

(Preliminary Issue.)

The
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

<https://indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/ethnographical-survey-mysore-kuruba-caste>
(part 2 on same page)

II.

HOLEYA CASTE.

BY

H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

BANGALORE:
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS
1906.

Price 6 Annas.

15 SE. 06

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HOLEYAS.

The Holeyas (ಹೊಲೆಯರು) numbering about five and a half lakhs and forming a tenth of the total population, are found all over the State of Mysore. Bangalore, Mysore, Kachar, and Hassan Districts show larger figures than other districts. •

These are an outcaste race, *Pariah* and *Mala* being their appellation in Tamil and Telugu. The term *Holeya* may be derived from 'hola' a field, *Holeya* meaning thence a field-labourer. But it more probably comes from 'Hole' which means pollution, since they are regarded as of unclean habits in eating and drinking. The men of this caste are sometimes styled by their official designation, as *Chalavali* who is a convener of a meeting of 18-*Phana* party, carrying a brass cup and chain as insignia, and *Kularadi* or one who calls the villagers before the patel and the Revenue officers generally. As in most places these offices are held by them, the names are used to denote the caste generally.

The members use among themselves the term *Balagai* as they are classed among the eighteen castes that form the right hand section of the community in Dravida countries, as against the nine castes of the left hand division. This being a common appellation to them and other and higher castes, they naturally use it as being the most respectable designation to apply to themselves. *Panchama*, *Anthyaaja* and *Chandala* are the terms the Brahmans employ in naming them, and denote a mild form of contempt. *Panchama*, Sanskrit term means 'of the fifth caste,' the first four castes being—Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. *Anthyaaja* means 'born at the end' of the social scale. *Chandala* means one who indulges in cruel deeds, the term being applied by Manu to one born to a Sudra on a Brahman woman. Among other Sanskrit terms applied to these may be mentioned 'Matanga,' a descendant of Matangi.

There are no recognized titles for this caste, the members addressing each other by their bare names.

In Mysore they generally speak Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Mahratti being used by small sections of them according to the place of their origin.

Origin.

The origin of this caste is, according to one legend, traced to one Honnayya, whose shrines are still honoured with fruit offerings. It was this way. During a procession when this chief was riding on an elephant, the motley crowd that went with him entered a temple which was in their way. But the elephant could not enter the low portals of the building, and Honnayya and his immediate followers were left outside. Those that went in were the four recognized castes, and Honnayya's men thereafter lost the privilege of going inside the temples.

A second tradition gives the origin of the term *Balagai*. Siva and Parvati employed a servant to tend their cow. This man one day found that the goddess had negligently left the butter that had been churned out of the milk, within his reach, and discovered its exquisite taste. So in his foolish greed he thought that there was an unlimited quantity of it in the animal's stomach and killed it on the spot. He was condemned by Isvara to eat the carcass as a punishment; but the fellow found it too much to manage. So he implored the god, who created two others (Madigas and Bedars), to go to his help. Siva after this went back into his temple; the Beda at once followed his maker; but the other two preferred their carrion and remained outside devouring it. They were condemned to be outcastes, and became left hand and right hand according to the position they had taken in relation to the temple door.

Another story is told to show that they have some sort of relationship with Agasas or washermen. It is said that a Holoya boy fled at the sight of Visvakarma (a rival creator to the original *Brahma*) and took refuge under the washing tub of an Agasa. The latter, to justify his giving the boy an asylum against the pursuit of such a mighty personage, claimed the boy as his son and ate his rice out of the same plate with him. It is difficult to make out the significance of this silly story. But it may be noted that though Agasas do not condescend to act as torch-bearers during the marriages of Holoyas, the latter borrow a torch from Agasas appealing to them for help, "since Holoyas are the children of Agasas."

They over-claim some sort of relationship with Brahmans, inasmuch as Arundhati, wife of Vasishta who is considered a paragon of chaste woman for all time, is said to have been a damsel of Chandala origin. The Holeyas sing songs in praise of this woman when they sacrifice buffaloes before their goddess Mari.

Whatever the inner meaning of these legends may be, there is no evidence that they have any other origin than the whimsical fancy of some persons, who were either more partial or wished to be more generous than usual to a caste which was largely treated as low in the social scale. Little more weight, it is to be feared, can be ascribed to the observations* about the original status of a *Kulavadi* who is erroneously assumed to be always a *Holeya*, in some authorized publications such as the Mysore Gazetteer. It is sought to prove that the *Holeya* was the owner of the soil and the founder of villages. But the evidence adduced is shadowy. It is nowhere admitted that the *Holeya* was the *de-jure* owner of a village; and elaborate rules are given in *Manu Smriti* and other recognized books to decide boundary disputes in which the *Kulavadi's* claim to settle the matter by his admission or other testimony is not even mentioned. Nor is the conclusion legitimate from the fact that in many places, a *Kulavadi* gets a small coin (called *nela-huqa* or soil money), for the soil under which a dead body is interred. It may equally well be held that the *Holeya* who has no abode within the main village, was considered as having some sort of title to all the land outside its limits. The right of *puja* of the village goddess, residing generally in this caste, goes only to show that this worship was not part of the true Aryan practices, and that the Hindu with his well-known toleration adapted himself to surrounding circumstances, by recognizing the primitive faiths and religious practices to some extent. This right of worship can give no precedence to a *Holeya* over a Brahman and is allowed to continue undisturbed, especially as no one of a higher caste would consent to kill such animals as are sacrificed to the village deity. The *kulavadi* shaving his head on the occasion of a death in a *gauda's* family is more a sign that he was considered a holot than a member belonging to the family.

* "In the rights and privileges which yet cling to him we get glimpses of his former estate, and find proofs that the Holeyas were the first to establish villages. All the castes unhesitatingly admit that the *Kulavadi* is (*de jure*) the owner of the village. If there is a dispute as to the village boundaries, the *Kulavadi* is the only one competent to

Thus the Gangadikara Holeyas call themselves the *Hale-makkalu* (house servants or slaves) of Gangadikara Vakkaligas. These *Hale-makkalu* have to render certain menial services to the Vakkaligas such as carrying the sandals of the bridegroom, conveying messages from place to place, and in the funeral ceremonies carrying fire in front of the dead body to the burial ground.

