Chapter IX
LIFE CYCLE ACTIVITIES

The life cycle activities of the Abujhmarhias come specially those connected with the crises of life as mentioned below :-

I. Birth and name-giving ceremonies

The Abujhmarhias are aware that intercourse, _getna_ between man and woman leads to pregnancy, _angshita_. They believe in physical paternity, and know that it is a sperm, _jiva_ of man that gives life. It is a seed of human beings. The women also know when they miss their first menstruation, _kumuruta_ that they are probably starting to bear a child. That is why the girls after their first menstruation are tabooed to enter in the room of their family god, _lopada_ and near the clan-god and Talur of the village, by saying that - _Pedi kurnatak ayla, anaduma naga dayna polo_, to visit Talur, Pen and go near the clan-god of the village, family god is tabooed for mature girls.

Obviously the women in their menstruation period are secluded to the menstruation hut. Their proper place is a menstruation hut, _kurma_ in which they have to stay for four days. In this period no man should see a woman's face nor she allowed to see the man's face. On the fifth day they go first to take bath and wash their clothes. This locally called _Nend gunda daykata batur_. After taking bath they come to the house, sprinkle water in every part of the house or
plaster the floor of the house with cow-dung, then they put some rice grain in the pot of their family god because it is believed that after every monthly-course there is a probability of pregnancy. They believe in the theory of reincarnation, that is the source of life, is their family-god and every birth, puttu in the house is the re-birth of their departed ancestor's ghost. It is found that at every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman as well as her husband are required to abstain from eating certain parts of animals, e.g. ears, legs, tongue, lungs, head and tail etc. They are secluded from all gods and spirits, feasts, killing the animals, digging the earth and erecting the house. These prohibitions also continue during the pregnancy of a woman, except for household-god and digging the earth. It is believed that in all these live the spirits of forest and hills; and if they try to disturb them, they may harm the baby.

However, with these few taboos the wife continues to perform her ordinary routine work, right up to the last day of her pregnancy. Sexual intercourse ceases as soon as pregnancy is known to have begun. In this period the pregnant woman is not allowed to visit her parent's house, because it is believed that the household spirits of that family may harm her pregnancy.

There is not a single case found that of a mother being delivered a child in the field or the forest. If it so happened, it is considered bad. When she begins to have some pain, a day or two, before the delivery, she enters menstruation
hut. During this period she may have the comfort of the presence of her mother-in-law, or husband's elder brother's wife, Maddi or akka, or an old woman of her husband's native clan or lineage known as Cherhi. There is no other professional mid-wife, nor is any woman of her affinal clan is allowed to enter that hut.

If there is some pain or trouble at the time of delivery, the Leska or the Gaita is called and the family-god is worshiped by her husband. The Leska tries to see, if any disturbance has been made by evil eyes or witches through the divination. They also generally use some of the herbal medicines, such as the roots of palamara, a kind of small tree, or almara, a kind of grass. In rare cases, they use the leaves of Jukenamara, a kind of tree; it is a very strong medicine, it causes abortions. These medicines make delivery easy, whereas there are other medicines, to reduce the pain of delivery, such as moklamara and Khirkhirnara leaves. All these medicines relieve the birth pain as well as help to remove the placenta and reduce the after-birth pain.

The mother herself has to cut the umbilical cord, moddi; in the case of girl, pedi, by means of knife, kaser or in the case of a boy, peda, by an arrow head, kante. This process locally called kante te moddi nanka. After this the arrow-head is kept inside the hut wrapped in the leaves of saja tree, nauer. The mother is expected to do every thing for herself. The mother herself buries the placenta with the moddi immediately in a pit dug by cherhi inside the hut. This pit is then covered with earth, over which the new born baby is given a bath in hot water. The hair of the baby is also cut at this time by the mother. Then the fire is made on the same
spot where the placenta was buried. The charhi digs a pit called gundedaynakont, a pit where the water is stored after birth. The mother also takes bath in warm water. They believe that if a single drop of water flows out-side the hut, some evil eyes, or witch may harm the mother or her new born baby. The same beliefs are also associated with placenta and moddi.

As soon as a woman gives birth to a new baby her husband is also secluded from social intercourse with his village-folk. No one should see his face at such time nor he see others. He always keeps his door closed, and live in the middle part of the house. He is also not allowed to go in the room of his family god. He gets his food cooked by some of his family member or lineage. While his wife food is cooked by charhi. The food given is very simple, rice with salt without vegetables and other items. During this period of seclusion the new mother and the father are also tabooed to see each others faces. The mother as well as father are permitted to leave the rooms only to answer the call of nature. Transgression of these taboos is believed to cause calamity or death for any one of the three. It is believed that in this period the family god and Talur, guard and protect to these persons. The mother usually remains in the hut for eight days, whereas the father is secluded only for five days.

On the sixth day of the delivery the father comes out from the house and rooms in the jungle, cutting the wood or plucking the leaves. On seventh day he visits his wife and new born baby for the first time and stays with them for whole day except meal time.
On the eighth day the father of the new born baby first visits the Gotul where all the village-fold people have been waiting for him, conveys a news about the sex of the new born baby. This system is known as purvy tasvana. In the evening he first visits the village Talur and offers an egg. Thereafter he can cook his own food.

On the same day the period of seclusion is over and usually the navel-cord also drops off. The mother goes out in the early morning to the river or stream, immerses herself, and cleans her old loin-cloth and returns to the home. She emerges where from wearing her loin-cloth and carrying her baby and meets the village women-folk. This is known as harpasty, to come out from the hut. Then she smears or sprinkles the house with cow-dung or with water, offers some kohla rice in the pot of the departed. Her husband also offers an egg near this pot of departed. Upto this time she was assisted by cherhi. From this evening she starts cooking food. On the ninth day the man visits the original Talur of the village offers an egg, and carries one log of wood for fuel purposes, then on the 10th and 11th days he visits other Talurs of the village.

**Name-giving, Padertasna** :-

It is usually after about twelfth days of the birth of a baby that the name-giving ceremony takes place, called padertasna. At this time most of the village-folk and kins gather in the house of the man. At this time mother takes her seat on a mat, holding the baby in her lap with the
invited women-folk round her. Afterward the name of the child is selected by the assembled women, specially the father's sister, or father's father's sister or the cherhi herself. She takes a small stick of paurer, called parnadi, which is given to the baby to hold, and while uttering some name of a deceased ancestor, the name at which the baby holds the stick, is given to it. Sometimes the mother may say some ancestor informing her of his coming, his name is given to the baby. At times a baby begins to suck the mother at some ancestor's name. This then is given to it. It is also examined by birth marks; if these are considered to be the same as those of a dead ancestor, it is given that ancestor's name. This practice is a sign of their belief in the reincarnation of the departed. This is again confirmed on the next day by the father when he goes for fishing and catches the fish in the name of the same ancestor; if he gets success, it becomes sure that the same ancestor is born again.

