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THE
TRAVANCORE
TRIBES AND CASTES
VOLUME I

BY

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TRIVANDRUM

1937.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In pursuance of a scheme inaugurated in 1901 by the late Sir Herbert Risley, when Director of the Ethnographic Survey of India, for a comprehensive Ethnographic Survey of the whole of the Indian Empire, an Ethnographic Survey was conducted in all the Provinces and States with a view to investigating and recording the manners and customs of the tribes and castes in their respective areas. The results of the survey were duly published in book form. In Travancore, the work was conducted under the instructions of Mr. N. Subramania Iyer, who was in charge of the Ethnographic Survey and was also the Census Commissioner of the State in 1901. The materials thus collected were incorporated in "The Castes and Tribes of Southern India" by Edgar Thurston.

The importance of Ethnographic research on a scientific basis received the attention of Government during the census of 1931, when an enquiry was conducted by the present writer on the "effect of contact with civilization on the primitive tribes of Travancore" on the lines required by Dr. J. H. Hutton, the Census Commissioner for India. The notes furnished by the author formed the subject of Appendix I on the "Primitive Tribes of Travancore" which was added with numerous illustrations to the Census Report of 1931. This appendix was republished by Dr. J. H. Hutton in the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I. Part III B,

The need for pursuing the study of the tribes and castes of Travancore on a systematic basis, and the urgency of taking early action, were felt by Government in 1933. The customs of the primitive tribes were undergoing rapid and destructive changes. By contact with low-countrymen and missionaries, the tribes were losing their primitive conditions, and the opportunities for studying them were becoming less and less.

The Government, therefore, in November, 1933, ordered an ethnographic survey not only of the primitive hill-tribes but also the different low-country castes "with a view to publishing a comprehensive work on the castes and tribes of Travancore corresponding to such publications in the States of Mysore and Cochin, and the different Indian Provinces." Government, however, instructed the author that he should first concentrate his attention on the hill tribes which are fast dying out or are getting mixed up with the tribes and castes of the plains. The survey of thirteen tribes was completed in 1935-36. Three more tribes remained for a complete study of the Proto-Australoid element in the population of the State, and Government directed the author to complete this part of the work as early as possible. The present volume is, therefore, the outcome of the warm interest evinced by His Highness, Sri Chitra Thirunal Maharaja, in the subject. Her Highness, Maharani Setu Parvathi Bayi has also been equally interested in the publication of the volume. The author is under a deep

debt of gratitude to the Dewan, Sachivottama Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K. C. I. E. for his valuable help in the various stages of the publication. But for his sympathetic support, it would not have been possible to publish the work in such a short time.

The present volume gives a descriptive account of seven out of the sixteen primitive tribes which have been surveyed—the Kanikkar, Malankuravan, Malapantaram, Malapulaya, Malavetan, Malayarayan, and Mannan. Investigations on the tribes were made by himself first-hand. In the handling of such a large number of facts, accuracy in the statement of them has been the aim of the author. The photographs were either taken by himself or under his supervision. It is proposed to deal with the remaining tribes, the Muthuvan, Paliyan, Ullātan, Urāli, Vishavan, Nāyāti, Parayan, Pulayan and Thanda-pulayan, and the physical Anthropology of the primitive tribes, in the second volume, which is expected to be published before the middle of 1938.

The author takes this opportunity of recording his deep sense of gratitude to Dr. A. C. Haddon, M. A. Sc. D., F. R. S., Past President of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for his appreciative Preface. To those scholars who have given him of their time and learning, he is very much indebted and here offers his grateful thanks. To Dr. J. H. Cousins, he is very thankful for editing the manuscript and writing his Foreword on certain aspects outside the province of the

author. To Rajyasevanirata Rao Bahadur Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai, Chief Secretary to Government, and Mr. R. Dhanukoti Pillai, Conservator of Forests, he expresses his great sense of indebtedness. In conclusion, he desires to acknowledge with thanks the co-operation of Mr. T. Nilakanta Pillai, Superintendent of the Government Press, and his staff in the speedy publication of the volume.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

FOREWORD

BY

J. H. Cousins, D. Lit.

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Travancore.

FOREWORD

The study of anthropology has presented such allurements of travel and contacts with *homo sapiens* in picturesque garb and conditions that it has, within recent years, overflowed from the category of decorous sciences into that of colourful careers, documented by bright personal statement and knacky illustrations.

This volume, however, is a plain unvarnished contribution to the study of man as a social being. It is not a record of anthropological adventures from outside, but of the day-to-day observations of a professional anthropologist whose duty as Officer in charge of the Ethnographic Survey of the State of Travancore took him patiently in the course of years over the terrain of the book, accompanied by the records and speculations of previous explorers. To duty was added something from heredity as the son of the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, whose books on the ethnology of Mysore and Cochin States, and other themes, have taken their place among the classics of Indian anthropology. Thoroughness and accuracy have therefore been to the author of the present work not merely a professional obligation, but a natural propensity which has already shown itself in various articles and pamphlets leading up to this his *magnum opus*.

The book and its prefaces speak for themselves as regards its study of the primitive tribal survivals in Travancore State. But, as the work is likely to reach the hands of readers to whom the name of Travancore has recently come to represent interests other than that of science, it is well to point out one or two matters concerning the bearing of a specialised study on the normal life of the State in order to forestall the possibility of a work of science in a restricted field being inadvertently made the apparent basis of generalizations not in keeping with the complete facts.

For example : the descriptions given herein of the lives of the tribes people, if accepted without qualification or perspective, could conceivably leave the impression that they represented a large part of the general life of the people of the State ; just as a series of photographs or models of the tribes people, not balanced by other types, might create an erroneous mental image of the Travancorean physiognomy ; unless it were clearly borne in mind that the number of individuals living the tribal life was a small fraction of the population of the State, and that, too, a rapidly diminishing fraction, as indicated in the census records of the last thirty years, in which the numbers of those maintaining the primitive animistic religion appear as follows : 1901 28,193 ; 1911, 15,773; 1921, 12,637; 1931, 2,907. These figures would appear to prophesy the early extinction of the true primitive, and justify the publication of this work as a record of human

manners and customs regarding survivals that have now almost reached vanishing point as a mere .06 of a population of just over five millions in 1935.

To those who are sensitive to the cultural and economic problems concerning the tribal survivals which this book is calculated to raise, the proportion of primitive to civilized population indicated above is likely to suggest ease and rapidity in solutions. To bring within the civilizing influence of either of the two preponderating faiths of the State, one primitive individual in 1,600, and to confer economic amelioration on one semi-primitive individual in 40, might seem to be but a day's work. But the main habitat of the tribes is the forested and out-of-the way highland district, whose remoteness and natural circumstances are conducive to the retention of immemorial habit, especially when coupled with traditions of former sovereignty of the hills which has been usurped by the development of commercial planting and which bends to the inevitability of change mainly through hard necessity.

All the same, that there are cultural and social influences at work which are calculated to produce a marked psychological effect on the lives of the tribes people is indicated in the figures given above, to which may be added the fact that at the census of 1931 the number of declared tribal Hindus in a tribal population of 128,838 was 115,151, and the number of Christians 10,780. The effect of such cultural influences on tribal

psychology and life is likely to be increased from the Hindu side, if not numerically, certainly culturally, through the stimulus to self-respect and the sense of larger human affiliation that has been given to former "untouchables" by the recent Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja granting access to temple-worship to all of the Hindu faith. Anticipated development in mass education will add to the movement towards State-wide cultural uplift which is observable.

On the economic side the tenacity of tribal habit and the continuity of tribal gregariousness, apart from cultural influences mentioned above, do not permit of the initiative in production and trading that is possible in other areas and circumstances. Assurance of food, clothing and shelter from readily accessible sources of supply, and protection from unnecessary outlay and indebtedness, are the chief natural needs of the tribes people. To this end, the Government of Travancore in 1909 laid down "Rules for the treatment and management of Hillmen" ("who have been living in the hills from time immemorial") which planned a system of agricultural rotation, set a scale of payment for the collection of forest produce, and made regulations for purchasing from outside at reasonable rates and avoiding credit.

Supplementary to such Rules, problems are bound to arise from seasonal variations making differences in *natural yield. and through changes of habit, such as the*

supersession of flint-and-steel by matches and of cloths by coats. The opinion may however be hazarded that the Government will deal with such problems in such a manner as to produce the maximum of economic amelioration without encroaching on traditional sentiment and custom, and will also encourage and support all bona fide efforts to raise the standard of living both as regards use and supply, among the survivors of a form of life in which those interested not only in science but in the possible application of even primitive experience to the solution of the growing pressing problems of modern life, may find material for consideration.

J. H. COUSINS.

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INTRODUCTION

BY

A. C. Haddon, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S.,
Past President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of
Great Britain and Ireland.

INTRODUCTION

L. A. Krishna Iyer is already known to Ethnologists by several papers and by the admirable survey he, in collaboration with N. Kunjan Pillai, gave of the Primitive Tribes of Travancore in "Census of India", 1931, Volume I, India, Part III, Ethnographical, pp. 217-240, 1935. The authors state that, "the only way to study the problem of the hill-tribes is to examine their customs and discover their bearing on the social organisation and communal life of the tribes, and to view their morality from the standpoint of their own thoughts, without desiring to substitute something not suited to their life."

This excellent programme has been successfully accomplished by L. A. Krishna Iyer in "The Travancore Tribes and Castes, Vol. I." Here, for the first time, Ethnologists have a careful study of the primitive peoples of Travancore, a State which is of peculiar interest in the Ethnology of India.

Each separate memoir comprises, to a greater or less extent, a general account of the territory of the tribe, how the natural features affect the life of the people, their number, the origin and traditions of the tribe, the sub-divisions of

the tribe, marriage prohibitions, customs and ceremonies, the various forms of marriage, adultery, divorce, puberty customs, menstruation, pregnancy, child-birth, naming of children, descent and inheritance, adoption, kinship, system of relationship, social organisation, funeral ceremonies (the tumuli, stone cists, and other stone monuments are connected with the spirits of the dead among the Malayarayan, while among the Muthuvan the stones put about the grave indicate that the sun is guarding the dead), religion, ancestor and manes cult, minor and major deities, ceremonies connected with agriculture, hunting and the like, occupation, economic conditions, dietary, dress and other aspects of material culture, diseases, fertility, physical characteristics, the present condition of the peoples and the effect of contact with other peoples, etc. Occasionally suggestions are offered for their betterment. This bare enumeration does not give a complete survey of all the interesting and ethnologically important topics dealt with by the author.

It is evident that there is here presented a definite picture of the material and social anthropology of each tribe which will be very useful for comparative purposes and will prove invaluable for administration. There are several ways

in which a people may be studied, but that adopted by Krishna Iyer has the advantage of conciseness and ease of reference, for which most students will be grateful.

The publication of this valuable monograph is due to the public spirit and generosity of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. Our thanks should also be given to the scholar, the Dewan, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K. C. I. E., for his sympathetic and active support in the enterprise.

Congratulations are due to L. A. Krishna Iyer for the present instalment of his Ethnographical investigations, by which, though in another field, he is continuing the work of his father, and my old friend, Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer.

Cambridge.

8th November, 1937.

A. C. HADDON.

ERRATA

Page 14, line 21—*for* “Perinchillon” *read* “Perinchillom.”

Page 46, line 3 *for* “Pambnuri-para” *read* “Pamburi-para.”

Page 59, line 27—*for* “taken off of the line” *read* “taken off the line.”

Page 67, line 17—*for* “thettdai” *read* “thettadi.”

Page 72, line 6—*for* “surplus age” *read* “surplsuage.”

Page 88, line 15—*for* “pultikudi” *read* “pulikudi.”

Page 91, line 12—*for* “exercises” *read* “exorcises.”

Page 199, line 20 *for* “levirite” *read* “levirate.”



HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE.

KĀNIKKĀR.

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—KANIKKAR HABITAT—KANIKKAR VILLAGE—METHODS OF MAKING FIRE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — POLYGAMY LEVIRATE ADULTERY—DIVORCE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS —PREGNANCY RITES —CHILD-BIRTH—NAMING—FAMILY LIFE —INHERITANCE — ADOPTION—KINSHIP — TRIBAL ORGANIZATION FUNERAL CEREMONIES—RELIGION — COMMUNAL AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES— CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH HUNTING—IDEAS REGARDING THE SUN, THE MOON AND OTHER MATTERS OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE KANIKKAR — DRESS—ORNAMENTS —WEAPONS —DAILY LIFE—CHARACTER—LANGUAGE — EDUCATION — DISEASES AND THEIR TREATMENT — FERTILITY —PERSONAL APPEARANCE —PHYSICAL FEATURES —MATERIAL PROSPERITY OF THE KANIKKAR—SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THEIR MATERIAL CONDITION.

The Kānikkār are a wild but inoffensive hill-tribe INTRODU found in South Travancore. The forests which they inhabit form a long chain of wooded hills. These are intersected by numerous water-courses, the most notable of which are the Paraliar, the Kōthayār, the Neyyār, the Karamanayār, the Vāmanapuram and the Kallada rivers. The tribe live along the valleys of these water-courses, and the area of reserved forests occupied by them covers about 510 square miles. According to Bourdillon,¹ “those who live in the interior are called Kānikkār, while those living in the outer portions are known as Vālenmārs,” but the Rev. Samuel Mateer says

1. Bourdillon—*Report on the Forests of Travancore*, p. 30

that they disclaim this cognomen.¹ The latter group look more civilized than the former; they mix with the low countrymen, and they are also known as Malavēlans. Inside the reserved forests, they are nomadic agriculturists south of Palode, while, outside in the vicinity of Klamala, they settle down in valleys that are often planted with jack and arecanut trees.

POPULATION.

The Kānikkār numbered at the last Census 6,659. The subjoined table will show that they have increased in number.

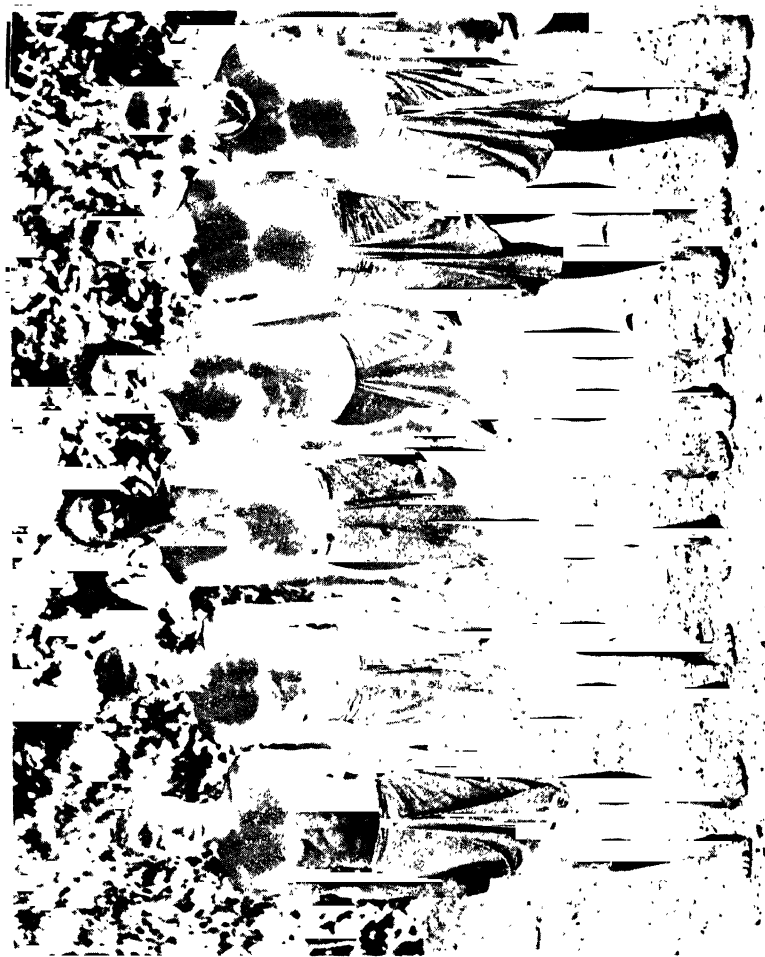
Year of Census.	Total.	Males.	Females
1901	4,139	2,124	2,015
1911	4,034	2,166	1,868
1921	3,762	1,967	1,795
1931	6,659	3,525	3,134

In 1931, they were classified by religion for the first time into Hindu, tribal religion and Christian. 4,565 were Hindu, 2,041 tribal religion and 53 Christian. The Census of 1931 was conducted with such thoroughness that its figures may be taken as correct. From the extraordinary increase of 77 per cent. in the figures of 1931, it may be reasonably inferred that the numbers in 1921 were underestimated. The density of their population works out at 13 per square mile.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITIONS
OF THE
TRIBE.

Tradition has it that, when the sage Agastya was at Agastyakūdom, the ancestors of the tribe presented the sage with a medicinal herb (*malayare*) used in per-

1 Rev. Samuel Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883—p. 63.



A KANIKKAR MALE GROUP.

forming ablutions in fire. The sage, therefore, called them Malayarayans. Even to this day, the Kānikkār invoke Agastya to bring confusion to their enemies. It was later when they submitted to a ruling chief, and made presents of honey, cardamoms and ivory that they came to be known as Kānikkār.

Edgar Thurston gives currency to another legend. "The word 'Kānikkarān' means hereditary proprietor of land. There is a tradition that there were two hill-kings, Vīrappan and Sīthangan, whose descendants emigrated from the Pandyan territories beyond Agastyakūdom under pressure from a superior force, and never returned to the low country."¹ One of the rulers of Travancore, apprehensive of some of the chieftains, sought refuge among the hill-men, and called them 'Malayarayans.'

There is yet another account which relates that the Kānikkār once went to Attingal to pay their homage to the Attingal Raja who then possessed rights over Kalakad and Kallidakurichi. When His Highness was making arrangements for the feeding of the hill-chieftains and their followers, their leader, Vira Mārthandan Arayan, informed the Attingal Raja that his followers would cook their food and that they might be given provisions. When they were on their way to the river to cook their food, they were accosted by Chēnnan and Chakki (Chānnāns by caste) who invited them to their home. There they ate food given by Chakki. When the Raja was informed of this incident, he said, "കണ്ണ ചക്കൻ നമയരശൻ" which means, "By your association with

1. Edgar Thurston--*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—

Vol. III, p. 163.

Channans, you have fallen in my estimation. You deserve to be only Malayarayans or lords of the hills." It may, however, be said that the Kānikkār do not eat at the hands of the Chānnāns even at the present day.

No tribe has a greater wealth of traditions as the Kānikkār of South Travancore. These have been handed down from generation to generation in popular songs.

The Kānikkār of Kottur sing a song about their past history. The song recounts that they formerly settled down in Kalakad and Kallidakurichi in Tinnevely district. There were 72 Kani hamlets under three chieftains, Vīrappan Arayan of Vīranelli Kotta, Sithangan Arayan of Chēnnalur Kotta, and Ādichan Arayan of Ālanthara Kotta. In former times, the Attingal Chief possessed sovereign rights over Kalakad and Kallidakurichi. According to the song, the failure of the Kānikkār to appear before the Chief for three years induced him to send Māthutti Pillai, his Minister, to Kalakad to command the appearance of the three hill-chieftains before him immediately. In obedience to the command, the three chieftains went to Attingal and made presents of honey, ivory, tiger skin, leopard skin, bamboo seeds, and other things to the Chief. The latter was so much pleased that he conferred on Vīrappan Arayan the title of Vīra Mārthāndan Arayan and authorised him to collect a tax from the Kānikkār of the 72 hamlets. Vīra Mārthāndan reached Kalakad and enjoyed the income from the assessment from 72 hamlets. He then decided to celebrate his installation ceremony as Chief of the Kānikkār and invited the Adi



A KANIKKAR FEMALE GROUP.

Pāndi Pāndyan, Mid Pāndi Pāndyan, Thala Pāndi Pāndyan, and others to grace the occasion with their presence.

Adi Pāndi Pāndyan scoffed at the invitation and sent word that he would only go to the ceremony, if Vīra Mārthāndan's sister were given to him in marriage. This insulting reply so provoked Vīra Mārthāndan that he decided to divert the waters of the Kōthayār, the Paraliār, the Manimuthār, and the Chembarunthār from flowing into Adi-Pāndi by constructing a dam across them. But some water still trickled down to Adi-Pāndi.

The song goes on to tell that the medicine-man, Plāthi, told Vīra Mārthāndan that, if the dam was besmeared with the blood of his sister, Karimpāndi, no water would flow to Adi Pāndi. He did not flinch from carrying out the suggestion of the medicine-man. The blood of his sister was poured on the dam, and water ceased to trickle down eastwards. This brought famine to Adi Pāndi. After ascertaining the cause, the Pandyan Chief went to the Attingal Chief and sought relief. Māthutti Pillai was sent to Kalakad to break the dam with the aid of an elephant and allow water to flow eastward. Vīra Mārthāndan tried to dissuade him from doing so, but failed. When Mathutti Pillai proceeded to break the dam with the aid of the elephant, Vīra Mārthāndan discharged an arrow and killed the elephant. Māthutti Pillai exclaimed " You have killed your sister and my elephant. I too shall end my life here " and so he committed suicide.

This tragic event so much upset the Adi Pāndi Pāndyan that he declared war against the Kānikkār. The latter were defeated, and their chieftains committed suicide. Some of the Kānikkār fled to Travancore and they are said in the song to be the earliest Kāni settlers in the country. As a foot note to this song, it may be added that the memory of Māthutti Pillai is enshrined in the religious beliefs of the Kānikkār, and offerings are made to him even to-day.

KANIKKAR
HABITAT.

The habitat of the Kānikkār is hallowed by traditions and Puranic legends. The long range of hills has some isolated eminences, the most notable of which are the Agastiar peak (6,000 feet) and the Mahendragiri peak (5,500 feet). The Kānikkār worship the ghats, particularly, the Agastiar peak, where Agastya is said to be living even now.

It is said that differences of geographical features are attended by differences of climate, and these again by differences in the supply of water, game and fish, in fact of all the necessities and conveniences of life. The average annual rainfall to the south of Neduvangad is about 85 inches, while it is 107 inches to the north in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha. In the south, where the rainfall is less, the forests are of a deciduous character, while, to the north where they are better watered, they are more evergreen. The supply of food is more stable and abundant in the north, as the Kānikkār have taken to wet cultivation. They, therefore, enjoy greater advantages in the struggle for existence than those in the interior to the south of Neduvangad, as they have abundance of water, of game and fish, and of the fruits of the

earth. These favourable conditions reacted on their life. In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha and in Vilavancode, they wear clothing, but south of Palode in the Neduvangad and Neyyattinkara taluks, they wear scanty clothing and their habitations are rude in type.

The natural diversity of the country has fostered diversity in customs. The hilly character of the country and its ruggedness present a barrier to social intercourse. The Kānikkār to the north of Neduvangad do not marry from the south, while those in Kallar, Āryanad and Kōttur contract no alliance with those to the south of the Kōthayār. Absence of facilities for communication tends to absence of uniformity of customs. While there is a fundamental unity in the traditional accounts of their origin and migration to Travancore, great diversity in manners and customs is noticed.

It has been said of aboriginal Australia that "social and religious progress has spread or is spreading from the sea inland and not in the reverse direction. The interior of the country is less open to foreign influences than its coasts and is therefore more tenacious of old ways."¹ This is also true of Travancore. Along highway communications, the Kānikkār are more under civilizing influences, and have adopted a stabler mode of wet cultivation in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, which enables them to have a more assured supply of food. In the interior of Neduvangad, Neyyattinkara and Vilavancode taluks, they are less open to outside influence and more tenacious of their old ways. They are here

1 Frazer— *Totemism and Exogamy*—Vol. I, p. 168.

nomadic agriculturists and their whole energy is consumed in an arduous struggle for bare existence. Their poor and meagre diet, coupled with malaria, causes enfeeblement and impairs their physical stamina.

KANIKKAR
VILLAGE.

The Kānikkār village is not found near any of the highways, as the Kānikkar prefer isolation from contact with the people of the plains. It is formed where there is a convenient water supply. The villages are separated by a mile or two. Access to each village is always by a tortuous and often difficult route. The huts are built in a row close to one another in the Vilavancode and Kalkulam taluks, but are wide apart north of Neduvangad. Bamboo forms the chief building material. The roof is thatched with leaves of reeds which are also used for walling. Each village consists of 10 to 20 low huts arranged in rows. The floor of the hut is on a level with the ground. The huts are insanitary. They are generally rectangular in shape $15' \times 12'$ in size. Being one roomed, the hut has no separate accommodation for sleeping. In front, there is a broad verandah $12' \times 8'$ in size. Mats form the only furniture. The huts are dark, as there are no openings other than the door in front and behind. Everything is covered with grime and soot which, however, keep off mosquitoes. The Kānikkār, being nomadic agriculturists, do not put up permanent buildings. A village is abandoned as soon as the soil ceases to be productive or when the location is feverish or infested with wild animals. About Kulathupuzha, each village has a Chāttupura for communal purposes. In Thachamala the floor of the hut has recently been raised from the



A KANIKKAR GROUP IN SOUTH TRAVANCORE.

ground by 2 feet. There is partial mud-walling. Some of the huts here are three-roomed. They face east. One side room is for cooking, the mid-room is for sleeping, and the third room for storing food grains. There is a common hall near the Headman's hut.

Tree-houses are now found only in parts of Klāmala where wild animals roam about. They are built up on trees about 50 feet from the ground. At night, the ladder is raised beyond the reach of elephants. A single bamboo with shoots on the sides cut short serves as a ladder. The roof is thatched with leaves of reeds and bamboo thatties (screens) form the walling. The Kānikkār protect their ripening crops from marauding elephants by firing from their tree-houses.

The bachelor-hall is a conspicuous building in Mothiramala, Chembikunnu and Kottur. It serves a three-fold purpose. It is the home of the unmarried males of the hamlet and is taboo to females. Bachelors remain there except when otherwise engaged, and go home only for their daily meals. Elderly men keep watch over them. The bachelor-hall is also used for showing hospitality to visitors. The village council also meets here. It is undergoing a process of decay. Unmarried girls remain in a hut vacated for them. They are in charge of an elderly woman.

Many savage tribes, according to Lord Avebury, live in lake dwellings and the Garos of Assam and the Kānikkār of Travancore are stated by him to live in dwellings 8 to 10 feet from the ground, the object being

BACHELOR
HALL.

PILLED
Dwellings.

protection from man and wild animals. A survival of this practice is now found among the Kānikkār of Mothiramala to the north of the Kōthayār where two pile-dwellings were seen. Each building is rectangular in shape, 20 feet long and 15 feet⁴ broad, built on posts of wood, three feet above the ground. There are 8 posts on each side and 8 in the middle. The flooring is made of bamboo thatti resting on bamboo cross-pieces. The pile-dwellings are more sanitary than the other huts. Dr. Keane does not attach as much importance to pile-dwellings as some other anthropologists do. He does not agree with the idea⁴ that this was a custom peculiar to the non-Aryan races. It arose from such natural causes as humidity of soil and the necessity of a refuge against hostile tribes. Pile-dwellings are a characteristic feature of most of the tribes in Burma, Assam, Borneo, and New Guinea.

CONTENTS OF
THE HUT.

Mats form the only furniture of Kānikkār hut. The utensils are few and simple. Earthenware vessels are used for cooking, but some of the tribe have taken to the use of brass and aluminium vessels which are purchased from the weekly markets. Saucers, jugs, plates, and other utensils are now used by them. Spoons of cocoanut shell are used for stirring and serving food. Bamboo tubes are used for storing provisions. Baskets used for carrying food products are suspended from the roof. Each hut has a mortar hewn out of a large block of wood, the top of which is scooped out into a shallow trough with sides about 3" thick all round. Lanterns are now taking the place of reed torches.



A KANIKKARAN MAKING FIRE BY
FLINT AND STEEL.



A KANIKKARAN MAKING FIRE BY
MEANS OF A HAND-DRILL.

Tradition has it that it was the sage Narada who taught the Kānikkar how to make fire by means of a hand-drill. Sticks of *Grewia tiliaefolia*, *Ixora Coryfolia*, *Sterculia villosa*, and *Macaranga tomentosa* are used for the purpose. A small slot, $\frac{1}{2}$ " deep, is made in the centre of a piece of soft wood. A man keeps the piece in position under his big toe, takes a round stick of hard wood 18" long, holds it in a vertical position keeping one end of it in the slot and turns it quickly backward and forward with both his hands. A portion of the wood-dust produced in this process remains in the slot and the heat generated by friction ignites it.

METHODS OF
MAKING
FIRE

The Kānikkār also produce fire by the flint and steel method, which they call 'chakkumukki.' It may be a comparatively recent invention. Pieces of flint and steel and some floss of *Caryota urens* are the materials used. The floss is held near the flint and the latter is struck with the steel. The friction produces sparks which ignite the floss. The process is resorted to in cold weather. The use of safety matches is now coming into vogue.

The Kānikkār to the south of Palode are shielded by their geographical isolation from external influences and have retained the most primitive forms of customs and beliefs. In easily accessible areas, the partial or entire breakdown of exogamous classes appears to furnish evidence of a social advance of a people who have freed themselves from the thralldom of burdensome superstitions. The Kānikkār who inhabit the interior regions at Āryanad, Kallar and Kōttur are so backward that their conditions of life have had the effect of keeping down numbers and retarding social progress. They possess

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE OF
THE TRIBE.

the most elaborate types of exogamy, *i. e.*, division into further exogamous classes.

In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, where the Kānikkār are more under external influences, they have a simpler system of exogamous clans than in the south. They are divided into halves, the Mūttillom and Mēnillom in the hamlets of Cherukara, Villimala, Madathura, and Arippa. The men of each half are obliged to take their wives from the other half. The effect of the division of the tribe into two exogamous classes with all the children of the same mother assigned to the same half is obviously the prevention of the marriage between brothers and sisters. "With a two clan system and maternal descent, a man's mother-in-law belongs to the clan of women who are marriageable to him, since she belongs to the same clan as her daughter, his wife, and Frazer suggested that the custom of avoidance between a man and his mother-in-law grew up in order to prevent sexual intercourse between them which the system could not bar."¹

The origin of the clans is traced to the finding of the carcase of an elephant. He who saw the haunches and hind limbs became a Mūttillom (Mutt, haunches; *illom*, clan) and he who saw its trunk became a Mēnillom. The Kānikkār of the present day claim to be the descendants of the ancestors of the two clans. It is evident from a song that there has been a partial breakdown of the exogamous classes. The song is a dialogue between Death and the chavus or spirits of the dead who were on their march to their destination. The dialogue discloses that there were seven *illoms*, Mūttillom, Mēnillom, Kathirakottillom, Thoṭṭathillom, Andathillom,

1. Frazer—*Totemism and Exogamy*—Vol. I, p. 286.

Kurumbottillom and Chāyakottillom. Members of Mēnillom marry from Mūttillom, Andottillom and Chāyakottillom. Kathirakottikkars marry from Thottathillom. Death is said to enquire as to the clan to which the spirits of the dead belonged.

The clans multiply into four at Nāraveli near Pālode. They are Mūttillom, Mēnillom, Kayyillom, and Pālillom. Mūttillakkars marry only from Mēnillakkars, as they consider that they are superior to the other two clans. There is neither interdining nor intermarriage between them. The members of the two inferior clans are not even invited to marriages, and, if they go, they are fed only after the members of the superior clans.

In the Neyyattinkara taluk, it is observed that there are two distinct divisions or phratries, the Annanthambi phratry and the Machambi phratry. The Annanthambi phratry includes Mēnillom, Perinchillom and Kayyillom and the Machambi phratry, Mūttillom, Velanāttillom and Kurumillom. Intermarriage between members of the same phratry is forbidden.

A further evolution of the clan system is observed among the Kānikkār to the south of the Kōthayar. The Annanthambi phratry includes five clans, Kurumillom, Velanāttillom, Mūttillom, Pālamalaillom and Perimonillom, while the Machambi phratry includes Perinchillom, Kayyillom, Mangottillom, Thalamala illom and Venillom. Members of a clan in the Annanthambi phratry intermarry with those in a clan of the Machambi phratry.

Interesting stories are current among the Kānikkār as to the origin of their clans. The Kānikkār of Mothiramala say that their ancestors felt an abhorrence for the

promiscuous life that they had led in the past. With a view to evolving order out of their chaotic social condition, Illampalli Muthan and Thiruvampalli Muthan decided that there should be a dual organization of the Kanikkar, the Annanthambi phratry and Machambi phratry. Each phratry was further divided into five clans, and the Kānikkār of the present day are said to be their descendants.

The Kānikkār of Mānkutty have invented a more ingenious story about the origin of the clan system. The story goes that a sambur did great havoc to their crops. The man who shot an arrow at the animal and killed it belonged to Kurumillom. The man who sat over the fence and observed the incident became Vēlillom. Another who watched the fun at a distance became Velanāt illom. The man who removed the sambur head became Mūttillom and one who carried away the forelimbs, Kayyillom. Another who bundled up a small quantity of flesh in leaves which swelled its appearance belonged to Perimanillom. To Mangotillom went the man who removed the udder of the carcase. Lastly, he who left a python in water became Perinchillon.

The Kānikkār of Kallar, Vidura, and Āryanad recognise two main phratries, Mūttillom and Mēnillom. The Muttillom phratry includes Mannati illom, Vellayillom, Thūmbara illom, Thalayāt illom, Kottapāra illom, Mūlekonath, and Kurumilloms. The Mēnillom includes Mēēnanga illom, Pōthōttillom, Patika illom, Pāramala illom, Erumbiyāt illom, and Kythode illom. Regarding the origin of these clans, it is said that a wild elephant lay dead in the

jungle, and the different parts of the carcase were appropriated by different men. The men, who could only get the earth where the carcase lay, belonged to Mannati illom. He who carried the heart (*vennangi*) belonged to Vellayillom. One who carried away the genital organ became Thumbara illom. He who removed the head became Thalayāt illom. He who found a Kotta (basket) on a rock became Kottappara illom. He who removed the haunches became Mūlaikōnath illom. He who took a small share became Kurumillom. He who obtained the largest share became Mēēnānga illom. He who got only the ants that swarmed there became Erumbiyāt illom. The Pōthōde, Patika, Pāramala, and Kythode illoms are named after places, Pōthōde, Patika, Pāramala, and Kythode. In regard to Pāramala illom, it appears that a Kānikkāran boy and girl were found hiding in a rock-cave called Pāramala. They were taken to the nearest hamlet and there brought up. The children of the girl belonged to Pāramala illom. Thus a few of the clans are named after places.

The system of tracing kinship through the mother is characteristic of most of the hill-tribes of Travancore. Among the Kānikkārs, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. The reason for prohibition is to be found in the legal fiction that all members of a clan are of one blood. "Blood cannot mate with related blood."¹ As a woman's children always belong to the clan different from that of her brother's children, it follows that these children, who are cross-cousins, can marry according to the rules of exogamy. On the other

1. Oriberg—*Among the Savages*—p. 118

hand, children of brothers or of sisters belong to the same exogamous clan and cannot, therefore, intermarry. It follows that marriage of cross-cousins is permitted. Though double cross-cousin marriage is permissible generally, a man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle. It is significant that a child is named after a member of the mother's clan, a maternal uncle, aunt, or maternal grandparents.

Scholars like Sir Henry Maine and Fustel De Coulangus did not recognise the system of female descent, but held that the exogamous clan with male descent was an extension of the patriarchal family, which was the original unit of society. The wide distribution of exogamy and the probable priority of matriarchy to patriarchy was first brought prominently to notice by M'Lennan.¹ Under the system of female descent, there was no transfer of clanship among the Kānikkār. The children belonged to the mother's clan. It is said that with the system of male kinship came the practice of transferring a woman from her own clan to that of her husband.

MARRIAGE
PROHIBITIONS.

The Kānikkār living to the north of the Kōthayār river do not marry anyone to the south of it; the river, as it were, forms the marital boundary. Habitual isolation combined with antipathy felt against people outside the hamlet leads to disapproval of marriage.

The choice of a mate is not left to the taste of the individual, but is governed by the inexorable law of exogamy. A man is prohibited from marrying a woman

1. Quoted by R. V. Russel—*The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*—Vol. I, p. 114.



A KANIKKARAN DIVINING THE CAUSE OF MALADY WITH PEBBLES.

not only of his clan, but also of any other clan in the same phratry. He can marry only a woman from any clan outside his phratry. This is the case in Vilavancode, Neyyattinkara, and portions of Neduvangad taluks. In Kulathupuzha, there are only two clans, Mūttillom and Mēnillom. They are exogamous.

The restrictions do not end here. The orthodox marriage is between cross-cousins, children of a brother and sister. It is more restricted to the maternal uncle's daughter, though marriage with the daughter of the father's sister is not forbidden. Marriage between children of two brothers or of two sisters is forbidden. The children of two sisters belong to the same clan and cannot marry. As the father's sister's daughter and the maternal uncle's daughter belong to different clans, a man can marry any one of them. It is said that the womb dyes the child. A brother and sister belong to the mother's clan, but a brother's children belong to a different clan, the clan of his wife. They become machambies and hence are eligible for marriage.

The system of marriage is mainly of the nature of a contract. The union is only quasi-religious. Relationship can be sundered at the will of either party. The months of August, November, and March are auspicious for marriage. No bride-price is given in cash.

Marriage is performed both before and after puberty. In Vilavancode Range, marriage before puberty is not favoured, because the girl will not be in a position to assume the responsibility of a household. In the Shencotta Division, infant marriage is in vogue. It is favoured

because grown up girls abandon husbands. On the other hand, a young girl becomes accustomed to the ways of her husband, and remains obedient. A girl may be married at the age of eight or nine. Mateer has recorded that the lowest age for marriage of girls is 7, for boys, 16.¹ Even now a girl is married to a boy slightly older than herself, and they remain apart under their parental roof, until the girls attain puberty. In the case of marriage after puberty, boys should be past the age of 16, and girls, 12. Infant marriage is becoming more common for want of girls who have attained maturity.

ARRANGE-
MENT OF
MATCHES AND
MARRIAGE
CEREMONIES.

When a boy attains marriageable age, four elders approach the girl's father with a proposal for marriage. If agreement is reached, a date is fixed for the marriage and pansupari is distributed to the boy's party. The marriage is celebrated in day time in the boy's hut in Kallar and Aryanad. On the marriage day, the bridegroom's sister goes to the bride's hut with a pair of clothes, some betel and nut, and accompanies the marriage procession from the bride's hut to the bridegroom's hut the same day. The bride is decked in the new clothing.

When the procession reaches the bridegroom's hut, the bride sits in the marriage booth. Betel and nut are distributed to all present. The bridegroom's mother hands over a necklace of beads to his sister, who ties it round the neck of the bride. A present of $5\frac{1}{2}$ fanams is made to the bride by the bridegroom, if she has come of age. If not, he pays $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanams to the bride. The bride's father receives four chuckrams. The assembled guests

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883, p. 67.

are then treated to a feast. The bride is taken inside the hut in the evening, where the married couple take food from the same leaf. They remain in the same room, but sleep separately during the night. The next day all depart after breakfast. On the seventh day, all the villagers are treated to a feast and the married couple go to the uncle's hut, show themselves there, and return to their hut. They are allowed to lead an independent life after six months or a year, as their parents decide.

In Kottur, there is an interesting variation. The bridegroom and bride stand on a mat. The bridegroom ties the tāli (marriage badge) round the neck of the bride, if she has not come of age. If the girl has come of age, the bridegroom places the marriage badge in front of her neck, and it is tied by his sister. A plantain leaf is placed in front of the couple. Some rice and curry are served. Then two women take hold of the bride's head and press it seven times towards her husband's shoulders. This over, the bridegroom takes a small quantity of rice and curry, and puts it seven times in the mouth of the bride. The ceremony ends with a feast. The headman gives some words of advice to the married couple.

The heads of the discourse are said to be as follows :—

- | | | |
|----------------|-----|---|
| 1. Cholli kodu | ... | Teach by words |
| 2. Nulli kodu | ... | Teach by pinching |
| 3. Talli kodu | ... | Teach by blows |
| 4. Talli kodu | ... | Cast her away, if she
does not obey ¹ |

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*—p. 67.

The marriage customs are different among the Kānikkār to the south of the Kothayār. The marriage is celebrated in the bride's house. On the appointed day the bridegroom-elect goes neatly dressed to the bride's hut accompanied by his best men. He stands in the marriage booth. The bride is neatly dressed and is led to the booth. The bridegroom's sister then takes the tāli, prays to God thrice facing the east, and then ties the tāli round the neck of the bride. The couple sit on a mat and presents of cash are made to them. The machambi (brother-in-law) then gives seven betel leaves to the bride. The leaves are touched at each end by the couple who go round a lighted lamp and *niranazhi* (paddy in a nazhi or $\frac{1}{4}$ measure) accompanied by *nathune* (sister-in-law) and machambi. They then go inside the hut and sit on a new mat. All are treated to a feast and pansupari.

The next day, the couple proceed to the bridegroom's hut, where they are presented with cash. Here also they go round a lighted lamp and *niranazhi* seven times and retire inside the hut. All the assembled guests are treated to a feast at night. Next morning, the elders assemble. The bridegroom's brother places a measure of rice, cocoanut, three fanams, and seven bundles of betel in the centre. His uncle distributes betel to all present. Rice is given to the bride's mother and three fanams (fanam equivalent to two annas four pies) are distributed among the nine hamlets of Thachamala, Modavanpatta, Māramala, Thottamala, Kuttythekku, Valiamala, Periamala, Killikonam and Mugaliyadi. All are then treated to a feast, after which they depart. The couple remain for 7 days in the husband's house. On the

7th day, *pongal* (a special food preparation) is offered in honour of the Sun, and the marriage booth is dismantled. The couple then go to the bride's hut, stay for two days, and then return. During the seven days, the married couple, the *nathune*, and *machambi* sleep in the same room. After this, an additional room is provided for their accommodation in the parent's hut. Pre-puberty coition is usual.

In Pálode, there is a peculiar custom. The bridegroom divides a betel leaf into two. One half is given to the wife to chew, while he chews the other half.

The Kanikkar are generally monogamous. Where POLYGAMY. polygamy is practised, a man marries the sister of his first wife to ensure domestic happiness. There was one instance of polygamy at Cherukara, Madathura, and Villamala. The underlying idea was to beget children, if the first wife was sterile.

A man may marry the wife of his deceased elder LEVIRATE. brother. He looks after the children and property. In Kulathupuzha, Kallar and Āryanad, an elder brother may marry the wife of his deceased younger brother. The ceremony consists in merely giving a cloth. Four chuckrams are given to her uncle.

Adultery is viewed with great abhorrence and the ADULTERY. severity of punishment increases, as we proceed from Vilavancode to Kulathupuzha in the north. "In ancient times, adultery was punished with instantaneous death, but has now been softened down to an offence

demanding but a money penalty.”¹. In Vilavancode Range, when a man commits adultery, he is brought before the village council. Five men constitute the quorum. After the charge is proved, the adulterer is beaten, his hands being tied ; and he is fined four to eight chuckrams and warned against the repetition of the offence.

Instances are not wanting, where women are guilty of adultery. When an instance comes to light, all the men in the hamlet and adjoining hamlets assemble near the woman's hut. The number may swell up to about 200 men. The woman is asked who is privy to her misconduct by her *nathune* (husband's sister). She manages to get the name of the offender, who is brought before the assembly, and questioned on the matter. He admits the offence. Formerly, he was given 101 lashes with a tamarind twig in Vidura, Āryanad, and Kallar. This has now been reduced to one lash with 101 twigs tied as one. He was then made to bathe and sprinkled with arrack for purification.

In Kottur 101 lashes were given to both the offenders. Then 101 pots of water were poured over their head by machambies (brothers-in-law) who then sprinkled them with arrack water to purify them. They are then returned to their clans. The woman is married to a machambi (father's sister's son) who settles down with her in a different hamlet. Now the headman inflicts a fine which may not exceed five rupees in the case of the adulterer. The woman is fined up to two rupees.

1. N. Subramania Aiyar—*The Travancore Census Report for 1901*—Part I, p. 346.

A suitable machambi is found to marry her, and he is given half the fine realised from the guilty parties. He says that he has redeemed her from her past misconduct and marries her, giving her a pair of clothes. If the fine cannot be realised, the culprits are given 12 lashes. Sometimes the culprits are tied to a stake and made to stand in the full blaze of the sun for some hours. The caning is done by machambies.

Adultery was dealt with more severely in Kulathupuzha. If a man was found guilty of adultery, he was tied head downwards by the legs to a tree. Straw was spread over the ground and chillies were thrown over it. It was set slightly on fire and the culprit was swung to and fro in the smoke; at the same time he was given 25 lashes on the buttocks. He was then set free and enjoined not to repeat the offence. The guilty woman was given 15 lashes by a machambi who married her even though already married. In such cases, his first wife had to say that the second was free from guilt and then took her home.

Instances of incest are no doubt few. There is an instance of a man, Kandan of Mūttilom clan who eloped with his sister into the jungle. They have now one boy. Kandan has till now escaped punishment, but the headman told me that, when the question of the boy's marriage comes up, the parents will have to undergo punishment. Another man of Mēnillom will have to come forward and reclaim the boy by owning him as his son. In Cherukara, there was another instance of a woman of Mēnillom having illicit connection with a man of the same clan. She conceived. The matter was enquired into. The man was given 12 lashes, and the

woman, 25 lashes with a cane by a machambi of Müttilom. Cases of incestuous unions have come to my notice in Chuliamala and Peringamala. The clan system appears to be declining under the impact of civilizing influences. Its bearing on marriage is coming to be ignored. There is a saying among them, “മലകുറ്റു വാളിനെ പെണ്ണാലയും മണ്ണാലയും” which means that all the turmoil in this world is due to land and women.

DIVORCE.

Divorce is effected in cases of incompatibility of temper between husband and wife. The matter is talked over in the presence of the parents of the husband and wife and the headman. They are asked whether they are willing to cultivate an agreeable relationship. If they give a negative reply, the bond is broken. The wife takes away all her property.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she remains in the same hut with her parents in the hamlets in Vilavancode, but further north, a separate shed (പ്രിയങ്കുടം) is constructed about 50 to 100 feet from the hut. No man should go near it. Otherwise he would be afflicted by some malady. Pollution lasts for six days. Girls of the same age may keep company. Food is served by her mother or sisters. On the seventh day she bathes and returns home followed by her sisters and *nathune*. The medicine-man chants a mantram giving the holy ash with which she puts on a mark on the forehead. This is done so that evil spirits may not do any harm to her.

PREGNANCY RITES.

During the seventh month of pregnancy, a ceremony called *vayathu pongal* is performed. It consists in the cooking of rice in seven pots placed on seven hearths. When the rice boils, the pregnant woman salutes it. All



A KANIKKARAN AT HIS KOKRA CHANTING CHATTU SONGS.

the women partake of the cooked rice. According to Mateer, the ceremony is called *Vayaru pongal*. 'First they mould an image of Ganapathi, and, setting it in a suitable place, boil the rice. To this they add an offering of *aval* or flattened rice, parched rice, cakes, plantains, young cocoanuts, and tender leaves of the same palm. The headman then commences dancing, repeating mantrams. He waves the offerings to the sun. An offering is also made to the jungle deities, and a feast is given".¹

When a woman is about to become a mother in the hamlets adjoining Kulathupuzha and Neduvangad, she is lodged in a seclusion-shed. Delivery takes place there. Old women who are experienced in midwifery attend on her and aid in the delivery. In the event of any complications, the midwife touches the forehead of the mother with oil and rubs her body also with it. It is done with a view to facilitating easy delivery. Pollution lasts for 16 days. The mother is fed on rice for 15 days. There is seven days' pollution among these people in Neduvangad.

CHILD
BIRTH.

On the tenth day, a measure of rice is cooked and offered to God. The mother partakes of it. The husband cannot approach the shed for ten days and cannot do any work in the jungle, as the gods may get annoyed and wild animals may do damage to his crops. On the 16th day, the mother is rid of pollution after her bath on that day and comes home. Abortion seems common. Māthan of Kallar told me that abortion comes about two or three months after a woman is in the family way. Malaria may be one cause. This is corroborated by my

¹ Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, p. 67.

enquiries at Ponmana and Pechipara. It appears that, when a carpenter was beating his drum, Kānikkār boys stoned him. On account of the pain inflicted on him he is said to have cursed them as follows : അമ്മിപ്പാ പിമ്മിപ്പം ആരിപ്പം നൂരിപ്പം കാ ഉരുക്കു പൂ ഉരുക്കു. This means, "May you suffer extinction, whether young or old." This curse is said to have shortened the life of the Kānikkār.

NAMING.

The husband and wife shall decide what name shall be given to the child. A male baby is named after his uncle or maternal grandfather, and a female baby after her aunt or maternal grand-mother. Mallan, Māthan, Ayyappan, Vettiyan, Ummini, Chītangan, Ādichan, Pavan, Niliyan, and Mālan are some of the names given to the males, while Kanni, Echamma, Thirumala, Kāli and Kāliamma are names given to the females. Kalyani, Jānamma, and Parvati are other names given and these are borrowings from the surrounding Hindu population. Parappi, Kanniyamma, and Lechmi are pet names for girls. Boys and girls are generally called 'Kurumas'. The name 'Aruvi' is derived from the goddess Bhagavati at Aruvikara. Māthi is derived after Āyiramkōti Thampuram. Pāndi is named after an evil spirit of that name. Invocation of this spirit is said to be productive of good.

FAMILY LIFE.

A family consists of husband, wife and children. The wife enjoys equal status with her husband. Both sit and chat together. Both eat together from the same leaf or separately. Both go out for food gathering. Though a woman is debarred from possessing land, she has an enviable position at home. In respect of live

stock like pigs and goats, she is entitled to half the value of any animal sold in Neduvangad and Neyyattinkara taluks and the animals pass on to her daughters and sons on her demise. The husband is responsible for the maintenance of his wife and children, and he expects absolute fidelity from her. No pre-matrimonial licence is allowed. Polygamy is seldom resorted to, as it causes domestic unhappiness. In Kōttūr, Ponmana, and Thūlipavu, instances of polygamy are found, but the man marries sisters to ensure domestic happiness. Young men are thick-set and plump, but this does not last long, as the hard life of procuring food in the jungle and their agricultural pursuits consume all their energy.