Morasu Holeyas similarly consider themselves as the *Hale-makkalu* of the Morasu and Reddi Vakkaligas. They observe the festivals of *Bandi-devaru* and *Hosa-devaru* that are observed by the Morasu and Reddi Vakkaligas. They have also to render special services such as carrying the box containing the presents made by the bridegroom to the bride in a marriage, carrying the dead body of their masters on one side and holding a torch in the processions of idols of village deities, at least in front of their master who carries other lights. In return, these *Hale-makkalu* are fed by their superiors in the annual festivals, and get occasional presents of a bull calf or cloth or a vessel. They eat the food given to the departed spirit of a dead man on the third day after death.

Divisions. The caste has a number of sub-divisions, the principle of division being language, profession or place of residence or two or more combined; and these groups are all said to be endogamous.

Kannada-speaking divisions are *Gangadikara*, *Morasu*, *Dasa*, 'Magga' men (weaver) and 'Hagga' men (rope-makers).

take an oath as to how the boundary ought to run, and to this day a village boundary dispute is often decided by this one fact-- if the Kulavadis agree, the other inhabitants of the village can say no more." (Mysore Gazetteer, Vol I, p. 216). "But one of this despised order is generally the priest to the village goddess, and as such, on that annual day when all hasten to pay their offerings at her shrine, takes precedence of the twice born Brahman." (Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 215.)

"But what seems to prove strongly that the Holeyas were the first to take possession of the soil is that the Kulavadi receives, and is entitled to receive from the friends of any person who dies in the village a certain burial fee or as it is locally put--'they buy from him the ground for the dead.' This fee is still called in Canmore *nala-haya*. In Manjarabad, the ancient Balam, the Kulavadi does not receive this fee from those riyants who are related to the headman. Here the Kulavadi occupies a higher position; he has in fact been adopted into the Patel's family; for on a death occurring in such family the Kulavadi goes into mourning by shaving his head. He always receives from the friends, the cloths the deceased wore and a brass basin." Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 216).

The Tolugu groups are *Telugu Pakinati, Ohintalu, Gundlujagati, Rampulu, Pasupa Sere* and *Savu*.

Kongu, Dyaval, Mastikuru, Gogla, and Kudure are of Tamil origin.

A small number of Mahratti-speaking Iloloyas are found scattered over the country on the borders of the Bombay Presidency.

Tamil Iloloyas take food in the houses of Kannada and Telugu sections, while the latter do not return the compliment, regarding the Tamil Iloloyas as inferior in origin. The Gangadikara Iloloyas are regarded as the highest in rank. They do not eat in the houses of even other Kannada Iloloyas, but also purify metal vessels touched by them before use and throw away earthen pots so polluted.

They have a number of exogamous divisions, all of which descend in the male line only; and the members of each division regard themselves as belonging to one family. The names of these divisions or *Kulas*, will be found in the Appendix.

If the name denotes an edible plant, grain, etc., those bearing it refrain from eating the article. If it is a tree, they show their reverence by not burning or felling it. It is even reported that when a man of the *Naggaligaru* division is pierced by a thorn of the plant, he is prohibited from pulling off the thorn himself. One not of that division should help him out of the difficulty.

Those who perform the worship of their gods, are known as *Devaraguddas*, a name which is also applied to *Pujaris* of some other castes, and it is said that their relation to others of the caste is hypogamous, *i.e.*, males may marry women who are not of this sub-division but their women cannot marry any one of a lower rank. It is, however, doubtful if this distinction is rigidly observed.

To ensure the safe delivery of a child, some elderly man with a reputation for magic, gives some oil which is administered to the mother. Birth and name-giving.

Arrack is taken to allay pains in the belly after delivery. A *mantrani* (*lit.* a witch) or midwife cuts the navel cord and attends on the mother. The severed navel cord is tied to the cradle to act as a charm. The mother lives for

nine days on rice only. Musk and *Gorochanam* * are given internally to both the mother and the child.

The name-giving takes place on the 10th day, when the father purifies himself with a shave and the mother is bathed. Among the Dasa section, the parents sit down together with the child for the ceremony. Their *guru*, who is a Satani, brands the child with the symbols of Vishnu and marks on the forehead of the child a *tilaka* or a perpendicular white line. If the *guru* is not available on the 10th day, the ceremony will be observed on the last day of the month.

Among some people, children are named during the annual festival of their family deity.

The names of local and tribal deities are, as usual, most generally given to men and women. The following may, however, be mentioned as characteristic of the caste, being specially such as are rarely used by other castes:—

MEN.

<i>Daita</i>	ಜೈತ.	<i>Haligeyatraga</i>	ಹಲಿಗೆಯಾತ್ರಗ
<i>Hindi</i>	ಹಿಂದಿ.	<i>Koniga</i>	ಕೋಣೆಗ
<i>Luguma</i>	ಲಗುಮ	<i>Bolaga</i>	ಬೋಳಗ
<i>Sittiga</i>	ಸಿಟ್ಟಿಗ.	<i>Pateliga</i>	ಪಟೇಲಿಗ
<i>Goviga</i>	ಗೋವಿಗ	<i>Jaganiga</i>	ಜಾಗಣಿಗ
<i>Bogya</i>	ಬೋಗ್ಯ	<i>Pavadiya</i>	ಪಾವಡಿಗ
<i>Jodiga</i>	ಜೋಡಿಗ.	<i>Navaniga</i>	ನವಣಿಗ

WOMEN.