Till the padterasa day the child is not regarded full human being. If it dies unnamed, it is not given a proper burial. It is said to have been a ghost child, not a being of flesh and blood.

After the name-giving ceremony, both the mother and father are served with mahua liquor in separate leaf cups. Afterwards the assembly also drinks. A pig is also sacrificed, and the raw pork is distributed among all assembled members, no feast is given to the village members except to the visiting affines. After this ceremony there is no age-ceremony of any kind, neither at weaning, hair cutting or puberty. However, children are desired but the facts remain that the sons are
specially preferred, because the sons are expected to take care of their parents in their old age.

Every Abujhmarhia name has a meaning in common use, but it is not always easy to obtain an adequate and accurate explanation of the meaning from the people themselves. In some cases the derivation is obvious. It is not unusual also to get more than one man or woman of the same name in a village. It shows that there are only certain names which are given to them. But in other cases it is not possible to discover with certainty the derivation of these names and the statements of the Abujhmarhias regarding them also do not always agree. Some of the fantastic names and their derivations are given by Grigson (1938: 265). Some of the names which are most commonly mentioned in their Gotulpata are mentioned below and their meaning as stated by the Abujhmarhias :-

The names of females :-

Kosi : Who puts on a particular type of grass. This grass is known for its smooth and softness.

Junge : Who always wants mother's breast.

Tushe : Who always makes the husk out of grains.

Ire : The stick of the leaf cup or gublate.

Dame : Who is always busy with beadneckles making.

There are some nicknames also; such are :-

Babli : The private parts of monkey.

Rago : The private parts of ape.

Kove : Who has a face like monkey.

Rami : The tail of a kind of bird.

Ridi : The feather of a kind of bird.
The names of men:

Neda: The elbow of hand, a overloved child.
Muka: The knee, a strong man.
Irgu: Like the horn of bison, a cruel man.
Mesu: The eggs full of basket, a prosperous man.
Kana: Owl, the leader, or one eyed.

The nicknames:

Pirhma: The gray haired man etc.

Many other names are derived after the name of objects such as trees, vegetables, and animals, like dhowa, a kind of vegetable, kosa, a kind of yams, dunga, dusa-duwal, tiger etc.

Infancy:

The most striking feature of nutritional life in infancy among the Abujhmarhias is the extremely long period of suckling, which is continued till the second or third year of the infant's life. The mother usually delays weaning till she is aware that the baby can survive on the food only. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife is polio for the first one and half or even two years after the birth of a child. It is believed that it would harm the child. Therefore in most cases the father sleeps in the Gotul for one and half years. It is a belief behind it that if he visits his wife, his child may die so that the period of lactation is necessarily long.

In the first one and half month after the birth, the child, rila is much more closely associated physically, both in sleeping and walking, with the mother's body. This period is known as atte oyena. For example, the baby is strapped to
the mother's back when she goes to work or to fetch water, and the baby sleeps in its sling of cloth. The mother has to give the child the breast at any time whenever it requires. It is said that the mother's breast must be in the child's mouth day and night, Piyarh parhed tanu tade baden manta. In this period for infant no training of habits in regard to feeding is organised. The Abujhmarhia mother thus becomes the centre of all the emotions associated with the gratification of the child's appetite and other stimulation are of little importance to it.

As the child learns to crawl and walk Minda na takivator, it widens its environment and finds other source of pleasure and excitement but the original physiological relationships produced by suckling remain undisturbed, as does the body association. Thus socially, as well as physiologically, it is the mother with whom the child is almost exclusively concerned during the first two years of its life.

After eighteen months or so the child, pila is referred to as banda, boy, and helo or huni, for girl.

*Meaning*

The child is not weaned until it has developed emotionally a much more complex attitude towards the mother and has reached a physiologically independent age. As evidence goes that weaning takes place at a time when the child is old enough to understand the meaning of punishment and rebuke. After two years the child is sometimes slapped for approaching the breast or rebuked. The mother starts suggesting that sucking is bad, pal lago, please leave it, birhich kahr, eat rice, gato tin;
it is good, maha manta, and so on. Thus the weaning takes place gradually without any effort. Sometimes in exceptional cases they have to take some drastic measures to wean the child from the mother's breast, when the breast is smeared with a repulsive vegetable juice.

There is yet, another factor of separation from the mother in that a temporary adoption at weaning sometimes occurs. The child may be taken to the Gotul by an elderly person of the house for a while. Now the sexual intercourse between husband and wife is resumed at about the same time as weaning takes place.

Childhood :-

Weaning leads to a new phase in the life cycle of the Abujhmarhia child lasting from the age of about three to about seven years. During this period children continue to live in close association with their parents. Now the children at this stage feel a little anxiety about their food or responsibility in regard to its production when they observe a series of complicated activities in preparation of food and leaf cup-making. They want to share the work of their parents. They become acquainted with different roles played in the house, which they express through their play. The little girls at this stage begin in a rudimentary way to share in their mother's tasks and obligations regarding cooking, fetching water and watching the children. The boys learn now to use the bow and arrow. They roam in a group near the stream with their little arrows and bows. The elderly boys teach them, beat them, through which they also recognize the authority of their seniors.
Their mother and father may rebuke them for staying into other huts at meal time.

After eight they start to go the village dormitory, Gotul with their elder brothers or sisters. Now they are divided into groups and group activities according to their sexes. It is recognized by the Abujhmarhias that girls, rila or pudi mature earlier than the boys, paka or peda; and it only when a girl reaches the age of nearly thirteen that she is called lyna, while in the case of boy, he is called layor, when is about fifteen or sixteen years old. No ceremonies are performed by the Abujhmarhias when boys and girls become adult. Even when a girl reaches to menstrual cycle, no rites mark this event in her life except that she is tabooed to visit the room of her father's family-god, anal. When the monthly period is over, she would go to take her bath and wash her clothing etc., in nearby stream.

It is worthwhile to add that during the earlier period of childhood as mentioned above, both and girls mix freely in play and work, but as they grow in years, the boys and girls segregate in separate groups. But they can meet and dance together in the Gotul.

When the boys and girls reach ten or twelve years, they are expected to know the job according to their sex. The boy is expected to know how to handle the axe, reap the harvest, cut and bring the fuel from the forest and clean the Penda field. Similarly a girl of the same age is considered proficient enough in weeding, reaping, harvesting, cooking meals, fetching water from the water source, taking care of her
II  

Marriage

Sexual intercourse in every community is not simply a matter of individual choice or biological necessity, but also a matter of social or ethical importance. There are also certain forms of marriage, socially good and regular ones, whereas some are ideal type, and others are regarded as irregular though approved, and some are condemned.

