridegroom, but by some old man who is the father of many children. During the ceremony, the bridegroom should invariably carry on his shoulder a bag containing betel-leaves and nuts.‡ At a wedding among the jungle Kánikars of Travancore, the bridegroom offers a cloth as a present to the bride's mother, besides one to the bride: and a present of $5\frac{1}{2}$ fanams (coins) in the case of a bride who has reached puberty, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanams in the case of a bride who has not, to the uncle or father-in-law, four chuckrams of which go to the bride's father. A silver táli is tied by the bridegroom himself in the case of a girl of the latter kind, and through his sister to one of the former. On the marriage day the feast is held at the bride's father's house, and on the next at the bridegroom's.§

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

A custom called ariveni or aireni is described as being observed at weddings of 'Sudras' in the Nellore district. Previous to the marriage day a potter is called on to make from nine to twenty-one pots, the largest of which is about twelve feet in circumference, and the smallest a foot. These pots are painted outside with ornamental designs. The bride's relatives take two or three plates full of rice, pulse, and cakes under a canopy, and offer them to the pots. The offering is taken by the potter. The pots are then brought to the dwelling of the bride, and red-coloured rice is whirled round each, to avert the evil eye, and then thrown away. The pots are brought into the house, and

* 'Manual of the North Arcot District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

§ M. Ratnasami Aiyar: 'Indian Review,' 1902.

ranged each upon a settle of paddy. Lights are kept burning near this day and night, and are not allowed to go out. When the married couple have risen from the seat of gift, they repair to the pots and worship them, and repeat the ceremony morning and evening for five days. Each morning and evening some matrons take the smaller pots to a well under a canopy, accompanied by music, and, after worshipping the well, they fill the pots with water and bear them to the house. This water is for the bride and bridegroom to bathe with. Both morning and evening the bride and couple are seated upon a bedstead, and benedictory hymns are sung round them.* The marriage ceremony among the Uppiliyans (salt workers) is unusual. The couple are made to sit inside a wall made of piled-up water-pots. The ends of their cloths are tied together, and then the women present pour the contents of some of the pots over them.†

At a wedding among the Badagas of the Nilgiris the bride prostrates herself before her new lord and master, who sets his foot upon her neck, saying: "Long life I wish thee. Bring me water." She obeys, returns with a full pitcher, and the affair is at an end. She will not, however, have a right to the official title of wife until she is well advanced in her first pregnancy. If she carries her offspring for seven months without accident, the two families proceed to the positive marriage called kanni kattédu. They meet at a feast, after which the father takes the young woman by the arm, raises her, and calls the general attention to her enlarged figure. The young man comes forward: "Dost thou permit me to pass this cord round thy daughter's neck"? "Yes," replies the father-in-law. The cord put on, the legal marriage is complete. Some young men, hard to please, make three or four trials before fitting the slipper.‡ It is said that the young man, if when tying the string round the bride's neck he gets it entangled in her hair, is fined for carelessness.

Among the Vellúr-nádu Kallans a curious custom is said to be followed in the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy. Patterns are drawn on her back with rice flour, and milk is poured over them. The husband's sister decorates a grinding stone in the same way, invokes

* 'Manual of the Nellore District.'

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

‡ Reclus: 'Primitive Folk.'

blessings on the woman, and expresses a hope that she may have a male child as strong as a stone.*

When a Toda woman discovers that she is pregnant with her first child, she removes the *táli* from her neck, and puts it by until the ceremony in celebration of the fifth month of her pregnancy, called *purs yet pinmi*. To witness this, Todas are invited to the *mand*, and feasted on milk, rice, and jaggery (molasses). The woman's father promises his son-in-law a buffalo by name, which is subsequently sent as a present. Husband and wife then go to the forest, accompanied by their relations and guests, and the husband sets off in search of a blade of grass and twig of a shrub (*Sophora glauca*), while the woman remains seated at the foot of a *nága* tree (*Eugenia Arnotiana*), near which a rude temporary hut has been erected. A triangular hole is cut in the tree a few feet above the ground, and a lighted lamp placed in the hole. The husband then asks his father-in-law 'Shall I tie the *táli* (*purs pul godvayi*)? and, on receiving his assent to do so, places it round his wife's neck, and gives the grass and twig to her. After raising them to her head, the woman places them against the tree under the lamp, and stands facing the tree till the lamp goes out. Meanwhile her husband ties up in a cloth some *rági* (*Eleusine Corocana*), wheat, honey, *sámai* (*Panicum miliare*), and gram (*Cicer arietinum*), and places them in a round hole in the tree beneath the lamp. He then prepares a meal for himself and his wife, which they partake of separately towards evening. The other Todas return to the husband's *mand* where they "dine and sleep," going on the following morning to the forest to bring back the man and his wife. The twig and grass used in this ceremony are made to represent a bow and arrow, and are, according to Mr. Natesa Sastri, placed in the niche along with the light, and the husband and wife observe it minutely for an hour. The bow and string in the form of a circle are afterwards tied round the neck of the woman, who is from that moment the recognised wife of the Toda who married her. The primitive marriage badge, made from what the forest affords, is retained only during that night. It is replaced on the following morning by a silver ornament called *kyavilli*.

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

* 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

been living together and the man dies, Mr. Hutchinson writes as follows.* "The sad intelligence of her man's death is communicated to the neighbours; a guru or priest is summoned, and the ceremony takes place. According to a writer who once witnessed such a proceeding, the dead body of the man was placed against the outer wall of the verandah of the house in a sitting posture, attired like a bridegroom, and the face and hands besmeared with turmeric. The woman was clothed like a bride, and adorned with the usual tinsel ornament over the face, which, as well as the arms, was daubed over with yellow. She sat opposite the dead body, and spoke to it in light unmeaning words, and then chewed bits of dry cocoanut, and squirted them on the face of the dead man. This continued for hours, and not till near sunset was the ceremony brought to a close. Then the head of the corpse was bathed, and covered with a cloth of silk, the face rubbed over with some red powder, and betel leaves placed in the mouth. Now she might consider herself married, and the funeral procession started." At the funeral of an unmarried Toda girl, which I witnessed, the corpse was made to go through a form of marriage ceremony. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a grass and the twig of a shrub (*Sophora*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkúli (cloth) in which it was wrapped, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb and butter in the pocket of the putkúli, which was then stitched with needle and thread. The boy's father then took off his son's putkúli and covered him with it from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. Among the Maravars, if the parties are too poor to afford all the rites and entertainments, the tying of the táli is alone performed at first, and the man and woman begin to cohabit forthwith. But the other ceremonies must be performed at some time, or, as the phrase goes, "the defect must be cured." Sometimes the ancillary ceremonies will take place after the wife has borne three or four children. And, should the husband happen to die before he can afford to cure the

* Op. cit.

defect, his friends and relations will at once borrow money and the marriage will be duly completed in the presence and on behalf of the corpse, which must be placed on one seat with the woman, and be made to represent a bridegroom. The *táli* is then taken off, and the widow is free to marry again.* In Malabar an unmarried woman cannot be cremated until the *táli* has been tied round the neck of the corpse, while it lies on the funeral pyre by some relation. The following horrible rite has been described by the Abbé Dubois as existing among the Nambutiri Bráhmans: "Observant Nambudrii morem quam pravissimum turpissimumque. Apud hos immaturæ adhuc nubunt plerumque puellæ. Si forte mortua fuerit virgo, apud quam exstiterint jam pubertatis indicia, more gentili quasi religio est in cadaver ejus exercendum esse stuprum monstruosum. Necesse est igitur mercede conducant parentes qui tam obscæni conjugii munere fungi velit, quo omisso sibi quasi maculam hæerere existimant propinqui." But Mr. T. A. Kalyanakrishna Aiyar, writing recently,† stated that he had had the advantage of an interview with the greatest living authority among the Nambúdris on their customs and observances, who assured him that not only did the customs not exist at the present day, but there was not the slightest vestige of any tradition that it ever existed among them at any time.

Turning now to the custom of polyandry. As an example of *quasi*-polyandry, the Tottiyans or Kambalattárs may be cited. When a marriage has been agreed to, two booths are erected outside the village, and decked with the leaves of the pongu tree. In each of them is placed a bullock-saddle, and upon these the bride and bridegroom are seated while the relations are marshalled, and addressed by the priest. After marriage it is customary for the women to cohabit with their husband's brothers and near relatives, and with their uncles; and, so far from any disgrace attaching to them in consequence, their priests compel them to keep up the custom, if by any chance they are unwilling.* One of the customs of the western Kallans is specially curious. It constantly happens that a woman is the wife of ten, eight, six, or two husbands, who are held to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be

* 'Manual of the Madras District.'

† 'Malabar Quarterly Review,' No. 1, 1902.

born of her body. And, still more curiously, when the children grow up, they for some unknown reason invariably style themselves the children, not of ten, eight, or six fathers as the case may be, but of eight and two, six and two, or four and two fathers.* Concerning the system of polyandry among the Todas, I gather that a woman may be married to more than one man, provided they are brothers (adelphogamy), and the maximum number seems to be five. The children of a woman who has more than one husband are said to be the children of the eldest brother. If he dies, the next brother is recognised as the father and so on. In lieu of a no-admission card or "not-at-home" box, a walking-stick and mantle are said to be placed outside the door of the hut as an indication that one of the men is with the woman, and entrance into the hut is forbidden. The privileges of a husband can, it is said, be secured by the presentation of a new cloth to a woman with the consent of her real husband or husbands. During my last stay among the Todas, polyandry was noted in fourteen out of twenty-six dwelling huts of thirteen mands, of which a census was taken with three as the maximum number of husbands for one woman. The subject of Toda polyandry is thus summed up by Marshall.† "If we consider that one or more brothers may each become the husband of separate wives by virtue of having each paid a dower, and that younger brothers as they grow to age of maturity, and other brothers as they become widowed, may each either take separate wives or purchase shares in those already in the family, we can at once understand that any degree of complication in perfectly lawful wedded life may be met with, from the sample of the single man living with a single wife to that of the group of relatives married to a group of wives. All the children of these very promiscuous unions are held to be brothers and sisters. And as, as is manifest, a generation or two of such marriages must produce inextricable confusion in relationships, so we find that the Todas, who like nothing so much as reducing things to simple formulæ, rather ignore the whole subject, terming them anatama.‡ They will describe the connection between such brothers as follows: Their fathers are brothers-in-law: their

* 'Manual of the Madura District'.

† 'A Phrenologist among the Todas,' 1873.

‡ Anatama: In Kanarese *anna* (elder), *tamm* (younger) and *aru* (they who are).

mothers being sisters, they are brothers. An uncle is styled my little father : most significant." In Ceylon the children of polyandrous marriages acknowledged all the husbands of their mother as their fathers, calling them great father, little father, etc. It is recorded of a certain highland chieftain in Ceylon that, in speaking of the insolent behaviour of a certain lad towards him, he remarked : "He behaves thus to me who am one of his fathers."* And a native of Ceylon, speaking contemptuously of the inhabitants of a village in which Professor Haeckel was staying, spoke as follows. "Their reprobate nature is not to be wondered at. For these low-country people have always had a number of fathers, and, as they inherit all the bad qualities of so many fathers, it is only natural that they should grow worse and worse."†

Among the jungle Kurumbas of the Nilgiris it is the custom for several brothers to take one wife in common, and they do not object to their women being open to others also.‡ In the Madras Census report, 1891, Mr. H. A. Stuart states that he is "informed that polyandry of the fraternal type exists among the Panta sub-division of the Reddis, but the statement requires verification." I have been unable to establish the existence of the custom, belief in which seems to have been based on the fact that, among the Reddi sub-division of the Yánádis, who are employed by Panta Reddis as domestic servants, if a woman's husband dies, abandons or divorces her, she may marry his brother. The Kanisáns (astrologers) of Malabar admit that polyandry of the fraternal type was formerly common among them, but this has now died out.§ Of polyandry as practised by the Kammálans of Malabar, I learn that, when a marriage is thought of, the village astrologer is summoned, and the horoscopes of the contracting parties are consulted. It is sufficient if the horoscope of one of the sons agrees with that of the girl. On the wedding day the bride and bridegrooms sit in a row, and the girl's parents give them fruits and sugar. A feast is then held, and the priest of the Kammálans takes some milk in a vessel and pours it into the mouths of the bride and bridegrooms, who are seated in a row, the eldest on the right, the others in order of seniority, and lastly the bride. During the nuptials the parents of the bride have to present

* 'Papers on the Custom of Polyandry as practised in Ceylon.'

† Haeckel : 'A Visit to Ceylon,' 1883.

‡ A. Rajah Bahadur Mudr. : MS.