Property includes clothing, implements, utensils, INHERITANCE weapons, live stock and crops. A deceased man's property is divided—half to his nephew, and the other half among his sons. In the absence of a nephew, the property devolves on his sons. In the absence of sons, it devolves on the niece. In her absence, it goes to his brothers and sisters. In no case does it go to his wife. Even the hut goes to the nephew. The widow with her children goes back to her brother. In regard to the livestock, the Kānikkār in the vicinity of Kallar state that pigs and goats are reared by women, and they pass on to their children on their demise. When a girl is married, the property goes with her to her husband's home. The husband's share goes to the nephew.

Descent is reckoned in the female line. A man's children belong to the clan of the mother. In regard to

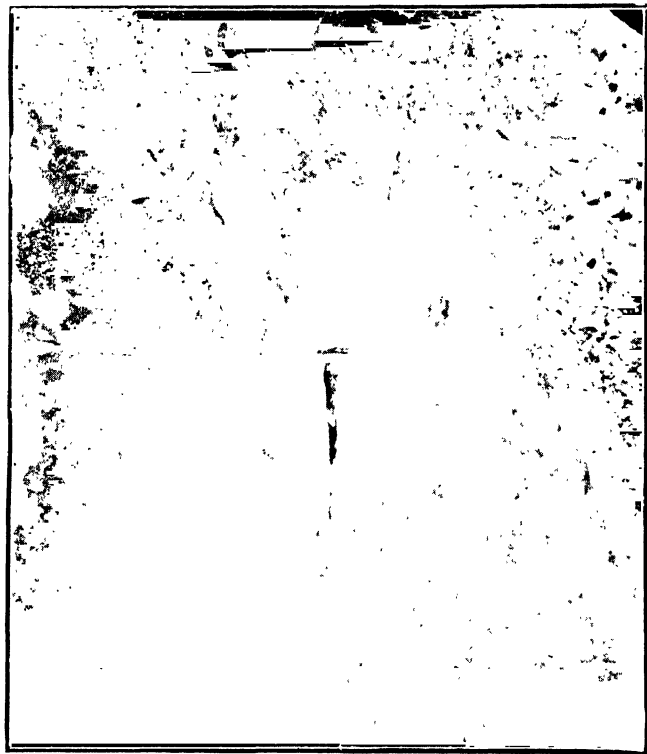
chieftainship, it used to devolve on the nephew on a man's demise. This means that it passes on into the same clan. The custom is now changing. If the nephew is incompetent to hold it, it devolves on the son or on any able bodied person. Thus, we observe here survivals of mother-right, and that a man stands in two relationships to the child. He is at once the uncle and the prospective or actual father-in-law.

ADOPTION.

A childless man adopts a niece or nephew. A niece is preferred for the future of the family, as any children born of her belongs to his own clan. Extinction of family is thus prevented. Adoption is made most willingly. The free assent of the child is obtained before the adoption. The adopted child succeeds to the property. The underlying idea in adoption is that the clan may not suffer any diminution in number by the death of the childless adopter.

KINSHIP

The system of kinship among the Kanikkar is of the type called classificatory, and has several interesting features. The most important of these is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. This is in conformity with the custom which lays down that the proper form of marriage for a man is with the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister. She is known as *murapennu*. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. A list of kinship terms



A KANIKKAR PADDY FLAT IN NEDUMANGAD.

together with forms used in direct address is given below :—

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
<i>I. Relations through father.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Muthan
2	Great grandmother	Muthiyamma
3	Grandfather	Periappan
4	Grandmother	Periamma
5	Father	Appan
6	Mother	Amma
7	Father's elder brother	Pērappan
8	do. wife	Pēramma
9	Father's younger brother	Chittappan
10	do. wife	Chittamma
11	Father's elder brother's son	Annan or by personal name if the younger
12	do. daughter	Āchi or by name, if the younger
13	Father's sister	Ammāvi
14	Father's sister's husband	Ammāchan
15	Father's sister's son	Machambi
16	Father's sister's daughter	Āchi or by name, if the younger
<i>II. Relations through mother.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Muthan
2	Great grandmother	Muthiyamma
3	Grandfather	Periappan

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
<i>II. Relations through mother—(contd.)</i>		
4	Grandmother	Periamma
5	Mother's brother	Ammāchan
6	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
7	Mother's sister	Pēramma or Chittamma it younger
<i>III. Relations through wife of a man.</i>		
1	Wife	No name
2	Wife's father	Ammāchan
3	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
4	Wife's brother	Machambi
5	Wife's brother's wife	Āchi or by name if younger
6	Wife's sister	Āchi or by name if younger
7	Wife's sister's husband	Annan
<i>IV. Relations through husband of a woman.</i>		
1	Husband's father	Ammāchan
2	Husband's mother	Ammāvi
3	Husband's brother	Machambi
4	Husband's brother's wife	Āchi
5	Husband's sister	Āchi

In the foregoing list, it will be observed that :—

1. The Father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother, and the mother's mother :—Pērappan

and Pēramma are the names given to the grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Again, Muthan and Muthiyamma are the names given to the great grandfather and the great grandmother on both sides.

2. Father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the husband's father, and wife's father :—Ammāchan is the name given to all the above persons and ammāvi, to their wives. To this day, cross-cousin marriage in which the two relationships are combined in one and the same person is the prevailing form of marriage among them. In a society constituted on the basis of exogamy, a man cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother and mother's sister. The only marriageable cousins are the issue of his mother's brother or father's sister, and these are cross-cousins.

3. Machambi is used alike for the father's sister's son, the wife's brother and āchi for the father's sister's daughter, the wife's brother's wife, the wife's sister, the husband's sister, and the father's brother's daughter.

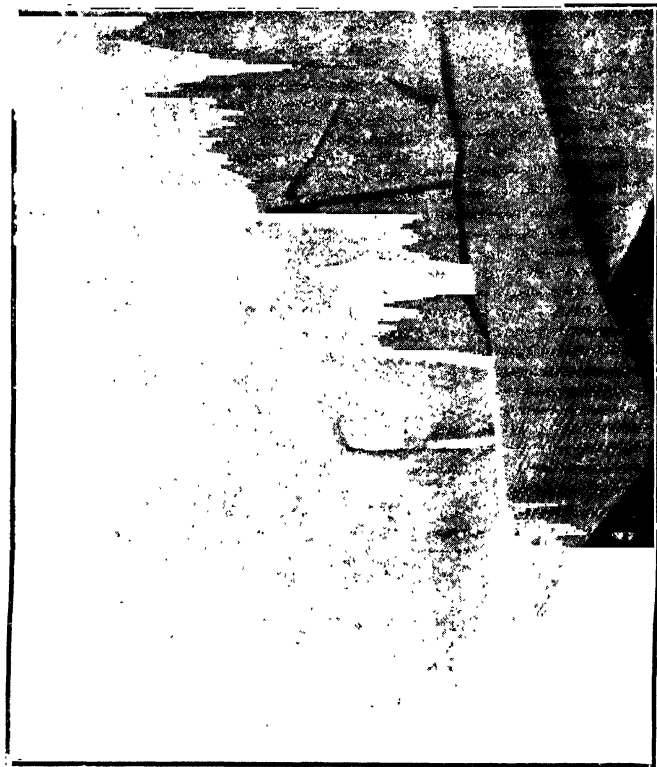
Members of one clan call members of both the same clan and a different clan *annan* (brother). Elderly men are called *mama*. Unlike the Todas of the Nilgris, the Kānikkār have not begun to change the classificatory system of relationship. In fact, they have not reached the stage of mental development to be dissatisfied with the nomenclature of a purely classificatory system. One of the most widespread regulations is the mother-in-law taboo. It assumes different forms. The son-in-law may not speak to his mother-in-law. The wife carries messages when necessary. A man talks to his aunt at

a distance. He cannot talk to his sister or freely associate with her if she is unmarried. He cannot be free with his uncle.

TRIBAL
ORGANISATION

The Kānikkār living in a village are knit together by social, religious, and political ties. The village is the unit in all matters and there is no room for the play of individualistic tendencies. The villagers work jointly in clearing the jungle, burning debris, and in all the magico-religious ceremonies performed for securing a bountiful harvest. The Headman (*Mūttukāni*) used to wield more influence in the past and enjoy more perquisites than he does to-day. The office is hereditary and the oldest of the sons of the sisters succeeds the uncle. The headman settles all disputes and is the final authority in all matters, social, religious, and agricultural. He presides over the meeting of the council of elders, of which five form the quorum. The meeting is in a common hall or *chāvadi*. All questions relating to marriage and divorce are discussed and settled by the council and its decision is final. Fines inflicted on delinquents are collected and used to propitiate the gods. The Headman has an executive officer called 'Vilikāni' in Vilavancode and Kalkulam. He is known as 'Muthalper' in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha. There is also a medicine-man (*plāthi*) to remove evil influences and cure illness and diseases. The following is the scale of punishment meted out to delinquents by the Headman :—

1. Assault—caning.
2. Telling lies—fine ranging from 4 chuckrams to one rupee.



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

3. Adultery—Presentation of betel leaves and nuts and food to all assembled men.

North of the river Kōthayār, the dead are buried, not cremated. Formerly, burial was done at a distance, but it is now done about fifty yards from the hut owing to the attachment to the dead. Burial is resorted to with a view to avoiding the terror felt by the living for the spirit of the dead and the fear that it may return to alarm the surviving fellow tribesmen.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

When a man is taken ill, the Headman is at once sent for. In South Travancore, he visits the sick man and orders two drumming and humming ceremonies. The whole night is spent by the villagers in dancing, singing, and drumming, and prayers are offered for the recovery of the man who is ill. The Headman gets into a trance and reveals whether the ailing man will recover or not. If it is the latter, he mutters a hair-cutting mantram and cuts off the sickman's hair. This being a sign of approaching death, the relations pay their last visit to him. As soon as he breathes his last, information is sent round the neighbouring hamlets and all gather at the dead man's hut. The medicine-man (*plāthi*) gives holy ash to the grave-diggers before they go to dig the grave and they put a mark with the ash on the forehead to ward off evil spirits. Otherwise, they may be prevented by the spirits from digging the grave. The grave is dug breast-deep in the case of males and neck-deep in the case of females.

Meanwhile the nephew washes the corpse above the waist and the son washes it below. Ganja, betel and tobacco are put into the mouth of the corpse to appease

the soul of the departed. The body is then wrapped in a mat. A mat is spread over the grave. The nephew and the son carry the corpse to the grave. It is taken round the grave three times and slowly lowered into it. The grave is then filled up with earth by the son and the nephew.

In Kottur, the wife of the deceased has an important role to perform. When the corpse is carried to the grave by the son and the nephew, the wife of the deceased follows them with a vessel of rice gruel, a spoon, and a sieve. As soon as the corpse is lowered into the grave and the grave is filled up with earth, she comes forward and places the vessel and other things near the feet. A thorn of *Smilax zeylanica* is pinned to the grave, one at each end, and one in the middle. The thorn is intended to cow down the spirit of the deceased. Pollution lasts for nine days at Kottur. It lasts for twelve days for those who carried the corpse. During this period, they do not enter the cultivated area, or touch any plant. Otherwise their crops may be destroyed. They do not go to their places of worship for sixteen days. On the ninth day, cowdung is mixed with tender coconut water and poured over the head of the son and the nephew, and the others are sprinkled with it. All the assembled men are treated to a feast.

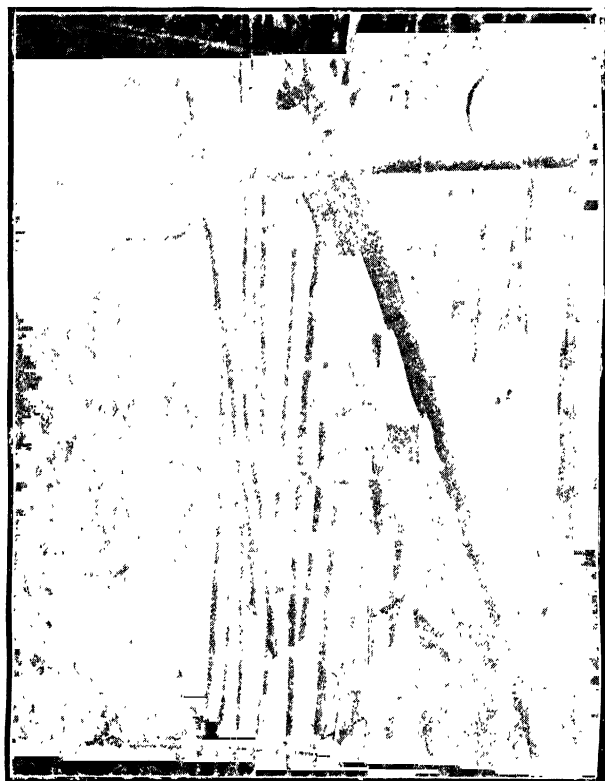
Among the Kānikkār in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, the nephew, the son and two others carry the corpse to the grave. The belongings of the deceased are not laid in the grave as they are elsewhere. It is filled with earth by the son, and the nephew. Three stones are planted, one at the head, one at the foot, and

one in the middle. By the side of each stone is planted a thorn of *Smilax zeylanica*. Some beaten rice, fried rice, fruits, chew, and water are laid by the grave near the feet for the spirit of the departed. All present then throw a few grains of paddy backwards in the name of Ayiravalli, Pulichāṇ, Sāsta, Mādan, Maruthai and Muthan with the request that they will see that the spirit of the dead remains where it is until the 16th day. Ten feet away from the grave, the way is closed after the burial by drawing three lines on each of which three pebbles are laid. Three thorns are planted over another line to prevent other spirits from going to the grave and snatching away the spirit of the deceased. The above precautions coupled with mantras are intended to suppress the supposed vagrant tendencies of the dead. Primitive man thinks that, apart from the spirit, it is the corpse that may come back and harm the survivors and that it should be kept down by physical means, such as pebbles and thorns.

After these proceedings, all bathe. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. No one eats food in that house. On the fifth day *pattinikanji* (light breakfast) is given by the son and the machambi. All the members of the clan contribute a share to the breakfast in the shape of rice. Later the assembled men are treated to a feast. Nowadays pollution is reduced to seven days. On the sixteenth day, the medicine-man and two others sing *chattu* songs from dusk to daybreak as a result of which the spirit passes to Heaven and joins the ancestor spirits. An annual offering is made to the spirit of the departed. The villagers do not go to the jungle during the period of

pollution, as they fear that they will be carried away by tiger or other wild beast. It is said that the ghost may pelt stones, if the funeral ceremony is not performed properly. On the seventeenth day, all assemble after the morning meal and the property of the deceased is divided. The son gets the bill-hook, sickle, and *chakmuk* (tinder), while the remaining property is divided equally between the sons and the nephews.

In Kallar and Āryanād in Neduvangad taluk, the medicine-man plants three thorns of *Smilax zeylanica* inside the grave with the object of preventing the harm that may be done by Mādan, Maruna, corpse-eating Mādan, and the hierarchy of evil spirits. The corpse is then lowered into the grave and it is then covered with earth. Four thorns of *Smilax zeylanica* are planted along the route by which the funeral procession came, so that the spirit of the deceased may not come and harm the inmates of the household. The corpse-bearers are the nephew and the son, and they have to remain in a new shed for seven days, where they are given food. Pollution lasts for seven days. On the seventh day, leaves of the mango and jack trees, and flowers of arecanut are tied in a bundle. This is dipped in liquid cowdung. The daughter and the niece sprinkle the water first on themselves, and then on the others present. All then go and bathe. A *vellamkudi* (offering) is then made to the spirit of the dead. Beaten rice, bread, cocoanut, betel and nut and flowers are placed near the place of burial. The medicine-man prays “മുത്തി, കൊടലിചാവേ, ഈ വെള്ളം കടി ഏറ്റുറുകാക്കൂണം. ചാവിനെയും നിങ്ങൾ സൂക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം.” “Oh, Muthi, Kodalichavu, pray accept this offering. Please take care of the spirit of the dead.” Some



SNARE TO CATCH GAME.

raw rice and a bunch of flowers are tied in a cloth. The bundle is rubbed on their foreheads by the nephew and the son. Then this process is repeated by all the men and women present. Pollution then ceases. All the members of the clan contribute to a feast on the seventh day.

The soul is said to reside in the heart and to go to Heaven on a man's demise. By some it is believed to be vaporous. There is an apt saying among them, "കാറ്റു കരേറാടു പോകും മണ്ണു മണ്ണോടു പോകും." The air vanishes into air and earth merges into the earth. This reminds me of the expression, "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" used in Christian burial. The offering made by the wife of the deceased is intended to appease the soul of the departed. Among the Kānikkār of Kallar, it is believed that, when a man dies, his flesh turns into water and passes away, his bones turn into dust, and his soul vanishes into air. When a man does a wrongful act, he is said to be re-born as a pig, a sambur, a cat or a monkey. There is a saying, "മനുഷ്യ പുഷ്പ കരണമൊർ തിരന്നു ഭുജിക്കും ഭൂമിതന്നിൽ." "If a man does a good act, he has rebirth as a man. Otherwise, he has rebirth as an animal."

The Kānikkār to the south of the Kōthayār burn their dead. A pit is dug 6'x2'x2'. It is packed with billets of fuel over which the corpse is laid, the head to the north. Fuel billets are again placed over it. These are set fire to at head and foot. The head points southwards. All then depart. On the third day, the bones are collected and covered with earth in the pit. Chāma (*Panicum miliure*) and thenai (*Sataria italica*) grains are

CREMATION.

strewn round the pit, and a whole tender cocoanut is placed in the region of the head, the breast, and the feet. Bits of bone are taken to a stream, where they are strewn backward. After bathing, the nephew carries a bill-hook on one hand and a burning faggot in the other. The son carries a pot of water on his shoulder. They go round the pit thrice and the nephew strikes the pot gently with the bill-hook thrice from behind, and the pot is thrown backwards. They then bathe in the river and the nephew sprinkles all present with liquid cowdung by means of *darbha* grass. Pansupari is then distributed. On the tenth day, there is a general feast.

RELIGION.

The gods of the Kānikkār are legion. Spirits of diverse kinds are believed to lurk in house and village. They endanger the produce of their labour in the field. They are said to cause epidemics and famine. A Kānikkāran presumes that all about him are malevolent spirits that cause misery. As Edward Clodd remarks, where life is mainly struggle, man is ever on the watch against malice-working agencies, and it is this fear that moves him to enter into his religious observances. All the duties and ceremonies are intended to placate these malicious spirits, and their propitiation forms the sum and substance of his religion.

The Kānikkār worship among others the under-noted deities:—

- (1) *Padacha Thampuran*.
- (2) *Ellakallu Sāmi*.
- (3) *Thampurankutty Amma (Bhadrakali)*.
- (4) *Thiruvathupara Ayyan (servant of Ellakal Sami)*.

- (5) 150 Ayyanar (Sāstas).
- (6) 150 Valia Chāvukal (spirits).
- (7) 10 Cheria Chāvukal (small ancestor-spirits).
- (8) Vadasserikotta Āduvalli Thampuran (Mathutti Pillai).
- (9) Ammūttukāvil Āduvalli Thampuran.
- (10) Kōttur Thampuran.

The names of Padacha Thampuran and others are muttered by them every morning as soon as they get up to ward off evil spirits. They are propitiated by them twice a year in Kanni and Kumbhom. A measure of rice is cooked in a new earthenware vessel. Four leaves are laid for Padacha Thamburūn, Ellakallu Sāmi, Thampuratti Amma and Thiruvathupara Ayyan. Rice powder is spread on the leaves, and plantains are placed on them. Below these are laid 101 leaves, over which rice powder has been spread on the leaves, and plantains are set apart for Ali Thampuran, Eravi Thampuran, Ammūthukāvil Āduvalli Thampuran, Mallakutty, Mallan Thampuran, Kottur Thampuran, Narayanakutty Thampuran and Vadakuppa Thampuran (Death). The headman and medicine-man bareheaded and with upper cloth tied round the loins make the offering. “ആദ്യ പത്മി തമ്പുരാൻ, നിങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങളെ രക്ഷിക്കണം. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു നിങ്ങൾ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ആരു ഇല്ല. ഇന്നെയും രക്ഷിച്ചുപോയ ഇന്നും രക്ഷിക്കണം.” Oh Āduvalli Thampuran, may you protect us. We have none but you to protect us. May you protect us today, as you protected us yesterday.” Similar prayers are offered in the name of other deities. The worship of the above deities is intended to ward off small-pox, dysentery, fever, and other ailments, and for protection from wild animals.

A similar offering is made to all the above deities about the end of Kumbhom with the following prayer, “പടച്ചുതമ്പുരാനെ, എല്ലക്കല്ലസാമി, തമ്പുരാട്ടി അമ്മ, തിരുവള്ളുപാറമാമ്മ, 101 ചാച്ചമാരെ, 101 തമ്പുരാക്കമ്മമാരെ, പരമനാഭസാമി, ഞങ്ങളുടെ പൂജപററിക്കൊണ്ട് വനത്തിൽ കിടക്കുന്ന ഞങ്ങളെ രക്ഷിക്കണം. നീക്കമ്പു, മുറിയാമ്പാച്ചി, നട്ടോമുടവു വന്നു ആരും ഒന്നും മരിച്ചുപോകാതെ നിങ്ങൾ രക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. ഞങ്ങളുടെ വനത്തിൽ നിങ്ങൾ അല്ലാതെ വേറെ ആരും ഇല്ല.” “Oh Creator of all, Elakkallu Sāmi, Thampuratti Amma, 101 Sastas, 101 ancestor spirits, 101 Thampurans and Padmanabha Sami, pray accept our offerings. We live in the jungle. Protect us and our children. Pray protect us from cholera, fever, and other ailments. We rely on you, as we have no one else to rely on in the jungle.”

WORSHIP OF
ANCESTOR-
SPIRITS.

The Kanikkar have 101 ancestor-spirits, of whom the following may be mentioned: Sangan Perumal Muthan, Nilambi Muthan, Muthāla Muthan, Elankuthi Māthandavēla Muthan, Sankaramalla Muthan, Eraviya Muthan, and Echa Muthan. When a man is terrified by wild animals such as bears and elephants, he at once comes from the jungle and asks the medicine-man to ascertain which ancestor-spirit is angry with him. The medicine-man takes some small pebbles and places five of them in a row in honor of Ganapathi. He then holds some pebbles in his hand. In trying to ascertain if Echa Muthan is responsible for the incident, he drops the pebbles in pairs into his left hand. If an even number remains in his right hand after dropping four pairs, the medicine-man concludes that Echa Muthan is responsible for it. If an odd number is left behind, he then tries to find out if Pulichāvu is responsible by repeating the same process. In this manner he eliminates

ABOVE: LULLING BABY IN CRIB



ABOVE: BABY IN CRIB



many spirits and ultimately ascertains the ancestor-spirit who "caused the fright. In Kulathupuzha, paddy grains are used instead of pebbles. The malignant spirits are propitiated by an offering called *paduka*. Beaten rice is placed on four leaves for Anachāvu, Pulichāvu, Pāmbuchāvu, and Arayilachāvu. The following prayer is then offered.

എന്റെ പുലിചാവുമുത്ത, പാമ്പുചാവുമുത്ത, അറയിലവർ പ
മുത്ത, നിങ്ങളുടെ ശല്യവരങ്ങളിൽ പുലിചാവിനോടു പറഞ്ഞ് ഇന്നു
മേൽ ആ കുറ്റം നമ്മുടെ കുട്ടികൾക്കു കാണരുതെ.

"Oh Pulichāvu Mutha, Pāmbuchāvu Mutha and Arayilachāvu Mutha, pray intercede on our behalf to Pulichāvu Muthan and see that our children are free from trouble from this day onwards". In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, Kathiramuthan, Perumal Muthan, Ettichimuthan, Nambi Muthan, Puvala Muthan, and others are worshipped.

In Kulathupuzha, an offering is made to Kulathur Pulichāvu to ward off the harm done by wild animals. If a man clears some land where elephants roam about, he decides to make an offering to Pulichāvu after harvest. If he had no trouble, men hull 12 padis of paddy, and the rice obtained therefrom is cooked and placed over a leaf. The medicine-man then prays:

"ആനവിള പുലിചാവെ, തമ്പുരാക്കമ്മാരെ, മൂക്കട പുലിചാവെ
നിങ്ങളുടെ ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിച്ചതുപോലെ വെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഞാൻ
കാരമായവെച്ചുകിടും മെട്ടിയായ കണ്ണാറിക്കൊണ്ടു എനിക്കു വര
ന്ന ഉപദ്രവങ്ങൾ അടിച്ചുപിരിട്ടി അകലെകളഞ്ഞ് നിങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു
കൈവീയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഒരു കീഴ്ത്തിയും ഉണ്ടാക്കി തരണമേ."

“Oh, Anavila Pulichāvu, Tampurākanmar, and Mūnkada Pulichāvu, I make the offering as I promised. Even if there is anything wrong in the offering, accept it with gladness, and drive away all harm, and thus bring fame on yourselves and on us.” The offerings are then partaken of by men only.

VILLI-
VĒLAN

Villi-Vēlan is the spirit of a person who was drowned. He is also known as Villi Muthan. He is credited with power both to give rain and to stop excessive rainfall. An offering of beaten rice, raw rice, fried rice, plantains and tender cocoanuts is placed near a lighted lamp by girls after going round the lamp seven times. Then the Velichapad (medium) gets inspired by the spirit and mutters, “I accept your offering, and I will see that you do not suffer.”

The aid of Villi-Vēlan is sought in Kallar and Aryanad to stop excessive rainfall. The Kānikkār pray, “ചില്ലുവേല, മഴത്താരന്നമെ. മഴത്താന്നാൽ ഒരു ചക്രത്തിന്നു കഞ്ഞിയും വാങ്ങിച്ച് പുകയിലയും ചേർത്തുചുരുട്ടി തീ കത്തിക്കും. അതിനെ മീനത്തിൽ ഒരു ഇലയിൽ വെക്കും. ഞാൻ വെച്ച ചുരുട്ടി ഹരിക്കാം.”

“Oh Villi-Vēla, may rain stop. If it does, I will purchase Ganja for a chuckram, mix it with tobacco, and roll it into a cigar. I shall place it on a leaf in front of my hut. Pray accept the cigar”. Rain ceases. They then take the cigars and smoke them.

AGASTYAR
WORSHIP.

The Kānikkār make annual offerings to Agastya in the month of Kumbhom (February—March). Those at Kottur and the adjoining hills go to Agastyar peak and stay for four days before full moon. On the first day, they reach the peak in the evening. Next morning, they

bathe in a tank and make their offerings of raw rice and tender cocoanuts. Facing the east, they pray as follows :
 “അഗസ്ത്യർമുനി, ഭഗവതൃപാദിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ കിടക്കയാണ്. നിങ്ങളുടെ ഉതവി ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ചണം നിങ്ങൾ അല്ലാതെ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ആരും ഇല്ല. നിങ്ങളുടെ ശരണം ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ വനത്തിൽ കിടക്കുന്നു.”
 “We are living near Agastiyar peak and we need your help. We have none but you to help us. We live in this jungle. May we enjoy your protection”. On the 3rd day, they collect medicinal herbs and return home. The Kānikkār of Villimala say that Agastya is their Guru, and worship him.

Mādan is one of the objects of dread among the Kānikkār. The name signifies “he who is like a cow”. Mādan and Māriamma, the goddess of small-pox are worshipped at night in the month of Kumbhom to ward off fever, small-pox, and other afflictions. Both men and women are present. A Velichapad officiates as priest for Mādan and women for Māriamma. Each man contributes two *padis* of paddy which is hulled by girls who have not attained puberty. The rice is cooked in new pans. When the rice boils, four Velichapads become possessed by Madan and dip the bunch of areca flowers in boiling water, and they beat themselves with it. The beating continues for half an hour, after which the bunch is handed over to one in the audience by the Velichapad saying,

WORSHIP
OF MADAN
AND MARI-
AMMA.

“നിങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു സുഖക്കേടും വരിച്ചയില്ല. നേർൻ ദേവ കിടക്കുള്ളാം.”

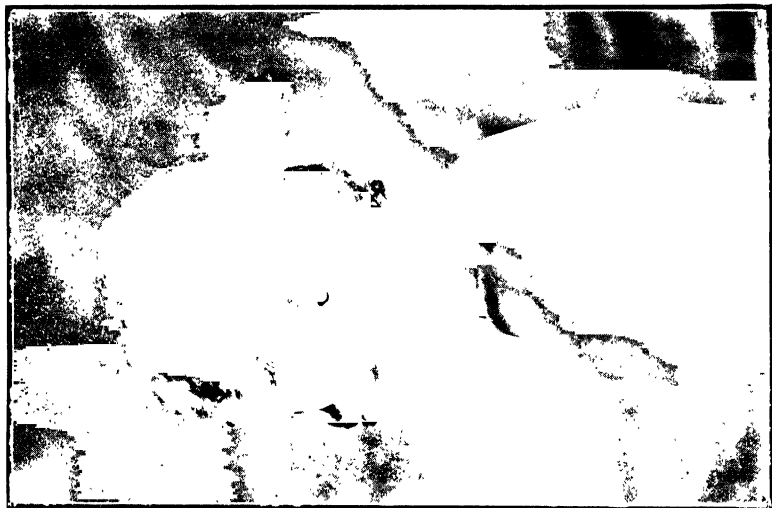
“You will not suffer from any illness. I shall take care of you.”

The worship of Māriamma is performed close to the place of worship of Madan. An offering is made of twelve small baskets of raw rice over which are placed bunches of flowers. When the Velichapads become possessed, they summon their mother, Māriamma. Women also become possessed and say "Be assured that you will have no visitation of small-pox. We will protect you, if it comes." A live cock is passed over the heads of the seated audience by the Velichapad. He then a short distance goes towards the North. The medicine-man cuts the neck of the cock and the Velichapad drinks the blood and throws away the dead fowl. He then takes some raw rice and mixes it with blood. This he throws north saying, "Go, you will have no affliction hereafter. But if anything comes, we shall not require any offering from you again."

These gods demand submissiveness and homage. Prayer is frequently a tribute to the self-regarding pride of the god to whom it is addressed. When the members of a community join in common acts of worship, each worshipper promotes not only his own welfare, but the welfare of his people. According to Robert Briffault, "the function of primitive religion is much more direct, concrete, and practical. It is not to interpret life, but to obtain those things which are accounted needful to its existence". This is what is observed among the Kanikkār.

ARANĀT
SĀSTA.

Kaliel is a small country place in Vilavancode, but the Aranāt Sāsta gives it an air of importance. Sasta is a sylvan deity who is worshipped by all the hill-tribes



A KANIKKARAN—FRONT AND PROFILE.

throughout Travancore. There are a large number of temples in the forests dedicated to him. Different parts of Travancore have many different romantic traditional accounts of the advent of Sasta, but a sameness of thought runs through them all. The destruction of wild animals, which do great damage to human lives and crops, forms the main subject of all the narratives. Time was when Aranāt was full of wild animals and serpents which did great havoc. At the request of a Potti (Brahman) of Aranat, Sasta came to Aranat Matom. The Potti happened to be absent and Sasta, desiring to have some water to quench his thirst, asked the lady of the house, who was old and blind. She told Sasta to fell a cocoanut tree and pluck tender cocoanuts. Sasta did so. The husk was removed from a nut by a Paraya, who followed Sāsta with the tender cocoanuts. Sasta and the Paraya went to Kattachil, and, as it was dark, a torch was kept burning with the cocoanut water. As Sāsta sat on Kattachilpara (a rock), he saw a large number of Kānikkar going to the house of a Kurup carrying ripe plantains. Sasta asked them to leave the plantains where he was and bring the Kurup. The Kurup came with some sandal paste for the visitor. The Kānikkār fetched some water at Sāsta's command, and it was poured over him. He was then smeared with the sandal paste, and cocoanuts and plantains were offered. The remaining plantains were distributed among those present. The Paraya left Sāsta under the care of the Kānikkār.

Sāsta, whose identity was not yet known, was so pleased with them that he informed them that he had

come there to destroy the serpents. They followed Sāsta to Aranāt where he began his work of destruction. The serpents were dazed and fled to Pāmpnuripāra and hid themselves in crevices of the rocks. Sāsta caught them and put them in a hole scooped out of the rock and covered the hole with a stone. He then jumped into the ground, which is now known as Chādi-chādi. He returned to Kattachilpara with the Kānikkār and decided on another hunting expedition this time for the destruction of wild pigs. They went to Pannimala and Sāsta destroyed the pigs. He then returned to Kattachilpara with the spoils of the chase. The people were in raptures. They wanted to perpetuate his memory. Sāsta told them who he was and what his mission was. He told them that he would come to Kattachil annually on Makayiram day in Meenom, (March-April) and remain there till the Attam day in a booth that was to be put up. He then vanished. The people were struck with fear and awe. A temple was constructed in Sasta's honor and 666 acres of land were left in the possession of the Kānikkār for the needs of the temple. Only a small portion of this area now remains.

An annual festival is celebrated in commemoration of Sāsta's visit to Aranāt by the Parayan, the Kānikkāran, the Kuravan, and the Kurup. Kānikkār in other places are informed of the annual festival and they send their contribution for the festival. A Kanikkaran is the high priest, and during the festive days, he washes the image both morning and evening. He gives holy ash to the Poti of Kadayil Matom on the fifth day. The festival attracts a large concourse of people, particularly the

Kānikkār. The idea of the worship is the removal of evil influence and the conferment of prosperity.

The primary needs of primitive humanity are the increase and multiplication of the resources of food, animal and vegetable. It has been said that "the more varied the course of nature throughout the year, the more persistant probably will be man's efforts to regulate it for his benefit and the firmer will be his faith in his power to do so. In other words, the more marked the change of seasons, the greater will tend to be the volume of magic and the belief in its efficacy. Where nature is bounteous and her course is uniform or varies little from year's end to year's end, man will neither need nor desire to alter it by magic or otherwise to suit his convenience."¹ COMMUNAL AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES

In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha where there is heavy rainfall and permanent paddy cultivation, and where they have given up magico-religious ceremonies at the time of the jungle clearing, the breaking of soil, and the sowing of seed, the Kānikkār have changed their mode of cultivation and their harvest is more assured. To the south of Pālode, the Kānikkār are nomadic agriculturists. Since their supply of food is not so assured, but subject to the uncertainties of weather, they make offerings to their deities at every stage. Their primitive magico-religious ceremonies consist of two orders of procedure, the one intended to please, attract, and conciliate, and the other to avert and cancel the harm which the gods have the power to inflict. The propitiation of the gods is very exacting and leaves little for the votaries to live on.

1. Frazer—*Totemism and Exogamy*--Vol I. p 169.

Public ceremonies inaugurate the jungle-clearing, the breaking of the soil, and the harvesting. When they start jungle-clearing about the end of Vrishigom (November-December) on Friday at sunrise, Kūva leaves (*Curcuma angustifolia*) are laid for the sun, Thirumuthupara Sāsta, Aranāt Sāsta, Ellakal Sāsta, and Kālakal Sāsta. Then four other leaves are laid lower down for Ponmudi devar, Kottakal devar, Maruthumala devar and Perunavari devar. Still lower down, two leaves are laid for Odalamma Kāli and Ayyankāli devi, and 52 leaves for sundry devatas and ancestor-spirits. In all these leaves, the medicine-man places a handful of paddy. Further down are placed bill-hooks and a measure of paddy on leaves by the Headman. The men observe continence for three days before starting jungle-clearing. Women do not take part in the ceremony. The following prayer is then chanted.

“ എന്റെ മുത്തീങ്ങമ്മേ, കൊടലിക്കാവു മുത, ഒരു ഒണ്ണവും
 ദീനവും വരാതെ ഇരിക്കണം. ഒരു ചെട്ടോ മുറിയോ ഏക്കാതെ
 നിങ്ങളു തരണം ”.

“ Oh Muthi, Kodalikavu Mutha, may there be no disease among us. May you shield us from any cut or wound ” All the audience stand in rapt attention. The Headman takes a handful of paddy and distributes a few grains among those present. They look at them intently and throw them on the leaves. Each man then takes his bill-hook. The Headman clears a part of the jungle first. He is then followed by the rest. The Headman cuts seven reeds and if no water or dirt is found inside the reeds, it is believed to be an auspicious sign for cultivating the area. If there happens to be any dirt or

water, they select another locality. When they return after clearing the forest, prayer is offered to the 52 devatas to the effect that they cleared the jungle and that they desire to get enough food for their subsistence. One of them becomes inspired and says that they shall suffer no damage, if they work. When he comes to himself, the men then eat heartily of food they have brought with them and go home. They do no more work for the day.

During Meenom comes the ceremony of throwing rice for Muthi. Four stakes are driven into the ground and two thattis of reed are put up one above the other. On the thatti at the top are placed raw rice, cocoanut, and a ball of rice powder. Frankincense is burnt and the following prayer is offered ;—

“ എതൻറ കാണിക്കടി മുതലിങ്ങമ്മ, എതൻറ ഉടയാമുക്ക, ഈ കാണിയിലുള്ള കൈകലിപ്പു വൃ മുത്തമ്മാരെ, വേലകവയ്ക്കുന്ന ധാന്യം ഉണ്ടായ് ഞങ്ങൾ എടുത്തുതിന്നണം. ആനയൊ പന്നിയൊ ഒഴുക്കുതങ്ങൾ അഴിക്കാതെ നിങ്ങൾ കാത്തു കൊള്ളണം ”.

“ Oh Muthiyamma, Udayamutha, Kodalikavu Muthas of the hamlet, may we be enabled to live on paddy, the produce of our labour. May no wild elephant, wild boar, and other animals cause any damage to our crops, and may you guard us from these animals.’ Then they sow the paddy seeds broadcast. Women not in their menses and girls can attend the function. Great harm will be done, if an unclean woman attends the function.

When the time approaches for harvest another offering is given to Muthi and Udayamuthan with the difference that there is no rice powder. The prayer is

to the effect that they may get all the paddy through the good grace of the gods, if such gods exist. Sheaves of corn are carried in headloads by the Headman and others and a *putharikoduthi* (offering of first fruits) is given. Paddy sheaves are threshed and the paddy is fried and made into beaten rice. All assemble early next morning and pray,

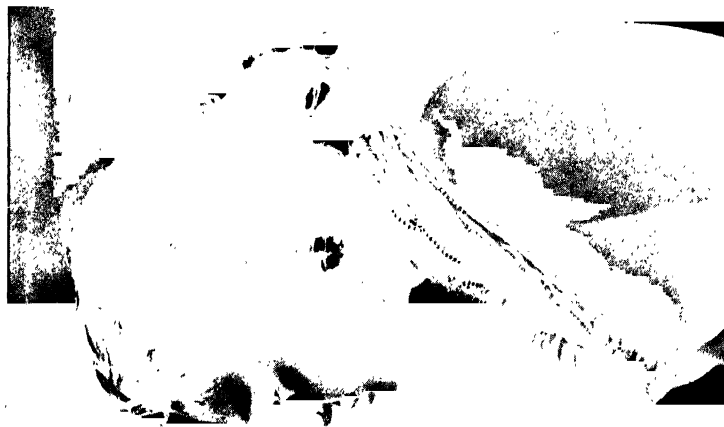
“ഓലവമെ, എല്ലാവരും നെല്ലു പൊരട്ടും ഞങ്ങളെ കൂടുതലായ് നിങ്ങൾ കാണിച്ചുതരണം”.

“Oh God, may you give us abundance of corn and riches”. At the time of harvest, if there is any death pollution, the harvest is delayed till the pollution ceases, as otherwise wild animals will attack them or destroy their crops.

Harvesting is done by women and is completed by the end of Chingom (August-September) and the paddy is kept inside the hut. The Headman intimates that corn should be threshed and offered to god. Each man makes his contribution and paddy is hulled and offerings are made to the Sun, Sāsta, 52 devatas, Muthi, Muthan, and Kodalichavu. Prayers are then offered to the following effect:—“We are going to thresh corn. Show us enough paddy. Pray do not harm us”. Each man then dries his paddy and bundles it up in Kūva leaves. He then suspends it to the rafters of the hut.

PUPPADA KODUTHI

After the 10th of Kanni (September-October) comes the grandest of offerings called Pūppada Koduthi. At the instance of the Headman, all the villagers bring bunches of plantains to him. They are left for three days, when a pit 10 feet square and 3 feet deep is dug.



A KANIKKARAN FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

Billets of fuel are then burnt in the pit, and when they are burnt out, maruthi leaves are placed over the embers. The plantains are then placed over the leaves and again covered with maruthi leaves and earth. They are smoked for three days through a hole. On the fourth day, the Headman calls the people to make the offering. There is feasting that evening, followed by singing. The five paras of paddy collected for the purpose are distributed as follows:—For Muthi Amma—three measures; for the 52 devatas, two paras of paddy are hulled, the rice powdered and made into a paste; seven measures of paddy are hulled, and the rice cooked and put in two sieves. All these are placed on the sacred spot where the villagers have gathered. The ripe plantains are removed from the pit. Five measures of rice are spread out for the Sun, Sāsta, and other divinities in parallel rows, one below the other. Over this is placed rice paste on Kuva leaves. This is covered by leaves and plantains are placed over them. Seven handfuls of rice are placed for Āli Thampuran and Kālathu Thampuran. Maruthi leaves are then spread lower down to a length of fifty feet and to a width of one foot. Three goats are bathed, decorated with flowers tied round their necks, and sacrificed. The following prayer is then offered

“തോവന ഇല്ല. നിങ്ങൾ പെരുതായ ഏതാനുള്ളനും.
ഇനിമേൽ നമ്മുടെ കുറുമ്പർ കുഞ്ഞുകുട്ടികൾ ഒക്കെ കാത്തുരക്ഷിച്ച്
നിങ്ങൾ ഇരിക്കണം.”

“We have little to offer. Pray, accept our small offering as a large one, and protect our children”. Fruits are then distributed, and the goat's flesh is divided equally between all. They then return home.

PUPPADA
VARI
KODUTHI.

The final Koduthi (offering) comes on the fifth of Vrischigom (about 20th of November). Each man contributes one measure of paddy. The paddy thus collected is hulled and the rice is converted into a paste. At sunrise, they go to the sacred spot and set fire to all the dry leaves that are lying about. The following prayer is then chanted.

“ കൈവരമെ, പുറ പുവരികൊടുതി നിങ്ങളെക്കു തന്നിരിക്കുന്നു.
ഇതുപുറം ഏറ്റുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങളെ കുറച്ചമാനം പരമാവ് നല്ലതായ് ഇരി-
ക്കണം ഞങ്ങളെക്കു ഏനക്കൂ.”

“Oh God, we make this offering after removing the sweepings of flowers. Pray accept it without demur and be well disposed to us”. The paste is then fried and distributed to all. This completes the ceremonies relating to agriculture.

CEREMONIES
CONNECTED
WITH HUNT-
ING.

The Kānikkār propitiate the hunting spirits before they go hunting in Medom (April-May). The medicine-man conducts the ceremony. Sankaramalla Muthan, Pulichavu of Ariya Muthan and Patanāyaka Muthan are the principal hunting spirits. A fowl is killed and offerings of beaten rice and arrack are made at sunrise with the prayer that they may have a successful hunt. Then the Velichapad gets inspired and dilates on the success of the enterprise. The medicine-man observes continence for three days before the hunt. Women cannot approach the spot or partake of the offerings. Before they go out hunting, men should not go where food is cooked or where the leavings of food are placed, lest they should be stricken with disease. They should also not go where rubbish is heaped, as they might receive a wound. In Kulathupuzha, the hunting spirits are

Kathira Muthan, Perumal Muthan, Etticha Muthan, and Nilambi Muthan.

In Thachamala, the hunting deity is known as Aymūt Thampuran. He is represented by a clayish conical image in a small shed. A human appearance is given to the top of the image. To propitiate him the villagers make offerings of cows and bulls made of clay on the last Tuesday of Vrischigom (November-December). His help is invoked to safeguard their cattle and protect them from diseases. Along with this offering, plantains and tender cocoanuts are also offered. The medicine-man gets an afflatus and says, "I will protect you. You will get plenty of game." If they get a sambur, the antlers are offered and kept in the temple. The medicine-man observes continence for seven days before this annual ceremony.

When the hunt is successful, the skin of the animal is peeled off first. The heart and lungs are roasted and cut into slices, and placed on leaves. They are intended as offerings to Madan, Pulichāvu, and others. All bathe and chant the following prayer, facing east,

“ഞങ്ങളോ കാട്ടിൽക്കുറിയൽ കടലധാരത തക്കവണ്ണം
ഞങ്ങളോക്കു അതിനെ കൊണ്ടുതരണം. മുത്തമമാർ കൊണ്ടുതന്നിട്ടുള്ള
കിൽ മുത്തമമാർ ഇല്ല.”

“When we go into the jungle, pray let us have easy game. If we do not get any, we shall conclude that there are no Muthans”. It is said that, as an answer to this prayer, they get another game in a week. The slices are then partaken of by those present. The remaining flesh is divided equally among all the village folk.

IDEAS REGARDING THE
SUN, THE
MOON, AND
OTHERS.

The Kānikkāran regards the sun as female, and under the name Bhagavan, worships him occasionally on Fridays. He is considered to be the creator of all, and is regarded as a female. Abstinence for seven days is required of men who make an offering. Early at sunrise on certain days in September and January, the Kānikkāran places a lighted lamp, fruits, beaten and fried rice in front of his hut. He asks God to accept his offering. He and his family partake of the offerings. In this connection, it may be pointed out that, "there are references in the Rigveda to the marriage of Soma, the Moon, and Surya, the maiden of the Sun."¹

THE MOON.

The Kānikkāran regards the Moon as male and makes offerings to him on full moon days. A quarter measure of rice and a lamp are placed in front of his hut. The quarter measure of rice is cooked. As the Moon rises, rice reaches the boiling point and he prays, "Oh Moon, pray accept this offering". The worship of the Moon is intended to cure whooping cough. It is said that relief is phenomenal. The marks on the Moon are said to be those of a rabbit. Another idea is contained in a story of a Kānikkāran and his wife who, when roaming in the jungle, found the Moon hiding in grass. Thinking that it would make an excellent tāli for his wife, he attempted to catch it. The marks of the charcoal dust on his hand left an impression on the Moon who fled away to the sky.

EARTH-
QUAKE.

The Kānikkārs think that the earth rests on one of the horns of an ox. When the ox feels restive on account of the heaviness of the earth, the earth is shifted

to the other horn, and then it is that there are earthquakes.

The Kānikār think that the serpent is the parent of ECLIPSE the Moon. They believe that the Moon once refused to give pan to the serpent with the result that the serpent occasionally shrouds the Moon with its hood. This is said to be the cause of the lunar eclipse. The solar eclipse is similarly accounted for.

The Kānikkār of Kallar believe that thunder is THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. otherwise known as Kāttālanidi or the blow of a Rakshasa (demon). It is said that he wraps a stone in cloth and suspends it up on his loin. When he comes to a maruthi tree (*Terminalia peniculata*), he strikes it with the stone, producing a loud noise. The Kānikkār distinguish two types of thunder, Āchiyidi and Kuluridi. The former destroys trees and grass, the latter does not destroy the tree, but only peels off the bark. The tree continues to grow. Lightning is the flash when the giant strikes a tree with the stone.

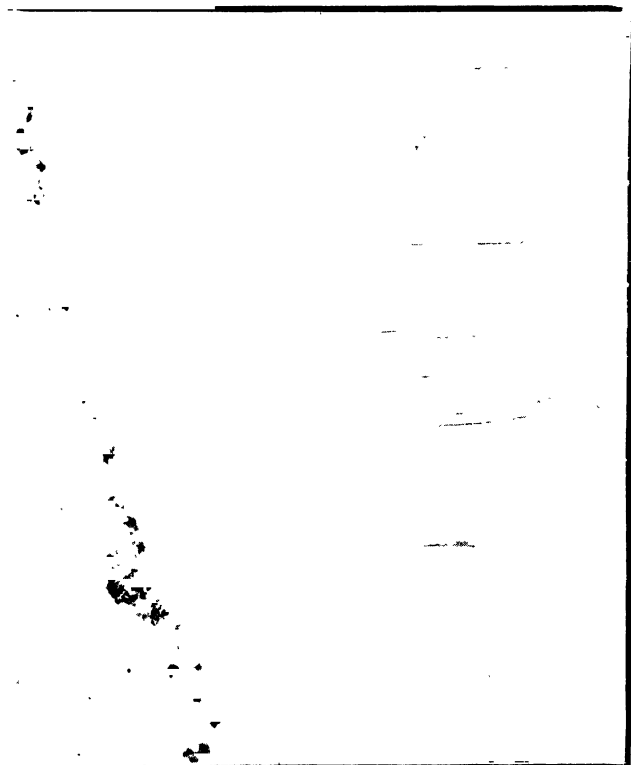
With the Kānikkār, the rainbow is said to be a bone RAINBOW. of a Rakshasa. They distinguish two kinds of bow, *pazhayavillu* or old bow, and *puthiyavillu* or new bow. The former is the faint one and the latter, the bright one.

The Kānikkār are still nomadic agriculturists. In OCCUPATION. the uplands, cultivation is migratory. In the lowlands, 1. Agriculture. cultivation is permanent. On the hills, rice is grown on the dry system. The coincidence of the dry system with migratory cultivation is not accidental since it depends on seasons. In regard to 'taungya' cultivation, individual property is not recognised. A certain tract of

land is used for two years after which it is allowed to lie fallow for three years. This means that they require three times as much land as they use in one year. In some years, the land for cultivation is about a mile from the village. The Kānikkār to the north of the Vāmanapuram river have wet cultivation. Paddy is their main crop. Wet cultivation came into existence as a result of restrictions imposed by the Forest Department on 'taungya' cultivation in Shencotta and Quilon Divisions. The underlying idea in cultivating an area on a three year's rotation seems to be that the soil becomes toxic with cultivation for two years and in allowing land to lie fallow for this period, they are allowing it to increase in fertility for cultivation again. This method of cultivation occupies the greater part of their time and energy and leaves hardly any time for the satisfaction of their other needs.

