

THE
ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE COCHIN STATE.

MONOGRAPH No. 10.

Caste—**IZHUYAS.**

BY

L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

ERNAKULAM.

PRINTED AT THE COCHIN GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1905.

[INDIAN PRICE—10 ANNAS.]

[ENGLISH PRICE—10 PENCE.]

THE
ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE COCHIN STATE

MONOGRAPH No. 10.

Caste—IZHUYAS.

BY

L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B. A. L. T.

ERNAKULAM.

PRINTED AT THE COCHIN GOVERNMENT PRESS.

1905.



[INDIAN PRICE—10 ANNAS.]

[ENGLISH PRICE—10 PENCE.]

THE IZHUVAS OF COCHIN.

Chapter I.

Names of the caste—Language—Names of males and females—Origin and traditions of the caste—Internal structure—Habits—Dwellings.

Izhuvas, also called *Illavar*, are a widespread race of people inhabiting Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Known as they are under different names with more or less variations in their customs and manners, they form one and the same caste. In North Malabar as far as Calicut, they are known as *Tiyyas*; in South Malabar as *Izhuvas* or *Thandans*; in Cochin and Travancore as *Choras* and *Izhavas*. They are closely allied to the Tamil speaking *Shanars* of the Tinnavelly District, to the *Billavas* of South Canara and to the *Halepaiks* of North Canara. Owing to their change in occupation, they are in some places called *Velans* and *Uralis*.*

Numerically they occupy a high position in the population of the State. They numbered 184,504 at the last Census; 91,524 being males and 92,980 females. They form 33·2 per cent of the Hindu population of the State and outnumber the Sudra population which forms only 21·5 per cent.

Language.—They speak Malayalam and a large number of them can read and write. The caste is on the whole literate and is ranked as the third among the literates, the Native Christians and the Nayers being the first and the second respectively. Among the Izhuvas, 62·51 per cent of the males and 9·54 of the females can read and write.

* See Kerala Avakasakramam page 44. They form different castes.

Typical names of males and females.—In ancient times the Nambudiris, who formed the landed aristocracy in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore and who held the Sudras in a state of subjection, were consulted in all matters affecting their interests, and their advice was gladly accepted by them. Whenever a child was born among them, they informed their Nambudiri landlords who, according to the Malayalam proverb, "the word of the Nambudiri is the gospel of the Nayar," gave a clumsy name to it. The names then given, closely corresponded with *bhuthas* (demons) *prethas* (souls of the dead) and *pisachas* (ghosts). The following are some of them given to the males, Chathan, Konthan, Muttan, Thari, Kori and Makki; while those given to the females are Kali, Eooli, Ooli, Achi, Nachi and Elochi. Nambudiris, who had monopolised all the learning in Kerala, had their pride subdued by the famous Malayalam poet *Thunjeth Ramanujan*, who made the sacred books public by his free translation of many of them into Malayalam. Since then divine names were freely given to the Sudras. The names in common use among men are Raman, Krishnan, Govindan, Mukundan; among women, Kartiayani, Narayani Madhavi, Lakshmi, Devaki, and Janaki.

Pet names.—Such names as Unni, Kuttan, Kutti, Kunjan among boys, Kunji Payithal, Kutti Pennu among girls are also current.

Origin and traditions of the caste.—The etymology of the words *Tiyyan* and *Izhuvan* goes to show that they were probably immigrants from Ceylon. The word *Tiyyan* is another form of *Dwipan*, which means one that belongs to an island. The word *Izhuvan* signifies one that belongs to *Izham* (*Simhalam*) which is an old name for Ceylon. It is also said that *Izhuvas* and *Tiyyas* are the descendants of the Shanar* colonists from Ceylon, and in their migrations to Malabar, they brought with them the cocoanut and palmyra palms, the cultivation of which is even now their chief occupation.

* The *Izhuvas* of Cochin do not admit of their connection with the Shanars,

The word *Chovan* is another form of *Scrakan* meaning a servant. Some 130 years ago, they were largely employed as soldiers, along with the Nayars, by the old rulers of Travancore, the chief of whom was the Raja of Ambalapuzha and Purakad. There were, says Vischer, many Izhuva soldiers under the Raja of Purakad. Even so late as during the reign of Maharaja Rama Vurma who died in 973 M. E, a large number of Chovas were employed as soldiers in Travancore.

There are also some traditions in regard to the origin and early history of the caste. A few of them are given below.

In the Mackenzy manuscripts there is a story that seven Gandharva women had seven sons, from whom the Izhuvas are said to have descended. It is said that the Shanars of the Tinnavelly District and not the Illavas that are the descendants of the Gandharva women.

Note.—(1) In a Tamil Puranic work there is the mention of the name of a king Illa of Ceylon who went to Chidanbaram where a religious discussion took place between the Buddhist priests and the Saivite devotee Manickavachakar in the presence of king Illa and Chola and that finally king Illa was converted to the Saivite faith. His descendants are known as the Illavas, and Mr H. A. Stuart defines the word to mean natives of Ceylon. It is also said that the Illa kings like the Kadamba kings of Mysore may have belonged to the toddy drawing class.

(2) Mr H. A. Stuart writes in the Census Report of 1891 as follows:—

“It is by no means certain that Shanars were not at one time a warlike tribe, for we find traces of a military occupation of the several primitive tribes among several toddy drawing castes of the south. Toddy-drawing is the special occupation of the several primitive tribes spread over the south-west of India bearing different names in various parts. They were employed by former rulers as foot-soldiers and body-guards, being noted for their fidelity.

(3) The toddy-drawing set was closely connected with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. It would seem probable that they were at one time in the service of Vijayanagar kings and formed an important element in the fighting forces of the Hindu kingdoms of the south.

“In Malabar, Illavas are regarded as very low in social scale and inferior both to Tiyyans and Thandans”. The statement is to a certain extent true as applied to the community in the Palghat and Chittur Taluks.

There is another story that a Pandiyan Princess of *Kshathriya* family known as *Ali* married Narasimha a *Kshatriya* Raja of the Carnatic. The married couple migrated to Ceylon, where they remained sovereigns of the country under the title of *Izha Perumal*. That line became extinct and their relations and adherents returned to their old country where they have since remained. Many of the Shanars have of late, put forward a claim to be considered Kshatrias. This is of course, says Mr. H. A. Stuart, absurd, as there is no such thing as Dravidian Kshatriya.

In the time of Cheraman Perumal, a woman of the washerman caste was washing her cloth in water mixed with ashes. She wanted somebody to aid her in holding the other end, but seeing nobody, she called the young daughter of an *asari* (carpenter) who was alone in the house. The child did as requested, not knowing that it was an infringement of the rules of her caste. One day the washerwoman made bold to enter the house of the carpenter, who demanded angrily how she dared to cross his threshold, when the woman scornfully answered that she belonged to the same caste as he, since his daughter had helped to hold her cloth. The carpenter, who felt much provoked by this insolent reply and the disgrace which it had brought upon him, killed her on the spot. Upon this her husband and friends complained to the Perumal, who took up their cause and threatened the carpenters, whereupon the latter combined together, left the country of the Perumal and took refuge in the island of Ceylon, where they were welcomed by the king of Candy. The Perumal felt embarrassed at their departure, requested the king of the island to send him some of the carpenters, for he had none in his own dominions who could build a house. He also promised to do them no harm, and yet they would have no confidence in him; but at last they consented to go back on condition that the king of Candy would send four Chovas and their wives to protect them and to witness the Perumal's attitude towards them. The king granted their request on the understanding that in all

wedding, funeral and other ceremonies they would promise to pay the Izhuvas three measures of rice as a tribute for their protection. This privilege of the Chovas, is still kept up. From these four Chovas the Izhuvas are said to have descended.*

The Tiyyas of North Malabar claim their descent from an outcasted Nambudiri woman. It is said that they had a chief named *Mannanar*, a Tiyya baron.

Internal structure.—There are several sub-divisions or sub-castes among them. But broadly speaking the following are found in Cochin and Travancore.

Name of the sub-caste.—Where they are found

1. *Tiyya chone (chovan)* .—Cochin
2. *Pandy chone.*— do
3. *Velakady chone.*— do
4. *Nady chone.*— Travancore
5. *Pachili chone.*— do

According to the late Cochin Census Report there are only three sub-divisions, nameiy, (1) Pandy Izhuvas, (2) Malayalam Izhuvas (3) Tiyyas of North Malabar. They are also divided into *Illams* and *Kiriyams* (family groups), which resemble the Brahmanic *gotras*. This may be traced even among the Pulayas and Mukkuvas. *Muti, Chothi, Mayyanat* and *Matambi* are some of their *Illams*. Mr. E. K. Krishnan, the retired Sub-judge, says, that the Tiyyas of North Malabar belong to eight *Illams* and thirty two *Kiriyams* and even now they call themselves eight *illakars*. The following verse refers to the eight *illams*

ധാതി പുല്ലാഞ്ഞി, വംഗേരി ചന്ദ്രമൂഡപദം തന്മു,

പടയൻമധുമാനാട്ടു, റിലക്കമതി ചാഴ്വരം

* Mackenzy Manuscripts.

The eight *illams* referred to in the above sloka (verse) are—

1. നെല്ലിക്ക	<i>Nellikka</i>
2. പുല്ലാഞ്ഞി	<i>Pullanni</i>
3. വംഗെരി	<i>Vange ri</i>
4. കൊഴിക്കാലൻ	<i>Kozhikalan</i>
5. പടയങ്കുടി	<i>Patayanguti</i>
6. മാനങ്കുടി	<i>Manankuti</i>
7. തെന്നങ്കുടി	<i>Thenankuti</i>
8. വിലക്കുങ്കുടി	<i>Velakkamkuti</i>

Kozhikalam, he says, is superior to the rest. The real significance of this division is not clear.

Probably it refers to the stage of societies in familial clans when the actual father had no ascertainable relationship with his children, for marriage was anything but monandric. Marriage between the members of the same family is strictly prohibited. For, as among the primitive families of many races, all the members of the same family are brothers and all the women, sisters, and inter-marriage is therefore condemned as social incest. Families are counted from the mother's side.

In certain parts of South Malabar, and in the Chittur Taluk of the State, the custom of ascertaining before marriage the *illams* to which the parties belong is still prevailing, while in other places this restriction is overlooked.

Titles.—The following are some of the chief titles current among them.

1. *Chevakar*.—It is another form of *sevakar* (servants). They were in former times employed as guards or sentinels in the palaces of Cochin and Travancore.

2. *Kurups*.—They are a class of *Pujaris* (priests) and are also enchanter.

3. *Panikkar*.—These people formerly kept *Kalaris* (military schools) which have now become things of the past. They

have now betaken themselves to teaching the use of the pen instead of the sword.

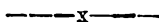
- | | | |
|----|------------------|-------------|
| 4. | <i>Vayidian.</i> | Physician. |
| 5. | <i>Jyotsyan</i> | Astrologer. |
| 6. | <i>Asan.</i> | Teacher. |

7. *Thandan*.—Izhuvas like the Nayers receive titles from the rulers of the State. That of *thandan* is purchasable and gives a person the right to be the headman of the caste in his village. He can wear a gold knife and style, may walk before a Nayar with a cloth on his head, ride on a palanquin or a horse, carry a silk umbrella and have a brass lamp borne before him. For each of these privileges he pays separately a tax to the Sircar. Any person using these privileges unauthorised lays himself open to a penalty. A Thandan cannot go for cooly work such as ploughing and gathering cocoanuts. Below him there is an inferior officer who is called a *Ponamban*. Thus in Cochin it is a title possessed by the headman of the caste, while in the Valluvanad Taluk, the name is applied to a sub-caste.

Habits.—Their habits are settled and they are found in all parts of the State.

Houses.—The poorer classes of people live in huts with mud walls and thatched roofs, with a room or two and a verandah either in front or all around, while the richer people have their houses like those of the Nayers. Both when the foundation of the house is laid and when the construction is completed, *pujas* are performed by the headman of the carpenters. A few days before occupation a grand *puja* is performed and sacrifices of goats, fowls &c. are given to lower orders of the demons, who are supposed to have been dwelling in the wood with which the house was constructed. Cocoanuts are broken inside and outside the house to propitiate the demons whose names are frequently repeated at the time. This ceremony is performed by all classes of the Hindus before occupation. This refers to the survival of the tree worship and some trees are believed to be the residence or rather the material frame of the spirits of

the woods.* Cutting them would provoke the spirit that resides in it, which should therefore be propitiated. No Hindu even to this day will dare to cut down a tree like *Aswastham* (*Ficus Religiosa*), which when cut down under necessity, is offered to a temple to be used as fuel. The ceremony next in importance to that detailed above, is the *Kutipokal* (occupying the house) which is performed by the *Kammalars*. *Palkachal* is also another important ceremony performed by the members of the caste. The castemen are invited. The milk preparation made in the house is tasted by some and consumed by others which is tantamount to the taking of meals in the newly constructed house. The carpenters, masons, bricklayers and others who have taken part in the construction of the house are given some presents of cloth, a few rupees and a bangle commensurate with their skilfulness and status. With prayers to God to enable the occupants of the house to live a long happy life and with blessings on them, they take leave of the master of the house after a sumptuous meal. The castemen are also similarly entertained. This is called *Thachoda*. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.



CHAPTER II.

Prohibitions of intermarriage—Limits of relationship within which marriage is allowed—Puberty—*Thalikettkaliyanam*—*Mangalam*—Pregnancy—Childbirth—Important ceremonies for the child—Polygamy—Polyandry—Widow marriage—Adultery—Divorce.

* In the rural parts of the Coimbatore District, the custom of giving notice to the spirits or demons residing in a Tamarind tree, to vacate it, before it is cut down, still prevails. The wording of the notice runs thus,

"Take notice ye spirits or demons residing in the tree that you are required to vacate it before such and such a date, as it is resolved to cut it down." This is written on the trunk of the tree, a few days before it is meant to be cut down.

There are also certain Mantrams uttered in the ceremony of *sraddh*, giving notice to the demons, if any, residing in the house to vacate it for the reception of Pitres.

Prohibitions of intermarriage—social status.—As in all higher castes, social status influences the parties in intermarriage. A man in respectable position and affluent circumstances marries his daughter to a young man whose parents are also in like circumstances. In marriage relations, wealth goes after its kind.

2. *Geographical or local position.*—In former times, intermarriages were chiefly confined to the members of the same locality, the violation of which was often visited with social excommunication of the parties concerned, with their families. Such restrictions are now inoperative. Intermarriages are now allowed among members of different localities except in Palghat and Walluwanad where the Izhuvas are considered to be of an inferior status. There is a marriage custom common to both the Nayars and Tiyyas in North Malabar. A woman who crosses the river Korapuzha is supposed to lose her caste. The orthodox belief is that it is not competent for her to marry in South Malabar, while the men of North Malabar are not under such a disability. In South Malabar on the other hand, alliance with a male or a female of North Malabar is considered preferable. In recent years there has been a tendency to violate it, but the instances are not as many as might be expected from the influence of education. Among the Tiyyas there is only one caste. Those in North Malabar follow the *Marumakkathayam* or the system of inheritance through the female line, while the Izhuvas of South Malabar follow the *Makkathayam* or the system of inheritance from father to son. Further a Tiyya woman in North Malabar cannot mate with a man of South Malabar whose caste is not free from alloy.

3. *Religious belief, practice or occupation.*—This does not, to an appreciable degree, interfere with the question of intermarriage.

“It is said that women are not as a rule liable to any social excommunication, if they live with Europeans, and the consequence is that there has been a large admixture

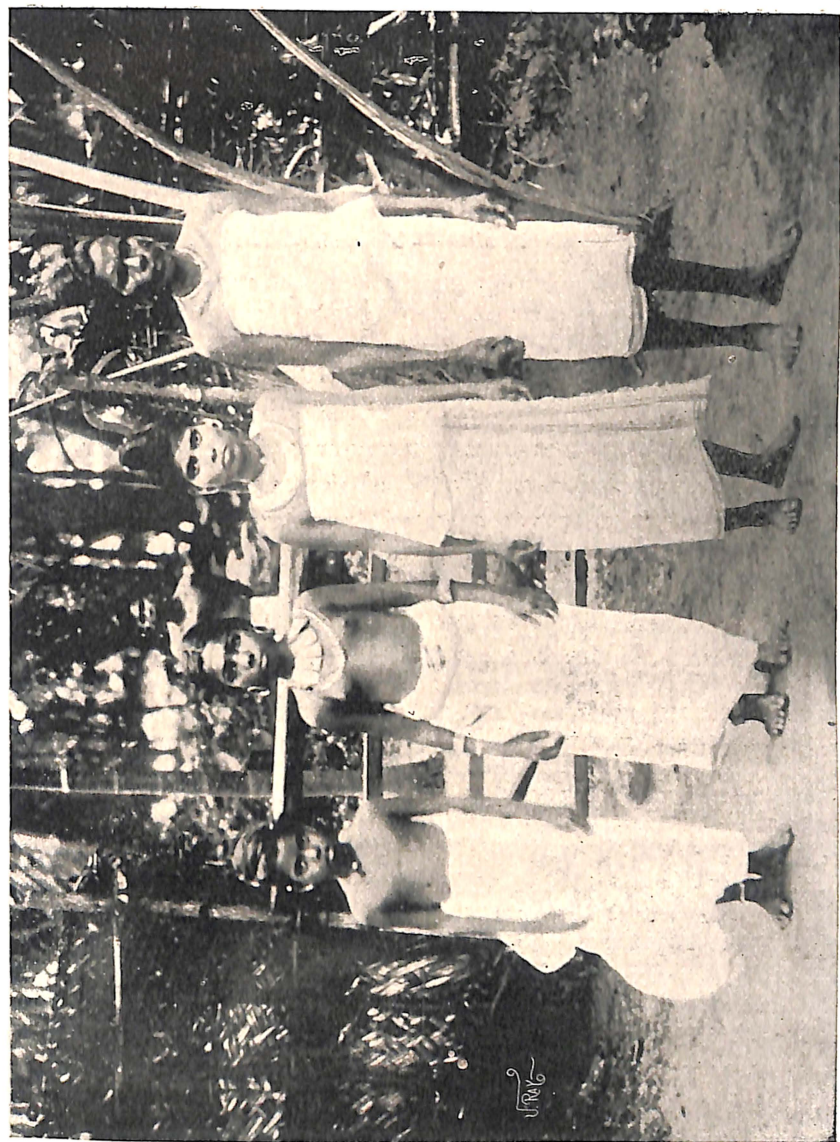
of European blood and the caste itself has been materially raised in the social scale. In appearance they are as handsome as the Europeans." "It may be said in a general way that to a European eye the best favoured men and women found in the district are the inhabitants of Kadtanad, Iruvalnad, and Kottayam a large majority of whom belong to the Tiyya or planting community."

