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THE

# MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

## VOLUME IV

BY

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# PRONUNCIATION.

a has the sound of u in but or murmur.
ā ,, ,, a in bath or tar.
e ,, ,, e in ecarte or ai in maid.
i ,, ,, i in bit, or (as a final letter) of y in sulky.
Ī ,, ,, ee in beet.
o ,, ,, o in bore or bowl.
u ,, ,, u in put or bull.
Ū ,, ,, oo in poor or boot.

*N.B.*—The abbreviations found in the book, *viz.*, M. C. R. and E. R. E. stand for Madras Census Report and Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, respectively.

## *ERRATA.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pages 75, 77, 105, 189, 206 and 476 | . | *For* Enthovan, R. E. and R. E. Enthovan *Read* R. E. Enthoven. |
| Pages 386-387 | .. | *For* Russel, R. V. *Read* Russell, R. V. |
| Page 663 | .. | *For* Vadda *Read* Vodda. |
| Page 393 | .. | *Delete* R before Enthoven. |



A KOTTA-OKKALU MALE GROUP.

THE

# MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

## Volume IV.

## KOTTE OKKALU.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—FOOD.

INTRODUCTION.

THE KOTTE OKKALUS are found in the Sagar and Sorab taluks of the Shimoga district as also above the Sahyadris in the Siddapur and Sirsi taluks of North Canara. They are so called because of the fact that they are employed in covering bunches of tender betel nuts with *kottes* or bags made of the canvas-like sheaths of the betel palm which shelter the fruit to preserve them from injury by heavy rain.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The caste has no endogamous groups, but the persons thrown out of this caste, have formed a separate group known as Banderus, and have *balis* through females which closely resemble those of the Halvakke Vakkal caste and are totemistic. The following are the names of some of them—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Setti bali | .. | .. Chandira bali (moon) |
| Sirana bali | .. | .. Hole bali (river) |
| Ganga bali | .. | .. Tolana bali (wolf) |

Bāle bali (plantain).

Persons belonging to the same *bali* cannot intermarry.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The initiative for marriage comes from the boy's parents. When the marriage is settled, the first ceremony that is performed is the building of a fire-place or hearth on an auspicious day. This ceremony corresponds to the *Vilya prastha* of other castes. On an auspicious day, the boy's father with a few of his castemen, goes to the house of the bride taking with him flowers, fruits, jewels and other auspicious things. They are received by the girl's father, in whose house the castemen of the village assemble. The girl is dressed in the garments brought by the boy's party, and is decked with jewels and flowers. She is seated on a plank, and gets her lap filled with the auspicious articles. The girl is then taken to the *pandal*, and there she constructs three or five fire places to which she offers flowers and incense, and finally prostrates before them. The boy's father hands over some betel leaves with four rupees and an *Ikkeri varahan*, to the headman of the caste who in turn gives it to the girl's father. The latter retains the four rupees and gives the *varahan* to his daughter, who should keep this tied to her cloth till the marriage is over. After dinner, the bride-groom's father returns to his village along with his party. The marriage ceremonies are the same as in other castes. On the second day after marriage, a dinner is given to the bride-groom's party, after which betel leaves and arecanuts are distributed to the members of the village in the following order: *simē guru*, *yajaman*, the castemen of the village, the authorities of *kattemanes* and guests. On the following day, the girl is taken to the husband's house, and there she is formally handed over to her parents-in-law, who entertain the bride's party, her relations and friends. Widow marriage and polygamy are allowed, but polyandry is unknown.

Religion.

They are Vaishṇavas, and their gods are Hutcharaya of Shikarpur, and Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati. They worship also all the village deities to whom they offer goats and cocks.

Funeral Customs.

The Kotte Okkalu burn their dead and they mourn for ten days. Either on the third or the fifth day, food-offerings are made to the spirit of the departed. Annual *śrāddhas* are not performed for each individual ancestor, but on the *Mahālaya* day food offerings and water are given to all the spirits of the dead.

Occupation.

The members of the caste work in gardens and fields, and do not differ in condition from other cultivating castes. Both men and women dress like Halvakke vakkals, and like them, are simple, hard-working, thrifty and orderly.

Food.

Kotte Okkalu eat sheep and goat, but rice and ragi are their staple food. They eat in the houses of Brāhmans, Lingāyets, and Vaiśyas. Kumbaras eat in their houses.

# KUMBARA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—DEATH CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

KUMBARAS are makers of earthern pots and tiles. They are found all over the State, and form an important section of the village community. The caste is commonly known as Kumbara, one group of which describe themselves as belonging to the family of *Gunda Brahma*, or *Gunda Bhaktaru*, while another section profess to be the descendants of Sālivāhana, the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingāyat faith are gradually disowning the name of Kumbara; and when pressed for an answer, they say that they are Lingāyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbaras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is Setti; but ordinarily men add Appa, Ayya or Aṇṇa, and women Amma or Akka, to their names. Kumbara is from Sanskrit Kumbhakāra, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundayya, also styled Gundabrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gunda, or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the

use of men. The section that style themselves Sālivāhanās separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sālivāhana who is said to have been begotten by a Brāhman to a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brāhman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm overtook him, and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The luckly hour was fast approaching, and the Brāhman became more and more uneasy The potter, on learning what it was that troubled the Brāhman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment, and Sālivāhana was the result of the union. The child was left with his mother in the potter's house, and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work ,and took pleasure in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad, if the boy had devoted his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money ; and when they reached the old potter's house, Sālvāhana jeered at them, and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry, and ordered a small company of men to raise the potter's house to the ground, and to drag the presumptuous youth to his presence. The latter in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life, and a fully equipped

army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces, and later on, the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. Sālivāhana seized the throne, and ruled the country very successfully.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

There are three main endogamous groups among the Kumbaras: Telugu Kumbaras, otherwise known as Sajjana Kumbaras, Kannada Kumbaras, and Lingāyet Kumbaras.* It is said that there are two more groups named Kudipaitala and Tamil Kumbaras. The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (*Sire*) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking group, of whom there are a few in the State.† The members of the third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, Lingāyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that caste, and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the members of the Lingāyat section are recent converts from the main community. Some, however, namely, the *Sajjana* section, state that they were all Lingāyats originally, but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself, he sent plague and pestilence amongst his castemen and would not relent till most of them joined and partook of the forbidden

* They are also called Panchama Cumbharu and belong to the Gunda Brummia family. Buchanan, Vol. I. Pages 312-313.

† Niligaras, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a group of Kumbaras who used to dye cloth with indigo colour. This section is now scarcely found in the State It is also reported that some Kumbaras drew toddy, and were hence called Idiga Kumbaras.

food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained Lingāyats.

Kannada Kumbaras have a large number of exogamous clans, but many, especially those in the Mysore district, have forgotten their clan names, which, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal. The members of a clan observe the usual prohibition against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing it. A few of the clan names are given below :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Kasturi .. | .. Musk (kula) |
| 2. | Samantige .. | .. Crysanthemum (kula) |
| 3. | Nāgara .. | .. Cobra (kula) |
| 4. | Kendavare .. | .. Red lotus. |
| 5. | Ravala .. | .. Drug. |

It is said that the *Sajjana* Kumbaras had formerly one hundred and eight divisions, which were subsequently reduced to sixteen, because the members of the other groups became Lingāyats. Some of them bear the names of material objects, to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingāyat Kumbaras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions, but like other Lingāyats, those of them who live in towns, claim to consist of five *gōtras* named after Rēnuka, Dāruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghantākarṇa and Visvakarma.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage may be either infant or adult, but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brāhmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous groups, and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed,

but is not common. Polygamy is permitted, and practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For the settlement of marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house, announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The *Oppu Vilya*, or agreement by exchange of *tāmbula*, then takes place, and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of the family god (god's feast), and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors, by the offerings of clothes and food, before a *kalaśa* which is installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a *pandal* is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. On the same night, *arivenis* (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbara's house.

Early next morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared, and bathe in *malenīru*. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled *Banna Bangāra Śīstra*, or the ceremony of clothing and ornamenting. The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes, and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage *pandal* by his parents-in-law, with a *bhashinga* tied to his forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An *ārati* is waved before him at the entrance, and then he goes and stands on the dais facing west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle, and made to stand opposite to him, with a screen between the two.

Then the throwing of cumin seed and jaggery on each other's heads at the appointed time, pouring of *dhāre* water, tying of the *tāli* and *kankaṇas*, and other incidents take place in the usual course, as in other castes. After going round the "milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the *ariveṇi* pots, get the *bhashingas* removed by the maternal uncle, and eat the common meal served in dishes before the *ariveṇi* pots.

Among the *Sajjana* Kumbaras, the *pūja* of their tribal deity, Gunda Brahma, is held on the next day. All bathe and put on *madi* (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their *kattemane* for the occasion, and the *pūja* is performed by a man of the Dēvara group. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbara streets. On its return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then *tīrtha* and *prasāda* are distributed to all.

The Nāgavali takes place on the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worship of *pandal* posts, and the worship of *simhāsana* in the evening. The *Sajjana* Kumbaras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of *tāmbulas*. For example, fourteen *tāmbulas* must be given to the Gauda division, eight *tāmbulas* to each of the Dēvara and Chaudri group, and six *tāmbulas* for the Madanapu group. Tāmbulas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbaras. This night "milk-post" is loosened, and on the next day the bride and the bridegroom with some of their relations go to bride-groom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house. Some of them get a Brāhman to regulate their ceremonies, while others perform them under the direction of their own Gauda. The bride-price varies from twenty-five

rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more, but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled *Savati Bangāra* (co-wife's gold), is usually demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday, and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, during which she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken, and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the period. The girl bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does *Ganga-pūja* (worship of Ganga). If she has been already married, the *osage* (nuptial) ceremony takes place on this day. In the case of unmarried girls, *osage* is not observed now, but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some groups, especially with that of *Sajjana* Kumbāras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. As in other castes of a similar status, the remarried widow labours under such disadvantages as the prohibition to enter the marriage *pandal*. Her offspring form a separate group for at least three generations. The bride-price

is twelve rupees and eight annas. No married woman takes part in the ceremony, and in some places, they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Adultery and Divorce.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled *kudavali* (union).

Birth Ceremonies.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period, she is confined to a room, at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar, to scare away evil spirits. Old rags are received from neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and child are bathed, and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep her warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannada Kumbaras invite a Brāhman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named, and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases, either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Apart from the pollution and other ceremonies, those connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingāyats. On the day of the birth of a child, a Jangama priest is called in. His feet are washed, and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day after the bath, the child is given a Linga which the mother keeps

with her till the child is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mopurappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as *Gidda* (dwarf), *Kariya* (black), *Kempa* (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes thoroughly purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers *puja* to Ganga at a well, and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child generally takes place during the third year, and in the case of Lingāyat Kumbaras, *dīksha* or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingāyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Kumbaras follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no son alive. A brother's son, or a boy belonging to the same clan, is preferred; but if no such boy is available, an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but may not adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as those in other similar castes.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

Kumbaras are a well-organised body, and each section has its own caste government; but it is said, that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these groups join together. During marriages, not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but also those of other divisions are given *maryāda tāmbulas*. Thus, it is said that, when a marriage takes place at the house of a Kumbara of the Lingāyat persuasion, *tāmbulas* are given or sent to the respective headmen of the non-Lingāyat

Kumbara groups. The Lingayat Kumbaras also have their headmen who are called *Yajamans*, who pay annually to the government a certain sum for the clay used in their manufacture. The *yajaman* divides the assessment upon the families that are under his authority, so that each pays its proportion. They must also furnish with pots all persons travelling on public business. The *yajamans* assemble four persons as a council, and with their assistance settle disputes and punish transgressions. No higher punishment than a temporary excommunication is inflicted on the delinquents.

RELIGION.

Kumbaras worship both Siva and Vishnu, as well as the ordinary local deities. Even the Lingāyats among them who worship Śiva reverence Vishṇu also, and sometimes bear Vaishṇava names. Their tribal god is known as Kumbhēsvara (god of pots), to whom the non-Lingāyat Kumbaras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa, who had been an Avadhūta during his life-time. An annual *jātra* is held at this spot, and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, chakra, or the wheel, *kōlu* or the stick with which they turn the wheel and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the *dhāre*.

Mopuri Bhairava is another of their special deities whose images they often keep in their houses for worship.

DEATH CEREMONIES.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbaras are buried. All

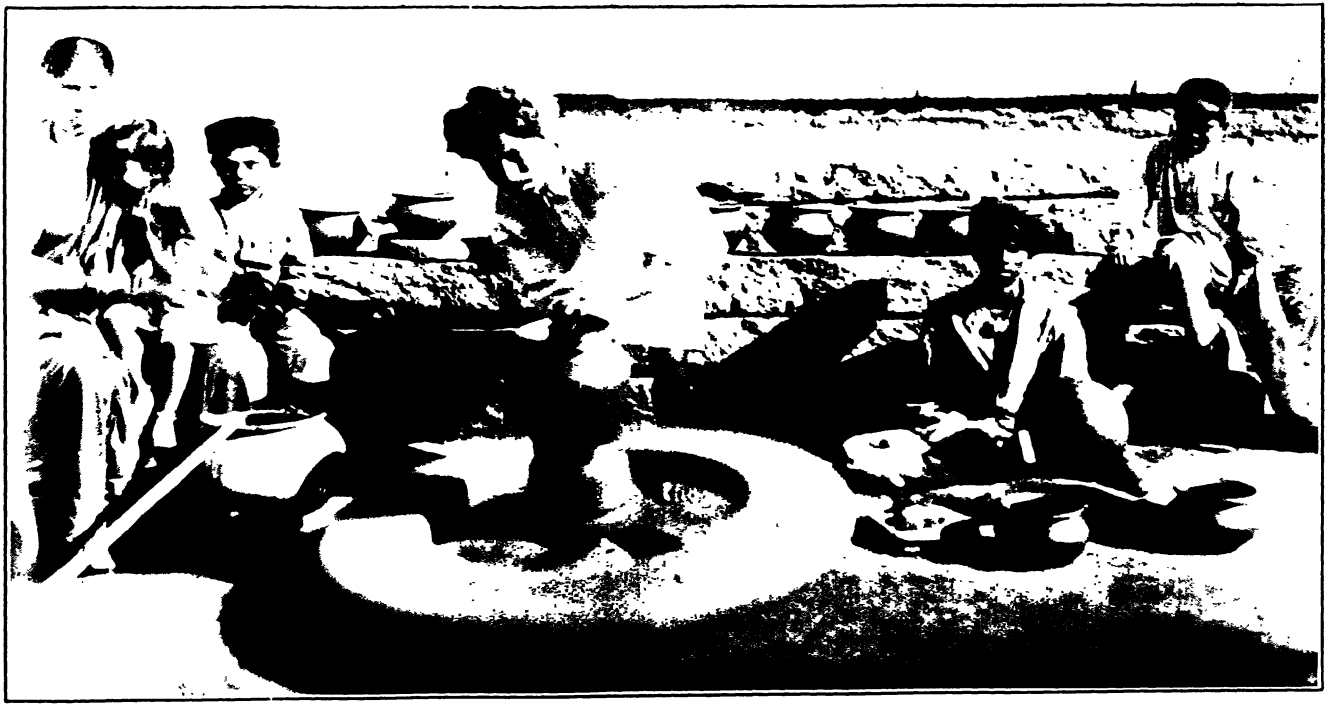
carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingāyats, who carry it in a sitting posture, and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingāyats. Among the *Sajjana* Kumbaras, persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivāra (sacred thread), and invest the dead body also with one. These threads are removed, and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If the deceased leaves a widow behind, she is made to exchange *tāmbula* with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment, all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. The agnates observe pollution for ten days, and the distant relatives for only three days. For the death of a daughter's son, they just bathe to get themselves rid of the pollution. They do not observe *Srādhas*; but on the *Mahālaya* New-moon day, they offer rice-doles and money to Brāhmans, to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Occupation. Kumbaras have generally adhered to their original industry, namely, the making of pots and tiles. Formerly they used to dye clothes,* but that profession has almost completely gone out of use. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary regime, he gets his yearly fees in kind, and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as *pūja* of the village deity, or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbara works with the most rudimentary

* Buchanan: Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Vol. I, page 191.



KUMBARAS AT WORK.

tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden upon, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves, bound together on two cross twigs, and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail), fixed on a pedestal of mud. The operator turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending this back. The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed, and they are all dried in the sun, and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

Social Status.

Kumbaras are regarded as pretty high among the Śūdra classes, and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. The Kannada section of the Kumbaras is said to admit persons of higher castes into their own; but the other groups strictly prohibit such conversion. All sections, however, readmit persons thrown out of their caste; the usual ceremony, such as procuring them *tīrtha* and *prasāda*, or slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas, and Kurubas; and Bestas, Agasas and Bedas eat in their houses. Kumbaras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen *phanas*; and their caste-sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen *phanas*; and they are served by the Chālavādi, the servant of their *phana* group.

Dress and Ornaments.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the *Sajjana* Kumbara section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who

went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time, and that the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbara women get themselves tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles.

CONCLUSION. The Kumbaras, like the Agasas, are an important factor in the village organization. They are conservative by nature. They supply all kinds of earthen vessels to the village folk, and get their customary dues. The potter's wheel is very primitive and his tools are very rudimentary, and their articles are very handsome. They are still rendering useful service to the poorer members who cannot purchase metallic vessels.



A GROUP OF KUNCHITIGAS.

# KUNCHITIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—DEATH CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

KUNCHITIGAS form a sub-division belonging to the group of castes known as Okkaligas. They are not separately tabulated in the previous Census Reports, and hence their number cannot be ascertained. They are largely found in the district of Tumkur and in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. Most of them are agriculturists, except in the two cities, where they have taken to certain important trades and industries. Except in Mysore, they style themselves Kunchitigas, or Kunchati Okkalu. In rural parts, they affix Gauda as an honorific title. Elsewhere the usual suffix is Aṇṇa.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The caste seems to be connected with the Kuruba and the following story is given as regards its origin. The progenitor of the caste is said to have been Unde Yattarāya. Some centuries ago, one of the chiefs of the Okkaliga caste who lived in Northern India fled from his country to escape the importunity of a Mussalman chief who wished to marry his beautiful daughter. On reaching the banks of the Godavari, he was stopped by the flood. But a Kuruba who was tending sheep offered to procure him a dry passage through the bed of the river, on condition of his memory being faithfully preserved. He offered himself as a sacrifice to the river goddess, when a

passage was effected, as that for the Hebrews in the Red Sea. After this miraculous escape, the Okkaliga refugees adopted the name of Kunchitigas, from the Kunchi or the scratching brush which the Kuruba weaver had left behind. Another variation of the same story states, that the person who sacrificed himself and saved the refugees from pursuit beyond the river was one of the two foundlings discovered by a Kuruba servant of Unde Yattarāya, named Biraṇṇa. The latter, who was childless, was tending sheep one day in a jungle where two beautiful boys were lying in a golden cradle and nourished by a serpent and a fairy. On his approaching the spot, the nurses vanished, and the shepherd brought his wife to take up the children. When she proudly pressed them to her body, her youth returned and beauty was added. They brought up the children, and named them Ava and Jāldi. It was Jāldi who sacrificed his head after stipulating that one of the daughters of his master should be married to his corpse. The promise was fulfilled, and by the grace of Pārvati and Iśvara he came again to life. These three characters, Unde Yattarāya, Jāldi, known also as Jāldi Bāpparāya and Ava or Āvinakāmarāya, are apparently ranked among the progenitors of this caste, as we find that on all ceremonial occasions, tāmbulas are set apart in their names. After crossing the Godavari, they first settled in Vijianagar country, and subsequently removed further south to Nandana Hosur in Chitaldrug District, whence they migrated to Sira, which is still considered as the head-quarters of this caste. They have a shrine dedicated to Jaldi Bāpparāya at Bijjehalli in the Sira Taluk, to which many of them resort on pilgrimage.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Kunchitiga formerly had no endogamous groups and formed one homogeneous community. Of

late, some have embraced Lingāyatism, and have become a separate division. It is said that even now Lingāyats marry girls belonging to the non-Lingāyats, by tying a Linga to the girl, and in some places, the two divisions even eat together; but Lingāyat Kunchitigas never give their girls to non-Lingāyats. There is also another group embracing the Srī Vaishṇava faith. The members of this group are found in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts, and abstain from flesh-eating. Their exogamous groups are given in the next page.

In the Malnad, there is a caste styled Mārōru. These are Kunchitigas who migrated into those parts while trading in buffaloes. Even now they come to the maidan parts, buy buffaloes and sell them in the Malnad, where these animals are rather rare. Hence they are styled Māroru, or sellers, but they have their god in the Sira taluk, whither they repair for periodical worship, and have the same exogamous clan as the other Kunchitigas in the maidan.

Exogamous Clans.

The tradition of the caste is that they lived originally near Delhi, which they style Pāndava pura, and were divided into one hundred and one different *kulas*. Forty-eight of these migrated to the south, and we find the forty-eight *kulas* divided into the following sixteen exogamous groups.

*N.B.*—The divisions in each group are regarded as allied (brother divisions).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Arasinoru. | 1. Ālenoru. |
| 2. Jānakalloru. | 2. Eradukereyoru. |
| 3. Undenoru. | 3. Sūrēnoru. |
| 1. Kambaliyoru. | 1. Attenoru. |
| 2. Māyoru. | 2. Hāvinavaru |
| 3. Eleyoru. | 3. Jaldenoru. |
| | 4. Ragenoru. |
| 1. Alpenoru. | 1. Aralenoru. |
| 2. Goniyavaru. | 2. Garikenoru. |
| 3. Settenoru. | 3. Sārangadoru. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Jallenoru. | 1. Alavinavaru. |
| 2. Sastradoru. | 2. Dhanyadavaru. |
| | 3. Karadenoru. |
| 1. Gudiyoru. | 1. Andenoru. |
| 2. Huttadavaru. | 2. Bellenoru. |
| 3. Rāhutanoru. | 3. Jīrigeyoru. |
| 1. Dasalenoru. | 1. Basalenoru. |
| 3. Harenoru. | 2. Emmenoru. |
| 1. Koggenoru. | 3. Eroru. |
| | 4. Huliyāroru. |
| 1. Kāgenoru. | 1. Galiyoru. |
| 2. Monasoru. | 2. Jariyoru. |
| 3. Vanamanoru. | 3. Baduvanoru. |

1. Holekallem.

The Vaishnava Groups.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Janukalluru. | 16. Kodehalliyavaru. |
| 2. Eredukereyavaru. | 17. Huttadavaru. |
| 3. Saralleyavaru. | 18. Manyanavaru. |
| 4. Sogenavaru. | 19. Bellenavaru. |
| 5. Kodleyavaru. | 20. Nimbenavaru. |
| 6. Hallenoru. | 21. Tandadavaru. |
| 7. Kothagereyavaru. | 22. Devaravaru. |
| 8. Manyadavaru. | 23. Jaldenavaru. |
| 9. Huliyaradavaru. | 24. Kallukuntenavaru. |
| 10. Settenavaru. | 25. Sakuvalleru. |
| 11. Karenavaru. | 26. Dhanyadavaru. |
| 12. Jakkelavaru. | 27. Khataradavaru. |
| 13. Hattenavaru. | 28. Hallakattedevaru. |
| 14. Kempenavaru. | 29. Hollakalleru. |
| 15. Kallenavaru. | 30. Kodegereyavaru. |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Infant marriages are becoming more fashionable, though a woman may marry at any age, or remain unmarried all her life. Polygamy is allowed, and commonly practised when the first wife is barren, or suffering from an incurable disease. In the former case, the consent of the first wife is generally taken to marry another. They observe the same prohibited degrees of marriage as in other castes. They avoid not only their own exogamous clan, but also the



A FEMALE GROUP OF KUNCHITIGAS.

allied groups, these being considered as agnate. In some places, there is a rule that when two families contract marriage with a third family, the inter-alliance between the first two prevents their *kulas* (families) from inter-marrying, although they do not belong to the same exogamous clan. The first ceremony in connection with marriage is the *Viḷyāda* Sāstra or *Nischitārtha*, when the match is settled. The boy's party present the girl with a *Sire* and a *Kuppusa* and sometimes a jewel. Dēvara prasta, or the God's feast, takes place four days before the *dhāre* day, when a *kalaśa* is worshipped, with the offering of new clothes, etc., and the boy and the girl are separately smeared with turmeric. On the next day, they do the *Munnīru Sāstra* which is the same as *Malenīru* śāstra among the other castes, but is observed on the *dhāre* day. The peculiarity is that cotton thread is passed round the necks of the vessels (placed at the corners) by young children. On the third day, the ceremony of putting up the *pandal* takes place.

A party of men perform *puja* to the weapons set before a *kalasa*, and then go outside the village to bring the posts required for the *pandal*, which they carry back and deposit in a temple, from which place they carry them in state about midnight. Twelve pillars are set up, the two middle ones, known as milk-posts, being smeared with saffron and decorated with *kankaṇas* tied round them. Ariveṇis are brought and set up in a room. On the next day, the ceremony of *dhāre* takes place. The pair are made to stand on the marriage seat facing each other. Cumin seeds are first placed on their heads. Then the *tali*-tying, pouring of rice, and *Kankaṇa* tying are done in the order mentioned. They then arise, clasping their hands, and, with the fringes of their garments tied, go round the milk-post, and

look at Arundhati and enter the Ariveṇi room to bow before the Ariveṇi. Their *bhāshingas* are there removed, and the couple eat *buvva*. The *simhāsana puja*, which takes place on the evening of the *dhāre* day, is an elaborate affair. About a maund of areca-nuts with betel-leaves is heaped on a *kambli* and a purse containing the *tera* amount is placed on it. After the usual *pūja* by the married couple, *tāmbulas* are distributed in a prescribed order: the first to the gods, the second to the *guru*, and then to Sāle and Mūle. Then five *tāmbulas* are set apart in the names of Unde Yattarāya, Jāldi Bopparāya, Āvinakāmarāya, Dhānyadanakarāya and Viragyatayya. Two others, one to Huliyar Margonda and the other to Malugonda Singri,* are given. Then *tambulas* are given to the representatives of all the divisions separately. The representatives of the Basle division get four additional *tāmbulas*, *viz.*, *Ashta* Kaṭle, *Nādu Nāḷige Vilya*, *Mandu Gudli Viḷya*, and one in the name of Vīra Nāgamma. There are some more *Viḷyas*, which are distributed according to local custom. On the next day, Nāgavalli takes place, when the *pandal* posts are worshipped, after lumps of anthill earth are placed at their feet. Then the pot-searching ceremony, and the untying of the *kankaṇas* take place. After the Nāgavali is over, the couple go to the temple, where agricultural implements and tackle are placed in a heap. The couple sit on the heap, and are then taken back in procession through the streets.

The bride-price is said to have been formerly 101 pagodas in addition to costly presents. Through the intervention of one Malugonda Singri, it was reduced to seven pagodas, with one white *Sire*, three rupees worth of silver bangles, and a *tāli* weighing

* This man is said to have done immense service to the community by having their *tera* amount reduced from 101 *varahas* to 9 *varahas*.

three-fourths of a haṇa. Now the only item that is taken as fixed is the money payment of nine *varahas*, or 27 rupees. A widower has to pay 10 *varahas*. Marriage expenses vary in amount according to the condition of the parties, and there is no attempt made to keep them within limits.

PUBERTY. CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for 5 or 7 days, when she sits by herself in a shed covered with green leaves of Margosa, Ankole (*Alangium lamarchi*) and lakkile (*Vitex negundo*). As the impurity diminishes by degrees, she has to bathe every day till on the sixth or eighth day she is admitted into the house, but is still not allowed to enter the kitchen or god's room. For ten days after bathing, *Osage* is celebrated, when she is decked with jewels and exhibited in the evenings in the company of married women. If the girl has been already married, consummation takes place on the sixteenth day, but if unmarried, the *Osage* ceremony takes place for three days before the date on which the marriage ceremonies commence. But consummation may not take place within three months of the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widows are not generally allowed to remarry, and it is stated that such remarriages fell into desuetude about a century ago. But in some places, *e.g.*, near Kandikere, such a marriage is permitted, but the children of the union form a separate *Sālu*, or line (*Kutike Sālu*), who are admitted to dinners, but have no other relations with the caste members.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Divorce is not common, and may take place only when the wife is guilty of adultery. When such a woman marries another, the couple drift into an inferior line, and the woman returns the *tāli* tied by

her previous husband. Adultery is looked upon with abhorrence, and punished with excommunication. In case of marriage with the paramour, there is a fall in status. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis.

BIRTH CEREMONIES. The usages and ceremonies connected with the birth of children are similar to those of other Okkaliga castes. For naming the child, they invite Brāhman priests, and well-to-do persons closely follow the Brāhmanical ceremonies. In other cases, the paternal aunt gives the name to the child when putting it in a cradle for the first time. The tonsure ceremony for a male child takes place during the third or the fifth year, and for this each family must repair to the shrine of the family god (*Gudi Kattu*).

INHERITANCE The castemen follow the inheritance in the male line.

ADOPTION. A brother's son, and, in his absence, a daughter's son is considered the most eligible for adoption. It is said that this ceremony should also take place at the *Gudi Kattu*.

RELIGION. Mullu Jana worship both Śiva and Vishṇu, but the Vaishṇava group worship Śri (Lakshmi) by preference. The Lingāyat section of the community are of course exclusively Śaivas. Kunchitigas have a number of family gods and goddesses—one to each exogamous group—and they show special reverence to them, and on all important ceremonies, they invoke the aid of their family deity by special *pūja*. They have patron saints of their community, *viz.*, Unde Yattarāya and others, in whose names some of them keep idols at home, and worship them. They worship the sun, deities of diseases, such as cholera, Māramma, plants, namely *Pipul*, *Bilva*, *Tulsi*, and serpents. The

headquarters of their tribal god is at Sira, to which all of them resort on special occasions to offer *pūja*.

Kunchitigas bury their dead. On the death of a person, the corpse is removed from the house and bathed. If they belong to the Dēsabhāga section, *Nāmas* are applied to the corpse, and a Sātāni priest is invited to worship Chakra in the usual fashion. If they are on the other hand Mullu Jana, they apply Vibhūti and Gandha. They carry the dead, some in a *vimāna* (vehicle) in a sitting posture, and others laid flat on the hearse. When the body is carried, trumpets are sounded, guns fired, and parched grain and betel-leaves scattered along the way. When the corpse is buried, the chief mourner goes round the grave three times, with a pot full of water, and, at the end of every turn, a by-stander throws a stone at it, and breaks it. They all bathe in a river, and return to the house where, after seeing a lighted lamp, they settle the ceremonies to be performed. On the third day, ghee and milk are rubbed on the shoulders of the corpse-bearers, and food is offered on the grave, to be eaten by crows. The Dēshabhāga section observe this on the fifth day, when they worship a Chakra, and the food offered on the grave is thrown into water. On the fourth day, they do the *thithi*, when all bathe, to get themselves rid of the pollution, and have their house purified by a Brāhman. They worship a *kalaśa* in the name of the deceased, by offering new clothes and *yedes* of food, and distribute rations and money among Brāhmans and others. They fast till the evening, when they go to the graveyard, offer food on the grave, and return home for dinner, to which all their relations are invited. The Dēshabhāga section perform *pūja* to the *chakra* placed on the grave, and offer to it food and liquor. The Sātani priest, who conducts the

DEATH CEREMONIES.

ceremony, is given presents, which, however, have to be more costly, if he condescends to eat food there. In this case, food consisting of flesh and liquor is served on a plantain leaf on the grave near the *chakra*, and the relatives of the deceased sit round the grave, and all eat food and drink. They do not perform Śrāddha, but on Mahālaya day, they offer *yedes* to a *kalaśa*, and present raw rations and money to Brāhmans.

OCCUPATION. The chief occupation of the Kunchitigas is agriculture. A large portion of them hold lands directly while some are tenants, who eke out their living also by working for wages. They are very successful as carpenters in places like Bangalore, while an appreciable number earn money as contractors and money-lenders. A good proportion of them are educated, and occupy a respectable place in society.

SOCIAL STATUS. Kunchitigas occupy the same social position as the other Okkaligas, *e.g.*, Gangadikārs, and labour under no special disabilities. Brāhmans freely officiate at their ceremonies. They do not admit outsiders into their caste.

CONCLUSION. The Kunchitigas are a tribe of Śūdras of Karṇāṭaka descent. They formed part of the native militia in ancient times. Their hereditary chiefs are called gaudas whether they are headmen of villages or not. Women were once buried with the dead bodies of their husbands. Agriculture is their chief occupation. Some are merchants, while others are skilful in carpentry.



KAMBLI KURUBA WOMEN

# KURUBA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—LANGUAGE—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—HABITATION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—BIRTH CEREMONIES—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—DEDICATION OF GIRLS AS BASAVIS—INHERITANCE—ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DRESS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Kurubas are a caste of shepherds. They are found all over the State in varying numbers, the largest number being in the Mysore District. The usual name of the caste is *Kuruba*, but some of them call themselves *Prathama Śūdras* and *Indra Śūdras*. The caste is sometimes known by the name of *Kanakajātiyavaru*, and it is said that Kanakadas, the famous devotee of Vishṇu, was a man of this community. *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 Bire Gauda, Batyappa Heggade. The word Kuruba means keeper of *kuri*, or sheep. The Kurubas tend sheep, and shear the wool and weave coarse blankets or kamblis out of it.

The appellation *Prathama Śūdra*, or 'first Sūdra,' 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 Śūdras.

*Indra Śūdra* 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 with a

view 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 title Heggade is, as a rule, added to the name of the *pujāri*, or priest, who is a man of the same caste, and who is entrusted with the worship of their tribal god Bire Dévaru. The priest, in some places, wears a linga suspended to his neck in the fashion of a Lingāyet, and abstains strictly from flesh and liquor.

The following story is mentioned regarding the profession of tending sheep. When Padmākhya, who is said to be their progenitor, dug up an ant-hill when clearing a field for cultivation, six kinds of sheep came 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 so come out, he prayed to the god Siva, who sent Bire Dévaru (the tutelary deity of the caste), to help him.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

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 dull 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 Oakkaliga caste (Heggade), had a good-for-nothing son called Padma (the Padmākhya above named) nicknamed Undadabhatta (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 Palāśa 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 Bïre Dévaru (Viresa) 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 the Kādu-Kurubas (jungle-Kurubas) are the issue of this man by his Rākshasi wife, a daughter of Hidimbi, and that by Sumalini, daughter of Sunanda, the other section, Ūru 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 Kāvya*, *Rudra Bhārata*, and a *Chappagodu* in the possession of a man in Channapatna.

"The popular tradition as to the origin of the caste is as follows. Originaliy the Kurubas were Kāpus. Their ancestors were Masi Reddi and Nilamma, who lived on the eastern ghats by selling firewood, and had six sons. Taking pity on their poverty, Śiva came begging to their house in the disguise of a Jangam, and gave Nilamma some sacred ashes, while promising prosperity through the birth of another son, who was called Undala Padmaṇṇa. The family became prosperous through agriculture. But, unlike his six brothers, Undala Padmaṇṇa never went out to work in the fields. They accordingly contrived to get rid of him by asking him to set fire to some brushwood concealing a white-ant hill, in the hope that the snake within it would kill him. But, instead of a snake, an innumerable host of sheep appeared. Frightened at the sight of these strange black beasts, Undala Padmaṇṇa took to his heels. But Śiva appeared, and told him that they were created for his livelihood, and that he should rear them, and live by their milk. He taught him how to milk the sheep and boil the milk, and then sent him to a distant town which was occupied by Rākshasas, (demons) to fetch fire. There the giants were keeping in bondage a Brahman girl, who fell in love with Undala Padmaṇṇa. They managed to escape from the clutches of the Rākshasas by arranging their beds over deep pits, which were dug for their destruction. To save her lover, the girl transformed him into a lizard. She then went

with him to the place where his flock was, and Undala Padmaṇṇa married a girl of his own caste, and had male offspring by her as well as the Brāhman. At the marriage of these sons, a thread *kankaṇam* (bracelet) was tied to the wrist of the caste woman's offspring, and a woollen *kankaṇam* to that of the Brahman girl's sons. The sons of the former were, therefore, called Atti (cotton) Kankanadavaru. The latter are considered inferior, as they are of hybrid origin. A third sub-division is that of the *Ande* Kurubas, named after the small vessel (*ande*) used in milking goats. In a note on the Kurubas of Ālur, Thikka, meaning a simpleton, is given as the name of an important division. It is noted in the Mysore Census Report 1901, that the Kurubas have not taken kindly to education, and are by nature so simple that Kuruba has, in some places, become a byword for a simpleton. The Kurubas are also known as Hālu Mata, or milk caste, as they believe that they were created out of milk by Revaṇa Siddeswara. In Hindustani, they are called Dhangars, or rich people. Some, in spite of their poor dress and appearance, are well-to-do. At the Madras census, 1901, Kavadiga, Kumpani and Rayarvamsam (Raja's clan) were returned by some members of the community. In Mysore, the Kurubas are said* to be divided into Hande Kurubas and Kurubas proper, who have no intercourse with one another. The latter worship Bire Dévaru, and are Saivas. According to another account, the Halu Kurubas of Mysore have sub-divisions, according to the day of the week on which they offer *puja* to their god, *e.g.*, Āditya Varada (Sunday), Brihaspati Varada (Thursday), Soma Varada (Monday).† 5 8 0 2

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 into the hills and in the Nilgiris and the Vynad, 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."

* † Mysore Census Report, 1901.

The assumption that the Kurubas who are found in towns and villages are of the same stock as the uncivilized jungle tribes of Kādu-Kurubas, is, notwithstanding the traditionary story, highly doubtful. In customs, beliefs and other vital matters, the two communities 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. Quite possibly the so-called Kādu-Kurubas are locally surviving representatives in Southern India of the primitive aborigines.

LANGUAGE.

The language of the Kurubas is Kannada, but some who are living in the taluks bordering on the Telugu districts, (Mulbagal Taluk for instance) have adopted Telugu as their mother tongue.

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.

At the last Census, the Kurubas numbered 401,222, 202,603 being males, and 198,619 being females. Distribution of population according to districts is given below :—*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bangalore District | .. | .. | 39,273 |
| Kolar do | .. | .. | 38,415 |
| Tumkur do | .. | .. | 46,024 |
| Mysore do | .. | .. | 132,012 |
| Chitaldrug do | .. | .. | 37,141 |
| Hassan do | .. | .. | 45,523 |
| Kadur do | .. | .. | 27,275 |
| Shimoga do | .. | .. | 25,405 |

In the cities of Bangalore and Mysore as also in the Kolar gold fields, they number 2,833, 2,766, 1,961 respectively.

* Mysore Census Report 1921.

Kurubas are a settled people, and are found in all parts of the State, and have no recognised head-quarters.

HABITATION. The streets in which the Kurubas live are called the Kurubar pettay. Their houses consist of mud or brick walls with tiled roofs, with a verandah in front, where they do all preliminary preparations for weaving woollen blankets. They consist of kitchen in a corner, and a room or two according to their means. 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 possess many sheep and goats have separate pens for them, called in Kannada *roppa*, either near their dwelling houses or, 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. Their articles of furniture are few, and the domestic utensils consist of some brass, copper and earthen vessels. The houses are mostly ill-ventilated.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE. *Endogamous Groups.*—There are three main endogamous groups in the caste. They are given below :—

1. Hālu Kurubas.
2. Ande Kurubas.
3. Jādi or Kambli Kurubas.

There are a few other names of divisions given as Hosa (the new), Hale (the old), Sāda, Kunchi and Mullu. But there is reason to believe that these names are merely local terms denoting one or other of the three divisions, Hālu, Ande, and Kambli. Thus "Hosa" seems to apply to the "Hālu," and "Hāle" to the "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 "Dāsa" division, who are notoriously addicted to drinking.

In some places, *e.g.*, Channapatna and thereabouts, the Hālu 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 (Monday Kurubas.)
2. Brihaspativaradavaru (Thursday Kurubas)
3. Adityavaradavaru (Sunday Kurubas.)

The Hālu Kurubas form by far the largest and most important division. They are also called Hosa (new) and Sāda (pure) Kurubas, and sometimes Mullu Jana, meaning that they abstain from liquor. The prefix Hālu 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 Śiva during his marriage with Pārvati. Ande Kurubas are so called because they used to strain the milk of their sheep into a bamboo cylinder, styled *ande*. This practice has now died out. Kambli Kurubas weave *kamblis* (coarse blankets), and their women wear aprons of *kamblis*.

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

The above mentioned three groups are in some places named *Hatti Kankaṇadavaru*, *Unne Kankaṇadavaru*, and *Ande Kuruba*. The first class use cotton thread as kankaṇa 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 *sālus* recognised in some places as running through each division according to descent by regular marriage, informal marriage, or through unmarried women.

The first two divisions are in some places styled *Doddavvana Makkalu* or children of a senior mother, and *Chikkavvana Makkalu* or children of a junior mother, respectively.

*Exogamous clans.*—The caste contains a large number of exogamous clans, and hardly anybody can give the names of all of them. It is said that Revaṇṇa, the original ancestor of this caste, divided it into as many divisions as there are grains in four seers 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 from what is styled totemism when dealing with primitive tribes.*

A list of the exogamous clans obtained in the course of my investigations is given in the appendix and they are known by the vernacular name of *kula*. Sometimes, like the Brāhmans, they speak of a *Havyaka* Gotra and a *Renuka* Sūtra. 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 hypergamous groups, but of the exogamous clans referred to *supra*, that of Samanti (*Chrysanthemum Indicus*) is considered superior to others, and the *Gurus* or the *Pujaris* of

* *Vide* Appendix.

the caste are drawn from this clan. They do not eat flesh or drink liquor, and wear a *linga* round their necks. It is asserted by them that the practice of wearing the *linga* has come down to them from time immemorial and might have served as an example for the Lingāyats to copy their practice from. This pretension is clearly untenable, and there is no doubt that their custom is the copy of what they have borrowed from the Lingāyats. 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 Lingāyats both revere as saints, the same persons such as Revaṇṇa, and Ekorāma, and look up for guidance to the same Maṭhas such as Ujjani and Kollipaki.

The people of the Sāmanthi division do not eat with others. In the matter of their marriages, they can take girls only from the Āne (Elephant) and Gali (wind or spirit) divisions. Infant girls, it is said, are taken as soon as they are weaned, and are brought up in the Sāmanthi 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 Sāmanthi group may be married only into Āne and Gali divisions, while the latter have conjugal relations with any other *kula* or clan.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages are generally adult, but infant marriages are also common. Girls continue marriageable till they are well on in years, and marriage for a woman is not compulsory.

Marriage in one's own *kula* is prohibited, the affinity to the clan being traced through males. Members of the same exogamous clan are looked upon as brothers and sisters, and they 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 patricularly recommended. He may marry in the group to which his mother or father's mother belongs. Very often the group 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, the mother's group generally happens to be the same as his own, when it must, of course, be avoided. The elder sister's daughter may be taken in marriage, but, in some places, as Kolar, 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 other of the couples will not prosper.

The proposal for marriage comes from the bridegroom's party and the first ceremony in connection therewith is the *Viliyada* Sāstra or 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 cocoanuts, betel leaves and arecanuts, turmeric, *Kunkuma*, 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. When the castemen assemble in the house of the girl's father, 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 arecanuts 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 document announcing the marriage, is drawn up. Afterwards, inside the house, married women seat the girl on a *maṇe* (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 for 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 named *Devarūta* or God's feast and is set apart for the worship of the ancestors. The bride and the bridegroom celebrate this separately in their houses. They bathe and 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

* Tāmbula is the Sanskrit equivalent of *Pan-supari* (Hindi). 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 Brāhmans or others of priestly personation are also given some money, a copper or a silver coin according to the means of the donor. This is called *dakshine* (gift).

Before *tāmbula*, 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 *kumkuma* (red powder to apply to the forehead as a round or oval spot.)

There is generally some order of precedence observed in distributing *tāmbula* 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, and a cocoanut, 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.

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 at night.

The second day is called *Modalarasiṇa* 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.*

The third day is for consecrating the Chappara 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* (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*), one of *Muttaga* or bastard teak, and one of *Nerale* (*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 cocoanut, incense and other ingredients of worship, does *pūja* to the tree, and cuts off a branch, which he brings and places at the temple along with *pan-supari*. He gets some fee for

* (*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* is applied to her forehead, sandal solution over her neck, and flower garlands placed in her hair. Plantains and other fruits, some rice, a piece of jaggery and a *Ravike* (a piece of new cloth to be stitched into a vest coat) are all placed in the upper end of her *Sire* (long wearing garment) which she rolls and holds together with one hand. When a *Sire* 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.

this labour, also *pan-supari*. A procession headed by a *kalaśa* carried by a married woman with band goes to the temple under a canopy of cloth, called *chale*, *pūja* 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 red coloured stripes. To the post is also tied a *kankaṇa* thread and a small bundle containing nine kinds of grain. 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 jaggery water to drink, and *pan-supari* is distributed. The bride is besmeared with turmeric, and all return to the village, the bride and her party being conducted to 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. A set of twelve pots of different sizes are selected. The potter who has kept them ready is presented with one *hana*, 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 Bīre Dēvaru, a male deity, and is carried by a man. *Pūja* 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 named *Pūrna Kumbha* (full-pot), which is also worshipped.

The next is the day of *dhāre*. Early in the morning, 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 in 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 bridegroom'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, to the West.

The castemen 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 *pūjari* to officiate at marriages and do not generally invite Brāhmans as priests except when their casteman, called Rēvaṇṇayya, is not available. The priest spreads a blanket near the milk-post and the consecrated vessel on the dais and placing the *tāli** on a small quantity of rice spread on the blanket with four lumps of *vibhūti* (sacred ashes) at the four corners, burns frankincense before it, and makes an offering of a broken cocoanut. Afterwards the *tāli* 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 :—

| | |
|---|---|
| ಗಿರಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಗಿರಿರಾಮ | ಭಾಗ್ಯವಂತಮಗಳೇ |
| ಸರಿಗೇ ದೀಪಕ್ಕ | ಬನವಂಣಬಂದ |
| ಮಗಳು ಬರುತಾಳೆಂದೂ | ತೆಗಿನಿನ್ನ ಮುಸಕು |
| ಕೆಂಚಿಕಾಳಂಗಿ | ನೋಬತ್ತು ನೋಬಾನೆ |
| ಕುಡಿನೀರಗಿಂಡಿ | ನೋಬತ್ತು ನೋಬಾನೆ. |
| ಪುಣ್ಯವಂತಮಗಳೇ | |

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

| | |
|---|---|
| ಕಲ್ಲುಕರ್ಲಾಗಿ | ಗುರು ರೇವಣ್ಣ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ |
| ಕರೆಚ್ಚೆನಾಗಿ | ಶಾನೆ ಸ್ಥಿರವಾಗಿರಲಿ. |
| ಭೀಮಣ್ಣನಾಗಿ | |

The assembly then greet the pair with showers of coloured rice.

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* The *tāli* 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 black glass beads are also strung on each side of the *tāli*. A married woman as long as her husband is alive, should always wear this necklace with the *tāli* with as much scrupulousness as a Brāhman should wear his sacred thread.

The bridegroom stands facing the bride, with his palms held together and placed over those of the bride, which are open. A cocoanut coloured with saffron and a four-anna piece are placed in the bridegroom's 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 emphasizing the character of the marriage as *kanyadāna* (or gift of the girl), though the tying of the *tāli* makes the marriage binding. It is accompanied by the following invocation :—

ಮಹಾಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ, ಗೌರಿ, ಸಾರ್ವತಿ, ಸರಸ್ವತಿ, ಸಾಂತಮುತ್ತಯ್ಯನವರು ನಮ್ಮ ಗುರುರೇವಣ್ಣಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಪಟ್ಟ ಸ್ಥಿರಜೀವಿಯಾಗಲಿ.

Through the blessings of Mahālakshmi, Gauri, Pārvati' Saraswati, and Sānta Muttayya, may the marriage union effected by the priest Revanna prove prosperous and eternal.

The priest, in some places, and the Gauda in others, begin this ceremony, and they 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. *Kankaṇa* 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 to be tied up. The couple now rise, and going round the milk-posts three times, enter god's room to make *namaskāra*. The young damsels in the family bar their passage at the door and enjoy considerable fun at the expense of the bridal pair, 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-supari*, and later on, there is a general dinner.

The *Nāgabali* (corrupted into *Nāgavali*, *i.e.*, Sacrifice to snakes) 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 *Pūja* 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 Bangāra* or the gold of the ant-hill. A small branch of the *Nerale* (*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 receives 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 gives 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. *Pūja* is made to all these posts, cocoanuts are broken as offering, and lighted camphor is waved before them. The milk-post is then worshipped, and the couple sitting down near it remove each other's *kankaṇa* 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 twelve rupees but a widower has to pay Rs. 21, and in some places, *e.g.*,

Bagepalli, a man who takes a second wife, whether his first wife be living or not, has to pay Rs. 12+6½ or 18½, the additional amount being designated *Sowti Honnu* or co-wife's money. The *tera* amount paid to a widow is only four rupees and a half. The binding and essential portion of the ceremony is the tying of the *tāli* thread.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, a shed is erected of the green leaves of *Margosa* and *Lakki* 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*, an old shoe, and a twig of *Ekka* (*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. 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 these days, the girl will not be allowed to sleep, lest some evil spirit might enter her body.

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 on 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 dress and a bodice cloth by her father. On leaving her parents for good, the girl is treated to a feast, 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.

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

For the first delivery, the pregnant woman is generally taken to her parents' house. During 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 seventh, nineth or the eleventh day. During these 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 affixed to the door frame to prevent evil spirits from entering the confinement room. The confined woman is given some medicines for the improvement of her health, 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. | Biramma. |
| Kanakappa. | Junjamma. |
| Junjappa. | Doddamma. |
| Doddayya. | Kalasamma. |
| Kalasa. | Kenchamma. |
| Kencha. | Idekka. |
| Ujjanappa. | Ujjanamma. |

Sometimes names given are those of towns or villages, *e.g.*, Maddagiriga, Mailariga 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, Aṇṇayya, Puttu, Magu, Mari, Kusu, Thamma, Thangi, Tāyi (mother), Sami.

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 meaning a manure heap ; Tiruka, a beggar ; Gunda, a round stone ; Javaraya, *i.e.*, Yamrāja, god of death ; Kādu, a jungle ; Kalla, a stone ; and Paresiga, cast out.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is permitted, but the form differs considerably from that of regular marriage. The

would-be couple obtain the permission of the Gauda, 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 *tāli* 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 four rupees and a half 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 three *hanas* to the *guru* who, in return, presents *vibhūti* (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, 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 children 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* (concubinage), *sirudike* (giving a garment to wear), or *tāli*-tying.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

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 different caste, generally lower, the following

punishment is prescribed, namely, compelling her to live in *Mādiga* quarters, and throwing cattle horn and bones and *Margosa* leaves into her house. Unfortunately, they say, times have deteriorated, and this punishment is not now resorted to.

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 *tāli* tied by him on the marriage occasion. It is said that after divorce, the husband and wife cannot remarry even if they wish to do so.

DEDICATION OF GIRLS AS BASAVIS.

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

The manner of dedication is very like that of real marriage. A day is selected and the girl, like a bride, is led in procession, under a cloth canopy, to the temple, a *kalasa* and fruits (five cocoanuts, five dates, etc.), and rice and betel leaves being carried by a married woman. After prostrations to the god and the *pujāri*, the girl is seated on a *kambli*, facing the East. The permission of the *guru* of the caste is obtained, and then 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 attached to it to distinguish it from a regular marriage *kankaṇa*. Afterwards the assembly throw yellow rice over her by way of blessing

or congratulation, and silver bangles and toe-ring are put on. The ceremony is generally followed by feasting. A Basavi remains in her parent's house, and may consort with any one of the caste (not within the prohibited degrees of relationship), or of a higher caste. She is considered entitled to inherit her father's property as a son.

INHERITANCE

They do not admit outsiders into their caste. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance; Daughters inherit when there are no 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 if she is a widow. A daughter without any brothers will, of course, succeed to her father's property.

If questions affecting inheritance, etc., are not of a complicated nature, they are enquired into and settled by the village *panchāyat*, including the *patel* (village headman) and *shānbhog* (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.

ADOPTION.

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 default of him, the son of a daughter or of a sister may be taken. But in no circumstances may a brother be adopted. When an infant is adopted, the name-giving ceremony is performed in the adoptive family. It consists in calling together the caste-men, including the Gauda, Kolkar, etc., and after they have been treated to a good dinner, announcing

the fact of 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.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

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 Nādu* Gauda has jurisdiction over several Gaudas. The Gauda is in some places called *Buddhivanta*† or wise man, and he has under him a man called *Hattāramanushya* or Kolkar, the beadle, whose duty it is to collect the castemen within his jurisdiction whenever necessary. Each group or division has its own temple, at which officiates a man of the same caste, called *pūjāri* 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 Sāmanthi sept, and marry only in *Āne* and *Gali* sub-divisions.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

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

* Nādu means a Country or Province.

† 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.

They have great faith in soothsaying and sorcery on occasions of illness or when any important concern is afoot. Women of Korachar caste are the professors of this art of reading the unseen by means of what they call *kaṇi*. 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 and breaks a cocoanut, if her client has brought one. She repeats some verses in praise of Nārayaṇa, often and often singing salutations to Nārayaṇa. 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 small sum 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 without any cause 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, in choosing propitious seasons, he selects those that are usually avoided with particular care, 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 auspicious The work is taken up gnerally 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 (Hanuman) or of some Rākshasa 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 cocoanut and offers *pūja* to his figures, and utters his incantations, which either are mere meaningless sounds or threats or abuse directed to the spirit in possession loudly, and with as much peremptoriness as he can command. To enhance the noise and confusion, somebody vigorously beats a metal disk, and the audience add their loud vituperation.

The patient is generally neurotic when, as in rare cases, she is not feigning in order to attract some better consideration to herself from her husband's relations and all this din and noise act on her nerves, to 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. 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 pipul 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 as she 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.

RELIGION. Kurubas are Saivas in religion, but worship all the Hindu gods. Their tribal deity is Bīra, from Vīra, one of the names of Śiva. Some of the other deities worshipped by this caste are *Mailara*, *Batyappa* (the wick of a lamp), *Irachikkappa*, *Kallu Kambhadappa* (stone pillar), *Budalappa*, *Settipalleppa* and *Karakurappa*. Their feminine gods are *Yellamma* and

*Lakshmidēvi*. It is likely that many of these are names of persons born in the caste, who are 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 *Rākshasa*, called Mallāsura who was harassing gods and men alike. After killing the *Rākshasa*, this Kuruba settled himself in Mailara in the Bellary District and was, after death, regarded as having partaken of the essence of god Śiva. An annual festival is still held at the place, in honour of this person, and the officiating *pujāri* is of the Kuruba caste.

Lakshmidēvi is the name given to Vishṇu's consort, but it seems likewise to have been that of a good woman of the caste, who was called Lakkavva 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 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 (*Parashe*). *Goravas** form an important feature of these gatherings. They correspond to the Dāsaris of Vaishṇava sects, and are initiated into the brotherhood by taking vows at the shrine of Mailari Dēvaru in the Ballary District. Their dress is a coat of black *kambli*, profusely decked

* Goravayyas are considered to be the dogs of Mailara 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, 1904, page 245).

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 *pujāri* 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, 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 (Hāle or old Kurubas of these parts), on these occasions, break cocoanuts upon the heads of those among their number who have 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 people have taken no meat and for three days the *pujari* has lived on milk alone. At the feast, therefore, all indulge rather in 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 Iragāraru. 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.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Kurubas bury the dead. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed and dressed in a new cloth. Information is generally sent to the Gauda, if he is near, and the Kolkar or beadle also comes and assembles the castemen. If the deceased is a *Pujāri* or *Vaderu* (who wears a *linga*), the burial is observed in the fashion of Lingāyats. 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 *vimāna*. 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 *kambli* (a black coarse blanket) and is carried in hands by two persons. Before the body is removed from the house, the surviving wife or husband, as the case may be, exchanges *pan-supāri* 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 *pujāri*, 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 *vibhūti* (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 the pot down behind him, and goes to bathe in a river or well, without turning back. Money and doles of grain 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 have 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 by taking care of the deceased person's orphan children, and so forth; but should the crows still persist in their refusal, the food is thrown into the water.

No further ceremony is observed till the eleventh 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 Vadēru, according to family usage; and grain and money are distributed to some Brāhmans, Lingāyats 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 *srāddhas* on the anniversary days of death; but they worship their ancestors generally on the Mahālaya new-moon day and on the new year's day. A place is cleansed and purified in the middle of the house, and a *kalaśa* installed, to which they make *pūja*. They also give money and doles of rice to some Brāhmans and Jangamas on the new-moon day, and offer new clothes and wear them on the new year's day.

Occupation.

The original occupation of tending sheep and weaving *kamblis* 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.

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 eighth day of Dasara.

Wool is the third most important textile raw material product of the State. It is collected by shearing from the body of sheep and also from the backs, legs and face. Sheep are maintained for these purposes all over the State, except in the forest tracts of the districts of Shimoga, Kadur and Hassan. The wool clipped from sheep grazing on soft and fertile lands is reported to be softer, longer in staple and greater in quantity than that from those grazing on rocky and sterile tracts. North-western parts of Harihar sub-taluk produce the best kind of wool in the Mysore State. The chief areas of production of wool are the whole of the Chitaldrug district and parts of the taluks of Pavagada, Sira and Chickanayakanhalli in the Tumkur district, as also Hole-Narasipur and Arsikere in the Hassan district. Wool is clipped twice a year, once in the cold season known as *Mage oṇṇe*, and the other before the rainy season, known as *kare oṇṇe*.

The wool is first cleared of its knots by hand and its impurities by a bowstring, after which process the fibres are made fit for spinning. Every weaver in wool requires the help of three women on an average to spin the yarn, and to do the preparatory processes, and the rate of weaving decreases with the fineness and quality of fabrics woven and almost at the rate of spinning. The size of the woollen fabrics woven in the State varies with the quality from 6×3 or two square yards in the case of cheaper variety required for the consumption of the poor people in the forest tracts to finer ones 10×3 or 4 cubits. Very fine varieties are made at Kolar, Chitaldrug, Davengere, and Hampanur. These



KAMBLI KURUBAS AT WORK (MAKING KAMBLIS OR BLANKETS).

blankets vary in dimensions from 8×3, or 12×4½ or 6×7 feet. They fetch Rs 6 to 12 on an average and Rs. 30 and even more in the case of finer ones. Unfortunately they cannot compete with the machine made fabrics. The weavers are poor and are always under the clutches of the money lending class. They stick to their work because of their conservative nature, and reluctance to turn to other occupations. Neverthless some have agricultural work also to supplement their income.

There are both land-owners and tenants; 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 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 implements concerned, by burning frankincense and breaking a cocoanut 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 Ganēśa, 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 Mādiga of the village.

During Hasta rain, when the crop is standing, a ceremony called "*Haste Male Pongalu*" 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.

SOCIAL STATUS.

In social position, Kurubas occupy the same status as the Oakkaligas or the cultivating caste of the Province. In fact, the tradition of their origin, as noted above, reveals their identity, the later divergence being due to their occupation. Oakkaligas and Kurubas dine with one another. Bodily contact with them is not considered impure even by Brahmans except in *madi*.* They labour under no disability as regards 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.

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

DRESS, ETC.

In dress, Kurubas resemble the other castes, except that their women in some places wear *kambli* as their

* 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*, and any contact with a person or a thing not in this clean state spoils it, and necessitates changing of clothes, and sometimes bathing.

There are good and bad conductors of uncleanness (mailige). The common earth is a bad conductor; so is air and sun, and large bodies of water. Movable things as a general rule communicate *mailige*, 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 may be guessed, the elder members of a family, especially the old widowed ladies, are their special guardians.

main garment and no bodice. They have no national games, nor do they get up for themselves any theatrical entertainments. The women have themselves tattooed, the figures representing a variety of designs. They are generally dark coloured, broad-nosed and hardy. The Ūru Kurubas dress like other Śūdras.

CONCLUSION.

As has been said, the Kurubas are the modern representatives of the ancient Pallavas, who were at one time very powerful in Southern India. After their final overthrow, they were scattered over many of the districts on the plains and the forest tracts of Malabar, Nilgiris, Coimbatore and Mysore. They are found at present in various grades of culture. Those that live on the plains have imbibed the manners and customs of the Śūdras in whose midst they live, while those that inhabit the hills are still in their primitive state.

## APPENDIX.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Adu Kula .. | Goat. The people of this divison abstain from killing or eating female goat. |
| 2. | Alige .. | A drum. |
| 3. | Andara .. | A cage. |
| 4. | Ane .. | Elephant. It is said 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 .. | The kitchen herb *Celosia albida*. They abstain from eating this herb. |
| 6. | Ari or Are | A kind of tree, *Bauhinia racemosa*. |

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

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | Arasina .. .. | Saffron. This is an interesting division. Its members 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 .. .. | A king (?) They do not cut the banyan tree. |
| 9. | Atti .. .. | Indian fig. They do not cut this tree nor eat its fruit. |
| 10. | Bandi .. .. | 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 .. .. | *Ficus infectoria*. They neither cut this tree nor use it for fuel. |
| 12. | Bela .. .. | Wood-apple tree. They do not cut or use this tree for fuel. |
| 13. | Belli .. .. | Silver. They do not use silver toe-rings. |
| 14. | Balegara .. | 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. |
| 15. | Basara .. .. | (?) |
| 16. | Beneche .. | Flint stone. |
| 17. | Bevu .. .. | 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 .. | A reel of thread. |
| 19. | Bira .. .. | They do not throw *Birakki* during marriages. |
| 20. | Bana .. .. | An arrow. |
| 21. | Benne .. .. | Butter. They do not use butter. |
| 22. | Banni .. .. | A prickly tree (*Prospois specigera*) which they neither cut nor use as a shade. |
| 23. | Avare .. .. | A species of pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*). |
| 24. | Bole .. .. | An arrow. |
| 25. | Budali .. .. | Ashes (?) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 26. | Bugadi .. | .. An ear ornament for women. |
| 27. | Chelu .. | .. A scorpion. |
| 28. | Chitlu .. | .. A kind of forest tree. |
| 29. | Chilla .. | .. A clearing-nut tree (*Stryelmos myrtifolium*). |
| 30. | Chandana | .. A sandalwood tree (*Serium myrtifolium*). |
| 31. | Chandu .. | .. The moon. |
| 32. | Churi .. | .. A knife. |
| 33. | Chatta .. | .. A bier. Dead bodies in this division are not carried on biers but by hand, rolled in *kamblis*. |
| 34. | Devadaru | .. A species of pine (*Pinus deodara*). |
| 35. | Dande .. | .. A garland. |
| 36. | Dani .. | .. A rope. |
| 37. | Dasari .. | .. A kind of silk. |
| 38. | Emme .. | .. A she-buffalo. |
| 39. | Gali .. | .. Wind or devil. |
| 40. | Gauda .. | .. The caste-headman. He does not pay contribution for the celebration of the festivities of the tribal god. |
| 41. | Garike .. | .. A species of grass (*Agrostis linearis.*) |
| 42. | Gobbara | .. Manure. |
| 43. | Garani .. | .. (?) |
| 44. | Gudi .. | .. A temple. |
| 45. | Gulimi .. | .. A pickaxe. |
| 46. | Hale or Arali | .. A peepul tree. |
| 47. | Halu .. | .. Milk. |
| 48. | Havu .. | .. A snake. |
| 49. | Honnu .. | .. Gold. Women of this division do not wear gold jewels. |
| 50. | Hunase .. | .. A tamarind tree. |
| 51. | Hurali .. | .. Horse gram. They abstain from jungle pepper, but regard gram as a necessary article of food. |
| 52. | Irulu .. | .. Night. |
| 53. | Iruvu .. | .. An ant. |
| 54. | Jelakuppa | .. A kind of fish. |
| 55. | Janni .. | .. A kind of fragrant plant. |
| 56. | Jirige .. | .. Cummin seed. |
| 57. | Jivala .. | .. An insect. |
| 58. | Jilladi or ekka | .. Ekka plant. |
| 59. | Kadale .. | .. Bengal gram. |
| 60. | Ketchalu | .. The udder. |

61. Kanchu .. .. Bell-metal
62. Kaggallu .. Hard stone.
63. Kadaga .. .. A bracelet.
64. Kavada .. .. A coloured border of a cloth.
65. Kongandi .. (?)
66. Koppu .. .. A knot or hair-screw stuck in a knot of hair.
67. Kota .. .. Name of a bird.
68. Kolli .. .. A fire-brand.
69. Kumbala .. A pumpkin.
70. Mallige .. .. Jasmine.
71. Majjige .. .. Butter-milk.
72. Majjana .. Bathing. The god of this division is always washed in rivers.
73. Masalu .. .. Impure. They do not eat a she-goat
74. Marasala .. (?)
75. Mada .. .. Pride or passion (?)
76. Menasu .. .. Pepper. They do not cut pepper creeper nor cultivate it.
77. Minchu .. .. A toe-ring.
78. Mise .. .. Moustache.
79. Mola .. .. A rabbit or hare.
80. Mota .. .. A stump of a tree.
81. Muru hindina .. Of three herds (?)
82. Muttu .. .. Pearl.
83. Nagare .. .. A kind of tree. They do not sit under its shadow much less cut or burn it.
84. Nali .. .. A bamboo tube.
85. Navilu .. .. A peacock.
86. Nayi .. .. A dog.
87. Naggalu .. Moringa plant (*Moringa ptengosperma*).
88. Nelli .. .. A tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*).
89. Onike .. .. A pestle. They do not touch a pestle, but use a wooden hammer instead.
90. Otha or Hotha .. A he-goat.
91. Puttara .. .. (?)
92. Ponniru .. .. (?)
93. Sagara .. .. An ocean.
94. Same—
Chikka .. .. Grain of *Panicum frumentacim.*
Dodda.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 95. | Samanti | .. | A flower (*Chrysanthemum Indicum*). |
| 96. | Setti .. | .. | A head or chief of caste. |
| 97. | Sakalu .. | .. | (?) They abstain from Navane. |
| 98. | Sande .. | .. | |
| 99. | Sankhu .. | .. | A conch shell. |
| 100. | Suji .. | .. | A needle. |
| 101. | Surya .. | .. | The sun. |
| 102. | Southe .. | .. | Firewood. |
| 103. | Thumbe | .. | A kind of tree. |
| 104. | Ungara .. | .. | A ring. |
| 105. | Uppu .. | .. | Salt. |
| 106 | Hatti .. | .. | Cotton. |
| 107. | Hutta .. | .. | An ant-hill. |
| 108. | Gose .. | .. | (?) They do not eat Navene grain. |
| 109. | Lali .. | .. | Weaver's shuttle. |
| 110. | Mane .. | .. | |
| 111. | Asali .. | .. | A jewel. |

## KĀDU KURUBA.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY—KURUBAS OR KURUMBAS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—FAMILY LIFE—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE KURUBAS—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY.

THE Kurubas or Kurumbas are said to be the modern representatives of the ancient Kurumbas or Pallavas who were once very powerful in South India; but there is very little trace left of their former greatness anywhere. In the seventh century, the power of the Pallava kings was at its zenith. It gradually declined owing to the rise of the Kongu, Chola and Chalukya chiefs. The final overthrow of the Kurumba sovereignty was effected by the Chola king Adondi about the seventh or the eighth century A.D. This led to the dispersion of the Kurumbas far and wide. Many fled to the hills of Malabar, Nilgiris, Coorg, Wyanad and Mysore. Thus during the long lapse of time, they have become wild and uncivilized, and have, owing to their comparative isolation, lost their ancient culture. Both the *Ūru* or the civilized and the wild Kurubas must have been identical, but the present difference is, as in the case of Bedas and other tribes, the result of geographic distribution and environment. The name Kurumbranad, one of the taluks of North Malabar, still attests to their former greatness.*

KURUBAS OR KURUMBAS.

However separated from each other, and scattered among the Dravidian clans with whom they have

* Madras Census Report, 1891.



BETTA KURUBA GROUP.

dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in India which cannot produce, if not some living remanants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence. Indeed the Kurumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land which can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil.* The terms Kurubas and Kurumba were orginally identical, though the one form is, in different places, employed for the other, and has occasionally assumed a special local meaning. Mr. Lewis Rice gives the same names for the *Ūru* and Wild Kurubas.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE.

There are two endogamous groups among the Kadu Kurubas, namely, 1. Betta Kurubas and 2. Jenu Kurubas. The former are again divided into three minor groups, namely 1. Ane (elephant), 2. Bevina (nim) tree, (*Melia Azaderachta*), and 3. Kolli (fire-brand).

The Uru or civilized Kurubas are found in most of the eastern districts of the Madras Presidency, and Mysore and those on the Nilgiris are no doubt the offshoots of the aboriginal Kādu Kuruba stock, found on the borders of the Mysore Province.

HABITATIONS.

The Kādu and the Jenu Kurubas live in miserably low huts thatched with leaves, with walls of wattled reeds. They have no articles of furniture except the grass mats of their own making. Their domestic utensils consists of a few earthen, bamboo and brass vessels. A few families may be found close together in a part of the forest cleared by themselves. The selection of the spot depends upon the vicinity of some brook or other water reservoir. They rear no

* Oppert: Original Inhabitants of India.

kitchen garden of any kind. The Jenu Kurubas live in similar small detached huts far into the interior of the forests.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS. There are two forms of marriage in vogue among them, one of which is somewhat similar to that of the Okkaligar, and the other is the simple one of a formal exchange of betel leaves and arecanuts which concludes the nuptials. The bride elect is always presented with two wedding costumes and a few necklets of glass beads. There is no intermarriage between the Betta and Jenu Kurubas.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS. Grown up girls and women during periodical illness, live outside the limits of the *hadi* (a group of rude huts) for three days. They bathe on the fourth day and enter into their own huts. The temporary huts in which they live are generally burned. In cases of childbirth, none but the wet nurse or the female attendant enters the room of the confined woman for ten days. Generally the mother or some old woman of her relation attends on her.

The women are faithful and affectionate to their husbands. In cases of adultery, the husband flogs his wife very severely, and if he can, beats her paramour also. If he cannot, the tribal headman does it for him.

FAMILY LIFE. Kādu Kuruba family consists of a woman, her husband and their children. The woman looks after her child, does the domestic duties and gathers some edible leaves or roots to prepare some curries and to supplement whatever is brought by the husband for food. The grown up sons or daughters, if any, help their parents in their domestic work.



BETTA KURUBA WOMEN.



BETTA KURUBA HABITATION.

Like all children of the forests, both Betta and Jenu Kurubas believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. In cases of sickness, they seek no medical aid, but resort to exorcisms, charms, incantations, and animal sacrifices, to obtain the favour of their godlings. MAGICO RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

They are pure animists, believing in ghosts and spirits, to whom periodical offerings are made. Small-pox demon is much dreaded and worshipped with sacrifices. Of late, they have begun to adore the Gods of the higher castes owing to their frequent contact with them. RELIGION.

In case of death, children are buried and adults burned. Their pollution lasts for seven days at the end of which they hold a funeral feast when the relations and friends are treated to a feast. They believe that good men after death will become benevolent gods, and bad men malevolent ones. The spirits of the dead are believed to appear to them in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings to a female deity, Bettada Chikkamma, that is the mother of the hill. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

As has been already said, the Kādu Kurubas are very active and capable of enduring great fatigue. They are mostly engaged in felling timber in the forests and other small pursuits. They work now-a-days for the forest department in jungles, and are mostly engaged by them for their multifarious activities. They have not yet taken to cultivation. But in some localities a few among them clear a patch of ground about the village, and sow the ground with ragi (*Eleusine Corcana*), tenne (*Setaria italica*) or Kiri (*Amaranthus*). They collect the jungle produce, honey, resin, gall nuts which they barter with village traders. They are expert in OCCUPATION.

tracking wild animals, and very skilfully elude accidental pursuits by them. Of late, some resort to *kumri* cultivation. They are hospitable to strangers. Some among them hire themselves out as labouring servants to the farmers and receive monthly wages. Others in crop seasons watch the fields at night to keep off elephants and wild hogs. In the interval between, they work for daily wages, or go into the woods to collect roots of wild yams (*Dioscorea*) part of which they eat, and part they exchange for grains. Their manner of driving away elephants is by running against them with a burning bamboo torch. The animal sometimes waits till the Kuruba comes close up: but these poor people taught by experience, push boldly on, dash their torches against the elephants' head, when it never fails to take to immediate flight. Should their courage fail and should they try to run away, the elephant would at once pursue and put them to death. They have no means of killing so large an animal. In the event of a Kuruba meeting an elephant during the day time, he becomes as much alarmed as any other of the inhabitants. The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings, but they are too fierce for them to kill. These people of the forests suffer much from tigers and leopards against which their flimsy huts are a poor defence. When these animals are troubled by hunger, their burning fires or torches are of very little use. They have dogs with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares. They are also skilful in catching in snares, peacocks and other esculent birds.

DIETARY OF THE KURUBAS.

They mostly subsist on wild bamboo seeds and edible roots of the jungle often mixed with honey. They eat the flesh of the animals they hunt except the flesh of bison to which their brethern have no objection.



JENU KURUBA.

Appearance Dress and Ornaments.

The Kadu Kurubas are either dark or dark-brown in colour, and of short stature and woolly hair. The male dress consists of either a bit of cloth to cover their nudity or a coarse cloth tied round the waist, and reaching to the knees. They are their own barbers and use broken glass for razors. The women wear coarse cloth four yards long, and have their foreheads tattooed in dots of two or three horizontal lines, wear ear rings, glass bangles and necklets of black beads. The Betta Kuruba woman of Mysore covers her body below the shoulders by tying a long cloth round the armpits leaving arms and shoulders bare, while a Jenu-kuruba woman wears a loin cloth, and sometimes wears an upper garment to cover her breast. The Betta Kuruba male keeps the hair of the head uncut and ties it into a knot. A Jenu Kuruba on the contrary shaves the front part leaving a tuft behind.

They are so remarkable for their honesty that on all occasions they are entrusted with provisions by the farmers who are persuaded that the Kurubas would rather starve than take one grain of what was left in their charge.

# LADAR.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Mysore Census Report of 1901, it is said, that the Lādars are a class of general merchants found chiefly in cities, where they supply all kinds of stores, glasswares, etc., but they are an interesting offshoot of some Gujarat caste, who appear to have wandered into the Southern Mahrātta country and Mysore in the great Durgadevi Famine in the fourteenth century. Lād or Lāt is the original name of Southern Gujarat. "Writing of the Lāds or Lādars in Mysore at the beginning of the last century," Buchanan remarks, "they serve as cavalry, trade in horses, and own lands. They claim to be Kshatriyas, and wear the sacred thread. He states that they have fourteen *gōtras*, and perform a sacrifice to the Saktis."* The wearing of sacred thread and serving in cavalry would seem to their having been originally Kshatriyas, which they claim even now. They have a mother tongue known as Chaurāsi, which is a possible indication that they came from Chorāsi in Surat. It is also said that they have come from Benares under the pressure of famine 700 years ago, but their caste name seems to show otherwise. They are found in the districts of Mysore, Kadur, Tumkur and Chitaldrug.

* Buchanan : *Travels in Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, pages 293-294.

There are seven endogamous groups, namely, INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

1. Theli Ladar
2. Ambli „
3. Kalo „
4. Kshatri „
5. Kasai „
6. Brahman Ladar, or Sahujis in Bangalore.
7. Jina Ladars or Ladars of Haveri near Savanur.
8. Saku or Hale Makkalu.

In the Bombay Presidency, the names of the following groups are given :—*

1. Gujar.
2. Halvekari.
3. Kayit.
4. Khatik.
5. Marwari.
6. Sav.
7. Sherogar.
8. Sugandi or Kshatriya.
9. Suryavamshi.

These groups neither eat nor intermarry. Suryavamshi division is the most numerous.

Marriage prohibitions in vogue among them are the same as those prevailing in other Hindu castes. Marriage ceremonies last for twelve days. The ceremonies that are observed for the first three days are known as *vilya prasta*. All the important ceremonies take place during nights. On an auspicious day after the settlement of marriage, the bridegroom's parents go to the house of the bride-elect with a few Brāhmans and members of their community, carrying with them fruits and cakes in a tray and a *kalaśa* borne by a married lady. They are sumptuously entertained, after which they return home. On the second day, the two parties again meet in the same house, and sit in two rows against each other, when the father of the girl addresses the prospective father-in-law, and requests him to treat her as his own daughter thereafter. In the presence of the assembled castemen, the engagement is announced with the distribution of betel-leaves and arecanuts. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

* Enthovan R. E. : Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, page 324.

On the third day, the couple sit together and undergo the waving of ārathi. On the fourth day, the marriage booths are constructed in the houses of the bride and bridegroom with eleven and twelve posts respectively. The bridegroom in his house undergoes *panna* or face-shaving, and after his bath, worships Gaṇapathi. After this, he sits in a square with four pots in the four corners with threads passing round them, and after being bathed by married women, receives a turban and a wedding dress. With the exception of *panna*, a similar ceremony takes place in the bride's house as well. The other ceremonies of the day consist in tying *bandhu* (coloured rice wrapped in a yellow piece of cloth) to every post of the *pandal*, pounding rice and grinding wheat. On the fifth day, both the parties feed a Dāsayya or Goravaiyya, after which they gather five boys of the caste, and give each of them a torch, dipped in oil by the bridegroom. These are carried to a short distance, and brought back to his house. This ceremony is intended to invite the *Iragars* or the family gods for worship. This ceremony is not performed in the bride's family. The bridegroom next worships Ganga. A grand feast to the *Iragars* and the castemen concludes the ceremony of the day.

On the seventh day, the bridegroom is seated on a plank, and before him are placed a garland with nine threads passed through date fruits, cloves and wheat grains, and known as *navasara* or nine threads and a plate containing a bow and arrows. Five married women powder five kinds of bark, and mix it with honey and plantain fruits, and make it into two balls. The bridegroom's mother-in-law goes to his house, washes his feet, paints him with turmeric paste, and offers him betel leaves and arecanut when she receives five *varāhans* as *bride-price*, and returns home. *Pāyasam* (milk pudding) is soon sent to him, which

he partakes. Dressed in new clothes and carrying a dagger, he rides in procession to the bride's house, taking with him the wedding costume dyed red, *navasara*, the pounded bark, black beads and the *tāli* (marriage badge), all of which are intended for the bride. The bride's father receives him with *ārathi* at the entrance, and leads him inside, after presenting him with a white cloth to be worn round his neck. The bridegroom is seated on a three-legged stool and the remaining formalities of the marriage are gone through. The bridegroom then ties the *tāli*.

On the eighth day, the bridegroom pretends to be angry at some default on the part of the bride's people who, believing him to be offended, takes him to their house. The bridal pair are conspicuously seated, when they exchange betel leaves and repeat each other's names. The bride puts the *navasara* garland round the neck of the bridegroom. The married couple are taken in procession round the village, and their tribal goddess Bhavāni is also worshipped.

After a few other formalities, the marriage ceremonies come to an end after twelve days. The Lādars of Hosadrug have their marriage customs somewhat differing from those detailed above. The marriage ceremonies of the Lādars of the Bombay Presidency last only for four days.* On the fifth day, the bridegroom with his party returns to his house which terminates the marriage.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A girl attaining her age is kept under seclusion for five days. During the first monthly sickness, her husband observes pollution, and does not put on the usual caste mark. He cannot also go to the temple for worship. Small balls of powdered jingeli seeds mixed with jaggery are given to the girl and also

* Enthovan, R. E.: Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, pages 325-326.

distributed among the women assembled. She is bathed on the sixth day, when she is freed from impurities. Consummation takes place on an auspicious day which must be within sixteen days thereafter.

Unmarried girls are not dedicated as Basavis. Customs connected with adultery, divorce, and widow marriage are the same as in other castes and call for no special notice.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Lādars of Mysore follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance as interpreted by Mitākshara.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

The caste disputes are settled by the *panchāyats* presided over by their *yajaman* called Chandri. Fines levied are credited to the account in the name of their goddess, and sometimes utilized in feeding the poor castemen.

RELIGION.

The Lādars believe, like all other Hindus, in omens, magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. Some are Saivas, and the rest Vaishṇavas. The latter receive *chakrāntika* from Tirupati, and go for begging on Saturdays. The grain thus collected is given to a Dāsayya. The castemen adore Khāndoba, Vitōba, Parasurām, Venkataramaṇa, Nanjundēswara, Tulja Bhavāni. The last deity is worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays. The *pujāri* or the priest is one that belongs to the Kāpali or Jogi caste, connected with the Chunchangiri Bhaire Dēvaru order or by Bombolas who go about naked and offer animal sacrifices. On the first day of Dasara, they sow nine kinds of grains on the earth brought from an anthill, and placed in a basket which is placed in front of the goddess. A light to burn constantly during the nine days is placed near it. The basket containing the seeds is daily watered, and they sprout in due course,

and grow into tiny plants. They are also worshipped. On the tenth day of Dasara, the basket is carried with Madalakki to a well, and its contents are emptied into it. A branch of *ferruginea* is carried home, at the entrance of which *ārati* is waved round the faces of those who have carried the basket. During *śūnya-māsa* (unlucky month), they take their domestic gods to a grove in the neighbourhood and worship them with the offer of bloody sacrifices, after which they return home. Brāhmans act as their priests. Their *guru* resides at Mohurbhar in the Satara district, and he is known as Mānikka Dāttari Prabhu.

Funeral Ceremonies.

The Lādars generally burn their dead bodies, and the period of pollution is for ten days. On the morning of the eleventh, the agnates bathe to be free from pollution, after which they take a dose of *punyāha* (sanctified water), and dress in clothes newly washed.

Occupation.

They were formerly cavalrymen as their name indicates. At present, they are mostly traders. Some own lands. The Kāsayi Lādars are butchers by profession.

Social Status.

Lādars eat in the houses of Brāhmans, but, Kunchigars and Kurubas are said to eat in Lādar houses. They take water from public wells, and enter temples.

Dietary of the Caste.

They eat the flesh of goats, deer, doves, domestic fowls, and fish. They drink liquor.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments.

Lādars are found in all shades of complexion, and their dress does not in any way differ from that of other castes. The Khatri Lādars invariably wear the sacred thread, and with others it is optional.

Their women put on perpendicular marks of *kunkuma*, and tie their clothes without passing the end between the legs, and tucking it behind. They are fond of tattooing. Charms and amulets are worn to ward off the attacks of demons.



A GROUP OF VIRASAIVAS

# LINGĀYAT (Vīrasaiva).

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY—HABITAT—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—LANGUAGE—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS—EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—NUPTIAL CEREMONY—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—WIDOW MARRIAGE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES DĪKSHE OR AITĀN (INITIATION)—FAMILY LIFE, INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—ŚIVA WORSHIP—THE CHIEF LINGĀYAT FASTS AND FESTIVALS—VĪRASAIVA TENETS AND VĪRAVAISHNAVA TENETS COMPARED—LINGA WORSHIP—LINGAYAT MATHAS—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION, SOCIAL STATUS—ADMISSION INTO THE LINGĀYAT FAITH—DIETARY OF THE COMMUNITY—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Lingāyats are a religious community consisting of various castes held together by the bond of their common religion. They are also known as Lingāwants, Lingāngis, Lingadhāris, Śivabhaktās and Vīraśaivās. The members of the community prefer to be called Vīraśaivās. They derive their name from the Sanskrit *linga* the phallic emblem with the affix *ayta*. In fact, the name literally describes them, for the true Lingāyat* wears on his body, a silver box containing a stone phallus which is the symbol of his faith, and the loss of it is tantamount to the absence of spiritual faith. This emblem is worn by both the sexes. It is said that the sect seems to have been founded in the twelfth century, and that it soon attained considerable proportions, spreading rapidly to the South chiefly in the

* A true Lingayat or Vīrasaiva is one "who worships his Istalinga in his hand, concentrating his own mind on it, forgetting the external world." *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, page 530.

Kanarese country. The Lingāyats, on the contrary, affirm that the sect is extremely old, and that it was recognized in the twelfth century. 'In the Carnatic,' for centuries, says Farquhar, 'the mass of the people had been either Jains, Digambarās or Śivas, and the new sect seems to be essentially a fresh formation meant to give the Śivas, a more definite theology to win over the Jains to the Śiva worship.' *

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY.

Regarding the origin and tradition of the Lingāyats, Mr. Karibasava Śāstri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kanarese Literature in the Maharaja's Sanskrit College in Mysore, contends that the Siva sect of the Hindus has been, from time out of memory, divided into two groups, the one comprising the wearers of the *linga*, and the other who do not wear it. The former are called Vīraśaivās, consisting of Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra, the four-fold caste division of Manu. Quoting from the seventeenth chapter of *Parameśwara Āgama*, he declares that Vīraśaiva Brāhmans are known as Suddha Vīraśaivās, Viraśaiva kings as Kshatriyas, Mārgaviraśaivas, as Viraśaiva Vaiśyas or Misraviraśaivas, and the Śūdras of the community as Anteve Viraśaivas. In his opinion, the duties enjoined and the penances imposed on the first three classes are 1. *ashtāvarṇā*, 2. penances and bodily emaciation and 3. the adoration of Śiva without sacrifice, all of which are described in his account of the religion of the community. He further asserts that the Hindu *Āśramas* or condition of life of *Bramhachāri, grahasta*, and *sanyāsi*, (student, householder and ascetic) are binding on Vīraśaivās, and quotes various Sanskrit texts in support of his views. The summary of his views is completely typical of the claim advanced by the Lingāyat community

* J. N. Farquhar: *Outlines of Religious Literature*, 259.

to be included within the fold of orthodox Hinduism with the mistaken idea of thereby improving their social status. Further, the four-fold divisions of caste scheme which are applicable to the Hindus are not applicable to the Lingāyats, who profess a non-caste religion.*

The movement in favour of a special form of Śiva worship was commonly supposed to have been set on foot by the great Lingāyat saint, Basava, in the latter half of the 12th century. The acts and doctrines of Basava and his nephew are described in two *puraṇas*, named after them, the *Basavapurāna* (Poona Edition 1905) and the *Channabasavapurāna* (Mangalore Edition 1851). The former describes Basava as the son of Brāhman parents, Madārāja and Mādalāmbika, residents of Bāgevādi, usually held to be the town of that name in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Basava is the Kanarese name for bull, an animal sacred to Śiva. Thus a connection is traced between Basava and the God Śiva. It is said that at the age of eight, Basava refused to be invested with the sacred thread of the twice-born caste to which he belonged by birth, and declared himself a devotee of Śiva, and said that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste.† His knowledge of the Śaiva scriptures attracted the attention of his uncle Baladeva, then prime-minister to the king of Kalyāna, Bijjala. Baladeva gave him his daughter, Gangādēvi, in marriage. Bijjala was a Kshatriya by race who usurped the Chālukyan kingdom of Kalyāna in the middle of the twelfth cerntury, installed Basava as his prime-minister, and gave him his younger sister Nīlalochana to wife. The *puraṇas* further recount the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister

* Hastings E. R. E: Vol. VIII, page 71.

† Palkuriki Somanatha *Kavi* (poet): *Telugu Basava Purāna.*

Nagalāmbika by the working of the spirit of the God Śiva. The myth in connection with this miraculous conception is interesting. Basava while engaged in prayer, saw an ant emerge from the ground with a small seed in its mouth. He took the seed to his home, where his sister swallowed it, and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and in so doing encountered the hostility of the Jains, whom they ruthlessly persecuted. A revolution, the outcome of these religious factions, led to the assassination of the king Bijjala and the flight of Basava and his nephew. Basava is said to have been finally absorbed into the *linga* at Kudali Sangameswar, and Channabasava to have lost his life at Ulivi in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency. An annual pilgrimage of the Lingāyets to the shrine of the latter takes place even to this day.*

In this connection, it is interesting to note the two important inscriptions relating to the origin of the Lingāyats. "The first was discovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bāgavādi, the traditional birth place of Basava. This record as many others, shows that king Bijjala gained the kingdom of Kalyāna in A.D. 1156. It states that a certain Basava was the builder of the temple in which the inscription was first put, and that Madija was *mahāprabhu* or head of the village, when the grants in aid of the temple were made. Basava was further described as the grandson of Revadāsa, and son of Chandirāja and as a man of great sanctity and virtue. The second inscription was found at Āblur in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency and belongs to about A.D. 1200. It relates to the

* Hastings E. R. E. : Vol. VIII, page 71.

fortress of a certain Ekāntada-Rāmayya, an ardent worshipper of the God Śiva. Rāmayya came into conflict with the Jains, and defeated them, in dispute, and the inscription says, by performing miracles which consisted in cutting off his own head, and having it restored to him safe and sound by the grace of Śiva seven days later. All this came to the notice of king Bijjala who summoned Rāmayya into his presence. Rāmayya making his cause good before the king, won his support, and was presented with gifts of lands for the temple founded by him at Āblur in the new faith. The incidents related of Rāmayya are placed shortly before A.D. 1162, so that he would have been contemporary of Basava. No mention of the latter or of the nephew is found in the record." *

Relying on the inscriptions above referred to, it might be concluded that both Basava and Ekāntada-Rāmayya were reformers who had much to do with the rise of the Lingāyat doctrine, and that the event must be set down to the twelfth century. "But the Lingāyat scholars of the present day claim a far earlier date for the origin of their faith. However, their contention that its origin is contemporaneous with that of Brāhmanic Hindusim has yet to be established by adequate evidence. Mr. Fleet, on the other hand, says that the present Lingāyat sect is more or less a development of a guild of the 500 Swāmis of Aihole, a village in the Bijapur District, who are the protectors of the Vira-Banajiga religion, and who were always more or less strictly Śaivas, and free-minded. The sect, however, in which the 500 Swāmis of Aihole joined seems certainly to have been organized by Ekāntada-Rāmayya at Āblur. The prevalent tradition of

* Hastings, E. R. E. : Vol. VIII, page 71.
R. C. Carr's *Monograph on Lingayats*, Madras Government Press 1906.

the present day, that Basava was the originator and founder of the community, must only be attributed to his having quickly become acquainted with the new movement of Śaivism started by Rāmayya, and to his having taken a leading part in encouraging and propagating it in circumstances which rendered him more conspicuous than the real founder. It is also likely, that, when the first literary account of the rise of Lingāyatism came to be written after the event, his name had survived to the exclusion of Rāmayya's." The writer of the account made no reference to the part played by Rāmayya in the movement, but attributed the whole movement entirely to Basava to whom as an assistant, his nephew Channabasava was assigned. The latter is perhaps a mythical person.*

"It must also be admitted, that the early history of the movement may be capable of further elucidation, and that the present day claims, though lacking the support of historical evidence, have this much to rely on, that it is essentially probable that the Dravidian races of South India whose primitive deities were absorbed by the Aryan invaders into the personality of God Siva, always leant towards the special worship of Siva to the exclusion of the other members of the Brāhmanic triad and combined with this preference, a dislike of Brāhmanic ritual and caste ascendency, which is the real substratum of the movement ending in the recognition of Lingāyatism." *

HABITAT. The Lingāyats are found all over the Mysore State and the districts of Mysore, Chitaldrug and Tumkur return large numbers. Beyond the limits of the State, they are numerous in the districts of

* Hastings E. R. E., Vol. VIII, p. 71.

