

(Preliminary Issue.)

The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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I.

KURUBA CASTE.

BY

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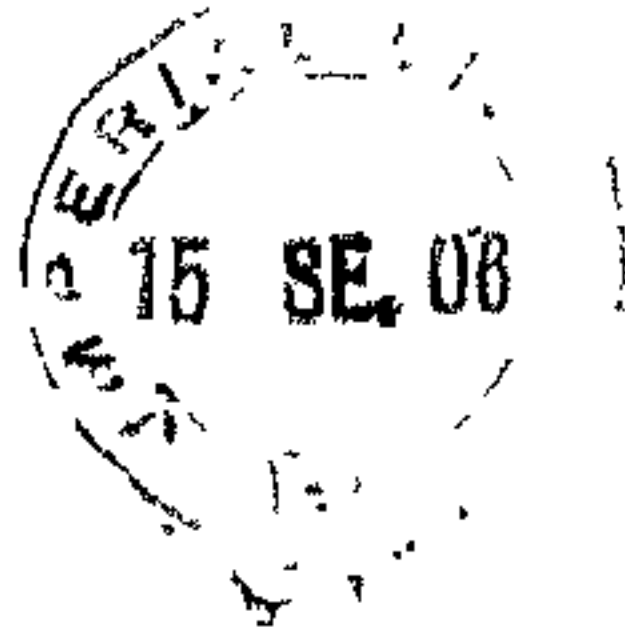
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## KURUBAS.

The Kuribas form an important portion of the population of the country, numbering 377,091, of whom 187,082 are males and the rest females. They are distributed all over the State in varying numbers, largest number being found in the Mysore District.

The usual name of the caste is Kuruba, but some of them call themselves Prathama Sudras and Indra Sudras. It is sometimes known by the name of Kanakajatiyavaru, and they assert that Kanakadas, the famous devotee of Vishnu, was a man of this caste. Names.

Gauda and Heggade are the titles used by them with their corresponding feminine equivalents Gaudati and Heggadati, and they are tacked on to the names to denote respectability, as, Biro Gauda, Batyappa Heggade.

The word Kuruba means a keeper of *kuri* or sheep. The Kuribas tend sheep and shear the wool and weave coarse blankets or *kanblis* out of it. They are a simple unsophisticated class, and are generally regarded as deficient in understanding, though there is really no reason to suppose that they are intellectually inferior to others of a corresponding position.\*

Several persons of the caste have adopted agriculture as their profession, and these are as well off as other raiyats, in that business.

To explain why the profession of tending sheep was adopted, they tell a story of which it is difficult to make out the significance. When Padmakhya, who is said to be their progenitor, dug up an ant-hill when clearing a field

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\* A particularly stupid man is jocularly styled a Kuruba, and calculation of any sum or account by primitive methods is styled "Kuruba's Arithmetic."

for cultivation, six kinds of sheep started out of it. These were angels who had fallen to be born on earth on account of a curse. Not knowing how to protect these creatures which had risen unbidden, he prayed to his god Siva, who sent Biro Devaru (the tutelary deity of the caste) to help him.

The appellation *Pruthama Sudra* or first Sudra is based on the fanciful argument that as Mesha (Aries or sheep) stands first in the zodiac, the keeper of sheep should stand first among Sudras.

*Indra Sudra* means a pre-eminent Sudra, *Indra* being applied to a chief man by analogy. But both these terms are not well recognised and are apparently the recent concoction of some one intending to create a higher status for the caste. *Gauda* and *Heggade* which respectively mean a chief man or a headman, are the titles used by the caste.

The suffix *Heggade* is, as a rule, added to the name of the *Pujari* or priest, who is a man of the same caste and who is entrusted with the worship of their tribal god Biro Devaru. The priest in some places, wears a *Linga* suspended to his neck in the fashion of a *Lingayot* and abstains strictly from flesh and liquor.

The following story is narrated regarding the origin of the caste:—

The angels in attendance on Siva in Kailasa had the impudence to laugh at the droll performance of a three-legged dance by Bringi, the court dancer, and brought down his curse upon themselves, that they should be born on earth as sheep. A chief of Vakkaliga caste (*Heggade*) had a good-for-nothing son called Padma, nicknamed *Udadabhatta* (a gourmand). The father turned him out of his house to make a living by agriculture. He had been specially enjoined not to cut down a *Palasa* tree (bastard teak) or to dig up an ant-hill; but the perversity of his disposition made him do these very things. On his digging an ant-hill on which such a tree was standing, six kinds of sheep came out and surrounding him demanded protection by their loud bleating. The silly boy did not know what to do, and his prayer to Siva brought down Biro Devaru (*Viresu*) who became the tutelary deity of this man, and the latter was made to give up tilling the soil and take to tending sheep as his occupation. It is said that *Kady-Kurubas* (*Jungle-Kurubas*) are the issue of this man by his

Rakshasi wife, a daughter of Hidimbi, and that by Sumalini, daughter of Sunanda, the other section, Uru Kurubas composed of the three divisions, Halu, Ande and Kambli, took their rise. The books treating of the origin of the caste are said to be Renuka Kavya, Rudra Bharata, and a *Chappagodu* in the possession of a man in Channapatna.

The following extract from the Census Report of Madras for 1891, gives them a higher status than they usually claim:— “They (the Kurubas) are the modern representatives of the ancient Kurumbas or Pallavas, who were once so powerful, throughout South India, but very little trace of their greatness now remains. In the seventh century, the power of the Pallava kings seems to have been at its zenith, but shortly after this, the Kongu, Chola and Chalukya chiefs succeeded in several victories over them. The final overthrow of the Kurumba sovereignty was effected by the Chola king Adondai about the 7th or the 8th century. A. D., and the Kurumbas were scattered far and wide. Many fled to the hills, and in the Niligiris and the Wynad, in Coorg and Mysore, representatives of this ancient race are now found as wild and uncivilized tribes. Elsewhere Kurumbas are more advanced and are usually shepherds and weavers of coarse woollen blankets.”

The assumption that the Kurubas who are found in towns and villages are of the same stock as the uncivilized jungle tribes of Kadu-Kurubas, is notwithstanding the traditional story, highly doubtful. In customs, beliefs and other vital matters, they differ from one another very much. This pretension to a descent from royal stock is not advanced anywhere as far as this enquiry has proceeded; only some say that they came to Mysore first from Vijayanagar and that their original place is Mailara in the Bellary District.

Their language is Kannada, but some who are living in the taluks bordering on the Telugu districts, as Mulbagal Taluk for instance, have adopted Telugu as their home speech. Language.

There are three main endogamous divisions in the caste. They are:— DIVISIONS.

1. Halu Kurubas (ಹಾಲು ಕುರುಬರು).
2. Ande Kurubas (ಅಂಡೆ ಕುರುಬರು).
3. Jadi or Kambli Kurubas (ಜಾಡೀ ಅಥವಾ ಕಂಬಳಿಕುರುಬರು).

Endoga-  
mous  
Divisions.

• There are some other names of divisions given as Hosa (ಹೊಸ. =the new), Hale (ಹಳೆ =the old), Sada (ಸಾಡ), Kunchi (ಕುಂಚಿ) and Mullu (ಮಲ್ಲು). But there is reason to believe that these names are merely local terms for denoting one or the other of the three divisions, Halu, Ande and Kambli. Thus "Hosa" seems to apply to "Halu," and "Hale" to "Kambli" sections. The division called "Mullu" is commonly found in other castes also and indicates that the people of that division totally abstain from liquor. In such cases the term is used in contradistinction to the "Dasa" division who are notoriously addicted to drinking.

In some places, e.g., Channapatna and thereabouts, the Halu Kurubas are further divided into three sub-divisions called after the day on which they conduct the worship of their family gods. The sub-divisions are:—

1. Somavaradavaru (ಸೋಮವಾರವರು) Monday Kurubas.
2. Brihaspativaradavaru (ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಸ್ಪತಿವಾರವರು) Thursday Kurubas; and
3. Adityavaradavaru (ಆದಿತ್ಯವಾರವರು) Sunday Kurubas.

The Halu Kurubas form by far the largest and most important division. They are also called Hosa (new) and Sada (pure) Kurubas, and sometimes Mullu Jana, meaning that they abstain from liquor. The prefix Halu means, 'milk' and is meant to denote their superiority over other divisions. They profess to be born out of a drop of milk let fall from the hands of Siva during his marriage with Parvati.