§ 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

a water-vessel, lamp, eating-dish, cooking vessel, spittoon, and a vessel for drawing water from the well. The eldest brother cohabits with the bride on the wedding day, and special days are set apart for each brother. There seems to be a belief among the Kammálan women that, the more husbands they have, the greater will be their happiness. If one of the brothers, on the ground of incompatibility of temper, brings a new wife, she is privileged to cohabit with the other brothers. In some cases a girl will have brothers, ranging in age from twenty-five to five, whom she has to regard as her husbands, so that, by the time the youngest brother reaches puberty, she may be over thirty, and the young man has to perform the duties of a husband with a wife who is twice his age. Polyandry is said to be most prevalent among the blacksmiths, who lead the most precarious existence, and have to observe the strictest economy.* The custom among the Káraikkál Vellálas according to which wives are accustomed to grant the last favour to their husband's relations, is, it has been suggested, a survival of fraternal polyandry.†

In illustration of the custom of polyandry among the Nayars of Malabar in by-gone days, the following extracts may be quoted. Writing in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Grose ‡ says that "it is among the Nairs that principally prevails the strange custom of one wife being common to a number; in which point the great power of custom is seen from its rarely or never producing any jealousies or quarrels among the co-tenants of the same woman. Their number is not so much limited by any specific law as by a kind of tacit convention, it scarce ever happening that it exceeds six or seven. The woman, however, is under no obligation to admit above a single attachment, though not less respected for using her privilege to its utmost extent. If one of the husbands happens to come to the house when she is employed with another, he knows that circumstance by certain signals left at the door that his turn is not come, and departs very resignedly." Writing about the same time, Sonnerat § says that "these Bráhmans do not marry, but have the privilege of enjoying all the Nairresses. This privilege the Portuguese, who were esteemed as a great caste, obtained and preserved, till their drunkenness and debauchery

* S. Appadorai Iyer : MS.

† 'Manual of the Madura District.'

‡ 'Travels to the East Indie.'

§ 'Voyage to the East Indies,' 1774 and 1781.

betrayed them into a commerce with all sorts of women. The following right is established by the customs of the country. A woman without shame may abandon herself to all men who are not of an inferior caste to her own, because the children (notwithstanding what Mr. De Voltaire says) do not belong to the father, but to the mother's brother; they become his legitimate heirs at his birth, even of the crown if he is king.* In his 'Voyages and Travels' Kerr writes as follows: "By the laws of their country these Nayres cannot marry, so that no one has any certain or acknowledged son or father; all their children being born of mistresses, with each of whom three or four Nayres cohabit by agreement among themselves. Each one of this confraternity dwells a day in his turn with the joint mistress, counting from noon of one day to the same time of the next, after which he departs, and another comes for the like time. Thus they spend their time without the care or trouble of wives and children, yet maintain their mistresses well according to their rank. Any one may forsake his mistress at his pleasure; and, in like manner, the mistress may refuse admittance to any one of her lovers when she pleases. These mistresses are all gentlewomen of the Nayre caste: and the Nayres, besides being prohibited from marrying, must not attach themselves to any woman of a different rank. Considering that there are always several men attached to one woman, the Nayres never look upon any of the children born of their mistresses as belonging to them, however strong a resemblance may subsist, and all inheritances among the Nayres go to their brothers, or the sons of their sisters, born of the same mothers, all relationship being counted only by female consanguinity and descent. This strange law prohibiting marriage was established that they might have neither wives nor children on whom to fix their love and attachment: and that, being free from all family cares, they might the more willingly devote themselves entirely to warlike service." The term son of ten fathers is used as a term of abuse among Náyars to this day.† As to the existence or non-existence of what has been called an expansive form of polyandry, which assumes as a postulate that the wisest child cannot be expected to know

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

† Wigram: 'Malabar Law and Custom,' Ed. 1900.

its own father, and that a man's heir-at-law is his sister's son, I must call recent writers into the witness box. The Rev. S. Mateer, Mr. F. Fawcett writes,* "informed me ten years ago—he was speaking of polyandry among the Náyers of Travancore—that he had 'known an instance of six brothers keeping two women, four husbands to one, and two to the other. In a case where two brothers cohabited with one woman, and one was converted to Christianity, the other brother was indignant at the Christian's refusal to live any longer in this condition.' I have not known an admitted instance of polyandry amongst the Náyers of Malabar at the present day, but there is no doubt that, if it does not exist now (and I think it does here and there): it certainly did not long ago." Mr. Gopal Panikkar † says that "to enforce this social edict upon the Nairs, the Bráhmans made use of the powerful weapon of their aristocratic ascendancy in the country: and the Nairs readily submitted to the Bráhman supremacy. Thus it came about that the custom of concubinage so freely indulged in by the Bráhmans with Nair women obtained such firm hold upon the country that it has only been strengthened by the lapse of time. At the present day there are families, especially in the interior of the district, who look upon it as an honour to be thus united with Bráhmans. But a reaction has begun to take place against this feeling; and Bráhman alliances are invariably looked down upon in respectable Nair tarwáds.‡ This reactionary feeling took shape in the Malabar Marriage Act." And Mr. Justice K. Narayana Marar says:§ "there is nothing strange or to be ashamed of in the fact that the Náyers were originally of a stock that practised polyandry, nor if the practice continued till recently. Hamilton in his 'Account of the East Indies' and Buchanan in his 'Journey' say that, among the Náyers of Malabar, a woman has several husbands, but these are not brothers. These travellers came to Malabar in the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they were not just recording what they saw. For I am not quite sure whether, even now, the practice is not lurking in some

* 'Madras Museum Bull.' Vol. III, No. 1901.

† 'Malabar and its Folk,' 1900.

‡ Tarwád: A Marumakkatáyam family consisting of all the descendants in the female line of one common female ancestor.

§ 'Malabar Quarterly Review,' No. 1, 1902.

remote nooks and corners of the country." Lastly, Mr. Wigram writes as follows:—"Polyandry may now be said to be dead, and, although the issue of a Náyar marriage are still children of their mother rather than of their father, marriage may be defined as a contract based on mutual consent, and dissoluble at will. It has been well said that nowhere is the marriage tie, albeit informal, more rigidly observed or respected than it is in Malabar: nowhere is it more jealously guarded, or its neglect more savagely avenged."

Reference may be here appropriately made to the curious ceremony called *Táli-kattu-kalyánam*, or mock marriage ceremony which every girl in a Náyar *tárwad* goes through while still a child. For an account of which ceremony I must resort to Mr. K. R. Krishna Menon's evidence before the Malabar Marriage Commission.† "The *Táli-kattukalyánam* is somewhat analogous to what a *déva-dási* (dancing girl attached to pagodas) of other countries (districts) undergoes before she begins her profession. Among royal families, and those of certain *Edaprabhus*, a *Kshatriya*, and among the *Charna* sect a *Nedungádi* is invited to the girl's house at an auspicious hour appointed for the purpose, and, in the presence of friends and castemen, ties a *táli* round her neck, and goes away after receiving a certain fee for his trouble. Among the other sects, the horoscope of the girl is examined along with those of her *Enangan* (a recognised member of one's own class) families, and the boy whose horoscope is found to agree with hers is marked out as a fit person to tie the *táli*, and a day is fixed for the *táli*-tying ceremony by the astrologer, and information given to the *karanavan* (senior male in a *tárwad*) of the boy's family. On the appointed day the boy is invited to a house near that of the girl, where he is fed, with his friends, by the head of the girl's family. The feast is called *ayaniúnu*, and the boy is thenceforth called *manaválan* or *pillai* (bridegroom). From the house in which the *manaválan* is entertained a procession is formed, preceded by men with swords and shields shouting a kind of war-cry. In the meantime a procession starts from the girl's house, with similar men and cries, and headed by a member of her *tárwád*, to meet the other procession, and, after meeting the *manaválan*, he escorts him to the girl's house. After

* 'Malabar Law and Custom,' 1882.

† 'Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission,' 1894.

entering the booth erected for the purpose, he is conducted to a seat of honour, and his feet are washed by the brother of the girl, who receives a pair of cloths. The manaválan is then taken to the centre of the booth, where bamboo mats, carpets, and white cloths are spread, and seated there. The brother of the girl then carries her from inside the house, and, after going round the booth three times, places her at the left side of the manaválan. The father of the girl then presents new cloths tied in a kambli (blanket) to the pair, and with this new cloth (called manthravadi) they change their dress. The wife of the karnavan of the girl's tarwád, if she be of the same caste, then decorates the girl by putting on anklets, etc. The puróhit (officiating priest) called Elayath (a low class of Bráhmans) then gives the táli to the manaválan, and the family astrologer shouts muhurtham (auspicious hour), and the manaválan, putting his sword on the lap, ties the táli round the neck of the girl, who is then required to hold an arrow and a looking glass in her hand. In rich families a Bráhmani sings certain songs intended to bless the couple. In ordinary families, who cannot procure her presence, a Náyar, versed in songs, performs the office. The boy and girl are then carried by enangans to a decorated apartment in the inner part of the house, where they are required to remain under a sort of pollution for three days. On the fourth day they bathe in some neighbouring tank or river, holding each other's hands. After changing their cloths, they come home, preceded by a procession. Tom-toms and elephants usually form part of the procession, and saffron water is sprinkled. When they come home, all the doors of the house are shut, and the manaválan is required to force them open. He then enters the house, and takes his seat in the northern wing thereof. The aunt and female friends of the girl then approach, and give sweetmeats to the couple. The girl then serves food to the boy, and, after taking their meal together from the same leaf, they proceed to the booth, where a cloth is severed into two parts, and each part given to the manaválan and girl separately in the presence of enangans and friends. The severing of the cloth is supposed to constitute a divorce." Several variations of the rite as practised prevail in different localities, and it is said that, when the family is poor, a bridegroom is sometimes dispensed with altogether. The girl's mother makes an idol of clay, adorns it with flowers, and invests her daughter with the táli in the presence of the idol. This would seem to be an almost exact

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

In a recent note on marriage customs in Malabar,* Mr. T. A. Kalyanakrishna Aiyar states that "in some parts of Travancore and Cochin, and in the tarwáds of Tirumalpáds and others belonging to the Kshatriya caste, the táli-kettu ceremony is said to be performed after puberty. In a few Sudra families also, here and there, such as at Manapuram and other places, now-a-days the ceremony is performed after the girl attains puberty." The táli-kettu ceremony is, it may be noted, referred to by Kerr,† who, in his translation of Castaneda, states that "these sisters of the Zamorin, and other kings of Malabar, have handsome allowances to live upon; and, when any of them reaches the age of ten, their kindred send for a young man of the Nayre caste, out of the kingdom, and give him great presents to induce him to initiate the young virgin; after which he hangs a jewel round her neck, which she wears all the rest of her life, as a token that she is now at liberty to dispose of herself to any one she pleases as long as she lives."

In the 'Madras Census report,' 1901, Mr. Francis refers to the form of hypergamy between different castes which exists on the west coast, where "women of castes equal to or higher than the Náyers are prohibited from forming unions with men of castes below them in rank,

* Malabar Quarterly Review, 1902.

† Op. cit.

though the men of these castes are not similarly restricted." Náyers, for example, may marry Erumán (buffalo-drivers and keepers) women, but their men may not marry Náyar girls. In this and other respects the Erumáns resemble the Erumán sub-division of the Kólayán (cow-herd) caste, whose women may marry Náyers, though the offspring of such unions cannot claim the same privileges in the temples as pure-bred Kólayáns.* Of the children of marriages between Maravans and Agamudaiyan women, the females marry Maravans, the males Agamudaiyans.† Oriya zamindars get wives from the Khondáita sub-caste of Ódijas or Oriyas, but the men of this sub-caste cannot marry into the zamindar's families.‡ The men of the Tondaman sub-division of the Semmáns (Tamil leather-workers) may take wives from the Tól-méstri sub-division, but men of the latter may not marry girls of the former.§

EDGAR THURSTON.

* 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

† Rev. A. C. Clayton. MS.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

§ Ibid.

DEFORMITY AND MUTILATION.

In his little book * on fashions in deformity, or alteration of some part of the body from its natural form, Sir W. Flower says that "some of them have been associated with religious or superstitious observances; some have been vaguely thought to be hygienic in motive; most have some relation to conventional standards of improved personal appearance." As simple examples of the last in Southern India may be incidentally noted the beauty spots daubed on the foreheads of villagers on the occasion of a festival with sandal-paste or bright anilin powders, or with the purple juice of the fruit of *Eugenia Arnottiana* by the Toda women of the Nilgiris. Among some classes, the females cut discs out of the shining green elytra of a buprestid beetle, and stick them on their foreheads as beauty marks instead of the more usual kunkam (turmeric, or starch coloured with anilin dyes) or santhu (black paste made of charred rági or other millet). The use of black antimony (surmá) or lamp black as a cosmetic for the eyelids, and improving the complexion by smearing the face with turmeric, are very widespread among females. So, too, among Muhammadan men, is dyeing the nails and hair red with henna leaves (*Lawsonia alba*). The wearing of heavy brass armlets sometimes gives rise to extensive sores and cicatrices. Boring the nostrils and helix of the ear for the insertion of precious jewels set in gold, brass and bead ornaments, simple brass rings, and hoops or pieces of stick like matches are widely resorted to. "The custom of calling a newly-born child (after the parent has lost a first born or more in succession) by an opprobrious name is common amongst many castes in Southern India, including even Muhammadans. Kuppaswami (= Sir dung-heap) is one of the commonest names for such children, and they have the distinguishing mark of a pierced nostril and ear (on the right side) with a knob of gold in it."† Sometimes a woman, who has lost a child, when she is again pregnant, makes a vow that the child, when born,

* 'Fashion in Deformity' [Nature Series], 1881.