Belgaum, Dharwar and in Kolhapur as also in the Native States of the Southern Mahratta Country. They are also numerous in Hyderabad, and form an important element in the population of the north-western corner of the Madras Presidency.

POPULATION, AND DISTRIBUTION.

At the Census of 1921, the Lingāyats numbered, 714,734, 359,163 being males and 355,571 females. Their distribution over the districts and the Bangalore Military Station are given below :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bangalore District | .. | .. | 41,155 |
| 2. | Kolar ,, | .. | .. | 11,066 |
| 3. | Tumkur ,, | .. | .. | 91,019 |
| 4. | Mysore ,, | .. | .. | 188,297 |
| 5. | Chitaldrug ,, | .. | | 122,171 |
| 6. | Hassan ,, | .. | .. | 84,528 |
| 7. | Kadur ,, | .. | .. | 62,754 |
| 8. | Shimoga ,, | .. | .. | 104,538 |

LANGUAGE.

The Lingāyats of Mysore speak Kanarese as their mother tongue. They are more literate than other people of the State except the Brāhmans and the Jains. They have among them some Kanarese scholars and writers. But recent immigrants from Bellary and the adjacent districts to Mysore speak Telugu.

HABITATIONS

The Lingāyats of Mysore live in houses similar to those of other communities and call for no special notice.

The aim of Basava seems to have been for the abolition of caste and the adoration of many Gods. He had succeeded in forming a homogeneous community composed of all grades and castes; but after his death, the community has been gradually drifting into a caste with its endogamous and hypergamous groups because of the assertion of social distinctions.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY.

The Lingāyats are known as Śiavāchārs, because they pre-eminently observe the tenets of Śaiva religion. They are also called Siva-bhaktās or devotees of Śiva. They are known as *Viraśaivas*, because of their never failing zeal and unflinching firmness to observe the tenets of their religion. They use the word *Bhavis* to denote the non-wearers of *linga*. The word *bhavi* is connected with *bhava* which signifies *samsāra*. Hence men who are worldly and lacking in wisdom are called *bhavis*. They are either *vaidikas* (priests) or *laukikas* (laymen). The former are called jangams who are regarded as moving and living *lingas* and Siva-*Jṇānis*. Thay are called Māheśwara on that account. They are adored in preference to those installed in temples. They smear their whole body with ashes and wear garlands of Rudrāksha beads. They are of two classes—Bramhachāris (celebates) and Grahastās (married). The former are divided into three sub-divisions, namely, Pattada-swāmi, Charamurthiswāmi and Viraktas. Bramha-chāris (Pattadadevaru) may be Pattadikāris or (heads of *maṭhas*), wield high powers, and have royal pomp.* Charamurthiswāmi or Charapathis are also celebates equal in status to Pattadaswāmi, and are also heads of *maṭhas*. They succeed to the throne of *maṭhas in time*. The third class of Bramhachāris are Viraktas or Sanyāsis, and are also called *Atitas*, similar in status to the *Avadūtas* of the other Hindus. *Atitas* are so called, because of their having avoided all worldliness, and having been free from all cares. They do not live in towns and villages, but are more of the nature of recluses. They are not allowed to become *gurus* or spiritual guides, and to exercise any religious authority over the Lingāyats. They are

* They belong to one or other of the Panchāchārya *pīthas*. They settle religious disputes among their disciples and perform the ceremony of tying the lingam to new born babies.

expected to devote their time solely to the perusal of religious scriptures and to explain them to others. When they grow very old, and death is near at hand, they choose a successor from some religious or *gurusthala* family, generally a boy under sixteen years and his close relative. Only Bramhachāris become Sanyāsis. If others become, they are not respected, nor can they become heads of *maṭhas*.

Gurusthaladavaru can have their children chosen for *piṭha* (as heads of *maṭhas*), and can become heads of Lingāyat laymen. To keep their families pure, they are not allowed to marry widows or divorced women, but can enter into conjugal relations with the maidens of good families. Gurusthaladavaru conduct all religious ceremonies on occasions of births, marriages and deaths. The jangams are generally addressed as *Ayyas*. The Pattadikaris and Charamurthis move about to manage the affairs of the *maṭhas* to collect the dues and presents, and to guide their assistants called *Maris*, young men. The *Maris* do all the light work of the *maṭhas*, such as bringing flowers, cleaning vessels for *pūjas* and illumination before them. The Charamurthis like Pattadikaris never marry, for they are also the heads of *maṭhas*. Among the *Maris*, those who are not intended to rise to the status of Pattadikāris, may marry as they choose. The Gurusthaladavaru generally lead a married life, and have relations with them. They stay in a part of the *maṭhas* with family.

MISRA VIRASAIVAS.

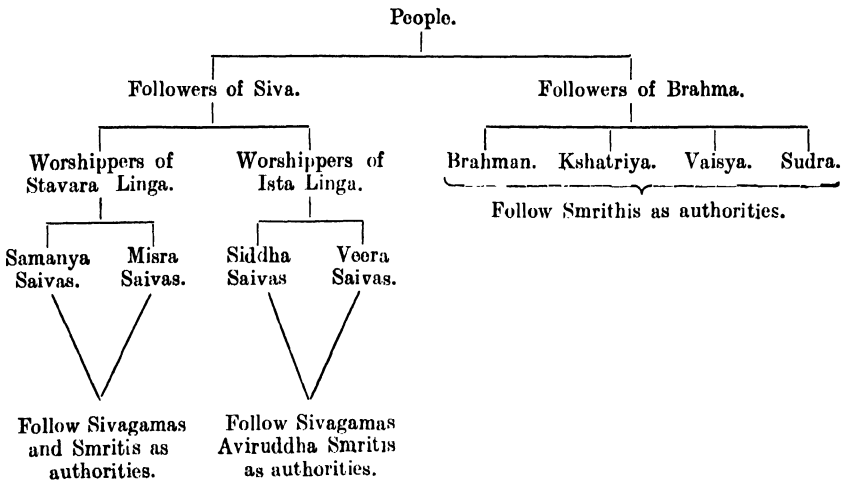
Conversions to the Lingayat faith were made from various castes from time to time, so that the total number of endogamous groups are rather large. The chief among them are the following, namely, Panchamasālivaru, Sādaru, Nonabaru, Silavantaru, Kāvadigaru, Malavaru, Melpāvadadavaru, Dhulpāvadadavaru. There is no intermarriage between

the members of these castes, nor do they have interdining. But they can sit to dine in different groups and rows in religious *maṭhas* whenever occasion necessitates. The proverb is '*Ūtakke Sivachāra, Koduvadake Kulāchāra.*' Interdining is according to the customs of the Lingayats; Intermarriage is according to sects. Strictly speaking, jangam is not an endogamous group, but is a religious order. Likewise Banajigas ought not to form a caste, since their occupation is trade, but they form a distinct caste. Panchamasāliyavaru who form the bulk of the Lingāyat community in the Bombay Presidency are rarely found in the Mysore State.* They are allowed to interdine with the higher classes.

The Lingāyats acknowledge the supremacy of the Vedas, but dissent from the performances of the sacrifices and repudiate the efficacy of Srāddhas. Their doctrine is that there are two kinds of creation, one by Brahma called Prakrita Srishti and another by Siva called *Aprakrita Srishti*, and that the Vīrasaivas belong to the latter, as shown in the following tree:—

* R. E. Enthoven, in his Bombay Tribes and Castes, gives three main groups: –1. Panchamasālis with full ashtavarna rites, 2. Non-Panchamasalis with ashtavarna rites, 3. Non-Panchamasalis without ashtavarna rites. There is also a fourfold group, namely, Jangamas (priests of the community); 2. First converts to lingayatism; 3. those composed of later converts chiefly of occupational castes; 4. Lowest unclean castes.

The Jangams are also of four groups, namely Matapathi, Stavara, Ganachari and Madpati.




As belonging to the *Aprakrita Srishti*, the Vīrasaivas are enjoined not to follow that portion of the Vedas which treats with Yāgas or animal sacrifices. Their contention is that Karma or the performance of ceremonies is of two kinds, namely, one relating to the attainment of the worldly desires, and the other relating to the attainment of wisdom or *gñāna*; the idea of salvation in Brahmanical religions generally, is the attainment of desires, going to Swarga or heaven where one would enjoy eternal bliss. But salvation, as understood by Vīrasaiva religion, is something different and goes one step further, meaning absorption into, and attainment of oneness with, the deity. Consequently, they are prohibited from performing all those ceremonies which relate to the attainment of Swarga, but are bound to perform those which relate to *gñāna* or wisdom and to salvation as understood by them.

Exogamous Clans.

The Lingāyats claim to be descended from five *āchāryās*: Rēvana-Arādhya, Marularādhya, Ekorāmarādhya, Panditarādhya and Viswarādhya, all of

whom sprang from the five mouths of Śiva, namely, Sadyojāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpurusha, and Isānya. These *āchāryas* had their respective eponymous sections, known as Vīra, Nandi, Bhringi, Vrishabhara and Skanda, each of which was further split up into twelve *bhagis* or subsepts. The *bhagis* trace origin to a single ancestor who is regarded as their progenitor.

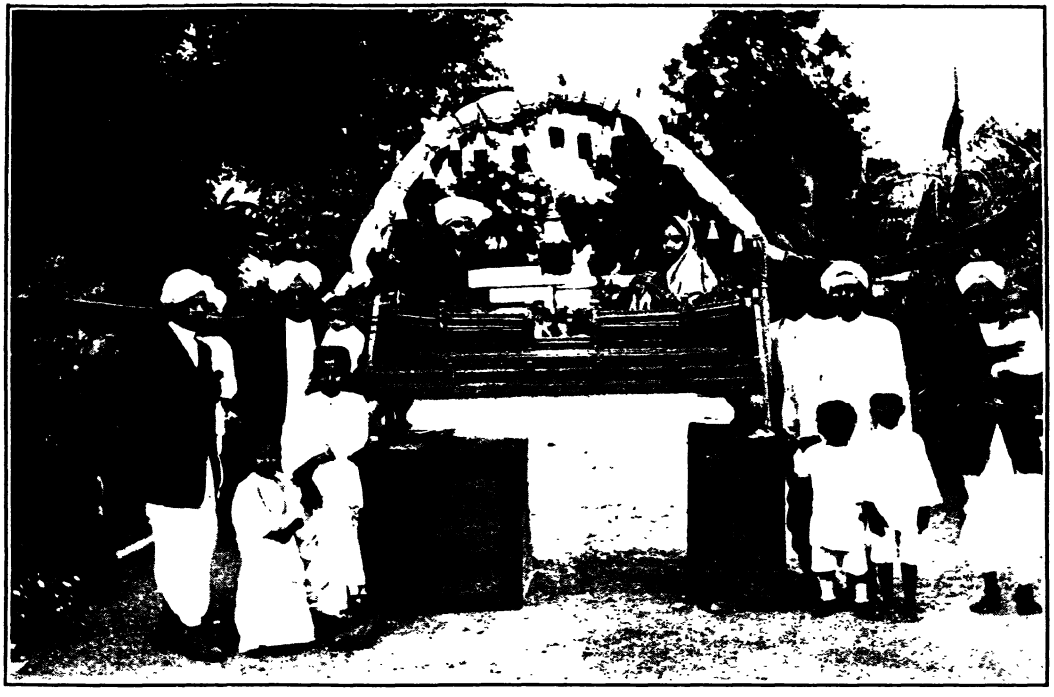
MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

This well defined system so ingeniously constructed, enabled the community to organize itself into a separate sect. It forms the basis for the connubial arrangements of the enlightened and aristocratic members of the sect. But the masses known ordinarily as *Vīra-Saivas* are too ignorant to understand its significance, and therefore regulate their marriages mostly by their original caste customs. A man cannot marry a girl of his own *gōtra*, even though he belongs to a different *bhagi*. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married to the same man, but not at the same time. The laymen may marry within their own sub-caste. The jangams may marry in all castes provided they are Lingāyats. Polygamy is allowed to any extent theoretically. The true Lingāyats marry their daughters as infants, because social stigma attaches to the parents of a girl who attains puberty before marriage. Exchange of girls is allowed between two families.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage ceremonies of the Vīrasaivas who are recruits from different castes are similar to those of the castes to which they once belonged.

Among the Vīra-Saivas, marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties, the first step towards forming the proposals being taken by the parents or guardians of the bridegroom. After the preli-



A LINGAYET BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM.

minary negotiations are agreed upon, the *nischithārtha* ceremony is performed, at which the bride receives presents of clothes, and jewels from the bridegroom's party. The auspicious day for marriage is fixed with due consideration of the astrological data presented by the horoscopes of the bridal pair. A marriage *pandal* consisting of twelve or sixteen posts is erected, the milk (wedding) post being of umber (*Ficus glomerata*) to which are fastened leaves of mango (*Manganefera indica*), palās (*Butea frondosa*) and banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*). Raw cotton thread is wound round it and a lamp is kept burning upon it. The marriage ceremony generally extends for five days, but in some cases the celebration lasts only for a few days.

Previous to the auspicious day fixed for the marriage, five married women have their laps filled with fruits, betel, arecanuts, and pounded turmeric roots. On the same or the following day, they invoke the family and tutelary deities, and offerings are given to them. A feast is given to the jangams, and the relatives of the parties in their respective houses. Twelve *Arivenis* are made ready with rice, *dhal*, *vasanta* and water. This custom is not observed by some among them. On the first day, the bride and bridegroom sit on a blanket, and married women rub their bodies with turmeric paste. A light is waved round in front of them when songs are sung by the women present there then. This is called *arasiṇa* day. On the second day, the boy's father places the wedding costumes and jewels before his family deity, and offers special prayers along with the jangams. Both the castemen and the jangams are treated to a feast. Guru's *dhūlpādōdaka* (water collected after washing the feet) and *karuṇe* are given to the pair. On the third day, the bride and bridegroom sit on a bull, the girl being in front, proceed to the temple

near by, when they break cocoanuts and worship Śiva. Nowadays, horse, motor car, or a horse carriage takes the place of the bull as vehicle. *Virasaiva gurus* adopt the palanquin. After worship they return home. In a family where Vīrabhadra is worshipped, the following procedure is adopted. Early in the morning after the bride and bridegroom have been smeared with turmeric paste and oil, and bathed with warm water, *maṭhapati jangam* (the head of a jangam monastery) is invited to perform the worship of Vīrabhadra. The jangam breaks an earthen pot horizontally into two equal portions, and forms a sort of pan of the two pieces by placing the lower portion of the pot into the inverted upper portion. In the pan he makes a fire, and throws over it some *guggala* (the fragrant resin of *balsamodendron mukul*) until it bursts into a flame. His waist is girt round with a *panché* and a string of bells, and his breast is adorned with images of Vīrabhadra. Holding the firepan in the left hand and a sword on the right, he goes in a grand procession to the temple of Vīrabhadra dancing and flourishing the sword all the way, and singing praises in honour of the deity. On arrival at the temple, he places the sword before the God, and worships him with offerings of flowers and cocoanuts. After the bridal pair who accompany the procession have made obeisance to the deity, camphor is burned and cocoanut kernel is distributed to the assembly. The party then return.

On the fourth day, the actual marriage ceremony takes place. On the dais, a blanket is spread on rice for the pair to sit on, in front of which is a square, made of rice. In the four corners and the centre are placed five *kalasas* (pots of water) with *tāmbula* and *dakshine* in front of each. The five *kalaśas* represent the five *āchāryas* whose blessings are

invoked. Strings pass round the neck of each five times, and one end of it is held by the pair. Near the central one is placed a *tāli* or marriage badge, kept in a vessel of milk or ghee. The *guru* wears a *pavitra* made of *dharbha* grass on his right foot. The left hand of the bride and the right hand of the bridegroom are joined together with *dharbha*. The pair wear the *kankaṇa sūtras* on the wrists. When all this is ready, the priest blesses the *tāli*, and announces that it is ready to be tied round the neck of the bride. The bridegroom lays his right hand on the right hand of the bride, on which the priest places the *tāli*, and drops on it water, ashes, and vermilion, with which he makes a mark on her forehead. Similarly, a mark is made with ashes on the forehead of the bridegroom. The *guru* then gives the order, and the bridegroom ties the *tāli* round her neck. The *purōhit* then shouts *Sumuhurtam, Sāvadana* (attention, auspicious time), when all the people throw rice on the heads of the married couple. Knots are made at the hems of their clothes with a little turmeric powder and arecanut. The knotted hems are tied together. The *guru* then ties a turmeric root to each end of the pair of strings he was holding, and ties one to the left wrist of the bride, and the other to the right wrist of the bridegroom. The bridal pair prostrate before the *guru*. The marriage is now complete. In many places, the pair throw cummin seeds and jaggery on each other's heads, and some of these are tied to a corner of their clothes.

On the fifth day, in the evening, the pair go in procession to a Śiva temple, and after breaking cocoanuts, and burning camphor, they return home. Then they remove *kankaṇa* threads. But before they enter the house, boiled rice and a lighted lamp full of ginjelly oil are waved round the face of the

conjugal pair, and thrown out. The parties then disperse.

Among some of the Lingāyats of Bangalore and Mysore, and other localities marriage celebrations in these days are more or less similar to those of the Brāhmans, the main programme of which are *nischitārtha*, worship of the family gods and a feast thereafter, installation of the main posts of the *pandal*, auspicious bath on the first day, *punyāha*, *nāndi*, *ankurārpaṇa*, *mantapa devata prathishta*. Then follow on the next day, *Kalasasthāpana*, *kankaṇadhāraṇa*, *bhāshingadhāraṇa*, *kāsiyātra*, *madhuparka*, *kanyadāna* according to the Bramha form of marriage, touching the navel of the bride, *tāli*-tying, worship of Śiva and Uma, *pānigrahaṇa*, exchange of garlands, gifts to women to please the goddess, saptapati, bathing with the water of the *kalasās*, *phalapūja* (distribution of fruits, betel leaves and arecanuts). Among some, Rudrahōma is substituted for Uma-Maheswara *pūja*. On the night of the fourth day, the pair sit for *urutāni* and *uyyāle*; then *airaṇi pūja* towards the end of the night, *nāgabali*, *vasanta pūja* and *mangala snāna*.

Married women play the part of obstructing entrance through the door, conducting *urutāni*, *uyyāle* and the like, pounding grains, turmeric and serving the pair with *buvva*. The priestly classes regard *saptapati* as the most important part of the ceremony, as it brings the marriage to completion.

Many non-Brahman customs still survive in the marriage ceremonies of the Lingāyats, and these testify to their former relation to the caste to which they once belonged. As an example of the kind may be mentioned the bridegrooms surreptitiously taking away a *kalaśa* or *gindi* to be brought back in procession to the bride's house. Among others is the custom of an elderly couple holding a *sadi* by the ends with a cocoanut and bunch of plantains on it,

and exchanging the articles, and finally taking away of the cocoanut by the bridegroom's party, and the plantains by the other. Throwing of cummin seeds, installation of *ariveni*, milk-post, also searching the pot and the like are non-Brāhmanic. Further details vary with different classes of Lingāyats, so much so that the Mallava in Malanad and the Sādars in the Maidan districts have totally different details. *Graha-pravēsa* or the first entry of the bride into the house of her husband after marriage takes place on an anspicious day. She is asked to smear her hands with turmeric water, and make an impression of her palm on a conspicuous part of a wall of the house. The ceremony of searching out a ring and a fruit in a rice pot is then gone through. The wife then sits facing her husband, and throws rice on his head.

A man who marries for the third time is first married to an *ekka* plant (*Calotropis gigantēa*) before the regular marriage. The third marriage is believed to be inauspicious, and not prosperous. Therefore the adoption of this course is believed to nullify the evil that may take place against the wife.

Among the pure Lingāyats, bride-price is not in force; but the bridegroom's party present jewels, wedding garments and the like to the bride ; and sometimes, they bear the whole cost if the bride's party is poor. The bride's parents generally present the bridegroom a pair of rings, a pair of ear-rings and some clothes. If they are very poor, they give only a pair of *panches*, a ring and one *Kantirāyahana*. Thus there is no obligation on either side for money and status to guide them. Among the lower classes, the *tera* and other customs prevail as they are before affiliation. Marriage expenses are not very heavy among the Lingāyats as among other communities. A poor family may spend about a hundred rupees,

while a rich one may spend a few thousands. A man marrying a second time generally makes some concessions to the bride's party if they are poor.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains her age, she is lodged in a room, and is under seclusion for three days. She is bathed every day during this period, and dressed decently. She is brought before married women who place in her lap two cocanuts, two dates, five limes, five betel leaves and arecanuts. Songs are sung by elderly women at the time, and *ārathi* is waved round her face to avoid the potency of evil eye. The girl is fed during these days with nutritious diet. She is allowed to bathe and worship the *linga* as usual, and no pollution * is observed then ; but she cannot enter into the god's room or the kitchen. She bathes on the fourth day when the caste women, friends and relations who are invited are treated to a feast. For subsequent monthly sickness, no such formalities are observed. The true Lingāyats only allow her to worship her own *linga*, and in other respects, she is under pollution. If the girl is already married, news will be sent to the family of her husband, and presents are generally sent to the girl. The nuptial ceremony will take place in sixteen days. If she is not married, consummation will take place only after three months.

NUPTIAL CEREMONY.

An auspicious day is fixed in consultation with the astrologer, and on that day, the conjugal pair bathe early morning, take *punyāha* (sanctified water), worship the feet of the *guru*, and distribute fruits, betel leaves and arecanuts to the assembled guests. In the evening, *arathi, akshate* take place, and at the auspicious hour, the bridal pair are led to the nuptial

* Abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity is one of the reforms of Basava.

chamber. The girl's parents provide them with bedding and other necessaries.

A married girl generally resides with her parents till she comes of age but may visit her husband's family on special occasions. Regular family life begins after consummation.

"If conception takes place on the first day after the menses, an outcast girl is born; if on the second day after the menses, a wicked man is born; if the third after the menses, a mischievous person is born. if the fourth day after the menses, a hypocrite is born; if the fifth day after the menses, a wise man is born; if the sixth day after the menses, a debauchee is born; if the seventh day after the menses, a kind man is born; if the eighth day after the menses, a poor man, and if the ninth day after the menses, a rich man is born; if the tenth day after the menses, a voluptuous man, and if the eleventh day after the menses, a chaste man is born; if conception takes place the twelfth day after the menses, a passionate man, and if the thirteenth day after the menses, a learned man is born; if the fourteenth day after the menses, a sickly man is born; if the fifteenth day after the menses, a prince, and if the sixteenth day after the menses, a devotee of Siva, is born; if man and wife do not love each other, their offspring will be a whoremonger or adulterer; if both of them are worshippers of Siva, their son will be a devotee of Siva. He who has been born at sunrise will become a king; he who has been born during noon will become a passionate man; he who was born after sunset will become a sinner; and he who is born during midnight will become a virtuous man. The bilious humour in the body amounts to two seers, the phlegmatic humour to four seers. The amount of flesh, the marrow in the bones, the blood, the serous secretion in the flesh, and the semen if virile, it is variously computed. There are 35 millions of hairs on the human body and 360 bones in it."*

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Adultery is looked upon with aversion by the members of the community. A guilty woman is brought to the notice of the two families and the leading members after necessary enquiry permit her

* Basava Purāna.

husband to divorce her. Among the true Lingāyats, she is not allowed to enter into conjugal relations with her paramour, but among the affiliated and half Lingāyats, the custom is in vogue. Marriage is permissible under the *kudike* form, if he happens to be a member of the same caste. In that case, she returns the *tāli* to her former husband.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Remarriage of widows was one of the points on which Basava insisted, and was probably one of the biggest bones of contention with the Brāhmans. Widow marriage is allowed at the present day, but the authorities of Ujjini deem it fit to disregard it. It is said that it is prohibited among the Jangams and other Vīraśaivas, while among other classes of Lingāyats, it is the growth of custom. Widows do not shave their hair on the head, though glass bangles and the *tāli* (symbol of marriage) are removed. Among some Vīraśaivas, widow marriage is allowed in the *kudike* form, and a Gaṇachar presides over the formalities. Wedding does not take place in her own house, nor is it attended by married women. It takes place in the dark fortnight of the month, and the wedding garment presented to her by the husband must be worn in a dark room. Among the Sādar Lingāyat, a widow is allowed to wear the *tāli* and the bangles. A woman married in the *kudike* form is not allowed to wear toe-rings again, nor is she allowed to have the vermilion mark on her forehead, nor to wear the *tāli*. She is forbidden to take part in any ceremony along with married women.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

When a woman in an orthodox family is big with child, she has to wear a *linga* for the sake of her child; for it is believed, that the embryo begins to have life during that month. Soon after delivery,

the mother and the baby are washed, and the *linga* is removed from the arm of the mother, and tied round the neck of the child. On the eleventh or twelfth day a jangam is invited, and with his *dhūl-pādodaka* (water collected after washing the feet), the house and all the members of the family including the mother and the baby are purified. The chief member of the family seats the jangam on a *gaddige* (raised seat) and collects the water in a basin. Drops of water are forced into the mouth of the baby. When the priest finishes the *pūja*, he is given *tambittu* (sweetened rice and flour), soaked pulse fruit, which is called *kriyākattalai*. Then, on a plantain leaf rice is heaped and a *kalaśa* is installed on it. The priest worships the *kalaśa*, takes the child in his arms, and washes the child's *linga* by *panchāmrita*. After tying it round his neck, he mutters *Sivapanchākshari mantram* in its right ear. It is called *karnabodha* (instruction through the ear). Then in consultation with the members of his family, he gives a name to the child. In the Bombay Presidency, after the birth of a child, five married women go to a river or a well, worship Ganga, and bring a pot of water. The mother receives it at the door, and places it under the cradle on cholam. The child is then put in a cradle, when a name is given by the maternal uncle or aunt. Immediately, all the women assembled assault the name with their fists. After this, jangams are fed, and wet grain is distributed. The names of boys and girls are those belonging to Siva and his consort. Sometimes, they have the name of Basava, *guru* or *ācharaya*. The following are some of the names in vogue among them—

| Men. | Women. |
|---|---|
| Basavalingappa. | Basavamma. |
| Channabasavappa. | Guramma. |

| Men. | Women. |
|---|---|
| Gurulingappa. | Channabasavamma. |
| Gurubasavappa. | Deviramma. |
| Karibasavappa. | Guramma. |
| Mallikarjunappa. | Gangamma. |
| Mahesvarappa. | Nirvanamma. |
| Nirvanappa. | Parvatamma. |
| Nanjundappa. | Omkāri. |
| Omkarappa. | Siddamma. |
| Rudrappa. | Viramma. |
| Siddalingappa. | Chikkabasavamma. |
| Virabhadrappa. | Rēvanamma. |

Diksha or Aitan (Initiation).

The rite of *Aitan* or initiation is performed for the unmarried sons of all jangams. When it is performed on a youth, he becomes fit to hold the highest religious posts, and is fit to become a Mahādevayya or the head of a religious house. A jangam who has no sons has the rite performed at his expense on one of the sons of a lay disciple below the Panchamasāli group. The boy who is chosen from a Lingāyat family should be of respectable parentage and his ancestors, both male and female side, even to the eleventh generation, should not have been descended from married widows. For this reason, the sons of *maṭhapathis* or beadles and of *gaṇachars* seldom undergo initiation or *aitan*. A boy is initiated when he is between eight and ten years of age. The ceremony takes place at night, so that no non-Lingāyat may see it. It should take place in one of the seven months from *Vaisach* (April-May) to *Phalgun* (February-March inclusive)—on one out of eight days in either fortnight, namely, the second, third, fifth, seventh, tenth, eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth—either on a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, and in one of the lower mansions or *nakshatras*, namely, *Anurādha*, *Hasta*, *Māgha*, *Mārgasirsha*, *Mūla*, *Rēvati*, *Rōhini*, *Uttra*, *Uttrashada* and *Uttara-bhadrapāda*. If the boy is to become a

*virakta* or celebate, his initiation is performed in the dark half of the month, and if he is intended to be a *grihasta* or house-holder, the ceremony takes place in the bright half of the month. In an initiation, *bhūsuddhi* or earth purifying is the first observance. Either in a religious or a dwelling house, a piece of ground eleven and a quarter to twelve and half or eight and a quarter feet is dug, seven and a half to eight and a quarter deep. Bits of stone and tiles and other larger objects which may be found in the pit are removed, and it is filled with fresh earth which is beaten hard. At the same time, the house is well white-washed, painted, and its floor smeared with cow-dung. On the auspicious day fixed for the ceremony, a small bower, with a canopy of silk cloth is raised on the sacred spot thus prepared. At the entrance of the bower, an arch is made of two plantain trees or sugarcane stalks. The flower *or bezoar*, of the bower is plastered with *gorochan* cow-dûng, clarified butter, cow's milk and cow's urine and on it is drawn a large parallelogram with lines of quartz powder, and within it, three small parallelograms. Of these, the first which lies farthest from the entrance, measures three feet and a quarter. It is covered with a folded silk or woollen cloth, and is set apart for the *guru* or initiator. The second or middle one is six feet by two and a half feet. In the centre and each corner is set a *kalaśa*, brass or copper vessel with a narrow mouth, and dome-shaped bottom. These five vessels represent five mouths of Śiva, and the five *gōtras* or family stocks which are believed to have sprung from them. The names of the five mouths are Aghōra, Isānya, Sadyojāta, Tatpurusha and Vāmdev. Of the five jars, Sadyojāta is placed at the corner next to the *guru's* right hand, and the Vāmdev at the corner next to his left hand. Opposite the Sadyojāt is

set the Tatpurusha and opposite the Vāmdev, the Āghōr. In the centre is placed Isānya. Each jar is covered with five pieces of cloth, white, black, red, green and yellow, and before each of them are laid five halves of dry cocoanuts, five dry dates, five betel leaves and five copper coins as also five turmeric roots. The third or the last design, which is not a parallelogram, but a square each way is close to the entrance of the bower. The square is covered with a woollen cloth seat, and is occupied by the boy whose head has been completely shaved, with a *sikha* on the back. Since then, he is naked and fasting. Near the *guru* are placed a small vessel, called *gilalu*, a conch shell and a cane. Behind the boy sits a man belonging to his *gōtra* with cocoanut in his hands. This man bows to the *guru* and says, 'excellent teacher! purify this body of flesh and blood.' After him, the boy also bows to the *guru*, and worships an earthen vessel filled with water, in whose mouth is a cocoanut covered with a piece of cloth. The boy first marks the vessel with sandal paste, burns frankincense before it, and offers it molasses, fruit, betel nut, betel leaves and money. At the end of the jar worship, a string composed of five strands is wound five times round the jars, the *guru* and the boy in the following order, each object mentioned being encircled five times before passing on to the next—Isānya, Sadyojāta, Isānya, *guru*, Isanya, Vāmdev, Isānya, Aghōra Isānya, boy, Isānya, Tatpurusha. When the *guru* and the boy are thus seated, the *mathapathi* or Lingāyat beadle, worships the *linga* which the boy wears on his hand and head. He first washes the boy's *linga* with seven holy waters in this order, *gandōdaka*, or sandal paste water, *dhūlodaka* or dust water *bhasmōdaka*, or holy ash water, *suvarnōdaka* or gold water, *ratnōdaka* or jewel water and

*pushpōdaka* or flower water. He then washes the *linga* seven times with a mixture called *panchāmrita* or five nectars, namely, milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and sugar. In the same way, he washes the boy's hand and his head. The *guru* then gives the boy a *jholi*, a beggar's four-mouthed wallet and staff, and asks him to beg alms of those who witness the ceremony. The boy is given *dhātubhiksha* or metal alms, *i.e.*, gold, silver or copper coins. After gathering the alms, the boy gives them with the bag to his *guru*, bows low before him, and asks him to return the bag promising to obey all his commands to the latter. The *guru*, after commanding him to live on alms, to share them with the helpless and to lead a virtuous life, returns his bag. The boy gives him vessels and clothes, and to other jangams money and clothes. Besides these gifts, the *guru* takes a handful of coins from a heap worth Rs. 3 As. 8, the rest of which is distributed to ordinary or *Sāmanya* jangams. The friends and kinsmen of the boy's parents present the boy with clothes and vessels; and he takes a light repast. On the next morning, the boy's father gives a feast to the caste men and to the jangams of all orders as also to friends and relations.*

DIKSHA.

This is a cleansing rite on every lingāyat who is entitled to the *ashtavarna* rites and who wishes to enter into a grade higher than his own or to readmit one who has been put out of caste. In the main points, *dīksha* does not differ from *aitan* or initiation; the only difference is that in the purification rite, it is not necessary that a celebate jangam should be a performer. His place is often taken by a family priest. As the person on whom the rite

* R. E. Enthovan: Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, pages 237—239, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII, pages 230—233.

is to be performed is old enough to pray for himself, no man of his family stock is required to sit behind him. The *dīksha* rite can be performed on twenty or thirty persons at the same time. When a person has undergone the rite, and has entered into a higher grade, he or she does not eat with his former kinsmen. But this contingency rarely arises except when a girl marries into a higher grade. The ceremony performed at the time of tying a *linga* on the child's neck or arm is also called *dīskha*.*

*Upanayanam*.—Besides the ceremonies above mentioned, some *Vīraśaivas* perform also the *upanayanam* ceremony for boys corresponding to that of the *Viravaishṇvas*.

FAMILY LIFE INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

These are the same as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Lingāyats is founded on the belief in Siva as having *sakti* or attributes, or Saguna Śiva, or more popularly, Śiva and his family group. But what makes the Lingāyats distinct from the ordinary Śiva worshippers is the body of special tenets formulated by the five āchāryas. The following are some of them : (1) Siva is the only God that is all powerful. No other God should be worshipped : nor should any person that worships any other be bowed to. (2) There is no need for sacrifices, fasts, penances or purifying *samskāras*. Every person should wear a *linga* and worship it at least once in a day by washing and offering it *naivedyam* from the food he eats.† They should abstain from flesh, fish and liquor, and should also practice *ahimsa*, *i.e.*, kindness to animals. (3) They should have *ashtavarna* rites—*guru*, *linga*, *jangama*, *vibhūti*, *rudrākshi tīrtha*,

* Bombay Gazetteer, p 233.

† It is the stone home of the deity.

*prasāda* and *mantra*. Jangams* are to be regarded as moving and living *lingas*, and are therefore superior to fixed *lingas* made of stones and installed in temples, as also those worn on the persons. A *guru* is considered in three aspects, namely, 1. *dikshaguru*, who ties the *linga*, 2. *sikshaguru* who imparts education, and 3. *mōkshaguru*, who is a religious guide.

The *linga*-wearers are always male and female, and therefore cannot be affected by any pollution caused by death, childbirth or woman's monthly sickness. They are not liable to transmigration, and *srāddhas* are therefore unnecessary, and so also should any cake or other offerings be given at the funerals. All *linga*-wearers are equal and consequently women have a right to choose their husbands and to re-marry. Any person can become a *lingadhāri* after undergoing a purifying *dīksha*. In short, the Virasaiva creed is summed up in the three words, *guru*, *linga* and *jangam*, and their philosophy similarly in three words, *pati*, *pasu and pāsam* (Iswara, Soul and Jagat or Māya); pati (Iswara), pasu (soul), pāsam (Jagat or Māya). The Lingāyats worship Siva and his consort Pārvati, as also his sons, Gaṇapati, Shanmukha, Vīrabhadra, his bull Nandi; also Ganga; Basava, *avatar* of Nandi, Channabasava, *avatār* of Shanmukha, and sages, such as Siddhalingesvar and Murughaswami who are regarded as Mahātmas. They worship *jangams* as Gods in the shape of men. Because the jangam is free from the changes of birth and death, he is the supporter of heaven, earth and hell. He is worshipped by all the Gods; he is the very form of Supreme Himself. They also worship *vibhūti*, *rudrākshi*, *bilva* as *angas* to the main worship. On occasions, they worship the sun, river, fire and serpents as well. The cow is sacred

* Human abodes of the deity.

also to them. Monday is also sacred and the villagers do not work on that day. On Tuesdays, some offer *pūja* to Vīrabhadra whose offerings are given only to children. Friday is auspicious to women who adore the female deities. Gokarnam, Ulivi, Srisailam, Parvatagiri, Hampi, Tuljapur are sacred places to which they make pilgrimages. All visit the twelve sacred shrines of India. But the most sacred of all are the *jangams* who have become mediators, the washings of their feet and toes are sacred *thīrthas*, and the leavings of their dishes, the sacred *prasādas*, and the touch of their feet on the head is the greatest of all blessings. Some do not subscribe to the above doctrines, for they do not belong to the five āchāryas.

"The denial of the supremacy of the Brāhmans coupled with the assertion of the essential equality of all men constituted a vital departure from the orthodox Hinduism. The belief in rebirth and consequently in the doctrine of *karma* was to be abandoned. Other important innovations are:—prohibitions of child marriages, the removal of the restrictions of widow marriage, burial instead of the burning of the dead, abolition of all kinds of pollutions arising from supposed impurities."*

SIVA WORSHIP.

"Siva worship is of three kinds: (a) If you worship Siva without knowing the Vedas and Āgamas, just as you like, this is passionate worship: (b) if you worship according to your pleasure only, now believing the Vedas and Agamas, then disbelieving them: this is dark ignorant worship; (c) but if you worship according to the rites prescribed in these holy books, with devotion, this is true worship."

(*a*) If you worship Siva thinking that he is in your *linga*, this is clear worship; (*b*) if you worship

* R. E. Enthoven: *Bombay Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, page 245.



SRIMAN MAHARAJA NIRANJANA JAGATGURU
JAYADEVA MURUGHARAJENDRA MAHASWAMI
CHITALDRUG, MYSORE STATE.

thinking that from that linga the five faces and Sadāsiva had their origin, this is mixed worship; (*c*) if you worship thinking of Māhesha as surpassing all the Gods, this is confused worship.

(*a*) Worshipping in the hope of future recompense is *karma-worship*; (*b*) worshipping without any desire of recompense is devotion-worship; (*c*) worshipping knowing, that the worshipper and he who is to be worshipped are one, is intelligent worship.

Śivarātri and Nāgapanchami are held sacred, and are observed as days on which they fast. They believe in *mantras* and *yantras*, as also in the existence of *bhūta*, *gaṇas* and ghosts. Their belief in Vedas is confined to that part which treats of Śiva and read the *Puranas* which glorify Śiva. The principal insignias and other symbols carried in their religious processions are *Makarathoranum*, a banner with a tortoise or whale represented in embroidery; 2. *Hagaludevatti* (holding torches during the day), 3. *Swetachachatram* (white silk umbrella), *Nandidwajam* consisting of a long pole at the top of which floats a flag with a representation of Nandi, the bull, to which is fixed an image of Basava, his *avatar*, and Vyāsahasta, a long pole from which a wooden arm, believed to be that of Vyāsa, is suspended. It is said that Vyāsa, the author of the *Mahabhārata* once visited Benares with the object of establishing the superiority of Vishṇu there. When within the precincts of the temple, he raised his right arm aloft, proclaiming Vishṇu as the supreme God, Nandi rose up indignantly and cut off the right arm of the sage. Lingāyats carry a bell suspended from the flat end of a large ladle. Chalavādis of the Holeya caste ring the bell with their feet, and sing songs bordering on bigotry. The hollow ladle represents the *Bramhakapāla* (the skull of Brahma) which he had cut off. Disputes and quarrels often arise; complaints and counter-complaints

were lodged in courts of law; and Vyāsahasta is in many places prohibited.

THE CHIEF LINGAYAT FASTS AND FESTIVALS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chaitra (April–May) .. | Chaitra Suddha Pradipadam, Suddha Purnima, Ugādi New Year's Day. |
| Vaisach (May–June) .. | Basava Jayanti Suddhathrayodasi (Ekoramāradhya Jayanti), Suddha Panchami (Dārukarādhya Jayanti). |
| Srāvan (August–September) .. | Suddha Panchami, Nāga Panchami. |
| Bhadrapāda (September–October) | Gauri and Ganēsa Feasts. |
| Āswayuja (October–November) .. | Sarasvati pūja, Vijayadasami, Sami pūja. |
| Kartik (November–December) .. | Suddhapratipada, Dipāvali and all Mondays. Skanda Sashti. |
| Māgh (January–February) .. | Māgha Suddha Ashtami, Muduktore Mallikārjunaswāmi ratha, Vyāsapurnima, Bahula Chathurdasi, Mahāsivarāthri, Pandithārādhya and Viswarādhya Jayanti. |
| Phalgun (February–March) .. | Sudddha Triodasi, Renukārādhya Jayanti, Nanjundēsvara ratha Suddha Purnima, Kāmadāhana, Revanasiddesvara betta, Balehonnur pitada rathōtsva. |

VIRASAIVA AND VIRAVAISHNAVA TENETS COMPARED.

Suddha Virasaivas are strong devotees of Siva as Viravaishṇavas are those of Vishnu, and comparisons of the tenets of the Suddha Viraśaivas and Viravaishṇavas are given below:

| VIRASAIVA TENETS. | VIRAVAISHNAVA TENETS. |
|---|---|
| 1. Siddhānta Visishtādwaita .. | Visishatādwaita. |
| 2. Virasaivas believe in Sakti Visishtādwaita and Parabramha. | Viravaishnavas believe in Jagat Visishtādwaita and Parabramha. |
| 3. Virasaiva believe Sakti in two forms (*a*) *stūlachidachidamaka Sakti sukshmachidachidamaka sakti.* | Viravaishnavas believe the Jagat as existing in two forms, *chidachidamaka jagat, stūl chidachidamaka jagat.* |
| 4. Virasaivas believe in Siva as Parabramha. | Viravaishnavas believe in V as Parabramha. |
| 5. They say that all the universe is the work of Siva. | They say that all the universe work of Vishnu. |
| 6. They say that Siva is the ultimate goal, and the supreme God. | They say that Vishnu is ultimate goal, and the Su God. |



SRI JAGATGURU NILAKANTALINGA SIVACHARYA MAHASWAMI RAVAL SAHEB OF KEDAR MATHA, OKHI MATHA, GARWAL DISTRICT, HIMALAYAS.



SRI JAGATGURU NAGALUTI BHIKSHAVRITI SIVACHARYA DESIKENDRA MAHASWAMI, SRISAILA SIMHASAN MATHA, GUNTAKAL, BELLARY DISTRICT.

| Virasaiva Tenets. | Viravaishnava Tenets. |
|---|---|
| 7. The Virasaivas say that other gods except Siva should not be worshipped. | Viravaishnavas say that other gods except Vishnu should not be worshipped. |
| 8. They believe that the souls of the dead will go to Kailāsa, the abode of Siva. | They say that the souls of the dead will go to Vaikunta, the abode of Vishnu. |
| 9. They say that men should worship Siva with his consort. | They say that Vishnu should be worshipped with his consort Lakshmi. |
| 10. They believe in Vedas and Siva agamas. | They believe in Vedas and Pancharātra āgamas. |
| 11. They uphold Siva agamas as authority and refer to it. | They believe in Panchrātra agamas and stick to it. |
| 12. They have five *gurupitas*. | They have eight *gurupitas*. |
| 13. As soon as a child is born, a *linga* is tied round his neck, and Sivapanchaksharimantra is whispered in his or her ear. | As soon as a child is born, a flower resembling *Chakra* is pressed into his or her arms and Nārayana Ashtākshari mantram is whispered into the ear. |
| 14. Children are named after Siva and his consort. | Children are named after Vishnu and his consort. |
| 15. A widow wears Kāvi vastra .. | A widow wears white cloth. |
| 16. *Pūjas* are preformed with bilva leaves. | *Pūjas* are performed with tulsi leaves. |
| 17. After Upanayana, Siva *dīksha* is given to the child, during which the body of the boy is purified by *Vedokta samskara*. The purified *linga* tied to the boy at birth is further purified by another *samskāra*, into *Sivagāyitri*. | After *Upanayana*, Vaishnava *diksha* is given to the child. During this period, the boy is purified by the same *samskāra* and *tapta mudrānkana*. The boy is initiated into Vishnu-gāyatri. |
| 18. They wear *Bhasma* prepared from cowdung on their face horizontally. | They wear vertical marks on their foreheads and body with a kind of clay and vermilion. |
| 19. They wear Rudrāksha beads. | They wear tulsi beads. |
| 20. They peruse *Siva purāna* compiled by Vyāsa. | They peruse *Vishnu Purana* compiled by Vyāsa. |
| 21. They say that Vyasa is *Sivabhakta* (devotee of Siva). | They say that Vyasa is a Vishnubhakta (devotee of Vishnu). |
| 22. They have Siva as presiding over all *yagnās* or sacrifices. | They hold Vishnu as presiding over all *yagnas*. |
| 23. All non-Brahmans wear *Bhasmam*. | All non-Brahmans wear *Urdhava Sanka* and *Chakradhārana*. |

24. Both Virasaivas and Viravaishnavas belong to the *ācharya* families who are the originators, and these families have *sishya vargas* or disciples.

25. Both have *grihastas* and *Sanyasis*; *jati samskāras*; *chāturvarnāsramas*.

As has been said, the three main objects of reverence of the Lingāyats are the *linga*, the *jangam* and the *guru*. The *linga* is the stone home of the deity, the *jangam* is the human abode of the deity, and the *guru* is the teacher who breathes the sacred spell into the disciple's ear. The linga worn by the Lingāyats is generally made of light grey slate stone, and consists of two discs, each about three-fourths of an inch in diameter; the lower one is about one-eighth of an inch thick, the upper is slightly thicker. It is separated from the lower by a deep groove about an eighth of an inch broad from the centre which is slightly round, raises a pea-like knob about a quarter of an inch long and broad, giving the stone *linga* a total height of three-quarter of an inch. The knob is called the bin or arrow. The upper disc is called *jalhari*, *i.e.*, the water carrier, which becomes part of a full-sized *linga* and is grooved to carry off the water which is poured over the central knob. It is also called *pith*, that is, the seat, and *pithak*, a little seat. Over the *linga*, to keep it from warmth, is plastered a black mixture of clay, cowdung ashes and marking-nut juice. The coating which is called *kānthi* or the covering hides the shape of the enclosed *linga*. It forms a smooth, black, slightly truncated cone, not unlike a dark betel nut about three-quarter of an inch high and narrowing from three-quarters of an inch at the base to half an inch across the top. The stone of which the linga is made comes from Parvatagiri in North Arcot district. It is brought by a class of people called Kambli Jangams, because, besides the linga stone, they bring shoulder bamboo (*hamti*), the holy water of the Pātal Ganga, a pond in Parvatagiri whose water the Lingāyats hold sacred as the Hindus hold the water of the Ganges. A *linga*

*Vide* Religion of the Āradhyas, Vol. II, pp. 38—41.



THE PRESENT JAGATGURU
SRI SIDDHALINGA SIVACHARYA
MAHASWAMI OF THE UJJAINI MATHA.

SRI JAGATGURU SHIVANANDA RAJENDRA
SIVACHARYA MAHASWAMI RAMBHAPURI
VIRASIMHASANA BALEHONNUR MATHA,
KADUR DISTRICT MYSORE.

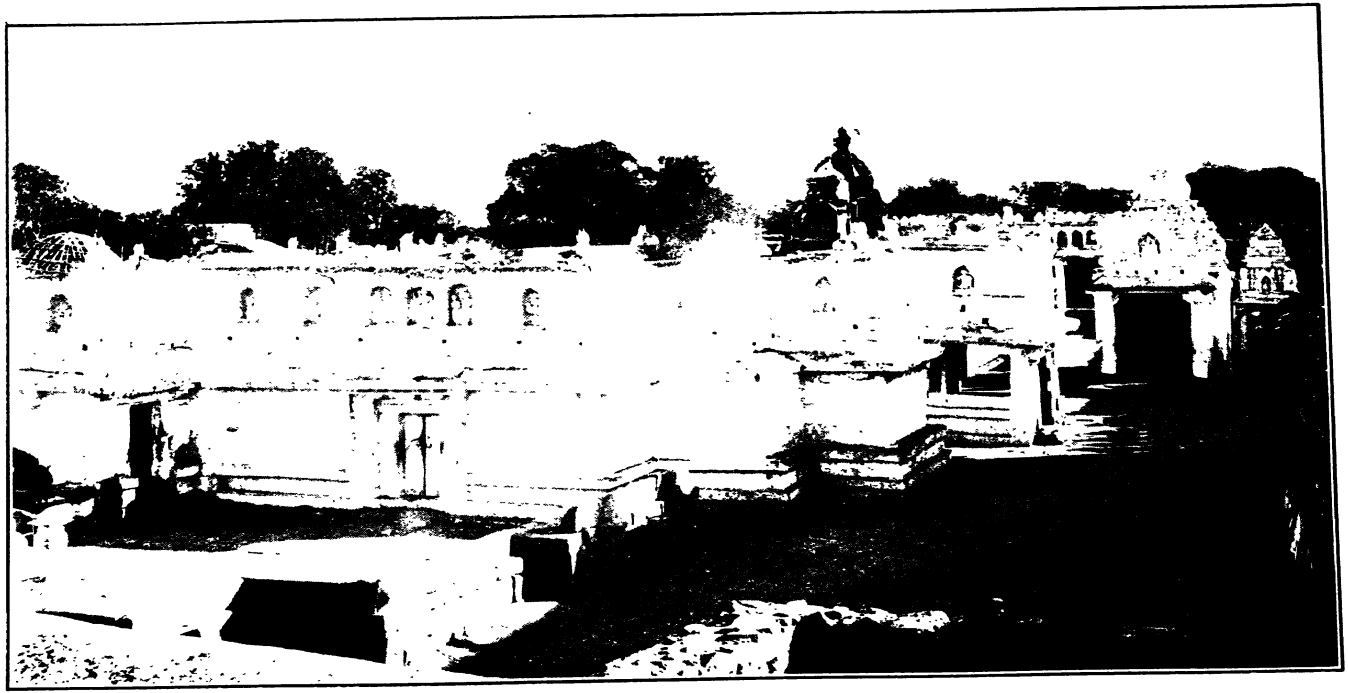
SRI JAGATGURU SIVALINGA
SIVACHARYA MAHASWAMI
JANGAMVADI MATHA, BENARES.

should be worn round the arm of a pregnant woman from the eighth month of pregnancy, and to the arm of the child as soon as it is born. A child's linga has no *kānthi*, a *kānthi* is not added for months and sometimes for years. The *linga* is sometimes tied to the cradle in which the child sleeps instead of to the child. The *linga* is worn either on the wrist, the arm from the left shoulder like a sacred thread, and some carry it in the waist band of the lower garments. The last two modes of wearing are contrary to the rule, and further it should never be worn below the navel. It is worn either tied round by a ribbon or in a silver box fastened by a silver chain. Each family has generally a few spare *lingas* in stock. It is never shown to any one who does not wear it himself. It should be taken three times a day, washed, rubbed with ashes and a string of *rudrāksha* beads wound round it. A man or woman keeps the same *linga* all through life, and in the grave, it is taken out of the case and tied round the neck or arm of the corpse. If it is accidentally lost, the loser has to fast, give a caste dinner, go through a ceremony of *suddhi* or cleansing, and receive a new *linga* from his *guru*. For the cleansing, he bathes and washes a Virakta Jangam's feet, rubs cowdung ashes on his head and bows before him. He sprinkles on his body the water in which the Jangam's feet are washed, and sips a little of it along with the five cow-gifts. The jangam places the new *linga* on his left palm, washes it with water, rubs cowdung ashes on it, lays a bael leaf on it, mutters some texts or *mantrams* over it, and ties it round the neck of the worshipper. When a jangam loses his *linga*, the case becomes serious, and many a jangam is said to have lost his caste on account of losing his *linga*. The *guru* is a religious teacher, the third watch-word of the Lingayat faith, and is either a Virakta celebate, a Sāmanya, or ordinary Jangam.

When the head of a religious house is a Virakta, he is generally succeeded by his pupil who undergoes a training during his life-time. These pupils remain unmarried, and are the sons of married clergy or laymen who under a vow or some other cause have, as children, been devoted to a religious house under a vow, and are called *maris* or youths. The *gurus*, as already mentioned, are of five classes. In practice, the Lingāyats worship many gods as the Brahmans. Worship of the heavenly bodies was specially forbidden in the original faith. Silavants and other strict Lingāyats cover the drinking water, so that the Sun may not see it. It is said that the Sun is Brahma. Further, fasts and feasts, penances and pilgrimages, rosaries and holy water are forbidden, but they have not passed beyond the sphere of books. They keep fasts and even partial fasts, followed by feasts. The theory that nothing can defile a *linga* has much toned down in practice. A coming of age and monthly sickness, a birth and death are believed to cause impurity, though it is much less thought of, and is much more easily and quickly cleansed than among the Brahmanic Hindus. Lingāyats consult astrologers. The worship of the Hindu deities such as Hanuman, Yellamma, Māruti and many others is very common.

LINGAYAT MATHAS.

There are five great religious centres or *maṭhas* for the Lingāyats, namely, 1. Bālehonnur in the Koppa Taluk of the Kadur district; 2. Ujjini in the Kudli Taluk of the Bellary district; 3. Himavat Kedāra in the Gharval district; 4. Srisaila in the Kurnul district; 5. Jangamavadi mutt in Benares. These were respectively established by Renukarādhya, Marularādhya, Ekoramarādhya, Panditarādhya, and Visvarādhya. The seat of Srisaila has now been removed to Guntakal in the Anantapur



UJJAINI MATHA

District. Kolipakki is another of some reputation, where Rēnukarādhya was born. Each of the five great *maṭhas* is called a Simhāsana (throne) and has sub-maṭhas in important places under the management of Pattadaswamis who are celebates. Each sub-*maṭha* has a number of branch *maṭhas* called Gurustalas or Grihasta *maṭhas*, and these are to be found wherever a community of Lingāyats exists. The rights and duties of these *matadhipathis* are to preside over all religious functions, to settle all disputes and to exercise a general control over all matters affecting the religious interests of the community at large.

It has been mentioned that Viraktas called Nirābhāris hold the highest position among the Lingāyats. There are three Virakta *mathas*, one of which in Mysore is called the Murugi *matha* in the Chitaldrug District, the other two called Dombal and Murusavirad *matha* in the Dharwar District. They have their *mathas* all over India. They exercise their control all over Viraktas. Each Lingāyat centre has a Virakta *maṭha* outside the village or town, where the Viraktaswāmi leads a simple life. He cannot preside over ceremonial occasions, nor can he receive more alms than he requires for a day. He should devote his time in disseminating spiritual knowledge and meditation. The Viraktaswāmi is revered more than the idols installed for worship. When the idol is installed in a car-procession, the Swāmi of the Murugi maṭha is seated above the idol placing his right foot on its head. But this practice has been stopped by the Government. The Viraktās and Pattādikāris bathe twice or thrice a day and worship their *lingās*. The disciples wash the feet of these *gurus* twice in a day. The water in which the feet are washed is called dhulpādōdaka or feet-dust water. Laymen sprinkle this water on their bodies and on the walls

of their houses for purification. The water in which the *guru's* feet are washed subsequently, is called *karuṇe* or grace, a few drops of which are then distributed among the laymen who sip it to purify their soul. The swāmi worships the *linga* with flowers, then incense and lights are waved. Fruits are then offered. The disciples and guests are then blessed with them ; and when each of them prostrates at his feet, the *guru* places the palm of his right hand on the disciple's head as a mark of final blessing.

The same procedure is gone through when a jangam is invited to a house, and treated with equal respect. On a ceremonial occasion when a jangam is invited to a house, *pūjas* are performed and *thirtham* is received, as also the blessings with the touch of his foot. He is seated on a plank with a low stool before him on which food is served in metallic dishes. After he has taken his food, he washes his plate with a little water. Then he chews betel leaves and nuts, he washes his hands and rinses his mouth. It is only after the jangam finishes his meals that the laymen can eat.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

When a person is at the point of death, the ceremony of *vibhutidhārane* is performed, and he is helped to wash and make a pūja of his *ishtalinga*, and sip the water in which his *guru's* feet are washed. He is made to make a gift of *vibhūti* and some *rudrāksha*. The *guru* whispers the *panchākshara mantra* into his right ear, and places his right foot on his head by way of blessing. This ceremony is performed only for Viraśaivas and Nirabhāri classes. It matters not if the person dies at any stage of this ceremony. If he had died before the arrival of the *guru*, the chief mourner washes the dead body, and places it on the floor which has been previously cleaned with cowdung and strewn with ashes and quatrz powder,

and on which *panchākshara* has been traced. On the arrival of the *guru*, his *dhulpādodaka* is poured into the mouth, and sprinkled on the body of the deceased. The chief mourner washes the *linga* of the deceased and worships it. The *guru* then places his right foot on the head of the corpse. Fruits and flowers are offered to the feet of the *guru*. This is called *vibhūtiviliya*, and is indispensable to those that are initiated in *dīksha*. In the meanwhile, information has been sent round to the members of the community, of whom one member at least of every family is bound to attend. Preparations for a feast are in progress : the dead body is placed in a sitting posture, dressed in good clothes, and decked in ornaments and flowers. The *guru* and *jangams* are invited, and feast is given to them, as also *dakshiṇa* and *pānsupari* by his hand as on marriage occasion before death. Then the laymen are fed in the presence of the dead. Preparations of a different kind are going on without. A green *vimāna* (vehicle) in the form of a chair is being made with bamboos, and covered with cocoanut leaves and sugarcane and flowers, drummers with their bulls tethered are beating their drums on the fires made for the purpose, pipers are ready, and other equipments are attended to for the funeral procession. The bier-carriers are honoured with *tāmbula* and other presents. The pipers lead the procession, the relations and friends walking in front or behind the corpse, often busying themselves with something wanting or forgotten. The chief mourner walks by the side of the *vimāna*, often holding it. All this while, the grave diggers have been no less busy in preparing the grave for which measurements have been taken by the feet of a man ; for the grave of a deceased person should be nine feet long, and five feet broad. It must have three steps, each step a foot wide ; at the bottom

is a platform three feet wide on a side, a niche is scooped out, and it is of two kinds. The one called *gomukha samādhi*, facing the east or the north, is for married persons and is five-cornered, the other known as *sikhara samādhi* is for celebates, and is in the form of a peak. The sides of the niche in either case are three feet long, and half as much deep. When the funeral party has arrived at the grave, the corpse is stripped of all its clothes and ornaments. It is then carried into the grave, and placed on the platform crosslegged, when his *linga* is taken out of the case, and tied to the neck or right arm. The case is given to the *guru* who is sitting on a step, and places his right foot on the head of the body which is now allowed to have a loin cloth and a cloth for the covering of the face. This is the last blessing. The body is then placed in the niche which is filled partially with ashes and faded bael leaves and flowers that have been offered to Siva in worship. The vacant spaces are now filled with the same articles. The grave is then filled with earth. On the grave is placed a stone on which the *guru* stands, when his feet are washed by the chief mourner and *bael* leaves and *dakshiṇa* are offered to him. The coins are distributed among the jangams assembled. The *guru* then declares (naming the person) that such and such a person has reached *Kāilasa* whereupon the party disperse. Each person that has attended the funeral bathes, takes in the *Pādōdaka* of his family *guru*. The funeral is thus brought to a close.

In the case of rich persons, funeral ceremonies are performed on a large scale. More persons gather and more money is spent, and a richer grave is prepared. At each corner of it, a copper foil or birch bark, bearing Śiva *mantrams* and the form of a *linga* is placed so as to make it sacred. The walls of the grave are adorned with pictures. Five kinds of

metals and five kinds of precious stones are also kept in the niche. In the case of the burial of a jangam, five *lingas* made of earth are also added. This is called *Kriyasamādhi*. In the case of a person dying an unnatural death, the dead bodies are disposed of without any ceremony. This is called *Bailu Samādhi*. In all cases, before the grave is filled up, the chief mourner throws in three handfuls of earth made by the *guru* and others follow suit.

If the deceased is a married woman whose husband is alive, her *tāli, kedike* (wrist ornament) are also buried with her. The *ishtalinga* which comes with the body, and belongs to it does not in all cases go with it. The soul is considered to sit in *samadhi* on its way to Kailasa. There is no impurity for death, nor death pollution. Nor is there need for cake-offering or *Srāddhās*. But the true lingayats perform *Srāddhas* just like the Brāhmans. According to the Lingāyat faith, the soul does not exist on earth as disembodied or embodied in another birth. Some people, however, propitiate Siva with *rudrāksha* for eleven days. On the eleventh or the twelfth day, the Jangams and castemen are fed unless the deceased is childless or has met with an unnatural death. Against their tenets, they invoke their ancestors in a group on a day in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada. Some call it *kadina habba* or feast of the graveyard in which they take two pots full of water, and roll a new *panche* round the one, and a new *sadi* round the other and offer them food. They likewise violate their tenets by observing *huviliya* to please the soul of the deceased. A *kalaśa* full of water is taken, and clothed in a fresh *sadi* decked with flowers. It is worshipped with offering of food ; and after feeding married women, a prayer is repeated to receive the blessings, after which the second wife wears the *sadi* from the kalaśa.

Occupation. The jangam lives by begging and by acting as priest to the people. Among the laymen, many are merchants and money-lenders, and most of the Panchamasālis are cultivators. They have never entered the army and the police. Some are in the Government service. The high class Lingāyat youths have been entering Government service. Some also are lawyers, some are agriculturists. The following are the ceremonies performed by them for having good crops. Before ploughing, the bullocks are worshipped. The horns of the animals are washed and smeared with ashes. Then follows the worship of the plough. The seed-drill is daubed with lime and the other parts with red earth. The bunch of leaves and bits of turmeric are stuck in two or three places. To the drill, a string of marking nuts and pieces of palmyra leaves are tied. *Kunkuma* is applied to it, and offerings are made. The drill is next carried to the field, bullocks are yoked and a cocoanut is broken to the cross-beam. Before reaping, milk and ghee are sprinkled on the crop. At the threshing floor, a ceremony called *charaga* is gone through. A conical shaped image of cowdung is set in front of the grain heap, and on its top are placed the hair of the tail of the bullock, a cholam stalk, a flower of avare and tumin (*Lences aspera*). Before it is spread, food is brought from home, and a cocoanut is then broken. Some food is thrown on the floor, and the residue is eaten. The grain is winnowed and heaped. It is measured before sunset after breaking the cocoanut. The man who measures the grain faces the north, and no one is allowed to speak, nor any stranger allowed to enter the premises, as it is believed that his entrance would diminish the heap. The mysterious appearance is called *Ulusu*.

Social Status. The Lingāyats never eat at the hands of Bhavis (*Alingis*) nor do they take even sweetmeat which is

not boiled in water. But from pure Lingāyats food is accepted by Kshatriyas, Gangadigas. The Lingāyats avoid all contact with *Alingis*. In some places, they have a separate well for themselves. They have their own barber and washerman. They can enter any Hindu temple and worship the deities. Lingāyatism as State Religion continued from A. D. 1399 to 1610.

ADMISSION INTO THE LINGAYAT FAITH.

Outsiders are freely admitted into their faith, but not at present. In a few recent instances, some Kappus or Reddis were recently converted, but they still intermarry with their castemen. In Dharwar, some Timinakattis, otherwise called Kuruvinnavaru, weavers, who were converted by a jangam, cut off all intercourse with their castemen.* Persons for conversion into the community have to undergo a purifying ceremony for three days, consisting of a complete shave on the first day, a bath in cow's urine and a fast, a bath in *dhulpādōdaka* ; on the second day, the fast is broken with milk and sugar : on the third day, a bath in *panchamrita*, and finally drinking a little of jangama's *thīrtha*. A *linga* is finally tied round his neck ; but he cannot eat with the Lingāyats.

DIETARY OF THE COMMUNITY.

Lingāyats are strict vegetarians and the chief articles of diet are rice, spiked millet, pulse, vegetables, onions, milk, curd and clarified butter. As regards eating, a member of any of the main divisions will eat with any member of the corresponding or higher division. None of the divisions below the Jangam eat in the house of an inferior division. But in a field, a rest house, or in any place except in a host's house, so long as the host has used a new set of earthen

* In Honnali and Holalkare of the Chitaldrug District, Kunchitigas have become Lingayats.

vessels, they will eat food cooked by the host even though he may belong to an inferior division. In a *matha*, on the contrary, a Lingāyat will eat bread which a Jangam has gathered by his begging. Though the rule is that a member of the lower division is allowed to eat with a member of a higher division in a religious house, when a jangam is present, the privilege is not granted to all classes who profess Lingāyatism, but only to the higher of them. Similarly, there is no objection to any *linga*-wearing man coming into a Lingāyat house and seeing the food.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Lingāyats are a large community and vary in complexion, height and colour. They are, for the most part, dark in complexion, resembling the races in South India in this respect. They are fairer than the Bedas, and occasionally differ from the Maharatta Kunbis. Some of the Lingāyat women are remarkably fair-skinned. The striking points of a Lingāyat man are his *linga* which is worn round his neck or tied in a ribbon round the upper left arm.

The men wear the waist cloth, the jacket and the head gear and the women wear the robe and the bodice. The robe is worn round the waist and allowed to fall to the ankles. The end of the skirt is not passed between the legs, and tucked into the waist behind, but is gathered into a large bunch of folds in front to the left side. The upper end is passed across the bosom and over the head, and hangs loosely down the right side. The two ends of the bodice are tied into a knot leaving the arms, neck and throat bare. Many of them have silk and brocade clothes for holiday use. They are fond of black either by itself or mixed with red. Some are as clean as Brahmans. High class Lingāyat women wear glass bangles, and the *mangalya sūtra*, and the putting on of the lucky necklace (*mangalya sūtra*) plays a

much more prominent part in a Lingāyat than in a Brahman wedding. The married Lingāyat women whose husbands are alive mark their brows with *kunkuma* and ashes. Even after the second marriage, no widow is allowed to put on these marks. They do not wear false hair with flowers.

Both men and women are fond of ornaments. The men wear on the neck *kantisara* and *chandrahar*, round both wrists *Kappa*, round the right wrists *usabalis*, round the waist the *udidara*, and rings on the fingers. A rich man's ornaments are of gold, and a poor man's of silver. The women wear ear-rings called *vale*, *bugdi*, *jimki*, *ghanti*, and *balighanti* all of gold with or without pearls ; the nose rings called *mugunath* and *mugti*, all of gold with or without pearls ; round the neck, *gajja addika konditika*, and *putlisara* ; on the arm, *vanki*, *nagamuri*, and *bājīband* ; on the wrist, *patali toda* and *kankanas* ; round the waist, *dabu* either with clasps representing mouths of animals or simple clasps ; on the ankles, *paijan*, a *kalkadagas*, and *kalungara*, *sarapali*, *all of silver* ; and on the toes, *pille*, *gajipille*, *minpille* and *gendus*, all of silver. Poor women generally wear silver bracelets and necklaces.*

CONCLUSION.

From the foregoing account of the Lingāyats, it may be seen that they are divided into four groups, as already mentioned. They base their authority for this on *Paramēswarāgama*, *Lingadharanchandrika*, *Kriyasara*, *Srikara Bhashya Veerasaivachara Koustubha*, *Siddanta*, *Sikhamani*, etc., works, according to some authorities, produced 500 years ago. Further, it is said that the sect existed from the very beginning.

It has been, on the other hand, held that, in the eleventh century, a movement was set on foot by

* R. E. Enthoven : Bombay Tribes and Castes Vol. X, pages 351-532.

Laulisa, and subsequently spread abroad by two Brahmans, Basava and Rāmayya, devotees of Śiva, mainly to abolish the ceremonies and restrictions that fettered the intercourse between the different ranks of the orthodox Hindu society of the period. It was their primary object to establish a community on the basis of equality of its members, irrespective of sex, by means of the sole worship of the one God Śiva. It is also rightly assumed, that the early Brahman converts gradually asserted themselves in social precedence as Ayyas or Jangams, priests of the community, for which they had special fitness. They came to be regarded as the very incarnations of Śiva. They were thus holy and imparted their holiness specially to the water with which they washed their feet. It is known as *thīrtha* which plays an important part in all the Lingāyat ceremonies. The essential doctrine of equality for which they strenuously contended became completely undetermined. Further, when cases of conversion took place, converts were admitted to a footing of equality on the common ground of the worship of Śiva, and the wearing of *linga* with the aid of certain ceremonies. The former social status was allowed to be retained as functional caste without the privilege of intermarriage and inter-dining. "The Lingāyats to-day present the curious spectacle of a religious sect broken up in the course of centuries into social fragments, of which the older sections remain essentially sectarian, while the most recent in origin possess typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. This bears a close analogy to the Hindu Christian converts."



A GROUP OF MADIGA MEN.

# MĀDIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BASAVIS—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE CONSTITUTION—ADMISSION OF STRANGERS INTO THE CASTE—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Mādigas, who are known as the left-hand caste, are regarded as lower than the Holeyas, or the right-hand caste* in the social scale.

According to the Census of 1921, the Mādigas numbered 2,96,821, of whom 1,39,386 were males. They are distributed over all the districts, though the four districts of Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur contain 88 per cent of this caste.

The caste is commonly known as Mādiga. They are also styled Edagaiyavaru, or of the left-hand faction. Among themselves they apply the terms Jāmbavas, Padmajātiyavaru and Mātangas, as being more euphemistic. Panchamas is a word which has been recently invented to apply to this and the Holeya caste, as a term not possessing the association suggested by the more familar names, with a low social status. Chambara and Begara are also names which others apply to this caste. Chandāla and Antyāja

* In this country, the right-hand is considered superior to the left, the former only being employed for eating or handling sacred things, while the left-hand is exclusively used for cleaning the lower parts of the body. The designation "right-hand" denotes some superiority over the left.

are bare nick-names, when special stress is meant to be laid on the inferiority of this caste.

In addressing them, the names are employed generally by all the other castes; and sometimes the suffix *gadu* (in Telugu) or *ga* (in Kannada) is added to emphasise the comparative inferiority of the person addressed. Among themselves *appa*, *ayya*, and *amma* are the honorific suffixes employed when addressing elderly persons. The term "Manegar" (headman) is sometimes applied to the headman, or an elderly respectable member of the caste.

The Mādigas and the Holeyas are sometimes known as the "black people," *Nallajanamu* in Telugu and *Kappujana* in Kannada, and the term *Nalla kula-chāramu* is said to be the usage of these castes. But these terms are not well known, and their application is not quite established. *

The meaning of the term Mādiga is not clear. It is supposed to be a corruption of Mātanga. The caste known as Mhāngs in the Maharashtra country correspond to Mādigas, and the names may perhaps be connected with each other. The termination "*iga*" seems to denote their profession, but the first part cannot be traced to any root in the Kannada language. Mātanga, in Sanskrit, is applied to a *Kirāta*, or a mountaineer, or a barbarian. Mātanga was applied to a dynasty (as it was believed) of hill tribes, but whether they had any connection with these Mādigas, it is impossible to say. They have no such tradition, and say that the name is derived from Mātanga† Rishi.

Mādigas belong to the left-hand group of castes, as the Holeyas to the right-hand, and somehow each

* See *Mysore Census Report* of 1901, p. 254. Some of the uneducated use the term "black men" for natives, or Indians, as distinguished from "white men" for Europeans.

† To the term Mātanga, a meaning is given as 'one that may not go into the middle of a village.'

of these castes, which is the lowest in its group, has appropriated the name of the group for itself, Mādigas being generally known as *Edagai* (left-hand) men, and Holeyas as *Balagai* (right-hand) men.

Jāmbava* is the name given to a sub-division, but it is also popularly used to denote the whole caste. The name occurs in *Rāmayana* as that of the oldest member of the heterogeneous army of Rama's allies. Mādigas say they are descended from him, and believe that he was born six months before the creation of the Earth. Perhaps it is their way of laying claim to be the oldest inhabitants of the country, a claim which has some probability in its favour. The reason for the appellation of Padmajāti (lotus, caste) to Mādigas cannot be traced. Chambar, corresponding to Chakklli in Tamil, is a corrupted form apparently of Charmakāra, a worker in leather.

The name Begar cannot be said to be a proper name for this caste, though it is sometimes applied as such on account of their being commonly employed as servants for communal village-work. The term Begar means either a watchman or one who does petty services for revenue and other officials, for which he cannot ask for payment, as it is considered to be part of his customary duties. They are known collectively as *bitti* and *begari*.

The term Panchama is one of recent coinage (the fifth), and is applied to them and Holeyas, as they are outside the four castes mentioned in the *śāstras*. *Chandāla*, literally a cruel man, is rarely applied to any caste, except when it is meant to exhibit contempt, and then it applies indifferently to any low caste. Antyāja (literally 'born at the end') can also be hardly regarded as a special name for this caste.

* Jambava of the *Ramayana* is said to have been a bear as Hunaman was a monkey. He is stated to have lived down to the time of Krishna with whom he wrestled for the possession of a gem, styled Samantaka Mani.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

There is little doubt that this caste represents the earliest stratum among the inhabitants of this country who have settled in towns and villages. In colour and features they differ more widely than the Holeyas from the higher classes of the people. It is impossible to trace their origin with any certainty, but they have also some current stories bearing on the subject, which as usual are meant to make out that they had originally a higher status than they now possess. It is said that Jāmbava Rishi was created by Ādi Śakti, primeval force, six months before the Earth, and when the latter was still in a fluid state, he was floating on its surface. By the command of the Creator he killed his younger son, and mixed his blood with liquid earth, whereupon it curdled into a solid mass. The name given to his younger son is Heppumuni (Heppu meaning curdle). The boy however was revived by the grace of Paramēśvara and Pārvati, and gave rise to the caste of Dakkalōru, who are regarded as the inferior progeny (Haḷemakkalu) of the Mādigas. They claim descent for themselves from Yugamuni, the elder son of Jāmbava.

They were pure at first, but Jāmbava Rishi was one day presented with a cow by Siva for the benefit of his children. Once during his absence at Siva's Court, his son Yugamuni, had a visit from another rishi called Sānkhya, and entertained him hospitably; the latter found the milk of the cow so sweet that he tried to prevail upon Jāmbava's son to kill her and eat the flesh. Yugamuni did not agree, but Sānkhya himself killed the animal and induced the others to partake of the meat. On his return, Jāmbava was horrified at the deed, and dragged both the offenders for punishment to the Iśwara's Court; they were doomed to become Chandālās thenceforth, and their decendants became right-hand and the left-hand

castes, as Sānkhya had stood on the right side and Yuga on the left side at the entrance to the Court while awaiting judgment.* It is said that Mādigas have been condemned to the mean trade of shoe-making as an expiation for the original offence of their ancestor.† The wife of Yugamuni in the above account is given the name of Mātangi, but there is another story which makes a male Mātanga Rishi their progenitor. Who this Rishi was they do not know, but say that it was his curse that brought upon them their low position in life. One Mātanga is mentioned in the *Mahabhārata* as begotten by a Śūdra barber on a Brahman woman. He was therefore a Chandālā, and could not shake off this character although he performed the most severe penances. It is possible that the name adopted by Mādigas has come from this source.

It is stated that a Western Chalukya King Mangalēsa (567-610 A.D.) conquered the Mātangas. Who these were has not been definitely settled, and it is conjectured that they were hill tribes, and that Mādigas are their descendants.‡ The tribal goddess of the Mādigas is known as Mātangi. They themselves have no traditions of any connection with a ruling race, and the conjecture may be due to a mere similarity of names, and to the belief that, being aboriginal, they have ruled the country at some remote period.

"We shall now proceed to enquire who this Māthangi was, and how she came to be worshipped there. Jamadhagni Maharishi, known as Bagavān on account of his godly power and

* *Mysore Census Report* 1891, page 255. Another version of the story is given in the account of the Holeyas. Vol. III, pages 321–324.

† There is a current proverb in Kannada and Telugu about expiating the sin of killing a cow by the present of a pair of shoes. This has no apparent connection with this story, but denotes an utter disproportion between an offence and its reparation.

‡ *Bijapur Gazetteer*, page 381; *Kanara Gazetteer*, p. 81; *Madras Census Report* of 1891, p. 302.

virtues, married Rēnuka, the daughter of Rēnu, and had five sons by her, the youngest of whom was the famous Paraśurāma, an incarnation of Vishnu. 'Once upon a time,' says the *Bhagavatapurana*, 'Rēnuka having gone to the Ganga, saw the king of the Gandharvās wearing garlands of lotus, to play with the Apsaras. Having gone to the river to fetch water, she, whose heart was somewhat attracted by Chitraratha (the king of the Gandharvas) who was playing, forgot the time of *Yajna* (sacrifice). Coming to feel the delay, and afraid of the curse of the *muni*, she returned to the hermitage, and placed the pitcher before the *muni*, and remained standing with folded palms. The Muni (Jamadhagni), coming to know of the unchasteness of his wife, got enraged, and said, 'O my sons! kill this sinner.' Although thus directed, they did not do so. The said Paraśu Rāma, who was well aware of the power of the Muni in respect of meditations and asceticism, killed, as directed by his father, his mother along with his brothers. The son of Sātyavati (Jamadhagni) was pleased, and requested Rāma to pray for any favour. Rāma desired the reanimation of those killed, and their forgetfulness of the fact of their having been killed. Immediately did they get up, as though after a deep sleep. Rāma, who was conscious of the powers of his father in regard to asceticism, took the life of his dear ones.

The version locally prevalent is somewhat different. Jamadhagni Bagawan's hermitage was near this Kona, and he was worshipping the god Surabēswara, and doing *tapas* (penance) there. One day, his wife Rēnuka Devi, went very early in the morning, to the river Gundlācama to bathe, and fetch water for her husband's sacrificial rites. She was accompanied, as was her wont on such occasions, by a female slave of the chuckler (leather-worker) caste, as a sort of bodyguard and attendant. While she was bathing, the great warrior Kārthaviriyārjuna with a thousand arms happened to fly across the sky on some business of his own, and Rēnuka saw his form reflected in the water, and was pleased with it in her mind. It must be mentioned that she never used to take any vessel with her to fetch water, for her chastity was such that she had power to roll water into a pot-like shape, as if it were wax, and thus bring it home. On this day, however, she failed to effect this, try what she might, and she was obliged to return home empty-handed. In the meanwhile, the sage, her husband, finding that his wife did not return as usual, learnt through his 'wisdom sight' what had happened, and ordered his son Paraśurāma to slay his sinful mother. Paraśurāma went towards the river accordingly, and, seeing his

mother returning, aimed an arrow at her, which severed her head from her body, and also similarly severed, with its unspent force, the head of the chuckler woman who was coming immediately behind his mother. Paraśurāma returned to his father without even noticing this accident, and when his father, pleased with his prompt obedience, offered him any boon, he prayed for the re-animation of his mother. Jamadhagni then gave him some holy water out of his vessel, and told him to put together the dismembered parts, and sprinkle some water over them. Paraśurāma went off in great delight and haste, and, as it was still dark and early in the morning, he wrongly put his mother's head on the chuckler woman's trunk, and sprinkled water on them. Then seeing another head and another body lying close by, he thought that they belonged to the female slave whom he had unwittingly killed, and he put them also together, and re-animated them. He was extremely vexed when he found out the mistakes he had committed, but, as there was no rectifying them without another double murder, he produced the two women before his father, and begged to be forgiven. The sage finally accepted the person with his late consort's head as his wife, and granted to the other woman the status of an inferior deity, in response to her prayers, and owing to her having his wife's body. This was the origin of Māthangi."

The Mādigas claim to be the children of Mātangi. "There was," Mr. H. A. Stuart writes,* "formerly a Mātanga dynasty in the Canarese country, and the Mādigas are believed by some to be descendants of people who were once a ruling race. Mātangi is a Sanskrit name for Kāli, and it is possible that the Mādigas once played an important part in the worship of the goddess. The employment of Chakkiliyans and Mādiga women in Śakti worship gives some colour to this supposition." According to Fleet,† "the Mātangas and the Kālachchuris are mentioned in connection with Mangalisa, who was the younger brother and successor of Kīrttivarman I, and whose reign commenced in Saka 489 (A.D. 567-8), and terminated in Saka 532 (A.D. 610-11). Of the Mātangas,

* *Madras Census Report*, 1891. Page 302.

† *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, 1882.

nothing is known, except the mention of them. But Mātanga means 'a *chandāla*,' a man of the lowest caste, an outcaste, a *kirāta* mountaineer, a barbarian'; and the Mādigas, *i.e.*, the Mahangs of this part of the country, usually call themselves Mātangi-*makkalu* *i.e.*, the children of Mātangi or Durga, who is their goddess. It is probable, therefore, that the Mātangas of this inscription were some aboriginal family of but little power, and not of sufficient importance to have left any record of themselves." There are allusions to Mātangas in the *Rāmayana*, and in the *Kādambari*, a Sanskrit work, the chieftain of the Sabaras is styled Mātanga. The tutelary deity of the Mādigas is Māthamma or Mātangi, who is said to be worshipped by the Komatis under the name of Kanyakāparameswari.*

The claim to a descent from Jāmbava may perhaps be an indication of their original character. Jāmbava is associated with the armies of the allies of Rāma in the *Rāmayana*, and is said to have been a bear, as most of them were monkeys. It is now generally agreed that these terms were applied to the non-Aryan races who helped Rāma in his invasion of the southernmost portion of India.

Mādigas speak Kannada, or Telugu, according to the locality they live in. There are some immigrants into the State from the southern parts of the Madras Presidency, and they speak Tamil; but their number is insignificant.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous groups.*—The caste contains two main divisions, based on the language they speak, the Kannada and the Telugu Mādigas. The Kannada Mādigas do not intermarry with the Telugu-speaking Mādigas. Each language-group has three endoga-

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. IV, 1909. Page 303.



MADIGA HABITATION.

mous divisions, which are Tanige Buvvadavaru in Kannada and Tale Buvvamuvallu in Telugu (of the eating-dish division); Hedige Buvvadavaru in Kannada and Gampa Buvvamuvallu in Telugu (of the basket division); and Mora Buvvadavaru of the winnow-division. These last are again sub-divided into single and double winnows.

These divisions are named after the manner in which the bride and the bridegroom eat *Buvva* (food or common marital meal), that is, as they keep the food in an eating-dish, a basket or a winnow. It is said that the people of the last division, in some places, make the figure of a human body out of the cooked rice and other articles used for Buvva, and that the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their nearest male relatives on either side, eat up the figure, the bridegroom and his party beginning to consume from the head, and the bride and her party from the legs. From this practice, they take the name of Henabuvvadavaru in Kannada, and Pinige-domativallu in Telugu (of the corpse division).

In addition to the above, there are two other divisions among the Mādigas, known as Jāmbavas and Dākkaloru, which deserve special mention.

Jāmbavas are the *Gurus* of the Mādigas, and have some *maṭhas* for themselves, such as those at Kodihalli (Hiriyur taluk)and Nelamangala. They affix *muni** to their personal names (as *e.g.*, Rudramuni), and wear a *linga*, and mark their foreheads with ashes (*vibhūti*) and sandal paste. When they pay periodical visits to their disciples, they lodge either in a tope near the Mādiga quarters, or occupy a house specially vacated and cleansed for them. They consider Pānchalas (goldsmiths) as their patrons. Whenever they go to a village in which Pānchalas

* Muni (meaning a recluse) is an obsolete title affixed to the names of Rishis.

live, they make it a point to visit their houses, and standing outside, get some presents from them. The Jāmbavas may marry girls from the ordinary Mādiga families, after subjecting them to some purificatory ceremony, but they on no account give their girls in marriage to the other Mādigas. All the Jāmbavas talk Telugu, and say they belong to the Cuddapah District, and their women throw the loose end of their garment over the right shoulder, while the other Mādiga women let it fall on the left side.

Dakkalus are considered to be the Halemakkalu (hereditary bondsmen) of the Mādigas, and are treated by them as outcastes. Their progenitor is said to be the second son of Jāmbava, whose head was sacrificed when the crust of the earth hardened. His head and trunk were thrown into a well, but there was still so much vitality that the severed body continued to speak. Śiva and his consort passing in the aerial regions heard some noise in the well, and impelled by curiosity came to the place, questioned the body, and learnt its story. The trunk and the head were brought together by the God, and restored him to full life. The boy declined to go back to his father, or to accompany the God to his heaven or Kailasa, and as he proved so refractory, he was nicknamed Dakkalava, that is, one that could not be held in restraint, and, sent to roam about the world with a curse that he and his descendants should have no home of their own, and should live on food begged from the descendants of the other son of Jāmbava, who are Mādigas. Even now, the Dakkalus have no recognised head-quarters and are always moving from place to place. They are not allowed to enter the Mādiga quarters. When they come to a village, they pitch their camp in a garden, or other place at a small distance from the houses

of the Mādigas, and announce to them their arrival. The latter are bound to supply them with food and drink, and will on no account incur their displeasure, lest they should curse them; when leaving the village, they get some presents from each family of the Mādigas. On important occasions, such as marriage, these Dakkalus are not forgotten, but have some money presents and *tāmbula* kept apart for them.

*Exogamous divisions.*—The Mādigas have a number of exogamous divisions known as *kulas*, or *bedagus*. Most of them are named after various material objects, such as trees and animals. Though some of these septs do observe the rule of not eating, cutting, or otherwise using the object represented by their names, the connection, if it ever existed universally, is now generally forgotten, and no significance is attached to it.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aivalli .. .. | |
| Ankelu .. .. | |
| Ari .. .. .. | They do not either cut or touch the Banni tree (Prosopis specegera). |
| Belli .. .. .. | Silver. |
| Bandari .. .. | |
| Bhogam .. .. | |
| Billu .. .. .. | A bow. |
| Chatri .. .. | An umbrella. |
| Chimalu .. .. | Ants. |
| Chinnada .. .. | Gold. |
| Chittala .. | A kind of fuel tree which they do not use. |
| Emme .. .. | A buffalo. |
| Enna or Benne .. | Butter. |
| Gonaba .. | |
| Gongadi .. .. | A cloak, worn over the head and the face. |
| Gujjalu .. .. | |
| Handa .. .. | |
| Hatti .. .. | Court yard. |
| Heggade .. .. | Chief man. |
| Honnu .. .. | Gold. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hunda .. .. | |
| Hutta .. .. | An ant-hill. |
| Huvvu .. .. | Flower. |
| Jnivagala .. .. | |
| Kamagatti .. | |
| Kambli .. .. | A blanket. |
| Karadi .. .. | A bear. |
| Kengare .. .. | |
| Kori .. .. | A rag. |
| Kurma .. .. | A tortoise. |
| Kuri .. .. .. | A sheep. |
| Kusume .. .. | A plant. |
| Lakkibanda .. .. | |
| Lakkipamada .. .. | |
| Maddale .. .. | A drum. |
| Magi .. .. | |
| Mallige .. .. | Jasmine. |
| Mandala .. .. | Herd of cattle. |
| Mandma .. | |
| Miniga .. .. | Fish. |
| Muchchala .. .. | A lid. |
| Munaga or Nuggi (Moringa). | Horse-radish plerigosperma. |
| Nāgara .. .. | Cobra. |
| Nakka or Nari .. | A Jackal which they neither kill nor eat. |
| Pālu or Hālu .. .. | A kind of herb. |
| Pasapu or Arasina .. | Turmeric. |
| Puli or Huli .. .. | Tiger. |
| Sāda .. .. .. | |
| Sakila .. .. | |
| Sannakki .. .. | A species of rice (husked paddy). |
| Setti .. .. .. | |
| Soge .. .. .. | The leaf of palms, sugarcane or screw-pine. |
| Talamaru .. | |
| Yalachi .. .. | The jujube. |
| Yakila .. .. | |

As mentioned already, men of the Jāmbava division may take wives from other divisions, but the women should marry only in their own division. This is a genuine case of hypergamy. But sometimes



A GROUP OF MADIGA WOMEN.

those Mādigas who have recently adopted the Vaishṇava faith in place of the worship of village goddesses, decline to give their girls to others, while they have no objection to marry girls from other divisions. But the others do not admit this as a mark of superiority, as they hold that a married girl going out of the family cannot contaminate it, whereas a girl entering the family from a lower stratum introduces inferior blood.*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

There is no age limit for marriage in either sex. But some say that marriage, after a girl has passed the age of puberty is of an inferior type, and some important parts of the regular ceremony, such as the bringing of the sacred pots (*ariveni*), are omitted. Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders of the family. Polygamy is allowed, and the reasons for taking an additional wife are the same as in other cases, such as the want of issue, the need for an additional working-hand or some fault or defect in the first wife. The additional wife is generally a widow, or a divorced woman, and is married in the *kudike* form, or a concubine is considered sufficient. Polyandry is unknown.

Marriage must be inside their own groups, such as Kannada Madigas, but outside their own *kulas* or *bedagus*, the members of the same *kula* or *bedagu* being considered related as brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of an elder sister, or of maternal uncle or paternal aunt, is considered most suitable. A man may not marry his paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's daughter, as she is regarded as equal to a sister. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger, the younger.