I would like to apply a structural theory to the Abujhmarhia marriage system. On that basis I called the marriage alliance. This system is repetition of inter-marriage through the course of generations, a repetition by which the classification into two categories of kinsmen in several generation is made. According to Dumont - 'if we say (presumably on the basis of what informants tell us) that one marriage one's cross-cousin, we merely state a condition to be observed in order to maintain a certain pattern of inter-marriage'; and he adds - 'The regulation causes marriage to be transmitted much as membership in the descent group is transmitted'.

The Abujhmarhia marriage system is a 'closed' or 'elementary' system of marriage, characterised by preferential system of marriage. By preferential marriage means that the spouses are those who are already related to each other in the kinship system, i.e. the choice of mate becomes a matter of social preference. This preferential system operates within the contents of the prescriptive system. Among the Abujhmarhias a man has a prescriptive right on his mother's brother's and his father's sister's daughter. Grizzon (1938 : 247) also states 'such marriages are considered the most seemly, both
because the family which has given a daughter to another family in marriage in one generation should have this obligation repaid by getting her daughter back as a wife for a son of the next generation, and because such family arrangements obviate the necessity of paying the much heavier bride price required for getting a bride from new and unrelated family. 1 The compensation given at the time of widow marriage, which is a big amount and the inheritance of right as far the children are concerned the girl always goes with her mother whereas boy always remains in his father's family. And the compensation of widow remarriage is not simply the compensation of widow but the compensation of that right which is given (transferred) from one lineage to another for the coming generations. The same is with the elopement marriages which are taken place after the negotiation or betrothal of girl. The concept of affinity has to be widened, as far the Ahuja Marhia is concerned, his affinity is transmitted from one generation to the next.

Hitherto, mention has been already made in regard to a controversial hypothesis 'that dual organization, though not found at present once existed, among the Gonds' was proved valid once. Grigson (1938 : 236-40) a man of confusion has pointed out that members of two different exogamous phratries (dada bhai clan groups related to each other as akosama) a present marry in one and the same clan, ' and comes to a exaggerated conclusions that 'dual organization does not exist among the hill Marhias at present,' which really exists today. Among these people the exogamous system is completely based on that organization. Marriage between children of two brothers as well as between children of two sisters, real or collateral, is prohibited, polo in the Ahuja Marhia social system. All clans
and phratrics are grouped either in exogamous, tamordada or in endogamous, akomama groups. A man is forbidden to marry in his own clan as well as in a brother clan, tamordada group. He must always find his mate in one of the clans related to his clan as akomama, affinal or wife-clan. 2

The Abujsmarthia ideal and traditional method in which a union entered in the marriage is a simple affair, requiring a limited number of participants and formalities; this traditional method entails not only a lot of expenditure and preparations but also an elaborate series of transactions and procedures. Nonetheless this traditional method is considered to be a respectable form of the wedlock and is highly desirable, for it enhances one's prestige in the Abujsmarthia community. This approved method of entering into a wedlock with a woman is known as mahla pendul or marning, marriage through negotiations and betrothal. On examining the pattern of marriage in three type of villages, which were recorded by me during my field work, we find that there is a little difference among three types villages. The villagewise affiliations of the respective mates (both past and present) is not only known to our informants but the informants of interior villages (C) could furnish more appropriately the particulars of all marriages which are taken place in the period of 10 years, while the informants of A type villages are not so much efficient to give all the details of marriages of the same period, and thus out of 235 marriages they could only give the details for 187 marriages. Thus the number of marriages recorded from all types of villages (which were taken place within the period of ten years) are as follows :
1. A type villages - 187
2. B type villages - 135
3. C type villages - 246

All types of marriages in reference to above number are as mentioned below with the area of marriage. This is also a key to go through Table IX: I, which gives us the distribution pattern of all kinds of marriages in these hills.

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girl. The man was excommunicated not only from the village but from the pargana. And another case is from Jatwar in which a Marhia youth entered into wedlock with a Lahar or wadde girl by elopement. He was also excommunicated by the pargana humkal, but after taking a penal feast from him the humkal recommmunicated him in the community.

The marriages of (VI), (VII), (VIII), (IX), and (X) are regular marriages dealt with separately. These types of marriages are highest in score in all types of villages. The (XI) marriages are high in A type villages in which all the girls were already betrothed after negotiation and therefore the parties responsible for pregnancy had paid a bride wealth or compensation (in heavy amount) to the concerned parties.

(XII) type cases are only from the A type villages, in which the compensation was paid to the negotiated party. Each was fined one pig to their Taibu as the child was born in the mother's parents house.

(XIII) Marriage by elopement

This type of cases are again from A type villages (4) only and two only from B type villages. In all these cases the couple had run away to distant villages generally in Khairati, Muria country, where they got themselves married. Five were allowed to return after a year or so, and the bride wealth or compensation to the betrothal parties etc. were paid by the bridegroom's party. One couple is still living at Dinjuli near Narayanpur.

All these unions are taken place in the kurcha, compensation form, and the srokes enjoy a cup of drink darhan-co-
undakan, to take mahua liquor with a hand of a man. There was a case in which a recently married woman (Kosi from Jharawahi) was run away from her husband and started to live with a man in Jatwar. Her husband and his nearest kin found her out and her new husband (Masa Jatwar) was fined in two parganas humkal, where he paid a heavy compensation. It was learnt that they have previous connections (before marriage) with each other.

(XIV) Marriage by capture

The cases of marriage by capture are now frequently taking place in A type villages. Most of these marriages are cross-cousin marriages. Occasionally, it so happens that the betrothed girl, refused to come, or shows her unwillingness, nanahanon for marriage, is captured (lit. pulled past) by her betrothed cross-cousin and his party. When she visits the Kagsar dance, with the full knowledge of the parent and is forced to marry her cross-cousin with the negotiations, mahlaundakan.

Sometimes, the girls are also captured in Kagsar dances by their cross-cousins without the knowledge of their parents. Sometimes a married man forcibly marries an unmarried cross-cousin. See the case ...(Infra. 531...). This type of marriages, generally, break their relations between their families.

XV Levirate marriage

In the form of levirate marriage, only junior levirate marriage is permitted in the Abujmarshia community. A widow usually marries one of her deceased husband's younger brothers.
This is a well established and much appreciated custom. A younger brother is supposed to discharge his obligations to his deceased elder brother by marrying his widow and taking care of his children. This type of marriages are found only in A type villages (6). At this time the formal inquiry is made from the widow by the elder men or women of the village as to whether she would like to remain in her late husband's house, or wants to wait her deceased husband's younger brother if he is an minor, or she would want to take drink with him (if he is grown up) or married, or is inclined to marry some one else. If she gives her consent to live with late husband’s younger brother, no special ceremony is attached to this kind of marriage. A group of relatives (native clan members and sometimes woman’s brothers and parents) assemble, and in their presence the bridegroom gives a cup of drink to the woman and promises to look after her and her children.