<i>Yalagi</i>	ಯಾಲಗಿ	<i>Kati</i>	ಕಾಟ
<i>Baiyi</i>	ಬೈಯಿ	<i>Arasi</i>	ಆರಸಿ
<i>Tani</i>	ತಾನಿ	<i>Sunali</i>	ಸಂದಿ
<i>Anki</i>	ಅಂಕಿ	<i>Bandi</i>	ಬಂದಿ
<i>Nyati</i>	ನ್ಯಾತಿ	<i>Mudi</i>	ಮುಡಿ
<i>Puti</i>	ಪಾಟ	<i>Salyamma</i>	ಸಾಲ್ಯಮ್ಮ
<i>Velli</i>	ವೆಲ್ಯ	<i>Bisakka</i>	ಬಿಸಕ್ಕ
<i>Sooli</i>	ಸೂಲಿ	<i>Balakka</i>	ಬಾಲಕ್ಕ
<i>Guni</i>	ಗುಣಿ	<i>Kaki</i>	ಕಾಕಿ
<i>Sadi</i>	ಸಾದಿ	<i>Busi</i>	ಬುಸಿ
<i>Konchi</i>	ಕೋಂಚಿ	<i>Peritayi</i>	ಪರಿತಾಯಿ

Haida (ಹೈದ) boy, Mari (ಮರಿ) child, Kusu (ಕೂಸು) child, Ammayya (ಅಮ್ಮಯ್ಯ) mother, Akka (ಅಕ್ಕ) sister, Tangi

* A bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine or bile of a cow or vomited by a cow in the form of scybala, or found in the head of that animal.—Dr. F. Kittel.

(ತಂದೆ) younger sister, and Avva (ಅವ್ವೆ) mother, are names of endearment.

A child born after the death of a few brothers and sisters is given an opprobrious name such as 'Tippa (ತಿಪ್ಪೆ) meaning rubbish, Javaraya (ಜವರಾಯ) god of death, and Sudugada (ಸುಡುಗಾಡು) cremation ground.

A child thus protected with the opprobrious name, is taken to the shrine of the patron deity, where the parents fulfil their vows, bore a hole in the nose and fit metallic rings into it in the name of Dharmaraya, the god of death.

They have no custom of giving more than one name.

Adoption is practised by a few of the sections and the practice is more prevalent in the Malnad tracts, where brother's sons are preferred to be taken in adoption. In no case is a younger brother adopted. In the rest of the area, adoption is seldom in vogue. Sister's sons and wife's sister's sons are brought up as foster sons, but are not affiliated to the new family. Their status for marriage remains exactly as it was before.

The endogamous divisions have been already named. Within these limits and outside the exogamous *kulas*, the rules of prohibited and allowed degrees are as follows. One may not marry one's mother's sister or the daughter of such relation. As a rule, an older sister's daughter or a paternal aunt's or a maternal uncle's daughter, is taken in marriage. A younger sister's daughter is not taken ordinarily, but if no wife can be found elsewhere, the objection is overruled. Two sisters might be taken in marriage simultaneously by one or two brothers, but the former custom is not recommended, as it is believed that one of the sisters so married fares badly. It is allowable among them to exchange daughters, each marrying his son to the other's daughter. There are no prohibitions on inter-marriage based upon social status, local position, and change or differences of occupation. They may intermarry even if the parties are of different religious sects such as *Dasas* and *Saivas*. The wife, as a matter of course, joins the husband's sect. A woman that dedicates herself as *Devarayudhi* with the ceremonies of the tying of wrist band and the worship of *Kalasa*, cannot marry.

Marriage relations.

Holey girls are married either before or after puberty. If a girl remains unmarried from the absence of suitors,

she is married to trees *Honge* (*Pargamia Olabra*), *Bevu* (*Nem* or *Margosa*), *Yekke* (*Calotropis Gigantea*) and dedicated to shrines, like those of Biligiri Ranga or Siddappaji. She may then live with any man of the caste without loss of status. She is known as *Kulamaga*, son of the family, and inherits the rights and privileges of a son and discharges the son's duties by performing the funeral ceremonies and attending to obsequies in respect of her parents. Her children belong to her father and are legitimate.

Dedication
of girls.

In a few cases, a father may wish in fulfilling a vow, to dedicate his daughter to the patron deity. The vow might have been made to free his daughter from an attack of illness or make sure that the child may be spared to him.

On a lucky day, the girl newly bathed and discreetly attired, is taken to the temple of her patron deity which is generally situated in the *Holageri* (Holoya quarters). She there sits with a dagger by her side facing the goddess. The priest ties round her neck a disk, selected out of a number of such hanging on the idol. This is followed by a caste dinner. The girl remains in the temple for a day, and thenceforward she may associate with any man of the caste or of higher castes, or can permanently live in concubinage with any of her caste, her paramour visiting her in her house. Children born of such connections are legitimate, and are accorded the same consideration as those of married parents.

This custom of dedicating girls to gods is not in vogue among the Gangadikar and Morasu Holoyas, but is general among the rest. In a few families, it is a custom to have always one of their daughters so dedicated; and a council of allied families see to it that there is one such at least among them every year. A girl thus dedicated is considered the living representative of the goddess, and has certain special privileges, such as leading the procession of the goddess, with a torch in her hand.

Puberty.

When a girl is married, she is not sent to her husband's house immediately after the marriage but continues to live with her parents, until the marriage is consummated, after attainment of puberty. When a girl reaches this age, she is kept aloof in a new shed formed for the purpose with green *Lakkali* leaves. She remains in the shed for a period of three to seven days, when she is supposed to be in a state of pollution, which is observed with even more

strictness than in the higher castes. The washerwoman of the caste, supplies her with washed clothes; and she can enter the temple or her ordinary dwelling only after a bath on the 5th or the 7th day.

On the evening of that day, she makes *pūja* before a "Kalasa," representing the patron deity, and a general dinner is given by her parents. For a period of sixteen days, they give her rich food consisting of jaggory, nuts, ghee and pulses. Most of the expense incurred for the ceremonies on this occasion, is borne by her husband if she is already married. If the girl is not married, the expenses are paid up with the bride price in marriage, the latter custom being specially prevalent in some of the Malnad tracts, especially in Hassan and Arkalgud Taluks. On the 12th day she becomes pure according to one account. A few of the caste follow a different custom. On the day the girl bathes after puberty, she worships the sacred peepul tree and embraces it afterwards.