† B. R. B., 'Indian Antiquary,' Vol. IX, 1880.

shall be named after the god or goddess (Srinivása or Alamálu) at Tirupati. The infant is accordingly taken to the Tirupati temple, where its hair is removed, and the lobe of the ear pierced. "Some of the members of the Kiriattil clan of Náyers, who call themselves Padináyirattil (one of 10,000) pierce the ears, but never wear earrings."* A Náyar was noticed by Mr. Fawcett, whose right nostril was slit vertically, as if for the insertion of a jewel. His mother had miscarried in her first pregnancy, so, according to custom, he, the child of her second pregnancy, had had his nose slit. Mutilation as a means of "improving" personal appearance reaches its highest point in dilatation of the lobes of the ears, for the following note on which I am indebted to Canon A. Margóschis, of the S.P.G. Mission, Tinnevely, who is a practical authority on the subject. "To produce this artificial deformity," he writes, "is the work of men of the Koravar caste, whose occupations are bird-catching and basket-making. On or about the third day after birth, the troubles of a female begin, for the child's ears must be operated on, and for this purpose a knife with a triangular blade is used. Sometimes the ceremony is postponed until the child is sixteen days old. Among the Hindus a 'good day' is selected, and Christians choose Sunday. The point of the knife is run through the lobe of the ear until the blade has penetrated for half an inch of its length. Both ears are cut, and a piece of cotton wool is placed in the wounds, to keep the cut portions dilated. Every other day the Koravar must change the wool and increase the quantity introduced. If the sores fester, a dressing is used of castor-oil and human milk in equal parts, and, if there is much suppuration, an astringent, such as tamarind juice lotion, is used. The cut lobes will take not less than a month to heal, and for the whole of that time the process of dilatation is continued by passing through the lobes pledgets of cotton-wool, increasing gradually in size. After the wounds have healed, pieces of cotton cloth are rolled up and placed in the lobes instead of the cotton wool, and this is done for a few days only, when leaden rings are substituted, which are added to in number until as many as six or eight rings are in each ear. These drag the lobes down more and more and, by the time the infant is a year old, the process of elongating

* F. Fawcett : 'Madras Museum Bull.,' Vol. III, 1901.

the lobes is complete in so far as the acute stage is concerned, and all that is necessary afterwards is to leave the leaden rings in the ears, and to let the elongated lobes grow as the child grows. Instead of keeping a large number of rings in the ears, they are melted down into two heavy, thick rings, which are kept in the ears until the girl is twelve or thirteen years old, and by that time the acme of beauty will have been attained so far as the ears are concerned, because the lobes will reach down to the shoulders on each side. This is perfection, and reminds one of the man on one of the islands near New Guinea, the lobes of whose ears had been converted into great pendent rings of skin, through which it was possible to pass the arms.* The fees for the operation are 10 annas to Rs. 1-1-6. The custom described prevails among the following castes: Vellálas, Shánars, Maravars, Paravars, shepherds, dyers, tailors, oilmongers, Pallas, and Pariahs. The females of the Paravar caste (Roman Catholic fisher caste) are famous for the longest ears, and for wearing the heaviest and most expensive golden ear jewels made of sovereigns. Ordinary ear jewels cost Rs. 200, but heavy jewels are worth Rs. 1,000 and even more. The longer the ears, the more jewels can be used, and this appears to be the rationale of elongated ears. In former days men also had long ears, but it is now reserved for the men who play the bow and bells at demon dances. With regard to the prevalence of this custom of mangling the human body, and the possibility of its gradual removal, the missionaries, especially in Tinnevely, have all along been the sternest foes of the barbarity. In one boarding school alone, consisting of 224 girls, there are 165 with short ears, so that only 59 have them elongated. And, of the 165, no less than 51 have had their long ears operated on and cut short at the mission hospital, and this they have consented to as a voluntary act. As it was once the fashion to have long ears, and a mark of respectability, so now the converse is true. Until the last twenty years, if a woman had short ears, she was asked if she was a dancing girl (*déva-dási*) because that class kept their ears natural. Now, with the change of customs all round, even dancing girls are found with long ears. Muhammadan women have their ears pierced all round the outer edges, and as many as twenty or twenty-five

* Flower : Op. cit.

rings, of iron or gold, are inserted in the holes; but the lobes are not elongated. The artificial deforming of the body assumes various phases in different parts of the world, and we have but to refer to the small feet of the Chinese, the flattening of the skull of infants among the North American Indians, and the piercing and elongation of the upper lip amongst certain tribes in Central Africa. In all cases these are attempts to improve upon nature, and the results are as revolting as they are often ghastly and cruel. The torture inflicted upon helpless Tamil babes is so cruel that it would be humane and righteous for Government to interfere, and abolish long ears. The number of persons suffering from deafness and chronic discharges from the ear is very considerably increased in 'consequence of the barbarity described above."

In connection with the practice of dilating the lobes of the ears among the Kallans of the Madura district, Mr. J. H. Nelson writes* that "both males and females are accustomed to stretch to the utmost possible limit the lobes of their ears. The unpleasant disfigurement is effected by the mother boring the ears of her baby, and inserting heavy pieces of metal, generally lead, into the apertures. The effect so produced is very wonderful, and it is not at all uncommon to see the ears of a Kallan hanging on his shoulders. When violently angry, a Kallan will sometimes tear in two the attenuated strips of flesh, which constitute his ears, expecting thereby to compel his adversary to do likewise as a sort of a *amende honorable*: and altercations between women constantly lead to one or both parties having the ears violently pulled asunder. And formerly, where a Kalla girl was deputed, as frequently happened, to guide a stranger in safety through a Kalla tract, if any of her caste-people attempted to offer violence to her charge in spite of her protestations, she would immediately tear open one of her ears, and run off at full speed to her home to complain of what had been done. And the result of her complaint was invariably a sentence to the effect that the culprits should have both their ears torn in expiation of their breach of the by-laws of the forest."

The following rules, which were formerly drawn up by Kallans, under compulsion by their servants, are distinctly quaint.

* 'Manual of the Madura District.'

(1) If a Kallan lost a tooth through a blow given by his master, the latter was to be fined ten Káli chakrams (coin).

(2) If a Kallan had his ear torn under punishment, his master must pay a fine of six Káli chakrams.

(3) If a Kallan had his skull fractured, his master must pay thirty chakrams, or in default have his own skull fractured.

(4) If a Kallan had his arm or leg broken, his master must pay a fine of twenty chakrams, give the injured man a certain amount of grain, cloths, etc., and likewise grant him in fee-simple as much nanjey land as could be sown with a kalam of seed, and two kurukkams of punjey land.

(5) If a Kallan were killed, his master must pay a fine of one hundred chakrams, or in default be put at the mercy of the murdered man's relatives.

It is recorded in the Cuddapah Manual that a Yerukala came to a certain village, and, under the pretence of begging, ascertained which women wore valuable jewels, and whether the husbands of any such were employed at night in the fields. In the night he returned, and, going to the house he had previously marked, suddenly snatched up the sleeping woman by the gold ear-ring she wore with such violence as to lift up the woman, and in such a way as to wrench off the lobe of the ear. In a case of assault with robbery committed in 1901 in the outskirts of Salem town by some Koravars on an old man, the lobe of his ear was cut off in order to remove his ear-ring. Recently, in a fight between two women in Madras, one bit off the lobe of the ear of the other.

Mr. H. G. Nicholson, who was some years ago stationed at Ramnád in the Madura district, tells me that the young Maravar princesses used to come and play in his garden, and, as they ran races, hung on to their ears lest the heavy ornaments should rend asunder the filamentous earlobes.

Among the female Tiyans of Malabar the practice of dilating the lobes of the ears prevails, though the deformity is not carried to such an extreme length as in Madura and Tinnevely. The operation is performed, when the child is a few months or a year old, either by goldsmiths or by astrologers called Pannikar in South and Kanisan in North Malabar. The lobe is pierced with a gold pin or thorn, and a thread inserted to prevent the wound from

closing up. The ear is dressed daily with butter. After a week or two the thread is replaced by a thin plug of wood, and subsequently gradual dilatation is effected by means of pith soaked in water to make it swell. Further dilatation is effected by means of solid wooden ornaments, or rolls of lead or cadjan.

Allusion may next be made to the wide-spread custom of tattooing the skin. In a paper on tattooing (or tatuing) read at the Anthropological Institute in January 1888, Miss Buckland refers to the practice of tattooing among the Nágas of Assam, and to the tattooing of breeches, reaching from the waist to the knee, with which the male Burman is adorned. But, in the map illustrating the paper, Peninsular India, south of 20°, is left a perfect and absolute blank. And, in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Colonel Kincaird, recognising this remarkable hiatus, remarked that "his observation led him to believe that this custom is widespread on the arms and legs among the women of the lower castes of the Tamil, etc., races in the south and south-east of the peninsula."

The following note on the practice of tattooing, as carried on in the city of Madras, is mainly based on information extracted in the course of interviews with professional female tattooers, of whom the first arrived in a condition of maudling intoxication. These women belong to the class of Koravas, or Yerukalas, "a vagrant tribe found throughout the Madras Presidency. They wander about the country in gangs, selling baskets, carrying salt, telling fortunes, and pilfering and robbing whenever an opportunity occurs. As house-breakers they are especially expert, and burglary is their favourite crime."* The men are also employed in hunting, bird-snaring, and as actors of native plays, which they perform on the road-side. Sometimes they masquerade as mendicants, and go about, beating a drum, and begging from house to house in the bazar. From the Police records I gather that a gang of the thief class camped in a certain spot in the Vizagapatam district for more than two months. The women went about begging, and effecting an entrance into respectable houses by tattooing girls. The gang then suddenly disappeared. "Both men and women of the Korava class wear tattoo marks of circular or semicircular form on their foreheads

* 'Madras Census Report,' 1881.

and forearms. When they are once convicted, they enlarge or alter in some other way the tattoo marks on their forearms, so that they may differ from the previous descriptive marks of identification entered by the Police in their search books and other records.”*

The female tattooers leave Madras during the harvest season, and pay professional visits to the neighbouring districts, travelling as far as Pondicherry in the south and Cuddapah in the north. By these women Bráhmans, Sudras of all classes, Pariahs and Tamil-speaking Muhammadans (Labbais) are operated on. The patterns range from a dot or straight line to complex geometrical or conventional designs. Figures of wild animals are not met with, but scorpions, birds, fishes, flowers and the Vaishnava sect-mark are common. So, too, are the initials or name in Tamil characters on the forearm. Sometimes Hindu males are tattooed, as an amusement, when boys, or, in some cases among the lower classes, when grown up. For example, many Pulaiyan men in Travancore are tattooed on the forehead with a crescent and circular spot, and the Irulas of Chingleput with a vertical stripe along the middle of the forehead. The Chakkiliyan men of Madras are very freely tattooed, not only on the forehead, but, also with their name, conventional devices, dancing girls, etc., on the chest and upper extremities. The following information was supplied by a Tamil man, with a European ballet-girl tattooed on his upper arm, who was engaged in varnishing cases in one of the museum galleries. “Some years ago I went to Ceylon with a native theatrical company. While in Colombo I made the acquaintance of a Sinhalese who was a professional tattooer. He had an album of patterns. I was attracted by their beauty, and subjected myself to the operation. It was an easy and painless operation as compared with that of the Madras tattooer. The Sinhalese man had the needles tied together in a different way, *e.g.*, for pricking straight lines five or six needles are tied together in a row; for pricking curves the needles are arranged in a curve. The Madras tattooer has the needles arranged in a bundle, and the operation, as performed with them, is painful, and sometimes followed by swelling and ulceration.” Asked whether he was glad he had been tattooed, he replied that, when he got married

* M. Paupa Rao Naidu : ‘History of Railway Thieves,’ 1900.

he was ashamed of it, and kept it hidden by his cloth. One result of emigration to Burma is that Tamil men sometimes return from that country tattooed with elaborate devices worthy of the tattooed nobleman in a booth at a race-meeting. The Eurasian body being enveloped in clothes, it was not till they stripped before me for the purposes of anthropometry that I became aware how prevalent the practice of tattooing is among the male members of the community. Nearly all the hundred and thirty men whom I examined were, in fact, tattooed on the chest, upper arms, fore-arms, wrists, back of the hands, or shoulders. The following are a few of the devices in blue, with occasional red, recorded in my notes :—

Queen Alexandra.	Watteau shepherdess.
Steam-boat.	Burmese lady.
Ballet-girl.	Elephant.
Flowers in a pot.	Sailing boat.
The word 'mercy'.	Initials of inamorata.
Royal arms.	Scorpion.
Crown and flags.	Crossed swords.
Cross and anchor.	Bracelets.
Dancing girl.	Lizard
Heart and cross.	Bugles.

Many of the Roman Catholic Eurasians of Malabar have tattooed on their fore-arms a bird as the emblem of the Holy Ghost.

Among native females the parts of the body selected for the operation are the arm, fore-leg, forehead, cheeks, and chin. But sometimes, in cases of muscular pain or other disorder, the operation is performed as a remedial agent over the shoulder joint, or on the thigh, or other parts of the body. A legend runs to the effect that many years ago, a Pariah woman wished her upper arms and chest to be tattooed in the form of a bodice. The operation was successfully performed until the region of the heart was reached, and then a vulnerable part was punctured by the needles with the result that the woman died. Whence has arisen a superstitious objection to tattooing of the breasts. Tattooing is a sign sometimes that puberty has been reached. For example, the tattooing of the forehead indicates that the Badaga girl of the Nilgiris is available for matrimonial purposes.