Ande Kurubas are so called because they used to catch the milk of their sheep into a bamboo cylinder, styled *ande*. This practice has now died out.

Kambli Kurubas weave *kambli*s (coarse blankets) and their women dress themselves with aprons of *kambli*s.

These divisions are strictly endogamous, but male members may dine together. The Kambli Kuruba division are said to indulge in drink.

The above three divisions are in some places given as *Hatti Kankanadavaru* (ಹತ್ತಿ ಕಂಕಣವರು), *Hane Kankanadavaru* (ಉಣ್ಣೆ ಕಂಕಣವರು), and *Ande Kuruba* (ಅಂಡೆ ಕುರುಬರು). The first class use cotton thread as *hankana* to tie round their wrists during their marriages; the second, woollen thread, while

Ande Kurubas use a thread made of cotton and wool twisted together.

There are two or three sub-divisions or *salus* (ಸಾಲುಗಳೂ) recognised in some places as running through each division according to descent by regular marriage (ವಾಡುವೆಸಾಲು), informal marriage (ಕೂಡಿಕೆಸಾಲು), or through unmarried women (ಬಸವೆಸಾಲು).

The first two divisions are in some places styled *Doddavanna Makkalu* (ದೊಡ್ಡವ್ವನವಕ್ಕಳೂ) or children of senior mother, and *Chikkavanna Makkalu* (ಚಿಕ್ಕವ್ವನವಕ್ಕಳೂ) or children of junior mother, respectively.

The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, and there are hardly any persons who can give the names of all of them. It is said that Revanna, the original ancestor of this caste, divided it into as many divisions as there are grains in four scores of paddy, and that as might be expected, he could not find plants, or animals enough after which to name them all, and was obliged to adopt the names of meaner objects. These names, if totemistic at all, may be so in only a few cases, while a large number seem to be names adopted without any inward significance. In some instances, however, it is well ascertained that the objects which give the name to a group are not used for eating or otherwise even now. Some examples of this restriction are mentioned in the list appended, but it should be premised that much stronger evidence than this is required to justify the conclusion that they originated with what is styled totemism when dealing with primitive tribes.

Exogamous  
Divisions.

A list of the exogamous divisions brought to notice is given in the appendix, and they are known by the vernacular name of *Kula*.

It may be noted that they sometimes name both a Gotra and a Sutra for themselves like the Brahmins, Havyaka Gotra and Renuka Sutra. But this is apparently owing to the usual and perhaps natural desire to obtain for themselves as high a status as possible in the order of castes.

There are no hypogamous divisions, but of the exogamous divisions noted above, that of *Sāmanti* (*Chrysanthemum Indicus*) is considered superior to others, and the Gurus or the Pujaris of the caste are drawn from this sept. They do not eat flesh or drink liquor, and wear a *Linga* round their necks. It is asserted by them that the practice of their wearing the *Linga* has come down to them from time

immemorial and might have served as an example for the Lingayats to copy their practice from. This pretension is clearly untenable, and there is no doubt that their custom is the copy of which that of the Lingayats is the original. In fact, the Kurubas must have come largely under the influence of the religion of Basava. This is further evidenced by the fact that the Kurubas and Lingayats both revere as saints the same persons such as Revanna, and Elkorrana, and look up for guidance to the same Mathas such as Ujjani and Kollipaki.

The people of the Samanthi division do not eat with others. In the matter of their marriages, they can take girls only from the Ané (Elephant) and Gali (wind or spirit) divisions. Infant girls, it is said, are taken as soon as they are weaned and brought up in the Samanthi division after undergoing purification by means of *Panchagavya*, and they are married when they grow sufficiently old. Such girls are not allowed to eat with their parents. Conversely the girls born in the Samanthi division can be married only into Ané and Gali divisions, while the latter can have conjugal relation with any other Kula or sept.

Customs  
and cere-  
monies.  
Birth.

For the first delivery, the pregnant woman is generally taken to her parent's house. During the pregnancy, the husband ought to abstain from—killing any animals, carrying dead bodies, and erecting a new house or specially putting on the roof and sometimes he allows his hair to grow unshaven.

The first week or so after child-birth is observed as a period of pollution for the mother, who is purified by a bath on the 7th, 9th or the 11th day. During those days, an old shoe, a broom-stick and a winnow are placed at the entrance of the room in which the woman is confined, and a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck to the door frame to prevent evil spirits from entering the confinement room. The confined woman is given some medicines to heat the system and is fed on light meal.

A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is consulted as to the name to be given to the child, and she gets a small quantity of ragi and other things as her fee. She pretends to consult the gods and suggests a name, either of the family god or that of an ancestor, which is then given to the child. Whenever a child is given the name of something mean, it is placed on a manure heap and taken up and sometimes has its nostrils bored.

The following are some of the typical names found in the caste :—

Male	Female
Birappa (ಬೀರಪ್ಪ)	Biramma (ಬೀರಮ್ಮ)
Kanakappa (ಕನಕಪ್ಪ)	Junjamma (ಜಂಜಮ್ಮ)
Junjappa (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪ)	Doddamma (ದೊಡ್ಡಮ್ಮ)
Doddayya (ದೊಡ್ಡಯ್ಯ)	Kalassamma (ಕಳಸಮ್ಮ)
Kalasa (ಕಳಸ)	Kenchamma (ಕೆಂಜಮ್ಮ)
Kencha (ಕೆಂಚ)	Idekka (ಈದಕ್ಕ)
Ujjanappa (ಉಜ್ಜನಪ್ಪ)	Ujjanamma (ಉಜ್ಜನಮ್ಮ)

Sometimes names given are those of towns or villages e.g., Maddagiriga (ಮದ್ದಗಿರಿಗೆ), Mailariga (ಮೈಲಾರಿಗೆ) called after Maddagiri and Mailara, respectively.

Often the names are shortened by dropping the sex-endings Appa and Amma. As in other castes they have certain terms of endearment, such as Appayya\* (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Annayya (ಅಣ್ಣಯ್ಯ), Pattu (ಪುಟ್ಟು), Magu (ಮಗು), Mari (ಮರಿ) Kusu (ಕೂಸು), Thamma (ತಮ್ಮ), Thangi (ತಂಗಿ), Tayi, (ತಾಯಿ) mother, Sami (ಸಾಮಿ).

The practice of giving opprobrious names obtains in the caste, though some of them are unwilling to own it. Some of these names are Tippa (ತಿಪ್ಪ) meaning a manure heap, Tiruka (ತಿರುಕ) a beggar, Gunda (ಗುಂಡ) a round stone, Javaraya (ಜವರಾಯ), i.e., Yamraja, god of death, Kada (ಕಾಡ) a jungle, Kalla (ಕಲ್ಲ) a stone, and Paresiga (ಪಾರೇಸಿಗೆ) cast out.

When a man has no children, he may adopt a son to perpetuate his line. As regards persons to be adopted, the son of a brother is the first eligible, and in his absence, the son of a daughter or of a sister may be taken. But under no circumstances can a brother be adopted. When an infant is adopted, the name-giving ceremony is performed in the adoptive family. It consists in calling together of the caste men including the Gauda, Kolkar, &c., and after they are treated to a good dinner, announcing the fact of

Adoption

\* ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ literally means father; ಅಣ್ಣಯ್ಯ, elder brother; ತಮ್ಮ, younger brother; ತಾಯಿ, mother; ತಂಗಿ, younger sister; ಪುಟ್ಟ ಮಗು and ಕೂಸು, little one or child, ಸಾಮಿ is a contraction of *swami* meaning master. In the first two words, ಅಯ್ಯ is added to ಅಪ್ಪ and ಅಣ್ಣ to express endearment or emphasis by duplication.

adoption. If the boy be of a different *kula*, he is declared by the Gauda and others present, to have gone over to the adoptive father's sept or *kula*. By this the boy entirely severs his connection with the parent stock; but in the matter of marital relations, the adopted is disabled from marrying in both the sections. It is stated that a married man cannot be adopted.

**Marriage.** Marriages are generally adult, but infant marriages are also common. Girls continue marriageable till late years, and it is not compulsory that a woman must be married.