If she is already married, the news of her attaining the age is carried by her brother to her husband, who in recompense, gives him a good entertainment. At the consummation of marriage, which generally takes place on the 16th day of her attaining age of puberty, the couple are seated on a plank, and married women wave *Arati* over them and mark their foreheads with the blood of a sheep. She is presented with rice, fruits, etc., placed in her garment. The husband and her father both present her with a new cloth. The ceremony ends with a feast. The next day the girl is taken away by her husband to his house.

Marriage of infant girls is, as usual, considered a mark of superiority and it is claimed that they have always been partial to it in this caste. Age of marriage.

A boy is generally married between sixteen and twenty. There is no recognized custom of courting; and generally the marriages are arranged by the elders.

Sexual licence before marriage is connived at or tolerated to some extent. If a young woman remains unmarried in her father's house, she may entertain casual visitors, and if she forms a permanent connection thus, the man may tie a *tali* to her. The bride price for such a marriage is Rs. 12. The issue of such relation is legitimate even if it were born before the tying of the *tali*. Sexual relations.

In some places, an unmarried girl might with impunity live with any man of the same caste, but if she has become pregnant she has not only to marry her lover (unless he rejects her), but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 8. The head of the caste has power to levy a fine from the man also, who if he declines to marry the frail woman, will be ostracized by the community. The woman is then at liberty to take another man, and the man who has betrayed her has to compensate her by paying Rs. 25 and giving her a suit of clothes.

If the woman fails to point out her lover, she will be put out of caste. In all such cases the head of the caste is anxious to see that all children born in the caste are legitimised and their parentage established. The habit of capturing wives from other tribes does not prevail, but they have traditions regarding such a practice.

Among Morasu and Gangadikar sections, the woman loses her caste in case she becomes pregnant before marriage. The odium remains even after her death; and to ensure a proper burial of her body, such a woman sets apart a sum of money, about Rs. 12 during her life.

A man who elopes with a woman, can marry her after paying Rs. 5 to the caste and a bride price of Rs. 50 to her parents or brothers.

Monogamous marriage is the rule, as the men are hardly able to maintain more than one wife. Polygamy is however recognized, but polyandry is unknown.

Marriage ceremonies. Some days before the marriage, there is an agreement of giving and taking between the parties, symbolised by exchange of betel-leaves and arecanuts. This ceremony, which however is not essential, is known as Vilyasastra (Betel ceremony).

A marriage pandal is put up on 12 posts, of which one in the middle known as *Ualu Kamba*, or milk post, has been cut by the maternal uncle of the boy. A branch of the Jambolana tree is tied to this post. In the afternoon of the day, they keep apart new cloths, dedicated in the name of the deceased ancestors; in the evening, the bride's party with the bride, arrive at the village of the bridegroom. They are met at a small distance from the marriage house and are led to the bridegroom's house. Then the two

parties proceed to a river or a well, escorted by a band of musicians. Each party carries four new earthen pots containing a few grains of rice and *dhall*, betel-leaves and nuts. The pots are washed and decorated with the flowers of the arcanut tree, and *pūja* is offered to them. Each party brings one set of pots to the house and deposits them apart, in a clean place, on three sorts of grains, brought from neighbouring houses and spread on the ground. This is known as the bringing of the god into the house.

On the second day, early in the morning, the bridegroom gets his head shaved and his nails pared by his maternal uncle. Likewise the bride's nails are pared also by her maternal uncle.

Then follows the ceremony, known as *Malavir Sastra*, which the bride and the bridegroom separately undergo. A wooden plank (മലവീര) belonging to a hand-loom, is placed in front of the house, within a square formed by the placing of four new earthen vessels at each corner and with cotton thread passing round them thirteen times. The *yajaman* of the caste, the *buddhiwanta* or the *madhani* and three married women, in succession, pour water over the bride or the bridegroom. The bridegroom, after dressing himself, goes out and stands under a tree.

The *tali*, silver bangles, and silver toe-rings and other presents to the bride, if any, are carried by the parties going in procession with the bridegroom, who holds in his hand a dagger wrapped in a red kerchief. After reaching the marriage pandal, the bride and bridegroom stand facing each other. They get tied round the wrist of each a *kankana*, which is made of white and black woollen threads twisted together, to which are attached an iron or copper ring and a piece of turmeric and sometimes soapnut.

The bride and bridegroom present each other with a flower garland. A *tali* is tied to the neck of the bride by her maternal uncle. Then married women pour milk on the joined hands of the couple, who are then seated side by side, with the hems of their garments tied together. Betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the assembled. The couple now rise, go round the milk post thrice, and retire into the portion of the house where the earthen vessels have been set up.

That evening, the bride and the bridegroom followed by a procession, bring from an ant-hill some quantity of

earth out of which 13 balls are made, to be placed in front of the posts of the pandal.

This ceremony is followed by a street procession of the bridal pair, who after their return, undergo another *Mhare* (pouring milk) similar to the one done in the morning. This being over, they retire to eat the *Bama* dinner, at which, five dishes containing cooked rice, are set down for the bride, the bridegroom, the yajaman, the pradhani and the rest of the invited caste people.

The bride eats with her mother-in-law, and the bridegroom with his father-in-law, while the others accepting their dishes go out without observing the bride and bridegroom eating. All the members of the caste are then regaled with a sumptuous dinner and libations of toddy.

The next day after dinner, a *Simhasanam* is put up with blankets, on which are placed betel-leaves and nuts for distribution to the various functionaries of the caste.

The *milk post* is pulled down after some fowls are killed before it and offered, and the pandal is then removed.

According to one account (which seems to have borrowed less from outside sources), five men from the bridegroom go to the bride's house and tie the *tali* round the neck of the bride and return to the village, where they keep the bridegroom alone in a room, outside the house known as *Devaramane*. The bride comes on horse-back, alights near the *Devaramane* and goes into the room occupied by the bridegroom. A cloth separates the couple and garlands are mutually exchanged. The men and women throw rice on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom.

A section of the Holeyas in Agara, Yolandur Taluk, do not erect the marriage *pandal* and all their marriages are contracted in a temple of *Nalhumaneamma*, i.e., She of the four houses. Their own priest, generally known as *Trkula dasayya*, is called in to conduct the marriage ceremony.