But the late husband’s younger brother, cannot marry without her consent. If she agrees, then only he is the first legitimate member to marry her. Occasionally, it so happens that due to disparity of age between a widow and her husband's younger brother, or bad relations or disagreement with his wife, a widow refuses to marry him. In case she decides to enter into wedlock with somebody other than her late husband's younger brother, she is allowed to do so, but he gets a compensation from the man who marries her. The latter husband also has to compensate the dead husband's parents in part for the bride price paid by himself or his parents when he marries the widow. Usually, elderly widows having children of their own prefer to stay in the village of their deceased husbands, while a young widow, with or without
children, manages to enter into a wedlock with others. She shifts, of her own accord, to the house of her respective male and starts working and living with him. After this follows the process of compensation as mentioned above. The marriage of the widow with husband's elder brother is tabooed.

(XVI) Sororate marriage

Sororate is not very frequent among the Abujhmarhias, only one case is found at Kohkameta. In this custom of junior sororate an Abujhmarhia is allowed to marry his wife's younger sister in his wife's life-time as well as after her death, or may obtain her if wife is barren or otherwise unsatisfactory. The husband seeks another wife, often setting the first wife's younger sister or her parallel cousin as compensation for her falling short of his expectations. But the usual practice is that when the wife is barren, then only with her consent he can ask for her younger sister. Usually the Abujhmarhia woman does not like to live with another woman as a co-wife.

(XVII) Widow marriage

Some references have been made in regard to the widow, randi marriage with levirate marriages, which is very frequent. Usually when a widow likes to enter into wedlock with another Marha, and her latter husband is required to pay the compensation to the person (or group of persons) who claims a prescriptive right over the woman. Usually this man is a younger brother of her late husband with whom she entered into wedlock. Sometimes, it so happens that the lineage members of her deceased husband claim a prescriptive right, usually in the case
of absence of her deceased husband's younger brother. This money which they get through the compensation is distributed to all the members of the local clan of the pargana.

A widow, however, must not marry in her father's brother-clan. Through out a woman's life all her marriages are regulated by the clan into which she was born.

Sometimes a widow herself goes over to and starts living in the house of a man of her choice, of course, with the implied consent of the concerned man. (These types of men, generally, are widowers who are always busy in finding out th widows). This type of union usually takes place with a drink durhango undakan. Then the party who have a prescriptive right over that widow follows her, and when they found her living with some one, demand their bride wealth from that man with whom she is living (Infra..532...).

Remaining types of marriages can be broadly put into two categories :-

I Prefrential or prescriptive marriages or cross-cousin marriages, and

II Arranged marriages.

I Prefrential or prescriptive marriages :-

Mention has been made as far the presrential (VI, VII) or cross-cousin marriages are concerned. This type of marriages are highest in numbers in all three types villages. Marriages with one's mother's brother's daughter are 58 out of 187, in A, 33 out of 135 in B and 79 out of 246 in C type villages; with one's father's sister's daughter are 29 out of 187, 36 out of 135 and 75 out of 246 in C type villages.
respectively. All these marriages also follow the procedure of negotiations and betrothal to strengthen the relationship of two families, through transactions of gifts and exchanges.

II  

Arranged marriages

This category of marriage includes the following type of marriages:

a) Marriage between classificatory cross-cousins;
b) Marriage by service; and
c) Marriage by exchange.

The occurrence of these marriages in three type of villages is in a considerable degree; marriages between classificatory cousins are, 23 out of 187 in A, 15 out of 135 in B, and 44 out of 246 in C type villages; whereas marriages by exchange are, 17 in A, 5 in B and 17 in C type villages. The most interesting data is on the marriages by service, 30 in A, 15 in B and 7 in C, out of 187, 135, and 246 respectively.

When there is no first cross-cousin in the affinal group, the parents have to search out a spouse for their respective sons. Obviously, the procedure that is adopted for arranging such marriages, starts when a girl is selected by the boy's parents. Usually, the search for an acceptable bride is made through some relatives or other influential men who know who is who in the villages. For this selection of the bride there are a few considerations taken into account; first, that the father of the girl should not only belong to their own community but also should be related, as far as is known as the akomma (affine) of the boy's father, secondly,
the particular girl should not be suffering from any physical or mental defect; and lastly, there should not be any sort of magic possessed by her mother. This fact came to my knowledge, when I asked the Patil of the Orchha village about his brother's daughter, who was about 28 years old. He told me that the evil spirit has entered into his family with his elder brother's wife. And due to this there have been many deaths occurred in his family. Therefore, not a single Marhia is ready to marry her as they assume that the same evil spirit may be transferred through her daughter to his family. The same case is with another girl of the same village. She is about 32 years old, no one is ready to marry her. It is said that she possesses magic. There are some considerations which the girls' parents also took into consideration, namely, the boy should not be lazy, and he should not be fond of excessive drinking. The other considerations are same as mentioned for a girl. Muka (38 years old) of the Orchha village was a servitor at Gudarhi village, but being drunkard, he was removed from his prospective father-in-law's house. Even now he is unmarried, no one is ready to give his daughter to him.

The age of betrothal or marriage negotiation is usually between 7 years to 16 years for both boys and girls. But as far the marriage is concerned, it is always takes place in adult-hood. As far the time of marriage is concerned, there is not fixed time or period. It may take place at any time, but generally the busy months of sowing, harvesting or other agricultural operations are avoided. The usual time for wedding is after sowing or harvesting, the Kohla is over.
After the selection of the bride is made the father of the bridegroom, along with three to four lineage elders sets out on a date convenient to him towards the house of the girl's father. As a gesture of good-will, a bottle or two of mahua liquor is taken along with them. But while proceeding towards the girl's father's house, good or bad omens are also looked for. Some of these common omens are mentioned as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good omens</th>
<th>Bad omens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Karmer, usher, Dardeh, Kiddari (birds) are observed on the right side of the path.</td>
<td>1 If these birds are observed on the left side of the path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 If a tiger or a spotted deer is seen by or crosses the path.</td>
<td>2 When a jackal or fox is seen or crosses the path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 When somebody is carrying an earthen vessel full of water, Yer mindi arhkate waenta.</td>
<td>3 When somebody is carrying an empty earthen vessel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the bad omens are met with, within village territory the visit is postponed till a later date. On getting favourable omens they proceed direct to the girl's father's house. This occasion is known as talklay, to pay a visit in order to ask for a daughter. It is said—"Talklay dayna bharorhi dayana, rand batli kal pais dayna, in order to go to ask for a daughter, go with two bottles full of liquor." On learning the purpose of their visit, the girl's father asks, "barrak baheen nima; what is the purpose of your visit?" The boy's father replies, "nivago pilatun talklay bato non; we came to you to see and ask for your daughter." Now, if he is willing to give his daughter, he simply says, "ijlekh avo; alright."
come on some other occasion. Then the wine is drunk by the both parties. After four months, the boy's father again visits the girl's father with two bottles of mahua liquor. He places the liquor bottles before the girl's father. If the girl's father is willing to keep a boy as a servitor for his daughter, then the girl's father replies - "Kamae kawel hilla, nana lam paytakan, nanayeom, lamna akan pendokeesom; I am not in a position to work, I would like to keep the boy as a servitor for my daughter." Now it depends on the boy's father. If he is ready to give his son as a wife servitor to that family, then, his reply is - "Lam ke la baayoonor wakiman; alright, the servitor, lamna will come." Now the girl is asked through her mother; is she willing to go to that youth's family from which the liquor has come? She replies - "Talkishuda, ask her" and then she asks her daughter - baykenn bayween, lamasi nava pendul kawom; do you like to go for that boy? He is ready to come as servitor, now we want to fix your marriage." If the girl replies in negative form "Nanaykan; I will not," then the boy's father interfere and says, "Nima badram bayween mava mar wesh manta; why will you not come to my son? He has a good physique." And when girl realizes that her parents are ready to give her; she simply says - "Nanawaykan; I will, but there is one condition."