It is true that there is an elevation both physically and mentally in the progeny of such a parentage. On making enquiries about this, I learn from a respectable and educated Tiyya gentleman, that this union is looked upon with contempt by the respectable classes of people and by the orthodox community. I am further informed that such women and children, with their families are under ban, and that respectable Tiyya gentlemen who have married the daughters of European parentage are not allowed to enjoy the privileges of the caste. There are, I hear, several such instances in Calicut, Tellicherry and Cannanore. Women of respectable families do not enter into such connection with Europeans.

Limits of marriage relationship.—The best form of marriage relationship common among all castes in Malabar is where a young man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle over whom he has a preferential claim † In some cases a man may marry his deceased brother's wife, but the custom, I hear, is dying out in North Malabar. In fact marriage is exogamous as regards *illam* or *kiriya*m (clan) and endogamous as regards the sub-caste.

Puberty and ceremonies connected with it.—As soon as a girl is known as having attained puberty, the women of the neighbourhood, chiefly friends and relations are invited. A kind of loud noise called *kurava* is made with the object of publicly announcing the glad tidings. The girl is bathed and dressed, after which she is lodged in a separate room, care being taken not to allow any body except her girl friends,

† Logau's Manual of Malabar page 143.



to mingle freely with her for fear of pollution. On the fourth day the female friends and relations are invited who with the noise above referred to, take her to the nearest tank to bathe her, after which she wears the *mattu-kacha* brought by the washerwoman. She is again lodged in a room. The castewomen are invited and entertained with *pan supari*. On the seventh day the same formalities are again gone through as on the fourth day. The guests are invited for a luncheon. On the fifteenth day a *pandal* is put up in front of the house and tastefully decorated. Caste-women and others are again invited. A washerwoman who also is invited entertains the guests assembled with her songs, chiefly puranic, referring to the marriage of Subhadra, Sita, or some deity and the happy conjugal life which they enjoyed. There is also what is called *Am-mana attam*.—This consists of three balls made either of wood or bell metal, hollow inside containing some pebbles. The balls are thrown up and caught at regular intervals, so as to keep time to the tunes sung at the time. The woman who is an expert is looking up with her attention wholly directed to the height to which the ball goes and the way in which they should be caught during their descent and again thrown up. This is a very interesting game. The whole night is merrily spent and on the sixteenth morning after a few ceremonies, the girl, in the presence of the guests assembled is led to touch the cooking utensils in the kitchen, mortar, pestle, &c. intended most probably to initiate her into the domestic duties of a woman in the family. The assembled guests are there treated to a feast. In the case of poor people there is a free distribution of *pan supari* instead of feeding. In all her subsequent menses she has to bathe on the fourth day. The washerwoman's *mattu-kacha* is indispensable, as without it she is not freed from pollution. Her room also has to be swept and cow-dunged and the water in which she bathes is also mixed with it; for it is believed to have a purifying influence.

In North Malabar all the above ceremonies are not attended to. The girl stays in a separate room during her menses and on the fourth day she bathes. The services of a washerwoman are availed of. A grand entertainment is given to those invited on the fourth day. The subsequent menstrual period is only for three days and the bathing takes place on the morning of the fourth day.

In the Palghat and Chittur Taluks, the customs observed and the ceremonies performed are still simpler. The girl who has come of age is lodged in a separate room for three days and bathes on the fourth morning. The duties of the washerwoman are punctually discharged and there is also a feast for the guests assembled. The bridegroom's parents pay two fanoms for the expenses.

Should a girl be married before puberty and she attain it during her stay with her husband, the expenses connected with it are defrayed by the parents of her husband. The bride's parents attend the ceremony and pay two fanoms.

Thalikettu kalyanam.—Izhuva girls are married before puberty. It is called the *Kettu kalyanam*, which is precisely similar to that prevailing among the Nayars and is generally performed before a girl is nine or ten years of age. To save unnecessary expenses all the girls in a family are made to undergo the ceremony at the same time. The parents or the *Karanavar* are responsible for the due performance of this ceremony, the omission or negligence of which will place them and their families under a ban. Nevertheless the ceremony in some places is now put off until the girls attain their puberty. Fifteen days before the performance of it there is a ceremony called *Charthu pidi*. At an auspicious hour that day, a carpenter is invited to choose a spot for the erection of a pandal, and he fixes a pole on the eastern side amidst the merry shouting of those that are assembled. There is also a small fireplace made in front of the court yard, where they have to perform the *ashtamangalyam ceremony* or the ceremony of placing eight auspicious things, namely, flowers, cloths, mirror &c. It is done in the presence

of the headman the *thandan* and his assistant the *Ponamban*. The bride is made to go round it several times. A new pot with a quantity of water and paddy in it is placed over the fireplace. The paddy is boiled and dried for the preparation of beaten rice to be used for the ceremony. An astrologer (*kaniyan*) is next sent for to examine the girl's date of birth, the position of the planets and have them compared with those of the boy generally his nephew, some relation of his or any other chosen as pseudo bridegroom. If the horoscopes agree, the *Kaniyan* expatiates on the merits of coincidence on a piece of cadjan leaf and hands it over to the parents or the *karanavar* of the girl, who sends it over to the parents or *karanavar* of the boy. If the parties agree, the auspicious day is chosen for the performance of the ceremony. If the horoscopes disagree, some other boy is chosen and the horoscopes are again cast. The girl is made to remain in a state of vow and is subjected to a sparing vegetable diet. The day previous to this is *Kalathi*. A woman of the caste called *Ezhavathy*, provided with a lighted lamp, a vessel of water, some parched rice called *malar*, some plantain fruits and a cocoanut, seats the girl on a plank in the decorated *pandal* with the above articles in front and performs a ceremony called *shadan-gozhikkal*. Certain songs in this connection are also sung. There is also another important ceremony called *kappu kettuka* (the tying of the sacred thread dyed yellow with turmeric round the wrist of the girl). The female friends and relations assembled there sing songs and make themselves merry. The girl is smeared with oil, and is then adorned with ornaments made of the tender leaves of a cocoanut palm, for the neck, head, ears, hands, loins, and legs and she is taken by a company of maidens, to a tank close by, with tomtoms, sounds of vocal and instrumental music, and with the occasional noise of pop-guns. There again some ceremonies are gone through. The girl is bathed, dressed and adorned in her best. She then returns home. There is a grand feast (supper) for those assembled.

It is called *Athazham oottu*. After this the girl is seated on a plank covered with a piece of white cloth. The whole night is merrily spent by the young and grown up women with a variety of puranic songs. The next morning the girl is made to stand on a dais erected on the eastern side of the *pandal*, where again she has to pass through certain ceremonies amidst loud drum-beating, merry tunes of vocal and instrumental music. The girl is then made to go round the seat three times and is then directed to worship the sun. She is then allowed to go inside the house, where she is seated comfortably. A stool covered with a piece of silk cloth is placed there, on which there is a casket, a looking glass and a sword.

Along with relations and friends and amidst the noise of *chenda*, drum-beating, shouts and instrumental music, the bridegroom, well adorned and neatly dressed, riding on a horse or an elephant, if he is rich, or sitting on the shoulders of a man if he is poor, comes to the house of the bride. On his entering the gate or at a little distance from it, some of the inmates of the house with their relations and friends, provided with lamps, a metal plate and a band of music, meet the party of the bridegroom and lead them to the pavilion, where again they perform a kind of ceremony, after which he is conducted to the seat made ready for him. The bride and bridegroom are taken to their assigned seats by their respective fathers-in-law. In the case of a number of girls who have to undergo the *tali tying* ceremony the eldest sits on the decorated platform, while the others sit on wooden planks, having their heads covered with white or red cloths. The bride has some betel-leaf rolled to fill up the holes between her fingers, in order that she may completely cover her face. She is made to come round him and is at last seated on the dais prepared for her, while the bridegroom is asked to stand behind her. The *tali* or the marriage badge tied to a thread dyed yellow with turmeric is handed over to the bridegroom, who with the permission of the guardian as well as others assembled there, ties the *tali* at the auspicious hour, when drum-beating and musical tunes are on their full swing. He then takes his seat on the right side of the bride. A pot of

water is placed in front of him with a few mango leaves and a silver coin. The women who are invited sprinkle a few drops of water one after another, putting a puthan or two into it. This is called *Vechuthali*. The males also contribute something at the time. This is followed by the *Poli* and the presentation of cloth and soon after, the grand feast to the wedding party. The bride and the bridegroom are taken inside the house. The next two days are days of festivity to the bridegroom's party who are entertained with music and dramatic performances during night. The fourth and the last day is one of great festivity and ceremony. It is called *nalam kuli*.* As soon as this is over the bridegroom and the bride are dressed and adorned in their best and they go to the nearest temple to worship the deities. The marriage ceremony is now over. The bridegroom remains in the house of the bride for a few more days, after which the marriage badge is taken off. The vicarious husband, if he may be so called, receiving two *mundus* (piece of cloth) and a rupee or two, is allowed to depart in peace. All the ceremonies performed and all the formalities gone through do not practically bind the bridegroom to the bride. Should he however wish to have her as wife, it is incumbent on him to bring the *tali* and the *manthrakodi* when he becomes her husband.

Marriage, Betrothal.—Among all castes below Brahmins the proposal for marriage always comes from the side of the bridegroom. When a young man has to be married his father and maternal uncle go in search of a suitable girl. When the girl is thus chosen, they open the subject with her parents who give their consent after being satisfied with the would-be bridegroom. Horoscopes are then examined and, if they agree, the negotiations leading to the celebration of the wedding are made in the presence of an *Enangan* on each side. The fathers or the *karanavars* of the bridegroom and the bride will formally talk over the matter and exchange vessels of water in token of the promise made. An auspicious day is also fixed. The castemen assembled at

* Bathing on the fourth day.

the bride's house on the occasion are treated to a grand dinner. On the marriage day the wedding garments along with Rs. 5-4-0, Rs. 10-8-0 or Rs. 15-8-0 in North Malabar, Rs. 3, Rs. 6-4-0, Rs. 18-12-0 or Rs. 31-5-0 in the Cochin State, and 8, 16, 21, or 32 fanams in Travancore are given as the price of the girl called in the vernacular *kanom kotukkal* or *Parishapanam*. The bride's parents give ornaments according to their means, but do not generally present anything to the bridegroom, who in these days sometimes get a gold ring, ear-rings or silver thread to be worn round the loins.

There is a curious custom observed in some places with regard to invitation. Before the wedding day, the bridegroom goes and visits all friends and relatives accompanied by five men well clad and bedecked. If he takes food in any house, it is a sign that the inmates are invited. In some places, the *Thandan* (headman) plays a very important part in the betrothal. It is in his presence and in that of two of his relatives that the whole business is arranged. Payments of Rs. 5-4-0 and four fanams in certain extreme cases are the chief items for the bride's price. At the end, the bridegroom's *thandan* gives to the bride's *thandan* two betel-leaves and tells him "we shall be coming with such and such a number of men and women for the wedding" to which the bride's *thandan* replies, "if you will satisfy our claims with five and a half or ten and a half rupees, six new pieces of cloth (*muri*) and two fanoms for the uncle's son, we shall hand you over the girl."

Marriage ceremony or Mangalam.—On the day appointed for the celebration of the wedding, the bridegroom, neatly dressed and well adorned, accompanied by his father or *Karanavar* and his castemen, including his friends and relations, proceed in procession to the house of the bride, with shouts, the five kinds of drum-beating and with a grand display of swords and athletic sports. The bride's mother, with her female friends and relations, stand at the entrance of the pavilion ready to welcome the bridegroom and to take him to the seat assigned to him. The male members of the house welcome those who have accompanied

him with the sprinkling of rose water and seat them all on mats spread on the floor of the pavilion with a free distribution of *pansupari*. The *Karanavans* (senior members of the families) of the bride and the bride-groom, with the permission of the assembly, stand face to face in the direction of east and west. The former receives the *Kanapanam* † from the latter. The bride-groom's *enan-gan* takes a plate and places thereon the wedding garments, together with eight annas, to be handed over to the bride's *enan-gan*, who gives it to the wife of the bride's *karanavan*. There is then a grand entertainment for the guests assembled there, which is followed by a liberal distribution of betel leaves, arecanuts and tobacco. A lamp is lighted and placed in the pavilion in front of the assembly. The bride's maternal uncle or *Karanavan*, taking her to the door, makes the following declaration to the bride-groom with the permission of the members assembled. "I offer thee, this girl and thou mayest protect her and punish her when necessary. Thou mayest send her back when thou doest not wish to have her as wife." This is the form of declaration if the parties follow the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance. Should they follow the *Makkathayam* law, the following declaration is made. "I offer thee this girl, so that thou mayest protect her and punish her when occasion necessitates it. It is further incumbent upon thee to have her children as heirs to thy property as well as to that of thy *tarwad* (family)". As soon as this is said, she is handed over to the bride-groom. The lighted lamp represents the God of fire (*Agni*) to witness the solemnity of the declaration in the presence of the assembled multitude. Soon after, the party disperses and goes with the bride to the bride-groom's house, where a similar welcome is made and a grand entertainment given. The bride is seated on the left side of the bride-groom. Rice and flower are thrown on the married couple and wishes for their long and happy conjugal life are showered on them.

† Mortgage money + c, bride's price.

In North Malabar, marriage ceremonies somewhat differ from those detailed above. When the bride-groom, with his friends and relations, goes to the house of the bride, he is accompanied by two other youths dressed exactly like himself and armed with swords and shields, playing in front of him. On their entering the pavilion, the bride's *thandan* collects the swords and keeps them in his own charge. The three youths dressed exactly alike sit together. Rice is thrown over them in common. The bridegroom's sister brings in the bride and seats her beside the groom. The others stand behind them. The bridegroom is conspicuous on the occasion by his gay dress. He ties the *tali* round the neck of the girl and his sister completes the knot at the auspicious hour pronounced by the astrologer. This appears to be an imitation of the custom among the Brahmans. The bride then moves back her seat behind the groom and the groom's sister asks the permission of the assembly to pay the price of the bride. The bride's mother, when their permission is obtained, receives at her hands, the cloth and ten and a half rupees in cash. After this, there is a free distribution of *pansupari*.

As the bridegroom and the bride depart from the house of the latter, her uncle's son or the *Machun* meets them and pretends to prevent him from taking possession of the girl on the score of his better claim to wed her. He is supposed to contest with him for the hand of the girl. His two friends are supposed to help him in the fray. The *Machun* is at last prevailed upon to let the girl depart along with the husband on receipt of two fanoms. The feast is kept up at the house of the groom for two days and two more days at the bride's.

The custom above referred to resembles the marriage customs prevailing among the savage races in many parts of the world. In Figi, the children of two brothers or two sisters are regarded as brothers and sisters and any conjugal relation between them is strictly forbidden.

A man is, *per contra*, regarded as the natural husband of the daughters of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. The custom of a young man marrying the daughter of his maternal uncle prevails among all castes in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The Brahmans also have recently begun to adopt this custom.

A survival of another curious primitive custom to be noticed in this connection, is that though marriage is treated as an affair of purchase, the bridegroom is still required to carry off the bride by force, even after the ceremonies and formalities connected with it have been completely gone through.

A somewhat similar custom prevails in some parts of the Punjab and among the Kaffirs in Africa. When the bridegroom and his party go to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who try to prevent them from proceeding then. Thereupon a sham fight ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends are well drubbed with good thick switches. In the case of the Izhuvas, a young man thinks that his right to have his uncle's daughter as wife has been infringed and therefore prepares for a contest with the bridegroom for the possession of the girl, when he is pacified by a bribe. This curious custom is unknown among other castes in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

Vittukettu in Palghat.—In the taluks of Palghat and Chittur where the *Makkathayam* law of inheritance prevails, the marriage customs are simpler and somewhat different. Girls are married in infancy if suitable husbands are procurable: otherwise only the tali-tying ceremony is resorted to. There is no fear of perpetual widowhood. It is called *Vittukettu* here, which lasts for four days. The young man who ties the *tali* is the nephew of the girl's father, one of his relations, or, one in the neighbourhood. This vicarious husband stays in the bride's house only for four days. On the fourth morning he and his pseudo wife worship the deities in the temple close by.