Bride price. The bride price (*tera*) is stated to be Rs. 12-18-4 at Channapatna, Rs. 25 at Koppa and Rs. 15 at Nanjangud. A widower marrying a virgin bride, has to pay an additional amount varying between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 6, styled *sauti-hana* (money for the co-wife, i.e., his deceased wife). Two-thirds of the marriage expenses are borne by the

bridegroom. It may be noted that half the *tera* amount is to be advanced at the ceremony of *Vilyada Sastra*.

The remarriage of widows is permitted and takes place in the less elaborate form known as *Sirudike*, i.e., the presentation of the *sadi*. It is not conducted by a priest and the bride is valued at half the price of a virgin girl. Widow
marriage.

A widow's children by her first husband belong to his family, and cannot claim any property her second husband might leave to his sons. In the absence of legal heirs to the property of her first husband, it is stated that she may succeed to his property, and pass it on to her children by the second husband. It is, however, doubtful if this view is recognized everywhere and will obtain the sanction of the courts.

She cannot choose for her second husband any one of her deceased husband's brothers, but may marry one of his consins. She can, in no case, take a husband in the *kula* of her father. For remarriage, the husband need not necessarily be older than the wife.

Divorce is permitted at the desire of either party for infidelity on the part of the wife, or even without such a ground if they agree to part, provided she pays a fine to the caste. But if she remarries another, she has to give back the jewels presented by her first husband and Rs. 9 of the *tera* amount and the marriage expenses estimated at Rs. 50. Divorce.

If a husband deserts his wife without cause, he has to pay her a compensation of Rs. 25.

The form of marriage for a divorced person is *kudike*, i.e., the same as for a widow's marriage. The price paid to a divorced bride is Rs. 6 only. Among Gaugadikar and Morasu Holoyas, though divorce is recognized, the divorced person is not allowed to remarry.

Adultery is not abhorred. The matter can be settled with ease by payment of fine to the caste, who use it for drinking liquor.

The dead are buried, as a rule; but sometimes old people are cremated. The body is laid in the grave with its head turned towards the South. People of the same family observe mourning for ten days for the death of adult married people, and three days for that of more distant relations and of a daughter's son. Death

Soon after death, the body is washed and shrouded in a new cloth. Marks of ashes or of *ndma* are put on the forehead and the body is smeared with ashes and sandal paste and decked with flowers. It is then placed on a bier of *Kalli* wood, in a sitting posture in the case of Vaishnavas or in a lying posture with the right flank down in the case of Saivas. Before starting to the burial ground, exchange of betel-leaves takes place between the deceased and the surviving wife. As soon as the bier is carried, an earthen pot is smashed at the place where it had been placed. The body is placed down when it has been carried half way, and the chief mourner passes once round it, and the bearers change sides. The grave will be ready, being dug by the *chakra* (a village peon) and purified with a lotion of cow-dung and cow's urine sprinkled over, and its bottom lined with a layer of ashes. The body is deposited in the grave over a plantain leaf. A coin is stuck into the nose of the deceased. A cloth is spread over the body with a few coins tied in one of its corners. Then the waist string is cut off and thrown out.

The chief mourner (who is the son or other relation nearest to the deceased) throws in the first handful of earth, and others follow and fill up the grave. A half seer of rice and 4 pies are placed on a cloth over the grave, which is taken by the grave-digger for his services. For the spirit of the deceased they place over the grave some rice, jaggery and a few coins, which the mendicants, *dasayya* and others, accept, after declaring that the deceased has reached the upper world. The wife of the deceased takes off her bangles over the grave. Those who accompanied the dead body return after dipping themselves in a tank or spring. A lamp is lit at the place where the spirit left the body, and some water is kept in a vessel close by and sand spread round it. Next morning the water is examined and foot-prints are searched for on the sand. If no foot-prints are seen and the water is not diminished, it is feared that the spirit has reason to be dissatisfied. A soothsayer is consulted, and according to his advice, some food is buried where the deceased breathed his last. On the third day, all the relatives of the deceased serve over the grave, milk, ghee, toddy and all other good things that the deceased liked, when he was in flesh and blood.

The principal mourner gets shaved and bathes on the 11th day. He places new cloths before a new earthen vessel and breaks coconuts in the name of the deceased.

The priest who directs the obsequial ceremonies of this day, is a Satani. Toddy forms an essential ingredient, and those who partake of the liquor used for the obsequies are considered to have kept company with the deceased at the feast. The Satani priest, after serving the guests with such toddy, is said to take some for himself. He then conducts the mourner to the burial ground where he places his feet over the grave and bids the mourner wash them and prostrate himself. For all this, the priest is rewarded with gifts of money and grains.

During the period of mourning they do not attend *bhajana* (religious gathering) or take part in any festivities or auspicious ceremonies.

- They do not perform any *Sraddhas*.

These are a settled people, and generally live in groups of huts huddled close together, which are generally low and built of mud. They are not provided with windows and have ventilators open to the sky. Their street is known as *Holageri** which is generally outside the main village. Near Mysore and other large places, they are building respectable tiled houses and are exhibiting other signs of growing prosperity. Though the entry of others into the caste is not encouraged, they take in such of those of the higher castes who are put out on account of their contact with themselves, generally in the matter of sexual relations. Such recruits are purified with certain ceremonies, which are shaving the head (for males), branding the tongue with a piece of gold, drinking the cow's urine and bathing the body with water from sacred vessels. These persons are made to pass successively through seven huts which are put up and burnt down soon after they pass through, to symbolise their passing through seven births. They make *paja* to the *Mudra* of the caste, and then give a dinner to the members, at which they have to collect morsels from the guests and then partake of the food thus collected. Thereafter they are admitted into the caste and no social disabilities are imposed on them. The new men are affiliated to some *kula* or *gotra* among the Holoyas.

Social
Status.

In the matter of inheritance, they follow Hindu Law modified by their tribal customs. Sons divide the paternal

Inheri-
tance.