"Idram, adram, batay landay poday ateke matteke nana manon; if there will be any thing wrong, I will not stay further." again Now the matter remains in the hands of boy's father, and he again takes promises from the girl's father, - "Injaki hinan
the girl's father with a promise requests him to drink, untu, and thus the liquor is first offered to girl's mother and then to the parties from the both villages. The boy's father with his party is entertained by the girl's parents with food. In case of refusal the drink is not shared, and the boy's father takes the liquor back to his village.

In the case of cross-cousins, the boy's parents go to their in-laws with two bottles liquor, open the door of the girl's father's house, place the bottles inside the house, and sit silently outside the door. In case of mother's brother's daughter, the mother of the boy asks her brother's wife for her potential daughter-in-law, noni. And in case of father's sister's daughter, the boy's father asks his sister's husband for his potential daughter-in-law, noni for his son. In both cases, the girl's parents' reply always remains - "Niva hakk anom; it is your share, take it. You do not have to ask for her." With a laughter they enjoy the drink. In case of exchange marriages or classificatory cousin marriages, the girl's parents direct them to get the formal permission from the girl's mother's brother or girl's father's sister's husband before they can give their consent for the marriage. So, the concerned parties first approach the mana of the girl to ascertain his wishes. In case, a Warbia wants to marry his son with his sister's daughter, or with his wife's brother's daughter, then the negotiations are dropped. But if they are willing to waive their prescriptive right over these girls on account of the fact that their sons are too young or too old, then...
marry them, then they may freely point the manaparti, which discussed further.

Yet, another visit is paid, generally, after an interval of about a year. This is known as "Mudda naniva ta mahna - the betrothal made through the presents of necklaces and combs (to the girl and her mother by the bridegroom's party)." It is a ceremony as to get hold of the bride. After this ceremony the bridegroom's party is authorised to take full compensation of the marriage, if the girl runs away, or becomes pregnant by someone else. At this time, the bridegroom's father visits the bride's father with his village Patel or Gaita and some other relatives, with one or two chickens and five or six liquor bottles. The girl's father also calls the Patel, Gaita, Sirpanch and some other elderly persons of his village. The bride wealth and other expenses in cash and kind are decided. They share the liquor with each other and then a feast is given by the bride's parents. After this ceremony the date of the marriage may be extended for three to five years. The series of gift transactions continues, generally, once in a year, and at the time of some festivals. The boys are not allowed to accompany these parties to their bride's villages. If they do so, they are criticised and teased by the Goutul boys and girls of the bride village. At this time the elderly women, Goutul boys and girls are allowed to accompany the boy's parents, where they dance for the whole night and enjoy themselves.

In between, after betrothal and before marriage, girls have full liberty to dance and sing and satisfy sex. The boys betrothed to them are not allowed to speak or interfere in their
affairs until and unless they do not run away with someone else. Therefore, sometimes it so happens that the girls always try to refuse to get married, while the boy's party always puts up the proposal for marriage. And these girls are forcibly married or pulled (lit-pact) by the boy's party. In normal course, when the girl is ready for marriage, the parents of boys and girls fix the convenient date, Ichchok diya na marmaing avaj; and the information is sent to all the relatives, Pilata tata dakan pendul kiya; especially the girl's mother's sisters peri or kuchi villages as well as the boy's mother's sisters peri or kuchi villages. The youths of the Gotul of their respective villages start dancing in advance at the door of the relatives of the bride and bridegroom. At the time of the marriage, these Gotul youths accompany them to the marriage village, where they are received with a warm joking and jesting by the Gotul youths of the marriage village and vice versa.

It may be the bride who will go to the bridegroom's village for marriage or it may also be the bridegroom who will go to her village for marriage as previously decided.

Before arrival of the marriage party, the booths are already erected in marriage village known as marma-manda, for guests. This practice is prevalent in Jatin, Padaldesh, Murdesh, Warhemarh and Chhotemarh parganas. Whereas in other parts of the Abujmaharh there is no such custom. On arrival (usually in the evening) the bridegroom's parents make the payment of the bride price over to the bride's parents. They are given a warm welcome and all the guests meet each other with great joy, exchange their good wishes, neelshubari cook their food and eat
it apart from the bride and bridegroom's parents. The Gotul youths from all guest villages assemble in dancing dress, with drums; first in Gotul, then with dancing and drumming and singing, visit the bride's house, and continue till dawn. The bride, as well as bridegroom also participate in this dance with the Gotul youths of their respective villages. Soon after dawn, the pigs, grains and liquor brought by the bridegroom's party as a part of the bride-price are divided into a portion for the bride's village and a portion for the visiting villages according to the number of participants in each party. Any deficiency is made up by the bride's parents, this being their only expense, they spend 1/4 expenses of grain met by the groom's party at this time. In case of long, wife servitor marriage, all the expenses of the feasts are met by bride's parents. The Gotul youths of each party usually prepare the food.

Just after the break of dance, the bride goes to her parent's house. The Gaia of her parent's village is requested to give bath to the bride. First, he pours the water on the bride. This water having been brought by either the younger sister or classificatory sister of the bride. Soon after the Gaia, other relatives of bride's party (from her father's and mother's sister's kin) drop some five or ten paisa coins in earthen vessel and then pour water from it on the bride.

After bath, the bride emerges from her parents house with a new cloth wrapped over her shoulders. The Layasku of her village start singing in unison with their arms closely linked
with each other, the bride also being dragged in this dancing and they go round the village from door to door, first, to the Gaita’s and Patel’s house and so on. At this time, the bride is known as pendul pila. At every door she is presented with a brass ring by the head woman of the house as a token of their good wishes for the bride’s new life. This custom is known as lon lon hanjeem acha; the bride is expected to weep profusely in token of her reluctance to leave her father’s home and village. Usually, the bride sings with weeping voice with reference to the names and kinship terms of her natal village relatives with her girls friends who repeat the song, such as:

"Dayna kuchi, dayna per, ama,
Dayna mano, dayna kaka,
Dayna helo, dayna akka, nun,
Lijek niya sanje manon
Lijek nana muon daynan,
Jag baza karaalay
Daka baza kute nara dakan;"

0’ my aunty (Fa-Yr-Br-mm (Kuchi)), 0’ my aunty (Fa-EI-Br-mm (Peri)), 0’ my mother (awa), my lovely younger brother (mano), respected uncle (Fa-Yr-Br (kaka)), 0’ my lovely younger sister (helo). Upto this time I was with you, upto this time I have got your favou, kindness, love and affection, now you have given me in marriage, now I cannot dance, before this I was free to dance and move, why you have done so, my ambitions and desires to dance and live with you are not still satisfied and so on."