The divorce takes place by the removal of the marriage-badge, and he takes leave of the girl's parents, receiving two *mundus* and four or eight annas for the ephemeral union. This is analogous to the custom prevailing among the Nayars.

Marriage arrangement in Palghat.—On the day on which negotiations leading to marriage are made, the parties perform a ceremony called *Kainana* (moistening the hand). When the castemen including the friends and relations of both sides, are assembled in the house of the bride for the settlement of the marriage, a feast is given. Just when meals are prepared and served on leaves and when the members are properly seated, the bridegroom's *enangam* asks the members if he may begin to partake of the meals, "*Kainanakkattay*" (let me moisten the hand by eating), on behalf of, or in honour of the girl, intended as wife for the son of such and such a man. The bride's *enangan* says there is no objection. It is only then, that the others partake of the meal. Meat forms an important item of the feast. If the betrothal takes place after puberty, the following statement is made, "May I moisten my hand and eat." The bride's *enangan* says there is no objection.

Marriage.—On the day fixed for the wedding the bridegroom's sister, accompanied by a few of her female friends and relations, goes to the house of the bride and dresses her in the new garments brought to her, after which she ties the conjugal collar round her neck on behalf of her brother. The guests are treated to a sumptuous dinner, after which the bride accompanies her sister-in-law to the house of her husband, where she stays for a day or two. She is then taken back to her house, and after a few days' stay, she re-joins her husband. Ornaments according to the means of her parents are also given at the time.

The cause of this kind of marriage by proxy.—In ancient times when migrations after migrations from the land of their birth (Ceylon) had taken place, the king of

the Island was reluctant to allow any further efflux. Nevertheless many people resolved to leave their native country, when the sovereign thought it prudent to extort an oath from them that they would not marry and settle in the land to which they were going. In obedience to this oath of their ancestors, the Izhuvas of Palghat and Chittur do not themselves marry, but allow their sisters to do so for them.

There is also another strange custom prevailing there. In marriage and funeral festivities, the members invited divide themselves into groups of four, and sit round the large plantain leaves in which boiled rice, curry &c, are served for dinner.

In certain parts of North Malabar, the tali-tying is done by the uncle's wife or father's sisters or by a distant relative.

In all cases of marriage in North Malabar, the castemen of the *Desom* are invited and each contributes something towards the expenses of the ceremony.

There are various influences at work among the Nayers and Tiyyas, which help on social evolution in favour of an organised system of marriage. The following may be mentioned amongst them.

1. The gifts from husbands and fathers to wives and children.

2. The general practice in North Malabar and elsewhere to some extent for the wife to live with her husband, not only when the latter has self acquired property, but also with the permission of his *Karanavan* when he has no such property.

3. The imitation of this custom in South Malabar also.

4. The growing practice of forming matrimonial alliances at a distance, instead of, in the vicinity as was the case prior to the introduction of railways, and the increased facilities of communication.

5. The uniform and rigorous administration of justice in British courts which prevents men from taking law into their own hands.

6. The exigencies of official life.
7. The steadily increasing influence of Western education and culture.

Polyandrous Marriage.—In the northern parts of the State, especially in the Talapilly Taluk, and in the Walluvanad Taluk of South Malabar, there is a peculiar form of marriage prevailing among the Izhuvas who are called *thandans*. In a family in which there are four or five brothers living together, the eldest of them marries an adult woman, who, by a simple ceremony becomes the wife of all. The bridegroom, with his sister and others, goes to the hut of the bride-elect, where they are well received. The sister or some other relation of the bridegroom, hands over to the *enangan* or to the uncle of the bride, a plate with a wedding garment and 31 or 101 puthans (Rs. 1-10 or 5-4-0) as the price of the bride, reciting the following verses:

ശ്രീമൽ പന്തല്ലമല്ലെ മരുവിന സുഷിന
 കാരണന്മാരെയെല്ലാം,
 സാമോടം കൈവണങ്ങി നയമൊട്ടഭ്യേകം
 വായ്പുവാൻ സ്വസ്തിവാങ്ങി,
 അസ്സുദൈവമാഹവാം വരയതുപഴമക്കാർ
 നടന്നൊരുവണ്ണം,
 യുഷ്ടൽ സംക്ഷുത്തിരുന്നിട്ടിഹതുടരുവതി
 ന്നാദൈവന്മനംഞാൻ.

൨. ബന്ധുക്കാരും ഇണങ്ങുൻ പരിഷകൾ
 സഭയായ്ക്കു ടിദീപംവിളക്കി,
 കാന്തൻതന്ന പൂനന്മാമനു മിവവരെയും
 ചെത്തവൻ താനിണങ്ങുൻ,
 തന്നിൽ താംബൂലപൂഗാ ഇരുപരിഷകളും
 വെച്ചുഗൊത്രാദിചൊല്ലി,
 പിന്നെ യച്ചാമഞ്ചാം വിധമതിലധുനാ
 പിൻകഥിക്കുന്നു സംഖ്യാ,

൩. സ്നാനദിവ്യേണസാകം വസനസ
ഹിതമായമ്പിനാൽ വെച്ചിടുന്നെൻ,
ആനംചൊല്ലികൽവന്നപ്പിഴകളറിവെഴും
കാരണന്മാർ ക്ഷമിക്ക.

The substance of the verses—The person, with the plate in hand makes obeissance to the good old men assembled in the shed, He says "I invoke your blessings for the unobstructed celebration of the marriage which has to be solemnised in your presence, in obedience to the time-honoured customs of our ancestors." The relations of the bride, her *enangan* her caste-men are there. The lamp in the shed is trimmed to produce a bright light. The *enangan* unites the groom's father and the bride's uncle. Placing a few packets of betel leaf and nuts in a metal plate, the two parties mention their *Gothras* (clanship) and the bride's price to be fixed together with the wedding garment is also placed therein. He finally says, "I may be excused for any fault, committed by me in my request before the assembly."

Receiving the plate, the bride's *enangan* gives the following reply :

തല്ലാം കൊലുകൊണ്ടുതല്ലാതെ, വഞ്ചല്ലാം പറയാതെ,
കാതും മുല മുടിയരിയാതെ, കാവുംകൊളവും കയറാതെ,
വെണ്ടുന്നകാലം വെച്ചുപുലർത്തി, വെണ്ടാതകാലത്ത അ
ന്നൊരു മൂന്നാമനും ഇന്നത്തെയെണങ്ങനും, കൂട്ടിക്കൊ
ണ്ടുവന്നതന്നാൽ പത്തപെറ പുത്രനുണ്ടായാലും, ദത്തവ
കാശത്തെ തീർത്തുകൊണ്ടാൽ, ഏറുകൊള്ളാം കുറമില്ല.

Translation.—Thrash thou mayest, but not with a stick. Thou mayest not accuse her of bad conduct. Thou mayest not cut off her ears, breasts, and tuft of hair. Thou mayest not take her to a tank or a *kavu** (belonging to high castemen). Thou mayest 'keep and protect her, as long as thou wishest. When thou wishest to relinquish her thou art at liberty to leave her here, and we shall accept her, even if she may have ten children provided, that you will satisfy their claims for maintenance thereafter.

* Temple.

The bride and bridegroom are then seated on a mat and given some milk, plantain fruits and sugar (ചുവന്നതൃക്ക, giving sweets). This completes the union. The guests are entertained at a dinner, after which the bridegroom returns home with the bride. At this stage, the bride is the wife only of the eldest brother. If she is however intended as the wife of his brothers, the sweet preparation is served to them and the bride either in the hut of the bridegroom by their mother, or in that of the bride by their mother-in-law. Thenceforward she becomes the wife of all. It is the custom even now for four or five brothers to marry a young woman. They follow the conduct of the Pandavas. They associate with her by turns, and keep a vessel of water at the door to let the others know that one of them is in. Should this be proved to be unpleasant or inconvenient, one of them marries again and keeps her either himself or allows her to be the wife of others also. The sons or daughters are the common property of all of them.

There are two theories in respect of the prevalence of polyandry in Malabar in ancient times. It might be that the Nambudri Brahmins had introduced it on economic grounds to serve their own purpose, or (2) that the Nayars might have brought it with them when they settled in Malabar or adopted it from the aborigines.

Pregnancy.—When a woman is pregnant, she takes no prescribed diet. Rich and hot meals are avoided and some vegetable preparations are in some cases given. During the fifth month or the ninth, a ceremony called *Pulikudi* is performed. On the day previous to the ceremony, small branches of the tamarind tree are brought and planted on the ground in front of the courtyard or near the door. The pregnant woman is first taken to the west of it with her face towards the east and is made to walk seven times round it. A thread is also wound round it. What is called *Kalam Thullal* is played during the night to relieve the woman from any demoniacal influence she may be

subject to. Next morning also, she comes round it seven times. A preparation of the tamarind juice is poured into her mouth by the husband. This is called *pumsanam*. * The husband's *diksha* is now over.

Devil driving.—The *Izhuvās* who are much given to devil charming or devil driving, resort to a ceremony called *Teyyattam*, a corrupt form of *Deva Attam*, playing at Gods, which takes place in the fifth month of pregnancy of a woman. A leafy arbour is constructed, and in front of it, the terrible figure of *Chamundi*, the queen of the demons, made of rice flour, turmeric and charcoal powders, is drawn. A party of not less than 18 washermen is organised to represent the demons and furies, *Kutty chathan* (a mischievous imp and many others). On being invoked, these demons go to the stage in pairs, dance, caper, jump, roar, fight and drench each other with saffron water. By their capers and exercises, they gradually work themselves up to a state of frenzy, until they are possessed of the devil. At this juncture fowl and animals are thrown to them to appease their fury. These they attack and kill and tear as a tiger does his prey. After half an hour the convulsions cease, the demon declares its pleasure, and much fatigued, retires to give place to others. The whole night is spent with much tom-toming, and noise and shouting. This takes place in the northern parts of the State.

Childbirth.—A woman about to be confined is put in a separate room for her delivery and is attended by a midwife. If the infant delivered is male, the woman present makes a *kurava* cry; if female, she strikes the earth with the midrib of a cocoanut leaf to remove the fear of demons. The infant is washed and a ceremony called *Thottureka* is performed. A little palm sugar and some onion are mixed in water and a few drops of this are left at the baby's mouth by some female relative or friend whose excellences it may acquire. Some give the water of a tender cocoanut; while others rub a little gold on a stone and wash it with water which is given to the baby.

* Puma-male; *savanam*-bringing forth.

The parents note the exact time of birth, by observing the length of the shadow during the day or the positions of stars during the night. The horoscope is then cast. The house is now regarded as polluted and the husband goes somewhere else to eat. On the seventh day the pollution is called *valaima*. Her room of confinement is swept and cleaned with cowdung by the washerwoman *Velathy*. On the fifth, seventh and ninth days her female friends visit her and keep her room tidy. On the ninth or eleventh, the mother with her baby is laid on a bed or a mat, after removing the one she has been already using. This is called *Patukkamattal* (change of bedding). In some places the pollution lasts for fifteen days, when the woman and her baby are bathed. She purifies herself by taking *Panckagaviam*¹. This is called *Pathinanchamkadavu* or *Nishkramanam*². The ceremony of *Jathakarma* removes the baby of all uncleanness, but the mother in confinement does not become pure.

Treatment and diet during confinement.—As soon as the delivery is over, the mother is given a mixture of the juice of ginger and honey. For the first three days, she takes another medicine which consists of nutmegs, cardamoms, vayambu (*Accoramus Calamus*) kachol (*Curcuma Zerumbet*) and garlic, all well dried or otherwise warmed, and reduced to fine powder which is mixed with the juice of *Puthumba* (*Decaneurum molle*) and *Karithumba* (*Nepata Malabarica*). On the fourth day, she is given a mild purgative which is a small dose of cocoanut oil, prepared by boiling the milk extracted from its pulp together with garlic which is an indispensable element in all such medicines. For the next ten days, she takes a medicine called *Pettumarunnu* (delivery medicine) which consists, among other things, of pepper, garlic, aloes, cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon, coriander seeds and anise. The native druggist has only to be asked for the medicines. He packs up a pinch of the drugs in his shop, and there is the medicine. All these are powdered

1 The five gifts of the cow viz., milk, curds, butter, urine, dung, also called *Pancho Kalasam* (water in five vessels), means of purification.

2 Carrying out.

and mixed with gingili-oil and a pretty large dose is taken twice every day before meals. It is also mixed with the liquid *Karipetty Neer*, out of which coarse palmyra sugar is manufactured. The prepared cocoanut oil is also used in healing the ulcer in the genital organ and for the contraction of the same. In some cases a medicine is prepared in ar-rack and given to the woman in confinement. The treatment during the next twelve days from the 16th to the 28th consists in her taking the *Dhanvanthara* or *Nadi Kashayam* (Vegetable decoctions). Then from the 28th day she takes some medicine that contributes to the general recruitment of her health.

Diet.—She is, for the first fifteen days, forbidden to take anything but mere boiled rice and pepper water. Then till the 28th she is given early morning a mixture of anise and garden cress and after an hour, a cup of *Kunji*. At noon she takes the usual food above referred to. After the 28th the restrictions are less rigid, and she resorts to such meal as will tend to improve her body.

Bathing.—For the first three days she washes her body below the neck in warm water. Then for the twelve days from the third to the fifteenth she bathes in water, boiled with the leaves and barks of medical herbs, namely, puthumba (*Decaneurum molle*) karithumba (*Nepata Malabarica*) Karinotta (*Samadera Indica*) and the bark of puvarasu (*Hibiscus populmeous*) and containing a small bag of *Kunthurukkam**, husk and bits of cocoanut shell. The water is well boiled in a large vessel during the night and slowly allowed to cool for the morning bath. Generally the lying-in woman rubs her body with a prepared oil, before she bathes in the water described above. After the 16th till the 28th day she bathes daily in warm water, but has oil-bath every day or every other day. After the 28th the woman in confinement bathes as often as she finds it necessary for the improvement of her bodily health. Thus the woman is subjected to treatment for three months. The woman in well-to-do families avoids this by resorting to the treatment of qualified medical men.

* Frankincense resin (*Lo wellia thurifera*).

Other ceremonies performed for the child.

1. *Namakaranam or naming ceremony.*—It is the same as that described in my account of other castes.

2. *Annaprasanam.*—The name suggests the idea of feeding the child with rice for the first time. For this, one conspicuous hour is fixed by the astrologer, and on this occasion friends and relations are entertained. Parents who are too poor to perform it, take the child to the nearest temple where they feed him with boiled rice and curry, given as offerings to the deity.

3. *Tonsure or Choula.*—This is also a ceremonial occasion. As soon as this is done, the child is bathed for being purified from the defilement caused by the touch of the barber. The ceremony ends with a feast.

4. *Ear boring*—This also is another occasion for a ceremony and feast.

5. *Vidyarambham.*—During the fifth year the child is made to begin the study of the alphabet. He is made to write on sand. The preceptor gets a few annas. It is also called *Samavarthanam*.

Adultery.—Instances of the kind are very rare. It is regarded with abhorrence. Mr. Logan in the District Manual of Malabar, says, that female chastity in Malabar is as good as elsewhere, though marriage is not a legal institution, and that nowhere else, it is more jealously guarded and its breach is more savagely avenged. The system of enforced privacy in the case of women and their early home training lend weight to Mr. Logan's remark in Malabar. The remark is equally true in the Cochin State.

Divorce.—This is called *Acharam Kodukkal*, which is allowed either by mutual consent or at the will of the spouse, in the following cases, namely, want of mutual affection between husband and wife, want of chastity on the part of the wife, faithlessness on the part of the husband, impotency, barrenness, levity of conduct, insanity and other like causes. In all such cases the important elderly members must meet together and give their verdict. If the husband divorces his wife, he should take her to her house and leave her in charge of her parents. He gets back

half his bride's money or has sometimes to forfeit the whole. If the wife does not like the husband, she goes back to her house and her husband gets back his dues. The woman divorced can marry again, but the wedding is not performed on a grand scale. The children are left with the father among those who follow the *Makkathayam*, and in the mother's family among the followers of *Marumakkathayam*.

Polygamy.—A man has the liberty to marry more than one woman. Nevertheless the practice is seldom resorted to.

Polyandry.—This prevails among the *thandans* of the Talappilly Taluk of the State as well as in the Walluvanad and Ernad Taluks of South Malabar. It is similar to the fraternal polyandry prevailing in Tibet.

Chapter III.

Inheritance—Magic &c—Religion.