* This belief is embodied in the proverb. The bride given away becomes an outsider to the *kula* or tribe.

Exchange of daughters is not only practised, but is most commonly in vogue, the reason being the saving of the bride-price by both parties.

Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the father of the boy, who repairs to the house of the bride's father, for whom he has to procure toddy at his expense. Such visits are repeated several times, till the bride's father expresses his consent, after which the agreement is sealed by the ceremony of *oppu-vilya*. In the presence of the headman and other castemen, the bride's and the bridegroom's father exchange *tambulas*; and a further confirmation takes place subsequently, on an auspicious day fixed for them by the village astrologer. The latter's opinion is also obtained about the *sālavali*, or the mutual compatibility of the names of the parties to be married. For this ceremony of *vilyada śastra* the boy's father, accompanied by some married women, goes to the girl's house, taking certain provisions consisting of seven seers of rice, two or three cocoanuts, and small quantities of ghee, oil, jaggery, powdered turmeric, etc. A meeting of the castemen is convened, and the girl is seated on a plank, and presented with fruit and flowers placed in her garment. Five *kalasās* are installed before her and worshipped. An essential part of the ceremony is the *simhāsana pūja*, a heap of betel-leaves and arecanuts, with *vibhūti* balls at the four corners, being placed on a *kambli*. In front of this is placed the *mudre*, or insignia of Arulappa Sāranaru, which is a sacred symbol kept by the head of the caste and brought out only on such occasions. After the worship is over, the girl rises from her seat, and does *namaskāra* (bowing) to the sun and the elders. In some places, she gets a present of five rupees, three rupees from the bridegroom's father, and two from hers. But generally the father of the girl gives her

a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.), called *Devarahana* (God's money). This is subsequently used to prepare a *tāli*, which is tied to her on the first day of the marriage (the first saffron smearing). The boy's father has ordinarily to pay in addition one rupee, as the astrologer's consultation fee, and half a rupee for feeding charges. He has also to bear the expenses of buying toddy for the castemen. After this ceremony is performed, the girl should not, properly speaking, be married to any other. Any party that withdraws from the agreement has not only to reimburse the expenses incurred by the other party, but has also to pay a fine to the caste, which is spent on toddy, and the girl may be married to another person, but the full marriage-rites are not gone through. The marriage generally takes place in the boy's house. The ceremonies follow in the same order as among some others of the Non-Brahman castes, beginning with the *dēvaruta* (God's feast) and *modalarasiṇa* (first smearing of turmeric).

The *pandal* is erected on twelve posts covered with *honge*, or cocoa-nut leaves; and the central or milk-post is of the fig (*atti*), or milkbush (*kalli*) tree, cut by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. The post is decorated with seven stripes of turmeric drawn round it, and seven betel-leaves tied to it. There is also a package of nine sorts of grain attached to it by a thread. It is believed that a pregnant woman will meet with some evil if she sees this log while it is being taken to the bridal house.

On the evening of the day, the bride's party arrive at the place, and are received by their hosts with due honour. They are supplied with provisions, consisting of nine seers of rice, one jaggery cube, and a vesselful of rice.

The sacred pots (*ariveni*) are then fetched by the married women of both parties from the village potter.

They are painted and placed outside by him; and the women decorate them with lines of saffron and rice-flour in fifteen places. They are set upon a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of grain, and *pūja* is offered to them sometimes with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat. Red marks are impressed on the wall, on each side of the entrance to this room, with the palm of the hand dipped in blood or coloured water, to keep off the evil eye. A thread dipped in a solution of turmeric powder is tied to each pot, and a similar one to the wrist of each married woman. This part of the ceremony is called Ganga-*pūja* (worship of Water Goddess), and is followed by a general dinner.

Early next morning the bride and the bridegroom undergo the nail-paring ceremony, for which a man of their own caste does the service. The bridal pair bathe in the *malenīru*. They are made to sit by turns within a square formed by passing a cotton thread seven times round the necks of four earthen or brass vessels filled with water and placed at the corners. Some balls of cooked rice are placed in the vessels, and on various parts of the body of the parties to be married, and they are made to bow towards the sun. Four married women take the vessels and pour the water contained therein on the head of each of them. After this the boy and the girl are made to sit on the threshhold of the house with folded hands. The thumbs of the two hands are tied together with a cotton thread, and a broad awl stuck into a lime is placed in the hands. An earthen jug full of water is kept at the spot. The bridegroom and the bride are each lifted up by the maternal uncle, who turns round three times with the burden, and each bows towards the sun, and upsets the water-jug by kicking it. They are then carried inside the house and seated on the marriage dais. The maternal uncles

are each presented with a turban, twelve betel-leaves, twelve nuts, one cube of jaggery, and four pies. This ceremony is called *binaga*, or *sarebidisugudu*, *i.e.*, release from bondage.

Then, putting on new wedding-clothes, the bridegroom goes out of the village and sits under a tree, where his limbs are smeared with turmeric paste. He is then made to stand facing the east, and water is poured into his hands through funnels made of betel-leaves. He turns round three times and bows towards the sun, and throws away the leaves towards the east. After similarly acting towards the other cardinal points, he sits on a *kambli* (blanket) spread under the tree. Then his party go to and return from the marriage-house three times, each time taking new clothes and other articles to the girl. The third time the bridegroom sets out, with a dagger in his left hand, rolled up in a red kerchief. The bridegroom's sister carries in a new basket some betel-leaves, arecanuts, limes, turmeric paste, a gold *tāli*, and a skein of unbleached cotton-thread. Near the house a light is waved before the bridegroom to ward off the evil eye. A mock resistance is overcome by the two parties throwing half-pounded paddy at each other. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit near the *ariveni* pots, with their hands joined together. The maternal uncle of the bride gives betel-leaves and arecanuts to the headman, named *pedda* Mādiga (Telugu), or *dodda* Mādiga (Kannada), who putting on the thread known in this connection as *bondi* round the bride's neck, ties the *tāli* to her. *Bhashinga* and *kankanas* are then tied to each party. They are then led into the *pandal*, and made to stand facing each other on the marriage dais. Either the *yajaman* or another old man conducts the marriage ceremony. The couple place cummin seed and sesamum grain on each other's

heads. Dhāre or milk-pouring ceremony, *talabālu* or putting rice on each other's heads, and presentation of garlands to each other, take place. Lastly, the husband is made to tie another *tāli* round the neck of the girl, and thereupon the binding and essential portion of the marriage is completed.

The *simhasana pūja* (literally worship of the lion seat or throne) then takes place. A black *kambli* done into four folds is spread on a spot cleaned with cowdung-water near the marriage seat, and some rice is spread over it, and drawings are made of their professional instruments, such as an awl, a knife, and a saw. A *kalaśa*, or vessel filled with sweetened water, is placed on this bed, and a quarter-rupee piece is thrown in. The vessel is decorated with a silver chain round its neck, and lumps of *vibhūti* are placed on the corners of the *kambli*. In front of the *kalaśa*, betel-leaves and areca-nuts are arranged in a pile. The bridal pair worship all this with the help of the *yajaman* and the *Darsanadavaru* or Dāsayyas and the Chowdikeyavaru, the *pūjāries* of their tribal goddess. The betel-leaves and nuts are then distributed among the people assembled in a prescribed order of precedence. The first *tāmbula* is set apart for the sun and the moon, the second for the Bhūmidevi (Earth Goddess), the third for Gantama Vabayya, a mythical hero who is believed to have conferred a boon on the caste by procuring for them a king known as Penugonda Ratnakambli Raja, their *guru*, then the *yajaman*, then the *katte manes*, then a *tāmbula* to all the castemen and lastly to the Dakkalus, their reputed children. Afterwards *tāmbulas* (betel-leaves) are given individually to the assembled persons.

The bridal couple then rise, and walking round the milk-post three times, go into the room where the *arivenis* are installed, holding each other's hand and

with the fringes of their garments knotted together. Near the *arivenis* takes place the important ceremony of *Buvvada pūje*, or *Domati pūja*. On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water a plantain-leaf is spread, and on it is consecrated an eating-dish, a basket, or a winnow, according to the section the parties belong to. Married women, observing fast, cook in new earthen vessels four to eight seers of rice mixed with jaggery, holding a cloth to their noses to prevent the rice becoming contaminated by their smelling it. It is then placed in a dish, winnow, or basket, and mixed with four or five seers of ghee, plantains, and sweet cakes, made into balls. Then the bridal pair, and the three married women who have observed a half-fast (eating only once a day) for the previous three days, worship this *buvva*. Some balls are then distributed to all the castemen as *prasāda*, and the rest are divided equally and put into two dishes, baskets, or winnows, as the case may be. The bride and her relations take one portion, and the bridegroom and his party the other, and they consume the whole of it at one sitting, without leaving a single morsel. It is said that they should carry the food to their mouth only with two fingers. The "dish" and the "winnow" sections perform this ceremony in the God's room (ariveṇi room), while the "basket" section do it in the *pandal* which is closed by a screen. The bridal pair alone remain inside to eat the rice, and their relatives receive their balls and go outside to eat them. Whatever remains unserved must, as a matter of right, go to the bride's relatives. The basket is kept in the *pandal*, and is removed thence only when the structure is pulled down after the marriage.

Among some of the winnow-section, an extraordinary custom prevails in eating the *buvva*. With the cooked rice that is served in the winnow a human form is

made and worshipped by the bride and bridegroom and the parents of the latter. Then the bridegroom and his party sit near the head, the bride and her party sitting near the legs, and both parties eat up the whole figure. Any part that may remain uneaten is distributed among the claimants thereto. All those that are not connected with the families of their party are scrupulously excluded. The marriage-ceremonies among this section take place at night, and are finished before morning. It is apparently thought that this improvisation may be taken to represent what perhaps used to take place in grim earnest, and its observance is not generally admitted.

When the relatives of the bridal pair come out of the room where they have partaken of the *buvva* repast, the maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold, and beat them with whips of twisted clothes. There is considerable fun and excitement when they try to evade the blows.

When this ceremony is over, all the caste-men are given a dinner, and in the evening the bridegroom's party must supply toddy to every one of the caste-men, including women and children. Next day they observe the Nāgavali ceremony. The newly married couple fetch water from a well in four vessels. Then the bringing of earth from an ant-hill and worshipping the posts of the *pandal* take place as in other castes. Then takes place the pot-searching ceremony and removal of the *kankaṇas*. The newly married couple are taken in procession in the streets that evening. The next two days the party repair to the bride's house, where a feasting takes place, and return to the bridegroom's place, after which the "milk-post" is removed, and the marriage festivities are finally concluded.

castes, as Sānkhya had stood on the right side and Yuga on the left side at the entrance to the Court while awaiting judgment.* It is said that Mādigas have been condemned to the mean trade of shoe-making as an expiation for the original offence of their ancestor.† The wife of Yugamuni in the above account is given the name of Mātangi, but there is another story which makes a male Mātanga Rishi their progenitor. Who this Rishi was they do not know, but say that it was his curse that brought upon them their low position in life. One Mātanga is mentioned in the *Mahabhārata* as begotten by a Śūdra barber on a Brahman woman. He was therefore a Chandālā, and could not shake off this character although he performed the most severe penances. It is possible that the name adopted by Mādigas has come from this source.

It is stated that a Western Chalukya King Mangalēsa (567-610 A.D.) conquered the Mātangas. Who these were has not been definitely settled, and it is conjectured that they were hill tribes, and that Mādigas are their descendants.‡ The tribal goddess of the Mādigas is known as Mātangi. They themselves have no traditions of any connection with a ruling race, and the conjecture may be due to a mere similarity of names, and to the belief that, being aboriginal, they have ruled the country at some remote period.

"We shall now proceed to enquire who this Māthangi was, and how she came to be worshipped there. Jamadhagni Maharishi, known as Bagavān on account of his godly power and

* *Mysore Census Report* 1891, page 255. Another version of the story is given in the account of the Holeyas. Vol. III, pages 321–324.

† There is a current proverb in Kannada and Telugu about expiating the sin of killing a cow by the present of a pair of shoes. This has no apparent connection with this story, but denotes an utter disproportion between an offence and its reparation.

‡ *Bijapur Gazetteer*, page 381; *Kanara Gazetteer*, p. 81; *Madras Census Report* of 1891, p. 302.

virtues, married Rēnuka, the daughter of Rēnu, and had five sons by her, the youngest of whom was the famous Paraśurāma, an incarnation of Vishnu. 'Once upon a time,' says the *Bhagavatapurana*, 'Rēnuka having gone to the Ganga, saw the king of the Gandharvās wearing garlands of lotus, to play with the Apsaras. Having gone to the river to fetch water, she, whose heart was somewhat attracted by Chitraratha (the king of the Gandharvas) who was playing, forgot the time of *Yajna* (sacrifice). Coming to feel the delay, and afraid of the curse of the *muni*, she returned to the hermitage, and placed the pitcher before the *muni*, and remained standing with folded palms. The Muni (Jamadhagni), coming to know of the unchasteness of his wife, got enraged, and said, 'O my sons! kill this sinner.' Although thus directed, they did not do so. The said Paraśu Rāma, who was well aware of the power of the Muni in respect of meditations and asceticism, killed, as directed by his father, his mother along with his brothers. The son of Sātyavati (Jamadhagni) was pleased, and requested Rāma to pray for any favour. Rāma desired the reanimation of those killed, and their forgetfulness of the fact of their having been killed. Immediately did they get up, as though after a deep sleep. Rāma, who was conscious of the powers of his father in regard to asceticism, took the life of his dear ones.

The version locally prevalent is somewhat different. Jamadhagni Bagawan's hermitage was near this Kona, and he was worshipping the god Surabēswara, and doing *tapas* (penance) there. One day, his wife Rēnuka Devi, went very early in the morning, to the river Gundlācama to bathe, and fetch water for her husband's sacrificial rites. She was accompanied, as was her wont on such occasions, by a female slave of the chuckler (leather-worker) caste, as a sort of bodyguard and attendant. While she was bathing, the great warrior Kārthaviriyārjuna with a thousand arms happened to fly across the sky on some business of his own, and Rēnuka saw his form reflected in the water, and was pleased with it in her mind. It must be mentioned that she never used to take any vessel with her to fetch water, for her chastity was such that she had power to roll water into a pot-like shape, as if it were wax, and thus bring it home. On this day, however, she failed to effect this, try what she might, and she was obliged to return home empty-handed. In the meanwhile, the sage, her husband, finding that his wife did not return as usual, learnt through his 'wisdom sight' what had happened, and ordered his son Paraśurāma to slay his sinful mother. Paraśurāma went towards the river accordingly, and, seeing his

mother returning, aimed an arrow at her, which severed her head from her body, and also similarly severed, with its unspent force, the head of the chuckler woman who was coming immediately behind his mother. Paraśurāma returned to his father without even noticing this accident, and when his father, pleased with his prompt obedience, offered him any boon, he prayed for the re-animation of his mother. Jamadhagni then gave him some holy water out of his vessel, and told him to put together the dismembered parts, and sprinkle some water over them. Paraśurāma went off in great delight and haste, and, as it was still dark and early in the morning, he wrongly put his mother's head on the chuckler woman's trunk, and sprinkled water on them. Then seeing another head and another body lying close by, he thought that they belonged to the female slave whom he had unwittingly killed, and he put them also together, and re-animated them. He was extremely vexed when he found out the mistakes he had committed, but, as there was no rectifying them without another double murder, he produced the two women before his father, and begged to be forgiven. The sage finally accepted the person with his late consort's head as his wife, and granted to the other woman the status of an inferior deity, in response to her prayers, and owing to her having his wife's body. This was the origin of Māthangi."

The Mādigas claim to be the children of Mātangi. "There was," Mr. H. A. Stuart writes,* "formerly a Mātanga dynasty in the Canarese country, and the Mādigas are believed by some to be descendants of people who were once a ruling race. Mātangi is a Sanskrit name for Kāli, and it is possible that the Mādigas once played an important part in the worship of the goddess. The employment of Chakkiliyans and Mādiga women in Śakti worship gives some colour to this supposition." According to Fleet,† "the Mātangas and the Kālachchuris are mentioned in connection with Mangalisa, who was the younger brother and successor of Kīrttivarman I, and whose reign commenced in Saka 489 (A.D. 567-8), and terminated in Saka 532 (A.D. 610-11). Of the Mātangas,

* *Madras Census Report*, 1891. Page 302.

† *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, 1882.

nothing is known, except the mention of them. But Mātanga means 'a *chandāla*,' a man of the lowest caste, an outcaste, a *kirāta* mountaineer, a barbarian'; and the Mādigas, *i.e.*, the Mahangs of this part of the country, usually call themselves Mātangi-*makkaḷu* *i.e.*, the children of Mātangi or Durga, who is their goddess. It is probable, therefore, that the Mātangas of this inscription were some aboriginal family of but little power, and not of sufficient importance to have left any record of themselves." There are allusions to Mātangas in the *Rāmayana*, and in the *Kādambari*, a Sanskrit work, the chieftain of the Sabaras is styled Mātanga. The tutelary deity of the Mādigas is Māthamma or Mātangi, who is said to be worshipped by the Komatis under the name of Kanyakāparameswari.*

The claim to a descent from Jāmbava may perhaps be an indication of their original character. Jāmbava is associated with the armies of the allies of Rāma in the *Rāmayana*, and is said to have been a bear, as most of them were monkeys. It is now generally agreed that these terms were applied to the non-Aryan races who helped Rāma in his invasion of the southernmost portion of India.

Mādigas speak Kannada, or Telugu, according to the locality they live in. There are some immigrants into the State from the southern parts of the Madras Presidency, and they speak Tamil; but their number is insignificant.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous groups.*—The caste contains two main divisions, based on the language they speak, the Kannada and the Telugu Mādigas. The Kannada Mādigas do not intermarry with the Telugu-speaking Mādigas. Each language-group has three endoga-

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. IV, 1909. Page 303.



MADIGA HABITATION.

mous divisions, which are Tanige Buvvadavaru in Kannada and Tale Buvvamuvallu in Telugu (of the eating-dish division); Hedige Buvvadavaru in Kannada and Gampa Buvvamuvallu in Telugu (of the basket division); and Mora Buvvadavaru of the winnow-division. These last are again sub-divided into single and double winnows.

These divisions are named after the manner in which the bride and the bridegroom eat *Buvva* (food or common marital meal), that is, as they keep the food in an eating-dish, a basket or a winnow. It is said that the people of the last division, in some places, make the figure of a human body out of the cooked rice and other articles used for Buvva, and that the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their nearest male relatives on either side, eat up the figure, the bridegroom and his party beginning to consume from the head, and the bride and her party from the legs. From this practice, they take the name of Henabuvvadavaru in Kannada, and Pinige-domativallu in Telugu (of the corpse division).

In addition to the above, there are two other divisions among the Mādigas, known as Jāmbavas and Dākkaloru, which deserve special mention.

Jāmbavas are the *Gurus* of the Mādigas, and have some *maṭhas* for themselves, such as those at Kodihalli (Hiriyur taluk)and Nelamangala. They affix *muni** to their personal names (as *e.g.*, Rudramuni), and wear a *linga*, and mark their foreheads with ashes (*vibhūti*) and sandal paste. When they pay periodical visits to their disciples, they lodge either in a tope near the Mādiga quarters, or occupy a house specially vacated and cleansed for them. They consider Pānchalas (goldsmiths) as their patrons. Whenever they go to a village in which Pānchalas

* Muni (meaning a recluse) is an obsolete title affixed to the names of Rishis.

live, they make it a point to visit their houses, and standing outside, get some presents from them. The Jāmbavas may marry girls from the ordinary Mādiga families, after subjecting them to some purificatory ceremony, but they on no account give their girls in marriage to the other Mādigas. All the Jāmbavas talk Telugu, and say they belong to the Cuddapah District, and their women throw the loose end of their garment over the right shoulder, while the other Mādiga women let it fall on the left side.

Dakkalus are considered to be the Halemakkalu (hereditary bondsmen) of the Mādigas, and are treated by them as outcastes. Their progenitor is said to be the second son of Jāmbava, whose head was sacrificed when the crust of the earth hardened. His head and trunk were thrown into a well, but there was still so much vitality that the severed body continued to speak. Śiva and his consort passing in the aerial regions heard some noise in the well, and impelled by curiosity came to the place, questioned the body, and learnt its story. The trunk and the head were brought together by the God, and restored him to full life. The boy declined to go back to his father, or to accompany the God to his heaven or Kailasa, and as he proved so refractory, he was nicknamed Dakkalava, that is, one that could not be held in restraint, and, sent to roam about the world with a curse that he and his descendants should have no home of their own, and should live on food begged from the descendants of the other son of Jāmbava, who are Mādigas. Even now, the Dakkalus have no recognised head-quarters and are always moving from place to place. They are not allowed to enter the Mādiga quarters. When they come to a village, they pitch their camp in a garden, or other place at a small distance from the houses

of the Mādigas, and announce to them their arrival. The latter are bound to supply them with food and drink, and will on no account incur their displeasure, lest they should curse them; when leaving the village, they get some presents from each family of the Mādigas. On important occasions, such as marriage, these Dakkalus are not forgotten, but have some money presents and *tāmbula* kept apart for them.

*Exogamous divisions.*—The Mādigas have a number of exogamous divisions known as *kulas*, or *bedagus*. Most of them are named after various material objects, such as trees and animals. Though some of these septs do observe the rule of not eating, cutting, or otherwise using the object represented by their names, the connection, if it ever existed universally, is now generally forgotten, and no significance is attached to it.

| | |
|---|---|
| Aivalli .. .. | |
| Ankelu .. .. | |
| Ari .. .. .. | They do not either cut or touch the Banni tree (Prosopis specegera). |
| Belli .. .. .. | Silver. |
| Bandari .. .. | |
| Bhogam .. .. | |
| Billu .. .. .. | A bow. |
| Chatri .. .. | An umbrella. |
| Chimalu .. .. | Ants. |
| Chinnada .. .. | Gold. |
| Chittala .. | A kind of fuel tree which they do not use. |
| Emme .. .. | A buffalo. |
| Enna or Benne .. | Butter. |
| Gonaba .. | |
| Gongadi .. .. | A cloak, worn over the head and the face. |
| Gujjalu .. .. | |
| Handa .. .. | |
| Hatti .. .. | Court yard. |
| Heggade .. .. | Chief man. |
| Honnu .. .. | Gold. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hunda .. .. | |
| Hutta .. .. | An ant-hill. |
| Huvvu .. .. | Flower. |
| Jnivagala .. .. | |
| Kamagatti .. | |
| Kambli .. .. | A blanket. |
| Karadi .. .. | A bear. |
| Kengare .. .. | |
| Kori .. .. | A rag. |
| Kurma .. .. | A tortoise. |
| Kuri .. .. .. | A sheep. |
| Kusume .. .. | A plant. |
| Lakkibanda .. .. | |
| Lakkipamada .. .. | |
| Maddale .. .. | A drum. |
| Magi .. .. | |
| Mallige .. .. | Jasmine. |
| Mandala .. .. | Herd of cattle. |
| Mandma .. | |
| Miniga .. .. | Fish. |
| Muchchala .. .. | A lid. |
| Munaga or Nuggi (Moringa). | Horse-radish plerigosperma. |
| Nāgara .. .. | Cobra. |
| Nakka or Nari .. | A Jackal which they neither kill nor eat. |
| Pālu or Hālu .. .. | A kind of herb. |
| Pasapu or Arasina .. | Turmeric. |
| Puli or Huli .. .. | Tiger. |
| Sāda .. .. .. | |
| Sakila .. .. | |
| Sannakki .. .. | A species of rice (husked paddy). |
| Setti .. .. .. | |
| Soge .. .. .. | The leaf of palms, sugarcane or screw-pine. |
| Talamaru .. | |
| Yalachi .. .. | The jujube. |
| Yakila .. .. | |

As mentioned already, men of the Jāmbava division may take wives from other divisions, but the women should marry only in their own division. This is a genuine case of hypergamy. But sometimes



A GROUP OF MADIGA WOMEN.

those Mādigas who have recently adopted the Vaishṇava faith in place of the worship of village goddesses, decline to give their girls to others, while they have no objection to marry girls from other divisions. But the others do not admit this as a mark of superiority, as they hold that a married girl going out of the family cannot contaminate it, whereas a girl entering the family from a lower stratum introduces inferior blood.*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

There is no age limit for marriage in either sex. But some say that marriage, after a girl has passed the age of puberty is of an inferior type, and some important parts of the regular ceremony, such as the bringing of the sacred pots (*ariveni*), are omitted. Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders of the family. Polygamy is allowed, and the reasons for taking an additional wife are the same as in other cases, such as the want of issue, the need for an additional working-hand or some fault or defect in the first wife. The additional wife is generally a widow, or a divorced woman, and is married in the *kudike* form, or a concubine is considered sufficient. Polyandry is unknown.

Marriage must be inside their own groups, such as Kannada Madigas, but outside their own *kulas* or *bedagus*, the members of the same *kula* or *bedagu* being considered related as brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of an elder sister, or of maternal uncle or paternal aunt, is considered most suitable. A man may not marry his paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's daughter, as she is regarded as equal to a sister. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger, the younger.

* This belief is embodied in the proverb. The bride given away becomes an outsider to the *kula* or tribe.

Exchange of daughters is not only practised, but is most commonly in vogue, the reason being the saving of the bride-price by both parties.

Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the father of the boy, who repairs to the house of the bride's father, for whom he has to procure toddy at his expense. Such visits are repeated several times, till the bride's father expresses his consent, after which the agreement is sealed by the ceremony of *oppu-vilya*. In the presence of the headman and other castemen, the bride's and the bridegroom's father exchange *tambulas*; and a further confirmation takes place subsequently, on an auspicious day fixed for them by the village astrologer. The latter's opinion is also obtained about the *sālavali*, or the mutual compatibility of the names of the parties to be married. For this ceremony of *vilyada śastra* the boy's father, accompanied by some married women, goes to the girl's house, taking certain provisions consisting of seven seers of rice, two or three cocoanuts, and small quantities of ghee, oil, jaggery, powdered turmeric, etc. A meeting of the castemen is convened, and the girl is seated on a plank, and presented with fruit and flowers placed in her garment. Five *kalasās* are installed before her and worshipped. An essential part of the ceremony is the *simhāsana pūja*, a heap of betel-leaves and arecanuts, with *vibhūti* balls at the four corners, being placed on a *kambli*. In front of this is placed the *mudre*, or insignia of Arulappa Sāranaru, which is a sacred symbol kept by the head of the caste and brought out only on such occasions. After the worship is over, the girl rises from her seat, and does *namaskāra* (bowing) to the sun and the elders. In some places, she gets a present of five rupees, three rupees from the bridegroom's father, and two from hers. But generally the father of the girl gives her

a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.), called *Devarahana* (God's money). This is subsequently used to prepare a *tāli*, which is tied to her on the first day of the marriage (the first saffron smearing). The boy's father has ordinarily to pay in addition one rupee, as the astrologer's consultation fee, and half a rupee for feeding charges. He has also to bear the expenses of buying toddy for the castemen. After this ceremony is performed, the girl should not, properly speaking, be married to any other. Any party that withdraws from the agreement has not only to reimburse the expenses incurred by the other party, but has also to pay a fine to the caste, which is spent on toddy, and the girl may be married to another person, but the full marriage-rites are not gone through. The marriage generally takes place in the boy's house. The ceremonies follow in the same order as among some others of the Non-Brahman castes, beginning with the *dēvaruta* (God's feast) and *modalarasiṇa* (first smearing of turmeric).

The *pandal* is erected on twelve posts covered with *honge*, or cocoa-nut leaves; and the central or milk-post is of the fig (*atti*), or milkbush (*kalli*) tree, cut by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. The post is decorated with seven stripes of turmeric drawn round it, and seven betel-leaves tied to it. There is also a package of nine sorts of grain attached to it by a thread. It is believed that a pregnant woman will meet with some evil if she sees this log while it is being taken to the bridal house.

On the evening of the day, the bride's party arrive at the place, and are received by their hosts with due honour. They are supplied with provisions, consisting of nine seers of rice, one jaggery cube, and a vesselful of rice.

The sacred pots (*ariveni*) are then fetched by the married women of both parties from the village potter.

They are painted and placed outside by him; and the women decorate them with lines of saffron and rice-flour in fifteen places. They are set upon a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of grain, and *pūja* is offered to them sometimes with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat. Red marks are impressed on the wall, on each side of the entrance to this room, with the palm of the hand dipped in blood or coloured water, to keep off the evil eye. A thread dipped in a solution of turmeric powder is tied to each pot, and a similar one to the wrist of each married woman. This part of the ceremony is called Ganga-*pūja* (worship of Water Goddess), and is followed by a general dinner.

Early next morning the bride and the bridegroom undergo the nail-paring ceremony, for which a man of their own caste does the service. The bridal pair bathe in the *malenīru*. They are made to sit by turns within a square formed by passing a cotton thread seven times round the necks of four earthen or brass vessels filled with water and placed at the corners. Some balls of cooked rice are placed in the vessels, and on various parts of the body of the parties to be married, and they are made to bow towards the sun. Four married women take the vessels and pour the water contained therein on the head of each of them. After this the boy and the girl are made to sit on the threshhold of the house with folded hands. The thumbs of the two hands are tied together with a cotton thread, and a broad awl stuck into a lime is placed in the hands. An earthen jug full of water is kept at the spot. The bridegroom and the bride are each lifted up by the maternal uncle, who turns round three times with the burden, and each bows towards the sun, and upsets the water-jug by kicking it. They are then carried inside the house and seated on the marriage dais. The maternal uncles

are each presented with a turban, twelve betel-leaves, twelve nuts, one cube of jaggery, and four pies. This ceremony is called *binaga*, or *sarebidisu-gudu*, *i.e.*, release from bondage.

Then, putting on new wedding-clothes, the bride-groom goes out of the village and sits under a tree, where his limbs are smeared with turmeric paste. He is then made to stand facing the east, and water is poured into his hands through funnels made of betel-leaves. He turns round three times and bows towards the sun, and throws away the leaves towards the east. After similarly acting towards the other cardinal points, he sits on a *kambli* (blanket) spread under the tree. Then his party go to and return from the marriage-house three times, each time taking new clothes and other articles to the girl. The third time the bridegroom sets out, with a dagger in his left hand, rolled up in a red kerchief. The bridegroom's sister carries in a new basket some betel-leaves, arecanuts, limes, turmeric paste, a gold *tāli*, and a skein of unbleached cotton-thread. Near the house a light is waved before the bride-groom to ward off the evil eye. A mock resistance is overcome by the two parties throwing half-pounded paddy at each other. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit near the *ariveni* pots, with their hands joined together. The maternal uncle of the bride gives betel-leaves and arecanuts to the headman, named *pedda* Mādiga (Telugu), or *dodda* Mādiga (Kannada), who putting on the thread known in this connection as *bondi* round the bride's neck, ties the *tāli* to her. *Bhashinga* and *kankanas* are then tied to each party. They are then led into the *pandal*, and made to stand facing each other on the marriage dais. Either the *yajaman* or another old man conducts the marriage ceremony. The couple place cummin seed and sesamum grain on each other's

heads. Dhāre or milk-pouring ceremony, *talabālu* or putting rice on each other's heads, and presentation of garlands to each other, take place. Lastly, the husband is made to tie another *tāli* round the neck of the girl, and thereupon the binding and essential portion of the marriage is completed.

The *simhasana pūja* (literally worship of the lion seat or throne) then takes place. A black *kambli* done into four folds is spread on a spot cleaned with cowdung-water near the marriage seat, and some rice is spread over it, and drawings are made of their professional instruments, such as an awl, a knife, and a saw. A *kalaśa*, or vessel filled with sweetened water, is placed on this bed, and a quarter-rupee piece is thrown in. The vessel is decorated with a silver chain round its neck, and lumps of *vibhūti* are placed on the corners of the *kambli*. In front of the *kalaśa*, betel-leaves and areca-nuts are arranged in a pile. The bridal pair worship all this with the help of the *yajaman* and the *Darsanadavaru* or Dāsayyas and the Chowdikeyavaru, the *pūjāries* of their tribal goddess. The betel-leaves and nuts are then distributed among the people assembled in a prescribed order of precedence. The first *tāmbula* is set apart for the sun and the moon, the second for the Bhūmidevi (Earth Goddess), the third for Gantama Vabayya, a mythical hero who is believed to have conferred a boon on the caste by procuring for them a king known as Penugonda Ratnakambli Raja, their *guru*, then the *yajaman*, then the *kattemanes*, then a *tāmbula* to all the castemen and lastly to the Dakkalus, their reputed children. Afterwards *tāmbulas* (betel-leaves) are given individually to the assembled persons.

The bridal couple then rise, and walking round the milk-post three times, go into the room where the *arivenis* are installed, holding each other's hand and

with the fringes of their garments knotted together. Near the *arivenis* takes place the important ceremony of *Buvvada pūje*, or *Domati pūja*. On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water a plantain-leaf is spread, and on it is consecrated an eating-dish, a basket, or a winnow, according to the section the parties belong to. Married women, observing fast, cook in new earthen vessels four to eight seers of rice mixed with jaggery, holding a cloth to their noses to prevent the rice becoming contaminated by their smelling it. It is then placed in a dish, winnow, or basket, and mixed with four or five seers of ghee, plantains, and sweet cakes, made into balls. Then the bridal pair, and the three married women who have observed a half-fast (eating only once a day) for the previous three days, worship this *buvva*. Some balls are then distributed to all the castemen as *prasāda*, and the rest are divided equally and put into two dishes, baskets, or winnows, as the case may be. The bride and her relations take one portion, and the bridegroom and his party the other, and they consume the whole of it at one sitting, without leaving a single morsel. It is said that they should carry the food to their mouth only with two fingers. The "dish" and the "winnow" sections perform this ceremony in the God's room (ariveṇi room), while the "basket" section do it in the *pandal* which is closed by a screen. The bridal pair alone remain inside to eat the rice, and their relatives receive their balls and go outside to eat them. Whatever remains unserved must, as a matter of right, go to the bride's relatives. The basket is kept in the *pandal*, and is removed thence only when the structure is pulled down after the marriage.

Among some of the winnow-section, an extraordinary custom prevails in eating the *buvva*. With the cooked rice that is served in the winnow a human form is

made and worshipped by the bride and bridegroom and the parents of the latter. Then the bridegroom and his party sit near the head, the bride and her party sitting near the legs, and both parties eat up the whole figure. Any part that may remain uneaten is distributed among the claimants thereto. All those that are not connected with the families of their party are scrupulously excluded. The marriage-ceremonies among this section take place at night, and are finished before morning. It is apparently thought that this improvisation may be taken to represent what perhaps used to take place in grim earnest, and its observance is not generally admitted.

When the relatives of the bridal pair come out of the room where they have partaken of the *buvva* repast, the maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold, and beat them with whips of twisted clothes. There is considerable fun and excitement when they try to evade the blows.

When this ceremony is over, all the caste-men are given a dinner, and in the evening the bridegroom's party must supply toddy to every one of the caste-men, including women and children. Next day they observe the Nāgavali ceremony. The newly married couple fetch water from a well in four vessels. Then the bringing of earth from an ant-hill and worshipping the posts of the *pandal* take place as in other castes. Then takes place the pot-searching ceremony and removal of the *kankaṇas*. The newly married couple are taken in procession in the streets that evening. The next two days the party repair to the bride's house, where a feasting takes place, and return to the bridegroom's place, after which the "milk-post" is removed, and the marriage festivities are finally concluded.

The expenditure is about the same as among the Holeyas. The most important item is drink, and the expenditure on toddy amounts to about thirty rupees. The bridegroom pays the whole of it on the *vilya śāstra* and *dhāre* days; but on the other days, the bride's father contributes a third of what is spent for drinking. The bride-price is twelve rupees, half of which is paid on the *vilyāda śāstra* day, and the other half on the *dhāre* day. A widower has in some places to pay an additional sum of a rupee and a half, as *sautihonnu*, or the co-wife's money. This is more a local than a caste custom.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept outside for nine days, and is not allowed either to touch other persons or to enter the inner portion of the house. A shed, made of green leaves of *Lakkili* or other plant, is put up for her residence. The maternal uncle must bring the materials for the shed, and pull the shed down on the tenth day when the girl bathes. On the first day, the girl is bathed standing on an old shoe and a broom. If the girl is already married, her mother-in-law comes on the next day and presents her with cocoanuts, plantains, and other things, placing them in her garment, and then gives her a bath. The husband generally bears the feeding-expenses of that day. If the girl is unmarried, all this is done at the expense of the maternal uncle. After bathing, the girl is led to a water-course, to do *Ganga pūja*, and then she may go inside the house freely. When she is subsequently married, she may live with her husband without any further ceremony.

Modesty or ignorance often makes girls reluctant to disclose their change of state, and when they thus continue in contact with the others, it is believed that the pollution will bring on some evil to the family.

The consummation of marriage of girls who have attained puberty before being married is put off for three months after the marriage, to avoid the possibility of any issue being born within the first year, which is considered inauspicious. It has been ingeniously suggested that this period is meant to ascertain whether the girl has been chaste before the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is allowed and freely practised, but in some places such parties and their descendants form a distinct line. A widow may not marry a brother of the deceased husband, or any of his nearest agnates, and sometimes even the whole sept of the deceased husband is avoided. A bachelor may not marry a widow. The ceremony is simple, and takes place in the evening, before the house of the widow's father. A meeting of the castemen is convened by the *yajaman*. All jewels or other property belonging to deceased husband are returned to his relatives, who signify their consent to the union by accepting a *tāmbula*. The man presents the widow with a new cloth, which she wears. The new couple take their seats in the assembly on a *kambli*. A *kalaśa* is set upon a *gaddige* (seat), known as *Aralappana Gaddige* (Aralappa's seat). It is worshipped by the pair. A *tāli* is tied to it. The man and the woman exchange betel-leaves and the headman of the caste gives them a *tāmbula* (betel-leaves) to signify his permission. Either a widow, or a woman married a second time, takes the *tāli* from the *kalaśa*, and gives it to the man, who ties it to the widow. No women whose first husbands are living take part in the proceedings, but they may attend the dinner party. In some places, the newly married widow may not show her face to the regularly married women for three days. The husband has to supply toddy to all castemen.

The *tera*, or bride-price for a widow is six rupees. A widow may marry as many times as she pleases, and it is said that the price diminishes at every subsequent marriage. Widow marriages are always brought about by the parties themselves.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

A divorce is easily obtained, and the divorced woman may marry either her paramour or another person in the *kudike* form; or she may remain as a prostitute without losing caste. A man who elopes with a married woman has to pay the marriage expenses of her husband, besides a fine to the caste, before he may marry her. The return of the *tāli* tied at the marriage by the husband, in the presence of the assembly of the castemen and the headman, confirms an effective divorce.

Adultery may be condoned, except when a Mādiga woman misbehaves with a Holeya man, when she is irredeemably outcasted. It is said that a wife who is living in adultery may, even after the lapse of some years, be reconciled to her husband and receive his protection, with any children that may have been born in the interval. An unmarried girl committing sexual indiscretion with a man of the same caste and becoming pregnant, is either married to the latter in the *kudike* form or has her fault condoned; and any other casteman may subsequently marry her.

BASAVIS.

Dedication of girls as *Basavis* is common in this caste. Some families have the custom of devoting the eldest girl to this life, while in many cases, a girl is so dedicated in pursuance of some vow taken at the time of illness or other distress. This is invariably done after the girl attains her puberty.

On a lucky day, the girl, after bathing is taken to the temple, dressed in new clothes. She is there seated on a *kambli*, with a dagger by her side, to

represent the bridegroom. All the members of the caste, with the headman, should be present. A *kalaśa* is installed, and the Basavis smear the girl with turmeric paste, and place the lucky things, such as rice and cocoanuts, in her garment. The girl then rises, and, standing in front of the dagger, pours rice over it, in token of her having been wedded to it. Then either the *pūjāri* of the temple or a *Basavi* touches the dagger with the *tāli* which is tied to the girl's neck. The girl now carries the dagger inside the temple, and leaves it there. The *pūjāri* hands over to her a cane and a begging pouch, which she hangs on to her left shoulder. She is then branded with a *sankhu* and *chakra* on the shoulders, and sometimes a *chakra* mark is branded on her breast, but this is dispensed with if the *Basavi* is not a virgin. It is said that formerly the girl was required to sleep three nights in the temple; but now she spends one night there, and often this is also dispensed with. When the ceremony is over, the girl goes round and bows to all the castemen and elders, and receives their blessings. The father of the girl must give a dinner to all the castemen and give them also toddy to drink.

Such a girl may consort with a man of any caste except a Holeya, and her children are treated as well as if they were legitimate in all respects. During the *jātra* of Māramma, the presence of some Mādiga Basavis is secured wherever they are available. When new pots are brought for this worship, and when the buffalo is led to the sacrificial post, *Basavis* come dancing and singing songs in praise of Māramma, and spitting on the by-standers.

A married woman or a widow sometimes becomes a *Basavi*, or a prostitute; but she is not allowed the status of a regular *Basavi*, nor is any elaborate ceremony observed, except the getting of the permission

of the castemen, and giving a dinner. Such women may not take part in any auspicious ceremonies.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

No ceremonies are observed during the pregnancy of the woman. The usual prohibition against the pregnant woman's husband doing such things as carrying a corpse, putting on the roof of the house, or killing any animal, obtains in this caste also.

When the women show signs of approaching delivery, they make a vow to their family God, and set apart a small coin in earnest of a larger offering to be made in case of safe delivery. On the birth of the child, it is washed, and the navel cord is cut by the midwife. The navel-string and the after-birth are buried below the eves of the house, and on the third day a little milk is poured on the spot. It is a belief that they hold with many other castes, that if a child comes out of the womb with the limbs foremost, it forebodes evil to the midwife, who is often believed quietly to strangle such a child. In cases of difficult delivery, the mother is given some arrack to drink. All the women who attend on such an occasion are supplied with toddy at the expense of the husband.

On the third day, the mother and the child are bathed in water in which the tender leaves of certain plants, Gajjaga (*molucca* bean), Ankole (*Alangium lamarckii*) and lime tree, are boiled. A small pit is consecrated with *pūja* in front of the house, and the mother sits on it with the child in her lap. Each of the neighbours contributes a potful of water for the bath.

An elderly woman goes round and collects a morsel of food from each house, and gives it with toddy to the confined woman to eat. Similarly, old rags are collected for the child's cradle. In the evening, four pots are placed at the corners of the pit made for the bath, and the midwife makes *pūja* to them, placing

before them an offering of meat and rice cooked together, on leaves of Ekka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*). She is then presented with a winnowful of grain and a *hana* in coin for a male child, and a half of that sum for a female child, besides being liberally supplied with toddy. The castemen are treated to a feast in the evening. Except on that day, the confined woman is fed on rice only, till the tenth day, without any condiment. This purifying ceremony is known as Muttu Dēvaru, (Pollution God), or Gundi Dēvaru, (Pit God).

On the sixth day, a stone is set up in the confinement room, and is worshipped by the midwife with the burning of incense and sometimes with the sacrifice of a fowl. This is known as the Goddess Sātvi, which is believed to record the child's destiny on its forehead. A light is waved before it, and then placed in an unfrequented place; it is said that if any one casts a glance on it while being carried there, some evil will overtake the mother and the child. On this day, the child is first put into a cradle, an old one being generally used for the purpose, and consecrated with *pūja*.

The name-giving ceremony takes place about the end of the first month. A Koracha woman is always consulted as to the fitness of the name to be given. That day some castemen are invited to a dinner. The following may be taken as examples of typical names among the Mādigas :—

| *Males.* | *Females.* |
|---|---|
| Honnura | Kali. |
| Sattiga. | Malli. |
| Kadiriga. | Sunki. |
| Mara. | Hanumi. |
| Mada. | Yalli. |

The giving of nicknames is very common in this caste. Gidda and Mota, both names meaning a

dwarf, and Lottiga, 'a drinker (of toddy) by pots,' may be cited as examples. The practice of giving opprobrious names is also common, Tippa (Manure heap), Gunda (round stone), Sudugada (burning ground), and Satta (one dead). When an opprobrious name is given, the child is put into a winnow, and drawn on a manure-pit, and the paternal aunt kicks the winnow with the child in it with her left foot, to deceive the fate into a belief that the child's parents are so indifferent to its value, that the child is hardly worth taking away from them. When all the male children born in a family have died, the nostrils of the last-born male child are pierced, to make the evil spirit (Fate) mistake the child for a girl and to let it alone.

Like many of the other lower classes, Mādigas believe that children are specially amenable to the attacks of evil spirits. Various kinds of charms are placed round their necks, as a protection against their evil influence. White beads strung on the waist-thread keep off such spirits. If a child happens to fall in the street, the mother kicks the spot with her left foot, and applies a little earth moistened with the child's spittle to its forehead. Sometimes a vesselful of water and some ragi-flour are thrown on the spot, to appease the hunger and thirst of the evil spirits which, while prowling in the air, may have caused the child to fall down. Any illness occurring soon after such a fall is attributed to it, and a vow is made to the Earth Goddess. To fulfil this, a pit is dug either where three paths meet, or under a spout discharging rain water from the roof of a house, and into it some rice, dhal and other condiments, and a live frog or a chicken, are thrown. Frankincense is burnt, and a cocoanut is broken. Bhumamma is invoked, and the child is made to cross the pit thrice, after which its feet are washed, to carry away the

illness. The pit, with all its offerings, including the live frog, or chicken, is then filled up.

The children are believed to be specially exposed to the attacks of the evil spirits till they complete the age of twelve. The elderly members of the family generally know what symptoms denote such an attack, and they call in the aid of a sorcerer, who exorcises the spirit, generally by tying a talisman (*yantra*) to the patient. The head of a male child is first shaved in the third year, the ceremony being observed at the shrine of the family deity, or near a water-course, where Gangamma (Water Goddess) is worshipped.

INHERITANCE Mādigas follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Cases of partition and disputes of a trivial nature are settled by *panchāyats*, comprised of either the village elders or their own castemen. A Basavi daughter enjoys the same privileges as a son in the matter of inheritance, while a destitute widowed daughter or sister is always willingly received into her parents' house, or given some article of value at the time of partition.

ADOPTION. Being generally very poor, Mādigas rarely practise adoption to supply the want of natural issue. They do not seem to attach any importance to the existence of a son for increasing the chances of their salvation in the next world. But the practice of adoption is not altogether absent, though it has but little religious significance, as may be inferred from their naming such a boy a *sakumaga*, or brought-up son. A brother's son is considered the most eligible, and in his absence, the son of an agnatic relation. A brother may not be adopted. The boy to be adopted must always be younger than the adopter, and of tender age, though, they say, the limit cannot be

fixed; but on no account may a married man be adopted. The ceremony observed is like that observed by the Korachas.

Caste constitution.

Mādigas are the lowest of the "left-hand" section of the community. The whole caste is parcelled out into groups independent of one another, except that, when an important matter has to be settled, the headmen of the groups near one another send invitations to others to attend the meetings. These groups are called *kattemanes*. Each group has a headman, styled *Dodda yajamāna* (in Kannada), or *Pedda yajamānadu* (in Telugu), meaning the senior headman. He is called Manegāra in some places. He presides over the tribal deliberations, and gets an additional *tāmbula*. Next to him is the *Chikka yajamāna*, or the junior headman, otherwise called Buddhivanta. He presides over the caste-council in the absence of the senior headman, and during marriages he officiates and conducts the ceremony. Under them is the Kolkar, or Kondikādu, being the beadle. He calls together all the castemen whenever necessary. These also get extra *tāmbulas*. The jurisdiction of these officials extends, as in other castes, to punishing a man for transgression of any caste-rules, *e.g.*, those regarding adultery, and to admitting strangers into the caste.

As regards professional organization, it is said that each Mādiga family must strictly adhere to their own patrons or principals, and that, in the event of disagreement between himself and his patron, another Mādiga must do the latter's work. Such strict rules are going out of use. Where unpaid labour has to be done in villages, all the Mādigas do it by turns.

Admission of Strangers.

Madigas freely take in recruits from all other castes except the Holeyas. The ceremonies observed at the time are the same as those observed by the Holeyas.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

They have a strong faith in sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying, and many devil-drivers are found among them. When ordinary remedies fail in case of illness, an exorcist is called in and is asked to find out whether the sick person has offended any of the family gods, or whether his sickness is due to any spell cast over him by an enemy, or if he is possessed by any evil spirit. If the anger of any of the family gods is the cause, a vow is made to propitiate it; but if the cause is traced to either a spell cast by an enemy, or to an evil spirit, the devil-driver by an appropriate performance removes the cause, and ties an amulet as a protection against future trouble. Mādiga children wear charms made of leather.

The *gurus* of the Mādigas are Jāmbavas. Those of the Vishṇu faith who follow Srivaishṇava Brāhmans and Sātānis as *gurus*, also recognise the status of the Jāmbavas.

An A'sadi is a Mādiga whose duty it is to sing the praises of Māramma during her *jātra*. He gets heavily drunk, and goes on repeating the songs relating to the history of Mavi, to the accompaniment of his drum. A'sadis are found scattered in small numbers throughout the State.*

Gosangi, which probably means a cow-eater, is another functionary whose presence is necessary during the Māri *jātra*. He is a beggar, and repeats songs relating to the origin of the caste, while playing on a stringed cylindrical instrument known as *javakane*. During the Māri festival, he represents Ranagayya, supposed to be the brother of Māramma's Mādiga husband, and hurls all sorts of foul abuse at her, for having destroyed his family in that horrible way.

* Gollas have also a man among them called an A'sadi, whose duty is similar.

Bâla Basava is a man of the Mâdiga caste who pays them periodical visits and sings to them of the history of Basava and Aralappa, to the accompaniment of a *tamburi*.* He is rewarded with doles raised by subscription. He is also credited with the power of foretelling events, such as famines, that may happen during the next twelve years. He bears a *mudre* (an insignia) of *Goni Basava* (a bull with saddle).

Mâdigas have also a priest of their own, known as Tappatiga†, who is a *pujâri* of their temples, into which no other casteman is allowed to enter. The office of the *pujâri* is hereditary. He is initiated in the following manner. After bathing, he puts on washed clothes and is taken to the temple. There, after *puja*, a necklace, containing some beads and a *tâli* bearing the representation of a goddess, is tied, to his neck. Thenceforth he may not engage himself in his caste profession of working in leather, but has to live on fees levied during marriages and by begging. He has to worship the god, and gets some customary perquisites.

Dâsayyas who are dedicated to Vishṇu are branded with *sankhu* and *chakra*, and abstain from working in leather. The presence of a Dâsayya is necessary at all feasts observed by the Desabhâga section. He must repeat the word "Govinda" before he eats. His paraphernalia consist of *sankhu* (conch shell), *jagate* (gong), and *bavanasi* (begging bowl, or pouch).

Machala is a beggar attached to the caste. He begs only from Mâdigas. He carries a bugle (*kahale*) and a shallow drum (*tappate*). He is generally invited during marriages and for the worship of the family god. He pays periodical visits, and gets some prescribed fees.

* A *Tamburi* is a stringed instrument formed like a *Vina*, but without its note gradation.

† Literally a drummer,

Dakkalava has already been described. There are also *Jogis* and *Nilagararu* among *Mādigas*.

They have strong belief in omens, both good and bad. Whenever they have to begin any important ceremony, not only are Brāhmans consulted for choosing an auspicious day, but they observe many omens. Often, they consult the soothsayer if any unforeseen thing happens in the house. Children are always protected from evil spirits by wearing charms. They generally put on beads strung to the waist-thread, and a *tāli* with the figure of Hanumantha on the neck. A charm usually worn on the neck is a square metallic piece containing numbers up to nine arranged in squares, so as to total fifteen in every line. This *tāli* has, on the other side, the figure either of Hanumanta or any goddess. Another charm worth mentioning is a piece of metal with the figure of a dog, supposed to cure the whooping cough, which in Kannada is known by the name of dog-cough.

RELIGION. The Mādigas, Mālas and a few other low castes must, as regards their original religious beliefs, be classed as animists, or spirit worshippers. They are notorious for their allegiance to the minor goddesses, such as Māramma and Māsanamma. The tribal goddess of the Mādigas is Mātangi, which they now call Mahālakshmi, or Ā'di Sakti. The soaking-pot is therefore considered by them as Mātangi, which they worship with offerings of turmeric and vermilion on Tuesdays and Fridays. In some places, a grand feast is held on Dipāvali in honour of this goddess, when all the inhabitants of the Mādiga quarters join together and sacrifice a number of goats, sheep and fowls, toddy pots also being consecrated in the name of the goddess.

Māramma is another of their tribal goddess, who attained her position according to a popular story



MADIGAS BEATING DRUMS.

in the following manner. A Mādiga boy, endowed with fair features, went in search of employment to a far-off place called Rasuripatna. A Brāhman mistook his origin, and received him as a student into his family, and finding him an apt pupil made him proficient in Vedas and Śāstras. His daughter was given in marriage to him, and they had a number of children, who, however, unconsciously betrayed their base origin by playing at shoe-making with leaves. After several years, the Mādiga's mother, who had been searching everywhere for her lost son, discovered him in the guise of a Brāhman in this town. Finding it impossible to evade her, he got her head shaved and clothed her like a Brāhman widow, and lest her speech should betray her, he enjoined her to pass for a dumb woman. Thus introduced into the family, she was treated with great respect by her daughter-in-law. But the sight of a sumptuous breakfast loosened her tongue, and she exclaimed that the sweet cakes she tasted were not so good as buffalo tongues. The Brāhman woman at once knew what this meant, and going to her father asked him what would purify an earthen pot polluted by the touch of a dog. Applying the means suggested to herself, she heaped paddy straw round the house in which the whole family was asleep at night, entered the flames, and perished with all of them.

Her stern virtue had its reward. It was ordained that she should thenceforth become the gooddess of epidemics, under the name of Māri, and receive *pūja* ever afterwards. Her husband would be born again and again as a he-buffalo, her children as small kids, and her mother-in-law as a sheep, and all would be sacrificed to her. It was also said that, after the buffalo was killed, its entrails should be placed on its head and a lamp lit thereon, and that the right front leg should be cut and placed across its mouth,

as a punishment for the Mādiga having laid his unholy hands on her breast.

In almost every village, a temple of this goddess is found. In some places she is represented by a large bust made of stone. On the outbreak of a severe epidemic, especially of small-pox, special festivals in her honour are organised. Women dressed in *Madi* go to the shrine, carrying lamps made of sweetened rice flour on their heads, on Tuesdays and Fridays. Sometimes, in the centre of the village, a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water, and a washed cloth is spread thereon. Cooked food* and curds are brought from every house in the village, and made into a heap, on which a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck. This is worshipped with the offerings of turmeric, *kunkuma* incense and cocoanuts; and a sheep or a goat is sacrificed before it, whenever the devotees can afford it.

A much grander feast is celebrated in honour of Māri at irregular intervals, the hostility between the right-hand and left-hand groups often coming in the way of its performance. The Mādigas and the Holeyas take the prominent part, according as the left or the right-hand section is in the ascendant. This is meant to commemorate the fate of Māri's husband, and at the close of every such festival, a he-buffalo is dedicated for the next celebration, and allowed to roam at large through the village-fields and grow fat till the time of sacrifice.† Sometimes additional beasts are similarly dedicated as votive offerings to Māri on the occurrence of any serious illness in a family.

The village elders and all the villagers contribute their share of the expenditure. It is generally in

* This puja is known as (offering of a rice heap).

† The owners of the fields dare not turn out the animal lest they should incur the anger of Māri.



MADIGAS OFFERING SACRIFICE TO THEIR DEITY.

*Chaitra* or *Vaisakha* that the festival is celebrated. The period is proclaimed by the beating of tom-tom in the village, and during the week preceding the event, no one is allowed to go out of the village. The frying of eatables is also interdicted in every house during this period.

An image specially made for the occasion is installed on a raised place, in a shed built of green leaves, in front of the Māri temple, or some other central place. On the morning of the prescribed Tuesday, the *pūjāri* of this goddess washes the idol and worships it. *Āratis* are brought from each house in the village, and offered in order of precedence. The *pūjāri* is always a non-Brahman; he is either a Kammara, a Beda, or sometimes even a Mādiga. In the evening, the newly made image is brought with great pomp in procession, with loud though discordant music. It is worshipped near the house of the blacksmith, who decorates the idol behind a screen, painting its eyes and forehead. As soon as the screen is removed, a number of cocoanuts are broken, and one or two goats are killed. The spectators are afraid of going in a line with the idol's eye as it is believed that the goddess does harm to the person whom she first sees. After the usual worship, the image is carried by the blacksmith, who walks on washed cloths spread on the way by the washerman. Then the whole procession comes to the shed with great pomp, a Mādiga man, known as Ranagayya* dancing before the idol and uttering abusive language. Near the shed, some sheep or goats are killed, and the image is finally installed in it, a pot filled with toddy being also consecrated and placed in front of the idol. Then auspicious things, such as *tāli*, nose-screw, toe-rings and yellow *sadi*,

* Ranagayya is supposed to represent the brother of Mari's Madiga husband. He is also named Gosangi.

are brought in state by the village headman, and tied to the goddess. Presents of rice, cocoanuts, betel-leaves, and arecanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to the goddess heaped in her garment as if she were a bride.

In the meantime, a party of Mādigas fetch the he-buffalo, set free in the name of Māramma, and hold it tight by the ropes. Its temper has been subdued by keeping it on short rations for two or three days previous to this event. Some quantity of oil is poured on its head, and bunches of margosa leaves are tied to the horns. Turmeric paste and *Kunkuma* powder are rubbed on its head. It is then taken in procession through all the streets in the village, Ranagayya leading it, indulging in dancing and abusive songs. As the procession approaches each house in the village, the inmates thereof bring water in a small vessel, and throw it on the buffalo, and then pour some oil on its head, and apply turmeric and *kunkuma* powders to its forehad. When the buffalo is brought back to the shed, it is tied up to a forked post just opposite the image, the neck resting on the fork. An Asādi man beats on a drum and sings the praises of Māramma, reciting the story relating to her birth, marriage and death. Sometimes a band of Mādiga Basavis, most fantastically dressed, dance before the goddess, while Ranagayya, also dressed in a queer fashion, capers about freely, indulging in filthy language and spitting on the persons in the way. While this din is going on, the *pūjāri* worships the goddess, and waves *Ārati*, and sprinkles *tīrtha* on the buffalo's head. A Mādiga or a Beda (according to the custom of the place), with a single stroke of a sharp long scythe, cuts off the head of the beast, another man catching its blood in an earthen vessel. As soon as the head is severed from the trunk, the tongue is drawn out, and the right foreleg of the

animal is cut off and thrust into the mouth crosswise. The head in this condition is carried to a small shed (called Mātangi's shed) erected in front of Māri's idol, and kept there on a raised platform. A layer of fat, taken from the stomach of the animal, is spread on the eyes and mouth, and a light is kept burning on the head in an earthen basin. Two small kids and a sheep are also killed, and their heads are kept near the buffalo's. Then a number of sheep and goats and sometimes he-buffaloes are killed, so that the whole place becomes reeking with blood. A large quantity of boiled rice is soaked in the blood caught in earthen vessels, and is mixed with the undigested food found in the stomach of the consecrated buffalo. This rice is carried in baskets, on the heads of Mādigas, followed by Asādi, Ranagayya and others, who run to a spot on the boundary of the village crying out '*Kobali*' (receive the sacrifice). One or two sheep are again sacrificed there, and the party run round the whole village boundary, throwing out the coloured rice and calling out '*Kobali*'. Similarly all the fields in the village are traversed. It is nearly daybreak on the next day when this procession returns to the Māri's shed. Then *Āratis* are waved round them, and *tīrtha* and *prasāda* are given to them.

In the morning, the slaughtered animals are all divided among the twelve office-bearers (*Ayagāraru*) of the village, and such of them as are not meat-eaters make over their shares to the Mādigas or Holeyas, as the case may be. The heads of all the sheep slaughtered become, by right, the property of the village washerman.

This fair continues sometimes as long as one week, but generally it is finished in three days. Various sports are held, and the village observes it as a general holiday. The idol is carried on the last day to the boundary of the village where a new shed has been

put up. As soon as the image of Māramma is removed from the old shed, the heads of the sacrificed beasts kept in the Mātangi's shed are buried in it, and the shed is burnt down. Then the procession goes to the village-boundary with great pomp, the Asādi singing the praises of Māri, and Ranagayya (Gosangi) abusing her and others in the filthiest language. At the boundary, the idol is placed on a dais in the new shed, and the *pūjāri*, throwing a curtain round, breaks the bangles put on it, and removes the *tāli* thread, thus indicating that Māri has entered into widowhood. They all return to the village, where the Māri's temple has been already locked. Next day all the village people collect together, and set free another buffalo in the name of Māri. This restores the married condition of the goddess, when the temple is opened, and all the villagers offer cocoanuts, etc., to the image and get *tīrtha* and *prasāda*.

The other names which the Mādigas give to their goddess in different forms are Pujamma, Akkayyamma, Masanamma, Kalamma, Chandamma, Marigamma, Kollapuriyamma, Durgamma, Yallamma and Gangamma. The last is always worshipped on a Monday near a water-course, while the others are worshipped either on Tuesdays or Fridays. Muniśvara is a male god, or spirit, worshipped generally by them, the worship being conducted in a grove.

Their worship is conducted either under a margosa tree in their *Hatti*, *i.e.*, quarters, or outside on the prescribed days of the week, the *pujāri* being a man of their own caste. The margosa tree is considered sacred, as the peculiar dwelling-place of the goddess they worship. Their shrines are generally surrounded by these trees, and they do not wantonly cut them or use them for fuel, except when cooking in the groves while performing a *pūja*.

Mādigas pay reverence to their patron saint Aralappa, said to be a contemporary of Basavaṇṇa, the great Lingāyat reformer. He is believed to have shown his devotion to Basavaṇṇa, by presenting him with a pair of sandals made out of the skin cut from his wife's thighs. Basavaṇṇa being extremely pleased with his devotion, gave him *Lingadhāraṇe, i.e.*, allowed him to wear on his person the Śaiva emblem. Even now Aralappa is revered by the Mādigas in all important ceremonies, such as marriage. They pay reverence to all the gods of the other Hindus. A section among them, known as Desabhāgadavaru, are Vaishṇavas, having as their *gurus* Sātanis, or Śrīvaishṇava Brāhmans. Some of these become Dāsaris, who earn their food by begging, and whose presence is necessary on all important ceremonies. Mādigas observe the Hōli, the New Year, and the Gauri feasts.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead are buried, except in the case of pregnant women and lepers, whose bodies are cremated. When a pregnant woman dies, the foetus is first removed, as otherwise a serious calamity is believed to follow. Sometimes the body of a leper, or of one killed by wild beasts, is buried under a heap of stones. This is called *Kāllu-Sēve*, or stone service. The customs observed in preparing the body and carrying it to the burial-ground, and the mode of burial, are the same as in some of the other castes. The body is always carried with the head towards the village, as the reverse would be equivalent to bringing the corpse into the village, which would result in some calamity.

After the burial, all go to a well or river, the chief mourner bathes, and the rest wash their feet and hands, and return home to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired. After a formal

consultation, the headman of the caste fixes a day for beginning the obsequies. The corpse-bearers may not enter the inner portion of their houses till the third-day ceremony is over. On the night of the death, some water is placed at the spot and ragi grain is spread round the vessel, so that the spirit may leave its mark on the grain if it should come to drink; and the inmates seriously look for such mark in the morning. On the third day, the agnates get rid of the Sūtaka by bathing. The chief mourner, the corpse-bearers and some other relatives go to the grave, to offer food and water. A figure representing the deceased is drawn on the spot, and a sheep or a fowl is sacrificed before it. They then place some cooked food on a leaf for crows and retire to a distance. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers who carried the corpse are touched with milk and ghee. On the tenth day, the house is cleaned with cows' urine and sometimes whitewashed, and the earthen cooking-pots are replaced by new ones. A *kalaśa* is kept in the middle of the house, and is worshipped with offerings of food and new clothes, and a dinner is given to all the castemen, followed by a general carousal at the toddy shop in the evening.

During *Sūtaka*, they do not go to temples or celebrate any worship of the family god, and eschew flesh and milk. At the end of the first month, they give another dinner to their castemen, making *pūja* to the *kalaśa* as usual. Till the completion of the month, they may not perform any auspicious ceremonies in the family.

They do not perform annual or monthly *śrāddhās*. On the lunar new-year's day, *Vināyaka Chaturthi* and *Mahālaya Amavāsya*, all the members of the family bathe and go fasting to the burial-ground where they make *pūja* by applying sandal-paste to the

stones and burning incense and offering cocoanuts. On returning from the grave-yard, they instal a *kalaśa* filled with toddy, and worship it, sacrificing generally a sheep or a fowl. It is said that to propitiate the first wife, the second wife offers her *pūja* in the usual way whenever she wears for the first time a new cloth.

Sūtaka is observed for three days for the death of any agnate. All except the parents merely bathe after the death of a child. On the third day, they go to the grave-yard, and put on the child's grave some fried grain, milk and ghee. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's or sister's son.

Occupation.

Mādigas are workers in leather. They have a primitive way of tanning and preparing it. They first apply chunam (chuna) to the hides of cows and buffaloes, and keep them for some days. Then, in a pit, which they call *Galle*, and which they consider sacred, a lotion of the bark of the avarike plant (*Cassia auriculata*) is made, and the skins are soaked in it. They then beat the skins with wooden mallets, and stretch them in the sun to dry. This leather is used for making leather buckets, shoes, and other simple things. Those in towns have recently learnt more refined ways of tanning sheep and goat skins, out of which they prepare shoes and slippers.

When employed as village watchmen, they are known as *Talāris*. In some places, they enjoy *inams* for this work, and other kinds of free service, such as carrying Government property from place to place, and acting as guides from village to village. They are also known as Bēgāris, as they are bound to serve without remuneration. They are employed as scavengers in large towns, and in small places it is their duty to sweep the villages and keep them

clean. These variations in calling do not affect their social status.

Formerly, each family of the Mādigas was attached to one or more families of raiyats or agriculturists, whose work they had to do, and in return get the customary remuneration. The Mādiga was entitled to take the carcass of any cattle that might die in the master's house. This qualified kind of serfdom has, however, all but died out, except in the rural parts.

A village Mādiga has to supply each person who contributes to his yearly allowance of grain with a pair of sandals and some leathern ropes for the ploughing cattle. He has also to make the leather bucket for lifting water with the hides supplied by the raiyat, and to keep it in proper repair. He is required to help at the harvest. In return for this service, the Mādiga gets, in addition to the dead bodies of cattle in his patron's house, one bundle of unthreshed crop and a winnowful of grain, food for the working-man, and the remnant of the grain left on the threshing-floor after measurement. He is also given other perquisites, such as food on marriage and other festivals observed in the patron's house.

The Mādigas find a ready market for the articles that they make, but on account of their intemperate habits, both men and women drinking to excess, they are poor as a class. The chief implements of their profession are *rampi* (a small saw), *ari* (an awl), *goota* (a peg), *uli* (a chisel), *adikallu* (the stone on which they keep the leather while cutting it), *Kodāli* (an iron mallet), and *Churi* (a knife). They are all of a rude pattern, and the Mādigas are rather slow in taking to improved tools. But in towns they generally provide themselves with improved implements of foreign make, and also use the stitching machine.

*Tappate* and *Rāmdholu* (the big drum) are the instruments they use whenever they have to proclaim any important event in the village. These instruments are made by themselves. The *Tappate* is the characteristic instrument of the caste, and this has given rise to a functionary known as *Tappatiga* (a man who beats the *Tappate*), who is the *pujāri* in the caste.

Some Mādigas have taken to agriculture. They hold lands either in their own right, or cultivate other's lands on *vāra* or other tenure. But most of them are either day labourers, or hired servants under raiyats on annual contracts. The conditions of the contract vary in different localities, but the most common terms are for the master to feed the servant twice a day, and to give him a *kambli*, a turban, and a loin cloth, *pan-supari* and tobacco.

Social Status.

Mādigas are the lowest caste found in the State. They are a settled people, and generally live apart in ill-built thatched houses, in quarters outside the main village, known as Mādiga-keri (Mādiga quarters). Their habits and the nature of their work contribute to make this the dirtiest part of the village. The houses have only one entrance, with flimsy shutters and without any windows. They are divided by a partition wall of about four or five feet high into two parts, one being used for kitchen and store, and the other, the larger half, for sleeping and tethering the cattle. Some of those living in towns have, however, built more substantial houses. They are not allowed to use the common village well, and have their own barbers and washermen. Mādigas may not approach Brāhmans within a distance of about twenty paces. Any Brāhman who has been touched inadvertently or purposely by a Mādiga must purify himself by bathing, and washing all his clothes, and

renewing the sacred thread. Mādigas do not employ Brāhmans for conducting their ceremonies, nor will any Brāhman condescend to lend them his services. In no circumstances, they allow a Brāhman to enter their quarters, as they firmly believe that such a thing will bring on the ruin of their families. If unwittingly any Brāhman enters their quarters, they abuse him saying, "Fie! Get out, you mad dog!" and after he leaves, they clean the whole place with cow-dung and water. This restriction is, however, gradually losing its force. Their quarters are separate from those allotted to the Holeyas, and are generally further removed from the main village. Again, during the celebration of the festival of the village goddess Māramma, the share of the sacrificed animal which the Mādiga gets is the last, while that of the Holeya is the last but one.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Mādigas are notorious drinkers, both males and females indulging in toddy to excess. They eat the carrion of cattle, sheep, pigs and all other animals except monkeys, snakes and a few others. They do not eat in the houses of Nayindas and Agasas, and no one eats in their houses.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men wear the scanty clothing usually worn by the poor among the lower classes, namely, a loin cloth, a turban and a *kambli*, and the women wear *Sire*, but not *Ravike* (bodice cloth), the latter being worn only by the Basavis. They are a filthy class, and wash themselves only occasionally; women sometimes dress their hair, but it is generally neglected. The Jāmbava and the Gosangi wear a Linga in imitation of the Lingāyats, and put on ashes and sandal in horizontal lines, and an *akshate* mark on the forehead. They sometimes enact plays, in which they

put on disguises, and sing of the origin of their caste. They respect the Akkasale caste, and consider these people as their fathers.

Conclusion.

The Mādigas are more primitive than Holeyas, and they differ much more appreciably in outward appearance from the higher castes. They are generally strong and muscular, and somewhat short in stature, and dark in colour, with somewhat flat noses. It is generally said that one cannot be certain of the origin of a fair Mādiga or a dark Brāhman.

# MAHRÂTTA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY—LANGUAGE—INTERNAL STUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—MAGIC AND RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Mahrāttās are the people of Maharāshtra (the great kingdom), which once extended throughout the Bombay Presidency, and the kingdoms of Holkar, Scindhya and of Bhonsle. The Mahratta Chiefs rose up on the decline of the Moghuls. Their chieftains recruited armies of cavalry and infantry mainly from three different tribes, namely, Kunbis, (farmers), Dhangars (shepherds), and Goalas (cowherds). The three tribes spoke a common language, and embraced the common cause of protecting the Brāhmans and cows from the attacks of the Muhammedans. They eventually developed warlike and predatory habits in conjunction with the Pindāris, their fellow warriors. When after the Mahratta wars they were dispersed, they settled down mostly as cultivators, while a small number entered services as peons and policemen in several administrative centres.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY.

It has been already said that the Mahrāttas claim to be Kshatriyas, the second of the fourfold divisions of Manu. As proofs in support of this claim, "they state that they belong to the four ancient Kshatriya *Vamśās* or branches, namely, Sūryavamśa, Sōmavamśa, Yaduvamśa, and Sēshavamśa; that they have 96 mythological Kshatriya families or *kulas*, that many of them are common clan names of



A GROUP OF MAHRATTA MEN.

Rajputs who are supposed to be the modern representatives of the ancient Kshatriya race; that there is historical evidence to show that marriage connections were formed between royal Rajput houses and the ruling Mahrātta families; that like the Rājputs they observe *purdah*, wear the sacred thread and prohibit widow marriage; that they have bards or *bhāts* like the Rājputs; and that, as among the Rājputs, the *Nahvi* or barber performs the function of serving water at their feasts, although he is considered comparatively unclean by the surrounding population in the Deccan." This privilege to the barber is not given by Mahrātta families in Maharashtra proper. "But against the above, it can be said that when a caste or a portion of a caste rises in the social scale on account of worldly prosperity, it adopts a mythological pedigree like the four *vamśas* from which the Mahrāttas claim descent; that there is a great difference of opinion as to the names of the ninety-six *kulas* claimed by the Mahrāttas (in fact, the number far exceeds the 96), that the Rājputs have formed marriage connections even with Koli and Bhil chiefs who have not the least pretensions to Kshatriya blood; and that it is the universal practice among the lower castes when they wish to rise in the social scale, to imitate the higher castes by prohibiting widow marriage, wearing the sacred thread, and adopting other similar customs. Admitting the similarity of clan names, that is by no means necessarily a proof of similarity of descent; the *purdah* system, and the employment of family genealogists or *Bhāts* can very easily be adopted by castes ambitious to be classed as Kshatriyas and imitating with that view Rājput manners and customs."*

* Enthoven R. E: Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, pages 4—8.

The common belief in Maharāshtra regarding the origin of the Mahrattas is that there is little or no difference so far as caste is concerned between Mahrāttas and Kunbis. Some indeed, among them are of opinion that the two classes are not the same. Historically, there is no inferiority attached to the word kunbi which means a gentleman (kutambi) and he was a gentleman and landholder. But the word kunbi afterwards fell into disrepute as an uneducated man. The line of demarcation between the two communities is not a hard and fast one as intermarriages between well-to-do Kunbi families and the lower sections of the Mahrāttas are not infrequent. Such intermarriages usually take the form of a Mahrātta boy being married to a Kunbi or Kulavādi girl. Such marriages are common in remote parts of the presidency. On the other hand, Mahrātta girls would not be given in marriage to Kunbi boys. To-day there is no distinction. Inter-marriage between them is quite common. Thus, the Mahrāttas proper assert their social supremacy, though akin to Kunbis, it must be considered distinct. Kunbis prefer the designation Mahrātta to that of Kunbi as more honourable. They are, as a rule, connected with field work. Though they may be mere cultivators, yet more often they follow other occupations, and regard cultivation as a secondary one, on which they fall back if they are not successful in other lines. Hence it would appear that Kunbis and Mahrāttas are differentiated rather by wealth and social status than by any hard and fast distinction. Socially, the Mahrāttas are superior to the Kunbis, and this is evinced by the facts, that while Kunbi widows remarry, Mahrātta widows do not, that while Mahrātta ladies of recognized rank observe *purdah*, Kunbi women do not observe it, and that while Mahrātta ladies insist on gold in preference

to silver ornaments, Kunbi women are content with any that they can get.*

From this it may be gathered that the Mahrāttas are roughly made up of (1) Mahrātta proper, that is those who have lost their kunbi sub-caste name and have become members of a general community, (2) Mahrātta Kunbis, having their sub-caste name like Tirole or Bavne and (3) Mahratta allied castes. Of these Mahrātta Proper, those who have migrated to South India claim that they consist of seven clans of the so called Mahrāttas who are the descendants and associates of the Mahrātta army. The seven clans claim descent from the Lunar dynasty (Sōma Vamśa), and profess to have had connections with the Rājputs. They formed the aristocratic section that tried to keep up the rites and observances of the Rajputs, such as the wearing of the holy thread, having infant marriage, enforced widow-hood, and withholding alliances with the 96 clans (matrimonial). They are also called Āre by the people of Mysore.† They form the bulk of the

* Madras Census Report 1911.

† The earliest known mention of the Mahrattas is found in an inscription of about 100 B.C. over a statue in a rest chamber at the top of the Nana pass leading from the Konkan into the north of Poona district. The term used here is Maharathagranikoviru which probably means the hero-leader of the Mahrāttas. In the Beda caves of the same locality, there is reference to a queen described as the Mtharāthuni dated in the first century A.D. Other similar references are found in the Bhaja and Karli caves. It is not easy to decide whether the terms Maharātha and Mtharathi indicate residents of Maharāshtra or designate the individuals by their racial name, the early form of Marātha. The first theory is most probable: for a few centuries later, we read in the Sinhalese chronicle the Mahavanso (A.D. 480) of the country of Marātha, and in A.D. 634 the Chinese pilgrim Hiwan Thsang (629-640) refers to the kingdom of Mahaloka, presumably Maratha, and its warlike inhabitants. In the middle of the seventh century, an inscription at Aihole, near Badami in Bijapur district, the dominions of the Rattās and Chālukias, relates how the king of the latter dynasty Pulikesin II gained the sovereignty of the true Maharashtras with their 99,000 villages. It will be seen that these references are all consistent with either the Marāthas or deriving their name from Maharāshtra or the home of the Mahrāttas having been styled Maharāshtra as a Sanskrit form of the country of the Maharātha. References are made about the country by Al Biruni, Jordanus, Ibn Batuta and others. (Enthovan, R. E: *Bombay Tribes and Castes Vol. III, pages 5 7*)

military caste of the Mahrātta country. At the beginning of the last century, a large body of the Mahrāttas entered Goa, and proceeded thence to the Mysore State. They are found mostly in the districts of Shimoga, Bangalore and Tumkur.

NAME AND LANGUAGE.

As has been already mentioned, the Mahrāttas in Mysore are called Āre Kunbis, Mahrātta Kunbis, Kunbis. Some among them are known as Jogi-kunbis who profess to be higher in rank than the ordinary Kunbis, and decline to intermarry with them. The males add the surname of Rao, and the females, Bai.

They speak Mahrātti which is a corruption of Sanskrit. In the western parts, it is mixed with Konkan, and in others with Canarese.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE. ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS.

Regarding the derivation of the term Mahrātta, three theories are held namely :—

1. "That it is derived from Maharashtra, the name originally applied by Sanskrit writers in Northern India to the great Deccan plateau."

2. "That it is a compound of Maha—great, and rashtrika—either a Sanskrit term of *Rātta* or a term applied generally to petty chiefs ruling in the Deccan."

3. "That it is a compound of Maha, great, and Ratha, a rider or charioteer or warrior, corresponding to the ancient Persian caste of Rathaishtar or chariot rider."*

The exogamous clans are many, *e.g.*, Ahirao, Bhonsla, Gujar, Mohats, Mohite, Palke, and Sirke. Marriage is endogamous so far as each group is considered, and exogamous, so far as each clan is concerned. In no case is marriage allowed outside

* Enthoven, R. E: Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, page 4.



A GROUP OF MAHRATTA WOMEN.

the Maratha community except with the ruling chiefs and Rajputs with whom they marry in exceptional cases. Further, the community became considerably enlarged by additions from various sources, and the number of clans rose up to as many as 95, and gradually even over 100, designated by various names as Patankar, Jadu, Savanke, Salanke, Sindhe, Mogara, Mohare, Havar, Gayakavade, Londe, It is also said that there are as many as 304 subdivisions in Southern India. It is therefore necessary to trace out their original relations with the family that proposes alliances before they can be accepted.*

It must also be noted that some of their clan names are derived from the ruling dynasties as Chālke from the Chālukyan kings of the Deccan, and the Carnatic ; More, from the Mauryan dynasty, Saluke from Solanke kings of Guzerat ; Yādev from the Yādava kings of Deogar. Others appear to be named from natural objects, such as plants and animals, as Sind from the date palm chendi. Others again are of titular nature as *kale* (black), *pandhre* (white), *bhagore* (renegade) ; *jagtav* (renowned). Of all these Yādev, Bhonsle, More, and a few others are the oldest, and have a high rank. The Mahrāttas always cherish love of their villages and take pride in calling themselves after them.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The ordinary marriage prohibitions are in vogue among the Mahrattas. Marriage is infant among the aristocratic classes, the age limit for a girl being between five and twelve. Where marriage is adult as among the lower classes, the age of the boy is from sixteen onwards. In adult marriages, there is no age limit, the performance of which is left to the will and pleasure of the parties. Brāhmans are

* Enthoven, R. E : Bombay Tribes and Castes : lists of Devaks and Balis (Vol. III.) pages 11-17.

employed as priests, and this causes no deterioration in the estimation of others. The negotiations for marriage commence with the girl's father. Of late, the usual formalities observed in former times are being ignored. When the parties come to terms, an agreement in writing is made to that effect. The horoscopes of the boy and the girl are examined, and if they agree, it is well and good ; but if they do not agree, the marriage contract is entered into, if the parties are anxious for the match. Formal settlement is made on the day previous to the day of marriage, when the bridegroom's party and the elders of the caste go to the house of the bride with five plates containing auspicious things, and five to nine rupees. After the distribution of betel leaves and arecanuts, the bride's father promises to give his daughter in marriage to the young man. Women do not take part in this, and neither the bride, nor the bridegroom is present on the occasion. On the day of the marriage at the appointed time, the bridegroom generally rides on a horse covered with a blanket, accompanied by his party of men and women, carrying jewels, *saris* and other auspicious things. When they reach the bride's house, they hand over the articles to the bride's party. The bride is dressed in the new clothes and decked with the jewels brought by the party. She is then led to the *mantap* decorated for the marriage. The *tāli* is tied round the neck of the girl which finishes the marriage. Coloured rice is thrown on their heads and *ārati* is waved. The bridegroom-price is not current among them. The bride-price is twenty rupees which may vary with the status of the bridegroom's party. The minimum expenses on the side of the bride may be from forty to fifty rupees, while on that of the bridegroom one hundred rupees. The girl stays with her parents after marriage, till she attains her age, but

visits the house of her husband on auspicious occasions.

When a girl attains her age, she is lodged in a separate room, where she is under seclusion for three days. On the morning of the fourth day, she bathes, and becomes pure after taking a little of the sanctified water (*punyāham*) brought by the Brāhman priest. On the evening of the same day, she is seated on a conspicuous seat, when ladies assemble and wave *ārati*, and *pan supari* is distributed. If the girl is already married, her nuptials take place within a few days in the house of her husband. If she is married after puberty, it is postponed to a few months.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as in other Hindu castes. The higher classes of the Mahrāttas forbid widow marriage. A wife who commits adultery is expelled from caste.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption.

MAGIC AND RELIGION.

The Mahrāttas believe in omens, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. They worship by preference Śiva and his consort Pārvati and also Ganēsa. They worship Śiva in various forms, such as Khāndoba, Bhairab, Ravloba, Rokdoba and Pārvati in her incarnations, as Amba Bhavāni, Durga, Sitāla, Lakshmi. Their priests are Dēsastha Brāhmans, who conduct their ceremonies, and perform the daily worship of the house gods of the well-to-do members. Some are devoted to the worship of Durga and Māramma to whom the goats and fowls are offered. They pay their allegiance to the Sringeri *maṭha*. The goddess Ganga is adored by some of them. Some make *vīra pūja* by the side of a river, where they engage in mock-fight.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Mahrattas burn their dead, but do not adorn their corpse, but merely cover it with a piece of cloth and take it to the cremation ground. The chief mourner sets fire to it.

The corpse is bathed, and dressed in a white sheet, laid on a bier, and tied fast with strings made of straw. It is taken to the cremation ground, where the pyre is built, the dead body laid on it, and burnt with the same rites as at a Brāhman's funeral. When the body is nearly consumed, the party bathe in the river, and return home. On the second or the third day, ashes are collected, and thrown into the river close by. The bones that are also collected are buried near the cremation ground, to be taken to some holy place or river, and thrown into the water. The pollution lasts for 10 days, and on the morning of the eleventh, the chief mourner, his family, and the agnates all bathe, dress in new clothes, take a dose of *punyāham* (sanctified water), and become free from pollution. The rest of the ceremonies are like those of the Brāhmans. At the end of every fortnight, month and year from the date of deceased, uncooked provisions are given to the Brāhmans in the name of the deceased, and the anniversary of death is observed by a *srādh* when relations are fed at his house. The deceased is also remembered every year in *Mahalaya-paksha*, the dark half of the *Bhadrapāda* (August-September) on a day corresponding to the day of the deceased. The chief mourners for one full year avoid gay dress, sweet dishes, and do not attend marriage and other festive parties.

OCCUPATION.

The Mahrattas are land owners, soldiers and agriculturists. Some are traders, many are in the army or in other branches of the Government service.

The staple food of the well-to-do Mahrattas is wheat cakes, rice, split pulse, ghee, vegetables and condiments. Middle class families on ordinary days eat rice or liquid pulse seasoned with chillies, spices, salt and vegetables. The daily food of the poor families consists of millet bread, chopped chillies and pulse sauce. All eat fish and flesh. They seldom use liquor. Well-to-do families are provided with a cook who is ceremoniously clean, but in the middle class and poor families the women are the cooks and servers as usual.

THE DIETARY OF THE CASTE

The men usually cut the hair of the head close, and wear moustaches and whiskers, but not beards. The women dress the hair with much care, either tying it into a knot on the back or plaiting it in a braid which they wear in an open circle at the back of the head. They use false hair, and are fond of decking their hair with flowers. The men wear a turban, a coat, a shoulder cloth, a waist cloth, trousers or short drawers. Instead of a turban, they often wear a head scarf called *rumal* of three or four yards. The coat is tied in front below the right shoulder and in the centre of the chest, part of the right chest being left open, especially by those who pride themselves on their depth of chest. From the chest the coat falls in long full folds to the knee, and sometimes a few inches below it. Sometimes they also draw a shawl over the shoulders when they attend the court or darbar. Except that they do not pass the skirt between the feet, and that they draw one end of the robe over the head, Mahratta women wear the same indoor dress as Brahman women. They mark their head with vermillion, and tattoo a small crescent or *chandra* between the eyebrows, and a small dot on the chin and on each cheek, and figures of *tulsi* and lotuses representing the goddess Lakshmi, the words

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Srirām, Jayarām in Balbodh, and pictures of Krishna and the beloved Rādha on their forearms.

Conclusion. As a class, the Mahrattas are said to be simple, frank, independent, liberal, courteous, and when kindly treated, trustworthy. They are a manly and intelligent community, proud of their former greatness, fond of show, and careful to hide poverty. "A Mahratta though almost starving will raise a supper's worth of clarified butter, and rub his moustache, and hands with it, and sit washing his hands and face in front of his house, that passers-by may think that he had a rich dinner. A Mahratta boy may dress in a rag at home, but he has always a spare dress which he himself washes, keeps with great care, and puts on when he goes on a visit. He hires a servant to attend on him with a lantern at night or take care of his shoes when he goes into friend's house, and holds them before him when he comes out."*

They say war is their profession, and some of the Mahrattas of good family are however well educated. As a rule, a well-to-do member has in his service a Brāhman clerk, called Divānji or minister, who invariably takes advantage of his master's want of education to defraud him, and sometimes ends by making his master a debtor.

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* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXIV, pages 70—71.
It is a Marathi Proverb Gharachaya baher mishila tup lavoon padave. "One should go out of the house rubbing ghee to one's moustache."

# MAILĀRI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

INTRODUCTION.

MAILĀRIS, also known as Bāla-Jangams, are a class of beggars, who call themselves a sub-division of the Balijas. They are found in the districts of Kolar, as also in the Cuddapah district, Kadur and Shimoga. They are called Kanchavīralu, and Virabhatalu in other places. Perhaps they are a sub-caste of the Rājamahendras. The name Mailāri is probably connected with Mailāri *lingam* in the Bellari District.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

Vishṇuvardhana was the king of Rājamahendra which was formerly a kingdom, containing the modern districts of Godavery and Krishna. This king became enamoured of a girl born in a Komati family at Penukonda. She was called Viswamma who was afterwards deified as Kanyakāparamēswari. She became aware of the fact, and tried to escape from the danger. She made up her mind to sacrifice her life by being burned to death. Her castemen then requested her to show them a way by which they could earn their livelihood. She directed them to go to the king who, out of regard for her, ordered the Komatis to help the poor people. Thenceforth they were known as Mailāris who got the privilege of getting a *ruku* (1 anna 8 pies) every year from each Komati family and 3 more *rukus* for every marriage. In return for this the Mailāris have to serve them by

wearing a peculiar dress called *kasāi* with brazen head representing their tutelary deity whom the Komatis worship on the third day of a marriage ceremony. The *kasāi* dress also included the head of Dakshaprajāpati, leglets (*andi*), a brazen disk bell called *Jangade* on the left hand, and a sword on the right hand. These were supposed to have been worn by the deity when she mounted the funeral pyre. Hence the castemen wear them in memory of the incident. During the worship, they sing some songs in praise of her. It is also said that 102 families out of 714 ascended the funeral pyre after her. Since then, the castemen beg only of the Komatis for help. Even if the Mailāri be rich, he must beg and serve the Komatis with *kasāi*. Each Mailāri family has a number of Komati families which cannot be encroached upon by others. Each Mailāri keeps an account of the fees received, and it is examined by the donors before payment.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

The Mailāris themselves form an endogamous group, but the following are the exogamous clans :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Anniparty (plantain.) | Kindamanati. |
| Enikopalli (Those who have drunk milk.) | Muddari. |
| Jugantu. | Nagindlavadlu. |
| | Yanigalavandlu (elephant.) |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage prohibitions in vogue among them are the same as those prevailing in other castes. The marriage ceremony takes place in the bride's house. The betrothal ceremony takes place as usual, when some clothes are presented to the girl by the boy's parents. The *pandal* is put up with the milk post of *Nirale* branch. Among the preliminary ceremonies, the parents of the bride observe the one meal penance, and fill one new pot with rice, and place on it some jaggery, and twist cotton thread round

it in all directions, as also turmeric and vermillion. Lights are waved and camphor burned. Then on a new hearth they place a new pot, and boil milk in it till it overflows. If it does profusely, the married couple will be happy. They then call the elderly members of the caste and of the family, and honour them with betel leaves and arecanut as also with *dakshine* (gift). The rest of the formalities are the same as in other corresponding castes.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

The castemen form an organized society. They have a *Kulapedda* (*yajaman*) who has a *kolkar* (servant) for helping to collect castemen. He is assisted by the elderly members in the council, and has jurisdiction over the following matters : to preside on marriage occasions, to enquire into and settle social offences such as eating forbidden food, misconduct of women and the like. The delinquents have to bear the whole cost of the case. The *yajaman* has a casting vote. The delinquents are either fined or put out of caste. The caste headman is respected on all occasions, and he receives the first *tāmbula* and an additional one besides.