**Relations.** Marriage in one's own *kula* is prohibited, the affinity to the sept being traced through males. Members of the same exogamous sept are looked upon as brothers and sisters, and thus are not eligible for marriage with one another. A man may not marry his maternal aunt's daughter, but the daughter of a maternal uncle is particularly recommended. He may marry in the section to which his mother or father's mother belongs. Very often the section in which a man's mother's mother was born is avoided, though as a matter of fact, it may be a different *kula* from his. But owing to the extremely limited scope of the caste relations, mother's mother's section generally happens to be the same as his own, when it must, of course, be avoided. Elder sister's daughter can be taken in marriage, but, in some places as Kolar and Bowringpet, the daughter of a younger sister is also eligible for marriage. The intended parties (boy and girl) for marriage must not stand in the relation however remote, or even by analogy, of parent and child or brother and sister. Two sisters may be married by the same man, but not simultaneously, and two sisters may be married to two brothers, the younger marrying the younger, and the elder the elder. Exchange of daughters is not prohibited; but it is not commonly practised, the belief being that one or the other of the couples will not prosper.

**Marriage Ceremonies.** The proposal for marriage comes from the bridegroom's party and the first ceremony in connection therewith is the *Vilyada Sastra* (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) or the ceremony of exchange of betel leaves and nuts. On an auspicious day, the father of the boy, with some married women, goes to the house of the girl's father, taking with him coconuts, betel leaves and nuts, turmeric, *Kunbama*, etc., to formally propose the match. They first invite the Gauda, the head of the caste, who directs the Kolkar, the beadle, to collect the

castemen. On the castemen assembling in the girl's father's house, the father of the boy places cocoanuts, betel leaves, etc., in a tray before the Gauda, and formally asks him to bring about the match by his intercession. The Gauda asks the father of the girl whether he agrees to the arrangement, and the latter, of course, says 'Yes.' Thereupon the fact is announced in the assembly, and exchange of betel leaves and nuts takes place between the father of the boy and that of the girl. Then a day is fixed for the celebration of the marriage and a *lagna patrika* or letter announcing the marriage, is drawn up. Afterwards inside the house, married women seat the girl on a *mane* (wooden plank), present her with the things brought for her by the future father-in-law—wrapping them in the folds of her garment, and besmear her with turmeric paste. Distribution of *Tambula*\* takes place among the assembled and the party disperse, to meet again at a dinner at night, the Gauda, Kolkar and other caste dignitaries being specially invited.

The actual marriage ceremony is performed in the bridegroom's house.

The first day is styled *Devaruta* (ದೇವರೂಟ) or God's feast *Devaruta*, and is set apart for the worship of the ancestors. The bride and the bridegroom celebrate this separately in their houses. They bathe and observe fast till the evening. Then a *Kalasa*† is set up in their houses; the clothes brought for the marriage are all kept near it, incense is burnt and offerings of cooked food and broken cocoanuts are placed before it. The bride and bridegroom respectively offer prayers, and a dinner is given to the castemen in the night.

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\* *Tambula* is the Sanskrit equivalent of Pan-supari (Hind). All the members of an assembly are given a few betel-leaves and arecanuts just before dispersing, and one or two cocoanuts are added. On marriage and other occasions, the Brahmans or others of priestly persuasion are also given some money, a copper or a silver coin according to the means of the donor. This is called *dakshine*.

Before *tambula*, they give *gandha*, i.e., a solution of sandalwood paste or other sweet-scented stuff, which is applied to one's body, and flowers to each person.

The married women and girls are given, in addition, *arasina* (saffron paste to rub over the limbs) and *kunkuma* (red powder to apply to the forehead as a round or oval spot).

There is generally some order of precedence observed in distributing *tambula* to the first ten or twelve persons.

† A *Kalasa* is meant to denote some deity. A small metal drinking vessel, sometimes a new earthen pot, is filled with water or some grains and fruit, the mouth is sometimes covered over with mango or betel leaves.

Modulara-  
sina.

The second day is called *Modularasina* (ಮೊಡಲರಸಿನೆ) or the first smearing with turmeric. The ceremony, which consists of rubbing the body with saffron after seating them in state on wooden seats (planks), is performed separately to the bride and the bridegroom in their own places, and the former is again presented with fruits, etc., wrapped in her garment\*.

Pandal  
ereeting.

The third day is for consecrating the *Chappra* (ಚಪ್ಪರ) or the marriage-booth. This takes place only in the place in which the marriage is celebrated, namely, the bridegroom's house. The booth is constructed on twelve posts arranged in three rows, with covering of green leaves. Out of these twelve posts three must be of green wood, one of *Kalli* (ಕಳ್ಳಿ) Euphorbia Tirukalli, one of *Mittaga* (ಮಿತ್ತಗ) or the bastard oak and one of *Nerale* (ನೇರಳೆ) or Eugenia Jambolana, that of *Kalli* being styled the 'milk-post' said to be for ensuring continuity of the line. The milk-post must be cut by the maternal uncle of the bridegroom or a man similarly related. He goes to the tree with a coconut, incense and other ingredients of worship, does *Puja* to the tree and cuts off a branch, which he brings and places at the temple. He gets some fee for this labour and also *pan-supari*. A procession headed by a *kalasa* carried by a married woman with band goes to the temple under a canopy of cloth, called *chale* (ಚಳೆ), *Puja* is made to the milk-post and it is brought to the marriage pandal. The post is set up on the marriage dais in the central portion of the booth, a small quantity of milk, curds, a little ghee, and a pearl, coral and a bit of gold being first usually thrown into the pit. The village washerman ties round the post a washed cloth painted with

and a coconut, the vessel is on the outside beautified with chunam or red colour drawings and placed in a consecrated spot and *Puja* or worship is made to it.

\* *ಮಾಡಲು ತುಂಬುವುದು* (i.e., filling the upper garment). This is a favourite form of giving presents to a married woman, especially a bride and denotes great affection for the recipient. The mother or some other near relation is the donor. Turmeric paste is rubbed over the limbs of the bride who sits on a wooden seat, *Kunkuma* applied to her forehead, sandal solution applied over her neck, and flower garlands placed in her hair. Plantains and other fruits, some rice, a piece of jaggery and a *Kavika* (a piece of new cloth to be stitched into a vest coat) are all placed in the upper end of her *Sira* (long wearing garment) which she rolls and holds together with one hand. When a *Sira* also is presented, she first dresses herself in it and then receives these presents. This form of giving presents is an important part of many ceremonies connected with marriage, though it has no religious or other significance. It is one in which the ladies are the exclusive actors.

red coloured stripes. To the post is also tied a *kankana* thread and a small bundle containing nine kinds of grain (ನಸಧಾನ್ಯ). Married women take hold of the post and solemnly set it up, singing songs.

In the evening, the bride and her party arrive and halt near the temple, outside the village. The bridegroom's party go out in procession to meet them. After mutual greetings, the bride's companions are given jaggory water to drink and *pan-supari* is distributed. The bride is besmeared with turmeric and all return into the village, the bride and her party being conducted into a house set apart for them.

Then married women from the bridegroom's house go to the house of the village potter to bring new pots (ಪಂಜರಣಿ ಗಳು). A set of twelve pots of different sizes are selected. The potter who has kept them ready is presented with one *Hana* (ಹಣ), rice and betel leaves and nuts and sometimes a cloth. *Puja* is done to these pots, which are carried home with singing. They are embellished with red and white drawings and are placed in a row in a consecrated part of the house.

Again married women of the bridegroom's house go to a well or tank with three pots which they fill with water and carry home, walking all the way on washed cloths spread by the village washerman. One of these pots is dedicated to Birê Devaru, a male deity, and is carried by a man. *Puja* is made to these pots during the marriage and a *kalasa* is kept on a metallic vessel or a bamboo tube and placed near the milk-post; it is styled *Purna Kumbha* (full-pot) and is also worshipped.

The next is the day of *Dhare*. Early in the morning, *Dhare*. the village barber comes and pares the nails of the bride and the bridegroom in their own houses. They are then anointed and bathed. The bridegroom puts on new clothes and with *Bhashinga* or the marriage chaplet tied to the turban, he is conducted in procession, to the temple outside the village and is made to sit there. Leaving him there with some of his companions, the procession returns home. Then the bride duly bathed and dressed in new clothes, is brought to the marriage pandal. Then again the procession starts to the temple where the man is seated, and returns to the marriage booth. This is repeated three times. Each time some jewels or clothes intended for the bride are brought to the pandal. The third time the bridegroom is besmeared with turmeric and is led to the marriage house, with a dagger in his hands, wrapped with a red handkerchief. When

This procession approaches the pandal, the bride's party meet them at the entrance and a show of resistance is offered, each party throwing handfuls of rice at the other. A large quantity of this commodity is kept ready by each party and after it is utilized in this manner, it is collected and taken away by the village washerman. Thereupon the male's party enter the pandal and taking the bridegroom round the milk-post three times, they seat him upon a wooden seat placed on the marriage dais. The bride is then brought in and seated upon a seat facing the bridegroom. The latter sits with his face turned to the East and the bride, the West.