Law of inheritance.—The Izhuvas of North Malabar, southern parts of the Cochin State and Travancore as far as Quilon, follow the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance, while in South Malabar, the northern parts of the State and in Travancore south of Quilon, the *Makkathayam* law prevails. It is said that they are not governed by the Hindu law pure and simple. Their usages with regard to divorce, remarriage and inheritance are not entirely in accordance with Hindu law, though the succession of sons obtains amongst them. A community following the *Makkathayam* law must not be taken to be necessarily governed by the Hindu law of inheritance in all its incidents. It has been decided that the rule of impartibility applies to the Tiyyas irrespective of the rule of succession obtaining among them. The self-acquired property of a Tiyya devolves at his death on the *tarwad*. A brother is held entitled to the management of the property. The Tiyyas of North Malabar follow the *Marumakkathayam* law and are governed by the rules and usages of an ordinary Malabar *tarwad*. A system of mixed inheritance has also been recognized among them. The issues of parents governed by different systems of law are entitled to their father's property in accordance with the

rules of *Makkathayam* and to the property of the mother's *tarwad* in accordance with the law of *Marumakkathayam*. In *Chathunni V. Sankaran* (8 M 238) the parties to which were the *Tiyyas* of North Malabar, it was held by the Madras High Court, that where a woman belonging to a Malabar *tarwad*, governed by the *Marumakkathayam* law, has issues by a man who is governed by *Makkathayam* law, such issues are *prima facie* entitled to the father's property in accordance with the *Makkathayam* law, and to the family of the mother's *tarwad* in accordance with the *Marumakkathayam* law. It is said that the self-acquired property of a man is divided equally between his wife and children on the one hand and his nephews on the other. But in *Rarichan V. Perichi* (15 M 281) the Judges (Collins C. J and Parker J) held that a custom had been made out under which in South Malabar, or at all events in the Calicut Taluk, in an undivided *Tiyya tarwad*, the self-acquired property of one of the members passed on his death to his brother in preference to his widow. In another case (19 M 1) it was shown, where the brothers were divided and had no community of interest, it was held (Parker and Subramania Iyer J. J.) that on the death of a member of a *Marumakkathayam tarwad*, his widow and daughter were entitled to his self acquisition in preference to his father's brothers. It is also held that among the Calicut *Makkathayam Tiyyas* the widow of a deceased owner was a preferential heir to his mother. And among them no compulsory partition could be effected at the will of one member of the *tarwad* (17 M 184). In *Velu V. Chamu* (22 M 297) which was a suit for partition among persons belonging to the *Izhuva* caste in Palghat, it was urged that the ordinary Hindu law relating to partibility of property had no application to *Izhuvas*. Nevertheless the right to partition has been tacitly assumed and upheld by the decisions of the Madras High Court. The custom also is in support of the view as adduced in evidence by a respectable *Tiyya* gentleman of Calicut in O. S. No. 583 of 1899 on the file of the Additional Munsiff of Calicut, which came up before the High Court (S. A. 518 of 1901).

Among the *Mukthayam Tiyyas* of South Malabar and the Cochin State, there is no difference in customary law. The female members of the family get no share in partition. They are only entitled to maintenance out of the income of the family property. Among males partition is allowed. The females cease to have any interest in the family of their birth, when they marry and they assume the family name of their husband. At the time of partition it is usual to make provision for the maintenance, and marriage expenses of the unmarried sisters. If possible, the family house is, in partition, generally allotted to the youngest brother or his representatives. If a co-sharer dies without issues or with daughters only, his share passes by survivorship to the remaining coparceners. The system called *Pitri-bhaga* does not prevail, so that, if A had two sons by his wife B, and three sons by C, the property would be divided into five equal shares, of which one share goes to each of them. It is also said that compulsory partition, in the absence of a *karar* in the Tiyya family can be enforced among the Tiyyas of South Malabar. If the father has no widows nor sons left behind him, his property descends to the daughter and not to his divided brothers. When in an undivided family a male member acquires any property, through his self-exertion and dies without leaving a will, then the property must descend to the *tarwad*. The widow has a right to such property. But the management rests with the males of the *tarwad*. In such a case the daughter given away in marriage cannot have any right to the property of her father. The daughter's children too cannot have any right to the property of their maternal grandfather. Women cannot enforce partition. They have a right to claim maintenance and to reside in their family house. Among the *Izhuvas* of Cochin and Travancore, the following methods of partition are also sanctioned by custom.

1. The ancestral property goes to the nephews. From Quilon to Trivandrum the sons and nephews get equal shares of the *karavanan's* self-acquired property.

2. The dowry of a woman, obtained either from her father or from her *Karanavan*, remains unaffected in the partition of a *tarwad* property.

3. A woman who is either barren or has lost her children having self-acquired property along with that of her husband, is entitled to a fair portion, if partition is effected after the death of her husband.

4. If any property acquired either in the name of a man, of his wife or of both, the woman with no children is entitled to half the portion after the death of her husband.

5. A man who has married a woman and who has children by her, should give her a portion of his earnings in the event of his divorcing her.

6. If the junior male and female members, while living with their parents, acquire property, it shall be their own, and cannot be included in the partition of their family property or in that of their parents.

Tribal organization.—In former times, the Tiyyas had a council of 31 and 61 elderly men of their caste to settle all caste disputes. Their decisions were final. In the Palghat Taluk, the Izhuvas from various villages used to meet under a *Pandalil Elippa*, in Thenkurassi for the purpose already referred to. Gradually as population increased, members from all desoms found it inconvenient to attend, and it was therefore arranged for each desom to have its own assembly of elders. Besides the councils, the people in certain localities

N. .B. *Izhuvas* of South Travancore and Cochin follow the Marumakkathayam law of inheritance. But amongst this class the children are entitled to inherit half their father's self acquisitions if made during the life-time of their mother. The ground upon which the children claim in the South is that the mother may be presumed to have contributed to the acquisitions of the father.

appoint four of their own men to settle all disputes, preside at all ceremonies, summon their castemen and convene meetings for the settlement of all important matters relating to the welfare of their own caste. In certain parts of the State only one man is appointed. He is the *thandan* whose privileges are already mentioned. The headman in Travancore is called a *Paniker* and in North Malabar a *Thara Karanavar* whose decisions are final. The delinquents are either punished with fine or excommunication. Taking oaths before a deity in a temple is current even now to prove the innocence of a man who has been charged with crime. Even this is dying out.

Magic, Sorcery and Witchcraft.

Izhuvas, like other classes of people, believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. When a house or its compound is haunted by a demon, doing harm to the residents therein or when a woman is possessed by the same being, a *kaniyan* (astrologer) who is often consulted, mentions by his calculations, the name of the demon, and suggests the means of relief, which in both cases is sought for, by the aid of a magician or devil-driver. In the former case, *mantrams* (magical formulæ) are uttered and written on thin sheets of copper, lead or on cadjan leaves and buried in the four corners of the house or the compound.

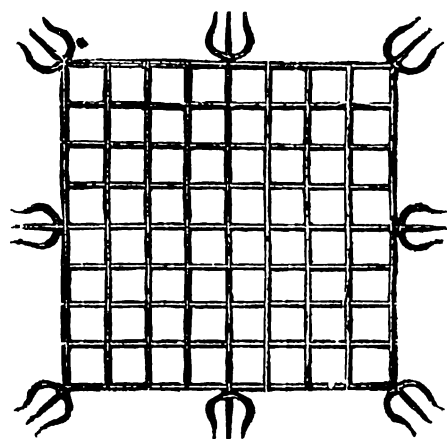
Sometimes sacrificial fires (*homam*) in honour of the deity, Ganapathy, are also offered for the relief from it. In some cases the demon can be located in trees. A devil driver with the aid of his *mantrams* makes it reside in a pot which is buried underneath a large stone by the side of a river or a large stream. A woman who is possessed by a demon can be relieved from it by one of the following methods, namely (1) by causing it to appear in the person who makes some involuntary movements, and making it depart by offerings, (2) by growing sacrificial fires and

(3) by transferring it to some other body. The first of the methods above referred to is described here. The magician who is invited to cast out the devil is furnished with everything he requires for the performance of the ceremony. He chooses a spot either in the house, or outside it in the courtyard, and purifies it with water mixed with cowdung. This spot is scattered over with burned ashes over which the *yantram* (cabalistic figure) is drawn, the several portions of which are coloured yellow, green, red, black and white with powders.* He writes on each portion, a letter of the *Gayitri* which he mutters at the same time. He also puts on it some rice and flower. Over this, he places a piece of cloth, three betel leaves and an areca nut. Close to it on a small pedestal are placed a few pieces of small plantain leaves with rice and flower on them. A few drops of water are also sprinkled thereon; and he mutters the *mantram* ഓം നമഃ ശിവായ (Salutation with water, frankincense, flowers, aromatic vapour and light.)

o

A few flowers and some sandal are thrown over the *yantram*. Frankincense is burned and a light is waved in front of it. A lighted lamp is burned at the side of it. The possessed woman is bathed and dressed in a new garment and allowed to take her seat on a plantain leaf with her face towards the east. Muttering the *Gayitri mantram* and throwing some holy ashes (*Bhasmam*) on her head he gives her some rice and flower to wave round her head three times and directs her to put them on the figure with a prayer that she may be relieved from the demoniacal possession. With pious meditations on the deity and his *guru* he mutters the *mantrams*.

- (1) Yellow colour is made of turmeric.
- (2) Red powder is a compound of lime and turmeric.
- (3) Green powder is produced by drying the leaves of *Acacia odoratissima* and reducing it to fine dust.
- (4) Black powder is powdered charcoal.
- (5) White powder is rice flour.



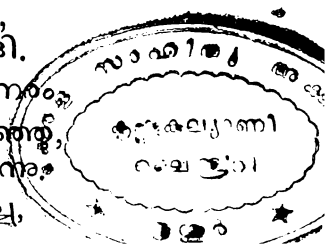
Yantram referred to on page 34.

ഓം ബ്രഹ്മാജി: ഗായത്രിച്ചന്ദ: കണ്ഠാകണ്ഠാ ദൈവതാ
കണ്ഠാകണ്ഠവിരൂപാക്ഷ സർവ്വോപദ്രവനാശന ഹാടകാംഗ
ജയം പ്രാപ്ത, രക്ഷ രക്ഷ മഹാ ബാഹ്യാഹര സ്വാഹ.

Translation:—Of this mantra of the great Kandakaruna, Bramha is the Rsi, gayitri is the metre. Kandakarunan is the Deity (God). He is requested to cure her of the demonical possession.

The woman holds a flower of the areca palm. The magician's disciples at the time, sing songs, keeping time either with beating on a bell-metal or with a tabor and the woman puts the rice and flower on the figure. The following songs are sung.

ഹരഹരനാഥമനുജകലദൈവി,
അമരജനത്തിന്നഴകൊടകമ്ം,
ചെയ്യരുതാത്തരനരികെവന്നു,
അർദ്ധകരസ്തുതിച്ചുഅരങ്ങമെന്നാം തിരുമിഴിയുടെ,
മണിമിഴിയുടെ ഭൂതകരാളി മഹിഷകരാളി,
ഭൂതമടക്കിയതായെ പൂമലർതന്നിൽവസിക്കുംതായെ,
കൊമളരൂപെ ആവതുചൊല്ലാം.
കൊപമെഴുവണിപടുകൾചാത്തി,
കൊച്ചൊട്ടനല്ല കരിഞ്ഞാൽചുറ്റി,
കായമിരുണ്ടതു നാഗമണിത്തും,
കരമതിൽ മെവിനൊരായുധപരീകര,
കരുതിയെടുത്തുരണത്തിനു കൊച്ചും,
അലരിമിഴിച്ചുക്കണ്ണമുരുട്ടി,
ചെലുചെലനെന്നു ചിലമ്പുമിളക്കി
ദാരികവീരൻ ഗൊപുരമാളെ,
ചെന്നവനൊടുവിളിച്ചുതുടങ്ങി.
പലപലയുദ്ധം ചെയ്തെന്നുരുന്നേ,
മണിലവൻ തലവെട്ടിയെറിഞ്ഞു,
വട്കാൽ വയറുപിളന്നുപിളന്നു,
വട്ടുകയിൽ നിന്നമൊരുകടിച്ചു,



ചൊരിച്ചു മരിച്ചു തിളച്ചു.
 പറ്റുക പാളിയെടുത്തു ജിച്ഛിച്ചു.
 എല്ലുകൾ കിട്ടി നരകിനരകി,
 ഉല്പാസത്തൊടു ചെല്ലും നെരം,
 എന്നെയെടുത്തു തകർക്കുകൊളി,
 എന്നു മനസ്സിൽ നിനച്ചു നെച്ചൊരും,
 അഗ്നിസ്വപരൂപനിർത്തം ചെയ്തു,
 കണ്ടുമയങ്ങിനമൊയെതായെ.
 ദൈവിനമൊന്നു ദൈവിനമന്യെ.
 പാദനമൊന്നു പാദനമന്യെ.

The substance of the above verse.—

As the Devas were oppressed by the Asuras, and as they were not able to perform their daily religious rites, they requested the aid of Siva and began to praise him. From his third and sparkling eye came Kali in her terrible aspects. Clad in silk and black skin, with anklets round her feet, with snakes round her neck, and armed with many weapons in her hands, she stood at the gate of the giant *Darika* and called him for battle. Many hard contests were fought. His head was at last severed from his body and thrown on earth. His body was burst open by his own sword and the blood which he drank was received in his shield, and his intestines completely eaten. His bones were broken to pieces. As Kali was joyfully returning after the victory, Siva thought that he would be smashed by her. He appeared to her in the form of a bright fire. The goddess stood amazed. May my salutation be to such a deity.

ഹരിയെന്നു മുതലായ ഹരിനാരായണൻ വാക്യം.
 ശ്രീയെന്നു പൊയ ശ്രീഭഗവതിതാനും വാക്യം.
 ഗയെന്നു മുതലായ ഗണനാഥൻ താനും വാക്യം.
 ഞയെന്നു മുതലായ സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യൻ താനും വാക്യം.
 പയെന്നു മുതലായ പാഞ്ചരമം താനും വാക്യം.

ഹ ഐന്ന മുതലായ തനിക്കുറവെവം താൻവാക്യം.
 ഐ എന്നു മുതലായ ഐൻഗുരുവും താൻവാക്യം.
 ന എന്നുമുതലായ നമശിവായൻ താൻവാക്യം.
 മ എന്നു മുതലായ മാമുനിമാൻ താൻവാക്യം.

Salutation by me to Narayana, Bhagavathy, Ganapathy, Parabramham, the tutelary deity, the preceptor, and the great sage, who are all represented by the symbolic letters of *Harī sri ganapathaye namah*.

The possessed woman at this stage becomes excited at the musical tunes and utterance of the *mantrams*. The demon is supposed to make its appearance in her body which is thrown in convulsive movements. The frenzied demoniac seems to be tossed and shaken in, ever pained and wrenched as though some living creature were tearing or twisting her from within, till she becomes subdued by the exorcist. The devil-driver pretending to have the power to control the demon, asks her the name of the demon living in her body. If she remains silent, he beats her with a cane, believing that his thrashing may affect the demon and not the woman. Sometimes he catches hold of her hair and ties a knot, muttering a *mantram*. This done, the demon speaks through her, and promises to leave her for ever on receipt of the offerings. At once the magician brings a lamp and makes him swear thus. "By me, by thee, by Kali, by Markandeya, I depart from this body. This said, the woman lies prostrate in a swoon. The magician utters the *Jiva prathishta mantram*, and sprinkles some water on her and the woman recovers her consciousness.

കാം ജീവായ ജീവപ്രതിഷ്ഠായ പ്രാണായ പ്രാണ പ്രതി
 ഷ്ഠായ മരും പടത്തമാക്കുണ്ട മഹാഷിയാണഫലിക്ക, മുഴ
 വനം ഫലിക്ക സ്വാഹ.

O! Markandeya, may thy *mantram* be effectual in bringing her back to life and help her in the complete relief from the possession of the demon.

He next performs what is called *Gurisikotukkuka* (giving water with lime and turmeric dissolved in it). Small pieces of plantain leaves, each two inches in breadth, are placed on a *chakram* (yantram) with 64 divisions made of the bark of the plantain tree. Over the bark at regular intervals are stuck pieces of cocoanut leaves and lighted torches. The magician takes it in his hand, singing songs in praise of *Kali* and places it on the ground. He then takes a few vessels filled with rice flour, toddy and arrack and the *gursi* is mixed with the blood of a fowl or two which are intended as offerings for evil demons.

The song at the time is:—

കൊഴിതൻ മൂലംചൊല്ലാം,
കൊടിയനായിമയെല്ലാം
ബാലനാം അസുരൻപണ്ടു,
ബ്രഹ്മനോടു വരമിരന്നു,
കാളിതൻ വാളുതട്ടി,
ഭൂമിയിൽ വീണചൊര,
മൊട്ടയായുരുത്തിരിഞ്ഞു,
ശവലും പിടയും തൊന്നി,
ചെങ്കനൽ പൂവും ചുണ്ടും,
ഉതിരും പൊൽ കണ്ണുരണ്ടും
കൊപ്പുളതെരുവിൽ നിന്നു,
തട്ടിക്കൂവിത്തുളച്ചീരിച്ചുവരുന്നപുഞ്ചെക്കന്നെ,
ഇടംകയ്യിൽ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു,
വലങ്കയ്യാൽ വാളാൽ അരത്തു,
ധാരമെടുക്കുകാളി,
കപാലംനീട്ടുകൊഴിതൻ ചൊരകൊരവാൻ.

The substance of the song.—I am here giving the origin of the cock and the hen. When the great giant *Mahishasura* requested Brahma for a boon, and was returning home, the sword of *Kali*, touching the body of the giant, caused the blood to fall on earth in two drops which became a cock and a hen. The flap on his face, and lips were as

red as red hot charcoal and the eyes as convex as the belly. O Kali, mayest thou come and drink the blood of the hen held in my left hand and killed with the sword in my right hand, as it came running joyfully.