The Tamil equivalent of tattooing is pachai-kuthukirathu, or pricking with green. The marking ink is prepared in

the following manner. Turmeric (kappa manja) powder and agathikeerai (leaves of *Sesbania grandiflora*) are rubbed together in a mortar or on a grinding stone. The mixture is spread on a thin cloth, and rolled up in the form of a wick, which is placed in an open lamp charged with castor-oil. The wick is lighted, and the lamp covered with a new earthen pot, on the inside of which the lamp black is deposited. This is scraped off, and mixed with human milk or water. Instead of agathikeerai, arumpilloo (green parts of *Cynodon Dactylon*) or karisinagoni (*Eclipta alba*) may be used in the preparation of the wick. As a pricking instrument, three or more sewing needles are fastened together with thread. In the performance of the operation, the pattern, selected from the dirty bundle of drawings on paper, is first traced on the skin with a blunt stick dipped in the prepared ink, which is pricked in with the needles. The part is then washed with cold water and a coat of ink rubbed over the surface. To allay the pain, oil is applied, and a small quantity of turmeric powder is rubbed in, to brighten the colour and prevent swelling. The Korava women, being illiterate, are unable to tattoo initials or names unless they are first drawn for them. They are able to execute the complicated patterns, with which they are, from long practice, familiar, with considerable dexterity, and will tattoo any pattern which is new to them, provided that it is first drawn. The woman who described the tattooing process to me traced out very elaborate patterns, with great rapidity, with the blunt stick which she was accustomed to use, but could make no way at all with a pencil. The Burmese patterns are, as already indicated, far more artistic, varied, and complicated than those executed by Koravas; and some of these patterns are now being copied by the Madras tattooers. The tattooer's fee is said to range from a quarter-anna for a dot or line to twelve annas for a complex design. And in up-country villages payment appears to be made in kind, and a present of rice to be the usual remuneration.

In a recent article* Mr. Risley identifies the tattooed designs of the Dómbis of Jeypore as being related to the religion and mythology of the tribe; totems; and having reference to their traditional avocations.

* 'Man', July 1902.

Among the Todas of the Nilgiris, the operation is performed by an elderly woman. Women only are tattooed, and, it is said, they must have borne one or more children. Girls are, however, occasionally tattooed after reaching puberty, but before giving birth to children. And I have seen several multiparæ, in whom the absence of tattoo marks was explained on the ground that they were too poor to afford the expense of the operation, or that they were always suckling or pregnant—conditions in which the operation would not be free from danger. The dots and circles on the chest, back, arms, and legs, of which the simple devices are made up, are marked out with lamp-black made into a paste with water, and the pattern is pricked in with the spines of the common mountain barberry (*Berberis aristata*).

I have seen a Bédar of the Bellary district, who had dislocated his shoulder when a lad, and been tattooed over the deltoid with the figure of Hanumán (the monkey god) to relieve the pain.

In the Bédary district the Lingayats have one Basivi (dedicated prostitute) of their caste in every large village. Her initiation is carried out in the following way. "The headmen of the caste meet, and perform a ceremony wedding her to her caste. A táli, on which is figured a bull (Nandi, Siva's bull) is tied by the village jangam or priest, who draws a lingam on a betel leaf, and tattoos the figure on her upper arm, over the deltoid, with juice of the cashew-nut (*Anacardium occidentale*). This is often omitted, and she is not marked in this way."*

An interesting custom, which prevails among the Kádirs and Mala Védars of the Anaimalai hills and Travancore, and among them alone, so far as I know, of the entire population of the Indian peninsula, is that of chipping all or some of the incisor teeth, both upper and lower, into the form of a sharp-pointed, but not serrated cone. The operation, which is performed with a chisel or bill-hook and file by members of the tribe skilled thereat on Kádir boys at the age of eighteen, and girls at the age of ten or thereabouts, has been thus described. The girl to be operated on lies down, and places her head against a female friend, who holds it tightly. A third woman takes a sharpened bill-hook, and chips away the teeth till they are shaded to a point, the girl operated on writhing

* F. Fawcett: 'Journ. Anth. Soc.,' Bombay, Vol. II, No. 6, 1861.

and groaning with the pain. After the operation she looks dazed, and in a very few hours the face begins to swell. Pain and swelling last for a day or two, accompanied by severe headache. An ugly old Mala Védar man, who had his teeth very slightly filed, on being asked why he had not conformed to the tribal fashion, grinned and said "What beauty I was born with is good enough for me." Probably the operation had proved more than he could bear; or, may be, he could not afford to pay the betel-nut and leaves which are the customary fee of the filer. The operation is performed with a curved bill-hook with a serrated edge.* The fact is worthy of record, as a link between the inhabitants of Southern India and Ceylon, that deformity of the teeth exists as a tribal custom among the Rhodias, of whom M. Deschamps † writes as follows: "J'ai parcouru deux centres importants de Rhodias: dans l'un j'ai remarqué la pratique de la mutilation des dents, complètement ignorée par l'autre. Dans le premier, sur cinq ou six sujets observés, hommes et femmes, avaient les incisives supérieures limées, non point sur la tranche ou les bords inférieurs, ainsi que le font beaucoup de peuples primitifs, mais sur la face extérieure et sur toute la longueur d'une, deux ou trois incisives. Quelquefois la partie inférieure de la dent offre, en outre, un véritable sillon horizontal d'un demi à un millimètre de creux. L'époque à laquelle se fait cette mutilation est indifférente, mais je l'ai observée sur une petite fille de treize ans. La raison qu'ils me donnèrent de cette coutume, pour diminuer la longueur de la face, est non moins curieuse."

Turning now to fashion associated with religious or superstitious observance. It is needless to dilate on the prevalent Hindu custom of painting sect-marks, or smearing sacred ashes on the forehead and other parts of the body. Nor is it necessary to enlarge on circumcision as practised by the Muhammadan community. In connection, however, with circumcision, in the troublous times of the Muhammadan usurpation of Mysore and at the present day, some interesting facts are worthy of notice. It is recorded ‡ that "the prisoners taken by the French in the Hannibal to the number of nearly 500 were landed at Cuddalore in June,

* Mrs. Evans: 'Madras Museum Bull.,' vol. II, No. 3, 1899.

† E. Deschamps: 'Au Pays des Veddas,' Ceylon, 1890.

‡ 'Narrative of William Drake, midshipman of the *Hannibal*.' Seton-Karr. Selections from Calcutta Gazettes.

1782. In August they were delivered over to Hyder Ally Khan, and marched to Bangalore. In October the youngest, to the number of 51, were sent to Seringapatam. Their heads were shaved, all their things were taken from them, and they were circumcised. All were bound on parade, and rings, the badge of slavery, were put into their ears. Several European boys were taught dancing in the country style, and forced to dance in female dress before Tippoo."

When Tippoo was at Calicut, the Pagans were deprived of the token of their nobility, a lock of hair called kudumi; and every Christian who appeared in the streets must either submit to be circumcised, or be hanged on the spot.* Among other acts of cruelty committed by Tippoo, it is stated that, seeing a Lingayat woman selling curds in the street without a body-cloth, he ordered the cutting off of her breasts. As a result of which act the wearing of long garments came into use among the whole female population of Mysore. Of other forms of punishment by mutilation, two further examples may be cited. During one of the voyages of Vasco de Gama to Malabar, "the captain-major ordered them to cut off the hands and noses of all the crews, and put all that into one of the small vessels, into which he ordered them to put the friar, also without ears, nose, or hands, which he ordered to be strung round his neck, with a palm-leaf for the king of Calicut, on which he told him to have a curry made to eat of what his friar brought him."† In the 'Vizagapatam Manual' (1869) Mr. Carmichael states that "in cases of rape (in Jeypore) the procedure was to cut the woman's nose off, and, after beating the man well, to turn him out of the caste by stuffing his mouth with beef. In cases of murder, the Rájah generally had the man's hands, nose, and ears cut off, but, after all that, he seldom escaped the vengeance of the deceased's relatives. There is a man now living in the village of Bassoonnee, whose hands were cut off by order of Rájah Chaitan Deo fourteen years ago. He was taken red-handed straight to the Rájah, and his hands were off within an hour of the commission of the deed. He has been supported by the Rájah ever since."

To return to circumcision. It is a curious fact that many of the Kallans of the Madura district practise this rite. The origin thereof is uncertain, though it has been suggested that it is a survival of a forcible conversion

* Bartolomeo : 'Voyage to the East Indies,' 1776-89.

† Correa : 'Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama.'

to Muhammadanism of a section of the Kurumbas who fled northwards on the downfall of their kingdom.* It is noted in the 'Kurnool Manual' (1886) that the Katikavandlu, who sell mutton, are either Maháráttas or Mussulmans. Some are called Sultáni butchers, or Hindus forcibly circumcised by the late Nawáb of Kurnool. From the 'Mysore Census report,' 1891, I learn in connection with the Myása Bédárs (hunters) that "the rite of circumcision is performed on boys of ten or twelve years of age. The custom seems to have been imbibed when the members of this sub-caste were included in the hordes of Haidar Ali. They also point to a possible conversion, more or less complete, to Islám in those periods of disorder, and a subsequent relapse to Hinduism. For, simultaneously with the circumcision, other rites, such as the panchagavyam, the burning of the tongue with a ním (*Melia Azadirachta*) stick, etc., pre-eminently Bráhmanical, are likewise practised prior to the youth being received into communion." Of conversion to Muhammadanism at the present time, a good example is afforded by the Cherumans of Malabar, concerning whom the Census Superintendent, 1881, writes as follows. "Conspicuous for their degraded and humiliating disabilities are the Cherumans. This caste numbered 99,009 in Malabar at the Census of 1871, and, in 1881, is returned as only 64,725. There are 40,000 fewer Cherumans than there would have been but for some disturbing influence, and this is very well known to be conversion to Muhammadanism. The honour of Islám once conferred on the Cheruman, he moves at one spring several places higher than that which he originally occupied, and the figures show that nearly 50,000 Cherumans and others have availed themselves of the opening. The conversion of a Pariah, or low-caste Hindu to Muhammadanism raises him distinctly in the social scale, and he is treated with more respect by Hindus." Among the Mukkuvan fishermen of Malabar conversion to Islám is common. The converts are called Puislam or Putiya Islam (new Islam). In some families there is a rule that one child shall become a Mussulman.† During the disturbance in Tinnevely in 1899, some of the Shánars, men, women, and children, are said to have gone into the Mahomedan fold, their places of worship being converted into improvised mosques. The men shaved their

* Nelson : 'Manual of the Madura District,' 1868.

† 'Madras Census Report,' 1891.

heads, and grew beards; and the women had to make sundry changes in their dress. And, in the case of boys, the operation of circumcision was performed.

As in Africa, and among the American Indians, Australians, and Polynesians, so in Southern India artificial deformity of the hand is produced by chopping off some of the fingers. Writing in 1815, Buchanan (Hamilton)* says that "near Deonella or Deonhully, a town in Mysore, is a sect or sub-division of the Murressoo Wocal caste, every woman of which, previous to piercing the ears of her eldest daughter, preparatory to her being betrothed in marriage, must undergo the amputation of the first joints of the third and fourth fingers of her right hand. The amputation is performed by the blacksmith of the village, who, having placed the finger in a block, performs the operation with a chisel. If the girl to be betrothed is motherless, and the mother of the boy has not before been subjected to the amputation, it is incumbent on her to suffer the operation." Of the same ceremony among the "Morsa-okkala-Makkalu" of Mysore the Abbé Dubois† says that, if the bride's mother be dead, the bridegroom's mother, or in default of her the mother of the nearest relative, must submit to the cruel ordeal. In an editorial foot-note it is stated that this custom is no longer observed. Instead of the two fingers being amputated, they are now merely bound together, and thus rendered unfit for use. In the Census report, 1891, it is recorded that this type of deformity is found among the Morasas, chiefly in Cuddapah, North Arcot, and Salem. "There is a sub-section of them, called Veralu icche kapulu, or kapulu who give the fingers, from a curious custom which requires that, when a grandchild is born in a family, the wife of the eldest son of the grandfather must have the last two joints of the third and fourth fingers of her right hand amputated at a temple of Bhairava." Further, it is stated in the 'Manual of the Salem district' (1883) that "the practice now observed in this district is that, when a grandchild is born in a family, the eldest son of the grandfather, with his wife, appears at the temple for the ceremony of boring the child's ear, and there the woman has the last two joints of the third and fourth fingers chopped off. It does not signify whether the father of the

* East India Gazetteer.

† 'Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies,' Ed., 1897.

first grandchild born be the eldest son or not, as in any case it is the wife of the eldest son who has to undergo the mutilation. After this, when children are born to other sons, their wives in succession undergo the operation. When a child is adopted, the same course is pursued."

The origin of the custom is narrated by Wilks,* and is briefly this. Mahadeo or Siva, who was in great peril, after hiding successively in a castor-oil and jawári plantation, concealed himself in a linga-tonde shrub from a rákshasa who was pursuing him, to whom a Marasa Vakkaliga cultivator indicated, with the little finger of his right hand, the hiding-place of Siva. The god was only rescued from his peril by the interposition of Vishnu in the form of a lovely maiden meretriciously dressed, whom the lusty rákshasa, forgetting all about Siva, attempted to ravish, and was consumed to ashes. On emerging from his hiding-place, Siva decreed that the cultivator should forfeit the offending finger. The culprit's wife, who had just arrived at the field with food for her husband, hearing this dreadful sentence, threw herself at Siva's feet, and represented the certain ruin of her family if her husband should be disabled for some months from performing the labours of the farm, and besought the deity to accept two of her fingers instead of one from her husband. Siva, pleased with so sincere a proof of conjugal affection, accepted the exchange, and ordered that her family posterity in all future generations should sacrifice two fingers at his temple as a memorial of the transaction, and of their exclusive devotion to the god of the lingam. For the following account of the performance of the rite, as carried out by the Marasa Vakkaligaru of Mysore I am indebted to an article by Mr. V. N. Narasimmiyengar †. These people are roughly classed under three heads, viz: "(1) those whose women offer the sacrifice; (2) those who substitute for the fingers a piece of gold wire, twisted round the fingers in the shape of rings. Instead of cutting the fingers off, the carpenter removes and appropriates the rings; (3) those who do not perform the rite. The *modus operandi* is as nearly as possible the following. About the time of the new moon in Chaitra, a propitious day is fixed by the village astrologer, and the woman who is to offer the sacrifice performs certain ceremonies

* 'History of Mysore.'