The caste people and others of the village meet by the invitation of the *Gauda* of the caste, who acts as the master of the ceremonies on such occasions. He occupies a prominent place, and the Kolkar who assists him stands by his side.

The Kurubas have their own *Pujari* to officiate at marriages and do not generally invite Brahmans as priests except where their casteman, called *Kovunnayya*, is not available. The priest spreads a blanket near the milk-post and the consecrated vessel on the dais and placing the *tali*\* on a small quantity of rice spread on the blanket with four lumps of *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) at the four corners, burns frankincense before it and makes an offering of a broken coconut. Afterwards the *tali* is touched by all the members of the assembly beginning with the *Gauda*, to whom it is handed round, while women sing wedding songs. It is then given to the bridegroom's hands. The priest pronounces the following formula:—

ಗಿರಿಸೆಟ್ಟುಗಿರಿವಾಸು  
 ಸರಿಗೇ ದೇವಕ್ಕ  
 ಮಗಳೂ ಬರತಾಳೆಂದಾ  
 ಕಂಚಿಕಾಳಂಗ  
 ಕುಡಿನೀರಗಂಡಿ  
 ಪುಣ್ಯವಂತಮಗಳೇ  
 ಭಾಗ್ಯವಂತಮಗಳೇ

\* The *tali* (ತಾಳೆ) is a round disk of gold made flat or convex like a shallow inverted cup with a small button at the top. A string is passed through a ring attached to it and it is tied so as to hang round the neck. Sometimes the string is strung also with black glass beads on each side of the *tali*. A married woman as long as her husband is alive, should always wear this neck lace with the *tali* with as much scrupulousness as a Brahman should carry his sacred thread.

ಬಸವಣ್ಣ ಬಂದ  
ತೆಗಿನಿನ್ನ ಮುಸಕು  
ಸೋಬತ್ತು ಸೋಬಾನೆ  
ಸೋಬತ್ತು ಸೋಬಾನೆ,

Thereupon the girl removes her veil and the bridegroom ties the *tali* string round her neck. The priest then blesses as follows:—

ಕಲ್ಲುಕಲ್ಲಾಗಿ  
ಕರೆಚ್ಚು ನಾಗಿ  
ಭೀಮಣ್ಣ ನಾಗಿ  
ಗುರುರೇವಣ್ಣ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ  
ಕಾಸೆ ಸ್ಥಿರವಾಗಿರಲಿ.

The assembly then bless the pair by showers of coloured rice.

The bridegroom stands facing the bride with his palms spread together and placed over those of the bride similarly held open. A cocoanut coloured with saffron and a four-anna piece are placed in his hands. Then milk is poured on his hands through a funnel made of a betel leaf; and again on the hands of the girl placed over those of her husband. This milk-pouring ceremony is considered very important as laying emphasis on the character of the marriage as *kanyadana* (or gift of the girl), though the tying of the *tali* makes the marriage binding. It is accompanied with the following invocation:—

ವ.ಕಾಲಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ, ಗೌರಿ, ಪಾರ್ವತಿ,  
ಸರಸ್ವತಿ, ಸಾಂತವತ್ಸಯ್ಯನವರು  
ನಮ್ಮಗುರ ರೇವಣ್ಣ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ  
ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಪಟ್ಟ ಸ್ಥಿರಜೀವಿಯಾಗಲಿ.

By the blessings of Mahalakshmi, Gauri, Parvati, Saraswati, and Santa Muttayya, may the marriage union effected by the priest Revanna prove prosperous and eternal.

The priest and, in some places, the *Ganda* begin this ceremony, and are followed by the parents and the maternal uncles of both parties and then by other relatives, friends and well-wishers.

The couple then sit side by side, with the hems of their garments tied together. *Kankana* is tied round the wrist of each party by the other. The procedure observed is to pass a thread (which may be of wool or cotton or both twisted together) round four small vessels placed in a square, to cut the thread into two parts and to tie in each piece a bit of saffron and an iron ring and then to pass this round the wrist and tie up. The couple now rise and going round the milk-post three times, enter the god's room to make *namaskara*. The young damsels in the family bar their passage at the door and enjoy considerable fun at the expense of the bridal couple, by making each give out the other's name; the bridegroom's sister sometimes extracts a promise from him to give his future daughter in marriage to her son. In the meantime, the gathering disperse after presentation of *pan-sapari*, and later on, there is a general dinner.

The *Nakabali* (corrupted into *Nagavali*, i. e., sacrifice to heaven) ceremony is observed in some places in the evening of the same day, while in other places, it is adjourned to the next day. The bride and the bridegroom go in state to an ant-hill, and after doing *Puja* to it, the bridegroom digs some earth out of it, which the bride carries on her head in a basket. This earth is euphemistically styled *Hutta Bangara* (ಹುತ್ತ ಬಂಗಾರ) or the gold of the ant-hill. A small branch of the *Nerale* (ನೇರಳೆ—*Jambolana*) is planted on the marriage dais near the milk-post, and the ground around it is washed with cow-dung water. The couple sit in front of the milk-post and get their nails pared by a barber, who gets a special fee for this service. After they have bathed, the bridegroom makes twelve balls of the earth from the ant-hill and gets seventeen balls of cooked rice. Plantain leaves are placed near each of the twelve pillars of the marriage pandal, on each of which the bride places one ball of earth and one ball of rice, which her husband hands over to her. The remaining five balls of rice are placed on a plantain leaf before the *Nerale* twig newly planted; and on all these leaves are placed some sweets also. *Puja* is made to all these posts, coconuts are broken as offering and lighted camphor waved before them. The milk-post is then worshipped, and the couple sitting down near it remove each other's *kankana* from the wrist.

The twelve pots brought from the potter's house are then removed and distributed among the relatives. This completes the marriage ceremony.

The bride-price or *Tera* is Rs. 12, but a widower has to pay Rs. 21, and in some places, e.g., Bagepalli, a man that takes a second wife, whether his first wife be living or not, has to pay Rs.  $12 + 6\frac{1}{2} = 18\frac{1}{2}$ , the additional amount being designated *Sowti Honnu* (ಸೌತಿಹೊನ್ನು) or co-wife's money. Bride price.

The *tera* amount paid to a widow is only Rs.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .  
(ಮುಂದೆಗೆಮೂರೂಹೊನ್ನು.)

The binding and essential portion of the ceremony is the tying of the *Tuli* thread (ಮಂಗಳಸೂತೆ).

When a girl attains puberty, a shed is erected of the green leaves of *Margosa* and *laklei* plants outside the main house, and she is placed in that shed for nine days as being impure. This period is treated as festive, and gatherings of women are held in the evenings when she is exhibited in her holiday attire, and songs are sung and presents of cocoanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to her, being placed in her garment. During these days, a broom-stick, an old *winnow* (ವೊರ) an old shoe and a twig of *Mkka* (*calotropis gigantea*) plant are kept at the entrance of the shed, being meant to ward off evil spirits, to whose attacks the girl is believed to be specially exposed then. On the tenth day, she has the purifying bath early in the morning and the shed is then burnt down. Puberty

If the girl is already married, information of her attaining age is sent to her husband's parents by the village washerman, who is treated to a feast by the girl's husband for being the carrier of the good news and is generally presented with a cow.

The party of the husband then come to the girl's house, where feasting takes place. During this time, the girl again takes her temporary lodgings in a shed put up outside the house, and the same course of feasting is repeated and continued for as many days as there are relations to treat her to this honour. On the nights of those days, the girl will not be allowed to sleep, lest some evil spirit might get into her. The final wedding takes place after this and the girl goes to her husband's home.

If, however, the girl is unmarried, the father of the girl looks out for a suitable boy and celebrates the marriage. But in such cases, the consummation is put off for three months after the marriage, to guard against any issue

being born within a year of the marriage, which event is considered inauspicious.