Unlike the Muthuvans, the Kānikkār choose land for cultivation in a compact block. In the case of fresh clearing of land, the Headman has the land cleared by all the men and the refuse burnt. He then allots a piece of land to each man, and a man of large family gets more land than a single man. Hoeing, weeding, sowing, and harvesting were formerly done by women for the Headman who gave them food. But now they do not give any free labour, as the Headman does not feed them. In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, the Kānikkār render free labour to the Headman for one day, after which they are given wages for their work.

The Kānikkār clear the jungle beginning at sunrise on a Friday in Vrishigom (November-December)



A VIEW OF A MALANKURAVAN HAMLET.

and finish the clearing by the end of Dhanu (December-January). They allow the debris to dry, and burn it by the tenth of Kumbhom (February-March). In Meenom (March-April), they sow paddy broadcast and mix seed into the soil by means of a hoe (thöttakambu). This is made of *Dillenia pentagyna*. Weeding is done both by man and woman. Harvesting is done in Chingom (August-September). They carry the paddy to the hut and keep it in bundles of kuva leaves in the roof.

To the north of Neduvangad, the Kānikkār have wet land cultivation and raise double crops. They manure the land with leaves. They harvest their first crop in Chingom and their second crop in Makaram (January-February). They loosen the soil with mam-matty in Meenom and Kanni. Each man owns from ten to fifteen cents of land. The paddy lands lie in one block. They have taken to this method of cultivation cheerfully, but are not contented with what they get by it. At Villimala, stakes are driven along the margin of paddy flats. They are intended to scare away the sambur and other wild animals which damage the crop. It is said that these animals, scenting human touch on the twigs, take to flight thinking that there are men close at hand. The stake is called Viralikambu or twig to scar away animals. Its efficiency lasts for two or three days. In Palode, split reeds are dipped in gunpowder water and are smoked and planted round the field.

Besides paddy, the Kānikkār cultivate tapioca (*Manihot utilisima*). During Kumbhom, Meenom, and Medom, unlike low country man, they plant the stem

perpendicularly in Kallar, as it is held that the yield will be greater from each plant than what it would be, if planted slanting. They collect the yield in Vrischigom. Each plant is expected to yield five pounds on an average. A man gets five to ten cart loads of tapioca annually. It forms their manistay for the year, and is not usually sold.

The Kānikkār also cultivate thena (*Sataria italica*), sama (*Panicum miliare*), payaru (*Phaseolus mungo*), sakkaravalli (*Ipomoea batatas*). They also grow brinjal, pushini (*Cucurbita moschata*), cholam (*Andropogon sorghum*) and manjal (*Curcuma longa*). They have large areas under plantain cultivation (*Musa paradisiaca*). The plantains form the chief produce of their weekly marketing and meet all their miscellaneous wants. They also raise a few tobacco plants for their own use.

The agricultural implements of the Kānikkār are very crude and simple. The bill-hook is used for clearing the jungle. The hoe is a primitive wooden implement with a hooked appearance. The axe is used for cutting big trees. They have also the sickle for weeding and harvesting. These form their equipment. The axe and the bill-hook are bought from the people of the plains. For carrying grain, they make baskets of reeds which they sling on their backs.

2 LIVESTOCK

The domestic animals of the Kānikkār are but few in number. The Kānikkār of Mottamood, Chembi-kunnu, and Vevattukala rear pigs, which serve to meet unforeseen expenses. They are tended by the women. When a pig is sold, the sale proceeds are equally divided

between husband and wife. Women utilise the money for the purchase of vessels, ornaments, and the like. Women have more claim on the pigs than men, so much so that, when a woman dies, the pigs become the property of her children according to the Kānikkār of Mottamood and of women alone according to the Headman of Chembikunnu. North of Neduvangad, the Kānikkār keep cows and bulls. They use the bulls for ploughing the paddy-flats. They drink cow's milk. Dogs accompany them when they go hunting. They rear fowl and goats for sale.

Hunting forms a subsidiary occupation to meet a 3 HUNTING. deficiency in the supply of food. The hunters go in a body of ten or fifteen persons. They follow the track of the animal and encircle it. Two or three go in the wake of the animal. The wild boar lies on the ground. When it sees men it runs. Other trackers are informed of this. They chase and shoot it.

On a Friday, the Kānikkār collect the strong fibre 4. (a) FISH- of Ulattithumba. Out of this, they make a fishing line. ING. A reed rod of eight feet in length is dried and the line is tied to the end of it. Earthworm tied to the end of the line is used as bait for small fish. When catching big fish, roasted tapioca is rubbed into the bait. The bait is kept in water. When the fish swallows it and moves away with it, the rod is raised and the fish is taken off of the line. A man may catch a dozen fish a day.

Streams are dammed when water is low, and basket (b) DAMS traps are placed in the water at night, and cleared of cap- AND WEIRS. tured fish in the morning.

(c) POISON-
ING.

The bark of *Acasia intsia* is threshed and its juice mixed in stagnant water. The fish die and float, and are then collected and taken home.

(d) LIGHT.

A light is placed at night on the bank of a stream. Fish then come to the surface, and a barbed arrow with an iron hook is shot at it. The fisher holds on to the end of the arrow by the hook. This method is chiefly adopted for catching big fish. There is yet another method. Holding a torch in one hand, a man lures fish to the surface, when he deftly strikes at it with a bill-hook. If it is hit, it comes to the surface and is caught. Two or three men go out at night and the catch may amount to a dozen fish.

COLLECTION
OF MINOR
FOREST PRO-
DUCTS

The Kānikkār go in parties to gather honey. Each man makes his own trial. When a man sees a honey-comb, he whistles twice to call his companions. They may not call each other by name. They call honey 'vandu' or 'kāmandi' in Madathura, bill-hook, 'tulukathi', and axe (*ounga*). It is said that they cannot get any honey if they used ordinary expressions. They tie up bamboos which have nodes to the trunk of the tree and then climb up to the branch required and crawl along it, until the hive is reached. When they climb the tree at night, they smear their bodies with a paste of *chenthikizhangu*. They also tie the torch with the leaves of the same plant and smoke the comb. The bees in coming out are all killed. The honey-comb is then cut out and lowered in a basket to the ground. Sometimes the climber is severely stung by the bees and suffers from excruciating pain, and has to be carried home by others.



A MALANKURAVAN MALE GROUP.

Water is boiled with the leaves of *nuluvalli* and the sufferer bathes in this water and also drinks the decoction.

The Kānikkār gather rock honey also. This calls for great intrepidity on high rugged rocks accessible only on one side, the other side, where the combs are being a precipice of hundreds of feet. They make a rope ladder several hundred feet long, and fasten it to a tree at the top of the precipice. One man descends the ladder at night for a considerable distance with a basket fastened to his back, and a torch of wood. Having arrived at his goal, he lights the torch, and smokes the comb from which the bees emerge to die. He removes the comb into the basket and begins his return journey. The Kānikkār are also engaged by Government for collection of other forest produce like cardamoms, ginger, dammer, elephant tusks in return for a small remuneration called kudivila.

Other occupations of the Kānikkār are trapping wild pigs and other animals. The trap is made of rough timber supported on a spring which falls and lets down the weight of the traps upon the animal's back. The trap is laid by the side of a fence in which a small hole is left for the animal's entrance.

Some of the Kānikkār are engaged as coolies in estates owned by Europeans or in felling timber and cutting bamboos for contractors, while others are engaged in making bows and arrows with blunt or barbed iron heads.

INDUSTRIES.

The Kānikkār have no marketable industry worth the name. Each family makes its own baskets and mats from bamboo splits. The Kānikkār of Kallar grow cotton plants, and the women make yarn for loin-bands for the men. For spinning, the *takli* is used. The spindle is made of a long spike of pala (*Alstonia scholaris*) with a pointed end at the bottom. Above this is a wooden cylindrical spindle-whorl, bored in the middle, through the upper end of which the wooden stem is passed. This cylindrical whorl weights the spindle which spins readily and for a long time. Both hands are used for twisting cotton, the spindle being spun with the right hand, and the cotton held in the left.

The spun thread is gradually wound round the wooden stem. It is twisted in threes and 57 strands form a braided cordage which is tied round the loins by males. This loin band is worn from the age of six. Each costs two annas and the amount is paid on the spot to the woman who makes it. It takes four days to make one. The Kānikkār of Kallar state that they were formerly called Malayarayan, and that they were ordained to wear this scanty garment which they wear now. It is said that the cotton plants were imported from Tinnevely.

BASKETRY.

Baskets are used for a variety of purposes, such as storing grain and carrying offerings to the temple. The carrying baskets are intended to carry paddy, tubers, and plantains. They are made of bamboo splits. Mats are also made of split bamboo but are not as finely woven as

those of the Muthuvans and Vizhavans. Crude carving is done on bamboo hair-combs.

Rice and tapioca form the staple food of the Kānikkār. They grow a few of the garden vegetables such as cucumbers, pumpkins, beans, brinjal, papaw, and plantains. There are wild tubers and roots in the jungle like Kavala (*Dioscorea oppositifolia*) so that no one who can dig need starve. There is infinite variety when we come to the fleshpot. They eat, as available, the flesh of the sambur, the wild boar, the bison, the ibex, the black monkey, the jungle squirrel, the bear, etc. They avoid the flesh of the elephant, the tiger, and the wolf. The last two are Sāsta's carriers. When the white ants emerge from the soil, they are caught, roasted, and eaten. They smoke out the combs of wasps, kill the wasps and dip the comb in boiling water to dislodge the caterpillars. The comb is then well boiled and eaten, and is regarded as a delicacy. They remove the hair and bone of a dead animal and eat all its other parts including the skin.

DIETARY
OF THE
KANIKKAR.

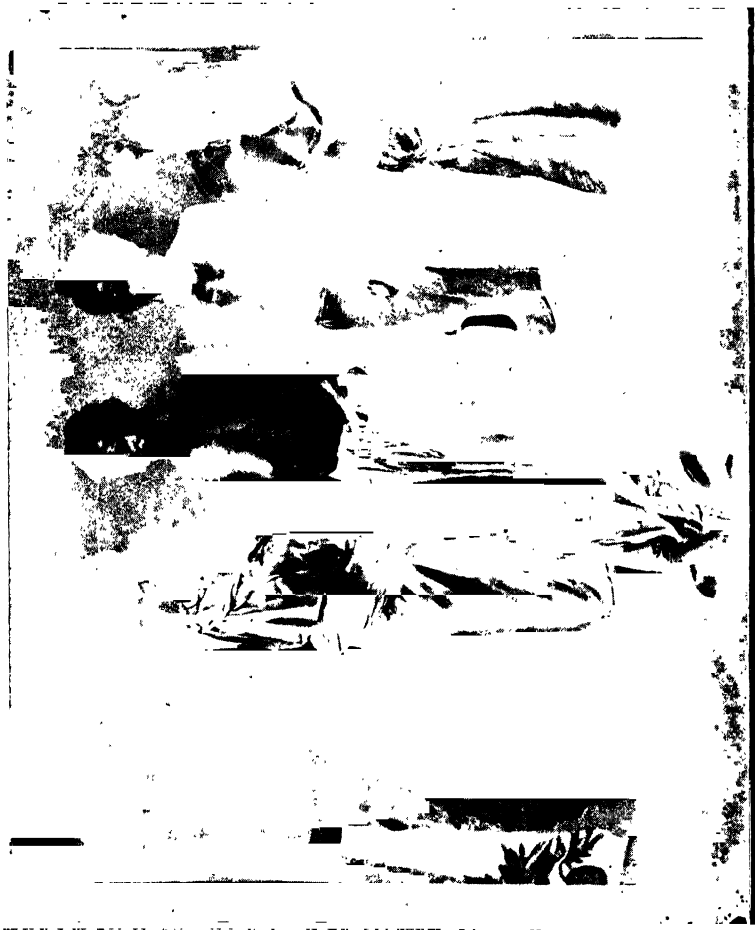
The Kānikkār also eat birds, wild pigeon, and jungle fowl, which they roast in fire. The Kānikkār of Neduvangad do not drink milk. They are inveterate chewers of betel, nut, and lime. They begin to chew at such a very early age that the teeth become disfigured. Both sexes chew. They also chew Kānakavungu (*Acacia catechu*) which grows on the hills. Bits of tobacco are rolled in dry kuva leaves, and, dried in the sun, smoked. Some chew more than smoke. They drink the juice of *Caryota urens*. They also drink arrack on market days.

DRESS.

A German savant divides clothing into two types, tropical and arctic. The first of those is based on the waist cloth or girdle which varies between the string of beads and the cloak as two extremes. Mateer records that, "men almost go naked, having only a small strip of cloth." ¹ The Kānikkār north of the Karamana river and south of Chembikunnu wear the scantiest of garments, an under-cloth held in position by a string tied round the loins. Over this is suspended in front an apron $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad with one free end tucked up into the girdle which is tied tightly round the loins. The girdle (*aranjan*) consists of 57 strands of yarn or twist as described above. The girdle is always in demand by the men and lasts for two years. It is on this girdle that the Kānikkār tuck their bill-hooks smartly into the girdle, when they go their daily rounds in the jungle. It is freely stated that, when they become hungry, they bathe in a stream and tie up the girdle tightly. This, it is said, deadens hunger and sustains them without fatigue for six hours. They also carry a large cloth $4' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ which is used occasionally to cover the body.

The Kānikkār are better clad where they are in contact with the people of the plains. They wear a loin cloth $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. They also put on an upper cloth. Some have begun to wear coat and shirt. They are not cleanly in their appearance, as they do not change their cloth, though they bathe regularly. They carry a cloth bag which contains chewing materials and chakmuk. They carry a long staff, a heavy

1. Mateer.—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883—p. 66.



A MALANKURAVAN FEMALE GROUP.

knife, and bows and arrows. Women wear a loin-cloth 4 x 2 cubits and cover their breast with an upper cloth. They have recently taken to wearing jackets. They appear better clad than the men and are shy of strangers.

The clothes of the father are inherited by the son. When they meet people of the plains, they tuck up their upper cloth under the armpit and salute them with both hands. There is no difference between indoor and outdoor dress. The Headman wears a cap to enable people to make him out.

Men wear ear-rings of gold or silver. Young ORNAMENTS. men wear a necklace of beads with enamel rings in front of the neck. They also have rings of lead on both their ears. A nose-screw of silver is worn on the left alae of the nose. Numerous strings of beads and shells adorn the necks of the women. They also have ten to fifteen bracelets of brass or iron on each arm. The Muhammadan trader caters to their tastes which sometimes exhausts their earnings.

The Kānikkār of Kallar and Āryanād tattoo to enhance TATTOOING. their personal appearance. The operation is the woman's job. She does it single-handed. With males, tattoo is in circular form, while it is half-moon and a dot on each cheek for women. Three needles are tied together with a string. The man lies down on his back for the operation. The woman pricks the skin on the forehead with the needles round the circle. Blood oozes out and the operation causes severe pain. Lampblack or charcoal powder of cocoanut shell and manimathi are mixed with the breast-milk of a woman. This is painted over the pricked part. Ointment is applied every alternate day

until the wound heals. It is said that the wound will heal quicker than otherwise because of the breast-milk used in the colouring.

Any woman versed in the art may tattoo another woman. An outline is first made by means of black pigment over which the tattoo is done by a single woman. It is done at the age of 16 to enhance personal beauty. In Kottur, one male may tattoo another. The thorn of the lime plant is used for tattooing instead of needles. An outline is first made by means of lamp-black mixed with cocoanut oil. The pricking is done seven times.

Among the Kānikkār of Palode, tattooing is done by Kurava women for women and Kurava men for men on the forehead, a half-moon with a dot in the centre, on the hand, a javelin. With women, a straight perpendicular mark about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long with a dot on each side is tattooed. The wound takes a week to heal.

WEAPONS.

The Kānikkār use the bill-hook for a variety of purposes. The ordinary bill-hook has a blade twelve inches long, narrow in the middle and broadening out to a blunt end four inches wide. The handle is made of wood and is fastened to the blade by means of pins. It forms one of their precious possessions, being their bread-winner.

BOWS AND ARROWS.

The Kānikkār of Neduvangad and Neyyattinkara use the bow to kill animals which do damage to their crops. The bow is made of a single stave, the elasticity of which is not reinforced by any other substance. It is made of nāra (*Polyalthia fragrans*) or vilūni (*Milusa velutina*). The stave is made out of a young plant by

cutting it in two longitudinally on a Sunday. Where these plants are not available, the stave is made of bamboo. The string is made of the fibre of the adventitious roots of *Ficus* and is tied on notches at the ends of the stave. The arrow (*tharaku*) is made of reed, and the pointed end, made of *Acacia catachu*, is fixed to it by wax. To steady the flight of the arrow, three rows of fowl's feathers are stuck into it with gum. The arrows are carried in the hand and are known as *tharaku*. In some cases, the pointed end of the arrow is serrated. The bow and arrow are used for killing jungle fowl, pigeons, parrots, and others. The Kānikkār say that their ancestors were stronger than they are and used to kill bigger animals. Now that they have taken to the use of the gun, they state that they have grown weak and cannot use the bow effectively.

The pellet-bow known as *thettdai* or Chūndanvillu ^{THE PELLET-BOW.} flings pellets of stone with great force. The stave is made of bamboo and is wider at the centre than at the ends. Two strings made of *Sterculia* fibre are tied on notches at the end of the stave. They are kept one inch apart by a piece of reed with a socket in the centre, one inch square, also made of *Sterculia* fibre. The stone is held in the socket with the thumb and the forefinger. A stone can be flung from the pellet-bow over a hundred yards. It is used in killing small game and in driving away monkeys from the crops. Boys are early taught the use of it from their very early life and by the tenth year they become adepts. Men use it till they are forty years old, when they give it up owing to failing eye-sight.

**MUSICAL
INSTRUMENTS.**

The musical instrument of the Kānikkār is the Kokra, which is used in all religious ceremonies. It is a tube nine inches long, made of sheet iron, serrated at the joining and the opposite side. A man holds it in his left hand and draws an iron pin over the serrated edges to and fro quickly. The sound thus produced is not agreeable to others, but it suits the songs of the Kānikkār.

DAILY LIFE.

The Kānikkār lead a strenuous life. The agricultural operations involved in hill-cultivation consume all their energy. They get up early in the morning, the women being the first to open the door. The woman cooks the morning meal of tapioca with which water is drunk. The whole family then moves out to the field for work. Women return at noon with edible tubers and fuel and prepare the evening meal. They seldom have any midday meal. The husband returns in the evening, takes a bath and has his food. Guests may come occasionally and stay with them for a couple of days. Then there will be rice kanji (gruel) in the morning and rice and tapioca in the evening. The wife has her food last. Unmarried boys, as already said, sleep in the bachelor-hall and girls in another shed where an elderly woman keeps watch over them. The social life of the Kanikkār centres round the festivals relating to agriculture.

CHARACTER.

The Kānikkāran is characterised by low intelligence. He is not receptive to the views of others. He clings to his views with tenacity, being always convinced that he is right. He has in him a spirit of independence and with it a rather direct frankness. He is hospitable to

visitors and is a model of devotion to his family. He is not enthusiastic about doing any work that he can avoid.

Once in a year or two, the men of the Kānikkār go in a group to visit His Highness the Maharaja at the Capital. "The Maharajas always receive them kindly by accepting the Nuzzur they offer in the shape of (1) the bamboo plantain with large though few fruits (2) a parcel of Muttucheri hill paddy seed (3) bamboo joints containing honey of different varieties and (4) Virukchattam or a parcel of civet. The customary modes of court address and the prescribed court etiquette are alike unknown to and unused by these unsophisticated hill-tribes, and the Maharajas, pleased with their simplicity and unaffected homage reward them with presents of cloth, money, salt and tobacco with which they return satisfied to their simple homes" Rev. Mateer says that they fancy that bamboo plantains must be preserved for the Maharaja.

The Kānikkār talk a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. In Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Neyyattinkara Taluks, Tamil predominates. Further north, in Neduvangad and Pathanapuram Taluks, they talk Malayalam. A Kānikkāran can be distinguished by a peculiar accent. LANGUAGE.

The Government of Travancore have opened Vernacular Primary Schools for the education of the Kānikkār at Ponmana, Madathura, Villeri, and Cherukara, but this has not had the effect desired. The average Kānikāran boy is indifferent to his studies and EDUCATION.

does not attend the school regularly. As nomadic agriculture is his mainstay, he cannot ignore it in favour of study. A number of boys who attend school have begun to despise manual labour, and have begun to copy the customs of the low country men. In point of understanding, they compare unfavourably with children in the low country. A change is therefore called for in the present methods of imparting knowledge. Their education should be such as will be of practical use to them and will, at the same time, enable them to preserve their cultural heritage and develop their racial qualities. Agricultural and cottage industries should be taught to boys and domestic science to girls. The only way to save them from becoming extinct is to encourage them to work and improve their economic condition.

DISEASES.

The improvement of communications has brought the Kānikkār into contact with outside influences and with the dregs of humanity from the low country, with the result that they have fallen in morals. The pace of so called civilizing influences has been so rapid that they have been hustled out of their old existence in virgin forests where they led their old life, unknown and undisturbed. In the hamlets adjacent to improved communications, lethal diseases are manifest. Instances of leprosy are found in Kottur, Madathura, and Arippa. Elephantiasis is found among a few men in Arippa, Cheruk and Villimala. In Neyyattinkara, Vilavancode, Kalkulam taluks, malaria is very common. Physicians agree that it is impossible to expect any initiative energy in a people devitalised by the baneful disease. Its effect is seen in the low fertility of the Kānikkār

A comparative statement of the fertility of the FERTILITY.
Kānikkār in three well-defined zones is given below :—

Name of locality.	Number of families.	Average size of family.	Average birth rate.	Average survival rate.
1. Pechipara and Ponmana	37	3.5	2.7	1.6
2. Āryanād and Kallar	30	5.2	3.2	2.5
3. Kulathupuzha	40	6.3	4.3	3.0

In Pechipara and Ponmana, the Kānikkār are attacked by virulent malaria. This coupled with their poor meagre diet impairs their physical stamina and reduces their vitality. The death rate is, therefore, high among infants and the average survival rate is 1.6. Forty-five families were examined. Out of these, 8 families had instances of sterility. Further north in Āryanād and Kallar, malaria is not so devitalising a factor. The rainfall is higher in these places and the economic condition shows improvement. This is reflected in the higher average survival rate of 2.5. Several cases of abortion were reported in this region and further south. Medical help can do much to improve this state of affairs. In the vicinity of Kulathupuzha, there is still larger rainfall. The Kānikkār enjoy greater advantage in the struggle for existence, as their supply of food is more assured and abundant. The average survival rate, therefore, reaches

the peak of its development, 3·0. In Pechipara and Ponmana, it is observed that there are 37 boys and 19 girls in 37 families. Similarly, there are more boys than girls in the hamlets of Neduvangad and Neyyattinkara taluks. This feature is characteristic of the Kānikkār of Kulathupuzha and Yerur. A surplus age of adult females over males is generally regarded as a necessary condition of the stabilization and of the continued vigour of human races. The excess of males over females does not, therefore, augur well for the future of the Kānikkār.

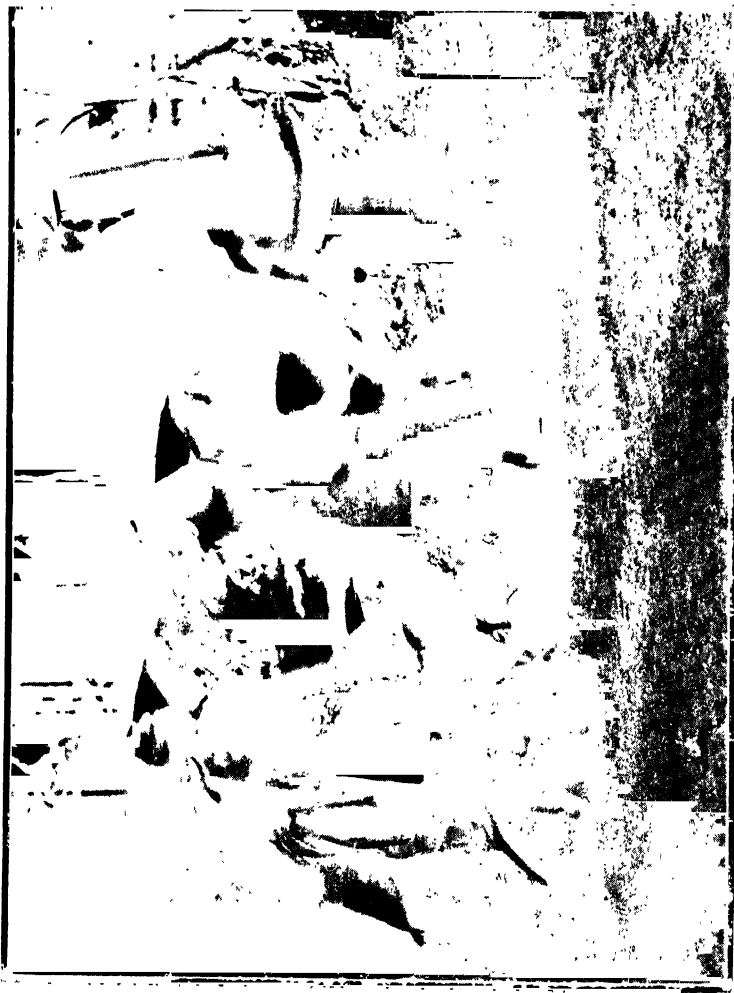
Among the Kanikkar, "the proportion of children is distinctly higher and that of old persons appreciably lower than amongst advanced classes, but they are more short lived than the latter, so that by the time middle age is reached, their proportion falls below that of advanced classes. The economic condition and mode of living account for this difference between these classes."¹

TREATMENT OF DISEASES.

The plāthi (medicine-man) is the repository of all medical knowledge. He cures ailments by medicine or exorcising evil spirits. The following medicinal products and their curative effect are largely drawn from the unwritten pharmacopæia of the Kānikkār:—

1. *Alstonia scholaris* (Pāla)—The bark is removed from the tree. The outer crust is cast away. The remainder is then beaten into fibre and reduced to powder. The powder is boiled in water. The decoction is administered three times a day and it gives immediate

1. N. Kunjan Pillai—*The Travancore Census Report for 1931*. Part I, p. 106



KORAKALI—FIRST PHASE.

relief to chest pain dropsy, malaria, and rheumatism. In cases of fever, it is given when the attack is feared.

2. *Zizyphus rugosa* (Thodali) — The root is rubbed with water on a stone. The paste cures diarrhoea.

3. *Polygonum bractentum* (Kōzhivalan) — Its root is used for lung diseases.

4. *Asparagus racemosus* — The decoction of the root is used for rheumatism and lung complaints.

5. *Aristolochia indica* (Garudakodi) — The root is dried and powdered. The ointment made out of it is smeared over the chest to cure pain on the chest

6. *Artanema sesmoides* (Vātham verettu) — The decoction of the root is given as a cure for rheumatism.

7. *Naravelia zeylanica* (Vāthamkolli) — A paste of the leaves mixed with chunam (lime) is rubbed over the body. The patient bathes in the evening in warm water. This cures rheumatism.

To cure dysentery, the maxillary of the black ant or the beetle is rubbed on a stone in water. If the paste is licked, it cures the disease. Their treatment of biliousness is as follows: — The black variety is cured by eating the heart and lungs of the black monkey and by drinking its blood. The white variety is cured by drinking the blood and eating the heart of the white monkey.

Snake bite is cured both by medicine and mantras SNAKE-BITE. (repeated phrases). The "poison stone" is placed on the wound and it sucks away the poison. The bite of the cobra can be cured only by mantras. The plāthi does

not receive any remuneration. If he does, he cannot effectively cure the patient.

PERSONAL
APPEARANCE.

The Kānikkār are of short stature and of dark complexion. Men and women grow their hair alike. In the vicinity of Kallar and Aryanad they tie it into a knot at the back. Those in Kalkulam, Vilavancode, Yerur, and Kulathupuzha have adopted the front tuft of the indigenous Hindus of the low country. They have great powers of endurance on the hills and can walk without fatigue. They are not in their element in the low country. The women are healthier in the vicinity of Kallar, where they are found in a more primitive condition. They are not cleanly in their dress.

PHYSICAL
FEATURES.

Edgar Thurston was [the first to study the anthropometric measurements of the Kānikkār. A comparative statement of their measurements is given below:—

Where found	Average stature.	Average span of arms	Average circumference of chest.	Head average.			Nose average.			Facial average.			Number measured.
				Length.	Breadth.	Cephalic index.	Length.	Breadth.	Nasal index.	Bizygomatic breadth.	Total facial height.	Total facial index.	
1. Villimala Chervazhikala Cherukara	153.4	161.5	75.4	18.1	13.8	75.6	4.2	3.8	89.9	12.6	10.2	80.7	68
2. Palode, Aryanad, Kallar and Vidura	152.8	160.8	75.1	18.4	13.4	73.2	4.0	3.5	88.2	12.4	10.1	81.8	96
3. Villavancode	152.4	158.7	73.9	17.7	13.4	73.9	4.0	3.6	90.8	12.0	9.9	82.3	50
Total average	152.8	160.3	74.8	18.2	13.5	74.2	4.0	3.6	89.6	12.3	10.1	81.6	214

The average stature of the Kānikkār is 152·8 cms. or 60·1 inches. They have long head, the average cephalic index being 73·9. The forehead is receding and the brow ridges are prominent. They have prognathous jaw and receding chin. The nose is short and flat, the average nasal index being 89·6. The average facial index is 81·6. Their average span of arms is 160·3 and the circumference of their chest 74·8. There are a few instances of brachycephaly.

On analysing the measurements, I observe that the average stature of the Kānikkār of Vilavancode is 152·4 cms. while it is 153·4 cms. in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha. The greater stature of the latter may be due to the greater abundance of food and more congenial environment than in Vilavancode. This inference is strengthened by the fact that, while the average circumference of chest is 73·9 cms. in Vilavancode, it goes up to 75·4 cms. in the vicinity of Kulathupuzha. In regard to the nasal index, it stands at 90·8 in Vilavancode, but it goes down to 89·9 in Kulathupuzha, where the Kānikkār are more domesticated under civilising influences. The very broad flaring nostril of the Kānikkār is a primitive character. Thompson and Buxton conclude that the platyrrhine nose is connected with a hot moist climate and the leptorrhine with a dry cold climate.

MATERIAL
PROSPERITY
OF THE
KANIKKAR.

The Kānikkār, as already stated, are mostly nomadic agriculturists. Their migratory habits arise from laziness, as it is easier to cut down and burn new jungle than to lead a settled life which calls for more exertion. They, therefore, prefer their nomadic life. The advent of the European Planters in South Travancore created a

new situation. "The fate of the hill-kings" says Mr. Honiss, "is rather sad. For ages past, they have boasted of being the undisputed lords of the primeval forests. The elephant and tiger were their only foes, but with snares and traps they could hold their own against their enemies. But they could not resist the onward march of a superior race. The planter approaches them in a peaceable way offering wages for their hire, but demanding as his right the land which he has purchased. The proud men of the woods decline to herd with coolies and work like common people. As soon as the planter's axe is heard, the hill kings pack their traps and desert their homes to establish themselves in another valley. In this way, they have been driven from hill to hill and from valley to valley, until some have found a safe resting place in the jungles of the lowlands of Travancore."¹

The fate of the hill kings continues to be sad. They are still in a state of chronic want. They are mostly nomadic agriculturists driven to more uncongenial lands, which yield hardly enough to run their home for the whole year. The level of their economic life is very low. A large number of them have not the means to secure the needed clothing. They are perpetually in debt with the low country men, which they are seldom able to discharge. "They are the prey of many kinds of sharks who take advantage of their ignorance and good nature."² The Government of Travancore have framed a set of rules for the treatment and management of the

REMEDIAL
MEASURES

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*. 1883, p. 66.

2. Spencer Hatch, D.—*Up From Poverty* p. 98.

hill-tribes. If their welfare is to be safeguarded efficiently, the rules now in force require revision. They do not come up to the level of the scheme evolved by Mac Gregor elsewhere, as they do not provide for individual ownership and for levy of tax on it, which alone will create an incentive to work and put the land to the best possible use.¹ The rules have therefore to be modified on the following lines :—

1. The areas in reserves should be divided into small blocks and their ownership conferred on individuals separately.

2. Each hillman to whom land is given should pay a fixed rental to Government.

3. Village councils should be constituted for each settlement.

As nomadic agriculture is the mainstay of the Kānikkār, improvidence and laziness intensify their indebtedness. "Poverty and hunger give a very definite felt want. A felt-want—a keen feeling of need—is the best basis for securing and holding interest."² It seems, therefore, desirable that adequate credit facilities should be created so that they may stand on their own legs. Credit societies should therefore be organized for the purpose. Some pioneer work may be necessary to make co-operative methods a success.

MARKETING.

The Kānikkār have markets in their vicinity for selling their produce and purchasing their necessities.

1. The attention of the reader is invited to pages 425-427 in Appendix I of Part I of the Travancore Census Report for 1931 by Dr. N. Kunjan Pillai.

2. Spencer Hatch. D — *Up From Poverty*—p. 99.



KORAKALI—SECOND PHASE.

but the unscrupulous low country trader generally dupes them. A Kānikkāran seldom gets more than 7 to 12 chuckrams (4 to 7 annas) for the produce which represents a week's labour. It will be a great boon to them if proper arrangements can be made for co-operative marketing of their produce, so that they may get a fair price for it. The Forest Department can best tackle this problem successfully. It is time that steps were taken to lift them from their condition of poverty and ignorance.

MALANKURAVAN.

INTRODUCTION—POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE AND SUB-DIVISIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—POLYGAMY—LEVIRATE—SORORATE—ADULTERY—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—MENSTRUATION—PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—NAMING CEREMONY—INHERITANCE—KINSHIP—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—FUNERAL CEREMONY—RELIGION—OCCUPATION—FECUNDITY—APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

The Malankuravans are a class of agricultural labourers found in the taluks of Neduvangad, Pathanapuram, Tiruvella, and Quilon. The Malayadiars, who are found in the Koni Reserve, resemble them in their exogamous clan organization and other customs. It seems probable that they took refuge on the hills long ago and changed their name into Malayadiar.

POPULATION

A comparative statement of their population is given below :—

Year of Census.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1911	62,824	30,697	32,127
1921	75,345	36,916	38,399
1931	95,295	45,249	49,346

The figures tell us that the Malankuravans increased by 27 per cent. over the figures of 1921 in 1931 and that females exceed males, there being 1,066 females for every 1,000 males.



A MALANKUBAYAN — FRONT AND PROFILE.

The Kuravans consist of two sections, one living in the jungles, the other, in the plains. The former is distinguished from the latter by the addition of the prefix 'mala' to the tribal name, but the Malankuravan, when he settles down in the plains, becomes the ordinary Kuravan. "From very early times, there has been a constant migration of the Malankuravans from the jungles to the plains and hence we find a large number of them included under Hindus from the first Census at which tribal religions were recorded separately." ¹ In 1931, they were returned as 87,071 Hindu, 66 Tribal, and 8,158 Christian.

"The Kuravans were formerly divided into four branches called Kunta Kuravan, Pūm Kuravan, Kākka Kuravan, and Pāndi Kuravan. Almost all the Kuravans of the country belong to the first of these sections. The Pūm Kuravans are said to have become a different caste called Vēlan. Similarly, the Kākka Kuravans have crystallised into a distinct caste called Kākkālan. Pāndi Kuravans speak Tamil and are chiefly found in Nānchinād, being there known as Nānchi Kuravas. The Kunta Kuravas attribute the origin of their name to the appearance of their first ancestor from a sacrificial altar (hōma kunta). They are known in some places, such as Neduvangad, by the name of Mūli Kuravans, probably because they emit a drawling noise when they are called. It has been suggested that the Kuravans are one of the early tribes of Southern India and one with the Kurumbars of the Tamil country and closely allied to the Vēdāns.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITIONS
OF THE TRIBE.
SUB-DIVISIONS.

1. N. Kumjan Pillai—*The Travancore Census Report for 1931*—Part I, p. 333.

Such of them as preserve their old practices and do not mingle with low country people are known as Malankuravans. They form one of the 16 hill-tribes mentioned in Keralolpathi.”¹

Anthropometric evidence goes to confirm the view that the Malankuravans are allied to the Kurumbars and the Vētan. A comparative statement of their measurements is given below :—

Name of Tribe.	Number of persons measured.	Average stature.	Average nasal index.
Kurumba .	22	157·9	86·1
Vētan .	63	153·3	92·4
Malankuravan .	101	155·2	88·5

An analysis of the measurements shows that all the above tribes are short in stature and have a short platyrrhine nose.

The Kuravans were praedial slaves who were liable in olden times to be bought and sold along with the land they occupied. They are not regarded as being as faithful as the Pulayas. Slavery was abolished in 1855.

The Malankuravans are divided into 8 exogamous clans :—

1. Menati illom
2. Kāra illom

1. Edgar Thurston,—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Vol IV, P 213.

3. Kurunthadi illom
4. Pallikal illom
5. Thechira illom
6. Vayana illom
7. Venni illom
8. Onthi illom

The Menāti illakars (clansmen) consider themselves superior to the members of the other clans. They marry from all the clans except Vayana illom and Onthi illom. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

In Pathanamthitta taluk, they are divided into six clans: —

1. Mēnati illom
2. Konjanāti illom
3. Kāra illom
4. Plākāt illom
5. Venni illom
6. Pallikal illom.

In the vicinity of Madathura, they are divided into seven clans, Kochira illom, Vayana illom, Venni illom, Kāra illom, Swarupakar, Kuruntadi illom, and Menāti illom. It is evident from the foregoing divisions that the Menāthi illom, Kāra illom, and Veeni illom have a wide distribution. A man does not marry a woman of the same clan, because he feels that she is of the same blood. A woman retains her clan after marriage. The children belong to the clan of the mother. The clans are now being forgotten near Madathura and they do not form a criterion for the settlement of matches.

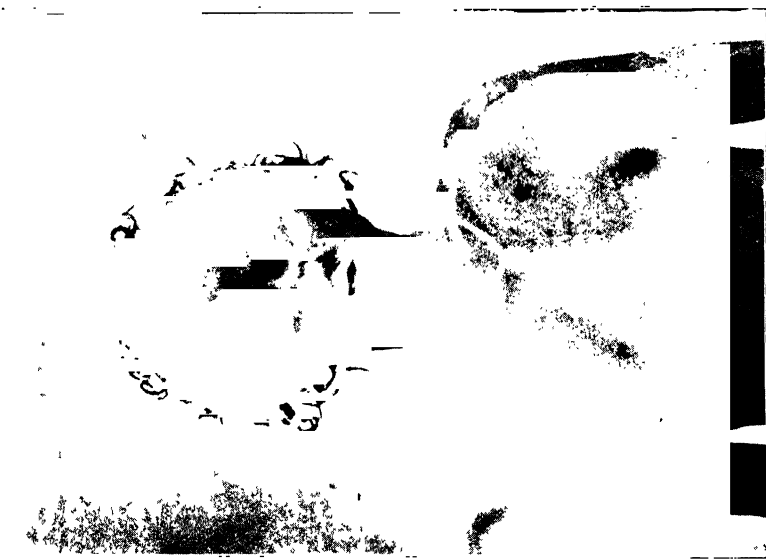
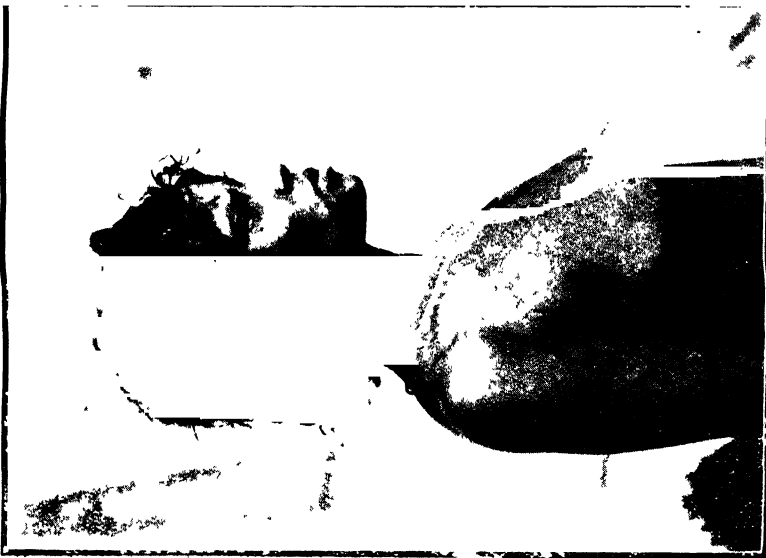
The Malayadiars of Ullinkal and Kottampara have the following clans : —

1. Kāra illom
2. Menāti illom
3. Pallikal illom
4. Venni illom
5. Plākāt illom
6. Vayana illom

The clans are exogamous. A woman continues to be of her own clan after marriage. Children belong to the clan of the mother. Judging from the identity of names of clans and other customs, I am inclined to consider that the Malayadiars are Malankuravans who took refuge in the hills long ago.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

A Malankuravan marries the daughter of his maternal uncle. He cannot marry the daughter of his father's sister, as she is reckoned to be his sister. The tālikettu kalyanam (tali-tying ceremony) was in vogue. Two or three girls of five to ten years of age were married the same day. The ceremony was performed on a Sunday before sunrise. Sometimes an auspicious day was fixed in consultation with the Kaniyan (astrologer). The tāli (marriage badge) was made of gold and was given by their landlord. The tali-tier was the sister's son, who was given one rasi or ten chuckrams for his services. He was eligible to marry anyone of the girls. All the marriage gathering was treated to a feast. The ceremony has now been mostly given up.



A MALANKURAN FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

Marriage, which formerly took place only after puberty, now takes place both before and after puberty. When a man wishes to marry, he tells his sister about it. She informs her parents. His father, the Headman, and the Ūrālī (priest) go to the girl's hut and moot the marriage question to her father. If he agrees, the day is fixed for the marriage. On the appointed day, the bridegroom's sister and uncle go to the bride's hut. They carry with them a pair of cloths, 1½ lbs of tobacco, two bundles of betel leaves, 25 arecanuts, and 21 fanams (three rupees). These are handed over to the uncle of the bride who hands over the cloths to the bridegroom's sister for presentation to the bride. In the absence of his sister, the bridegroom's younger brother may present the cloths. The bride wears one cloth round the loins and covers the body with the other.

The bride is escorted to the bridegroom's hut by her uncle, parents and other relations. Her uncle presents her to the bridegroom's uncle with the following words, “എന്റെ പെണ്ണിനെ നന്നെ ഏൽപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിനു വല്ല കാരാവുന്നാൽ താനാണ് ഉത്തരവാദി.” “I entrust my girl to you. If any harm comes to her, I hold you responsible”. Then the bridegroom's uncle hands him over to the bride's uncle with the following words “ഈ ഞാനു എന്തെങ്കിലും അനാദായം വന്നാൽ പെണ്ണിന്റെ കാരണവന്നാണ് ഉത്തരവാദി”. “If the bridegroom comes to any harm, I hold you responsible for it”. Then the bridegroom's uncle says, “I have taken charge of the bride”, and the bride's uncle says “I have taken charge of the bridegroom”. All the visitors are then treated to a feast.

If the 21 fanams (three rupees) were not paid on the marriage day, the marriage falls through. The amount is paid by the husband as a security for his good behaviour to his wife. If they fall out, and he is responsible for her desertion of him, he cannot get back the amount, which is called കെട്ടു പണം (security.) If she is the cause of the quarrel, the husband tells her uncle about it, and he has to return the three rupees.

Among the Malayadiars, double cross-cousin marriage is prevalent. The boy's father and others fix up the marriage with the help of the Kaniyan. The marriage takes place at the bridegroom's hut. On the auspicious date, the bride-elect and her relations go to the hut of the bride groom-elect. His sister hands over a pair of cloths to the bride which she puts on. She is then led to the marriage booth, where the bridegroom ties the marriage badge. A feast is given to the gathering who disperse after it. On the fourth day, the married couple go to the bride's hut accompanied by the mother and sister of the husband. They return the next day, escorted by the wife's parents. The married couple shift for themselves after a month.

POLYGAMY.

Polygamy prevails among the Malankuravan. A man may marry the sister of his wife or any other woman. It may be that one wife is not able to manage his work and that he marries another to be of assistance to him.

LEVIRATE.

A man may marry the widow of his deceased elder brother, whether he is married or not. Her children also pass on to his tutelage. If he does not have her as

his wife, he has to take her and her children and hand them over to her uncle. It is not customary to return the 21 fanams in such a case. An elder brother does not generally marry the widow of his deceased younger brother,

A Malankuravan may marry the sister of his wife in the latter's life time. If she dies, even then he marries her younger sister in the interest of the children.

SORORATH.

If a man commits adultery with a woman of the same clan, both the culprits are caught and brought before sixteen elderly members of the tribe to whom they are made to admit their guilt. They are fined ten chuckrams each. They are admonished and warned against the repetition of the offence. The woman is then married to a man of a different clan. Betel and nuts are purchased for the amount of the fine. All of them chew the pansupari (betel and nut) and depart. When a man commits the same offence with a woman of a different clan, they are meted out the same punishment, but the man is compelled to marry her after presenting her with a cloth. The Malayadiars inflict a fine of ten chuckrams in such cases. The culprits are admonished and are advised not to repeat the offence. In the event of repetition, they are rejected from the hamlet.

ADULTERY.

When a girl attains puberty, she is confined to a seclusion-shed. Pollution lasts for seven days. Girl companions keep her company at night. Monday and Thursday are considered auspicious for bathing and the

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

period of seclusion may, therefore, be extended by a day or two to wait for the auspicious day. After bathing, she comes home with other women who are treated to a feast. The Malayadiars also keep a woman in seclusion for seven days. Otherwise, they are afraid of incurring the wrath of the sylvan deities.

MENSTRUATION.

A woman in menstruation is confined to a seclusion-shed for four days among the Malankuravans. She bathes on the fifth day and comes to her home which has been purified. The husband is not debarred from doing any work during this period. The Malayadiars observe pollution for three days. On the fourth day a woman bathes and goes home, when she is sprinkled with turmeric water to purify her.

PREGNANCY.

Among the Malankuravans, the *pultkudi* ceremony is performed during the seventh month of pregnancy. The Kaniyan fixes the auspicious time, when the ceremony is gone through. The women of the hamlet are fed. Among the Malayadiars, tamarind juice is strained into the hollow of the right hand of the husband. An iron ring is placed in it. The juice is then poured into the mouth of the wife by the husband.

CHILD-BIRTH

When a woman is about to become a mother among the Malankuravans, she is confined to a separate room in the same hut. Old women attend on her. Pollution lasts for seven days from the birth, after which she bathes. The hut is purified with liquid cowdung. All the men and women are treated to a feast. Among the Malayadiars, the woman is confined to a seclusion-shed. Pollution lasts for 16 days. On the fifth day,



A VIEW OF MALAPANTARAM HABITATIONS.

she bathes and comes to the main hut, but she cannot touch any vessels. All bathe on the tenth day when pollution ceases, but they avoid going to temples and serpent groves until the 16th day, as they are afraid of some harm befalling them.

The naming of children is done on the 27th day. NAMING.
If it is a son, the paternal grandfather's name is given.
If it is a daughter, the maternal grandmother's name is given.

Inheritance was formerly in the maternal line. INHERIT.
Now the son inherits property. ANCE.

When a man dies among the Malankuravans, all relations assemble. The nephew is the chief mourner. FUNERAL CEREMONIES.
He covers the corpse with a new cloth. The grave is dug breast deep, and the corpse is carried and laid in the grave which is then filled in with earth. All then bathe, go into the toddy shop, and regale themselves at the expense of the son. The nephew who is the chief mourner has pollution for 16 days, whereas the son has pollution for one day. On the second day, the chief mourner gives a meagre breakfast (പട്ടിണികഞ്ഞി) to all the men. On the 16th day, a feast is given by the son, after which they revel in drinking toddy to the value of four chuckrams each. Near Madathura, a meagre breakfast has taken the place of toddy both on the 1st and 16th day.

Among the Malayadiars, the dead are buried about a furlong away from the hut. The grave is dug breast-deep to prevent wild animals from doing any harm to the deceased. The nephew is the chief mourner.

A stone is planted at the head, foot and middle and a shed is erected over it. On the seventh day an image of a man is made of earth near the burial site. The image is set up facing north in a reclining posture. An iron ring is placed on a betel leaf over the breast of the figure before day break. A new cloth 18 inches long is laid over the figure. The following prayer is then made by the Urali: "മരണമുണ്ടായപ്പോൾ രക്ഷയുണ്ടാക്കു മനോരമപ്പെടാതെ ഇറങ്ങിപ്പോയ്, ഏതെങ്കിലും മാരായേ." "Oh, Celestial Being, who left this world in affliction, come away without any pang of pain". After saying this, the Urali gets inspired. He places the betel leaf and ring in the cloth and ties it over his head. This symbolizes that he is carrying away the spirit of the departed. On reaching home, he unties the bundle, and leaves the ring and betel leaf near his couch.

KINSHIP.

The system of kinship among the Malankuravans is of the type called classificatory and has some interesting features, the most important of which is the use of the same kinship term for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. This is in conformity with the custom that the proper form of marriage for a man is with the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister's husband. Ammāvan is the name given to father's sister's husband, mother's brother, wife's father, and husband's father, and ammāvi, for their wives. Cross-cousin marriage, in which the two relationships are combined in one and the same person, is the prevailing form of marriage. Again, machambi is the name given to father's sister's son and wife's brother.