† 'Ind. Antiquary,' Vol. II, 1873.

or pujé in honour of Siva, taking food only once a day. For three days before the operation she has to support herself with milk, sugar, fruits, etc., all substantial food being eschewed. On the day appointed, a common cart is brought out, painted in alternate stripes with white and red ochre, and adorned with gay flags, flowers, etc., in imitation of a car. Sheep or pigs are slaughtered before it, their number being generally governed by the number of children borne by the sacrificing woman. The cart is then dragged by bullocks, preceded by music, the woman and her husband following, with new pots filled with water and small pieces of silver money, borne on their heads, and accompanied by a retinue of friends and relatives. The village washerman has to spread clean cloths along the path of the procession, which stops near the boundary of the village, where a leafy bower is prepared, with three pieces of stone installed in it, symbolising the god Siva. Flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, incense, etc., are then offered, varied occasionally by an additional sheep or pig. A wooden seat is placed before the image, and the sacrificing woman places upon it her right hand with the fingers spread out. A man holds her hand firmly, and the village carpenter, placing his chisel on the first joints of her ring and little fingers, chops them off with a single stroke. The pieces lopped off are thrown into an ant-hill, and the tips of the mutilated fingers, round which rags are bound, are dipped into a vessel containing boiling gingily (*Sesamum indicum*) oil. A good skin eventually forms over the stump, which looks like a congenital malformation. The fee of the carpenter is one kanthirāya fanam (four annas eight pies) for each maimed finger, besides presents in kind. The woman undergoes the barbarous and painful ceremony without a murmur, and it is an article of the popular belief that, were it neglected, or if nails grow on the stump, dire ruin and misfortune will overtake the recusant family. Staid matrons, who have had their fingers maimed for life in the above manner, exhibit their stumps with a pride worthy of a better cause. At the termination of the sacrifice, the woman is presented with cloths, flowers, etc., by her friends and relations, to whom a feast is given. Her children are placed on an adorned seat, and, after receiving presents of flowers, fruits, etc., their ears are pierced in the usual way. It is said that to do so before would be sacrilege." In a very full account of deformation of the hand by the Berulu kodo sub-sect of the Vakaliga or ryat caste in

Mysore, Mr. F. Fawcett says * that it was regularly practised until the Commissioner of Mysore put a stop to it about twenty years ago. "At present some take gold or silver pieces, stick them on to the finger's ends with flour paste, and either cut or pull them off. Others simply substitute an offering of small pieces of gold or silver for the amputation. Others, again, tie flowers round the fingers that used to be cut, and go through a pantomime of cutting by putting the chisel on the joint, and taking it away again. All the rest of the ceremony is just as it used to be." The introduction of the decorated cart, which has been referred to, is connected by Mr. Fawcett with a legend concerning a zemindar, who sought the daughters of seven brothers in marriage with three youths of his family. As carts were used in the flight from the zemindar, the ceremony is, to commemorate the event, called *Bandi dévuru*, or god of cars. As by throwing ear-rings into a river the fugitives passed through it, while the zemindar was drowned, the caste people insist on their women's ears being bored for ear-rings. And, in honour of the girls who cared more for the honour of their caste than for the distinction of marriage into a great family, the amputation of part of two fingers of women of the caste was instituted.

I pass on to the subject of the manufacture of eunuchs by castration, for the following account of which I have to indent on an article on the Kojahs by Mr. J. Shortt. † "The Kojahs," he writes, "are the artificially created eunuchs, in contradistinction to the Higras (impotents) or natural eunuchs. Some years ago there were three Kojahs at the head of the State prison or royal mahál at Vellore, in charge of some of the wives, descendants, and other female connections of Tippu Sultan. These men were highly respected, held charges of considerable trust, and were Muhammedans by birth. Tales were often repeated that the zenana women (slaves and adopted girls) were in the habit of stripping them naked and poking fun at their helplessness. There were two Kojahs in the employ of the late Nabob of the Carnatic. They were both Africans. On the death of the Nabob the Government allowed one of them a pension of fifteen rupees a month. Sometimes Hindus, Sudras, and Brahmins subject themselves to the operation (of

* 'Journ. Anth. Soc.,' Bombay, Vol. I, 1889.

† 'Journ. Anthropol. Inst.,' Vol. II, 1873.

castration) of their own accord from a religious impression. Others, finding themselves naturally impotent, consider it necessary to undergo the operation, to avoid being born again at a future birth in the same helpless state. The operation is generally performed by a class of barbers, sometimes by some of the more intelligent of the eunuchs themselves, in the following manner. The patient is made to sit on an upturned new earthen pot, being previously well drugged with opium or bhang. The entire genitals being seized by the left hand, an assistant, who has a bamboo lath slit in the centre, runs it down quick close to the pubis, the slit firmly embracing the whole of the genitals at the root, when the operator, with a sharp razor, runs it down along the face of the lath, and removes penis, testicles, and scrotum in one swoop, leaving a large clean open wound behind, in which boiling gingily (*Sesamum indicum*) oil is poured to staunch the bleeding, and the wound covered over with a soft rag steeped in warm oil. This is the only dressing applied to the wound, which is renewed daily, while the patient is confined in a supine position to his bed, and lightly fed with conjee (rice gruel), milk, etc. During the operation the patient is urged to cry out 'Deen' (the faith in Mahomed) three times." A local eunuch, whom I interviewed, informed me that castration used to be performed in Hyderabad at about the age of sixteen. A pit, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, was dug in the ground, and filled with ashes. And, after the operation, the patient had to sit on the ashes, with crossed legs, for three days. The operation was performed under the influence of narcotics by a Pir--the head of the Kojah community.

Of branding as a form of mutilation many examples are afforded in Southern India. The Kota-men of the Nilgiris have the cicatrix of a burn made as a tribal mark with a burning cloth across the lower end of the back of the forearm when they are more than eight years old. Nearly all the Toda men have one or more raised cicatrices forming nodulous growths (keloids) on the right shoulder. These scars are produced by burning the skin with red-hot sticks of *Litsaea* (the sacred fire-stick); and the Todas believe that the branding enables them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease. When the birth of a first child is expected in a Toda family, on the first new moon day a ceremony called *ur vot pimmi* takes place, during which an elderly woman rolls up a rag to the size of a small wick, dips it in oil, lights it, and with the burning end brands the pregnant woman's hands in four places,

one at each end of the lowest joints of the right and left thumbs, and one dot on each wrist. Sometimes branding is resorted to as a curative agent, and, when sick people are in a state of collapse from high fever, they are branded between the eyebrows, on the toes, or nape of the neck, with a piece of bangle glass, leather, *ním* (*Melia Azadirachta*) stick, or piece of turmeric. I have seen a *Mála* branded with a circle round the navel as a cure for colic. The *Kathira vandlu* (scissors people), and other nomadic tribes are branded under the following conditions. As the gangs move on, exposed to changes of weather, the children sometimes get a disease called *sandukatlu* or *palakurkura*. The symptoms are similar to those which children sometimes have when they are teething. As a curative agent, they are branded on the face between the eyebrows, or the outer corners of the eyes, and sometimes on the abdomen. The brand-marks on the face and corners of the eyes are circular, and those on the abdomen generally horizontal. The circular marks are made with a long piece of saffron, one end of which is burnt for the purpose, or with an indigo-dyed cloth rolled like a pencil, and burnt at one end. The horizontal marks are made with a hot needle. Similar brand marks are made by some caste Hindus on their children. In some parts of the Mysore province and Salem district, when a child is born, it is at once branded on various parts of the body, *e.g.*, near the navel, on the foot, back of the hands, face, nape of the neck, and sides of the abdomen. The *Bestas* (hunters and fishermen) of North Arcot are divided into *Telugu Bestas* and *Parikiti Bestas*, the difference between whom is chiefly one of religious observance, the former being in the habit of getting themselves branded on the shoulders with the *Vaishnavite* emblems, the *chank* and *chakram*,* and the latter never undergoing this ceremony.† At the ceremony of dedication of a girl as a *Basivi* (dedicated prostitute) in the Bellary district “a *táli*, on which is depicted the *iraman* of Vishnu, fastened to a necklace of black beads, is tied round her neck. She is given, by way of insignia, a cane as a wand, carried in the right hand, and a *gopálam* or begging basket, which is slung on the left arm. She is then branded with

* The *chank* is the shell of the mollusc *Turbinella rapa*, of which the right-hand variety is held very sacred. The *chakra* is the wheel of the law.

† ‘Manual of the North Arcot district.

a heated brass instrument with a chakra on the right shoulder, a chank on the left shoulder, and a chakra over the right breast. The mark over the breast is never done, if there is any suspicion that the girl is not a virgin. The branding in Vishnu temples is sometimes merely a pretence, when the girl under dedication is very young, sandal-wood paste being interposed between her skin and the heated instrument. Among the castes (Boyas, Kurubas, etc.), who make Basivis of their girls, a few men are branded on both shoulders with the chank and chakra, in order to obtain a closer communication with the deity, and to ensure their salvation. They are somewhat honoured among their fellows, and, at a marriage, receive the first betel leaf and other tokens of respect. Men who are branded are buried face downwards. Curiously, there are men of these castes who are dedicated to goddesses. They are generally beggars, and wear female attire. They are not celibates, and may be branded at any time." * A recent petition to a European Magistrate in the Bellary district runs as follows. Petition of—, aged about 17 or 18. I have agreed to become a Basivi, and get myself stamped by my guru (priest) according to the custom of my caste. I request that my proper age, which entitles me to be stamped, may be ascertained personally, and permission granted to be stamped.

A case, in which branding was resorted to as a means of extorting a confession, is recorded by Mr. M. Lewin.† Two prisoners appeared before him with their bodies branded, while the arms of one of them were swollen from the effects of a tight ligature.

The Oriya Haddis are said to admit to their ranks persons from all castes, except the Rellis and Médaras, after first branding their tongues with a piece of gold wire.‡

When proceeding on a pilgrimage to the temple of Subrahmaniya Swámi at Palani, some devotees pierce their cheeks with a long silver needle, which traverses the mouth cavity; pierce the tongue with a silver arrow, which is passed vertically through the protruded organ; and place a silver shield in front of the mouth, so that it may not be opened except when they are drinking milk. Some Dásaris (Vaishnavite mendicants) have permanent holes in their

* F. Fawcett 'Journ. Anth. Soc.,' Bombay, 1891.

† 'Torture in Madras', 1857.

‡ 'Madras Census Report,' 1901.

cheeks, into which they insert the needles when they go about the country in pursuit of their profession.

For the following note on branding as a religious ceremonial I am indebted to Mr. K. Rangachari. Branding for religious purposes is confined to the two sections, Sri Vaishnavas and Mádhvas, of the Hindu community. Sri Vaishnava Bráhmans are expected to undergo this ordeal at least once during their life-time, whereas Mádhva Bráhmans have to submit to it as often as they visit their guru (head of a mutt or matam). Of men of other castes, those who become followers of a Vaishnava or Mádhva Acharya (guru) or mutt, are expected to present themselves before the guru for the purpose of being branded. But the ceremony is optional, and not compulsory as in the case of the Bráhmans. Among Sri Vaishnavites the privilege of being branded is confined to the elder members of a family, Sanyásis (ascetics), and the heads of the various mutts. All individuals, male and female, must be branded, after the upanayana ceremony (thread marriage) in the case of males, and after marriage in the case of women. The disciples, after a purificatory bath, and the usual worship to their god, proceed to the residence of the Acharya or to the mutt, where they are initiated into their religion, and branded with the chakra on the right shoulder and chank on the left. The initiation consists in imparting to the disciple, in a very low tone, the moola muntbra, the words namo-narayanaya, the sacred syllable Om, and a few mantrams from the Bráhma Rahasyam (secrets about god). A person who has not been initiated thus is regarded as unfit to take part in the ceremonies which have to be performed by Bráhmans. Even close relations, if orthodox, will refuse to take food prepared or touched by the uninitiated.

Mádhvas have four mutts (religious institutions) to which they repair for the branding ceremony, viz.: Vyasraya, Sumathendra, and Mulabagal in Mysore, and Uttarája in South Canara. The followers of the Uttarája mutt are branded in five places in the case of male adults, and boys after the thread marriage. The situations and emblems selected are the chakra on the right upper arm, right side of the chest, and above the navel; the chank on the left shoulder and left side of the chest. Women, and girls after marriage, are branded with the chakra on the right forearm and the chank on the left. In the case of widows, the marks are impressed on the shoulders as in the case of males.



MÁDHVA BRÁHMAN.

The disciples of the three other mutts are generally branded with the chakra on the right upper arm, and chank on the left. As the branding is supposed to remove sins committed during the interval, they get it done every time they see their guru. There is with Mádhas no restriction as to the age at which the ceremony should be performed. Even a new-born babe, after the pollution period of ten days, must receive the mark of the chakra if the guru should turn up. Boys before the upanayanam, and girls before marriage, are branded with the chakra on the abdomen just above the navel.

