

XXV.

THE MARRIAGE OF COUSINS IN INDIA.

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IN many parts of the world there exist social relations between a man and his mother's brother which are in many ways closer than those between the man and his own father. Often these are associated with the condition of society best known as mother-right, in which the child belongs to the social division of his mother and her brother, to whom may fall the chief or sole direction of the life of the child. In other cases a similar close relation is found between maternal uncle and nephew when descent is no longer counted in the female line, and there is definite evidence¹ that in some cases this relation is a survival of a previously existing condition of matrilineal descent.

Evidence of a special bond between maternal uncle and nephew is to be found widely throughout India, especially in the part taken by the mother's brother in ceremonial connected with his nephew; and as the state of mother-right still exists in more than one district of India we might naturally suppose that the uncle-nephew relation is here, as elsewhere, a survival of this condition of society, and in some cases there can be little doubt that it has had this origin. The chief object of the present paper, however, is to show that in some parts of India the uncle-nephew relation may have had a different origin, and may have been derived from the custom that a man should marry the daughter of his mother's brother, so that his maternal uncle is at the same time his father-in-law, either actual or

¹ See Reports Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, Cambridge, 1904, vol. v, p. 151.

prospective. This regulation still exists in many parts of Southern India, among the Gonds of the Central Provinces, and sporadically in other parts of India, and I hope to show that traces of this form of marriage may remain in special rites performed by the maternal uncle at the wedding ceremonies of his nephew.

My attention was called to this possibility while I was working among the Todas. Among this people, who reckon descent in the male line, the orthodox marriage is between the children of brother and sister, so that a boy should marry the daughter either of his maternal uncle or of his paternal aunt. The mother's brother takes a leading place in much of the ceremonial connected with the chief events of childhood, and if I had been ignorant of the origin of the uncle-nephew relation elsewhere, and had sought for an explanation of the relation in the character of the social organisation of the people as it is at the present time, I should naturally have found it in the marriage regulation to which I have referred. It would have been a reasonable hypothesis that the uncle was performing services for his nephew as his prospective father-in-law, and the possibility was suggested that the uncle-nephew relation in other parts of India might be a survival of the marriage regulation which still exists among the Todas and the Gonds.

Among the Todas the marriage regulation which is to form the chief subject of this paper is that the children of brother and sister should marry, i.e. a man should marry the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, while marriage with the child of the father's brother or mother's sister is absolutely prohibited, and this regulation is of frequent occurrence in Southern India and is found in other parts of the peninsula. In other cases marriage between the children of a brother and sister is only enjoined or allowed when the child of the brother is a girl and the child of the sister is a boy, i.e. a man may only marry the daughter of his mother's brother. Less frequently the only form of cousin-marriage which is allowed is that in which a man marries the daughter of his father's sister.

In the appendix to this paper I give all the Indian examples I have been able to find in which the marriage of cousins is either allowed or enforced.

In the appendix I also give a list of examples in which the mother's brother plays any active part in the life of his nephew, and I have added examples of duties or privileges pertaining to other relatives which may help to throw light on the marriage of cousins. I publish my material in this form in order not to confuse my argument by giving in the main text long lists of the illustrative cases on which the argument is based.

In studying the many examples in which the mother's brother has definite duties towards his nephew, the most striking fact is that these duties are most prominent in the wedding ceremonies, i.e. in those ceremonies in which we should expect them to be prominent if the uncle-nephew relation be a survival of the marriage regulation. Secondly, in many cases, especially in South India, we can trace distinct gradations between the survival and the fully developed custom of cousin-marriage. Two of the most frequent offices or privileges of the uncle in connection with the wedding ceremonies are that he arranges the marriage and receives money or other articles; and as intermediate conditions between this and the fully developed custom, we find that among the Kois¹ the maternal uncle has the right of bestowing the hand of his niece on any other suitable candidate if she does not marry one of his own sons, the father and mother of the girl having no voice in the matter, while among the Yerkalas,² where a man may claim two of his sister's daughters as brides for his sons, he has to pay for them, though at a smaller price than other people. Again, among the Paraiyans of Travancore,³ where the cousin-marriage is usual, the bridegroom pays money to both father and uncle of his bride, the latter receiving the larger sum.

¹ Cain : Ind. Ant., 1879, vol. viii, p. 34.

² Shortt : Trans. Ethnol. Soc., n.s., vol. vii, p. 86.

³ Mæteer : Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

In other cases, in which the cousin-marriage no longer exists, the sons of the maternal uncle of the bride receive compensation, as among the Tiyyans of Malabar,¹ where the bridegroom has to contest for the bride with the son of her maternal uncle and has his claim bought off by a money payment, and among the Idaiyans² there is a similar contest, which is brought to an end by the bridegroom presenting money and betel-nut to each of the bride's maternal uncle's sons, who are stated to have a natural right to marry her. When, as in these examples, we find that the uncle has the right to choose a husband for his niece if she does not marry one of his own sons, or that he or his sons receive compensation, a strong supposition is raised that other cases in which the uncle arranges the marriage or receives money may have had their origin in the marriage regulation.

Again, another frequent feature of Indian wedding ceremonies is that the bride and bridegroom are carried by their maternal uncles at some stage of the rites, and it is therefore interesting that among the Goundans of Coimbatore,³ who still practise the cousin-marriage, the bride is carried by her maternal uncle to the village boundary, while among the Idaiyans, who have been already cited, one of the maternal uncles of the bride carries her in his arms to the marriage booth.

Though these cases are suggestive, they cannot, however, be regarded as conclusive, for, on the assumption that the rôle of the uncle is a survival of mother-right, it would be natural that he should receive some payment as a relic of the time when perhaps he received the whole of the bride-price, and his privilege of arranging the marriage might well be similarly explained.

Much more conclusive evidence in favour of the origin of the uncle-nephew relation in the cousin-marriage is to be found in the fact that duties of the same kind as those performed by the maternal uncle also fall to the lot of the

¹ Logan: *Malabar Manual*, vol. i, p. 144.

² Thurston: "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India," Madras, 1906, p. 55.