A man does not freely converse with his aunt to the same extent as he does with his uncle. A man is not given freedom to move closely with his elder sister and with his younger sister after she attains puberty. A man is not allowed to be free in his relation with his elder or younger brother's wife.

The Malankuravans have a village council presided over by a headman called the Ūrāli. Marriages are arranged in his presence and he is given eight chuckrams and four chuckrams worth of tobacco on all ceremonial occasions. In the event of any sickness, his help is sought after and he exercises the devil. When an Ūrāli dies, his son succeeds to the place.

SOCIAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

The Malankuravans worship the spirits of ancestors on Ōnam day in Chingom, on the 28th of Makarom and on Karkadaga Vavu day. Paddy, fried rice, tender cocoanuts, plantains, and toddy are offered by the elderly member of each family in the evening with the prayer that they may be allowed to live in prosperity. All present partake of the offerings.

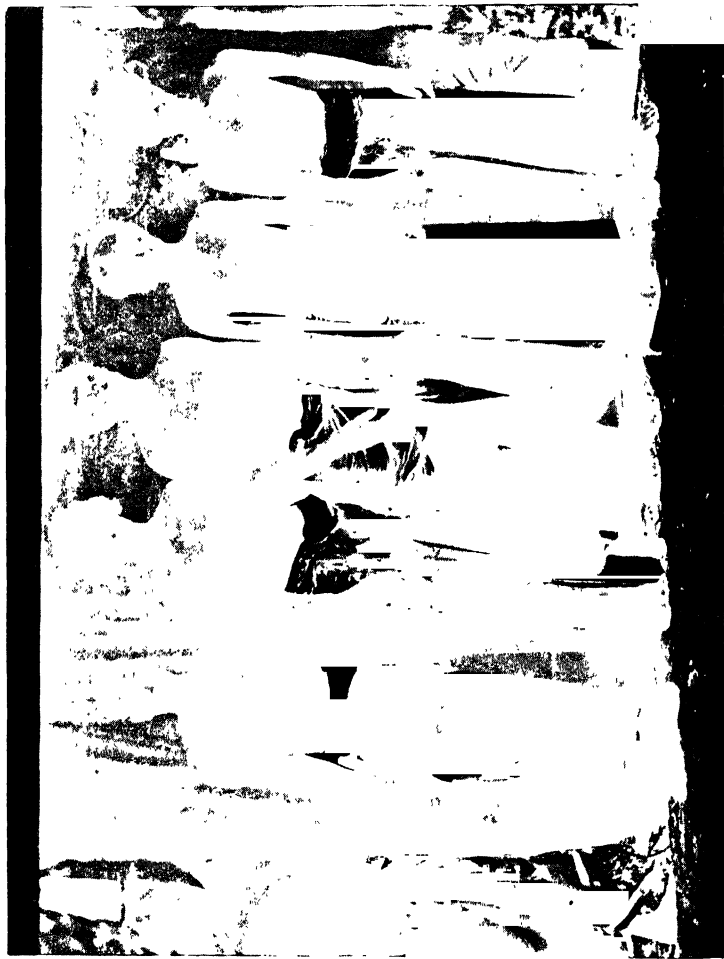
RELIGION.

Kallēli Appūppan, Ambēli Ūrāli and Kunnala Muthukki are the chief ancestor-spirits propitiated on the 1st of Vrischigom, 15th of Dhanu, 28th of Makarom, Meena Bharani day, and Vishu day in Medom with betel, nut, and toddy. The propitiation takes place at night and is accompanied by a dance and illuminations. The Ūrāli officiates as priest. The ceremony costs 1½ rupees. The Ūrāli says “ഞങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങനെ കളിക്കാൻ പഠിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. നിങ്ങൾ അതിനു സന്തോഷിച്ചിരിക്കണം. ഞങ്ങളുടെ കയ്യെടുപ്പിനുള്ള യാത്രയെ ഒരിരവും ഉണ്ടാകരുതെ.”

“ We have decided to engage thus in dance. You must be pleased with it. May there be no suffering to our children. ” Toddy is then drunk by all the men.

They then begin the “ Korakali ”. The team consists of two drummers, ten to twelve male Kuravas, and four women. The drummers begin beating on the drums, and the men dance round them, assuming different postures. When the dance is in full swing, Kunnala Muthukki appears in the entranced Ūrāli, who rocks his head from side to side. The women then take part in the dance forming an inner circle to the men and rocking their heads for an hour with flowing hair. The men continue the Kali or play. On the 1st of Vrischigom, the Malankuravans go to Punnala Sasta, bathe in the stream and give a quarter measure of paddy each to the priest. They pray “ *ഞങ്ങളുടെ ദ.പ്ര. ആചാര്യരും ഉണ്ടായാൽ ഈ ദേവൻ അറിയാതെ വന്നുകൂടും* ” “ If we have any mishap, it shall not come without the knowledge of the deity. ” As in the foregoing, the men dance in a circle round the drummers, assuming different postures. The women join at a later stage, rocking their heads with flowing hair to the tune of the songs and the beating of the drums for about an hour. The rocking is so violent that the women players have occasionally to rest. The song is called ചെറി (Veri). The first man says ഏ-ഏ-ഏ. The second man then takes it up. It is repeated by all the men in the same manner.

The Malankuravans have great faith in Kallēli Appūppan, whose help is sought in times of adversity. When a man finds that his cow is missing, he says that



A MALAPANTARAM MALE GROUP, PATHANAPURAM.

he will make an offering to him, if he gets the cow back. If he gets it back, he seeks the help of the Ūrālī or Piniyālī who makes an offering of arrack, toddy, betel, and nuts, and says, "We are very grateful to you for your help. Graciously accept the offering." The offering is always conditional and given only if their desire is attained. If a man fails to propitiate the deity after achieving his object, some harm comes to him.

The Malankuravans have among themselves a special class of exorcists, who are known as Rārākār, or those who deal with the occurrence of diseases. The Rārākār foretell coming events. When there is a case of illness or theft, his help is sought after. He is given betel and nut to chew. He becomes possessed and cries out the names of the mountain deities in the vicinity, his limbs violently shaking as he does so. He then takes a handful of paddy from a quantity placed in front of him. He places the grain on a plank and removes it in pairs. He then decides upon the chance of one or two grains remaining in the end. If the removal ends in a pair, there is hope of the recovery of the sick man. If it is a single seed in the end, the sickman may be given up as hopeless. The same process may be repeated in order to find out the proper remedy for appeasing the evil spirits.

The Malayadiars, living in the reserve, are nomadic agriculturists. They change to a new area every four years. When they start clearing jungle, offering of rice, betel, nut, tobacco, and chunnam are made near the area to be cleared to Thalapāramala, Udumpāramala, and Thevalaparamala, and for spirits of ancestors with the

OCCUPATION.

following prayer. “ഞങ്ങളുടെ കൃഷിനന്നായിവരണം, അടിയങ്ങളുടെ കണക്കുകൂട്ടിക്കൊക്കേയും നന്നായ് ഇരിക്കണം ” “ May our cultivation flourish. May our children have all good things. ” This said, the Ūrālī cuts the first sod. On harvest day in Kanni, the same offerings are made.

The Malankuravans in the low country are in a state of economic bondage. Though slavery was abolished long ago, they are still in the hands of their masters. Their living has been rendered precarious by the system of individual partition now in vogue among the high class Hindus. They mostly squat on the land of their masters. They work in the fields from 6 A. M. to 5 P. M. If they are in debts, a man gets a noon meal and $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy in the evening as his wages, and a woman, one measure as her wages. If they are not in bondage, they are given rice kanji in the morning and a meal at noon, and a man gets 2 measures of paddy as his daily wages. If a man asks for money as wages, he gets four chuckrams daily if he is a free man, but a man in bondage gets only two chuckrams.

FRONDITY.

After examining the vital statistics of 24 families in Pathanamthitta taluk, I observed that the average size of the family is five. The average birth rate is 3.5 and survival rate, 3.0. There are 36 males and 34 females among the children. In the Kottarakara taluk, the statistics of 36 families were examined. Seven unions were found sterile. In 29 families, the average size of the family is 4.1. The average birth rate is 2.7 and the survival rate, 2.1. Here there were 38 male and 23 female children.

The Malankuravans are dark in complexion and short in stature. Their average stature is 155·2 cms (61·1 inches). The average circumference of chest is 73·8 cms, and its average in relation to stature 100 is 47·5. This low average is due to their poor economic condition. The average span of arms is 160·9 and its average in relation to stature 100 is 103·6. They have black curly hair and dark eyes. They are long-headed with an average cephalic index of 74·0. The nose is short and flat, and the average nasal index is 88·5. The nose is slightly depressed at the root. The average facial index is 81·2

APPEARANCE
AND
PHYSICAL
FEATURES.

The Malankuravans are obliged to stand at a distance of 48 paces according to some, and according to others, 64 paces from the high caste Hindus. They regard themselves as higher in the social scale than the Pulayas and the Parayas.

CONCLUSION.

MALAPANTĀRAM.

INTRODUCTION — POPULATION — ORIGIN OF THE TRIBE AND
HABITAT — FAMILY — HABITATIONS — INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE — MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES — PUBERTY CUSTOMS — MENSTRUATION — CHILD-BIRTH — NAMING — TABOO ON NAMES — INHERITANCE — FUNERAL CEREMONIES — KINSHIP — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — RELIGION — DIET — DRESS — OCCUPATION — PERSONAL APPEARANCE — SOCIAL STATUS — CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION

The Malapantārams are found along the higher reaches of the Pamba river of the Rāni and Manimala Ranges, the Achencoil river of the Koni Range, the Mukkadavu stream of the Pathanapuram Range, and at Thalapara, Pālaruvi and Kannupalli of the Shencotta Range where they are known as Paliyans. They are a nomadic tribe and are found in regions where lack of competition gives them greater freedom and more room for movement. They are one of the least modified tribes of the Pre-Dravidian race.

POPULATION.

The Malapantārams were returned at the last Census as 187. The subjoined table will show that they have increased in number, and that the males largely outnumber the females.

Year of Census.	Total.	Males	Females,
1901 .	51	31	20
1911 .	104	59	45
1921 .	57	34	23
1931 .	187	110	77



A MALAPANTARAM FEMALE GROUP.

In the Census of 1931, they were returned as 100 Hindu and 87 under tribal religion. Greater accuracy in figures is ensured by clubbing the Paliyans of Shencotta Division and the Malapantārams into one tribe.

The Malapantārams state that they came from Tinnevely to Travancore. They are now found in high forests where the average rainfall is 180 inches per annum. Owing to the luxuriance of vegetation, they are still within the influence of the forest and have not emerged from the hunting stage of civilization. "Food supply is one of the closest ties between man and his environment".¹ It is, therefore, significant that the difficulty normally experienced in obtaining an adequate food supply necessarily forces them to develop habits of life other than those dictated by their natural inclination. Gregariousness would be here a positive disadvantage. "A tribe of hunters can never be more than a special horde, because the simple and monotonous savage economy permits of no concentration of population, no division of labour between the sexes, and hence no evolution of classes".² The Malapantārams live in families of two or three in a locality. The smaller the number, the more easily is the supply of food obtained. They do not stick to any one place. They remain for a week and move on to another when the food supply is exhausted. There is an understanding that the Malapantārams of Achencoil or Kannupalli cannot roam about the domain of those in Thalapāra. Each pack

ORIGIN OF
THE TRIBE
AND
HABITAT.

1 P. Vidal De Blache—*The Principles of Human Geography*—p. 211.

2 E. C. Semple—*The Influence of Geographic Environment*—p. 55.

has its own jurisdiction for wandering and food supply. "Among primitive people in a wilderness state, few countries will support more than an average of one person per square mile".¹ The fact is that "to a primitive group in a niggardly environment, a growing population is a social misfortune".² This is true of the Malapantārams. They probably average about one per square mile. They do not allow another of their tribe to encroach on their domain, If any one should dare to do so, it would be at the risk of his life.

THE FAMILY.

The family consists of father, mother, and children. The father is the head of the family. The mother is devoted to her children. At Pālaruvi, a Malapantāram had six sons and one daughter. It would appear that the union is founded on the enjoyment of such bodily functions as copulation, gestation, and lactation in the Rāni Reserve. The father's continued attachment is due primarily to his memory of an act of copulation, involving physical and emotional excitation, and to his anticipation of a repetition of similar enjoyments in the future. The family bonds are, therefore, loose in the Rāni Reserve and domestic affection is said to be very much wanting between husband and wife. They quarrel in a short time and the husband deserts his wife. Again, children are felt to be a burden. The difficulty of living is said to be the cause of want of attachment among them. For only a measure of rice, a Malapantāram is said to have given away one of his children. Instances of desertion of children are not wanting even now. In such cases, the Malayadiars pick them up and

¹ Edward Byron Renter—*The Population Problem*, p. 90.

rear them in Rājāmpāra. Family bonds are stronger among those at Thalapāra and Achencoil. The children are a picture of health.

Being nomadic hunters, the Malapantārams make the simplest of dwellings. They live either in rock-shelters or under break-winds made of jungle-wood posts and thatched with wild plantain leaves which will accommodate one or two persons. The hut is circular and conical and the floor is on a level with the ground. It has hardly room for husband and wife and a baby. Boys and girls are housed in separate sheds for the night close to the parental roof. The members of each family find their own food in the Rāni Reserve. Of recent years, they have taken to making fire by friction with the aid of the chakmuk and using earthenware vessels to cook their food. HABITATIONS.

The Malapantārams have no exogamic clan system. They live in groups of two or three families on each hill. Each local group is exogamous. EXOGAMY.

Marriage takes place both before and after the puberty of a girl. Girls are married even at the age of seven. A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. In the Rāni Reserve, a man before he marries takes the permission of his uncle who roams about a different hill. If he agrees, he visits them one night, has his meal there, and returns with his wife at once. The couple lead a separate existence after that. MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

In the Shencotta Division, the boy's father proposes the marriage of his son to the girl's father even a year

earlier owing to the paucity of girls. If agreed to, the date of marriage is fixed. At Thalapara, the marriage takes place at night. The bride is presented with a coloured cloth and the bridegroom ties a necklace of beads round her neck. A feast is given to the assembled guests.

In the Pathanapuram and Koni Ranges, a man does not marry a woman living in the same hill. The tying on of the tali is done by the bridegroom's sister. The bridegroom is presented with a pair of cloths. The bride's father then joins the right hand of the bride with the left hand of the bridegroom, and says "I hand over my daughter to you. Take care of her." The couple are then seated on a mat, when four balls of rice are brought on a leaf by the bridegroom's sister. The bride hands her husband two balls of rice which he eats. He then gives two balls of rice to his wife who eats them. The visitors are then treated to a feast. The married couple spend the night together in a special hut and live in a separate hut from the morrow. "Here mere mutual contact fulfils the union. It is a ceremonial pre-representation of the actual union in marriage assisting that union by making it safe and by making it previously and as it were objectively."¹ According to Westermarck, "the joining of hands is also from very early times the outward sign of a troth that two persons give to each other. But very frequently, at least, it is an act of union. The bride's and bridegroom's partaking of food in common was a means of sealing the union by one of

1. Ernest Crawley - *The Mystic Rose* —p, 348.



A MALAPANTARAM GROUP, KANNI RESERVE.

the most prominent features of married life, the husband's sharing of food with his wife'.¹

The absence of marriageable girls (murapennu) at Achencoil, and Koni has raised new problems. Young stalwarts remain unmarried for want of suitable girls. Such men capture a girl and flee to the jungle. They remain there for a month or more, when they are traced and taken back. The parents reconcile themselves and the couple thereafter lead a married life. It is also observed that, for similar reasons, a man marries his niece's daughter. Manikantan of Koni has married Koma, the daughter of his niece.

Westermarck, Atkinson, and others think that primitive man lived in separate families and not in social groups, and was, therefore, monogamous. The Malapantārams are generally monogamous out of sheer necessity arising from shortage of food. One instance of polygamy was found in Koni Range. The wives were not sisters.

In the Pathanapuram Range, a man marries the widow of his deceased elder brother. A man is sometimes obliged to marry two sisters, one following the other for want of suitable men to marry the younger. The husband and wives sleep in the same shed. LEVIRATE.

When a girl attains puberty, the person who stands in the relationship of uncle's son puts up the seclusion-shed about 100 feet away from the hut. She remains there for 16 days. The shed is so covered with leaves PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

1 Westermarck — *Early Beliefs and their Social Influence* — pp. 131 to 133.

and the entrance so small that she is beyond the gaze of men. During the period of pollution, she cannot see males nor be seen by them, because it is the male sex that gives her trouble and are a source of danger, and because contagion from them is dangerous. When she goes out, she covers her head with a cloth, looks down, and is led by another woman. It is said that evil will befall her if the injunction is not adhered to. On the 17th day, she bathes and comes home. Betel and nut are placed before the elders and she bows before them. They make her a present of four to seven chuckrams.

In Thalapāra, the girl at the time of puberty is housed in a seclusion-shed about 100 feet away from the hut for 5 days. On the 6th day, she bathes and shifts to a second seclusion-shed, 50 feet away from the hut for 5 days. On the 11th day, she bathes and moves to a third seclusion-shed, 25 feet away from the hut. Here she remains for five days. On the 16th day she rubs her body with oil given by her brother's wife and bathes, when pollution ceases. In Achencoil, pollution lasts for 10 days. There are two seclusion-sheds. She spends five days in each. She bathes before sunrise on the 11th day, when pollution ceases.

MENSTRUATION.

Women during menstruation are considered unclean and are rigorously tabooed. A Malapantāram woman remains in a seclusion-shed about 100 feet from the hut. Boys or girls keep company with her. Pollution lasts for five days. On the 6th day, she returns home after bathing. During the period of pollution, the husband cannot climb over a hill or tree to gather honey. He must keep indoors and should not handle any implements. Should

he act differently, woe befalls him. It is said that one Kattayan's brother was once going through the jungle with his uncle and three others, among whom was a woman in menses, and that she was snatched away and devoured by a tiger near Achencoil. This is said to have been due to a breach of taboo.

In Achencoil, pollution lasts for seven days. On the 8th day, the woman returns home after bathing, but she cannot touch vessels for five days. A man can do any work except climbing trees during the time of the pollution of his wife in menses. To the primitive man, menstruous women are dangerous. To seclude them from the rest of the world so that the dreaded spiritual danger shall neither reach him nor spread from them is the object of the taboo which the Malapantārams observe. "These taboos are, as it were, electrical insulators to preserve the spiritual force with which these persons are charged from suffering or inflicting harm by contact with the outer world".¹

Among the Malapantārams, the phenomenon of birth partook of the mysterious and supernatural. Since pregnancy and child-birth sometimes cost a woman her life, and involve a certain amount of weakness and suffering, they seek to protect themselves from the operation of contagious forces by a system of isolation. Like the Bribri Indians, the Malapantārams regard the pollution of child-birth as much more dangerous than that of menstruation. When a woman feels that the time of child-birth is approaching, she informs her husband about it, and he makes haste to build a shed for her in

PREGNANCY
AND CHILD-
BIRTH.

1. Frazer—*The Golden Bough* - p. 223.

a lonely spot. The shed is built more remote than the one built for a woman in menses. It is about 100 yards away from the hut. Women keep her company and assist at the birth. With the Malapantārams of Thalapāra, the mother is under a taboo for six months, if she brings forth a male child, and five months if it is a female child. During this period, she is prevented from leaving the hut and cannot handle cooking vessels. Women carry food to her to the hut. At Achencoil, it is said that pollution lasts for sixteen days and that she bathes and returns to the hut after this period, but she continues to be under taboo. She cannot touch a vessel or do anything for five months, if the baby is female, and four months if male.

During the period of pollution her husband also cannot do any work. He cannot leave the hut, and is served with food inside by his relations. He cannot go out to hunt, to gather food, or for any other purpose. Chidambaram, a Malapantāram, told me that, when once his father's brother went out to procure food after his wife's delivery, he was attacked by a bear which bit him on his loin and hand. He made a noise which attracted the attention of others, who saved him. He relates another instance in which one Narayanan climbed a tree to gather honey at Kannupalli, but fell from the tree and died.

One of the reasons why the birth of a child and menstruation are considered so dangerous is "that blood is regarded as the life force, it being held that the soul or spirit is in the blood. As it is believed that, because of her fertility, a woman is more highly charged with



A MALAPANTARAM CLIMBING A TREE FOR
GATHERING HONEY.

this mystical force than a man, the slightest contact with female blood is regarded with the utmost horror." During menstruation and child-birth, women suffer from actual physical sickness. Hence no man will risk being infected with these dreaded disabilities.

A less rigorous taboo prevents a husband from having intercourse with his wife from the seventh month of pregnancy and for six months after child-birth. Milk is also regarded in much the same light as blood. It is associated with the nature of infants. - As the wife is tainted with the weakness of her child, it is possible that the husband refrains from cohabiting with his wife in order that he may not be tainted with the same weakness.

The period of lactation extends from three to four years, and they do not give any other food to the baby for three years. If there is lactation, motherhood does not come early. To relieve the mother of the strain of lactation, the baby is given fruits two years after teething.⁷ This spacing seems to give better health to the children.

The naming of a child is done when it is a year **NAMING.** and a half. Vellayan, Manikantan, Suppan, Kattayan and Kesavan are some of the names given to males. Muthamma, Karuppai, Valli, Kalyani and Ponnamma are some of the names given to females.

A man does not talk with his sister's daughter after she comes of age, nor does the girl talk to him. She **TABOO ON NAMES.** avoids him not only on the way, but also in his own hut, when he is inside it. In such cases, the aunt goes out

and talks with the nephew. A man can freely converse with his uncle, but not with his aunt. He cannot go inside his uncle's hut, if his aunt is inside. The same taboo extends to the paternal aunt. Similarly, a niece cannot see her uncle and talk to him and *vice versa*.

INHERIT- ANCE.

Sir Henry Maine is the sponsor of the theory that the most primitive form of inheritance is the devolving of the father's property on sons in common. Among the Malapantārams, sons succeed to *patria potestas* on the father's demise. The Malapantārams of Pathanapuram betray the influence of environment. Half the property of a man goes to his son, and half to his nephew. In the absence of sons and nephew, the property is divided between daughter and niece equally. In the matter of chieftainship, the son succeeds. In the absence of a son, the office passes on to the nephew.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

When a Malapantāram dies, the body is left as it is in the hut, which is pulled down over the deceased. This is the case in the Manimala and Rāni Ranges. They then abandon the hill and will not visit it for three or four years. Pollution lasts for eight days, during which they do not move out to the jungle, but confine themselves to the hut where they have food close by. They are afraid of the hill deities, whose wrath they will have to incur, if they wander on the hills when in a state of pollution.

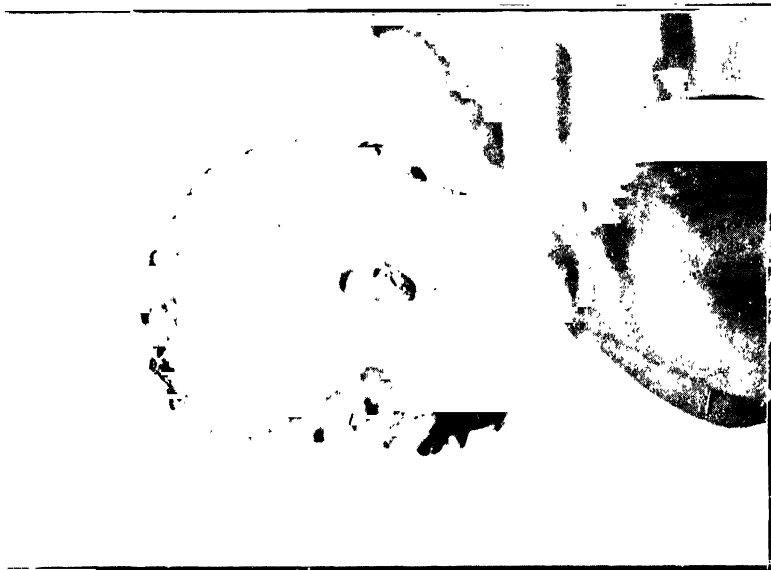
Among the Malapantārams of the Pathanapuram Range, who are under more civilizing influences, the funeral ceremonies are more elaborate. Either the

brothers of the deceased or his eldest son dig the grave neck deep. The body is washed, dressed in new cloth, and a sandal mark is made on the forehead. The son is the chief mourner. He puts some raw rice into the mouth of the deceased. The corpse is then covered with a new cloth, carried into the grave, and buried. The chief mourner gets himself shaved, bathes, carries a pot of water to the grave and breaks it there. All the mourners bathe and return home, when they are treated to a feast.

Pollution lasts for sixteen days. The chief mourner and his wife are forbidden to do any work during this period. On the eighth day, a light breakfast (*pattinikanji*) is served to all the members of the hamlet. On the sixteenth day, all the women make loud lamentations to attract the spirit of the dead, which appears in one of the men. He goes into a trance and says, "I am going to the jungle. Take care of yourselves." All then bathe and return home, when they are again treated to a feast.

The system of kinship among the Malapantārams **KINSHIP**, is of the type called classificatory and has certain important features. A list of kinship terms together with forms in direct address is given below :—

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
<i>I. Relations through Father.</i>		
1	Great Grandfather	Pothi
2	Great Grandmother	Pēthiyal
3	Grandfather	Pāttayya
4	Grand mother	Pātti
5	Father	Ayya
6	Mother	Amma
7	Father's elder brother	Periayya
8	Do. wife	Periyātha
9	Father's elder brother's son	Anna or by name, if the younger
10	Do. daughter	Akkal or by name, if the younger
11	Father's younger brother	Chinnayya
12	Do. wife	Chinnamma
13	Father's sister	Athai
14	Father's sister's husband	Māma
15	Father's sister's son	Machinan
16	Father's sister's daughter	Mathini or by name
<i>II. Relations through Mother.</i>		
1	Great Grandfather	Pothi
2	Great Grand mother	Pēthiyal
3	Grand father	Pāttayya
4	Grand Mother	Pātti
5	Mother's brother	Māma
6	Mother's brother's wife	Māmi
7	Mother's sister	Periyātha or by name, if the younger



A MALAIANTARAM MALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
<i>III. Relations through wife of a Man.</i>		
1	Wife	Not called by name
2	Wife's father	Māma
3	Wife's mother	Athai
4	Wife's brother	Machinan
5	Wife's brother's wife	Akka or Thangachi, if the younger
6	Wife's sister	Mathini
7	Do. husband	Anna or thambi, if the younger
<i>IV. Relations through Husband of a Woman.</i>		
1	Husband's father	Māma
2	Husband's mother	Māmi
3	Husband's brother	Machinan
4	Do. wife	Akka or thangachi
5	Do. sister	Mathini

The most important feature of the kinship terms is the application of the same term *Mama* for mother's brother and father's sister's husband, and *athai* for father's sister and mother's brother's wife. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship term in addressing most persons of the same generation. It is further observed that the terms *Pāṭṭayya* and *Pāṭṭamma* are given to grandfather and

grandmother on both the paternal and maternal sides and *Pothi* and *Pethiyal* for great grandfather and great grandmother on both sides.

SOCIAL OR-
GANIZATION.

The Malapantārams are in the hunting stage of civilization. Their low economic condition is reflected in the simple social organization, which has little cohesion, because it must be prepared to break up when its food supplies decrease even a little. "The larger the amount of territory necessary for the support of a given community, the looser the connection between the land and the people, and the lower the type of social organization". In Ranni and Manimala Ranges, they generally live in families of two or three in a locality and move on to another when the food supply is exhausted. Here the loose economic bond is reflected in the absence of any social organization.

In the Pathanapuram Range, they have a Headman called Mūppan, who enjoys the privilege of a mat when they meet. The office is hereditary and passes on to his younger brother or to his (Mūppan's) son in his absence. Should marriage or any other ceremony take place and the person concerned complain of want of money for its celebration, the Mūppan collects money and gets through the ceremony. He is the priest also, and here we observe a combination of priest and chief. The Mūppan enjoys the privilege of free labour from others for putting up his hut. Those who go to procure food give a quarter of the produce to him. When they get wages from the Sirkar, they give a quarter of the receipts to the Mūppan.

Living as they do in high forests, the Malapanta-^{RELIGION.}rams dread the jungle deities. If a man gets polluted on the way outside the jungle, he takes a bath in a stream, and only then goes into the jungle and goes to the hut. Should he fail to bathe, he incurs the wrath of the gods, who punish him with some illness. Those of Thalapara and Aryankavu worship the crests of hills, Kotangi, Vettamala, Kōtamala and Muthanmala. They make a respectful bow when they pass by them and say, "Oh Hills, protect us from mishap."

They also worship Sasta and his satellite, Karuppu-swami at Aryankavu, Achencoil, and Sabarimala. Sasta is a sylvan deity whom they dread very much. They go to Achencoil in Vrischigom for the annual festival and offer prayers to him. Another fact is that, when they go to the jungle on a particular day to hunt, they avoid sexual connection with their wives the previous night. They are afraid that otherwise some mishap will arise. The idea seems to be that, while contact with women transmits female weakness, the retention of a secretion in which some strength is supposed to reside, assures vigour and strength.

The nomadic life of the Malapantāram is that of a ^{DIST.}people devoting little organized thought to their subsistence which they rely on Nature to provide for them to some extent. The persistence of this life is the result of permanence of geographical conditions. There are two families at Thalapāra, two at Pāndianpara, and two at Chenagiri. They do not live in greater aggregations, as that would affect their food supply. "Since quantity

must compensate for quality, it follows that the poorest groups usually require more space."¹

The dog is their indispensable companion in the jungle, and they treat it with affection. It not only gives them protection in the jungle, but is very useful when they go out hunting. The tribe are the poorest in their equipment of weapons. Ordinarily, they possess a wooden digging spud. By contact with low country men, some have procured bill-hooks and axes. The axe is used for cutting out hollows of trees which may have honey or in which some small animals take refuge. They use the axe skilfully.

The axe is used for felling *Arenga Wightii* (Azha-thengu) and *Caryota urens* (Chündapana). The pith (core) of the former is used for food. The stem is cut into small sections, and the outer crust removed. The sections are cut into thin slices which are beaten into powder. This is mixed with water and left in a hollow of a rock in which a plantain leaf is spread. The sediment settles at the bottom. The water is removed. Balls are made of the powder, and baked, and eaten. Sometimes, in the absence of vessels, the powder is mixed with water and poured into green bamboo tubes, which are placed in a fire for half an hour. The tubes are then removed from fire and the contents eaten. Occasionally, the powder is mixed with water and boiled in an earthenware vessel. The jelly formed in it is removed and eaten. It is said that one tree (*Arenga Wightii*) lasts for three days and one chündapana for about a month. They do not use salt in the Manimala Range.

1. P. Vidal De Blache—*The Principles of Human Geography*, p. 52,



A MALAPANTARAM FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

They also use *Curcuma Augustifolia* (kūva) in the same manner. The tubers are rubbed on a rock, and the powder is mixed with water and left in a hollow of a rock. The sediment settles down. The water is removed. Fresh water is again added to the powder, which also settles down. The water is again removed. All the bitterness in the powder is thus dissipated. It is next mixed with water and boiled, and the resulting jelly is then eaten. When food resources are exhausted in one locality, they move on to another favoured locality.

Among animals, they are fond of sambur, wild boar, black monkey, jungle squirrel, wild pigeon, and wild fowl. They do not eat the flesh of bison, white monkey, or tortoise. They say that it would provoke the anger of the Gods to do so. An attempt has been made to settle them down in Pathanapuram Range. They are here cultivating paddy in wet land. No one gets over fifty paras of paddy; this lasts for three months. They have then to live on wild tubers and fruits for the remaining part of the year.

The Malapantārams of Pathanapuram Range have taken to wet land cultivation. The bill-hook, mammatty (spade), and sickle form their implements. Males hoe the soil with the mammatty and sow the seed. Weeding and harvesting are done by women. After threshing corn, they make an offering of beaten rice, fruits, and rice flour to Karuppuswami and Ūrāli (ancestor-spirit). The offering is made at a sacred place away from their home. All pray, "Be gracious enough to accept our offering."

OCCUPATION.
1. PERMA-
NENT CULTI-
VATION.

2. **FISHING.** Fish forms another article of diet. When fish is scarce in a stream, they beat the bark of *Peyincha* (one of the *Acacias*) and mix the juice with the water of the stream. As a consequence of this, fish die and are caught. They also catch fish by the line and tackle method. They do not make traps for catching big game.

3. **COLLECTION OF MINOR FOREST PRODUCE.** The Malapantārams collect honey, wax, and other minor forest produce for contractors who take up the collection on lease from Government. They collect honey from such big trees as *Bombax malabaricum* and *Tetrameles nudiflora*. The collection is done on dark nights. They tie up bamboo with nodes to the trunk of the tree with rings of cane, climb the tree at night, and smoke the comb. The bees are killed. The honeycomb is then cut out and lowered in a basket to the ground.

DRESS. The Malapantārams have taken to wearing clothes under the influence of low country men in European tea and rubber estates, and of forest contractors who seek their help for the collection of minor forest produce. The men wear a loin-cloth four cubits by three cubits. Women wear coloured clothing and even jackets, and necklaces of beads. In Pathanapuram and Shencotta Ranges, men wear shirts and an upper cloth.

FERTILITY. It is observed from a study of the vital statistics of seventeen families in Pālaruvi, Thalapāra, Achencoil and Nedumpara that the average size of the family is 5·8. The average birth-rate is 4·0, and the survival rate is 3·8. There was one instance of sterility. It is also observed from the last Census figures that there is a paucity of

women, who are less than men by 33. The result is that sturdy young men remain unmarried. At Achencoil, four men remained unmarried for this reason. Such men capture a girl and flee to the jungle. Thus the institution of marriage by capture finds a place among them even now.

The Malapantārams are dark in complexion. The average height for 40 men is 154·7, while that of 23 women is 143·2 cms. Their average cephalic index is 75·8. The forehead is receding and brow ridges are prominent. They have prognathous jaw and receding chin. The nose is short and flat, the average nasal index being 83·4. The hair on the head is black and looks curly in some. The eyes are black. They are strong and sturdy. The average circumference of chest is 78 cms. for men and 73·8 cms for women. I am much impressed with their muscular development, and they compare favourably with other jungle tribes of short stature.

APPEARANCE
AND
PHYSICAL
FEATURES.

Serial No.	Name of tribe	Average height. cm.	Average chest girth cm.	Average chest relative to stature 100.
1	Paniyan	157·4	81·5	51·8
2	Kadur	157·7	80·5	51·4
3	Kurumbas	157·5	79·2	50·3
4	Malapantaram	154·7	78·0	50·4

SOCIAL
STATUS

The Malapantārams consider that they are superior to the Parayan, the Pulayan, the Pallan, the Kuravan, and the Velan. The Parayans and the Pallans used to stand at a distance of eight feet and the Kuravan, the Pulayan, and the Velan, sixteen feet from them. The distance pollution is not now observed by the above mentioned tribes, but the Malapantāram takes care that, in case he is polluted, he bathes and then enters the jungle, so that the anger of the sylvan deities may not be provoked.

CONCLUSION.

The Malapantārams obtain food so easily that they do not suffer from want, which seems to act as an incentive to human progress. They are now mingling with low country men. Their women are married by the Malayadiars. The same forces are at work in the Shencotta Division. The census of 1931 shows that there is a shortage of women with the result that sturdy young men of 25 and 30 years of age remain unmarried for want of suitable women. This leads to undesirable consequences like marriage by capture. Their present state of affairs does not augur well for their future.



A VIEW OF KARAVAZHI PULAYA HAMLET.

MALAPULAYA.

INTRODUCTION—POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—POLYGAMY—POLYANDRY—LEVIRATE—SORORATE—ADULTERY—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—MENSTRUATION—PREGNANCY AND CHILD—BIRTH—NAMING CEREMONY—TABOO—INHERITANCE—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—KINSHIP—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—ECONOMIC LIFE—RELIGION—HABITATIONS—DIET—DRESS—ORNAMENTS—DAILY LIFE—FERTILITY—APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES—CONCLUSION.

The Malapulayas are found in the Anjanad Valley of the Devicolam taluk in North Travancore. There are three endogamous septs :—

INTRODUC-
TION.

1. The Kurumba Pulayas who are found in Pāmpar, Ālampatti, Karumutti, and Pālampatti.
2. The Karavazhi Pulayas who are found in Kumbittankuzhi, Pattatholivu, Pulikara vayal and Nāchivayal.
3. The Pambu Pulayas (Malasir), who eat snakes. They are now found in the adjoining British district of Coimbatore to the east of Chinnar.

The Kurumba Pulayas say that they are superior to the Karavazhi Pulayas. They neither interdine nor intermarry with each other. The Kurumba Pulayas and Karavazhi Pulayas shun the Pāmbu Pulayas, who are reckoned to be the lowest because of their despicable practice of eating snakes. The Kurumba Pulayas are under the tutelage of Government and are nomadic agriculturists. The Karavazhi Pulayas are dependents of the Vellālas. The former have ragi as their staple diet, while the latter live on rice which they receive as wages from their landlords.

POPULATION.

The Malapulayas were returned in the Census of 1931 as 254. The subjoined table will show that they are on the increase.

Year of Censuses.	Total	Males.	Females.	Remarks.
1901	26	14	12	
1911	45	17	28	
1921	
1931	254	125	129	

The absence of figures for the Census of 1921 precludes the possibility of knowing whether there has been an increase in population since 1921. In 1931, the females exceeded the males by 4, and the figures show a very large increase over those of 1911.

ORIGIN OF
THE TRIBE

The Malapulayas say that they came from Madura to Anjanad after the advent of the Vellālas. They call the Muthuvans 'മുതവർ' which indicates that the Muthuvans were the earliest on the hills.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

A Malapulaya marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. The marriage of a girl takes place after she attains puberty, and is celebrated in the girl's hut.

Among the Kurumba Pulayas, a sum of Rs. 3-12-0 has to be paid by the bridegroom's party as purchase money for the bride. The marriage takes place at night. The bride is presented with a coloured cloth. The bridegroom ties a necklace of beads round the neck of the bride. The married couple are seated together with



A KURUMBA PULAYA MALE GROUP.

one plantain leaf before them. Food is served. The bridegroom gives seven balls of rice to the bride who also gives seven balls to her husband. The exchange of balls of rice is intended to cement the alliance. All the guests are feasted. They sleep separately for the night in the company of the bestmen and bestwomen. The married couple are taken to a stream the next evening, where they bathe separately. They return accompanied by beat of tom-tom. The husband remains in his wife's hut for fifteen days, when the couple leave for the husband's hut or live in a separate shed

Marriage among the Karavazhi Pulayas takes place at night. The bride-groom's parents give a bride-price of forty *vallams* of paddy and present the bride with a coloured cloth. The bridegroom's party go to the bride's hut at 10 p. m. to the beat of the tom-tom. The bride is seated on a mat in the marriage pandal (booth). The bridegroom gives a coloured cloth to the bride, and to his mother-in-law. The bride puts on the cloth and the couple are then seated on a mat facing east. The bridegroom then ties a necklace of beads round the bride's neck. They then have their food from the same leaf. The husband gives a ball of rice to his wife which she eats. She in turn gives a ball of rice to him which he eats. They then eat the remaining food from the same leaf. The bridegroom's father then directs the Kol-kāran to seat all the men for supper. The gathering disperses after the distribution of pānsupari (betel leaf and nut).

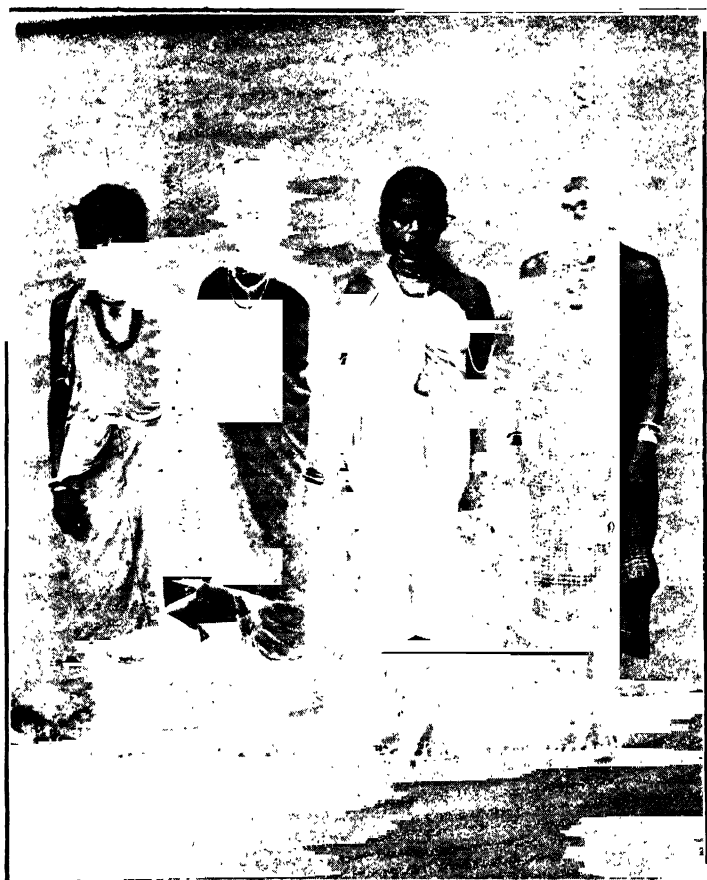
MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS
AMONG THE
KARAVAZHI
PULAYAS.

The married couple are then taken to the bridegroom's hut, where they stay together for the night.

The next day all the men assemble there to the beat of the tom-tom. A pan of saffron water is placed in front of the hut. Husband and wife each puts a ring in the water, one being brass, the other iron. The ring is then picked out of the water. The husband is expected to get the brass ring and puts it on, while the bride puts on the iron ring. If the reverse ring happens to be picked up, the process is repeated thrice. It is a bad omen, if the husband gets the iron ring. The married couple dip in saffron water the tip of cloth of the husband's mother and the wife's father. The same process is gone through in the case of the Kudumban, Vāriyan, and others. They then proceed to the stream to the beat of tom-tom and throw their wedding garlands into the water. They then return to the husband's hut and bow to all elderly men. The bridegroom is then advised as follows:—
 ഇന്ത പെണ്ണാതിയെ ഒന്നു കെട്ടിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. നീ അതെ മേൽ
 പറ്റി കീഴ്പടി പോകാമെന്ന് എല്ലാവരും എന്ത വഴിയായ് പുഴക്കു
 റാളോ അതുപോലെ നീയും പുഴക്കുന്നം അന്ത പൊണ്ണാതിയെ പല
 വിധമായ് വിട്ടുപുഴക്കുകയായ്.

“We have wedded this woman to you. You should conform to past practice and live your life without any deviation from it. You should not allow your wife to run astray.” The husband's father then builds a hut for the couple, where they live alone.

It is said that the commonest marriage ceremony cementing the union is eating and drinking together. “This mutual inoculation by food is the strongest of all ties and breaks the most important of sexual taboos, that against eating together. Each of the two parties gives to the other a part of himself and receives from the other a



A KURUMBA PULAYA FEMALE GROUP.

part of him. This effects union by assimilating the one to the other so as to produce somewhat of identity of substance. When the act is done, its sacramental character is intensified.''¹

A man may marry more than one woman, when the first wife is sterile. He may marry his wife's sister. The same ceremonies are gone through as on the occasion of his first marriage. Morality is very loose among them and sexual license is easily tolerated. Polyandry is said to prevail among them. POLYGAMY
AND POLY
ANDRY.

A man does not marry the wife of his deceased elder brother. The elder brother may marry the wife of his deceased younger brother. He becomes the guardian of the children. LEVIRATE.

A Malapulaya may marry the sister of his first wife not only after the latter's death, but even while she is still alive. SCORRDATE.

Formerly when a man committed adultery among the Kurumba Pulayas, the culprits were taken before the village panchayat (committee of five elders) over which the Kudumban (Headman) presided. If they were found guilty, they were tied to a Mullumurukku tree (*Erythrina stricta*) otherwise known as Vambumaram. Their hands were tied behind the tree with a fibre. They were given twelve lashes each on the thigh with a twig of tamarind tree or *Pongamia glabra* and fined from twelve fanams to three rupees. The amount is utilised for ceremonies in the temple. ADULTERY

1. A. E. Crawley—*The Mystic Rose*—p. 347.

Among the Karavazhi Pulayas, the punishment was more severe. A cat and bones of cattle were tied round the neck of the guilty woman, while the adulterer has to carry a heavy load of sand. They were then driven over a distance of two miles from Pattathalachi to the shade of a tamarind tree near Marayur. The culprits are then given the same punishment with tamarind twigs. This form of punishment was inflicted when Anjanad was in the hands of the Poonjat Chief. It has been given up since Anjanad passed into the hands of the Government of Travancore.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

Among the Kurumba Pulayas, a girl attains puberty at the age of fifteen. She is lodged in a separate shed 100 feet away from the main hut, so that she may not see men or be seen by them, so that the dangerous results of association with the other sex may be guarded against. Pollution lasts for thirty days. If she wants to go out, she does so when there are no men in the vicinity. On all the thirty nights, they play on the drum and pipe till midnight. The girl is led to a stream to bathe on the 31st day accompanied by the beat of tom-tom. On her return to the village, all are feasted. The same night, she is seated on the verandah and screened from the view of the gathering with mats. Men of the tribe play on the drum and pipe all night. The next morning she is taken to the stream followed by two girls. A pan of water mixed with ash is boiled, and in this her cloth is dipped. She dons a new cloth after bathing, and returns home. The Kudumban and Variyan are seated on mats and given pansupari. The woman bows before the assembled guests and is advised as follows :—



A KARAVAZHI PULAYA MALE GROUP.

നോട്ടുക്കി പോകുകയോ മറ്റ് ഒരു ദുരന്തം ഉണ്ടാകരുത്. താഴെപ്പറഞ്ഞ രീതിയിൽ വരുകയോ. "Do not stray away with another before wedlock. Do not bring disgrace on your father." The woman is then given one to four annas by those present to whom she bows in acknowledgment.

Among the Karavazhi Pulayas, a girl on attaining puberty remains in a closed room on the verandah of the hut for fifteen days. The duration of pollution is less, because they cannot afford to remain without work for long. On all the fifteen nights, the men play on the drum and pipe. On the sixteenth day, she bathes. At night a fowl is sacrificed and cooked. It is served to the girl. Then men are treated to a feast, including the Kudumban, who advises the woman to lead a chaste life.

Among the Kurumba Pulayas, a woman in menses MENSTRUATION remains in front of the hut. Pollution lasts for six days. She bathes every day. On the seventh day, she has the bath of purification and enters her home. Among the Karavazhi Pulayas pollution lasts for only three days. On the fourth day, she enters the hut after bathing.

No ceremony is attached to pregnancy. The PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH. husband has no connection with his wife after the eighth month. Delivery takes place on the verandah of the hut which is enclosed. Her mother attends on her. Among the Kurumba Pulayas, pollution lasts for thirty days. The mother enters the hut on the 31st day after bathing. The period of pollution is only fifteen days among the Karavazhi Pulayas, as they are dependents of the Vellālas, and cannot afford to remain without work for a longer period. The woman bathes on the sixteenth day, but she cannot enter the hut for another fifteen days.

The men do not mate with their wives until the baby begins to smile.

**NAMING
CEREMONY.**

The date for the naming ceremony is governed by considerations of the condition of the baby. If the baby cries incessantly, it is reckoned as a sign for giving a name to it. A medicine-man takes some paddy grains, holds them in the palm of his hand, and scans them. He tells them what name should be given, and it is done accordingly. Naming is generally on the sixteenth day among the Karavazhi Pulayas, and the name is that of the paternal grandfather or grandmother. Chāpli, Nāgan, Māri, Thirumal, and Kannan are some of the names given to males. Māriakka, Chāppu, Nāgu, Nāchi, Kuppi, and Āndichi are some of the names given to females.

**TABOO ON
NAMES.**

A man does not call his wife by her name. He avoids his aunt and does not talk to her. A similar avoidance is observed in the case of the father's sister. He does not talk with his uncle except in a formal manner. Among the Kurumba Pulayas, a man does not enter the dwelling of his father-in-law after marrying his daughter, when his mother-in-law is inside it, nor does he sleep there. He gets provisions from them, cooks his food, and eats it by himself. If a man goes to his brother's or sister's dwelling, he cannot talk to his elder brother's wife, as she is reckoned to be the equivalent of mother.

INHERITANCE.

Sons inherit the property of the father. In the absence of sons, the property devolves on brothers. Failing this, it goes to his relations by his father's brothers. Daughters do not inherit any property.



A KARAVAZHI PULAYA FEMALE GROUP.

When a man dies, information is sent round the village. All the men and women gather in the house where the body lies. A grave is dug a short distance from the hut hip deep by two men north to south. Turmeric powder is mixed with oil and smeared on the corpse by the wife of the deceased and other women. The son, nephew, and others cover it with a new cloth. After taking it to a certain distance, the corpse is placed on the ground, when the son goes round it thrice with a pot of water which he breaks at the feet of the corpse, which is then taken to the grave, lowered in, and is covered with a new cloth. The grave is then filled up with earth. Thorns are planted over it. Three stones are planted, one at the head, one at the breast, and one at the foot. Pollution lasts for five days. On the 6th day, all bathe. The chief mourner, the son, kills a fowl and treats all the relations to a feast.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

The system of kinship among the Malapulayas is of the type called classificatory. The terms of relationship and their vernacular equivalents are given below :—

Number. *English name.* *Vernacular name.*

I. Relations through father.

1	Grandfather	Pättanār
2	Grandmother	Pätti
3	Father	Appa
4	Mother	Amma
5	Father's elder brother	Periappa
6	Father's elder brother's wife	Periamma
7	Father's elder brother's son	Anna nor Thambi, if the younger

8	Father's elder brother's daughter	Akka or Thankachi, if the younger
9	Father's younger brother	Chittappan
10	Father's younger brother's wife	Chinnaya
11	Father's sister	Athai or Māmi
12	Father's sister's husband	Māma
13	Father's sister's son	Machinan
14	Father's sister's daughter	Nangai

II. Relations through Mother.

1	Grandfather	Pāttanār
2	Grandmother	Pātti
3	Mother's brother	Māma
4	Mother's brother's wife	Māmi
5	Mother's sister	Periamma or Chinnamma, if the younger.