The Chakram is then taken either to a spot where several roads meet, or to the side of a river or a canal at 3 in the morning and placed there. The *gurisi* is poured on the ground. A big torch is lighted and the rice flour scattered on the ground. He extinguishes the torch and returns home.

Sometimes the above *mantrams* are dispensed with. The figures of demons are drawn and the songs in praise of *Kali* sung for devil driving. All kinds of disease are believed to be caused by spirits or diseased demons. They are cured by the performance of elaborate ceremonies and offerings to propitiate them. Charms are also worn to ward off their attacks. They believe in oracular manifestations.

Religion.—Izhuvas profess Hinduism and, as some say, they are more the worshippers of *Siva* than of *Vishnu*. They are also animists to some extent.

Kali.—They worship *Kali*, who is in fact the tutelary deity, in every part of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, as in other parts of India. It is said that the Great Parasurama had established 108 *Durga* temples for the protection of the people against demons. There are some famous ancient temples in the State, namely at Cranganore, Pazhayanur, Cochin and Chottanikara. The goddess is called *Agorasakti*, the queen of demons. In her fierce and cruel aspects, she protects the people against the demons. She is represented as wearing on her head a fiery snake encircled by serpents. *Siva's* signs are also marked on her forehead. Lion fangs protrude from her mouth and she possesses ten hands, two of which are clasped together and two empty, while three on the right side, carry respectively, a rope, a parrot and a spear, and three on the left side, a drum with a snake, fire and trident. *Kodungallur Bhagavathy* is zealously

adored by the Izhuvas and she is the customary cultus of the caste. She is worshipped with the offerings of fowls and the chief festival in the temple is the *Cock festival*.

Kodungallur Bharani.—This festival falls in the month *Meenom* (March—April). People especially of the lower castes from all parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore go to Kodungallur to attend the festival. The whole country near the lines of march rings with the shouts of *nada-nada*, (walk-walk) of the pilgrims to the favourite shrine, and they level unmeasured terms of abuse at the goddess which are believed to be acceptable to her. The chief of the fisherman caste has the privilege of polluting the temple. Cocks are slaughtered and sacrificed to propitiate the goddess. The worshippers offer vows to her and get flowers and water from the temple priest. But instead of water he goes outside and drinks toddy which an attendant Nayar serves out. All castes are free to go, including the Tiyyas and other low caste people. The object of the pilgrimage is to secure immunity from severe diseases during the succeeding year.

Sakti Worship.—In the simplest acceptation of the word, it is the worship of a power or force personified as a goddess with a view to possess supernatural powers for the achievement of anything desired through her help.

What She is.—*Devibhagavatham* contains a description of *Sakti*. She is neither man, woman nor eunuch. At the time of the destruction of the world, She is perception, intelligence, firmness, remembrance, prosperity, faithfulness, pity, beauty, hunger, tranquillity, idleness, old age, strength and weakness. What is she not? What is without her?

Her manifestations.—She is represented to be the first being from whom an entire mythological system emanates. She stands at its first. The goddess *Mahadevi* of the Sakti hierarchy is the person from whom even Bramha, Vishnu and Siva are evolved, and they absorb all her functions. She is a duplicate of Siva, her husband. Just as Siva is at one

time white (*swetha sukla*) both in complexion and in character, and at another black, *Kala*, so his female nature also becomes one half white (*Gauri*) and the other black (*Kala*). In her mild nature she evolves herself into *Uma Gauri* and *Parvathy* and in her fierce nature into *Kali Durga*, *Chandi* and *Chamundi*. In *Mahabharatha*, *Hari-vamsa* and other poems, *Sakti*, the female energy, shows herself in many prayers and heroes and has many names.

Origin of the worship.—Even from a very remote period the Dravidians of India appear to have worshipped the mother earth, the representative of female energy, as the principal deity. This worship was accepted by the Aryans. This bears testimony to the fact that, throughout India, the *Gramadevathas* of the Dravidians were transformed into *Kshethra Devathas* of the Aryans. This worship is mentioned even in the *Puranas*, but the *Tantras* contain the prescriptions, rituals which are sometimes called the fifth *Veda*. They belong to a very remote period and are highly esteemed by the Brahmins.

Two sects among the Sakti worshippers.—They are divided into two main sects who are (1) Right handed worshippers chiefly the Sivites and (2) Left handed worshippers or the Vaishnavites. The former make the *Puranas* the real *Veda* and are devoted either to *Siva* or *Vishnu* in their double nature as male or female. Rice mixed with sugar and milk, plantain, fruits, parched rice, *malar* are presented as *Nivedya*, or offerings to the deity. The left handed worshippers, on the other hand, base their worship and ceremonial on *tantras*, other ceremonials, and bloody sacrifices. The former do not indulge in obscene display and enforce the observance of all or some of the five things viz *Makara* (fish) *Madhiam* (liquor) *mamsa* (meat) *Mudra* (mystical intertwinning of the fingers) and *maithuna* (sexual intercourse). The former are regarded as pure as the *Vedas*, while the latter are deemed low and fit only for the *Sudras*. Nevertheless such sacrifices are made by the

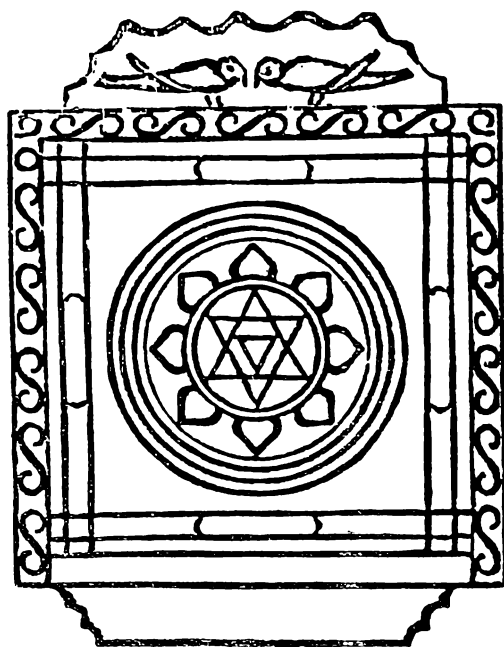
Brahmans also. *Tantras* are considered as *Vedas* by the latter sect.

A man who wishes to perform the *Puja* must be initiated by a *guru* (preceptor) who teaches him certain mystics. The ceremony should not be performed unless the moon, planets and stars are favourable. The *pujas* of the *Sakti* worshipper should take place in secret and with closed doors in accordance with the *tantric* precepts. It is further said, that *vedas*, *sastras* and *puranas* are like common women open to all, while the mystical rites of a *sakti* worshipper is like a high born woman secluded.

In order to realize the object of devotion a *sakta* has resource to *mantrams*, which must be carefully repeated in order to become efficient. Men and women assemble to worship the goddess in proper style. The male devotees are called *Bhairavas* and the women *Nayikas*. *Sakti* is represented by a naked woman and the above mentioned *makaras* are observed. The ceremony is in the holy circle *Srichakra*. It is celebrated to ensure *sāyujia* or identification with the supreme spirit. In one of the *tantras* laid down in connection with the worship, Siva addressing his wife says "All men have my form. Any one who makes any distinction of caste is a foolish soul."

There is also another method of propitiating the deity. A mystical diagram called a *yanthram*, generally inverted triangles or combinations of triangular figures, is drawn on a copper plate, which is supposed to possess occult or mystical powers. This is placed on a lotus diagram, the *bijas* belonging to the goddess being inscribed on each side of the petals. The holy *Srichakra* is also drawn in the diagram. The *pujas* are performed as before and the offerings to be presented may be of either kind.

Object of worship.—Saktas worship their deity in preference to any other to obtain in this world supernatural powers and in the next final beatitude, and though the



Yantram referred to on page 42.

devotee is indulging in grossest carnal passions, his mind is absorbed in the supreme deity.

Sakti worship in Malabar.—In Malabar as in other parts of India, there are *Sakti worshippers* among the Brahmins, and Sudras, carrying on this cult very secretly. They resort to one of these methods, and Brahmins or members of their own castes officiate at such ceremonies with the offerings already described. There are also six other methods of propitiating the deity in order to acquire superhuman powers viz, *Mantras*, *Bijas*¹, *Kavachas*², *Nyasas*³, and *Mudras*. An account of it is given below.

The *Sakti puja* is performed generally during night in accordance with the tantric precepts. The performer of the *puja* gets up early in the morning and meditates on his *Guru* (preceptor) for his blessings in the success of the *puja*. He bathes and performs *achamana* (rinsing the mouth with water) facing eastward, and repeats certain *mantrams*, after which he rubs the prescribed parts of the body with *vibhuthi* (holy ashes). With pious reverence he enters the room set apart for the worship. He is accompanied by his wife who is called *sakti* and his assistant *parikarmi*. Two lighted lamps are placed in a conspicuous part of it. He performs his *namaskaram*⁴ to the deity and takes his seat on a tiger or deer skin and adores the *Ashta dhik palakas* (the gods of the eight points). Considering himself to be the *Virat*, he repeats the various *mantrams* all favourable to the propitiation of the Goddess. He keeps in front of him a vessel containing water, a conch shell with water inside, and some sandal paste. He then performs the *manasapuja* (worship of the mind or soul) and repeats the

-
- 1. The first syllable of a mantra.
 - 2. An amulet or talisman worn to bring about the attainment of some desired object.
 - 3. Assigning various parts of the body to the protection of the presiding deities with the imposition of hand or fingers and repetition of mystical words & syllables.
 - 4. Prostration.

sacred *mantrams* connected with the worship. The *saktas* resort to the six methods of propitiation of the goddess above referred to, with a view to acquire superhuman powers. A wooden seat made according to the prescribed rules of worship is made ready, well washed, and purified with holy water (*thirtham*). The sandal paste is spread upon it, on which is drawn the holy circle *Srichakram*.

It is supposed to represent the orb of the Earth, nine triangles being drawn within the circle to denote the nine continents. In the centre is the drawing of a mouth which is supposed to represent the female energy (*Sakti*), presiding over the circle. *Bijaksharas* are written on it. Before the grand *Sakti puja* is begun *Ganapathi* and *Sankaracharya* *Guru* are worshipped and offerings of coconuts, plantains &c are made to them.

Washing his hands and cleaning a part of the floor of the room, the *Sakta* now prepares for the grand worship of *Sakti*. Several vessels filled with *toddy* meat (cooked) and all covered with betel leaves are placed in front of him. He performs the *puja* with the long recital of *mantrams* and epithets in praise of *Sakti* and putting flowers on the circle.

This lasts for more than two hours, after which the offerings above referred to are given.

The *Sakta* his wife, *Parikarmi* and his assistant, who attend and take part in the worship, are given *thirtham* * *prasadam* flowers, and sandal paste. All of them partake of the offerings which are distributed among the inmates of the family. The *puja* takes seven or eight hours for its completion.

The essential part of the *Sakta* ceremony consists in the taking of meat and liquor. The *Saktas* believe that true knowledge can be acquired only by taking spirituous liquor. It is, they believe, productive of salvation, learning, power, wealth, destruction of enemies, curing of diseases and removal of sin.

* Leavings of offerings.

Hook Swinging.

The custom of swinging as a religious or rather a magical rite was practised not only in India, but in all parts of the world, by people in a low state of civilization to ensure good harvest, to secure a good catch of fish, to drive away rain, expiation for suicide by hanging.

Hook-swinging.—There are two kinds of hook-swinging namely *Garuda Thukkam* (Brahman kite swinging) and *Thony Thukkam* (boat swinging). The ceremony is performed in fulfilment of a vow to obtain some favour of the deity Kali, before whose presence this is performed. The performer of the ceremony should bathe early in the morning and be in a state of preparation either for a year or for 41 days by worshipping the deity, Bhagavaty. He must strictly abstain himself from meat, all kinds of intoxicating liquors and from association with women.

Preliminary training—During the morning hours the performer dresses himself in a garment tucked into the waist band, rubs his body with oil, and is shampooed particularly on the back, a portion of the flesh in the middle is stretched for the insertion of a hook. He is also taught by his instructor to perform various feats called *payitta*. This he continues till the festival, when he has to swing in fulfilment of the vow.

Kite-swinging is a kind of car resting on two axles provided with four wheels. On it, there is a horizontal beam resting on two vertical supports. A strong rope tied to a ring attached to the beam is connected with the hook which passes through the flesh on the back. Over the beam there is a *kutaram* (tent), a small roof which is tastefully decorated. Inside it two or three persons can swing at a time. There is also a different arrangement in some places. Instead of the beam and the supports there is a small pole on which rests a horizontal beam provided with a metallic ring at one end. The beam acts as a lever so that one end of it can be either

raised or lowered so as to give some rest to the swinger. The rope tied to the ring is connected with the hook and the waist-band. For *boat-swinging* the same kind of vehicle without wheels is in use.

Manner of swinging.—For kite swinging, the performer has his face painted green. He has to put on artificial lips and wings similar to those of the kite. He wears long locks of hair like those of an actor in a *kathakali*. The feats are in harmony with the tunes of the musical instruments. As he swings the car is moved 3, 5, 7, 9, or 11 turns around the temples. In boat-swinging there is the covered car without the wheels. It is carried round the temple with the swinger performing his feats on it to the accompaniment of music, as above mentioned. He has to put on the same kind of dress, except the lips and the wings.

Pillayeduthu Thukkam.—(Swinging with a child by the swinger in fulfilment of a vow) —The child that has to be swung is taken to the temple by his parents who pay to the temples authorities, 34 *chakrams** in Travancore and 64 *puthans* § in Cochin. The child is then handed over to the swinger who carries the child as he swings. These performances are sometimes made at the expenses of the temple, but more generally of persons who make the outlay in fulfilment of a vow. In the latter case it costs as much as Rs. 150 for the kite-swinger, but only Rs. 30 for the boat-swinger. During the festival they are fed in the temple, owing to their being in a state of vow.

Castes to which the swingers belong.—It is the Nayars, Kammalars (carpenters, blacksmiths &c) Kuruppan and Izhuvass who perform the swinging in fulfilment of a vow.

Origin of the worship.—In the fight between the goddess Kali and the demon Darika, the latter was completely defeated, and the former, biting him on the back, drank his blood to gratify her feelings of animosity. Hook-swinging symbolises this incident, and the blood-shed by the insertion

* A Chakram = 7 pies, § 1 Puthan = 10 pies.

1. drama,

of the hook though the flesh is intended as an offering to the goddess.

Ganapathi.—He is a homely village God of all castes of people. Prayers are offered to him for overcoming hindrances and difficulties, whether in performing religious acts, writing books, building houses, making journeys or undertaking anything. He is therefore the typical embodiment of success in life, with its usual accompaniments of good living, prosperity and peace. He is believed to be the chief of Siva's host of spirits, and controls malignant spirits who are ever plotting evil and causing hindrances and difficulties.

Subramanya.—He is called the God of war and commands the army of angels against the evil demons who try to overcome and enslave the Gods. In Malabar, where his cultus largely prevails, he is worshipped by those who wish to be relieved from evil spirits, and by women who desire to obtain handsome sons. The worship of Ganapathi and Subramanya appears to be a mere offshoot of Saivism.

Virabhadra.—He is regarded as an *avatar* of Vishnu, who according to *Vishnupurana* comes from the mouth of Siva, to spoil the sacrifices of Daksha. He is described as a divine being with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, wielding a thousand clubs a thousand shafts holding the shell, the disks, the mace and bearing a blazing bow and battle axe.

Ayyappan or Sastha.—He is believed to be the supreme God and highest ruler among the Non-Aryan aborigines in Southern India. He is rightly called *Sastha* (ruler) or Ayyappan (respectable father) and the chief of the *Bhutas* or ghosts whom he restrains from inflicting harm on men. He is in this respect identified with Siva who is called *Bhuthesa* or *Bhutanatha* the Chief of the ghosts. Worshipped as he is by all castes of people in Southern India, especially in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, he is more

revered and feared by the low castes in rural parts. He is often represented as mounting on an elephant or on a horse. He rides sword in hand over hills and dales to clear the country of all obnoxious spirits. Followed by his retinue during midnight, he goes for hunting armed with swords and surrounded by torch-bearers. Any one who meets the hunting party on the road is sure to meet certain death. When not riding he is supposed to be in a sitting posture as a red-skinned man. On his head he wears a crown, on his forehead are painted the three lines of *Vibhuthi* (holy ashes) on his tuft-like locks hang strings of pearls which adorn also his ears and neck. Ornaments cover his arms, hands, feet as well as waist. As an emblem of his royal authority, he carries a sceptre in his hand, and a girdle encircles his waist and left leg. The upper part of his body is naked, while a gay coloured cloth covers the lower part.

Prayers to Sastha.—They are expressed by the following sanskrit verse.

1 ഭൂതനാഥ സദാനന്ദ സർവ്വഭൂതദയാപര, രക്ഷ രക്ഷ മ
ഹാബാഹൊ ശാസ്തേ തുഭ്യം നമോ നമഃ

The following mantram is also in praise of him

3 അസ്യ ശ്രീ മഹാ ശസ്ത്രാ മനുഷ്യ ഭൂഭുജിഃ അനുഷ്ട
പ്പാദനഃ മഹാ ശാസ്ത്ര ദൈവതാ മമ സർവാഭീഷ്ടസിദ്ധ്യേ
വിനിശ്ചാത സദാഗം ഹരിഹര പുത്രായ നമ, അതഃപ്രാ
ഭായ പുത്രപ്രാഭായ ശരസേ സദാഹ ശത്രുനാശായ ശിവ
യെ വഷൾ സർവ്വജ്ഞമൊഹനായ കവചായ ഹും മദഗജ
താംഗ വാഹനായ നെത്രായ വഷൾ മഹാശയസ്ത്രായഹും
ഫൾ സദാഹ അസ്ത്രായ ഫൾ.