When a girl has been married young, she remains in the father's house, only visiting the husband's house for any festive occasion, and does not begin to live with him, till she attains the proper age.

When the girl is for the first time sent to her husband's house, she is given a new dross (ನೀಲಿ), and a bodice cloth by her father. On leaving her parents for good, the girl is feasted both when she leaves her father's house and when she reaches her husband's, where she is escorted by her mother or other near relatives.

Widow  
marriage.

Widow marriage is permitted, but the form differs considerably from that of the regular marriage. The would-be couple obtain the permission of the *Claua*, who fixes the day for marriage and attends the ceremony, which generally takes place in the evening and for which no married women are invited. The woman wears a new garment which is given her by her lover, who ties a *tali* thread round her neck in the presence of the caste people. This completes the marriage at which there is a caste-dinner also. The husband has to pay a *tera* (bride's price) of Rs. 4½, which is generally taken by the family of the woman's first husband, and in default, by her father. In addition to the *tera*, the husband has to pay a fine of 3 *Hanas* to the *Guru* who, in return, presents *Vibhuti* (sacred ashes) to the newly married couple. Such remarried women cannot take part in the celebration of ordinary marriages, but they labour under no onerous disabilities. Their offspring are, for some time, regarded as a separate class (ಚಿಕ್ಕವೈವಾಹಿಕರು) or the junior mother's line, but the distinction is soon forgotten.

It is sometimes considered inauspicious to have sight of a remarried woman during the first three days after her second marriage, but this belief has all but died out. The issue of the widow by the first husband go to their father's family. A widow cannot marry either her first husband's brother or any one of that *Kula* or exogamous division.

The remarriage of a widow is called in the vernacular *Kudike* (ಕೂಡಿಕೆ---concubinage) *Sirudike* (ನೀರೂಡಿಕೆ giving a garment to wear) or *Tali-tying* (ತಾಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟುವುದು).

A husband may divorce his wife on account of her unfaithfulness, and a divorced woman may marry her paramour, under *Kudike* form, if he is of the same caste, in which case the latter will have to pay not only the marriage expenses of her previous husband but also a fine to the caste. The woman should return all the jewels given to her by her first husband. Divorce can be brought about at the instance of either party and consists in giving back to the husband, before the *panchayat*, the *tali* tied by him on the marriage occasion. It is said that after divorce, the husband and wife cannot reunite even if they wish to do so.

Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same or of a higher caste may be condoned by the tribal head by a fine, but if the man that receives her favours be of a lower caste, she is excommunicated. For a woman cohabiting with a man of a different caste, generally lower, the following punishment is prescribed, namely, compelling her to live in *Madiga* quarters and throwing cattle horn and bones and *Margosa* leaves in her house. Unfortunately, they say, the time has become deteriorated and this punishment is not now resorted to.

The practice of dedicating girls as Basavis exists in some places. Generally the oldest girl is so dedicated, either when there are no sons to continue the line or in pursuance of a vow.

The manner of making the dedication is very like a real marriage. A day is selected and the girl is led in procession, under a cloth canopy carried overhead, like a bride to the temple, a *Kalasa* and fruits (5 cocoanuts, 5 date fruits, etc.) and rice and betel leaves being carried by a married woman. After prostrations to the god and the *pujari*, the girl is seated on a *kambli*, facing the East. The permission of the *Guru* of the caste is obtained and then a senior Basavi or a married woman rubs her with saffron and ties *tali* to her. A *kankana* is also tied to her wrist. The latter should have a betel-leaf tied to it to distinguish it from a regular marriage *kankana*. After the assembly throw yellow colored rice over her by way of blessing or congratulation, silver bangles and toe-rings are put on. The ceremony is generally followed by feasting. A Basavi remains in her parent's house and can consort with any one of the caste (not within the prohibited degrees of relationship)

or of a higher caste. She is considered as entitled to inherit her father's property as a son.

Death.

They bury the dead. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed and is dressed in a new cloth. Information is generally sent to the *Gauda*, if he is near, and the *Kalkar* or beadle also comes and assembles the customen. If the deceased is a *Pujari* or *Vadera* (who wears a *linga*) the burial is observed in the fashion of Lingayats. The body is dressed with new cloths and a turban, crushed betel-nuts and leaves being put into the mouth. The body is carried in a sitting posture in a *vimana*. But in the case of other Kurubas, it is carried on a bier in a lying posture. As in other castes, the frame or bier is carried by four persons, unless the deceased is an unmarried female in which case the body is rolled up in a *hambli* (a black coarse blanket) and is carried on the hands by two persons. Before the body is removed from the house, the surviving wife or husband, as the case may be, of the deceased, exchanges *pan-supari* with the body of the deceased. The chief mourner usually the eldest son, carries an earthen pot with cooked rice in one hand and fire in the other, and walks in front of the bier. After going half the way, they place the bier on the ground, when the chief mourner goes round it turning towards the left three times and throws the rice at the four corners and breaks the pot near the head. The grave will be ready before the body reaches the burial ground, and if the body be that of a *Pujari*, it is lowered into the grave in a sitting posture and placed in a niche. The latter is filled with the leaves of the sacred *Bilva* tree (*Aegle-marmelos*) and *Vibhuti* (sacred ashes) and the *linga* worn by the deceased and a few coins are placed in the hands. In the case of ordinary persons, the body is laid flat with the head to the South. When the grave is filled up, the chief mourner goes round it three times, carrying a pot of water, in which a hole is made by the by-standers striking at it with a stone, at the end of each round. After the third round, he throws down the pot behind him and goes to bathe in a river or well, without turning back. Money and grain doles are given to the poor who are present at the place, and the party return home, the carriers also bathing in a river or other place. None of them should go to their houses, without first looking at a light kept burning at the place of death. Those that carried the corpse have to live in the outer rooms of their houses for three days.

On the third day, cooked food is offered at the grave, to the spirit of the dead, which is believed to reside in the bodies of crows. If these birds do not touch the food, it is a sign that the ghost is troubled about something, and the survivors promise to satisfy its earthly cravings such as taking care of the deceased person's orphaned children, etc., but should the crows still persist in their refusal, the food is thrown into the water.

No further ceremony is observed till the 11th day. That day the chief mourners go to the grave and make *pūja* before it, offering cooked food and fruits and burning incense. They pray to the gods that the soul of the departed may find a peaceful resting place.

The members of the family cleanse themselves of the pollution by bathing and washing everything that they have been in contact with in the house. The house is purified by a Brahman or a Vaderu, according to family usage, and grain and money are distributed to some Brahmans Lingayats and others. Finally a general dinner is given to the castemen in the village.

During the period of pollution on account of death, the persons who are subject to it abstain from all agricultural work and must eat food before sunset and before the crows enter their nests. The chief mourner is not considered quite pure until after three months, at the end of which he is taken to his maternal uncle's house and feasted and presented with a turban or other new cloth.

Kurubas are not required to perform *Sradhdhas* on the anniversary days of death; but they worship all the ancestors generally on the *Mahalaya* new-moon day and on the new year's day. A place is cleansed and purified in the middle of the house, and a *Kalasa* installed, to which they make *pūja* and give money and rice doles to some Brahmans and Jangamas on the new-moon day, and offer new clothes and wear them on the new year's day.

Kurubas are a settled people and are found in all parts of the State and have no recognized head quarters. The shape of their houses and the materials they are built of are quite similar to those of the other raiyats there, having nothing peculiar; but such of them as have large number of sheep and goats have separate pens for them, called in Kannada *roppa*, either near their dwelling houses

Social  
habits.

of, as is often the case, in their fields, watch dogs being kept to protect them from the wild animals or to give warning of a thief's intrusion to lift the sheep.

They do not admit outsiders into their caste.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance: daughters, when there are sons, and sisters are not given any share in the family property, as a matter of right, but a destitute daughter or sister always receives due consideration at the hands of her father or brothers and finds a home with them in case she is a widow. A daughter without any brothers will, of course, succeed to her father's property.

Questions affecting inheritance, etc., if they are not of a complicated nature, are enquired into and settled by the village *Panchayat*, including the *Patel* (village headman) and *Shanbhog* (village accountant). Sometimes the services of their caste-head or *Gauda* are also requisitioned. Formerly the eldest brother used to get an extra share in the father's property, but after the institution of the Civil Courts, it is said, the custom has fallen into desuetude.