RELIGION.

The Mailāris are Śaivas and worship the Śiva-*lingam* known as the Mailāri *lingam*, on a Monday in the month of *Kārtik* (November-December). They also adore the minor gods such as Gangamma, Māriamma, and employ Brāhman *purohits*, whenever necessary. Their *gurus* are Berike Ārādhyalu and the *swāmy* of Āvaṇi maṭṭa.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Mailāris bury the dead. The pollution is for twelve days. They perform no annual commemorative rite for their ancestors, but on a day in Mahālaya, presents of rice, vegetables, clothes and *dakshiṇa* are made to Brāhmans, and their castemen are fed.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

They eat sheep, goats, fish and owls. They eat in the houses of Kōmatis, while Bēdars, Mādigas, and Okkaligas eat in their houses. They are said to belong to 18 *phanas* and the Kōmatis to 9 *phanas*. This entitles them to claim a superiority over the Kōmatis.

# MĀLERU.

MĀLERUS are a unique community existing in the Malnad taluks of the western division. Debrahmanized women of the sacerdotal class and their progeny are attached by the name of Māleru to the Śiva temples in the hilly taluks of the western division. Brāhman women outcasted for conjugal infidelity and other communal offences become recruits to the ranks of Mālēru, the boundary line of the caste being crossed by eating the sacrificial rice cast in the *Bali Pitam* or altar of Siva temples. It is also said that prurient women and termagant wives escape from lawful restraints by partaking of the aforesaid forbidden food, whereupon they become courtesans. They, however, conform to the diet, religion and social customs of the Brāhmans, and perform menial service in temples, but do not dance. A further downward step constitutes the Māle women into Gaudia. When the former cohabit with non-Brāhmans, the issue degenerates into gaudas, who also are attached to the Malnad temples in which they perform menial service." They are found in Tirthahalli and Mudigere Taluks.

## MALERU.

MALERU are a jungle tribe confined to the wild regions of the Western Malnad. In the caste gradation, they are said to rank below the Halepaikas, but above the Holeyas and Mādigas. They are a diminutive but muscular tribe with curly hair and dolichicephalic head. Their mother-tongue is Tulu. They are immigrants from South Canara, and lead a life above that of primordial barbarism. They live in isolated huts, which are however provided with the usual entrance through which one has to crawl in, but also with half concealed hole in the rear, a kind of postern through which the shy inmates steal out into the jungle at the mere suspicion of danger or on the approach of a stranger. They collect the wild jungle produce such as cardamoms for their customary employers whose agrestic slaves they have virtually become. Their huts are shifted from place to place usually in the most inaccessible and thickest parts of the wilderness. They are said to be partial to toddy and arrack. It is also suspected that these savages smuggle across the frontier large quantities of wild pepper and cardamoms from the ghat portions of the province. Their marriage customs are characterised by the utmost simplicity, and the part played therein by the astrologer is very edifying. They are pure animists. They bury the dead. They observe a curious obsequial custom. When anyone among them dies, somebody's devil is credited with the mishap, and the astrologer is consulted to ascertain its identity. The latter throws cowries or rice for divination and mentions the name of some

neighbour as the owner of the devil thief. Thereon the spirit of the dead is redeemed by the heir or relative by means of a pig, fowl or other reward. The spirit is then released, and is thenceforward domiciled in a pot, which is supplied periodically with water and nourishment. They are confined to Thirthahalli and Mudigere.

# MALLAVA.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

INTRODUCTION.

MALLAVAS are a caste of Lingāyat faith. They are largely found in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, and North Canara of the Bombay Presidency, as also in the district of South Canara. They are mostly immigrants to Mysore, and are found mostly in Hassan, Kadur and Shimoga.

The name Mallava is derived by some from malnad or hilly country where they are said to have formerly resided. But Lingāyats allege that they are a dirty people, because they do not adhere strictly to the rules of Lingāyat religion. The Mallavas, on the other hand, style themselves Viraśaiva Kshatriyas basing their claim to be twice-born warriors on the position they formerly occupied at Sonda, Bilgi and Ikkēri whose chiefs were of the Mallava caste. Buchanan describes how the ruling family at Keladi which afterwards moved to Ikkēri and Bednur were originally the heads of five or six villages of Keladi, and were of the Mallava caste. One of them, Bhadrakondi, entered the service of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar, and assumed the title of Sadāśiva Naik. Evidence seems to show that the Mallavas were originally Jains, and were converted into Lingāyatism in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*

* Buchanan's Mysore: Vol. III, pages 254—255.

"There are five endogamous groups of the caste that eat together, but do not intermarry. They are :— INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

| | |
|---|---|
| Bandi Mallavas. | Muskin Mallavas. |
| Balsad Mallavas. | Nir Mallavas. |
| Kodag Mallavas. | |

"Of these, Muskin Mallavas who take their name from the Canarese Mushuk, a cover or veil, are found in Mysore. The name seems to have originated from the custom of their women covering their faces like Musalmans. Another custom peculiar to this division is that women must carry water on their waist and not on their head. The violation of this rule is punished with excommunication. The *Nir* Mallavas (Canarese *nīru*-water) are so named because they cover their water-pots with a cloth when bringing water from a well. The Bandi or Gaudi Sāntin Mallavas are the offspring of Mallava widows and women who have gone astray. The division thus corresponds to the *Kādu* or bastard divisions of other castes. Of these divisions of the Mallavas, the Muskins are the social superiors of the other two."*

The Mallavas claim the five usual *gōtras* of the Lingayats, namely, Nandi, Skanda, Vira, Bringi, and Vrisha, but it is doubtful, whether the marriage is in any way affected by *gotras* so named. They have certain exogamous divisions named after the God worshipped by the section such as :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Basava. | Mailar. |
| Gudda. | Nandi. |
| Gutti. | Togarsi Mallappa. |
| Iswar. | Vrishadra. |

Of these, the Gutti section is looked upon as inferior and marriage is not favoured with the members of this section.

* R. E. Enthovan : Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. II, pages 374–375.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

They are similar to those of the Lingāyats.

Mallavas are non-Panchamaśāli Lingāyats entitled to the *ashtavarṇa* rites. Their priests are Jangams, but Brāhmans are also invited as priests. They worship Siva, Pārvati, Gaṇapati, Basava as their *guru* or spiritual guide. Offerings of goats and fowls are made to Māri Amma through the medium of other persons. Bhutappa, Huliappa, Chawdi, Birappa Jebappa, are the powers they think, as protecting their farms. They are stones which are worshipped. Annually offerings of rice, plantains and of goats are made.

Most of the Mallavas are land-holders, and *patels* or village headmen. They own rice and sugarcane fields and betel-nut gardens. None of them work as day labourers. Some are traders.



A GROUP OF MEDARS.

# MEDĀR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE,—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES–INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Medars are a caste of men who make bamboo articles, such as mats and baskets, and carry on the same trade. They are chiefly found in the Shimoga, Kadur and Mysore districts. Their common name is Medara, of which the literal meaning cannot be ascertained. In the Mysore district, they are known as Gaurigas, and sometimes, they call themselves Gauri-*Makkalu* (Gauri's children) as distinguished from Bestas, who call themselves the children of Ganga (Gange-*Makkaḷu*), Ganga and Gauri being poularly regarded as rivals in the love of Śiva. It is said that they abstain from eating flesh during the season of Gauri worship (beginning on the third day of the Bhādrapada (August-September). They also say that they were originally a sect of the Banajigas, and separated from the main body by reason of their profession. Some claim to be descended from Vidura, well-known in the *Mahabhārata*; but the origin of this story is apparently nothing more than the similarity of that name to the Kannada word Bidaru, which signifies bamboos, the chief material with which they work. Cavariga or Kavariga means a splitter (of bamboos); and this word apparently gave rise to the fancy of their being Gauri's children.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

They have a story that they are descended from a person who was created specially for making winnows for Pārvati, the consort of Śiva, having come out of the mouth of Basava (Śiva's bull), while he was chewing the cud after swallowing grains of iron. Śiva turned the serpents on his body into bamboos. The divine customer was so pleased with the man's handiwork, that she rewarded him with basketfuls of precious stones. But the fool did not know their value, and ran away from his good fortune. The gods got disgusted, and ordained that he should never gain more than a pittance from his trade.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

*Endogamous Groups.*—The Medars are divided into two linguistic divisions: Kannada Medars and Telugu Medars. Besides these divisions, they fall into the following groups :—(1) Gavarigas found only in the Mysore district, (2) Palli Medars, and (3) Bandikāra Medars. These groups neither interdine, nor intermarry. It is difficult to account for the origin of these groups. They say that the division known as Bandikāra is so called, because they use a cart on which they carry their god, whenever the latter has to be taken in procession.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The division Gavarigaru has two exogamous clans namely, *Belli-kula* (silver division), and *Nāgara-Kula* (cobra division). These clans appear to be totemistic but are at present ignorant of their significance. They vaguely say that the members of the Belli group do not generally use silver toe-rings, but that prohibition is not generally observed. The Nāgarakula Gavarigas, in common with other people, consider cobras sacred, and do not kill them.

Palli Medars, who were probably immigrants from the Tamil country, are said to have a large number of exogamous divisions, such as A'lu *kula* (Banyan

division), Sampige *kula*, Kare (a thorny tree) *kula*, and Kuruba *kula*, with the usual prohibition as regards the objects denoted by these names.

The Bandikar Medars have four exogamous divisions, grouped into two sets of two allied divisions, persons of each set being related as brothers and sisters :—

(1) (*a*) Nayakana Bidu and (*b*) Musakanni Bidu
(2) (*a*) Gaudana Bidu and (*b*) Rattara or Ratna Bidu

These divisions have not any totemistic significance, but seem to be based upon their respective functions in caste constitution ; thus the *Yajaman* of the caste belongs to the Nāyaka clan ; and the next man, named Buddhivanta, to the Gauda division.

Medars have other divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, *e.g.*, people of one marriage-booth and of two booths ; and of gold *ariveni* (painted with ornamental drawings) and Silver *ariveni* (of plain *ariveni* pots).

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Polygamy is allowed, but is not generally practised, unless the first wife happens to be barren, or suffers from an incurable disease. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the men are, as a rule, satisfied with one wife. As regards marriage relations, persons belonging to the same *kula* are prohibited from marrying each other, even to the remotest degree of relationship. A man may not marry the daughter of his paternal uncle. But the daughter of a paternal aunt or of a maternal uncle may be married. An elder sister's daughter may be taken in marriage, but not that of a younger sister. Two brothers may be married to two sisters, and two sisters may be taken

in marriage by one man, either simultaneously or at different times. Polyandry is unknown.

Boys are married at fifteen years of age or upwards. Girls may be married either before or after puberty. It is not considered derogatory if a woman remains unmarried all through her life, provided her continence is not questioned ; but, as in other castes, she may not take part in marriage ceremonies. When a girl is married after puberty, she is treated to the ceremony of *Osage*, when she is seated on a *maṇe* in the evening in the company of married women, when she has her garments filled with cocoanuts, etc. The husband's father presents her with a cloth. When about to rise from the *maṇe*, the bridegroom is made to lift her up and carry her to a room and leave her there. This is called *sobhana*. As usual, consummation is put off for three months after the marriage.

The offer of marriage comes from the father of the boy, who on an auspicious day, proceeds to the girl's house, with some castemen. The *vīlyada śāstra* (betel-leaves ceremony) takes place there, and the girl is presented with a new *seere* and a *ravike*. A *simhāsana*, or an improvised seat is worshipped, and *pansupari* is distributed to all. In some parts of the State, this ceremony is treated as having a binding effect on both parties ; and when this is done, if either party withdraws from the contract, not only have they to pay the other party's expenses and a fine to the castemen, but the girl is deprived of the privilege of the full marriage ceremonial subsequently. It is usual for the bridegroom's party to pay a portion of the bride-price on this day, and to give some jewels to the girl.

The marriage ceremony proper generally takes place in the boy's house, whither the other party repair on the evening of the day previous to the Devarūta (God's feast). On this day, two *pandals*

are put up, one before the bride's house, and the other before that of the bridegroom. Two sets of milk-posts, of either *atti* (fig) or *kalli* tree, are brought and set up in the *pandals*, and two sets of *ariveni* pots are installed in the houses of the bride and the bridegroom. Each party observe the Dēvaruta in their own house, to which their relatives are invited.

Next day, the *dhāre*, *Kankaṇa*-tying and tāli-tying ceremonies take place in the usual order, and the couple are made to eat food from the same dish in front of the *arivēni* pots in the boy's house. In the evening, the couple are shown the star Arundhati. The tying of the *tāli* forms the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. In the night of the same day, or in some cases, on the following day, another *dhāre*, called *tumbe huvvina dhāre*, takes place in the *pandal* put up in the bride's house. All the ceremonials observed in the morning are gone through again, and the girl is given away for the second time, by the maternal uncle. At this ceremony, no Brāhman is required to be present.

The next ceremony is known as *gindi śāstra*, and takes place on the day following the *dhāre* day. This day the bridegroom steals a bangle from the bride, and a brass vessel (*gindi*) from the father-in-law's house, and conceals himself in his house. From the bride's house, a procession goes headed by the bride herself. She is made to search for her husband, and by mistake finds out his brother. The latter is caught, his hands being tied up, and he is led to the marriage house dressed in a fantastic manner, garlands of castor berries being put on his neck. The mistake is, however, found out to the chagrin of all, and the supposed thief is set free with some presents, to compensate for the annoyance. The real thief, the bridegroom, is subsequently discovered, and is led

to his wife's house, where he is propitiated, so as to behave better in future.

In some parts of the State, this ceremony varies in the following manner. The bridegroom pretends to be dissatisfied with his wife, and runs away intending to marry another. Then the bride and her brother, or a man related to her as brother, disguised as a woman, go to the bridegroom's house. The feigned bride cajoles the bridegroom, and offers herself to become his wife, if he is not satisfied with his other wife, and bring him to the bride's house, where the mistake is found out. The bride bows to him and implores his pardon. The father-in-law promising good presents, the bridegroom consents to take his wife. They are then made to sit together, and are besmeared with turmeric.

The next day Nāgavali takes place. The couple undergo the nail-paring ceremony, and after bathing go out in state to fetch earth from an ant-hill, for the worship of the pandal-posts. Then the pot-searching ceremony, and the untying of *kankaṇas*, take place. In the evening, *simhāsana-pūja* is observed, and the milk-post is removed after pouring some milk on it, and a portion of the *pandal* is pulled down.

During these days, Medars do not kill any animal, and their dinners consist of purely vegetable food. The following day is devoted to the caste dinner, given in honour of the marriage, for which several sheep and goats are killed, and all the relatives are treated to copious libations of liquor. The bride-price varies from twelve to twenty-four rupees. A widower has to pay sometimes double this sum to get a wife. It is said that if a maternal uncle marries the girl, the price is lowered, and sometimes it is excused. But when he does not marry her, he has no right to share in the *tera* obtained from others.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for seven days, during which time she sits by herself in a shed of green leaves, erected outside the house. On the seventh day, she is admitted into the house after bathing; but for the first sixteen days she is not considered fully purified. If she has been already married, consummation takes place on the sixteenth day. PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

Widow marriage is allowed, and freely practised. It is said that a woman is not allowed to marry more than twice, but the practice varies in different places. The usual degrees of prohibited relationship are avoided in such marriages also. A widow may not marry her husband's brother, and, in some cases, not only his near agnates, but the whole clan to which he belonged, has to be avoided. It is generally a widower or a married man that is permitted to marry a widow; but if a bachelor has to be married to a widow, because of their living together, before the union is sanctioned by the caste, the man is married to an Ekka plant first.* This form of the marriage is called *kudike*, or *sirudike*, and is performed on any day in the evening time, before the father's house. The ceremony observed is the usual one. Married women do not attend the ceremony, but they may join the dinner given on the occasion. The couple are seated together on a *kambali*, widows throw rice on their heads, and the husband ties a *tali* before the castemen. It is reported that, in the Shimoga District, after dinner the couple are sent away from their village, and have to spend that night in a neighbouring village. They return the next morning and then may live together without any objection. WIDOW MARRIAGE.

* In some places, Shimoga for instance, a bachelor marrying a widow is not admitted into all the special privileges of caste, unless he marries again a virgin in the usual manner.

The remarried widow does not suffer from any serious disabilities, and her issue may be married by those born of a regular marriage.

The bride-price, or *tera*, for a widow is twelve rupees which properly belongs to the relatives of her previous husband; but generally the latter do not condescend to accept it, and it is either appropriated by the woman's father or is spent in giving a feast to the castemen.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Divorce is permitted on account of the wife's adultery, or the husband's loss of caste, and sometimes on account of continual disagreement, and the divorced woman may marry again in the *Kudike* form. In cases of the wife's unfaithfulness with a man of the same caste, the paramour is made to pay the husband's marriage-expenses and a fine to the castemen before he marries the woman, to render the issue legitimate and to retain his caste status unimpaired. Adultery within the caste may be condoned at the option of the husband, after the levying of a small fine from the paramour, but if he happens to be a man of lower caste, the woman is out-casted.

Medars do not dedicate girls as Basavis. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage by a man of the same caste, he will be compelled to marry her under a modified form of marriage, in which some important ceremonies, such as the worship of the *arivenis*, are omitted.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

As in other castes, a woman is taken to her parent's house for the first delivery, and on an auspicious day, in the seventh month, she is given a sumptuous dinner and presented with a *Seere* and a bodice cloth. On delivery, the woman is considered impure for nine days, when she is confined to a room, the usual

precautions, such as placing at the door old shoes and shoots of an Ankole plant being taken to prevent the ingress of evil spirits. The woman and the child are given a bath on the ninth day, when the neighbours belonging to the same caste do her the honour of presenting her with turmeric and *kunkuma*, and bring a potful of hot water each for her bath. The husband gives the usual dinner to all the castemen, and in the evening an old cradle is worshipped, and the child is put into it and rocked by an elderly matron. The child is given a name, generally in consultation with a soothsayer. The practice of giving opprobrious names is common. They have no peculiar typical names.

The tonsure cermony takes place in the third year of the child, when the ear-lobes are also pierced. This must be observed in the temple of their family god, when all the relatives gather and present the child with some coins, the father of the child giving the usual caste dinner.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Medars follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Adoption is allowed and practised. They say that even a sister's son may be adopted. The ceremony is the same as in other castes of similar status, the natural parents getting some presents.

CASTE CONSTITUTION.

Medars are a well organised community. Each of the endogamous groups has a caste constitution independent of other divisions. They have *kattemanes* at important places, where they also have the temples of their tribal deity. The head of the tribe is the *yajaman*, or Gauda, who belongs to the exogamous clan styled Nayani *Kula*. He presides over the meetings to enquire into their caste disputes. He is assisted by another man named Biniga Gauda, or Buddhivanta, who belongs to the Gauda or Ratta

division. Whenever caste disputes arise, the matter has to be reported to this official, who disposes of trivial cases himself. In serious cases, he submits the matter to the headman at a general assembly. At marriages and on other important occasions, such as admitting a stranger into the caste, he has to signify his assent by marking the party's forehead with *vibhūti* (holy ashes). These two offices are hereditary. They have also sometimes a *kolkar*, who is appointed on each occasion to act as convener of caste meetings. These officials are given small presents for their services.

Medars have no objection to take into their caste men and women belonging to a recognised higher caste. The purificatory ceremony observed is slightly branding the tongue of the novice with a bit of gold, or a margosa stick, after bathing and making him pass through seven sheds, which are set fire to as he leaves them. The *kolkar* of the caste puts *vibhūti* to the novice's forehead, and announces the fact of admission into the fraternity.

They have a strong belief in omens and magic, and when they begin their day's work, they offer prayers to their cutting implement, and observe good and bad omens before they start for bamboos in the jungle.

RELIGION. There are both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas among the Medars. They also pay respect to such minor gods and goddesses as Māramma and other village deities. The Śaivas often embrace the order of Devaraguddas, and are initiated into it by a *Rudrāksha-bead* being tied round the neck of the person. Vaishṇavas sometimes become Dāsaris, and have Vaishṇava symbols branded on their arms.

The tribal deity of the Medars is variously known as Durgamma, Kukkavadadamma, Malalamma, and

Chaudamma. This goddess has temples dedicated to her in different places, in some of which Medar men officiate as priests. Periodical worship of this goddess is held, when invitations are sent round by the *yajamans* of the *kattemanes* to all their constituents to assemble on a particular day. Contributions towards the expenses are levied. Along with the image of the goddess new bamboos are kept and worshipped. It is said that people of no other caste are allowed to take part in the celebration. A number of animals are sacrificed. On this day no one, not even a child, is given any food till the *pūja* is over. The bamboos are cut into small pieces and distributed to all, who have to use them for some article of wicker-work which they subsequently make. The festival is closed with a common dinner.

On a day after the Dīpāvali, they repair to a jungle and offer *pūja* to new-bamboos (*Hosa-bidaru pūje*). On a cleaned spot, a stone is set up, and three bundles of fine bamboos, freshly cut, are placed beside it. The *pūjāri*, who should have been fasting, offers a sheep or a goat, and they all feast on the meat. In some places, the *pūjāri* then proclaims that no one shall attend to their professional work for the succeeding three days. Any transgression of this injunction to take these holidays entails expulsion from caste. On a subsequent day, they go with their implements to the jungle, and after breaking a cocoanut, and burning incense near a bamboo bush, they cut the bamboos for their work. There is another deity called Gidada Muttaraya (tree spirit), which they worship periodically, with the object of preventing tigers and other wild animals from molesting them. They revere a female named Medara Mallamma, who is said to have been a very pious woman during her life, and was consequently deified after death. They worship I'ragāraru also.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Medars generally bury the dead. Sometimes they practise *kallu Seve* (burying under a heap of stones), or cremation, when the deceased has met with an unnatural death, or was suffering from leprosy. The corpse is buried with the head turned to the south. The eldest son, or if there is no son, the nearest agnate, acts as the chief mourner. After disposing of the body, all return home, to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired. The headman of the caste and other relatives pay visits of condolence, and settle the order of the funeral rites to be performed.

The Desabhāga section invite the Sātāni priest to worship the *Chakra* before the body is removed to the burial ground. They observe their usual rites secretly in the night. The others observe the third day and the eleventh day ceremonies. On the third day, they offer cooked food on the grave, and wait there for the crows to eat it. If crows do not touch the food, they promise the deceased that all his dying requests, if any, will be scrupulously complied with ; but if the crows still persist in not coming, they let in a cow to eat the food. On returning home after bathing in a river, or a well, they receive *tīrtha* from a Jangama priest, and Bandara* from a Goravayya, and then eat their food.

On the eleventh day, they repeat the same ceremony and give a dinner to the castemen, after having the house purified by *punyāha*. Sometimes they give another dinner to their caste men, either on the twentieth day, or some other day within the end of the first month. This removes the pollution finally.

The period of mourning, or *sūtaka*, is twelve days, when they abstain from meat, milk, and sweets, and do not use the caste-mark on the forehead. They

* Bandara is the *turmeric*, *kunkuma* and *vibhuti* used in worshipping the deity.



MEDARS AT THEIR WICKER WORK.

do not observe the *srāddha* ceremony, but on the Mahālaya newmoon and *Yugādi* days, and on the Gauri feast, they worship an earthen pot filled with water, in memory of all the deceased in the family. They believe that persons dying in a family are reborn in the same family, and that on this account, children should be given the names of the deceased ancesters.

Occupation.

Medars are cane-splitters and makers of baskets, mats, winnows, and other kinds of wicker-work. Their work is always in demand, but is not lucrative. They have adhered to their caste profession, and only a few of them are agriculturists, either owning lands or cultivating them on *vāra* tenure. Some are day labourers.

Medars split the bamboo from the top or the thin end, while the Korachas split it from the bottom. They do not know the reason, but do not, on any account, depart from the practice. The Korachas, moreover, do not have a trident mark on their knives.

Medars have a Haḷemaga belonging to the Holeya caste, who pays them periodical visits and gets the customary fees. But the Bandikar section of the Medars have a Haḷemaga who belongs to the Medar caste. He is styled Panchamaga, and is not allowed to practice their caste profession. The progenitor of the Panchamaga is said to have purloined a bamboo from those belonging to another Bandikar Medar, and was consequently thrown out of caste. He subsequently implored the mercy of his castemen, who took pity on him and converted him into a Haḷemaga, agreeing to pay a *hana* from each family for his maintenance.

Social status.

The Medars are a settled people, and are found usually in towns, where their labour is largely in

demand. In such places, they have a separate quarter for themselves, but are not prohibited from living with other castemen of the same status. Their rank in the social scale is about the same as that of Bedas, and they are not regarded as an impure caste, as the Buruds are in the Bombay Presidency. The barber and the washerman give them their services, and the former also pares their toe-nails when shaving. They draw water from the common village well. They do not enter the inner portions of a temple. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Gollas and Upparas, and the only castemen who eat in their houses are Holeyas and Mādigas. It is said that in some places Agasas also eat in their houses, but the practice is not uniform.

They belong to the right-hand section (Eighteen-Phanas) and their professional implement, namely, the bamboo-splitting knife, has engraved on it the bell and ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen-Phanas, which is kept in the custody of the Holeya servant known as Chālavādi. The latter is invited to be present on all important ceremonies, such as deaths and marriages, and gets some fees.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

They are flesh-eaters, and eat sheep, goats and pigs, but eschew beef and reptiles. They are also intemperate drinkers, and indulge largely in liquor on festive occasions.

There is nothing peculiar in the dress of the Medars. Women wear the bodice cloth and get tattooed, the designs being the ordinary ones.

Medars generally do not employ Brāhmans to conduct their ceremonies, but their own people officiate for them. Śaivas respect Jangamas and Vaishṇavas Sātanis, and get *tīrtha* and *prasāda* after funerals and other ceremonies.

CONCLUSION.

The Medars are a caste of workers in bamboo in the Telugu, Canarese, Oriya and Tamil countries. They make all kinds of baskets, sieves, mats, cradles, boxes and tatties. In former times, they made basket caps for sepoys. They are both Vaishṇavas and Śivas. They are animists as well.

# MŌCHI.

INTRODUCTION——INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE——MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH—INHERITANCE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

MŌCHĪS in Mysore are a caste of leather-workers and painters. They are the immigrant Mahrattas who, it is said, came to Mysore with Kasim Khan, the General of Aurangzib. They claim descent from Rājputs living near Champaner and they are said to have been given their name, because one of them made a pair of stockings or *moju* out of a tiger's skin ; but there is no proof in support of this tradition.*

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous groups.*—Mochis have three endogamous groups of a territorial type. There is also another group namely Chumas. They are also divided according to their occupations.† But the following exogamous clans in common with the Rājputs are found amongst them. They are :

| | |
|---|---|
| Cohan. | Makvana. |
| Chudasama. | Maru. |
| Dabhi. | Parmar. |
| Gohil. | Rathod. |
| Jethva. | Solanki. |
| Jhala. | Vaghela. |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage prohibitions are the same as those prevailing in other castes of the corresponding status

* Enthovan R. E : *Bombay Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, page 56.
† E. Thurston : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. V, page 82.

A man may take a second wife with the consent of the first, if the latter is barren. Divorce is allowed. Widow remarriage is also permissible, and in some places the widow marries the younger brother of the deceased husband.

Mochi girls are married either as infants or after they come of age. At the betrothal ceremony, caste *panchāyats* are invited, and the marriage settlement is made in their presence and with their approval. Previous to marriage, the village goddess Sithalā Dēvi (Small-pox demon) and their patron saint Rohidas are invoked to bless the couple. The wedding takes place under a booth at the bride's house. *Kanyadān* or the formal gift of the bride forms the essential portion of the ceremony. The marriage of Telugu shoe-makers is an imitation of the ritual followed by other Telugu castes.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH

Soon after delivery, the mother is subjected to a course of treatment during confinement. The baby is washed by the midwife. No ceremony is performed on the day of birth. On the night of the sixth day, the goddess Chathi is adored, when the wall of the lying-in room is marked with red powder, and on a foot-stool is laid, besides, a reed pen and water jar, a sword or scimitar wrapped in cloth and set upright. Female relations worship these articles and the child is made to peep at them. In some places, instead of the jar and sword, an earthen cake is placed on the roof of the house. Naming of the child takes place on the twelfth day. The woman after child-birth is under pollution for ten or fifteen days. When the ceremony of first feeding is performed, the child is fed with a few mouthfuls of coarse wheat mixed with sugar and butter, and some brass cups are distributed to friends and relations.

INHERITANCE. The Mochis follow the Hindu law of inheritance. In partition, the eldest son gets an extra share of the property. According to custom, a sister's son, in the event of his becoming a son-in-law, is entitled to a share of the property of his father-in-law.

RELIGION. The Mochis are mostly Śaivas, but Vaishṇavas are also found amongst them. Some also belong to the Lingāyat faith. Special reverence is paid to their saintly ancestor, Rohidas, to whom offerings of sweetmeats, wine and goats are made on Sundays. On the Dasara day, goats are offered to the implements of their trade. Pochamma and Ellamma are appeased, when epidemics of cholera or small-pox break out. At the Dīpāvali festival, females adore Gauramma, the goddess who presides over married life. Some employ Brāhmans for ceremonial and religious purposes. They ordinarily worship Kāli or Durga, and reverence Brāhmans; but they have their own rites, which belong to their aboriginal condition, which are still practised. In one locality only have they shown signs of amelioration and progress. "In one of the districts of the Central Provinces, the Chumas have established a new creed and faith of their own, which has some resemblance to Christianity, and is spreading among the caste, accompanied by much social reformation. It rejects idolatory and Brāhminism, and though its tenets are a pure and simple morality and theism, it ignores Christianity."

FUNERAL CUSTOMS. The dead are buried, married persons in a sitting posture with the face turned towards the north, and the unmarried in a lying posture with the head to the south. Women dying in child-birth or in pregnancy are burned. In the case of agnates, mourning is observed for ten days for adults, and three

days for children. On the third day after death, the chief mourner along with his relatives and friends goes to the burial ground to adore the remains of the dead person. Rice, curds, sweetmeats, flowers and roasted grain are offered, whereafter the chief mourner shaves his moustaches, and becomes ceremonially clean. On the *Pitre Amāvasya* day, a feast is given to caste brethren in the name of the deceased. Funeral feasts are held for three days on the eleventh, twelfth, and the thirteenth days.

Mochis' chief employment as a leather worker is shoe-making. But now he is a man of various callings: working in leather, painting, electro-plating, enamelling, making tin, silver and gold foil. They make saddles, bridles, shields, scabards, hunting whips and bags. Occasionally he works in factories in making leather belting. He buys leather from merchants, but never tans hides, nor cobbles shoes. OCCUPATION.

Although Mochis belong to the very lowest caste of Mlechas or outcastes among Hindoos, they are very useful members of the community at large in all parts of India. They make sandals, shoes, slippers, harness, and do leather work of all kinds. They are also tanners and curers of leather. In the latter capacity, they do not use tan-pits, but sew up the green skins of oxen or sheep, or goats, as a sack, which contains bark of the acacia, with some other astringent plants mixed with water; after some days, the skin is opened, and dressed with lime till it is fit for use; the leather thus made is soft and durable, but has a disagreeable smell. It is then dyed scarlet or crimson, and so made up into shoes. The Mochis use the last for native shoes, and their tools or implements are precisely the same, as well as their manners of stitching, as European workmen. In large cantonments and cities where the English live,

many of them make shoes and boots after the English pattern very neatly and durably, the only objection to their work being the smell of the leather, which does not readily leave it. They also make excellent shooting gaiters, and in all dapartments of their craft, they are ingenious and exact in their work.

There are two classes of leather workers, one the Mochis, the other Chumas, who do rough work and are considered to be of a higher caste. They do not intermarry, though they are virtually the same. The Chumas, however, skin dead animals, which Mochis refuse to do; they execute rough work, such as plough gear and ropes of green hide, and they chiefly make sandals, which are sewn with thongs of green leather, instead of thread or dressed leather. Many of the native shoes are prettily embroidered with soft floss silk, and this department of the household business is executed by the women almost exclusively, who are very clever at it. It is part of the Chuma's vocation whenever public execution is necessary, to hang the criminal who is to suffer. Hempen rope is not employed; but a much stronger and more effectual means, is a cord made of the sinews of cattle, which is plain, and with a noose at the end, it is at once adapted for the purpose. A rope is considered by the experienced a barbarous manner of execution, causing prolonged suffering, whereas by the other method death is almost instantaneous.

Social Status.

In point of social standing, the Mochis occupy a very low position in the Hindu caste system. No caste except the Mādiga will eat food cooked by them, while they themselves eat the food of any Hindu caste, except the Jingar, Hajam and Dhobi. Their touch is held to be unclean, and hence they are obliged to live outside the villages. Although the

village barber and washerman render service to them, both have afterwards to undergo ablution owing to the defilement caused by Mochi's work.

The Mochis eat fowl, pork, fish, mutton, even the flesh of animals dying natural death, and indulge freely in strong drinks. FOOD.

Mochis and Chumas eat animal food of all kinds excepting beef, though it is alleged of the latter that cattle which have died natural deaths are not altogether neglected. All drink spirituous liquors and fermented palm juice, sometimes to excess, and they smoke tobacco and hemp leaves. They are, for the most part, a very unthrifty people, spending what they earn in riotous intoxication or in caste feasts, which are of frequent occurrence in consequence of caste quarrels.

They sometimes cultivate land to a small extent, but their work forms their ordinary support. In some localities, they are accused of organized crimes, especially dacoity; but, for the most part, they are a quiet, inoffensive class, profoundly ignorant, and superstitious.

Mochavaru or Mochis were originally Rajputs. They are said to be a mixed breed from which they have come. They claim to be Kshatriyas. They are workers in leather. Their priests are Bairagis. They have chiefs who determine matters relating to caste; but their office is not hereditary. They are elected by an assembly of their castemen. CONCLUSION.

# MODALIYAR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Modaliyars are an agricultural caste of the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, from which they have immigrated into the Mysore State. Mysore Census report of 1912 gives their number as 17,912. About a third of them are found in the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, and the rest in the districts of Bangalore, Kolar, and other parts of the province. They are said to be a section of the Vellalas.

The word Modaliyar comes from *modal* meaning first and *ar* signifying plough, hence the first ploughers or agriculturists. But the probable derivation is that the word is the plural of *modali* (a wealthy man), *modal* in Tamil meaning wealth. Modali is an honorofic title, like *sreshti*, chetti, given to wealthy and influential traders and contractors, while the less affluent men and agriculturists call themselves Reddy, Reddiar, and Konar, and are largely found in the district of North Arcot. They class themselves among the Vaiśyas which is resented by other castemen.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

A certain Chola king was ruling his kingdom south of the Cauvery river. To the north of the river was the Dandakāranya forest which was inhabited by a wild tribe known as Kurumbas. Once upon a



A MUDALIYAR FAMILY.

time the king went for hunting in the forest, and was separated from his followers. Wandering alone, he met a nymph, Nagalāmbika, with whom he fell in love. She yielded to his wishes only after citing the earth, the sky, and a tonda tree as witnesses, and securing from him a promise that he would place her son on his throne. Leaving her there, he returned to his kingdom, and forgot all about the incident. After some time, he retired placing his son on the throne. Meanwhile a son was born to him, who grew up into a boy, when he was taught by the sages of the forest everything in the śāstras and the arts. When he became a strong man, his mother told him all about his birth. Fully equipped with bows and arrows, he went and stood before the king who did not recognize him until the witnesses were told. The king who became very much perplexed was unwilling to disturb his ruling son, found a solution to satisfy the prince. The young prince was directed to subdue the Kurumbas and take possession of their country, and found a kingdom in the Dandaka forest. He did so, and called his kingdom, Tondalam, in memory of Tonda which was the cause of his recognition. He was thereafter called Adondai Chakravarti. His kingdom extended over the districts of North and South Arcot as also Chingalpet. He made Conjivaram his capital. He invited the Tuluva people from Canara. These are the forefathers of the Modaliyars of the districts above mentioned as also of those of the Mysore State. Madura District Manual fixes the date to the seventh century A. D. Since that period Conjivaram has been the head-quarters for their caste organization. They were subsequently divided into twenty-four *kūttams* and seventy *nādus*.

The Vellālas of the Chola country, the modern districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, as also those

of Madura and Tinnavelly call themselves Pillays, and those in Coimbatore and Salem districts as Kavundans, corresponding to the Gaudas of Mysore. Of these, the Thondamandalam section alone is said to be free from admixture in conformity with their caste organization at Conjivaram. They therefore call themselves pure Modaliyars.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Strictly speaking, there are no endogamous groups among the Modaliyars. They speak Tamil and are literate.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Among the Modaliyars marriages are both infant and adult, and are arranged between the parents of the boy and the girl along with the elderly members of the parties. A young man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt if available. Betrothal may take place a few days or months or even just along with the marriage. The marriage ceremony lasts for five days, and is almost identical with that of the Brāhmans. The details connected with the festivities are given below. On the first day, the installation of the posts for the *pandal* is done by five married women. On this occasion, friends and relatives assemble and are treated with *pansupari*; on the second day, the family deity is worshipped. On the evening of the same day, the bridegroom is brought in procession to the house of the bride. On the third day, the chief wedding ceremonies take place, and they consist of (1) oil-bath, (2) sanctifying, (3) bringing of earthen pots by married women, (4) illumination of the sacred lamp, (5) wearing of *kankanas*, (6) burning of the sacred fire, (7) treading on stone, (8) *kanyadān* or the gift of the maiden, (9) tali-tying, (10) blessing with rice, and lastly, alms and money gifts to Brāhmans.

Fire offerings take place on same night and on the following day and night. On the fifth day, the untying of *kankaṇa* and *nāgavali* take place. The other formalities are the same as those in other corresponding castes. Consummation takes place on the third month after marriage, for it is believed that the birth of a child is inauspicious during the same year. The girl generally resides with her parents till the consummation is over.

Polygamy is resorted to only when the first wife is barren, or suffering from any incurable disease or becomes unable to manage the family affairs.

Customs connected with puberty, pregnancy and child-birth as also post-natal ceremonies are the same as in other similar castes. It is said that Brāhmans are invited to preside over all their ceremonies.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption.

CASTE COUNCIL.

The Modaliyars have their regular caste councils, presided over by the headman and the elderly members, who generally assemble whenever any caste dispute or similar incidents take place. They enquire into the matter, and punish the delinquents with fine or excommunication.

RELIGION.

Among the Modaliyars, there are Śaivas as well as Vaishṇvas. Among the latter, some grown-up men receive *upadēsam* and enter *dīksha*, lead a pious life, and live on vegetable diet. They also receive *mudrārādhanam* (branding on the upper arm with the figure of a conch and disc). They are not quite Vīravaishṇavas, and go to worship the images of the Siva temples also.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The dead bodies are generally burned, but in some cases burial also takes place. The latter generally takes place or depends upon his wishes and religious views. If the life led by the deceased person was a Siva, his body would be buried in a sitting posture with camphor, salt and ashes. But if he is a Vaishnava, he is cremated. Death pollution lasts for sixteen days, sometimes it varies from eleven to twenty-two days in the case of adults, and three to five days for a child or distant relative. During the days of mourning, animal food is a taboo. *Srāddhas* are performed for the spirit of the departed with the aid of Brāhman *purōhits* to whom rations with *dakshina* are given. The castemen are fed in memory of the deceased. Brāhmans do not lose their caste status by officiating as priests in the houses of the Modaliyars.

OCCUPATION. Many are rich contractors, traders, brokers and agents to firms. Some have taken to legal and medical practices. Their number in the Government service is increasing. There is among them a tendency to give up agriculture, which gives only small profit. They earn well and live well.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE. Many are vegetarians though there is no objection to meat-eating. Many again resort to animal food.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. In dress and ornaments, the well-to-do Mudaliars are like other high caste Hindus. Pāgu is used as headdress by orthodox and old men, and by bridegrooms on marriage occasions. Both men and women use amulets to be free from demoniacal attacks. The tattooing of women which was once very common is now getting out of fashion.

# MONDĀRU.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BIRTH CEREMONIES—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Mondārus form a small caste, low in the social scale, which has been erroneously included under Jogis in the Census Reports. It is therefore not possible to give any estimate of their number. The caste is said to have sprung from a couple belonging to the Mandala sub-division of the Beda caste, who married each other in ignorance of their belonging to the same exogamous group, and were therefore put out of caste. Even now a beggar of the Mondaru caste never enters the houses of Bedas, and is not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala group.

The caste is generally known as Mondāru, and sometimes Banda in Telugu. The terms have come to denote obstinacy coupled with a lack of shame, but it is not easy to say whether the caste acquired the name on account of their character or whether the word gets its meaning as being the name of such a caste. They have no special caste titles added to their names, but they claim to belong to the Setti *phana*, that is, the right-hand group of castes. They seem to be Telugu beggars, and speak Telugu generally. They also know the language of the country they live in. They have a dialect which resembles that of the Dombars. In their dialect, they style a man of their caste Makarigadu.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous groups.*—The caste was originally one, but has recently become divided into five endogamous groups, Uru Mondaru, Banda or Kakalu Mondaru, Sikhandi Mondaru, and Kasturi Mondaru. Uru Mondaru live in villages, and are a little more advanced than the others. The second lead a wandering life, and bear the name derived from the fact that they eat crow's flesh. Sikhandi Mondaru are those who lie down in the streets for begging, covering the entire face with filth and mud to attract the attention of the passers-by. They are perhaps so styled (Sikhandi means a hermaphrodite) as the men often appear covered in a woman's cloth. Kastūri means musk, and the term is applied ironically to this class, as they smear themselves with ordure and bring it with them in a gourd while begging, to compel persons to dismiss them soon with alms.

They have exogamous groups of which some are the following :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gavaraddi. | Sake. |
| Kamadula. | Salla. |
| Maddibutla. | Tella Mekala. |
| Mailuru. | |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Mondāru observe the same prohibited degrees of consanguinity as the other Hindus. A man may marry his elder sister's daughter, or the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. A man may marry more than one wife, but polyandry is not common. Marriages are generally adult, but infant marriages are also allowed. Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the boy's family. If the girl's family consents to the match, the boy's party take betel leaves and nuts and four rupees in money to the girl's house for the ceremony of "Spreading the blanket." The girl's father is

paid four rupees, and a caste dinner is given. Four or five days before the day fixed for the marriage, the boy and his party go to the girl's house, and there settle with the girl's father as to the number of invitations to be issued for the marriage, and other important matters. On the morning of the wedding day, the pair are bathed and presented with new cloths. In the evening, a spot is cleaned with cow-dung, and water, and a blanket is spread. The boy and the girl are seated there, facing each other with *kankaṇas* of turmeric-root tied to their wrists. Two *ariveṇi* pots, filled with rice and dhal, and covered with lids, are brought by married women, and placed one near the bridegroom and the other near the bride. The boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric paste, and all the married women individually present the girl with rice and other articles placed in her garment. Then the couple rise, with the fringes of their garments knotted together, and are both taken round the *ariveṇi* pots three times. A man of the Sake section unites the knot, and then the boy and the girl go into their huts. Then a dinner is given to the castemen.

Next day, in the evening, the girl puts on a white *sari*. The bridegroom and the bride are seated on a *Kambli*, between the *ariveni* pots. All the people assembled throw some rice on their heads. The couple then rise, and stand facing each other. The boy takes the *tāli* in his hands, and placing his left foot on the right foot of the girl, ties it to her neck. This finishes the marriage ceremony. Then all the assembled married pairs present, pour *sase* over the couple. Next day the father of the girl gives a dinner to all; and if the girl has already attained puberty, consummation also takes place. The Mondaru who have settled in villages observe the ceremonies more elaborately, and put up a

*pandal* and pour *dhāre*. The ceremonies are continued for five days, and either a Jangam or a Brāhman is also invited, to conduct the proceedings. The amount of *tera* varies between six and sixteen rupees. As regards the cost of marriage, the expenses of the first two days are to be paid by the boy's family, and those of the third day by the girl's.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for five days, and sits by herself in a shed of green leaves. Before putting up the shed, a cocoanut is broken on the spot selected, and the maternal uncle, or, in his absence, a man who is in marriageable relation to the girl is bathed, and the shed is pulled down and burnt by the uncle. On the day the girl bathes, her relatives present her with dry cocoanut, jaggery and fried grain.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is permitted, and freely practised. They avoid the same prohibited degrees of relationship for such marriages as for the regular ones. A widow is not permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother. A fine of six rupees is paid to the caste, and the *tera*, which is half the amount required for a virgin marriage, is paid to the relations of the woman's deceased husband. A bachelor may marry a widow, and disparity of age is no bar. The ceremony is held in the evening, and no auspicious day is necessary. In the presence of the caste people, the husband presents a cloth to the woman, which she wears, and ties the *tāli*, and it is said that married women may not only be present when the ceremony takes place, but actually assist it.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Mondāru morals are rather lax, and a separation may take place on very trivial grounds and at short

notice. The party at fault may freely marry again, provided the expenses of the previous marriage are reimbursed, and a fine paid to the caste. A woman suspected of adultery may have her fault condoned by either corporal punishment inflicted by the husband, or, in very serious cases, of payment of fine by the husband to the caste.

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

On the birth of a child, a woman is kept in a separate hut, and is unclean for three days. Their own midwife attends at the delivery, and remains with the woman all the three days. A crow-catching net is hung at the door of the hut, to ward off evil spirits. The navel cord, with the afterbirth, is put into an earthen vessel and placed near the woman, after smoking it with incense. On the third day the midwife offers *pūja* to it, burning incense and breaking a cocoanut, and buries it in a hole dug in front of the hut. The child is then bathed over this hole, along with the mother. A dinner is given to the castemen, and the child is named. When the child is a month old, white glass beads are tied to its neck, and when it is five or seven years old, the tonsure ceremony is performed for both sexes before the temple of their god.

CASTE COUNCIL.

The caste is divided into several groups, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. If any of them trespass into another's tract against his will, they will be punished with a fine by the caste *panchayat*. Each of these groups has a headman called Gudigādu. They have no caste servant, but whenever any meeting of the caste is called together, the man at whose instance it is convened has to collect the people. They meet periodically, to decide the more important disputes.

RELIGION. The Mondārus worship all the Hindu gods, but their favourite deities are Māramma, Kollapuramma, Sunkalamma and other minor goddesses. Once a year, on a Tuesday or a Friday, they set up a stone in the names of these goddesses at the foot of a margosa tree, and sacrifice a pig, which they cook and eat on the spot. Gurumūrti is another god they worship, to whom they offer *pūja* on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of *Āshādha* (July-August) month. They believe in the existence of devils, and say that persons who die an unnatural death become devils, and always hover on large trees and at the meeting of three paths. The spirit of a man always catches a woman and that of a woman catches a man. They resort in this connection to exorcism, with the help of an exorcisor.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The Mondārus dispose of dead bodies by burial. The corpse is rolled up in a new cloth, and carried by hand to the burial ground, there it is stripped naked and interred in the grave. The party wash their hands and feet, and repair to a toddy shop, where they all drink and have a few drops of the liquid sprinkled on their heads, as a mark of purification. Thence they all return to the hut of the deceased, and look at a lamp kept alight on the spot where he breathed his last. On the third day, or *chinna dinam*, they cook together all such articles of food as the deceased was fond of, including crow's flesh, and place it on the grave, on a plantain leaf. On the eleventh day, the spot on which the deceased died is cleaned. Food is cooked there in a new earthen vessel, and an *yede* offered before a lamp-stand after *pūja* has been performed by a Dāsayya. Each of the deceased's relatives puts a little incense on the fire kept near the stand, and prays to the ghost of the deceased for his welfare. They do not

perform *srāddhas*, but on the Mahālaya Amāvāsya all bathe, and placing new clothes near a *kalaśa*, put incense and offer cocoanuts in the names of all the deceased ancestors.

Occupation.

They are beggars by profession, but some have settled down to agriculture. Even for the latter, they have to go out begging at least once a year. They wander about singing, or rather warbling, for they utter, inarticulate sounds, and if money or grain be not given to them, they sit obstinately in front of houses, and compel the owners by various practices to comply with their demand. They go about on their begging excursion almost naked, and are distinguished by iron bangles worn on their forearms, a band of twisted rags on their right upper arm, and a band of human hair round their left wrist. Their object is evidently to make themselves as disgusting in appearance as possible, and they add to their personal charms by cutting themselves with a blunt knife, so as to draw blood with which they smear their limbs. They also vomit forcibly, or spit out gruel, which they carry in a gourd for the purpose. As they approach a house, they announce their presence by making a peculiar whirling gutteral sound and belching as if ready to vomit. They beg from all castes, including Mādigas, but when they go to the houses of Bedars, Akkasales and their castemen living in villages, they must receive only what is voluntarily given, and should not resort to annoyance for enforcing compliance. They follow the ordinary Hindu Law of inheirtance.

Social Status.

Mondāru occupy a low place in the social scale. They are regarded as unclean people, and are not generally touched even by non-Brahmans. They are a wandering class, and live in huts pitched

outside villages, or under trees or in deserted temples, or *mantapas*. They are, however, allowed to use the common well of the village. The barber shaves them, but does not pare their nails, and the washerman does not touch the cloth worn by a woman during her monthly sickness. Those of them who have succeeded in attaining a better position in life than their confreres have settled down in villages, and are treated socially somewhat like Bedars. They admit outsiders into their caste.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE. The Mondārus eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, pigs, and also crows, and drink toddy and other country and foreign liquor. They do not eat beef, or the flesh of monkeys, kites, vultures, snakes or the leavings of other people. No other castes, not even Mādigas, eat in their houses.

APPEARANCE. When they are not begging, they put on the ordinary dress. Men grow their hair long and matted, which they arrange in a conical shape when begging.

CONCLUSION. The Mondārus are another small caste of beggars rather low in social status. They are still beggars by profession; but some have now settled into agriculture. They admit outsiders into their caste.



A GROUP OF MORASU OKKALU MEN.

# MORASU OKKALU.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—AGRICULTURE—PERIODS OF RAIN—CROP-DISEASES—AGRICULTURAL CEREMONIES—CATTLE DISEASES AND TREATMENT—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

OKKALIGA is a generic term, applied to a number of castes, whose main occupation is agriculture. They are distinguished by different names in different parts of the State. The Reddis, or the Telugu Okkaligas, are found in parts of the Kolār, Tumkur and Chitaldrug districts, the Morasu Okkaligas, in parts of the Kolar and Bangalore districts, the Gangadikars in the Mysore and Hassan and parts of Bangalore districts and the Nāmadhāri Okkalu in the Shimoga and Kadur districts. Interspersed with these are other Okkaligas, called Kunchigas, or Kunchatigas, Hallikaras, Sādas, Halu Okkalu, and other sub-divisions formerly forming one homogeneous caste, which from various causes fell into different groups. Many of these divisions have become Lingāyats, and their affinity with the main group is still recognised by the practice of their intermarrying with non-Lingāyat families. It is now becoming rare.

Though Morasu Okkalus form a group of the main caste, yet they are among themselves a homogeneous community, not only restricting marital relations

within itself, but also containing a few groups which are endogamous. They are most commonly called Morasu Okkalu, and less frequently Hosa-devara Okkalu. The common honorific suffixes to their names are Gauda in Kanarese and Reddi in Telugu.

The meaning of the term Morasu is not clear. Some say that it is the name of the language which they speak, that is, Canarese; but this name is not traceable in usage for the Canarese language. Others say that it means weavers of mats and baskets. This meaning cannot be a correct one, as Morasus are nowhere known as having been basket or mat makers. The third and most probable meaning is that they are so called because they formerly inhabited a country known by the name of Morasunad. Similar divisions are found in other castes as well. There is said to be a division of Srīvaishṇava Brāhmaṇs, called Morasunād. The term *Okkalu*, meaning 'a family,' is derived from the Canarese root *Okku*, which means to thresh. It means especially a family residing on a cultivating farm; and Okka-liga means "a man of such a family", and the term is applied to all those whose profession is agriculture. Some of the people of the Okkalu caste say that the term is the shortened form of Okkalu Makkaḷu, that is, the children of the spilt milk, and that they were born out of milk spilt by Pārvati; but this fanciful derivation owes its origin to the usual motive of finding a divine pedigree for the caste Hosadevara Okkalu are so called because of the custom of worshipping Hosadevaru, *i.e.*, the new deity. Gauda, also spelt *Gavuda*, is derived from *gava*, or grāma, and denotes the chief officer of a village. This term, with its Tamil equivalent *kaundan*, is used as a title of honour among the peasants. Some derive the term from *gadikara*,

that is, the head of a country within a defined boundary, or the protector of a boundary.

Reddi is said to be derived from Rāttas, a ruling race of the olden times. The term is properly applicable to the Telugu cultivating caste.

The Morasu Okkalus speak both Canarese and Telugu, the sections known as Reddi and Palyadasime speaking Telugu, and the rest Canarese.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The Morasu Okkalu are an indigenous caste and are practically confined to the Eastern part of the State and the adjoining British Territory. They admit that they belong to the fourth caste, agriculture being their original as well as their present occupation. They are said to have emigrated from the country, near Kanchi (Conjeveram), which is apparently the tract known as Morasunad, and the cause of the exodus is given in the following story.

The Pālyegar, or petty ruler of the country, who happened to be a man of the Yakila caste, wished to marry a girl from a higher caste, and sent his man to select a bride from anomg the Morasu Okkaligas. Going to the chief place of these men, the Pālyegar's agent was struck with the extraordinary beauty of a girl whose hair was so luxuriant that she used it as a rope to lead a calf with which she was playing. The parents and the chiefs of the caste were unwilling to enter into the degrading alliance, but were not at the same time reluctant to incur the displeasure of a strong chief. They dismissed the emissary with a temporising message. All preparations were made as if for marriage, and the day was even fixed, and a marriage-pavilion erected. But they had secretly packed all their valuables, and had made themselves ready to flee from his district during the night. Professing to act according to an old custom, they put all the bride's presents sent by the Pālyegar

on a dog, which they tied up to the milk-post of the pavilion, and deserted their ancestral homes in a body, carrying with them the image of their god Bhairava in a cart. Unfortunately, the river that separated them from another territory was then in full flood. The river god, however, heard their prayers, and allowed them a dry passage as at the Exodus of the Israelites. They were afterwards followed up by the Pālyegar and his followers, who, having learnt of the trick that had been practised against them, rushed somewhat too late in pursuit. Thus seven clans under their seven Gaudas or leaders first came to Kolar and settled there, and gradually spread themselves all round. One of these clans, under their headman Bhaire Gauda, settled in Avati about the close of the 15th century. Near this village was a small hamlet called Devana-Doddi (*i.e.*, the cattle pen of Deva). Malla Bhaire Gauda persuaded to immortalise his memory by constructing a fort to be named after him. The fort of Devanahalli thus built, together with the surrounding country, remained in the family of the founder till 1749, when, after a gallant struggle, it passed to the possession of Nanjarāja, the Mysore Commander, an occasion rendered memorable as bringing Hyder Ali first into notice.

After building the fort of Devanhalli and entrusting its affairs to his younger brother Sanna Bhaire Gauda, the ambitious Malla Bhaire Gauda undertook further conquests. The first was the subjugation of the country to the North of Devanhalli, and the founding of the fort of Chikballapur. While hunting in the jungle near Kodi-Manchenahalli village, this Gauda observed a hare turning back to oppose the pursuing hound, and, taking the place to be *gandu bhumi* (virile soil), he proposed to the two brothers who were joint *patels* of the village to build a fort



MORASU OKKALU HABITAT.

and a *pēte* there. The permission of the sovereign of Vijayanagar was duly obtained. An auspicious time was fixed, and it was agreed that the foundation should be laid as soon as the sound of a conch should indicate the exact moment. Unfortunately, a passing Dāsari beggar blew his conch, and mistaking it as the signal, Malla Bhaire Gauda commenced the work half an hour too soon. The result of this *contretemps* was declared to be that the dynasty would wield power there only for 300 years. The Pālyapet, which continued with varying fortune for three centuries exactly, fell into the hands of Tippu Sultan in 1779.

A similar orgin is attributed to the fort of Dodballapur. This time, a cow was observed to pour milk over an anthill in the jungle; and when Malla Bhaire Gauda, who had observed this unusual phenomenon, went to bed, revolving it in his mind, he was commanded in his dream to build a temple on that spot to Vishṇu, who had his abode there. He carried out the injuction; and after obtaining a warrant from the Viceroy of Vijayanagar stationed at Penukonda, he reduced the chiefs of the surrounding territory to submission, and secured a tract of country, with a revenue of a lakh of pagodas for himself. He established his brother Havali Bhaire Gauda there; and this petty kingdom remained in the family till the sixteenth century, when it passed into the hands of Ranadulla Khan, the general of Bijapur.

Bhaire Gauda, the last Pālyegar of Dodballapur, went to Gudibanda after this defeat, and taking possession of it, reduced the country around to some order, by subjugating the freebooters, and built a fort there. As he died childless, his wife's brother took possession of the place, but Baiche Gauda of Chikballapur, who had a better title to succeed to

the childless Pālyegar, put him to death, and added Gudibanda to his territory.

Kempe Gauda, who was descended from a Nādu Gauda of Yelahanka, was another Morasu chief who rose to distinction in Magadi early in the 17th century. He was the founder of the City of Bangalore, and seized the strong fort of Sāvandurg from a follower of the last Viceroy of Vijayanagar, who had usurped power after his master's death. His territory extended as far as Koratagere. The last of the family was Mummadi Kempe Gauda, who was defeated by Dalavāyi Devaraja of Mysore, and imprisoned in Srīrangapatna.

There were other chiefs of this caste in Hoskote, Kolar, Anekal and Koratagere, but they gradually fell before the growing Mohammedan power in Srīrangapatna. Some of their descendants were granted pensions after the restoration of Mysore to the righful ruler in 1799.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

*Endogamous groups.*—The obsolete practice of cutting off two of the fingers of a woman is a peculiar characteristic of this caste; and those who followed the custom originally were an endogamous group distinct from those who did not follow it. There are other groups which are not based upon this practice, which indeed seems to have prevailed to some extent in all of them.

The endogamous groups are Musaku, Reddi, Palyadasime and Morasu properly so called, the last being subdivided into three Sālus (or lines), named Kanu Sālu, Nerlegattada Sālu, and Kutera Sālu.

Musaku means a veil, and the division is so called because during marriages, the bride covers herself all over with a veil. This is the group to which the several Palyegar chiefs of the caste belonged. Reddis are the Telugu-speaking section of the caste. Palyada

Sime men also speak Telugu. The name is applied to the section of the Telugu Morasus living in the Bangalore district, especially round about Bangalore. They are immigrants into these parts from the country of Gummanāyakana Pālya in the Bagepalli taluk. The name is common only in and near Bangalore, and their relations in Gummanāyakana Pālya are only called Morasus.

*Exogamous clans.* The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, each being called after an animal, plant, or other object, with the usual prohibitions against the members of the divisions cutting, or, in some cases, even touching, the thing representing their division, or *bedagu*, or *gotra*. Some of these divisions, with the name of the thing represented by each, are given as appendix.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Polygamy is rare, and a second wife is taken in default of issue, generally with the consent of the first wife. But polyandry is unknown. Marriages are generally between adults. A woman may remain unmarried without any social stigma attaching to her. But she may not take part in a few ceremonies required to be performed by married women alone, and when she dies, the full funeral rites are not performed, the body being carried like that of a dead child in a *kambli*. No *sūtaka* is observed for her death.

They have what is styled *kula*, or *bedagu*, to denote exogamous limits for marriage. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt or elder sister is specially favoured. Except in extreme cases (such as marriages of widowers), a younger sister's daughter is not taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by two brothers; and one man may marry two sisters simultaneously, the hands of all the three being joined together at the

time of pouring *dhāre* water. The rule of *varase*, which prohibits marriage between persons who stand analogously as parent and child, or brother and sister, has to be observed also. This is sometimes carried so far as to prohibit marriages between two families which may take place, but some believe this to be unlucky.

The village astrologer is consulted for *satavali*, to see if the stars representing the first letters of the names of the bride and the bride-groom agree, and omens are observed, and prognostication of *kaṇi* sometimes resorted to. The father of the boy goes to the bride's father to propose marriage, by the formula "to eat rice and ghee in the latter's house." He receives *Oppu viḷya i.e.*, tāmbula in token of consent, and returns without eating in the bride's house. On a subsequent day, the *Viḷyāda sāstra*, takes place in an assemblage of castemen and friends with a Brāhman *purohit*. The boy's father and members of his family go with a new cloth and a jewel to be presented to the girl along with the auspicious articles. A *simhāsana* is made on a *kambli*, and a *kalaśa* is placed on a low tripod before it, in a flat eating dish of bell metal. The chief man of the caste makes *pūja* to this, and the girl to be married is smeared with saffron, and presented with fruits, flowers, etc., wrapped in her garment. In some places, the young man to be married is also seated by her side at the time.

The *lagnapatrikas* (marriage letters), prepared by the *purohit*, are exchanged between the parents, and each rises and declares to the assembly in a set formula that he of such a *kula* has taken a girl of such other *kula* in exchange for a boy, and *vice versa*. After distribution of *tāmbula*, there is a dinner given to the male's party. If after this

formal compact, the match is broken off, the defaulting party has to pay the expenses of the other, and sometimes a small fine to the caste is exacted. Such breaches, however, rarely occur.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house. On the first day takes place what is styled *modalaraśina*, when the family deity is worshipped, and the bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their separate places. A *kalaśa* is set up in a flat dish on half-husked rice. They generally keep in each family a separate narrow-necked metal vessel which they use only for *kalaśa*. It is painted over with red and white lines, and half filled with water, and a small silver coin is thrown in. Around it in the dish are placed some plantain-fruit, betel-leaves and arecanuts, lumps of *vibhūti*, two turmeric and *kunkuma* powder-boxes and a looking-glass. This has to be carried about with the marriage-party whenever they go in procession during the marriage; and an elderly woman who performs this duty, is presented with a cloth and a silver coin in the vessel. They have the *devarūta* (god's feast) that evening.

The *pandal* is raised on the next day, with twelve pillars of which the "milk-post" is of *Atti* (Indian fig), or *Nerale* (Jambolana), unless either happens to denote the name of the party's *kula*, when it is not used. The maternal uncle has to bring the milk-post, and the ceremony is done pretty much in the same manner as among other raiyat classes. After the milk-post has been fixed, a twig of a *Nerale* tree is again brought by a party going with music, and is tied up to it. They style this *Elevara*.

The bride's party arrive in the evening, and are received at the village gate, and taken to their lodgings. Some married women of both parties go in state to a potter's house and bring the sacred

pot, which in this caste is only one.* They place this on a bed of earth and manure, in which nine kinds of grain are sown, and offer *pūja* to it, and keep a lamp of castor-oil always burning before it. This is *ariveṇi* or *karaga pūja* (*i.e.*,) pot worship. In some families, the bridegroom and his party go at midnight to a place where three paths meet, and after offering cooked food to a drawing of a human figure, return home without making any noise, and without looking back. This is known as *bīragudi*, and is apparently meant to propitiate malignant spirits.

The next morning, after nail-paring and bathing in *malenīru*, the bride-groom is taken to a temple, or an Asvattha tree, and seated there. His maternal uncle ties the *bhasinga* on his forehead, and five married women pour rice on his head, shoulders and knees (*sase*). The headman present worships *simhāsana*. The bride-groom's party go in procession to the bride's house thrice, each time carrying some present for the bride. A Morasu Holeya (who is regarded as a *haḷemaga* of this caste), or a sister of the bride-groom, carries the marriage chaplet in a basket. On the third occasion, the bridegroom himself goes, holding a dagger in his hand. The maternal uncle is fantastically dressed and subjected to banter by every one during this procession.

The bride and the bride-groom are seated on the marriage dais † facing each other, with a screen between them. The *purohit*, after chanting some *mantras*, removes the screen when the couple place handfuls of jaggery and gingelly on each other's

* Sometimes they do not go to the potter at all, but use one of the pots in the house used as grain receptacle.

†Among some families of this caste, *Kundanagalu*, *i.e.*, hollow wooden ones kept on the mortar while pounding paddy to prevent its scattering, are used as seats for the couple.

heads. Four vessels are placed on the corners of a square, with a cotton thread passing round their necks seven times. This thread is cut into two halves, and two *kankaṇas* are made by attaching to each a turmeric root and an iron ring; and each party ties a *kankaṇa* round the wrist of the other. The bride-groom then ties the *tāli* round the girl's neck while some *mantras* are again recited by the *purohit*. The couple join hands, and the parents and all the assembly pour milk (*dhāre*), over them. This is caught in a vessel, and thrown over an anthill.

The fringes of the clothes of the married couple are tied together by the maternal uncle, and they are made to exchange handfuls of rice and salt, perhaps a method of swearing mutual fidelity. The minor events of the day take place in somewhat the same manner as among other castes of similar status.

That evening the star Arundhati is shown to the bride. They go in procession, and worship an anthill, and carry away some earth dug out of it. Then a party of married women go with three pots to a well, or river, and after *Ganga-pūja*, bring back water, which is used for mixing anthill earth to make balls. Twelve balls are made, and the bride deposits one at the foot of each pillar. The barber is then called upon to pare the nails, which he does nominally by passing his razor over the nails of the bride and bridegroom. The latter bathe after this, and proceed to a temple. On their return, the pillars are worshipped, along with a *kalaśa* installed to represent the *Hasedevaru*, and offerings of cooked rice in balls and sweet cakes are placed before each, which go to the washerman as his perquisite. Finally, they have a procession of the marriage-party in the streets.

At the Nāgavali ceremony, which takes place on the next day, the couple, newly bathed and dressed,

are seated before the milk-post, with two brass vessels filled with red coloured water before them. A lime is thrown into one, and some jewel in another, without their being allowed to be seen by them, and each is asked to pick up one of the articles, and it is pretended that the party who picks up the jewel will have ascendancy over the other in their future domestic life. Then the *kankaṇas*, or wrist threads, of the couple are taken off by each other, and tied to the milk-post.

In the afternoon, after dinner, takes place the final ceremony of *simhāsana pūja*. This is performed on three occasions during the marriages of Morasu people, whereas other castes perform it only once. The last is the most important, and is performed to close the marriage ceremony. They spread a kambli fourfold, and draw on it a figure of four tridents (trisūla) radiating from a centre with the sun and the moon at the top, and place a quantity of arecanuts and betel-leaves in the middle, and pieces of *vibhūti* (ashes) at the extremeties. The *Yajaman* of the caste makes *pūja* to this, and distributes *tāmbulas* out of it in the following order :— God, *Guru*, Brahmans, King, represented by the village *gauda* and *shanbhog*, *salu* and *mule* (*i.e.*, the 18 *phana* and communities) *Bhūmi Reddi*, that is, the head of the whole caste, *kattemane*, *i.e.*, sectional heads, the *Reddis* and *yajamāns* of the sections to which the parties belong, the bride's party including all her relatives, and lastly, to the rest of the assembly. This order of precedence is scrupulosuly observed, and any transgression is sure to cause much annoyance and sometimes quarrel.

They repair to the bride's house the next day, and return after a sojourn of two or three days. A dinner is then given in honour of the occasion to all the guests. This is called *tiruvali* and *maravali*.

Before the close of the month, on a certain day, some milk is poured on the milk-post, and after the usual *pūja*, it is removed and thrown into a well.

The bride-price varies from six to twelve rupees. This amount goes to the girl's father, but he generally uses it for some jewel to be given to the girl. A widower has to pay one and a half rupees more as *Sauti Honnu* (that is, the other wife's money), and has invariably to give more jewels to the girl. It is not easy to estimate the average marriage expenses, which vary very largely, according to the means of the parents and their desire not to be outdone by their neighbours. They are, however, kept within moderate limits, especially in rural parts, where the most considerable item is the feeding of relatives and friends. There is no attempt made towards securing any reduction of these expenses.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her father's house till she attains womanhood, after which consummation takes place, and she is sent to her husband's house to live with him. During the interval, she visits the husband's house only occasionally, and goes back with her parents.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for nine days, and is not permitted to enter the main house. She is kept in a shed in the outer yard, made of green leaves, which are brought by her maternal uncle. In the evenings, she is dressed in washed clothes supplied every day by the washerman, and is seated on a plank in the presence of married women, who celebrate what is known as *Osige*, to mark the event. They give her presents of fruits and flowers, packed in her garment, and sweet things to eat. To ward off the evil spirits, an old broom-stick, a winnow, and a shoe are placed at the entrance of the shed.

The girl pulls down the shed before her bath on the tenth day, and the materials are removed by her maternal uncle, and burnt at a distance from the house.

The expenses of the *Osige* ceremonies for one day are borne by the maternal uncle if the girl happens to be unmarried; if married, the information of the event is sent to the husband's house through the washerman, and one of the members of that family comes over and performs the *Osige* for the girl for one day. Other relatives may similarly attend on her for any number of nights.

Where marriage takes place after puberty, the couple are brought together on the last day without any further ceremony. But in some places, consummation is put off for some time, on account of the belief that a child should not be born within a year of the marriage. Where the girl has already been married, they fix a day for consummation soon after her attaining puberty.

When a girl is first sent to her husband's house, she is presented with clothes or jewels by her father, and the husband gives a dinner to her mother and others that accompany her.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

It is considered that even child-widows should not remarry. But a widow may live in concubinage with a man of her own caste, and though her children are allowed to marry only others of the same class, she and her children are not denied the privilege of eating together, and she may cook food for the castemen on all occasions.

DIVORCE.

The husband may give up his wife for unchastity, and the wife, her husband for habitual ill-treatment and loss of caste. A divorced woman may not marry again, but is allowed to live in concubinage

with a man of her caste. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same caste is condoned by subjecting her to pay a fine to the caste and levying a similar fine from her paramour. The husband may then take her back into his house, if he is so disposed. Otherwise, she may live with her paramour. It is said that a man eloping with another's wife has to pay the marriage expenses of the latter, though of late the rule has not been enforced. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, or is found to have been in the keeping of a man of the same caste, either her union will be formally recognised by the caste council, or she will live as a concubine of the man. In either case, her children will drift into separate *sālu* styled *Berike-sālu*, or mixed section. The practice of marrying girls to trees, or swords, or dedicating them in temples, does not obtain in this caste.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

There is little that is peculiar to the caste in the ceremonies observed when the woman is carrying, or in confinement. The mother is kept apart for seven or nine days, and those who attend on her should bathe before touching anything in the house. On the day of purification, each of the relatives of the family in the village brings a potful of hot water and a ball of soapnut paste, which is mixed with what has been prepared in the house, and used for bathing the confined woman and her child. One of the elderly matrons, while carrying the baby, challenges the evil spirits to harm it, if so disposed, before entering the house, as their God will protect the child effectually after the child is taken inside.*

* The Kannada formula runs as follows :—

ತೆಗದುಕ್ಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗುವ ದೇವರೆಲ್ಲಾ ಈಗಲೇ ತೆಗದುಕ್ಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗ ಬೇಕು : ಒಳಗೆ ಬಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇವರು ಒಳ್ಳೇದಲ್ಲ.

If the daughter-in-law is delivered of a child in her mother's house, her mother-in-law visits her on the third day, carrying as a present a basket, filled with rice, pepper, dry cocoanuts, garlic, palm, jaggery, old arecanuts and betel-leaves. On the day when the woman and the child are bathed, the child's paternal aunt presents it with a *hana* for a ring.

The name-giving ceremony takes place generally one or two days before the end of the first month. A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is sometimes consulted, but this practice is gradually going out of use. The name selected is either that of a god, or a deceased ancestor. The following are typical names for both sexes*:—Irlappa, Kempanna, Bayyanna, Bandappa, Bairappa, Bachchanna and Sonnappa.

Names of inferior objects are sometimes given to children, though the practice is not common. Names of endearment, such as Appayya, Magu (child), Sami (God), Tayi (mother), Ammanni, Puttatayi are common; so also are the shortened forms of such names as Kitta for Krishna, Lachchi for Lakshmi.

The young mother with her child returns to the husband's house in the fifth or the seventh month. Her mother-in-law goes to fetch her, carrying a silver neck-chain as a present to her. The child is presented with some coins before leaving for the father's house. The cradle is carried by the mother of the confined woman. Before entering the husband's house, the woman and the child are taken to a temple, where they receive *tīrtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals). The woman's mother is kept there three or four days, and then dismissed with the present of some clothes.

* Many names are employed, and almost all names may be so employed for both sexes, with the addition of the corresponding sex endings.

Before the child is a year old, a feast of *Munisvara* is held in a grove outside the village on a Monday. This sylvan deity is represented by a row of stones under a large tree, and sometimes a tiny shed, with a low enclosure, is provided for them. The family repair thither with friends, and enjoy an outdoor picnic till the evening. The *pūja* is performed by the *pūjāri*, who is generally a low-caste man, or, in his absence, by the head of the family himself. A goat is generally sacrificed and consumed at the feast; and the party return in the evening with music, and an *ārati* is waved before the child enters the house, to ward off the evil eye.

The first tonsure for a male child is performed in the first or the third year, before the temple of the family god, or before a shrine of Munisvara in a grove. The barber is generally presented with a new cloth, besides other perquisites, and a dinner is given to the castemen. Another important ceremony is the worship of Makkaḷadevaru (the god of children), observed before the lobes of the child's ears are pierced for holding earrings. For this festival, all the families who are related as agnates meet together, and they select an auspicious day when none of the female members are pregnant, and no death has occurred in any of the families between the last new-year and the day of the *pūja*. As all these families have to observe common *sūtaka*, it may be easily guessed that where they have a large congregation, it is extremely difficult to find a suitable day, and sometimes they have to wait for years together. The worship is a matter of considerable expense; and so it is usual for all castemen in a particular locality to join together and raise a common fund by subscription. Each group worships the family god in its own way, but they join together at a common dinner. If any

members of the same group have for any reason neglected to join the common performance of the *pūja* of Hosadēvaru or, in their language, divided the Hosadêvaru, they may not join that group in the worship of *Makkaḷadēvaru*. It is said that if a girl attains her age of puberty without this festival on her behalf, she has to be put out of caste. But this rule is probably relaxed in many cases. The family deity that is worshipped in this manner by the finger-cutting division is known as Bandi-Dēvaru (cart god), so styled as, at their flight from Kānchi to escape persecution from a local tyrant, they carried their household god in a cart. The other name is Bhairedēvaru, which is a name for Śiva in one of his fierce moods. The section of the caste that do not offer their fingers have, in some cases, given up this cult and taken other names for their family deity. It is to this Bandidēvaru that the women of the caste are said to offer two of their fingers, a custom which, however, has altogether fallen into desuetude. The origin of this barbarous practice is traced, as usual, to a *puranic* source, the real origin being probably the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

When the demon Bhasmāsura had obtained the power of reducing everything he touched to ashes by severe *tapas*, he wished to test his power first on god Śiva, the doner himself. The deity fled from the demon, and hid himself in the fruit of a creeper, which to this day resembles a *linga** in appearance. The demon who was pursuing the god, suddenly losing sight of the latter, asked a Morasu man who was ploughing in the fields there, in which direction the fugitive had escaped. The ploughman wished to evade the wrath of both the mighty

* This is known as *Tonde*, and sometimes as *Linge-tonde* (the red gourd *mamordiea manodulfa*).

parties, and while saying he had not observed, pointed with this fingers to the creeper on the hedge which had sheltered the fleeing god. Just at the nick of time, Vishṇu came to the help of his brother in the shape of a lovely maiden, Mohini. The Rākshasa became enamoured of her, and like a fool, forgetting the fatal virtue that his bare touch had been endowed with, he was lured by the damsel to place his hand on his own head, and was immediately reduced to a heap of ashes. Śiva, now triumphant, was about to punish the treacherous rustic with the loss of his erring finger, but his wife, who had carried his food represented that the deprivation would render him unfit to do his field work, and offered two fingers of her own for one of her husband's. The custom of a Morasu marrying woman cutting off the upper joints of the last two fingers of the right hand had been observed ever since, till it was stopped recently by an order of the Government.

The worship of Patālamma and *Pūje* Dēvaru takes place as an introduction to the more important festival of Bandidēvaru. The mothers of the children whose ears are to be bored fast during the day, and in the evening repair to the temple of Patālamma, carrying lights on their heads. These lights are made to burn on wicks soaked in ghee, placed in receptacles of rice flour, sweetened with jaggery. After making *pūja* to them at home, with the sacrifice of a sheep, the women carry them on their heads, and repair to the temple in state, walking on washed clothes spread for them in the street. In front of the shrine, they walk over hot cinders lying in a pit, after making *pūja* and offering a sheep or a goat. The *pūjāri* then waves these lights before the idol, and returns them to the women, to carry back to their homes. For each new lamp, as the one carried by the woman who has to offer her

fingers is styled, the *pūjāri* gets a portion of a *hana*.

On a subsequent day, all the families who perform the ceremony of Bandidēvaru join together and put up two new huts of fig-leaves, in a central place, one for Māramma, and the other for Gangamma, and set up idols of earth therein, the latter deity, specially styled *pūje*-devaru being represented by a featureless cone. The ceremony is performed in the same manner as for Patālamma, the fire-walking being omitted.

The chief ceremony in connection with Bandidēvaru should fall on a Sunday, in the month of *Chaītra*, (April-May) or *Vaisākha*, (May-June) soon after the opening of the new year. The whole festival extends over a week, but to save expense, it is generally reduced to three or five days.

A Koracha woman is invited to read the fortune by *Kaṇi*, and she washes the feet* of the mothers who have to sacrifice their fingers at the time of boring their children's ears. Then a *kalaśa* is set up, and offerings of new clothes *et cetera*, are placed before it. On a subsequent day, a new house which has not been inhabited is white-washed and cleaned, and a *kalaśa* is worshipped in it. All the members of the families who perform this ceremony occupy the house, and the women make certain drawings on the wall with rice flour and turmeric†, to which *pūja* with an offering of sheep is made. They have to cook and eat in that house that day. This is styled the worship of "new house god."

A man of the Beda caste worships *Peddannadēvaru*, (big deity) represented by three stones, a trident, and a sword, set up in a hut outside the village, and gives them *prasāda*. They next worship

* This is styled the ceremony of Kaleli (ಕಾಲೆಳಿ) in Kannada.

† This is called ಪೋಲುಪೋಜೇದಿ in Telugu.

Ganga, represented by drawings of rice flour in a hut built of newly beaten straw, placing lamps burning in receptacles of sweetened rice flour* and offering a goat, sometimes with a kid. The meat of the sacrificed animal, it is said, should not be given to any strangers but to the family, and the bones should be buried, so as not to be touched by dogs. The next two days the women fast till the evening, and cook rice or rice flour in new pots. No animals are killed, and after offering food in any *yede* to their gods, they eat it without salt.

When mother has to bore the ears of her first child, or of two or more children together, for the first time, she has to offer her fingers. This is styled the worship of "*New Bandidēvaru.*" For subsequent ear-boring, she has no fingers to spare, and the ceremony is styled "*Enjālu Bandidēvaru*" (that is, stale worship). The ceremony takes place in the temple of the deity where it exists. In other places, separate sheds of green leaves are put up outside the village at the north-eastern corner, one for the first child's *Bandidēvaru*, and another for the other, with another shed of Lakki leaves in front of the village gate. A number of carts, one for each child, washed and decorated with white and red stripes are brought to this last shed. The parents of the children wash early in the morning, and going to a potter's house, select two pots, known as *karaga*, and after offering *pūja*, bring them in state to their houses. A silver coin is placed in each pot, and the eldest female member does *pūja*, offering an animal sacrifice. The parents of the children then carry these pots on their heads, placed on a cloth, which is thrown over both of them. They go

* Rice flour and jaggory beaten in a mortar into paste and consumed after offering to the idols. This is known as (తంబిట్టు) in Kannada and బువ్వండి in Telugu.

to the sheds where the carts are ranged, and again sacrifice a kid, which they place in the cart, and thence carrying the *karaga* pots on their heads, repair to the other sheds outside the village.

The procession is composed of all the members of the families concerned in the ceremonies and their relations, and the principal characters walk on clothes spread along the road. They are accompanied by the band of village musicians, and drummers of the Mādiga caste, and the carts form an essential part of the show. On arrival at the sheds, the parties go to the shed set apart for the kind of ceremony (first or second) that they have to perform, after going round the sheds thrice.

Three stones are placed to represent the god of the ceremony, and *pūja* with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat and fruits and flowers, is offered. Then each woman who has to undergo the operation goes to a wooden block driven into the ground, places on it her two fingers, to which some flower or a betel leaf or a gold wire has been tied round, and the smith chops off the last joints with his chisel. This was in vogue till about forty years ago, and the elderly women whose fingers are so mutilated may now be seen. The severed bits used to be thrown into an anthill, and the ends used to be dipped in boiling oil to stop the bleeding. It was believed that if any nails were allowed to grow on these fingers, some dire misfortune would overtake the family. At present, however, they are satisfied with the fiction of cutting the flower or leaf wound round these fingers. After this, they wave *mangalārti* before the idols, and go back to their houses in procession, and indulge in feasting. The carts are driven away, handfuls of jaggery being thrown among the spectators, and the drivers compete among themselves and exhibit their skill in driving

over difficult places. On the following day, the children are bathed and seated in a *pandal* put up in front of the house. The maternal uncle cuts a lock of hair, and with a flower dipped in sandal paste makes a mark on each ear for boring. The children are presented with eatables and other more valuable things by the near relations. The actual boring may be done either then or on any subsequent day.

For three months after this ceremony, the members of the family should not eat food cooked in the houses of others, not even relatives, who have not been purified by the performance of similar ceremony for themselves. The women should guard themselves from contamination of approach of Holeyas and Mādigas. Any woman who gets her monthly sickness during this period, has to remain in a separate shed for nine days, cooking her own food.

In the case of orphans and others who are too poor to perform all this elaborate ceremony, the boring of the ear is done before the shrine of Bhairava in Siti Betta, a hill in the Kolar taluk. The *pūjāri* who is the chief officiator gets a *hana* and provisions for a meal, and the party have a general picnic at the close of the event.

It is only one section of the Morasu people that have to cut off their fingers. The others also celebrate the ear-boring ceremony, but in a less elaborate manner, after *pūja* in some temple, such as of Patālamma, Chaudēsvari, Maddamma, or Venkataramaṇa or Narasimha. An animal sacrifice is offered if they resort to the shrine of a female deity. The worshippers of Vishṇu invite a number of Dāsaris, who perform their religious dance and give *prasāda*. The maternal uncle of the children marks the ears with sandal paste for boring the holes.

INHERITANCE They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. The youngest son has, it is said, the privilege of selecting his share first at a partition; and in some cases, the eldest son is given a specially extra share as a matter of customary concession. The *illatam* son-in-law is entitled to a share equal to that of his brother-in-law. An unmarried brother gets his marriage expenses in addition to his share of the property. And if there be sisters to be married, some amount is set apart for their marriages, and is given to the charge of the person who undertakes to be the guardian of the girls. Female children are not entitled, as a matter of right, to any share, but a destitute or a widowed sister is generally given some share in the ancestral property. In fact, on account of the extreme utility of the working hands, a childless and widowed sister or daughter is brought to her parent's house, and very often she becomes the mistress of the family, much to the annoyance of the daughter-in-law.

ADOPTION. Adoption of boys may be effected as in other castes of Hindus. A brother's son may be adopted even after his marriage and without any public ceremony. There is no objection to the adopting of a daughter's or sister's son. The boy's waist thread is cut, and a new thread is put on, when he is handed over by the natural parents to the adopter, and the latter and the boy are made to drink a little saffron water. The natural mother is given a present of clothes, and there is a feast to be held on that day.

The practice of bringing up a son-in-law as heir (*illatam*) is common, especially among the Telugu speaking families. No particular ceremony is observed, and an understanding between the parties is all that is required. Such a son-in-law succeeds to the whole property of the father-in-law who has

no sons, or share the patrimony equally with the sons.

Caste constitution.

The Morasu Okkaligas have a well-defined caste organisation. The whole caste is divided into separate groups, known as *kattemanes*, each of them being presided over by a headman called *yajaman*, or *gauda*. Several *kattemanes* form a *Nādu*, meaning a division of the country, presided over by a *Desayi* Gauda, or *Bhūmi Gauda*. There are two such *Desāyis* or *Bhūmi Gaudas*, one at the head of the Telugu Section, and the other at the head of the Kannada Section, the head-quarters of the latter being Muduvade in the Kolar taluk. The tribal disputes are, in the first instance, enquired into and settled by the *kattemane yajaman*, but when the latter finds them to be of a serious nature, he refers them to the *Nādu Gauda*. The *Desāyi Gauda*, or Bhūmi Gauda, has the final appellate authority. Sometimes the representatives of the latter, who are either their agnates or agents, decide the important questions submitted to their decision. These offices are hereditary, and descend in the male line.

On all important occasions, such as marriage and funerals, the presence of either the headman of the caste or his representative is necessary. During marriages, he acts as the master of the ceremonies, and supervises them according to prescribed form. They have not a separate man to act as the beadle or servant of the caste. Whenever there is necessity for such a person, they appoint one among themselves to discharge the functions. They have *Haḷemagas* (Morasu Holeyas) who carry information regarding the caste meetings, etc. As remuneration for their trouble, the caste-heads are always given extra *tāmbulas* and some presents. The Haḷemaga also gets his reward, either in money or in kind, and some cloth.

The Morasu Okkaligas are thrifty, and sober, and form an important and rising caste. There is nothing peculiar in their dress, nor are there any games peculiar to the caste. Their women are hardy, and help men in the out-door work. They get tattooed from the ages of ten to twenty-five and blacken their teeth after the birth of a child.

RELIGION. They worship Śiva, generally under the appellation of Bhairedēvaru, also known as Bandidēvaru, that is, the cart god. The chief place of this deity is Siti Betta, a hill in the Vēmagal *hobli* of the Kolar taluk, and there is also a temple in Gudamarlahaḷḷi in the Chintamani taluk. In the latter place, the image of Bhairava is a round shapeless stone, partly buried in the ground, and a rude country cart is preserved as the one in which the god was originally brought away. The principal temple is surrounded by a number of small temples. In front of the main temple is a smaller one in which a stone is worshipped under the name of Chiparlu. When the Bandidēvaru is worshipped, the goats and sheep sacrificed to it are all deposited near this god. Close to this is a temple dedicated to the spirit of an unmarried girl of the caste called E'ru-bayyamma, who was shut up in a granary by her brother in a fit of anger, and was starved to death. There are also temples dedicated to the spirits of males dying unmarried, under the names of Iragāraru.

The celebration of the feast of Hosadēvaru (new god) by women is a unique institution of this caste. Some observe this only once a year at Dipāvali, while others also celebrate it at the Yugādi. No married woman is allowed to eat the fruit of any harvest till she has performed this *pūja* for the year; and after performing it, she is precluded from eating or drinking at the hands of those who have not simi-

larly sanctified themselves. For this it is essential that all the agnate families must join in the common worship, and those who do not for any reason join it, are said to divide their Hōsadēvaru, and may not afterwards join together in the performance of this or any other common worship, such as Bandidēvaru. As such separation is considered rather to be avoided, they generally manage to congregate together on these occasions, often at considerable inconvenience. In such celebrations, the elderly women should always have priority over younger members.

As regards the origin of the custom, one account says that this ceremony was originally observed by the Bedas, and that they sold the right of celebrating it to the Morasus, in exchange for some grain. Another account is that a Komati, after *tapas* in Benares, got as a boon a philosopher's stone, which converted everything coming into contact with it into gold. While on his way to his place, he halted at a Morasu Okkalu's house, and hanging the bundle of his things from the roof of the house, went near a well to cook his food. The rod with which the women were pounding rice happened to touch the stone and became gold. The discovery roused the cupidity of the master of the house, who purloined the miraculous stone, and set fire to the house to deceive its owner. The latter could not survive his loss and cast himself into the flames. As his ghost, which of course became aware of the fraud, began to molest the family of the thief, they vowed to make *pūja* to the spirit thenceforth as a new god.

The feast is celebrated in connection with the harvest either of the first crop in the year, (at new year time) or also of the second crop in Kārtika (October-November) Dipāvali. That was probably its origin, and the other stories were invented to

account for it after its meaning had become obscure.

The ceremony takes place on two days beginning either on a Friday or Saturday. The women fast till the evening, and then worship a *kalaśa* set up in a room, offering balls of meal called *tambittu*. This should be made of the flour of rice of the new crop, mixed with jaggery. A sweet dish is prepared by cooking rice, milk and jaggery together, and is placed in front of the *kalaśa*, and eaten by all the women together. They have to keep a vigil on that night.

Early next morning, the male members in the family go to the fields and sacrifice a sheep there, making it stand on a bed of margosa leaves, which are scattered over the field and the standing crops, the men shouting out repeatedly *Ko-bali*, that is, take the sacrifice. The women, placing the *kalaśa* in the sacred dish, carry it in state, walking on cloth spread along the way, to a shed erected outside the village under a *Tangadi* plant (*Cassia auriculata*). Three small stones set up therein represent the deity, before which the *kalaśa* is placed, and lights are burnt in burners of *tambittu* flour. They cook rice and some pulse together in a pot called *halu-madike* (milk-pot), and make a paste (calling this *pallya*) out of some grains of rice, ragi and other cereals taken out of fresh oars. These articles are worshipped by the women, with flowers, incense, etc. Then the eldest of them keeps the *kalaśa*, the light, and the paste in the dish (*kantada tanige*), and, carrying it on to her head, turns towards the sun, and bows* saying (the Old has gone ; the New is in. Whatever our faults may be, condone them, condone them, O New god !). Then she passes the

* It is reported that in some places, when the women make these bows styled *Hosadevara mokkugalu*, they clothe themselves solely in *kamblies* (coarse woollen blankets).

dish on to other women in order of age, and they repeat the proceeding. On their return home, they place the sweet flour of the lamps in the milk-pot, with plantains mixed, and deposit it on a loft. Then all the women sit in a row on a *kambli* spread in the yard of the house, and the eldest of them applies a little of the paste to her forehead, and eats a little as *prasāda*, and similarly marks the forehead of other women in order. The confection preserved in the milk pot is then distributed to all participators in the ceremony. For some days after this, these women consider themselves too holy to have any dealings which may expose them to contact with lower castes, like Mādigas and Holeyas. They worship in all the Hindu temples, including those of village deities and tree spirits. Some are Vaishṇavas who get marked with *sankha* and *chakra*, having either Srivaishṇava Brāhman or Sātani priests.