³ Thurston: *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 82.

father's sister and the father's sister's husband. In the appendix I give several examples in which the father's sister carries out definite rites, not only at the wedding, but at other ceremonial connected with her nephew or niece. I also give several instances in which the husband of the father's sister arranges the marriage of his wife's brother's child, and performs duties of exactly the same kind as those performed elsewhere by the maternal uncle. In one of these cases, that of the 'Irāqis of the North-Western Provinces,¹ this rôle of the father's sister's husband is combined with the custom that a man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother. It is true that the 'Irāqis practise Muhammadanism, but according to Mr. Crooke they are Hindus (Kalwārs) who have been converted to Islam.

It is difficult to see how these duties of the father's sister and of her husband can be in any way survivals of mother-right. If the condition of mother-right excludes the father from active participation in the wedding ceremonies of his son, or reduces his position to one of small importance, it is difficult to see why his sister should come in, and still less why his sister's husband, unless there existed some marriage regulation that would make the father's sister's husband also the mother's brother.

If, on the other hand, I am right in my conjecture that the prominent place of the maternal uncle is a survival of the marriage regulation, it would follow as a natural consequence that the father's sister and the father's sister's husband would be as prominent as the maternal uncle. The marriage regulation in question is that a man must marry the daughter either of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister, and we should therefore expect, on this hypothesis, that the father's sister or her husband would have the same functions as the maternal uncle. A feature of society which is quite inexplicable as a survival of mother-right becomes perfectly natural if it is a survival of the marriage regulation which still exists in many parts of India.

¹ Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh," Calcutta, 1896, vol. iii, pp. 2, 3.

The foregoing evidence seems to make it certain that, in some cases, the rôle of the mother's brother at the wedding ceremonies is a survival of the cousin-marriage, but I am very far from wishing to advance the view that this has been its origin in all cases. There still exists in India, as in Malabar and among the Khasis and Garos of Assam, the condition of mother-right, and among the many examples I have given in the appendix there are some in which the duties of the uncle towards his nephew are almost certainly a survival of his old status as guardian of the child.

The matter is complicated by the fact that in Malabar there still exist both the institutions in which the uncle-nephew relation may have had its origin, thus the cousin-marriage is general in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, both among those who still practise matrilineal descent and those who now inherit from the father. Where, then, we find the uncle taking a prominent part in ceremonial connected with his nephew in neighbouring districts, we cannot be certain to which of the older institutions it is to be referred.

At the present time, however, as the examples collected in the appendix show, the cousin-marriage has a far wider distribution than has the condition of mother-right, and it is a legitimate assumption that, if the original organisation of society was like that now found in Malabar, the change from maternal to paternal descent took place much earlier than the disappearance of the cousin-marriage, and that the uncle-nephew relation is therefore more likely to be a survival of the latter than of the former condition. Further, as I hope I have shown, there are certain features of the uncle-nephew relation which bear evident traces of their origin in the cousin-marriage, while there are others which are only intelligible on the hypothesis that the relation is a survival of this form of marriage.

To my mind the evidence is conclusive that, in at any rate some cases in India, the prominent part taken by the maternal uncle in ceremonies connected with his nephew or niece is a survival of a state of society in which his child

was the natural spouse of the nephew or niece. At the same time we have clear evidence that in other parts of the world his prominent position is a survival of mother-right, and there can be little doubt that this mode of genesis of the custom has been in action in India as elsewhere. If these conclusions are granted, we have reached the position that a survival may have a twofold origin; that customs which seem to be identical may yet have arisen in different ways in different parts of the world or in different parts of the same ethnographic region. It may even be that in some cases both factors have been in play together, and that it may have become the custom for the uncle to assist in the ceremonial life of his nephew, partly because in the condition of mother-right he had been his natural guardian, partly because it had been his daughter that the nephew would naturally have married.

I should like here to point out that another frequent feature of Indian wedding ceremonies, viz. a mock conflict, may in some cases have its origin in the regulation which enjoins the marriage of cousins. Among the examples I have already cited there are two in which the sons of the maternal uncle definitely contest for the bride with the bridegroom and his friends. In the case of the Tiyyans or Izhevans it would appear from a recent account by Anantha Krishna Iyer¹ that there is a definite mock combat, in which the groom is helped by two friends, and the mock character of the Idaiyan contest is shown clearly by the fact that the uncle's sons have shortly before been performing an important part of the wedding ceremony.² We have here two absolutely certain cases in which the mock conflict is a direct consequence of the cousin-marriage, and the question is raised whether this may possibly have been the origin of the conflict elsewhere in India.

The current opinion is that the mock conflict of wedding ceremonies is a survival of marriage by capture, and if this

¹ "The Izhevans of Cochin," Ernakulam, 1905, p. 18 (Ethnographic Survey of the Cochin State, Monograph No. 10).

² Thurston : *op. cit.*, p. 55.

be so we have another example of a survival of double origin, though the possibility must be borne in mind that the mock conflict may often be, not a survival at all, but a custom dependent on ideas of dangers attendant upon entrance into the married state,¹ or an expression of the natural coyness of the female.²

I have so far considered two Indian customs which I believe to be examples of survivals of the wide prevalence throughout India of a marriage regulation which is still found in some parts of that ethnographic region. I should like here again to say that I do not believe that wherever the close uncle-nephew relation and the mock conflict at marriage are found we should infer the previous existence of the marriage regulation in question. On the contrary, I have little doubt that in some and perhaps in many cases the uncle-nephew relation is a survival of mother-right, and that the mimic conflict is only exceptionally a survival of the marriage regulation, and it must be a subject for future investigation which has been the origin in each case. My object has been rather to show that in some cases undoubtedly the customs in question have had an origin different from those usually accepted. In the case of the uncle-nephew relation it has been customary to assume at once that it is a survival of mother-right, and I hope to have shown that such an assumption is not justified till the possibility has been carefully weighed whether it may not have had the origin I have indicated in this article.

If I am right, however, in the conclusions I have so far advanced, we have evidence that the regulation which makes the orthodox marriage one between the children of brother and sister was at one time more widely diffused throughout India than it is at present, and a careful examination of the evidence would seem to show that the relation between uncle and nephew at marriage is especially a feature of Dravidian society. The communities in which the marriage regulation still exists are undoubtedly Dravidian, and the

¹ Crawley: "The Mystic Rose," London, 1902.