In social position, they occupy the same status as the Vakkaligas or the cultivating caste of the Province. In fact, the tradition of their origin, as noted above, reveals their original identity, the later divergence being due to their occupation. Vakkaligas and Kurubas dine with one another. Bodily contact with them is not considered as impure even by Brahmans, except in *madi*.\* They labour under no disability as regards their dwelling in the midst of others, drawing water from the common well of the village, etc. The village washerman and barber render them their services without the slightest objection or demur.

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\* Brahmans and others who follow their usage, consider it not proper to engage in any religious exercise or eat their food or even drink water without washing themselves and putting on washed clothing. This purified state is called *madi* (ಮಡಿ) and any contact with a person or a thing not in this clean state (ವೈಶ್ಯಕ್ತಿ) spoils it, and necessitates changing of clothes, and sometimes bathing.

There are good and bad conductors of uncleanness (ಮಲಿಗಿ ವೈಶ್ಯಕ್ತಿ). The common earth is a bad conductor; so is air and sun, and large bodies of water. Movable things as a general rule communicate *madi*, and spoil one's *madi*. The rules are of some complexity, and would be neither intelligible nor interesting to outsiders. But they are rarely observed in all their strictness; and as might be guessed, the elder members of a family, especially the old widowed ladies, are their special guardians.

The original occupation of tending sheep and weaving *kambli*s is kept up, but in many places agriculture is more largely resorted to. The weaving industry has, however, decayed to a great extent, though some fine and costly fabrics are still made in a few places. Owners of flocks always keep watch-dogs of the country breed to take care of their sheep. Occupation.

Their characteristic implement is the shears of a particularly crude pattern, and they make *pūja* to it along with other implements of trade on the 8th day of Dasara.

There are both land-owners and undertenants; and the majority cultivate the land directly. There are many who live by petty trade and by working for wages.

• Agricultural operations are commenced as soon as the first rains called Mungaru (ಮುಂಗಾರು) fall, generally in the months of April and May. On Mondays, they do little or no agricultural work as the bulls get a holiday. Fridays and Wednesdays are considered auspicious for commencing ploughing, and Fridays, Thursdays and Saturdays for sowing.

Before they commence ploughing or sowing, an elderly man in the house does *pūja* to the implement concerned, by burning frankincense and breaking a coconut before it. Similarly *pūja* is made when reaping is commenced. When the corn is threshed and made into a heap, a cowdung cone, believed to represent *Chanesa*, is set upon the heap and worshipped before the measuring of the corn is begun. Generally the first measure is set apart for the village God and when the grain is all measured out, a quantity according to the means of the owner, is left behind to be distributed in charity to the poor who may have been present, the last remnant being taken by the Madiga of the village.

During Hastē (ಹಸ್ತೇ) rain, when the crop is standing, a ceremony called "Haste Male Pongalu" (ಹಸ್ತೆ ಮೇಳೆ ಪೊಂಗಲು) is performed to save the crops from destruction by insects. On that day a sheep is sacrificed and its blood scattered all round the field. Again at the time of the lunar or the solar eclipse, a sheep or a goat is generally killed near the field and its blood is scattered over it.

The Kurubas are a well organized community. The whole caste is divided into a number of territorial divisions. At the head of each is a Gauda or headman and a Nadu\*

\* Nadu means a Country or Province.

Gauda has jurisdiction over several Gaudas. The Gauda is in some places called † *Buddhivanta* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತ) or wise man and he has under him a man called *Hattaramanushya* (ಹತ್ತರಮನುಷ್ಯ) or *Kolkar* (ಕೋಲ್ಕಾರ) or the headle, whose duty it is to collect the caste people within his jurisdiction whenever necessary. Each group or division has its own temple at which officiates a man of the same caste, called *Pujari* or *Vader*. The latter wears a *linga*, for otherwise, the man is not holy enough to perform the worship. He does not touch meat or spirituous liquor; and he should be a man of the *Samanthisept* and can marry only in *Ana* and *Gabi* sub-divisions.

Some Kurubas employ Brahmans for auspicious ceremonies, such as marriages, etc. Some employ men of their own caste, while others call Lingayat priests to conduct their ceremonies. For funeral ceremonies, the attendance of Brahmans is not necessary.

Religion.

Kurubas are Saivas, in religion, but worship all the Hindu gods. Their tribal deity is *Bira*, from *Vira*, one of the names of *Siva*. Some of the other deities worshipped by this caste are *Mailara* (ಮೈಲಾರ), *Batyappa* (the wick of a lamp), *Irachikappa* (ಈರಚಿಕ್ಕಪ್ಪ), *Kattu Kambhadappa* (ಕಟ್ಟುಕಂಬದಪ್ಪ, stone pillar), *Budalappa* (ಬುದಲಪ್ಪ), *Sellipalleppa* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಪಲ್ಲೆಪ್ಪ) and *Karakurappa* (ಕಾರಕೂರಪ್ಪ). Their feminine gods are *Yellamma* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and *Lakshmidēvi* (ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಿ). It is likely that many of these are names of persons born in the caste, who were given this rank for some service or supposed merit. Thus it is related of *Mailara* that he was born of Kuruba parents to rid the earth of a tyrant *Rakhasa*, called *Mallasura* who was harassing gods and men alike. After killing the *Rakhasa*, this Kuruba settled himself in *Mailara* in the Bellary District and was, after death, regarded as having partaken of the essence of god *Siva*. An annual festival is still held at the place, in honour of this person and the officiating *pujari* is of the Kuruba caste.

*Lakshmidēvi* is the name given to *Vishnu's* consort, but it seems likewise to have been that of a good woman of the caste, who was called *Lakkavya* or *Lakkamma*, (*Lakki*, derived from *Lakshmi*).

They hold periodical celebration of the feasts of their gods for which they meet with their several Gaudas in

† In some places especially in the Western part of Mysore, the *Patel* or *Gauda* of a village has a non-official deputy who goes by the name of *Buddhivanta* or wise man.

one of their principal temples. Each Gauda or the head of the group is entrusted with the custody of a golden image representing the hero of the clan, which he keeps in a small box filled with turmeric powder. Once a year or at longer intervals, several neighbouring groups join together for the celebration, for which they all subscribe money amounting to Rs. 200 or Rs. 300. The temple at which they meet is cleansed and whitewashed for this religious fair (*Parashê*). *Goravas*\* form an important feature of these gatherings. They correspond to the *Dasaris* of Vaishnava sects and are initiated into the brotherhood by taking vows at the shrine of *Mailari Devaru* (ಮೈಲಾರಿ ದೇವರು) in the Bellary District. Their dress is a coat of black *kambli* profusely decked with cowries and they have a head dress of bear skin. They carry a small drum and dance and sing in a weird manner and earn their living by begging.

• In the celebration of the *parashe*, the image of the temple where they meet and those of the several clans present are first taken in procession to a river or well where they are washed and decorated with flowers and sacred ashes. They are brought back and arranged in the temple. The worship is conducted by the *pujari* who is always of the same caste, and *Goravas* sing the praises of the god. The following description given in the Madras Census Report of 1891, applies almost exactly to what takes place in this State, as may be seen (*e. g.*) in Bowringpet :—

“Once a year several neighbouring clans assemble at one of their bigger temples, which is lighted with ghee, and placing their images in a row, offer to them flowers, cocoanuts, milk, etc., but do not slay any victim. The Patha Kurubas (Hale or old Kurubas of those parts), on these occasions, break cocoanuts upon the heads of those among their number who have an hereditary right to the distinction, but the other two divisions do not adopt this apparently inhuman practice. A *pujari* or priest of their caste supposed to have some supernatural power officiates, and begins by breaking a few nuts on the heads of those nearest to him, and then the rest go on, the fragments belonging by right to those whose skulls have cracked them, and who value the pieces as sacred morsels of food. For a month before this annual ceremony, all the

\* *Goravayyas* are considered to be the dogs of *Martara* and have, on occasions when the festival in honour of this deity is celebrated, to drink milk from the same bowl with the dogs, making all sorts of noise and barking like them. (See Bellary Gazetteer, 1901, p. 215.)

people have taken no meat and for three days the *pajari* has lived on milk alone. At the least, therefore, all indulge in rather immoderate eating, but drink no liquor, calling excitedly upon their particular god to grant them a prosperous year.