There is a shrine at Vanarāsi, near Kolar, largely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by this caste. A man of the Vadda caste, who resided in a Morasu Okkaliga village as an ascetic, once did great service to them in routing their enemies, but he was treacherously attacked and mortally wounded while returning from the fray. His two married sisters who had been living with him also died along with him. According to the request made at his deathbed, the greteful Okkaligas built a temple in his name, and afterwards deified him. An annual fair is held here for fifteen days to which many cattle are brought for sale.

They believe in omens and other similar superstitions common to such classes. Whenever necessary, they swear by their family gods to speak the truth in their caste assemblies.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The common mode of disposing of the dead is burial, though of late some have resorted to cremation.

As soon as death takes place, a *haḷemaga*, who should be present, carries the information round. Two earthen pots, a new cloth, and materials for the bier, are procured from the bazaar. A band of musicians are engaged, and Dāsayyas also go with the body with their shells and other sounding instruments. Some build a *mantapa* (canopy) at considerable expense to carry the body. The body is dressed in a new cloth, with a turban on the head. Crushed betel-leaves and nuts are put into its mouth. If the deceased be a woman dying when her husband is alive, the body is profusely decorated with flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma*, etc. The bier is carried by four men, the son, or the chief mourner, going with water in a new earther pot on the left shoulder and fire in the right hand. It was the custom formerly that one of four bearers, must be a Holeya *Haḷemaga*, but this practice has almost gone out of use, the *Haḷemaga* now attending to the digging of the grave and walking in front of the funeral procession. As they pass along, betel-leaves and fried rice are thrown on the corpse, and guns are fired. Half-way to the grave-yard, the corpse is placed on the ground, and the son, going round it three times, throws some cooked rice at the head of the body. After laying down the corpse at the burial place, the sons and other near relations put some rice into the mouth and eyes. The sons get shaved. After being carried round the grave three times, the body is lowered into the pit, and deposited on a plantain leaf, with the head to the south. In a corner of the winding-sheet, some rice is tied and a piece of this cloth is torn and thrown out, and the pit is filled up, some twigs of a thorny plant known as *Chitramula** (*plumbage zelanica*) being

* The common abuse, that is, "may the plant *chitramula* be thrown on your face" derives its meaning from this practice.

placed near the top, to prevent dogs and jackals digging up the grave. Four quarter-anna pieces are kept at the four corners, and a stone slab is inserted at the side of the head. Some doles of money and grain are given to poor persons who may be found at the place. The son goes round the grave three times, with an earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder and a fire-brand in his hand. At the end of every turn, some one makes a hole in the pot with a stone. The *Haḷemaga* goes with a cowdung cake in his hand and holds it at the head and the four corners of the grave, while the son applies his firebrand to it in each place. At the end of the third turn, the son throws away the upper half of the pot, and keeps the lower half with the water in it near the head, and puts out the fire in the faggot by plunging it in the water. The *Haḷemaga* keeps the cowdung-cake there, on which a three-pie piece is thrown as his fee. The whole party then repair to a river, or tank, without looking backwards. The corpse bearers and the son plunge themselves in water and go home without even wringing* their wet clothes, and the others only wash hands and feet. The friends and relatives have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired before they return to their houses.

A small shed is put up on the grave, and sometimes a figure to represent the deceased is drawn on the ground there. The chief mourners and the bearers of the hearse with the *Haḷemaga* go there on the third day, carrying with them some rice and vegetables cooked together in one vessel. *Pūja* is offered to the deceased, incense burnt and food placed on a plantain-leaf. Part of this is given to

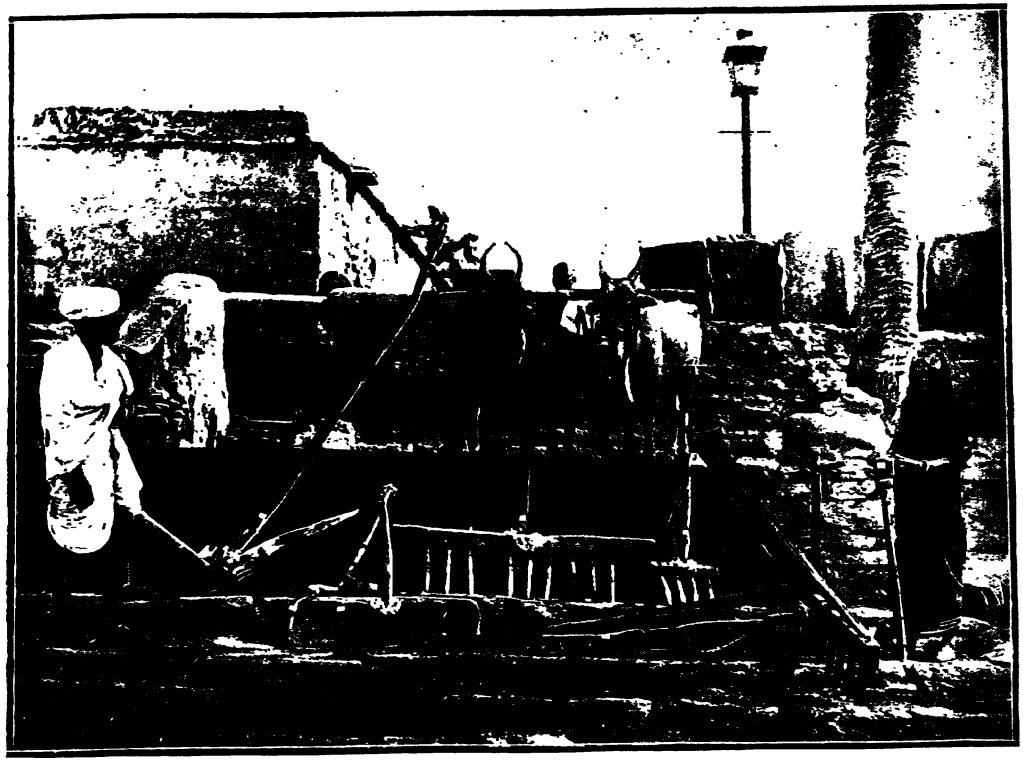
* On account of this association, it is considered inauspicious to come out of the bath-room after bathing without wiping the water on the body with a cloth.

the *Haḷemaga*, who must eat it, and the rest is thrown to the crows. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers are touched with ghee and milk, and all bathe in the morning. A Brahman *purōhit* is invited to purify the house by *punyāha*. The old earthen pots in the house used for cooking are thrown out and new ones are substituted for them. A *kalaśa* is set up in the middle of the house, and is worshipped with offerings of new cloths and raw rice (*yede*). The Brāhman *purōhit* repeats *mantras*, and makes the chief mourner offer libations of water (*tarpaṇa*). Some presents are made to Brāhmans, according to the means of the family, *e.g.*, such articles as an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a cow, raw provisions and money. The object of some of these gifts is to ensure that similar conveniences may be provided for the ghost of the departed on its journey. It is believed that a cow enables him to cross the river of fire by holding on to its tail.

In the evening, the mourners go to a temple and get *pūja* performed to secure the opening of heaven's gate for the departed soul; and there is a general dinner given to the castemen on their return. The next day, some near relation of the chief mourner, such as a maternal uncle or father-in-law, presents him with a new turban, to mark the close of the funeral ceremonies.

The period of *Sūtaka* (death pollution) is ten days for the nearer and three days for the more distant agnates. It is only three days for the death of a child, or an unmarried person. Only a bath is needed for a daughter's son.

Morasu Okkaligas do not perform yearly *srāddhas*, save that some of them having risen in the world, have deaths of their parents. On such occasions, a *kalaśa* is set up, and *pūja* is offered with the help of Brāhman *purōhit*. The son offers libations of water in the name of the deceased, and presents



MORASU OKKALUS WITH AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Brāhmans with raw provisions and money. After this, the people at home cook their food and partake of it in the company of some invited guests of their own caste. The Mahālaya ceremony is however very generally observed in honour of the general body of deceased ancestors. They also make *pūja* to ancestors on the new year's day and on the Gauri feast. On such days, some resort to the burial-ground, and burn incense before the tombs of their ancestors, and apply sandal paste, and offer cocoanuts before the stones. They have only one meal that day in the evening.

OCCUPATION.

Agriculture is the pursuit of the majority of this important caste, though a few have taken to other walks of life, such as building-contracts, money-lending and Government service. They have houses built to suit their needs as agriculturists, having accommodation for cattle generally in the main building, and with granaries and backyards attached. The seed grain is preserved in packages known as *mūde*, neatly made of twisted straw. *Ragi* is generally preserved in dry pits, known as *hagevu* in Kannada, and *patra* in Telugu, which are excavated either in their own yards or at a common village site. The grain keeps well for years in such pits.

AGRICULTURE.

The ploughs have iron shares fixed on logs of Jali or Babool wood, through a ring imbedded in the end. Those used for dry lands are about two or two and a half feet in length, and for wet lands about a foot and a half. The pole is inserted through a hole in the thicker end of the log, and the yoke is tied to it with a rope made of either raw hide, or cocoanut or aloe fibre, called a *mini*. The knot is sometimes tightened with a wooden tourniquet,

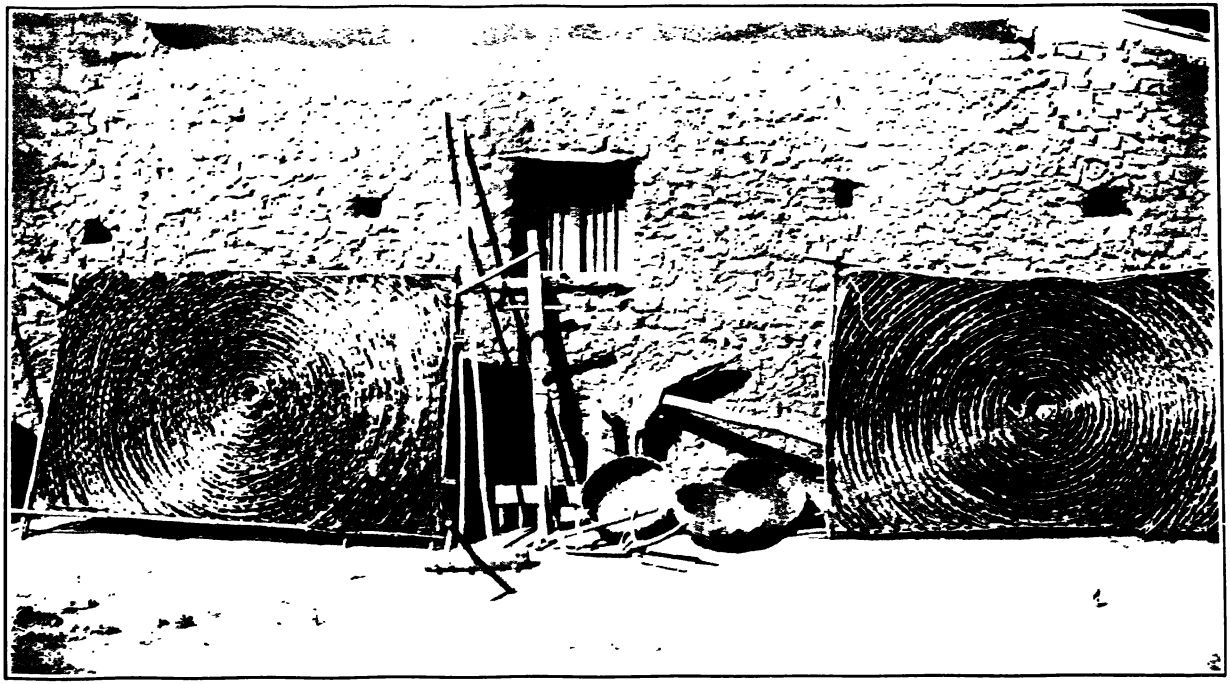
called *kongani*. To steady the plough, and to press it in its passage, an upright stick with a handle is fixed to the end of the long pole, after it passes through the head of the plough. This is called *medi*.

To remove the weeds and grass uprooted in ploughing, a harrow is drawn over the fields, tied to the yoke with a pair of bamboo poles brought together at its centre. The harrow is a log about five feet in length furnished with twelve teeth of strong wood or iron, and is of course drawn crosswise over the ground. The heaps of refuse collected together are burnt in the field. The same log, with the teeth turned upwards, is drawn over the field to level it, a man standing on the log to add weight to it.

When ragi, or other small grain, is to be sown, they use a seed-drill called *kurige* in Kannada, and *gorru* in Telugu. This is similar to the harrow in appearance, but twleve hollow reeds, each about three feet in length, are fixed to it, and they are all inserted into a cup at the top, in which the seed grain is placed. As the log is drawn over the ground, the seed-cup is replenished by a man who walks behind it. To sow lines of pulse, such as *avare*, or *togari* (ballar or pigeon-pea), another seed-drill with a single reed is tacked on to the larger seed-drill. The work of putting in the seed with these instruments requires considerable skill. When the crop is six or seven inches high, an instrument called *kunte*, a hoe with three or four teeth, is passed over it once or twice, to thin out the crop, and to stir the soil near the roots of the seedlings.

When a wet field is ploughed in puddle, a log of wood (Kannada *mara*, Telugu *manu*) is drawn crosswise over it, to level the miry soil.

Among the other implements of husbandry in common use may be named the *mamty*, the pick-axe, and the sickle. In addition, they have a



MORASU OKKALU REARING COCCOON.

special hoe, with four teeth, to stir up the manure in the manure pits. Most of the raiyats own all these implements, which are not expensive. They are crude in appearance, but seem to be effective for the simple methods of husbandry practised. Generally there is a smith and a carpenter in most villages who can make and mend them whenever needed. The seed-drill (*kurige*) is the only complicated instrument beyond the reach of the poorer raiyats, but it is usually borrowed from some kindly-disposed neighbour.

PERIODS OF RAINS.

The whole year is, according to the raiyat's calendar, divided into twenty-seven parts named after as many *Nakshatras* or heavenly bodies. These divisions are known popularly as *male* in Kannada and *harti*, or *vana* in Telugu, each meaning rain. Each rain is again divided into four quarters, styled *pādas*, or feet. These 27 *hartis*, or rains, are again parcelled out into two groups, called *mungaru* or early rains and *hingaru* or later rains. The former begin with the *Revati* rain (April), and end with *Mrigasira* rain (about June). If the *mungaru* rains fall regularly, the agricultural prospects are very good as most of the chief crops are then sown. From *Purvashādha* to *Uttarabhadra* (December to February), the rains are said to be in incubation, and there should not be rain. If it does, it is believed to be an abortion, which is sure to bring on a failure of the later rains.

Each *Nakshatra* period of the rains lasts, roughly speaking, two weeks, and nearly corresponds to the periods named against them according to the English calendar. Rēvati and Asvini cover the whole month of April; Bharani and Krittika last up to about the end of May; Rohini and Mārgasirashā till the third week of June, when Aridra begins. The latter and the following two rains, *viz.*,

Punarvasu and Pushyami, extend up to about the first week of August. Aslēsha and the succeeding three rains Māgha, Pushya and Uttara, cover the rain period till about the end of September. Hasta, Chitta and Svāti fall in the following five weeks, ending with the first week of November, the other three weeks of November and the whole of December being taken up by the rains Visākha, Anurādha, Jyēshtha and Mūla. The incubation period commences about the beginning of January, and lasts till the end of March.

The knowledge and the beliefs of raiyats about the relations of these periods to agricultural operations are embodied in various short sayings and proverbs. It will be convenient to begin with Rēvati, which is the last of the *nakshatras*, as rains generally commence then. The rain falling under this *nakshatra* (constellation) is not of any use, and is rather prejudicial to the threshing of ragi, as the grain will not get clean.

*Asvini* is said to be harmful to the fruits of arecanuts and cocoanuts, and if it rains, the crop is believed to be diseased, and will yield a poor return. Asvini destroys everything.

During *Bharani*, ploughing operations are begun and in some places, minor crops, such as *navane*, *hasaka* (millet), or gingelly, are sown in the fields, so that another crop may be taken after these are harvested.* It is believed that seeds sown during this rain are immune from attacks of disease, and yield a good crop. Earth prospers if it rains in *Bharani*. If rains do not fall till *Krittike*, people will suffer want. During *Rohini* fields are ploughed and kept ready, but the seed should by no means be put in, for the yield will be scanty. If sown in *Rohini*, there will

* The best lands are never sown with any grain in this rain. Such lands are prepared and reserved for important crops, such as ragi.

not be even one mortarful of paddy. In *Mrigasira*, popularly known as Minchini in Telugu, the ground is prepared and minor crops are raised.

*Aridra* is said to be good for sowing all kinds of grain. If the rain begins during night, it is a good sign; but crops do not thrive if it begins during the day. If there is thunder in the first three quarters (*pādas*) and none in the fourth, the rains during the following six *nakshatra* periods will suffer. If the reverse is the case, it is a good sign for the following rains. Thunder, breaking in the fourth quarter, will nullify the evil effect in the first three quarters. If the Aridra rain thunders, rain will not fall during the six following periods. On the whole, the rains under this constellation are greatly appreciated, as contributing to a plentiful harvest.

*Punarvasu* and *Pushyami*, styled popularly Chinna Pusi in Telugu, and Chikkavusi and Doddavusi in Kannada, are also regarded as timely for sowing ragi, and other dry crops. In *Aslēsha*, popularly known as Asale, seeds may be sown, but the crop is uncertain, owing to lateness of the season. Crops then sown are said to be liable to insect pests. *Māgha* is considered a fitful rain, raining either very hard, or failing altogether; if it rains in Māgha, it is good; if it fails it is bad. During *Pubba*, or Hubbe, if winds are high, it is said that paddy crop turns red and deteriorates. If there should be excessive rain, the standing crops suffer. The skies are often overcast, but the rain is generally scanty. Even a sparrow's wings, it is said, will not get moist from showers of this period. Nothing is sown during this period, as it will not yield any crop. It is better to sow a seer in Hasta than a hundred seers in Pubba.

The rains in *Uttara* and *Hasta* rarely fail, and the raiyats have great faith in their regularity. They

are regarded as having given a solemn promise to the raiyat to save his crop. If in *Uttara* rain fails, a raiyat should be ready to flee with his goods in a basket. If *Hasta* fails, even a mother will be unable to feed her child. If there are winds in *Hasta*, it is said to be a bad sign, for if the leaves shake in *Hasta*, not a drop will fall in *Chitta*.

*Chitta* is considered to be fitful, and the rain falls without any method in distribution. It is characterised as being blind, and it is even said that it rains chiefly during the day, as at night it is afraid of breaking its neck by falling into a pit. If this rain follows that of Hasta without a break, it is believed that the rains will be copious. If both these rains fail, it spells ruin to the raiyats, who then become unable to carry on their agricultural operations.

In *Svāti*, the downpour is generally continuous. Grass grows plentifully, and this is believed to be the rain which conduces to the ears of corn filling properly with juice. If this rain falls properly, you may look for ears of corn even under a washerman's slab. If it rains heavily in Svāti, one will not be allowed respite even to answer calls of nature. Lightning is a sign of heavy rain in Svāti constellation.

The water afforded by *Visākha* (corrupted into Isaki) rain is believed to bring health; and this is the last of the copious rains, as clouds are scanty thereafter.

*Anurādha*, corrupted into Anoragi—ripens the crops before harvest, and if it falls, the raiyat's anxiety is at an end, and his ragi (crop) becomes his own.

The rains of *Jēshtha* and *Mūla* come in low drizzle and bring dirty murky weather. It is harmful to the pulses, *avare* and *togari*, as insects multiply after this rain, and flowers are destroyed.

With them the rainy season practically closes, about the time of Dipāvali feast, after which there



MORASU OKKALU AT FIELD WORK.

will be no rain, for it is as vain to cry for rain after Dipāvali is gone, as to hope for good treatment to a son-in-law in a deceased wife's parent's house.

They have so much faith in the appropriateness of particular seasons for particular crops, that it is rare to see any raiyat trying experiments with sowing after the proper season for a particular crop is past. Some later crop or minor crop may be put in as an alternative to letting the field lie fallow altogether.

The agricultural seasons are roughly divided into two parts, styled locally *Vaisākha* and *Kārtika*. As the ploughing operations are begun with the first rains, the agricultural year is said to begin pratically with the Telugu New Year, (*Yugādi*). On an auspicious day in the first week after Yugādi, all the raiyats in the village congregate in the Chāvadi, or a temple, when the astrologer, after offering *puja* to a copy of the new calendar, expounds to them the prospects of the new year. Margosa leaves with jaggery powder, to convey the idea of the sweet and the bitter being linked together in life, are presented as *prasāda* to the audience to swallow.

The astrologer tells them which of the rains may be expected to fall regularly, the state of the winds, and the sunshine, the names of grains likely to thrive well, and which epidemic and other diseases are threatening to break out. Then each man consults the astrologer as to his individual prospects, which are determined either by the star indicated by the first letter of his name or, if he keeps a horoscope, the star under which he was born. When all this is over, the head of the village, generally the patel, consults him about the auspicious day for beginning the agricultural operations, the name of the person who may lead the first plough, and the colour of the

bullock to be yoked to it, the direction with reference to the village in which polughing has to be begun, and such other important particulars. The astrologer finds appropriate answers for all these queries from calculation, and is rewarded with presents of grain, and sometimes, money and new clothes.

On the day fixed, the person who has to begin the ploughing operations in the village, goes to the temple with the village elders. The *pūjari* worships the god, and sprinkles holy water on the man and his bulls and plough, a sheep being sometimes sacrificed. The man begins to plough, and is followed by others with other ploughs. They pass the ploughs over feast, styled *Honneru*, or the golden plough. Each family also begins ploughing with a *pūja*, and at the time of first sowing, they hold a *pūja* of the sowing implements, called *Kūrige-pūja*.

When crops are standing, Sidi-devaru, is worshipped to avert insect pests. When crops are two or three inches high, each raiyat in one of his fields builds a small shed out of green leaves, and sets up seven small stones in it in a row, with another small stone in front, to represent Muniśvara. All the important members of the family, with the young boys, go there and offer on two plantain-leaves, cooked rice and curds, with some condiments. A fowl is then killed, and its blood is mixed with the food in one of the leaves, and is scattered over all the fields belonging to the family. The rice on the other leaf is eaten up by the boys, and the remains of the fowl are taken home to be cooked and eaten by all the inmates.

All the raiyats in a village join together and enjoy the picnic of *Hasta Pongalu* during the *Hasta* rains. Small branches of *Ankole* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*), are brought in large quantities and stuck in the fields in different places. Figures of the several agricultural implements are drawn with

the ashes of the potter's kiln, on the boundaries of the fields, in the paths and at the entrance to the village. A goat or sheep is sacrificed near the figure drawn at the village entrance, and offerings of rice and milk, cooked together, called *Pongili*, are made to it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is mixed with margosa leaves, and is scattered over all the fields in the village. The head of the sacrificed animal is given to the village *Toti*, and the body is divided among all the raiyats.

No other ceremony is observed till the time of reaping, if the crop grows well in the normal condition. At the time of sowing the crop Kudugolu Dēvaru* (the Sickle God's) *pūja* is celebrated. A handful of crop is cut and placed in the central part of the field, near five small stones set up there. The sickles of all the reapers are collected and deposited in a row, in front of these stones. They are then worshipped in the usual way, with burning incense and the breaking of a cocoanut. Then ears of this handful of crop are cut and safely preserved at home, and the grain out of them is mixed with the seed-grain for next year.

Before the crop is removed in carts, or in headloads, from the field to the threshing floor, a cocoanut is broken. The crop thus transported is stacked, and allowed to remain in that state for three or four months.

The threshing of the crop begins generally in the month of Māgha, and continues till the close of the next month. When the threshing is done, and the grain is heaped together, a Pillāri,† that is, a cone

* This practice of making *pūja* to the instruments of one's calling is almost universal. Even a grass-cutter woman is often seen to bow before her scythe, or hoe, before beginning to cut or dig grass.

† Pillāri means a small image, and is a cone made of cow-dung or rice-paste or earth, with blades of green grass stuck on the top. It is generally taken as representing Ganesa.

made of cow-dung, is installed, with an ear of corn stuck into it, at the top. Water is sprinkled on the grain-heap and the threshing floor and the grain-heap with the Pillāri is worshipped, incense being burnt and a cocoanut offered. The winnowing of the grain is done after this by a man standing on a stool about four feet high and pouring down the grain from a bamboo winnow slowly so as to let the chaff be carried away by the wind, the heavy grain falling in a heap below. It is considered essential that while this process is going on, silence should be preserved all round.*

It is universal custom that before measuring the grain, a small quantity, if only a handful even, is set apart for charity. This is styled *Devara Kolaga* (*i.e.*, God's measure), and is distributed to a *pūjāri*, or Brāhman, or to a Dāsayya, or Jangamayya, or to beggars generally.

CROP DISEASES.

There are certain diseases of crops for which the raiyats apply different nostrums, some savouring of superstition, while others are more or less practical.

The recognised diseases of the paddy are *Surugu Jadya*, *Susara Vyādhi* and *Kembatti Roga*. The *Kārtika*, or earlier crop is liable to attacks of the first disease, in which the leaves turn reddish, and wither away after the fall of the *Pubbu* rain. The excreta of bats found in caves and ruinous temples is mixed with the ashes of the potter's kiln and lime, and dusted over the whole field affected, and a sheep or goat is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled over the standing crop. When the heads of the stalks become knotted together, urine of cattle is sprinkled

* Perhaps a relic of troublesome times when the raiyat wished to gather in his grains as quietly as possible, without attracting the attention of robbers or others who habitually preyed on him. Or was it meant to keep off evil spirits ?

over them. *Susara Vyādhi* is caused by the attacks of insects about the time ears sprout, by which the sap is drained and the leaves turn white and drop away, leaving the stalk bare. There is no remedy known for this pest. *Kembatti Roga*, known in Telugu as *Pandi Rogamu*, is nicknamed in Telugu *Bapini Rogamu*, or the Brāhman disease, on account of the leaves all turning red when it attacks the crop. A pig is killed near the field, and its blood is mixed with margosa leaves, and thrown on the standing crops. Sometimes a crow pheasant is substituted for the pig.

Ragi crop is also subject to various diseases. The plant suddenly begins to dry up, when the crop is about an inch high. The disease is styled *Eru Dudara*, and the farmer makes *pūja* to a deity called Dudara deity. Small branches of *ankole* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*) are stuck in the several parts of the field, and a fowl or sheep is sacrificed.

A similar but less injurious disease attacks the crop when about three inches high, and is called *Naru paku Dudara*. The leaves wither and fall off, but the stems are unaffected. The farmer performs *Dudara Devadu*, as in the case of the other diseases, and also sprinkles the ashes of the potter's kiln on the field.

*Aggi-Dudara* in Telugu and *Benkidudare* in Kannada, is a more serious disease, and injures the crop considerably. The plants attacked wither away, and do not survive. To prevent the spread of the disease, incense is burnt, and a cocoanut is broken, and its water is sprinkled on the crop. When this disease is observed to occur after a drought, the raiyats take it as a sign of impending rain. Caterpillars multiply very fast in fields attacked with this disease, and eat up the pulses *Avare* and *Togari*, sown in the ragi fields. It is supposed to be a remedy to render *pūja*

to these insects, to ward off their attack. Two or three of them are caught, turmeric and *kunkuma* powders are put on them, and a cotton thread coloured with saffron is tied to each, and after prayers to them not to molest the crop, they are taken to the village boundary and let off, probably with a benevolent wish that they may bestow their favours elsewhere.

*Kuluvyādhi* attacks the crop when it is ripe for being cut. Insects eat away the stocks just at the ear heads, which consequently fall off. There is no known remedy for this pest. If there is too much rain when the ears are sprouting, they all rot and turn jet, and no grain is formed in them. No remedy is known for this either.

*Avare* and *Togari* pulses, which are sown in lines in a ragi field, are allowed to stand after the ragi is harvested, as they ripen about two months later. They are liable to be attacked by insects called *Sidi*, which eat up the seeds in the pods. The remedy is to burn a quantity of bones heaped up in a place when wind is blowing, so that the smoke may envelope the plants and poison the insects.

CATTLE DISEASES AND TREATMENT.

The importance of cattle to the agricultural people of the country cannot be overestimated. Cattle diseases cause enormous loss to the raiyats; and their want of knowledge and inability to administer timely remedies when epidemics occur cripple their resources year by year. There are, however, some physicians in most places, who, in addition to superstitious practices, resort to some remedies in times of epidemics, when their treatment is efficacious. Sometimes the cures effected by the employment of simple herbs available at their very doors are said to be little short of miraculous. But it is difficult to

make these men impart their knowledge to others, as they believe that if their secret is shared with others, its efficacy disappears.

The most serious of the recognised cattle diseases is known as *Dodda Roga*, or *Doddamma* (great disease), *i.e.*, rinderpest. It corresponds to cholera for men, which carries off a large number of cattle. *Ragi* gruel is given to sustain the strength of the animal, and from the mouth and nostrils, there is a large flow of mucus, which is often washed. They also segregate affected animals from the healthy ones more or less completely. Pills, made of the roots of the *Jambu* weed (*panicum interruptum*) and jaggery, are administered.

The juice of the tender shoots of the creepers known as *Ugani-balli* in Kannada, and *Tindra-balli* in Telugu, a shrubby creeper (*Coculus cordifolius*), is given. Plantains of the variety known as *rasabāle*, camphor and ghee, mixed together, are sometimes given as a medicine.

When the village is visited by this epidemic, the God of the village is worshipped. An image of Māramma is made and worshipped by the washerman in the village square. Then it is taken in state to the boundary, and left there, with its face towards the next village.

Eye-disease is also contagious and the infected animals are segregated. The eyes water, and the animal becomes listless, and gives up feeding and chewing the cud. It is not a common disease, but when it occurs, it is not easy to get rid of it. The treatment resorted to is branding on the back about eighteen inches across in two places. The animal is also branded often under the tail, the neck and on the chest. The juice of the green leaves of the lemon (*Citrus limonium*), gingelly oil, country arrack, *asafœtida*, pepper, garlic and mustard

are all ground together, and about a hornful of the mixture is given to the animal.

Inflammatory fever, or black quarter, known as *Chappe Jādya*, is a contagious disease, generally proving fatal, from a few hours to two or three days. The animal ceases to feed and to ruminate; swellings may appear on any part of the body, and the parts so affected are hot to the touch. There is practically no remedy known to the raiyat, except branding on the affected parts. Sometimes a mixture of plantain flowers, cumin seed, onions and buttermilk, ground together, is given. The worship of a Goddess styled Chappalamma, Goddess of Chappe disease, is observed, sheep and goats being killed to propitiate the deity.

There are certain preventive measures adopted to protect the healthy cattle when an epidemic of this disease is threatened. They are branded with a red hot iron rod on the right shoulder and on the left thigh. Milk or juice of *calatropis gigantea*; *Geru* (*Semicarpeus anacardium*), kernel of the castor-seed, *kadekara* (a drug), a drug *Chitramula* and *Plumbago zeylanica* are well ground together in the curds of a buffalo, and mixed with castor-oil. The paste is put on the thighs and the shoulders of the healthy animals. Slight blisters appear on these spots; and it is believed that the animals suffer from a slight attack of the disease and then recover. This inoculation is said to render them immune from this particular disease.

The foot and mouth disease is known as ಕಾಲು ಜ್ವರ ಬಾಯಿಜ್ವರ; ಗಾಳಿಸಖೆ or ಗಾಳಿಯಮ್ಮ. It is a contagious disease, but is not generally fatal. It spreads over large areas in the hot season, and hampers agricultural operations seriously. Saliva flows from the mouth, and ulcers are formed between the hoofs. The animal lifts and shakes its legs frequently; if the sores are

neglected, they breed maggots. The animal is fed on nutritious food, such as conjee made of ragi flour. The feet and the mouth are washed twice every day, morning and evening, and sometimes the animal is made to stand in mire. If there are maggots, tar or camphor, mixed with the oil of *Pongamia glabra*, or margosa seeds, is applied to the ulcers. Sometimes, the feet and the mouth of healthy cattle are washed with water in which fish have been washed, and the same water is sprinkled over the surface of the cattle yard.

The worship of the stone marking the boundary of the village site, known as *Goddu rayi*, a barren-stone in Telugu, or *Karu kallu* in Kannada, is considered to be efficacious in warding off the disease. First, vows are made to this deity, and all the inhabitants of the village join in the worship. One hundred and one pots of water are poured on it, and saffron and *kunkuma* powders are applied and small branches of margosa leaves tied to it. Sheep and goats are killed near the stone, and all the cattle in the village are made to walk through the mire and are brought near this stone, where the *pūjāri* sprinkles water over them and applies turmeric and *kunkuma* to their foreheads. This is believed not only to cure the disease already broken out, but to prevent an impending outbreak. It is supposed to prevent the spread of the disease to the uninfected houses, if the inmates of the latter make an offering of food consisting of cooked rice, curds and milk mixed together, with an onion at the spot where the cattle are tethered, and sacrifice a fowl, and sprinkle the blood on the cattle.

*Naradi*, or *Sukhanaradi* (*Splenic Apoplexy*), attacks cattle apparently in good health. If proper care is not taken soon, they succumb to the disease. The animal ceases to feed or chew the cud. Laboured

respiration, staggering gait, flow of saliva and mucus from the mouth are among the symptoms of the disease. The fœces and urine are coloured red with blood. The most popular remedy is branding on or about the region of the spleen. The internal medicines are dry chillies, ground to fine powder, and mixed with butter, milk, or the leaves of *Wrightia tinctoria*, or ivory wood, pepper and garlic ground together, and mixed with butter-milk.

The symptoms of the disease known as *Musara-jādya* are dullness, going off feed and twitchings of the muscles. The most efficacious remedies are said to be the following. A quantity of the bark of the Muttaga tree (*Butea Frondosa*) is beaten into pulp and immersed in water, and about six seers of the infusion are given as a drink. The leaves of the plants *Adusoge*, (*Adtratoda Vasica*), tender leaves of *Nallavavili*, *Nelagorimid* and *Muranelli* and some garlic are ground into a paste and a powder of mustard, pepper, cloves, piper longum, greater galangal and the leaves of *Azima tetracantha*, is mixed with that paste. Pills of the size of a gooseberry are made of this, and one or two administered for two or three days. This remedy is applied for many diseases especially those which cannot be properly diagnosed. Sometimes, as soon as this disease attacks the animal, fœces of human beings are mixed in water, and two or three hornfuls given to it.

*Ubbasa-jādya* is brought on by exposure or by eating cooling substances. The disease proves fatal if it is not discovered in its early stages and treated. The second remedy noted for the previous disease is also used for this disease. As an alternative, the water in which washerman boils clothes, with fuller's earth, is given to the animal.

*Domme Jādya* (Pleuro pneumonia) is also known as *Soga-dommu*, or *Sukhadommu* in Telugu. It is

a dangerous malady, unless attended to in the early stages, but it is not said to be contagious. It is believed to arise from the abnormal swelling of something near the spleen and which finally chokes up the passage in the throat. The lungs get affected and the animal coughs, and ceases to feed and ruminate. The remedies used are the oil or the juice of the bark of *Honge Pongamia glabra*, or the juice of the leaves of *Addasarapaku* and *Muranelli* crushed together, and mixed with the oil of *Pongamia*, one or two hornfuls given internally, and branding on the body.

Dysentery, variously known as *Rakta kattu*, *Rakta bhedi*, or *Katturoga*, is generally preceded by simple diarrhœa, which is brought on by the cattle grazing on immature green fodder after the rains. The medicines used are pumpkin and rice boiled together; or the cellular sponge-like substances found in the ant-hills mixed and ground together in water; or the juice of the leaves of a creeper called *si-tonde* one hornful, followed by another hornful of milk with fine powder of hæmatite, known as *kāvi* stone.

Simple catarrah is known as *Kundu*, *Sela*, *Padisemu*, or *Negadi*, and the symptoms are cough and thirst. Its cure is generally left to nature. The remedies sometimes used are unboiled milk, *asafœtida*, the ear heads of the grass out of which broom sticks are made, and mustard ground together; or the juice of the leaves of a small herb mixed with goat's milk and *asafœtida*, to be given for three days; or branding. Two women of the same name throw ashes on the back of the affected animal by means of a winnow. This is popularly known as *Kundu Keruvudu*.

When this disease occurs in an aggravated form, it is said to turn into *Sale*. The animal is branded, in addition to its being given the above medicines.

Choking may sometimes happen by the sticking of a foreign substance in the throat, which the animal makes a constant effort to bring out by coughing. The obstructing substance can often be felt by passing the hand by a dexterous person or by inserting a cap of the citron fruit with a cord attached beyond the obstructing substance and dragging it out. Ragi conjee is then given and the part fomented with tamarind leaves and heated salt to soothe the irritation. If there is any wound, the blood of a cock is first given to the animal and a hornful of the mixture made of the juice of radish and lard is given as a drink.

When the glands in the throat or the epiglottis swell, the air-passage may be choked and the animal dies of suffocation. This disease is known as *Gudlupenjari* in Telugu. There are experts who break the swelling mechanically; and the animal is fed on ragi conjee and other soothing and nourishing food till the sore is healed.

The disease known as *Namu* is caused by the animal eating the tender shoots of *Jola* (great millet, *sorghum vulgare*) grass grown on the stubble left after a harvest. It is said to be due to an insect known popularly as *Namu hula*; it is perhaps due to some poisonous acid (*Hydrocyanic*?) which it eats or ruminates, and falls on the ground beating its legs violently. The juice of the leaves of the wild castor-oil plant (*Jatropha curcas*), one or two hornfuls, are given, mixed with water. This medicine is commonly known, and is very effective.

*Urla Jādya* attacks calves, when all the hair on the skin falls off. As a remedy, one of the teeth of the calf known as *Gajjihallu* or itchy tooth, is pulled out, and the calf gets all right. It is believed that this occurs when any salt is mixed with butter-milk of the calf's dame before the calf begins to chew the grass.

Social Status.

Morasu Okkalus are a caste rather high in the social scale. They generally employ Brāhmans as *purōhits*, and some also respect Lingāyat priests, or Jangamas, to whom they often make presents of rice and other provisions. Those of the Morasus who are Tirunāmadhāris call in Sātanis to conduct funeral ceremonies, the Brahmans being required only to purify the house by *punyāha*. They also invite Dāsayyas for *Mane Seve*.

Except in extreme cases, persons who have lost their caste, may be readmitted after proper *prāyaschitta*, which consists in paying a fine imposed by the caste *panchāyet*, giving a dinner, and getting the tongue slightly branded with a piece of gold.

Dietary of the Caste.

The Morasu Okkalus eat meat, sheep, goats, fish, rabbits and fowls. Some of them have no objection to eat pork, but the more orthodox practice is to avoid it. They rarely indulge in drink, though the practice is not absolutely prohibited. Kurubas and other classes mingle with this caste in eating. The women, as noticed already, are stricter in observing restrictions against dining with others who have not undergone the ceremonies of offering up the fingers and worshipping the Hosadēvaru. Such exclusive rules, it may be observed, are now greatly relaxed, especially in larger towns.

Conclusion.

They are a caste of cultivators, consisting of various endogamous groups, some of which have become separate castes. Many of them are Lingāyats. They abstain from drinking liquor, but eat meat. Among them several families hold, by hereditary right, the low village offices of *Toti* and *Nirganti* or watchmen and conductors of water. They are both Vaishṇavas and Śivas.

## APPENDIX.

### Exogamic Clans.

| | |
|---|---|
| Achyuta | .. People of this division do not cultivate saffron. |
| Alada | .. Banyan tree. |
| Ane | .. Elephant. |
| Ardharane | .. |
| Bachi | .. A kind of tree. |
| Badalu | .. A kind of grass. |
| Bale | .. Plantain. |
| Bangi | .. Ganja. |
| Belada | .. Wood-apple tree. |
| Belli | .. Silver. |
| Billandla | .. A kind of tree. |
| Bollikodi | .. A bird, found in hedges, of black colour with white face. |
| Busi | .. .... |
| Chalindala | .. A cistern for water erected in the roads for the use of travellers. |
| Chanchali | .. A kitchen herb. |
| Chikkandu | .. A vegetable plant. |
| Dalimbe | .. Pomegranate. |
| Devaganneru | .. A kind of flower bearing tree. |
| Gejjie | .. Small bells. |
| Gendara | .. A kind of fish. |
| Ginnu | .. Milk of a buffalo or a cow which has lately calved. |
| Gokerla | .. .... |
| Gokula | .. .... |
| Gongadi | .. A blanket turned into a cloak. |
| Goranti | .. Barlaria. |
| Guliganji | .. The wild liquorice. |
| Halu | .. A herb. |
| Heggana | .. A bandicoot. |
| Hippe | .. A tree Basia Latifolia. |
| Hutta | .. Anthill. |
| Ichalu | .. Date tree. |
| Irisedlu | .. A wooden sppoon. |
| Kabbadi | .. .... |

Kadaba .. A species of deer.
Kaggali .. A tree.
Kalindala .. They do not cut milk hedge plant.
Kalivi .. A kind of tree.
Kanne .. A kitchen herb.
Kanaga .. Pongemia Glabra.
Kappu .. Flesh of animals
Kare .. A thorny jungle plant.
Khachora .. A kind of shrub bearing sweet scented fruits used with sandle paste.
Kode .. Umbrella.
Kolaga .. An Indian measure.
Komme .. A herb.
Kondada. .. ....
Kunchi .. A hooded cloak.
Kurandara .. ....
Kurategе .. A milky thorny plant.
Kurige .. A seed drill.
Mallige .. A jasmin flower.
Mandi ....
Manendra .. ....
Mandalige .. They do not use mats.
Masi .. ....
Mavu .. Mango.
Mekala .. Goat.
Mudre .. A seal.
Muddarani .. Kitchen herb.
Mingili .. Mongoose.
Muttaga .. Bastard teak.
Nakkalu .. Jackal.
Nelli .. The emblic myroba jam.
Nerale .. Jambalana.
Nili .. Indigo—They do not keep black bullocks and their women do not wear black bangles or black sadis.
Nittuva .. They do not use stone posts for houses.
Nuggi .. Horse radish.
Nunabudagi .. A vegetable drug.
Ottu .. They do not eat on plates of dry leaves.
Pachchakodi .. ....
Punagu .. Civet.
Samantige .. Chrusanthimum.
Sampige .. Champaka tree.
Sankha .. Conch shell.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sasuve | .. Mustard. |
| Sonthi | .. Ginger. |
| Tatarlu | .. .... |
| Tengina | .. Cocoanut. |
| Tyabali | .. Tortoise. |
| Tummala | .. A kind of tree. |
| Turubu | .. They do not tie their hair in a knot. |
| Udarlu | .. Seeds of weed, a kind of grass largely grown in paddy fields. |
| Udama | .. Big lizard. |
| Uttareni | .. A common weed (Achyranthis aspira). |

# MUSALMANS.*

EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM IN MYSORE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PREGNANCY RITES—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—NAMING, TONSURE, INITIATION, AND CIRCUMCISION—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—MUSALMAN FAMILY, KINSHIP AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—RELIGION—FASTS AND FESTIVALS—THE SUNNAH—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE COMMUNITY—APPEARANCE, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS—GAMES—CONCLUSION.

EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM IN MYSORE.

THE commercial intercourse between the west coast of India and Arabia doubtless led to a spread of Muhammadan influence into the neighbouring countries, but the first appearance of Musalmans by land south of the Vindhya range was in 1294, in the invasion of Alaud-din who captured Devagiri. But the rulers of Delhi were incapable of controlling the vast region situated at a long distance from the seat of their power, and five independent Musalman States came into existence. The first vigorous attempt to bring them under Moghal supremacy was made by Akbar (1596—1600). This policy of advance continued under Shah Jahan, and it was actively prosecuted by Aurangzib with the result that the local Muhammadan dynasties were overthrown. But the Moghal control did not last long before the rising power of of the Mahrattas early in the eighteenth century. It is important to note, that these Musalman kingdoms in the south were merely outposts of the Faith

* I am much indebted to Mr. Abdul Wajid, Deputy Commissioner, Hassan District, for much of the information contained in this monograph.

in the midst of a dense Hindu population. The Musalmans were in a numerical minority, and they were influenced by the tenets of religion as also by a policy of toleration and conciliation towards their Hindu subjects.* The Arabs were carrying on extensive trade on the West Coast of India, and they had their settlements there. It is not improbable that some might have come to Mysore as well.

The introduction of Islam in Mysore was probably in 1310, when Dorasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom, was taken by the Muhammadan general Malik Kafur. There is a story that the Sultan's daughter fell in love with the king from the reports of valour, and threatened to kill herself unless married to him. Eventually his sword was sent as his representative with a due escort, and to that the princess was formally wedded, and then joined the king. They lived happily for ten years, after which he was induced by the consideration that he was a Rajput and she of inferior caste, to put her away, which provoked, it is said, the second invasion of 1326. Under the Vijayanagar empire, the continued rivalry and struggles between that power and the Bhamini and Bijapur, Pathan kingdoms, provided opportuities for the further introduction of Islam into Mysore. But it was in 1406, in the reign of Deva Rāya, who gave his daughter in marriage to Feroz Shah, that Musalmans were first enlisted into the Vijayanagar army. The Raja built them a mosque, and had the Koran placed before the throne in order to receive their obeisance, which they refused to make to him as an idolater, but willingly made to their sacred book. Subsequently after 1500, a Musalman

* There is no compulsion in religion, 2 : 256.

"If any of the idolators seek protection from you, grant him protection. 6–9."

force from Bijapur assisted the usurper Tirumal Rao, and a little later, the Vijayanagar army helped Bijapur against Ahmadnagar.' *

The permanent settlement of the Musalmans in Mysore may be assigned with certainty to the time first, of the Bijapur conquest under Randhulha Khan in 1637, and second to the Mughal conquest under Kasim Khan in 1687 and the formation of a province of Sira. By settlement, conquest, and conversions, there were considerable numbers of Muhammadans employed in the territories of Mysore, Bednur, Chitaldrug and other provinces at the time of Hyder Ali's occupation in 1761. A Navāyat commanded the forces at Bednur in the decisive battle of Mayakonda in 1748, when Madakeri Nayak fell, and Chanda Sahib whose cause he had espoused, was taken prisoner, his son being also slain. Under Hyder Ali, there were considerable additions to the Musalman ranks by forcible conversion of captives in war and other means; but the dark and intolerant zeal of Tippu Sultan made the cause of Islam a pretext for the most terrible persecution and degradation with the avowed object of extinguishing every other form of belief.†

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

*Endogamous Groups.*—Musalmans of Mysore as in other parts of India, are divided into four groups: Sayyid, Shaikh, Mughal, Pathan.

The term *Sayyids*, 'lord' is also known as *Pīrzada*, 'descendants of a saint' or Mashaik, 'venerable.' The saints claim descent from Fātima, daughter of the Prophet, and as religious teachers, soldiers and adventurers flocked to India with the Muhammadan armies. "They tell a tale that the angel Jabral or Gabriel had descended from heaven with the divine revelation, held a sheet over

* Lewis Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, page 479.
† Lewis Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pages 479-480.

Panjtan-i-pak, the Five Holy Ones, Muhammad, Ālī, Fātima, Hassan and Hussain and exclaimed, 'O Muhammad! The Almighty showers His blessings upon thee, and ordains that thou and the offspring of the four who sit with thee shall henceforth be Sayyids." It is not possible to say how many of the present Sayyids belong to the true foreign stock, but probably their number is small.* Many of them occupy a quasi-religious position as Pirs or spiritual guides in wealthy families, and support themselves on alms and gifts. The men take the title of Sayyid or Mir, that is Amīr, 'leader' before their names or Shah or 'prince' after them, while the women add the title Begum or 'lady'.

*Shaikh*, 'venerable leader,' is a term which is applied only to those of pure Arab descent, and the name is specially applied to three branches of the Quraish tribe from which the prophet was born.

*Mughal.*—The term Mughal is a form of the name Mongol, the race that invaded India after the campaigns of Chengiz Khan. It is now applied to the followers of Bābar or those who were attracted to India by his successors. They are generally divided into two groups, Persian and Chagatai, the Turkish tribe to which Bābar belonged. Bernier explains that in the time of Aurangzib the name was applied to 'white men, foreigners and Muhammadans.' They prefix to their name the title of Mirza, Amīrzāda, 'leader-born,' and the women use the title of Khanam, 'lady.'

*Pathan.*—The name Pathan is a corrupted form of Pashtānā or Pakhtānā, speakers of Pashto, a language current beyond the North-west territories in the Trans-Indus Districts as far south as Dera-Ismail Khan. It is popularly applied to certain tribes on

*Abdul Wajid, an Islamic scholar says, that the word Sayyid is nowhere used in the sense in which it is used in India.

the north-west border-land. It is synonymous with Rohilā or Rohela, an inhabitant of the Roh or mountain tracts. It is said that the term has been erroneously applied to the Sultans of Delhi from 1206-1450. At the present time, gangs of traders known as Pathan continue the custom, which has prevailed from time immemorial, of flocking into the Indian plains with their *Powindas* (Pavinda-nomads) or in caravan when the passes are open.

There are, among the Musalmans, less important groups some of which deserve mention. The term Navāyat was supposed to mean 'new comers' but it is more probably derived from Nait,* a branch of the Arabian Quaraish tribe who are supposed to have been expelled from Iraq or Mesopotamia in the eighth century A.D. and to have migrated to Southern India. Those on the west coast have preserved the purity of blood by avoiding intermarriages with Indians, and for a time they refused to ally themselves with the highest Musalman families.

Musalmans are divided into two main sects, the Sunni and the Shiah.† "The former term signifies 'one of the path' (a traditionalist) and the latter a follower, that is to say, of Ali cousin-german of

* NAIT was the son of Navat-bin-Kanana, and his other son was Malik and fourteenth in descent from him (Malik) was the Prophet Muhammad.—*Tarikhun-Navayat* by Nawat Azizjung p. 30.

† The Shias contend that Ali should have succeeded after the demise of the Prophet. The Shias are not known as Thinvaris, as they do not recognize the three Caliphs at all. They are known as Imamias or Isna-ashris, as they believe in the sanctity of the twelve Imams. The difference between the Shias and the Sunnis is not doctrinal at all. It is more ritual.

The tradition had been collected long before the difference between Shias and the Sunnis became pronounced, and no tradition had the force of superceding the Koran's injunctions which no sect in Islam could ignore.

It is not correct to say that the Shias go to Kerbala in preference to going to Mecca. The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the fundamental institutions of the Muslim faith, and could not be ignored, Going to Medina or Kerbala is optional. But both Shias and Sunnis visit these places as of importance in Islam—***Abdul Wajid.***

the prophet and husband of his daughter, Fatima. The Shias, on the other hand, maintain that Ali was the first legitimate Imam divinely illuminated and preserved (*ma' sum*) from sin and they accordingly reject the first three Khalifas recognized by the Sunnis, Abu Baker, Umar, and Usman." Hence the Sunnis are called *Chāryāri*, 'those who follow the four,' the Shias, *Tinyari*, 'those who follow the the three Khalifas.' Shias are also called *Imamiya*, the Imam being the rightful leader of the faithful, while the Sunnis call them Rāfizī or 'forsakers of the truth.' The list of the twelve Shiah Imams* begins with Ali and ends with Muhammad Alaskārī, the Imam Mahdi, who was for the present withdrawn from the world, but it is believed, that he will appear again in the last days. The religious life of the Shiah centres round a body of traditions, beliefs and observances which have their source in Āli, Fātima and their sons Hāsan and Hussain who with the Prophet make up the venerated Panjtan-i-pak, the Five Holy Ones. Āli is revered as the vicar or even the incarnation of Allah. The difference between these two sects is partly religious and partly

* The twelve Shiah Imams are : (1) Murtuza Ali died at Kufa, A. D. 660 ; (2) Imam Hasan born A. D. 625 ; (3) Imam Husain A. D. 626 ; (4) Zainul-Abidin, A. D. 653 ; (5) Muhammad Bakir, A. D. 675 ; (6) Jaffar Sādik, A. D. 698 ; (7) Musi Kazim, A. D. 745 ; (8) Musi Rāza, A. D. 770 ; (9) Taki Abu Jafar, A. D. 810 ; (10) Abdul Hassan Askir, A. D. 820 ; (11) Abu Muhammad Askari, A. D. 845 ; (12) Al Mehdi, 897.

The four Sunni Imams are :—Shafi, A. D. 767-819 ; A Bu Hanila, A. D. 700-733 ; Malik, A. D. 708-713 ; and Hambal who are jurists. The last was born A. D. 700 ; date of death unknown.

"The four Sunni Imams have given rise to the four schools, the Hanafi, Shafai, Maliki, and Hambali. The Arabs belong to the Shafi School ; Sunni Muhammadans of Guzerat are Hanafis."

"When praying with a *Jammat* of the Sunnis the Shia deports himself according to the orthodox part of the company in obedience to the Shia doctrine of *takiyyah*, literally fear or caution. When the Shias are in a minority, they practise this doctrine and while acting upon, they vilify their own sect, if personal security requires."

*Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari 338 quoted in Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, page 90.*

social. The Sunni makes pilgrimages to the holy cities Mecca and Medina and the Shiah to Karbala or Mashhad-ul-Husain, the scene of martyrdom about fifty miles south-west of Baghdad and six miles west of the river Euphrates. Shias recognize the Mujtahid or 'learned doctors', the highest order of Muslim divines, while the Sunnis say, that in the present condition of Islam, they cannot be appointed. Shīas observe the Muhram festival, in which only the less strict Sunnis join. Some sects of Shias include among the *Ahlu-l-kitab* or 'men of the book' the *Majusi* or Magi worshippers in addition to Jews and Christians. Shias admit the principle of *Taqia*'* ('guarding on self)' that is, they are justified in minimizing or denying the peculiarities of their religious beliefs in order to avoid persecution. Among differences in the forms of prayer, it may be noted that Shias add to the Azan or bang, the call to prayer, the word 'Come to the best of works' 'Come to the best of works,' and repeat the last sentence: 'There is no God but 'Allah' twice instead of once as the Sunnis do. During the Qiyam or standing posture in prayer, the Shias keep their hands on either side of the body, not on the navel or breast. They usually omit

* TAQIA—It is a hiding of one's belief to escape persecution, and was recognized on the strength of the verse: Let not the believers take unbelievers for friends rather than believers, and whoever does this he shall have nothing of the guardianship of Allah, you should guard yourself against them guarding carefully, 3.27; but the later and correct interpretation is that such a course of conduct is not warranted by the verse, and it has been given up. The martyr Hussain did not hide his contempt for Yezid even to escape death.

Mujtahid means a legislator. All the followers of Islam, not only the Shias, recognize the necessity of Mujtahids. Islam prohibited questions relating to details on many points which would require this or that practice to be made obligatory, and much was left to individual will or the circumstances of time and place.

'O ye who believe, do not put questions about things, which if declared to you may trouble you, and if you question about them when the Quran is being revealed, they shall be declared to you. Allah pardons this, Allah is forgiving, forbearing' 5.101.

the *Subhan* or blessing, and at the *Takbir-i-ruku* or bending the body, they add, 'Ard with His praise.' In the creed they add 'Āli is the Prophet of Allah'.*

The differences on account of the Caliphate were more political than religious. It was more a struggle for political power than one for spiritual superiority. As far as character, piety and erudition went, the spiritual headship lay with the Bani Fātima Āli and his lineal descendants as possible rivals to the throne. Those in actual power did everything in their power to put them out of the way. Most of the Imāms met their death by poison. The Abbaside Caliph Mootazad Billah must have uttered a sigh of relief when he heard of the last Imām Muhamad Abdul Khasim as reported to have mircaulously disappeared as he is believed to have done, while it is more probable that he was secretly done away with after the death of Imām Hasan Askari in 200. A. H. Neither differences nor parties in the beginning were so pronounced as they were later on. Muhammad, son of Abubaker fought under the banner of Alī in what is termed as the battle of camels against Ayesha, the wife of the prophet. Alī himself had ordered during the fight that she should not be molested in the fight and after the victory, gave her every help to reach Medina. Ayesha confessed on her deathbed that her behaviour after the prophet's death was not such as he could approve of and directed that she should not be buried near the prophet's tomb, but near that of her sister's.

The Caliphate of Bagdad came to an end at the hands of the barbarian Haliku Khan, the Tartar in 656 A. H. 1267 A. D. Imamate, office of the vicar of the prophet, like Apostleship, is general command

* *Census Report, Panjab* 1891, Elliot-Dowson VII, 420, 427. There is much enmity between the two sects on the North-West Frontier: Rose II, 279.

and authority over the whole world in matters spiritual and temporal.

After the death of the Prophet. hot dissensions arose among the people about his successor, called by various names as Vice-gerent, Imām, Heir or Caliph. Some admitted the need of it, but held it was not necessary for God or the Prophet to appoint such a successor, and accordingly the Prophet did not do so, and it was open to them to elect anyone they pleased by mutual consent and counsel. Besides this, at a later stage, other methods of appointment were also held to be valid. A caliph could appoint a successor after him by his will or decree. Victory and subjugation were also recognized to be valid. Whoever got the best of the circumstances, and became a ruler by force, his caliphate was valid. One sect however holds that the caliphate can be valid only by appointment made by God or by his deputy on earth, the prophet. None has a right and power to elect and appoint a caliph but God or his Prophet. The community has no right in the matter. This sect holding caliphate to be a matter of the prophet's decree and ordination is called the Shias. All other sects who do not hold such ordination necessary are called Sunnis.*

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.

At the Census of 1921, the Musalmans of Mysore were distributed over the various districts, as also in the towns of Bangalore and Mysore and the Bangalore Military Station as given below :—

| Districts | Shaikh | Sayyid | Pathan |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bangalore City .. .. .. | 7,659 | 2,634 | 1,619 |
| Bangalore District .. .. .. | 12,076 | 1,343 | 10,184 |
| Kolar Gold Fields .. .. .. | 3,177 | 1,181 | 779 |
| Kolar District .. .. .. | 25,826 | 11,759 | 7,397 |
| Tumkur District .. .. .. | 20,143 | 5,741 | 6,015 |
| Mysore City .. .. .. | 3,972 | 1,380 | 971 |
| Mysore District .. .. .. | 18,742 | 5,464 | 5,469 |

* Badsha Hussain ; *Islām in the light of Shiaism*, 48, 49.

| Districts | Shaikh | Sayyid | Pathan |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chitaldrug District .. .. | 18,742 | 4,939 | 2,436 |
| Hassan District .. .. .. | 11,033 | 3,132 | 2,280 |
| Kadur District .. .. .. | 9,917 | 2,195 | 1,356 |
| Sringeri .. .. .. | 103 | 19 | 3 |
| Shimoga District .. .. .. | 2,283 | 5,487 | 4,293 |
| Bangalore Civil and Military Station .. | 15,681 | 3,573 | 3,114 |

The taluks having a population of more than two thousands are given below :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bangalore District— | | Chitaldrug District— | |
| Bangalore City .. | 10,587 | Harihar (Sub-division) | 3,435 |
| Clospet (Sub-division) | 3,936 | Molkalmuru .. .. | 2,509 |
| Hoskote .. .. | 6,507 | Davangere .. .. | 4,729 |
| Channapatna .. | 6,229 | Hassan District— | |
| Kolar District— | | Manjarabad .. .. | 2,417 |
| Kolar Gold Fields .. | 3,103 | Belur .. .. | 2,659 |
| Kolar Town .. | 6,926 | Arsikere .. .. | 2,885 |
| Srinivaspur .. | 5,134 | Kadur District— | |
| Chintamani .. | 4,928 | Chikmagalur .. .. | 5,654 |
| Tumkur District— | | Tarikere .. .. | 3,854 |
| Kunigal .. .. | 6,924 | Shimoga District— | |
| Sira .. .. | 4,624 | Kumsi (Sub-division) .. | 2,774 |
| Mysore District— | | Shimoga .. .. | 8,701 |
| Mysore City .. | 12,825 | Shikarpur .. .. | 5,372 |
| Hunsur .. .. | 5,803 | Civil and Military Station, | |
| T.-Narsipur .. | 3,852 | Bangalore .. .. | 22,786 |
| Seringapatam .. | 4,524 | | |

INCREASE OF POPULATION.

From the distribution of population given above, it may be seen, that the Musalmans residing in towns form more than a third of the population. The foreign tribes, Awan, Gujar, Jat, Labbai, Mappilla who are more or less sojourners may be left out in tracing the growth of the indigenous population. The Mughuls 8 151 and Pathans 44,689 seem to be the only numerous indigenous tribes probably descended from the Dekhani Musalman adventurers who hailed from Bijapur after the disruption of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the sixteenth century. The Mughul occupation of Sira meant a good deal, and extensive conversions of Tippu Sultan were

responsible for the addition of numbers of Musalmans in the eighteenth century. It may also be herein noted that most of the Musalmans of the State are Sunnis. It must also be noted, that in the Bijapur Musalman invasion of Mysore in 1687 under Randhulhakhan and Shaji, the father of the famous Sivaji, the Bednur and Benkipur country was thoroughly overrun. By settlement, conquest and conversions, there were considerable numbers of Musalmans employed in the military and other services of Mysore, Bednur and Chitaldrug, and other provinces at the time of Haider's usurpation in 1761, so much so that a Navayat Musalman is said to have commanded the forces of Bednur in the decisive battle of Mayakonda (Chitaldrug District) in 1748 against Madikere Naik, the Poligar of Chitaldrug. Further, for each decade, the rate of increase has been far larger than that of the Hindu population. The rule regarding the rate of increase after a famine corresponds with that of the Hindus. The total increase during forty years since 1881 in the Musalman population in round numbers has been 140 thousand or sixty-nine per cent, considerably larger than the thirty-eight per cent of the Hindu population. The increase of Islam largely depends upon other causes. In these days, direct propaganda is one factor to some extent. Partly it may be attributed to the higher vitality of the Musalman as compared with that of the Hindu, the result of his connection with the more virile races of Central Asia, and of his more nutritious diet which includes meat in some form. But the chief reason seems to be that his social customs are more favourable to a higher birth rate than those of the Hindu. He is generally a town-dweller and he is thus less exposed to the danger of famine than the Hindu peasant. He is subject to fewer restrictions on

marriage. Early or infant marriage is less common, and widows are freely allowed to marry. There is thus a larger proportion of wives among the Musalmans than among the Hindus. A large proportion of the Musalmans are converts from the animistic castes or tribes in modern times as in ancient times.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

Islam in its orthodox type does not permit of the differentiation of its followers into castes. In theory at least, all Musalmans are brethren, and can eat together. Endogamy prevails among certain tribes and castes, particularly in the case of those families who claim Arabic or Persian lineage; there is nothing to prevent intermarriage with strangers. But among the class of Musalman converts from Hinduism, the laws of endogamy and exogamy are still in force, and the rules which prohibit eating and drinking with strangers to the group are observed.

Among the prohibited degrees are the following: consanguinity,—mother, grand-mother, sister, niece, aunt; affinity—mother-in-law, step-daughters, granddaughter and fosterage with the wife's sister during the life time of the wife unless she is divorced; of the wife of another until the period of probation (*iddat*) has expired, three months after divorce, four months and ten days after widowhood; with polytheists who do not include Jews and Christians. It is considered desirable that a man should take as his first wife a virgin bride of the same social standing as himself, and preferably of the same division or tribe. As regards subsequent wives, there is no restriction whatever. There are no exogamous groups. Marriage of persons very closely related is forbidden. But the marriage of first cousins, whether children of brothers or sisters is considered very desirable, failing which, an alliance is preferred with some family, with which they have

already had marriage relations. It is sometimes said that marriage of first cousins is to keep the family free from foreign blood, and to retain in the family the property inherited by the young couple. Marriage is generally settled by dower or settlement (*mahar*, *sadqua nuhl*). The latter is not the exchange or consideration given by the man to the woman for entering into the contract; but it is imposed by law on the husband as a token of respect for the woman. Marriage by purchase is not common. Temporary marriages (*muta*, *sigha nikah-i-muwaaqqat*) are sometimes contracted for a limited period and they are recognized by Shias, a practice which has done much to demoralize the community. They were forbidden, but afterwards in part sanctioned by the Prophet.*

Boys are generally married between sixteen and twenty-one, and girls between ten and eighteen. If a girl belongs to the family of a friend or acquaintance, intermediaries are not required, the negotiations being conducted by the senior ladies of both families. According to the law, a boy should be married at puberty, and a girl at twelve. The age limit varies in different parts of India. When the family connections, pedigree, religion and customs are found to correspond, and parties consent to the union, astrologers are consulted to find out whether the union will be happy or otherwise. Omens are also consulted by the perusal of a verse taken at random from the Koran or the works of a poet Hafiz, known as Fal, and Istikhāra or attempts are made to ascertain the will of the deity by praying for a dream.

* Quoran IV, 28. Hartland Primitive Fraternity: II, 6, E. R. E. 1815.

Feroz Shah Bahmani (A. D. 1397-1422) raised a controversy on the subject, the Sunni divines denying its legality, the Shias maintaining that it was allowed during the time of the Prophet and of his first Kalifa, and though it was abrogated by the second Kalifa, it was still legal. The king accepted the reasoning of the Shias, received into his harem 300 women in one day.—Ferishta II, 384.

When the parties are eligible, no omens are consulted. It is said a good act needs no Istikhāra. In Mysore as in other parts of South India, when the astrologer predicts that the prospects are good, some women of the youth's family visit the girl's house, and say that they are come to eat sweet stew (*mitha pulao*) and sugared rice (*shakar bhat*). If the bride's parents are well disposed, they give a pleasant answer. If not, the matter comes to an end. The women do not settle the business at the first interview. But after a few weeks, if everything goes on well, a date is fixed 'for the distribution of betel standing' (*khare-pan*), 'the sugar bringing' (*shakarana*) or 'the asking' (*mangni*). These three customs are not followed by all. The first is less expensive and followed by the poor. The second is followed by the middle classes, and the last is the most expensive, because valuable presents must be given.

Many observances are included in the betrothal.* There is first the ceremony of 'distributing betel standing.' The bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and exchange betel leaves, each receiving one in return. No presents are given, and the women call this ceremony the taking up of the betel (*pan uthāna*). In the 'sugar-bringing' rite, the youth sends to the girl certain articles of dress, bangles, perfumes and flowers. The first relation of the girl who meets the party, receives the 'contract betel' (*qaul bira*), and then her friends make the following announcement—A, son of B, is betrothed to C, daughter of D. Declare before the friends whether you do or do not agree to the marriage. He replies that he assents, and the question and answer are repeated three times. Then

* The betrothal is not binding and gives no right. It is only in the nature of an agreement to a further contract. It is only the marriage tie that gives rights and obligations.—*Abdul Wajid.*

the prayer of good will is repeated (*niyyat khair ka fātiha*), that is the first chapter of the Koran followed by the hundred and tenth. 'When the help of God and the victory arrive and thou seest men enter the religion of God in troops, then utter the praise of thy Lord, for He loveth to turn in mercy.' These rites are performed by the *qazi* or assistant law-officer, the *khatib* or preacher or the *nāib-i-qāzi*, or assistant law-officer by a Mashāik or reverend man or by a Mulla or Maulvi, doctors of the law. In some cases, the engagement by giving betel is dispensed with, and only the Fātiha is said, he who recites it, naming the couple, and saying 'hereby I betroth you.' The betel and sugar are then divided and the gifts sent by the bridegroom are given to the bride who sits modestly, her head bent to the ground, her eyes closed and her face covered. Then the lady friends of the bridegroom anoint with perfumed oil, tie up her hair with a red string sent by the bridegroom, and adorn her with jewels. An old lady of the family holds up her face to view, when each lady takes a look at her, and gives her a ring or some money, and at the same time drawing her hands over her head, and cracking her fingers on her own temples so as to take away any ill luck on her own head (*balaen lena tasadduq*). The rite is known as the 'sugar-eating' (*shakarkhori*), the betrothal (*nisbat*), the asking (*mangni*), the sherbet-drinking (*sharbatkhori*), and the 'green creeper' (*hari bel*).

In some places, the 'asking' forms a special rite, when presents (*charhauwa, charhawa*) are given to the bride, and when they are accepted, betrothal takes place.*

If it is necessary to postpone the wedding after

* *Census Report of India*, 1911 : E. R. E. VII, 866.

betrothal, the ceremony of 'threshold-treading' (*dahliz khundlana*) is performed.*

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Marriage is known as *byah, shādi* being the rejoicings accompanying the rite. Marriage celebrations are supposed to begin with reciprocal sending of gifts or *sāchaq*, and from that day the pair are called bride and bridegroom, Dulhā, Dulhin. The second day is called *mendhi hinnabandi* or 'henna mendhī day' because both are anointed with the plant *Lawsonia alba*. With this is usually combined the rubbing with Haldi or turmeric when the pair sit in state (*manja manjhā or baithna*). "This rubbing with henna or turmeric seems partly a form of initiation, partly protective and stimulating or fertilizing, and when the condiment used by one of the pair is sent to be used in anointing the other, it is a charm to promote union." It is a common rite among the Hindus from whom it was borrowed by Musalmans. Hence a taboo is attached to these plants. Saffron owing to its colour is connected with fertility.

Each of the pair provides the dress of the other, and the measurement is made by a tailor who attends at their houses or some old lady of the family each of whom receives a gift. The measuring for the foot dress is known as foot service or feet exalting (*panw minnat, panw mez*).

Before the wedding begins, a mandwā (*pandal*), is put up at each house, and in it six or seven water pots (*kalas kā mat jhol kā ghara*) are placed as is the Hindu rule. These pots are smeared with sandal paste, and they are placed in the shed pointing to the right side of the house. Grain is also scattered probably as a fertility charm. The pots are filled

* This custom is not in vogue in Mysore. There is no restriction to the bride-groom going to the mother-in-law's house or eating there before marriage.—*Abdul Wajid.*

with curdled milk (*dahi*) and large cakes, the tops being covered with a red cloth. Four happily married women known as 'ladies of the marriage shed' do the smearing with sandal paste, and when they have put into them a little of perfumed powder, they cover them with a wheaten cake. At both houses food is prepared, and over it *fātihā* is said in the names of the Prophet, the saints and the deceased ancestors, and women of the house who died before their husbands. The food is given to the ladies of rank who are noted for virtue. These are called 'partakers of the dish of the lady Fātima,' the model of wifely virtues. It is then distributed among others. When the 'shed of the ladies' is erected, after the *fātiha* has been said, they spread a red cloth on the carpet, tie a red string round the top handle of a flour stone mill (*chaki*), mark it all with sandal paste, place it on the carpet, when seven happily married women in the shed of the bridegroom, and nine in that of the bride sing, 'the songs of the mill' which are usually sung at weddings. Then the mill is set going, and the perfumed powder (*chiksa*) used at the wedding is ground in it. When this is ready, they tie up some of the powder in a corner of each woman's garment, put a little of it in the water pots, and rub the rest on the bride and bridegroom. This powder rite is called 'renown of the mill' (*chakkī nawārī namāwarī*). These are peculiar to women who regard them as of greater importance than the Koran and the Traditions.

Gifts (*bari sāchaq*) consisting of food, articles of dress and ornaments are sent to the bride. They are carried to her house by a party of the bridegroom's friends accompanied by music while the ladies follow the procession in litters. When the presents arrive, they are handed to the friends of the bride. Rich people give a dinner. Some people combine

with this the sending of the dowry, 'the rice of chastity' and 'the lifting of oil pots.' In the evening, food known as 'coloured gifts' (*rangbarī*) is sent by the bride to the bridegroom. These practices are being given up, partly due to economic stringency, but mostly due to enlightenment.

When the invitations have been issued for the procession of the bridegroom, the men are feasted apart, and the ladies in the women's apartments. After dinner, the women go to the bride's house and do the rite of 'winnowing the rice of chastity' (*pal kā chāwal charhanā charwānk*). They put a couple of pounds of raw rice in a red handkerchief, and with a heavy wooden pestle (*mūsal*) to which a packet of betel leaves is attached, they get the women including the bride to make a pretence of husking it, while they sing the usual songs. After this, the rite of the 'oil pot offering' is done at the bridegroom's house.

The bridegroom then goes in procession with his party to the bride's house, where they are well received. Before the bridegroom alights from the horse, the bride's brother gives him hot milk or sherbet, so that his married life may be sweet. A cocoanut is dashed on the ground before him, and lemons are cut and thrown over his head to the four points of the compass to scare away evil spirits. In some places, if the hour at which he reaches the house is auspicious, the *nikah* is done at once, otherwise it is postponed to the fourth hour after The *nikah* is performed as soon as the bridegroom comes. The *Qazi* or law officer or his deputy attends, and some of the youth's lady friends are brought in litters. The *Qazi* appoints two men of full age as witnesses (*gawah*) on the part of the bridegroom, and orders them to go to the bride's friends, and ask them to give orders for the *nikah*, and to state the amount of the *mahr* or marriage settlement required.

When these men have given their message, a *wakil* or agent returns with them to negotiate on the part of the bride's relation. According to the Law, the *mahr* or settlement consists of two parts: *muwajjal* 'prompt,' demandable on entering into the contract; *muwajjal* 'deferred,' payable on dissolution of the contract. The former is not usually paid at marriage, but it is a guarantee of the good conduct of the bridegroom, as he must pay it in the case of divorce due to his fault. At this time also it is settled whether the presents of jewellery made before his marriage are to be the property of husband or wife in the event of separation or divorce.

When the amount of settlement is fixed, the *Qazi* informs the bridegroom, and asks whether he accepts the terms. When he agrees, the *Qazi* having taken the veils (*miqnā siharā*) from his face, up to which time they must be worn, makes him gurgle his throat three times with water, and seating him with his face towards Qibla or Mecca makes him repeat first the deprecation (*astaghfār-ullah*); 'I ask forgiveness of God' secondly, the four Quls, *i.e.*, the four chapters of the Koran beginning with the word; say (109, 112, 113, 114) which have nothing to say to marriage, but seem to be selected only on account of their brevity; the five clauses of the *Kalima* or creed, the articles of belief (*sifat-i-kalima-iman*), belief in God, in His angels, in the Scriptures, in the Prophet, in the resurrection and day of judgment, in the absolute decree and predestination of good and evil and 'the prayer of praise' (*dui a-i-qunut*). If he be illiterate, they are explained to him in Hindustani. Then having made him repeat the marriage contract (*nikah-ka-sigha-aqd-i-nikah*) in Arabic, and having explained its meaning, he desires the *wakil* of the bride and bridegroom to join hands together, and directs the former to say

to the latter, so and so's daughter, so and so by the agency of her representative and the testimony of two witnesses, has in her marriage with you had such a settlement made upon her.* Do you consent to it? The bridegroom replies, 'With my whole heart and soul to my marriage with this lady, as well as to the already-made settlement made upon her, I do consent, consent, consent.' During the performance of the *nikah*, a tray is placed before the *qazi* containing sugar-candy, dried dates, almond and betel.

In some places, a couple of pounds of raw rice and sandalwood paste are put in a cup with a necklace of two strings of black beads (*patkā lachā*) in it, and in the tray is laid the *Qazi's* fees, two and a half rupees with clothes and other gifts.

After the *nikah*, the *Qazi* offers up a prayer on behalf of the bride and bridegroom. "Oh great God, grant that mutual love may reign between the couple, as between Adam and Hawwa or Eve, Ebrahim or Abraham and Sara, between Yuseph or Joseph and Zulaikha, wife of Potiphar, Moses and Zafura or Zipporah." He then takes the contents of the tray, and handing the sugar-candy and beads to the bride-groom's mother or some other lady, he tells her to take them to the bride, and inform her that from this day, she must consider herself married to so and so, son of so and so, that such and such a jointure has been settled upon her, that she is to wear the necklace as a sign of wedlock, and eat the sugar-candy as an emblem of the sweets of married life. On hearing this, the bride weeps or is supposed to weep. The black bead necklace is tied by the females. In the men's room, the bridegroom falls upon the necks of his friends,

* This portion is not adhered to generally when the parties are educated.—*Abdul Wajid.*

kisses their hands, and receives congratulations. Even were he a slave, on this occasion he would be allowed to embrace the men present. On the departure of the *Qazi*, the musicians strike up a loud discordant peal in order to scare evil spirits and the friends of the bridegroom are treated to a feast. The bridegroom along with his blood and marriage relations enters the room, a red cloth being spread on the floor for him to walk on, and a red cloth canopy is held over their heads as they walk in. They are also treated to a sumptuous feast, after which betel nuts, flowers, and rose water are handed round, and the guests take their leave, only the near relations remaining with the bridegroom. According to the Koran and Traditions, marriage depends upon three facts: the assent of the parties, the evidence of the witnesses, the marriage settlement. If any of these are wanting, the marriage is void. Men of wealth pay usually the whole or one-third of the settlement at the time of marriage, the poor by instalments. Before the bridegroom leaves the men's room, and enters that of the women, her friends adorn the bride to receive her husband. This is the 'displaying' of the bride. In Mysore, as in other parts of the Madras Presidency, after the *nikah* is over, the bride's veil *siharā* is sent from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride with a procession of women and music. These women are treated to a feast. At the displaying of the bride, her relations attend on her. In the afternoon, the tire-woman (*mashshāta*) fastens the veil on the bride's head, brings her in, and seats her on a bed. The bridegroom is made to seat opposite to her with a red screen hung between the pair. The tire-woman holding a piece of red string puts it with some raw rice in the bride's hand and helps her to throw it over the curtain on her husband's

head. The bridegroom's sister ties a ring to the end of the thread, and putting it with some rice in her brother's hand, makes him throw over the curtain on the bride's head. The ring is thrown three times backwards and forwards, a marriage song (*hajūluhā*) being sung all the time, and the tire-woman tells the husband to remove the curtain. The pair sit on the bed side by side, while the tire-woman makes jokes. When the sister or mother of the bridegroom asks her to show his wife's face to him, she says: 'the bride eclipses the moon in beauty. Were I to allow him to have a single glance, the poor fellow would go mad.' In Mysore as in other parts of the Madras Presidency, the bride's brother calls the husband to the bride's room about dawn. No woman unveils except near relations.

When the husband goes away with his wife, he rides, as he did when he came to fetch her, and she is seated in a litter (*miyāna*). At the door he lifts her out and carries her inside in his arms, so that she may not touch the threshold. Here his sister meets him and demands him that she shall have the first daughter born as the wife of her son, to which he replies that she may have the first daughter of his bond-maid or of his cat. After a little opposition, he promises to give his daughter. A fowl or sheep is sacrified in the name of the couple, and the meat is given to the poor. After, the bride washes her husband's feet in sandalwood and water, and he does the same for her. Then they retire to the nuptial chamber. The best time for entering it is said to be between midnight and dawn.

On the third or the fourth day after the wedding, the marriage bracelet is untied (*kangan kholna*), the rite on the third day being called *bahora*, on the fourth *chauthi* in Mysore. The bracelet consists of a few pearls, some grains of raw rice, flowers

and a quarter rupee piece tied up in red cloth and fastened by a red thread to the right hand of the bride and bridegroom on the night of the procession. On this occasion, the relatives and others are invited and treated to a feast.

The rite of 'resumption of the use of the hands' (*hāth bartāna*) takes place three or four days after the removal of the marriage bracelets. Sometimes it is deferred to the *jumagi*, the fifth or the last day of the honeymoon, and until this is done, the pair are not allowed to do any work. On the day appointed, the pair with all their relatives and friends are invited by sending round cardamom seeds or in some other way already described. The bride's relatives with them bring to the husband's house food, betel, flowers, a handkerchief and a ring. As a matter of form, they make the pair cook a couple of butter cakes (*pūri*), and afterwards do some light work, such as lifting a pot of water, swinging a net (*chinka*) in which food is kept out of the reach of cats or rats, stirring the stew with a skimmer and unlocking a trunk in which they put some rupees. Before cake making, the husband is obliged to unwind a thread twisted round some of the cakes. If he is sharp, he does it quickly and easily, but if he delays, his brother-in-law or his sister-in-law pelts him. After this, the pair are made to break some flour balls, some of which they eat out of each other's hands, and give the rest to the ladies present. A feast follows at which the friends of the bridegroom give dresses to the bride's father, mother and sister. Feasts are given on *jumai* or five Fridays of the honeymoon, on the first at the bride's house, on the three following, there or at the house of some near relative, on the fifth at the husband's house. Much is thought of these Fridays' dinners, and if they are not given, a man

seldom visits his father-in-law. At her parent's house, she wears a veil (*ghūnghat*) in the presence of the males of the family. For two or three years she must not address her husband in the presence of the house elders.

According to the precepts of the Prophet, on whom be peace, Musalmans are allowed by the Koran and a tradition to have four wives. "One quarrels with you, two are sure to involve you in their quarrels; when you have three, factions are formed against her you love best; but four find society and occupation among themselves leaving the husband in peace." Wives there be four; there is bed-fellow, Muckheap, Gadabout and Queen of women. The more is the pity that the last is one in a hundred. Most men have only one wife, a few two or three, scarcely any, four. In practice, except among wealthy Musalmans, a second wife is very rarely taken, unless the first is barren or suffers from incurable disease.*

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a Musalman girl attains her age for the first time, she is said to be 'grown up' (*balig honā*), to have her head dirty for the first time (*pahlē sir maila hona*) owing to the prohibition against bathing during this period or to mix with those who are grown up (*baron men milnā*) and becoming unfit for prayers. The illness at the lunar periods is expressed by the approach of the menses (*haiz āna*), the arrival of the season for bathing (*nihāni ana*), the head becoming dirty (*sir maila hona*), becoming unfit for prayers (*binamāzi ānā*), and becoming unclean, (*nāpāk honā*). Among Musalman girls as among Hindu girls, the time for puberty is between twelve

* Herklot : Islam in India, Chapter VIII, pages 57-85.
*Vide* Enthoven, R. E. : Bombay Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, Pages 84—89.

and fourteen, and the function continues till the fortieth or in some cases the forty-fifth year. A girl at the first menstruation is confined in a private room, and the women who are invited return home after spending time in music. For seven days she is kept shut up in this room, and she is not allowed to go out, to do any sort of work or to bathe. The custom is dying out. During this time, her diet consists of rice boiled with pulse (*khichari*), fish, flesh, salt and acid foods being prohibited. On the seventh day she is bathed. The married women as before assemble in the morning, hold a red cloth as a canopy, take a small vessel with a spout (*badhni*), either plain or decorated with a paint, fasten a packet of betel leaves with a red thread to the neck of the pot, drop into it four or five fruits of the two kinds of myrobalan, and each woman pours water from it twice over the girl's head. Before the women do this, their laps are filled with cakes, betel, and sandlwood is rubbed on their necks. On the same evening, a feast is given, and the girl is adorned with glass bangles and dressed in her best. They keep vigil during the night to guard against evil spirits. This practice is dying out. It is only the Hindu custom. On this occasion, she is usually given a present of clothes, and she is wreathed with flowers. But it is only the lower classes who make this public and more respectable people do simply announce the event.

When a boy on arriving at his twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth year or as some say, at the age of eighteen, experiences a *pollutio nocturna*, he must conform to the duties of his religion, regarding prayer, fasting, alms-giving and pilgrimage. This is also the rule for girls. Previous to this period, that is, during childhood, all their good and evil deeds are laid to the charge of their parents, but

after this they are responsible for their own actions. When the youth is overtaken with *pollutio in somno*, he must perform the *ghusa* or major ablution by bathing on the following morning, for until he has purified in this way, it is unlawful for him to eat, pray, touch the Koran or go to the mosque. The rules also extend to other ablutions of which there are four; after *pollutio nocturna* (*Ihtilām*), which was abrogated by Akbar; after coitus (*jimā*); after menses (*haiz*); after puerperium (*nifas*). The period to which the first and the second may be deferred is nine or ten in the morning; the last should be deferred till the discharge has ceased, but some ignorant women have fixed it for the fortieth day after childhood. The bathing is done thus: After slightly wetting the body, and reciting some short prayers appointed for this purpose, the boy gurgles his throat three times, then he bathes wetting the whole body and uttering the following sentences in Arabic—"I desire by ablution to purify my whole body for prayer, and to remove all my inward filth and corruptions." Some ignorant or vulgar people first throw three pots of water on the head, then three on the right shoulder, then three on the left, and having taken a little water in the hand, either after or without reciting the Durud or blessing, they sprinkle it on the clothes which are thus purified. In the complete ablution, the water must be pure, and not less than a certain quantity, and it must touch every part of the skin beginning with the right side of the person and ending with the left. Hence among Arabs a plunge bath is generally preferred. All these formalities are not now observed.*

The Khalif or Sultan has no more rights than an ordinary Musalman. No concubines are allowed and the children of concubinage are not recognized.

* Herklot's Islam in India, Chapter VII, pages 53-55.

Among the Musalmans as among the Hindus, the craving for a male heir is very intense. A daughter is a little more than a gift to a neighbour, and is therefore less preferred. Barrenness in a woman is believed to be due to spirit possession. Exorcists often give their applicants cardamoms or cloves or pieces of candied sugar on which some mystic and powerful names of God are blown, and they are supposed to possess the virtue of casting out the spirit of barrenness. Various charms and amulets are recommended to ward off barrenness. PREGNANCY RITES.

When a conception is announced, the expectant mother is subjected to various taboos, to avoid the attacks of evil spirits. All her cravings for food must be indulged, such as that for eating earth which is supposed to check vomiting. If such things are denied to her, the result will be a miscarriage. Deepāvali or Hindu feast of lights is a specially dangerous time when spirits are abroad. She must not enter a shed used at marriage or other festivities; she must not be present at death or other family rites. She, her husband and her relatives must not take any food during an eclipse, because they are supposed to be attacking the sun or moon. During an Eclipse, the friends should pray and read the Koran, lay grain on a bed and give it to friends. During pregnancy, the woman should not wear the new clothes or ornaments, use eye collyrium, stain her hands or feet with henna or colour her teeth, because such things attract the evil eye. These beliefs do not exist among the educated.

Before the announcement of the first pregnancy, the woman's lap and that of her husband are filled with fruits of various kinds, and her mother sends clothes and the friends are feasted. The *satmāsā*, *Satwānsā*, the rite in the seventh month is the most important. The woman is invited by her

parents who give her new clothes, perfume her with rose water and sandal paste, invite a few friends to a party, sit up with her all night, and scare evil spirits by music and festivity. They press a little of her milk on a yellow cloth, and if a white stain is left, they expect a girl; if it leaves a yellow mark, a boy. At the *namsa* or ninth month, the friends assemble, and the woman is allowed to wear new clothes and jewellery which up to the time she has discarded. Food is cooked in little pots, over which the *fatiha* or the first chapter of the Koran is read in the name of Fātima, daughter of the Prophet, and the food is given to some women who are selected on account of their virtue. Vigil is kept with rejoicings.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

It is a general custom that the first child should be born in the house of the mother's parents. A separate room is set apart, and fire is kept burning in it to defend the mother and child from the jin and evil eye. As among Hindus, charms are used to aid delivery. In the act of delivery, she lies on a quilt spread on the ground with her head north and her feet south, for in the event of her death in childbirth, this is the position in which the Musalmans are buried with the face towards Mecca or she squats on the ground holding the bed, while the midwife rubs her back and presses a broom against her abdomen. "In cases of protracted labour, alms are given to the poor, prayers are said, an amulet is hung on the thigh of the patient, water in which the beard of some holy men has been dipped is administered to her, a charmed potsherd is laid on the abdomen." Generally a doctor is now sent for, and faith in all these is declining.

Immediately after delivery she is made to swallow a small copper coin or a bit of copper to help to expel the placenta. The midwife calls for a piece of

sharpened silver, which she claims as her perquisite after she has severed the cord with it. She then puts the cord into a pot with a copper coin and betel leaf, and buries it in a corner of the room or in a cool place where the water pots are kept, so that the cool damp may cause it to grow and so benefit the child. If the knife is used to cut the cord, it must not be put to any other purpose, but it is left near the patient till the fortieth day, when *kājal* or lamp-black is collected on it and applied to the eyes of the child. As soon as the placenta is removed, they give the woman some *asafœtida* to prevent her from catching cold. A handkerchief is tied on her head, a roller is wound round her abdomen, and she is laid on a bed or on a sheet spread on the ground in a warm room which in rich families is enclosed with curtains, while beside the bed are laid a lemon, leaves of the *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*), a *katar* or dagger knife or other weapon to keep off the devils. They then give her a packet of betel leaves with some myrrh (*bol*) to chew. In some cases, a drink is given to the mother for forty days. It is boiled water in which a red-hot horse shoe or other piece of iron is slaked. In some places, she gets nothing to eat or drink for the first three days. Some give *achhwāni* or *achwāni*, a candle so called because it is made of dry ginger (*sonth*) boiled with soft sugar and butter. After, she is allowed rice seasoned with black pepper. By the tenth or twelfth day, she resumes her ordinary diet. Soon after birth, the midwife gives the baby *ghutti* (a gulp or draught), cleansing medicine made of aloes, spices, borax, or honey water. Whenever the child is bathed or taken out of the house, the knife used to cut the chord is taken with it as protective, and when the child is brought back, the knife is replaced beside the mother, and it is used on the *chilla* or

fortieth day in sacrificing a sheep or a cock. In some families, the mother does not comb the hair for forty days after delivery, but wears a handkerchief on her head.