III. Relations through Wife.

1	Wife	No name
2	Wife's father	Māman
3	Wife's mother	Māmi
4	Wife's brother	Machinan
5	Wife's brother's wife	Akka or Thangachi, if the younger.
6	Wife's sister	Thangai
7	Wife's sister's husband	Annan or Thambi, if the younger

IV. Relations through Husband.

1	Husband's father	Māma
2	Husband's mother	Māmi
3	Husband's brother	Machinan
4	Husband's brother's wife	Akka or Thangachi, if the younger
5	Husband's sister	Nangai



ARAGALINACHI TEMPLE.

In regard to the terms of relationship, we may note :

(1) That Pāttanār is the name given to the grandfather on both the paternal and maternal sides, and Pātti, to their wives.

(2) Māman is the name used to denote the mother's brother, the father's sister's husband, the wife's father and husband's father. Māmi is the name given to the father's sister, mother's brother's wife, wife's mother, and husband's mother.

(3) Machinan is the name given to the father's sister's son, wife's brother and husband's brother.

The Kurumba Pulayas have a Headman known as Arasan for a group of villages. The Arasan has an assistant called Vāriyan for each village ; he has in turn a Kolkāran to execute his biddings. The son succeeds to chieftainship. Cases of adultery and village disputes go before the Arasan for decision.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Karavazhi Pulayas have a headman called Kudumban who wields authority over all the villages. He is assisted by a Vāriyan and Kolkāran. The Kudumban sits on a mat with the Vāriyan close by. The Kolkāran remains standing. The Kudumban hears and disposes of all complaints.

The Kurumba Pulayas are nomadic agriculturists. They cultivate land for four or five years and then change to another location. They clear the jungle in Panguni (March-April) and sow ragi broadcast in Chithirai (April-May). They mark their area with wood or stone. The Kudumban and Vāriyan have the

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

benefit of [free]labour by the tribe for clearing land and weeding, but he has to make his own arrangements for harvesting his crop. Women weed the area with a Kothukole (hooked wooden implement) in Vaikasi (May-June) or a small mammatty (കുളുകാത്തു). After harvesting the ragi, each man prepares some pongal which he places in front of the stack. He then kills a fowl and goes round the stack once, letting the blood around it. He then stands in front and says, “ശാമി. ഹനരേവ്വി തികളേ, ഏകളേക്ക പൊമിളേഗം കിടക്കണം. ഏകളേക്ക ഞതി നാമെ ജീവനരെയെന്നും.” “Oh God, Sylvan deities, we want a bumper crop. Our livelihood rests on it.” They then partake of the offering. A man gets on an average two to five *shalaḥas* or forty padis of ragi. They sow about five padis of ragi in an acre of land.

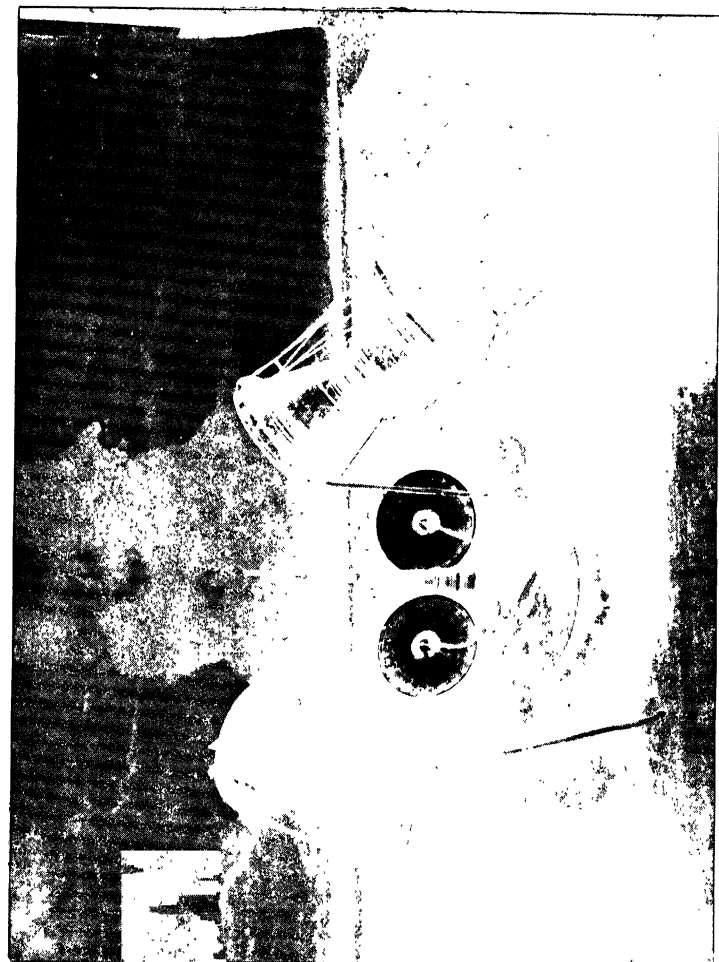
Among the Karavazhi Pulayas, no cultivation is possible, as they are dependants of the Vellālas and get as daily wages one big padi of paddy. They generally do all the agricultural operations of the Vellālas and get in return a fifth of the produce after the harvest, Bill hook, mamratty, and axe are their implements, Very few own cattle, but most of them keep dogs for protection and assisting in catching small game.

The Kurumba Pulayas do not get enough ragi to last for a year. They supplement it by daily labour to Government and private individuals. They chew pan, but do not smoke.

The Malapulayas worship the following deities :—

RELIGION.

1. *Kālī*. This goddess is annually worshipped in Panguni in the morning at a sacred spot, but without an



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

image. They prepare pongal and place it in the spot along with cocoanuts, betels and nuts. A goat is sacrificed, and the following prayer is offered. “എങ്കട്ടക്ക ശീക്ക തമ്പലി വരാമൻ എങ്കൾ കട്ടികളെ കാപ്പാത്തി ഉത്തരക്കല്ലാം സഖ മായ് ഇത്താൽ അടുത്താർക്കും ഇതുപോൽ ചെയ്യുകുറപ്പാം.”

“If we lead a prosperous life without any illness, and if our children are protected, we shall make a similar offering next year.” The goat’s flesh is cooked and the villagers enjoy a feast.

2. *Māriamma*. This goddess is propitiated in Panguni to prevent any illness to their children. The ceremonies observed in the worship of Kālī are observed here also. No temple is dedicated to Mariamma ; she is worshipped only once annually.

3. *Kotlapāramma*. There is a sacred spot on the bank of the Chinnar where offerings are made to the deity once in three years. Pongal is offered on the sacred spot along with cocoanut and plantains. A goat is sacrificed and prayers are made for their prosperity. The offerings are then eaten by the worshippers.

4. *Chāplamma*. This goddess is propitiated once in eight years at the temple in Kodanthur on the banks of the Chinnar. They remain celibate for ten days prior to the ceremony. The offering consists of a cow. It is washed in the stream and a garland is thrown over its neck. The priest also wears a garland and a sandal mark on his forehead. The image of the goddess is installed in the midst of a Kayam (deep water) in the Chinnar river. The priest rides on the animal and goes round it seven times. He then goes to the goddess walking with the animal. Its legs are washed with milk,

and frankincense is burnt. An ear of the animal is then cut off. The priest is presented with the cow.

5. *Aragalināchi*. This goddess is installed in Marayur and is worshipped by the Karavazhi Pulayas alone at night. The priest ropes a buffalo and it is driven along the paddy flats awaiting harvest. Ten men harvest the crop over which the buffalo treads, and the sheaves are tied in a bundle and taken to the temple. The buffalo is sacrificed at night and the blood let into a hollow on a rock with the prayer, "May we have a bumper crop." Before the sacrifice, a fanam is put into its mouth and the animal wrapped in a new cloth. All the men and women dance to the drum and pipe throughout the night. The dance is very attractive. The participants hold the hems of a cloth with the two hands while dancing. In the morning, the flesh of the buffalo is divided among the village folk and the priest.

CEREMONIES
CONNECTED
WITH HUNTING

The Malapulayas have no guns; they get such game as the dogs can catch, when they go out hunting. Wolves kill sambur, boar, and other animals. The Malapulayas pick up the carcase. They make a fire and hold the carcase over it to remove the hair. The heart is fried, and a small part is placed on a stone for the hunting deity. They then pray "വനദേവതാതികൾക്ക് വെച്ചു കന്നിട്ടിരിക്കൂട്ട്. ഇതുപോലെ നാളക്കും വേട്ടയ്ക്കുവന്നാൽ കിടക്കുവേണം."

"We salute you, sylvan deities, with this offering. We wish to get similar game tomorrow, when we go out hunting." They then partake of the offering, and the remaining flesh is divided equally among them.



A KARAVAZHI PULAYA DANCE.

The huts of the Malapulayas are huddled together HABITATION. and are insanitary. They are two roomed 15' x 12'. One room is used for cooking, and the other is used as a bed room. There is always a hearth on the eastern side of the kitchen. They are made of junglewood posts, bamboos, and grass. Bamboo trellis forms the walling, which is mud plastered. The huts have no windows. The floor is raised from the ground by two feet. They sit on mats of Kora grass, made by themselves. There is a chāvadi in the centre of the hamlet. It is used as a bachelor-hall. Formerly, they made fire by flint and steel. Safety matches have now taken their place. They use earthenware vessels for cooking.

Ragi is the staple food of the Kurumba Pulayas, DIET. and rice of the Karavazhi Pulayas. Both eat the flesh of goat, fowl, sāmbar, deer, rabbit, and wild boar. The Kurumba Pulayas avoid the flesh of the cow and the bison, but the Karavazhi Pulayas have no such restriction. They do not drink intoxicating liquor.

Men wear a cloth six cubits long and two wide. DRESS. Some wear a coat and shirt. They also put on an upper cloth. Women wear coloured cloth sixteen cubits long : This costs three to five rupees. Young women have now taken to wearing jackets. Women drape their body with the cloth and have a knot over the right shoulder with one of the free ends and the end of the inner fold. When they go out for work, they carry their children on their backs. They bathe once in two or three days. The children look healthy and tidy,

ORNAMENTS.

The men wear brass ear-rings and women tubular òlas. The women wear brass nose-screws and a necklace of beads.

MUSICAL

INSTRUMENTS

The Malapulayas have a variety of musical instruments. They are :

1. *Murasu*. It is a variety of drum. The frame is made of wood (I) or brass (III). It is cylindrical and constricted in the middle. In the case of a drum with a wooden frame, the sound is made by drawing a convex wooden piece of vengai (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) over the skin. In the case of the drum with a brass frame, the sound is produced by two curved sticks.

2. *Mathalam* (Chenda IV). The frame of the drum is made of wood. It is cylindrical. The sound is produced by two curved sticks. The drum plays a prominent part in Indian music.

3. *Kuzhal* (II) This is of the flute type. The upper holes are fingered, but the lower ones are stopped with wax to regulate the pitch. The sound is shrill and carries a long distance.

4. *Kidumuthi* (V). This drum has a conical base with a flat bottom. The skin is held tight on one side. The sound is produced by two sticks.

5. *The Cymbals* (ᳵᳵᳵᳵ) are employed to mark time to all kinds of songs.

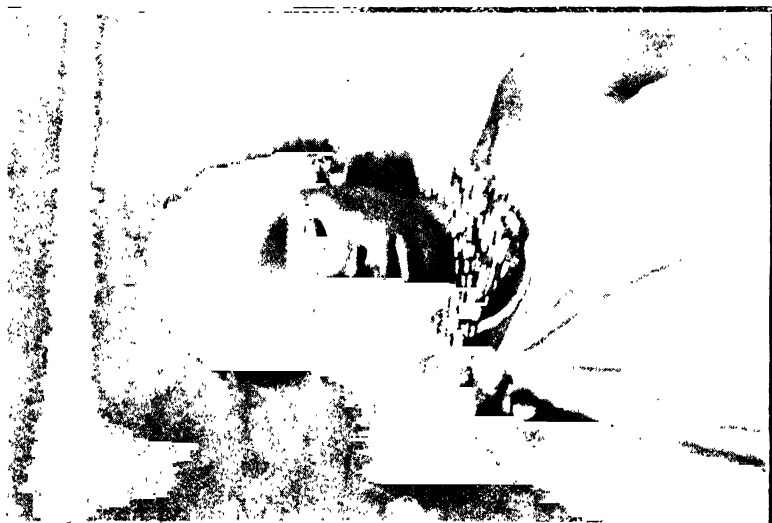
DAILY LIFE.

The flute is played to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals on both festive and funeral occasions.

At sunrise, a woman cleans the hut and premises. She hulls paddy or grinds ragi, and prepares the morning food. The family have their breakfast at 8. Both



A MALAP'ULAYA MALE —FRONT AND PROFILE.



A MALAPULAYA FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

men and women go out for cooly work and return in the evening. Women carry fuel. They again have rice or ragi at night. On an average, a man or woman earns $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy as wages per day. They have not much to spare for visitors. If a man is without means, they collect rice or ragi from each hut and give it to him. Women are on a level with men in status and take part in all religious and social functions.

The Malapulayas number 254 of whom 125 are FECUNDITY. males and 129 females. From statistics collected by me, it is seen that the average size of the family for eighteen families among the Kurumba Pulayas is 4.3. The average birth-rate is 4.0, and the survival rate, 2.3. There are 27 male and 20 female children. Infant mortality is 33; this is very high. Among the Karavazhi Pulayas, the average size of the family for eighteen families is 4.7. The average birth-rate is 3.4, and the survival rate, 2.6. Infant mortality is less among them.

The Malapulayas are black in complexion. In point APPEARANCE of stature, they rank the highest among the hill-tribes. AND The average stature is 161.0 cms (53.3"). Out of 21 PHYSICAL Kurumba Pulayas, two are tall. The tallest man is 169.5 cms in stature. They have long head with an FEATURES. average cephalic index of 74.1. The forehead is receding and the brow-ridges are prominent. The nose is short and flat, the average nasal index being 86.6. The average facial index is 86.5. They have the largest span of arms, the average being 170. In circumference of chest, they stand the second among the hill-tribes with 77.8 cms.

CONCLUSION-

The Karavazhi Pulayas are in a state of economic bondage to Vellâlas on whom they depend for their existence. They graze the cattle and cultivate the lands in return for which they get their wages. They are pipers to the Vellâlas. The Kurumba Pulayas are not under such subjection, and make their living by nomadic cultivation. The Malapulayas stand at a distance of ten feet from the Muthuvans. They are steeped in ignorance and in a very backward condition.



A CHINGANNIVETAN MALE GROUP.

MALAVETAN.

INTRODUCTION—POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—POLYGAMY—LEVIRATE—ADULTERY—DIVORCE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY RITES—CHILD-BIRTH—NAMING CEREMONY—INHERITANCE—KINSHIP—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—RELIGION—AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES—ECONOMIC LIFE—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—HABITATION—DIET—DRESS—ORNAMENTS—DAILY LIFE—FERTILITY—SOCIAL STATUS.

The Malavētans are found in the taluks of Neyyattinkara, Nedumangad, Kottarakkara, Pathanapuram, and Changanacherry. Mrs. J W. Evans observed them first in Palode in 1882 “wearing dresses of leaves”. The Kānikkār call them Tolvētan which is reminiscent of the leafy garment that they wore in former times. It is recorded that “they are meagre and stunted in appearance. They are no longer a hill-tribe as the name implies. They live like the Pulayas in wretched huts amid the rice flats at the foot of the hills and are employed by Sudra farmers to guard the crops from the ravages of wild beasts.”¹ These observations are confirmed by Mateer, who says, “The Vēdāns are scarcely mountaineers, being found at the foot of the hills and in a social condition very similar to the Pulayas. They are most numerous in the Neyyattinkara taluk, very rude and primitive in their manners.”² They are not now so numerous in the above taluk. They number only 315

1. *Madras Museum Bulletin*, Vol III - No. I, 1900. Mrs J. W. Evans. *The Malaveders of Travancore*, p. 56.
2. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*—1883—p. 63.

according to the Census of 1931 in the Neyyattinkara taluk, as most of them have become converts to Christianity.

POPULATION.

The Malavētans are classified under two heads in the Census Report of 1931, the Vētan (Malavētan) and Vēttuvan (Cheruvētan). It also shows that the Vētan men exceed women by 1,017 to 1,000. The table given below indicates that the Vētans show a large increase in numbers by 50 per cent since 1911 and that the Vēttuvans have declined during the same period.

No.	Name of tribes.	Year.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Remarks.
1	Vētan ¹ (Malavētan)	1911	5,051	2,584	2,267	
	do.	1921	8,239	4,114	4,125	
	do.	1931	11,737	5,919	5,818	
2	Vēttuvan (Cheruvētan).	1911	1,486	746	740	
	do.	1921	1,321	635	686	
	do.	1931	1,322	621	701	

The Vēttuvans register an increase by one since 1921 and a decrease of 164 since 1911, but the balance of the sexes has been turned in favour of the females. There are 113 females to 100 males. In 1931, the Vētans were returned as 9,446 Hindu, 241 tribal, and 2,000 Christians. The Vēttuvans were returned as 1,251 Hindu, nil Tribal, and 71 Christian.

1. N. Kunjan Pillai—*The Travancore Census Report for 1931*—

It is said that, when God Parameswara went hunting in the jungle and was attacked by an enemy, the Valiavētans who were with him fled to the hills. They were called Kātan or Ullātan. Since the Cheruvētans stood by him chivalrously, they were called Vēttuvans. Those who caught and ate crocodiles were called Chīngannivētans, and those who ate rats were known as Elichathivetans. The Tōlvētans are so called because of their leafy garments.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITION OF
THE TRIBE.

Bishop Caldwell says that the Malavētans are not, like the Todas of the Nilgris, the surviving representatives of the earliest inhabitants of the plains, but like the hill-tribes of the Pulneys the descendants of some Hinduised low country people who were driven to the hills by the oppressors or who voluntarily migrated thither.¹ They are dark in complexion, of short stature, and have long heads. They have dark curly hair, black eyes, and short nose depressed at the root. Their brow ridges are prominent and their forehead is receding. The comparative measurements of the Malavētans of Travancore and North Arcot are given below : —

AFFINITIES.

No.	Locality.	Measurements.			Remarks.
		Average Stature	Average cephalic index.	Average nasal index.	
1	Travancore	60.5"	73.5	92.4	
2	North Arcot	61.1"	73.4	85.0	

It is observed that the Malavētans of Travancore and North Arcot are short in stature and dolichocephalic.

1. Mather—*Native Life in Travancore*. 1883—p. 63.

Both have short flat nose. "The Vētans of North Arcot are supposed to be remnants of the earliest inhabitants of the Peninsula and identical with the Veddas of Ceylon."¹ Judged by the similarity of physical features, the Malavētans of Travancore may also be remnants of the Pre-Dravidian race.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE OF
THE TRIBE.

The Malavetans are divided into the following endogamous sub-divisions :—

1. Tolvētans
2. Chīngannivētans
3. Cheruvētans (Vettuvans)
4. Elichāthivētans
5. Valiavētans.

The Tolvētans are found in the Neyyattinkara and Nedumangad taluks, the Chīngannivētans in the Pathanapuram and Pathanamthitta taluks to the south of the Koni river, and the Cheruvētans to the north of the Koni river and to the south of the Pamba river in the taluks of Tiruvella and Pathanamthitta. The Elichāthivētans are found on both banks of the Manimala river in the Changanasseri taluk. The Valiavētans are found everywhere. The Cheruvētans neither interdine nor intermarry with the other Vētans. The Cheruvētans in the low country may marry a woman from among the Chīngannivētans. When a Cheruvētan dies, the widow and her children go back to her house. Each endogamous group claims superiority to the rest, and neither interdines nor intermarries with the other groups. The Chīngannivētans alone observe the custom of chipping their incisors in the form of sharp-pointed cones.

1. Edgar Thurston *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—Vol. VI—p. 334.



A CHINGANNIVETAN FEMALE GROUP.

Each endogamous group is divided into a number of clans. The Vēttuvans are divided into four clans :

EXOAMOUS
CLANS.

Vēnātan illom	Churalayār illom
Vēndiri illom	Modandan illom

The members of a clan consider themselves to be blood relations. Hence a man cannot marry a woman of the same clan. He can marry from any of the other clans. A woman after marriage continues to be of her own clan and her children take after her clan.

The Chīngannivē tans are divided into twelve clans.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Veliyan illom | 7. Vartyan illom |
| 2. Kāvatayān illom | 8. Karumāruvān illom |
| 3. Vēnatan illom | 9. Thūmbayan illom |
| 4. Polachan illom | 10. Modayanatan illom |
| 5. Kozhakātan illom | 11. Padayan illom |
| 6. Vāzhakātan illom | 12. Molavana illom |

The clans are exogamous. The first eight illoms constitute brother illoms and a man of one illom cannot marry a woman from any one of the remaining seven illoms. He can only marry a woman from any one of the other four clans which constitute machambi illoms. The children belong to the clan of the mother.

The Elichāthivētans are also divided into four clans :—

Vellillom	Kumari illom
Konchillom	Vēlillom.

The clans are exogamous.

Most of the Tōlvētans in Neyyattinkara have embraced Christianity, but they have not given up their

exogamous divisions. They are divided into eight clans :—

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Panni illom | 5. Puli illom |
| 2. Manni illom | 6. Velillom |
| 3. Vayali illom | 7. Paralillom |
| 4. Mütillom | 8. Pallikal illom |

The first four clans constitute brother illoms. The last four clans are machambi illoms to the first four. In the event of a death of a man, all the members of a clan observe death pollution for sixteen days. The pollution does not extend to other clans. If a fine is imposed on a man for committing an offence, and he cannot pay it, the clansmen collect the amount from among themselves and pay it. A needy man is helped with money by the members of a clan on occasions like the marriage of his daughter.

MARRIAGE
CUSTOMS AND
CEREMONIES.

The Malavētan marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. Marriage by exchange of sisters also takes place between men of different clans. Among the Cheruvētans, a girl is married before puberty between the age of seven and nine. The girl's father and uncle go in search of a husband. If the elders agree, an auspicious date is fixed and the marriage takes place in the girl's house. On the appointed day, the bridegroom-elect and party go to the girl's house. A pair of cloths is presented by the bridegroom to the bride who gives it to her *nathune* (husband's sister). One cloth is tied round the loins ; the other is thrown over the head. The bridegroom ties the tali (marriage-badge) on the neck of the bride and the couple are taken into a room

where they are served with food. The visitors are treated to a feast. The couple remain under the parental roof for a few months, until they find a new home for themselves. Coition before puberty is tolerated.

The marriage preliminaries take a tortuous turn among the Chīngannivētans. The boy's uncle and father go to the girl's house where they are fed. The boy's uncle then moots the marriage question by handing over some pansupari to the girl's father, who asks them why they do so. He is told that they are given for chewing. He holds the betel and nut in his hand and asks the question if they will give him pansupari to chew for all time, to which they answer that they will. They talk in this strain for some time. If the girl's father does not chew what is offered, it signifies that he is not agreeable to the marriage. If he is agreeable, he chews and sends the boy's uncle and father to the girl's uncle. In the event of his approval, they take the uncle to the girl's house. The marriage is then settled and the day fixed for the marriage. The uncle and father of the girl are then taken to a toddy shop, where they all drink toddy to the value of 2 chuckrams each. Similarly, the girl's father and uncle entertain them with toddy. This gives the hall-mark of approval to the match.

Some girls are married before and some after puberty. The marriage takes place in the bride's house, and consists of the presentation of two cloths to the bride by the bridegroom and the tying of the tāli. On the marriage day, the bridegroom-elect and his party go to the bride's hut. The tāli-kettu ceremony is generally in the morning. The bridegroom presents the cloths to

the bride, who puts one round the loins and covers the head with the other. The bridegroom's sister then ties the tali, generally a necklace of beads, round the bride's neck. The couple are then seated on a mat, and they partake of a handful of cooked rice, served on a plantain leaf. This is called 'Kandu Kanji Kudi' or the partaking of food in the presence of all. The bride's father is then given five fanams as 'Kettu artha panam', or money given for the purchase of his wife. All are then treated to a feast.

The next day, the bride and her party visit the bridegroom's hut, where they are again treated to a feast. Before the gathering disperses, the bride stands in front of the hut and her uncle places before her a measure of paddy, pansupari, and one chuckram. He then takes a few grains of paddy and places them on his left hand. He removes them in pairs. If an odd number remains in the end, all the grain is thrown over the head of the girl. He repeats the process again, and if he gets an even number in the end, he says, "ചിത്തിര വിത്തും നെല്ലിനു നെല്ലും അംതിരിയണംകാട്ടുക ശുഭതന്മൂലം ആളും." "The 'girl will be blessed with a large number of children who will work for the master, and that the master should enjoy a bountiful harvest as a result of their labour." This is reminiscent of the days of slavery. If it so happens that an odd number comes a second time, it is treated as an evil omen, and they believe that the marriage may not be happy.

The girl lives in the husband's parents' house. On the seventh day, the bridegroom's parents go to the bride's parent's house with five measures of rice, four

chuckrams worth of pan, and ten chuckrams. The bride's father also provides an equal quantity of these materials for the occasion. Rice is separately cooked by the women of the two parties. Meanwhile, the male members go to the toddy shop and regale themselves with toddy. They return and exchange the cooked rice, and pan. All enjoy a feast. Next morning the married couple go to the husband's house. Even if the girl has not attained puberty, she is allowed to live with her husband.

A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. Marriage by exchange of sisters is also prevalent. A girl is married before puberty. Marriage takes place in the bride's house. When a man has a daughter of marriageable age, he ascertains from his brother-in-law whether he is agreeable to the marriage of his daughter to his son. If he agrees, the Kaniyan chooses the auspicious date. The bridegroom-elect and his party go to the bride's house on the date fixed, and the bridegroom-elect presents the bride with two pairs of cloths and a jacket. He himself dons a new cap and a cloth. The pair go to the marriage booth, where the bridegroom ties on the tāli. All are treated to a feast and pansupari. The bridegroom then departs with his wife to his house where he stays with his parents.

MARRIAGE
AMONG THE
ELICHATHI-
VETANS.

The Cheruvētans and Elichāthivētans are strictly monogamous. If a woman is sterile a Chīngannivētan marries another woman. The two women remain in the same house. Strife is unavoidable. There is no instance of polyandry.

POLYGAMY.

LEVIRATE.

Among the Cheruvētans, a man cannot marry the wife of his deceased brother or the sister of his deceased wife. A man cannot marry the younger sister of his wife, as she is reckoned to be his daughter. If elder, she is reckoned as aunt, with whom he cannot converse. The elder sister runs away when she sees him. Among Elichāthivētans a man marries the sister of his deceased wife. He does not marry the wife of his deceased elder brother, as she is reckoned to be equivalent to his mother. An elder brother does not marry the wife of his deceased younger brother.

ADULTERY.

Instances of adultery within the clan are rare. Outside the clan instances occur among the Chīngannivētans. If an unmarried man elopes with an unmarried girl, they are caught and brought back before the village worthies. Both are beaten and fined up to ten fanams. Toddy is purchased for the amount and is partaken of by all the tribe. The pair are then married. If the man is not able to pay the fine, the amount is contributed by all the clansmen who pay the amount to the headman.

Among the Chīngannivētans, if a man commits adultery with a married woman, sixteen men assemble, and the culprits are beaten and fined ten fanams each. The amount is spent on toddy which is offered to the spirits of ancestors with the following prayer 'ഞങ്ങളും 16 പേർസമിക്കുന്നപൊതു നിങ്ങളും സഹിക്കണം.' 'Bear with us in this that we have done.' So saying, they drink the toddy. The offence is thus shared by the sixteen men. The woman is restored to her former husband.

Among the Elichāthivētans, if he commits adultery, he is debarred from attending all social and religious



A CHINGANNIVETAN CHIPPING THE INCISORS.

functions. If he is amenable to the discipline of the elders, the adulterer is made to swear that he will not repeat the offence.

Divorce is not resorted to among the Cheruvētans. DIVORCE.
The marriage bond is very loose among the Chīngannivētans. Both man and woman resort to it for very trifling reasons. If a man dislikes his wife, he takes her home, and in the presence of sixteen elders, says, 'My wife does not obey me. Here is your girl. I have no quarrel with you.' He then walks away. If a woman puts away her husband, she has to return the five fanams, when she is taken back to her parents' home.

When a girl attains puberty among the Cheruvētans, PUBERTY
a seclusion-shed is put up by the uncle and his men to keep her in during the period of pollution, which extends to six days. The girl is sent to her parents home by the husband. On the eighth day, she bathes in the stream and puts on a new cloth. She is then taken home to the beating of the tom-tom. From ten to fifteen women are fed at the expense of her father.

Among the Chīngannivētans, the seclusion-shed is put up by the father, if the girl is married before puberty. Pollution lasts for nine days. Ten pots of water are daily poured over the head of the girl by the aunt, both morning and evening. On the tenth day, a measure of paddy is converted into beaten rice. Liquid cow-dung is sprinkled over all present. The girl bathes in a stream and puts on a new cloth. She is then taken home in procession, when liquid cow-dung is sprinkled over the house and the grounds. The girl makes a horizontal mark of

cow-dung on the forehead of all and presents each with a bowl of gruel. Pollution then ceases. A feast follows. If the girl attains puberty after marriage when she is with her husband, he has to make a present of three paras of paddy, 5 measures of beaten rice, and four chuckrams worth of pan and ten chuckrams for toddy to his father-in-law. The girl is taken to her home and the customs observed are the same as mentioned above.

“ Among the Elichāthivetans, pollution lasts for seven days, during which the girl remains in the seclusion-shed. On the 8th day, she bathes. Liquid cow-dung is mixed with toddy and tender cocoanut water. The *enangans* (relations) sprinkle it over all. Pollution ceases and feasting follows.

MENSTRU-
ATION.

“ Among the Veddās of Travancore, the wife at her monthly periods is secluded for five days in a hut, a quarter of a mile away, which is also used by her at child-birth. The next five days are passed in a second hut, half way between the first and the house. On the ninth day, the husband gives a feast, sprinkles his floor with wine, and invites his friends. Until this evening, he has not dared to eat anything but roots for fear of being killed by the devil.”¹ It is also said “ that when she comes back, her husband in turn has to leave until certain ceremonies are performed; for four days after his return, he may not eat rice in his own house nor have connection with his wife.”² This custom has now undergone modification. A woman is now confined to a seclusion-shed for four days. On

1. Ernest Crawley: *The Mystic Rose*—p. 53.

2. Do. Do. — p. 141.

the fifth day, she bathes and comes home, but she is forbidden to cook food or touch the vessels for three days. It is only on the eighth day she enters on her normal duties

Among the Chīngannivētans, the woman's father and uncle take her home in the seventh month when the *pulikudi* ceremony is gone through. Songs are sung to the beating of the tom-tom on the auspicious day to scare away the devil. The mouth of a pot of water is covered with plantain leaves and fastened with a string. A hole is made on the ground, and the pot of water is placed inverted in it and secured in position with earth rammed about it. The pregnant woman is made to stand over it, and a thread with four copper and brass rings is passed over her head down to the feet by the exorcist and it is then taken out. The toes are then wound round with the thread which is then cut. The woman then gets down. Two pots of tamarind and saffron water are then made and seven spoons made out of jack leaves are put over each. A new cloth is thrown over her head and seven spoons of tamarind water are poured over them by the exorcist, who throws the spoons behind. The pot of water is then poured over her head and that of her husband. Seven balls of rice mixed with tamarind juice are given to the pregnant woman by the exorcist. When she has eaten these, and a cocoanut has been broken, the ceremony comes to an end. During the ninth month, a human effigy is made in straw and waved before her. It is then suspended over a tree at the cross-roads to scare away evil spirits.

PREGNANCY
RITES.

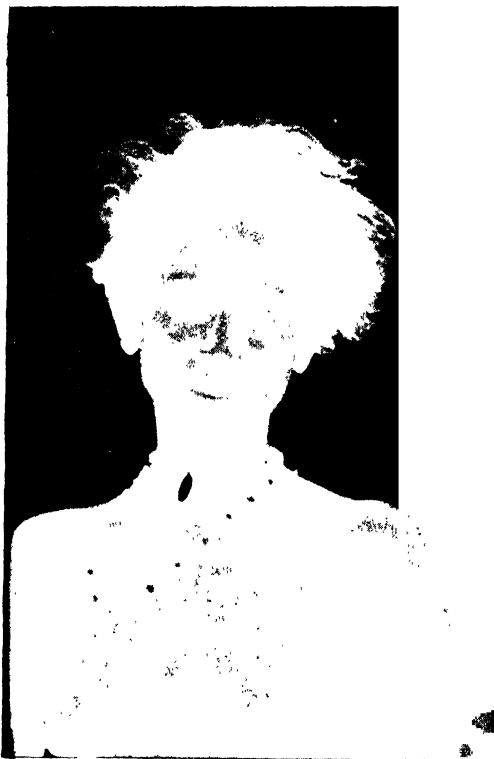
Among the Cheruvētans, there is a *pulikudi* ceremony on a small scale. The tamarind juice is poured into the hands of the husband, who administers it to his wife. All the women are then fed. There is no such ceremony among the Elichāthivētans.

CHILD-BIRTH.

When a woman is about to become a mother among the Chīngannivētans, she is confined to a room in the hut itself. The aunt or some other woman keeps her company and helps in the delivery. After delivery, a decoction of medicinal herbs and charcoal powder is made in the husband's urine and administered to her by him internally. It is said that this medicine is given especially when a woman delivers a still-born child or when she has had very hard labour pains, and that it is intended to remove all dirt from the body. An ounce of oil of *Melia dubia* is given internally. Urine is very commonly used in folk medicine.¹ The Australians employ the urine of opposite sex as a cure for sickness.² On the third day, she is given a warm bath and is fed on rice. The anchukuli is the bath on the fifth day. Pollution lasts for ten days. A quarter measure of paddy and betel leaves are presented to the midwife. On the tenth day, a measure of beaten rice is made ready. Liquid cow-dung is sprinkled over the house. A mark in cow-dung is made on the forehead of all the assembled men. Kanji (rice gruel) is served to all by the mother of the baby. The exorcist breaks a coconut in honour of the baby the next day.

1. Ernest Crawley — *The Mystic Rose* — p. 100.

2. Do. Do p. 70



A CHINGANNIVETAN WOMAN SHEWING
CHIPPED TEETH.

Among the Cheruvētans, a separate shed is put up, when one of their women is about to be confined. Pollution lasts for ten days. The same medical treatment as has been described above is given to the mother. On the eleventh day, the woman bathes and goes home. Among Elichāthivētans, the woman before delivery is confined to the seclusion-shed. Pollution lasts for ten days, but the above mentioned medical treatment is not in vogue.

Among the Chīngannivētans, giving a name to the child takes place on the eleventh day. NAMING
CEREMONY Vallāthan, Rāman, Chōthi, Thiruvāram, Kannoran, Ponnān, and Nallan are some of the names given to boys. Ponni, Karutha, Chakaru, Thēvani, Nalla are some of the names given to girls. A man's child belongs to the clan of the mother. Among Cheruvētans, naming is done on the twenty-eighth day.

A man avoids conversation with his mother-in-law (aunt). He will not enter the hut where his aunt remains. If he sees her anywhere on the lane or the road, he moves away. He is free to talk with his uncle. A man does not talk with his wife's elder sister; she runs away when she sees him. He avoids his younger brother's wife, but there is no taboo regarding talking with the wife of his elder brother. The taboo against communication with the mother-in-law is intended to prevent any clandestine connection between them.

Mrs. J. W. Evans has recorded that inheritance is INHERITANCE. a mixture of matriarchy and patriarchy. Son and nephew equally divide.¹ Now this has undergone a change.

1. * *Madras Museum Bulletin*—Vol. III No. 1, 1900 Mrs. J. W. EVANS—*The Malavetans of Travancore*—p. 86.

Two-thirds of the property goes to the son and one-third to the nephew among the Chīngannivētans. In the absence of both son and nephew, two-thirds of the property goes to the daughter and one-third to the niece. In the absence of any heir, the master may take possession of all the property. Property consists of mammatty, bill-hook, and crowbar. Among the Cheruvētans, half the property goes to the son and half to the nephew.

KINSHIP

The terms of relationship among the Malavētans are of the type called classificatory. The terms of relationship are as given below :

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
<i>I. Relations through father.</i>		
1	Grandfather	Ammāthan
2	Grandmother	Ammāthi
3	Father	Anthai
4	Mother	Amma
5	Father's elder brother	Valianthai
6	do. wife	Valiamma
7	Father's younger brother	Chittappan
8	do. wife	Kochamma
9	Father's elder brother's son	Chettan or Anujan, if the younger
10	do. daughter	Pengal
11	Father's sister	Ammāvi
12	Father's sister's husband	Ammāvan
13	do. son	Aliyan
14	do. daughter	Machambi

No.	English name.	Vernacular name.
II. Relations through mother.		
1	Grandfather	Ammāthan
2	Grandmother	Ammāthi
3	Mother's brother	Ammāvan
4	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāvi
5	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Cheri- amma
III. Relations through wife.		
1	Wife	No name
2	Wife's father	Ammāvan
3	Wife's mother	Ammāvi
4	Wife's brother	Aliyan
5	Wife's brother's wife	Pengal
6	Wife's sister	Not called by name if elder, by name, if the younger
7	Wife's sister's husband	Chēttan or Anujan, if the younger
IV. Relations through husband.		
1	Husband's father	Ammāvan
2	Husband's mother	Ammāvi
3	Husband's brother	Chēttan antha or anujan if the younger
4	Husband's brother's wife	Chēttathi or anujathi as the case may be.
5	Husband's sister	Nāthune

In connection with the above, we note that—

(1) Ammāthan or Ammāthi are the names given to grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal lines. Among the Cheruvētans, the terms used for them are Appūppan and Ammūmma ; and

(2) Father's sister's husband, mother's brother, husband's father and wife's father. Ammāvan is the name given to all these persons and ammāvi to the wives. Among the Cheruvētans, the names used are Māman and Māmi. Cross-cousin marriage, in which the two terms are combined, is still the prevailing form of marriage.

3. Aliyan is the name given to father's sister's son and wife's brother.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Cheruvētans bury their dead about a hundred yards from the hamlet. The grave is dug to a depth of four feet for both man and woman. A new cloth is wrapped round the body, and another is tied round the head. The corpse is laid in the grave with the head southwards. A handful of rice is thrown into the mouth by son and nephew. The frame work on which the dead body is carried is laid over the corpse and the grave is filled up with earth. The betel bag of the deceased, tender cocoanut, and a pot of gruel are placed over it to propitiate the spirit of the dead. Pollution lasts for 16 days. On the 16th day, toddy, arrack, beaten rice, cooked and uncooked rice, and plantains are placed in front of a pāla (*Alstonia scholaris*) stump. A human image is made in earth and the following prayer is offered

‘അപ്പ അപ്പപ്പമ്മാരോടും കീഴിലുള്ളവരോടും മുഴക്കേഹറുന്നു. പുധി ചാവിതെവിട്ടു ഉപദ്രവിക്കരുതേ. കള്ളം മരുന്നും ഇതാ ഇരിക്കുന്നു,



A MALAVETAN — FRONT AND PROFILE.

പഴയ ചരവുമ്മ കിടക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു നിമിത്തിക്കാക്കട്ടെ.”

“Oh ancestor spirits, I address you without any reservation. Do not let loose Pulichavu on us and trouble us. Here are toddy and arrack for you. Give the spirit a resting place, where the old spirits remain.” All bathe on the seventeenth day and make a mark on the forehead with liquid cowdung. No work is done in the jungle during the period of pollution.

Among the Chīngannivētans, funeral ceremonies are more elaborate. When a man dies, information is sent round to all relations. When they assemble, the brother-in-law of the deceased digs the grave four feet deep about a mile from the habitations. As soon as the grave is ready, the corpse is washed, anointed with cocoanut oil, covered with a new cloth, and carried to the grave on a framework of bamboo by two or four men (Aliyans). Before doing so, the floor is swept and the sweepings and the broom are laid over the frame work along with the body. These are carried round the grave thrice and the corpse lowered into the grave with head towards the south. The son puts three handfuls of earth over the head of the corpse, and the nephew and other relations do the same. The grave is then filled with earth. The framework is laid over it. A handful of paddy is put into a leaf and tied up with a creeper and the packet is laid at the head of the grave. All disperse, bathe, and return to the home of the deceased. A measure of rice is fried and seven spoons of jack leaves are placed in a mortar. A vessel containing liquid cowdung is placed near it. The mourners dip their finger in the liquid and make a mark on the forehead. Seven of the principal mourners including the grave diggers and

carriers of the corpse eat a spoonful of rice powder and throw the spoons back over their heads. All then go to a toddy shop, where the grave-diggers and carriers of the corpse are treated to a bowl of toddy to the value of four chuckrams each.

Pollution lasts for seven days. The mourners gather on the sixth day. A measure and a half of rice is cooked and given to the exorcist, who offers the cooked rice to the ancestor spirits and then eats it. Pan to the value of four chuckrams is presented to him and others. They chew the pan and make a mark of rice powder on their forehead, breast, and hands. The exorcist ties bells round his ankle. A *thullal* (an ecstatic dance) begins a night, at the end of which he says that the spirit of the deceased has been taken away by the ancestors. On the seventh day, a plantain stump is fixed to the ground and a chatty (pot) of liquid cowdung is placed on the stump. A few grains of rice are also placed on a leaf. The carriers go to the grave, untie the packet of paddy, and throw it away. The exorcist sprinkles the liquid cowdung on the women. The mourners take a few grains of rice and throw them on the plantain stump. The exorcist who stood over the mortar so long gets down and casts away everything. All return home after bathing, and a feast follows. The soul is said to have an airy form and to go to Heaven.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES
AMONG THE
ELICHATHI-
VETANS.

The Elichāthivētans bury their dead about a hundred feet to the south of the house. The nephew digs the grave. He purchases a new cloth to wrap the corpse in. Then the body is carried to the grave. The nephew first throws in some earth and then the others fill in the

grave. All bathe. The mourners are then treated to a bowl of toddy. They do not take any food that day. On the sixteenth day, the nephew makes an offering of fried paddy, beaten rice, tender cocoanuts, and toddy, saying, "Oh spirit, pray accept all my offerings and join the other ancestor-spirits on any of the crests of hills." The offerings are partaken of by those present. The nephew incurs all the expenses for the ceremony.

The Malavētans have no temples. They visit RELIGION Hindu shrines at a distance in times of sudden sickness. They worship ancestor-spirits once in three years. Every man does this in his own home, where all his relations also assemble. Three measures of beaten rice, one measure of toddy, four tender cocoanuts, four chuckrams worth of tobacco, a bunch of plantains, and molasses are placed in front of the house at night. A fowl is sacrificed and the following prayer is offered, "ഏ.നും ഭൂതനായ, നിന്നെ കോഴിയുടെ പരിതരണം. ഏ.നിക്കു രക്ഷയായ ഇതന്നെകൊള്ളണം. പാവുമാർ എല്ലാം വെള്ളംകുടി ഏറ്റുകൊള്ളണം. കൊച്ചിനോടും കുട്ടിയോടും യശസ്സേ ഉപദ്രവവും ഉണ്ടാക്കരുതേ." "Oh god, I am offering you a fowl. Pray protect me. Oh, ancestor-spirits, pray protect me. Oh, ancestor-spirits, pray accept my offering. May no harm be done to my children." After saying this, he distributes the offerings to all. In the month of Thulam (October to November), they lead a life of plenty and with little thought of their deities, while, in other months, they live a life of continence, because they live in dread of the jungle gods.

Ancestors are also worshipped during Onam in Chingom (August), on Makarom 28th (February 10th), Medom 1st (April 14th), and Karkadaga Sankramam

day (in July). The offerings of fried rice, beaten rice, toddy, betel, and tobacco are placed in front of the hut at night, when the following prayer is made:—"ചരമോരിൽനിന്നു കഞ്ഞുകുട്ടികൾക്കു ഭോഷമാനം വരരുതേ. ഇരൊക്കെ ഏറ്റൊള്ളണം."

"May no harm be done to the children by the spirits of ancestors. Pray accept these offerings. The offering is left for an hour and is then partaken of by all.

AGRICUL-
TURAL
CEREMONIES.

Before starting the clearing of jungle in January, an offering of pansupari and tobacco is made to Kallēl Ūrali by the Cheruvētans, and the following prayer is offered. "ചൈവചമ, ചപാനമചമ, വേണ്ടുവണ്ണം ഇരിക്കണം. ചെന്റ അപ്പപ്പ, ഞങ്ങളും ഉഴവും നന്നായിരിക്കണം. കഴിഞ്ഞ അപ്പൻ അപ്പപ്പമ്മാരെ, വേണ്ടുവണ്ണം രക്ഷയായ് ഇരിക്കണം. അപ്പച്ചങ്ങളെ കഞ്ഞിനും കുട്ടിക്കും ഒരു അററകുററകൂടാതെ ഇരിക്കണം."

"Oh God, Oh Gracious Hills, be well disposed towards us. Oh ancestors, may we and our cultivation prosper. Oh ancestors, protect us adequately. May our children prosper."

In Chingom (August to September) a Kathiruttu patini (offering) is given to the hills before harvest for which the services of a Vēlan are requisitioned. An offering is made of $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy, cocoanuts, and flowers. The Vēlan wears a black cloth and cap and breaks the cocoanuts in the early morning. He then works himself into an ecstacy and says, "വിളവു ശരിയായ് ഇരിക്കും. ആറ്റുകുറു കായ്ത്തിൽ ഭോഷമാനം വരുത്തുകയില്ല. നാട്ടിലേക്കു തിരികെ അയക്കുന്നതിനു ഭോഷമാനം വരുത്തുകയില്ല. സത്യം വാക്കുന്നു."



A MALAVETAN FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

“The harvest will be satisfactory. No harm will mar your return to the village. Truth prevails,” He then comes to himself and returns home with the offerings.

In Kanni, an offering is made to the hills after harvest. Two and a half measures of paddy and seven tender cocoanuts are placed on level ground near the cultivated area before the threshing of the corn. The Vēlan again comes. He places a stone on a hallowed spot and breaks the cocoanuts. He then gets inspired and says, “വിത്തിനൊന്നും ദോഷമില്ലാതെ അരികൊന്നും ദോഷംകൂടാതെ നാട്ടിലേക്കു ഇറക്കിഅയക്കാം.”

“Without any damage to seed and men, I shall see to your safe return home.” He then comes to himself. The threshing of the corn is then begun. The Vēlan is given $4\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy for his services.

The Cheruvētans are nomadic agriculturists. They jointly clear the jungle in January, and burn the debris in March. Seed is sown broadcast in April. Women take part in all the operations except threshing. During March, July, and August, the men abstain from any intercourse with their women, as they believe that sexual relations would damage their crops. The clearing of the land is done by all the men of the hamlet. The headman gets free labour. From the process of sowing onwards, each man looks to his own work.

The Chīngannivētans and Elichāthivētans live by the sweat of their brow and are still in a state of economic bondage to their landlords. They earn two measures of paddy as their daily wages.

Among the Cheruvētans, a man on an average gets paddy which may last for six months. Tapioca, plantains, and edible tubers are also cultivated. They sell their produce, plantains, kyvan (*Helicteres isora*) coir in the weekly markets and get on an average about seven chuckrams with which they purchase their weekly necessities. When food is scarce, they go to the jungle and collect wild tubers with the digging spud. They do not hunt wild animals, as they have no weapons for the chase.

TRIBAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

The Cheruvētans have a headman called Stāni in each settlement, whose wishes are carried out by the others. The office is hereditary and goes to the nephew. He settles all their disputes. The villagers meet frequently to settle village affairs. But the Headman's influence is declining.

HABITATION.

The huts are one roomed 15' × 12' in dimensions. They are made of junglewood posts and reeds with grass for thatching. They use only earthenware vessels. They make fire by the flint and steel. They are said to have formerly "practised the primitive method of kindling fire by the friction of wood."¹

DIET.

The Malayētans are meat eaters. The Chīnganni-vētans eat the meat of sambur, black and white monkey, wild boar, and crocodiles, also crab, and fish. They daily earn two measures of paddy as their wages. They also use tapioca. The Cheruvētans live on tortoise, porcupine, hare, wild boar, and sambur, but not on bison and bear. They eat rice, tapioca, sweet potatoes, and

¹ Edgar Thurston—*The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI. p. 334.

other tubers. The Elichāthivētans are fond of eating rats.

The Chīngannivētans wear very scanty garment. ^{DRESS.} The men wear a loin cloth $3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Women wear a loin cloth $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. The women cover their breast with another cloth. The Cheruvētans and Elichāthivētans wear similar dress.

The Malavētans (Cheruvētans) wear ear rings of ^{ORNAMENTS.} brass or silver. Some wear a wristlet of silver on the right hand, and ring. Women wear a cylindrical tube of brass (ōla) in the lobes of the ear. They used to wear necklaces of beads, but wear now only a black thread. The Chīngannivētans wear hardly any ornament. The most interesting custom among them is that of chipping the upper incisor teeth in the form of short serrated cones. "On being asked whether they have any tradition about the custom of tooth-filing, they replied that it is to distinguish our caste. Our God Chāthan will be hungry, if we neglected this custom." ¹ The operation is done both by men and women for ornamentation. It is done for men by men at the age of nine or ten. The chipping is done with a small knife or bill-hook. When a girl is to be operated on, she lies down and rests her head on the lap of a woman, who holds it firmly. A third woman takes a small knife and chips away the teeth till they are shaded to a point. The girl suffers from excruciating pain during the operation and her face swells. The pain and swelling last for a day or two. Before chipping, the outer edges of the teeth are smeared with chunam. It is supposed to

1. Madras Museum Bulletin—Vol. III, No. 1, 1900. *The Malavetans of Travancore*.—p. 86

make the chipping easier. The custom of chipping the teeth is found among the Kadirs of Cochin State. It is found among several tribes in Africa, Australia, where the custom is confined to the incisor. It is gradually dying out, as the operation causes great pain.