* In Kannada, *Keri* means a street or quarters, and *Holageri* (Holoya + kori) means Holoya quarters.

property equally, but the youngest son has the right of selecting his share first, a custom somewhat opposed to the recognized superior status of the eldest according to orthodox doctrine. A son-in-law who resides with his father-in-law receives an equal share with his brother-in-law. Widows and unmarried daughters are entitled to maintenance.

Holeyas look down upon Madigas as inferior, as the latter work on leather and are village scavengers. But they are regarded as unclean by the higher castes equally with the Madigas. They are not allowed to enter the houses of most of the higher castes, and have to stand at a distance from Brahmans. In consequence of necessity and growing intelligence on both sides, the rules of contact and approach are being greatly relaxed at present. There are no social disabilities of any kind in the matter of acquiring and owning property, but Holeyas generally avoid quarters in the neighbourhood of those occupied by the higher castes.

Holeyas cannot use the village well, and the village barber and washerman do not render services to them. But they have their own barbers and washermen and are not put to any inconvenience.

At Molkote in the Mysore District, Ramanujacharya, the Vaishnava reformer, accorded to those outcastes the privilege of entering the temple along with the Brahmans and other higher castes during the annual car festival for a period of three days. On the day of the procession the *Tirukulam** people, men, women and children, shave their heads and bathe with the higher castes in the *Kalyani* or large reservoir, and carry on their head small earthen vessels filled with rice and oil, and enter the temple as far as the flagstaff, where they deliver their offerings. The privilege of entering the temple during the annual car procession is enjoyed also by the outcastes in the Vishnu temple at Belur, Hassan District.†

Ordinarily a Holeyas is not permitted to enter a temple and in case he enters it, it has to be purified. A Holeyas does not eat in the house of a Madiga, Koracha or Nagarata.

* Tirukulam (Sacred caste) is the title given by Ramanujacharya to this caste for the services rendered to the temple of Molkote (Census Report, 1891).

† Mysore Census Report, 1891. P. 251.

The members of the caste are either the followers of the cult of *Vishnu* or *Siva*; but they resort by preference, to the more vulgar and barbarous representations of these deities. They pay homage chiefly to the images which personify the malignant powers and bloodthirsty qualities.

The followers of *Siva* are known as *Mullujana* and revere the *linga* in Naujangud and Chaudeswari and Narasinhaswami. Their patron deities are Mastamma and Bairēdevaru. Their *Gurus* belong to Lingayat caste. *Dasajana* are the devotees of Vishnu and they put on *Nama*. Their *Gurus* are Satans, who render help in the funeral ceremonies, and prepare the *blashinga** worn at the marriages by the bride and bridegroom. Religion.

* Those who become *dasas* are branded with a metallic signet with Vaishnava marks by a *Guru*.

• The caste, as a whole, worships all kinds of gods. The males kill animals in their worship to gods, while the females propitiate their gods offering only fruits or cooked grains. *Maramma*, the spirit of epidemic diseases, is propitiated with the killing of fowls or sheep. It is worshipped on Fridays and Tuesdays with the help of a priest either of their own or of a higher caste. *Gangamma* is propitiated with the offering of fruits. Females only worship this god, which presides over the diseases peculiar to women. *Mastamma*, *Baire Devaru* and *Manigamma* are given only fruits and preparations of rice. *Hindamma* and *Hosakereyamma* are bloodthirsty gods and require the killing of animals.

The following are the names of other gods (chiefly of female *Sakti* or spirits) which are worshipped in different localities :—

Durgi, Masanamma, Huchhangiyamma, Hulasamma, Mutyalamma, Muniamma, Hindamma, Patalamma, Veerabhadra, Hosakereappa and Masti Devaru.

As a rule, all male gods are given only *chokkabhojana* (or non-animal food), while female gods representing the *Sakti* require to be propitiated with the killing of animals. Most of the above-mentioned goddesses are the village gods, some worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays

* *Blashinga* is prepared in pith and lead leaf and is used in marriages by the bridal parties as an ornament tied to the forehead of the bride, and over the turban of the bridegroom.

only and some annually on festive days. In honour of the gods of the last kind, annual *Jatras* are held, at which many people collect, meet together and buffaloes and other animals are killed. The offerings made to the gods are eaten by this caste.

They do not appear to have taken kindly to spirits of trees, animals or springs, though they sometimes locate their recognized gods under trees.

Religious
orders.

In this caste are to be found a number of religious orders who live by mendicancy. They do not stick to any place but live by frequent journeys to the places of pilgrimage. They are the *Dasas*, the *Jogis*, the *Devaraguddas*, the *Bidimanushyas* or the *Nilagararu*.

Such sections of the caste as recognize *Ohunchangiri Bhairudevaru* as their family god, set apart a man to lead a religious life, into which he must be initiated by a *Bairagi*, who is also a disciple of the Matha at Ohunchangiri, Nagamangala Taluk. The *Bairagi* bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear of the man to be made a *Jogi*, with an iron needle called *daksha churi* and has to manage not to let more than two drops of blood fall to the ground in doing so. Then the candidate bathes and suspends to his neck a *Kola Singanada*, a tapering metallic whistle ornamented with rings at intervals, which he hangs to his neck by a thread made of black sheep wool, intertwined sixteen times. Thenceforth he attains the rank of a priest in his caste, entitled to alms on festive and ceremonial occasions. When beginning his *paja* or his feast, a *Jogi* takes his whistle in his right hand and blows a loud shrill note.

A *Jogi* is usually initiated in fulfilment of a vow taken by the parents, and it is said that he has to remain a bachelor for life. Many other castes enter into this order such as *Vokkaligas*, *Kurubas*, *Besthas* and *Agasas*. Those who pass by the name of *Nilagaras* wear the badge of god *Manteswara*, and girls are also so dedicated. They have to live by begging. Their head is shaved and a string of *rudrakshi* beads and *Lingamani* are worn. They apply ashes to their foreheads and carry a begging bowl and sack for holding the alms, with a cane and a musical instrument which are the badges of their profession. *Devaraguddas*, also known as *Bidimanushyas* or single men, are the pujaris of the caste.