² W. I. Thomas: "Sex and Society," London, 1907, p. 189.

communities in which the uncle-nephew relation persists are usually either Dravidian or of such low caste that they are probably wholly or partially of Dravidian origin; thus of sixteen Bombay castes in which the uncle is prominent, three are high, seven middle, and six low or early according to Campbell (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1885, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 544*), and the examples in which the uncle arranges the marriage or receives money occur among the lower castes only. Again, the majority of the tribes or castes reported by Crooke and Risley in which the uncle plays a part in the wedding ceremonies are either said to be definitely of Dravidian origin or to be non-Aryan. It is interesting that the custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle or of the paternal aunt is given by Baudhāyana¹ as peculiar to the South, but he also states that there is a dispute regarding this among other practices both in the South and in the North, and it is possible that even at that time this kind of marriage was one of the disputed points raised by the conflict of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

Further evidence of the former prevalence of the marriage regulation is to be found in the terms denoting relationship found in some Indian languages. Widely different views have been held as to the value of terms of relationship as evidence of early forms of social organisation, and there are those who refuse to see in these terms anything of much importance to the comparative sociologist. The forms of kinship system found in India, and especially in South India, seem to show clearly that these systems may have great significance, and that in the terms applied to various relatives there may be preserved survivals of former social conditions, and especially of the marriage regulation which has formed the chief theme of this paper.

I will begin with the system which I know best, that of the Todas. Among this people the same term is applied to the father of the wife as to the mother's brother, while

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 146.

the wife's mother and the mother's brother's wife also receive the same name. To these people the orthodox marriage regulation is that the children of brother and sister should marry, so that the mother's brother and the wife's father are one and the same person, and we have therefore a correspondence between a marriage regulation and the designations applied to certain kin. This orthodox marriage is now falling into disuse, but the gradual disappearance of the marriage regulation has not been accompanied by a corresponding disappearance of the common kinship designations. On the contrary, the people continue to give the same name to mother's brother and wife's father when they are no longer one and the same person.

If we now turn to the chief languages of Southern India we find exactly the same features of their kinship systems as that existing among the Todas; thus, in Tamil the wife's father receives the same name, *maman*, as the mother's brother; in Telugu the name for the wife's father is also *mama*, the mother's brother being called *menamama*; and in Canarese the name for both relatives is the same, viz. *mava*. Similarly, there is a close correspondence or identity in the names for wife's mother and mother's brother's wife in the three languages.

Another feature of the terms of relationship of the three languages points in the same direction. Wherever the cousin-marriage exists the mother's brother will be at the same time the father's sister's husband, and the father's sister will be at the same time the mother's brother's wife, and this community of relationship is shown among the Todas by a corresponding community of designation. The same feature is found in both Tamil and Telugu, the father's sister's husband being called *maman* or *mama* in the two languages, while the mother's brother's wife is called *atta* in Telugu, this being also the name of the father's sister.¹

¹ This community of kinship terms may have a different origin in the practice of exchanging brothers and sisters, and is therefore of less importance than that considered in the preceding paragraph.

Further, in all three languages the mother's brother's son, the father's sister's son, and the brother-in-law receive the same name, *maittunan* in Tamil, *bāva* in Telugu, and *bhavamēida*, *bhava* or *meidana*, in Canarese.

According to the available evidence the cousin-marriage is only found at the present time in some castes of South India, while the common designations for mother's brother and wife's father, for mother's brother's wife and wife's mother, and for mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, and brother-in-law would appear to be universal. Where the cousin-marriage persists, these common designations are of course natural, for the different relationships are united in one and the same person, but where it no longer exists there can be little doubt that the common designations are survivals, and point to the former universal prevalence of the marriage regulation in the regions where these languages are spoken.

The kinship systems of Southern India thus provide abundant confirmation of the general prevalence of the cousin-marriage, and leave no doubt that this form of marriage must at one time have been universal in that part of India.

I have been able to find but little similar evidence from Central or Northern India. In the Hindi, Bengālī, Marāthī, and Gujārātī systems given by Morgan,¹ the common designations considered above are not to be found. If, however, I am right in supposing that the cousin-marriage is a Dravidian institution, this is not to be expected. Evidence must rather be sought from the systems of the aboriginal tribes or of those castes which show obvious signs of a Dravidian origin or intermixture, and even here it is hardly to be expected to any great extent, owing to the all-pervading influence of the orthodox Hinduism of Northern India. It is therefore interesting that, out of the very few kinship systems which have been recorded in Northern India, one, that of the Korwas,² shows a close similarity

¹ "Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," pp. 523-67.

² Crooke: op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 326-7.

of designation for mother's brother and father's sister's husband (*mamanu* and *māma*) on the one hand, and for father's sister and mother's brother's wife (*māmi* and *māmin*) on the other hand, and it is to be noted that this caste is one of those in which the mother's brother arranges the marriage.

It will not be possible here to go fully into the origin of the marriage regulation which has formed the main theme of this article. It is possible that it is connected with the change from maternal to paternal descent. In a community which practises mother-right marriage would be strictly prohibited with the mother's sister's daughter, for she would be of the same clan, but marriage might be allowed with the daughter of the mother's brother, the father's brother, and the father's sister, for none of these relatives would necessarily be of the same clan, and this seems to be the state of affairs in Malabar at the present time. When the change is made from maternal to paternal descent, it would become wrong to marry the daughter of the father's brother, who would now be of the same clan, and the old prohibition against marriage with the daughter of the mother's sister would probably still persist; but, so far as clan restrictions are concerned, there would be no necessary prohibition of marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother and the father's sister. The change in the method of counting descent would therefore explain why marriage should be allowed with these two relatives, but it will hardly explain why it should be enjoined, and should, as in many cases, be recognised either as the only lawful union or as the most suitable union. This direct prescription of the cousin-marriage has probably a different origin.

In some parts of Australia the marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister must marry is closely connected with another institution, viz. the dual organisation of society. In a society organised on this basis the children of a brother and sister must always belong to different divisions of the community and are thus appropriate mates, and there can be

little doubt that the cousin-marriage which is found in Fiji is the survival of a similar organisation of society. The question arises, therefore, whether this may not have been the case also among the Dravidian population of India. It is possible that the cousin-marriage and the features of the kinship systems to which I have drawn attention may themselves be survivals, vestiges of an old dual organisation of society which has now completely disappeared. The cousin-marriage bears every evidence of being a survival. It is very difficult to see how such a regulation could have had any direct psychological foundation—to conceive any motive which should make the marriage of the children of brother and sister desirable, while the marriage of the children of two brothers or of two sisters is so strictly forbidden.