DAILY LIFE.

The Cheruvētans get up early in the morning. The women light the fire and cook food consisting of rice kanji and curry. After breakfast at 8 A. M., the men go to the jungle to gather wild roots and tubers with the digging spud accompanied by their wives. The women collect fuel. They return home in the evening, and take their meal at dusk. The Chīngannivētans and Elichāthivētans rely entirely on their masters for their livelihood. Their work lies in the fields, and they live on the wages that they get by the sweat of their brow.

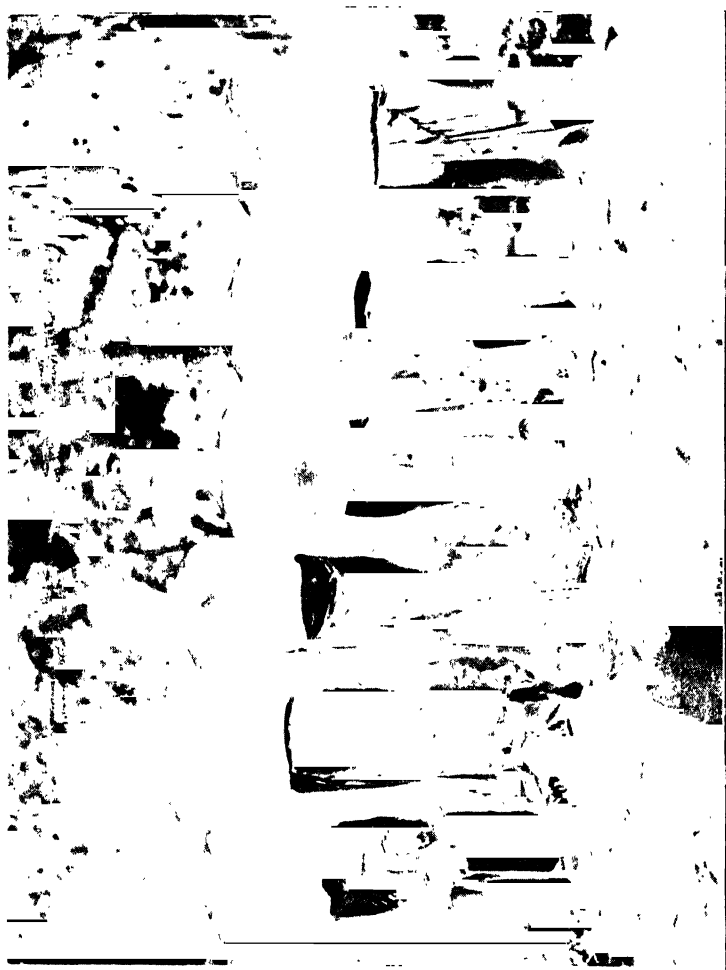
FERTILITY.

During the Census of 1931 it was found that there were 1017 men to every 1000 women. There is thus a shortage of women. The average birth rate is 3·0 and the survival rate, 1·5. Infant mortality is largest among males.

SOCIAL STATUS.

The Chīngannivētans stand eighteen feet away from the Cheruvētans who in turn stand at a distance of eight feet from the higher castes. The Malankuravans are superior to the Malavētans who stand at a distance of eight feet from them. Their poor economic condition keeps the Chīngannivētans and Elichathivētans in bondage. "They live in jungle clearing or work in rice fields and were formerly sold or bought as slaves. Polygamy is common, as men have not to provide for the support of their wives."¹

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883, p. 63.



A MALAYARAYAN MALE GROUP.

MALAYARAYAN.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF THE TRIBE—
 CONDITION IN FORMER TIMES—HABITAT—CLIMATE—
 HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—
 MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—POLYGAMY—
 POLYANDRY—DIVORCE—WIDOW MARRIAGE—PUBERTY
 CUSTOMS—MENSTRUATION—CHILD-BIRTH—FAMILY—IN-
 HERITANCE—ADOPTION—KINSHIP—TRIBAL ORGANIZA-
 TION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—UNNATURAL DEATHS—
 RELIGION—ANCESTOR-WORSHIP—MINOR SUPERNATURAL
 DEITIES—WORSHIP OF SASTA—AGRICULTURAL CERE-
 MONIES—WORSHIP OF IMPLEMENTS—OMENS AND SUPERS-
 TITIONS—TABOO—OCCUPATION—ECONOMIC CONDITION—
 HOSPITALITY—DAILY LIFE—POSITION OF WOMEN—EDU-
 CATION—INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY—FERTILITY—
 APPEARANCE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES—CONCLUSION.

The Malayarayans are found in the woodlands of Todupuzha, Mēēnachil, and Changanasseri taluks of the Kottayam¹ Division. “They are a class of hill-tribes who are a little more civilised than the Mannans and have fixed abodes on the slopes of high mountain ranges. Their villages are fine looking with trees and palms all round.”¹ They were numerically stronger in the Poonjat Edavaga of Meenachil taluk, but a large number have embraced Christianity. They were returned at the Census of 1931 as 3182. The subjoined table will show that the population is on the increase.

INTRODUC-
 TION.

1. Edgar Thurston—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—
 Vol. IV p. 388.

Year of Census.	Total.	Males	Females.	Remarks.
1911	2,612	1,294	1,318	
1921	2,858	1,486	1,372	
1931	3,182	1,606	1,576	

In 1911, there was a preponderance of females over males. In 1931, the balance of the sexes has turned in favour of males. There are now 98·7 females for every 100 males. In 1931 they were classified for the first time as 2807 Hindu, 120 Tribal, and 255 Christians.

ORIGIN AND
TRADITIONS
OF THE TRIBE

The word 'Malayarayan' means 'lord of the hills'. The Malayarayans of Arakulam give it out that they are the offspring of Gautama and Ahalya. Ahalya was transformed into a rock by the curse of Gautama on account of her being found with Indra in a compromising situation. When Rama trod over the rock on his way to Mithila, she assumed her former shape and joined Gautama. The Malayarayans are said to have been born of them after this incident. They now style themselves 'Karingal Brahmans.' They claim superiority over all the other tribes in social status. They are called 'Vāzhiyāmmar' by the Ūrālis of the Todupuzha Range and by the Ullātans of the Manimala Range. The term literally means 'those who rule,' and throws some lingering light on their former sovereignty over the hills. Thus, to this day, an Ullātan and an Ūrālī call a Malayarayan male 'Vāzhiyān' and female 'Vāzhiyāramma.' The Malayarayans state there are four kinds

of Arayans. They are the Malayarayan (lord of the hills) the Nāttarayan (the Maharaja), the Katarayan (lord of the sea), and the Ottarayan (the palanquin-bearers of the Maharaja).

The history of how the Malayarayans came to occupy their present habitat lies buried in obscurity. They claim to be autochthonous and say that their original home was at Chingampara and Karimala in the Rāni reserve and that they migrated in all directions owing to stress of population. But all the weight of tradition points to migration from north to south. It is said that "sage Agastya repaired to Dwarka (Tamil Tuvārupati) and, taking with him eighteen families of Vels or Velirs and others, moved on to the south with the Aruvalar tribes, who appear to have been the ancestors of the Kurumbas."¹ (The Kurumbas are, according to Dr. A. H. Keane, the remnants of a great widespread people, who erected dolmens and form one of the Pre-Dravidian tribes of Southern India.²). In the south, Agastya had all the forests cleared and built up kingdoms settling all the people that he had brought with him. This migration may have been about 1075 B. C. Agastya's conquest of the south has been accepted as a fact or tradition in history, for Rama, the hero of Ramayana, compared his own feat of the recovery of Sita to that of Agastya conquering the impenetrable and inaccessible southern regions.³ Travancore is included in the

1. M. Srinivasa Iyengar—*Tamil Studies*—pp. 45 to 46.

2. A. H. Keane—*Man Past and Present*—p. 424.

3. O. G. Gangoly—*Journal of the Mythic Society*, 1927, p. 169.

scene of his adventures, as he is said to dwell on Agastiar Peak for eternity invisible to mortal eyes. The adventures of Agastya are relevant to this study to the extent that he is said to have played a conspicuous part in reclaiming primeval forests in Southern India and making them fit for human habitation.

It has been stated above that the Kurumbas erected dolmens. In the habitat of the Malayarayans are found dolmens in the uplands. They are called 'Pandukulies.'¹ Two of them were seen by me. The capstones have been removed in each case and are lying close by. The dolmen at Kādukutti is rectangular and is $8' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ in dimensions above ground. Lengthwise, it has one single upright on one side, while, at the other, two formed the walling. Sideways, there was one on each side. The flooring was also paved with stone slabs as in France. The capstone was $7' \times 7' \times 8''$ and was roughly triangular. It was found on the crest of a hill and it had one gallery. The dolmen is a burial chamber in which the people of later Neolithic period buried their persons of importance.

It is recorded by Mr. Walhouse that "on the higher ranges of Travancore, there are three of Parasurama's cairns, where the Mala Arraiyans still keep lamps burning. They make miniature cromlechs of small slabs of stone and place within them a long pebble to represent the deceased. So the Mala Arraiyans offer arrack and sweetmeats to the departed spirit said to be hovering near the miniature cromlech."² Mateer corroborates this fact.

1. V. Nagam Aiya—*The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 164.

2. Edgar Thurston—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—Vol. IV—pp. 388 to 389.



A MALAYARAYAN FEMALE GROUP.

He says that they make little cells of pieces of stone, the whole forming a box a few inches square.¹ The dolmen-builders are said to be Pre-Dravidian in origin.

The Malayarayans appear to have suffered from heavy disabilities in former times. "The Puniat Raja, who ruled over those at Mundapalli, made them pay head money—two chuckrams a head monthly as soon as they were able to work and a similar sum as 'presence money' besides certain quotas of fruits and vegetables and feudal service. They were also forced to lend money if they possessed any, and to bring leaves and other articles without any pretext of paying them, and that for days. The men of these villages were placed in a worse position than the slaves. The petty Raja used to give a silver-headed cane to the principal headman, who was then called '*Perumban*' or '*caneman*.'"² The head money was popularly known as '*thalakaram*' in the case of males and '*mulakaram*' in the case of females. It is said that these exactions came to an end under very tragic circumstances. Once, when the agent of the Raja went to recover *thalakaram*, the Malayarayan pleaded inability to pay the amount, but the agent insisted on payment. The Arayans were so enraged that they cut off the head of the man and placed it before the Agent saying here is your '*thalakaram*.' Similarly, inability was pleaded in the case of an Arayan woman for payment of *mulakaram*, but the Agent again persisted. One breast of the woman was cut off and placed before him

SOCIAL CON-
DITIONS OF
THE MALA-
YARAYANS.

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore* 1883, pp. 74 to 75.

2. Do.

Do. p. 78.

saying 'here is your mulakaram.' On hearing this incident, the Raja was so enraged at the indiscretion of the Agent that he forthwith ordered the discontinuance of this system of receiving payment.

Even after the Malayarayans came into the tutelage of government some of their disabilities continued. Mateer says, "the Sirkar required each individual to furnish a certain quantity of wax and wild honey and firewood for temples without any remuneration ; also to assist in catching elephants. They were, however, free from paying any land tax. The Kānikār people, though free men, paid head money for themselves and all males who had died during the previous ten years besides the usual land tax and ground rent and taxes on fruit trees, and were besides fleeced by the local petty officers. The services required furnished occasion for continual annoyance and exactions, men being seized by officials to carry cardamoms from the hills to the boats without pay ; and, if they hid themselves, as was natural, the women were caught, beaten, locked up, kept exposed to the sun and pouring rain, and all sorts of indignities were perpetrated. They also had to complain that some of their cows were killed, others being stolen by tax gatherers so far from the central authority ; and worse than all, some had been beaten and expelled from lands which their forefathers by their sweat had bedewed for years untold. The Arayans of Todupuzha, it is said, are still much oppressed by their Muhamadan neighbours."¹ The Malayarayans who now live inside the reserved forests are free from such handicaps to their existence.

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*—1883 p. 78.

The general aspect of the region of the Malayarayan is extremely mountainous. The average rainfall is 180 inches. The region is watered by the Pamba, the Manimala, the Mēēnachil, and the Arakulam rivers. The Pamba river is one of the finest navigable rivers for small country craft and has its source in a woody ridge of broken hills, thirteen miles to the south-east of Sabarimala pagoda, which is about 2500 feet above sea level. The Manimala river is one of its chief tributaries, issuing from the Kodamuruti hills, its waters run in a rather deeply broad and sandy bed, confined by steep banks which gradually diminish westward. The Mēēnachil river runs a devious course of thirty-five miles, twenty-eight of which are navigable for small boats during the greater part of the year. The Malayarayans live along the watershed areas of the above rivers and their tributaries. HABITAT.

The climate presents a diversity owing to the variety of aspect and range of the territory. A warm humidity is one of its special features. The most noticeable variations are found in the mountains. The climate of the plains is more constant. Extreme heat combined with excessive humidity makes for physical and mental inertia on the hills. From January to May, there is intense heat at times and a general high temperature is maintained. CLIMATE.

The people suffer much from the great heat of their low hills in summer. The fever common to the hills may be due to sudden change of temperature, and excessive dews also encourage it. The climate after summer is salubrious, the only inconvenience being

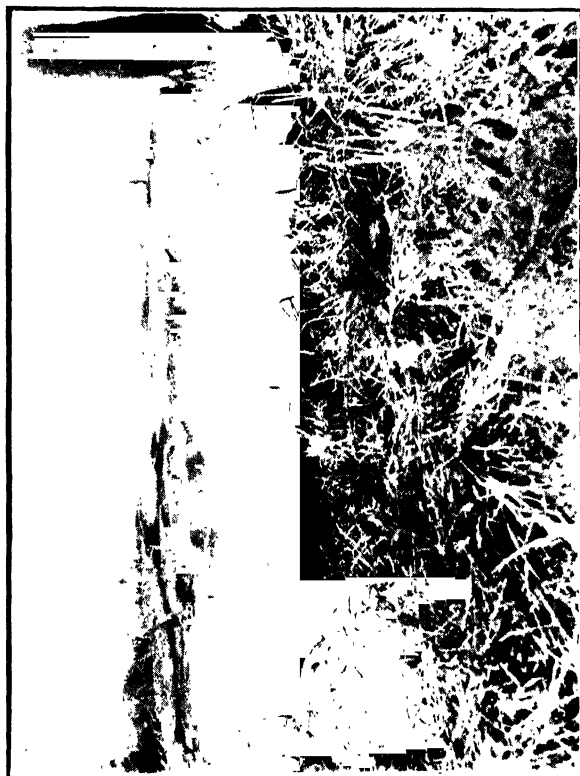
torrents of rain that deluge them. Rainfall is heaviest in the Kottayam district. The three months after the cessation of rainfall are the most agreeable and salubrious, the air being cool and refreshing. On the whole, the climate at lower elevations is enervating. What with sudden changes of temperature, excessive dew, scarcity of water supply in summer, and mosquitoes, their life on the hills is not a cheery one, as they often fall a prey to malaria which devitalises them.

HABITA-
TION.

The Malayarayan village is generally on high ground by the side of a stream. The huts are built here and there facing the east. Each hut has an open space around it and irregular winding paths connect it with others. They get their water supply from ravines. When these go dry in summer, they make water-holes. Sanitation is good about the village.

Each hut is 20'x10' and has a gable roof. The flooring is slightly elevated from the ground. The hut is built of junglewood posts, bamboos, and reeds, and thatched with grass. The sides of the hut are walled up with plaited bamboo. The front room 10' x 6' is designed for receiving visitors. The mid-room forms the dining hall and is used also as the bed-room. The rear room is for cooking and has an exit behind. The huts are built without windows in order to keep out hot winds in summer.

Living as he does in the jungle, the Malayarayan in Manimala and Arakulam has his own tree-house (ānamādam) built on the top of a tree and is reached by a bamboo ladder. Being afraid of attacks by wild elephants, he takes shelter in it with his family at night, and



A DOLMEN IN RANNI RESERVE.

drives off wild elephants by shouting 'Ayyappa'. Here he also garners his paddy and tapioca. About a hundred yards from the hut is a small shed designed for women in menses. Men do not approach it, for fear of its pollution. In Pannimittam of Thodupuzha Range, where wild elephants abound, the seclusion-sheds are built on trees about two hundred feet away from the hut. As child-birth is not considered so defiling as menses, the birth-shed is erected about sixty feet apart in places not accessible to wild elephants.

Each village has its temple which is a thatched shed, and a few stones are held upright with a lamp at a distance. They are symbolic of several eminences like Thalapāramala, Pōthenmala, Āzhamala and Savampāramala.

Formerly, the Malayarayan used to carry with him in his betel bag a little box made of bamboo stem with a node at its bottom. This was stuffed with the floss of *Bombax malabaricum* and also held a piece of quartz and a flat piece of iron. Fire was produced by igniting the floss with sparks produced from the quartz by striking the iron piece on it. The chakmuk is now becoming an object of rarity, as safety matches have taken its place.

The social organization of the Malayarayans is built on the foundation of exogamy. In Manimala, they are divided into six clans :

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
TRIBE.

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| 1 Vala illom | 4 Pūthāni illom |
| 2 Enna illom | 5 Korangani illom |
| 3 Mundillom | 6 Panthirāyira illom |

To Vala illom belong the descendants of the man who presented bangles to the Ambalapuzha Chief. To Enna illom belong the descendants of the man who presented oil to the Chief, to Mundillom of the man who presented cloth to the Chief, and to Pūthāni illom of the man who presented flowers to the Chief. The remaining two illakars have no rational explanation to offer in regard to the origin of the clan names. Members of the first two clans claim superiority over the remaining clans. Next come the Mundu and Vala illakars. The last two clans are the lowest in status. The clans being exogamous, a man of Vala illom cannot marry a woman of the same clan, but must marry one from the Enna and Mundu illakars. Formerly members of Vala illom married women from Puthani illom, but did not give their women in marriage to them. The latter could not serve food to the former owing to their inferior position. These differences are now vanishing.

In the Todupuzha Range, they are divided into five clans, Pūthāni, Māla, Vala, Nellipalli, and Modalikad. To Māla illom belong the descendants of the man who presented garlands to Cheraman Perumal, to Pūthāni illom, of the man who presented flowers, to Nellipalli illom, of the man who presented paddy ; to Vala illom, of the man who presented bangles, and to Modalikad of the man who peered through a hole unnoticed. Vala and Māla illoms are annan thambi or brother illoms, and a man of one of these clans can marry a woman from Nellipalli, Modalikad and Pūthāni illoms which are machambi or brother-in-law illoms to the former. Modalikad illom is said to be inferior to others.

Although members of a clan do not claim descent from an animal or plant, they regard themselves as the descendants of a common ancestor, and, as such, blood relations between whom marriage or sexual intercourse is forbidden. One of the traces of the old solidarity of the clan is seen in the recognition by every member of the clan of his duty to welcome as a brother any other member of the clan, however unrelated, who may happen to require his hospitality.

Again, the tie of clan is as strong as that of blood, since it creates a sense of common obligations and common responsibilities. In the case of the death of a member of a clan in Todupuzha, all the other members of the same clan observe pollution for sixteen days, no matter in which hamlet they stay. Again, a man's children take after the clan of the mother. These exogamous rules are regarded as social survivals from very remote times, the underlying idea being to keep the home free from incestuous intercourse.

In Manimala, marriage takes place after a girl attains puberty at the age of sixteen. The boy must be older by at least two years. In Todupuzha, marriage also takes place before a girl attains puberty and there is no *tālikettu kalyanam*. Liberty of choice is not allowed to the contracting parties. When a girl reaches the age of marriage, the boy's father approaches the girl's father with a proposal of marriage. If he agrees, the date of the marriage is fixed. The best form of marriage is that of cross-cousins, by which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter.

MARRIAGE
CEREMONIES

A marriage is always preceded by the *tālikettu kalyanam*, which is celebrated for a girl or group of girls, when they are at the age of three, five, seven, nine and eleven. The *enangan* may be any married man or nephew of the girl's parents. A Kaniyan is consulted as to the agreement of horoscopes and an auspicious day and hour for the ceremony. On the appointed day, the *enangan* goes to the girl's hut, when the Kaniyan is also present. The *enangan* holds the *tāli* between his hands, waves it towards north, south, east, and west, takes it near the neck of the girl, and solicits the permission of the Kaniyan for tying the *tāli* round the neck of the girl. On his nod of approval, the *tāli* is tied. It is nowadays made of gold. The assembled guests are then treated to a feast both in the morning and the evening. *Kettuvālama* pollution is observed for three days. On the fourth day, the *enangan* and the girls take a bath (*Malankuli*) in the morning. This is followed by a feast after which all depart. The *tāli*-tying ceremony is intended to avoid reproach from friends and relations. In some essential features, it resembles the ceremony among high caste Hindus :—

1. Performance of the ceremony for all the girls down to the one in the cradle.
2. Fixing an auspicious day and hour of the ceremony by the astrologer.
3. Information to friends and relations.
4. Tying of *tāli* by *enangan*.
5. Observance of *Kettuvālama*, both on the 4th day and formal separation.



MALAYARAYAN HEADMAN.

By some, the tāli-tying ceremony is considered to be a mock marriage among high caste Hindus. Among the Malayarayans of Manimala, it now stands as an essential tribal observance preliminary to the establishment of sexual relations.

On the occasion of a marriage, the bridegroom-elect and party arrive at the bride's hut on the appointed day. The wedding takes place in the evening or at night in Manimala, a custom natural enough for its convenience and its obviation of dangers such as that of the evil eye. When the auspicious moment arrives, the pan-supari brought by the enangans are distributed to the guests, and the girl is brought to the marriage-booth. In front of the couple are placed three plates, each containing a quarter measure of rice. On one of them are placed three bundles of betel leaves, on the second, the bride's apparel, and on the third, the bridegroom's costume. The bride-groom's father purchases the marriage presents for the couple. The bride's costume is eight to nine cubits long, while another cloth of finer texture is presented for covering the breasts. Jackets now supplement the above wedding apparel of the bride. They generally cost about five rupees. The bridegroom's apparel consists of a loin-cloth four cubits long, while another of a fine texture is thrown over the shoulders.

The aunt and her daughter form the bride's maids who escort her to the marriage booth. One of the enangans then asks those assembled whether anyone has any objection to the marriage. When approval is nodded, the bridegroom hands over the wedding costume

to his affianced, while his brother-in-law hands over his apparel to him. The bride is led to a room by her best friends, where she is attired in her wedding clothes. The bridegroom also puts on his wedding costume. The couple are then seated on a mat facing the east. The bride's brother then gives the bride a betel leaf and asks her to tear in halves. She then changes hand and is then asked to give the chew to her betrothed. She chews one half of the leaf. They are then asked to spit on the same leaf. If the fluid is of the same colour, it is believed that the union will be happy. If it is not, the union is believed to be inauspicious, but is not sundered. All the guests chew betel and tobacco. This solemnizes marriage. The chewing of betel by the bridegroom and bride constitutes the essence of marriage among the Minihisas of Celebes. Among them, the young couple sit side by side, betel being placed in the hand of each. They exchange it and chew it. They are thus legally married. The Balans at marriage chew betel together.¹ In Pannimittam of Todupuzha taluk, chewing is followed by pālukudi, which consists of taking a drink composed of milk, sugar, and slices of fruits. The bride gives it to the husband, and also drinks a portion. This appears to be an innovation.

The married couple and the bride's best friends are then treated to dinner. Formerly the couple ate off from the same leaf, but now they eat separately. Mateer records, "During weddings, husbands and wives eat off from the same leaf, sitting side by side. This shows their relationship."² In Pūchapura (Todupuzha), the

1. A. E. Crawley—*The Mystic Rose*—p. 384.

2. Matteer - *Native Life in Travancore*, 1883—page 74.

bridegroom and brother-in-law eat from the same leaf, while the bride and her sister-in-law eat from another. They all sleep in that room that night. Eating together is a common marriage custom. In Fiji, the marriage ceremony was the eating by the pair from the same dish. In Germany, the pair eat from the same plate.² The underlying idea seems to be that eating food together produces identity of substance, of flesh, and thereby introduces the mutual responsibility resulting from eating what is part of the other and giving the other part of one self to eat. Each has the other in pledge and each in pawn to the other. The closest union is produced by the closest of responsibilities.

After feasting the next morning, the bride is handed over to the Kanikaran, Nādavan, and Mūnnaman with three bundles of betel leaves on the understanding that, if there is any untoward incident between the married couple, she should be taken to her father or kept safely by the Kaikāran until he arrives. The bride stays with her husband in the parent's hut or they live separately from the parents.

At Arakulam, marriage takes place in the day time. The bride and her party reach the bridegroom's hut the same evening. There is feasting. Before departure, Ponamban, Kaikaran and the elders meet. One, from the bride's party says, "The girl is young and inexperienced. She should be properly looked after."

A man marries a second time with the consent of his first wife, when she is childless. In such a case, POLY GAMT,

1. A. E. Crawley—*The Mystic Rose*—p. 380.

2. Do. Do. p. 382.

both the wives live under the same roof and the first wife is the mistress of the household. Malayarayans of the present day are mostly monogamous and a man generally divorces his wife, before he marries another.

POLYANDRY.

Instances of fraternal polyandry are found, but they are few in number. It is intended to avoid the possibility of disintegration of family property. The elder brother marries in regular form, and the younger brother enjoys connubium. The children are considered to be common. There are unmarried men in some hamlets. This is due to the paucity of marriageable girls. Those living outside the reserved forests hesitate to give their women to men inside it.

DIVORCE.

Divorce is freely allowed. If a man is not satisfied with his first wife, he intimates the fact to the village headman. The woman goes back to her home, but is not free to marry any other man. There are instances of sterility among women and this forms another valid ground for divorce.

WIDOW REMARRIAGE.

Widows remarry, but a widow is not free to marry anyone she likes. Generally, she marries her husband's elder or younger brother, who takes care of her and her children. In such a case, there is only a presentation of a cloth. There is no feasting.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

No ceremony is attached to a boy's attainment of manhood. When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a separate shed for a day. On the morrow, she is taken for a bath by her aunt and the latter's daughter. On their return, the girl is lodged in a room in the main building, and all are treated to a feast. Pollution lasts for seven days, and two or three Vélans are requisitioned

for singing songs (Therandapāttu) suited to the occasion for three days. The girl is seated on a plank, and in front are placed two plantain leaves with a lighted lamp between them. On one leaf is placed a measure of paddy, and on the other, a quarter measure of rice. A cocoanut and a bunch of plantains are also placed in front of the lamp as offerings to Ganapathi, while a cloth and a cocoanut over it are also placed on one of the leaves. Songs are sung for over an hour for three days, and the Vēlans are presented with all the offerings and the cloth. On the eighth day, the girl is led to a stream for bathing followed by her paternal aunt and her daughter to the accompaniment of the tom-tom and the kuruva cry (a shrill sound produced by the vibration of the sound between lips and teeth). The services of a Vēlan woman are sought to wash the clothing. The girl takes an oil bath. At the end she immerses herself in the water thrice. After the third dip, she glances at the tali-tier. She is then attired in her best, the old cloth, oil, and seven chuckrams being offered to the Vēlan woman for her services. She is then led in procession to her home to the beat of the tom-tom and the kuruva cry with the tali-tier in front and her aunt and daughter behind. On reaching home, the girl and the tali-tier are seated in the same room and treated to a feast. After feasting the gathering then disperses.

In Arakulam, the girl remains in the seclusion-shed for nine or eleven days. It was formerly erected over trees for fear of wild elephants. The shed is far away, as otherwise it will provoke the wrath of the hill-gods. No man approaches the shed. On the eighth day, a

nāthune throws seven betel leaves and nuts in the water when the girl takes a dip. If the leaves float with the inner side up, it is auspicious. If it is the outside that appears above, it is inauspicious. At puberty, neither sex may see the other.

MENSTRUATION.

In Arakulam a woman remains in the seclusion shed for four days and returns home on the fifth day after a bath. If the men observe any vow at home, she remains in the shed for seven days. It is feared that the sylvan deities will be offended by allowing her to come earlier, as she may be unclean.

CHILD-BIRTH.

No ceremony is attached to pregnancy. When a woman is about to become a mother, a separate shed is put up. The birth of a child renders the mother impure for a month: she remains inside the shed and cannot touch any vessel or cook food. The husband observes pollution for a week and must not eat rice. He lives on roasted roots and water like his wife. He may not do any work in the cultivated area ready for harvesting. He may not thresh corn for sixteen days. To do so would offend ancestor-spirits and bring troubles. Children are named after the maternal grand-father and grand-mother. This is now changing in favour of names from the paternal side. "A child when about a month old is seated on the father's lap and fed with a little sweetened rice; the omission of the ceremony implies it to be illegitimate."¹ In Todupuzha, the baby is fed, but the inference of illegitimacy in case of the omission of the rite is not involved.

1. Mather—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883, p. 74.



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A MINIATURE DOLMEN PUT UP FOR A MAN
DYING AN UNNATURAL DEATH.

A typical family consists of a man, his wife, and children. The father is the head of the family. His authority is supreme. But the influence of the matriarchate is still observable. A man's children belong to the clan of the mother. Similarly, the names of maternal grandparents are given to children. The husband maintains the family. Children act according to his biddings, as also does his wife. In case of marriage, the uncle's consent is necessary. If a woman brings some dowry in the marriage, it is returned to her, if the husband and wife fall out and part. The children remain with the father. In that case, the property is kept for the benefit of the children. FAMILY.

Sons succeed to patria potestas, and, in their absence, the property devolves on daughters. If a man dies childless, his property goes to his brothers or to his sisters in their absence. In the absence of brothers and sisters, the property devolves on his nephew. It is interesting to note that, while under the Hindu Law, a daughter does not take an absolute estate in her father's property in the absence of sons, a daughter among the Malayarayans does take an absolute estate. The Hindu Law does not recognise such a custom, though public opinion is moving in its favour. Among the Malayarayans daughters divide the property equally. A widow has no claim on the property of her husband. His brother, whether married or not, becomes her husband and the custodian of her former children and the property is kept intact. If she marries an outsider, her maintenance does not form a charge on her sons. INHERITANCE.

The order of succession is as follows :— First, sons, then, daughters; failing these, brothers and their children; and lastly, sisters and their children. The widow has no place in the order of inheritance. A man may direct one of his sons to manage his property and if he wants to give him more, he can do so in his life time. Sons succeed to hereditary titles even during the lifetime of the father, who may become incapacitated by old age.

ADOPTION. When a man is childless, he is allowed to adopt with the consent of his heirs to the property, brothers and sisters and the headman. The adopted son should perform the funeral obsequies. A man does not allow his eldest son or only son to be adopted. The adopted son should be above sixteen years of age, and retains the right of inheriting all the property of his adoptive father. If the adoptive father begets a son after adoption, his property is divided equally between them.

KINSHIP. The system of kinship among the Malayarayans is of the classificatory type, and its fundamental feature lies in the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most, though not all persons of the same generation and sex. A list of the same kinship terms is given below with their corresponding vernacular equivalents ;—

No.	English Name.	Vernacular Name.
<i>I. Relations through father.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3	Grandfather	Appuppan
4	Grandmother	Ammumma
5	Father	Appan
6	Mother	Amma
7	Father's elder brother	Periappan
8	do. wife	Pēramma
9	Father's youner brother	Elayappan
10	do. wife	Elayamma
11	Father's elder brother's son	Chēttan or by name, if the younger
12	do. daughter	Pengal or by name, if the younger
13	Father's sister	Ammāyiamma
14	do. husband	Aschan
15	Father's sister's son	Aliyan
16	do. daughter	Chēttathi or by name, if the younger
<i>II. Relations through mother.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3	Grandfather	Appuppan
4	Grandmother	Ammumma.
5	Mother's brother	Aschan

No.	English Name.	Vernacular Name.
<i>II. Relations through mother—(contd.)</i>		
6	Mother's brother's wife	Ammāyiamma
7	Mother's sister	Pēramma or by name, if the younger
8	Mother	Amma
<i>III. Relations through wife.</i>		
1	Wife	No name
2	Wife's father	Aschan
3	Wife's mother	Ammāyiamma
4	Wife's brother	Aliyan
5	Wife's brother's wife	Nāthune
6	Wife's sister	Chēttathi, if elder, and by name, if the younger.
7	Wife's sister's husband	Chēttan, if elder, and by name, if the younger
<i>IV. Relations through husband.</i>		
1	Husband's father	Aschan
2	Husband's mother	Ammāyiamma
3	Husband's brother's wife	Chēttathi or by name, if the younger
4	Husband's brother	Chēttan, if elder, or by name, if the younger
5	Husband's sister	Nāthune

In regard to the foregoing terms, we observe :

1. *Father's father, mother's father, father's mother and mother's mother* :—Appuppan and Ammumma are the names given to the grandfather and the grandmother on both the paternal and maternal sides. Similarly, Valiappan and Valiamma are the names given to the great grandfather and great grand mother on both sides.

2. *Aschan*. The Malayarayan uses this word for his mother's brother, father's sister's husband, wife's father and husband's father and Ammayiamma, for their wives. To this day, cross-cousin marriage in which both these forms of relationships are combined in one and the same person is in vogue among them. Much importance is attached to the marriage of a first cousin, which, as Sir James Frazer remarks, has been permitted and favoured among all the races except the Aryans.¹

The agricultural practices of the Malayarayans reveal the achievements and activities of primitive man. Among them may be mentioned shifting cultivation, clearing jungle, cultivation of food stuffs, and selection of fresh sites for cultivation, when the soil becomes toxic. Necessity for combination is felt by them for protection from wild animals. They are very sparsely distributed being about ten per square mile. They live in groups of from ten to fifteen huts, close to water or in an open glade of the forest. Village affairs are regulated by a council of elders. The Ponamban and Panikan are the

TRIBAL
ORGANIZA-
TION.

1. Colonel T. C. Hodson—*The Primitive, Culture of India* pp. 91-92.

primary limbs of the council. Both had equal status. Ponamban was a title conferred on a deserving member by the Poonjat Chief. The title was not hereditary. Panikan was hereditary, and the eldest son succeeded to the title. Formerly they owed allegiance to the Chief and rendered manual services in return for food. These dignitaries have suffered eclipse by efflux of time. Now the Headman or Kānikkāran is responsible for the well-being of the people in his care. He is appointed by the Forest Officer and manual service is rendered for him by the other Malayarayans. He can fine a man up to two chuckrams for wrong-doing. If a man is physically unable to do any work, the Headman and others help him in clearing jungle and in other works.

Formerly the Ponamban dealt with all offences in the village. If a man committed rape, the council met. The Ponamban reviewed the offence and awarded punishment which took the form of a feast or a fine. The feast is called "enanga sadhya." The fine extended from ten to one hundred and one chuckrams. If a man was too poor to pay the fine, he had to present betel to all the enangans, confess his wrong, and crave the pardon of the assembled men. Feasting followed. If he failed to do this, he was not admitted into their society. The Headman of the present day is a mere shadow of his former self. He does not now wield anything like his previous influence over his men. In some hamlets, it is now a pleasing feature of the times that they meet once a month, discuss village affairs, and part after a feast. A fund is now raised and is in possession of the Kānikkāran. Loans are given to the needy to keep the wolf from their



AYYAR KALI—FIRST PHASE.

doors, and the amount is recovered in instalments. The influence of village government is weakening with the march of time under the control of the Forest Department.

The dead are buried in the vicinity of the habitations. When a man breathes his last, information is sent round to all the enangans, who gather and choose the site for burial. The eldest son and nephew are the chief mourners, and they go round the site thrice strewing rice and fried paddy before the grave is dug. The grave is dug about sixty feet to the south of the hut. They then remove three shovels of earth from the site with their faces turned away from it. The shovel is then handed over to the enangans who dig the grave to a depth of four feet. The grave-diggers should not carry the corpse.

FUNERAL
CEREMONIES.

The chief mourners go to the home of the deceased and the corpse is carried to the front yard of the hut. The nephew rubs the corpse with oil and washes it. It is then wrapped in a new cloth bought by the son and nephew. A cocoanut leaf is placed on the ground over which a cloth is spread, and the corpse is laid on it, head southward. All the enangans cover the corpse with a new cloth from each. Over these is laid a shroud, five cubits long, fully covering the corpse. At the two corners of the cloth near the head, rice and paddy are tied, while tulsi leaves (*Ocimum sanctum*) and sandal are tied at the other two corners near the feet. In the case of females, a small gold piece is placed in one of the nostrils.

The son, nephew, and other enangans then strew rice and paddy at the feet, sides, and head. They walk thrice round the corpse. The chief mourner then anoints the forehead with a mark of sandal, and the nose with gold paste, and offers pansupari to the corpse. Muttering Rama's name, the carriers take the corpse round the grave and then lower it into it. All the mourners then throw earth thrice into the grave with face turned away from it. They then turn round and fill the grave with earth. Small pebbles are then placed in a line round the grave and one big stone is placed at the head and feet vertically. The chief mourner makes a human figure of earth over the grave and places a tender cocoanut over the region of the breast. Rice and paddy are strewn round the grave thrice as before. Brambles are then placed over it so that it may not be disturbed by wild animals.

All then take pan and bathe. After washing the implements, they return home. The chief mourners fast for the day. The next day, a meagre breakfast is served to all the mourners at the front yard. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. There is now a tendency to reduce the duration of pollution to ten days. In Todupuzha, a small piece is torn out of the shroud and is tied in the ear to indicate that a man is in mourning. He wears it for sixteen days. The process is called കീറിക്കെട്ടുക (tie tearing a piece).

On the third day, the priest places two and a half measures of paddy in front of him. He sits with bent knees on the floor and measures it into a basket placed

to the south. The paddy is again taken in front. Three handfuls are then taken and put into the basket. This is repeated with opposite hands. Three pinches of paddy are then thrown out. The priest then gets up, and five enangans repeat the same process. On the fourth day, six men do so, seven men on the fifth, eight men on the sixth, and nine men on the seventh day. The same ceremony is repeated on the 15th day.

On the sixteenth day, the enangan pours oil over the heads of the mourners who then bathe. Pollution ceases. The priest places raw rice, gingily seed, and kusa grass on a plantain leaf. Another plantain leaf is placed in front with one torn leaf on each side. A small quantity of rice is scattered over the leaf thrice. This is then gathered, and with lamp and water borne in front, the leaf is taken to the foot of a jack tree and placed there. Frankincense is burnt. The rice from $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures of paddy is cooked and balls of rice are taken and placed at the foot of the tree. All then pray and return to the home of the deceased. All disperse after feasting. It is interesting to note that the Bontoc Luzon and the Formosan people dig graves which they line with stones.

Deaths of men caused by wild elephants and tigers UNNATURAL DEATH. are considered abnormal and the spirits of the dead are called ᄀᄃᄃᄃᄃᄃ. In the case of such deaths, the son and nephew bury bodies, but perform no ceremonies. The spirit is said to cause disease to infants, lead men into the jungle unwarily, and is therefore propitiated. A metallic effigy of the deceased is made, and installed on

a rock at a short distance. A cover-stone is placed over two upright stones in order to give protection to the deity from rain. On Onam day 'in Chingom and on Vishu day in Medom, the spirit is propitiated by the son at dusk by offerings of rice powder, tender cocoanut, arrack, toddy, and lighted wick. He offers the following prayer.

“ഒന്നാലും ഭിന്നവുപരാതെ തെങ്ങുകളെ രക്ഷിക്കണം. തെങ്ങുകൾ കാട്ടിൽ പോകുമ്പോൾ തെങ്ങുകൾ രക്ഷയായ് ഇരിക്കണം.”

“May you protect us when we are ill and also when we go to the jungle.” The offerings are then partaken of by those present.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Malayarayan may be described as a system of animism or spiritism, and his attitude to the supernatural is one of reverential fear in the presence of certain supernatural powers and beings. While he has not systematized his notions of the supernatural, he makes some distinctions between the souls of the dead and deities, or a more or less definite distinction ranging from deities with functions and individual names to vague spirits of the jungle, stone, and stream.

ANCESTOR- WORSHIP.

The Malayarayan worships the spirits of his ancestors. It is considered that the dead ancestor goes on protecting his family and receiving suit from them. Ancestors are therefore considered as kindly patron spirits at least to their own kinsfolk or worshippers. In the region of the Malayarayan, “there are many ancient tumuli in these hills, evidently graves of Chiefs, showing just the same fragment of pottery, brass figures, iron weapon as are found in other similar places. These tumuli are often surrounded with long splintered pieces of granite from eight to twelve or fifteen feet in length set



AYYAR KALI—SECOND PHASE.

on end with sacrificial altars and other remains, evidently centuries old. Numerous vaults called Pandukuri are seen in all their hills. They stand north to south, the circular opening being to the south; a round stone is fitted to the aperture with another acting as a long lever to prevent its falling out; the sides as also the stones at the top and bottom are single slabs. To this day, the Arayans make similar little cells of pieces of stone, the whole forming a box a few inches square, and on the death of a member of a family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass or silver image which is shut in this vault; if the parties are poor, an oblong stone suffices. A few offerings of milk, rice, toddy, and ghee are made. A torch is lighted and extinguished, the figure placed inside the cell, and covering stone hastily placed on: then all leave. On the anniversary similar offerings are made, the stone lifted off and again hastily closed. The spirit is then supposed to be enclosed. No one ventures to touch the cell at any other time."¹ The Malayarayans of the present day do not erect dolmens over the dead. Ancestor-worship is now confined to persons who are killed by a tiger or wild elephant or who meet with an unnatural death, as their spirits are considered to influence the welfare of the living in a mysterious manner.

A metallic effigy continues to be made in the case of unnatural deaths. A small box is made of vertical stones and a capstone open in front on ceremonial days. It is worshipped on Sankramam days in Vrischigom and

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*—1883, pp. 74 to 75.

Medom annually. The effigy is washed, and touched with sandal paste, and tulasi leaves (*Ocimum sanctum*) are placed over its head. It is then placed inside the stone box. Offerings of raw rice, toddy, and milk are made. Some drops of toddy are then sprinkled all round. A cocoanut is broken and a fowl sacrificed. The rice is cooked, and a small quantity is placed on a leaf at the foot of a pala or jack tree. All then clap hands, pray, and return home after closing the opening with the stone lid. It is plain that in our own times the dead still receive worship from far the larger half of mankind. Spencer and Grant think that the worship of the dead is at the root of all religions.

MINOR
SUPERNATURAL
DEITIES.

Under this head we deal with a class of supernatural powers, most of whom are more or less impersonal in their nature, and may prove propitious or harmless, if treated with suitable observances and rites. This class belongs to an uncanny bit of jungle or an isolated awe-inspiring peak. The existence of an indwelling spirit appears to be dimly recognised, and in other objects an immanent power or mysterious energy of the nature of man is believed to be present. Each village has its priest, who, when required, calls on the hill (mala) which means the demon resident there or the ghost.

The Malayarayan worships five eminences, Thalapāramala, Āzhamala, Puthiyamala, Pothanmala and Savampāramala in Manimala. These steep mountains are worshipped, because they are believed to have a special local spirit who acts as their guardian. The natural object is worshipped, because it is believed to possess supernatural power; nevertheless it is the object itself

that is worshipped. In other words, the worshipper does not separate the spirit from the matter, but adores the thing in its totality as a divine being. Five stones symbolising the five eminences are installed in a shed or outside, and are worshipped on Onam and Vishu days. Thalapāramala has the seat of honor in the shed. Āzhāmala is installed outside the shed owing to its fraternal relationship with the others. The shed is purified and the stones washed. Some raw rice, sandal paste, and tulsi leaves are placed on a plantain leaf in front, while five cocoanuts are placed on another leaf. Fiftyone archanas are made for Thalapāramala, and fifty for others. A fowl is sacrificed, and cocoanuts are broken. The priest gets an afflatus. He yells and screams out some prophetic words. Cocoanut and beaten rice are distributed to all. The raw rice is cooked and a small quantity is placed on twentyone leaves in honor of ancestor-spirits. Water is sprinkled and prayers offered. A ball of rice is placed at the foot of a jack tree. Prayers are again offered and they return home.

In the Todupuzha Range, the Malayarayan has stones representing the hills. Outside the shed he sets the image of a serpent. Every Saturday and Wednesday he burns a lamp. On Sankramam day in Karkadagom, he lights a lamp, throws cocoanuts on a rock, and offers prayers. The serpent is propitiated so that he may have enough progeny and prosperity. Once a year in Medom, a Pulluvan is engaged to sing songs, and to instruct the Arayan lads how to perform puja.

The worship of Sāsta constitutes an important feature of the religion of the Malayarayan. He worships the deity at Sabarimala and Arakulam. His worship at

THE WOR-
SHIP OF
SASTA.

Sabarimala betrays many animistic features. The deity receives offerings from his votaries annually. The annual festival falls about the thirteenth of January and continues for five days. Sāsta is very frigid in his tastes and expects a high standard of purity in his votaries for fourteen days. They should abstain from meat and sexual intercourse. The Malayarayans go in batches led by Periaswamy, who is the head of the fraternity. During the period of abstinence, they propitiate Sāsta, Karuppuswami, Kochukadutha, Ganapathi, and other crests of hills. The day before their march to Sabarimala, all the votaries put their kit together. A huge fire is lit at a distance. As the votaries go round the fire, one of them becomes possessed. His utterances are considered to be the voice of the god or spirit dwelling in him and speaking through him. It is only when the inspired Ayyappan passes through fire that his utterances are accepted. Otherwise, they are not given heed to. After taking part in Pettathullal, which is an interesting ceremony at Erumeli on the 27th Dhanu (January 10th), they begin their march to Sabarimala in easy measured stages at noon the next day and reach Azhutha in the evening. On the way, they offer fried rice and molasses to the crags in the Peruthode stream, as they are supposed to be the resting place of Sāsta. On the 29th of Dhanu (January 12th), they reach the banks of the Pamba in the evening. At Kallidam Kunnu, a small pebble is dropped over the crest of the hill to prevent an asura who haunts the place from coming out and harming them. The Pambavilakku forms one of the most enchanting scenes at night on account of the illuminations and is considered to be in honour of Sāsta, who is said



A MALAYARAYAN MALE - FRONT AND PROFILE.

to be cooking his food and dining among the Ayyappans that night in disguise and resting there on his way to Sabarimala. The next morning the votaries reach the Sabarimala pagoda, break a cocoanut on reaching Pathinettampadi, and worship the deity. They make offerings to Kochukadutha and Karuppuswami. At night comes Makaravilakku, when there is a procession from the shrine of Mālikappurathamma to Ayyappan's shrine accompanied by illuminations. Next morning, they bathe in Orakuzhithirtham and enjoy a feast. They then return home. Sāsta's boons to votaries are phenomenal and enlarge the circle of his votaries. He protects them from all adversities in the jungle and averts all evil.

The Malayarayan in Manimala makes an offering to the hill-gods after harvest in the month of Kanni. Continence is observed for seven days. Men cook their own food. Women have no part or lot in the ceremony. The offering is made to the five eminences, Thalapāramala, Azhamala, Puthiyamala, Pōthenmala, Savampāramala. It consists of one and a quarter measures of rice, fifty one cocoanuts, sandal, and tulsi leaves. The offering is made for each eminence separately, but Thalapāramala has the distinction of having an extra cocoanut. On this occasion an offering of rice, three tender cocoanuts, and a fowl is made to Arukala. The priest kills the fowl and takes a handful of ears of corn and a cocoanut in each hand. He then calls out the name of each of the five eminences, and gets inspired. He breaks all the cocoanuts but one and utters some inspired talk. He then comes to his own. The offering is then partaken of by all. This takes place

AGRICUL-
TURAL CEREM-
ONIES

on a Tuesday or Saturday. The priest gets four chuckrams, one para of paddy, and a bundle of corn for his labours.

In the Todupuzha Range the offering made after harvest in Kanni is called Kanniyuttu. Sufficient land is cleared to sow $7\frac{1}{4}$ measures of paddy by all the men in Vrischigom. The produce obtained from this land is reserved for Ayyappan. After harvest, it is stored and used in Makaram for Makara ūttu after the festival in the Arakulam temple. Men observe continence for seven days before the ceremony.

An offering is also made before jungle clearing. The men observe continence for 7 days. A similar offering is made. The previous day, they play such games as Ayyar kali and Kōladivettu.

WORSHIP OF
IMPLEMENTS.

On the 28th of Makaram, all iron implements like the bill-hook, sickle, and axe are put in a room along with seeds. Thorns of thodali (*Zizyphus rugosa*) are placed over each implement. The door is then closed and a thorn placed over the lock. After three days the door is opened at midday, and the men go to Koppāramala and indulge in dancing and other forms of merriment to the accompaniment of tom-tom before Cheruvalli Bhagavathi. Coconuts are broken and fowls sacrificed. All return the next morning, take their implements, and go to their homes.

MAGIC.

In all hamlets, there is a medicine-man whose duty it is to cure sickness. The medicine-man is taken to the house at night, a lighted lamp is placed in front of the house, some paddy and four chuckrams are placed on a

leaf. The medicine-man becomes inspired, and asks why his services were required. Representations are then made, and he says that the sickness is the result of certain omissions, which should not be repeated. He then passes his hands over the afflicted man and shouts that the illness should leave him. The afflicted man is said to get relief.

It is a bad omen for going anywhere if a man or woman is seen carrying a load of fuel or an old mat. A man coming with an ox or bill-hook is reckoned bad omen, and if a man suffering from any disease observes it, he will not be cured. It is a bad omen if a man comes with a packet of cooked rice. Similarly, a man should not go out on any business, if he finds a millepede coiled up and remain motionless in front of him, but he may go on if he sees it in motion. If a dog wet with rain shakes its body, it is also a bad omen. Again, if a man sees a rat-snake moving to the right before him, he should not go out on his errand. Otherwise it spells disaster. Lastly, when a man returns home after jungle clearing in Arakulam, the door of the hut should not remain closed nor should any one be seen sweeping the front yard. No one should be found sleeping nor should an empty earthenware vessel for water be brought in front of him.