Brahmans are not employed for the conduct of religious and funeral ceremonies. A Brahman's approach into the Holoya quarters is resented just as much as the Brahman avoids contact with a Holoya. The reason for this dislike is turned into a myth. It is said that Lakshmi went in her monthly sickness (which is a state of pollution) to various houses seeking a resting place. Komatis received her kindly and Brahmans did not allow her to approach their abode. Each had their reward, Komatis being generally wealthy and Brahmans poor. She was given a safe asylum in the houses of Holoyas. The latter fear that if a Brahman goes to their quarters, their Lakshmi will go away with him, and so drive him out. A Satani is generally the priest of this caste. He attends at the name-giving ceremony and conducts funeral ceremonies. A Brahman astrologer is however sometimes consulted to fix auspicious moments for the celebration of marriages and for the first entry into houses.

A man of the Lingayet caste and a *Tirukula Dasa* of the Vishnu cult also sometimes serve as priests.

The following extracts from the Mysore Census Report of 1891, relating to the occupations of this caste, are interesting, and exhibit a state of things that is fast disappearing as regards its objectionable features :—

The Holoyas are chiefly employed as labourers in connection with agriculture and manufacture with hand-loom, various kinds of coarse cloth or home-spun which are worn extensively by the poorer classes. In some parts of the Mysore District considerable numbers of the Holoyas are specially engaged in betel vine gardening.

As labourers, these classes are employed in innumerable pursuits in which manual labour preponderates. The *Aleman* sub-division furnishes recruits as sepoy.

In the maidan they enjoy a certain recognized prestige and status in the village autonomy, as has been already noticed. In the malnad, however, the Holoya had degenerated into an agrestic slave and till a few decades ago under the British rule, not only as regards his property but also with regard to his body he was not his own master. The *Vargadar* or land-holder owned him as a hereditary slave.

In most of the purely malnad or hilly taluks, each *Vargadar* or proprietor of landed estate owns a set of servants styled *Huttalu* and *Mannalu*. The former is the hereditary servitor of the family born in servitude and performing agricultural work for the land-holder from father to son. The *Mannalu* is a serf attached to the soil and changes hands with it.

In order furthermore to rivet the ties which bind these hereditary labourers to the soil it is alleged that the local capitalists have improvised a kind of *Arctua Green* marriage among them,

A legal marriage of the orthodox type contains the risk of a female servant being lost to the family in case the husband happened not to be a *Huttala* or *Mannala*. So in order to obviate the possible loss, a custom prevails, according to which a female *Huttala* or *Mannala* is espoused in what is locally known as the *Manikatta* form, which is neither more nor less than licensed concubinage. She may be given up after a time subject to a small fine to the caste and anybody else may then espouse her on like conditions. Not only does she then remain in the family but her children will also become the landlord's servants.

The average wages paid to these people are—

Daily	{	1	Kolaga of paddy for males.				
		4 $\frac{2}{3}$	Kolagas of paddy for females.				
		1	Meal of cooked food.				
Annually	{	For a male.					
		1	Turban	...	0	6	0 ^c
		1	Hachada	...	2	0	0
		1	Datti	...	0	6	0
		1	Kambli	...	1	4	0 ^c
		For a female.					
		1	Sadi	...	2	8	0
		1	Bodice	...	0	4	0
1	Valli	...	0	12	0		
1	Kambli	...	1	4	0		

In large places, especially in Mysore and Bangalore, the Holoyas are fairly prosperous and quite able to hold their own in the labour and other markets. There are many petty raiyats holding their fields directly under Government; in fact, there are quite as many independent raiyats as subordinate tenants among them. They do not fix any particular day in the week as auspicious for ploughing and other agricultural operations.

The rains under *Bharani*, *Krittika*, *Punarvasu* are considered lucky, while *Aswini* rain is unlucky.

In addition to their duties at the field, they are village watchmen and general messengers. A *Chalaradi*, who is generally a Holoya, is the servant of the right hand or 18-caste section of the community, and is the custodian of the symbol of that community, *viz.*, the bell and the ladle. These are made of brass and are connected together by a chain of the same metal. The *Chalaradi* carries the ladle on his right shoulder and heads the processions of all the right hand section people, sounding the bell with the shake of the chain. These insignia are also produced at caste assemblies and sometimes they are placed before *Saṅgamaśwara gaddige* and *pūja* made to them.

The spoon has on it engraved the badges of different castes composing this section, such as the plough of the Vokkaliga, the scales of the Banajiga, the shears of a Kuruba, the spade of a Vokka, the razor of a barber, the washing stone-slab and pot of an Agasa and the wheel of a Kumbara. This also contains a bull flanked on either side by the sun and the moon. At the foot of the spoon are also engraved the figures of an ass and of a *Bidi Basavi*.

Toe-ring, *tali* and bangles are not worn by widows. General.
 Women get their hands and fore-heads tattooed by Koracha women. Males dress themselves with a loin cloth and *kambli* and females with *sire* and bodice. During *Dipavali* they dance *kolata*.

Some of them catch small game and also eat rats. They eat almost all kinds of flesh and except only the single-hoofed animals and the jackal, monkey and crocodile. They eat flesh of cattle, sheep, goat, wild boar, pork, peacock, wolf and soft scaled fish. Toddy and arrack are freely drunk, and sometimes women also indulge in this habit.

APPENDIX.

(List of *kalas* or *Sophs*.)