2 കാം നമോ ഭഗവതേ ഹരിഃ പുത്രായ പുത്രപ്രാഭായ
ശത്രുനാശായ മദഗജവാഹനായ മഹാശാസ്ത്രായ നമഃ

The above verse and the mantras may be thus translated.

1 "O Lord of ghosts, who is always cheerful, who is kind to all creatures, protect, protect, O long armed; to thee, O Sastha, be salutation and salutation.

2. Salutation to thee, O lord, grant us wealth, give, give us sons, destroy our enemies, avert drought and secure the favour of women.

The meaning of the prayer is: Of this *mantra* of the great *Sastha*. *Rudra* is the Rishi; *Anushtup* is the metre; *maha-Sastha* the great God *Sastha*.

Application for securing all my wishes. Allocation in the six limbs "With *Hariharaputhraya namah* (salutation to *Hariharaputhra*, son of *Hari* or *Vishnu* and *Siva* to the heart *arthalabhaya puthralabhaya swaha* (for the purpose of wealth and sons), to the head, *sathrunasaya vasat* (for the destruction of enemies) to the hair-tuft, with *sarvastrimohanaya* "hum" (for securing the favour of women) by laying the hands across, with *madagajaturanga vahanaya vasat* (for the vehicles, elephants, horses) to the three eyes with *Mahasastaya*) "hum pat swaha" with clapping the hands.

Each *mantra* is divided into six portions, and each of which is generally located in a different part of the body. These locations are *anganyasam*, and *karanyasam* (certain ceremonial formulas with hand).

They are heart, head, hair, tuft, laying hands on the upper arms, three eyes and hand-clapping. The same *mantra* in its abbreviated form runs as follows *Om, aim hrim saum klim, srim, hrim, klim, hariharaputhraya, arthalabhaya puthralabhaya sathrunasaya, sarvastrimohanaya madagaja turanga vahanaya mahasasthaya namah*.

Hariharaputhra.—There lived in ancient times a demon named *Bhasmasura*, who by his severe penance gained the favour of *Iswara*, and got from him a boon that, whatever he touched with his hand, should be turned to ashes. Receiving this, he wished to test it on *Siva* himself, who ran away and concealed himself in a flower of a plant growing in a tank. He thence prayed to *Vishnu* to rescue

him, who, thereupon appeared to the demon in the form of a *Mohini* (damsel). His passions were so much inflamed that he lost all control over his senses. At last the virgin consented to yield to his wishes, if he would rub oil on his head and bathe in the water of the tank close by. The demon did so and was reduced to ashes as his hand touched his head. Siva then left his hiding place and saw Vishnu in the form of a handsome virgin. Siva's passions became uncontrollable. The result of the union of *Hari* and *Hara* was the birth of *Sastha*. The above story appears to be the invention of the Brahman priesthood to destroy the old idea of non-Aryan gods which still influences the masses.

Sastha temples.—There is hardly any place in the rural parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, which does not possess a small temple (with or without roof) or shrine beneath a shady tree or by the side of a brook, dedicated to the worship of Sastha. As people, especially the Sudras and the lower castes, were largely agricultural, and fond of hunting, and as they had to live and work in forests, they began the propitiation of this deity for protection against demons and all kinds of illness. He thus became the favoured deity of the Sudras. Brahmins also must have borrowed the worship of this god from them. There are special *mantras*, as those given above, to be used in the worship of this deity. Wednesdays and Saturdays are auspicious for the adoration of this chief and ruler of the demons. In some parts of the country when children are afflicted with maladies, parents make to him offerings of rice boiled in milk and sugar (*Payasam*), fruits &c. During the last 10 days of the *Mandalam* (a period of 40 days from the 1st *Vrischikam*), a festival in honour of him is celebrated. Sudras adore him with greater reverence. There are temples for this deity where *pujas* are performed and daily offerings given by the Sudras. They never offer animal sacrifices. Their special songs called *Sastha-pattu* (songs in honour of *Sastha*) are sung to propitiate him

in order to avert any pestilential disease, prevailing in the villages, to prevent failure of monsoons, and to keep off evil demons. In fulfilment of certain vows, Sudras go to *Chowri mala*, a hill in Travancore, to adore him and make offerings to him. It is there that he is supposed to reside.

Ayyappan Vilakku.—After recovery from illness or to commemorate any piece of good fortune (acquisition of wealth or the birth of a son) in a Sudra family, the members thereof celebrate a festival in honour of *Ayyappan* by inviting a band of Sudra songsters well versed in the songs in praise of him. A small structure in the form of a temple is made in a conspicuous part of the house. A small stool with an image thereon, is placed in the temple. The figure of *Ayyappan* is also drawn on the floor, *pujas* are performed and offerings of boiled rice in milk, sugar, plantain and fruits &c. are made to him. They sing songs in praise of the deity for the whole night to the accompaniment of a tabor resembling an hour glass. One of them turns a *velichapad* at the end. He then dances or walks up and down in an excited manner amid the noisy music, while an attendant sings songs describing the deeds of demons. He finally succumbs in a frenzied fit and gives out oracular responses to any enquiries addressed to him. Most of the bystanders consult him as to their wants and destinies.

Minor demons.—These are *Kuttichathan*, *Parakutti*, *Karinkutti*, *Muni*, *Mundian* and *Kandakaranan*. They are believed to be either the debased aspects of *Sastha* or the subordinate demons under him. The unbridled malignity of these demons ever excites the fear of the people of the lower castes to such a degree that they, the descendants of the non-Aryan aborigines, always seek their protection by doing pious worship and making offerings to them. These demons take possession of the bodies of living men, produce unpleasant affections of all kinds or even death,

cause other misfortunes in their families or impel them to frantic movements in which all devils delight. They are believed to assume the form of any animal they choose. Hence every village has its own peculiar demon or demons to whose attacks they believe themselves to be exposed. It is on this belief that small temples and shrines are erected for them in rural parts which are often frequented for worship, and where festivals are celebrated every year. It is also probable that these places of worship have been in existence long antecedent to the introduction of the Aryan faith.

Ancestor worship.—It is one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. It prevails among all castes in Malabar. The dead ancestor is supposed to become deified spirit after the performance of funeral rites, and to protect the members of the family. In times of sickness and other calamities, their aid is invoked by offerings. People of the lower castes still attribute all sufferings to their provocation. Neglect to perform the regular rites leaves the departed spirit in the condition of a *pisacha* or foul wandering spirit, disposed to revenge for its misery by a variety of malignant acts, on the members of the family. It is also believed that the orders of the demons were formerly human souls to which proper funeral rites had not been given after burial, and hence they are supposed to wreak vengeance on the living. The spirits of men or women who die of cholera, small pox, or by committing suicide or women in childbirth, wreak vengeance on the living and cause misfortunes to their families (*Pretha badha*) and those spirits are always looked upon with fear. Due performance of rites enjoined by *sastras* will make them harmless *pîtres* which have to progress through various other stages before they are finally admitted into Heaven.

Hence it is that people of all Hindu castes perform elaborate funeral ceremonies, make gifts, flock to Gays,

Haridwar and other sacred places to offer *pindas* (rice ball offerings) to the souls of the departed; for, the efficacy of the service conducted there helps them to attain final bliss more easily. The Izhuvas perform the *sradha* which they call the giving of offerings to the departed spirits of their ancestors. In every house a room containing a few images of their ancestors is set apart for such religious purposes. Once every year, they perform the *sradha* at which boiled rice, plantain fruits, cocoanuts, parched rice (*malar*) are served on a plantain leaf with a lamp lighted in front of it and pray "May ye ancestors, take this and protect us." Saying this, they close the room and all come out, with the belief that the spirits would come and take them. Afterwards they open the door and distribute the offerings among the inmates of the house. Similar offerings are also given on *Karkadakam*, *Thulam* and *Makara sankranties* and on New Moon days. It is for this purpose that every Hindu prays for a son by blood or adoption, who shall give him the due sacrifices after death. "May there be born in our family, the manes are supposed to say, a man to offer us on the thirteenth day of the Moon, rice boiled in milk, honey and ghee" Offerings thus given to the deceased ancestors preceded and followed by sacrifices to the greater deities, give to the doer merit and happiness.

Temples.—The Izhuvas had formerly few or no temples of their own. In many parts of the interior can often be seen a kind of pyramidal pillars or stones with their faces towards the cardinal points and often in the vicinity of a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus Indica*). In front of it a slightly elevated flat surface is made of earth, on which the offerings to their gods are given. A small pandal is also put up on festive occasions. Bloody sacrifices and devil dances are the essential items of the ceremonies of these demon worshippers. The persons who officiate at such ceremonies are the *Velichapads*, rotators of demons, either of their own caste or the Nayers. The animals, to be

sacrificed on such occasions are smeared with turmeric and adorned with flowers. The head is severed at one blow and is held up over the altar so that the blood may fall on it. The sacrificed animal is distributed to those present there, who cook and eat it. In some cases the *velichapad* drinks the blood. During the ceremony, he appears like one possessed, and jumps and rushes through the fire, strikes his forehead with sharp instruments until he is covered with blood. This kind of animistic worship is gradually going down in many parts of Cochin and Travancore, where the people owing to their gradual enlightenment, and advancement in education, and also owing to the influence of *Brimhasri*, *Narayana Guruswamy*, a learned and pious *sanyasi*, have begun to introduce the higher forms of worship. Temples for the worship of *Siva*, *Subramaniya*, and *Ganapathi* have been erected and images consecrated both according to the *Vedic mantras* and the dictates of the *guru* mentioned above. The Temple at *Srinarayanapuram* near Thannir Mukkam has the image consecrated by the former method, while others in Cochin and Travancore are by the latter. The *pujas* are performed seven times in some and three times in others every day, according to the Brahmanic rules. The priests are from their own castes, trained under Brahmans, and have to wear the holy thread, dress in the costumes of a *sanyasi* and have to maintain celibacy. They cannot live outside the temples. The festivals in honour of these deities last for seven days in some temples, for three days in others. In others they are precisely similar to those taking place in Brahmanic temples. Reforms in this direction are introduced by their learned and pious devotees.

Serpent worship.—In the south-west corner of the compound about the house of every Nayar, Izhuva or member of the other castes in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, there is a serpent grove; and the serpents exercise an evil influence, if their shrines are not properly respected. These shrines are called *Chittrakutam*, *Nagakotta*, or *Vishathan-kavu*. Carved granite stones representing the figures of hooded

serpents, are seen in every serpent grove in the compounds of people of almost every Hindu caste in the States above referred to. Leprosy, itch, barrenness in woman, death of children, frequent appearance of snakes in gardens, and all other calamities are believed to be brought about by and set down to the anger of the serpents. Therefore every snake shrine is worshipped, and *pujas* are performed with the offerings of milk, eggs and boiled rice in the month of *Kumbhom* or *Ayilam* day. In the event of any calamity in a family, an astrologer who is consulted, generally attributes it to the anger of the serpents, and the only remedy that is suggested is the formation of a serpent shrine with elaborate ceremonies and sacrifices to obtain their good will and pleasure.

Origin of the serpent worship.—The earliest civilization of Southern India is ascribed to the Dravidians, who, as many authorities consider, came from Northern India. They are supposed to have been displaced by the Aryans. It is also believed that colonies were established in South India by the Dravidians, long before the Aryans came to India. Inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries show that the ruling chiefs of the kingdoms in South India belonged to the Naga race, and held the serpent banner, and that a part of Canara was called the territory of the Naga people. Further the earliest settlements in Ceylon were founded by these people. Though they had settled in the South, they never abandoned their possessions in the North of India. From these and other facts it is concluded, that the Dravidians belonged to the Naga race. The population of these colonies, consisted mainly of the aborigines who adopted their customs, religion and to a great extent the language of the Dravidians. At a later period, the worship of the Brahmanical deities was also introduced. Yet much of the old religion and mode of life was retained. The worship of the hooded serpent is general among the Dravidians of South India. Rudely sculptured images are found underneath

almost every tree. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, they are even, to this day, worshipped in *Kavus* or serpent groves, which like those in the villages of the Panjab are left untouched by axe or spade. A *Naga kavu* near Travancore, is the property of a family whose ancestors were among the Nagas, spared from the burning of the Kandava forest in the Panjab by Arjuna. Every male of this family even to this day is called Vasuki, the deified hero of the Naga people of Northern India. Divine honours are paid to the Naga demigods as ancestors. And among these ancestors of the Dravidians are the Naga Rajas, who are also worshipped as ancestors by their descendants in North India. Offerings of milk, flour, fruit given to the serpents even now are not the usual food of serpents, but are the food of men. The burning of a cobra, and providing it with a winding sheet after its death, resembles the funeral ceremonies of men. The worship may be a kind of ancestor worship. Further the Dravidians are divided into Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas. 'Cheras' is the Dravidian equivalent for Naga. Chera-mandala means Naga Mandala or Naga-dwipa not Naga country. This points to the Asura origin of the Dravidians of the South. There still exists a set of people over the valley of the Ganges who are called Cheras or Seoris, who claim descent from the serpent Gods, and who appears have to been ousted by the Mahomadens. These people might be the kinsmen of the Cheras, on account of the similarity in the social customs. There are also many tribes in the Beas valley and other adjacent localities, who worship hooded serpents and profess to belong to the old Solar race. Thus the serpent worship is not peculiar to Malabar, but prevailed more or less in many parts of India in ancient times.

Death and funeral ceremonies.—The poor among the Izhuvass bury their dead, while the rich burn them. The dead when buried are laid flat. Whenever an aged person breathes

his last, his castemen are sent for, and the relatives, both men and women, visit the dead body. It is washed and dressed neat, and the forehead, breast and hands are marked with sandal paste. The space near the door is cordoned and the corpse is placed thereon with the head towards the south. In some places, the *thandan* is sent for and he constructs a shed of cocoanut palm leaves in the yard in which the dead body is placed. *Vayikari* or the putting of rice into the mouth by the members of the house then takes place. The barber takes some paddy, beats it free from the husk, mixes with it some scraped cocoanut and keeps the mixture ready in a cup. The children, the nephews and the relatives of the deceased come one by one, and put a small pinch of the mixture into the mouth of the corpse. Afterwards the nephews and others put new cloths on the body, which together with the ear-rings become the perquisite of the barber. While the *Vayikari* ceremony is performed, offerings are laid on the shed and the relatives cry and mourn. A lamp is kept burning and the shed remains for seven days, during which there is mourning. Those of the relatives who have the death pollution have also to perform some ceremonies. The corpse is covered with a new cloth, which serves as a winding sheet, and the members who have to perform the funeral rites have also to dress themselves in a new cloth. The body is then removed to the eastern side of the main entrance and slightly to the southern side called, *Pattara sthanam*, where also certain ceremonies have to be gone through. The body is then either burned or buried in the compound on the southern side. The relatives who carry it, go round the grave several times. A tender cocoanut is placed at each end of the grave. A cocoanut tree is sometimes planted to mark the spot. In the event of cremation a lamp is lighted on the spot every night and allowed to burn for an hour or two.

Udaka Kriya.—The member (son or nephew) who performs the ceremony takes a pot of water and pours it over the grave, through a hole made on the side and at last,

breaks it. Those of the castemen who accompany the chief mourner return home after bathing. The members of the family fast for the night. From the next morning till the 15th the son or nephew bathes early morning, and gives offerings of riceballs to the spirit of the departed. His brothers and nephews, if any, take part in it. *Sanchayana*, the ceremony of collecting the bones, is performed on the fifth day. The bones are collected in a pot and thrown into a river or sea at some convenient time.

Pulakuli.—(Bathing to be freed from pollution). This falls on the 10th, the 11th or the 15th day. On the night previous, the members under pollution fast and on the next morning they bathe with a few drops of oil on their body and perform the ceremony of *shatangam*. They also partake of the ceremony of the rice ball offerings, a few of which are thrown into the water. They all bathe and the *enangan* sprinkles on them water mixed with cowdung. On the 15th night the castemen of the place are entertained. This is called *Attazham ottu*. On the 16th they perform the *shodajem*, after which the riceballs (*manu pindam*) and the bones are placed in a metal plate covered with a silk cloth. It is carried by the chief mourner. He goes to the nearest river or other holy water, either riding on a horse, or an elephant or walking, and sinks into the water with it. It is sometimes carried by him in procession with tom toms and music. Returning home with his castemen, he celebrates a feast to those assembled there. He then performs the *Diksha* either for forty-one days or for a year. He performs a *sradha* every month on the same day and terminates it at the end of the year by the performance of the same on a larger scale and by a sumptuous feeding of his castemen. Persons in affluent circumstances go to Benares, Rameswaram or Gokarnam to perform the *sradha*, and offer *pindas* to the spirits of the departed. On the cremation ground a stone is placed if the funeral ceremonies are not at once performed. No tombstone is erected in honour of the deceased. In some cases a coconut tree is planted to mark

the spot. Whenever houses are haunted by the spirits of the dead, the remedy is sought for in consultation with an astrologer, who advises him to make an image of the dead with silver and place it in a temple, wherein a ceremony called *Thilahoma* is performed by the Brahmans. Sometimes a certain sum of money necessary to defray the expenses of the ceremony every year is placed in charge of the temple manager. The Izhuvas observe mourning in the same manner as Nayars (vide my account of the Nayars.)