It has been already pointed out that the present distribution of the cousin-marriage in India and the survivals of its existence in the past both point to its having been a general feature of Dravidian society, and it is of much interest that a similar institution should be found in Australia and Fiji. It is a familiar view that the Dravidian population of India is allied to that of Australia, and recent research is tending to link together not only these two peoples but also the ruder tribes of the interposed region of Malaysia, such as the Sakais,¹ together with the Melanesians.² The evidence I have brought forward in this paper adds another similarity to those which are already known to exist between these different peoples.³

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to two points of general anthropological interest which arise out of this paper. The first is that the customs I have recorded are

¹ Skeat & Blagden: "Pagan Tribes of the Malay Peninsula," London, 1906.

² P. W. Schmidt: "Die Mon-Khmer Völker," Braunschweig, 1906.

³ The importance of the South Indian kinship terms as evidence of cousin-marriage has been previously pointed out by Bernhöft (*Zeitsch. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, 1891, Bd. ix, S. 19) and by Kohler ("Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe," Stuttgart, 1897, S. 143), both, however, bringing the cousin-marriage into relation with polyandry and group-marriage, with which conditions it has no necessary connection. Kohler has also (*op. cit.*, S. 121) discussed the relation of cousin-marriage to a dual organisation of society.

clearly of the nature of survivals ; they are customs for which it would seem impossible to find any adequate direct psychological explanation in motives of any kind, whether religious, ethical, or magical. They seem to be meaningless except as the vestiges of an old social order, while, when considered from this point of view, they become at once intelligible and natural.

The other point is that survivals may have a twofold origin, that customs which in one part of the world have had one origin may elsewhere have had a different source. The evidence is, I think, conclusive that in many, and probably in most, parts of the world, the close relation between a man and his maternal uncle is a survival of mother-right, and this is probably also often the case in India, but I hope to have shown that in some Indian examples the custom has certainly had a different origin. Further, we have found that in two cases, but in those two cases beyond doubt, a mock conflict during the wedding ceremonies is a survival of a marriage regulation, although elsewhere it may be a survival of wife-capture, or may have a direct psychological foundation, whether of the kind worked out by Mr. Crawley or of that suggested by Professor Thomas.

The importance of the demonstration of such twofold or manifold origins as regards anthropological method is very great. If customs seemingly identical can have had very different origins in different parts of the world, or even in different parts of the same region, grave doubts must be cast on what may be called the current anthropological method of supporting hypotheses by the enumeration of examples from different parts of the world. The diverse origins of similar customs show that each example must be carefully considered in connection with the other features of the society in which it is found to exist.

It is now rapidly coming to be recognised that the great need of anthropology at the present time is the detailed study of special areas, a study much more minute than that we are accustomed to find in anthropological records. We

have seen how the chief argument of this paper has turned upon the detail that the person taking part in a ceremony is the husband of the father's sister, and if, as usually happens, the recorder had been content with the statement that the marriage is arranged by the uncle or by a near relative, the data for my most important argument would have been absent. For further progress we cannot have too detailed accounts of the social regulations of different people, accounts which will enable us to study the relation of different customs to one another, and to estimate the place of each in the social economy as a whole.

APPENDIX.

In this appendix I propose to give the data on which the foregoing paper has been based. I shall only give facts dealing with customs existing at the present time, and shall not attempt to touch any evidence that may be found in *ancient literature*.¹ I will begin with an account of the present distribution of the marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should or may marry, distinguishing between the cases in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, those in which the proper marriage is with the daughter of his father's sister, and those cases in which both kinds of marriage are ordained or allowed.

Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother is general in the Telugu country,² where it is called *Mēnarikam*, being observed more strictly by the *Kōmatis* than by others,

¹ For references to the position of the maternal uncle in Indian literature, I may refer to a paper by E. W. Hopkins in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1889, vol. xiii, p. 57.

² Padfield: "The Hindu at Home," Madras, 1896.

and has been adopted by the Desasta and Ayyar Brahmans.¹ It is also general in Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, where it has also recently been adopted by Brahmans,² and this kind of marriage also occurs among the Shivalli Brahmans of South Canara, and among the Halepaiks or toddy-drawers of that district.³ Of other tribes or castes of the Madras Presidency it has been reported among the Konga Vellalas, the Kunnnavans of Madura and the Khonds,⁴ and among the Kallans,⁵ though in this caste marriage is also allowed with the daughter of the father's sister.

Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother has been reported in Bengal among the Kaurs, a Dravidian caste of Chota Nagpur, and among the Karans, an indigenous caste of Orissa.⁶ In the North-Western Provinces it occurs among the Cheros, a Dravidian race of the hills near Mirzapur; the 'Irāqis, a Muhammadan caste, and the Kunjras.⁷ In the two last cases it is expressly stated that the marriage of a man with the daughter of the father's sister is prohibited.

Among the Yerkalas or Koravas of South India⁸ the maternal uncle claims two nieces as wives for his sons. Twenty pagodas are paid for a wife, but the uncle's claim is valued at eight pagodas, so that he has only to pay twelve, and if he foregoes his claim he receives eight out of the twenty pagodas which are paid by the husband.

In some cases in which marriage is allowed with the daughter of both mother's brother and father's sister, there is a preference for the former, as appears to be the case among the Gonds⁹ and the Goundans of Coimbatore.¹⁰

¹ Thurston: "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India," p. 54. See also Manual N. Arcot, 1895, p. 205.

² Anantha Krishna Iyer: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ South Canara Manual, 1894, pp. 151 and 173.

⁴ Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 233.

⁵ Padfield: *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶ Risley: "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. i, pp. 425, 436.

⁷ Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-West Provinces and Oude," vol. ii, p. 217; vol. iii, pp. 2 and 345.

⁸ Trans. Ethnol. Soc., n.s., vol. vii, p. 186.

⁹ "Gazetteer of the Central Provinces," Nagpur, 1870, 2nd ed., p. 276.

¹⁰ Nicholson: Manual of Coimbatore District, 1887, p. 58.