The copper or brass branding instruments (muthras) are not heated to a very high temperature, but sufficient to singe the skin, and leave a deep black mark in the case of adults, and a light mark in that of young people and babies. In some cases, disciples, who are afraid of being hurt, bribe the person who heats the instruments; but, as a rule, the guru regulates the temperature so as to suit the individual. If, for example, the disciple is a strong, well-built man, the instruments are well heated, and, if he is a weakling, allowed to cool somewhat before their application. If he has to deal with babies, he presses the instrument against a wet rag before applying it to the infant's skin. Some mattathipathis (head priests of the mutt) are, it is said, inclined to be vindictive, and to make a very hot application of the instruments if the disciple has not paid the fee (gurukanika) to his satisfaction.

The guru thakshina (fee) is not fixed in the case of Sri Vaishnavas, whereas Mádhas are expected to pay from one to three months' income for being branded. Failure to pay is punished with excommunication on some pretext or other. The area of skin branded generally peels off within a week, leaving a pale mark of the muthra which either disappears in a few months, or persists throughout life.

Mádhas should smear daily with gopi paste (white kaolin) five muthrams on the following places: forehead, outer corners of the eyes, three places on the neck, the upper arms, chest, and three places on the abdomen. The names of these muthrams are: chakra, chank or shanka, gátha (weapon of war used by Bhima, one of the Pándavas), padma (lotus), and Narayana.

Portions of this article have already been published in the Bulletin series, and are now, for convenience, brought together with additions.

E. T.

ÚRÁLIS, SHÓLAGAS AND IRULAS.

In the Madras Census report, 1891, it is stated that "Úráli is the name of a caste of agricultural labourers found chiefly in the Madura and Trichinopoly districts. The word Úráli means a ruler of a village. In the Wynád there is a section of Kurumbas called Úráli Kurumbas, and it is not improbable that these Úrális of the Tamil country are an offshoot of the great Kurumba race". The Úrális, who form the subject of the present note, dwell at an altitude of 1,800 feet in the jungles of Dimbhum in the Coimbatore district, where a forest bungalow, situated on a breezy ridge overlooking the plains, formed a convenient centre from which to study both Úrális and the more primitive Shólagas.

The Úrális are familiar with the Badagas, who have a settlement not many miles distant; the Todas, who occasionally migrate across the adjacent Nilgiri frontier in search of grazing land for their buffaloes; and the Kurumbas and Irulas, who inhabit the lower slopes of the Nilgiris, which run down to Coimbatore. With the civilised world they are acquainted, as they carry loads to the plains, and run down to market at the town of Sathyamangalam, which is only seventeen miles distant from Dimbhum. Like the Nilgiri Badagas, they are clad in turban, and long flowing body-cloth, white (when new), or striped with red and blue. The hair is worn long and unkempt, or shaved *à la* Hindu with kudumi in mimicry of the more civilised classes. A man was introduced to us as an expert mimic of the note of the paroquet, peacock, jungle-fowl and other forest birds; and a small party improvised, in front of the bungalow, a bird-trap cleverly constructed out of stones, an iron plate from the camp kitchen, bamboo, and rope made on the spot from the bark of *Ficus Tsiela*. The making of fire with flint and steel is fast disappearing in favour of safety matches.

The Úrális say that they are men of seven kulams (*i.e.*, having seven posts to the marriage booth), and are children of Billayya, while they describe the Shólagas as men of five kulams and children of Karayya. They call themselves Úrális or Irulas, and when questioned, say

that, as Billayya and Karayya are brothers, they may also be called Shólagas. But there is no intermarriage between Úrális and Shólagas, though members of the two tribes sometimes interdine. They speak a patois of mixed Tamil and Canarese, and have a number of exogamous septs, the meaning of the names of which is not clear. They indulge in a large repertoire of nicknames, for the most part of a personal nature, such as donkey-legged, big-navelled, pot-bellied, hair-lipped, hairy like a bear or the tail of a mungoose, toothless, lying, brought up on butter-milk. One man was named Kothé Kallan (kotha = a stone), because he was born on a rock near Kotagiri.

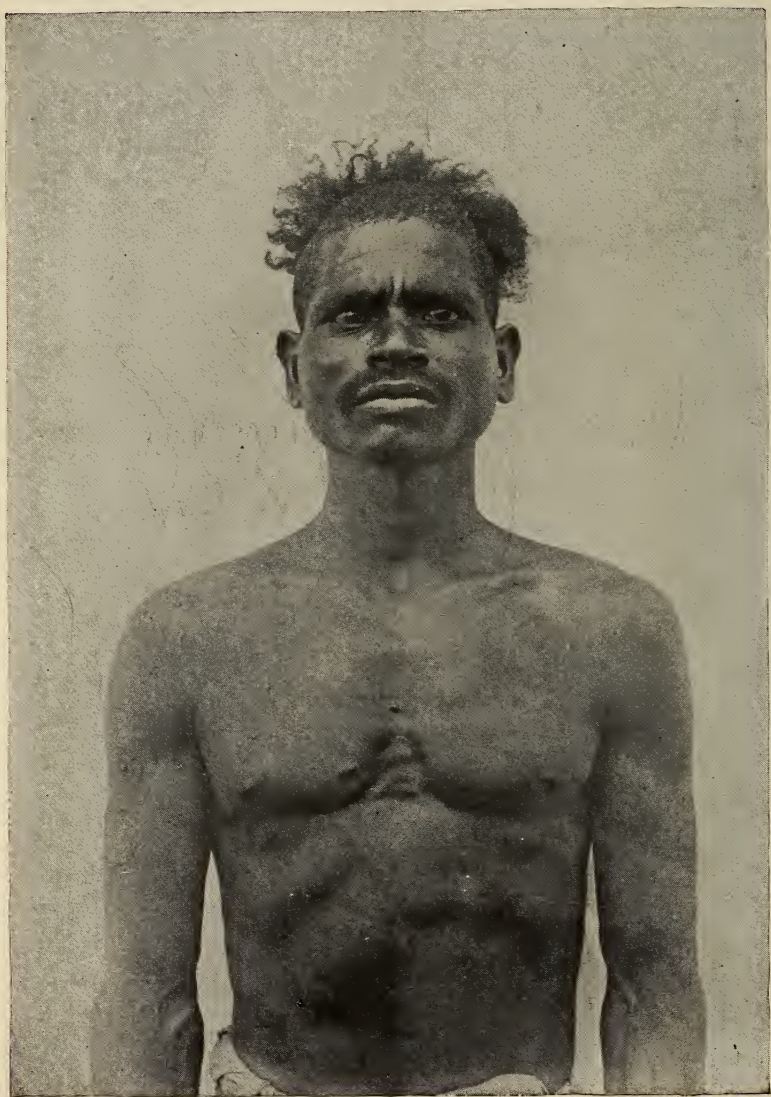
The majority of the tribe earn a modest livelihood by collecting minor forest produce, such as myrabolams, wax and honey, and poles for use as primitive breaks for country carts during the ascent of the ghât road. These poles are tied to the carts by ropes, and trail behind on the ground, so that, when the cart stops, the backward course of the wheels is arrested. Some till the soil, and cultivate various kinds of food-grains. Others are sheep and cattle owners. A few families possess land, which is given free of rent by the Forest department on condition that they work for the department whenever their services are required. As a class they are not inclined to do hard work, and they appear to get into the clutches of money-lending Chettis. Their staple food is rági (*Eleusine Coracana*). But they eat also sheep, fowls, goat, deer, pigeons and doves, black monkeys, wild boar, hare, hedgehogs, paroquets, quails and partridges, jungle-fowl, wood-cock, wood-peckers, and other denizens of the jungle. A man who was asked whether they eat beef, cats, toads, bears, or white monkeys, expectorated violently at the mention of each, and the suggestion of the first three produced the most explosive oral demonstration.

Tribal disputes are referred to a head-man, called Yejamana, who must belong to the exogamous sept called Sambé, and whose appointment is an hereditary one. To assist him, three others, belonging to the Kalkatti, Kolkara and Kurinanga septs, whose hereditary titles are Pattagara, Gouda and Kolkara, are appointed. The Kolkara has to invite people to the panchayat (tribal council), collect the fines inflicted and be present on the occasion of marriages. A woman who, after marriage, refuses to live with her husband, is punished thus. She is tied to a tree, and the Kolkaran empties the contents of a hornet or wasp's nest

at her feet. After a few minutes the woman is questioned, and, if she agrees to live with her husband, she must, in token of assent, lick a mark made on his back by the Kolkara with fowl's excrement, saying "You are my husband. In future I shall not quarrel with you, and will obey you." Even after this ordeal has been gone through, a woman may, on payment of a fine, leave her husband in favour of another man of the tribe.

When a girl reaches puberty, she is anointed, decorated with jewelry, and made to occupy a separate hut for seven days, during which time two young girls keep her company. On the eighth day, all three bathe in a pond or stream, and return in their wet clothes to the girl's home, where they sit on a pestle placed in front of the door. A plantain leaf is then placed in front of them on which cooked rice and curry are spread. A child, aged about eight or nine months, is set in the girl's lap, and she feeds the infant with a small quantity of rice, of which she herself swallows a few mouthfuls. Those assembled then sit down to a feed, at the conclusion of which they wash their hands in a dish, and the girl throws the water away. The feast concluded, the spot is sprinkled with cowdung water, and cleaned up by the girl.

Marriage is either infant or adult, but, as a rule, the latter. The match-making is carried out by the boy's parents, who, with his other relations, pay two visits, one with and one without the boy, to the parents of the girl. At the first visit a present of rági, and at the second plantains, rice, and millet pudding is made. The party must be received with due respect, which is shown by taking hold of the walking-sticks of the guests on arrival, and receiving them on a mat spread inside the house. The customary form of salute is touching the feet with both hands, and raising them, with palms opposed, to the forehead. Before taking their seats, the guests salute a vessel of water, which is placed on the mat, surrounded by betel leaves and nuts. A flower is placed on the top of the stone or figure which represents the tribal goddess, and, after púja has been done to it, it is addressed in the words "Oh, swami ! drop the flower to the right if the marriage is going to be propitious, and to the left if otherwise." Should the flower remain on the image, without falling either way, it is greeted as a very happy omen. On the occasion of the betrothal ceremony, if the bridegroom's party, on their way to the bride's village, have to cross a stream,



URÁLI.

running or dry, the bridegroom is not allowed to walk across it, but must be carried over on the back of his maternal uncle. As they approach the bride's home, they are met by the Kolkara and two other men, to whom the Kolkara, after receiving the walking-sticks of the guests, hands them over. Failure to do so would be an act of discourtesy, and regarded as an insult to be wiped out by a heavy fine. When the procession arrives at the house, entrance into the marriage booth is prevented by a stick held across it by people of the bride's village. A mock struggle takes place, during which turmeric water is thrown by both sides, and an entrance into the house is finally effected. After a meal has been partaken of, the bridal party proceed to the village of the bridegroom, where the bride and groom are lodged in separate houses. In front of the bridegroom's house a booth, supported by twelve posts arranged in four rows, has been erected. The two pillars nearest the entrance to the house are called *moorthi kamba*. Into the holes made for the reception of these, after a cocoanut has been broken, *ghî* (clarified butter), milk, and a few copper coins are placed. The bridal pair, after the usual oil bath, are led to the booth, decorated with jewels and wearing new cloths, and made to sit on a plank. A cocoanut is broken, and they salute a vessel placed on a plate. The bridal party then adjourn to a pond or stream, and do *pûja* to their god. On the return thence the bridal couple must be accompanied by their maternal uncles, who should keep on dancing, while cocoanuts are broken in front of them till the house is reached. The contracting parties then again sit on the plank with their little fingers linked, while the bride money (*theravu*) is paid to the father-in-law, and the milk money (*pâl kuli*) to the mother-in-law. The *tâli* (a golden disc) is then tied on to the bride's neck by some female relation of the bridegroom, and the bride and bridegroom, after saluting those assembled, enter the house, where the young wife is at once told to cook some rice, of which she and her husband partake from the same leaf plate.

There exists, among the *Úrâlis*, a kind of informal union called *kuduvâli*. A man and woman will, by mutual agreement, elope into the jungle, and live there together, till they are discovered and brought back by their relations. A *panchayat* is held, and they are recognised as man and wife if the bride money and fine inflicted are paid. Failure to pay up would render them liable to excommunication.

To celebrate the event, a feast must be given by the man ; and, if he should die without having fed the community, any children born to him are considered as illegitimate. In such a case, the widow or her near relatives are asked to give food to at least a few before the corpse is removed, so as to legitimatise the children.

The Úrális bury their dead, and the death ceremonies are, to a certain 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 turban. On the face three silver coins are struck, 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 under a car (téru) of six storeys, made of bamboo and sticks, covered with coloured cloths and flags, and having at the top a kalása (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 then broken up, after the decorations have been stripped off. The corpse is buried either on the spot, or taken away to distant Nírgundi, and buried there. On the eighth day after the funeral or return from Nírgundi, the eldest son of the deceased has his head shaved, and, together with his brother's wife, fasts. If the funeral has been at Nírgundi, 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 (goppamane), and erects a stone, which he has brought with him, in memory of the deceased. He then anoints all the stones with ghí, which is contained in a green bamboo measure. He then 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 goppamane, 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 Nírgundi, where he buries them. On the eighth day he revisits the spot, and erects a stone with the ceremonial already described.

The Úrális worship a variety of minor deities, and sacrifice sheep and goats to Pálayan. They observe two annual festivals, viz :—(a) Thai nombu, when the whole house is cleaned, and margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) twigs and spikes of *Achyranthes aspera* are tied together, and placed in front of the house over the roof, or struck into the roof overhanging the entrance. A sumptuous repast is partaken of. This ceremonial takes place in the month Thai (December—January); (b) In the month Vyási (March—April) a large trough is placed close to a well, and filled with a mixture of salt and water. The cattle, decorated with leaves and flowers, are brought, one by one, to the trough, and made to drink the salt water.