<i>Attikula</i>	(ಅತ್ತಿಕುಲ)	Fig tree
<i>Anchula</i>	(ಆನೇಕುಲ)	Elephant or plant of that name
<i>Aruriganu</i>	(ಅವರಿಗರು)	Beans
<i>Ale</i>	(ಆಲೇ)	A tree
<i>Agani</i>	(ಅಗಣಿ)	Bolt
<i>Ankeyavaru</i>	(ಅಂಕೇಯವರು)	
<i>Ambarakula</i>	(ಅಂಬಾರಕುಲ)	An elephant howdah
<i>Bhumi</i>	(ಭೂಮಿ)	Earth
<i>Belli</i>	(ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)	Silver
<i>Baligaru</i>	(ಬಾಳಿಗರು)	Plantain
<i>Ohatrakula</i>	(ಚತ್ತಿಕುಲ)	Umbrella
<i>Chandralakula</i>	(ಚಂದ್ರಕುಲ)	Moon
<i>Ohinnadakula</i>	(ಚಿನ್ನದಕುಲ)	Gold
<i>Ohambula</i>	(ಚಂಬುಲ)	
<i>Ohintalu</i>	(ಚಿಂತಲು)	Tamarind. (They do not cut the tree but do not scruple to use the fruit.)
<i>Oharana</i>	(ಚವನ)	
<i>Ohella</i>	(ಚೆಲ್ಲ)	Cleaning nuts
<i>Darollu</i>	(ದಾರೋಲ್ಲು)	
<i>Gollato</i>	(ಗೊಲ್ಲಟ)	
<i>Gango-galu</i>	(ಗಂಗಗಳ)	
<i>Gudikula</i>	(ಗುಡಿಕುಲ)	Temple
<i>Ganigara-kula</i>	(ಗಾಣಿಗರಕುಲ)	Oil-mill
<i>Huvvina</i>	(ಹುವ್ವಿನ)	Flowers
<i>Hutta</i>	(ಹುತ್ತ)	Ant-hill
<i>Hoburu</i>	(ಹೋಳೂರು)	
<i>Halukula</i>	(ಹಾಲಕುಲ)	Milk
<i>Halattakula</i>	(ಹಾಲತ್ತಕುಲ)	
<i>Hasubé</i>	(ಹಸುಬೆ)	Bag
<i>Haré</i>	(ಹಾರೆ)	Crowbar
<i>Hunakula</i>	(ಹೂನ)	
<i>Hagalukula</i>	(ಹಾಗಲಕುಲ)	Bitter gourd

<i>Jintra</i>	(ಜಿಂತ್ರ)	
<i>Jenukula</i>	(ಜೇನುಕುಲ)	Honey
<i>Kembarekula</i>	(ಕೆಂಬಾರ)	
<i>Kavanekula</i>	(ಕವಣೆ)	Sling
<i>Karrakula</i>	(ಕರ್ರಕುಲ)	Plant
<i>Kargadakula</i>	(ಕರಗದ)	Vessel
<i>Kannanthradakula</i>	(ಕಣ್ಣಂತ್ರದ)	
<i>Kaneerkula</i>	(ಕಣೀ)	A flower
<i>Kurubarakula</i>	(ಕುರುಬರ)	Shepherd
<i>Katigaru</i>	(ಕಾಟಗರು)	
<i>Kannegararu</i>	(ಕನ್ನೆಗರು)	A herb
<i>Kani</i>	(ಕಾಣಿ)	
<i>Kalu</i>	(ಕಾಲು)	Leg
<i>Kapu</i>	(ಕಾಪು)	An ornament
<i>Konga</i>	(ಕೊಂಗ)	
<i>Kasturi</i>	(ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ)	Musk
<i>Kuppagiri</i>	(ಕುಪ್ಪಗಿರಿ)	
<i>Kogilu</i>	(ಕೋಗಿಲು)	Cuckoo
<i>Lagumikula</i>	(ಲಗಮಿ)	
<i>Mugaligaru</i>	(ಮುಗಲಿ)	A kind of tree
<i>Maddalati</i>	(ಮದ್ದಲಾಟ)	
<i>Malikula</i>	(ಮಾಲಿ)	Garland
<i>Manlatora</i>	(ಮಂಡತೊರ)	
<i>Mallora</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆ)	Jessamine
<i>Molakula</i>	(ಮೋಲ)	Rabbit
<i>Matti</i>	(ಮತ್ತಿ)	A timber tree
<i>Madya</i>	(ಮದ್ಯ)	
<i>Mulkara</i>	(ಮುಕ್ಕರ)	Nose-ring
<i>Nerali</i>	(ನೇರಲಿ)	A tree
<i>Nagarakula</i>	(ನಾಗರ)	Snake
<i>Naggaligaru</i>	(ನಗ್ಗಲಿಗರು)	A thorny plant
<i>Olorakula</i>	(ಓಲೋರಕುಲ)	
<i>Pale</i>	(ಪಾಲೆ)	
<i>Poomaligaru</i>	(ಪುಮೊಲಿಗರು)	Flower garland
<i>Panne</i>	(ಪಣ್ಣೆ)	A tree
<i>Pasali</i>	(ಪಸಲಿ)	

<i>Pegadasingarollu</i>	(ಪೆಗಡಸಿಂಗರ)	
<i>Rampada</i>	(ರಂಪಡ)	Saw
<i>Roppada</i>	(ರೊಪ್ಪ)	Sheep fold
<i>Sadakula</i>	(ಸಾಡ)	
<i>Sara</i>	(ಸಾರ)	
<i>Sambu</i>	(ಸಂಬು)	
<i>Sangu</i>	(ಸಂಗು)	
<i>Sillukula</i>	(ಸಿಲ್ಲು)	Lightning
<i>Sumlanoru</i>	(ಸುಮ್ಮನೋರು)	
<i>Sunthatoru</i>	(ಸುಂತ)	
<i>Suryakula</i>	(ಸೂರ್ಯ)	Sun
<i>Suttagadu</i>	(ಸುಟ್ಟಗಾಡು)	Burial ground
<i>Settikula</i>	(ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಕುಲ)	Headman
<i>Tenkula</i>	(ತೆನೆ)	Ears of corn
<i>Togavigaru</i>	(ತೋಗರಿ)	Pigeon pea
<i>Tanga</i>	(ತಂಗ)	Gold
<i>Untrichanigalu</i>	(ಉಂಟಚಿನಿಗಲು)	Bongal gram
<i>Veelyadakula</i>	(ವೀಳ್ಯ)	Botel loaf
<i>Varaku</i>	(ವರಕು)	
<i>Yemma</i>	(ಯಮ್ಮ)	Buffalo