In case of the marriage in which the bride is carried to bridegroom’s village by her parents, the above mentioned
formalities are performed before leaving the natal village of the bride.

After taking the wedding breakfast (feast) all the participants go over and sit on the open ground near the bride’s father’s house. The men-folk, as well as women-folk of co-villages with their respective relatives, sit separately facing the opposite directions. Usually, the bridegroom’s party sits facing the bride’s parents house whereas the bride’s party sits facing them. The women-folk from both sides sing and jest and joke in a language full of obscene words, to finding the inglorious language sweet of obscenity. The bridegroom’s parents, first, present a new loin-cloth, pendiul satte with an upper garment, resori for the bride, and a loin-cloth for her mother called, taladopa, in which a rupee and some grains are tied in one corner. This presentation rite is called mana ana sat his mangete komte taladopa komte. This taladopa must be twenty cubits long, made by the ranka (a weaver caste), caste. If it is less than twenty cubits, (which is usually measured by some elderly man of the bride party before all the participants) it is not accepted. An interesting thing happened when this taladopa was measured by Dui Patel in the marriage of his brother’s daughter. It turned out to be less by half a cubit. He returned the cloth, with a comment, “we have given you a full bride and you are not giving us full taladopa. No, we will not accept it, we require a full taladopa.” It is not formally accepted, it is kept with bride’s father till the replace of full cloth and is not made to her mother. It is only given to the bride’s mother when it is full (twenty cubits long), and usually it is replaced by the bride’s father-in-law after marriage and then
it is given to her mother. After this the bride's father says - "Avopari nava mivara hivatonon
nana, illek rupyang tinda kan,
ichhon darhango unsanok,
kuku mand n-e
Ishke akan;"

listen my in-law, pari, now I am giving my daughter to you, I will take such and such amount in cash and the liquor in such quantity etc.". The bridegroom's father also asks in the same manner;

"Avo pari nima bachon on rupyang tinda keen: alright my in-law, pari, how much amount you require." Then they decide the amount of money in cash that varies from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 200/-. This amount is also called pari, literally means 'turn'. If the bride and bridegroom are not cross-cousins, the bride's mother's brother asks for his share, which is known as namapari; the compensation of the turn of bride's mother's brother, because it is his turn to get a member in return to his family. It is a conventional gift for him, when a daughter of his sister is married to any one, other than his son. This compensation (for the loss of the girl as a wife for his son) varies from a sum of about Rs. 20/- to Rs. 50/-. Such compensation can also be demanded by a sister of her brother, if he refuses to marry his daughter to her son, if she so desires. This is known as ato pari, a sum of about Rs. 5/- to Rs. 10/- only.

Now the bride's mother again is asked - "Niva taladorn nuttu; have you received your taladorna." Usually she replies
"ingo, navu navana satte puttu yee, I received my daughter's compensation." Obviously, the bridegroom's father opens the mouth of the earthen vessel brought with him, filled in with mahua liquor, usually distilled by himself, pours it in a leaf cup and first offers to the bride's father with a request - "id pari nina payeen dopatekal; come on my in-law, pari and have a cup of drink;" offers him a leaf cup with full of liquor, then they pour a few drops of liquor on the earth saying in unison - "meek Juhar pari, good-luck in-law" and then drink it. The mahua liquor is served to all the assembled ones in leaf cups, the women folk are also served at this time by some young lady of the bridegroom's party. The bride and the bridegroom serve to their Gotul friends respectively. At this time, their playmates cut jokes with them, all the while helping in service. The Patel and the Gaita of the bride's village, get a bottle of liquor separately from the bridegroom's father; if Manjhi is present, he also gets his share of one bottle of liquor, one rupee with a chicken. All these presents are known as man, "honor", manjhi naman, the patel naman; a token of honour of their respective office.

Ultimately when all the participants are properly served, the bridegroom's father opens the mouth of a small earthen vessel, known as mita, filled with pure mahua spirit, distilled by himself, whereas in the former case sometimes they purchase the liquor from the market. But the mita liquor is never purchased from the liquor shop. If so, it is treated bad, because it is a ritual drink of returning the 'milk' between co-families. The mita liquor is poured in leaf cups, one leaf cup is given to the bride's father, one
for her mother, one for his wife and one he keeps for himself. When all the four leaf cups are filled with liquor, it is taboo, then po10, to keep on ground. The father of the bride, with submission, "naya dora neku, my leaf cup full of liquor to you," and gives the leaf cup to the bridegroom's father which he receives in his right hand, he exchanges his leaf cup with bride's father with an assurance; "niya dora naku, yes, my leaf cup is also for you." This exchange of the leaf cups with each other is repeated seven times, whereas the mothers of the bride and bridegroom do so five times in the same manner. And then they drink it expressing good wishes, neak juhar, to each other. This mita liquor is not served to any other member of any party except above mentioned part of the co-kin groups.

The bride at this time is brought out by her mother and given over to the bridegroom's parents reminding them; "miyab hope keetum; (I am) giving (my) daughter (right, property), to you." The bridegroom's parents carry her on foot, or if there is elder brother of bridegroom, she is carried on his back through the forest to the bridegroom's village, arriving always in the evening.

The bridegroom goes ahead with Gotul boys, and the returning party stays in Gotul. The bridegroom would not meet the bride due to modesty, remains outside the house, the elderly women and the mother of the bridegroom take the bridegroom in her house. Then the supper is prepared usually by the bridegroom's mother, the bridegroom is called upon to take it. The mother serves her son and daughter-in-law to this
From night to night it is expected that the bridegroom will remain inside the house, he will not visit the Gotul. Usually the newly married couple is closed up inside the hut by the wife of bridegroom's elder brother, once. The bridegroom asks for tobacco from the bride, "puzzatay please give me tobacco," if she says, "ille, no, then he directs her 'barkiyan kalpi, why, don't have you?' After this, her silence indicates her mutual consent for intercourse. But if she again and again says "ille" then the bridegroom never tries to do anything against her will. Sometimes it so happens that the bridegroom, due to his modesty does not dare to stay inside the house, and goes to stay in the Gotul. In such cases the Gotul youths remind him, 'now you have to stay with your wife, if she runs away from the village, it will not be only a bad thing for you but for all the village.' If he does not agree with them and again comes to the Gotul, then the Gotul youths catch hold of him and his wife and close them inside the hut; lona urhosen keshivana. Then they ask for a chicken from his parents. This is known as 'settekore tittoo; to get the chicken of intercourse.' Their parents with a sorrowful attitude respond, 'hanma Gotul te egangudalon, jjak koroy tor nima kenjati; we already try to stop him, suggest him - Don't go to the Gotul now, but he could not understand, alright, now we have to give.' And the Gotul youths take one chicken from his house and enjoy a feast in the Gotul. Thus the marriage is completed without further ceremony.