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In his description of the Shólagas or Sólagas, early in the last century, Buchanan writes * that they “speak a bad or old dialect of the Karnáta language, have scarcely any clothing and sleep round a fire, lying on a few plantain leaves, and covering themselves with others. They live chiefly on the summits of mountains, where the tigers do not frequent, but where their naked bodies are exposed to a disagreeable cold. Their huts are most wretched, and consist of bamboos with both ends stuck into the ground, so as to form an arch, which is covered with plantain leaves.” The up-to-date Shólaga, who inhabits the jungles between Dimbhun and Kollegal on the Mysore frontier, is clad in a cotton loin-cloth, supplemented by a coat of English pattern with regimental buttons, and smears himself freely on special occasions, such as a visit to the Government anthropologist, with sacred ashes in mimicry of the Lingayats. The Shóia-gas call themselves men of five kulams, or exogamous septs into which they are sub-divided, viz :—Chalikiri, Téneru, Belleri, Surya (the sun), and Aleru. A legend is current among them that, in days of old, there lived a Rákshasa by name Savanan, who was a tyrant. To get rid of their oppressor the two brothers, Karayya and Billayya (or Mádappa) put their heads together, and decided to seek the advice of Krishna, who suggested the following stratagem. Close to Savanan’s home there was a precipitous rock.

* ‘Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar,’ 1807.

This they heated, and then invited the unsuspecting Rákshasa to walk on it with a pair of shoes made of bees-wax, with which they presented him. During his progress across the rock his shoes melted, and the unfortunate demon lost his balance and tumbled over. His enemies thereupon fell on him, and killed him. A knoll near Gaddesal, where the incident took place, is still known as *konna médu* or hill where one was killed.

Tribal disputes, *e.g.*, quarrelling and adultery, are decided by the Yejamana, assisted by a Pattagara and a few leading men of the community. Under the orders of the two former is the Chalavathi or village servant. The Yejamana, Pattagara, and Chalavathi must belong respectively to the Chalikiri, Téneri, and Surya septs.

When a girl reaches puberty, she occupies a separate hut for five days, and then returns home after a bath. The maternal uncle should present her with a new cloth, betel leaves and nuts, and plantain fruits. In the formal marriage ceremony the *táli* is tied by the bridegroom inside a booth; the maternal uncle, if he can afford it, presents a new cloth to the bride; and a feast is held. Sometimes even this simple rite is dispensed with, and the couple, without any formality, live together as man and wife, on the understanding that, at some time, a feast must be given to a few of the community. I am told that the Shólagas of the Burghur hills have a very extraordinary way of treating expectant mothers. A few days before the event is expected to take place, the husband takes his wife right away into the jungle, and leaves her there alone with three days' supply of food. There she has to stay and do the best she can for herself. If she does not come back at the end of the three days, the husband goes out and takes her more food. But she may not return to her village till the baby is born. When one of these unfortunate creatures comes back safely, there is a great celebration in her honour with tom-toms, etc.

The dead are buried with the body lying on its left side, and the head to the south. On their return home from a funeral, those who have been present thereat salute a lighted lamp. On the spot where the dead person breathed his last a little *rági* paste and water are placed, and here, on the fourth day, a goat is sacrificed, and offered up to the soul of the departed. After this the son proceeds to the burial ground, carrying a stone, and followed by five men selected from each of the exogamous septs. Arrived near the grave,



SHOLAGA.

they sit down, while the son places the stone on the ground, and they then lift it in succession. The last man to do so is said to fall into a trance. On his recovery five leaves (plantain, teak, etc.) are arranged round the stone, and, on each leaf, five different kinds of food are placed. The five men partake of the food, each from the leaf allotted to his sept. The meal concluded, the son holds the stone in his hands, while his companions pour rági and water over it, and then carries it away to the gopamanne of his sept, and sets it up there.

On the occasion of a death in a Mala Vellála village the Shólagars come in crowds, with clarionets and drums, and bells on their legs, and dance in front of the house. And the corpse is borne, in musical procession, to the burning-ground.

The staple food of the Shólagas is rági paste and yams (*Dioscorea*), which, like the Úrális, they supplement by sundry jungle animals and birds. Paroquets they will not eat, as they regard them as their children.

Their main occupation is to collect minor forest produce, "myrabolams, vembadam bark (*Ventilago madraspatana*) avaram bark (*Cassia auriculata*), deers' horns, tamarinds, gum, honey, soap-nuts, sheekoy (*Acacia Concinna*), etc. The forests have been divided into blocks, and a certain place within each block has been selected for the forest depôt. To this place the collecting agents mostly Shólagars and Úrális bring the produce, and there it is sorted and paid for by special supervisors appointed for the work."*

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Turning now to the Irulas or Villiyans (bowmen), who live in the town of Chingleput, about fifty miles distant from Madras. They have attained to a higher stage of civilisation than the jungle Irulas of the Nilgiris, of whom I have given a brief account elsewhere,† and are defined, in the Census report, 1901, as a semi-Bráhmanised forest tribe, who speak a corrupt Tamil. In a note on the Irulas Mackenzie writes as follows.‡ "After the Yuga Pralayam (deluge, or change from one Yuga to another) the Villars or Irulans, Malayans, and Védans, supposed to be descendants of a Rishi under the influence of a malignant curse

* A. W. Lushington, Ind. Forester, April 1902.

† 'Museum Bull.,' Vol. II., No. 1.

‡ Manuscripts, Tamil, Vol. III.

were living in the forests in a state of nature, though they have now taken to wearing some kind of covering—males putting on skins and females stitched leaves. Roots, wild fruits, and honey constitute their dietary, and cooked rice is always rejected, even when gratuitously offered. They have no clear ideas about God, though they offer rice (wild variety) to the goddess Kanniamma. The legend runs that a Rishi, Mala Rishi by name, seeing that these people were much bothered by wild beasts, took pity on them, and for a time lived with them. He mixed freely with their women, and as the result, several children were born who were also molested by wild animals. To free them from these, the Rishi advised them to do púja to Kanniamma. Several other Rishis are also believed to have lived freely in their midst, and, as a result, several new castes arose, among which were the Yánádis, who have come into towns, take food from other castes, eat cooked rice, and imitate the people amidst whom they happen to live.” In which respects the Irula is now following the example of the Yánádi.

Many of the Chingleput Irulas are very dark-skinned, with narrow chests, thin bodies, and flabby muscles, reminding me, in their general aspect, of the Yánádis of Nellore. Clothing is, in the men, reduced to a minimum—dhuti, and langúti of dirty white cotton cloth or a narrow strip of gaudy Manchester piece-good. The hair is worn long and ragged, or shaved, with kudimi, in imitation of the higher classes. The moustache is slight, and the beard billy-goaty. Some of the men are tattooed with a blue dot on the glabella, or a vertical mid-frontal line. For ornaments they have a stick in the helix, or simple ornament in the ear-lobe.

Their chief source of livelihood is husking paddy (rice), but they also gather sticks for sale as fire-wood in return for pice, rice, and fermented rice gruel. While husking rice, they eat the bran, and, if not carefully watched, will steal as much of the rice as they can manage to secrete about themselves. As an addition to their plain dietary they catch field (Jerboa) rats, which they dig out with long sticks, after they have been asphyxiated with smoke blown into their tunnels through a small hole in an earthen pot filled with dried leaves, which are set on fire. When the nest is dug out, they find material for a meat and vegetable curry in the dead rats, with the hoarded store of rice or other grain. They feast on the bodies of winged white-ants (Termites), which they search with torch-lights at the time of their seasonal epidemic appearance. Some years ago a theft occurred in my house

at night, and it was proved by a plaster cast of a footprint in the mud produced by a nocturnal shower that one of my gardeners, who did not live on the spot, had been on the prowl. The explanation was that he had been collecting as a food-stuff the carcasses of the winged ants, which had that evening appeared in myriads.

Occasionally the Irulas collect the leaves of the banyan, *Butea frondosa*, or lotus, for sale as food-platters, and they will eat the refuse food left on the platters by Bráhmans and other higher classes. They freely enter the houses of Bráhmans and non-Bráhman castes, and are not considered as carrying pollution.

They have no fixed place of abode, which they often change. Some live in low, palmyra thatched huts of small dimensions; others under a tree, in an open place, in ruined buildings, or the street pials (verandah) of houses. Their domestic utensils consist of a few pots, one or two winnows, scythes, a crow-bar, a piece of flint and steel for making fire, and a dirty bag for tobacco and betel. In making fire, an angular fragment of quartz is held against a small piece of pith, and dexterously struck with an iron implement so that the spark falls on the pith, which can be rapidly blown into a blaze. To keep the children warm in the so-called cold season (with a minimum of 58° to 60°), they put their babies near the fire in pits dug in the ground.

For marital purposes they recognise tribal sub-divisions in a very vague way. Marriage is not a very impressive ceremonial. The bridegroom has to present new cloths to the bride, and his future father- and mother-in-law. The cloth given to the last-named is called the *pál kuli* (milk money) for having nursed the bride. Marriage is celebrated on any day, except Saturday. A very modest banquet, in proportion to their slender means, is held, and toddy provided, if the state of the finances will run to it. Towards evening the bride and bridegroom stand in front of the house, and the latter ties the *táli* which consists of a bead necklace with a round brass disc. In the case of a marriage which took place during my visit, the bride had been wearing her new bridal cloth for a month before the event.

The Irulas worship periodically Kanniammá, their tribal deity, and Mári, the general goddess of epidemic disease. The deity is represented by five pots arranged in the form of a square, with a single pot in the centre, filled with turmeric water. Close to these a lamp is lighted, and raw rice,

jaggery (molasses), rice flour, betel leaves and nuts are offered before it. Mári is represented by a white rag flag dyed with turmeric, hoisted on a bamboo in an open space near their dwellings, to which fowls, sheep, and other cooked articles, are offered.

The dead are buried lying flat on the face, with the head to the north, and the face turned towards the east. When the grave has been half filled in, they throw into it a prickly-pear (*Opuntia Dillenii*) shrub, and make a mound over it. Around this they place a row or two of prickly-pear stems to keep off jackals. No monumental stone is placed over the grave.

By means of the following table a comparison can be readily made between the stature and nasal index of the jungle Shólagas and Nílgiiri Irulas, and of the more civilised Irulas of Chingleput and Úrális.

	Stature, Average.	Nasal Index, Average.	Nasal Index, Maximum.	Nasal Index, Minimum.
Shólagas	159·3	85·1	107·7	72·8
Irulas, Nílgiiris	159·8	84·9	100	72·3
Irulas, Chingleput	159·9	80·3	90·5	70
Úrális	159·5	80·1	97·7	65·3

The table shows clearly that, while all the four tribes are of short and uniform stature, the nasal index, both as regards average, maximum and minimum, is higher in the Shólagas and Irulas of the Nílgiiri jungles than in the more domesticated Irulas of Chingleput and Úrális. In brief, the two former, who have mingled less with the outside world, retain the archaic type of platyrrhine nose to a greater extent than the two latter. The reduction of platyrrhiny, as the result of civilisation and emergence from the jungle to the vicinity of towns, is still further brought out by the following figures relating to the two classes of Irulas, and



IRULA.

the Kánikars of Travancore, who still live a jungle life and those who have removed to the outskirts of a populous town.

	Nasal Index.		
	Average.	Max.	Min.
Irulas, jungle	84.9	100	72.3
Kánikars, jungle	84.6	105	72.3
Kánikars, domesticated	81.2	90.5	70.8
Irulas, domesticated	80.3	90.5	70

Since writing the above note, I have learnt that the Sholagas, who were examined by Dr. Rivers and myself, came to the conclusion that the object of our enquiry was to settle them in a certain place near London, and that the wools of different colours (used for testing colour-vision) given to them for selection, were for tying them captive with. "Others said that they could not understand why the measurements of the different organs of their bodies were taken; perhaps to reduce or increase the size of their body, to suit the different works which they were expected to do near London."

E. T.

FIRE-WALKING IN GANJÁM.

In a picturesque account of a ceremony of walking through fire at Nuagada in Ganjám, Mr. S. P. Rice writes as follows*. "A holy man comes forth, a fire is kindled—no small fire of twigs, but a blaze of jungle faggots, the flames leaping up breast-high. Through this the inspired walks unharmed, and proceeds to take his seat on a pile of sharp, strong thorns, raised about two feet from the ground, and woven in the form of a stool about two feet square. This is the crucial test. So lightly clad as to be almost naked, he takes his seat on this forbidding throne. If he is truly inspired, the thorns will break beneath him, or will be turned aside, powerless to pierce his divinely protected skin. But woe unto that man, into whom the true god has not entered! Not for him will the thorns fall away harmless: he shall taste to the full the bitterness of his presumption."

At the Hospet weekly market I once came across a youthful mendicant, lying in a state of nudity stretched full length, with no apparent discomfort, on a bed of thorny bábúl (*Acacia arabica*) stems, and receiving the very occasional alms of passers-by on his bare abdomen.

To Mr. J. G. D. Partridge, District Magistrate and Agent to the Government in Ganjám, I am indebted for the following account of the Ganjám ceremony, at which he was recently present as an eye-witness.