When a person dies childless, his funeral ceremonies are performed by his brother, if any, or any other close by related.

For those who die violent deaths, the advice of the *Mantravadi* is resorted to, and after the soul is purified by the aid of *mantras*, the regular funeral ceremonies are performed. Rich men give grand feasts, while the poor do not even perform the *sradha*. Some arrange for it in temples while others do a *pūja* on the 11th *Dhanu* every year. The Izhuvarathies, who are their barbers, are their recognized priests and they take part in funeral ceremonies in various ways. The barber women plays an important part in other matters also. It is she that ties the *Prathisaram* or the *diksha* string round the bride's wrist and finally hands over to the bridegroom, the *tali* to be tied.

The graves of virgins are consecrated as places of worship. A Pala tree, *Echites Scholaris*. (Milk plant) is planted there, and a lamp is lighted every day.

Women dying in childbirth are believed to become demons, and are therefore buried in distant places or jungles. *Mantras* are repeated to prevent their spirits from molesting people.

Those who die of small-pox are supposed to become *maruthas*, and magic mantras are also repeated to hinder them from attacking the living.

Izhuvathie.

Their origin.—When the Izhuvas first came to Kerala,

Cheraman Perumal appointed a Brahman to preside over their marriage, funeral and other religious ceremonies. These duties brought on him a social degradation. Thus he and his descendants became *Izhuvathies*—*Izhuva Vadhiars* or *Izhuva priests*, who are now a separate sub-caste. They are known by different names in different places, namely, *Vathies*, *Komarattans*, *Aluthons* (persons closely connected), *Kurups* and *Panikkars*. They observe the Makkathayam law of inheritance.

Their duties.—They act as barbers to the Izhuvas and preside over their marriage, funeral and all other ceremonies. They are allowed to take the meals cooked by Brahmans or the Izhuvas but are prohibited from taking the food of *Thiyya chone* *Velakhadi chone* (sub-divisions among the Izhuvas) and other castes below them. The violation of the latter rule will place them under a ban. Their males and females can read and write. The former are either teachers, physicians, or magicians and are generally called *Kurups*, whose customs and ceremonies do not differ from those of the Izhuvas. Whenever the Izhuvathies have to celebrate a marriage, funeral or other ceremonies, they have merely to inform the important members of the Izhuva community in the village, who with other members of the caste, raise by a voluntary subscription, a sum of money, and give it to them to defray the expenses. They further attend and take part in the ceremony and festival and see to everything being properly done.

Chapter IV.

Occupation of the caste.—Food.—Status among the Hindus.—Dress—Ornaments and games.

Occupation of the caste.—The hereditary occupations of the community, as a whole, have been from early times, the rearing and cultivation of the cocoanut tree, toddy-drawing and arrack distilling. They also manufacture coarse sugar (jaggery) from toddy.



Kallu or toddy.—When the *Spadix* or flowering branch is half shot, and the *Spatha* or covering of the flowers, has not opened, the Izhuva cuts off its point and binds the stump round with a leaf and beats the remaining part of the spadix with a small stick. For fifteen days this operation is repeated, a thin slice being daily removed. The stump then begins to bleed and a pot is placed under it to receive the juice which is the *kallu or toddy*. Every day afterwards, a thin slice is taken from the stump, which is then secured by a legature, but after it has begun to bleed, the beating is omitted. The juice is removed once a day. If it be intended for drinking, nothing is put into the pot, and it will keep for three days. On the fourth day it becomes sour; and what has not been sold to drink, while fermenting, is distilled into arrack. The liquor is distilled without addition and the spirit is not rectified. In the pot intended to receive the juice, that is to be boiled into jag-gery, a little quicklime is put to prevent fermentation, and the juice boiled on the day on which it is taken from the tree. The Izhuvass are also agriculturists. In jungly tracts, they cut timber, saw wood and collect fire wood. Many are engaged in weaving, oil pressing, boat building, boating and coir-making. Some are employed as cooks and servants under Europeans. There are also among them, a few merchants, physicians, teachers, astrologers and magicians. As population increases, they resort to various occupations to which they easily gain access. As a class, they are very industrious, and though not generally opulent, there are men of wealth and influence among them. In North Malabar they have been appreciating the benefits of English education, and a large number of children of the well-to-do people, are receiving higher education. Many have gained high University honours and are employed in all departments of the public service. In this respect their brethren in the States of Cochin and Travancore lag behind them. Owing partly to the poverty of the people, and partly to their disabilities, very few have been taking advantage of the instructions given

in State High Schools. Admission to the public service has been recently thrown open to them. In point of education they cannot compare favourably either with the Nayers or with their brethren in North Malabar.

The Izhuvas have recently organised a registered association called *Sri Nayarana Paripalini Yogam* of over 600 members, working for the religious, social and industrial advancement of the members of the caste in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. This association has been working for two years. It opened an exhibition in January last at Quilon in Travancore. The principal agricultural products raised and exhibited by them were paddy, pepper, tapioca, betel leaves, areca nut, pulses and yarns. Among the manufactures were textile fabrics, sugar, toddy, liquor, and coir. Some good specimens of ivory and cocoanut shell carving were also among the exhibits. Though the exhibition was not a complete success, yet they have done their best. The caste is now striving to come up in the social scale.

There are no landlords among them, but only tenants. Lands are held on various tenures an account of which has already been given in the monograph on the Nayers. There are also many landless day-labourers who work in paddy fields and cocoanut *topes* and get two to three annas as wages. Some are engaged as boatmen and sawers of wood and get five to six annas a day. No artisans were, in former times, found amongst them; but some are now engaged in carving, painting and weaving.

It is said, that agriculture is the chief occupation of half the population of the State. The implements of husbandry are of the most primitive kind, and the knowledge of the principles of cultivation and manure is mostly empirical. There is an old Malayalam poem in manuscript which is a translation of a Sanskrit work on agriculture, called *Kerala Kalpam*, believed to have been compiled by the great Parasurama for the benefit of the Arya Brahmans, by whom

he colonised Kerala. Children of the agricultural classes in rural parts, especially in the northern parts of the State, are taught this poem in pyal schools, while in southern parts, it is almost unknown. The methods of cultivation now in vogue among the agricultural classes are mostly in accordance with the precepts laid down in this work. A short account of it may be found to be useful and interesting.

The following story is told to account for so much rain in Kerala. In days of yore, there was, at one time, no rain in the kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya, and all living beings were dying of starvation. The kings of the three kingdoms could not find means to mitigate the sufferings of their subjects. They consulted with one another and resolved to do penance to the God of rain. Temporarily leaving the administration of affairs in the hands of the ministers, they went to the forest, and did penance to Indra, the God of rain, who, at the intercession of the great Gods, took pity on them and blessed each of them with rain for four months in the year. Well pleased, they returned to their kingdoms. They soon became discontented, because the first had not enough of rain, while the other two had too much of it. They went to the rain god and conveyed to him their grievances. He thereupon directed the kings Cholan and Pandiyan to give two months' rain to the king Cheran. All the three rulers now felt quite satisfied. The king Cheran got 8 months rain for his kingdom, while the other two were satisfied with two months' rain in their own kingdoms. Their days of birth, namely *Thiruvathira* (the sixth asterism) in *Mithunam* (June-July) of Cheran, *Swathi* (Arcturus) in *Thulam* (October-November) of Cholan, *Mulam* (19th constellation) in *Kumbham* (February-March) of Pandiyan are worthy of remembrance. For, on these auspicious days commence the monsoons, namely the South West monsoon in Malabar, the North East monsoon or *Thulam Varisham* in the kingdom of Chola, and the rainy season in the kingdom of Pandya. What are called ambrosial showers of rain are said to fall on

these kingdoms during the two weeks beginning from the aforesaid date. It is the belief of all castes among the Hindus even now that seeds of plants sown on these days will produce a rich harvest. These days are called *Nattu Velas* (the best time for planting) in the respective kingdoms and held sacred by the people of these countries.

The unit of measurement of the quantity of rain falling upon earth is called a *para*, which is described by the following verse.

അരപതയൊന്നു വിസ്താരത്താൽ,
 ഏറീടശതയൊന്നനീളം,
 പറയുടെ മാനമിതെന്നെല്ലാമം,
 പറയന്നു ദൈവന്മാരുവു.

It is the measurement of the *Dēvas*, which consists of the quantity of rain falling upon land, 60 *yojanas* or 600 miles in length and 100 *yojanas* or 1,000 miles in breadth.

The following lines show how a forecast can be made as to the quantity of rain that may be had, and the result of the harvest, by the occurrence of *Vishu* the 1st of Medom (April May) on the different week days. They are described by the following lines.

പറമുന്നിതു കൊണ്ടുള്ളതുകാലം,
 പറയെങ്ങാപൊലെന്നുസമൃദ്ധി,
 ജലമൊരുപറയുണ്ടാകുകാലം,
 പലരംഭിച്ചിചെയ്യാലുന്തന്നം,
 പറന്നാലുള്ളതുകാലംനലമ
 അറിയുന്നു ഭൂവിദാരിദ്ര്യങ്ങൾ.
 തള്ളലുവെള്ളം കൊണ്ടുവിരിപ്പിനു,
 വെള്ളംപറഞ്ഞുള്ളതുകാലം,
 വെള്ളംപറന്നാലങ്ങതിലെരുക,
 ഇല്ലെന്നത്രെമുന്നിമതമൊക്കിൽ.
 ശനിയാരെവിഷുസംക്രമമായാൽ
 തന്നിയെപറയക്കാലംപൊൽ.

രവിക്ഷവാറെവിഷ്ണുശക്രാന്തേ,
 ഭൂവിപരരണ്ടക്കാലത്താകും.
 ശനിനു പാദം വിഷ്ണുവത്സ്യായ്,
 ദിശിമൂന്നത്രെ പറയക്കാലം.

The substance of the above:

If *Vishu* (first of Medom) falls upon a Saturday, there will fall one *para* of rain in Kerala. Poor harvest and poverty among people will be the consequence. If it comes on a Sunday or Tuesday, there will be two *paras* of rain. The crops will be somewhat good. If on Monday, three *paras* of rain will fall and the harvest will be rich and the crops abundant. If on Thursday, four *paras* of rain will fall, the crops will be abundant and the harvest so rich that no sign of famine in the land nor poverty among the people will be seen.

The lands which should not be taken up for sowing are described in the following lines:—

കെട്ടാലും നിങ്ങൾ തുവയെറീടുന്ന
 കാട്ടിലൊന്നവി തച്ചാലണ്ടായിടാ,
 ചെങ്ങന്നൊരയന്നപല്ല മിതപ്പുളം
 അടു കാട്ടിലൊക്കും വിതക്കണ്ടാ
 ഇല്ലിപ്പുടലങ്ങര ഏറിയകാട്ടിലും
 കല്ലൻ കാട്ടിലുമെതും വിതക്കണ്ട,
 കാട്ടു ജീവികളെറിയാ കാട്ടിലും
 വിതച്ചാലടുക്കിപ്പുറം പണി.

They are lands overgrown with (1) *phlomis*, (2) *chengana* (a kind of grass), (3) bamboos and thorny plants (4) hard stony grounds and (5) tracts frequented by wild beasts.

On the contrary, lands with a mixture of sand and earth, those drained by springs from the hill-sides (*mal-neer*), and sewage impurities as well as those manured by river-silt can be well taken up for cultivation.

Men who are unfit to be cultivators:

- They are (1) men with no piety to God, with no respect for their Guru (preceptor) and Brahmins,
- (2) men addicted to drinking,
 - (3) men with no frugal habits,
 - (4) dull and sleepy men,
 - (5) men who do not keep proper accounts of income and expenditure,
 - (6) men who do not provide themselves with a sufficient storage of grain for the wages of workmen under them,
 - (7) men without the necessary implements of industry viz (1) crowbar, (2) hatchet, (3) sword, (4) axe, (5) spade and (6) various kinds of wickerwork.
 - (8) men who cannot maintain themselves in *Karkadakam* (July and August),
 - (9) men having no farm house, providing no straw for bullocks in *Kanni* (September-October),
 - (10) men having no adequate wages to be given to workmen.

The lands that should be taken up for cultivation should be well-fenced and manured with leaves, dung of cattle and ashes. The bank between fields should be sufficiently strong and grass should not be allowed to grow on them, as it may draw the manure off the fields.

Manner of ploughing and manuring.—The plough must penetrate deep into the ground to turn the layers of earth. The bullocks must never be thrashed, but must be cheerfully led. They must be enticed by songs. The ground for sowing seeds and for transplanting must be ploughed not less than six times. A bullock and a buffalo must not be yoked together.

Bullocks to be used for ploughing and other agricultural purposes should possess the following qualities:- (1) the hind part round and fat; (2) the back-bone nearly straight and raised; (3) white, black or red spots (active); (4) thick nose; (5) raised head, and bent horns; (6) no decaying teeth; (7) bent and small horns; (8) small and fair like ponies; (9) soft dung; (10) long tail; (11) eating its food quickly.

Bullocks that have to be rejected are those having (1) long hoofs, (2) small tails, (3) bent back-bones, (4) thick and heavy horns, (5) marks of leprosy, (6) decaying teeth, (7) the hind legs touching each other while walking, (8) belly like a rattan box, (9) no horns, and (10) passing loose dung. Buffaloes should be dark coloured and have their bodies round.

Cattle shed must have its floor paved with wooden planks, well cleaned, and partitioned. The dung must be removed to a distance, as its smell is very offensive to them.

Inauspicious time for sowing.

1. Night (Poor harvest).

2. *Gulikakalam* (Time of the son of Saturn). Inauspicious time.

A day is, according to Hindu Astrology, divided into 60 *ghatikas* or 24 hours. The following are the *gulikakalam*s for the week days:—

Day			Night		
Sunday	26th <i>ghatika</i>	(4—24 P. M.)	10th <i>ghatika</i>	(10 P. M.)	
Monday	22nd do	(3—43 P. M.)	6th do	(8—24 P. M.)	
Tuesday	18th do	(1—12 P. M.)	2nd do	(6—48 P. M.)	
Wednesday	14th do	(11—36 A. M.)	26th do	(1—24 A. M.)	
Thursday	10th do	(9—24 A. M.)	22nd do	(3—48 A. M.)	
Friday	6th do	(8—24 A. M.)	18th do	(1—24 A. M.)	
Saturday	2nd do	(6—48 A. M.)	14th do	(11—36 A. M.)	

Seeds sown during those inauspicious times yield no produce.

3. *Kanni*, *Vrischikam* and *Dhanu Rasis*.—A day is divided

into 12 *rasis* or the 12 signs of the zodiac, namely (1) Arius (2) Taurus (3) Gemini (4) Cancer (5) Leo (6) Vergo (7) Libra (8) Scorpio (9) Sagitaris (10) Capricornus (11) Aquaris (12) Pices.

The time set apart for each *rasi* is given below:—

(1)	<i>Medom</i>	<i>rasi</i> (Arius)	4½	<i>ghatikas</i>
(2)	<i>Edavam</i>	do (Taurus)	4½	do
(3)	<i>Mithunam</i>	do (Gemini)	5½	do
(4)	<i>Karkudakam</i>	do (Cancer)	5½	do
(5)	<i>Chingam</i>	do (Leo)	5½	do
(6)	<i>Kanni</i>	do (Vergo)	5	do
(7)	<i>Thulam</i>	do (Libra)	5	do
(8)	<i>Vrischikam</i>	do (Scorpio)	5½	do
(9)	<i>Dhanu</i>	do (Sagitaris)	5½	do
(10)	<i>Makaram</i>	do (Capricornus)	5½	do
(11)	<i>Kumbhom</i>	do (Aquaris)	4½	do
(12)	<i>Meenam</i>	do (Pices)	4½	do

The crops raised by seeds sown in *Kanni rasi* will be removed by robbers while those obtained from the seeds sown on the *Vrischika rasi* will be destroyed.

4. *Gandantham* (a perilous time).—The first quarter of the three asterisms *Aswa'hi* (1st constellation head of Arius) *Makam* (A cur loom), and *Mulam* (19th constellation, extremity of scorpion's head); and also the last quarter of *Ayiliam* (9th asterism fore feet of Leo), *Kettu* (18th lunar asterism in scorpion) and *Kavathi* (27th constellation Pices).

The seeds sown during this period will produce nothing to the farmer.

5. *Vishanadika* (Poisonous period).—Four Indian hours in each *nakshathram* (star) that presides over the day.

6. *Panthanal*.—The second, seventh and twelfth day after the waxing and waning of the Moon. A house thatched on these days will take fire.

7. The sixth day after the waxing and waning of the Moon (*Shasti*).

8. *Veliaycrakkam*.—Low tide.

9. *Panrikaranam*, *Pasukanam* and *Kazhuthakaranam*.—*Akaranam* is the 11th constellation of the lunar fortnight (*vide* my notes on Malabar Astrology).

10. *Rasis*.—Aspected by evil planets or malifics.

11. *Latam* and *Argalam*.—Inauspicious days (*vide* my notes on Malabar Astrology).