Cases in which marriage with the daughter of the father's sister is especially ordained are less common. A Nattaman has the right to marry the daughter of his father's sister, and if she is given to another man the father's sister has to return to her father or brother the dowry which she received at the time of her marriage, and this is given to the man who had the claim upon the girl.¹ The same custom is found among the Kuravans.² Among the Anappans and Kappilyans³ a man has the right of marrying his aunt's daughter (probably this means his paternal aunt's daughter), but he has also the right of marrying his sister's daughter. A Tangalan Paraiyan⁴ promises his brother-in-law to give his daughter, if he should have one, to the son of the brother-in-law, so that in this case the son would marry the daughter of his father's sister.

Much more frequently marriage is allowed with the daughter either of the maternal uncle or of the paternal aunt, though, as we have seen, there is sometimes in these cases a preference for the former. Marriage with either kind of relative is found in the Madras Presidency among the Todas,⁵ the Mālas⁶ (Telugu Paraiyans), the Kaikōlans,⁷ the Tottiyans,⁸ and the Vallambans.⁹

One of the best known instances of this form of marriage is to be found among the Gonds¹⁰ of the Central Provinces, and it has also been reported of the Mazhwār¹¹ or Gonds of the North-West Provinces and of the Jhoras¹² of Bengal, who are probably a sub-tribe of the Gonds.

¹ Census of India, 1901, vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 169.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 141.

⁴ Thurston: *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 17.

⁵ Rivers: *Todas*, p. 512.

⁶ Thurston: *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 15.

⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

⁸ Census of India, 1901, vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 181.

⁹ *Madura Manual* (quoted by Thurston).

¹⁰ Grant: *Gazetteer of Central Provinces*, Nagpur, 2nd ed., 1870, p. 276. See also Scanlan, *Ind. Antiquary*, 1872, vol. i, p. 55; and Forsyth, "The Highlands of Central India," 1871, p. 186.

¹¹ Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of North-West Provinces," vol. iii, p. 417.

¹² Risley: *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 346.

This kind of marriage is also found among the Kulus of the Panjab,¹ the Magh,² an Indo-Chinese tribe of Bengal, the Ghasyas,³ a Dravidian caste of the North-West Provinces, and the Kāthis⁴ of Bombay. Among the Nats⁵ of the North-West Provinces marriage with first cousins is allowed, preferably on the mother's side, and this probably indicates a marriage of the kind with which we are concerned.

In the case of one tribe, the Kallans of the Madras Presidency, there is some discrepancy in the evidence. Padfield⁶ states that a youth should marry his mother's brother's daughter; in the Census Report of 1901⁷ it is stated that they have the same custom as the Nattamans (see above), while, according to Nelson,⁸ the most proper marriage for a Kallan is with the daughter of his father's sister.

In some cases it has been reported that a man may marry his cousin or his maternal cousin, and these are probably examples of the marriage of children of brother and sister; thus, the Rajputs are said to marry their maternal cousins,⁹ and the hill Arrians¹⁰ (Arayans) of Travancore are said to marry their cousins.

In the following pages I give the evidence relating to the part taken in various forms of Indian ritual by the mother's brother, the sister's son, the father's sister, the father's sister's husband, and the mother's brother's child respectively, classifying the acts in each case according to their nature.

¹ Ibbetson : Rep. Panjab Census, 1881, vol. i, p. 366.

² Risley : op. cit., vol. ii, p. 30.

³ Crooke : op. cit., vol. ii, p. 412.

⁴ Census of India, 1901, Eth. App., p. 125.

⁵ Crooke : op. cit., vol. iv, p. 68.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 152.

⁷ Vol. xv, pt. 1, p. 158.

⁸ Madura Manual, pt. ii, p. 50.

⁹ Rajputana Gazetteer, 1879, vol. i, p. 69.

¹⁰ Painter : Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay, 1890, vol. ii, p. 146.

THE MATERNAL UNCLE.

The mother's brother plays a part in connection with marriage and betrothal, at naming and initiation ceremonies, and at funerals. It is in the marriage ceremonies that he appears most frequently, and I will begin with these.

Arranges the marriage.—The marriage is arranged by the mother's brother among the Kois and Komatis¹ of the Madras Presidency, but in the latter case, and probably also in the former, this is not a survival of the cousin-marriage, but is associated with the still existing practice. Among the Salilu or weavers of Nellore² the dower and the form of the marriage ceremony are settled between the uncles of the bride and bridegroom, and a sum of money given by the boy's maternal uncle is conveyed to the boy's father by the uncle of the bride. This again is possibly a case in which the Mēnarikam marriage still persists, though no reference is made to it in the account. My other examples are all taken from the North-Western Provinces, where the mother's brother either arranges the marriage or plays an important part in the negotiations among nine castes, the Agariyars, Ahīrs, Bhars, Chamārs, 'Irāqīs, Khairwas, Kharwārs, Korwas, and Byādha Nats.³ Of these nine castes five are Dravidian and two are said to be of mixed blood. One caste, the 'Irāqīs, still maintains the practice of marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle. Among the Kharwārs it is also the etiquette that the maternal uncle should occupy a leading place among the five clansmen who accompany the boy's father on the occasion of the betrothal.

Receives money or other gifts.—In Travancore⁴ the maternal uncle receives fourteen fanams from the bridegroom, while the father receives only ten, and among the Kānikars of

¹ Cain: Ind. Antiquary, 1879, vol. viii, p. 33; also Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., n.s., 1881, vol. xiii, p. 421.

² Boswell: Manual of Nellore District, 1873, p. 238.

³ Crooke: op. cit., vol. i, pp. 3, 58; vol. ii, pp. 7, 179; vol. iii, pp. 3, 222, 236, 331; vol. iv, p. 65.

⁴ Mateer: Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

this State¹ the boy gives money to his uncle or father-in-law. At the *Mangalam* wedding of the Tiyyans of North Malabar² both the engagement- and the purchase-money are paid to the father or the uncle of the bride, and it is among these people that the marriage procession is obstructed by the maternal uncle's son, who claims the bride as his by right. Among the Chakalis or washermen of Nellore³ the bride's uncle receives one rupee from the dower, and the uncle of a Yānādi bride also receives a fee.⁴ Among the Majhwār⁵ or Gonds of the North-West Provinces the boy's father presents the boy's maternal uncle with a calf or buffalo. In Bengal one Dravidian tribe, the Mal Pahāriās,⁶ has the custom that the uncle of the bride keeps gifts made by the parents of the bridegroom till the wedding-day, and in another, the Savars,⁷ the maternal uncle of the bride receives a bullock as part of the bride-price. Among the Kirantis⁸ it is the custom in cases of elopement that the fine required in these cases should be demanded by the girl's maternal uncle.