Even when the marriage is arranged by service which is also of course similar type of marriages as arranged in the
bride's father's house, the bridegroom is already put in service. Only the taladana and vilia liquor which are essential part of marriage ceremony are always arranged by the boy's party or parents. While other expenses are met by the bride's party.

**Bride wealth:**

Bride wealth or price in the Abujhmarhia community is known as karcha which means 'expenses', but actually it not only includes the expenses met in marriage, but also gifts and services in between two families. It is paid either in goods and gifts or in the form of service. As for the amount, it varies from family to family. It generally consists of:

1. One new loin cloth for the bride's mother taladana, the length of this coarse cloth must be twenty cubits. It is most essential item of bride price, in all types of marriages, except capture, and elopement or widow marriage.
2. One loin-cloth with an upper garment for bride.
3. One or two or more gelded pigs.
4. Two or four chickens.
5. From one to three khandis husked kohla nukang, millet rice or rice.
6. One or two nailis of salt.
7. One or two nailis of jira (rosella-dried flowers).
8. One or two nailis of dried red chillies.
20 bottles of liquor to more; as much as consumed.

One wita pure mahua spirit or liquor distilled by the bridegroom's party itself. A most important item in every type of marriage, except elopement and widow.

The cash amount from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 300/-.

In case of cross-cousin marriage the cash portion of the bride price is reduced. All the items of bride price, except wita, taladopo, and the cash are sent in advance by the Gotul youths with the headmen or some elder persons of the village. Here it is also expected that both the parties will meet the expenses of feast. And usually it is the bride's party which shares in such cases 1/4 expenses of the total expenses of the marriage. But in other cases the bride's party may take all the expenses of marriage.

Servitor for a wife, Lamma:

The bridegroom serves his prospective father-in-law for his bride instead of paying the bride price. These are the poor persons, either they have no father or both parents or they have no girls in their mama's house. Sometimes their poor parents cannot afford to pay the bride price to the girl's parents. Sometimes there are a few parents who do not want to take bride price, but want a man for labour, and it is a very easy method to keep a servitor for their girls as Lamma. It is generally at the second time of the talklay dayna, the bridegroom's parents send their son as Lamma, just after the visit. He goes as Lamma or suitor-servant to the girl's parents for a term of years that varies from three to seven or eight years. This system is very popular in A type villages where the Abujhmahia requires more
labour in paddy fields. The Table (IX:11) shows very interesting facts, where we get the highest number (30) of such marriages and of 137 which have taken place in A type villages, 15 out of 135 in B and only 7 marriages out of 246 in C type villages. Other facts gathered from the surveyed villages supports the observation that the lamna system is increasing day by day. In former time the lamna was kept only for three to seven years, but now they are kept for more than seven years. Soma in Kachchapal village kept a lamna for ten years, his daughter is about 24 years old (from the date of investigation 1969) but the suitor will have to serve three years more. He had also refused his sister's husband to give his daughter because they were not ready to send their son as wife servitor for seven years. The same case is from Garpa. The Dui Patel of Garpa have two young daughters, named Sayko (20 years old) and Fago (15 years old). He has kept one lamna for Sayko, from Narhapendu village for seven years; as this poor man has lost his father, and the other lamna for Fago is serving for last ten years. Dui told, he wants to make the embankments for paddy fields, and a good house, and as he has only one son, who is very idle. Therefore it becomes necessary to keep the lamna. There are some of his relatives who are not pleased with his ideas, but now he does not care for them. This type of attitudes are also prevalent in all A type villages. It is also learnt that this system is disturbing their social relations with their affinal relatives,
These lamnas are expected to work very hard for their future father-in-laws. They enjoy full freedom as a family member in their prospective father-in-law's house, and the Gotul life as a recognized member of the village. But the girl and her suitor, never talk to each other neither in the house nor in the Gotul. Modesty, niama prevents them for looking at or talking with each other. In the period of first three or four years, the parents of the bride always watch her and lamna's activities and his relations with the daughter. If they try to come close with each other the girl's mother asks her not to do so; such very rare cases. After four or five years the girl generally supposed to become the lamna's wife for the remaining years. After this if they become very close with each other, and intercourse takes place provided the girl agrees. Usually it would rarely occur. If it occurs, it is, however, considered a disgrace to the girl's parents if in consequence she becomes pregnant. The girl's father is fined a pig, which is eaten by all the clans of both sides, after which the girl is separated from her parents house as the lamna's wife. In such a case the marriage is at once celebrated. The house is built for them in father-in-law's village. The lamna lives separately and serves his father-in-law upto the time of his service, fixed at the time of talkalay or mahla. After that it is expected from the lamna, that he will return to his parents village. But it is found that the most of the lamnas who had come as wife suitor in A type villages, remained in their
wives natal villages after the marriage also.

If the girl has not become pregnant, there is always a regular marriage marri or pendul at the end of the agreed terms, the bride’s parents meet the expenses. After the marriage it depends on bridegroom; whether he wants to return to his father village or wants to stay in her wife’s natal village. If he likes to do so, he takes formal permission from the village Patel and Gaita to stay further especially in the villages where Penda cultivation is the main source of livelihood. But in A type village this is not necessary.

Bringing back the milk, Gudamola:

The system of gudamola is also known as mana miyarh tun tattang; which literary means to bring back the daughter of a sister. The cross-cousin marriage, when a sister’s daughter is married to a brother’s son as well as the daughter of the wife’s brother when married to sister’s son is known as gudamola. Obviously it is the mana (a term used for father’s sister’s husband as well as mother’s brother) who thinks that he has a right to his sister’s daughter for his son on the ground that his family has given a woman to her husband’s family in return of which he should get one for his son. By securing his sister’s daughter for his son he brings back the ‘milk’ which his family had given to the family of his sister’s husband, the term ‘milk’ being symbolised through the kins woman. In the same fashion the term gudamola, give and take is also applied to the marriage of a sister’s son with her brother’s daughter. Here the term gudamola shows the system of ‘give and take’ or borrowing of a wife from the same family for two successive generations.
with a belief that one day they will have to return a girl. It is only when the girl's m ama agrees to waive his prescriptive right over his sister's daughter that a girl can be married to somebody other than her cross-cousin. Sometimes it is the m ama who has no daughter to give to his sister's son, then he takes the initiative to find out a respective bride for his sister's son.