“Once in ten or fifteen years, a still bigger feast takes place, with the same preparatory abstinence, the same ceremonies are gone through, but with more noise and clamour, and finally the head of every child who may have been born since the last similar festival, is shaved.”

In the Mysore State, the annual celebrations have been largely given up in favour of those held at longer intervals, and it is also ascertained that the Kurubas here do not scruple to sacrifice sheep and goats at these festivals. Again, they do not wait for these celebrations for removing the first hair of their children, which is generally done in their third year.

Another mode of worship observed in the caste is the reverence shown to the male persons who die unmarried. They are known as *tragararu* (ತಗರರು). Small temples are built and stones are set up therein in their names and are worshipped.

In common with other castes, they also reverence and worship the usual village gods and goddesses and sacrifice sheep and goats to them.

#### Oaths.

At caste meetings, the oaths considered binding are to swear by their special deities, Biredovaru or Balyappa, or by their own parents or children. To swear by a lump of *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) after placing it on a *kambli* (ಕಂಬಲಿ) and making *paja* is peculiar to the caste, this form being considered specially solemn and sure to bring on evil if the man perjures himself.

#### Soothsaying.

They have great faith in soothsaying and sorcery, on occasions of illness or when any important concern is afoot. Women of Korachiar caste are the professors of this art of reading the unseen by means of what they call *kani* (ಕನಿ). An elderly woman of the family repairs to such a soothsayer with a quantity of ragi and a three-pie piece, and consults her as to the cause of the malady. The latter with an air of seriousness equalled only by her insincerity, burns frankincense (ಸಾಂವಾಜಿ) and breaks a coconut, if her client has brought one. She repeats some verses in praise of Narayana, often and often singing ವಂದಿ ವಂದಾಂ (salutations to Narayana). She then takes a few grains of ragi and utters some

equivocal sentences, which the unsophisticated Kuruba woman believes and by which the cause of the malady is understood to be the neglect of the worship of a family god or of a deceased ancestor. To ward off the evil, the credulous woman sets apart some piece of money as an earnest of her making up for past neglect as soon as the present difficulty is surmounted.

A belief in sorcery is not so much a caste or tribal peculiarity as a relic of a common primitive habit. It is shared alike by the uncultivated masses and by those who are below a certain mental level in the higher castes. As may be expected, women especially weak and hysterical ones, are more subject to attacks of evil spirits than others. Though stories are often told that under the influence of devil-possession, persons do things which they could not possibly do in their normal state, such as talking in an unknown tongue or repeating passages of which they had no previous acquaintance without understanding the meaning or doing some equally impossible feats, it is difficult to meet with authentic instances of such conduct. Anything out of the way is set down by the ignorant as due to a spirit. Thus, if a woman causelessly keeps on weeping or laughing, if she speaks on subjects of which she does not know anything, if she keeps on staring at vacant space, if she eats more than the usual quantity, or eats anything which is not an ordinary article of food, if she fasts for one or two days or if in any other way she behaves in a manner not befitting her sex, or if she faints or walks in sleep, she is at once credited to be under the influence of some devil. Certain times and places are said to be most favourable for evil spirits to take hold of women, such as the first manifestation of puberty, times of monthly sickness, pregnancy or confinement and sojourn at the banks of a river or under shade of large trees, especially the banyan or margosa which are believed to be the special abodes of spirits.

A female spirit comes in the guise of a woman attired in a white garment and entering into conversation with her subject, suddenly vanishes entering into the latter's body. The woman shows signs of such possession and it is said that physicians can detect this particular disease by feeling the pulse. At any rate, when a disease cannot be successfully treated or properly diagnosed, it is ascribed to an evil spirit, and an exorciser's aid is invoked. He may be a man of any caste, but he generally happens to be of a low one.

The exorciser receives his first instructions from a teacher, and the most propitious seasons are those which are avoided with particular care for any auspicious ceremonies, such as the day of an eclipse, or a new-moon day falling on a Sunday. The virtue of the incantation is considered to be enhanced and the power of the exorciser increased by his repeating them often on such days of the year, standing in water.

The day for the performance of an incantation to drive away a spirit is selected with similar care, Sundays and Thursdays being considered specially good. The work is taken up generally in the dusk of the evening. The ground is smeared with cow-dung and some cabalistic figures are drawn on it with charcoal and vermilion powders, fantastic figures of a monkey (Hanūna) or of some Rakshasa being sometimes considered appropriate. Cooked rice, part of which is coloured red, flowers of five or seven kinds, limes, frankincense and some other articles are provided for the *pūja*, and lights are placed near the figures drawn on the ground. The patient is led to the place and seated in front of the figures with her hair untied and let loose on her neck. There is a crowd of women and children all round and the exorciser sits clad generally in a single wet cloth round the loins, and begins his operations. He throws some charmed ashes on her, breaks a cocoonut and offers *pūja* to his figures, and utters his incantations which either are more meaningless sounds or threats or abuse directed to the spirit in possession, in a loud key with as much peremptoriness as he can command. To enhance the noise and confusion, one is beating vigorously a metal disk, and the audience add their loud vituperation.

The patient, when, as in rare cases, she is not feigning in order to attract some better consideration to herself from her husband's relations, is generally neurotic, and all this din and noise act on her nerves, and deprive her altogether of her presence of mind. She is generally soon at the mercy of the exorciser, and is perhaps to some extent hypnotised. The unwelcome spirit who has taken up his abode in her body is at last made to speak through her mouth; and he often gives his address, and tells when, where and why he took possession of this person, and what will be a sufficient inducement for him to quit the present place. Sometimes, it is the spirit of a man who fell in love with the girl when she was going alone in attractive

costume under the spirit's peepul or banyan tree in the middle of the day; sometimes it is her disappointed lover. Oftener it is the girl's husband's previous wife, who is envious of the happiness of her who has usurped her place. If a weak spirit, it confesses itself overpowered by the force of the exorciser's incantations and begs to be allowed to depart for good; if strong, it either exacts very expensive terms, such as a long pilgrimage, feeding of many persons, or even the building of a temple, or it flatly declines to leave the patient with her life.

In most cases, the devil is more complacent, and consents to vacate its place. Implicit confidence cannot, however, be placed in its word, and so to prevent its hovering about the house and taking possession of either the same or another subject after the spell is removed, the patient is taken outside the village to some tree or other spot which might serve as a convenient tenement for the spirit. With a loud warning, and sometimes with a token such as a broken branch of the tree or some locks of hair pulled off the head of the patient, the spirit quits the body and leaves the patient quite exhausted. To make it fast in the tree, a nail is driven into it, and thereafter women and children shun that place for fear of being attacked by this spirit.

To prevent a relapse, the girl is given a copper talisman, which she wears on her person.

In dress they resemble the other castes except that their women in some places wear *kambli* as their main garment and wear no bodice cloth. They have no national games, nor do they get up for themselves any theatrical entertainments. The women get themselves tattooed, the figures representing a variety of designs. Dress, etc.

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## APPENDIX.

1. *Abu Kula* (ಆಬುಕೂಲ) Goat. The people of this division abstain from killing or eating female goat.
2. *Alige* (ಅಲಿಗಿ)—A drum.
3. *Anlara* (ಅಂಲಾರ)—A cage.
4. *Ano* (ಆನೆ)—Elephant. It is said that the people of this division do not ride on elephants even when they have a chance, but use them, if at all, for carrying their gods.
5. *Anne* (ಅಣ್ಣೆ)—The kitchen herb *Oclosia albida*. They abstain from eating this herb.
6. *Ari or Are* (ಆರಿ)—A kind of tree *Bauhinia racemosa*.
7. *Arasina* (ಅರಸಿನ)—Saffron. This is an interesting division. The people of this division originally abstained from using or touching saffron. But as this is a commodity of every-day use, they have transferred their reverence to Navane grain or panic seed (*Panicum*). Still they do not grow saffron.
8. *Arasu* (ಆರಸು)—A king (?) They do not cut the banyan tree.
9. *Atti* (ಅತ್ತಿ)—Indian fig. They do not cut this tree nor eat its fruit.
10. *Bandi* (ಬಂದಿ)—A cart. As it is difficult not to use a cart, they merely do not sit in a cart in which their god is carried.
11. *Basari* (ಬಸರಿ)—*Picus infectoria*. They neither cut this tree nor use it for fuel.
12. *Bela* (ಬೇಲ)—Wood-apple tree. They do not cut or use this tree for fuel.
13. *Belli* (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)—Silver. They do not use silver toe-rings.
14. *Balagura* (ಬಾಳಗುರ)—Glass bangles. It is said that the women in this division do not or should not use glass bangles, but only those made of bell-metal.