In the Bombay Presidency⁹ the Sanadi Korvis of Bijapur divide the sum paid by the bridegroom's father between the girl's father and her maternal uncle, and the Uchlas give the girl's maternal uncle fifty rupees. The latter caste are pickpockets of Poona, but are said to have Telugu ways, and have therefore probably come from the Madras Presidency.

Makes gifts.—The maternal uncle gives less frequently than he receives. Among the Sholagas of Coimbatore the uncle presents a new cloth to the bride, and among the Mādigas or Telugu Paraiyans the maternal uncle of the bride

¹ Indian Review, 1902 (quoted by Thurston, Ethnographic Notes, p. 99).

² Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 299.

³ Boswell: Manual of Nellore District, 1873, p. 239.

⁴ T. Ranga Rao: Bull. Madras Government Museum, 1901, vol. iv, p. 100.

⁵ Crooke: op. cit., vol. iii, p. 421.

⁶ Risley: op. cit., vol. ii, p. 69.

⁷ Ibid., p. 243.

⁸ Ibid., p. 282.

⁹ Campbell: Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 1885, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

gives five betel leaves and nuts to the headman.¹ The maternal uncle of the Majhwār bride² presents her before marriage with a suit of clothes, and the uncle of the bridegroom presents him with some money.

Performs ritual acts during the wedding ceremonies.—Of various acts performed by the maternal uncle the most widely spread is that the bride and bridegroom are carried on the backs of their maternal uncles. The best known example of this is among the Khonds,³ where both bride and bridegroom are carried on the backs or shoulders of their maternal uncles to the village of the husband. They are carried in a similar way to the bridegroom's house by the Raddis of Poona,⁴ a Telugu people (? Reddis), while among the Brahmans of the Tamil country, the Govardhan or bastard Brahmans of Poona, and the Mochis of Ahmadnagar⁵ the couple are carried on the shoulders of their uncles during the wedding ceremony, though nothing is said about their being carried to the home of the husband.

In other cases the bride is lifted or carried by her maternal uncle, as among the Chakalis of Nellore⁶ in the Madras Presidency, where the uncle carries the bride three times round the bridegroom and then sets her down on his left side; among the Goundans,⁷ where the bride is carried to the village boundary for the performance of a ceremony; and among the Maheswāris and Pancholis of Rajputana,⁸ where she is carried seven times round the bridegroom when he first enters the bride's house. Among the Shenvis of the Bombay Presidency⁹ the uncle lifts the bride from the marriage altar and sets her down on a heap of rice, the same

¹ Thurston: op. cit., p. 57.

² Crooke: op. cit., vol. iii, p. 421.

³ Macpherson's "Memorials of Service in India," London, 1865, p. 70; Ganjam Manual, 1882, p. 69; and Thurston, op. cit., pp. 9-12.

⁴ Campbell: loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Boswell: Nellore Manual, p. 240.

⁷ Manual Coimbatore District, 1887, p. 58.

⁸ Rajputana Gazetteer, 1879, vol. ii, p. 251.

⁹ Campbell: loc. cit.

custom being also followed by the Pātāna Prabhus, the Pāñch Kalshis, and the Sonārs.¹

In some cases the uncle performs the most important act of the wedding ritual, as among the Mogers² or fishermen of South Canara, where the maternal uncle of the bride places rice, betel leaves, areca-nut, and a lighted wick on the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom, and then formally makes over the bride to the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. Again, among the Kappiliyans of Canara³ the binding portion of the wedding ceremony is the locking of the fingers of the couple, performed by their maternal uncles.

At the *Kanyādān* or bride-giving ceremony of the Rāmoshis,⁴ a tribe of the South Bombay Deccan, the uncle formally gives his sister's daughter after sipping water which he has poured over the toes of the bridegroom. Among the Mādigas or Telugu Paraiyans⁵ the maternal uncle of the bride ties the *bonthu*, a cotton thread, round the bride's neck. In Travancore⁶ the bride's uncle covers her face with a cloth and delivers her to the elder brother of the bridegroom. A bride among the Badhoyis of Ganjam⁷ is accompanied by her uncle to the marriage booth, and among the Kaikōlans of Coimbatore⁸ the bride is carried to a plank and placed before the assembled guests by her uncle after he has tied a golden band on her forehead. Similarly, among the Sembadavans⁹ or fishermen of the Tamil country, of various small gold and silver plates tied to the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom, the most conspicuous are those from the maternal uncles of the couple.

¹ Campbell : loc. cit.

² Sturrock : S. Canara Manual, p. 169. These people still follow the custom of Aliya Santana or inheritance by the sister's son.

³ Thurston : op. cit., p. 82.

⁴ Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

⁵ Thurston : op. cit., p. 57.

⁶ Mateer : Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1884, vol. xvi, p. 180.

⁷ Thurston : Ethnographic Notes, p. 25.

⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

The bride and bridegroom of the Urālis¹ are accompanied by their maternal uncles when they worship at a pond, and the uncles dance. If the bridegroom's party has to cross a stream on its way to the bride's village the boy must be carried across it on the back of his uncle. Among the Jōgis or Telugu mendicants² threads of human hair are tied on the wrists of the bride and bridegroom by their uncles, and among the Idigas³ or toddy-drawers of the same country the uncle of the bride bathes and performs ritual with a *Euphorbia* plant. The Kamasalis⁴ or smiths and carpenters of the Nellore district at their wedding ceremonies employ Brahmans, who send for the uncles of the couple and bless them. When a buffalo or pig is killed at a betrothal of the Khonds the head of the animal goes to the maternal uncle.⁵

Kearns⁶ gives many examples of the rôle of the uncle in the wedding ceremonies of Southern India, as among the Vellalas, Maravans, Shanars, Pullars (? Pallans), Paraiyans, Vannans, Kicolars (? Kaikōlans), Koliar Pullars, and Chucklers (Chakkiliyans). Only in one instance does he state expressly that by the uncle he means the mother's brother, but this is probably so in all cases.