Polygyny :-

Polygyny is found in the Abujhmarh hills but in a small number. A few persons who are village Patel, Gaitha or Sirpanch do take more than one wife. But it is very difficult for a common Marhia to get another wife. In most cases the widowers do not get either a widow or virgin as a wife.

A man cannot marry any of the kin of his spouse, who belong to the generations above and below her own. A man is also forbidden to marry his spouse's elder sister, and younger brother's wife. If it occurs these are treated breaches of incest law or offence against the rule of exogamy. But there are exceptions and breaches of law of marriage.

(Infra...533...)

III Death and funeral rites :-

The general practice throughout the Abujhmarh hills is to bury, potoking, the dead, anc in the burial ground, gumiya of the village. They never practice cremation as reported by Grigson (1938 : 271), except in the case of abnormal deaths.
As soon as a person has breathed his last, all the relatives within and outside the village are informed of the death of the person. The drums, dol are beaten by dotul layor continuously, day and night from the death till the burial of the corpse. Until all the brother-clan and wife-clan relatives of the deceased are not gathered, the funeral does not take place and postponed for one or two days to give them time to assemble; Dumiya tago notowing atok akomama mile mashi cumiya taga poets acyna. In the meantime, the articles required for the actual burial of the dead (i.e. mohana liquor, kohla rice, w salt etc.), are arranged for by the bereaved family. This process is called Porhda aryanta ake tala kinom, tana darhco castonadadi mati taga. Literally, means once death takes place, it is essential to collect some mohana liquor for funeral ceremonies. Upto this time the women gather in the house where the body is lying, a man is never left to die on a cot (if he used to sleep on it). The eyes of the dead man have to be closed. At this time some of his lineage and affinal kins go to dig a pit, Dumiya of about 6' long, 3' broad and 4' deep. Some of them prepare the wicker-work bier. When all these things are complete, the elderly man (in case of man dying) or woman (in case of woman dying) wash the face and head of the corpse. If the deceased is the Patel or the Gaita or an influenced man, a bullock is sacrificed, konda oktur, by his sister's son, bachcha. This sacrifice is tabooed for brother-clan members, but no such restrictions are placed on wife-clan or sister's husband's clan members, konda oktur dada no polo, mama ta polta. The bier is covered with clothes and then carried to the burial ground of four
people of the dead man's lineage. The bier heads the procession to the burial ground and is followed by the remaining relatives and friends, men andatól boys who give a particular, unvarying beat on the drums.

The corpse together with the bier is laid down in the grave with face upward, head towards the East and the feet towards the West. The senior of the near kinsmen, then, pour some mahu liquor in the mouth of the corpse, and then others follow. They, afterwards, throw a clod of earth on the head of the corpse, and then other kinsmen fling earth into the grave. If there is no close kinsmen of his family, then the lineage elder or Gaia takes the lead in the ceremony. The women take no part in this. They simply remain on the outer ring of the people at the grave weeping and beating their breasts.

All such personal belongings of the dead like clothes, ornaments, the handles of axe, and hoe (but not the bow and arrows) his dancing clothes and ornaments, all the pots in which he usually eat, even some of the brass vessels purchased by him and necklaces are brought to the grave. (Some of brass vessels purchased by him are thrown in river). The same is done in the case of women also. All this is either buried with the corpse body or put on the grave. The grave is then closed by shovelling the earth into the grave from all sides and heaped well over it. They set up one long log, analgata in front of the grave. A small stone towards headside known as anal gariya is also
Then they place a little meal on the grave as an offering.
The bereaved family is also tabooed to cook food inside the hut, and in the same pots which are in daily use. It is said – "munda diya lopa tao eato atna polo, anal hong atta; that it is taboo for three days to cook any thing inside the house, if so done, the family-god becomes angry." Now at this line they have separate earthen pots to cook the meal. These are kept separately, in the jungle for use on these occasions.

On the next day, a visit would be paid to the grave (by a male family member) in order to know whether it was disturbed in the night by any man or animal. The deaths which occur after a long life, are natural ones, and there can be no suspicion of magic about them; but when they occur suddenly or in the prime of life of the persons, the deaths are believed to be unnatural, may be due to magic, or due to other agencies. If it is due to magic or witch-craft, they believe that the grave will be disturbed by the witch, or a nuniilmara, ensuring a plant of black gram will grow in the rainy season on the grave. They say; "ada mara parappayhi pandtur, aede mer mane attur; this is a plant of that seed from which the magic had been made to kill this man."

In the case of an abnormal death, in which a person killed himself, or who dies from small-pox and when a witch dies, the dead body is not buried at the regular burial ground. But it is buried in the forest at some distance from it. Persons killed by tigers or other wild animals must be burnt (not buried) at the spot where their remains are found. They must never be brought into a village. Because it is believed
that the tiger visits the spot continuously up to a year, so they think it may visit the village also.

 başka Keina:

On the third day all the village people and kinsfolk assemble at the bereaved house. On this day the rooms and the house surroundings are cleaned out. A fowl is sacrificed near the family-god, Anal. The Gaita of the village with the assistance of the Leeka performs a purificatory ceremony outside the house. If the heirs of the deceased are well-to-do and can afford a feast to all their kinsfolk, then they also perform the rejoining ceremony of the ghost of the departed. Sometimes it is postponed for a fortnight or a month. At this time, the head of the family, first, sacrifices a fowl near the family-god, and then takes the pot of the departed and goes to the grave of the dead member of his family. The Gaita and the Leeka proceed ahead in this procession. The Gaita pours some mahua liquor on the stone placed on the grave, and sacrifices a chicken. The Leeka contacts the departed spirit through the medium of his favourite spirit and requests the ghost of the newly departed to rejoin his lineage in the spirit world. When the spirit joins his Anal, the heirs of the departed make offerings of mahua liquor and chicken, and come back with the pot of their departed to the house. The word Anal is simply a part participle form of the verb andana (togo) departed. It has a sound of finality about it, as though the dead, once departed, were finished with, and rejoined with the forebears. This is why the Abujuharhua do not erect menhirs for the dead.
In the end, when they come back, the head of the family performs a worship ceremony near the pot of departed, putting it on its appropriate place, and prays to remain with and guard the house of its heirs. After that a cow or a pig is sacrificed in the open courtyard and mahua liquor is distributed among all the participants and the usual feast follows.
See also the Census Report of C.P. & Derar, 1911, Part I, pp. 134-35. Among the Marhia-Gonds, the claims of a man to his father's sister's daughter can be enforced by the Tribal Ranchayat or the alternative compensation is given.

There is a lot of literature as far as the cross-cousin marriages are concerned. Some of the relevant works are: Risley (1892), Rivers (1906-07), Thurston (1909), Russell and Murali (1916 : 64-72, Vol. II), Griggson (1938), Burandkar (1945), Murdock (1949), Churye (1953), Lowie (1953) and Leach (1961).