OMENS AND
SUPERSTI
TIONS.

Taboo assumes several forms. In his intercourse with people of other tribes and castes, the Malayarayan makes distinctions. The Ullātans stand at a distance of twelve feet, and the Pulayans, thirty-two feet from him. He does not interdine with the Kaniyan, Pānan, Pulluvan, and Vēlan who eat food given by him at a distance. If polluted, they eat after bathing.

TABOO.

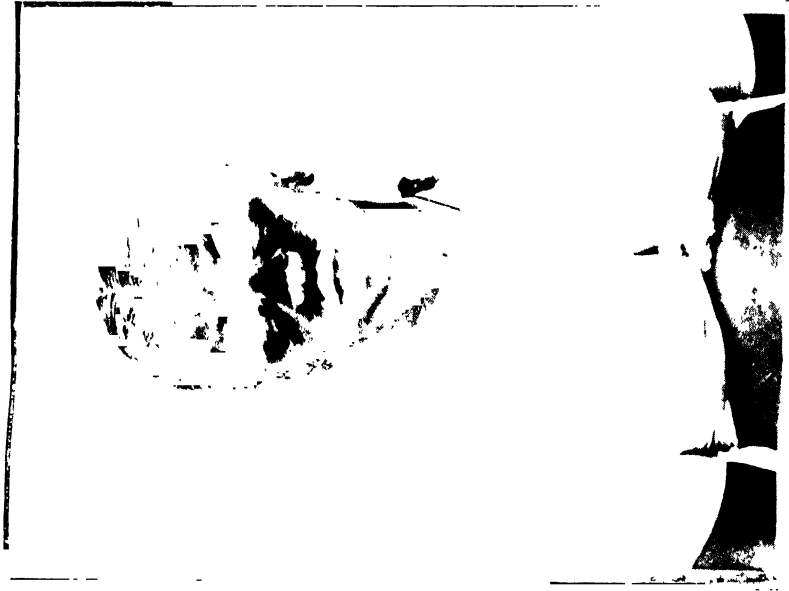
In regard to his diet, the Malayarayan does not eat the bison, bear, panther, wolf, and dog. Wolf, panther, and dog are not eaten, as they are canines. Bison is taboo on account of its sacredness. They eat wild boar sambur, black monkey, and ibex.

A man does not call his father, mother and grandparents by name. The taboo extends to his wife, brother, and uncle. Elders are not called by name. Taboo thus prevails in respect of persons who are most intimately connected by blood. The persons who are thus mutually debarred are husbands, wives, and parents.

OCCUPATION.

The Malayarayans are nomadic agriculturists. Rice is their staple diet. They cultivate paddy, tapioca, plantains, and other plants. They clear jungle by Dhanu and Makaram. From Vrischigom to Makaram they abstain from intercourse with their wives. Living as they do in the domain of Sāsta, they consider that woe befalls a man who breaks the injunction of continence. An elephant or tiger may cross his path or some other mishap may occur. A woman in menses should not go near the work-spot for seven days; otherwise the return for the year will be very poor. Similarly in Chingom, Kanni, and Tulam, a Malayarayan does not mate with his wife, because he is afraid that it will blight his crops. In times of pollution, he does not enter the cultivated area.

In the selection of land for cultivation before clearing jungle, they take five strips of bark of equal length and knot all the ends together holding them in the left hand by the middle. If all, when tied, form a perfect circle, the omen is lucky and the position in which the



A MALAYAN FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

cord falls on the ground is carefully noticed by the bystanders.¹ The Headman selects the land for cultivation, and divides it among the men of the hamlet. They cultivate a block of land for three years and then shift to another. A portion of the land is used for cultivating tapioca, ragi, gram, and other pulses. Both men and women work in the fields and remove weeds after the monsoon sets in. Harvesting is done by women in Chingom

A Malayarayan on an average gets a hundred paras of paddy, fifty tulams of tapioca, five paras of ragi, and five paras of dholi. A family of six members consumes five measures of paddy and one tulam of tapioca per day. Judged by this standard, the produce they get does not last for the whole year. They partly tide over their difficulties by the weekly sale of plantains, tapioca, and other produce for which they get from a rupee and a half in the Mundakayam market.

CONSUMPTION
AND SAVING.

The Malayarayans are hospitable after harvest, when they have enough to eat. Visitors and relations remain for two or three days, and are well fed. Such visits are exchanged during the season and are occasions of general rejoicing. The Malayarayans are also hospitable to outsiders from the plains.

HOSPITALITY.

Every Arayan gets up early in the morning. The woman of the household sweeps the hut and front yard and cleans the vessels. She prepares coffee for all. The husband then goes out to the field to work accompanied by his children, while the wife prepares the midday meal, which consists of rice and curry. The husband

DAILY LIFE.

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883—p. 77.

and children have their meal first, and the wife has hers afterwards. The husband again goes out to work, while his wife collects fuel. He returns in the evening, has his bath in cold water, and takes his supper. They then go to sleep. They do not work for hire and are very averse to carrying loads. All their produce is carried in baskets which are slung on their shoulders.

POSITION OF
WOMEN.

Women move on terms of equality with men at home. But they are debarred from taking part in religious functions, on which occasions they stand at a distance. At times of menstruation, food is cooked for them separately. Otherwise, harm would come to the family.

EDUCATION.

The parents train up their children in their work. The father takes the boys to the jungle, and teaches them how to clear jungle and the like. The mother trains up the girls in domestic work.

GAMES.

On the termination of agricultural operations, the Malayarayans indulge in such pastimes as Ayyarkali in Kanni and Tulam. Drama and dancing are joined in at night. About twelve men take part in the play. Portions of the Mahabharata form the theme for the songs which are composed in Malayalam. In Ayyarkali, the escape of the Pandavas from the mansion of lac put up for their reception by Duryodhana and his brothers, and their adventures form the central theme. The Kolekali (stick dance) is an exciting game. A party of ten to twelve men are provided with two sticks, each about a cubit long. They stand in a circle with a lighted lamp in the centre. One member sets the ball rolling by reciting a couplet from one of the songs, after which he is caught up by the rest in equally profuse strains. They

move in a circle striking the sticks and keeping time with their feet, and singing at the same time. The circle alternately widens and narrows.

The Vattakali is another kind of wild dance. This also requires a party of ten or twelve men. The party move in a circle, clapping their hands, while they sing their folk songs.

The Church Mission Society claims a large number of converts to its fold. "Mr. Baker was privileged to baptise many hundreds of Arayans. There are now 2000 Arayan Christians in congregations, situated chiefly north of Puniathe and around Mundakayam."¹ The Census of 1931 records for the first time that there are 255 Malayarayan converts. From my local enquiries, it is observed that this figure has to be accepted with caution. The Roman Catholics have converted some Malayarayans at Melkavu. The convert Malayarayan has no connection with his brethren on the hills. The former have given up their clan system, polygamy, polyandry, and levirate. The old village organization is extinct. They have no fear of evil spirits. It is said that the converts are prospering under the mission.

INFLUENCE
OF CHRISTIAN-
NITY.

The Malayarayans of Manimala appear to have smaller families than those in Thodupuzha. The following figures will illustrate the point.

Locality.	Number of families	Males.	Females.	Dead.	Average size of family.	Average birth rate.	Average survival rate.
Manimala	36	83	81	.	4.5	2.5	1.5
Thodupuzha	42	116	86	27	5.9	3.9	2.8

1. Mateer—*Native Life in Travancore*, 1883, p. 79.

The average survival rate indicates how much the women of child-bearing age add to the population by births. In Todupuzha Range, the average survival rate is higher and indicates that they are under more congenial conditions of environment. The average birth-rate itself is lower in Manimala owing to malaria which takes away all vitality from them.

APPEARANCE
AND PHYSI-
CAL HABITS.

Mateer records that the Malayarayans are "short in stature, and not very long lived. The feverishness of the climate is enough to account for physical degeneracy. They are as fair as the high caste Hindus proving the aborigenes were not black from race peculiarities and only sometimes black through circumstances (Collins)".¹ The Malayarayans are dark in complexion. They represent a taller strain among the hill-tribes. The average stature is 159 cms (62.6") in Arakulam, while it is 155.1 cms (61.1") in Manimala. They have long head. The average cephalic index is 72.1 in Manimala and 74.8 in Todupuzha. The vault of the head is low and the brow ridges are prominent. They have short platyrrhine noses. The average nasal index varies from 83.1 in Manimala to 85.0 in Todupuzha. The nostrils are dilated. The hair is black and wavy and the eyes dark. The average facial index is 82.7. They have well developed chests, the average circumference being 77.3. The average span of the arms is 166.1.

CONCLUSION.

The Malayarayans are hunters of wild beasts and game which abound in the hills and relate a tradition giving them special permission to eat black monkey. They

1. Mateer — *Native Life in Travancore*, 1883, p. 72.

draw toddy from two wild palms on the hills. Drunkenness is their besetting sin. The young men look healthy. The middle aged look older than they really are. They are truthful and intelligent.

MANNAN.

INTRODUCTION POPULATION—ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS OF
THE TRIBE—HABITAT—CLIMATE—EFFECTS OF ENVIRON-
MENT—HABITATIONS—DIET—DRESS—ORNAMENTS—IN-
TERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUS-
TOMS—MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE—POLYGAMY—REMARRI-
AGE OF WIDOWS—ADULTERY—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—
MENSTRUATION—PREGNANCY AND CHILD BIRTH—NAMING
CEREMONY—INHERITANCE—KINSHIP—VILLAGE ORGANI-
ZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPA-
TION—LANGUAGE—SONGS—FECUNDITY—APPEARANCE AND
PHYSICAL FEATURES—CONCLUSION

INTRODUC- TION.

The Mannāns are found on the Cardamom Hills to the south of the Panniar river up to a point to the south of that tract of land now submerged by the Periyar works. They lead a life of isolation on the hills, but come into contact with the civilizing influence of low countrymen from Madura.

POPULATION.

The Mannāns were returned at the last Census as 1,276. The subjoined table will show that they are on the increase.

Year of Census	Total.	Male.	Female.
1901	1,172	615	557
1911	1,239	647	592
1921	1,098	587	511
1931	1,276	665	611

In 1921 and 1931 the males exceeded the females in number. In the Census of 1931, 1,215 were classified as Hindu and 61 under tribal religion.



A VIEW OF MANNAN HAMLET.

It is said that the Mannāns are immigrants from ORIGIN AND
TRADITIONS
OF THE
TRIBE. Madura. Being fond of animal food, they thought that they could make their living easily on the hills in Travancore which abounded in sambur, black monkey, and other wild animals. The quest for food is therefore attributed to be the cause of their immigration to the Cardamom Hills bordering on the Madura district.

Another version is that they were formerly the dependants of the kings of Madura. Owing to internecine dissensions, they were obliged to leave Madura under the leadership of the Poonjāt Chief. They entered the Cardamom Hills *via* Cumbum Mettu and settled down in various parts of the Cardamom Hills. As proof of this version, they say that they installed their deity, Chokkanādar on the Chokkanad Peak and Chāntiyat Amma at Aiyappancoil. It is said that there was a small tract of land near Cumbum which was leased to the people in low country. The produce obtained was set apart for temple services by Varayilakīzhu Mannān. The land is said to have been lost through litigation.

There is a tradition that one of the former Chiefs of Poonjat nominated three men as his agents for the management of his dominion. One of them was Varayilkīzhu Mannān and he was installed at Tollairamalai with a silver sword as his badge. The second, Gopura Mannān, was stationed at Mannankandam with a silver bracelet as his badge, while the third, Talamala Mannān, who had a silver cane as his badge, was installed at Udumbanshola. Since the Cardamom Hills passed into the hands of the Government of Travancore, the Mannāns owe only a nominal allegiance to the Poonjat Chief though he is still an object of veneration to them.

The Mannāns formerly exercised some authority over the Ūrālis of Vandanmet and Todupuzha Ranges and the Muthuvans of the Deviar Valley. Their name was a terror to them. The Varayilkīzhu Mannān and the Gopura Mannān dispensed justice to them and each Ūrāli family was bound to pay an annual subsidy of one para of paddy and head money of four chuckrams. Their authority has now mostly vanished, but the Ūrālis out of courtesy offer them some food provisions.

HABITAT.

The area occupied by the Mannāns is an elevated table-land about 3000 feet above sea level. The average annual rainfall of the area is a hundred inches. The region is dotted over with numerous hills and intersected by a number of small streams like the Panniyar and the Kallar. The whole surface of the plateau is thrown up into long undulations, the depressions between the ridges being used for cultivation. Waterfalls form an interesting scenic feature of the Cardamom Hills. The most notable of these is the Thūval waterfall in the Kallar river. The hills and rocks that jut out add to the beauty of the landscape.

CLIMATE.

One of the salient features of the Cardamom Hills is its salubrious climate. Owing to its high elevation, it has a much cooler climate than elsewhere except for two months, March and April, when the heat is somewhat trying. At other times, the climate is generally agreeable and the nights are delightfully cool. The region enjoys the benefit of both the monsoons, which are the controlling factor in its climate and vegetation.

EFFECTS OF ENVIRON- MENT.

The effects of geographic environment are reflected in the physical and mental characteristics, the economic

condition, and the animistic religion of the Mannān. The coal-black skin in low country has been modified into a brown-black by the cool climate, which not only has made the Mannān hardy and long-lived, but had also endowed him with a gay and vivacious temperament. His native jungle provides him with edible roots and fruits, and land for cultivation. As game is not plentiful, he grows his own ragi for food. His low culture is reflected in his poor dwellings and poverty of furniture, and dress.

The villages of the Mannāns are formed on high ground where there is an assured supply of water besides lands for cultivation. They have no permanancy, as they are nomadic agriculturists. Each village consists of five to fifteen huts which are usually built of jungle-wood posts, bamboos, and reeds. They are rectangular with one room. The roofing and side walls are skilfully made of leaves and reeds. The huts are neater in appearance than those of the Muthuvans. Mats of reeds form their only article of furniture. There is a fire-place in one corner of the hut which adds to their creature comforts. The Headman alone is privileged to sit and sleep on a bamboo thatty (miniature cot). All the others sit and sleep on the floor. They make fire by means of the *Chakmuk* (ചക്രമുക),. They use the floss of *Caryota urens* which is made more inflammable by being mixed up with charcoal obtained by burning the bark of *Helicteres isora* which is preserved in the kernel of the fruit of the palm tree. Cotton is ignited by being held by the side of the flint piece, while the steel is struck on it.

HABITATIONS

DIET.

Ragi is the staple food of the Mannan, but, in times of scarcity, he eats available wild edible fruits and roots. Rice is an article of luxury, to which he is used only occasionally. As a side dish, he uses dholi or some other pulse which is boiled in water with salt, chillies, and turmeric. As for vegetables, he cultivates pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and onions which he uses for curry. Though he relishes animal food, it does not often come his way. Fish is a rare delicacy. Besides, he eats crabs, flesh of black monkey, sambur, and rats. Bison flesh is taboo. Some are addicted to opium and alcohol.

DRESS.

It is observed in all parts of the world that the desire for self-decoration is strongest at the beginning of puberty. Everywhere, it is the young and unmarried that are most anxious to appear at their best. The Mannāns are no exception to this. Both young men and women are exceedingly fond of finery. They tastefully dress the hair with combs of bamboo of their own make, and they always carry with them a small mirror and comb. The clothing of the men consists of a loin cloth 4×2 cubits in dimension. Owing to changing conditions, they have become used to shirts and coats. The women wear a loin-cloth fifteen cubits long. The outer end passes over the upper part of the body to cover their breasts. They carry children on their back, the outer end of the loin-cloth being so used as to give a safe berth to the baby. Women have now taken to the use of coloured cloths and jackets in imitation of the Chetty women of Madura.

ORNAMENTS.

The young men put on ear-rings and bangles of brass. Women go in for beads. Strings of them adorn



A MANNAN MALE GROUP.

their neck, while the lobes of their ears are adorned with a cylindrical ornament, the ūla. They wear over two pairs of brācelets on the forearm and an armllet (vāthi) above the elbow. On the left hand, four or five rings are worn on each finger, while a single ring is worn on the small finger of the right hand. A ring of brass (minchi) is worn on the second toe on each foot. Tattooing is unknown to them. Women put on a comb which is stuck in the hair on the left side of the head. The taste for ornamentation of the Mannāns would justify Herbert Spencer's remark, "Great as is the vanity of the civilized it is exceeded by that of the uncivilized."

The Mannans of Mannānkandam are divided into two phratries; the Kandathu Burnakudi, Thekkada Ailavu, Muthuvar Aravakudi, Kandamala Panikudi, and Malakad Panikudi constitute one phratry. The other phratry comprises chālugaṇṇu ūṇṇā, Mūppankad Nāgamala, Ambattan Nāgamala, and Pannivīryan. The members of a clan in one phratry can only marry a woman from a clan of the other phratry. The Kandathu Burnakudikars are superior to the members of the other clans. The Ambattan Nāgamalakars are barbers and are inferior to others.

INTERNAL
STRUCTURE
OF THE
TRIBE.

In the Poopara Range, two phratries are observed. One phratry includes the clans of Aravankudi, Mūppankad Nāgamala, Edathupattu Ūṇṇā, Adakād Nāgamala, Pannivīryan, Muthuvar Aravakudi, and Unangathad Aravakudi. The other phratry includes Thekkada Ailavu, Rājākad Ailavu, Panikudi, and Malakad Panikudi.

In the Periyar Range, there are two exogamous clans, Pannikudi and Aravakudi. The Mannans of Vandanmet have the following exogamous clans ;— Aravankudi, Nāttumannankudi, Thōprankudi, Edādan-kudi, Panikankudi, Uṛāliankudi, Maniyarankudi, Aina-kādankudi, Kumbtankudi, Kalkundalkudi. Some of the clans are called after the names of places.

A woman after marriage retains her clan. A child follows the clan of the mother. In the event of the death of a member of a clan, all the clansmen observe pollution for 7 days, no matter to which hamlet they belong. The destitute are helped with seed and paddy by the other clansmen. A man marries a woman of a clan outside his phratry. A child is named after the members of the mother's clan.

MARRIAGE■ CUSTOMS.

Marriage generally takes place after a girl attains puberty. The marriageable age is between 16 and 20 in the case of males, while it is above 12 in the case of females. Like other tribes, the Mannāns marry early in life. Children are most eagerly longed for, because they are of use to them in their lifetime. They form the chief wealth of the family. According to Dr. Ploss, the ruder a people is and the more exclusively a woman is valued as an object of desire or as a slave, the earlier in life is she chosen. The age of marriage is raised by advancing civilization.

Sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated. All the unmarried young men are kept in a dormitory for the night, while all the young women

are housed in another and are in charge of an elderly matron. After supper, they go to their respective dormitories.

Marriage takes place between children of brother and sister. A man should not marry his mother's sister's daughter, his father's sister's daughter, or his own sister's daughter. The union of such people would be considered incestuous. Marriage contracts are concluded by parents, but expediency dictates that the wishes of the son are ascertained through a third person. Should he favour the match, the wishes of the bride's party are ascertained through a Thandakaran or Elandari, and the match is decided upon.

The custom of doing service in a family to obtain a wife therefrom, instead of paying for her, appears to be not uncommon among the jungle tribes of Southern India. Among the Mannāns, the man goes and lives with the family of the girl for a certain time during which he works as a servant of the family. The period ranges from three months to a year. The nephew is allowed to do all the labour like clearing the jungle, weeding, and so on. If the uncle is pleased with his work, he says so to his father and adds that he is willing to give his daughter in marriage. Marriage is celebrated after harvest in Tai (January-March). The practice is widely diffused among the uncivilized tribes of America, Africa, and Asia. Often it is those men who are too poor to pay cash that serve in the prospective father-in-law's house, till they have given an equivalent in labour.

MARRIAGE BY
SERVICE

Their marriage ceremony lasts for a day and is celebrated in the bride's hut. The bridegroom's father

presents the bride with bangles, rings of brass, ear-tubes, a necklace of beads, and clothing, while the bride's father presents the bridegroom and his parents with cloths. The bridegroom presents the bride with a comb of golden bamboo. On the appointed day, the bridegroom goes in procession to the bride's hut with music and tom-tom. On arrival, he bows before his parents and the elders present. The bride bows only before her parents. The bridegroom and bride are then seated on a mat. The tali is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's sister. Presents in cash are then made by the audience to the bridegroom who hands them over to the bride and then takes them back. Payment is then made to the piper and the drummers by the bridegroom, who keeps the balance of the money with him. The visitors are then feasted, after which the gathering disperses. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut, where a mat is spread in a special room provided for the married couple. The bride first enters the room followed by her husband, and the couple pass the night there. The husband then behaves as if he were a member of the same family. The hut is partitioned, and the couple are given a separate room, where they cook and live separately.

MARRIAGE BY
CAPTURE.

The system of marriage by capture is also in vogue among the Mannāns. Should a woman refuse to return the love of a man, he forcibly takes her and stays with her in the forest for ten or twelve days. Meanwhile they are being searched for, and, when taken, brought back to the village. The couple are given three lashes each and fined up to five rupees by the council of the

elders, and the youth is made to swear that he would have the woman as his wife. There is no formal ceremony in this case.

Elopement is also found among them and arises out of parental objection to marriage. Both the culprits are taken back to the village from their place of concealment, and are arraigned before a tribunal of village worthies. A light fine is imposed on the man who is then allowed to marry the woman.

When a Mannan's wife is barren, he marries POLYGAMY. another woman. The two wives are kept in the same hut, if they move amicably. In case they disagree, they live separately. A man may marry the sister of his deceased wife. He cannot marry the widow of his deceased elder brother.

If a Mannān commits adultery with a woman of the ADULTERY. Machambi clan at Mannānkandam, he is given six to ten lashes with a cane by the Kumblān, if he belongs to Kandathu Burnakudi or any clan of the same phratry, and by the Varakūrāli, if he belongs to Chālugapattu Ūrugāran or any other clan of the same phratry. The woman is not punished. She is asked six times if she will remain chaste, to which she answers in the affirmative.

Matrimonial bonds are not treated lightly by the Mannāns. They lead a life of simplicity and happiness, but the advent of men for cardamom plantation from Madura has been a disturbing factor to their primeval life with the result that they have begun to copy external standards of life and fashion. This contact, generally

speaking, has not been wholesome, as it has to some extent undermined the chastity of their women, who go out for work in the Cardamom Estates.

PUBERTY
CUSTOMS.

When a Mannān boy comes of age between the age of fifteen and twenty, the uncle purchases a cloth, which is tied round the head of the boy by his uncle's son. All the villagers are invited for the occasion. There is feasting followed by the free distribution of pansupari. The boy is then taken round the village in procession to the beat of tom-tom and music. On returning home the visitors are entertained with music and drama. Feasting lasts for two days.

When a girl attains puberty, she is put in a separate hut for four days. Food is carried to her and other girls keep her company. On the eighth day she bathes, her body being rubbed with turmeric. After bathing, she is presented with a new cloth which she puts on, and she goes to her home carrying a twig of margosa leaves and a potful of water to ward off the evil eye. She remains at home in seclusion for four more days.

MENSTRUATION.

A woman in menstruation remains in seclusion-shed for six days. The husband cannot see her during this period. On the seventh day, she bathes and returns home.

CHILD-BIRTH.

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a separate hut. Her mother and sisters keep her company, and continue to be with her after confinement in the seclusion-shed for twenty days. On the 21st day, she bathes, goes to the main hut, and is lodged in a separate room, where she is served with food by her father or sisters. After a month, she cooks her own food.



A MANNAN FEMALE GROUP.

The giving of names generally takes place on the 21st day after birth, but there is no ceremony. When the mother's breasts are full of milk, she suffers pain. This indicates that the baby should be named immediately, and lots are taken as to whether the name should be chosen from the paternal or the maternal side. A baby is generally named after a person of the clan of the mother, uncle, or aunt. The males are known by the name of Rāman, Lakshmanan, Nāgan, Thēvan, Chakkan, Kāmākshi, Pāndiyan, Olakan, Pūlan, Nangan, Kaduva and Karuthakannan. The females are called Vella, Chakki, Rāmi, Thēvi, Alāgi, Karuppi, Nāchi, Pāndichi and Olaki, while Rājamma, Thangamma and Lakshmi are pet names used for girls. The Mannāns do not call each other by their names. If an elderly man has a daughter, he is called by others Rāmi's thanthai (Rāmi's father). If he is younger, he is accosted as 'cholo'. An elderly man is also called Acha literally father. A brother-in-law is called Vēthan and sister-in-law, Vēthi.

The Mannāns follow the Marumakkathayam law of inheritance. Property goes to the nephew two years after the demise of a person, and it consists of bill-hook, vessels, and cattle. Till then the property remains in the custody of the sons, who have no share in the property. A widow inherits nothing in her own right. A married daughter gets nothing. Debts as well as property are inherited by the nephew, and many a man inherits nothing more. In the Periyar Range sons and nephew divide the property equally between them.

The terms of relationship among the Mannans are of the type called classificatory. An account of the kinship terms as it obtains among them is given below:—

Serial No.	English name.	Vernacular equivalent.
<i>I. Relations through father.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3	Grandfather	Pattan
4	Grandmother	Patti
5	Father	Appan
6	Mother	Amma
7	Father's elder brother	Valiappan
8	do. wife	Valiamma
9	Father's younger brother	Kunjappan
10	do. wife	Kunjamma
11	Father's sister	Māmi
12	Father's sister's husband	Māman
13	Father's sister's son	Machinan
14	do. daughter	Kolanthayal
<i>II. Relations through mother.</i>		
1	Great grandfather	Valiappan
2	Great grandmother	Valiamma
3	Mother's father	Pattan
4	Mother's mother	Patti
5	Mother's brother	Māman
6	Mother's brother's wife	Māmi
7	Mother's sister	Valiamma or Chinnamma, if younger

Serial No.	English name.	Vernacular equivalent.
III. <i>Relations through wife.</i>		
1	Wife	Mālac
2	Wife's father	Māman
3	Wife's mother	Māmi
4	Wife's sister	Kolanthayal
5	Wife's sister's husband	Chëttan or Anujan
6	Wife's brother	Machinan
7	Wife's brother's wife	Akka or Thangachi
IV. <i>Relations through husband.</i>		
1	Husband's father	Māman
2	Husband's mother	Māmi
3	Husband's brother	Machinan
4	do, wife	Amma or thangachi, if younger
5	Husband's sister	Kolunthayal

In connection with the foregoing terms we note :—

1. The father's father, the mother's father, the father's mother and the mother's mother. Pättan and Pätti are the names given to grandfather and grandmother on both the paternal and maternal sides. Again, Valiappan and Valiamma are the names given to great grandfather and great grandmother on both the maternal and paternal sides

2. The father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the wife's father and the husband's father. Māman is the name given to the above persons and Māmi, to their wives.

3. Machinan is the name given alike to the father's sister's son, the wife's brother and the husband's brother and Machini, for the wife's sister and the husband's sister.

VILLAGE OR-
GANIZATION.

The Mannāns live in small groups of families called Kudi (village). The highest level space is selected as the sites for the hamlets. Each village is even now an independent unit in the tribe and consists of five to fifteen huts. The size of the village depends on the availability of the food supply. The Mannāns are even to this day bound together by common ideas of protection and collective cultivation. Their village affairs are regulated by a council of elders with a headman chosen by the villagers. Chieftainship is hereditary and descends to the nephew. A Headman enjoys the privilege of free labour. Under the village headman comes the Rākshasan. All the Mannāns obey his instructions. The Valia Elandari, Thandakaran, and Thannipätta are other village dignitaries in order of rank.

All the Mannans of a village build a hut, for the village headman, cultivate his land, harvest his crops, and garner it for him in a tree-house. These privileges are also enjoyed by the Rākshasan and the Valia Elandari. If any work has to be done, the order goes through the Rākshasan and Valia Elandari who get the work done through the Thandakaran. Widows are

treated very considerably. All the villagers render free labour for them and the Valia Elandari supervises its execution. The jurisdiction of the village council covers petty offences which are punishable by the imposition of a fine. If a man is not amenable to its decision, the matter goes to the Varayilkīzhu Mannān whose decision is final. The influence of village government is gradually vanishing by contact with low-country men and through the authority wielded over them by the Forest Department of Government.

The Mannāns are one of those hill-tribes who have modified their animistic practices more and more in the direction of orthodox Hinduism. Traces of animism however still exist. For instance, as the process of clearing the jungle involves a disturbance of the spirits residing there, a portion of the primitive forests is dedicated to them as their haunt, and passers-by pay a respectful obeisance by a discriminating bow. They worship Sāsta of Sabarimala and Periyar. Their religion teaches them, no moral code and the blessings they invoke are material. It presents itself to them as a series of ceremonies and observances laid down by custom, any one of which it would be dangerous to omit. RELIGION

Before the commencement of agricultural operations in Mannankandam, the Gopura Mannān goes to Muthirapuzha Kūṭṭy in January and makes an offering of raw rice to Sāsta's fish in the river in the following manner "ഇശ്വരാനു എന്തെറ കൃഷിക്കു ലോഭം വരുമോ എന്നു മീനോടടുപ്പം കൊള്ളും." In other words, he asks the fish whether any harm will come to their cultivation that year. He then lowers his hands full of rice under the water. If the AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES.

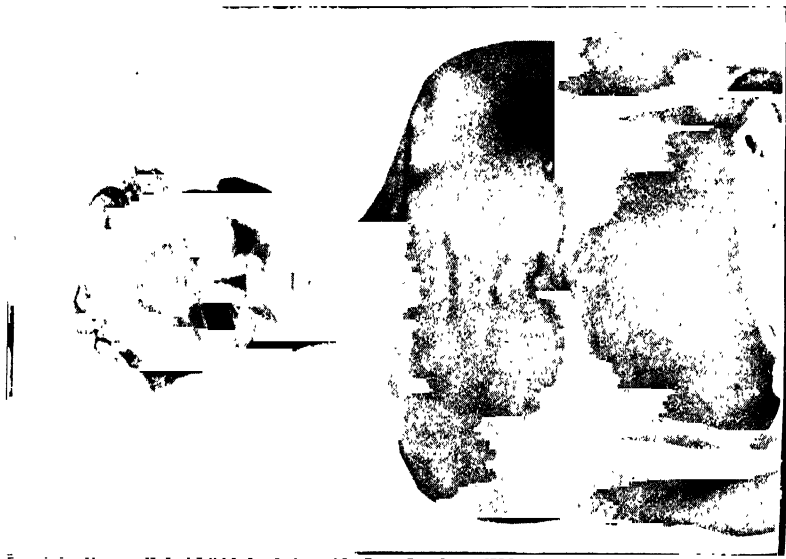
fish come splashing the water and eat the rice, it is reckoned to be auspicious. It bodes ill if they do not come, and the Gopura Mannan leaves the rice over sand in the stream and returns home disappointed. He takes his chance for the year from the weather. He observes continence for five days before he goes to Muthirapuzha.

Anticipating the return of the Gopura Mannān, all the men of the hamlet gather the previous evening near the area to be cleared, and they are free from all pollution. The Gopura Mannān meets them there the next morning and cuts two or three reeds, leaving the others to cut the rest in the area reserved for Ayyappan. He goes to the spot where the rice is cooked. The other men return after cutting the reeds in one straight row. While cutting the reeds, they should not chew. The paddy obtained from this strip is reserved for Ayyappan. The Gopura Mannān makes the offering. Before harvest, the headman takes sheaves of corn which would yield twelve nabhies of rice. He collects the grain with his hand. It is the raw rice obtained from this paddy that is given to Ayyappan's fish at Muthirapuzha.

In Poopara, the Mannans make an offering of fruits, beaten rice, and cooked rice before clearing the jungle. A fowl is killed and its blood dropped on the offerings on the leaf. Frankincense is then burnt, and all raise their hands and pray "May prosperity come to us." The fowl is then cooked and partaken of by all.

CEREMONIES
CONNECTED
WITH RAIN-
MAKING

In the event of a light rainfall, the Headman takes a copper or silver coin and ties it in a piece of new cloth and makes the following prayer, "അയ്യപ്പാ, നമ്മുടെ എണ്ണ



A MANNAN MALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

തേക്കുകിടും സഹായിക്കണം, സഹായിച്ചാൽ, തേക്കായ് വാഴപഴം വെച്ചുകൂടിടാം.” “Oh Ayyappa, help us at any cost. If you help us, we shall propitiate you with fruits and cocoanuts.” The coin is then placed on the roof of the hut. Rain falls. In the event of heavy rainfall, seven chuckrams are taken and tied in a new cloth, and the following prayer is offered “അയ്യപ്പാ, ഈ മഴ നിർത്തണം. നിന്നക്കു ഈ ബതിരവകുടം വെക്കുന്നു. മഴ പൊറ്റിത്തുക്കണം. നിന്റെ ചക്രത്തിനെ ഞാൻ കയറനെ ഏൽപ്പിക്കാം.” “Oh Ayyappa, stop the rain. We place these chuckrams in return for you. Let the rain cease. We shall entrust your chuckrams to the Kularan”. Rain ceases. After harvest, the money is paid to the Kularan. He performs a pongal once in 2 years in honour of Ayyappan at Basârmedu. He remains continent for four days. No woman can approach the spot, nor can the offering of rice be given to her. The Kularan says, “അയ്യപ്പാ, ഈ കുടിയിൽ ഉജ്ജ്വലം ഇവിടെ വത്തുശേർത്ത കുട്ടികൾക്കും ഒരു ചോലു മില്ലാമൽ കാത്തുകൊള്ളവേണ്ടിയതു, ഞാൻ കരൽ രൂപ തരാം”. “Oh Ayyappa, you should safeguard the people of this hamlet and the children who are come here without any misgiving. I shall pay four annas on their behalf.” The coin is handed over to the Pūjari who takes the collections to Sabarimala once in ten years and offers them to the deity.

The Mannāns observe the same ceremonies for hunting as the Muthuvans. When a black monkey is killed, its liver, hands, and feet are cut into thin slices and pierced through with thin reed stakes. They are then roasted over a fire and placed on a leaf, when the following prayers are offered to the jungle deity. “ഇന്ത മേലി നാടും

CEREMONIES
CONNECTED
WITH HUNT-
ING.

ദേശവും പുടിച്ചു കുറിവു മരഞ്ഞു ഇരുന്നാൽ, എന്തവഴി പോന്നാലും ജീ പജാതായെ എനക്കു നേരെ കെട്ടിക്കൂത്താൽ, അതിൽ മുൻകൂട്ടി എച്ചിലാക്കാമെന്ന് പക്ഷം കൂട്ടിക്കൊള്ളാം". "If I pursue the right track in this tract of land, I wish I were blessed with game wherever I may go. If I am, I shall offer you a share of the spoils of the game before it is tasted by anyone else."

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

When a man dies, his brother-in-law shaves his (deceased's) head, washes the body in water, and dries it with a towel. He then anoints the head with gingily oil, combs the hair, and puts a vermillion mark on the forehead. The corpse is then wrapped in a new cloth purchased by the nephew or brother-in-law, and carried on a bier to the burial ground, where a pit is made ready. The grave is hip-deep in the case of men, and less deep in the case of women. The corpse is lowered into the pit with head towards the north and his earthly belongings like the chakmuk are also put in the grave. A handful of rice is strewn over the corpse, which is then covered with a mat and then a layer of grass. The grave is then filled up with earth, and a thatched shed is erected over it to protect it from rain. The mourners then return home, bath, and are given a feast.

In Mannankandam, pollution lasts for seven days and is observed by all the members of the same clan, no matter to which hamlet they belong. It is also noted that, as a mark of clan solidarity, all the clansmen contribute one or two measures of paddy to defray the funeral expenses on the seventh day. On the fourth day, a measure of rice is cooked by the sister of the brother-in-law of the deceased, and placed on a leaf over a mat.

Along with it are placed pansupari, flowers, and holy ash. The mourners sit round, and the pansupari is distributed. The offering of cooked rice is partaken of by the brother-in-law of the deceased and his kinsmen. The same ceremony is repeated on the 8th day. A woman removes her tāli on the death of her husband. On the expiry of a year, the mourners go to the burial ground and pour forth their lamentations over the loss of the deceased. The anniversary is celebrated at the expense of the brother-in-law of the deceased, when all relations meet and an offering of beaten rice, fruits, and cocoanuts is made.

The economic life of the Mannāns centres round their shifting cultivation. Being of a migratory disposition, they have no proprietary interest over the land they cultivate. They collectively clear the jungle in February and burn the debris in April. The Headman points out the plot of land which each man is to cultivate. When the jungle is cleared, all the men make a noise to ward off evil spirits. Ragi is sown before the breaking of the monsoon and the crop is harvested in September. Women sow seed, weed the area, and harvest the crop. Threshing of corn is done by men. The needy are helped with seed and some paddy by their clansmen. The Mannāns lead a life of plenty after the harvest and do no work. The produce lasts for about four months. They cultivate a land for two years and then leave it, bag and baggage, in search of another favoured locality. Shifting cultivation is wasteful and impoverishes the soil. This encourages the Mannāns to be idle and thriftless. It is also detrimental to the health

OCCUPATION.

of the people as they are always exposed to the risks of fever by the growth of rank vegetation.

CARDAMOM
CULTIVATION.

Some of the Mannāns have taken to cardamom cultivation. The prosperity of the cardamom ryots (peasants) has been an eye-opener to them, and they have not been slow to take advantage of this paying industry. Some of them have small cardamom gardens. Cardamom plants begin to yield by the fifth year, and it pays handsomely on labour spent on its cultivation.

The implements used for agricultural work are the bill-hook, the axe, and the sickle.

TRAPPING
AND HUNTING.

Trapping and hunting are no longer practised to the extent that they used to be. During the annual season of want, the Mannāns supplement their food supply with such game as rats, squirrels, porcupine, mouse, deer, and other small animals. They use the triangular trap for this purpose.

Being skilled marksmen, they kill sambur, black monkey, jungle sheep, and other animals easily and eat all the spoils of the game. Now deprived of their guns by Government, they are prevented from wanton destruction of game as in the past. They are fond of fish which are caught in cruives. They do not kill the bison.

COLLECTION
OF MINOR
FOREST PRO-
DUCE.

The Mannans live inside the reserved forests under the custody of the Forest Department. They are employed for the collection of minor forest produce which are the property of Government. They are paid daily wages of six annas, which they receive in cash or kind. They collect saffron, dammer, (resin of *Canarium strictum*) honey, wax, and wild cardamoms. They are

expert in tree-climbing, and collect honey. They are also employed in the elephant capturing operations. They have attained a certain proficiency in making fine articles of cane and reed. Their women make fine mats, baskets, and sieves of reeds (*Ochlandra travancorica*), and sell them to the people of the plains.

The Mannāns talk a Tamil patois on the Cardamom Hills bordering on the Madura district. They also understand and talk Malayalam. The following specimens of their dialect are given :—

LANGUAGE.

- | | | |
|--------------|---|----------------|
| 1. ഇക്ക് ബറോ | — | come here |
| 2. മാക്കു | — | brother-in-law |
| 3. ഉര | — | reed |
| 4. കുര | — | hut |
| 5. വേത്തൻ | — | brother-in-law |
| 6. കിള്ളി | — | sickle. |

The Mannāns have not only a fine ear for music, but they also sing well. The songs are simple in form and matter and are of educative value to youth. There are no professional singers, though some acquire a local reputation. The chief singer leads by singing one line of a verse which is repeated by a group of five or six singers. The composition is in Tamil. The lines of songs rhyme. The second line is an answer to the first. The following songs may be of interest :—

SONGS.

കുളിമേഖല മകനെ ഏറവേണ്ട
 കുല്ലുതണ്ടാൽ മകനെ മേറശം വരും.
 മരത്തിമേഖല മകനെ ഏറവേണ്ട
 മരക്കാടിഞ്ചാൽ മകനെ മേറശം വരും.
 ചെടിയേറശം മകനെ പോകവേണ്ട
 ചെടിനാഥം കണ്ടാൽ തീണ്ടിട്ടമേ.
 പിത്തിമേഖല മകനെ ഏറവേണ്ട
 പിതുറ്റനാഥം കണ്ടാൽ തീണ്ടിട്ടമേ.

Oh son, do not scale over a rock, for, if it rolls,
harm will come to you.

Oh son, do not climb over a tree, for harm will
come to you, if it breaks.

Oh son, do not go by the side of an evergreen
plant, for a snake will bite you, if it sees you.

Oh son do not go over an ant-hill, for a serpent
will bite you if it sees you.

Another song runs thus : --

കല്ലുനമ്പിയ കിഴമരക്ക
കിഴത്തനമ്പി മീനത്തക്ക
മീനത്തമ്പി കൊക്കത്തക്ക
മണ്ണുനമ്പി മരമരക്ക
മരത്തമ്പി നേരത്തക്ക
മാനിയപ്പതു മലയാളം.

“Deep water rests on a rocky embankment.

Fish abound in deep water.

Crane depends on fish.

The soil keeps a tree in position.

Honey is formed on trees.

Deer is seen in the land of the Malayalis.”

The Valia Elandari is the instructor. He is the repository of all local knowledge and imparts it to the youths of the village.

FECONDITY.

According to Carr-Saunders, regularity of food supply and fecundity are vitally related. On the High Ranges in Periyar, the average size of the family is 7·3, the average birth-rate, 5·3, and the survival rate is 3·8. The scales are turned in lower elevations, where fecundity is low owing to malaria and unhealthy surroundings. In Mannankandam the average size of the family for 17



A MANNAN FEMALE—FRONT AND PROFILE.

families is 4.4. The average birth-rate is 2.4, and survival rate, 1.7. There are two cases of sterile unions. Malaria and small-pox claim a heavy toll. In the event of the latter, all the Mannans leave the village, leaving those infected to take care of themselves, as it is believed that the disease is caused by evil spirits.

The Mannāns have a dark brown complexion, short stature, short flat nose and thick lips. In the Deviar valley which is about 2000 feet in elevation, the average stature of the Mannans is 151.3 cms. They have long forehead with an average cephalic index of 73.9. The forehead is receding and the brow ridges are prominent. The nose is short and flat, the average nasal index being 87.9. The average circumference of chest is 77.0 cms and its average in relation to stature 100 is 50.8. The average span of arms is 160.0 cms and its average in relation to stature 100 is 105.7. The average facial index is 82.3. In the Periyar Range, where the elevation is above 3000 feet above sea level, the average stature is 157.7. The average cephalic index is 74.4 and the average nasal index 82.1. The average circumference of chest is 76.1 and average span of arms 166.1, and the average facial index is 89.6.

APPEARANCE
AND
PHYSICAL
FEATURES.

The Mannāns are jovial by nature and are easily pleased. They preserve a buoyant spirit and enjoy a joke heartily. They can carry heavy loads over long distances on their back without fatigue. Their women have a cheerful disposition and make good wives.

CONCLUSION

APPENDIX I.

A Kānikkār Chāttu Song.

വീരപ്പനരയനും, എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
ആററിങ്ങൽ തിരുമുവിൽ മുഖം കാണിക്കാൻപോയതു ,

വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ വീരപ്പനരേമ്മകനും
ആലുത്തറകോട്ടയിലേ മാദിച്ചനരേമ്മകനും
ചെന്നല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ ചീതങ്കനരേമ്മകനും
പറക്കല്ലുകോട്ടവാഴ്വമ്പരപ്പനരേമ്മകനും
മണ്ണമ്പടവീടുവാഴ്വമ്മാത്താണ്ടനരേമ്മകനും

എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടരേമ്മക്കൾ
പറഞ്ഞു കൂട്ടം കൂട്ടുന്നതും
നമക്കിപ്പത്തനെയല്ലോ
മൂന്നുവർഷമുച്ചാണ്ടായേ
ഇന്നി നമ്മൾ കൊട്ടാരത്തി
മുകുകാണിക്കാൻ പോകവേണം
ഇന്നമ്മളു മൂന്നു വർഷം
മുമ്മാണ്ടു കാലമായേ
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമുവിൽ
പച്ചം കെട്ടി ഇറങ്ങിട്ട്
ഇന്നിനമക്കു പോകണമേ
തമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമുവിൽ
എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടാരയമ്മക്കളു
പറഞ്ഞു കൂട്ടം കൂട്ടുന്നതാ
ആന പോന താരകളീ

വെട്ടിയടച്ച ഒടികളൂ കൂടി
 ആനവന്നപ്പടുത്തു
 ആനയിനെ എയ്ക്കുകൊന്നു
 ആനക്കൊമ്പും വെട്ടി എടുത്തേ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടാരയമ്മക്കളു
 കടുവാ വരുന്ന താര കണ്ടു
 വെട്ടിയടച്ച ഒടികളൂ കൂടി
 കടുവാ വന്നപ്പടുത്തേ
 കടുവായിനെയെയ്ക്കുകൊന്നു.
 മാമാരാൽ വില്ലുവലിച്ചേ
 കാടുവായക്കുനെ പട്ടമറിഞ്ഞു
 കടുവാത്തോലു മുറിച്ചെടുത്തു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടാരയമ്മക്കളു
 കടുവാപ്പല്ലം വെട്ടിയെടുത്തു
 കടുവാനാക്കുമാറത്തെടുത്തു
 പുലിവരുന്ന താര കണ്ടു
 വെട്ടിയടച്ച ഒടികളൂ കൂടി

പുലിവന്നപ്പടുത്തു, പുലിയിനെയെയ്ക്കുകൊന്നു.
 പുലിത്തോലു മുറിച്ചെടുത്തു, പുലിപ്പല്ല വെട്ടിയെടുത്തു
 പുലിനാക്കുമാറത്തെടുത്തേ, എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടാരയമ്മക്കൾ
 വെരുവു വരുന്ന താര കണ്ടു, വെട്ടിയടച്ച ഒടികളൂ കൂടി
 വെരുവുവന്നപ്പടുത്തു, വെരുവിനെയെയ്ക്കുകൊന്നു
 വെരുവുഞ്ചട്ടോമാറത്തെടുത്തു, എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടുകാണിപ്പേരും

എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടാരയമ്മക്കളു ചെന്നു കൂട്ടം കൂട്ടുവാരാ
 അപ്പോളെങ്കിൽപ്പറയുന്നിതു, വീരപ്പനയമ്മകനും

ഇന്നെക്കൊരു ഏഴാംവർഷം റീറാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും വന്നു കൂട്ടംകൂടവേണം
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും വന്നുകൂട്ടം കൂടുവാരാ
 വന്നുകൂട്ടം കൂടിയവർ, കൂടി മൊഴി പറയുവാരാ

തേനു കാലി നൂലുകെട്ടി
 തേനുറകേ പോയിവാരാ
 കണ്ടറക്കീ കടമാടീ
 ഏഴെട്ടു തേൻ കിടപ്പുണ്ടു
 പള്ളപന്നെത്തമലയടയീ
 പത്തെട്ടുതേങ്കിടപ്പുണ്ടു
 ചരടു കെട്ടി തേനുറക്കിന
 ചാത്തന്നെന്നാരയമ്മകൻ
 അമ്പുവച്ചു തേനൊഴുക്കിന
 ആദിച്ചുനരയേമ്മകനും
 മാമാരാ വില്ലുവലിച്ചു
 ആദിച്ചുനരയേമ്മകനും
 മാമാരാൽ വില്ലുവലിച്ചു
 മനമിരകേ തുടുമ്പുതട്ടീ
 തേനിലേക്കൊണ്ടു അമ്പു
 കല്ലിലുത്തുള ചിട്ടുണ്ടു
 തേങ്കടി അമ്പുപെട്ടു
 മീനമാത്തീ കടുക്കമ്പോലേ
 ചരടുവച്ചു തേനൊഴുക്കുന്ന
 ചാത്തന്നെന്നാരയമ്മകനും
 അമ്പുവച്ചു തേനൊഴുക്കിന
 ആദിച്ചുനരയേമ്മകനും
 കേറക്കയെങ്കിക്കേക്കിനെടാ

ചിററരേമ്മാരാകുന്നവരേ
 ചിററുരുളി കൊണ്ടുവരീൻ
 ചെറുകിടാരകൊണ്ടുവരീൻ
 മനമിരങ്കേ തുടുമ്പുതട്ടീ
 മനസ്സിൽ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു
 പേരുരുളി കൊണ്ടുവരീൻ
 പെരുങ്കിടാരകൊണ്ടുവരീൻ
 ചിററുരുളി കൊണ്ടുവന്നേ
 ചെറുകിടാരകൊണ്ടുവന്നേ
 പേരുരുളി കൊണ്ടുവന്നേ
 പെരുങ്കിടാരകൊണ്ടുവന്നേ
 ചിററുരുളിക്കൊണ്ടുവച്ചേ
 ചെറുകിടാരകൊണ്ടുവച്ചേ
 ചിററുരുളി നിറഞ്ചുവന്നു
 ചെറുകിടാരന്നിറഞ്ചുവന്നു
 പേരുരുളിക്കൊണ്ടുവച്ചു
 പെരുങ്കിടാരകൊണ്ടുവച്ചേ
 പേരുരുളി നിറഞ്ചുപോയേ
 പെരുങ്കിടാരന്നിറഞ്ചുവന്നേ
 ആലുന്തറ കോട്ടയിലേ
 കൊണ്ടുവന്നേ കൂട്ടുന്നതാ
 അപ്പള്ളകിൽ തിരുവുള്ളമായി
 പൊന്നമ്പെരുമാൾ ഇളയ രാജാവു
 പൊന്നമ്പെരുമാൾ ഇളയ രാജാവു
 പണ്ടു പണ്ടുരയമ്മക്കു
 പച്ചകൈട്ടി ഇറങ്ങിട്ടുണ്ടു്
 മൂന്നുവർഷമായി, മൂപ്പാണ്ടു കാലമായി
 ചീട്ടെഴുതി കൊടുക്കുന്നതേ

മാത്തക്കുട്ടിപിള്ള കയ്യിൽ
 ഇന്നിനവു കൊണ്ടുചെല്ല
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 നിനവു കണ്ട നേരത്തിലേ
 വേഗത്താലേ വരണമല്ലോ
 നിനവു തൊഴുതു വാങ്ങിക്കുന്ന
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുചിള്ള
 വാളക്കവയലു വിട്ടു
 കടവക്കുകൾ കഴിഞ്ഞു
 ഓരോരോ ദിക്കു വിട്ടു
 ഓരോരോ തേശം വിട്ടു
 ഓരോരോ ഏലം വിട്ടു
 ഓരോരോ അതിരൂ വിട്ടു
 ചെന്നു കരയേറുമല്ലോ
 വീരാനല്ലു കോട്ടയിലും
 നിനവെടുത്തു കൊടുക്കുന്നതും
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടിപിള്ള യുമേ
 നിനവുതൊഴുതു വേണ്ടുന്നതും
 വീരപ്പനരേമ്മകനോ
 നിനവുതന്നെ കാണുന്നതു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 നീളെ നെടുക്കേ വരച്ചതിപ്പോരും,
 എന്തിനു പിള്ളേ വരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്നു
 നീളെനെടുക്കേ വരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന
 താനക്കൊമ്പിനു മൂക്കിപ്പലക്കും
 കറോൻ കോറാൻ വരച്ചതിപ്പോരും
 എന്തിനു പിള്ളേ വരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്നു

കാറാങ്കോറാനാവരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന
 വെരുവുഞ്ചട്ടോന്തേക്കുമ്പത്തിനു
 മറുക്ക കിറുക്കേ വരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന-
 തെന്തിനു പിള്ളേ വരച്ചുകിടക്കുന്നു
 മറുക്ക കിറുക്ക വരച്ചതരയാ
 പുലിത്തോലുകടുവാത്തോലിന്
 നെപ്പിര നെരുനൈ എയ്യിക്കിടക്കിന-
 തെന്തിനു പിള്ളേ എയ്യിക്കിടന്നു
 നെപ്പിര നെരുനൈ എയ്യിക്കിടക്കുന്നു
 ചിറേത്തങ്കല ചെറുകുളിക്കുല
 കപ്പറ കുറകുറയെയ്യിക്കിടക്കിന-
 തെന്തിനു പിള്ളേ എയ്യിക്കിടക്കുന്നതു
 കപ്പറ കുറകുറ എയ്യിക്കിടക്കുന്ന
 പേരേത്തങ്കല ചെരുങ്കുളിക്കുല

(വീരപ്പനരയൻ മറു കാണിപ്പാർന്നു അറിവു
 കൊടുക്കുന്നതു്.)

എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിമലക്കു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു വള്ളിമുടിച്ചു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു വള്ളിമുടിച്ചു
 മുടിഞ്ചൊരുക്കി കൊടുത്തുവരാ
 വള്ളിമുടിഞ്ചു കൊടുത്തുവരാ
 പാപ്പൊരുളാ പറഞ്ഞുവരാ
 ഇന്നെക്കൊരു ഏയാമ്പക്കം
 വീരാനല്ലു കോട്ടയിലേ
 വന്നു കൂട്ടം കൂടവേണം
 അന്നെക്കൊരു ഏയാമ്പക്കം
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരു

വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 വന്നു കൂട്ടം കൂട്ടുവാറാ
 അപ്പളെങ്കിൽ പറയുവാറാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 നമ്മക്കിപ്പത്തന്നെയിപ്പോ
 പച്ചം കെട്ടി ഇറങ്ങവേണം
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിമലക്കു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു തേക്കമ്പവും
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു മുളങ്കമ്പങ്ങളും
 മുറിച്ചൊരുക്കും കൊള്ളുവാറാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 തേനെടുത്തു കൊണ്ടുവന്നു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു തേൻകമ്പത്തി
 തേനു വീത്തിക്കെട്ടുവാറാ
 ചിററത്തങ്കല മുറിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 ചെറുകുളിക്കുള മുറിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 പെരുങ്കുളിക്കുളമുറിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 പേരേത്തങ്കല മുറിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 ആനക്കൊമ്പു എടുത്തുകെട്ടി
 കടുവത്തോലും എടുത്തുകെട്ടി
 പുലിത്തോലും എടുത്തുകെട്ടി
 വെരുവുഞ്ചട്ടോമെടുത്തുകെട്ടി
 മുങ്കിക്കുള മുറിച്ചുകെട്ടുന്ന
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനു
 ചുമട്ടുകെട്ടി ഒരുക്കിവച്ചു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 ഉണ്ടുതിന്നങ്ങൊരുക്കുന്നോരാ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും!

വെറവാക്കു തിന്നളവു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 കഞ്ചാവു പോല കുടിച്ചൊരുങ്ങി
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 വീരാനല്ലക്കോട്ടയിലേ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 കേക്കയെങ്കീക്കേക്കിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാവുന്നവരേ
 കെട്ടഞ്ചുമട്ട, മെട്ടപ്പിനെടാ
 ചിററേമ്മാരാകുന്നവരേ
 കെട്ടഞ്ചുമട്ടമെട്ടക്കുന്നത്
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നത്
 വെയിലുതാങ്ങി കുടയെടുക്കുന്ന
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 നിന്ന ഭൂമി നമസ്കരിച്ചു
 ആദിത്യനെ കൈതൊഴുത്ത്
 മരുതുപുര തുറക്കുന്നതു .
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 ഇരിക്കാ കരുവി മരുത്തെടുത്ത
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 പറക്കാക്കരുവി മരുത്തെടുത്ത
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 ഇനമിണക്കിമരുത്തെടുത്ത
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 ചതമിണക്കിമരുത്തെടുത്ത
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 അനയിണക്കിമരുത്തെടുത്ത

വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകന്മാർ
 മരുത്തുപരചേർത്തു പൂട്ടം
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകന്മാർ
 വലതുകാലമുന്തിവെട്ടു
 വഴിതിരിഞ്ഞ് പോകുവാൻ
 വാതുക്കവയലുംവെട്ടു
 കടവക്കക്കളംകുഴിഞ്ഞു
 ഓരോരോ തിരക്കുവിട്ടു
 ഓരോരോ തേക്കുവിട്ടു
 പത്തുമന്നിതോന്നിച്ചാടും
 പലമരത്തിച്ചോലവിട്ടു
 ആനന്നിന്നു തീനെടുക്കും
 അടവിമല ചോല കുഴിഞ്ഞു
 കുതിരന്നിന്നു തീനെടുക്കും
 കൂമ്പകാളമലകുഴിഞ്ഞു
 അയ്യതിരുവിട്ടുടനേ
 ഇയ്യതിരു കേറിനായോ

(കാണിക്കാർ എല്ലാവരും കൊട്ടാരത്തിനടുത്തുചെന്നു)

വാതുക്കവയലുംവെട്ടു
 കടവക്കക്കളംകടന്നു
 ആററിങ്ങുകൊട്ടാരത്തി
 ചെന്നു കുരവഴികേറുവാൻ
 കൈക്കൊട്ടുവാതിലുനടയി
 ചെന്നു കൂട്ടംകൂട്ടുവാൻ
 പോകനാലും ചെയ്യുന്നതാം
 മുഖകാണിക്കാവോകുന്നതാം

അപ്പശ്ശാപട്ടക്കാരു
 തിരുമനതിൽ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു
 അരയമ്മാരു കൊട്ടാരത്തിൽ
 വന്നുവെന്നു ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു
 അപ്പളെക്കിത്തന്നെയല്ലോ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടീ വല്ലുപിള്ള
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖം കാണവേണ്ട

എ നാളെ തിരുമുഖം കണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നു കിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുറം
 പിററന്നാവതു കാലത്തിലേ
 പിള്ളവന്നു പറയുവാറാ
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖം കാണവേണ്ട

൨ നാളെ തിരുമുഖംകണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നു കിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുറം
 പിററന്നാളതികാലത്തിലേ
 പിള്ളവന്നു പറയുവാറാ
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖംകാണവേണ്ട

൩ നാളെത്തിരുമുഖംകണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നുകിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുറം
 പിററന്നാവതു കാലത്തിലേ
 പിള്ളവന്നു പറയുവാറാ
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖംകാണവേണ്ട

- പ നാളെ തിരുമുഖങ്കണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നുകിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുള
 പരറൊന്നാളതികാലത്തിലെ
 പിള്ളവന്നു പറയുവാരാ
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖങ്കാണവേണ്ട
- ഉ നാളെ തിരുമുഖങ്കണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നു കിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 പിററൊന്നാളതികാലത്തിലേ
 പിള്ളവന്നു പറയുവാരാ
 ഇന്നു തിരുമുഖങ്കാണവേണ്ട
- ണ നാളെ തിരുമുഖങ്കണ്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 അന്നു കിടന്നു താമസിച്ചു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുൾ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുൾ-
 കുന്നു തണ്ണിമുട്ടിയല്ലോ
 പടുകിടപ്പു കൂട്ടുന്നതാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കുൾ
 പറഞ്ഞു മൊയി കൂട്ടുന്നല്ലോ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു അരയമ്മക്കുൾ
 ചിററേത്തൻകല ചുട്ടുതിന്നു
 ചെറുകുളിക്കല ചുട്ടുതിന്നു
 രണ്ടുമുന്ന തേനുകമ്പ-
 മരയമ്മക്കുള കടിച്ചൊടുക്കി
 തേനുകമ്പങ്ങളുമെടുത്തു കടിച്ചു

വീരപ്പനരയമ്മക്കൾ
 ആനക്കൊമ്പു വെട്ടിക്കീറി
 വെരുവുഞ്ചട്ടോ തീയിലുമിട്ടു
 തമ്പുരാന്റെറത്തിരുക്കി
 തിരുമണമായേ ചിത്തനായേ
 ചൊല്ലിനേടാ പട്ടക്കാരെ
 അരയമ്മക്കളു കൊള്ളചെയ്തു
 വേഗമോടിച്ചെല്ലവേണം
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടിവല്ലുപിള്ള
 വേഗമോടിച്ചെല്ലിനായോ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടീ വല്ലുപിള്ള
 കൊട്ടാരത്തിലു കല്പിച്ചല്ലോ
 അരയമ്മക്കളു മുഖങ്കാണിപ്പാൻ
 കേളിനേടാ അരയമ്മാരേ
 തിരുമുഖമിന്നു കാണവേണം
 പിള്ള ചെന്നു തമ്പുരാന്റെറ
 തിരുമുമ്പിൽ ചെല്ലുന്നായോ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനു-
 മെഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 കൊള്ളപലതു ചെയ്തതാകെ
 കൊട്ടാരത്തിലു തിരുനടക്ക്
 കൊള്ള പലതുമെഴുന്നേക്കി
 ലിരുമ്പുകുട്ടിലടക്കവേണം
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ,
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരേ
 പിടിച്ചു കൂട്ടി അടച്ചുവരാ,
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരെ
 എലിക്കുഞ്ചു വിറക്കുമ്പോലെ

എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 അപ്പളെങ്കിപ്പറയുന്നായി
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 കിടുങ്ങാതെ നിപ്പിനെടാ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരേ
 പേരാമ്മണ്ണ വരുന്നപക്ഷം
 പോരാമ്മണ്ണ പൊരുതു നോക്കാം
 ഇരുമ്പുരുക്കി മരുന്നെടുത്തേ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 ഇരുമ്പുരുക്കി മരുന്നെടുത്തേ
 കെയ്യമേലെ തടവുവാരാ
 ഇരുമ്പുവിട്ടു വിലകുവാരാ
 വെളിയി മന്നൻ ഇങ്കെ വാരാ
 ഇരിക്കാക്കുരുവി മരുന്നെടുത്താ
 ആച്ചിമേലേരുളുവാരാ
 കുന്നെലിപോലെ മുഴുനൂവാരാ
 പാപ്പൊലിപോലെ പറന്നുവാരാ
 കേക്കയെങ്കിക്കേളമടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 കൊണ്ടുവന്ന അടിയറ നീയു
 വേഗം വാരി നിരത്തവേണം
 ആനക്കൊമ്പുമടിയറവച്ചു
 മൂക്കിക്കുലയുമടിയറവച്ചു
 പേരേത്തംകുല അടിയറവച്ചു
 പെരുങ്കുള കുല അടിയറവച്ചു
 തേകമ്പക്കുളമടിയറവച്ചു
 കടുവാത്തോലുമടിയറവച്ചു
 കടുവാപ്പല്ലം കടുവാനാക്കും

പുലിത്തോലുമടിയറവച്ചു
 പുലിപ്പല്ലുമടിയറവച്ചു
 വെരുവുഞ്ചട്ടോമടിയറവച്ചു
 അടിയറവച്ചേ അടിയറവച്ചേ
 അരയമ്മക്കുളാച്ചുന്നവരും
 കൈതൊഴുകലെ വാങ്ങിന
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകന്ദം
 അപ്പഴാകെ കല്പനയായി
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ള
 അടിയറയെല്ലാമെടുക്കവേണം
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ളേ
 അടിയറചെന്നെടുക്കുന്നതാ-
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ളേ
 അടിയറകൊണ്ടു പോവുന്നതോ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ള
 ഇനിയൊരു കാര്യമുണ്ടേ
 കേക്കയെങ്കിക്കേക്കിനെടാ
 പുതക്കായ നാട്ടുന്നതേ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ള
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന വാരി നിരത്തും
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ള
 കൊട്ടത്തേങ്ങാ വാരി നിരത്തും
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ളേ
 അപ്പള്ളെങ്കിക്കല്പനയായേ
 കല്പനയായെ തിരുവുള്ളമയേ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന വെട്ടാമോടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകന്ദേ
 പുതകവാഴു വെട്ടാമോടാ

വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 അടിയൻ കല്പന തന്നാൽ
 പൂതകവാഴ വെട്ടാമടിയൻ
 പൂതകവാഴ വെട്ടിയാലിപ്പോ-
 ഉടിയൻ കയ്യും തലയുമ്പോകും
 അടിയൻ കയ്യുന്തലയുമ്പോകും
 പൂതകവാഴ വെട്ടുകവേണം
 വാളുങ്കല്പിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നതേ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 പൂതകവാഴ വെട്ടുന്നതു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 പൂതകവാഴനിക്ഷെച്ചല്ലെ
 വാളോടിപോകുന്നതേ
 വെട്ടിയിട്ടു എറീല്പടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 ചെമ്പെന്നറിഞ്ഞെങ്കി ഞാ
 ചെവിടുങ്കേറി വെട്ടിയേനെ
 ഇങ്ങനെന്നറിഞ്ഞെങ്കി ഞാ
 ഇങ്ങനുകൊണ്ടേ വെട്ടിയേനെ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന വെട്ടാമോടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 തിരുമനസ്സു കല്പനയെങ്കിൽ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന വെട്ടാമടിയൻ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന വെട്ടിക്കൊറുക
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേനവെട്ടുന്നതോ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനോ
 ചെമ്പിച്ചേന നിക്ഷെച്ചല്ലെ

വാളോടിപോകുന്നത്
 തിരുവാളിന്റെ തിരുമുനകൊണ്ട്
 കിണ്ടി കിണ്ടി മരിച്ചുവാരാ
 ചെമ്പെന്നെറിഞ്ഞെങ്കി ഞാ
 ചുവടുക്കേറി വെട്ടിയേനെ
 കേക്കയെങ്കിക്കേളമെടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 ആനെ അഴിച്ചിറക്കാമോടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാനിരുമനുസ്സി
 കല്ലനയെന്നാലഴിക്കാമടിയൻ
 കേറിവരുന്ന വെള്ളാനക്കും
 മദംകൊടുത്തു നിറുത്തിവരുന്നു
 കള്ളകഞ്ചാവെല്ലാകൊടുത്തു
 മദംകേറുന്ന ആനയിനെ
 ആനയണക്കിമരുണെടുത്തു
 ഉള്ളങ്കയ്യിൽതടവുന്ന മന്നൻ
 വെള്ളാനമദകരിതന്റെ
 തിരുമുഖരുകൊണ്ടണച്ചുവരാ
 താൻ വളത്തുന്ന ആനയെപ്പോലെ
 കട്ടയിട്ട നായെപ്പോലെ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 മദകരിയാന ഇണങ്ങുന്നായെ
 ആനപ്പറങ്കേറാമോടാ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനേ
 ആനപ്പറങ്കേറി മാലപ്പോ
 അടിയൻ കയ്യും തലയുമ്പോകും

അടിയൻ കയ്യും തലയുമ്പോകാ
 ആനപ്പറമ്പ് നീ കേരുകവേണം
 വാലോട്ട കേരണ മന്നൻ
 ഇമ്പിക്കയ്യാ ഇറങ്ങിവരാ
 ഇമ്പിക്കയ്യാ കേരണ മന്നൻ
 വാലോട്ട് ഇറങ്ങിവരാ
 ഇടതുവശം കേറിച്ചെന്നു
 ഇരിക്കപ്പാട്ടിലിരിക്കുന്നതാം
 ആനമേലെ നിന്നുകൊണ്ട്
 വാളുകത്തി മറിയുവാരാ
 കോട്ട മീതേമറിയുന്ന മന്നൻ
 കോത്തളമീതേ മറയുവാരാ
 ആനമേലേനിന്നുകൊണ്ട്
 ആനയിനെ വെട്ടാമോടാ
 ആനയിനെ വെട്ടിയഃലീ
 അടിയൻ കയ്യും തലയും പോകും
 അടിയങ്കയ്യുതലയുമ്പോക
 ആനയിനെ വെട്ടുകവേണം
 ആനമേലേ നിന്നുകൊണ്ട്
 ആനയിനെ വെട്ടണ മന്നൻ
 ആന പട്ടമറിയുമ്പോ
 വാളുകത്തി മറിയുവാരാ
 തിരുമനസ്സിക്കണ്ണിക്കൂടി
 രക്തംചിന്തി പറയുവാരാ
 ആനപട്ട തങ്കടമേങ്കിൽ
 അടിയൻകൂടി പട്ടുകൊള്ളാം
 ആനപട്ടയ്ക്കു സങ്കടമില്ല
 അരയൻകൂടെപട്ടുകവേണം

മുറപൊരുത്തിമരുണെടുത്തു
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകന്മാരും
 വെള്ളാനമദകരിതന്റെറ
 മുറി ഇരുക്കണ്ടമായി പിടിച്ചു മന്നൻ
 ഒന്നൊടു മന്നൻ പൊറുത്തുവാരാ
 ഒന്നൊടു മന്നൻ പൊറുത്തുവാരാ
 മുറപൊരുത്തി മരുണെടുത്തു
 ആനമേലേ തടവുവാരാ
 വെള്ളാനമദകരിയും
 എഴിച്ചെഴുകി നിക്ഷുവാരാ
 അപ്പളെങ്കിക്കല്ലനയായി
 വീരമാത്താണ്ടരയന്നെന്ന്
 ഇത്ര വീര്യത്തുണ്ടുപെട്ടു
 വീരമാത്താണരയമ്മകന്മാരേ
 പേരു കൂറുകൊടുക്കുവാരാ
 കൂറപ്പേരേ കൊടുക്കുവാരാ
 കൂറപ്പേരേകൊടുക്കുവാരാ
 താനപ്പേരേ കൊടുക്കുവാരാ
 കല്ലനയായി നീട്ടും നിന്നവും
 കൂറാകടകളു കൊടുത്തുവാരാ
 കേറുകയെങ്കിക്കേളമെടാ
 വീരമാത്താണരയമ്മകന്മാരേ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടിപാണ്ടികടേ
 നെല്ലമ്പണവുമിരിച്ചു നീ
 കൂറകല്ലാണെന്നടത്തവേണം
 കൂറവാങ്ങിച്ചിരിക്കവേണം
 നടുപാണ്ടിപാണ്ടിയിലേ

നെല്ലുവണവുംപിരിച്ചു നീ
 ക്രുകല്ലാണം നടത്തവേണം
 കൂറവാങ്ങിച്ചിരിക്കവേണം
 തലപ്പാണ്ടിപാണ്ടിയിലേ
 നെല്ലുവണവുംപിരിച്ചു നീ
 ക്രുകല്ലാണം നടത്തവേണം
 കൂറവാങ്ങിച്ചിരിക്കവേണം
 ആണ്ടുതോറുമരയമ്മക്കരം
 പച്ചം കെട്ടി ഇറങ്ങവേണം
 പക്കത്തു ചോർ വേണമോടാ
 വീരമാർത്താണ്ഡരയമ്മകനേ
 പക്കത്തു ചോർ വേണ്ടായെന്ന്
 എന്നടൻ മൊഴി പറയുവാരാ
 ഉടുപ്പുപുരയിൽ ചോറുണ്ണാമോ
 വീരമാർത്താണ്ഡരയമ്മകനേ
 ഉടുപ്പുപുരയിൽ ചോറുവേണ്ടാ-
 ന്നിമ്മുടൻ മൊഴി പറയുവാരാ
 ഏഴേകാലും കോപ്പം വേണോ
 വീരമാർത്താണ്ഡരയമ്മകനേ
 അമ്മൊഴിയും തമ്മതിച്ചേ
 വീരമാർത്താണ്ഡരയമ്മകനും
 ഏഴേകാലും കോപ്പം വാങ്ങി
 പുത്തമ്പാന വാങ്ങിക്കെട്ടി
 കെട്ടുഞ്ചുമടുമെടുത്തവർ
 ആറുകടവിൽ ചെന്നവർ
 ചക്കിയെന്നാരിഴത്തിയ
 അയ്യഞ്ചുപ്പനൊരാഴ്വനും
 കണ്ടുതന്നേ ചെറുകുവാരാ

ചെറുത്തുടനേ പഠിച്ചവരാ
 അവരുടെ പാഠിയിങ്കൽ
 കേറിയല്ലോ അരയമ്മാൽ
 കളെടുത്തു കൊടുത്തല്ലോ
 കടിച്ചാരേ അരയമ്മാൾ
 കള്ളവാങ്ങിക്കടിച്ചവരു
 പോതുകെട്ടു വീണവർ
 ഇമ്മൊഴികൾ പറഞ്ഞതെല്ലാം
 പാടിയതാണേ കാണിപ്പേർ

കല്പണപ്പോർ.

(കരിമ്പാങ്ങിയെ കൊന്നത്.)

അടിച്ചാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനോ
 ഏഴായോഗതപാണ്ടിമന്നൻ
 ഏഴായോഗതപാണ്ടിയനെ
 കൽതുണോടെ പിടിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 വാരാനെല്ലോ പിരിച്ചവരാ
 വാരപ്പുണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചവരാ
 കുപ്പുണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചവരാ
 ചാവപ്പുണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചവരാ
 കയ്വാശിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 കാലവീച്ചിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 മുലകുലുക്കിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 തലകുലുക്കിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 അടികുലുക്കിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 മുടികുലുക്കിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ
 തുളുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പുണം പിരിച്ചവരാ

കേക്കയെങ്കി കേക്കീനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരെ
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലെ
 കൊണ്ടയിട്ടു കെട്ടീനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരെ
 വാരിച്ചമടൈകെട്ടീനെടാ
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലെ
 കൊണ്ടകൂട്ടം കൂട്ടുവാരാ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയനൊരു
 വീരൻ യോഗതപാണ്ടിമന്നൻ
 വീരൻ യോഗതപാണ്ടിയാണേ
 കൽതുണോടെ പിടിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 വാരാനെല്ല പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 വാരാപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കുപ്പപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 ചാവപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 അടികുലുക്കിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 മുടികുലുക്കിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കൈവീച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കാലുവീച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 തുമ്പച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 തുളുമ്പച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കേക്കയെങ്കി കേക്കീനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരെ
 വീരാനല്ല കോട്ടയിലേ
 കൊണ്ടകൂട്ടലകൂട്ടുവാരാ
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനൊരു

ചോരൻ യോഗതപാണ്ടിമന്നൻ
 ചോരൻ യോഗതപാണ്ടിയാനേ
 കൽതുണോടെ പിടിച്ചുകെട്ടി
 വാരാനെല്ലുപിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 വാരപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവരാ
 കുപ്പപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവരാ
 ചാവപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 അടികുലുക്കിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 മുടികുലുക്കിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കൈവീച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 മുലകുലുക്കിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 തലകുലുക്കിപ്പണങ്ങളും പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പണം പിരിച്ചുവാരാ
 കേക്കയെങ്കിക്കേക്കിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരെ
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 കൊണ്ടുകൂട്ടം കൂട്ടവിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരെ
 വാരിച്ചമടെ കെട്ടിവരാ
 വീരാനല്ല കോട്ടയിലേ
 കൊണ്ടയിട്ട കെട്ടുവാരാ
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 പറഞ്ഞു മൊഴികളു കൂട്ടുവാരാ
 ഇന്നെക്കൊരു ഏഴാറവക്കം
 വീരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 കൂറകുലുക്കണം നടത്തവേണം
 കൂറകുലുക്കണം നടത്തവേണം

കേരക്കയെങ്കിഷേപ്പിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാവുന്നവരെ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയനെ
 കല്യാണത്തിനു വരുപ്പറയിൻ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയനെ
 കല്യാണത്തിനു വരുപ്പറയിൻ
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയനെ
 കല്യാണത്തിനു വരുപ്പറയിൻ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും
 പറഞ്ഞ മൊഴികളും കൂടുന്നതാം
 വേലന്മാരുടെ കല്യാണത്തിനു
 നമക്കുപ്പോപ്പോകവേണ്ടാ
 പണ്ടുപണ്ടുമരയമ്മാരുടെ
 കൂട്ടിക്കല്യാണം നടത്തട്ടില്ല
 കൂറകല്യാണം നടത്തിട്ടില്ല
 കൂറവാങ്ങിക്കിരുന്നീട്ടില്ല
 നിങ്ങളുതന്നെ നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറകല്യാണം നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറകല്യാണം നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറവാങ്ങിച്ചിരുന്നുകൊള്ളിൻ
 വരാനല്ലുകോട്ടയിലേ
 ചെന്നു കൂട്ടം കൂടുവാനാ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനും
 ഇന്നൊക്കെപ്പറഞ്ഞതെടാ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനും
 പെരുത്തൊക്കെപ്പറഞ്ഞുപോലും

പണ്ടുപണ്ടു അരയമ്മാരുടെ
 കൂട്ടിക്കല്യാണത്തിനു വന്നിട്ടില്ലേ
 നിങ്ങളുതന്നെ നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറകല്യാണം നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറകല്യാണം നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 കൂറവാങ്ങിയിരുന്നുകൊള്ളിൻ
 അടപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയന്റെ
 നെല്ലിന്റേറാരു മരിക്കിലിയോ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയന്റെ
 പണത്തിന്റേറാരുപരാത്തിതോ
 നമ്മുടെ നാട്ടിലെ വെള്ളം ചെന്ന്
 വാങ്ങിയെല്ലാ വിളയുന്നായേ
 കേക്കയെങ്കി കേക്കിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാറാവുന്നവരേ
 നമ്മക്കിനിത്തന്നെയിപ്പോ
 കല്ലണയൊന്നു കെട്ടുകവേണം
 കോതയാറു പരളിയാറ്
 മണിമുത്തു ചെമ്പരുതു്
 നാലാറു മുഖമടക്കി
 കല്ലണമുഖോകെട്ടവേണം

കാരാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, കാരാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 ഇഴാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, ഇണ്ടാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 മൂന്നാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, മൂന്നാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 നാലാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, നാലാറു പ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 അഞ്ചാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, അഞ്ചാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 ആറാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, ആറാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 ഏഴാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, ഏഴാറു പ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ
 എട്ടാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്ലണ, എട്ടാറുപ്രായം കല്ലണകേറാ

ഒൻപതാണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്പണ, ഒൻപതാൾപ്രായം കല്പണ
 പത്താണ്ടു കെട്ടുകല്പണ, പത്താൾപ്രായം കല്പണകേറ

കല്പണമുഖോ മടയുകയില്ലേ
 കല്പണയിക്കാലമാടൻ
 മുറയൊട്ടുള്ളി പറയുന്നതാം
 നിങ്ങളക്കൊറക്കൊരു സന്തതിയേ
 ഒരുമരുത്തു സന്തതിയേ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിനയേ
 കല്പണക്കു നിറുത്തവേണം
 ഒററക്കൊരു സന്തതിയേ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഇരുപ്പുതുണ്ടു്
 അറളെവെട്ടി ബലിതന്നാൽ
 കല്പണമുഖോമടയുമല്ലോ
 കല്പണമുഖോമടയുമല്ലോ
 കലഞ്ചിമുഖോന്തിരിയുമല്ലോ
 കേക്കയെങ്കിക്കേക്കിനെടാ
 ചിററയമ്മാരാകുന്നവരേ
 അറളെച്ചെന്നു കൊണ്ടുവരീ-
 കല്പണവരമ്പിലിന്നുതന്നെ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 കല്പണക്കു വരുപ്പറയിൽ
 അമ്മാച്ചമ്മാരേഴുപേരു
 കല്പണയിത്തിരുവരുമ്പീ
 ആലസ്യക്കേടാക്കിടക്കുന്നായേ
 കണ്ണീപ്രാണം കാണണമെങ്കി
 വേഗത്താലെ വരുപ്പറയിൽ

വാചകന്തരി വീത്തണമെങ്കി
വേഗത്താലെ വരപ്പറയിൽ

കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിടെക്കണ്ണി
സ്വപനംകണ്ടു കിടക്കുന്നായേ
കേക്കയെങ്കിൽ കേളമെടീ
കരുമ്പാണ്ടി, ഒരുവിനീയും
ഇപ്പത്തന്നെ നിനക്കുതന്നെ
കല്പണയിന്നു ആളവരന്നു
ഉള്ളതിന്നു ഒരുങ്ങിനീയും
വേഗമാകേ എത്രകവേണം
ഇപ്പൊത്തന്നെ കല്പണക്കു്
അമ്മാച്ചന്മാർ നിറുത്തുന്നിന്നെ
നീറിപാഞ്ചേ ഇളവി നീയേ
കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിനീയേ
കേറക്കയെങ്കി കേളമെടീ
പെററതളേള നീയൊരുത്തി
വേഗമാകേ എനിക്കുതന്നെ
ചോറുകറി ഒരുങ്ങവേണം
പറഞ്ഞു മൊഴി കൂട്ടുമുന്നേ
കല്പണയിന്നാളവന്നേ
കേറക്കയെങ്കിക്കേളമെടീ
കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിനീയേ
വേഗത്താലേതന്നെ നീയേ
കല്പണയിച്ചെല്ലവേണം
കേറക്കയെങ്കിക്കേളിന്നെടാ
കളക്കാട്ട് വാഴുമമ്മച്ചിമാരേ

നിങ്ങളുതന്നെ പോയിനെന്നേ
 മുന്തിനാലേ പോയിനെന്നേ
 ഞാനുതന്നെ വന്നുകൊള്ളാ
 പുറവന്നുഞാൻ വന്നുകൊള്ളാ
 പെററതുള്ള മാലുരുക!
 ചോറു കറിവച്ചുചാരാ
 എന്റെ അമ്മാവിമാർകയ്യിനാലേ
 എണ്ണതാളി തേക്കുകവേണം
 നാത്തിനമാർകയ്യിനാലേ
 മുണ്ടുചേല ഉടുക്കുകവേണം
 അനുജത്തിമാർ കയ്യിനാലേ
 തലകോതി മുടിയുകവേണം
 പെററതുള്ള കയ്യിനാലേ
 എനിക്കൊരുപിടി ചോറുണ്ണണമേ
 ചേട്ടത്തിമാർ കയ്യിനാലേ
 ഒരുപിടി ചോറുണ്ണുകവേണം
 അനുജത്തിമാർ കയ്യിനാലേ
 ഒരുപിടി ചോറുണ്ണുകവേണം
 റെറത്തിററി തിന്നുന്നുഞാനേ
 ആതുവേളേക്കാക്കിക്കുന്നു ഞാൻ
 കാനവെയി പോകുമ്പോളോ
 എരിമ്പിമാക്ക പരാവുന്നതോ
 എരിമ്പിരാക്കമ്മറവല്ലെ
 വരുചലംപറയുന്നു ഞാൻ
 വെററപാപ്പ് തിന്നുവു
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമോ
 ഉണ്ടുതിന്ന ഒരുങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളിൻ
 തോഴിമാരേ, മട ചിമാരേ

കണ്ണാടിയെടുത്തുകൊണ്ട്
 അമ്മാനയുമെടുത്തുകൊണ്ട്
 അമ്മാനയുമാടിക്കൊണ്ട്
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമോ
 കണ്ണാടിയികണ്ടുപോവു
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 പിറവുതിരിഞ്ഞുനിന്നുകൊണ്ട്
 പെററത്തള്ള വിളിക്കുന്നായേ
 പോമുതുവി കാണുമെന്റെ
 വരുണഞ്ചേ കാണവയില്ലേ
 കാതവെയീപോകുമ്പോളോ
 ഏരിമ്പിരാക്കു പിരാവരുതേ
 ഇട്ടുകൊള്ളിൻഒരിക്കരവേ
 കല്ലണയീതിരുവരമ്പി
 കല്ലണയിരിപ്പു കെട്ടപ്പുളേ
 തോഴിമാരുമടവിമാരും
 മറച്ചുറച്ച കാലു വച്ചു
 അറക്കാതെ വരീൻ വരീൻ
 തോഴിമാരേ അടവിമാരേ
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 കല്ലണക്കടമുഖത്തു
 അമ്മാച്ചമ്മാരാവുന്നവരുടെ
 മാറോടു കണ്ണുകനീൽ
 മടിനിറഞ്ഞ് ചിന്തിനായേ
 കല്ലണക്കു വന്തനീയു
 പിറവുതിരിഞ്ഞ് പോവുകവേണം

അപ്പളുക്കു പരയുന്നതേ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 കല്ലണക്കു വന്ന ഞാൻ
 പുറവുതിരിഞ്ഞു പോവതില്ലേ
 കല്ലണയി വന്നഞാൻ
 കല്ലണയി നിന്നുകൊള്ളാ
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 കാക്കണപ്പുവെള്ളത്തിലെ
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 തോഴിമാരുമടവിമാരു-
 മറച്ചുറച്ചു ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 അറക്കാതെ വരീൻ വരീൻ
 തോഴിമാരേ, മടവിമാരേ
 മുടുപ്പോ വെള്ളത്തിലും
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 തോഴിമാരു മടവിമാരു
 മറച്ചുറച്ചു ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 അറക്കാതെ വരീൻ വരീൻ
 തോഴിമാരേ, മടവിമാരേ
 ഇളിഅളവു വെള്ളത്തിലും
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 തോഴിമാരു മടവിമാരു-
 മറച്ചുറച്ചു ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 മാറളവു വെള്ളത്തിലും

അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 തോഴിമാരു മടവിമാരു-
 മറച്ചുറച്ചു ചെന്നിറങ്ങി
 കഴുത്തളവു വെള്ളത്തിലും
 അറക്കാതെ ചെന്നുനിന്നു
 അപ്പഴാകെ പറയുന്നതാ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി ഒരുവിയുമേ
 എണ്ണെപ്പകപെട്ടെ വെട്ടരുതേ
 പങ്കുപാവോം ചെയ്യരുതേ
 ഉപ്പിട്ടവാറും തേച്ചുകൊണ്ടേ
 പിറവു തിരിഞ്ഞു നിന്നുകൊണ്ടേ
 പിറവുതിരിഞ്ഞു നിന്നുകൊണ്ടേ
 പിറവാച്ചേ വീശുന്നായേ
 പിറവു മാറി നിന്നു മച്ചയ്ക്കി
 പാവവീച്ചാ വീശി വെട്ടി
 തലചെന്നു വീഴുന്നതേ
 തലക്കുള്ളങ്ങരമുക്കാവട്ടം
 കടചെന്ന് വീഴുന്നതേ
 അടിക്കുള്ളങ്ങര മുക്കാവട്ടം
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി മായി രക്തം,
 ചിററാറി വെള്ളമിരിക്കുമ്പോലെ
 കരുമ്പാണ്ടി മായി രക്തം
 പേരാറിവെള്ളമിരിക്കുമ്പോലെ
 ചാനപോലെ പടുത്തുചേന്നേ
 കല്ലണമുഖോമടയുന്നായേ

നൂലുപോലേ നൂറുചെന്ന്
 കലഞ്ചിമുഖോത്തുക്കുന്നായേ
 കല്ലണമുഖോമടഞ്ചുപോയേ
 കലഞ്ചിമുഖോന്നിറഞ്ചുപോയേ

കല്ലണമുഖോമടഞ്ഞുപോയേ
 കലഞ്ചിമുഖോന്നിറഞ്ചുപോയേ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികറക്കേ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികറക്കേ
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികറക്കേ
 വെള്ളങ്കടിപ്പാനല്ലെന്ന്
 പാണ്ടികറക്കല്ലാവക്കും
 വെള്ളങ്കടി മുട്ടിയല്ലോ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയന്റെ
 ആടുമാടു ചെത്തുവെന്തേ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയന്റെ
 ആടുമാടു ചെത്തുവെന്തേ
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയന്റെ
 ആടുമാടു ചെത്തുവെന്തേ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനേ
 വെള്ളങ്കടിയാക്കിടക്കുന്നായേ
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനേ
 വെള്ളങ്കടിയാ മുട്ടിപ്പോയേ
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടിയാനോ
 വെള്ളങ്കടിയാക്കിടക്കുന്നല്ലോ
 ആടുതോടു വററിപ്പോയ
 കിണറിലും വെള്ളമില്ലേ
 ആടുമാടു ചത്തുപോയേ

നാട്ടിലെങ്ങും വെള്ളമില്ലേ
 കള്ളിപ്പാലു കുടിച്ചുതടുങ്ങി
 കാഞ്ചനപ്പാലു കുടിച്ചുതടുങ്ങി .
 കുടിപ്പെടുത്തു ചാകുന്നതാം
 മുള്ളിപ്പാലു കുടിക്കയറാം
 കടമുടിയെ ചാവുന്നതാം
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും
 തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികളും -
 മെല്ലാപാണ്ടിമൊത്തുമ്പേൻ
 ഇനിനമ്മക്കൊത്തുപോണം
 കല്ലണമുവന്തുവാൻ
 എല്ലാരുമൊത്തുമ്പേൻ
 കല്ലണമുഖോ വന്നുകേറി
 കല്ലണയിത്തൊട്ടാ നിങ്ങളെ
 കല്ലുള്പോലെയെഴുകൊല്ലാം
 കല്ലണയിക്കേറിയ പാണ്ടിക-
 ലെല്ലാമങ്ങനെപ്പെട്ട മറിഞ്ഞേ
 മററുള്ള പാണ്ടികളെല്ലാം
 അന്തംവിട്ടു പോകുന്നല്ലോ
 ഉഴരിലുള്ള പാണ്ടികളെല്ലാ-
 മൊത്തുമ്പേൻങ്ങാലോചിത്തു
 നമുക്കുപോകണമേ
 ആററിങ്ങക്കൊട്ടാരത്തിലെ
 തിരുമുന്ധിരപോകണമേ
 സങ്കടത്തെപ്പറയണമേ
 വീരപ്പനയമ്മകനും

എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 നാലാറുഖമടക്കി
 കല്ലണമുഖകെട്ടീട്ടുണ്ട്
 നമ്മക്കുള്ള ആടു മാടു
 വെള്ളംകുടിയാ ചത്തുപോയ
 തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പട തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പട
 വെള്ളംകുടിയാ ചത്തുപോയി
 നാഗാളംപട കരയാളമ്പട
 വെള്ളംകുടിയാ ചത്തുപോയി
 കേൾക്കയെങ്കി കേൾക്കയെന്റെ
 ആററിങ്ങൽ തമ്പുരാനെ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനം
 എഴുപത്തിരണ്ടു കാണിപ്പേരും
 ഞങ്ങൾക്കിപ്പോൾ തന്നെയിപ്പോൾ
 കല്ലണയിടിച്ചുത്തരുകവേണം
 ആടു മാടു കന്നുകാലി
 വെള്ളംകുടിയാ ചത്തുപോയി
 തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പട തുമ്പിച്ചിപ്പട
 വെള്ളംകുടിയാ ചത്തുപോയേ
 അപ്പഴെങ്കിൽ കല്ലനയായേ
 തിരുമനസ്സായേ, തിരുവുള്ള മായേ
 കേൾക്കയെങ്കിക്കുള്ള കേളു
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലുപിള്ളേ
 അടിപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികൾക്കും
 വെള്ളംവിട്ടുകൊടുക്കവേണം
 നടുപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികൾക്ക്
 വെള്ളംവിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുകവേണം

തലപ്പാണ്ടി പാണ്ടികൾക്കും
 വെള്ളംവിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുകവേണം
 അനപ്പനീ എറങ്ങുന്നതാ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലിയപിള്ളേ
 അനപ്പനും കേറുന്നതോ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലുപിള്ളേ
 കല്ലണയിച്ചെന്നുകേറി
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലിയപിള്ളേ
 അപ്പളാകെ പറയുന്നതോ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 കല്ലണയേത്തട്ടരുതേ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലുപിള്ളേ
 കല്ലണയേ തട്ടിയാൽ
 കല്ലളിപോലെ എയ്ക്കാടുകും
 കേൾക്കാതെ കേൾക്കാതെ പിള്ളേ
 കല്ലണയെ തട്ടുവാറാ
 മാമാരാൽ വില്ലവലിച്ചേ
 അനയിനെയെഴു കൊന്നേ
 തമ്മനതീ വൃന്ദനംകൊണ്ട്
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലിയപിള്ളേ
 കല്ലണയി വന്ന ഞാൻ
 പിന്തിരിഞ്ഞു പോവുകയില്ല
 പത്തിരംകൊണ്ടു നിൽക്കുന്നതേ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വലുപിള്ളേ
 വീരപ്പനരയമ്മകനും
 മറുളള കാണിപ്പേരും
 കണ്ടുകൊള്ളിൻ കാണിപ്പോൽ

പത്തിരമുന്നി നിർത്തുന്നതു
 പത്തിരത്തിപ്പാഞ്ഞുപെട്ടേ
 മാത്തക്കുട്ടി വല്ലുപിള്ള.

The song relates to the visit of Vīrappan Arayan and the Kāni Chieftains of seventy two hamlets to the Raja of Attingal. The following is the substance of the song :—

Vīrappan Arayan of Vīranallikotta, Ādichan Arayan of Ālanthurakotta, Sīthangan Arayan of Chen-nallur kotta, Parappan Arayan of Parakallur kotta, Mār-thāndan Arayan of Mannenpata Kotta, and other chieftains of the seventy two hamlets met together to pay a visit to the Raja of Attingal, which they did once in three years. Each one of them had already made his customary preparations. The Arayans were very clever in finding out the track of elephants, tigers, leopards and civet cats, catching them in traps and killing them with sharp arrows. They had already collected the tusks of dead elephants, the skin, the teeth, and the tongue of tigers and leopards, and the Viruku chattam of civet cats for presentation to the Raja.

When the chieftains of the 72 hamlets assembled at Vīranallikotta, Vīrappan Arayan asked them to collect as much honey as possible. The Araya chieftains vied with each other in showing their skill doing so. They knew where to look for the honeycombs. The methods adopted for the collection of honey were very novel. One Chāthan who found six or seven honey combs at the

foot of the Palluvanathu hill, very cleverly managed to make the honey flow into the vessel kept below along a string. Another Ādichan unerringly shot an arrow at the honeycomb and managed to get the honey to flow into the vessel kept on the ground. The strength and skill of Ādichan were so great that the arrow ultimately made a deep hole in an adjoining rock and produced a loud noise like thunder in the month of Meenom. When honey began to flow, Chāthan and Ādichan summoned their friends and requested them to bring vessels of different sizes to collect the honey. The size of the vessels and the order in which they were brought showed what quantity of honey they had collected. When all the vessels were full to the brim, they took them to Ālanthura kotta in great joy.

Meanwhile, the Raja of Āttingal noticed the default of the Kānikkār to appear with their customary presents, even though three years had elapsed. He therefore gave a neetu (royal command) to Māthutti Pillai to summon the Kāni Chieftains. Māthutti Pillai at once went to Viranallikotta and served the neetu on Virappan Arayan. The manner in which Virappan Arayan received the royal command and understood the contents is very vividly described. The song shows how illiterate and loyal the chief was. Māthutti Pillai, at the chief's request, explained the meaning of each word in the neetu and told him that the Raja commanded him to appear before his royal presence along with the seventytwo chieftains with their customary presents.

Virappan Arayan then explained to the seventytwo chieftains the order of the Raja and asked them to come

fully prepared to pay their homage to him in seven days. All the chieftains appeared on the specified date well prepared for the visit. Virappan Arayan issued the necessary instructions to them to prepare themselves for the journey. When the preparations were complete, they enjoyed a good feast. Some had pansupari, while others smoked tobacco or ganja. When the auspicious moment for departure arrived, Virappan Arayan stood up and offered prayers to the Sun, facing east. He then opened a room and took different kinds of medicines which had magical powers. He then detailed the load which each of the seventy two chieftains should carry and ordered the march to Āttingal. They all started with the right foot first. They traversed many hills and dales full of monkeys, horses, and elephants, and at last reached the eastern boundary of Āttingal. They entered the fort by the eastern gate and halted at a convenient place. Virappan Arayan then sought permission to pay homage to the Raja.

The news of the arrival of the Kāni chieftains was communicated to His Highness and Māthutti Pillai informed them that His Highness would see them the next day. They expected they would be summoned the next day, but no summons came. They thus waited for five days. What with their keen disappointment and scarcity of food materials, Virappan Arayan and others had to devise some means of attracting the attention of the Raja. So they proceeded to eat all the plantations, drink all the honey, and they put all the ivory and viruku chattam into the fire. The smell of the latter reached the palace. On enquiry, the Raja came to know that the Kāni chieftains

had used up part of the things that they had brought as presents. This enraged the Raja and he ordered Māthutti Pillai to clap them in jail in iron fetters. The order was immediately carried out. The Kāni chieftains were much dismayed, but Virappan Arayan heartened them by saying. "My friends, why are you so dismayed? We shall fight the Raja and his men, if it comes to that." He then took out a medicine and smeared it over the hands of his comrades. The iron fetters fell off in a trice and they all came out of the prison.

On hearing this news, His Highness came out of the palace and demanded of them his customary dues. Different varieties of fruits, tusks, teeth, tongues, skins, and other articles were placed before His Highness with due respect. Māthutti Pillai removed them all to the palace one by one. There was then a trial of the prowess of Virappan Arayan in using weapons. The Kāni chieftain proved himself equal to the occasion. He was asked to cut into the elephant of His Highness seated on its back. Virappan Arayan very deftly accomplished the task and jumped to the ground before the carcase of the elephant fell down in two pieces. The spectators were horrified at the sight. The Raja shed tears of blood. On seeing this, Virappan Arayan assured His Highness that he would bring back the elephant to life. He took a medicine, smeared it over the cut pieces of the carcase, and placed them in close contact for a moment. The elephant stood up as if nothing had happened to it. His Highness was full of joy and gave Virappan Arayan many valuable

presents. He then honored him with the title of Vīra Mārthāndan Arayan and empowered him to govern and collect taxes from Adi Pāndy, Mid-Pāndy, and Thalapāndy. Vīra Mārthāndan Arayan became the head of the seventy two hamlets.

The Pāndian Chiefs were not regularly paying the taxes due to the Āttingal Raja. When the responsibility for collection fell on Vīra Mārthāndan, he ordered his men to collect the taxes from them by hook or by crook. Elated with the success of the collection, the Arayans made grand preparations for the celebration of a marriage at Vīranallikotta and invited the Pāndian Chiefs to attend the function. They refused to do so, and their refusal irritated Vīra Mārthāndan Arayan, who resolved to teach them a lesson. He ordered his men to put up a dam above the Kotha, the Parali, the Manimuthi and the Chemparunthi rivers to obstruct the flow of water eastwards. Even though the dam was put up, the flow of water did not completely cease. At that time, the medicine-man proclaimed that Karimpandy, the only daughter of Vīra Mārthāndan, should be sacrificed to stop the flow of water eastwards completely. Meanwhile, Karimpandy had a similar dream the same night and she informed her mother of it. She ate her food, dressed herself in her best, consoled her mother with soft words, and walked over the dam accompanied by her associates. When her seven uncles saw this, they entreated her to return, but she refused. She asked one of the Arayans to cut off her head which he did. The flow of water to Pāndy then ceased.

The three Pāndian Chiefs were shocked to hear this news. There was not a drop of water in any one

of the streams and the people underwent great sufferings for want of water. They drank the juice of Kalli (Prickly pear) and other plants, and perished one by one. The three Pāndian Chiefs and their men tried to demolish the dam, but they were defeated by the Kānikkār. They then went to the Attingal Raja and represented their grievances, as a result of which Māthutti Pillai was deputed to take measures to give them relief. Māthutti Pillai ascended an elephant and went to the dam to break it. Vīra Mārthāndan warned him against trying to do so and said, "The dam was put up at great sacrifice with mighty effort. If you break it against our will, you will be sorry for it."

Māthutti Pillai did not mind his words, but proceeded to demolish the dam with the help of the elephant. Vīra Mārthāndan killed the elephant with arrows. Mathutti Pillai was ashamed to return to Attingal after this defeat. He resolved to die fighting there and ended his life at the hands of the Kānikkar.

From internal evidence, it has been surmised that the composition of this song may, have been in South Travancore between 400 and 500 M. E. after Ramacharitham but before Kannasa Ramayanam.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TRIBES

1. K., for Kanikkar
2. M. K., for Malankurayan
3. M. P., for Malapantaram
4. M. Pul., for Malapulaya
5. M. V., for Malavetan
6. Malaya for Malayarayan
7. Man , for Mannan

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