In other parts of India various ritual acts are performed at the wedding ceremonies. Among the Cheros,⁷ a non-Aryan people of Bengal, the uncle pours water on mango leaves placed in the mouths of the bride and bridegroom by their mothers. Among the Dāngis,⁸ a tribe possibly connected with the Gonds, the maternal uncle takes the bridegroom in his arms into the house of the bride and strikes the marriage-hut with a fan, whereupon he is beaten by the

¹ Thurston: *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ Boswell: *Manual of Nellore District*, p. 240.

⁵ Thurston: p. 26.

⁶ "Kalyān'a Shat'anku, or the Marriage Ceremonies of the Hindus of South India," Madras, 1868, pp. 27-74.

⁷ Risley: "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," vol. i, p. 201.

⁸ Crooke: "Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces," vol. ii, p. 249.

women of the family. At a wedding of the Halepaik¹ in Dhārwar the uncle goes with the bride and bridegroom round the marriage-shed. The Bangars, a southern people of Poona, and the Jain Shimpis of Ahmadnagar² have the custom that the maternal uncles stand behind the couple while the marriage is going on. Among the Khandesh Kumbi the uncle clasps the hands of the bridegroom over those of the bride, and in Bijapur the Pāngul maternal uncle draws ash-marks on the brows of the couple.³ The Chitpāvan Brahmans of the Bombay Presidency call at the uncle's house on their way back from showing the child (? bride) to the village god.⁴

Among the Modhs of Cutch the maternal uncle of the bridegroom dresses in women's clothes from head to waist and in men's clothes below, and after rubbing his face with oil and daubing it with red paint, he accompanies the newly married couple to the place where two roads cross, and waits there while they make offerings to their goddess.⁵

Divorce.—The only instance I have found in which the maternal uncle takes a part in divorce proceedings is among the Mogers,⁶ where the marriage is dissolved if the husband informs the uncle of his wife and pays him one rupee four annas, after striking three blows on a tree.

Childhood ceremonies.—The maternal uncle often takes a prominent place in the various Indian ceremonies of childhood and youth, and I add here a list of the instances I have been able to find, leaving entirely on one side the question whether they are survivals of mother-right or of the regulation which makes the maternal uncle of a child at the same time his prospective father-in-law.

Naming.—A Toda boy receives his name from the

¹ Campbell : Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 545.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Bombay Gazetteer, vol. v, p. 45.

⁶ Sturrock : Manual of South Canara District, 1894, p. 169.

maternal uncle,¹ while among the Nairs² the child is given rice by this relative at the weaning ceremony, when it is called by its name for the first time.

Hair-cutting and shaving.—At the *tersamptimi* ceremony of the Todas³ a lock of hair is cut from the head of the child by its maternal uncle. Among the Yānādis⁴ of North Arcot the maternal uncle of a child at the head-shaving ceremony cuts the first lock and ties it to an areca palm, receiving two annas and a cloth for doing so, while among the Irulas⁵ of the same district the uncle cuts the first lock and ties it to some *ragi*. In the Nellore district⁶ the maternal uncle at the first hair-cutting cuts a few hairs three times, the cutting being often symbolic, when two blades of grass are used in the place of scissors. The Kilikāyats,⁷ a wandering Telugu tribe, have the child's hair cut by its maternal uncle before it is three years old. When a child of the Havig Brahmans, the Ghisādis of Poona, or the Poona Velālis (who come from Madras) has its head shaved or its hair cut for the first time, it is set on its maternal uncle's knee, while the Halākhors of Poona clip the maternal uncle's own hair and make him a present when they first cut the hair of a child.⁸

Other childhood ceremonies.—In the Nellore district⁹ a cup of gold and silver is presented at the weaning of a child by the maternal uncle, who takes the child in his arms and touches its tongue with a gold ring, the parents then paying their respects to the uncle and presenting him with a new cloth, betel, sandal, etc. The rôle of the uncle at the weaning ceremony of the Nairs has already been mentioned. When a baby of the Lohar¹⁰ is brought out of the house for

¹ Rivers : The Todas, p. 332.

² Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 224.

³ Op. cit., p. 333.

⁴ Cox & Stuart : Manual of North Arcot, 1895, vol. i, p. 250.

⁵ Ibid., p. 249.

⁶ Boswell : Manual of Nellore District, p. 223.

⁷ Campbell : op. cit., p. 544.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Boswell : Nellore Manual, p. 221.

¹⁰ Crooke : op. cit., vol. iii, p. 377.

the first time, an arrow is held in its hand by its maternal uncle. At the ear-piercing ceremony of the Todas¹ one ear is pierced by the maternal uncle. At the circumcision of the Kallans² of Madura the youth is carried on the shoulder of his uncle to the place where the operation is to be performed. At the thread-girding ceremony the Chitpāvan boy is shaved sitting on his uncle's knee; among the Shenvis the boy is advised by his uncle to give up a recluse life; and among the Havig Brahmans the uncle becomes the guide and protector of the boy during his mock journey to Benares.³

In the Panjab, when a child first teethes from its upper jaw, it is considered unlucky for its maternal uncle, who performs certain ceremonies.⁴

At the pregnancy ceremony called *pulikuti* of the Ulladens of Cochin the woman drinks a sour mixture administered by her maternal uncle.⁵

Funeral ceremonies.—The maternal uncle acts as priest at the funeral of one of the Mangar,⁶ a Mongoloid tribe of Nepal, and he also is the priest at the propitiatory ceremony performed after the death of one of the Juāng,⁷ a non-Aryan tribe of Bengal. Among the Musahar⁸ the chief mourner is shaved on the fifteenth day after death by the mother's brother or by his son or by some other relative. At the funeral of the Toreyas of Coimbatore⁹ the uncle makes a hole in the watering-pot which is carried round the grave by the son of the deceased. Among the Todas¹⁰ the maternal uncle assists in the funeral contributions.

Other examples of the belief in a close relationship

¹ Op. cit., p. 334.

² Thurston : op. cit., p. 388.

³ Campbell : op. cit., p. 544.

⁴ H. A. Rose : Man, 1902, p. 60 (No. 45), where a full description of the ceremonies will be found.

⁵ A. K. Iyer : Cochin Ethnographic Survey, Monograph No. 9, pt. iv, p. 5, 1906.

⁶ Risley : op. cit., vol. ii, p. 75.

⁷ Ibid., vol. i, p. 353.

⁸ Crooke : op. cit., vol. iv, p. 32.