After the child is washed and swaddled, he is presented to the friends. The *Azan* or *bang*, the call to prayer, is uttered into his right ear, and the *kalima* or creed in his left. This is done by the preacher or Khatib or by a boy who gets a reward for saying Allah-O-Akbar, 'God is very great.' Among rich people a *Mashāik* or venerable man or the *Murshid* or family guide dips his finger in honey or chews a date or a grape, and puts it into the child's mouth before he is put to the breast in order that the wisdom of the sage may be imparted to him. The *Fātiha* is then said, and sugar and betel are distributed. The child is bathed every day and fumigated with the smoke of Ispand (*Peganum harmala*) and lignum aloes, and they tie round its neck pachouli leaves (*pogostemon heyneanus*) and *asafœtida* to prevent the shadow of strangers falling upon it. Whenever the child is bathed, they take some red or yellow dye made of quicklime and turmeric and add to it a few bits of charcoal, all of which the nurse waves three times over the child and throws it away. These superstitions are fast dying out.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

From the birth till the sixth day there is as much festivity as the family can afford. *Chhathi* or the sixth day rite should be done on that day, but it takes place on the seventh or the ninth. When many deaths have occurred in the house, in order to change the luck, they perform it on the third. The selection of the sixth is due to the fact that the occurrence of puerperal fever in the mother and tetanus in the child, this being due to infection during the sloughing of the naval cord and the

lack of sanitary precautions, is generally noticed on the sixth or seventh day, and these maladies are naturally attributed to the dangerous spirit of the sixth, *Chhathi* or *satvali*. The midwife smears the house-floor with yellow or white clay or cowdung, and the woman friends, men taking no part in the rite, send to the mother soap-pods (*Sikakai, ritha, Acasia concinna*) used for cleansing the hair, gingeli or sesamin oil used in anointing the body, before the *chiksa* or perfumed powder is applied with some lamp-black, betel and candle. The child is bathed, a shirt (*kurta*) made of any old article is put on the child in place of the pinafore worn up to that time in order that he may reach old age. Should the midwife be an old woman, she makes the shirt out of her own clothes.

The mother sits on a bed, and she is bathed with a decoction of aromatic herbs, and leaves. A gift is given to the midwife, the liver (*kalejī*) of a sheep is served with rice and pulse, a portion is sent to the absent friends, and the night is spent in amusement. The rite is for all children, not for the first alone. From the evening meal a plateful is laid aside with the object that when the child grows up, he may not covet every kind of food he sees. Should he prove greedy, people say that his dish (*bhandā*) was not properly filled. In the centre of the dish, a four-wick lamp made of flour paste is sometimes lighted, friends drop a coin or two into it, and it is kept all night. The food is called the 'dish of the sixth' (*chhathi-ka-bhanda*) or the vigil (*ratjaga*) or by the vulgar 'mother sixth (*chhathi Mā*), becuase they suppose that mother sixth, the spirit which writes the fate of people comes on that night and writes the child's destiny. Lower class people keep the *chhathi* rite, but the higher classes substitute the *Aqiqa* rite.

The period of impurity for Musalman women after childbirth lasts for forty days. During that period, she is not allowed to pray, touch the Koran or enter a mosque. These taboos originally lasted as long as any issue of blood continued. On the fortieth as on the sixth, twelfth and thirteenth days, her friends bring gifts for the child, in particular amulets (*tawiz*) of gold or silver with verses of the Koran engraved on them which are hung over one shoulder, crossing the back and chest, and reaching below the hip on the other side. In the evening, male friends are feasted. The *Fathihā* is said over food in the name of Muhammad Mustafa, the chosen one on whom be the peace, and it is then served to the guests. Some people take the mother and the baby into the open air, and make her count a few stars, after which a couple of arrows used to be shot in the air. Educated people do not observe all these.

The *Mundan* or shaving follows the *Aqiqa* on some day after. Though most people combine these two rites, the poor observe only the latter, and the very poor combine the shaving with the ceremonies on the sixth and fortieth days. Those who can afford it have the shaving done with a silver mounted razor, and use a silver cup to hold the water, both being the perquisite of the barber who receives other gifts. After the head is shaved, the rich rub it with saffron, the poor with sandal paste. The weight of the hair in silver is given to the faqirs, and the hair is tied up in cloth, buried or thrown into the water. The rich when disposing of the hair make an offering to Khwaja Khizr, and let the hair float away in a stream. Some leave a lock (*chontī*) uncut in the name of a saint, and great care is taken that nothing pollutes it. Some postpone the shaving till it is done at the *dargah* or shrine of the saint.

On the fortieth day or earlier, the child is rocked in a swinging cradle (*gāhwārā*), a piece of magic to make the child grow taller as the swing goes higher. This is done in the evening, and women friends rub the legs of the cradle with sandal paste and decorate them with red thread. They put a cocoanut at each corner of the cradle with some grain cakes and betel laid on the ground, and while they sing a lullaby, they scramble for the food. Then they sit up all night, and amuse themselves with singing. When the child is about four months old, it often clasps its hand, and it is then said to be making sweetmeat balls (*laddu bandhnā*). These are provided, relations are invited, the *Fāthiha* is said over them in the name of the Prophet, on whom be the peace, and the party eat them.

When the child is seven months old, friends are invited, the *Fāthiha* is said over a hasty pudding (*firni*) in the name of Muhammad Murtaza on whom be the peace. They take with the forefinger a little pudding, rub it on the child's tongue, and make him taste it. And the mothers should suckle their children for two whole years.

Teething is called *Dānt nikalna* or *Dānt ghūngnī*, because when the first tooth appears, they make a mess of stir about (*ghungni*) of grain boiled with sugar. After saying the Fāitha over this, it is distributed. There is also another rite which is done when the child begins to close his fist (*mutthī bandhnā*) and to crawl (*rengna*). Parched rice (*murmura*) is made into balls which are given to friends, and the night is spent in music.

*Ear-boring.*—When a girl is a year or two old, her ears are bored. This is done by the goldsmith or barber into whose lap two cocoanut kernals (*khoprā*) are put, and his neck is smeared with sandal paste. By degrees other holes are bored along the whole

edge of the ear, and even in the central part, till by the time the girl is two or three years old, she has thirteen holes in the right and twelve in the left. Some people bore a hole in each lobe, in the part projecting over the orifice, one above it, and a few others here and there, but in some places people think it vulgar to bore holes uniformly all around the edge, as that is the custom of the lower castes.

*Customs connected with Naming*:—Among the Muslamans the naming of children is often done on the day of birth or in the week. Generally the first day is chosen, because until the child is named, the mother in some families does not receive even a drink of water, much less betel, perfumes or other luxuries. After the naming, the *Fātiha* is said over sweetmeats, and these are sent accompanied by music to absent friends. This is the business of the midwife who receives gifts in return.

"The children of the Musalmans belong to the tribe of the father, and consequently if a boy be a Sayyid's son, the first word of his name will be Sayyid or Mir, as Sayyid Ali or Mir Ahmed. But these honorific titles are often dropped in after life, and so it is necessary to ask the tribe to which the man belongs. The original rule of the law runs 'Call your children after the prophet; and the names God loves best are Abdul-l-lah' servant of God, Abdul-l-Rahman, 'servant of the compassionate, Harith or husbandman, Humum 'diligent' while the worst are Harb 'war' and Murra 'bitterness. But these rules do not apply to modern Musalmans."

"If he be the son of Shaikh, then at the beginning or end of his name is added one of the designations; khwaja 'lord', Ghulam 'servant', Muhammad, the Prophet, Din 'religion', Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, Baksh, 'given', Abd, 'servant'; as Khwāja Yusuf, Ghulam Nabi, Muhammad Hussain, Shamsu-d-din, Hasan Bakhsh, Raza Ali, Shaikh Muhammad Abdul Qadir. These names do not always indicate a Shaikh, since Sayyids often use the same names."

"If he be the son of a Mughul, his name begins or ends with the titles Mīrzā, Amīrzāda, 'son of an Amir or lord' or Āgā or Āghā, 'chief', as for instance Mīrza Ahmad, Ismail Beg,

Āgā or Āghā Jāffar. The title of Mīrza seems to have been adopted, because the mother was a Sayyid, the males of which group have the title of Mir, even if the father was a Mughul. In the case of Pathāns, the title Khān 'lord, master' or Khān Sahib is invariably used at the end of the name, as Bahadur Khān, 'valiant lord'. Shaikhs and Sayyids are seen with the title Khān attached to their names, as Ghulam Ahmad Khān; but in such cases it is bestowed upon them by their masters as an honorary title."

"The following are exceptions to the rule. Should the father be a Shaik, and the mother a Sayyid, the word Shariff is usually added to the beginning or end of the child's name, as Jaffer Shariff or Shariff Jaffar. It is customary with some people to add this appellation to all the names of the family, as Jaffar Shariff, son of Ali Shariff, son of Sharif Hamid. In most cases when the mother is a Sayyidani, and the father a Shaik, they leave out the word, Shariff, call themselves Shaikh Ahmad, or some equivalent name, and belong to the Shaikh group. In other places, they add the word Khwaja, 'nobleman'. When the father is a Mughal and the mother Sayyidani, their offspring get the name of Khwajazada 'son of a nobleman', and the title Khwāja is often given to spiritual guides, like the Pir or Murshid. Others of all the four groups, add to their names the titles Sahib, 'master', Miya 'sir' Jan, 'life', as for example, Daud Sahib, Ammu Jan. This however is not the established practice in any group, but parents are accustomed to call their children by their familiar names out of affection, so that when they grow to manhood these names become established and the real names often forgotten. The following names are added to the beginning or end of the full titles of girls. Among the Sayyids, women are called Begum, 'lady', Bibi, 'mistress', Nissa, 'woman', Shah 'queen'. To the names of Shaikh girls, they only have the titles Ma 'mother', *Bi* or *Bibi* except in the case of children of rank who get the title Begum. This is also the rule with the Mughuls and Pathans. Mughul women use the title of Khānam 'lady' added to the end of their names but illegitimate daughters receive the title Bai 'lady'. Rich people adopt the daughters of other people who are called *gayan* 'singers', but the word is added to their names, but when they make favourites of such girls, they are called Begum. In former times, slave girls with whom their masters cohabited were first called *Bibi*, then *Bai*, *Khānam*, or Begum. There are two kinds of Musalman dancing girls, Natnī and Kanchanī, the latter being usually Hindu, while Kasbi or Harjal is the usual term

for a prostitute. The former sometimes receive the titles *Bai* Kunwar, the latter Bakhsh."

"It is not customary among Mussalmans to give their own names to their children. The modes of naming are as follows: First the child is named after some member of the family, as the grand-father on either side or after the tutelary saint of the family. We must also distinguish the 'Alam or individual name; Kunyat, that of relationship; Laqab, honorary; the Alamat or royal title; the Anwan, that of honour; Ansab, that implying denomination; Takhallus, the *nom de plume*. Secondly, at any auspicious thing which is fixed from the table given below, eight or ten learned men meet and fix upon the first letter of a page of the Koran opened at random (fal) as that which should begin the name. The name is often fixed by astrological considerations. Thus Akbar was named immediately after his birth Badru-d-din, 'full moon of religion', because he was born on the full moon of the month of Shābān. But his relations with the object of protecting him from black magic, and to frustrate the calculations of hostile astrologers, selected a new official birthday, the fifth of the month, Rajab. The former name being inappropriate, he was named Jalālud-din 'the splendour of religion'. Thirdly, a few tickets on which different names are inscribed are rolled up, laid on a plate or put into a cup which is covered with a handkerchief, and the contents are shaken about, and scattered on the floor. Any little child present is desired to pick up one of them, and the name inscribed on it will be selected. Some choose a name from among those which begin with the letter found at beginning or end of the name of the planet under which the child was born. The following are the rules: the planets seven in number, Shams, the Sun, Qamar, the Moon, Zuhal, Kaiwan, Saturn, Zohra, Venus, Utarid, Mercury, Mirrikh, Mars, Mushtari, Jupiter, are supposed to preside over twenty-four hours of day and night." *

Opprobrious names, as among the Hindus are also given by the low class Musalmans to their children. Such names as *Natha* (nose-bored), *Dukhi* (Afflicted), *Gharib* (poor), Bhikki (beggar), Kaki (crow) are in use among them.

INITIATION. The rite of initiation, "Bismillah, pronouncing the name of God," is observed when a boy or girl has

* Herclot: *Islam in India, Chapter II, pages 26—29.*
*Sale's Translation of Koran, Chapter XII, page 156.*
The customs, says Mr. Abdul Wajid, is not in vogue in Mysore.
These beliefs, says Mr. Abdul Wajid, are not common.

reached the age of four years, four months and four days. In the case of girls, the plaiting of the side locks (*palgundhan*) is done for the first time at this rite. Strings of black silk are plaited into the long hair, the braids or plaits must be uneven in number and women swear by them as men do by their beards. During two or three days before the rite, the child is dressed from head to foot in yellow clothes, *chiksa* or scented powder is rubbed on his body by women whose husbands are alive (*suhāgan*), and he is seated in a room with a canopy over his head, and coloured clothes hung round to resemble a throne. Every morning and evening while he is massaged, musicians play and the child is not allowed to talk. This part of the rite is called 'sitting in state' (*manjā, manjha baithnā*). The day before the ceremony the lady guests are invited by sending round cardamoms to their houses, and other friends by letter in the following form: 'To such a one, the obliger of friends 'greeting.' At this poor man's house his son (or the daughter as the case may be) is this evening to be taught to repeat the name of God (*Bismillāh khāwāni*). I beg that you by joining the party will grace the assembly with your presence and joyfully partake of something. For by so doing you will afford me peculiar pleasure.' Then men and women meet apart. The child having been well bathed in the afternoon, and all the perfumed paste removed from the body, his yellow dress is exchanged for better garments, red or white, made of various kinds of brocade or other stuffs. Gold or silver amulets which some of the friends may have given are hung on his neck, and he is perfumed. Garlands of flowers are hung round his neck and wrists and a wreath made of gold wire (*seharā, sehrā*) over his forehead. Thus bedecked he is seated in the presence of his family tutor or some

Mashāik or venerable personage. Near them are placed trays with sweetmeats, two of the largest balls having gold or silver paper pasted over them, with other gifts including a small gold or silver plate and a pen or inkstand intended as gifts to the tutor. He after reciting the *Fātiha* over the food in the name of the Prophet, on Him be the peace, writes on the plate with his pen dipped in sandal-wood paste, the words, in the name of God, the Merciful, and the Compassionate, and orders the child to lick it off. He lays two ornamented sweet balls in the child's hands to tempt him to perform his task. It is also the rule to write the first chapter of the Koran on red paper, but those who can afford it write on gold or silver, and giving to the boy or girl require him or her to repeat the first words, 'in the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate' and afterwards from the ninety-sixth chapter the opening words, 'Recite thou in the name of the Lord who created, created man from clots of blood; Recite thou, for thy Lord is most beneficient who has taught the use of the pen, hath taught that thou knowest not.' This being the first sentence of the Koran revealed to the Prophet, on whom be blessing, it is considered of high value and is taught to children.

There are special formalities to be observed for sending invitations to guests to attend family rites. Female guests receive invitations (*da'vat*) to attend these and other rites by the sending of cardmoms (*ilāchi*) while men are generally invited by letter. Both men and women are invited by cards now.

When they arrive, the hostess advances to the gate to welcome them, takes them by the hand, and leading them into the house, seats them on a carpet. When guests attend such rites, they are

expected to bring some presents (*neotā manjā*) with them proportionate in value to the nature of the rite and their own means. At the *Chhathi* and *chilla* rites, the gifts consist generally of a necklace (*hanslī*), ankle rings (*karā*), a cap (*topī*), a sheet (*sarī*), a bodice (*choli*), betel leaves, arecanuts, flowers and sandal paste. At the Bismilla rite for children, they bring a small gold or silver plate weighing half a rupee hung on a red thread together with sufficient velvet to make a bodice, betel, flowers, sandalwood and sweetmeats. For the wedding, gifts consist of a shawl, a piece of muslin, a sheet, a turban, a bodice, betel and some choice delicacy cakes (*malida*)* sweetmeats or merely betel with plantains and cocoanuts. The guests bring these things in person or in the case of rich people they are brought by the men guests with great pomp and state. Poor people give at least a velvet bodice, sweetmeats, betel, flowers and sandal paste, according to their means. If they have brought no gift in kind, they are expected to put a rupee or two or less into the hand of the mistress of the house.†

CIRCUMCISION.

Circumcision (*khatna, sunnat*) should be performed between the ages of seven and twelve or fourteen, but it is lawful to do it seven days after birth. Akbar prohibited the rite before the age of twelve, and it was then optional with the boy. On the appointed day, friends are invited and entertained. For a few days before the rite, the boy is rubbed with haldi or turmeric and made to sit in state known as (*manjā baitnā*). He is dressed in red or yellow clothes decorated with flowers, and Missi or dentifrice is rubbed on his teeth, this

* "In Mysore," says Mr. Abdul Wajid, "Musalmans have outgrown the Malida age; Malida is not a high class sweet."

† Herklot: *Islam in India*, Chap. III, pages 35-46.

being the only occasion on which he makes use of it. He is then carried in procession till after the operation. The boy is seated on a large new earthen pot inverted or on a chair with a red handkerchief spread over it. A couple of hours before, he has been dosed with the electuary known as *majun* made from hemp and used as anodyne. Some friends hold the boy firmly and the barber performs the operation with a sharp razor. When it is over, the boy is told to call out three times 'Din,' the 'faith.' To divert the attention he is made to slap the operator for causing him so much pain. One of the relatives chews betel and squirts the red spittle on the wound to make him believe that there has been no flow of blood. The portion cut is thrown on the house-roof or buried. After the operation, the barber applies a dressing, and the wound heals in the course of a week or so. While the rite is being done, some rice and other gifts are laid close by which are given to the barber, but if the boy was seated on a chair this is not given away. Circumcision is now generally done in hospitals.

GROWTH AND EDUCATION.

After a boy or girl has finished the reading of Koran from end to end, a propitious day is fixed according to the system used in selecting names for the purpose of making gifts to the tutor and exhibiting the child's skill in reading Koran. The friends are invited, and the boy now able to read the Koran dressed in his best is seated in the men's hall with the Koran in his hands. A robe of honour (*khilat*) and other gifts are set out for the tutor who then recites the Fātiha over food in the name of the Prophet—and makes the boy breath on it. After blessing he says, 'I forgive all the trouble I have undergone in teaching the Koran, and I freely bestow on thee the knowledge which I

have taught thee.' Then the food which has become sacred by having the whole contents of the Koran blown upon it, is distributed, and the gifts are given to the tutor.

Besides this ceremony, at every feast, marriage or dinner, the tutor receives his dues. He is honoured as a father, because a man is to have four fathers: his natural father, his tutor, his father-in-law, and his Murshid or spiritual guide. Besides this, the Prophet has assured us, that if any person in his daily prayers says the Dua-i-masur or 'prayer for the remission' of sins, for his parents and his tutor, the Almighty will hear and answer. For children who go to school, the master will usually write, the *Idi* or the first verse or a blessing on the child, on paper sprinkled with gold dust (Zar-afshan), and desires him to read it to his parents who send an *Idi* or feast gift in return. Such presents are made at four festivals, the Ākhiri-chār-shamba, the Shabi-barāt, the Ramzān, and the Baqar-īd.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

*Ila* signifies an oath that one shall not go into one's wife. In the days of ignorance, the Arabs used to take such oaths frequently, and as the period of suspension was not limited, the wife was compelled sometimes to pass her whole life in bondage, having neither the position of a wife nor that of a divorced woman free to marry elsewhere. The law of the Koran declares that if the husband does not reassert conjugal relations within four months, the wife shall be divorced (Rz.)

By going back is meant the re-establishing of conjugal relations (Rz.)

*Talāq* is an infinitive noun from *Talaqat*, said of a woman, meaning she was left free to go her way or became separated from her husband (*Ta-ll*), and signifies the dissolving of the marriage tie (*ta-ll*).

The subject of divorce, which is introduced here, is dealt with in this and the following two sections, and further on in the 4th and 65th chapters. It may be noted that the words in which the subject is introduced give a warning against resorting to this measure except under exceptional circumstances. At the conclusion of the previous verse, we are told that if the husband reasserts conjugal relations after temporary separation, he is forgiven, for Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. But if he is determined to divorce, then if he is guilty of an excess against the wife, he will be punished, becuase the epithets *hearing* and *knowing* are only mentioned when the act is either disapproved or highly approved, *i.e.*, when either punishment or a reward is to be given. A reward in such a case is quite out of the question; it is clear that the words contain a warning in case injustice should be done in divorcing.

Divorce is one of the institutions of Islam regarding which much misconception prevails, so much so that even the Islamic Law, as administered in the British Courts in India, is not free from these misconceptions. The chief features of the Islamic law of divorce, as dealt with in the Holy Koran, will be noticed under the particular verses dealing with them. Here I may state that the Islamic law has many points of advantage as compared with both the Jewish and Christian laws as formulated in Deuteronomy and Matthew. The chief feature of improvement is that the wife can claim a divorce according to the Islamic law, neither Moses nor Christ conferring that right on the woman, though it is to be regretted that this very feature is the one that is not recognized in India. Another feature of the Islamic law of divorce is that it is elastic and does not strictly limit the cause of divorce. In fact, if the civilized nations of Europe and America,

who own the same religion, are at the same stage of advancement and have an affinity of feeling on most social and moral questions, cannot agree as to the causes of divorce, how could a universal religion like Islam, which was meant for all ages and all countries, for people in the lowest grade of civilization as well as those at the top, limit those causes which must vary with the varying conditions of humanity and society?

It may also be added here that, though divorce is allowed by Islam if sufficient cause exists, yet the right is to be exercised under exceptional circumstances. The Koran itself approves of the Holy Prophet insisting on Zaid not divorcing his wife, notwithstanding a dissension of a sufficiently long standing (33, 37). And the Holy Prophet's memorable words, *of all the things which have been permitted to men, divorce is the most hated by Allah* will always act as a strong check on any loose interpretation of the words of the Holy Koran. There are cases on record in which He actually pronounced divorce to be illegal (*Bkh*).

The period of waiting, or *iddat*, forms the first condition in the Islamic law of divorce. But for cases in which marriage is not consummated, no period of waiting is necessary. (33–49).

The period of waiting is really a period of temporary separation, during which conjugal relations may be re-established. This period of temporary separation serves as a check upon divorce, and it is the second point mentioned by the Holy Koran in connection with the law of divorce. If there is any love in the union, its pangs would assert themselves during the period of temporary separation, bringing about a reconciliation, and the differences would sink into insignificance. This is the best safeguard against a misuse of divorce, for in this way

only such unions would be ended by divorce as really deserve to be ended being devoid of the faintest spark of love. A conjugal union without love is body without a soul, and the sooner it is ended the better. Thus, while the Islamic law of divorce makes it possible for love to assert itself, it requires the dissolution of the marriage tie when it is proved that mutual love is not possible.

The rights of women against their husbands are here stated to be similar to those which the husbands have against their wives. The statement must, no doubt, have caused a stir in a society which never recognized any rights for women. The change in this respect was really a revolutionizing one, for the Arabs hitherto regarded women as mere chattels, and now the women were given a position equal in all respects to that of men, for they were declared to have rights similar to those which were exercised against them. This declaration brought about a revolution not only in Arabia but in the whole world, for the equality of the rights of women with those of men was never previously recognized among the most civilized nations. Woman could no longer be discarded at the will of her 'lord,' but she could either claim equality as a wife or demand divorce.

The statement that 'men are a degree above them' does not nullify the rights asserted in the previous passage but refers to a quite different aspect of the question which is made clear in 4 : 34 (see 568).

The third rule regarding divorce is that the revocable divorce of the previous verse can be pronounced only twice. In the days of ignorance, a man used to divorce his wife and take her back within a prescribed time, even though he might do this a thousand times (Rz). Islam reformed this practice by allowing a revocable divorce twice, so

that the period of waiting in each of these two cases might serve as a period of temporary separation during which conjugal relations could be re-established.

The fourth point is that the husband must make his choice after the second divorce either to retain her permanently or to bring about a final separation. The object of a true marriage union is indicated in the simple words *keep them in good fellowship.* Where the union is characterized by quarrels and dissensions instead of good fellowship, and two experiences of a temporary separation show that there is no real love in the union and good fellowship is entirely absent, the only remedy that remains is to let the woman *go with kindness.* An earnest endeavour has been made, and has shown that the illuminating spark of love is not there, therefore the marriage union must be looked upon as a failure, and it is both in the interests of the husband and the wife and in the interests of society itself that such a union should be brought to a termination, so that the parties may seek a fresh union. But even in taking this final step, the woman must be treated kindly.

The full payment of the dowry to the woman is the fifth rule relating to the Islamic law of divorce, and it serves as a very strong check upon the husband in resorting to unnecessary divorce. The dowry is usually sufficiently large to make divorce a step which can only be adopted as a last measure.

There is the sixth rule with regard to divorce, and it gives the wife a right to claim a divorce. Among the religions of the world, it is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Islam that it gives the wife the same right to claim a divorce as it gives the husband to pronounce one, if she is willing to forego the whole or part of her dowry. The case of Jameela, wife of Sabit bin Qais, is one that is reported

in numerous reports of the highest authority. Here it is the wife who was dissatisfied with the marriage. There was not even a quarrel, as she plainly stated in her complaint to the Holy Prophet. 'I do not find any fault with him on account of his morals (*i.e.*, his treatment) or his religion.' She only hated him. And the Holy Prophet had her divorced on condition that she returned to her husband the garden which he had made over to her as her dowry (*Bkh*). It is even said that the husband's love for the wife was as intense as her hatred for him (Rz). If, then, a woman could claim a divorce for no reason other than the unsuitableness of the match, she had certainly the right to claim one if there was ill-treatment on the part of the husband or any other satisfactory reason, and among the early Muslims it was an established right. Even now, it is a right which is maintained in many Muslim countries. Technically such a divorce is called *khula*.

It will be noted that though this verse forms the basis of the law relating to *khula*, the words indicate an unwillingness on the part of both spouses to continue the marriage relation: 'Unless both fear that they cannot keep within the limits of Allah, which is explained as meaning their inability to perform towards each other their marital obligations and to maintain good fellowship (Bkh).' The reason for this, apparently, is that the passage follows one requiring a permanence of relationship that can no more be broken when the husband has adopted this choice after a second divorce, so that the relation can only be broken if the wife finds it unbearable. Another reason seems to be that the woman is usually the last to be willing to break up the marriage relationship.

The words *if you fear* evidently refer to the properly constituted authorities (Rz), and this brings

us to the seventh point with regard to the law of divorce, *viz.*, that the authorities can interfere in the matter, and cases are actually on record in which a wrong done by an unjust divorce was mended by the authorities.

The words refer to the 'putting off with kindness' of the previous verse and hence by divorce here is meant the irrevocable divorce pronounced a third time, *i.e.*, after there has been a divorce and a restitution of conjugal rights twice.

After the irrevocable divorce is pronounced, the husband cannot remarry the divorced wife until she has been married elsewhere and divorced, and this is the eighth point with regard to the rules of divorce. The verse abolishes the immoral custom of *halalah*, or temporary marriage gone through with no other object than that of legalizing the divorced wife for the first husband, a custom prevalent in the days of ignorance, but abolished by the Holy Prophet, according to a report which speaks of his having cursed those who indulge in the evil practice (*imj-msh*). There must be genuine marriage and a genuine divorce.

This restriction makes the third pronouncement of divorce very cautious and in fact very rare and thus acts as another check against frequent divorce. Muir's remarks as to the hardship which this rule involves not only for 'the innocent wife' but also for the 'innocent children' for 'however desirous the husband may be of undoing the wrong, the decision cannot be recalled,' are totally unjustified, for the irrevocable divorce cannot be pronounced until a temporary separation has taken place twice and the experiences of both have shown that the marriage relationship cannot be continued. It should also be noted that the irrevocable divorce cannot be pronounced all at once. The special

checks on divorce have already been mentioned and it may be added here that the third or the irrevocable divorce would be very rare if the rules relating to divorce as given in the Holy Koran were observed. Cases are on record in which long years elapsed between the pronouncement of the first and the second divorce. For instance, the case of *Rukana* may be noted who first divorced his wife in the time of the Holy Prophet, then remarried her, then divorced her a second time in the time of *Umar* the second *Caliph* and finally in the time of *Usman* the third *Caliph* (*A. D. Imj. Tr. Dr. Msh*).

Hence if the husband is proved to give injury to the wife, he cannot retain her, and she can claim a divorce. Injury to the wife may be of a general nature or one given with the object of compelling her to remit the whole or part of her dowry to obtain a divorce. This practice was resorted to by the pre-Islamite Arabs, and the words are meant to abolish the evil (Rz). It is for the Judge to see that the husband is not taking undue advantage of his position. On the other hand, the husband is enjoined to show liberality to the divorced wife, and the Judge would no doubt see that the injunctions of the Holy Book are observed.

These words show that divorce is a very serious matter, and the injunctions given in this respect are not to be treated lightly.

This is the ninth point in the rules of divorce. It has already been stated that the conjugal relations can be re-established within the period of waiting. Here it is stated that if the period of waiting has elapsed, even then the former husband can remarry the divorced wife, on the first two occasions when the divorce is pronounced. The case of the sisters of Ma'qil *bin* Yasar is well known on this point. Being divorced by her husband

and the period of waiting having elapsed, the two were again willing to remarry but Ma'qil objected, and the marriage was performed when the verse was revealed (Bkh).

The verse also legalizes the remarriage of divorced women in general and the words 'their husbands' would in this case signify 'their prospective husbands.'

By mothers here are meant in particular, as the context shows, women who have been divorced having children to suckle (Rz).

In case the father dies before the child is weaned, the heir is bound to pay the expenses.

The period of waiting in the case of a widow is four months and ten days but in case a divorced woman or a widow is with child, the period of waiting is extended to the time of delivery (see 65 : 4).

The meaning is that the widow may look out for a husband and remarry.

MUSALMAN FAMILY.

A Musalman family is somewhat indefinite and complicated; because a legal marriage does not debar a man from having a subsequent union. Further, polygamy is quite legal. Tradition has set this limit of four wives, *i.e.*, for ordinary believers, and has authorised the Khalifs and Sultans as successors of the Prophet to have nine. Muslims are allowed to choose concubines at a moderate fee. The status of the children of these concubines are identical with that of the children of the wedded wives. The women must obey and submit to their husbands. Muhammad distinctly regards her inferiority that man uses his wealth to lower her (Koran IV 58). He also holds that masculine

The references are to Maulvi Md. Ali's *The Holy Quran*. Notes 291 to 310.

Ameer Ali, Handbook of Mahommedan Law, Chapter VI, pages 90-94.

qualities are superior. He grants the husband the right to admonish a disobedient wife, put her into a separate bed chamber and beat her; but forbids a husband at will; but she may seek divorce through the judge and is freely granted in various circumstances, *e.g.*, if the husband is a prodigal or debauched or if he is not a good Muslim, or if he has not the means of supplying all household necessities. Children are brought up to the age of seven by the women in the father's house; they are swaddled for eight to ten months, and are usually nursed by the mother who suckles them for twelve or fourteen months; (XLVI 14) says thirty months. If a nurse has to be requisitioned, she is treated with the greatest respect, she is called the foster mother, and is generally a young slave who becomes free, and is then regarded as a member of the family. Muslim children have the greatest regard towards their parents. The veneration is enjoined in several verses of the Koran (XLVI 14-16, XVII 17). In important Muslim families, the father is a veritable king. The chief of a rich family settles his sons, when they are eighteen or twenty. He gives them houses of their own, and finds them wives. This first marriage is arranged by their parents whom the young man cannot but obey.

The position of Musalman women, like that of their Hindu sisters, leaves much to be desired. She seldom goes out, and when she does go, she is always veiled. The wearing of the veil, and a certain amount of seclusion is forced upon her by the Koran. It was only meant to protect the dignity of free-born women, and scarcely applied to any others. It was only the woman of high social rank that Muhammad had in view when he imposed the rule of covering the face with a veil; his words did not apply to slaves and women of low station. The

precept however has been in practice by all Muslims. Women of high position seldom go out and cannot go to mosques. Many of them have had keen intellects in their youth, but their intelligence is apt to become dull in their seclusion. But times are changing, and girls are sent to schools for instruction.

KINSHIP AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION.

"Regarding kinship," says Crawley, "habitual proximity and contact are the strongest and most natural of ties." The conception of the tie of blood appears to be not very strong in primitive culture. Identity of flesh, if not of food that is commensality, is said to be earlier in thought than that of blood." Psychologically speaking, relationship develops from relations, and in primitive thought relations are the test of kinship, and not *vice versa*. The term kinship is defined in various ways by sociologists. In the ordinary sense of the term, it is applied to kinship based on consanguinity and finally depends on the institution of family. It signifies a social group consisting of a man, his wife and children. The term includes cases of relationship based on a kind of social convention such as adoption and writers on human society use the word to designate relationship set up by a clan or other social groups. In that case, it does not concern with the institution of family, but is applied to persons with whom there is no tie of consanguinity. Hence arises a confusion in the use of the term. Here we are only concerned with the use of the terms of relationship in the family organization and the terminology of relationship is given below.

| | |
|---|---|
| Son | Beta. |
| Daughter | Beti. |
| Brother | Bhai. |
| Younger brother (m. s.) | Chota Bhai. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Younger sister (m. s.) .. .. .. | Choti Bahin. |
| Younger brother (w. s.) .. .. .. | Chota Bhai. |
| Younger sister (w. s.) .. .. .. | Choti Bahin. |
| Brother's child (m. s.) . .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Younger brother's child (m. s.) .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Elder brother's child (m. s.) .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Husband's brother's child .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Father's younger brother's child .. .. | Chachera Bhai. |
| Father's elder brother's child .. .. | do |
| Brother's child (w.c.) .. .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Wife's brother's child .. .. .. | Bhatija. |
| Mother's brother's child .. .. .. | Māmerā Bhai. |
| Sister's child (m. s.) .. .. .. | Bhanja. |
| Husband's sister's child .. .. .. | do |
| Younger sister's child .. .. .. | do |
| Sister's child .. .. .. .. | do |
| Wife's sister's child .. .. .. | Sali-beta (or Ser-betā) |
| Mother's younger sister's child .. .. | Khalazad Bhai. |
| Mother's elder sister's child .. .. | do |
| Son's son (m. s.) .. .. .. .. | Pota. |
| Son's daughter (m. s.) .. .. .. | Poti. |
| Son's son (w. s.) .. .. .. .. | Pota. |
| Son's daughter (w. s.) .. .. .. | Poti. |
| Daughter's son (m. s.) .. .. .. | Nati. |
| Daughter's daughter (m. s.) .. .. | Natni. |
| Daughter's son (w. s.) .. .. .. | Nāti. |
| Daughter's daughter (w. s.) .. .. | Natnī. |
| Wife .. .. .. .. | Zauja (commonly Bībī). |
| Daughter's husband (m. s.) .. .. | Damad. |
| Daughter's husband (w. s.) .. .. | do |
| Son's wife (w. s.) .. .. .. | Bahu. |
| Son's wife (m. s.) .. .. .. | Bahu. |
| Sister's husband (m.s.) .. .. .. | Bahnoi. |
| Sister's husband (w. s.) .. .. .. | do |
| Husband's sister's husband .. .. | Nandoasi |
| Brother's wife (m. s.) .. .. .. | Bhabi. |
| Brother's wife (w. s.) .. .. .. | do |
| Father .. .. .. .. | Bāp. |
| Mother .. .. .. .. | Man. |
| Brother (Child of own father and another mother.) | Allati (or Sautilā) Bhai. |
| Sister (m. s.) .. .. .. .. | Bahin. |
| Brother (Child of own mother and another father.) | Akhayafi (or Sautilā) Bhai. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Sister (Child of own mother and another father.) | Akhyafi (or Sautilā) Bahin. |
| Sister (Child of own father and another mother.) | Allati (or Sautili) Bahin. |
| Elder brother (m. s.) .. .. .. | Bara Bhai. |
| Elder brother (w. s.) .. .. .. | Bara Bhai. |
| Elder sister (m. s.) .. .. .. | Bari Bahin. |
| Elder sister (w. s.) .. .. .. | Bari Bahin or Apa. |
| Father's brother .. .. .. .. | Chacha. |
| Father's elder brother .. .. .. | Chacha. |
| Father's younger brother .. .. .. | Chacha. |
| Father's brother's wife .. .. .. | Chachi. |
| Father's brother's child .. .. .. | Chachera Bhai. |
| Father's elder brother's child .. .. | do |
| Father's younger brother's child .. .. | do |
| Father's sister .. .. .. .. | Phuphi. |
| Father's sister's husband .. .. | Phuphā. |
| Father's sister's child .. .. .. | Phuphera Bhai. |
| Mother's brother .. .. .. | Māmu. |
| Mother's brother's wife .. .. .. | Māmi ; Māmāni. |
| Mother's elder sister .. .. .. | Khala. |
| Mother's sister .. .. .. | do |
| Mother's sister's husband .. .. | Khalu. |
| Mother's sister's child .. .. | Khalazad Bhai. |
| Mother's elder sister's child .. .. | do |
| Mother's younger sister's child .. .. | do |
| Father's father .. .. .. | Dādā. |
| Father's mother .. .. .. | Dādī. |
| Mother's father .. .. .. | Nānā. |
| Mother's mother .. .. .. | Nānī. |
| Husband .. .. .. .. | Shauhar. |
| Wife's father .. .. .. | Susar. |
| Wife's mother .. .. .. .. | Sās. |
| Husband's mother .. .. .. | Sās. |
| Husband's father .. .. .. | Susur. |
| Wife's brother .. .. .. .. | Sālā. |
| Wife's sister .. .. .. .. | Sali. |
| Wife's brother's wife .. .. .. | Salhaj. |
| Husband's brother .. .. .. | Dewar ; Bhāsur. |
| Husband's sister .. .. .. | Nanand. |
| Wife's sister's husband .. .. .. | Sarhu. |
| Husband's brother's wife .. .. | Dewarni. |
| Son's wife's parents .. .. .. | Samdhi. |
| M. S. .. .. | Man Speaking. |
| W. S. .. .. | Woman Speaking. |

Kinship system given above is partly classificatory and partly descriptive, and the list includes only near relatives. The actual terms of relationship are very important in the manner in which the terms are used. In ordinary life, personal names are used, but in certain circumstances a person is addressed, not by his name, but by the appropriate term of relationship. The investigation of the circumstances will throw much light upon the part played by kinship in regulating the life of the people. They are not merely terms of address, but often express actual social relationships, *i.e.*, there are certain mutual obligations, privileges and rights which the conduct towards one another of a man and anybody to whom he applies in terms of relationship. It is common for children to call their relatives by the relationship term, while they themselves are addressed by name. It must also be mentioned that the terms do not imply that the native attitude of the mind of the man, and his social relation to all people are designated by the same term to be exactly identical. Both in the ideas and feelings of the people and in their customary regulations their own brothers or parents may occupy a different position from the cousins or uncles although the former may be generally designated by the same words as the latter.

The term "father and mother" are often applied to any man older than the speaker, even if they are not genealogically related; brother to any male relation of the same generation and so on. One term is applied to paternal grandfather, and one to maternal grandfather, while that relating to paternal grandmother and maternal grandmother are distinguished by grammatical suffixes, as for example, *dāda*, *dādi*, *nānā*, *nāni*. The same principle is applied to grand children also. Ortho-cousins are

called by the same terms as brother and sister, but the younger and elder are distinguished by *bara* and *chota*, e.g., *bara bhai*, *chota bhai*; and *bari bahin* and *choti bahin*. The terms "*chacha* and *bhatija*" are used to designate father's brother (elder or younger). Similarly, the children of the father's sister.

Mother's brother (maternal uncle) and his wife are called māmu and māmi respectively, and their children bhanja, which is also applied to the children of maternal aunts.

Coming on to the relatives by marriage, we find that there are special terms. The word *susar* is used to denote wife's father as well as husband's father, and the word *sas* for the wife's mother as well as the husband's mother. Husband's brother and his sister are called *bhasur* and *nanad*. Daughter's husband (son-in-law) is named *damad*, and the sister's husband (brother-in-law) is called *Bhanoi*. Brother's wife is named *Bhabi*.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF KINSHIP.

These may be calssified under three heads, namely duties, privileges and restrictions. An examination of the social functions of relationship shows that a given relative may be subject to an obligation to perform certain social actions or may perform certain actions which are not permitted to others or may not be permitted to perform actions which are allowed to others.

*Parents and Children.*—The father and mother provide for the child, feed, clothe, and train him, while the child obeys his parents, and assists them in their occupations. The duty of suckling is not always confined to the mother. It is delegated to maid servant (nurse) who becomes the foster mother.

*Brother, Sister.*—They always behave most affectionately. Their duties are always reciprocal. The

former entertains the bridegroom on his first entering the house to marry his sister. The latter also has corresponding duties at the marriage of his brother. The son of the former may be married to the daughter of the latter, and *vice versa*. This form of conjugal relation is known as cross cousin marriage.

*Mother's brother's son and father's sister's son.*—They are known as cousins and act like brothers. They are always mutually helpful and affectionate.

*Father's sister and mother's brother.*—The former is called paternal aunt and the latter maternal uncle. The former plays an important part in the family of her brother, and in all festivities in his house. She has also certain duties to discharge in the marriage of her brother's son. Further her own daughter may be married to her brother's son. The latter, on the other hand, plays a prominent part in all the ceremonies of his sister's son and daughter by giving them presents. He also acts the part of a father in his absence. His duties are subordinate to those of the father.

*Father's father and mother's father* (*Grand father*) *and father's mother and mother's mother* (*grand mother*). They are affectionate to their grand children who obey and love them. On occasions of marriage, funerals, as also on other auspicious ones, the members of the family and their relations meet together, exchange courtesies, sit together for common meal and enjoy the company. The family shows much attachment to the established usages and repel innovations. On the moral side of life, in religions practices, festivals, recreations, the women show themselves as much attached to customs as men. These are examples in ordinary decent families.

The Koran lays down regulations as to the wills, but they are not clear. It is said that men should have a portion of what their parents and kindred

leave for them, and women should have a portion of what their parents and kindred leave, whether it be little or much, a determined portion. Here the portion is not mentioned. A son has a right to twice the portion of a daughter. A husband gets one half of what his wife leaves.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The Musalmans believe in magic just as much as the Hindus do. Both the communities practise it. The devil is known to the Musalmans as *Iblis or Shaitan* who is considered to be a fallen angel turned out of Paradise, because of his refusal to do homage to Adam. Besides devils and angels, there is said to be a distinct order called *jinns* who may be good or evil according to circumstances. They are said to have been created out of fire several thousands of years before Adam, and are really nothing more or less than the old household gods worshipped by the *Arabs* before their conversion to Islam. Jinns are of two kinds, good and evil. The former are exceedingly handsome, the latter repulsively ugly. Till the time of the birth of Jesus, they are said to have been allowed to wander through the seven heavens very much as they pleased, but after that time, they were wholly expelled. They continue, however, to ascend to the confines of the lowest heavens, and may play the part of eaves-droppers by listening to the conversations of the angels about the decrees of God, which they are said to occasionally impart to men by means of invocations and talismans.

Simiya or white magic is divided into two branches, one of which is high and related to the deity, (*ulvi, rahmani*) while the other which is low devilish (*Sifla or Shaitani*). It is with the latter that the black art proper (*sir jadu*) is connected.

Magic is condemned by the Law. The invocation of spirits is an important form of Musalman magic, and this (*dawat*) is used

for the following purposes; to command the presence of the jinns and demons, who when it is required of them, cause anything to take place; to establish friendship or enmity between two persons; to cause the death of an enemy, to increase wealth, to gain income gratuitously or mysteriously, to secure the accomplishment of wishes, temporal or spiritual.

There are certain demons and jinns whom he should address by name. The magician has to familiarize himself with the names of the jinns, and summon them before him, not only to reveal all hidden mysteries and render the whole human race obedient to his will, but to cause all his desires temporal as well as spiritual to be accomplished. Most magicians have by experience proved the power of these names, and whoever strictly follows the rules laid down, invariably obtains his heart's desire. This is applicable to the first varieties of names.

The invocation of the jinn is known as Tashkir-Jinn. When once the magician has summoned the demon and the jinn, he may cause them to do whatever he wants. Before doing so, he must shut himself in his closet which should be smeared with red ochre. He spreads a prayer carpet, red, if possible, sits on it, and observing the utmost purity, and he must go through the ritual in the course of a week, the sooner the better. He thus brings them under control after the recital of their names, the number of times of which is as mentioned above.

Gradually some new phenomena appear, and at last, the demons and jinns attended by their legions arrive. A demon or jinn or one of their band will present himself, and say respectfully, "Magician, why doest thou require our presence?" We are here with our forces. At this crisis, the magician must call up his courage. He must not address

his visitors at once, but by the movement of the hand should ask to be seated. After finishing his daily task, he should ask their names, and demand of them a sign or token, and learn how often it is necessary to repeat the invocation to ensure their presence. They will instruct him on these points, and he should strictly obey their orders. If he speaks to them before he has finished his daily task, they will cause some misfortune to befall him or they will suddenly disappear, and all pains he has taken will be of no avail. He should abjure them by a mighty oath, in the name of Almighty God or of Solomon, son of David on whom be the peace and then dismiss them. He should on no account disclose the meeting to any one, and should never dismiss them while he is in a state of impurity. He must always be in a state of purity, and do nothing but what is right.

Jaffer Sheriff, the great magician, says, first when any one waits on a king, noble or his own gracious master, he need only repeat the great invocation seventeen times with his open hands spread towards Heaven. Then he blows on them, and draws his hands once over his face, and then as the great man beholds him, he will become so attached to him, that however angry he may have been, he will now be pleased. Secondly, if any one repeats this invocation forty or seventy times after morning or evening prayer, his mind will become clear and enlightened, and in his heart, there will be nothing but love towards God. No worldly concerns will disturb his peace of mind, and the future will be revealed to him in dreams. If he desires that any event temporal or spiritual may occur to him, he must repeat the invocation twenty-four times on a Sunday morning before sunrise and then by the grace of God, his desires will be realized

that very day. Fourthly, if he wishes to make a person subject to him on a Wednesday after bathing, he should put on new clothes, burn incense and repeat the invocation a hundred and eleven times over some food and drink. He should then blow on this, and get the person partake of this, and then he or she will become desirous (*talib*) of him. Fifthly, if a man has enemies to slander him, and treat him with haughtiness, after his usual prayers, he should repeat the invocation forty-one times morning and evening, and then his evil wishers will become his dearest friends. Sixthly, if any one wishes princes or nobles obedient to his will, he must procure a silver ring with a square tablet engraved on it and write on the tablet the letters on the invocation, 2613 in number. The number or the numbers of the demon and jinn added to it should be formed into a magic square of the *subsi or Rubai* type. When the ring is finished, he must place it before him for a week daily morning and evening, recite the invocation 5,000 times and blow on it. When all this is done, he must wear it on his little finger, because it is used for cleaning the ear. He then succeeds in all his desires.

Besides these mighty names, there are many attributes of the deity, and the verses of the Koran, the recitation of which is very effective. In order to gain knowledge of them, one must beg the great adepts of the art, and they communicate them very privately, breast to breast, hand to hand, ear to ear.*

RELIGION

Islam, (making of peace) denotes the religion taught by Muhammad the Prophet. The observance of the primary duties (*ibadāt*) is to believe in one

* Herklot's, Islam in India, Chapter XXVI.

God; to recite daily prayers in his honour; to give the legal alms; to observe the feast of Ramzan. According to a saying of the Holy Prophet, even if a Negro slave is placed in authority, he must be obeyed.

FOUR FUNDAMENTAL INSTITUTIONS.

The four fundamental institutions of the Muslim faith are noted below at some length, specially the prayer.

I. THE ISLAMIC PRAYER.

Prayer is an outpouring of the heart's sentiments, a devout supplication to God, and a reverential expression of the soul's sincerest desires before its Maker. In Islam the idea of prayer, like all other religious ideas, finds its highest development. Prayer, according to the Holy Koran, is the true means of that purification of the heart which is the only way to communion with God. The Holy Koran says: "Recite that which has been revealed to you of the book and keep up prayer; surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil, and certainly the remembrance of Allah is the greatest" (29: 45). Islam, therefore, enjoins prayer as a means of moral elevation of man. Prayer degenerating into a mere ritual, into lifeless and vapid ceremony performed with insincerity of heart, is not the prayer enjoined by Islam. Such prayer is expressly denounced by the Holy Koran: "Woe to the praying ones who are unmindful of their prayers" (107: 5). With a muslim his prayer is spiritual diet, of which he partakes five times a day, and those who think that it is too often, should remember how many times daily they require food for their body. Is not spiritual growth much more essential

than physical growth? Is not the soul more valuable than the body? If food is needed several times daily to minister to the needs of the body, is not a spiritual refreshment at the same time badly needed? Or if the body would be starved if it were fed only on the seventh day, has not the soul been actually starved by denying to it even the little which it could get after six days? The founder of Christianity himself emphasised this when he said, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matt. 4 : 4). What Christ taught in words has been reduced to a practical form by the Holy Prophet Muhammad. It may be noted that while other religions have generally set apart a whole day for Divine service, on which other work is not to be done, Islam has given quite a new meaning to Divine service by introducing prayer into the every day affairs of men. A day is not here set apart for prayer, and in this sense no Sabbath is known to Islam. What Islam requires is this, that when most busy, a Muslim should still be able to disengage himself from all worldly occupations and resort to his prayers. Hence it is also that Islam has done away with all institutions of monkery which require man to give up all worldly occupation for the whole of his life in order to hold communion with God. It makes communion with God possible even when man is most busy with his worldly occupations, thus making possible that which was generally considered impossible before its advent.

But while Islam has given permanence to the institution of prayer by requiring its observance at stated times in a particular manner, it has also left ample scope for the individual himself to select what portion of the Holy Koran he likes and to make

what supplications his soul yearn after. General directions have no doubt been given and on these the whole of the Muslim world is agreed, for these directions were necessary to secure regularity, method, and uniformity but in addition to these, ample scope has been left for the individual to give vent to his own feelings before the Great Maker of the Universe. As regards the time and mode of prayer, the following directions will be sufficient for the information of the ordinary reader.

## TIMES OF PRAYER.

The saying of prayer is obligatory upon every Muslim, male or female, who has attained to the age of discretion. It is said five times a day as follows:—

1. The morning prayer is said after dawn and before sunrise.

2. The early afternoon prayer is said when the sun begins to decline and its time extends till the next prayer.

3. The late afternoon prayer is said when the sun is about midway on its course to setting, and its time extends to a little before it actually sets.

4. The sunset prayer is said immediately after the sun sets.

5. The early night prayer is said when the red glow in the west disappears, and its time extends to midnight. But it must be said before going to bed.*

* When a person is sick, or on a journey (or in case of rain, when the prayer is said in congregation in a mosque), the early afternoon and the late afternoon prayers may be said in conjunction, and so also the sunset and early night prayers. In the case of conjunction the sunnats may be dropped.

Besides these five obligatory prayers there are two optional ones. The first of these is the SALAT-UL-LAIL, the TAHAJJUD or the late night prayer, which is said after midnight, after being refreshed with sleep, and before dawn. This prayer is specially recommended in the Holy Koran. The other is known as the SALAT-UD-DUHA, and it may be said at about breakfast-time. This is the time at which the two ID prayers are said.

The service on Friday takes the place of the early afternoon prayer.

PREPARATION FOR PRAYER.

Before saying prayers, it is necessary to wash those parts of the body which are generally exposed. This is called WUDU, or ablution. The ablution is performed thus:—

1. The hands are cleansed, washing them up to the wrists.
2. Then the mouth is cleansed by means of a tooth-brush or simply with water.
3. Then the nose is cleaned within the nostrils with water.
4. Then the face is washed.
5. Then the right arm, and after that the left arm, is washed up to the elbow.
6. The head is then wiped over with wet hands, the three fingers between the little finger and the thumb of both hands being joined together.
7. The feet are then washed up to the ankles, the right foot first and the left after.

But if there are socks on, and they have been put on after performing an ablution, it is not necessary to take them off, the wet hands may be passed over them. The same practice may be resorted to in case the boots are on, but it would be more decent to take off the boots when going into a mosque. It is, however, necessary that the socks be taken off and the feet washed about once in every twenty-four hours.*

SERVICE.

The service consists ordinarily of two parts, one part, called the FARD, to be said in congregation, preferably in a mosque, with an IMAM leading the

* A fresh ablution is necessary only when a man has answered a call of nature or has been asleep.

In cases of intercourse between husband and wife, a total ablution or washing of the whole body is necessary.

When a person is sick, or when access cannot be had to water, what is called TAYAMMUM is performed in place of ablution or total ablution. TAYAMMUM is performed by touching pure earth with both hands and then wiping over the face with this only once, and the backs of the two hands.

service; the second part, called SUNNAT,* to be said alone, preferably in one's house. But when a man is unable to say his prayers in congregation, the FARD may be said like the SUNNAT, alone.

Each part consists of a certain number of RAKATS as explained below:—

The FAJR, or morning prayer, consists of two RAKATS (SUNNAT) said alone, followed by two RAKATS (FARD) said in congregation.

The ZUHR, or early afternoon prayer, is a longer service consisting of four, or two, RAKATS (SUNNAT) said alone, followed by four RAKATS (FARD) said in congregation, and followed again by two RAKATS (SUNNAT) said alone.

In the Friday service, held at the time of ZUHR, (midday prayer) which takes the place of sabbath of some other religions, the four RAKATS † (FARD) said in congregation are reduced to two, but these two RAKATS are preceded by a sermon (KHUTBAH), exhorting the Muslims to goodness and showing them the means of their moral elevation and dwelling upon their national and communal welfare.

The ASR, or the late afternoon prayer, consists of four RAKATS (FARD) said in congregation.

The MAGHRIB, or the sunset prayer, consists of three RAKATS (FARD) said in congregation, followed by two RAKATS (SUNNAT) said alone.

The ISHA, or early night prayer, consists of four RAKATS (FARD) said in congregation, followed by two RAKATS (SUNNAT) said alone, again followed by three RAKATS (WITR) said alone, the last of

* When a person is journeying, the SUNNAT is dropped in every one of the prayers except the morning prayer, and the four RAKATS OF FARD in each of the ZUHR and the ASR and the ISHA prayers are reduced to two. When one is aware that his stay at a particular place in his journey will be four days or more, the complete service should be performed there.

† The prayer bows.

these RAKATS containing the well known prayer known as QUNUT.

The TAHAJJUD, or late night prayer, consists of eight RAKATS (SUNNAT) said in twos.

The DUHĀ, or the before-noon prayer, may consist of two RAKTAS or four RAKATS.

The ID Prayer consists of two RAKATS (SUNNAT) said in congregation* being followed by a sermon or KHUTBA, the object of which is the same as the object of the sermon in the Friday service.

* * * *

Two chief features of the Muslim congregational service are that the service may be led by any one, the only condition being that he should know the Koran better than the others, and that he should excel the others in righteousness and in the performance of his duties towards God and His creatures; the second is that not the least distinction of caste or rank or wealth is to be met with in a Muslim congregation: even the king stands shoulder to shoulder with the least of his subjects.

Every congregational service must be preceded by an AZAN and an IQAMAT, the former being a call to prayer said in a sufficiently loud voice, and the latter requiring those assembled for the congregational service to stand up in a line, or in several lines if necessary.

The AZAN, or call to prayer, consists of the following sentences, uttered in a loud voice by the crier, standing with his face to the QILLAH, *i.e.*, towards Mecca, which is the centre of the Muslim world, and in fact the spiritual centre of the whole world, with both hands raised to his ears:—

1. ALLAH-U AKBAR, *i.e.*, Allah is the greatest (repeated four times).

* When there are two or more persons, they may form a congregation, one of them acting as the IMAM, or the leader; but when a person is alone, he may say the FARD alone, as he does the SUNNAT.

2. ASH-HADU-ALLA-IDAHA-ILLALLAH *i.e.*, I bear witness that nothing deserves to be worshipped but Allah (repeated twice).

3. ASH-HADU ANNA MUHAMMADAR-RASUL-ULLAH, *i.e.*, I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah (repeated twice).

4. HAYYA ALAS-SALAH, *i.e.*, come to prayer (repeated twice, turning the face to the right).

5. HAYYA ALAL-FALAH, *i.e.*, come to success (repeated twice turning the face to the left).

6. ALLAH-U AKBAR, *i.e.*, Allah is the greatest (repeated twice).

7. LA ILAHA-ILLALLAH, *i.e.*, there is no God but Allah.

The following sentence is added in the call of morning prayer after No. 5, *i.e.*, before the two final sentences: AS-SALAT-U KHAIR-UN MINAN-NAUM *i.e.*, prayer is better than sleep (repeated twice).

The IQAMAT is said in the same words, every sentence being said only once, and with the addition of the following sentence repeated twice before the two final sentences: QAD QAMAT-IS-SALAH, *i.e.*, the prayer has indeed begun.

Both AZAN and IQAMAT are dispensed with in the case of ID prayers. Instead of these, ALLAH-U-AKBAR is repeated seven times in the first RAKAT and five times in the second after the TAKBIR-I-TAHRIMAH. In the Friday service there are generally two calls, the second being given when the Imam is about to deliver the sermon.

## DESCRIPTION OF RAKAT.

One RAKAT is completed as follows:—

Both hands are raised up to the ears in a standing position with the face towards the QIBLAH, *i.e.*,

*Note.*—A mosque is a building dedicated to Divine service, but a service, whether alone or in congregation may be held anywhere when necessary. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said that whole of the earth had been made a mosque for him, indicating not only that no place stood in need of being consecrated, but also that the true servants of Allah would spread over the whole surface of the earth.

Mecca, while the words ALLA-U-AKBAR (Allah is the greatest of all) are uttered, and this is called the TAKBIR-I-TAHRIMAH.

2. Then comes the QIYAM.* The right hand is placed upon the left on the breast, while the standing position is maintained, and the following prayer or a part of it, should be recited :—

"Surely I have turned myself, being upright, to Him who originated the heavens and the earth, and I am not of the polytheists. Surely my prayer and my sacrifice and my life and my death are all for Allah, the Lord of the worlds; no associate has He and this am I commanded, and I am of those who submit. O Allah, Thou are the King, there is no God but Thou; Thou art my Lord and I am Thy servant; I have been unjust to myself and I confess my faults, so grant me protection against all my faults, for none grants protection against faults but Thou, and guide me to the best of morals, for none guides to the best of them but Thou, and turn away from me the evil morals, for none can turn away from me the evil morals but Thou."

The following prayer is, however, the one more generally adopted :—

"Glory to Thee, O Allah, and Thine is the praise and blessed is Thy name and exalted is Thy Majesty and there is none to be served besides Thee. I betake me for refuge to Allah against the accursed devil."

After this the FĀTIHAH, which runs as follows, is recited in the same position :—

"In the name of Allah the Beneficient, the Merciful. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds, the Beneficient the Merciful; Master of the day of requital. Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help. Guide us on the right path, the path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favours, not of those upon whom wrath is brought down, not of those who go astray."

At the close of the above is said AMIN *i.e.*, Be it so—and then any portion of the Koran which the worshipper has by heart is recited. Generally

* Standing attitude at prayer.

one of the shorter chapters at the close of the Holy Book is repeated, and the chapter termed ALI-AL-IKHLAS (Unity) is the one recommended for those who are unacquainted with the Koran. This is as follows:—

Say: He Allah, is one; Allah is He of Whom nothing is independent; He begets not, nor is He begotten; and none is like Him.

3. Then, saying ALLAH-U-AKBAR (Allah is the greatest of all), the worshipper lowers his head down, so that the palms of the hands reach the knees. In this position, which is called RUKU, the prayer bow words expressive of the Divine glory and majesty are repeated at least three times. They are the following:—

SUB-HAN-A RABB-IY-AL-AZIM, *i.e.*, glory to My Lord the Great.

The following words may also be added or adopted instead of the above:—

SUB-HANAKA-ALLAHUMMA RABBANNA WA BIHAMDIKA ALLAHUM-MAGHFIR LI, *i.e.*, Glory to Thee, O Allah, our Lord, and Thine the praise; O Allah, grant me protection.

4. After this, the standing position is assumed, with the words:—

SAMI-ALLAH-U LIMAN HAMIDAH. RABBANA WA-LAK-AL-HAMD, *i.e.*, Allah accepts him who gives praise to Him; O our Lord, Thine is the praise.

5. Then the worshipper prostrates himself, the toes of both feet, both knees, both hands and the forehead touching the ground, and the following words expressing Divine greatness are uttered at least three times in this position, which is called the SAJDAH:—

SUBHANA RABBIYAL-A'LA, *i.e.*, Glory to my Lord, the Most High.

The following words may also be added to the above or adopted instead :—

SUBHANA-KA ALLAHUMMA RABBA-NA WA BI-HAMDIKA ALLAHUM-MAGHFIR LI, *i.e.*, O Allah, Glory to Thee, and Thine is the praise ; O Allah, grant me protection.

This is the first SAJDAH.

6. Then the worshipper sits down in a reverential posture. This is called JALSAH.

7. This is followed by a second prostration, or the second SAJDAH, as described above under 5, with the repetition of the words there given.

8. This finishes one RAKAT. The worshipper then rises and assumes a standing position for the second RAKAT, which is finished in the same manner as the first, but instead of assuming a standing posture after the second RAKAT, he kneels down in a reverential position called the QADAH, and with the glorification of the Divine Being combines prayers for the Holy Prophet, for the faithful, and for himself, called the TAHIYYAH, which runs as follows :—

All prayers and worship rendered through words, actions, and wealth are due to Allah. Peace be on you, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be on us and the righteous servants of Allah. And I bear witness that none deserves to be served but Allah, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and His Apostle.

9. If the worshipper intends to say more than two RAKATS, he stands, but if he has to say only two RAKATS, he repeats also the following prayer of blessings for the Prophet (this prayer and the one that follows being always repeated before the final SALAM) :—

O Allah ! Make Muhammad and the followers of Muhammad successful, as Thou didst make Abraham and the followers of Abraham successful, for surely Thou art praised and magnified. O Allah ! Bless Muhammad and the followers of Muhammad, as

Thou didst bless Abraham and the followers of Abraham, for surely Thou art praised and magnified.

The following prayer should also be added to this :—

O Allah ! I have been greatly unjust to myself, and none grants a protection against faults but Thou ; therefore protect me with a protection from Thyself and have mercy on me ; surely Thou art the forgiving, and the Merciful.

Or instead of this, the following prayer may be adopted :—

My Lord, Make me keep up prayer, and my offspring too ; Our Lord, accept the prayer ; Our Lord, grant Thy protection to me and to my parents and to the faithful on the day when the reckoning will be taken.

10. This closes the service, which ends with the SALAM, or the greeting, being also the greetings of the Muslims to each other. The worshipper turns his head first to the right and then to the left, saying each time :—

AS-SALÂMU ALAIKUM WA RAHMET ULLAH, *i.e.*, Peace be with you and the mercy of Allah.

11. Thus the service finishes, if the worshipper had to say only two RAKATS ; but if he had intended three or four RAKATS, then after the QADAH (see 8), and repeating TAHIYYAH therein (see 8), he takes the standing position, again saying, ALLAH-U-AKBAR, and finishes the remaining one or two RAKATS in the same manner (see 1 to 7), the last act being always kneeling in a reverential mood, saying TAHIYYAH and prayer of blessings for the Prophet, etc., and the concluding prayer (see 8 & 9), to be followed by the SALAM.

Besides this, the worshipper is at liberty to pray in any position as the yearning of his soul leads him to for the SALAT, or the liturgical service of Islam, is a prayer throughout. It is to be observed that in first standing up for prayer and in changing from one position to another, the worshipper says

ALLAH-U-AKBAR, or "Allah is the greatest," and therefore it is only just that man should in all positions and places be truly submissive to Him, sitting, standing, bowing, and prostrating himself when he is called upon to do so by One Who is the greatest of all. Only when rising from the RUKU (see 3) he says SAMI-ALLAHU LI-MAN HAMIDAH, *i.e.*, "Allah accepts him who gives praises to Him," instead of ALLAH-U AKBAR.*

12. The prayer known as the QUNUT is recited after rising from the RUKU (see 3), or immediately before assuming that position, when standing, generally only in the last of the three last RAKATS (WITR) of the ISHA prayer. The most well known QUNUT is the following:—

O Allah! guide me among those whom Thou hast guided aright, and preserve me among those whom Thou hast preserved, and befriend me among those whom Thou hast befriended, and bless me in what Thou doest grant me, and protect me from the evil of what Thou have judged; for surely Thou judgest, and none can judge against Thee; surely he whom Thou befriendest is not disgraced. Blessed art Thou, our Lord, and Exalted.

Some adopt instead, the following:—

O Allah! we beseech Thy help, and ask Thy protection and believe in Thee, and trust in Thee, and we laud Thee in the best manner and we thank Thee, and we are not ungrateful to Thee, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee. O Allah! Thee do we serve and to Thee do we pray and make obeisance, and to Thee do we flee and we are quick and we hope for Thy mercy and we fear Thy chastisement; for surely Thy chastisement overtakes the unbelievers.

The whole of the Muslim prayer is only a declaration of Divine majesty and glory and Divine

* When the prayer is said in congregation, the congregation or those who follow the IMAM, repeat all the prayers, *etc.*, and also the FATIHAH, but not the portions of the Quran following the FATIHAH, and when the IMAM, rising from the bowing posture says, SAMI-ALLAH-U LIMAN HAMIDAH; the congregation say, RABBANA WA LAK-AL-HAMD (see 4).

Holiness and perfection, and of the entire dependence of man on his Maker. As the body assumes every posture of humbleness and adoration, the tongue gives expression to every form of Divine glory and perfection, and the heart cannot but be full of the deepest and purest emotions. What a spirit of Divine grandeur permeates every word! What a great reliance on God! What a noble expression of obedience to Him and willingness to have no concern with those who are not of God! What a true fear of the Deity, and fearlessness of the rest! There is no noble desire, emotion or sentiment which has not found its expression in the above words.

2. FASTING.

Fasting is one of those religious institutions which, though universally recognised, have had quite a new meaning introduced into them by the advent of Islam. Fasting was generally resorted to in times of sorrow and affliction, probably to appease an angry deity. In Islam, fasting is enjoined for the moral elevation of man and for his spiritual betterment. This object is made clear in the Holy Koran itself, where fasting is enjoined: FASTING IS PRESCRIBED FOR YOU....SO THAT YOU MAY GUARD AGAINST EVIL (2:183). Thus, as in prayer, the object is the purification of the soul, so that man may learn how to shun evil. The Holy Koran does not content itself with simply enjoining the doing of good and refraining from evil but teaches man the ways by walking in which the tendency to evil in him can be suppressed and the tendency to good improved. Fasting is one of those means. Hence fasting in Islam does not mean simply abstaining from food but from every kind of evil. In fact, abstention from food is only a step to

make a man realise—if he can, in obedience to Divine injunctions, abstain from that which is otherwise lawful for him—how much more necessary it is that he should abstain from evil, the consequences of which must no doubt be evil. It is in fact, like a training of the faculties of man, for as every other faculty of man requires to be trained to attain its full force, the faculty of submission to the Divine will also require to be trained, and fasting is one of the means by which this is achieved. In addition to that, fasting has its physical advantages. It not only makes man habituated to bear hunger and thirst and thus to accustom himself to a life of hardship so that he may not be too much given over to ease, but also exercises a very good effect upon health generally.

The subject is dealt with in the Holy Koran in the 23rd section of the 2nd chapter. The number of days on which fasts are to be kept is 29 or 30 according to the number of the days of the month of Ramadan. Food and drink of every kind are prohibited on the fast days from dawn till sunset. So also sexual intercourse. Being a lunar month the RAMADAN falls in different seasons in different years and accordingly the days are some times too lengthy in some countries for ordinary constitutions to bear hunger and thirst during the long interval. The analogy of the sick and the traveller, who are enjoined to keep fasts during other days than RAMADAN, leads us to the conclusion that in such exceptional cases the observance of the fasts may be transferred to shorter days—say to the season when from dawn to sunset would be about 15 hours, being about the longest duration of the fast in Medina or Mecca.

It may be noted that persons who suffer from constant sickness, men and women too old to bear

the hardship, and women who are in the family way and those who give suck, are excused, but they should give away a poor man's food every day, if this is within their means. There are sayings of the Holy Prophet which expressly mention these exceptions.

### 3. "ZAKAT" OR THE POOR-RATE.

Every religion of the world has preached charity, but like prayer, we find here method and regularity given to this institution, so that it has assumed in Islam a permanence which is not encountered anywhere else. Islam makes charity obligatory and binding upon all those who accept the Muslim faith. Here we have brotherhood into which the rich man cannot enter unless and until he is willing to give part of his possessions for the support of its poorer members. There is no doubt that the rich man is not here confronted with the insuperable difficulty of making the camel pass through the eye of the needle before he can enter the kingdom of heaven, but he is subjected to a practical test which not only makes him stand on the same footing with his poorest brother, but also requires him to pay a tax—a tax which is levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor and thus a REAL brotherhood is established between the rich and the poor.

The payment of the poor rate is an injunction next in importance only to prayer. In the Holy Koran, it is very often mentioned in conjunction with prayer. The ZAKAT is, according to a saying of the Holy Prophet, a charitable gift taken from the rich for the benefit of the poor. Every person is rich within the meaning of this saying who has in his possession silver or other property of the value of approximately Rs. 50 or gold of the value of about £12. No ZAKAT is, however,

payable on jewels, not on house furniture, utensils, implements, or other property or livestock in ordinary use. On all hoarded wealth within the above definition which has remained in the possession of the owner for one year, one-fortieth portion is payable into the BAIT-UL-MAL, or the public treasury. In the case of immovable property, ZAKAT is paid on the income or rent that accrues therefrom.

As regards the expenditure of the income of ZAKAT, eight heads are mentioned in the Holy Koran (9 : 60) :—

1. The poor.
2. The needy.
3. Those in debt.
4. (Ransoming of) captives.
5. The wayfarer.
6. The officials appointed in connection with the collection and expenditure of ZAKAT.
7. Those whose hearts are made to incline to truth.
8. The way of Allah.

A few words may be added to explain the above. As distinguished from the POOR, the NEEDY are those who may be able to earn their livelihood, but lack the means, as implements, etc., A person may be able to support himself, but if he is in debt, his debts may be paid off from the ZAKAT fund. The captives are those who are taken prisoners in a war. A portion of the public funds may go for their release. A traveller, though in well-to-do circumstances, may sometimes stand in need of help in a strange place or country; hence a part of the ZAKAT must also be spent for the wayfarer. The sixth head of expenditure shows that ZAKAT must under all circumstances be collected and disbursed as a public fund, and the individual is not at liberty to spend ZAKAT as he likes.

Officials must be appointed to collect it and manage its expenditure, and their wages must be paid out of the ZAKAT fund.

The last two heads relate to the propagation of the faith. With respect to the preaching of a religion, there is always a class which is ready to listen, but money is needed to enable them to listen. These persons are spoken of here as those *whose hearts are made to incline to truth*, "FI SABILILLAH, or *in the way of Allah*, for the advancement of the cause of the religion of Islam or its defence. Under this head, therefore, ZAKAT may be spent for the propagation of the religion of Islam and to meet the objections advanced against Islam. It may be noted that this head has for the past few centuries been totally neglected by the Muslims, and the result is that there is rarely any effort made for the propagation of the Holy religion of Islam.

4. PILGRIMAGE.

Performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca is incumbent upon every Muslim once in his life, subject to the condition that he has the means to undertake the journey as well as to make provision for those dependent on him. Security of life is also a necessary condition.

The pilgrimage is performed in the month of Zulhaj, and the pilgrim must reach Mecca before the 7th of that month. As regards the formalities to be observed during the pilgrimage, every one can easily learn them from the Muallim or instructor.

The ARKAN, or principal points in connection with the pilgrimage are :—

1. Entering upon a state of IHRAM, in which the ordinary clothes are put off and all pilgrims wear one kind of apparel, consisting of two seamless sheets, leaving the head uncovered.

2. TAWAF, or making circuits round the KABA seven times.

3. SA'Y or running seven times between Safa and Marwa, two small hills.

4. Staying in the plain of ARAFAT.

It will be seen that the state of IHRAM makes all men and women stand upon one plane of equality, all wearing the same simple dress and living in the same simple conditions. All distinctions of rank and colour, of wealth and nationality, disappear there, and the king is there indistinguishable from the peasant. The whole of humanity assumes one aspect, one attitude before its Maker and thus the grandest and the noblest sight of human equality is witnessed in that wonderful desert plain called the ARAFAT, which truly makes a man have a true knowledge of his Creator, the word being derived from ARAFA meaning 'HE CAME TO HAVE A KNOWLEDGE (of the thing).' The whole of the world is unable to present another such noble picture of real brotherhood and practical equality.

The condition of the Pilgrim and the different movements connected with the pilgrimage, the making of circuits and running to and fro in fact represent the stage in which the worshipper is imbued with the spirit of true love of the Divine Being. The love of God which is so much talked of in other religions becomes a reality here. The fire of Divine love being kindled in the heart, the worshipper now, like a true lover, neglects all cares of the body, and finds his highest satisfaction in sacrificing his very heart and soul for the beloved one's sake, and, like the true lover, he makes circuits round the house of his beloved one and hastens on from place to place. He shows in fact, that he has given up his own will, and completely surrendering himself to the Divine will, has sacrificed all his interests for His sake. The lower connections have all been cut off and all the comforts of this

world have lost their attractions for him. The pilgrimage, in fact, represents the last stage in spiritual advancement, and by his outward condition and his movements, the pilgrim only announces to the whole world how all lower connections must be cut off to reach the great goal of human perfection, which can only be attained by holding true communion with the Divine Being.*

FESTIVALS.

An account of the chief Festivals of Islam may be rightly prefaced with a list of the twelve Muhammadan months. The twelve lunar divisions into which the Musalmans divide their year are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Muharram. | 7. Rajab. |
| 2. Safar. | 8. Shaban. |
| 3. Rabi-ul-Awwal. | 9, Ramazan. |
| 4. Rabiu-a-Sani. | 10. Shawwal. |
| 5. Jamadi-ul-Awwal. | 11. Zul Qudah. |
| 6. Jamadi-us-Sani. | 12. Zul Hijah. |

The *Id-ul-Fitar* or breaking of the fast forms the conclusion of the Ramzan or Muhammadan Lent. It is held on the first day of the month of Shawwal, immediately after the conclusion of the Roza Fast. On this day, after making propitiatory offerings to the poor, the people assemble in the principal Musjid and proceed to the Idgah, a special place of worship, and there the Khatib or priest reads the service. The prayers must be read between 7 and 8 A.M., before noon and should not be postponed till later. At the close of the service, the members of the congregation salute and embrace each other, and returning to their homes, spend the rest of the day in feasting and merriment.

* Muhammed Ali's translation.

*The Idul-Zuha or Bakrid.*—This festival is held on the ninth day of the month called Zul Hijjah. The festival is said to commemorate Abrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismail. It is perhaps the greatest of the Muhammadan festivals and is celebrated throughout Islam. At this feast, every Muhammadan who is in possession of the regulated means, *i.e.*, fifty-seven rupees or seven tolas of gold, besides a house and furniture, is bound to sacrifice either a he-goat or ram, cow or female camel at the Idgah in the name of God. The sacrifice is generally called Kurbani, and the flesh of the victim is divided into three portions; one is reserved for the sacrificer himself; the second is given in alms to the poor and indigent; the third is bestowed among relatives and friends. It is believed that the sacrifice of a camel or cow is equivalent to that of seven goats or rams. The special reason given for the sacrifice of the camel is that those who offer up these animals will find them in readiness to assist them over the Pul-Sirat or bridge which separates heaven and hell, over which all mankind will have to pass on the resurrection day. The righteous will pass over it with ease and with the swiftness of lightning; while the wicked will miss their footing, and fall headlong into hell.

*Muharram-ki-Id or the feast of the Muharram*: It begins on the first of the month of that name, and is continued for ten days. The name Muharram means that which is forbidden or taboo, hence sacred, the first month of the Musalman year. The period is observed for ten days by the Shiahs to commemorate the martyrdom of Ali and of Hassan and Hussain. But the Ashura or the last of the festival is held to be sacred by the Sunnis, as it commemorates, the birth of Adam and Eve, and the creation of Heaven and hell, as also of the

human race. Muhammad enjoined on all his followers the observance of the ten customs, namely, (1) bathing, (2) wearing fine dress, (3) wearing surma (antimony) in the eyes, (4) fasting, (5) prayers, (6) cooking more food than usual, (7) making peace with one's enemies establishing it with others, (8) associating with pious or or learned Moulvis, (9) taking compassion on orphans, and (10) bestowing alms. The month derives its special importance from the festival in honour of the martyrs.

Every night the funeral elegies are sung by boys trained for the duty, and faquirs and friends keep vigil (*shab-bedari*). On the seventh day, the spear (*neza*) covered with cloth with a lemon fixed on the top, emblematical of the spear on which the head of Hussain was taken away is paraded. As they pass, the people throw pots of water on the bearers' feet and give money or grain. A cenotaph analogous to the shrine paraded by the Hindu Mussalmans consists of a frame work of bamboo in the shape of a Mausoleum intended to represent that erected in the plain of Karabala over the remains of Hussain. It is covered with a net-work of paper neatly cut and decorated with coloured paper formed into various devices, and has tinsel fringes. The whole structure is surmounted with a dome which is often contrived so as to move round at the slightest breath of air. Its beauty appears when it is lighted within and without. In shape it is a square, varying in height. Within are set up standards or a couple of small tombs intended to be those of the martyrs.

The Muharram festival begins on the evening when the new moon becomes visible. During the ten days of mourning, it is believed in Egypt that the jinns visit the people at night.

On the tenth day known as 'Shahadat-ka-Roz' 'the day of martyrdom' between 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.,

all the standards are taken to an open place, near the sea, a tank or river known as *Karbala-ka-maidan*, the plain of Karbala. Fire is lighted in the fire pits round which they walk thrice and recite the *Fātiha* facing Mecca. Then they put some small coin with some milk and sherbet into an earthen pot, cover it, and lay it in the fire-pit which they fill up with earth, and fix a pomegranate branch on the mound. Next year the pot is dug up, and some women for a consideration get the coins from the superintendent, bore holes in them and hang them from the necks of their children to protect them from evil spirits. Some people after the fire-pit is closed, pour sherbet over it, and burn a lamp there for three or four days as they do in the case of a real grave. Some people vow that if they recover from a disease, they will roll on the ground in front of the standards as far as the Karbala plain. Men do this wearing only a loin cloth, and their friends go in front, removing stones and obstacles on the way.

In the Karbala plain, a great crowd assembles where sweetmeats and food are sold, bear and monkey leaders perform, and strings are set going. Water and sherbet are distributed either *gratis* or for a small sum. When the standards and cenotaphs are brought to the water edge, the *Fāthiha* is repeated in the names of the martyrs over food and sewetmeats, some of which are distributed, and some are regarded as sacred and brought home. The tinsel is removed from the cenotaphs, and the standards which they contain are removed. Then the structures are dipped in water, some are thrown away, others reserved for future use. Men and boys, Hindus and Musalmans, try to catch the drops of water which fall from them, and rub on their eyes to strengthen the sight. Then the standards are packed up, and the food is distributed. On this

day of martyrdom, food is cooked in every house, the *Fātiha* is said over it in the name of Maula 'Lord, Ali' and the martyrs, and it is distributed to friends or given in charity.

*The Shab-i-Barat* or the Night of Discord:—It is observed during the evening of the fifteenth day of the month of Sha' ban, and is so called because, according to Muhammad, the Almighty on that night registers all actions which men are to perform in the course of the ensuing year. Uneducated Muhammadans often call Shab-i-Barat, the Shab Qadar or night of power, and thus confuse it with Lylat-ul-Qadar, a totally distinct festival which takes place on the 27th night of the month of Ramzan. It is said that the two festivals are different. Learned men never offer *Fātiha*, probably because the Prophet never did so. They sit up all night reciting a hundred and two vow prayers, reading Koran and the benediction (*dusa*), fasting next day, all this being done according to the commands of the Prophet.

*The Bara Wafat.*—This commemorates the death of the Prophet, which occurred on the twelfth of the month, known as Rabi-ul-Avval. Pious Muhammadans assemble daily morning and evening either in the mosque or at their own houses, and recite extracts from the Hadis describing the virtues of the Prophet. They also read the Koran and the Wafat nama or story of the Prophet's death, special reverence being paid to all personal tokens relating to Muhammad. These are generally hairs from the Prophet's beard or Kadam-i-Rasuls, *i.e.*, impressions of his footstep. The latter are fairly numerous, for it is related that Muhammad was one day ascending a hill, and became so angry that the ground he was treading grew so soft as was from the heat of his wrath, and thus retained forty impressions of his footstep.

These foot-prints have been so widely distributed, and one of them may be seen at Secunderabad to which multitudes annually resort as pilgrims.

*The Akhiri Chahar Shamba* or last Wednesday of the month:—It is observed as a festival by most Muhammadans, because the prophet, having experienced some mitigation of the disease that ultimately caused his death, took his last bath on that day. The day is observed as a holiday and is spent in prayer and amusement.

*The Ramzan Festival.*—The month of vehement heat, the Musalman Lent, is the eighth month of the year. During the festival, the time for breaking the fast (*sahur sahargahi*) is from 2 to 4 A.M., beginning with the morning which succeeds the evening when the new moon of the month Ramzan first became visible. It was in the month of Ramzan that the Koran descended from Heaven. It is the divine command that both the beginning and breaking of the fast should be preceded by the making of a vow (*niyat*—intention) to that effect. From the beginning of the fast till sunset, it is not lawful to eat, drink, or have intercourse with women. Day and night should be spent on meditation on God. In the evening, before sunset prayer (*maghrib*), at 6 P.M. they break the fast (*iftar*), usually eating first, a date; if that is not procurable, by drinking a little water. Young children and idiots are excused from fasting. Sick persons and travellers may postpone (*qaza*) the fast to another and more suitable time. 'God wisheth you ease, but wisheth not discomfort, and that you fulfil the number of days, and that you glorify God for your guidance, and that you are thankful.' Special prayers called the resting (*tarawih*) because the congregation sits down and rests during the night after each fourth prostration (*rakath*), and after every second blessing (*salam*)

of the prophet after every second prostration. They take about an hour consisting of the twenty-three or as some say, twenty prostrations with the blessing (*salam*) of the prophet after every second prostration. The Shias have only 8 rakaths.

THE SUNNAH.

"The Holy Quran is the fountain-head from which all the teachings of Islam are drawn, and it is the only absolute and final authority in all discussions relating to the religion of Islam. The SUNNAH, meaning MODE OF LIFE and specially THE COURSE OF THE HOLY PROPHET'S LIFE, is used in the religious terminology of Islam to indicate PRACTICES AND SAYINGS OF THE HOLY PROPHET. HADIS, which means originally NEWS, carries the same significance. The SUNNAH or HADIS, as signifying the precepts show these were to be carried into practice, and the Holy Prophet was the great exemplar whose life furnished this illustration: 'Surely you have in the apostle of God an excellent exemplar" (33 : 21). Thus both the words and deeds of the founder of Islam form a secondary source of the teachings of Islam. It was to draw attention to this that the Holy Quran repeatedly enjoined the Muslims to "Obey God and the Apostle" (3 : 131 ; 4 : 59, 69 ; 24:54, etc.,) The fact was that the principles of religion having been made clear and established, the Muslims now stood in need of being told that they had to take the details of the law from the Holy Prophet and hence the injunction to obey God and the Apostle.

"There is not thus the least doubt that SUNNAH or HADIS was from the beginning looked upon as a secondary source of the Islamic teachings and hence it was that many of the companions of the Holy Prophet began to preserve his sayings, mostly in memory but sometimes also in writing. The latter course was not, however, generally adopted, as the Prophet himself had given a warning against it, lest the Quran in revelation should be mixed up with the SUNNAH by the less wary. But those nearest him knew well the value of the SUNNAH. Thus as Tirmazi and Abu Daud relate when Maaz bin Jabal was appointed Governor of Yemen, the Holy Prophet asked him as to how he would judge cases. "By the Book of God" was the reply. "But if you do not find it in the Book of God" asked the Prophet. "By the SUNNAH of the Apostle of God," said the Governor-designate.

"It is a mistake to suppose that the SUNNAH was collected two hundred years after the Holy Prophet. Schools for the

preservation and teaching of traditions were established immediately after his death, and to these schools students flocked from different quarters, some of them committing to memory the traditions which were taught there, while others preserved them in writing. The number of these schools soon increased as other centres of Islamic learning and civilization sprang up, and the later written collections of Bukhari were such. The true relation of the Holy Quran and the SUNNAH has often been misunderstood, and that not only by non-Muslim critics, but even by some sections of the Muslim community, there being a tendency in some quarters to attach over-importance to the SUNNAH and in others, to discredit it altogether. The truth lies midway between these two extremes.

"In what relation does the SUNNAH stand to the Quran? According to the Quran itself, the Holy Prophet was not only the recipient of the Divine revelations, but he was also required, in one of the earliest revelations, to collect and arrange it and give explanation of it: "On Us devolves the explaining of it" (75: 17-19). The Prophet's work to be carried out under Divine guidance was thus three-fold, *viz.*, the recitation of the Quran, the collection of the Quran and the explaining of the Quran. He carried out the first part of his work by reciting the Quran to those around him as it was revealed in portions; the second part by having every portion written down as it was revealed and by assigning to the different verses and chapters as they were revealed, their proper place in the Book; and the third part, by giving explanation where it was needed. This third part of his work is SUNNAH or HADIS. It was an explanation, given sometimes by example and sometimes by words.

"In the verses quoted above, such explanation is spoken of as proceeding from a Divine source, but evidently it was not a revelation in words like the Quran, being conveyed sometime by deeds, and some time by words, but still that explanation proceeded from a Divine source just as the arrangement of the Quran was brought about under Divine guidance. In both cases, there was no WAHY-I-MATLUW, a revelation recited in words, but the Prophet acted or spoke under the influence of the Divine spirit, being guided by what is called WAHY-I-KHAFI, literally, inner revelation. SUNNAH or HADIS, is, therefore an explanation of the Quran given under Divine inspiration.

"And such explanation was needed. The Holy Quran had given quite a new conception to religion. Religion was no more a name for certain beliefs or certain forms of worship, it was a code for the entire life of man, and directions were, therefore,

needed for man's everyday life. All these details could not find a place in the Holy Quran for various reasons and therefore while the Holy Quran laid down the broad principles of life, the details were given by the Holy Prophet, the Holy Quran touching on them only in very few important cases. Again the injunctions contained in the Holy Quran needed an illustration showing these. Though it cannot be denied that the SUNNAH was not preserved intact like the Quaran, yet the labours of the later collectors were so thorough that the traditions which have been handed down to us through their searching enquiry give us a tolerably reliable collection of traditions. Especially in the case of traditions relating to practice, it may be said that they furnish us with a reliable source of the teachings of Islam. The collectors themselves were not so stringent in the case of other traditions, such as those relating to stories of the past, but such traditions do not play any important part in our knowledge about the teaching of Islam. And as to the errors which, notwithstanding all the precautions of the narrators and the collectors, have crept into the traditions, there is ample scope for their rectification by means of the Holy Quran, as the Holy Prophet is himself reported to have said, "There will be narrators reporting traditions from me, so judge by the Quran; if a report agrees with the Quran, accept it; otherwise reject it" (Ibin-Asakar). Thus notwithstanding minor details of religion that are taken from the SUNNAH, the Holy Quran remains the real and the only absolute authority for the teachings of Islam, and tradition is only accepted subject to the condition that it does not contradict the Holy Quran. Even the traditions contained in the most reliable collections, the BUKHARI and the MUSLIM, can be accepted subject to this condition.*"

When from sickness or old age, a man finds that death is approaching, he appoints an executor, and prepares a *wasiat nāmā* or will in the presence of two or more witnesses. As the time for death draws near, a Maulvi is sent for to repeat the *kalima* in a loud voice, so that the dying man by hearing the sound may bring it to his recollection, and thus die in peace and faith. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

* An extract from the introduction to Maulana Muhammad Ali's cheap abridged edition of the English translation of the Holy Quran published by the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha at Islam, Ahmadiyya buildings, Lahore.

As soon as life becomes extinct, arrangements are made for interment. If the deceased was a good man, the sooner he is buried, the quicker will he reach the paradise; while if his life was evil, the more speedily will the memory of his transgressions be foregotten. Before burial, the body must be washed by relatives or by men or women who make this their special business. The next step is to cover it with a shroud which must always be white. That done the body must be placed on a bed or if the family is able to afford it, in a coffin, the whole being covered with a pall which after the funeral becomes the perquisite of the fakir in charge of the graveyard. The funeral cortege then starts for the cemetery. The procession starts headed by the corpse carried by the kinsmen of the deceased, the head towards the north, face towards Mecca, while male relations and friends follow in rear. Women never attend a burial, but many strangers and acquaintances assist, for to take part in a funeral is a highly meritorious act. Sometimes the funeral service is not recited at the grave, but either in a mosque close by or in some open space in the neighbourhood. It may be performed by any educated Muslim, but his family Imam or village Kazi is the official usually called in for duty. After the service, those who wish to do so go home while the rest proceed to the grave, which has been generally prepared beforehand. The funeral party forms a line sometimes three rows deep facing the corpse, while the Imam stands in front, and recites several Fātehas or prayers. The body is then placed in a recess called a Tahad or Lahad, dug at the side of the grave, head to the north, and feet to the south with face turned to Mecca. The persons who place the corpse in the grave repeat the following sentence, 'we commit thee to earth

in the name of God and in the religion of the Prophet.' The shroud is then loosened, and the grave filled in with earth. After the burial, prayers are offered by the people, and they are again repeated when they have advanced forty paces from the grave, for it is at this juncture that the angels Munkir and Nakir examine the deceased as to his faith. After this, food is distributed to beggars as a propitiatory offering in the name of the dead.