Alige. The word *Kula* (sept or tribe) is to be understood at the end of each of these names.

15. *Basara* (ಬಾಸರ) (?)
16. *Beneche* (ಬೆಣೆಚೆ)—Flint stone.
17. *Bevu* (ಬೇವು)—A margosa tree. They worship margosa tree and neither cut it nor use its wood for fuel nor its oil for lamps.
18. *Binu or belu* (ಬೀನು—ಬೇಲು)—A reel of thread.
19. *Bira* (ಬೀರ) They do not throw *Birakki* during marriages.
20. *Bana* (ಬಾಣ)—An arrow.
21. *Benne* (ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)—Butter. They do not use butter.
22. *Banni* (ಬನ್ನಿ)—A prickly tree (*Prosopis specigera*) which they neither cut nor use as a shade.
23. *Avare* (ಅವರೆ)—A species of pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*).
24. *Bole* (ಬೋಲೆ)—An arrow.
25. *Budali* (ಬೂದಲಿ)—Ashes (?).
26. *Bugudi* (ಬುಗಡಿ)—A female ear ornament.
27. *Chelu* (ಚೇಳು)—A scorpion.
28. *Chitlu* (ಚಿಟ್ಟು)—A kind of forest tree.
29. *Chilla* (ಚಿಳ್ಳೆ)—A clearing-nut tree (*Stryelmos potatorum*).
30. *Chandana* (ಚಂದನ)—A sandalwood tree (*Serium myrtifolium*).
31. *Chandu* (ಚಂದು)—The moon.
32. *Churi* (ಚೂರಿ)—A knife.
33. *Chatta* (ಚಟ್ಟು)—A bier. Dead bodies in this division are not carried on biers but by hands, rolled in *kambli*.
34. *Devadaru* (ದೇವದಾರು)—A species of pine (*Pinus deodara*).
35. *Dande* (ದಂಡೆ)—A garland.
36. *Dani* (ದಾನಿ)—A rope.
37. *Dasari* (ದಾಸರಿ)—A kind of silk.
38. *Emme* (ಎಮ್ಮೆ)—A she-buffalo.
39. *Gali* (ಗಾಳಿ)—Wind or devil.
40. *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ)—The headman. They do not pay contribution for the celebration of the festivities of their tribal god.

41. *Garike* (ಗರಿಕೆ)—A species of grass (*Agrostis linearis*).
42. *Gobbara* (ಗೊಬ್ಬರ)—Manuro.
43. *Garani* (ಗರಣಿ)—?
44. *Gudi* (ಗುಡಿ)—A temple.
45. *Gulimi* (ಗುಲಿಮಿ)—A pickaxe.
46. *Halle or Arali* (ಅರಳಿ)—A peepul tree.
47. *Halu* (ಹಾಲು)—Milk.
48. *Havu* (ಹಾವು)—A snake.
49. *Honnu* (ಹೊನ್ನು)—Gold. Women of this division do not wear gold jewels.
50. *Hunase* (ಹುಣಸೆ)—A tamarind tree.
51. *Hurali*—(ಹುರಳಿ) Horse gram. They abstain from jungle popper (ಕಾಡುವೊಣಸು) instead of gram, as this is a necessary article of food.
52. *Iralu* (ಇರಳು)—Night.
53. *Iruvu* (ಓರುವು)—An ant.
54. *Jelakuppu* (ಜೆಲಕುಪ್ಪು)—A kind of fish.
55. *Janni* (ಜನ್ನಿ)—A kind of fragrant plant.
56. *Jirige* (ಜೀರಿಗೆ)—Cummin seed.
57. *Jivala* (ಜೀವಲ)—An insect.
58. *Jilladi or ehka* (ಜಿಲ್ಲಡಿ or ಎಕ್ಕ)—Likka plant.
59. *Kadale* (ಕಡಲೆ)—Bengal gram.
60. *Ketchalu* (ಕೆಚ್ಚಲು)—The udder.
61. *Kanchu* (ಕಂಚು)—Bell-metal.
62. *Kaggallu* (ಕಗ್ಗಲ್ಲು)—hard stone.
63. *Kudagu* (ಕಡಗ)—A braeclet.
64. *Kavada* (ಕಾವಡ)—A coloured border of a cloth.
65. *Kongandi* (ಕೊಂಗಂಡಿ)—(?)
66. *Koppu* (ಕೊಪ್ಪು)—A knot or hair-screw stuck in a knot of hair.
67. *Kota* (ಕೋಟೆ)—Name of a bird.
68. *Kolli* (ಕೊಳ್ಳಿ)—A fire-brand.
69. *Kumbala* (ಕುಂಬಳ)—A pumpkin.
70. *Malliga* (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)—Jasmine.
71. *Majjige* (ಮಜ್ಜಿಗೆ)—Butter-milk.

72. *Majjana* (ಮಜ್ಜನ)—Bathing. The god of this division is always washed in rivers.
73. *Masalu* (ಮಾಸಲು)—Impure. They do not eat a she-goat.
74. *Marasala* (ಮಾರಸಲ)—(?)
75. *Mada* (ಮದ)—Pride or passion (?)
76. *Menasu* (ಮೆನಾಸು)—Pepper. They do not cut pepper creeper nor cultivate it.
77. *Minchu* (ಮಿಂಚು)—A toe-ring.
78. *Mise* (ಮಿಸೆ)—Moustache.
79. *Mola* (ಮೋಲ)—A rabbit or hare.
80. *Mota* (ಮೋಟ)—Stump of a tree.
81. *Muru hindina* (ಮೂರುಹಿಂಡಿನ)—Of three herds (?)
82. *Muttu* (ಮುತ್ತು)—Pearl.
83. *Nagare* (ನಗರೆ)—A kind of tree. They do not sit under its shadow much less cut or burn it.
84. *Nali* (ನಾಳಿ)—A bamboo tube.
85. *Navilu* (ನವಿಲು)—A pea-cock.
86. *Nayi* (ನಾಯಿ)—A dog.
87. *Naggalu* (ನಗ್ಗಲು)—Moringa plant (*Moringa pterogasperma*).
88. *Nelli* (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ)—A tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*).
89. *Onike* (ಒನಿಕೆ)—A postle. They do not touch a postle but instead of it a wooden hammer is used.
90. *Otha or Hotha* (ಊತ)—A he-goat.
91. *Puttara* (ಪುಟ್ಟರ)—(?)
92. *Ponniru* (ಪೊನ್ನಿರು)—(?)
93. *Sagara* (ಸಾಗರ)—An ocean.
94. *Same*—
- |                           |   |  |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Ohilka</i> (ಚಿಕ್ಕಸಾವೆ) | } | Grain of <i>Panicum frumentacium</i> . |
| <i>Lodda</i> (ದೊಡ್ಡಸಾವೆ)  |   |  |
95. *Samanti* (ಶ್ಯಾಮಂತಿ)—A flower (*Ohrysanthemum Indicum*).
96. *Setti* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ)—A head or chief of caste.
97. *Sakalu* (ಸಾಕಲು)—(?) They abstain from Navanē.
98. *Sande* (ಸಂಡೆ) (?)
99. *Sanhhu* (ಸಂಖು)—A conch shell.

100. *Suji* (ಸೂಜಿ) — A needle.  
 101. *Surya* (ಸೂರ್ಯ) — The sun.  
 102. *Southc* (ಸೌತ್) — Firewood.  
 103. *Thumbe* (ತುಂಬೆ) — A kind of tree.  
 104. *Ungara* (ಉಂಗರ) — A ring.  
 105. *Uppu* (ಉಪ್ಪು) — Salt.  
 106. *Hatti* (ಹತ್ತಿ) — Cotton.  
 107. *Hutta* (ಹುತ್ತು) — An ant-hill.  
 108. *Gose* (ಗೋಸೆ) (?) — They do not eat Navanô grain.  
 109. *Lali* (ಲಾಳಿ) — Weaver's shuttle.  
 110. *Mane* (ಮಾನೆ) (?)  
 111. *Asali* (ಅಸಲಿ) — A jewel.