⁹ Thurston : op. cit., p. 157.

¹⁰ Rivers : op. cit., p. 499.

between uncle and nephew are to be found in Chhattarpur,¹ where these relatives perform together a ceremony connected with rain, and in the Bilaspur district,² where the presence of uncle and nephew together in the same house renders it liable to damage by lightning.

THE SISTER'S SON.

In the examples given so far there have been described duties or privileges of the maternal uncle in relation to his nephew. There have now to be given instances in which the sister's son has duties towards his uncle. The duties of the sister's son which are met with most frequently are those he is called upon to fulfil after death. In several cases, as among the Dōms,³ the Dharkars,⁴ the Bhangis,⁵ and the Haris,⁶ he acts as priest either at the actual funeral ceremonies or at the sacrifices which are made after death, and it is significant that in two of these cases, the Dōms and the Bhangis, the duty may be undertaken by him or by the son-in-law. In some Malabar castes the nephew takes the chief place at the funeral.⁷ Among the Gurvas of Bengal⁸ the sister's son acts as chief mourner, while among the Khandesh Dang and the Akrani Bhils⁹ he receives the chief mourner's turban. Among the Todas the sister's son has to make certain contributions at the funeral of his uncle.¹⁰

Less frequently the sister's son plays a part at weddings, as among the Dōms¹¹ and the more primitive Kols,¹² pouring water in the latter case on the hands of the bridegroom.

¹ Crooke: "Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India," vol. i, p. 70.

² Gordon: Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1902, p. 71.

³ Risley: op. cit., vol. i, p. 245. Crooke, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 335.

⁴ Crooke: op. cit., vol. ii, p. 285.

⁵ Ibid., vol. i, p. 288.

⁶ Risley: op. cit., vol. i, p. 316.

⁷ A. K. Iyer: Cochin Ethnographic Survey, Monograph No. 6, p. 28, and No. 9, pt. ii, p. 15.

⁸ Campbell: loc. cit.

⁹ Campbell: loc. cit.

¹⁰ Op. cit., pp. 395-7.

¹¹ Risley: loc. cit.

¹² Crooke: op. cit., vol. iii, p. 308.

THE FATHER'S SISTER.

Several cases have been recorded in which the father's sister plays a part at marriage. In some parts of North Malabar the *tali* is tied by the uncle's wife or the father's sister.¹ At the *talikettu* marriage of the Tiyyans the girl is dressed with new clothes by the uncle's wife, the father's sister, or the future mother-in-law, and the *tali* is tied by one of the two latter relatives.² At the maturity ceremony of the Hill Arrians the girl stands on a plank of jackwood while the *tali* is tied on her neck by her father's sister.³ At the wedding ceremonies of the Kāyasths⁴ the father's sister of the boy or girl has her head oiled and the parting marked with red lead, and she then parches paddy in a new earthen pot. The aunt of the bridegroom also moves mustard and salt over her nephew's head, lights a lamp before him, and marks his eyelids with lamp-black. At the *matmangara* ceremony of the Khatiks the paternal aunt brings out the bride,⁵ and among the Bhar the bride's father's sister plays jokes on the bridegroom till she receives a present.⁶ Among the Musahar⁷ the father's sister acts as midwife, and when a Gurchha child is six months old the paternal aunt is expected to make it a present of clothes.⁸ Among the Todas the father's sister probably gives a female child its name,⁹ and among the Ulladens of Cochin the ears of a girl are generally bored by her aunt.¹⁰

¹ A. K. Iyer : op. cit., Monograph 10, p. 21.

² Census of India, 1891, Madras, vol. xiii, p. 299.

³ Painter : Journ. Anth. Soc. Bombay, 1890, vol. ii, p. 146.

⁴ Crooke : op. cit., vol. iii, p. 210.

⁵ Ibid., p. 260.

⁶ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 8.

⁷ Ibid., vol. iv, p. 26.

⁸ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 467.

⁹ Rivers : op. cit., p. 332.

¹⁰ A. K. Iyer : Ethnographic Survey of Cochin State, Monograph No. 9, pt. iv, p. 5.

THE HUSBAND OF THE FATHER'S SISTER.

All the recorded instances of duties on the part of this relative come from the North-Western Provinces.¹

Among the Dōms and two of their sub-castes, the Basors and the Dharkārs, and among the Chamārs, the Khatiks and the Sānsiyas, the father's sister's husband of the bridegroom arranges the marriage or issues the wedding invitations. Among the Basors also earth is dug at the *matmangara* ceremony by the brother-in-law of the boy's father, who would probably be the father's sister's husband of the boy; and among the Chamārs the father's sister's husband or *phupha* and the brother-in-law carry through the whole business of the wedding. Among the Kāyasths the father's sister's husband performs a wedding rite in which he walks seven times round the bridegroom and pounds rice, for which he receives a present. After a confinement among the Mārwaris the sister's husband of the father of the child touches the place where the cord was buried and receives a present, and at a circumcision of a Dafali or low-caste Muhammadan the same relative takes the boy to the mosque and places him in position for the operation.

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER'S CHILD.

Among the Tiyyans of North Malabar² the bridegroom has to contest with the *machchun* or uncle's son, whose claims are bought off by a payment of two fanams, and a similar custom is found among the Izhuvans or Tiyyans of Cochin.³ The Idaiyan bridegroom⁴ presents four annas and betel to each of the bride's maternal uncle's sons, who tie together the wrists of the newly married couple. When

¹ Crooke : op. cit., vol. i, p. 225; vol. ii, pp. 180, 241, 283, 324; vol. iii, pp. 211, 260, 479; vol. iv, p. 280.

² Logan : Malabar Manual, vol. i, p. 144.

³ A. K. Iyer : op. cit., Monograph 10, p. 18; see also p. 16.

⁴ Thurston : op. cit., p. 55.

the bride and bridegroom retire to the bride's house, the bride is carried by the bridegroom's brother and the party is stopped by the maternal uncle's sons, who may beat the groom's brother. The bride among the Chakalis¹ and the Vannans² is dressed by her mother's brother's daughter. At a Toda funeral important ceremonies are performed by the *matchuni* (child of mother's brother or of father's sister).³

¹ Boswell: Manual of Nellore District, p. 240.

² Kearns: op. cit., p. 49.

³ Rivers: op. cit., pp. 360, 381, 392.