On the third day after burial, relatives visit the grave and recite selections from the Koran. This observance called *Ziarat* completes the obligatory period of mourning; but prayers for the dead should be repeated on the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth day after death. *Fātehas* are also offered in the name of the departed on the third, sixth, and twentieth months after the death of a person, and also at *Shabi-Barat*, and *Bakrid* festivals. The full period of pollution according to the Koran is forty days, but this is seldom observed except among Sayyids, and people of the highest position. On the day of death, neither the family, nor any of the near relations touch food.

The second day the relatives of the deceased send victuals to the mourners, and on the third day, the heir distributes food to the relatives, village servants, and beggars, among the poorer classes and this ends the mourning during which the family abstain from wearing bright coloured clothes and their soiled garments remain unchanged. Mourning for the dead is the special duty of the women. When a death occurs, the women repair to the house, and gathering round the corpse, perform the Azā or lamentation which consists of weeping in concert, and in an accustomed manner and tone. The building of tombs with stone and brick is forbidden in the Hadis; nevertheless, some

of the finest specimens of architecture are edifices of this description. The tombstone of a man is generally distinguished by a raised part in the centre; that of a woman by a depression.

Occupation.

The Musalmans of Mysore follow most of the professions of the State. Among the upper classes, many are employed in the Government service, and a very large number are merchants. Some are agriculturists.

Dietary of the Musalman Community.

The Musalmans have very few restrictions regarding food and drink, unlike the Hindus who are governed by the rules of caste. An animal becomes lawful food for Muhammadans, if it is killed by cutting the throat, and repeating at the same time the words *Bismillah-i-Alla-ho-Akbar*, in the name of God, God is great. But in shooting wild animals, if the invocation is repeated at the time of discharging the arrow or firing the gun, the carcass becomes lawful food. This rule is not observed by many Musalmans who do not eat an animal unless its throat is cut before death. Fish and locusts may be eaten without being killed in this manner. The animal so killed by *Zabah* is lawful food when slain by a Muhammadan, Jew or Christian, but not if killed by an idolator or an apostate from Islam. Cloven-footed animals, birds that pick up food with their bills and fish with scales are lawful. They eat mutton and fish when they can afford it, but some of them abstain from chickens in imitation of the Hindus. Swine's flesh is prohibited. Their favourite drink is sherbat or sugar and water or cream or the juice of some fruit. All kinds of intoxicants are avoided. The staple dishes of Musalmans are *Pulao* or stew, *kichri* or rice boiled with pulse, and *kabāb* or roasted meat. A rich Muhammadan takes three meals a day, a breakfast of tea or coffee

with sweet, a midday meal, and a meal of rice and pulse or rice boiled with meat, butter or ghee and some fruits. Middle class people eat three less elaborate meals. The poor generally have two meals. Hindus use vessels made of brass and other alloys, Mussalmans only of copper, which they are supposed to keep carefully tinned. Instead of the Hindu water pot (lota), they use a vessel with a spout (*badhna*), a pot (*katora*) for cooking vegetables and another (degchi *pateli*) for cooking meat, a kind of tray (*ligan*) and glass of tinned copper. According to religion, a Musalman cannot have any objection to eat with a Christian, if food eaten is of a lawful kind, but not with the Hindus who are idolators.* Low class Musalmans eat in the house of Hindus.

DRESS AND TOILET.

Regarding the materials of dress, the Prophet forbade the wearing of silk, satin, sitting on quilted red saddle cloths, wearing silk and cotton mixed (*mashru*) but this last is now permitted, and a Muhammadan who may not wear silk in his lifetime may be shrouded in it. A rich Musalman wears a cap of velvet or embroidered cloth, or if he be of taste, of plain muslin or cotton cloth. The upper body is covered with a short shirt (*pirahan*) of the muslin, and his lower limbs in trousers made of cotton or cotton and silk (*ilachi*-cardoom-like) or chintz of velvet brocade or broad cloth is sometimes worn. When he goes out, he changes his cap for a turban or scarf (dopatti) wound loosely on his head and over the shirt he has a coat (*āngrakha*) tight round the chest and rather full in the skirts which hang loose to the knee. The ceremonial dress differs from the ordinary dress only in being richer, the turban of gold cloth, the coat richly embroidered on the

* Enthoven *R. E.*: *Volume III, page. 59.* Herklot: *Islam in India Chapter XXXIV.*

shoulders and breast, the shoulder cloth bordered with silk, and trousers made of brocade or Chinese silk cotton. They have a variety of shoes. The dress of a middle class Musalman is more or less like that of the richer class, but the materials are less costly. The poorer men wear drawers of coarse cotton cloth, a coloured turban, a coat of cheap broadcloth and thick soled shoes.

A rich woman wears a scarf or head-shawl (*orhni*), a bodice (*angiya*), a gown (*peshwaz* open in front) and trousers are generally made of some kind of chintz or coloured cloth, and they are tighter than those worn by men. Fashions both of male and female dress are so varied that space does not allow a catalogue of fashions and materials. There are certain superstitious beliefs regarding the wearing of new dress on week days. According to traditions, all the hair should be allowed to grow or the whole head should be shaved. The retention of the scalplock (*shusha*, *choti chonti*) is sometimes explained on the ground that it furnished a handle to draw the wearer into Paradise. It is said to prevent the pollution of the mouth of a decapitated Musalman from an impure hand, but it seems to have been used as a protection for the head adopted by the Arabs of the desert. The Sunnat or practice of the Prophet was to wear the beard not longer than one hand and two fingers breadth, and that the moustache should be either cropped or shaven loose. In the traditions, the beard is the sign of manhood, and hence highly respected, so that to seize a man by the beard or to pull a hair from it is considered a deadly insult. There is a popular saying, *i.e.*, *Darhi Khuda ka nur*. The beard is the light of God. The order of the Prophet was: "Do the opposite to the polytheists and let your beards grow long."

The habit of dyeing the beard is very common among men. Village women converts from Hinduism sometimes follow the Hindu practice of using vermilion to mark the parting of the hair as a mark of converture, but the practice is forbidden by the orthodox. Certain days are prescribed for bathing. If a person bathes on a Sunday, he will suffer affliction; on Monday, his goods will be increased; on Tuesday, will suffer from anxiety of mind; on Wednesday, his property will increase; on Thursday, his property will increase; on Friday, all his sins will be forgiven; and on Saturday, all his ailments will be removed.

The teeth are cleaned with a twig (*dantan miswaak*). The trees commonly used for this purpose are the Nim (*Melia Azadiriata*), and the Pilu (*salvadora persica*) in the South. There are also other varieties of twigs used for the purpose. The eyes are painted with *surma* and *kajal*.

Henna (*mhendi*) is cultivated throughout India. It is also found as a hedge plant. The use of it by women is not mere caprice as it checks perspiration in the hands and feet, and produces an agreeable and healthful coolness. Turmeric (*kusam*—Carthamus tinctorius) produces a beautiful red dye. This also is used by women. It has a mystic significance, and clothes of this shade are used largely at marriage and in various magical rites. Various kinds of perfumed powders are in common use.*

ORNAMENTS.

The Jewellery worn by Musalmans presents great differences in type and fashion, but there is little that is distinctive. Musalmans do not invest so much of their savings in jewellery as the Hindus

* Herklot: *Islam in India*, Chapter XXXII, page 308.

do. Among them as among the Hindus, the primary purpose in wearing ornaments is not for decoration but to secure protection against the evil eye and the attacks of spirits. Hence the use of wood or leaves of certain trees and plants, the claws of tigers or parts of other animals is supposed to possess magical power. Men as a rule use very little as jewellery except as charms or amulets. According to a Rabbinical legend adopted by Islam Sarah, when she was jealous of Hagar declared that she could not rest till her hands were stained with the blood of her rival. So Abraham pierced Hagar's ears, and Sarah was able to stain her hands with blood. Hence the use of ear-rings. Musalman women wear these rings fixed all along the outer border of the ear often four to eleven in each, the left having one less than the right. The Traditions declare, "Whoever likes to put in on the nose or ear of his friend a ring of hell fire, let it be a gold ring; wherefore be it, on you to make ornaments of silver." * But this is generally ignored, and many Musalman women wear a gold nose ring (*nath*) in the left nostril, and another (*bulāk*) in the central cartilege. Many women wear round their necks thread strung with black silver cases containing a verse from the Koran, some charm or some animal or vegetable substance. "Verily, spells and tying round the necks of children, the nails of tearing animals, and the thread which is tied round a woman's neck to make the husband love her; all these are of the polytheists." Among the Musalman women of South India the ear is often dilated widely by the use of pegs or plegets of cloth each of a size larger than the last.†

* Mishkit, II 355.

† Herklot: *Islam in India*, Chapter XXIII, pages 312—314.

Chess is one of the most universal games as Shatranj (Chaturanga) "an army arranged in four divisions is the only game allowed to be lawful by Musalman doctors, because it depends wholly on skill and not on chance, but the Prophet is said to have condemned it." Pachisi, Chauser, dice and cards are all very popular. The games of children are like those of the Hindus. Among them may be mentioned: Aghilsap, marbles of which Ekpari sabsari, throwing marbles into a hole, is a variety; Akalkhwāja is played with marbles and two holes, the player counting each time his marble strikes another or goes into a hole. Andhala Badshah, the blind king, is a kind of blindman's buff. GAMES.

# MAHDAVIA MUSALMANS.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE COMMUNITY—RELIGIOUS TENETS—THE CAUSES OF THEIR TRANSMIGRATION AND HABITAT IN MYSORE SOCIAL ORGANISATION—OCCUPATION.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE origin of the Mahdavia Community * dates from the beginning of the tenth century Hijira.

The people belonging to this community are the followers of Syed Muhammad, who took the title of 'Mahdi—Mauvood' (the predicted Mahdi). The Prophet, Muhammad, had predicted, "my followers would not be a prey to apostasy, in as much as I am at first, there would be a Mahdi from my lineage in the middle and lastly there would appear Messiah."

Among Muhammadans there are three schools of thought regarding the question of the appearance of Mahdi in this world. The disciples of one school say that there is no need of Mahdi in as much as the teachings of the holy Koran and the Prophet, Muhammad, have reached the stage of perfection for mankind. The other school says that when the world would be nearing the end, in Mecca or Medina there would appear a great Redeemer or Reformer by the title of 'Mahdi', who with the co-operation of Messiah, would kill Dajjal, the great adversary of Messiah, (Christ) and thus he would wipe off the sinners from the world and that he would also be the ruler of the world.

The third sect has agreed that, according to the genuine traditions (Hadith-i-Sahiha) and the true interpretations of the verses of Koran touching this

* I am indebted to Mr. Pir Saheb Miyan of the Mysore Educational Service for the account of this community.

question, the predicted Mahdi may appear in any place and at any time, when virtue subsides and vice prevails. Thus the Mahdavia community believes that the predicted Mahdi did appear in Jaunpur in the Northern part of India, who had the exact bearings as predicted by the Prophet Muhammad. For instance, he descended from Ali, the son-in-law and Fātima, the lovely daughter of the Prophet. His name, in accordance with the predictions, was (Syed) Muhammad. His father's name was (Syed) Abdulla and that of his mother was Amina. He was born in 847 A.H. corresponding with 1448 A.D. at Jaunpur, an old historical city in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, during the reign of Sultan Mahmood, son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharkhi of the Sharkhi Dynasty of Jaunpur. While he was still a boy, his parents passed away. However, he was educated at Jaunpur which was crowded with philosophers and was well-known for Islamic culture at that period. It was called the "Shiraz of India". At his early age, he took the title of Asadul-Ulema (a lion among the philosophers). Before and after his birth, the people noticed great many miracles by which they expected that he would be a great saint. Accordingly, he devoted himself to God. By and by he gained a worldwide fame for his piousness and devotion. The people gathered round him and called him 'Syed-ul-Aulia' (leader of the saints). Even the king, Husain, son of Sultan Mahmood Sharkhi of Jaunpur, who had then ascended to the throne of Jaunpur, became a staunch adherent.

He preached after the tenets of Islam and gained thousands of disciples. The basic doctrine he preached was to renounce the world in order to realise God. In renouncing the world, he did not prohibit from enjoyment of family life, but by renunciation he meant the renunciation of the love of worldly things

and lust that keep man away from devoting himself to God. He also preached that the ultimate aim of man is to see God in this world, even to go beyond this, *i.e.*, to become one with the Universal Being. He preached in accordance with the principles of Islam and generally dealt with constant moditation of God, renunciation of the transitory world, complete trust in God, and company of the great-souled ones, etc.

At the age of forty, he declared and claimed himself to be the predicted Mahdi and that it was binding upon the people to believe in and follow him. With the purpose of propagating his religion and performing 'Haj', he left Jaunpur with the household members and a few disciples. He travelled through the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Central Provinces, Gujerat and the Deccan. He went as far as Gulberga in the Deccan. Then he proceeded to Mecca *via* Aden. After performing 'Haj', he again returned to India and stayed in Gujerat for some years whence he proceeded towards Persia *via* Chaman and Khandahar. He travelled through Khurasan and reached Ferrah in the Province of Herat (Afghanistan) where he died in the year 910 A.H. corresponding with 1505 or 1506 A.D. He won thousands of followers wherever he visited. Even the Kings, Sultan Mahmood Begra of Gujerat, Sultan Giasuddin of Mandhu, Ahmad Nizam Shah and Burhan Nizamul Mulk of Ahmadnagar, Zubdatul Mulk Usman Khan of Jhalur, Sultan Hussain Mirza of Khurasan and thousands of Nawabs, Subadars, high officers and learned men of the time embraced his religion.

The followers of Syed Muhammad Mahdi Mavood of Jaunpur perform and follow the main rules of the Shariat of Islam that are obligatory on every Musalman. They also believe that the Dogmas set up by the four Imams (scholars), namely (1)

Maliki, (2) Hambali, (3) Shafai and (4) Hanafi, being the interpretations of the verses of Holy Koran and Hadith, are true in their sense but they hold that they are not bound to stick up to any particular creed. On the other hand, they adopt those rules that are found to bear the eminence and the truest sense of the teachings of Koran and Hadith as preached and adopted by their Imam 'Mehdi.'

On the 27th of Ramzan, every man, woman, young and old, after making their dwelling houses, their bodies and their clothes clean, read the holy Koran, offer prayer, suspend their business throughout the day and profusely distribute alms among the poor. At the ensuing mid-night (27th night of Ramzan) which is observed as the most auspicious one, all of them gather in groups in the Mosques and offer prayer, called the '*Dugana-i-Lailatul Qadr*,' which is observed to be obligatory on them as enacted by the Imam Mahdi.

RELIGIOUS TENETS.

They do not join with other Musalmans in offering the usual prayer when it is conducted by a non-Mahdavi. They offer it in company with a Mahdavi conductor or singly in his absence in the way taught and adopted by the Prophet Muhammad. They do not observe Muharram in the sense and method by which some of the ignorant Muhammadans do. They do not keep Tazias and Taboots and carry them in procession with wild demonstrations, but on the other hand, the 7th, 9th and the 10th of the month of Muharram are observed as the days of great events in commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Husain, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, and his followers and adherents. From the first to the tenth of this month, they hold meetings in which the lives of Imam Husain and his followers (the martyrs of Karbala), their efforts to defend truth

and the circumstances which led to their martyrdom are explained, and Fātheha ceremonies are done. On the tenth, they embrace and request each other to forget and forgive the wrong done to each other in the past, after the example of the most revered martyr, Imam Husain, when he left home to fight with the forces of Yazīd. This they deem as a token of the remembrance of the eventful day of Imam Husain's martyrdom. Thus the differences are erased from the minds of each other: mutual and friendly relations are again established.

In the month of Rajab at morning time on every Thursday, they go to the graveyards, shower flowers on graves and perform Fāteha. They read some verses from the Holy Koran and pray to God for the salvation of the dead. In the evening, some special food is prepared and the poor are fed.

On the 12th of the month of Rabi-ul-Aval and the 18th of Ziqada, they observe as the auspicious birthday of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imam Mahdi Mavood which they commemorate and celebrate their holy birthdays by feeding the poor and holding meetings wherein their lives and teachings are expounded by the Moulvis.

THE CAUSES OF THEIR TRANSMIGRATION AND HABITAT IN MYSORE.

Mostly in Sind, Gujarat and Deccan, hundreds of thousands of people embraced this religion (Mahdavism). In the earlier part of the tenth century, Hejara Mahdavism widely spread throughout Deccan. Even Burhan Nizam Shah, 913-961 A.H. corresponding to 1508-1553 A.D., the third king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahamednagar, embraced this religion and also gave his daughter in marriage to one of the grandsons of the founder of Mahdavism. Almost all the Durbars of the Muhammadan Kings of Deccan had been crowded with them and their armies consisted of thousands of Mahdavis. Muhammad

Khasim Farishtha, the well known and reliable historian of Ahamednagar and Bijapur Durbars, says that during the latter part of the 10th century A.H. owing to the efforts and encouragement of one Jamal Khan Mahdavi, the Dictator of Ahmednagar in the reign of Ismail Nizam Shah, Mahdavies were attracted from every part of the country towards Ahamednagar. However, three important causes lead to their migration from one place to another. Firstly, the zeal and enthusiasm of the upholders of this religion, mostly the spiritual leaders of this community considerd it their duty, incumbent upon themselves to promulgate their religious doctrines. Hence they travelled taking the torch of this religion from one part of the country to another with their families and some of their adherents; thus in every town or province they visited, they gained thousands of followers.

Secondly, the growth, progress, and domination of this creed caused some jealousy in the minds of the bigotted Muhammadans. The bigotted Moulvis of the time began to poison the minds and feelings of the rulers and powerful men by saying that this religion was quite contrary to Islam and also by saying that Mahdi would conquer all the kingdoms and also by speaking very low of the religion itself. To add to these, the Tasbeeh* daily uttered by the Mahdvis after the Isha prayer was also intolerable to them. Hence they began to illtreat the Mahdavis.

* Usually the Mahdavi Mussalmans after the Isha prayer utter some words loudly as a token of their confession, in which they confess that they believe in the unity and existence of the Almighty God, Prophecy of Muhammad, the Holy Koran and the teachings of Mahdi (the predicted Mahdi of Jaunpur). The Tasbeeh runs as follows:—

Lailaha Illallah Mohammed Rasoolallah
Alaho Illahona Mohammed Nabiunna
At Koran Val Mahdi Imamanna Amonna Suddakhanna

(There is no God, but God Muhammad is our Prophet and the Koran and Mahdi are our Imams (Leaders).

On certain occasions they were forcibly expelled by the bigotted rulers who also caused bloodshed. Thus the Mahdavis sought some safe quarters for their existence and undisturbed promulgation of their religion.

The third and the most important cause of their migration is the search for the military profession in different kingdoms. A minute study of the history shows that at the beginning of the 11th century A.H. they began to penetrate into the more southern parts of Deccan, *i.e.*, Adoni, Cuddapah, Arcot, Trichinopoly, Chitaldrug, Bednore, Devanhally, Sira (in Tumkur District), Seringapatam, etc., which were at that time the capital towns of different Rajas or Nawabs or the dominions of the neighbouring kingdoms. The latter five towns are now included in the territory of Mysore which bear some historical importance in the ancient history of Mysore. Here they joined military service under the various petty Rajas and Nawabs. Thousands of Mahdavis had taken up military profession under the various sovereigns of the kingdom of Mysore. During the reigns of Dodda Krishna Raj (1716-1733), Chamraj (1733-1736) and Chick Krishna Raj (1736-66), many Mahdavis have rendered military services.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

Generally the Mahdavi Mussalmans are grouped into two main classes. To one belong the priests or Gurus who select for themselves their families and for their immediate followers and disciples, a suitable locality to live and it is surrounded by a boundary. Such area is termed a "Daira". Daira is an Arabic word which means a circle; hence the Mahdavi Mussalmans are generally called the 'Daira Walas' denoting the people living in 'Daira'. These priests or Gurus and their immediate disciples are not

permitted by their religious doctrines to do any worldly transaction to earn their livelihood nor to hold jagirs or accept fixed allowance. They do not make even any kind of cultivation within their Dairas. Here they lead an undisturbed life spending every minute in their devotion of God. If anything is offered to a priest by any person in the name of God, he would distribute it equally among his disciples saving nothing for the future. These priests are the spiritual leaders as well as the social reformers. They devoted themselves for the realisation of God for the up keep and safeguarding of the religion, for the spiritual and social guidance and advancement of other people. In most cases, the family disputes are referred to these priests who are thought to be the sane judges. They are called Tarik-ud-Dunia (those who have renounced the world) otherwise known as 'Pirs' or 'Murshids'.

The other class consists of the people who are allowed to do the worldly transactions and earn their livelihood. They are called the 'Kasibs', *i.e.*, those who take to some profession. In spite of their worldliness, they are bound to make steady progress in spirituality. For this purpose, they select for themselves some priest or other, who after due initiation, teaches them the preliminary teachings, and when they attain a higher degree, they are taught the more sacred things for developing spirituality and realising God which they attain from uninterrupted succession from one priest to another. When these Kasibs reach the stage where they aspire spiritual prosperity, they give up all the worldly enjoyments. They go to some priests and solemnly take a vow to the effect that they would not further enter into any kind of secular transactions for the sake of wholly devoting themselves to God, whence they would begin to lead a purely spiritual life.

If a person belonging to any one of the two above mentioned classes is found to commit any nefarious act inconsistent with the religious doctrines, an assembly of the priestly people and learned men are called to examine him and declare a punishment pro-rata. This kind of assembly is called Ijma. If one confesses his own guilt in the presence of Ijma and submits himself to undergo the punishment ordained in accordance with the religious doctrines, he is treated in the society as before, otherwise he is excommunicated, and all kinds of relations are cut off with him and even he is driven out of Daira.

The Mahdavis do not intermarry with other non-Mahdavi Mussalmans, although it is not prohibited by their religious doctrines. They generally bring daughters from non-Mahdavi Mussalmans and convert them to Mahdavism. But they are very particular in not giving their own daughters in marriage to non-Mahdavi Mussalmans.

Begging is strictly forbidden. They do not go on begging for alms as some of the professional Fakirs do. They leave everything entirely to God, even their own maintenance.

The laymen distribute one tenth share out of their incomes among the priests or the deserving poor, and it is called 'Usher' which means one-tenth share. It is just like paying Zakkat (1—40th share out of the annual income) enacted by the Islamic principles as binding upon every Mussalman who possesses at least 100 rupees in cash or jewels worth so much.

The religious ties among them are so great and hard that they even do not bury the dead bodies in the graveyard of the non-Mahdavis. But whatever the country it may be, and however great the distance may be, they bring the dead body to their own place, and bury it in their own graveyard.

In the event of any inconveniences regarding conveyance, they bury the body there alone and by reciting some prayers, they confide it to the care of God thereby putting a lien on the earth. Afterwards they bring the body to their own graveyard and bury it there. The number of months for which the body is confided is denoted by the number of small stones placed near the body inside the grave. Usually the period of confiding does not exceed eleven months. If the confided body is not removed after the expiry of the period, the usual process of decomposition begins. So, care is taken to see it removed before the expiry of the period. Excepting those above mentioned, and a few customs and ceremonies, they do not differ from those current among other Muslims.

A few years before the fall of Seringapatam, all the Mahdavis were expelled out of the territory of Tippoo Sultan on account of the religious quarrels. As it was a custom, the bigotted Mullah excited the Sultan against them : hence all the Mahdavis quitted the territory of Mysore, their properties being forfeited.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the most important and historic city in the year 1799, the benign British Government issued a proclamation assuring peace and inviting all the Mahdavis to the territory of Mysore to resettle there, and they then settled in different places after their exile. Some actually responded to the kind call, went and settled there reoccupying their lost positions in the Government.

OCCUPATION.

The Mahdavis, as they are lovers of peace generally took to cultivation. Thus trade and cultivation form their main occupation. Most of them are prospering tradesmen commanding large business. In some places, specially like Channapatna, a most

important commercial place in Mysore State, they have specialised in the manufacturing of wooden toys with beautiful and gorgeous colours, which have become the chief industry of the place.

# MUSALMAN (Bohra.)

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—RELIGION—SOCIAL HABITS.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY.

BOHRAS are a Muhammadan community of traders who belong to Gujarat and speak Gujarati.

The name is probably derived from the Hindi *byohara*, a trader. Members of the community are honorifically addressed as *Mullaji*. According to an account current among the people, the rise of the Bohras in Gujarat is attributed to a missionary Abdulla who came from Yemen to Cambay in A.D. 1067. By his miracles he converted the great king Sidharaj of Anhilvada Patan in Gujarat, and he with the members of his subjects embraced the new faith. For two centuries and a half the Bohras flourished, but with the establishment of Muzaffer Shah's power (A.D. 1390-1413) in that country, the spread of Sunni doctrines was encouraged, and the Bohra and other Shia sects suppressed. Since then, they were diminishing in numbers, and passed through several bitter persecutions meeting with little favour or protection, till at the close of the eighteenth century, they found shelter under the British rule. In 1559 the members of the sect living in Arabia were expelled therefrom. They came to Gujarat where they were hospitably received by their brethren, the head-quarters of the sect being thenceforward fixed at Surat. "The Bohras are Shias of the great Ismalia sect of Egypt, which split off from the orthodox Shias on the question of the succession of the sixth Imam, Jaffar Sadik in A.D. 765. The dispute was between the eldest son Ismail and

his second son Musi, the Ismalites being those who supported the former, and the orthodox Shias the latter. The orthodox Shias are distinguished as believers in the twelve Imams, the last of whom is yet to come. The Ismalias were again divided on a similar dispute as to the succession to the Kalifa, Almustansir Billah by his eldest son Nazir or his younger son Almustalli. The Bohras are descended from the Mustalians or supporters of the younger son, and the Khojas from the Nazarians who supported the elder son." *

The Bohras are found in Bangalore, Mysore and other trading centres.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE. The Bohras are divided into two groups, namely traders who are all Shias, and a large class of cultivating Bohras who are Sunnis.

RELIGION. "In prayers they differ both from Shias and Sunnis in so far as they follow their Mullah, praying aloud after him but with much regularity of posture. The time for commencing their devotions are about five minutes later than those observed by Sunnis. After the midday and sunset supplications, they allow a short interval to elapse, remaining themselves in the mosque meanwhile. Then they begin their afternoon and evening prayers and thus run five services into three."

SOCIAL HABITS. Mr. Thurston notes that the Bohras consider themselves so superior to other sects that if another Muhammadan enters their mosque, they afterwards clean the spot which he has occupied during his prayers. They show strictness in other matters

* Russel, R. V.—*Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces* Vol. II, pages 345—346.
Borar Census Report (1818), page 70.

making their own sweetmeats at home and declining to eat those of the confectioner. It is also said that they do not have their clothes washed by a dhobi, nor wear shoes made by a Chamar, nor take food touched by any Hindu. If a dog touches them, they are unclean and must change their clothes. They observe Id and Rāmzan. At the Muharram their women break all their bangles and wear new ones the next day to show that they have been widowed, and during this period, they observe mourning by going without shoes and not using umbrellas. They take part in certain Hiudu festivals. At the Dipāvali or festival of lights crackers are let off.*

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* Russel R. V. : *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Volume II, pages 348-349.

## MUSALMAN (Meman.)

THEY are also called Memens or Believers. Their original habitat is in the districts of Gujarat and in the States adjacent to it. As traders they are found all over India and even outside it, namely, in South Burma, Siam, Singapore and Java. They are found in Bangalore, Mysore and other trading centres in the State.

Memans are Sunnis of the Hanafi school to which most of the Indian and Turkish Mussalmans belong. As a class they are very religious, and are fond of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, and also to Medina. Wealthy members go even to Baghdad to worship at the shrine of the patron saint Maulana Abdul Kadur. They believe in magic and astrology, a practice condemned by the Saint Gilani. Others who cannot afford, visit the Indian shrines. Memans are generally traders, merchants, dealers or shop-keepers.*

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* Enthoven, R. E. : *Bombay Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, pages 52-54.

# JONAKAN MAPPILAS.

THE Jonakan Mappilas, otherwise called Mappilas or Moplahs, are a Muhammadan community found all over Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. They are peculiar to the West Coast of South India. They are largely found as labourers in the Kolar Gold Fields and railway and other works. Some are petty traders in Mysore.*

* Vide *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Chap. XVIII, Pagss 460-484.

## LABBAI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE COMMUNITY—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—RELIGION—OCCUPATION—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Labbais are a Musalman community of Tamil origin. They are a mixed class of Muhammadans consisting of compulsory converts to Islam made by the early Muhammadan invaders and Tippu Sultan. Their Tamil contains a much smaller admixture of Arabic than that used by the Marakkayars who though somewhat allied are a distinct community. In the Tanjore District of the Madras Presidency where they are numerous they are called *Kodi-kalkarans* becuase of their cultivation of betel vine. A very large number of them have settled in the Mysore province.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE COMMUNITY.

Regarding their origin, Col. Wilks, the historian of Mysore, writes as follows: "About the end of the first century of Hejirah, or early part of the eight century A.D., Hijaj Ben Yusuff, Governor of Irak, a monster abhorred for his cruelties even among the Musalmans, drove some persons of the house of Hashem to the desperate resolution of abandoning for ever their native country. Some of them landed on the part of the Western Coast called the Concan, and the others to the Eastward of Cape Comorin. The descendants of the former are the Navaits, while those of the latter Labbais a name probably given to them by the Arabican particle (modification of Labbick) corresponding to the English, "Here I am," indicating attention on being spoken to

(*i.e.*, response of the servant to the call of the master). A further explanation of the name is that the Labbais were originally few in number, and were often oppressed by other Muhammadans and Hindus to whom they cried Labbek, or we are your servants. Another account says they are the descendants of the Arabs, who, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries came to India for trade. These Arabs were persecuted by the Mughals, and they then returned to their country, leaving behind their children born of Indian women. The word Labbai is of recent origin, for in the Tamil lexicon this sect is known as Sonagon, a native of Sonagon (Arabia), and this name is known even at the present day. Their first colony appears to have been Kāyalpaṭṇam in the Tinnevelli District. Labbais are found as traders all over Mysore.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The marriage ceremonies of the Labbais are somewhat similar to those of the lower Hindu castes, the only difference being that the former cite passages from the Koran, and that their women do not appear in public even during marriages. Girls are married both before and after puberty. Some still retain Hindu customs in their marriage ceremonies. Thus a bamboo pole is set up as a milk-post, and a *tāli* is tied round the neck of the bride while the Nikkadiva is being read. In other respects, they observe the Muhammadan rites.

RELIGION.

The Labbais are the Muhammadans of the Wahabi sect and observe the tenets of their religion. They adhere to the rule of the Koran, and most of them refuse to lend money at interest, but get over the difficulty by taking a share in the profits derived by others in their loans.

OCCUPATION. The Labbais are an enterprising class of venders of hardware and general merchants, collectors of hides and large traders in coffee produce, and generally take up any kind of lucrative produce. Their perseverence and pushing character, coupled with their capacity for business is exemplified in the large village of Gargēsvari in Tirumakudlu in the Narsipur Taluk where they have acquired by purchase large extents of river irrigated lands and have secured to themselves the leadership among the villages within a comparatively recent period.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. The Labbais wear a high hat of plaited coloured grass and a tartan (*kambayam*) waist cloth and they are not distinguishable from the Marakkāyars, but some of them use the Hindu turban and a waist cloth, and let their womenkind dress almost exactly like Sudra women.

CONCLUSION. The Labbais are a thrifty, industrious, pushing and enterprising community, found in most of the districts of the Madras Presidency. They emigrate to the Strait Settlements and Burma without restriction. Generally they are well-to-do and excellently housed. The first thing that a Labbai does is to build a commodious tiled building and the next is to provide himself with a gay attire. They seem to have a prejudice against repairing houses, and prefer letting them to ruin, and building new ones. The ordinary Musalmans also entertain similar ideas on this point.

# PINDĀRIS.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—WIDOW MARRIAGE IS ALLOWED—RELIGION —FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

PINDĀRIS or Pendharis are the "descendants of the famous free-booters who followed the Maharatta armies and were doubtless recruited originally from numerous sources including Pathan, Maharatta, and Jat. There are amongst them both Musalmans and Hindus. The origin of the term is obscure. The word *Pendha* in Maharatti means a bundle of straw, and *Pendhari* would very probably be a common nick-name for a body of horsemen looting crops, *i.e.*, the stealing of *Pendas*. Sir John Malcolm traces the name to the habit of drinking *Pinda* an intoxicant as this habit seems to have been current among the Pindāris. According to Hobson-Jobson, a better derivation is Mr. Irvin's from Pendhar near Burhanpur on the Nerbuda. They are numerous in Tumkur and Mysore districts as also in the Bangalore City."*

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Hindu Pindāris have five exogamous clans, namely Alande, Ghyatalak, Kshirsagar, Ranshing and Thorat. Marriages are prohibited between the members of the same clan.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The ordinary prohibitions of marriage current among the Hindus are also observed by them. A

* R. Enthoven, R. E.: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. III pp. 228-230.

man may marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Two brothers may marry two sisters. Polygamy is allowed and practis d, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of marriage, as in other castes, comes from the boy's father who pays five rupees to the girl's father. The auspicious day for the celebration of the marriage is determined by a Brahman who conducts the ceremony. A respectable member of the caste takes the boy to the house of the girl, after tying a turban round his head. This is called *Simant-pujan*. Idols of wheat flour are made and fried in oil, and they are named after their ancestors. They are taken to his house and served to the boy, his sisters, and friends. The marriage ceremonies are similar to those in other corresponding castes.*

WIDOW MARRIAGE IS ALLOWED.

A widow can marry her father's sister's or mother's brother's son. The ceremony takes place during the night. The caste *Panchayat* are present. The widow is presented with the wedding garments and ornaments.

RELIGION.

The castemen follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Hindu Pindaris belong to the Rāmdasi sect, and worship Mārari, Mhāsoba and Khāndoba. They observe all the Hindu holidays. Muslaman Pīrs are also adored.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are buried with the head turned to the west or north in a sitting position. On the tenth day after death, the faces of the male mourners are shaved. After the usual ceremonies the castemen are treated to a feast. The chief mourner celebrates the annual *srādh* in honour of the dead.

* Enthoven, R. E.: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. III, pages 229-230.

Occupation.

The Pindāris were plunderers and freebooters during the troublous days of the Peshwas. On the restoration of peace by the British, they settled down as petty traders and day labourers. They deal in grass, rice, cattle and sheep. Some work as masons.

Food.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep and fowls, and drink liquor.

*Muhammadan Pindari*:—There is not much difference in customs and religious rites between the Musalman Pindaris and other Musalmans. "A short distance to the west of the Regent's (Kotah) camp is the Pindāri-ka-chhaoni where the sons of Kasīm Khān, the chief leader of those hordes, resided, for in those days of strife the old Regent would have allied himself with Satan, if he had led a horde of plunderers. "I was greatly amused in this camp at the commencement of an Id-Gah or place of prayer; for the villains while they robbed and murdered defenceless women, prayed five times a day." *

* Tod's *Rajasthan*, Volume II, page 674.

## PINJARI.

PINJARIS.—Among the Pinjaris there are both Hindus and Musalmans. The former mostly belong to the districts of the Bombay Presidency, and have six exogamous clans. The latter are found chiefly in the Shimoga District, as also in Bangalore and Mysore. The marriage customs of the Hindu Pinjaris are mostly like those of the Kunbis, and Brāhmans are their *purohits*. Polygamy and widow marriage are current among them; but polyandry is unknown. They have their caste *panchayats*. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Their Gods are Khāndoba Devi and Bhairav. The heriditary occupation of the caste is cotton-cleaning. Some are cultivators and others day-labourers. Musalman Pinjāris are said to have been converted by Aurangazib. Some among them assume the title of Sheik, Pathān or Sayyid after their names. Both men and women dress like Hindus and marry among themselves. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi School. They avoid eating beef. They respect and obey the Khāzi and engage him to register their marriages. They card cotton cleaning it to stuff mattresses, quilts and pillows. Many have left their craft owing to the decline of hand-spinning.



A GROUP OF NADUGAUDA MEN.

# NĀDU GAUDA.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Nādu Gaudas are an agricultural caste living in the Malnad taluks of Tirthahalli, Koppa and Sringēri. They are numerous in the adjoining district of South Canara. They call themselves Gaudas or Nādu Gaudas, and affix the titles of *gauda* and *setti* to their names. They speak Canarese in Mysore, but their mother tongue is Tulu spoken by the castemen of South Canara.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

*Endogamous groups.*—In the Mysore State, the Nādavas come under two main groups, namely, 1. those that follow *Aliyasanthāna*, (those that follow the inheritance in the female line), 2. those that follow *Makkalasanthāna* (those that follow the inheritance in the male line). The members of the two divisions may interdine, but do not intermarry.

*Exogamous Clans.*—The name Nādava is used for Bants in the Northern parts of South Canara, and this points, among other indications, to territorial organisation by *nāds* in Malabar, but there are no such organizations now prevailing, because of the great changes having taken place more than five hundred years ago, when the Vijayanagar government introduced a new system of administration.

The Nādavas are said to have twenty *gōtras* or *balis* which are herein given :—

Bageettinaya (seven got)
Bangarannaya (Gangara balli).
Baramrannaya (Tholar) „ )
Bonnyannaya (Kaudachi „ )
Hiribannaya (Bala „ )
Harambarannaya (Modal „ )
Kellarabannaya (Kandalu )
Kochattabannaya.
Kundonibannaya.
Upparannaya.
Kundalannaya.
Nelabannaya.
Pangalannaya.
Pergadannaya.
Puliyattannaya.
Salabannayya.
Salannaya.
Salannayya.
Talarabannayya.
Ulibannayya (all in South Canara, Mangalore Dt.)

The *balis* mentioned above correspond with the Brāhmanical *gōtras* except that they are traced in the female line, *i.e.*, a boy belongs to his mother's, and not to his father's line.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Children belonging to the same *bali* cannot intermarry, and this prohibition extends to certain allied (Kūdu) *bālis*. In this respect, they are like the Nāyars of Malabar, among whom the members belonging to the same family, however remote, cannot intermarry. Moreover, a man cannot marry his father's daughter though she belongs to a different *bali*. Infant marriage is not prohibited, but it is not common. Polygamy is practised. Generally, girls are married after they come of age. There are two forms of marriage, *Kai-dhāre* for marriages between virgins and bachelors, and the other, *budu-dhāre* for the marriage of widows. After a match has been arranged, the formal *betrothal* called *pennapathera* or *sāla vali* (*nischayathāmbūla*) takes place. The bridegroom's relatives and friends proceed in a body to the girl's house on the appointed day, and are there entertained at a grand dinner, to which the girl's relatives are also invited. Subsequently, the



A GROUP OF NADUGAUDA WOMEN.

*Kāranavans* (senior members) of the two families formally engage to perform the marriage, and trays of betel leaves and arecanuts are exchanged, and received by the two parties. The actual marriage ceremony takes place either in the house of the bride or in that of the bridegroom, as may be most convenient. The proceedings begin with the bridegroom seating himself in the marriage *pandal*, a booth or canopy specially erected for the occasion. He is there shaved by the village barber, and then retires and bathes. After this, both the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the *pandal* by their relations and sometimes, by the village headman. They walk thrice round the seat, and then sit down side by side. The essential and the binding portion of the ceremony is the *dhāre* or the formal giving of the girl which then takes place. The right hand of the bride being placed over the right hand of the bridegroom, a silver vessel *dhāregindi* filled with water with a cocoanut over the mouth, and the flower of the areca-palm on the cocoanut is placed on the joined hands. The parents or managers of the two families, and the village headmen all touch the vessel, which, with the hands of the bridal pair, is moved up and down three times. In certain families, the water is poured from the vessel into the joint hands of the couple, and betokens the gift of the bride. The conjugal pair then receive the congratulations of the guests who express a wish, that the happy couple may become the parents of twelve sons and twelve daughters. An empty tray and another containing rice are next placed before the pair, and their friends sprinkle them with rice from the one and place a small gift, generally four annas, in the other. The bridegroom then makes a gift to the bride, and this is called *udugare*, and varies in amount according to the position of the parties. This must be returned to

the husband if his wife leaves him, or if his wife is divorced for misconduct. The bride is then taken back to her home. A few days later, she is again taken to the house of the bridegroom, where she must serve her husband with food. He must make another money present to her, and after that the marriage is consummated.

From the foregoing account of the Bant or Nādava marriage, it may be seen that it is more than mere concubinage. It is as formal a marriage as is found in any other community. Widows are married with much less formalities. The ceremony consists in merely joining the hands of the couple, tying the garments, and giving a dinner to the castemen. Children by several husbands inherit equal shares of the mother's property, if they follow the *Aliyasanthāna* law. Adultery is regarded with abhorrence, but great licence is allowed. Each party is at liberty to divorce the other in the event of any incompatibility of temper. A divorced woman can marry another under *kudike* form.

RELIGION. The Nādavas are both Śivas and Vaishṇavas, and worship the village gods. Ear-boring, and nose-boring are done in the name of Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati. Brāhmans are not entertained to perform their *pūjas*.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The dead bodies are generally burned, but those that die young are buried. Pollution is observed for eleven days. On the third day after death, bones are collected, and preserved in a pot to be consigned to the water at any convenient time, but the ashes are consigned to the water on the third day. Annual *srāddhas* are not performed, but during the dark fortnight of *Bhadrapāda*, all the deceased ancestors of the family are propitiated with offerings.



A NADUGAUDA FAMILY.

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people. Some work for daily wages, some are money-lenders. OCCUPATION.

The Nādavas do not object to the use of animal food except the flesh of the cow. They eat in the house of the Brāhmans, Lingāyats and Jains, but not in the houses of Komatis, Kumbaras or Upparas. The Jains and Lingāyats do not eat with them. DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Nādavas are a caste of Canarese farmers found only in South Canara from which they have migrated to Mysore. They are one of the endogamous groups of Bants, and follow the inheritance in both the lines. The Nādava means people of the country. CONCLUSION.

## NAGARTHA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE members of the caste are generally known as Nagartās and the term *Ayodhyanagaradavaru* is less frequently used. They style themselves Vaiśyas, and the claim is generally admitted. The honorific suffix added to their personal names is *setti*.

The term Nagartha means a dweller in a *nagara*, or town, and they are also styled *Ayodhyanagaradavaru* (or citizens of Ayodhya) as they claim Ayodhya or Oudh as their place of origin. They are mostly found in the Bangalore and Kolar districts. The Bheri division of the caste speak Telugu, and the rest Kannada.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

The Nagarthās claim to have been the residents of Ayodhya (Oudh) during the time of Sri Rāma, and to have come to the south many centuries ago.

The story of their origin, as given by them, is nearly the same as that of the Komatis, to whom, notwithstanding their rivalry, they seem to be nearly related. Being Vaisyas, both the tribes claim to have sprung from the loin of Brahma, and continued as one united tribe for long ages. One of them, by name Sudharma, performed austere *tapas*, and obtained from Sūrya (the sun) the power of traversing the different worlds



A GROUP OF NAGARATHA MEN.

at pleasure. But he abused his power by ravishing an *apsara* female whom he met in one of the upper worlds. This brought on him and his tribe the penalty of total annihilation, to which they were doomed by the curse of Brahma.

The Creator was moved to relent by the prayers of the assembled gods, and commissioned a Rishi named Valkala to restore this useful class of earthly beings. After performing a sacrifice, the Rishi made one thousand images of men out of *kusa* grass, and infused life into them by force of his *mantras*. The beings thus miraculously endowed with life were subsequently married to the thousand daughters of Kubēra, and became the progenitors of the new Vaisyas, who claim to have one thousand *gōtras*. Subsequently, there was a split in their camp, and a section separated from the main caste and became known as Kōmatis. The rest settled in Ayodhya, and became known as citizens (Nagaravaralu or Nagarthas), a name which is now applied to one division. They have taken to the worship of Siva who is said to have incarnated as one among their thousand progenitors, and their god is known by the special name of Nagarēsvara.*

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

The caste contains two main divisions, Vaishṇavas or Nāmadhāri Nagarthas, and Saiva or Lingadhāri Nagarthas.† They are again divided into five endogamous groups, namely, (1) Bheri also known as Bhēri Komatis, (2) Bassette followers, (3) Honnappa's followers, (4) Yammalanādu and (5) Devandahalli.

Of these groups, Yammalanādu and Devandahalli are Lingadharis, and wear a *linga* like ordinary Sivāchār people, in addition to the sacred thread like the rest of the caste. Intermarriages among these

* See Baramahal Records, Vol. III, page 26.

† It is said that they do not belong to Vīrasaivas.

divisions are prohibited, and elderly women of one group do not dine in the houses of another.

They believe that they have one thousand *gōtras*, named after one thousand *rishis*. As usual, these *gōtras* are exogamous. The following are a few of them :—

1. Chandramaulesvara.
2. Cholendar.
3. Devendra.
4. Komarendra.
5. Kovendra.
6. Mahotsāha.
7. Mandavya.
8. Nagendra.
9. Purushendra.
10. Chachendra.
11. Valkala.
12. Varuna.

These *gōtras* are found in all the five divisions, and none of them appears to be totemistic.

The term Bhēri setti once denoted all the five divisions of the caste, but now it is confined to one section of the Nāmadhāri Nagarthās. It is said that this name is derived from their employment in connection with the royal ceremony of *Tula Bhāram*, at which, when the king was weighed against gold, it was the function of a true Vaiśya to balance the scales.* As may be expected, this claim is challenged by their rivals of the Komati caste.

The names, Betappa's followers, and Honnappa's followers, come from a well-known individual of each group, Betappa and Honnappa, while the terms Yammalanādu and Devandahalli are territorial names, and apply to such of the Nāgarthās as were living in or emigrated from these places.†

Formerly, Lingadhāri Nagarthās used to marry girls below ten years of age belonging to the Nāmadhāri section, by subjecting them to a process of *prāyaschitta* or expiatory ceremony, that is, slightly

* The correctness of this derivation is however doubtful.

† Yammalanadu is said to mean some place below the ghauts near Kumbhakonam.

burning the girl's tongue with a heated gold piece, procuring *tīrtha* or holy water, from their *guru*, and investing her with a *linga*. In such cases, the girl permanently remained in the Lingadhāri section, and was not allowed to eat with the people of the section of her birth. This practice is still said to be prevalent in the Madras Presidency, but has almost gone out of use in Mysore. Among Betappa section there is a sub-division known as Kuguroru, who are considered to be a little inferior to the others of that division. The Kuguru section marry girls belonging to the remaining section of the Betappa division, and eat with Kuguru section nor marry their girls. The inferiority of this sub-section is attributed to the fact of one of the families having by mistake carried away some children of an inferior caste, while leaving their village to escape the raids of free-booters in the time of the Mahrattas.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

A man must, of course, marry a girl of his own sub-caste. There are one or two apparent exceptions, such as that a man of the Yammalanādu section may marry a girl of Betappa's division; the girl, however, altogether passes to her husband's section, and is not allowed to eat in her father's house. Even this practice was given up fifty years ago. Marriages between persons belonging to the same *gōtras* are prohibited. An elder sister's daughter is, generally among some, preferentially married, but the daughter of a younger sister is never taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by one man, but at different times, especially when the first wife is barren, or is suffering from an incurable disease, and to avoid quarrels in the family a girl from another family is married. Two sisters may not be married, to two uterine brothers. Polygamy is unknown.

Marriages are infant among the Nāmadhāri Nagarthās, but among the Lingadhāris they may be either infant or adult. Among the latter, the marriage of a girl may be postponed till the girl is even twenty years old, and it is said they are not aware of any prohibition against a woman living unmarried all her life-time, but such instances are extremely rare. The average age of marriage for boys has, of late, considerably risen, and may be taken to be twenty years. For *nischitārtha*, or the preliminary engagement, the bridegroom's party repair to the house of the bride, and present her with a *sire* and fruits and flowers in the presence of an assembly of their castemen and Brāhmans. *Lagnapatrikas* are exchanged, and *dakshiṇe* is given to Brāhmans, and the guests are entertained at a dinner. Though neither party can withdraw from this engagement without incurring penalty, it is not irrevocable. The actual ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence with the Dēvaruta, or God's feast, which takes place on a Monday, Tuesday or Thursday, according to the custom of each family. A *kalaśa* is set up and worshipped, and some money is set apart for service for the household god. On the second day is held the ceremony known as Hiriyaraūta (feast of elders). A *kalaśa* is installed, to represent the ancestors and new clothes and jewels, intended as presents to the persons to be married, are placed on a silk cloth spread on a wooden plank, and *pūja* is done to it. Among the Lingadhāri Nagarthas, a Brahman *purōhit* is invited.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house, at which a *pandal* is erected on twelve pillars. His maternal uncle cuts down a twig of an Indian fig, or margosa tree, and deposits it at the foot of an Asvatha tree (sacred fig), from which it is brought in state to the marriage house.



A GROUP OF NAGARATHA WOMEN.

Clothes dipped in turmeric are wrapped round it, and a bundle containing nine kinds of staple grains and a *kankaṇa* are tied to the post. It is fixed by five married women as a central pillar in a pit, in which are thrown a bit of gold, a pearl, a coral bead, silver, ruby and some milk. The next item is the *nischitārtha*. The bridegroom repairs in procession to the bride's residence, and presents her with jewels and clothes, and the formal proposal and acceptance of the contract are made in the presence of an assembly.

The parties to be married are then smeared with turmeric paste, and the bridegroom is dressed in new clothes presented by his father-in-law, and is made to put on silver toe-rings. They are then regarded as bride and bridegroom. Then *ariveni* pots are brought from the potter's house, and consecrated in a separate room. In nine earthen dishes, nine kinds of grain are sown in a bed of earth and manure mixed together, and cotton thread is wound round them.

Some families observe an additional ceremony, to propitiate the departed spirits. At about midnight, the bridegroom is dressed in new clothes, and is taken in procession with music to a place where four roads meet, the head of the family carrying a dagger or a sword. A plantain leaf is placed on a spot washed with cowdung, and cooked food of various kinds is heaped on it. After offering *pūja* to the heap. the man with the dagger goes round it three times, and the party return home in silence, leaving behind the musicians, who return to the marriage house by a different way.

Others, especially the Lingadhari section, substitute for this the offering of *pūja* to a lamp kept in a Kundani or an iron cylinder.* The ceremony is scrupulously observed, and any irregularity in it is

* This cylinder is placed over a stone mortar to prevent grain or other articles being scattered about while pounding.

believed to bring on misfortune to the family. Again, after the installation of this lamp, it is obligatory for the marriage to take place, and if, by any chance, the match is broken, the light must be kept burning and *pūja* to it continued till another match is settled and the marriage is over.

A Kundani is placed in a freshly cleansed room on a plank, and three measures of paddy are heaped within it. Castor oil, specially drawn for this purpose by women in *madi*, is poured in an earthern saucer, and a wick is lighted in it. This is placed on the paddy within the cylinder, and carefully tended during the whole period of the marriage. A *kalaśa* and an image representing Gauri are placed near this, and the bridegroom's parents and the married women present offer *pūja*. Then the worship of *Karaga* (earthen pot) takes place. A copper vessel filled with water is decorated, and carried in state to an *asvaththa-katte*, on the head, by the mother of the bridegroom, to perform a *puja* after which she returns home along with her husband. The procession with the bridegroom walk under a canopy, and an empty palanquin is also carried. The *Karaga* is placed at the foot of the Pipul tree, and *pūja* is offered with the help of a Brāhman *purōhit*. *Bhashinga* is tied on the forehead of the bridegroom, who with his parents goes round the tree five times, passing cotton thread round it in five lines. Then he is made to sit in a palanquin, the mother carries the *Karaga* on her head, and the procession returns to the marriage *pandal* with great pomp and show; passing through the principal streets prescribed for the caste. At the threshold, an *ārati* is waved round the *karaga* and the bridegroom is led by married women, and all enter the house, the *purohit* chanting appropriate mantras. The *karaga* is placed near the sacred lamp. The

mother is seated on a plank, and is presented by the relatives with flowers, turmeric paste, *kunkuma*, some money and clothes, for the special service of having brought the god into the house.

On the next day, which is the principal day of the marriage, the bridegroom is first made to undergo the various sacramental ceremonies, such as naming, shaving, and *upanayana*, and puts on the sacred thread. Then *upadēsa* is given by the father to the boy under the direction of the *purōhit*.

The ceremonies in connection with the marriage proper commence. The Kāsi Yātra and other ceremonies, including the *dhāre*, and the tying of *tāli*, are carried on in much the same way as among the Brahmans. In place of *bhashinga*, they tie a thin gold plate to the forehead of the bride; and the *tāli*, except among the people of the Bheri section, is made, not in the usual shape, but in the form of a star with three points, and is called *pusti*. After it is tied, the couple rise from their seats on the dais with the hems of their garments knotted, and, holding each other's hands, go round the *aupasana* pot and the milk-post, and then do *pūja* to Arundhati. They are then conducted into the room in which the *kundana* lamp is burning, and they bow before it. They are seated before the lamp on planks, and five married couples apply *sase* to them.

On the following two days, there are no ceremonies, except the performing of *sandhya* and *aupāsana* and the exhibition of the couple in the company of married women, when they (the bridal pair) smear each other with turmeric flowers, and *kunkuma*, and present each other with *pan-supari*, and other articles. This is styled *urutane*. On the fourth day, the articles of presentation to the bride and the bridegroom are paraded in the streets, the party going in procession with music. This is known as *Pete Osige*.

Early in the morning of the fifth day takes place the *sēsha hōma*. The couple undergo the nail-paring ceremony, bring in procession earth from an anthill and turn it into balls. They place the balls at the foot of each of the *pandal* pillars, and offer to them on platters boiled rice and sweets. They then burn incense and wave lighted camphor before them. The cooked rice and other eatables placed there are taken by the washerman. Next, the couple are taken for the worship of *Hasti Yugma* (a pair of elephants). The surface of the dais is decorated with quartz powder, and *nagavali* pots are arranged on it. Two elephants, one of dhal and the other of salt, are drawn on the ground to face each other, and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand on them. The bridegroom asks the bride to exchange his elephant with hers, and *vice versa*, and they change places with each other. Then take place in order, the tying of the second *tāli* with black glass beads by the husband to the wife, *Sapta Rishi pūja* (worship of the seven Rishis), and going to the temple of their tribal deity, Nagaresvara. After returning from the temple, the couple remove the *kankaṇas* from each other's wrists, and five married couples pour *sase* on their heads. Next follows the *pūja* of *pālikes*, that is, the earthen dishes in which nine kinds of grain have been sown. The seedlings have now grown about six inches high. The newly married couple worship them, and they are carried by married women in the evening to a well or a brook and the dishes emptied in the water. In the night, the bride and the bridegroom seated in a *palanquin* are taken in procession with great pomp and show, and this is said to be an essential event, even in poor families. On return, the couple are seated together, and are given wedding presents. The pot-searching ceremony, and the mock birth of a child, and house-

keeping play, then take place. Afterwards, the *kundana lamp* is worshipped, and the light is extinguished.

Next day the girl is made to pound a quantity of paddy, cook sweetened rice out of it and serve it to her husband. They do not give any brideprice.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains purberty, she is considered unclean for ten days, and is made to sit by herself in a shed, improvised for her by placing a large sugar-boiling caldron leaning against a wall, with some Lukkile leaves stuck on it. She bathes every day and renews her clothes. In the evenings, she is exhibited before a company of women, and turmeric paste, *kunkuma*, flowers, and *pansupāri* are distributed to them. She enters the house on the eleventh day after a bath. If, as is generally the case, the girl has been already married, consummation takes place within sixteen days.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is not allowed. A woman cannot be divorced unless it be for her proved incontinency. A divorced woman cannot be married again. Adultery is regarded with abhorence and entails loss of caste. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

The first and generally the second delivery of a woman take place in her father's house, and it is a common belief for the third delivery, that a woman should not be brought to the house of her parents. When the woman is in her fifth or seventh month of pregnancy, a ceremony variously known as *sīmanta*, or decking with flowers, is observed, when she is presented with a new *sire*, and puts on glass bangles, after presenting some to married women. In the evening, she is exhibited in the company of married women, has her garments filled with rice, betel

leaves, arecanuts, cocoanuts and other fruits, in the usual manner. The day is observed as a festive occasion, and a dinner is given to all the castemen in honour of the event.

After delivery, the woman is confined to a room for sixteen days, during which period the whole family observes pollution. The superstitions such as the confined woman being liable to the attacks of evil spirits, are also common in this caste, and with the view to preventing any molestation from them, such precautions as placing a crowbar, an old shoe, or a winnow, at the door of the confinement room, are taken. The confined woman and the child are bathed on the sixteenth day by married women. At about 10 o'clock in the morning, all the castemen, women, and Brāhmans gather by invitation. The confined woman and her husband are seated in the assembly on planks, with the child on the mother's lap. The purificatory ceremony is performed with the help of a Brāhman *purōhit*, and the child is named. The ceremony observed is nearly the same as among Brāhmans, and the day is observed as a festive occasion.

Among the Lingāyet Nagarthās, the ceremonies observed are their tenets. On the tenth day, after the mother and the child are bathed, the husband and the wife with the newborn child in her arms, are seated on planks. The *purohit*, who is a man of the Lingāyet Arādhya sect, is invited to officiate at the ceremony. He installs five *kalasas*, and makes *pūja* to them. The mother with the child is made to stand outside the threshold of the house. The priest's feet are washed, and the water styled *dhūli pādodaka* is sprinkled over their head and body. The feet of the priest are again washed for the second time, and the water called *Kriya pādōdaka* is sipped by the mother, and a drop of it is put into the child's mouth.

Then the mother, with the child, enters the house, and sits on a plank along with her husband. Then the priest consecrates a new *linga*, by washing it in the remaining portion of the *kriya pādōdaka*, otherwise known as *karune* or holy water, and, tying it in a piece of ochre coloured cloth, fastens it to the child's neck. He also applies *vibhūti* ashes to its forehead, and ties a *rudrāksha* bead round its neck.* The *Linga* is then removed, and given to the mother to take care of it till the child becomes old enough to wear it. A name is then given to the child. In the evening, the cradle is worshipped with the burning of incense and breaking a cocoanut, and the child is put into it by married women. The persons gathering there present the child either with money or jewels. Sometimes the confined woman is taken to three or four neighbouring houses, and is presented with turmeric paste and *kunkuma*.

The names given are those of their deceased ancestors or family gods. If a man, whose parents have died, has a child, it is named after the father, if male, and after the mother, if female. Sometimes a name formed by the names of both the family god and the ancestor is given to the child. Nāmadhāri Nagarthās have no names peculiar to them, but among the Lingadhāris the following names are common which are not ordinarily found among others, *e.g.*, Kānteppa, Muguvalappa, and Maligappa, among males, and Kāntemma and Maligamma among females. They are said to be names of their family gods. Opprobrious names, such as Tippa (manure heap), are sometimes given to a child born after the death of his elder brothers.

The mother and the child are taken to a temple in the third month, and get *tīrtha*, after which the

* Some of the Nagarathas who are Saivas deny the prevalence of the custom.

mother becomes completely purified, and may thereafter attend to her household duties. Before the year is out, the mother and the child should stay in a different village or house at least for a night. The ears are bored in the fifth or the seventh month, and sometimes this is put off to a later date. But it is said that it is necessary that a girl should have her ears bored before puberty. The first feeding with rice takes place in the eleventh month, and a male child is shorn of its hair in the third year.

For the Lingayet section, the initiation is performed in the tenth year. This is popularly known as liberation from captivity, and also *dikshe*. A Lingāyet *guru* is invited to officiate at the ceremony, and as he enters the house, his feet are washed, and a little of the water, which is known as *kriya padōdaka*, is sipped as *tīrtha*. On a spot prepared for the purpose, the priest installs five *kalaśas* and makes *pūja* to them. The *linga* which has been tied to the child at birth is washed, first in *panchagavya* or the five products of the cow, and then in the water with which the *guru's* feet are washed and tied to the boy, and *upadēsa* is given to him by the *guru* initiating him with some secret *mantras*. From that day till death the boy has to do *Siva pūja* both morning and evening, and must before eating offer food first to the *linga*.

Upanayanam, or investing the boy with the sacred thread, generally takes place as a part of the marriage ceremony. But if for any reason the marriage does not take place, the ceremony is performed by itself.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

Adoption is practised under the general law, and Brāhman priests are employed to officiate at the *homa* and other ceremonies connected therewith. Those who are Lingayets also invite *Jangam* priests, and give presents to them. The boy is taken for

*Upanayana*, and the waist thread is removed, and sometimes he is made to drink soap-nut water, apparently to cleanse his body of the impurities contracted while in the natural family.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

They have a well organised tribal constitution. The whole caste is divided into territorial jurisdictions styled *kattemanes*, at the head of each of which are a *setti* and a *yajaman*. These offices are hereditary, and if the heir of the deceased functionary is either too young or otherwise ineligible, another man may be chosen by consent of all, either for a temporary period or permanently. In some places, they have a caste servant, known as *Pete Basavi*, whose duty it is to invite the caste men whenever necessary. The headman of the caste has, as in others, power to enquire into and adjudge caste disputes. Whenever their *guru* visits them, information of the event is sent to the *setti* and *yajaman*, and they arrange for his reception, and always fix the amount to be given by the *kattemane* as *guru dakshiṇa*. During such important ceremonies as marriage, birth and death, these headmen have the management of the whole affair. It is said that in some places, the *setti* and the *yajaman* have *inam* lands given to them by Government, and are said to be exempt from paying the *mohatarfa* tax (shop and house tax) In some places, the Nagarthās have reserved for their exclusive service a set of dancing girls, who are not allowed to exhibit themselves before any assembly of the eighteen *phana* castes.

RELIGION.

There are both Vaishnavās and Saivas among the Nagarthās, but all worship both the gods. Their tribal god is Nagareswara, whose temples are situated in large centres to which they make pilgrimages. They also offer cocoanuts to all the minor gods and

goddesses such as Munisvara and Māramma. Their *Guru* is styled *Dharma Sivachāradavaru*, who pays them periodical visits, to give them *tīrtha* and *prasāda*. As he is a Brāhman, the Lingayet Nagarthās take only milk from his hands as *tīrtha*.

Under the name of Dharma (duty,) they also give contributions to this Brāhman whenever he comes to the place. On such occasions, he punishes by whip and fine all those who have transgressed against the rules of caste. They are also subject to Maneswara Swāmi, a person of their caste, who lives at Baswanapura, near Cangundy, in the Baramahal. He bestows on them the *linga*, and *upadēsa*; but his power in punishing for delinquencies extends only to fines. The first Maneswara Swāmi is believed to have sprung from the earth at Kalyāna Pattana; and his successors acknowledge no superiors, but are considered as Iswara in a human form. The office is hereditary, and of course the Swāmi marries. The eldest son, on the death of his father, becomes an incarnation of Siva; while the younger brothers are considered merely as holy men, but follow begging as their profession; for in this country, that is esteemed the most honourable employment. They reside in the *matam*, or college, with their brother, and accompany him in his travels among the disciples. The daughters of this sacred family never marry persons of lower birth; but when there is a scarcity of women for the use of the men, they condescend to take the daughters of the *Emulnaru*, who among this sect are a kind of nobility. These do not intermarry with the populace; but they follow lay professions, and are not in exclusive possession of the office of hereditary chief. In the two other sects of this caste, there are no *Emulnaru*. The Brāhman *guru*, and Maneswara Swāmi, are considered as of equal rank. The Lingavanta Jangamas are not considered

by the castemen as their *gurus*; but they receive charity, by which a kind of authority is implied. They give nothing to the Devanga Jangamas. They do not know that Maneswara Swāmi is possessed of any books; when he bestows the *linga*, he prays extemporarily in the vulgar tongue.

Siriyāla, Hemapāla and Dharmapāla are the great names whose memories they respect. They are said to be men of this caste who acquired great repute as virtuous, charitable persons. It is said that they were all worshippers of Vishṇu at one time, and that about five hundred years ago they adopted Saiva worship.*

Nāmadhāri Nagarthās burn, but the Lingadhāris bury their dead. Some of the latter carry the corpse in a *vimāna*, while others roll it up in a *kambli*, and carry it to the burial ground by hand. As soon as life is extinct, the *setti* and the *yajaman* are sent for, and they arrange for the corpse-bearers. The body is washed and wrapped in a new cloth. Nāmadhāris invite a Brāhman *purohit*. The corpse is placed on the bier and is carried on shoulders by four men preceded by the son, who carries fire. On reaching the cremation ground, the dead body is taken thrice round the funeral pyre and is placed thereon with the head turned towards the north. The cloth is taken off the body and the son sets fire to the pile after performing some purificatory ceremony. All sit at a distance till the body is half-burnt and then go to a river or a well to bathe. After bathing, all return to the house in wet clothes to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased has expired. FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

On the second day, the son and some others repair to the cremation ground to examine if the body has

* F. Buchanan: *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I. pp. 244-45.

been fully converted to ashes and to perform the daily funeral ceremony. On the third day, the ashes are collected and thrown into water. The remnants of the bones are sometimes preserved in a vessel and sent to Benares to be thrown into the Ganges.

From the fourth to the fifteenth day, the son accompanied by the *purohit* goes to the burning ground, bathes there and offers libations and oblations to the manes of the deceased. On the sixteenth day, all the agnates bathe and the ceremonies known as *vrishabhotsarga* (setting free of a bull) and *Ájya srāddha* (oblation in ghee) are performed by the son.

Next day all the castemen are invited to a dinner meant to help the deceased's entry into heaven (Vaikuṇṭha). They observe the monthly and other *srāddhas*.

The funeral ceremonies observed by the Lingadhāri Nagarthās are a mixture of the Brāhmanical and the Lingāyet's ritual. As soon as a person is dead, an Ārādya priest is called and the son makes *pūja* to the dead body under his direction. The corpse is then carried either by hand or in a *vimāna* to the burial ground, and carried round the pit three times. At the four corners of the grave are buried copper plates, with some characters inscribed on them meant to guard it from desecration. This is styled *Chakra-stāpana*. Incense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken before the grave, and the corpse is put into it. If it has been carried in a *vimāna*, and is buried in a sitting posture, in a niche excavated in one of the walls of the grave, it is then packed with *vibhūti* ashes and Bilva leaves (*Aegle marmelos*). The priest places his foot on the head of the corpse and calls out Ughe (Hurrah).* The pit is then filled up, and a mound

* *Ughe* means Hurrah. It is an exclamation of joy. The Lingayet doctrine is that when a Lingayet leaves this mortal body, he goes straight to Kailasa and there is no death.

formed over it into which a stone is stuck and Tumbe shrub (*Phlonis Indica*) is planted on it. The priest is made to stand on the grave, and *pūja* is offered to his feet with fruits, flowers and incense. They then distribute some grain and money as charity, and return home, after washing their hands and feet in some brook or pond. As they approach the house, an old woman scatters a small quantity of paddy on the ground and pours water over it, and they pass, treading on that spot. A lamp is lighted on a heap of paddy on the spot of death, and those returning from the grave smother the flame with pomegranate flowers. The whole house is then cleansed with cow-dung. A meal is cooked that night, for which the necessary provisions are bought fresh from the bazaar. A Jangama priest is invited for dinner, and is served food on a leaf placed on the spot where the deceased expired. All the preparations are served to him at once, and the prescribed fees are paid then and there. The Jangama eats the food without speaking and goes away without looking back. Then, all the agnates join and eat in the deceased's house.

On the third day, a party headed by the son go to the burial ground, place fried grains of five kinds and some milk on the grave, remove the stone set up there, and return, after washing hands and feet in a water course.

No ceremonies take place on the eleventh day. This day all bathe, to remove pollution. A Brāhman *purohit* is invited, and performs *punyāhavāchana*. Then an Arādhya priest does *kriya katle*, by having his feet washed and giving *tirtha*. On the twelfth day a dinner is given, to which all the agnates and some Jangama priests are invited. After dinner, the nearest relatives of the son present him with a new cloth, which he wears, and an areca-nut, which he puts into his mouth and splits out. Then he

washes his hands and feet, and comes into the assembly, where flowers, sandal and *pan supari* are given to him. They then visit the temple of their family deity, and have *mangalārthi* service performed to the god. On return therefrom, the son and some elderly persons, including the *setti* and the *yajaman*, repair to the deceased's shop. They formally hand over the account books kept by the deceased to his son, and on a slate or *kadata* he is asked to write the names of god Śiva. Then he is made to write that such and such a man (meaning of course his father) went to the presence of god Śiva on such and such a day. Then the *setti*, the *yajamān* and other castemen and relatives, offer condolences and give him advice as to his future career. From there, the relatives who have come to offer condolences go away to their villages or towns without any formal leave-taking, and it is said that they should not see the lamp burning in the deceased's house that day. Practice of *Sati* once prevailed among them, but was afterwards given up. Lingadhāri Nagarthās generally omit the monthly ceremonies, but perform the annual ceremonies like others.

OCCUPATION. Nagarthas are merchants by profession, and have mostly adhered to this calling, though some have taken to agriculture. They are bankers, contractors grain merchants and jewellers.

SOCIAL STATUS. Nagarthās do not admit members of other castes into theirs. They are strict vegetarians. Nāmadhāri Nagarthas eat only in the houses of Brāhmans and Lingadhāri Nagarthās in the houses of Jangamas and Ārādhya Lingāyats. Only Bedas and Mādigas eat in their houses.

Nagarthās belong to the left hand (nine phana) group of castes, and are said to be at the head of this

group, for which reason, it is popularly known as Nagartha phana.

The Nagarthās abstain from eating animal food and drinking spirituous liquor. Both men and women are strict vegetarians. FOOD.

They are generally dark, tall and stout with somewhat broad heads. Their dress and ornaments are like those of the corresponding castes. The castmen are immigrants from Conjipuram. They maintain that they are true Vaisyas, and closely imitate the Brāhmanical ceremonies of marriage and death. CONCLUSION.

# NATTUVAN.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—PROFESSIONAL WOMEN—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY AND CONSUMMATION—INHERITANCE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—DRESS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Nattuvans do not form a caste, but they are a social group by occupation. The word *Nattuvan* is an occupational term, meaning a dancing master which is applied to males of a dancing girl group to train girls in dancing. At *nautch* parties, when Dēva-Dāsis dance, the Nattuvans play in accompaniment of the drum, bag-pipe, flute, clarionet, cymbals, etc. They have now formed a caste for purposes of marriage, interdining, and the like. The sage, Bharata of yore, has compiled a *sāstra* (a scientific work on music) in which dancing, its significance of facial movements, and hands are described. This gave rise to an institution which encouraged the training of a class of girls according to the *sāstra* under the patronage of the kings who granted them lands, in return for which they had to render services of dancing in courts and the temples. In course of time, they formed a separate community, and laboured under the difficulty of getting suitable young men to marry their girls. This necessitated them to earn their livelihood by living as public women to supplement their income from lands, salaries, and professional occupation to maintain a gaudy style of life. The ancient rulers took interest in the advancement of music and dancing, and encouraged this class of people. In fact this institution encouraged to a certain extent, the

advancement of music in Southern India, especially in the courts of Tanjore, Conjivaram, Madura, Mysore, Travancore, and other provinces. Thus the dancing women became inseparable factors in palaces and temples. Music with its accompaniments of violin, drum, cymbals, along with the facial expressions and graceful bodily movements, all kept accurately to time, and the emotions derived therefrom, gradually developed into a fine art peculiar to India. It is often said that the founders of this institution made this an outlet for safeguarding family women for the good of the country. At present, the public women of this type are not encouraged by men of light and leading.

In Mysore, the Nattuva community is composed of those who have originally belonged to the Banajiga and Kaikolan castes. The former speak Telugu, and the latter Tamil, while the Lingayat Kaikolans speak Canarese. The traditional occupation is now pursued by only a fifth of their number, the rest taking to agriculture. According to the census of 1901, out of 2163 Nattuvans proper, only 36 per cent were males, and 64 per cent females. This could be explained by (1) the greater care bestowed upon girls than on boys, (2) the recruitment of girls from various castes, namely, Kurubas, Bedas, Gangadikara Okkalu, Telugu Banajigas, and Lingayets.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

The following are the endogamous groups according to the Census Report of 1901 :—

1. Binkali Kaikola.
2. Bhogadavaru.
3. Deva Dasi.
4. Gayaka.
5. Kaikola.
6. Lokabalika.
7. Nattuvan.
8. Nāyakasāni.
9. Nonavakkaliga.
10. Patralalolu.

The Kaikolans have a tradition as to the origin of this institution. Their forefathers who were Tamil-

speaking people of Conjivaram became issueless; they prayed to the goddess and vowed that in the event of their being blesssed with sons and daughters, they would dedicate one girl from each family for services in her temple, such as music and dancing at the time of *mangalārti* with the accompaniment of violin and drum (*mridung*) played by the male members. Their prayer was heard and their vows fulfilled. But others say that their women are the direct descendants of Ramba, whose male members are Gandharvās. The members of this community thus exalt themselves from the odium attached to them. It is a well known fact that to call a man the son of a *sule* (public woman) is the most provoking of all insulting names. The Banajiga male members call themselves Nāidu, while all other public women call themselves Mudaliars, and their women generally temple servants. It must be noted that the eleven groups above mentioned are not exclusively separate from one another. They have been somehow appropriated by some families, and thus perpetuated.

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN.

When a girl who is born or adopted by a professional woman, is five or six years of age, she is asked to perform Saraswati *pūja* with the aid of a Brāhman priest. She is initiated into *aksharabhyāsa* (learning the alphabet). Music and dancing are then taught with special care. When she shows sufficient progress, and bids fair to turn a skilful and attractive woman, a *gajjalu-pūja* (the tying of the jingles at the ankles) is thus performed:—the headman Dessi setti and others of the locality are invited, and the jingles handed over to her by the headman. She receives them and takes an irretrievable step, and then dances. Betel leaves and arecanuts are distributed to those present, and a *dakshine* (small money



A NATTUVA DANCING WOMAN.

gift) are given to the Brāhmans assembled there then. A pair of *panches* is then presented to the headman. If a representative of the Sringēri maṭha is near at hand, priority is given to him instead of the headman. If she is not fit for the profession, she is allowed to marry and lead a family life. If she once takes up the *gajje*, she cannot become a family woman. This *gajje pūja* is performed in temples, and the *tāli*-tying ceremony takes place on the occasion. If the former ceremony is performed elsewhere, the girl is taken in procession to the temple, a *tāli* strung through a cotton thread dyed yellow is tied round her neck in front of the image of the temple, by her maternal uncle or by an elderly woman or her *varasta*, and sometimes by a *purohit* (priest). She is wedded to the deity for the temple service, and to no other man in particular.

When the girl comes of age, she is lodged in a shed of green leaves, or the like in seclusion for three or four days during which she is seated in a conspicuous place on a plank and exhibited. Women of the professional class visit her then, and make presents to her, and receive in return *pansupari* The girl bathes on the morning of the fourth or the fifth day, and becomes purified by taking a dose of *punyāham* (sanctified water) brought by a Brāhman priest. In the evening, she is seated in all pomp on a conspicuous seat with a dagger close by to represent her lover; Ārati is waved. If she has an offer from any young man, it is for the first three days. If she has none, she sleeps with her dagger till she finds one. But in Mulbagal and its vicinity, no dagger or sword is used.

The Nattuvans who do not belong to the professional class lead a regular family life, and observe the manners and customs of the castes from which they are recruited.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The Nattuvans mostly belong to the Banajiga and Kaikolan castes, and there is no intermarriage between them, because each caste professes its superiority to the other; but those other than Kaikolans enter into conjugal relations with Balijas, Padmasālis, Jangams, and Kāpus. The marriage is generally adult, but infant marriage is getting into favour with the Kaikolans. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she is considered inferior in status to Deva Dāsis. The bride-price is twelve rupees and the expenses of marriage on the bride's side is as much as one-hundred rupees, while those on the bridegroom's side amount to 300 rupees. To avoid such expenses, they exchange their daughters in marriage between two families. The formalities connected with marriage are the same as in other corresponding castes.

PUBERTY AND CONSUMMATION.

When a Nattuvan girl attains her age, she is bathed and dressed in new clothes. She is given to eat dried cocoanuts, plantains, jingely seeds mixed with jaggery. In the evenings, she is neatly dressed, decked out with jewels, and seated in a conspicuous place, when the female friends and relations assembled, sing songs. Turmeric, sandal paste, and vermilion are given to the girl, and then distributed among those assembled there then. This is continued during the ten days of seclusion, and on the morning of the eleventh, the girl bathes and takes a dose of *punyāhām* (sanctified water) brought by a Brāhman. Her husband is invited on that day. At an auspicious hour during night, the pair distribute fruits, *pansupari*, and *dakshiṇe* (small money gift) to the Brāhmans who are invited, and performing *namaskārams* (prostrations) to the elderly relations and others, after which the married couple retire to the nuptial chamber.

Inheritance

The Nattuvans follow the Hindu law with this difference, that the daughters inherit equal shares with the sons; and in the case of Dēvadāsis, the children belong to the mothers, and the girls born or affiliated inherit her property, the male members being only entitled to maintenance.

Religion.

The Nattuvans of the Banajiga caste worship Vishṇu, and those of the Kaikolan, Siva. As a rule, the Devadāsis worship the goddess of the temple to which they are attached. But the professional families adhere to Sarasvati in order to secure her blessings for learning music and dancing. They also worship Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati as their family deity.

Funeral Customs.

When a member of the caste dies, the dead body is washed, and dressed in a piece of cloth, and the usual caste mark is made on the forehead. It is generally buried with the head towards the south. The period of mourning is for eleven days. The Nattuvans perform *Śrāddhās* for the departed ancestors. A deceased wife is always propitiated by the second one whenever a new cloth is purchased. The cloth is offered to the spirit before it is worn by the second.

Dietary of the Caste.

The Nattuvans eat meat, but avoid the flesh of monkeys, cows, and unclean animals. They eat in the houses of Brāhmans, and Kaikolans as ālso in those of Kōmatis. Dhōbis eat in the houses of Nattuvans.

Dress.

It is said that women leading family life dress like other Hindu women, but professional women wear gaudy costumes when they appear in public. Dancing girls wear a pair of trousers with red and white stripes over it. They also wear a costly lace-bordered cloth having copious fringes and folds in front, which

keep moving to and fro along with their graceful movements as they walk. One end of the cloth is taken over one of the shoulders behind, and then brought back to the front from below the other, and fixed in front with a foot length hanging below the waist, by the belt in the middle. The dress of professional women is fuller and covers the whole body for they know that the secret of attraction lies in concealment.

CONCLUSION. The designation of Nattuvan is applied to a dancing master who teaches dancing to girls of certain castes. When Devadāsis dance, Nattuvans play the accompaniment of drum, bag-pipe, flute, clarionet, cymbals. Both men and women are generally fair, neatly dressed. They are of average stature with well proportioned heads and features.

# NĀYINDA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.—LANGUAGE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—ANTE AND POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION——ADMISSION OF STRANGERS INTO THE CASTE——RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES——OCCUPATION——SOCIAL STATUS AND HABITS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Nāyindas are a caste of barbers, and are found in largest numbers in the districts of Bangalore, Mysore and Kolar. The general name is Nāyinda in Kannada, Mangala in Telugu, and Ambattan in Tamil. The Hindustani term, Hajam, is also very commonly employed. The term Nāyinda is said to be derived from the Sanskrit term *Napita* which means a barber, of which a shorter form, *Nai*, seems to be employed as the name of a similar caste in Northern India. The term *mangala* (auspicious) is applied to them, as they are called to assist at auspicious ceremonies in various ways. Their profession of shaving is generally regarded as inauspicious, and the proper name of the caste is not pronounced, especially by married women of the upper classes. They call a Nāyinda one not to be thought of or named especially when his name has to be mentioned at nights. He is also known by his profession as *Kshaurika* (Sansk. one who shaves), *Kelāsi* (Kan. one doing the work, *i.e.*, of shaving), and *Bhajantri*, or *Melagara* (musician).

The members of this caste prefer to call themselves by this last name, or Angarakas, or Nayana Kshatris. It is difficult to discover why they adopted the name

Angārakas. Angāraka is also known as Mangala, the planet giving the name to Tuesday, and as these men are styled Mangalas in Telugu, some one must have jocularly applied the equivalent of Mangala to them. Probably the name was adopted as it was more euphonious than the ordinary vernacular names. They even say that Mars (Angâraka) is the barber for the Dēvas, a statement for which there is no warrant in any of the accepted mythological authorities.*

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The Nāyindas profess to have been born originally out of the eye of God Śiva, and so, they call themselves Nāyana Kshatris ("eye" Kshatriyas). Once upon a time, it is said, Pārvati, seeing Śiva unkempt and unshaven in the face, gave a gentle hint that her consort might with advantage pay more attention to his toilet. Śiva thereupon created from his left eye a person who came out armed ready with a case of shaving implements. He pleased the god that created him with his services, and was given, as a reward, a set of musical instruments. He is the progenitor of the barbers, who have always added the profession of playing on wind instruments to that of shaving men. They also refer to two persons Khandōji and Timmōji, as men of blessed memory. But who they were, and what connection they had with this caste, and the profession of shaving and music, there are no means of ascertaining. On some occasions, *tāmbulas* are taken out in their names and given over to the headman of the caste.

LANGUAGE.

In the districts of Kolar and Bangalore, Telugu is spoken by the majority of this caste, Kannada being their prevailing language in other places. Recent immigrants from the Telugu districts of the Madras

* *Madras Census Report*, 1891, page 282, foot-note.

Presidency especially from Cuddapah, speak Telugu, even in the city of Mysore, although they have been settled there for some generations.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

According to the language spoken by the members, the caste has two main groups, each of which has further sub-groups. All these groups and sub-groups are said to be endogamous ones.

The Kannada-speaking Nāyindas are comprised of Morasu, Uppina and Šilavanta sub-groups. The term Morasu probably indicates the country of origin being the eastern part of Mysore with the bordering British territory, and is used as a distinguishing appellation to sub-groups of other castes also, such as Holeyas and Okkaligas, and Morasu-Nād among Šri-Vaishṇava Brāhmans. Uppina means 'of salt', and it cannot be explained why this appellation has been given. Šilavanta, 'one of (good) character,' and is the name of those who are of the Lingâyet faith. They are strict vegetarians, and do not touch liquor.

The Telugu-speaking Nāyindas have four sub-groups, Nadigaru, Raddi-bhumi, Gundlajagata and *Kudipaita*. Nadigaru means people of the country, but it is not known which country is meant. They are probably indigenous to Mysore. Raddi-bhumi (land of the Raddis) denotes that they originally came from Bellary, Cuddapah and other Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Kudi-paita denotes that the women of this section wear their garment so that the loose end of it passes over the right shoulder from the front, and hangs over the left shoulder, a fashion which is the reverse of what is generally adopted. This exceptional mode of dressing is in vogue in some other castes also, and indicates that they have all preserved some local usage, which is different from that prevailing in the place of their

later settlement. The exact import of the appellation Gundla-jagata (a round cymbal) is not known.

The Telugu Nāyindas have some exogamous clans named after plants, flowers, animals and other objects, with the usual prohibition against killing, cutting or using them. The Kannada-speaking men have not returned any such sections, and have probably none existing among them. Some of them have returned *gōtras*, connected with the name of some *rishi*. There are twenty-five of them arranged in groups of five each, and marriages are prohibited between members belonging to the same group.

### List of Exogamous Clans or Gotras.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chitlu .. | .. Name of a tree which Nayindas neither cut not burn. |
| Gurram .. | .. Horse. They do not ride a horse. |
| Jambu .. | .. A kind of reed which they do not cut. |
| Kanagula .. | .. Or *Honge* (*Pongamia glabra.*) They do not cut this tree, nor burn this fuel, nor the oil of this seed. |
| Karu .. | .. A tree which they never cut. |
| Mallela .. | .. Jessamine. They do not use this flower. |
| Mutyala | Pearl |
| Navilu .. | .. Peacock. They do not eat this bird. |
| Palu .. | .. A herb known as Palu Mullangi, which they do not eat. |
| Pasupa .. | .. Turmeric. They do not raise turmeric crop. |
| Samanti .. | .. Chrysanthemum. They do not use this flower. |
| Uttaruna .. | .. A plant. *Achryranthes aspera*, which they neither cut nor touch. |

Some have returned *gotras* named after certain Rishis.

| *1st group.* | *2nd group.* |
|---|---|
| Prastanapa. | Ruchidatta. |
| Puharuna. | Lokahetu. |
| Vastuka. | Indrasena. |
| Visavbhadra. | Bhadra. |
| Sasvara. | Kolapala. |

| *3rd group.* | *4th group.* |
|---|---|
| Vastupati. | Kausala. |
| Chitrakamanu. | Sahasrabhiru. |
| Giridharma. | Vasudharma. |
| Devabhadra. | Vyanjaka. |
| Rajadharma. | Bhuktavyaya. |

*5th group.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sanabhasa. | Probhutavanu. |
| Desakamanu. | Yajyamati. |
| Vajracheta. | |

There are no hypergamous divisions in this caste.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Polygamy is allowed, but seldom indulged in, and polyandry is unknown. The common prohibition against marrying agnetic relations is strictly observed. Marriage is permissible with an elder sister's daughter or the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt, the first of these relations being the most popular. Only in cases of extreme necessity, such as a widower not being able to procure an eligible mate, is marriage with a younger sister's daughter tolerated.* If two families each contract a marriage with a third family, it is said that they thereby become brother families, and no marriage may take place between their members. It would follow from this rule that one may not marry a girl from the family of one's grandmother, though it may not be the same as his own. There is no prohibition against two sisters marrying the same man, either simultaneously or successively, though simultaneous marriage rarely takes place; and two brothers may marry two sisters. When a man has married a daughter of his sister, his son is not allowed to marry either a daughter of that sister or of other sisters. Exchange of daughters in

* The popular saying to this effect is whose chief virtue perhaps lies in the alliteration of its principal terms.

marriage between two families is allowed, but there is a belief that only one of them will result in a happy union.

Some persons of the caste who have risen to any position of wealth and independence have long given up shaving as their profession, and restricting themselves to acting as pipers, have changed the name of the caste to Balajiga.* Such persons are not willing to give their daughters in marriage to those who continue to be barbers by profession.

A woman may be married at any age, or may remain unmarried altogether; but it is said that an unmarried woman may not take part in marriage ceremonies, such as carrying the *kaḷasa*, or smearing the bride with turmeric powder and when she dies, full obsequial rites are not performed. The husband must always be older than the wife. The first proposal for marriage emanates from the father of the young man, who repairs to the bride's house with the auspicious articles, † and talks over the subject in the presence of their caste assembly. These things, together with a new cloth, and sometimes a sum of three rupees, towards expenses of the marriage, are presented to the bride, after her father expresses his formal consent. A Brāhman astrologer fixes the proper day, and a dinner is given to the castemen. After this *vilya*, or *vakkaḷu sāstra* (ceremony of betel-leaves), the contract is complete, and the party that breaks it will have to pay the expenditure incurred by the other.

The marriage festivities last five days, and the ceremonies are more or less the same as in the

*Balajiga, with its caste termination Nāydu, seems to be the favourite refuge of various nondescript Telugu speaking castes, when they desire to raise their social rank so as to be in keeping with any augmentation of their material status.

† Such as turmeric powder, red saffron, arecanuts, betel-leaves, flowers, etc.

ordinary Sūdra castes. The devarūta (god's feast), or the offerings to ancestors, take place on the first day, when the eldest male member of the house and the party to be married eat only one meal, and make *pūja* to a *kalaśa* set up in the names of the family god and the departed ancestors. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared over with turmeric powder, and the young man puts on silver toe-rings. On the second day, the *pandal* is erected on twelve posts, of which the 'milk' post is of green colour. A branch of *nerale*, or atti (Indian fig), has been cut for the purpose by the maternal uncle. The bride and her party arrive at the village of the bridegroom that evening, and are duly received and lodged in a separate house. Five married women of both the parties go to the potter, and bring the sacred pots, which should be four large ones and four smaller ones, four lamp-stands, four dishes and four small goglets, which have been painted over with chunam lines. They are placed in a room, on a bed of manure, collected from five houses, with nine kinds of grains spread over, and the lamps are lighted and kept burning all the remaining days of the marriage-ceremonies.

The principal ceremony takes place on the next day. Early in the morning a party of men and women go to a temple, and bring a *nerale* twig back, which they bind to the milk post together with a *kankaṇa*. The nails of both bridegroom and bride are pared, and after bathing, the man, dressed in wedding clothes, goes out to a temple, where he is seated on a blanket, and married women smear his face and limbs with turmeric; and sometimes he eats a little rice behind a screen, in company with his best man. The bride in the meanwhile sits on a plank in the house, and procession passes between them thrice, each time carrying some presents, and on the third

time, the bridegroom also goes with them, holding a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. After the mock resistance of pelting each other with half husked rice, and the waving of *ārati*, the bridegroom is made to stand on the dais facing the bride, with a screen between them. This is presently removed, and the bridegroom ties the *tāli* to the neck of the girl, while the *purōhit* repeats some benedictory verses. The parents of the bride, and others of the assembled people, pour milk on the joined hands of the couple, through a funnel made of betel-leaf, which act completes the gift of the girl to her husband. After pouring handfuls of rice over each other's head, they sit together, with the bride on the right side, and tie *kankana* (dyed yellow with saffron), on their wrists. They put on *sase*, and are blessed. After the distribution of *tāmbula* to the assembly, the couple have the fringes of their garments knotted together, and walk round the milk-post thrice, and go to worship the sacred pots, their passage into the room being barred by youngsters, who get a promise of a daughter in marriage, and hear the husband naming his wife. After this, the newly married pair, with some other married couples of both parties, sit round a common dish, and partake of the bridal dinner (*bhūva*). On the next day, called the Nāgavali, the married couple go to an ant-hill in procession, and after making *pūja* to it, the bridegroom digs some earth out of it, which the bride carries in a basket on her head. On their return to the house, twelve balls are made of this earth, and one is placed near each of the pillars of the *pandal*. They both get their nails pared, and bathe, and with wet clothes on go to the sacred pots in company with their maternal uncles, and perform *pūja* to them. Then they put on fresh clothes, and perform *pūja* to the pillars, burning incense, and placing offerings of cooked rice and sweet cakes before

each of them. In some places, they also perform a subsequent ceremony, which they style *asi devaru*, for which eleven lamps made of ragi flour, are filled with castor oil, and kept lighted in the *pandal*, and worshipped by the couple. After the pot-searching ceremony, the *kankaṇa*, or wrist bands, are united.