"In the village of Nuvagóde, situated in the Surangi Zemindari, a fire-walking ceremony is performed once a year, during the Dassera festival, by the priest of the temple of a village goddess. I arrived at this village on the morning of the 6th October, 1902, and saw the preparations that had been made for the ceremony, which was to take place that night. A pit, six to nine inches deep, about nine feet long and four feet broad, had been dug in a field close to the temple, and was filled with the ashes of a wood fire, which had been burning during the day. Alongside this pit, and separated by about six inches, was another of the same size filled with embers. At 9 P.M., the Zemindar of Surangi sent word that the priest was about to begin, and

* 'Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life,' 1901.

that, before walking over the fire, he would sit on a seat of thorns, during which time he was endowed with prophetic powers. A most fantastic spectacle, which no European had perhaps ever been fortunate enough to witness, presented itself before me. The villagers, with several hundred people from the neighbourhood, all Uriyas, filled the street, and in the middle, to the sound of twenty drums and many horns, danced the priest of the goddess, a young man, with a bare sword in his right hand. He was dressed as a woman, with rows of silver bells round his waist, and a large head-dress covered with feathers. I had seen him in the morning in the little temple of the goddess called Koraisani, and should not have recognised him in the peculiar dress he now wore. He seemed perfectly frenzied, leaping about, and never appearing to get out of the truth. But he was well aware of every thing that went on, as in addition to his dancing, he acted as master of the ceremonies, rushing about in the crowd, talking to the Zamindar, and telling me when all was ready for his performances.

“The thorn seat was hanging like a swing from a small upright stand. The sticks were closely interlaced, and the thorns projected two or three inches from them. He placed a small cloth on the thorns, and then jumped into the seat, holding the ropes at the sides, but allowing his whole weight to rest on the seat. When he had done this for several minutes, I found that the thorns had pierced the small cloth, but as far as I could see, had not hurt the priest. His clothes were thin, and afforded no protection from the thorns. He constantly stupified himself by inhaling incense from a small censer, and I presume that he felt no pain in consequence of this. There were no signs of blood, however, on his body. He claimed no special powers, though his sensation must have been in some way deadened when he sat on the thorns. He did not invite any of the spectators to follow his example; and he would certainly not have found any one anxious to imitate him.

“About this time he thought he could inform me of the contents of my pocket, but unfortunately his prophetic powers failed. He said I had one rupee and some gold, but I had five rupees and no gold. No other attempt was made to test his powers in this line.

“He next went to the fire-pits, which were a mass of red-hot ashes; sprinkled not more than a handful of incense on to them; dipped his feet in a mixture of rice-water and milk; and walked across one pit, leading another man. He

then dipped his feet again in the fluid mixture, and returned by the other pit. The time he took in walking across one pit was not more than four seconds, and he took about four steps on the ashes. At least fifty persons in the crowd walked over the pits afterwards, but they went a little faster than the priest, and some of them only took two steps on the ashes. Their feet were not hurt, and they did not wash them in any mixture before or after they went over the ashes.

"I infer, from the way in which the performance was conducted, that any one can easily walk rapidly over the ashes, but that, if he goes like the priest, he must dip his feet in the mixture both before and after walking across them. The priest tried to convince a gentleman near me, who was rather sceptical, that it would not hurt him, if he walked over the ashes, but this person was quite satisfied with seeing others perform. The priest only walked once across the two pits, and he afterwards danced for an hour, when I thought it time to depart. The performance takes place every year."

An observant friend, who witnessed a fire-walking ceremony some years ago in one of the southern districts, informs me that nine-tenths of the performers were youngsters, who evidently did it for a task. In a recent note on a fire-walking festival in Travancore, Mr. G. F. D'Penha writes as follows.* "We could not see how hot the cinders were. But, judging from the look of them when we first arrived on the scene, and the length of time that elapsed before the ceremony took place, I should not think that the walking over the pathway was such a very hazardous operation after all. The previous market day we met a young man, who was to go through the ceremony, and asked him why he did it. He told me he had been ill, and had promised the God he would go through this performance, if he recovered. He got better, and so was carrying out his part of the contract. This was the third year that he had done it, he said."

I have often, in former days, wondered at the casual manner in which road coolies walk, with bare feet, over the sharp angular fragments of crystalline rock, when making a macadam road, and experience in measuring native feet has taught me how non-ticklish their soles are.

E. T.

* 'Ind. Antiquary,' Vol. XXXI, 1902.

SOME FORMS OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN VERNACULAR SCHOOLS.

THE following account is based on notes supplied by native correspondents, who have, in their early youth, witnessed some of the punitive methods here described. Many of the forms of punishment have been demonstrated to me, when in camp, by young and old, who were evidently giving a graphic description of what they had themselves seen or undergone. It is worthy of notice that, in many cases, the school-mates of the culprit take part in the administration of the punishment :—

1. The teacher in vernacular schools, like members of his calling in other parts of the world, uses the rod, which is a rattan about a quarter of an inch thick and three feet in length, sometimes ornamented with a silver ferrule at each end. This, and the style used for writing on palm leaves, are the insignia of his profession. There is no restriction as to the parts of the body to which the rod is applied, but the palms of the hands, buttocks, and back are the most favourite spots. Caning is sometimes resorted to in lieu of a fine for bad conduct.

In addition to caning, the following forms of punishment are, or were, formerly inflicted.

2. Pulling and screwing the lobe or helix of the ears, or boxing the ears.

3. Hitting the head with the knuckles.

4. Slapping the cheeks, which may be done by the teacher, another boy in the class, or the culprit himself, if his previous conduct has been good.

5. Two naughty boys slap each other on the cheeks.

6. Pinching the fleshy parts of the body, more especially the thigh.

7. Putting some sand on the bare thigh, and pinching the part. In village schools the children are seated on the floor with sand spread out in front of them. They learn the alphabet by writing with the forefinger in the sand, which is always at hand as a punitive medium.

8. The boy stands with his feet together, and, crossing his arms in front, holds the lobe of his right ear with the left hand, and of his left ear with the right hand. He is then made to stoop down, and touch the ground with his elbows from ten to a hundred times according to the gravity of the offence.

9. Passing one hand under the leg, and catching hold of the nose, and rising and sinking alternately.

10. A stick, four or five feet long, is passed under the knees, and the boy places his elbows beneath it. The thumbs and big toes are tied together by separate strings. Thus trussed, he is rolled away into a corner of the school-room, there to meditate on his fault.

11. The boy is converted into a horse, and made to carry about another boy seated on his back, with frequent turnings.

12. The arms are crossed so that the fingers of the right hand grasp the tip of the left ear, and *vice versâ*. The boy then has to sit down and stand up alternately a number of times proportionate to the gravity of his offence.

13. There are some plants (nettles), the leaves of which, when rubbed into the skin, cause a burning and pricking sensation. The hands of the boy are tied in front, and the leaves applied to the back. The effect lasts for several hours, at the end of which time cocoanut oil is rubbed in to prevent swelling.

14. The boy is made to stoop, with only the big toe and forefinger of the right side touching the ground, and the whole weight of the body is thrown on the right toe and forefinger. If the other toes and fingers touch the ground, they are rapped with the cane. This punishment is called standing on needles.

15. The right ankle being crossed over the left thigh, the boy has to stoop with the tip of the right forefinger touching the ground.

16. The boy stoops down with his legs stretched apart, and his right hand on the ground about three feet in front of him, while he reads a book held in the left hand.

17. Kneeling alternately on the right and left knee, while the ears are clutched with the hands of the crossed arms.

18. Standing or hopping on one leg.

19. Another form of punishment is known as sitting like a chair. In this the boy, with his hands tied or crossed in front, or stretched out at right angles to the trunk, is made to squat with his back touching a wall and the buttocks on a level with the knees. Sometimes spiny fruits are placed in the hollow of the bent knee-joints. A line is drawn on the wall above his head, which must not be raised above the line. The steel style used for writing is fixed into the ground with its sharp-pointed end towards the buttocks. In a modified form of this subtle punishment, the school slates are piled up on the boy's lap or head.

20. The feet being several feet from a wall, the forehead is made to touch the wall, and, in this uncomfortable attitude, a book held in the hands is read.

21. The legs being stretched wide apart, the boy has to sit alternately on the right and left buttock.

22. The boy sits on the floor, with his clothes removed and hands and feet tied. His face, body, and limbs, and the ground around him, are smeared with jaggery (molasses) water. Ants and other insects are attracted by this, and the skin becomes covered with them.

23. He is made to stand up with the arms crossed in front. His feet are then dragged apart, and he has to stand with the legs widely separated.

24. He has to crawl between the outstretched legs of the other pupils.

25. He is made to stoop down. A loop of string is passed round his neck and one of the big toes, or the thumbs are tied to the toes. The punishment may be increased by placing a heavy stone or another boy on his back.

26. There is a species of red ant, which builds its nest in trees, and whose bite produces severe pain. A boy may be punished by scattering the live occupants of a nest over his body.

27. Hanging by the hands, or punishment of the bow. A rope or bar, which is sometimes bow-shaped, strong enough to bear the weight of the boy, is suspended like a trapeze from the roof, and clutched with interlocked or tied fingers. Burning paddy husk or chillies, sharp stones, thorns, or prickly-pear, are spread on the floor beneath

him, so that he is afraid to let go his hold. To make this punishment more severe, it was sometimes combined with number 26.

28. If a boy wants to relieve nature, he is made to spit on a tile heated by exposure to the sun, and must return before the saliva, which takes the part of a sand-glass, has dried up.

29. The boy is made to masticate straw, like donkeys or bullocks.

30. He has to spit on the joints of the fingers, dip them in the sand, and strike them forcibly on a bench or stone.

31. If a boy refuses to do his lessons, another lad tells him that he will bring butter out of his thumb, the back of which he rubs with dry earth or sand till it begins to abrade the skin.

32. The boy is ordered to stand in the blazing sun with a weight, *e.g.*, a stone, on his head or in his hands ; and, if he refuses to obey, receives a caning, or is pushed out of the room by the other boys. It may be noted that, as punishment for adultery, an unfaithful Yánádi woman is made to stand, with her legs tied, for a whole day in the sun, with a basket full of sand on her head.

33. Two naughty boys are made to seize each other by the ears, and stand up and sink down alternately, while they sing "You and I are shameless fellows."

34. The boy kneels down, and heavy stones are placed on his calves.

35. He is rolled in the sand during the hottest part of the day.

36. The block and chain. This consists of a block of heavy wood, sometimes shaped like an Indian club, to which is attached a strong, iron chain four or five feet in length. The log may be placed on the back of the naughty boy, who has to read a book while in a stooping attitude ; or the free end of the chain is fastened by a padlock to the leg of the boy, who has to drag or carry the block about with him, it may be for several days. This form of punishment is still practised in the City of Madras, where a carpenter's apprentice was recently seen dragging after him a block, to which he was chained. It is resorted to by rural schoolmasters, carpenters and blacksmiths, parents and guardians.

Some years ago a Native of Madura, whose young wife was fond of gadding about, punished her by making her drag about a log chained and padlocked round her leg.

37. In the case of boys who shirk attendance at school, the teacher, accompanied by his pupils, proceeds to the house of the truant, and puts on his head a fool's-cap made of paper, bamboo, palm-leaf or grass matting. He is then marched off, or carried by his fellow students, to school amid the clapping of hands and beating of drums.

38. Two boys, who are guilty of chatting or quarrelling in the school-room, are made to stand face to face. They get a good grip of each other's ears, and tug thereat till their foreheads come in painful contact. If they are slow, the teacher seizes hold of their heads, and brings them forcibly together. As a variant, they may, while hanging on to the ears, be made to sit down and stand up alternately.

39. Boys are made to kneel down on the hard ground, sometimes with arms outstretched and a heavy stone in the hands, till they have learnt their lesson.

40. The introduction of benches into school-rooms has created a novel form of punishment. The boy lies flat on the bench, back upwards, and is tied to it by strings round the neck, waist, and legs. While he is thus captive, his arms are stretched out by two other boys, and he receives a caning.

41. The naughty boy is made to do menial services for the schoolmaster, such as drawing water from the well, etc.

42. The boy's parents, sister, or other near relations, are spoken of, in his presence, in vulgar and abusive language.

Since the introduction of the Grant-in-aid Code the punishment of the young idea has undergone considerable modification. The old schoolmaster is, like Domine Dobien-sis, often loved and respected by his pupils, and there is a Tamil proverb that "the schoolmaster will attain the abode of Vishnu (*i.e.*, bliss), and the doctor will go to hell."

Though it does not bear on the subject of youthful punishment, I may conclude this note with a reference to the village stocks, which still continue in active service. In connection with this "penal and pedal machine" (Dean Hole), it was enacted by Regulation XI, 1816, that heads of villages have, in cases of a trivial nature such as abusive

language and inconsiderable assaults or affrays, power to confine the offending parties in the village choultry (lock-up) for a time not exceeding twelve hours ; or, if the offending parties are of the lower castes of the people, on whom it may not be improper to inflict so degrading a punishment, to order them to be put in the stocks for a time not exceeding six hours. Some years ago a case was tried on appeal before the High Court of Madras,* in which a Muhammadan dealer in miscellaneous wares was convicted by a village munsif in the Trichinopoly district of theft of an iron measure and 8 annas worth of copper coin and sentenced to be put in the stocks for three hours. The High Court ruled that a Muhammadan cannot be said to belong to the lower castes of the people, and that it is probable that the framers of the regulation had in view those castes which, prior to the introduction of British rule, were regarded as servile. The stocks were *en evidence* in a recent dispute between the Nátukottai Chetti landlords and their tenants in the Madura district.

E. T.

* 'Indian Law Reports, Madras Series', 1883.

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ON THE CONTINENT.

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