12. *Vayidrihayogam*.—Sun and Moon standing in the same *Ayana* and like declension. Inauspicious time.

13. Days of eclipse.

14. *Adhimasam*.—Thirteenth lunar month occurring every fourth year.

15. When Jupiter aspects Venus and *vice versa*.

16. Saturdays and Sundays.

Auspicious days for sowing.

(1) *ROHANI*—1th *nakshathra* with *Aldebaran*.

PUNARTHAM—the 7th *nakshathra*, *Gemini*, &c *Sirius*.

PUYAM—the 8th lunar asterism, *Cancer*, the head of *Hydra*.

ASTHAM the 13th constellation, *Coma Berenices*.

UTTHAM—12th asterism, tale of *Leo*.

MULAM—the 19th asterism the extremity of *Scorpion's* head.

(2) *SIMHAKARANAM*
PULIKARANAM } *Vide* my notes on Malabar Astrology.
ANAKARANAM

(3) *RASIS*—*Mithunam*, *Karkadakam*, *Simham*, *Makaram*, and *Meenam*.

Paddy cultivation in the State is generally of three kinds (1) Dry seed cultivation, (2) Sprouted cultivation and (3) Transplanted paddy cultivation.

Dry seed cultivation.—For this kind of cultivation, the fields, after the preceding crop has been cut in *Vrischikam* (November-December) and *Mhanu* (December-January), are ploughed. The ploughings are continued several times till *Medom* (April-May). Some ashes are sprinkled every now and then on the fields. After a few showers of rain in *Medom*, the seeds are sown broadcast. Some farmers plough in the seed, while others cover it with a hoe. The ashes are again thrown on the fields. The weeds (*Kala* or that which has to be removed or lost) are removed a month after the seeds have been sown. The banks are repaired, and the water is confined on the field. Weeds are again removed in July. The harvest falls in the latter part of *Kanni* or *Thulam*. This method of cultivation is applied to a single crop of *kazhama*, *ariyan* and *ariviri* (varieties of paddy) and the harvest is in *Vrischikam*. Should a double crop be raised, the sowing takes place in *Medom* and the harvest in *Karkadakam* (July-August) and *Chingam* (August-September). The second crop is begun in two weeks.

Sprouted cultivation.—The fields for this are ploughed a dozen times, and are always kept full of water, except when the plough is at work. The field is drained, until the water does not stand deeper than a hand's breadth. At each ploughing, some leaves of any bush or weed, that can be procured, are put into the mud, which is smoothed by dragging over it, a plank yoked to two oxen. The water is drained off by two or three channels formed with a hoe. The prepared seed is sown. As the corn grows more and more, water is allowed to rest on the field. The kinds of rice thus cultivated are fifteen in number and require from three to six months. This cultivation is resorted to in fields on which dry seeds can be sown.

Transplanted rice cultivation.—The manner of ploughing and manuring is the same as in the case of sprouted seed and performed in the same season. If the ground be clean, the seedlings are transplanted immediately from the fields in which they are raised into those in which they may be reared into maturity. When they are planted, the fields contain three inches depth of water, which gradually increases as the plant grows. Good farmers plough the ground more than twelve times beforehand.

The auspicious time at which seeds are sown for dry seed cultivation is during the *Bharani* and the *Karthika Nattu Velas* i. e. from the 14th *Medom* (latter part of April) to the 10th of *Edavam* (about the end of May). Time for the sprouted cultivation is during the *Makiram Nattu Vela* which begins from the 23rd *Edavam* and lasts till the 7th *Mithunam*. The transplanted cultivation begins during the *Thiruvathira Nattu Vela* (i. e. 7th *mithunam* to the 21st).

Modan cultivation.—The dry lands are well ploughed and the sowing takes place in *Medom* (March-April) and the harvest in *Chingam* (August-September.)

Punja cultivation.—Sowing is in *Kumbhom* and the harvest about the end of *Medom* and the beginning of *Edavam*.

Kole cultivation.—This kind of cultivation is peculiar to Cochin, Travancore and Malabar. It means the cultivation of paddy in fresh water lakes after draining away the water. The whole of the Erichur lake is thus cultivated. The beds are partitioned and temporarily bunded into plots of varying extent, and the water is pumped out before sowing. It is a speculative undertaking, for if the bunds put up give way owing to some mishap or if the monsoon sets in very early, there is danger of the whole crop being submerged and lost. In normal seasons the outturn is good, and a good kole harvest saves the State from the effects of a bad harvest in other fields. There has been of late an improvement in the methods of draining the lakes, as steam engine

is used instead of the primitive water wheels. The sowing begins in *Makaram* and the harvest in *Medom* or *Edavam*.

All lands in the State may broadly be divided into wet lands and *parambas*. Of the former, those situated on the margin of the backwaters are generally embanked for rice cultivation and they afford much scope for reclamations and improvements. As these lands are submerged under salt water, their cultivation is taken up only after the showers of rain diminish the brackishness of the water. The soil is clayey and brackish; and ploughing is out of question. The cultivation is carried on in the simplest way possible. The fields are dug up into square or rectangular plots, each a square yard or two in area, and sprouted seeds are sown over these plots and covered over with the same soil; in a few days, they take root and grow into luxurious plants. In other fields, sowing begins in May, a few weeks before the monsoon. There are some fields, which give two and three crops, but the salt water fields give only one crop^o. A good harvest depends upon the timely showers of rain, as the plants are otherwise scorched by the Sun, making the water more brackish. Leaves, cattle-dung and ashes are the chief kinds of manure.

Cocoanut cultivation.—Manner of rearing cocoanut plants. The seeds must be ripe and fully developed cocoanuts, obtained from cocoanut trees, which have been yielding good and big ones during the previous twelve years. They should not, while plucking, be allowed to fall on the ground. The nuts should be sown by the side of turmeric plants. When they sprout and grow into tender plants, they should be planted during *Thiruvathira Nattu Vela* in soil possessing the following characteristics. The soil must be a mixture of mud and sand, found near the banks of rivers, where the tide flows, and near inlets from the sea, by which the whole coast is very much intersected. They are planted in *parambas* or gardens. Holes are dug throughout for the reception of young palms. The pits are generally three feet square and the same in depth. In the bottom of each pit, a

small hole is made to receive the young plant, together with some ashes and salt. A little earth is then put round the roots, and the young tree gets a little water. For the first three weeks, water must be given three times a day; afterwards until the tree is three years old, it must be watered once in two days, and once every month a little ashes must be put into each pit. During the *Nattu Vela*, a trench one cubit deep is dug round the young tree to gather water near the tree during the rainy season, after which the whole garden is ploughed, and the trenches levelled. Every young tree is allowed to have one basketful of ashes. Every year before the rains, the trenches are renewed as before and filled up at the end of the monsoon.

When the trees begin to flower for the first time, a trial is made by cutting a flowering branch to ascertain whether they will be fit for producing nuts or palm-wine. If the cut bleed, they are fit for the latter purpose. In that case, they are let to the *Tiyyas*, who extract the juice and distil it into arrack. In a good soil, the tree yields juice all the year round, but in poor soil it exhausts in six months. The trees which yield very numerous nuts often grow to a considerable size. In favourable soil, they produce twelve bunches in the year. Ordinary trees give only six bunches.

The auspicious time for planting is described in the following lines.

When the position of Jupiter at the time of sowing is in the first, fourth, seventh and tenth *rasies* called also as *Kendras*,* the trees will have a luxuriant growth bearing bunches of large cocoanuts. Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays are also auspicious. *Rasies* aspected by benefics, namely Jupiter, Venus and well associated Mercury, are also favourable for planting. Full Moon, Mercury and Venus aspecting the 7th Rasi, and Jupiter aspecting the fifth, seventh and ninth *rasies*, are also favourable. These planets aspect one another at an angle of 180 degrees.

* The 1st, 4th, 7th, signs in Astrology.

The planting of Areca palm is described in the following lines:—

മുപ്പുവീടും കെട്ടുപിടിച്ചു മുകളിൽ
കീഴെ വീടും കീഴെ മറ്റും
പാകത്തിൽ നന്നായി മുട്ടിച്ചു,
പൊക്കം തക്കം സൂക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം.
ധാരാളമുറിയായ വാർഷികം,
ആരും ചൂടാക്കണം ഇവയെല്ലാം.

Substance of the above.—The seeds of the Areca palm must be ripe and full grown. They should be sown on good soil and must be carefully tended till they sprout and become young plants, when they should be planted in soil replete with moisture.

Gingilli seeds or Sesamum.

These are of two kinds, namely *cheria ellu* and *valia ellu*. They are sown separately. They are cultivated at the same season in the same manner and in the same kind of soil. In *Karkadakam* (July-August), the small bushes growing on the soil must be cut, dried and burned to ashes which may serve as manure. In *Chingam* (August-September) after seven days' fine weather, the seeds are sown, and covered with the plough. Too much rain is unfavourable. Four weeks after the South West rain must cease, the rains from eastward ought to begin. Should this happen, there will be a good crop. Good and bad days for sowing gingilli seeds are described in the following lines:—

കുവാറപൊഴുതെളിച്ചിതച്ചാൽ,
യജമാനന്മാനനുശിക്കും.
സിതവാറപൊഴുതെളിച്ചിതച്ചാൽ
അതിയായിട്ടുണ്ടതു നശിക്കും.
ഗുരുവാറപൊഴുതെളിഞ്ഞു മദ്ധ്യം
തിരിയെ ചൊല്ലി മുനിമാരിൽ.
ശനിയുടെ വാരം നന്നല്ലെന്നു
മുനിമാരെല്ലാമെന്നു വദന്തി,
ബുധവാരത്തിന്നു മില്ലൊരു ദൈവം.

വിധിയെത്രവലിയെങ്കിലെന്നാത്താൽ.
 പൂത്തിൽചലിയെങ്കിലും ചിതക്കൊന്നും
 ഏതൊക്കെചാക്കുന്നതെന്നാക്കുകിൽ.
 മലത്തിൽചലിയെങ്കിലും ചിതക്കൊന്നും,
 തകർക്കുംചാക്കല്ലെന്നാൽ ലം.
 ആയില്യം, താലൂക്കും വിധിയെ
 ന്നായതൊക്കെ വിതക്കവലിയെ കൂ.

Substance of the above.—Gingilli seeds sown on Tuesday will cause death to the farmer. Crops will be destroyed, if sown on Friday. Saturday is equally inauspicious. Wednesday is good. Small gingilli seeds if sown on *Turam Nattu Vela* will produce a rich harvest. *Mokam Nattu Vela* is equally good for large seeds, sown even on laterite soil. *Ayilliam Nattu Vela* is also favourable.

Paramba (high land) cultivation.—In the arable parts of the high or *Paramba* lands, the following crops are cultivated.

1. *Modun* or hill-rice.
2. *Ellu* or gingilli.
3. *Uzhunnu* or *Phascolus minimus*.
4. *Karim Payaroo* or *Deliches Gatsjung semine nigro*.
5. *Chamay* or *Panicum miliare*.

This kind of land is in general cultivated once in two years only, and requires a year's fallow to recover its strength; but in places near villages, where it receives manure or is much frequented by men and cattle, it gives a crop every year. Whatever crops are to be sown, the long grass and bushes growing on this ground are always cut down by the roots, and burned before ploughing. The ashes serve as a necessary manure.

Pulses.—All the pulses like *Uz* &c. are cultivated in the same manner as *ellu*. The field is ploughed

once in *Makaram*; the seed is sown immediately afterwards, and covered with a cross ploughing. In *Chingam* they ripen without further trouble.

The seeds for the cultivation of the pulse should be sown in *Bhurani Nattu Vela*. The seeds for *Cheru modan* are sown in *Rohani Nattu Vela*. The forests must, about the same time, be cleared for the cultivation of *Uzhunnu*, and *Payaru* seeds which should be sown on *parambas* overgrown with *thakara* (*Indigofera hirsuta*).

The cultivation of *chima* is also begun at the same time. For *Chama* (*Panicum Millaceum*), the field is ploughed five times in *Medun* (April-May). After a shower of rain, it is harrowed with a rake drawn by oxen, then sown and the seed is covered with another harrowing. It is ripe in *Karkadakam* (July-August).

e

Rotation.—In such parts of the high lands, as are manured sufficiently to enable there to produce annually a crop of grain, a rotation has been introduced, the first year *Chama*, the second year *Uzhunnu*, and the third year *Payaru*. Another rotation is alternate crops of *sesamum* and *chama*. The pulses and *sesamum* can never be sown in the same field.

Food.—The routine dietary of the *Izhuvas* is the same as that described in my account of other castes. Their food consists of boiled rice or *kanji* with vegetable curry. They eat fish, mutton, fowls, and the flesh of deer and pig.

Status among the Hindus.—The status of the *Izhuvas* in former times seems to have been very low. In his manuscript memoir of Travancore and Cochin, Ward and Conner say that they were treated with contempt by the members of the high castes and were owned in a kind of servitude, mitigated to be sure, when contrasted with the proedial slave. They also add that during late years the caste has been raised in some measure from the low state of degradation in which they were held, and that the repeal of

poll-tax, from which the lowest poverty could not exempt the abrogation of the *Oozhium* or forced labour and many vexatious restraints, might have taught them their own rights and given them confidence to claim liberty. Francis Day, in his 'Land of the Perumals', says that if a Chogan or Izhuvan dare to pollute a Nayar by approaching nearer than the proscribed distance, he was at liberty to cut him down. They are a people, says he, despised by the higher castes such as the Brahmans and the Nayars, who, whenever they required money, invariably looked to these classes, whence to obtain it. Always destitute of literature, both sacred and profane, they were not solicitous for education. Fearful of losing money they often buried their savings. Suspicious of not obtaining justice from the laws of the realm, they often resorted to ordeals. Even at present, they have recourse to the decision of the *Panchayets* or umpires chosen with the consent of both parties. They were not permitted to enter within a native court of justice as they might pollute the judges, who were members of the higher castes. The Nayars were their paid advocates in these courts of justice. All these restrictions and the customs above referred to, with the exception of the question of pollution, have vanished. Their approach within 36 feet pollutes the Brahmans, Kshathrias and high caste Sudras. In Pharoah's Gazetteer it is said that in North Malabar, they may approach within five feet, and generally actual contact only is considered there to cause pollution. So far as my information goes, this does not appear to be correct. They cannot approach Brahman houses, nor can they pass through Brahman villages in *thalghat*. No members of any higher caste eat with them. They eat at the hands of all castes above them, but strictly abstain from taking the food of Kshathrias, Vallas, Arayans and the members of other low castes. They live in *tharas* (villages) of their own and are not allowed to take water from the wells of high castemen. They have their washerman and barber. They cannot approach Brahman temples. The Tiyyas of North Malabar are more advanced than their

brethren in the States of Cochin and Travancore, and are rising to the level of high castemen, who look upon them with jealousy. It is disappointing to see that their children are not admitted into the Zamorin's College, Calicut, though as Christian converts, they are welcome. Such restrictions do not exist in these orthodox States.

Dress.—The males and females were not formerly permitted to wear an upper garment above the waist. These and other restrictions were in force throughout Malabar till the beginning of the century, in Travancore till 1859. In Cochin it is somewhat observed even now. Even in the British territory, where this restriction does not exist, they manifest no desire to dress decently. The males wear round their loins a *mundu* of four cubits in length, and two cubits and half to three cubits in breadth. When they go out, they wear a second cloth. In North Malabar, they wear a turban, generally a coloured handkerchief. The well-to-do people and the school-going young men in North Malabar wear coats and caps, boots and trousers. They always wear more decent dress in North Malabar. The officers dress themselves in European pattern. Usually they have an oval patch of hair on the top of their head tied into a knot like the Nayers; but many crop their hair like the native Christians and shave their faces clean. The males wear ear-rings and rings made of gold or set with rubies.

Women of the richer class wear round the loins a piece of white cloth three or four yards in length, a yard and a quarter in breadth either with or without a coloured or laced border, tucked in at the ends. A small laced cloth is also put on to cover their breasts. Young women wear petticoats also. Women of the middle and poorer classes wear round their loins a *kacha*, (a piece of cloth 4 yards in length 1½ yards in breadth), folded twice. It is only when they go out that they wear a second cloth. In Palghat and in the Chittur Taluk of the State, the women wear a dark coloured cloth (*Kanki*) with no second cloth, even when they



are seen on public roads. They keep their hair smooth like the Nayar women. They keep the knot on the right side or sometimes straight up, which does in a way distinguish them from the Nayar women.

The following are the ornaments in use among the Izhuva women.

For the ears.—*Thoda, Kathila.* The latter is not much used at present.

Nose.—*Mukkoothy.*

Neck.—*Koti, Elakkathali, Kasu mala, Puthali, Charaku, and Kalanchi.*

Hands.—*Vala (Bangles.)*

Waist.—*Belt (Arannan).*

Finger — *Rings.*

Legs.—*Thanda, Kolusu, Pathasaram*--(silver ornaments.)

Wealthy people have them in gold, while others use gilt ones.

Judging from the physical appearance, the Izhuvas (both males and females) are generally so neat and handsome that it is not easily possible to distinguish them from the Nayers. It is still more so in North Malabar. The women can be easily made out from the following characteristics. The *tattoo* form of dressing does not prevail among them. The ornaments of the Izhuva women differ from those of Nayar women. They are on the whole as handsome as the Nayar women and are very industrious.

Games.—*Vide my account of the Nayers.*