The *pūja* of *simhāsana* takes place that afternoon, an elderly man of the caste, and not the *purōhit*, directing the ceremony. The betel-leaves and nuts taken out of the heap are distributed, the first *tambūla* going to the family god, the second to the progenitors of the caste, Khandōji and Timmōji. The *kattemanes*, or caste guilds, are next honoured, and then the *yajamān* and the Kolkar, these two getting an additional *tāmbula* for their official position.

Some married women make *pūja* to the sacred pots, and taking them to a well, empty the contents therein, together with the manure and the grains (which have probably sprouted) which formed the bed on which these pots had been placed. The vessels are distributed among the relatives, some being given to the bride's party, as souvenirs of the marriage; that night, they have a dinner at the bride's house, which is styled *tiruvati*. The next day the festivities come to a close, with a return dinner given to the bride's party and the caste members generally at the bridegroom's house.

The *tera* (bride-price) varies between twelve and sixteen rupees, and goes to the parents, who, if in good circumstances, purchase some jewel for the girl out of it. No additional sum is demanded of a widower. Nothing is by custom paid to the bridegroom. The expenses of a marriage may be roughly estimated at a hundred rupees for the male's party and a fourth of that sum for the female's. Poor men cut short the expenditure by finishing all the ceremonies in

a single day, celebrating the marriage in a temple, and reducing the feeding-expenses to a minimum.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

On attaining puberty, a girl is considered impure, and kept at a distance for three days. A hut of Lakkali, or margosa leaves, is erected, and she is decked in festive dress, and exhibited in state in the evenings, for three or four days. The husband bears the expenses of all this show. A dinner is given to the caste on a day fixed, and the husband and wife live together thenceforth. The ceremony is performed in simpler style for an unmarried girl, and when marriage subsequently takes place, the husband and wife may live together from the fourth day of the marriage. In some places, Hassan and others however, they seem to imitate some of the higher castes, by putting off the cohabitation for three months after the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Remarriage of women is prohibited in some sections of this caste, while the majority allow it. A widow may not marry her deceased husband's brother, elder or younger. After announcing their intention to marry, before an assembly of castemen, the man ties a *tali*, after obtaining the headman's permission. The ceremony generally takes place in the evening and is followed by a dinner. Regularly, married women take no part in it. The bride-price is usually half the amount due for a virgin marriage. The general rules of law are recognised as regards losing her rights over the property and the issue of her previous husband. A remarried woman has the usual social disabilities of being denied any prominent part in marriage and similar festivities. Such marriages are said to be looked upon with disfavour, a sure sign of a desire on the part of these men to raise themselves in the social scale. It is said that

the amount of bride-price is diminished by half for every successive marriage, though cases of more than two marriages are very rare. There is no time prescribed within which a widow should not remarry after her husband's death.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

The Nāyindas who allow widow marriage are, as may be expected, to be more lax in the way in which they look upon divorce and disregard marital obligations. Among them, if an unmarried girl associates with a man of the caste, she may be married to him in *kudike* form. A man who seduces a married woman, may marry her subsequently, on paying the marriage-expenses of her husband, and giving a dinner, and paying a fine to the caste. Either the husband or the wife may get a divorce, if they agree, and marry again in the *kudike* form. Adultery in a woman may be condoned by the caste headman, if she undergoes an expiatory ceremony, after which the husband may take her into his house.

They do not celebrate any mock marriages with trees or swords when real husbands cannot be found, nor do they dedicate girls to temples.

ANTE AND POST NATAL CEREMONIES.

There are few caste peculiarities in regard to ceremonies observed about the time of child-birth. As usual in most castes, the young woman goes to the house of her parents for her first accouchement. On some day either in the fifth or the seventh month of pregnancy, a feast is observed, and she is given various sweet dishes to partake, according to her taste, and is presented by her father with a wearing garment and a *ravike* (jacket). The husband is also generally invited, and in some places, he pays her father a sum of three rupees for expenses on account of delivery.

During wife's pregnancy, the husband has to abstain from killing any animal, carrying a corpse

or putting on the roof of a house. He cannot take part also in such suspicious acts as smearing the bridal pair at a marriage with turmeric powder, or pouring coloured rice over their heads; nor should he touch the milk-post, or the *bhashinga*. Certain practices are observed in case it should happen otherwise difficult. Indeed, these prohibitions and practices are common to all the castes of a similar intellectual status, and have nothing to do with any particular caste. The midwife (*māntra-sāni*), an adept in *mantras* or charms, mutters them over some castor oil, and gives it to the patient, to drink or smear over the navel. A bangle of brass, or silver, preferably one with some charm or other inscribed on it, is washed in cow's urine, and smoked with incense, and given to her to wear on the wrist. A Rama *setuve* is made, *i.e.*, a number of persons standing in a row pass on from hand to hand a vessel of water, over which some *mantra* has been uttered, and the last person, generally a woman, either sprinkles the patient with the water, or makes her drink a little of it. For the same object, the husband may perform certain acts, such as pulling down the cross slab of stone planted by the side of the road over two upright slabs for resting the head loads of weary wayfarers, or running naked at night to a watercourse and pushing out the washing-slab of washermen there, or cutting the ropes, tying together the rafters of a thatched roof, or firing off a gun with blank powder near the patient's room.

The child is washed soon after birth, and the navel chord which is cut is sometimes preserved, as it is considered to make barren women who swallow it, fruitful. At the threshold of the confinement room, an old winnow and a broomstick are kept, and a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck to the door frame.

The mother and child are bathed on the ninth or eleventh day after *ārati*. A dinner is given to some members of the caste, and those of the Vaishṇava faith invite a Satāni priest to give *tīrtha* and *prasāda* to the mother. The child is put into a cradle for the first time that evening, and a name is given to it, as suggested by an elderly member or by a soothsayer. Some of those who live in towns are more ambitious, and follow, or profess to follow, all the practies of the higher castes, such as Brāhmans and Komatis, which they have ample opportunities of observing when they are called in to serve as musicians on such occasions.

They have no peculiarities in the names that they give to their children.

There are no peculiarities in the rules of inheritance. It is said that a larger share is sometimes given at partitions to the eldest brother, but the usage is apparently not wide-spread enough to be recognised as enforceable. INHERITANCE

It is stated that a sister's son may not be adopted, and though he may be brought up as a foster-son, he does not obtain either the rights or incur the disabilities of an adopted son. The daughter of the foster-father may be given in marriage to such a foster-son. It is said that the affiliation of a son-in-law (*illitam*) does not obtain in this caste. Adoption must take place when the boy is young, at any rate before he is married. The ceremonies are the same as in other Non-Brāhman castes, *i.e.*, a caste dinner, bathing the boy, and cutting off his waist-thread, and putting on a new one, and sometimes giving him a new name. A feast is observed when the male child's hair is shaved for the first time. This is generally done before the temple of the family god ADOPTION.

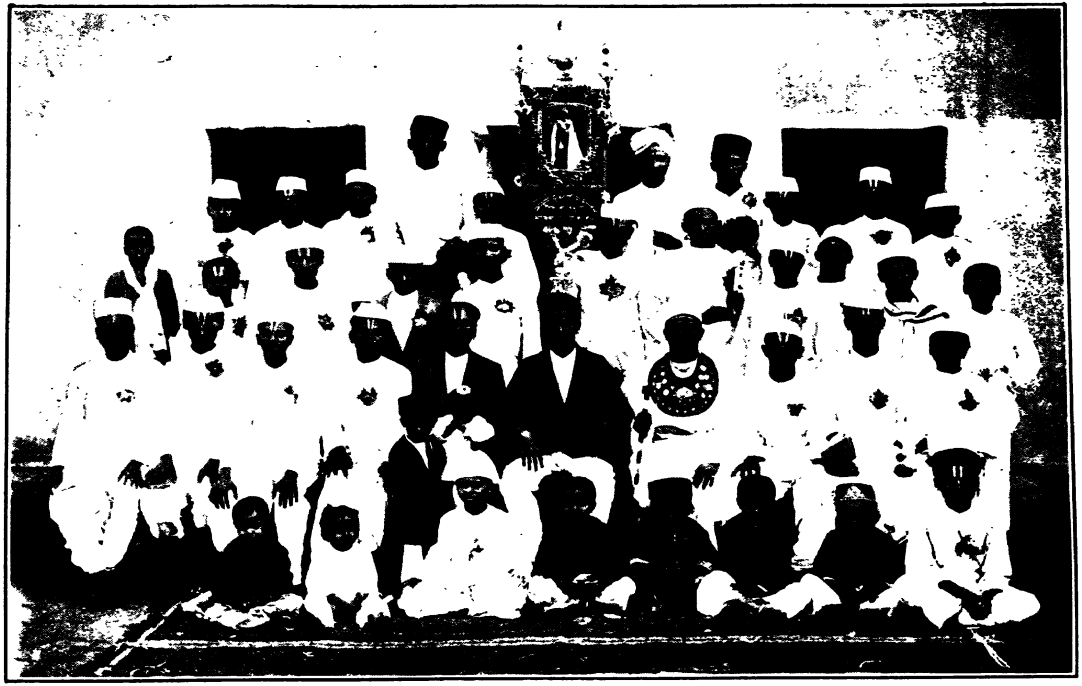
and a barber of another family is employed and paid a customary fee of a *hana*, for the service.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

Nāyindas belong to the Eighteen Phanas. They have a number of *kattemanes*, each with a *yajamān* at the head; and four or five of these *kattemanes* are under a *setti*. Desa-setti, who is generally a Lingāyata Banajiga, has jurisdiction over the whole caste within his area. Each *yajamān* has a *kōlkar* (beadle) under him. The disputes that arise for settlement in their caste-assemblies relate generally to adultery, or transgressions of caste rules. When any matter of more than usual importance crops up, the Desa-setti, caste setti, and the several *yajamāns* with their *kolkārs* have to be present, along with the castemen. The setti and other office-bearers are paid some fees, according to a prescribed scale, and all the expenses of such meetings are borne by the persons at whose instance they have been convened.

ADMISSION OF STRANGERS INTO THE CASTE.

In some parts of the State, such as Kolar and Mysore districts, the Nāyindas admit persons of a higher caste as members of the caste. If the recruit is a child under one year, he is taken as a member without any disabilities. But others and their issue are generally regarded as forming a distinct section, with whom one may dine in company, but intermarriage is interdicted. It is doubtful, however, if this distinction is kept up for more than a short period, till the origin is forgotten. For taking a new man into the caste, the tongue is slightly touched with heated gold, and *tīrtha* and *prasāda*, obtained from a temple for him, and a fine has to be paid and a dinner given to the caste. In Bangalore, they say that no recruitment is thus allowed; and even if a woman of a higher caste associated with one of this class, the latter will not be permitted to eat food cooked by her



A NAYINDA BHAJANA PARTY.

without losing his caste. It is, however, likely that this is an exaggerated statement of persons who wish to prove that they are as exclusive as the higher castes. The social rank of Nāyindas is somewhere near that of Agasas and Bedas. Perhaps their profession as musicians, and the greater opportunities of observing more intimately the manners and customs of the higher castes on religious and ceremonial occasions, have given them certain advantages and made them imitate somewhat more extensively such customs and usages. They also make a better show in the matter of education, the Census returns showing that 2.1 per cent of them know how to read and write, while the percentage for the whole population is only 4.8.

Nāyindas do not shave Holeyās and Mādigas who have their own barbers, and do not play at the marriages of these castes, or at those of Agasas, Korachas and Voddas. They may live in the same quarters as other (Non-Brāhman) castes, and draw water from a common well.

RELIGION.

Nāyindas worship both Śiva and Vishṇu. Those known as Śilavantas are Lingayets, and worship only Śiva, while Tirunāmadhāris, who profess the Vaishṇava faith, also reverence Śiva. Each family worships some special deity as its patron god. There is no particular god regarded as entitled to the distinctive allegiance of the whole caste. The other deities worshipped are Munīsvara, Akkagaru (the sisters), who are regarded as spirits of the woods and trees, Gangamma (water-god), and Grāmadevate such as Māramma and Sidubamma (small-pox spirit). Fowls and sheep are sacrificed to these goddesses, and are eaten afterwards by the devotees. *Pūjaris* may or may not be employed to conduct this worship.

The Akkagāru have no temples generally. On a Tuesday, or a Friday, a small shed of green leaves of Honge, *Pongamia glabra*, is put up outside the village in a grove, or near a well, or a river, and seven small stones to represent seven sisters, are installed therein, with one stone in front to represent Munīśvara. A lamp is lit, and pūja made by offering of turmeric, *kunkuma*, flowers and fruits, and the burning of incense. A fowl or a sheep is sacrificed, and is afterwards cooked and eaten up on the spot, no part of it being brought home. They give a *tāmbula* in honour of some departed worthies of their caste, Khangōji and Timmōji, but there are no shrines answering to these names.

Those who are Lingayets employ Jangamas, or other Lingayets, as their priests. Others employ Brāhmans at marriages, who, though they do not enter the houses, have no objection to go into the marriage-*pandals* of these men, and are not, on that account, subjected to any social ban by other Brāhmans. Sātāni men act as priests, in connection with death and funeral ceremonies of the Nāyindas bearing the *nāma* marks. The *gurus* of this caste are Sri-Vaishṇava Brāhmans, who pay periodical visits for the purpose of giving *tīrtha* and *prāsāda*, and collect the customary fees.

They observe as feasts, the Yugādi (New-year's day) Gauri festival, the Mahānavami, Dipāvali and Sankrānti. The implements of their trade are worshipped at the Gauri festival, and Mahānavami during the Dasara. They worship the serpent in the ant-hills on Nagara Panchami day, and take only one meal. They also take only one full meal on the Saturdays of the Srāvana month in honour of the god of Tirupati, and on the Sivarātri and the chief Ekādasi (the 11th day of the first fortnight of Āshādha). They give *yede*, *i.e.*, uncooked provisions,

to Dāsaris on Saturdays in Srāvana, and to Jangamas on Śivarātri day.

They have the usual belief in omens, oracles, magic, and sorcery, and occasionally they consult soothsayers; and as may be expected, such belief is more in evidence in villages than in towns. They have no peculiar games, but take part as musicians in the exhibitions of strolling players known as Dombi Dāsaru, contributing the musical parts of the performance. In dress and ornaments, they are exactly like other castes of similar status, such as Bedas and Agasas. Women, and occasionally men, before they are twenty, get tattooed by Koracha women, with the object of improving their personal appearance.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Śilavanta Nāyindas observe the same ceremonies as Lingāyets for burying the dead body. The Jangama, or the Lingāyet priest, is invited to consecrate the body with water in which his feet have been washed; the body is carried in a *vimāna* in a sitting posture, and lowered into the pit in a sitting posture, with a *linga* in its hand. After the grave is filled up, the Jangama is worshipped standing on it, and assures the mourners that the deceased has reached Kailāsa (the abode of Śiva).

Those who wear *nāmams* (Vaishṇavite marks) invite the Vaishṇava (Sātani) priest to perform the ceremonies. After washing the body and putting the marks on it, the priest worships a *chakra* (discus) near it, with offerings of food and liquor, of which afterwards he partakes a little, and distributes the remainder as *tīrtha* and *prasāda*. The body is buried in a lying posture.

Those who belong to neither of these cults bury the dead body in the same manner as *Okkaligas* or Kurubas, and with similar ceremonies.

On the third day, the chief mourner and the bearers of the corpse purify themselves with a shave, and bathe after the shoulders which bore the dead body have been annointed with oil. They offer food and water at the grave for the ghost of the deceased. The pollution (*sūtaka*) is removed on the eleventh day. Tirunāmadhāris (Vaishṇavas) worship the *chakra* (discus) again on the grave with ceremonies as on the first day, but on a larger scale. After they return home, they continue their eating and drinking sometimes far into the night presided over by their Śātāni priest, those who are not Nāmadhāris being altogether excluded on such occasions.

They go to a temple on the next day, to get the gate of heaven opened for the entry of the departed soul. The deceased man's son throws a lump of butter at the image, and repeats the formula that if the deceased had thrown stones, he now throws butter; and prays that the god may preserve the survivors safely, though it pleased him to take away the deceased.

Before the end of the month, the Lingāyet Nāyindas feast the Gaṇās, or priests, in memory of the deceased.

For the death of children or unmarried persons, only the third day ceremony is performed, fried grains, plantains and milk being placed on the grave instead of cooked food.

Their period of *sūtaka* is ten days for agnates, and three days for children. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's children. During such period, they avoid the use of luxuries, such as milk and sweet cakes, and do not go to play music in temples.

They do not perform annual *srāddhas* for the deceased ancestors. On the Mahālaya New Moon-day, they worship a *kalaśa*, in memory of all their ancestors, offering new clothes and food before it. A second wife sometimes performs such ceremonies,

intended to propitiate the spirit of her deceased predecessor.

The bodies of persons meeting with unnatural death are also buried with the same ceremonies as those of others. Except the wrapping shroud, nothing is buried with any corpse. A three-pie piece is placed on the grave, when filled up, and the Holeya of the place takes it as his perquisite.

Occupation.

The chief occupation of this caste is that of barbers; and they are also professional musicians. They were formerly also village surgeons, for dressing wounds and setting broken limbs, but this part of their work has almost disappeared, as, after the spread of hospitals and dispensaries, very few care to avail themselves of their services. Women of this caste were employed as midwives, and many in remote villages have still that vocation. A Nāyinda musician is a recognized member of the village service, and as such, he has to play at the services in the village temple. Where there are a number of them in a village, they perform this service in turns. For barber's service also, they have recognized families of customers, and one of them does not encroach upon those of another.

They carry the instruments of their trade always with them in a leather pouch which is hung under their left shoulder, and a barber is readily recognised by the bulging in the left side within his upper garment. The contents of this bag are razors, scissors, a small stone, a leather strap, a nail parer, a looking-glass and a cup for water. The instruments are all cheap and crude, made in the country, but they are kept sharp, and many barbers are experts in shaving very clean, without using any soap or brush. It has become common, especially in the larger towns, to use razors of European manufacture, together with

soap and brush for shaving; and in Bangalore, there are one or two whose trade is so flourshing as to need a bicycle for swift locomotion.

Their musical instruments are various, and some Nāyindas attain considerable proficiency in this art. The wind-instruments have three or four classes of pipes, the *sruti*, used as a basic accompaniment to the more important *nāgswara*, the former giving a continuous monotonous sound, and the latter playing the different tunes. These two are played on all important occasions. They have also smaller flutes and pipes sounded in a lower key, for what they style the *sanna mela*. They have small drums of two or three kinds, and also cymbals for *tāla*. In larger places, they have organised bands of European music which they imitate with more or less success. A few of them play on the fiddle, but they do not touch the *vīṇa*, or the tamburi, which rank as a higher class of musical instruments in India.

The necessity of this service of music especially in connection with many solemn celebrations by all classes of Hindus is so great, that a Nāyinda is also known in Telugu as a 'Mangalavadu', *i.e.*, an auspicious man, though curiously enough his profession is so connected with the unfortunate disfigurement of widows in some of the higher castes, that he is at the same time regarded with some aversion, and that the very name of his caste is not mentioned by married women, especially at night time. Before taking part as musicians in connection with religious ceremonies in temples and eleswhere, the chief man of the group so engaged, shaves himself and bathes for purification. The profession of music being the higher of the two, men of this caste, as they grow prosperous in life, give up shaving, and assume the caste name of Telugu Balijis. Similarly, they decline to have marriage relations with those who still

continue to ply as barbers. Nāyindas who are Lingāyets in religion, are not allowed to have social relations on terms of equality with other Lingāyets.

The remuneration of barbers is regulated by custom in the rural parts of the State. For an ordinary family, having three or four male members, five Kolagas * of grain with a winnowful of paddy, or other grain and a bundle of straw at the threshing floor, are the annual allowance. On days on which he goes to render service, the barber is fed at the house of the customer, and on feast days, the Nāyinda, like other Ayagaras or persons remunerated by customary fees in kind, gets doles of cooked food at the houses of the chief village families. On special occasions, such as the first tonsure of a child, or shaving on the occasion of *upanayana*, the barber is given a fee of a hana (4as. 8p.) in cash, raw rice and other provisions, and a cloth, generally the one worn by the person shaved.

In larger towns, the practice of yearly payments is not in vogue, and money wages are paid generally for each operation, varying according to the position of the castemen and the skill of the barber. The usual fee for adults is one anna in small, and two annas in larger towns. The Nāyindas are also paid separately for playing as musicians, the rates varying according to the demand at the particular season varying from the year, *i.e.*, one or two rupees to ten or twelve for a band of four or six individuals. The fee paid in villages for attendance at marriages is generally fixed at two rupees.

* A Kolaga is a measure of capacity for grain, being a twentieth part of a Khandaga, or Putti. The quantity going to a Khandaga varies very widely, being only 50 seers in some places, and so much as 3,200 seers in some other places. The standard Khandaga for the State, known as Krishnaraja Khandaga, is 160 seers, and it is this that is meant when the term is not qualified to denote some local variety.

There are quite a number of them now who have taken to agriculture, either owning the lands they cultivate, or being tenants on *vāra**, or other terms. This is generally an addition to their caste-occupation, which in the villages is not sufficiently remunerative, but there are many families which have altogether ceased to follow their customary trades, and in fact have altogether forgotten them. Nāyindas are not hunters by profession, but they have no objection to join parties organised by others. There are also some carpenters and bricklayers among them. Very few have found a place in the higher walks of life, such as government service, though one of them is known to have risen as high as a Subordinate Judge in the Bombay Presidency.

SOCIAL STATUS AND HABITS.

It is a disputed point beween the Agasas and Nāyindas as to which caste is entitled to precedence. On public occasions such as distribution of *prasāda* in a temple, discord is avoided by distributing simultaneously to both of them. At the marriages of Nāyindas, Agasas do not supply the canopy cloth for *pandals*, or hold torches during processions. Similarly, Nāyindas decline to act as musicians, or pare the nails of the parties at marriages in Agasa families. On ordinary occasions, however, each caste has no objection to give its professional services to members of the other.

The touch of a Nāyinda is considered to defile a Brāhman, a Komati, and men of some other similar castes. All Hindus consider it absolutely necessary to purify themselves by bathing the whole of their bodies and washing all the clothes they had on after getting a shave. The hairs are all carefully picked and removed and the spot where the operation

* *Vara* is a lease on the condition of paying a defined share of the produce, generally a half, in kind, to the Landlord.

is done, is washed with cow-dung and water. Shaving is considered an inauspicious operation, on account of its association with the unfortunate widows of higher castes, and so, women shrink from the touch of the barber caste though men have to undergo tonsure for many an auspicious ceremony also. On the whole, the men of this caste are held in lower estimation than Agasas, chiefly on this account.

They are a settled people, and live in the same quarters as other non-Brahmans in the village, and own the same kind of houses in accordance with their means, many in town living in tiled houses of substantial construction.

FOOD. Nāyindas are allowed to eat meat and drink spirituous liquors, both toddy and arrack. They may not touch beef; and the meat of such animals as monkeys and snakes, which are eschewed by all respectable castes, is also prohibited. Bestas are the lowest caste in whose houses they are allowed to take food. Holeyas and Mādigas seem to be the only castes who eat food cooked by them.

CONCLUSION. Nāyindas are found in all shades of complexion. The ornaments and dress of men and women are like those in other castes. They follow the hereditary profession of barber and agriculture. They are the members of the village hierarchy, and are paid in kind for their services. They have the exclusive right of using wind instruments. They are both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas. Some among them are Lingāyats. They are also known as Silavants. They are largely requisitioned at feasts and marriages.

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# PĀNCHĀLA.

INTRODUCTION—LANGUAGE—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

PĀNCHĀLAS or Canarese Kammālans are largely found in the districts of Mysore, Hassan, Bangalore and Shimoga. Comparatively in small numbers, they are found in other districts. The term Pānchāla is a generic term applied to the five classes of superior handicraftsmen, namely, goldsmiths, brass and coppersmiths, carpenters, ironsmiths and *silpis* or stone-workers. It is said to be a corruption of the word Pānchānana, which also alludes to the manner of their birth from the five faces of Śiva or according to some, of Visvakarma. It is also interpreted as making up the number five with reference to the five crafts followed by them. In the Tamil countries, the caste is known as Kammālans and in the Telugu districts as Kamsālās. The original form of the name Kammālan appears to have been Kannālan or Kannālar. Kannālan denotes one who rules or gives the eye to an image when its consecration takes place in the temple. Towards the close of the ceremonial, the Kammālan who has made it comes forward, and carves out the eyes of the image. The name is said to refer also to those who make articles, and open out the eyes of the image, or open out the eyes of the people, *i.e.*, who make articles pleasing

to the eyes*. The ceremony of painting the eyes of images is known as *Nētra Mangalya* in Ceylon.

LANGUAGE.

Kannada is the mother-tongue of a large number of Pānchālas in the State. The other Pānchālas speak Telugu, Tamil or Konkani, the language of their original home. The Bailu Kammaras or the Bailu Akkasales who work outside villages, speak a language known as Jagannatha *Bhāshe* (Language).

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

The local Panchalas say that from the five faces of Visvabrahma or Visvakarma, the celestial architect, were born, Manu, Maya, Thwashtra, Silpi and Visvagna or Daivagna. Each of these latter had a son and was named respectively, Sanaga, Sanāthana, Ahabhuvana, Prathnasa and Suparnasa. They are the ancestors who are considered as *Gōtrakāras* from whom the Pānchalās claim to have descended. The Pānchālas claim to be Brāhmans, and they go a step forward and say that Brāhmans are inferior to them in as much as the latter claim descent from Rishis who were mere mortals, whereas they themselves are directly descended from Brahma. Their claim to be treated as such, is disputed not only by the Brāhmans but also by the other Hindu castes. About their origin, the following quotations make matters somewhat clear.

"The Kammālans claim to be descended from Visvakarma, the architect of the gods, and in some places claim to be superior to Brāhmans. Visvakarma is said to have had five sons, named Manu, Maya, Thwashtra, Silpi, and Daivagna. These five sons were the originators of the five crafts, which their descendants severally follow, namely, Manu—blacksmithy, Maya—carpentry, Silpi—stone-carving, metal work (making images), Thwashtru—metal-work, Visvagna-Daivagna—jewellery. According to one story of the origin of the Kammālans, they are the descendants

* *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, by E. Thurston, Vol. III, P. 106.

of a Brāhman and a Beri Chetti woman. Hence the proverb that the Kammālans and the Beri Chettis are one. Another story recorded in the Mackenzie Manuscripts, which is current all over the Tamil country is briefly as follows :—In the town of Madurapuri, the Kammālans of the five divisions lived closely united together. They were employed by all sorts of people, and as there were no other artificers in the country, they charged very high rates for their ware. They feared and respected no king. This offended the kings of the country, who combined against them. As the fort in which the Kammālans concealed themselves called Kāntakkottai was entirely constructed of load stone, all the weapons were drawn away by it. The king then promised a big reward to any one who would burn down the fort, and at length the Deva-dāsis (courtesans) of a temple undertook to do this. The king built a fort for them opposite Kāntakottai, and they attracted the Kammālans by their singing, and had children by them. One of the Deva-dāsis at length succeeded in extracting from a young Kammālan the secret that, if the fort was surrounded with Varagu straw and set on fire, it would be destroyed. The king ordered this to be done, and in attempting to escape, the Kammālans lost their lives. Others escaped by sea, or were put to death. In consequence of this, artificers ceased to exist in the country. One pregnant Kammālan woman, however, took refuge in the house of a Beri Chetti and escaped decapitation by being passed off as his daughter. Owing to the want of artificers, agriculture, manufactures and weaving suffered a great deal. One of the kings wanted to know if any Kammālan escaped the general destruction, and sent round his kingdom a piece of coral possessing a tortuous aperture running through it, and a piece of thread. A big reward was promised to one who should succeed in passing the thread through the coral. At last, the boy born of the Kammālan woman in the Chetti's house undertook to do it. He placed the coral over the mouth of an anthole, and having steeped the thread in sugar, laid it down at some distance from the hole. The ants took the thread, and drew it through the coral. The king, being pleased with the boy, sent him presents, and gave him more work to do. The king.... enquired of the boy's parentage. The Chetti thereon detailed the story. The king got him married to the daughter of a Chetti. The Chetti woman bore him five sons, who followed the five branches of work now carried out by the Kammālan caste. The members of the caste who fled by sea are said to have gone to China, or according to another version, to *Chingale-dvipam* or Ceylon, where Kammālans are

found at the present day. In connection with the above story, though ordinarily two different castes do not live in the same house, yet Beri Chettis and Kammālans live together. There is a close connection between the Kammālans and Achara-pakamchettis, who are a section of the Beri Chetti caste. Kammālans and Āchara-pākamchettis interdine; both bury their dead in a sitting posture; and the *tali* used by both is alike in size and make, and unlike that used by Beri Chetti caste. The Āchara-pākamchett is are known as Malighe Chettis, and are considered to be the descendants of those Beri Chettis who brought up the Kammālan children, and intermarried with them.*

"A goldsmith is the offspring of two mixed castes."†

"Pānchālas allege that they are sprung from Panchamukha Brahma or Brahma with five faces. This deity had five consorts, from whom were descended the five classes into which they are divided. Their traditions state that they originally came from the north of India. The Brāhmans say that Visvakarma, the son of Brahma, from whom they assert that all Kammālans are descended, was condemned to become a Chandāla or outcaste, and that his progeny are therefore the lowest of the low.",‡

The different professional groups go by different names according to localities in which they reside. Thus the goldsmiths are known as Akkasāle in Mysore, Soṇāar in the Mahratta country and Northern India, and Tattān in Tamil countries. In Mysore, the carpenter is known as Badagi or Oji and as Tacchan in the Madras Presidency. The Kannada Kanchugara is the Tamil Kannān or the Telugu Bogar. Kammāra is the name of ironsmiths who are called Lohars in Northern India. The workers in stone are known by the Sanskritic term Silpi.

The term Akkasāle is said to be a corruption of Arkasāle and is applied to goldsmiths for the following reason :—

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III. p. 113-114 & 115.

† Nellore Dt. Manual p. 207.

‡ North Arcot Manual p. 226.

Mayan Visvakarma married his daughter Chāya to Arka, the Sun. While living with her husband, Chāya could not bear the strong rays of the Sun, and so she is said to have complained to her father about her inconvenient position. Thereupon Maya Visvakarma is said to have mitigated the severity of the sun's rays by subjecting them to whetstone and reducing their number to three. Thenceforward Chāya appears to have lived with the Sun comfortably. *Arkasāle* is said to be made up of two words *Arka*—the Sun and *Sāle*—the whetstone. Being the descendants of Visvakarma, who refused the strength of the Sun's rays, the goldsmiths say that they are known as Arkasāles. Sonar is the Hindusthani form of the Sanskrit Suvarnakāra, which means a person working in gold, *i.e.*, in manufacturing jewellery—Suvarṇa being the Sanskrit name for gold. The Mysore carpenters are known as Badagis or Ojis. The term Oji is another form of the word Oja used by the Telugu Kamsālas as a title. The following incident accounts for the adoption of Oja as a title.

"During the reign of a chola king, the (Kamsālas) ancestors claimed equality with Brāhmans. This offended the king and he ordered their destruction. The Kamsālas fled north, and some escaped death by taking shelter with people of the Ozu caste. As an acknowledgment of their gratitude to their protectors, some of them have Ozu added to their house names, *e.g.*, Lakkozu.....*

Āchārya is the general title of the caste; *Swāmulu, Avadhānulu, Srauthalu* are being used as titles outside the State. Appa, Aiyya, Avva and Akka are also added to their names.

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION.

The Pānchālas, at the last Census, numbered 132,187; 68,194 being males, and 63,993 females.

* *Vizagapatam District Manual*, page 66.

Their distribution in the City of Bangalore and Mysore, as also in other districts, is given below:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bangalore City .. .. | 2,083 |
| 2. | Bangalore District .. .. | 14,564 |
| 3. | Kolar Gold Fields .. .. | 744 |
| 4. | Kolar District .. .. | 10,847 |
| 5. | Tumkur do .. .. | 13,213 |
| 6. | Mysore City .. .. | 2,263 |
| 7. | Mysore District .. .. | 39,921 |
| 8. | Chitaldrug District .. .. | 9,955 |
| 9. | Hassan do .. .. | 15,527 |
| 10. | Kadur do .. .. | 8,071 |
| 11. | Shimoga do .. .. | 13,714 |
| 12. | Bangalore Civil and Military Station | 1,285 |
| | Total .. | 132,187 |

From the above figures, it may be seen that the Pānchālas are largely found in the districts of Mysore, Hassan and Bangalore. In the Madras Presidency and the Hyderabad State, they number 547,712 and 55,975 respectively.

The term Pānchālas or Panchavalas implies persons making up the number five, and the caste covers five kinds of handicrafts, namely, (1) work in gold and silver, (2) in brass and copper, (3) in iron, (4) in carpentry and (5) in sculpture; so that these artisans are all of the same caste known under the general name of Pānchālas although there are shades of difference between them according to the locality and spoken language.

The foremost among the Pānchālas are the Akkasala (Arkasala) or Agasala who are the most numerous in the Mysore, Bangalore and Hassan districts. They are recognized by the other Panchalas as the head of their caste and are given caste jurisdiction. The five different crafts already specified are followed according to their idiosyncracies. Among them, there are Vaishṇavas and Saivas, and

the religious difference of sect is no bar to intermarriage or social intercourse. The *Lingam* wearing goldsmiths do not associate with the Pancham Banajigas, nor with any other section of *linga* weavers. The advancing civilization of the State has naturally induced the exodus of the goldsmiths to the urban parts.

A cognate member with the goldsmith of the Pānchāla caste is the Kammara, or ironsmith whose occupation is mostly combined with that of the carpenter (Badagi). His services are always requisitioned by the cultivator whose agricultural implements have to be made and mended constantly. They are numerous in the Tumkur and Mysore districts.

Next comes the Badagi or carpenter whose traditional occupation is followed by the members of other castes, namely Kunchitiga Okkaligas and others. Some Musalmans also follow this occupation. In this caste are included the Gudigaras who are turners and carvers.

*Gajjegara and Kanchugara.*—The Gajjegars are makers of Gangrus (small round bells) used in decorating the heads or necks of bullocks. The dancing women also tie them round their ankles while dancing. The Kanchugara is the brass and coppersmith. They are found mostly in Bangalore and Mysore Districts.

*Stone masons.*—Among them are skilful idol makers.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The main endogamous groups into which the Pānchālas are divided are either linguistic or territorial. These are again subdivided into either territorial or religious groups. The difference of occupation in the same endogamous group does not act as a bar to marriage in the same group, as they

are at liberty to follow any one or all of the five crafts. The following are the endogamous groups among the Panchālās :—

I. KANNADA PĀNCHĀLAS.

1. Karnātakas.
2. Uththarādi Karnātaka.
3. Badaganādu.
4. Aravaththu Maneyavaru (Sixty families).
5. Sivachārs (Saivas).
6. Konkani.

II. TELUGU PĀNCHĀLĀS.

1. Thurpunādu (Saivas).
2. *Sivachārs.*
3. Uththarādi Vandlu.
4. Muruikanātuvāndlu.
5. (Kudu Paithvāndlu,.
6. Burulugunte Vāndlu.

III. TAMIL PĀNCHĀLAS.

IV. MARATHAS.

V. SONGARS OF GOA.

VI. BAILU KAMMARS OR AGASALES.

No interdining nor intermarriage is allowed between the members of any two of the main divisions, but interdining is extended to only the male members of the several minor divisions, except Sivāchārs of each main group. The Sivachār Pānchālas interdine with Jangams and *vice versa*; but they do not however associate with the Panchama Banajigas or with any other section of Linga-wearers.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

Sanaga, Sanāthana, Abhuvanasa, Prathnasa and Suparnasa are the *gōtras* or exogamous clans already mentioned. Each of these is said to be further divided into five or twenty-five Upa *gōtras* or sub-*Gōtras*, the names of which are not forthcoming. In addition to these, Sadyojātha, Vāmadeva, Aghōra, Thathpurusa and Īsāna, named after the five faces of Siva and Kāsyapa, Vāsista, Visvāmithra, Puthamanasa, Gauthama, Athri and Bharadwāja named after the several Brāhmanical Rishis

are given by some as their *gōtras*. The Lingāyat Pānchālas have given Rēnuka, etc., as their *gōtras*. Persons belonging to Prathnasa and Suparnasa *gōtras* are said to marry with the other exogamous clans, *viz.*, Sanaga, Sanāthana, and Abhuvansa. The Pānchalas say that they follow Rik, Yajus, Sāma, Atharva and Pranava Sākhas whereas Brahmans follow only the first three. The Bailu Kammaras have the following exogamous divisions: Salanki, Chāvan, Suravesi.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Infant marriage of girls is the rule. The custom of dedicating girls as Basavis or marrying them to swords, trees, etc., does not prevail. Polygamy is allowed on grounds of barrenness of the existing wife or of her suffering from an incurable disease or of her bad moral conduct. The custom of paying bride-price to the parents of the bride is prevalent, but the amount is not fixed. It varies from three to twenty-one rupees according to the local custom. Some people refuse to take the bride-price, but this amount is forced upon them during the marriage by tying it to the end of the bride's garment. *Varadakshiṇa* or the bridegroom-price may also be paid but this is not insisted on. The amount to be paid depends upon the worldly circumstances of the bride's father.

With those with whom the infant marriage is not the rule, girls who attain their age or become pregnant before their marriage, are expelled from the caste.

Marriages are settled by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. A young man must seek for his wife only in the endogamous group to which he belongs and outside his *gōtra*. He is prohibited from marrying girls who stand to him as sisters or mothers by relation. He can marry his maternal uncle's, paternal aunt's or elder sister's, daughter but not that of his younger sister. Two sisters are not simultaneously



A GROUP OF PANCHALA WOMEN.

married to the same man, but they may be married to two uterine brothers. Exchange of daughters, though practised occasionally, is viewed with disfavour. Married girls do not live with their husbands soon after marriage. They stay with their parents till the consummation of marriage. After this ceremony, they are formally sent to their husband's houses, and on this occasion they are given various presents like dress, rice and other auspicious articles enclosed in their laps. The amount to be spent during marriages is not fixed. Marriage being considered as a joyous occasion, people spend money beyond their means or resources. There is no tendency to reduce such expenditure.

Marriages are conducted, under the Vedic ritual by the help of their priests. The caste is said to closely follow the marriage ceremonies of Brāhmans. The ceremonies begin with betrothal. For this ceremony, the bridegroom's parents go to the bride's residence and present the latter with new dress and toilette in the presence of castemen assembled for the purpose. Offer and acceptance of the bride is then made and letters of agreement are then exchanged. A day previous to the marriage, a booth having *kalli* (*Euphorbia tiru kalli* Z.), *basari* (*Hibiscus populaeoides Roxb.*), fig or *nerale* (*Eugenia jambal Zam*) branch for its milk-post, is constructed. The branch for the milk-post is to be cut by the maternal uncles of the parties to be married. Gods and the family ancestors are invoked to grace the ceremonies with their presence, and a dinner is given to the castemen. The other functions of the day are the bringing of Gods, *Varapuja* (*i.e.*, meeting the bridegroom and worshipping him) and the investiture of the bridegroom with the sacred thread.

The second day is full of ceremonies to be gone through. New pots are brought and worshipped. The bride's parents meet the bridegroom who by this time

is seated under a pipul tree disguised as a pilgrim to set out for Benares, and persuade him to accept their daughter in marriage and then proceed to Benares with his wife. This is known as *kāsiyātra* or pilgrimage to Benares. Then the bridegroom is brought to the marriage booth where *tāli*-tying and *dhāre* then take place.

On the third day, Sadas or Pākini is held, when the *gōtrakarās* are worshipped. On the fifth day, *nākabali* or *nāgoli* is celebrated. In this ceremony, the *pandal* posts are worshipped, with offerings; and the gods and ancestors invoked for the occasion are ceremoniously dismissed. With the worship of the Kalikādēvi, their tribal goddess, the day's ceremonies conclude.

The marriage among the Bailu Kammars is both infant and adult. A woman may remain unmarried till her death. Their marriage booth is supported by nine pillars, the milk-post being Athi (*Ficus racemosa Lin*). The bride-price is twenty rupees. Though the Pānchālas are divided into occupational groups, yet they are allowed to have intermarriages with any one of them; goldsmiths living in towns have ceased to intermarry with black-smiths.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A girl attaining her age remains under pollution for three or five days. During this period, she is kept either in a separate room or in a temporary shed covered with green leaves of *Vitex negundo*, and undergoes *ārathi* and *akshathe* every evening. During these ceremonies, the girl takes her seat in a square, and sits on washed clothes supplied by the village washerman. Lamps burn at each corner of the square, and round these, strands of thread are passed four times. Married ladies attend the ceremony, sing songs and receive lumps of a mixture of pounded gingely and jaggery. This is purely a female ceremony. Men do not attend it.

Among the local Pānchālas, remarriage of widows is strictly prohibited, but in the Southern Mahratta countries, though widow marriage is allowed, the remarried widows are not held in much respect. RE-MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS.

Adultery is a heinous offence, and a woman proved guilty of this offence is expelled from the caste, and her husband is granted a divorce. Her husband releases himself from the marriage tie by performing obsequial ceremonies during her life-time, as though she were dead. On no account can a woman divorce her husband. ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Generally a pregnant woman is taken to her parent's house for the first child-birth. When delivery has taken place, both the mother and the new-born babe are kept in a separate room; to avert the influence of evil spirits, margosa leaves are stuck to the door frame, and shoes and broomstick placed near the entrance to the room. Soon after delivery, a small dose of musk is administered to the woman. Light food and medicine are given during the period of confinement. The pollution lasts for ten days, and on the eleventh day, her husband takes a shave, for which there is a *taboo* during the advanced period of her pregnancy. On the eleventh day, the mother and child are given a bath, and the latter is given a name. During this evening, married ladies attend the woman and administer *Baje* (*Acorus calamus Lin*) and butter to the babe, and rock it in the cradle, after a round grinding stone having been rocked previously. POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

The Lingāyet Pānchālas observe the ceremonie peculiar to that cult. In families where children have successively died, the first surviving one is opprobriously named Kadappa or Kadamma (*Kadu*-jungle), Gundappa or Gundamma (*Gundu*-a stone),

Thippaiyya or Thippamma (*Thippe*—a manure heap) or Thirukappa or Thirukavva (*Thirukā*—a beggar) to avert a similar fate overtaking it. Endearment is expressed by shortening names and by using such terms as Appamma, Peddappa, Chinnappa, Magu, Appāji, Ammanni, Puttuthāyi and Puttusāmi, Vedāchalachāri, Brahmachāri, Dakanachāri, Nyanachāri, Gnanamurthyāchari and Sharabhachāri are some of the names peculiar to the caste. The name Sharabachāri is sometimes shortened to Chebaiyya.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

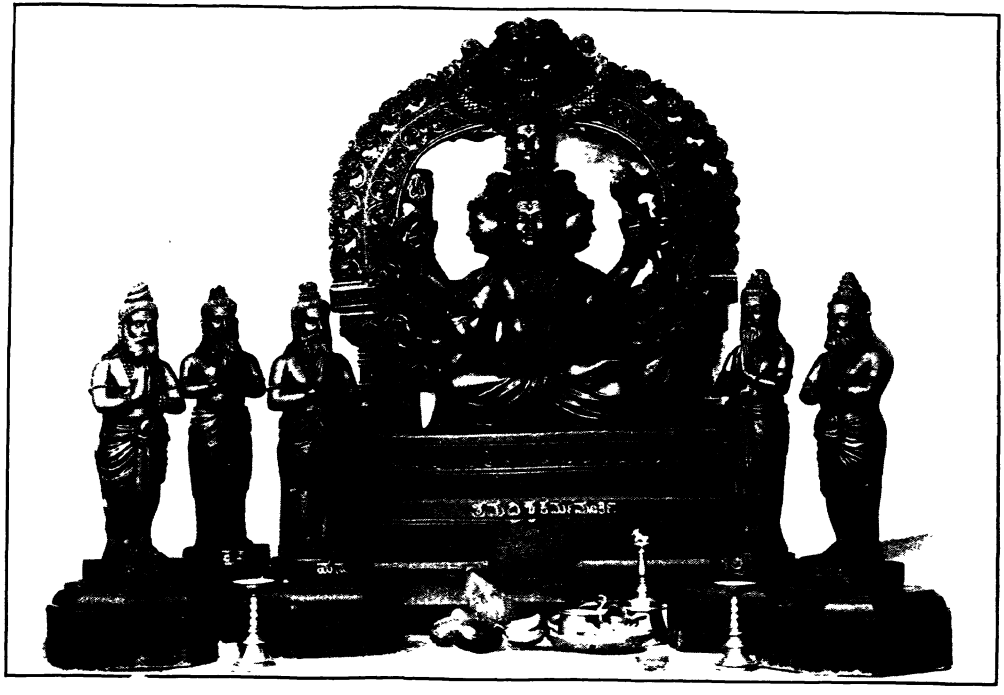
Hindu law of inheritance is followed by the local Pānchālās. Omens, oracles and witchcraft are believed.

In the absence of sons or male heir, adoption is resorted to, but in no case are brothers taken in adoption.

RELIGION.

There are both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas among the Pānchālas. Of the Saivas, some are Lingayets. The Lingayet Saivas are invested with *linga* soon after birth. All wear *linga*, but women under monthly sickness lay it aside for being worshipped, during the period, by those who are free from pollution. Kālika dēvi or Kālamma or Kāmākshi Amma and Kapardēsvara, their tribal gods, are worshipped both by Saivās and Vaishṇavās, though they belong to the Śaiva group of gods. The difference in religion is indicated by the different marks put on their foreheads. The Saivas put on ashes and Smārthas, sectarian marks on their foreheads which are two or three horizontal lines drawn with sandal paste and a black dot in the centre. The Mādhva sectarian marks are white clay marks of *chakra* impressed with brass stamps or seals and a line drawn with charcoal in the centre.

Kalikādevi and Kāmathēsvara are their tribal gods. The latter is represented by the anvil and fire



A GROUP OF IMAGES MADE BY A PANCHALA ARTIST.

pot used in following their profession. Kālikādevi is worshipped on all days of the week, but more especially on Tuesdays, Fridays and on new-moon days. The other Śaiva, Vaishṇava and village gods are also worshipped. Natural elements, such as Sun, Earth, Water and Mountains, pipal-tree, cows, snakes and implements are also worshipped. Vegetarian diet is offered to Kālikādevi now-a-days. During auspicious occasions Kālikādevi is honoured with the first *tāmbula*.

Formerly Brāhmans were called in by the caste except the Lohars who had their own priests to help them in their religious ceremonies. Of late, these ceremonies are conducted by the priests of their own caste. Jangams attend to the Lingāyet Pānchālās; wherever their caste priests are not found, Brāhmans officiate. But Bailu Kammaras and Gudigars entirely depend upon Brāhmans. They pay their homage to Kalihasthāchārya of Vipuri *matha* and Anegondi *matha*, Jagathāchārya Swagnana prabhu of Hosur *maṭha*, and Yātagiri in the Nizam's Dominions.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead are cremated. The Sivāchār Pānchālās, Bailu Kammars and some section of the Pānchālas bury their dead. Those whose custom is to burn their dead, practise burial in exceptional cases, such as death from small-pox or death of children under three years of age. The sacred-thread and the shroud are burnt with the dead body. The period of pollution is three days for the death of a young child and ten, twelve or sixteen days for that of an adult agnate. The Lingayet Pānchālās dispose of their dead according to the Lingāyet ritual.

The dead among the non-Lingayet Pānchālas are carried on a bier; but the Bailu Kammarās carry in their hands the dead bodies wrapped or rolled in a blanket. The obsequial ceremonies are

reported to be the same as among Brāhmans. Some say that they are guided by Manu Sūtra in these matters. The obsequial ceremonies for those who meet accidental deaths are said to begin a month after the date of death. Annual ceremonies are performed regularly by many, but those who cannot afford to do so or who are not intelligent enough to know the efficacy of them, propitiate their ancestors collectively once a year during the dark fortnight of Bhadrapāda. The deceased married women are propitiated by females performing *huvvilya*. When under pollution, the Pānchālās abstain from eating sweet things and drinking milk. All kinds of luxuries and enjoyments are eschewed.

Occupation. The Pānchālās follow their traditional occupations, namely, working in gold, iron, copper and brass, wood, and stone, even to the present day. It is their mainstay. Agriculture, trade and very rarely government service are taken as supplementary occupations.

Pānchālās are not divided into endogamous groups according to their professions. They are at liberty to follow any one of the five professions. Manu, Maya Thwashtra, Silpi, Visvagna or Daivagna are the patrons or forefathers of the occupational divisions of iron-smiths, carpenters, copper and brass-smiths, stone-workers and goldsmiths respectively. They are skilled workmen, especially goldsmiths, architects (stone-workers) and *Gudigaras*. The goldsmiths can imitate any new design, and succesfully compete with machine-made articles. The stone-workers are not as skilful as were their forefathers who built several temples in the State, such as those of Halebeid, Somanāthpur and Belur. The Architecture of these temples is admired by many of the great European scholars and scientists even at the present day.



A PANCHALA BRAZIER CARPENTER AND COPPERSMITH.

Of carpenters, the Gudigaras who are sandal-wood carvers are highly reputed for their workmanship. The following are the names of some of the instruments used by the Pānchālās in the State.

Goldsmiths use.—*ade*—anvil; *thithi*—bellows; *suthihige*—hammer; *ikkıla*—tongs; *musè*—crucible; *thandasa*—tweezers; *chirna*—chisel; *kokke*—hook; *aggishtike*—firepot or chaffing dish; *sravana*—pincers; *varegallu*—touchstone, etc.

Carpenters use.—*bachi*—adze; *wuli*—awl or *burin*; *kodathi*—wooden hammer; *hathri*—plane; *garagasa*—saw and *hidisal*—corer.

The Ironsmiths use.—*ade*—anvil; *chammatige*—sledge hammer; *ikkala*—tongs, *chirna*—chisel.

The Silpis use.—hammer, tongs and chisel.

The Kanchugars use—anvil, crowbar, *tongsi*—chisel and *karavayi*—the instrument on which vessels are hung to be hammered.

The Pānchālās are an indispensable body in the village corporation. Their services are requisitioned by all classes of people as they manufacture or mend agricultural implements, build houses and temples, make jewels and manufacture or repair utensils.

SOCIAL STATUS.

The Pānchālās, as we now find them, are clean in their habits. They do not take in outsiders into their caste. In the division of castes, the Pānchālās with the goldsmiths at their head, lead the left hand or the Nine Phana group. But the Bailu Kammaras are said to belong to the Eighteen Phana group. Their touch, and not their approach, defiles an orthodox Brāhman. Water can be taken by them from public wells. Barbers and washermen serve them. In the temples, they are allowed up to the limit of *garbha gudi*. Holeyas, Mādigas, and Halepaiks by their touch, defile the Pānchālas. The Pānchālās in common with other castes claim to be considered as Brāhmans, and their claim is not admitted both by

Brāhmans and the rest of non-Brahmans. The following extract from the Madras Census Report of 1901, page 156, clearly decides their social position.

The Pānchālās state that they are superior to Brahmans in origin, since whereas Brāhmans only claim to be descended from the Rishis, who were mere mortals, they themselves were sprung from the five faces of Visvakarma, a god and the architect of the gods, and so, are of divine parentage. They base their claims upon three things,—decisions in the courts of justice, some sentences in the Vedas and some passages from the *Mula Stambam* and *Silpi Sāstra* (two works on architecture), the *Vajra-suchi* and *Kapiladvipam* (controversial books on the abolition of castes), and the poems of Vemana, a Telugu Sudra poet. The decision in the courts, as was to be expected, merely state that Kammālans are to be allowed to perform such rites as they choose without molestation. As to the Vedas, it is not only the Kammālans who can quote scripture for their purpose and these writings were moreover compiled long before the present caste system was originated, as that chance sentences in them are of little weight in the controversy. The other books adduced in evidence are not authoritative or sacred works.

"There can be no doubt that the Kammālans' claim is of comparatively recent origin. The inscriptions of 1013 A. D referred to in paragraph 464 of the 1891 Census Report that at that time they had to live outside the villages in hamlets of their own like the Paraiyans and other low castes, and a later one of the Chola Kings that they should be permitted to blow conches and beat drums at their weddings and funerals, to wear sandals, and plaster their houses, and so on, shows by implication that these luxuries were previously denied them. At the present day, some of the Kammālans bury their dead, which is not an Aryan custom, and other Sudras do not treat them as Brāhmins.... nor accept food and water from their hands.



A PANCHALA STONEMASON.



A PANCHALA ARTIST WITH HIS DISCIPLES.

Dietary of the Caste.

In the matter of food and drink, most of the sub-divisions are strict vegetarians and teetotallers, but a few here and outside the State are said to eat flesh and drink liquor. Sweetmeats cooked in ghee or oil are said to be accepted from other caste Hindus, but this is denied by some of the Pānchālās. Except the Sivāchar Pānchālas, the rest are said to accept water and food only from Brāhmans. Pariyas, and washermen are said not to accept food from this caste, the probable reason being that the latter belong to the left-hand division of castes.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments.

Their dress and ornaments do not differ from those of the other Hindus. In the matter of jewellery, they introduce new fashions. Except the Bailu Kammaras and the Lingāyet Pānchālās who wear *linga*, the rest take the sacred thread either before or during marriages. They bathe daily and perform Sandhya or prayers.

Women whose husbands are alive put on toe and nose-rings, bangles, *tāli* and vermilion spots on the forehead to indicate their married state. Widows divest themselves of these things after the death of their husbands. They may retain ordinary jewels. They are not required to get their heads shaved. Charms, amulets, etc., are worn by them and some of the caste draw charms and practise devil-driving. Girls are tattooed by their twelfth year by Korama women with several designs on various parts of the body. Their games do not differ from those of the other castes.

Conclusion.

The Pānchālās are a caste that follow five different occupations, namely those of jewellery, carpentry, blacksmithy, masonry and coppersmithy. These occupations do not give rise to any difference. Each group has a headman, but all the groups are subject

to a hereditary chief who is a goldsmith. Their occupation is interchangeable, and all the groups can intermarry and interdine. The Pānchālās belong to the left-hand section. Buchanan says "that they and the Banajigas often had disputes, and the government was obliged to part the town into two divisions". In one of these, the right-hand side was not allowed to perform any ceremonies, nor to go in procession; and the other division was kept equally sacred from the intrusion of their adversaries. The Panchalas are both Vaishṇavas and Saivas. Kāli is considered to be the proper deity of the caste, but receives no bloody sacrifices from her votaries. They compete with the Brāhmans in point of social status.



A GROUP OF PARIVAR MEN.

# PARIVĀR.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE real significance of the caste Parivar presents some difficulty. The word *Parivaram* means an army or a retinue, and it is said that the members of the caste were formerly soldiers. It is said that the castemen form an endogamous group of Maravan, Agamudian, and that the Parivāras of the Madura and Trichinopoly districts are an offshoot of Maravan. In the Coimbatore District where the castemen are numerous, they seem to be an endogamous group of Toreyas, a fishing caste. Mr. Rice, in his Gazetteer of Mysore, says that Parivāra is a synonym of Besta. Further in the Census of 1901, it is stated that the word *Parivāram* signifies a retinue, and is probably an occupational term which is applied to the domestic servants of the Tottiya Zamindars of Coimbatore, Trichinopoly and Madura. The Parivārs of Mysore are probably the descendents of immigrants from the Tamil Districts.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

Among the Parivārs, there are two endogamous groups, namely, Chinna Uliyam (little services), and Periya Uliyam (big service). The members of the former are palanquin bearers and those of the latter are Manikārans (headmen) of the local Zamindars. There is no intermarriage between the two groups.

Parivārs are largely found in the Mysore City, Nanjangud, Chamrajnagar and Gundlupet.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The marriage customs of the castemen are similar to those of the corresponding ones. Brahmans officiate as their priests, and the bridegroom's sister ties the *tali*. Divorce is allowed to both the parties in the event of any disagreement. Adultery within the caste is condoned, but outside the caste is rigorously prohibited.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept under seclusion in a separate hut for sixteen days, which is guarded by her relations. It is afterwards burnt down, and the pots used by her during that period are broken into small pieces, as there is a belief that if rain water collects in any of them, the girl will be childless. The days of seclusion are at present reduced to five days. On the bathing day, the caste women are treated to a feast. If the girl is already married, consummation takes place in the girl's house within sixteen days. When a girl is pregnant, a ceremony is performed during the seventh month, when the pregnant woman receives presents of clothes. She is taken to the house of her parents, where the delivery takes place. Birth pollution is for twelve days. Name giving and cradling take place on the twelfth day. Ear-boring takes place on the twenty-ninth day.

RELIGION.

They worship Śiva and Vishṇu with equal reverence. They adore Rangaswamy, Rāmadēvaru, Māramma and Gangamma.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

Parivārs both bury and burn their dead bodies. The period of mourning is for eleven days. On the third day, the gathering of bones of those whose bodies are burnt takes place. The bones are preserved in an earthen vessel and thrown into the water of a river or tank in their neighbourhood. On the twelfth day, the agnates are purified by a bath,

and the chief mourner gives a funeral feast to his relatives and friends who are invited.

Agriculture, fishing, and trade form the chief occupation of the castemen. They go for hunting on the Chaitra Sankrānti day. Some among them are palanquin bearers. Occupation.

## PATNULKĀRAN.

INTRODUCTION—SOCIAL HABITS—OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

PATNULKĀRANS are a caste of weavers found in all the Tamil districts especially in Tanjore, the districts of Trichinopoly and Madura. It is said that their original habitat was Gujarat from which they emigrated to South India. They are also called Saurāshtrakās, and now style themselves Saurāshtra Brāhmans. They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves. It is a mixture of Mahrātti, Gujarātti, Canarese and Tamil. Their written language is Canarese. It is said that Hyder Ali while returning to Mysore after his expeditions against Madras, forcibly brought with him some 25 families of these weavers who were living in the Tanjore District and established them at Ganjam, near Seringapatam, and in order to encourage silk and velvet weaving, exempted them from payment of certain taxes. The industry flourished till the fall of Seringaptam when most of them fled from the country; a few only survived those troublous times. "A curious ceremony confirming their original habitat is performed to this day at Patnulkaran weddings. Before the date of wedding, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house and ask formally for the girl's hand. Her relations ask them in a set form of words, who they are, and whence they come, and they reply that they are from Sorat (the old name for Saurashtra or Kathiawar), resided in Devagiri, travelled south (owing to Muslaman oppression) to Vijayanagar and thence came to Madura. They then ask the bride's party the same

question, and receive the same reply." The castemen living in Bangalore are the descendants of those from Vijayanagar.

Social Habits.

They now wear the sacred thread, and to their names add Ayyangar, Ayyar, Bhagavathar. The Brahmans do not recognize their status. They perform the Upanayanam ceremonies for boys in their tenth or twelfth year. Infant marriage is the rule. Widow marriage is never allowed. They are both Saivas and Vaishṇavas, and all put on the Vaishṇava mark. They are pure vegetarians. They are now found in Bangalore. Their hereditary *gurus* are Sri Vaishnava Brāhmans of Tāthachār and Bhattrāchar families.

Occupation.

With silk they manufacture a fine stuff called *kutni*, which no other weavers are said to be able to prepare. It is largely used by the Musalmans for trousers and *lungis* (gown). At present, they are employed in making silk clothes and carpets. They are an intellegent and hard working community.

# PATVEGAR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—ORIGINAL HABITAT—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

PATVEGARS are a class of weavers largely found in the Molkalmuru taluk and in the Bangalore town as also in Harihar. They appear to be immigrants from the Bombay Presidency, where they are found in Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satāra, Belgaum, Dharwar and Ratnagiri.* They profess to have come from Guzerat 200 years ago in search of work, and this seems probable. Their language is a mixture of Guzerati, Mahratti and Hindustani. They are so called because of their making patterns, tassels under the neck-lace.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The following account is given regarding the origin of the caste. At the beginning of the world, men were nude. The Devas realized this, and sought the help of Ādi Śakti to remove it by creating a person able to make clothes for all. At her request, her consort Śiva created a man from his tongue, and called him Jihvāji (Sakuṇasāle, tongue man), and ordered him to weave clothes for which the Dēvas furnished him with implements. Jihvāji learned the *vedas* from Brahma who then invested him with the holy thread with the initiation into the *gāyitri mantram*. Both Siva and Pārvati were pleased with him, and each

* Enthoven B. E. : *Bombay Tribes and Castes*, Volume III, P. 224.



A GROUP OF PATEVGAR MEN.

created for him, a wife, namely Ankini and Dasānkini respectively. By the first wife, he had two sons, and by the second, he had six. The sons of the former renounced the world, and obtained final release. The six sons by Dasānkini were sent to different worlds to make clothes for the people. One that came to the earth was the first ancestor of Patvegars. As time advanced, the world grew wicked, and Śiva came to the earth, to protect the people from wickedness, when he was accompanied by the grandson, Jihvāji who was believed to be identical with Kālabhairava, now found at Benares. The Patavegars of Harihar say that they belong to the Sūryavamsa, and are the descendants of Kārthaviryārjuna.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous groups.*—The Patvegars are divided into Sakuṇa Sāle, Nakula Sāle, Sudha Sāle and Katris. Those that live at Molkālmuru and Bangalore are mostly Sakuṇa Sāle; those that live in the Bombay Presidency, Nakula Sāle, and those in Rājadurga in the Bellary district are Suddha Sāle. But some of these are Katris and are found in Bangalore.

*Exogamous Clans.*—They have the following *gōtras*:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Agastya | gotra | (Nandi flower). |
| Atreya | do | (Sampige flower). |
| Bharadwaj | do | (Mullu Syavantige). |
| Dadhichi | do | (Karnikar flower). |
| Doorvasa | do | (Punaga flower). |
| Galava | do | (Kamala or Lotus flower). |
| Gargeya | do | (Bakula flower). |
| Gowthama | do | (Bile Syavantige). |
| Haritharsh | do | (Agani flower or oil seed plant). |
| Jabala | do | (Jagi flower) anvari. |
| Jamadagni | do | (Kempu Dasavala). |
| Kasyapa | do | (Kunuda or Black Lotus). |
| Koundinya | do | (Karnikar flower). |
| Kavanarshi | do | (Karnikar flower). |
| Markhandeya | do | (Dalimbar flower) pomegranate. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Narada | gotra | (Bhadra flower). |
| Parashara | do | (Bhandivana flower). |
| Poulastya | do | (Malati flower). |
| Powngya | do | (Malati flower). |
| Vasista | do | (Mallige or Jasmine). |
| Viswamitra | do | (Dasavala flower). |

These flowers are intended for the worship of the Rishis symbolizing them.

ORIGINAL HABITAT.

Their original habitat was Nepal, and their ruler had forty villages. From Nepal they migrated towards the South and some of them have settled in various parts of Mysore. Their *gurus* are all Brāhmans. These Patvegars are different from Sakuṇasāle and Nakulasāle, etc., in the following points: the former have "*yagnopavīta*" and all Brahman *samskāras*, while the latter have none of them.

The members of the endogamous groups interdine, but do not intermarry. And yet the first three divisions are very much allied, and help one another on occasions of funerals and the like. It is likely that the groups must have belonged to the same stock at the outset, and the geographical distribution connected with their settlements must have brought about the difference. At Molkālmuru there is a movement for the amalgamation of the seemingly separate divisions. Patvēgars are generally called Dēvaji, the Dārjis, Rāmji, and Katris Sāhuji. Hence Dēvaji and Sāhu are the characteristic names of these groups as also the endings of names. Thus Sankara Dēv or Sankara Dēvaji indicates a Patvēgar; while Tuka or Tukarāmji indicates Dārji; and Bhāskarasa or Bhāskara Sahūji, Katri.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The usual marriage prohibitions, as in other castes, also exist among them. Patvegars of Harihar do not interdine and intermarry with those at Molkālmuru.



A GROUP OF PATEVGAR WOMEN.

Marriage is generally infant, and rarely adult. On the day of *nischitārtha* or day of settlement, clothes and jewels are presented to the girl by the boy's parents. Then both parties with articles for a picnic meet at the place appointed with due consideration for the convenience of water. The elderly members bathe and set up five small pebbles in a row on a bed of sand in shade. They worship gods represented by the stones. A sheep is sacrificed and its flesh is cooked and offered as *nevediam*. All those assembled partake of it, and return home in the evening. On the following day, they worship the family deities. On another day, the propitiation of the spirits of women who have died before their husbands takes place on the next day. A *pandal* with six posts is erected and on the same evening the *hālukamba* (milk-post) is brought with the shoots of cotton plant. It is also worshipped. Some families worship Śakti on the same night, when Gundaladavaru sing songs in praise of Amba Bhavāni, the special goddess of the Mahrāttas. The rest of the ceremonies are the same as in other castes. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom ties the *tāli* round the neck of the bride. The bridegroom gives the bride a little milk and wheat flour three times, and she returns the same to him. This is interpreted to be a solemn promise of mutual faithfulness of the couple. Then rice is thrown on each other's head, and this is believed to imply mutual obligation. Then follows the observation of the star Arundhati, taking food from the same dish, worship of the pots kept in a special room, smearing their faces and hands with turmeric, final bath (*mangala snān*), mimicking family life by playing with a doll.

When a girl attains puberty, she is under seclusion for five days, and the observances are the same as

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

in other Hindu castes. The Patvēgars follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption.

CASTE ORGANIZATION. It is the same as in other similar castes; Gauda is the headman.

RELIGION. They are Śaivas, but worship Vishṇu also. They invite Dāsayya, but not the Jangams. They worship Śakti in the name of Amba Bhavāni. Brāhmans are their priests.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS. The Patvēgars burn the dead, but have no memorial stones to set up for the soul of the dead. On the way to the cremation ground, there is the usual place of rest and the change of place among the bearers. At the burning ground, the chief mourner carries an earthen water vessel round the bier and lays a quarter-anna piece in it. Balls of rice are laid on the spot where the body has been burnt, and on the third day the bones are gathered and thrown into the water. On the eleventh day, a dinner is given to friends. They hold that a death in the family causes ceremonial impurity, and stop work for thirteen days. They give monthly and yearly funeral feasts.

OCCUPATION. The Patvegars make silk threads for necklaces, and other head and wrist ornaments. They string and fix gems or beads of silk or cotton threads and make fringes, tassels and netted works. They make silk and cotton and waist cords by which boys of the high caste fasten round the loin cloth, a short time after thread ceremony. Some have taken to weaving, while others go as day-labourers. Some are also musicians.

SOCIAL STATUS Patevegars of Harihar do not interdine, and intermarry with Pattevegars of Molkalmuru.



PATEVGARS WORKING AT THEIR LOOMS.

They have got the custom of widow marriage or *kudike*, or "*Salcoodike*".

They eat fish and flesh, and drink liquor. They do not like to rank themselves with any other caste, and eat no food but what is prepared by their own people. DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Patvegars are a caste of silk-weavers who speak a mixture of Mahratti, Guzarati and Hindi. They worship all Hindu deities, especially energy under the name of Sakti to which a goat is sacrificed during the Dasara festival. After the sacrifice, the family of the Patvegar partake of the flesh. Their women are generally handsome, but lose their beauty from early marriage and precocity. They are found in Bangalore and Harihar. CONCLUSION.

# RĀCHEWĀRS or RĀJAWĀR.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—INHERITANCE—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS, ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Rachewars are found especially in the districts of Bangalore, Mysore as also a few in Sringeri, and Kadur. Their original abode is said to be in Vijayanagar, Godavari, and other localities. They are sometimes called Bada Arasu Makkalu,* meaning descendants of poor Arasus. The name Rāchewar (a corruption of Rājavar) has become their appellation since the time of Hyder Ali. They claim Kshatriya descent which however is not generally admitted by others. Their common title is Rāju for men, and Amma and Akka for women.

Their number in Mysore was 5,983 and 3,179 according to the Censuses of 1901 and 1911 respectively. The variations show that these members of the caste have been going down in numbers decade after decade. In 1891 they numbered 12,324. Perhaps in the *sarige* (gold-lace-making), Rachewars do not find their wares in requisition, and they have no patronage except in the Mysore State Palace. It is also possible that others may have merged in the Kshatriyas to which they claim to belong. Their mother tongue is Telugu.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

They trace their origin to a passage in *Brahmanda Purana*, where it is said, that for an injury done

* Not far from the town of Chikmagalur there lives in a village, a community having the same name.

to a Brāhman, they were condemned to follow mechanical occupations.*

In Buchanan's Travels, it is said (p. 506, Vol. II) that "they originally came from the North of India, and probably from the country which in our Map is called Rachoor."

Some of them say that they are descended from the Solar and Lunar lines of Kshatriyas, and that they came from Rishyamuka, a mountain in the Deccan, near Pampa Sarovara, where Sugriva and his followers hid themselves for fear of Vāli(Bali). It is said that they came to Mysore some seven or eight generations ago. They are regarded as descendants of immigrants from the Telugu country, who apparently followed the Nāyak Viceroys of the Vijayanagar Empire in the 16th century. They are more or less jealous of the purity of their caste. They wear the sacred thread.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

*Endogamous Groups.*—There are two main (groups) of the Telugu and Kannada Rāchevars, the former called Rangāre, are military; and most of them are found employed in His Highness the Maharaja's Rāchevar and Bale Forces. The other consists of the Chitragāras or Bannagaras, who follow the profession of painting and decorating, and making toys and lacquered ware. They also make *sarige* or gold and silver lace.

The main divisions are:—

1. Murikinadu (Suryavamsa).
2. Velindau (Chandravamsa).
3. Tanjore Group (Kāsyapa *gotra*).
4. Ananta Giri Group.

* *Vide* C. R. Mysore, 1901. P. 543.
Tanjore Manual.
*Vide* C. R. 1901.

5. Karvetinagar Group.
6. Hasan Kāte (fort) Group.

It appears that formerly there were intermarriages between Murikināḍu and Velināḍu Groups but the practice was subsequently given up on account of the women of the former group tattooing their bodies, an operation which was found not to be auspicious for the latter. Singalanāḍu is the name of the another division inhabiting the Malnād parts, especially Sringēri.

*Exogamous Clans.*—One account gives the following Eponymous names as the names of their Exogamous clans :—Kāsyapa, Attri, Pala and Ātreya which are confined to Mulikināḍu group ; Janamejaya, Visvamitra, Pasupanati and Vasishta confined to Velanāḍu division, and Sāndilya, Ātreya and Bharadvāja to other groups.

Another account gives the names of some trees as the names of its exogamous divisions, which may be totemistic, such as Kāsyapa, and Ponnu-*gōtra*. They consider Asvatha, Muttuga, Parivala, Sami and Audumbara as their family gods. Pāla, Attri (Muruganāḍu marriage).

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Girls are married either before or after puberty. The bride and bridegroom should not be of the same *gōtra*. The Saivite and Vaishnavite Rachevars intermarry. A man cannot marry his sister's daughters. Polygamy is practised ; but a man cannot marry two sisters simultaneously. Two brothers cannot marry two sisters. There is no restriction to take girls from one's maternal or paternal grandmother's family. The choice or selection rests with the parents. There is no price either for the bride or for the bridegroom, though one account says that there is a bride-price of Rs. 6.

A girl who becomes pregnant before marriage is put out of caste. It is said that death was the penalty in former times. *Upanayana* for males is done either in their eleventh year or immediately before marriage.

Marriage ceremonies are more or less the same as in other castes of similar rank. On the third day of marriage, the thirty-three crores of gods are represented by a *kalasa* and worshipped by a Brāhman on this occasion. Brahmans are invited, and they bless the couple. On the fifth day, the ceremonies of *nagabali* and *Grahapravēsa* take place. The consummation of marriage takes place on the same day, if she has attained her age already. On the sixth day, they go in a procession. The seventh day is the last day of the festivities. These ceremonies are conducted according to *puranic* form. There is no procession of the bridal pair except *kāsiyātra*.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A girl on attaining her age is under pollution for four days; she is partly purified on the fifth day by a bath, and is completely purified on the eleventh day by bathing and taking *panchagavya*. During this period, she is not allowed to touch anything in the house. On the eleventh, fruits are worshipped and presented to Brāhmans, and the caste people are fed. From the time of her attaining age, she is kept under *ghosha*. Widows are not allowed to remarry. Adultery is not tolerated.

INHERITANCE

They follow the Hindu Law. If a partition is effected during the life-time of a man, he gives an extra share to his eldest son, and some money to his daughters for turmeric, etc. Oaths are taken by touching an image of god or a sacred book or a betel leaf.

CASTE COUNCIL.

A number of elders form a council to surpervise the caste rules in operation. They take cognisance of eating in forbidden houses, and offences of adultery. The *yajaman* presides, in the meetings of the Council; but their decisions are appealable to the *guru* who is the final authority in social and religious matters.

RELIGION.

There are both Saivas and Vaishṇavas in the caste, the latter being the majority. Difference in creed is not a bar to marriage. The Vaishṇavās are divided into Vadagale and Tengale; the men of the former persuasion have for their *guru* Tātachār of Kārmudi and Kotikanyadānam Tātachar of Srīrangam, and the latter are followers of Yatirāja Swāmi of Tirukoilur, Kandalwar and Battachār of Srīrangam, who are all Brāhmans. They give *chakrankitam* to their respective disciples and receive their homage. God Srinivasa and Chāmundēsvari are their favourite deities. Nimidevi is said to be the tribal deity of Rājus. In addition to these gods, they worship Māri and other village gods with their neighbours. When an epidemic spreads, they erect a *pandal* and keep a female image of earth to represent the presiding deity of the disease, to which they go with their women carrying lighted lamps and worship the goddess. The men of the caste offer an animal in sacrifice. Brāhmans are employed as priests in their ceremonies, but in some places, Sātānis are said to be employed. They worship *chakra* in their funerals. It is said that they annually renew their sacred thread at the time of the *upākarma*.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

In the neighbourhood of Mysore, the dead are cremated. The other ceremonies connected with this are:—consigning the ashes to a river, performance of daily ceremonies for twelve days, and

presenting rations, and ten kinds of gifts to Brāhmans on the thirteenth day, and feeding the caste people on the fourteenth.

In Kānkanhalli and other places, the dead are buried. Before the body is carried to the burial ground, the body is washed, and on their way to it, the bearers rest for a time midway. On the seventh day, an altar is erected and its roof is covered with leaves. An *yede* is offered to the grave, and a Sātani worships a *chakra* during the night.

The period of pollution varies from a mere bath to twelve days' impurity. During pollution, scents, sweets, etc., are prohibited and auspicious ceremonies are not undertaken.

In cremating, they place a piece of iron on the chest of the body to avert the evil consequences of dying on an inauspicious day, and a small quantity of gold is put into the mouth of the corpse with a view to give a final satisfaction of his worldly desires. Some perform annual ceremonies to all the deceased ancestors of the family, in the waning moon of Bhadrapāda. Deceased married women are propitiated with a *huvilya* by women.

Their traditional occupations are painting and military service. Some follow agriculture and the rest take to miscellaneous walks of life. Hunting and shooting are their pastimes, but they do not kill deer, parrot or Brāhmani kite. It is said that they are making use of thirty two kinds of weapons in the battle-field, of which the following are some: swords, shields, daggers, lances, spears, axes, bows and arrows. As agriculturists, some are owners of lands while others are tenants. OCCUPATION.

The caste occupies a comparactively high rank. They accept food from Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, SOCIAL STATUS.

Sivadhvijas, Rājputs and Sātanis. Telugu Banajigas, Okkaligas, Gollas and Kumbaras are said to eat in the houses of these people. It is said that outsiders are admitted into this caste, but they become a separate branch having the right of interdining only. They eat the flesh of hare, tortoise,, fish and porcupine, etc. But in Kānkanhalli, crocodile and tortoise are eaten, and liquor is freely drunk.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

The men of the caste dress in the old fashioned way: they put on a long turban, a long coat with *Nirige* (fringes) and fastened with a string or tape; they wear a pair of trousers, or a piece of cloth for the lower part. They wear a sacred thread. The women of the caste dress themselves according to the fashion of the country. They are not allowed to appear in public without a cover of cloth for the whole body after they attain their age. At the time of their marriage after puberty, the bride sits veiled by the side of her husband. *Tāli*, nose-screw, and toe-ring indicate that the wearer has her husband living. In appearance the Rāchevars are dark coloured, head narrow, face oval and rather angular.

CONCLUSION.

Rachevars claim to be Kshatriyas, but their claim is not admitted by others. There are three endogamous groups based on traditional occupations. They trace their origin to a passage in the *Brahmānda purāna*, and owing to some injury done to Brahmans, they were condemned to follow mechanical occupations. One group, Rangāre are military, and most of them are employed in His Highness the Maharaja's Rachevar and Bale forces. The other group Chitragar, make good paintings decorations, lacquered ware and toys.



A GROUP OF REDDI MEN (VELNAD)

# REDDI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH CHILD BIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Reddis are a caste of Telugu agriculturists found in the districts of Kolar, parts of Tumkur, Bangalore and Chitaldrug. Their exact number in the State cannot be ascertained as they are censused under Okkaligas, but they are numerically strong in the State. The term Reddi is supposed to be a corruption of the word *Rāt* which means a king, and is said to be connected with the word *Rāshtrakuta*. The *Rāshtrakuta* or *Rātta* dynasty ruled the Telugu country from 1125 to 1439 A.D. As an evidence that they belonged to the ruling race, they adduce that some of the Zamindars in the Madras Presidency at the present day are of Reddi caste, *e.g.*, the Zamindar of Vallur in the Krishna District is a Telugu Reddi, the Zamindar of Salla Palli, a Kamma and those of Venkatagiri, Nuzvid, Piṭhāpur and Bobbili are Velama Reddis.

The term 'Kāpu' means a watchman, and 'Reddi', which is found as *Irattu*, *Iretti*, *Reddi*, *Rahtor* and *Rāshtrakuta*, means a king. The Kāpus or Reddis (Rētti) appear to have been a powerful Dravidian tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era, for they have left traces of their presence at various

periods in almost every part of India.* Though their power had been put down from time to time by the Chālukyas, the Pallavas and the Bellālās, several families of zamindars came into existence after the captivity of Pratāpa Rudra of Warangal in A.D. 1323 by the Muhammadan emperor, Ghiyas-ud-din Toghluk. They ought, perhaps, to have been classed as formerly military and dominant, but the Velama caste, which has been placed in Group 1, sufficiently represents the ruling section of this great agricultural community. The Kammas call themselves Kamma Nayanavaru, Kamma Doralu or Dorabiddalu. Ganda Reddi and Nāyadu are used at the end of their names as titles in addition to the ordinary suffixes as Appa, Amma, Ayya, Akka, etc. The term Gonchigara is used as a prefix and it means the headman.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

The accounts collected in the State do not disclose that all the sub-divisions of Reddis are descended from a common ancestor. Therefore the story of the origin of each section is given separately.

1. Pāknāti Reddis as their name implies must have come from Praknad (Eastern country). They claim descent from Yema Reddi Mallamma who was so virtuous a lady that she was credited with reaping pearls by sowing Jola (millet). The Bombay Ethnographical Monograph on Reddis says that it is certain that they (Pāknāts) still claim descent from Hem Ratti, who, in their tradition, was the son of a Kudavakkal and brother of Kurupi, the eponymous ancestor of the Kurubas. Whether Yema Reddi Mallamma is connected with Hem Ratti cannot be made clear from the information collected in the State. Kamma Reddis, otherwise known as

* Salem Manual, Vol. i, p. 17, and Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese District, p. 31. Their ancient kingdom was called Rettaipadi.

Kammās, trace the origin of the caste from Timma Nāidu, king of Gandikota in the Ceded districts. When he was defeated by his enemies, some of his subjects fled from the country concealing themselves under large baskets, while others remained at home.* The former are known as Gampa (basket) Kammas and the latter as Illu Vellani (who stuck to their houses) Kammas. Even now the women of the latter sub-division observe the system of *ghōsha*. They say that they migrated into their country during the time of Palygars as Dalvoys or commanders of their armies. They admit themselves to be Sūdras and relate a story as to how the caste acquired thirty-two kinds of insignia. In a dispute as to their possession in preference to several Sūdra classes, the king of the country to whose notice it was brought decided the case thus. He caused a platform, thirty-two feet in length, to be erected with a pointed sword set up in the centre, and the insignia placed at one end. He promised the rival claimants that he would decide the case in favour of that party whose representative was successful in picking the insignia, by jumping over the sword from the other extremity of the platform. All failed in their attempts except a representative of the Kamma caste, though the sword struck his chest. It is said that since that event they have been enjoying the possession of the insignia.

Another story of the origin of the Kammas seems to be more appropriate and it is related as follows :—

Once Rākshasās harassed the Rishis or holy sages who implored Vishṇu to destroy the former. Vishṇu pleaded his inability and asked his consort Lakshmi

* Another account says that they left their home during a severe famine carrying their luggage (household articles) in a basket and hence their name.

to help the sages. Lakshmi gave the sages her ear-ornament and asked Kamma to worship her. When the sages worshipped it as directed by Lakshmi, a set of warriors rose out of the jewel and destroyed the giants. Thimmala Rāyuda, king of Gandi Kota from whom they trace their descent, was a descendant of one of these warriors. During their marriages, at the time of *simhāsana pūja*, a *tāmbula* is given in his name and it is accepted by a member of the Pemma Sālu family, Pemma having been the prime minister of that king. Pemma's family also is given another *tāmbula*, in consideration of his having held the office of the prime minister. Other versions for the origin of the Kammas are also given and the reader is requested to peruse them himself.*

The Kammās are found in every district except Malabar and Canara, but they are most numerous in the districts of Godavri, Krishna, Nellore and North Arcot. In their origin they are closely connected with the Vēlamas and Kāpus. 'Kamma' means an ear ornament, and one tradition states that a valuable jewel of this kind, belonging to Rāja Pratāpa Rudra, fell into the hands of an enemy. One section of the Kāpu caste boldly attacked the foe and recovered the jewel, and were, therefore, called Kammās, while another section ran away and accordingly received the name of Velama (*veli*, away). Another story says that the Kammās and Velamās, before they divided, had adopted the *gōsha* system of the Muhammedans, but finding that they were thus handicapped in their competition with other cultivating castes, it was proposed that the new custom should be abandoned. Those who agreed to this signed a bond, which was, of course, on a palm leaf

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, pp. 231-234, Vol. III.

(*kamma*) and from this they were called Kammās. The dissentients retained *gōsha* and were, therefore. called Velamās or outsiders. There are other stories, but most of them agree in describing both Kammās and Velamās as offshoots of the Kāpus.

How they lost their ruling authority is explained by the following incident. Once a Kamma king went in procession in the streets, riding on an elephant. His Kamma subjects thinking that they should not stand on the ground when the king rode thus, got upon the roofs of their houses. The king being offended at the strange behaviour of his subjects, cursed them that they should thereafter cease to enjoy the ruling powers.

The Kammās claim superiority over the other Śūdras and give a funny story of the method by which they have acquired it. There was once a dispute among several classes of Śūdras as to which of them was of superior origin (caste). To decide this a feast was held, and all were served dinner on leaves. After meals, all except the Kammas who had provided themselves with leaves of pumpkin removed the leaves on which they ate. But the Kammas to avoid the difficulty of removing theirs themselves consumed them. Hence their superiority over the other Śūdras.

Pākkanāti Reddis formerly lived near Nellore. Once a Yakuli king became enamoured of a Reddi girl and made proposal, and at the same time contrived means to avoid misalliance. They made preparations for the approaching marriage, but before the marriage day arrived, they left the country to avoid dishonour.

The origin of the caste is given in page 150 section III, *Inhabitants of the Baramahal Records*, and it is quoted here.

"Once on a time the Guru or Pātriarch came near a village and put up in a neighbouring grove until he sent in a Dasari to

apprize his sectaries of his approach. Dasari called at the house of one of them, and announced the arrival of the *guru*, but the master of the house took no notice of him, and to avoid the *guru*, ran away through the back door of the house which is called *peradu* but by chance, came to the grove and was obliged to pay his respects to the *guru*, who asked if he had seen his Dasari; he answered that he had been all day away from home. On which the *guru* sent for the Dasari and demanded the reason of his staying away so long when he saw the master of the house was not in it. The Dasari replied that the person was at home when he went there, but that on seeing him he fled through the back door, which the *guru* finding true, he surnamed him the *peratiguntavaru* or the run-away through the back door, now corruptly called Perdagantuvaru, and said that he would never honour him with another visit, and that he and his descendants should henceforth have no *guru* or patriarch. This sect deduce their origin from the runaway and are divided into two divisions, *viz.*, Shinna Gumper and Pedda Gumper.... " Veradi, Naradi, Nerati or Renati. The subdivision traces its origin from Pothuraju. These are called Renati because they emigrated from Renati some 30 generations ago. Why they came to be called Naradi or Nerati is ascribed to the following incident :—

There were two Reddis who entered into a marriage alliance. One was Baipu Reddi whose daughter was married to the son of Thippa Reddi. For having conducted the marriage, the officiating priest was not rewarded by either. Whenever the priest requested them for payment, each shoved the responsibility on the other. But the priest persisted in his demands. The two Reddis then came to an agreement that whoever spoke first thereafter should make payment to the priest. Then they went to a forest to maintain their silence. The Brāhman too followed them. Neither of them spoke to the other for a considerable time. The priest finding it hopeless to receive payment by making either of them speak, appealed to some Okkaligas to help him in the matter. The latter promised the priest to help him in securing his fee, and applied red-hot iron to the nerve centres on the body of Baipu Reddi, who

mainatined his word by not speaking. The Thippa Reddi was accorded the same treatment, and being unable to bear the torture he spoke first, and he was made to pay the priest. As Baipu Reddi withstood the torture, his descendants are called Naradi Reddis after *Nara*, the Kannada name for nerves.*

Telugu is the mother-tongue of the Reddis. Some owing to their long residence in this country or to their having adopted the Lingāyet faith, speak Kannada.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

*Endogamous Groups.*—It is a common saying among the Kāpus that one can easily enumerate all the varieties of rice, but it is impossible to give the names of all the sections into which the caste is split up. Some say that there are only fourteen of them, and use the phrase Panta (crop) and fourteen sections.*

The following are the endogamous groups of the Reddis given by my informants.

| | |
|---|---|
| A. Non-Lingayets | Sub-divided into (1) Bannada Saleyavaru, (2) Bili Saleyavaru. |
| Vetanāti Reddis. | Kodati Reddis. |
| Pāknāti Reddis. | Pākanāti Reddis. |
| | Desur Reddis. |
| B. Lingāyets. | Pasubunati Reddis. |
| | Yellamma Kapu. |
| Motati Reddis. | Renati, Narada or |
| Kamma Reddis. | Neradi-A. Lingāyets. |
| Peda Ganti Reddis. | B. Lingayets. |

The Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis take girls in marriage from the non-Lingāyet Pāknātis and invest them with the *linga* and do not send them thereafter to their parents' house. But they do not return the compliment and do not dine in their houses.

* Baramahal Records, Section III, page 156.

Except the Lingāyets among Pāknāti and Renāti Sub-divisions, all the others have interdining.

Velanāti Reddis say that Vēl is the name of a plain country. They have two divisions which are endogamous, of which one is called Paykat or Payket, composed of descendants of those who favoured the marriage of a girl who had been betrothed to a boy and who lost her fiance before marriage. These do not erect booths during marriages, nor put on toe-rings which the members of the other section do. On this account the other section claims superiority over these and has given up intermarriage with them.

Among Pākanāti Reddis, there are Lingāyets as well as non-Lingāyets. Each of these is divided into two endogamous groups called Bannada Sāleyavaru and Bili Sāleyavaru according to the colour or otherwise of the cloth worn by the bride during marriage.

Pedakānti Reddis are sub-divided into *Pedda Gūmpu* (big group) and *Chinna Gūmpu* (small group) between whom there is no intermarriage. The *Chinna Gūmpu* is said to have arisen from a Peda Kanti having married a woman under *Kudike* and consequently having lost the caste (status). Those who are allowed to eat in one *kancham* (metal dish) can have intermarriages between themselves. The Renāti Reddis are divided according to this faith as Lingāyets and non-Lingāyets.

The Yellamma Kāpus have two endogamous sub-divisions, *viz.*, those who put on toe-rings and those who do not do so. The former are said to be superior to the latter.

The Kammās are sub-divided into three endogamous groups namely, Illu Vellami or Musuku Kamma (who observe *ghōsha*), Gampa Kammās and Goda Kammās. The females of the first two groups use gold (beads) for their nose-rings and the rest use

coral beads. The women of Goda Kamma subdivision allow the end of their *sadis* to hang from the right shoulder and Kamma women allow them to hang from the left shoulder.

Reddis are found almost in every district of the Madras Presidency with numerous endogamous groups, some of which seem to have immigrated to Mysore.*

Exogamous clans.

The exogamous divisions of the several classes of Reddis are given below. The *gōtras* or exogamous clans are given by many in addition to the family or house name called after the places of residence, and the ancestor of the family. Some Reddis have given only house names. Some of the divisions are totemistic named after plants (such as Kanugalu, Marrollu Vyapula Valle, etc.), cereals (Jonna Gaddalollu, Avalollu, etc.), and some after animals, etc. (Yaddulollu, Avulollu, etc.) These totems are considered as family gods or representatives of *Pitru Devatalu* (ancestors) and held sacred, and consequently they are not molested or injured. The Kammas say that men of the same *gotra* bearing two different house names are not allowed intermarriage, but whereas two families bearing the same surname (house name) and belonging to two different (*gōtras*), have intermarriages. From this it is to be inferred that family names are not considered as exogamous divisions. But *gōtras* are given by some in addition to the family names, and only family names by others.

Peda Kanti Reddis.

| Gotras. | Family names. |
|---|---|
| Anamakula :— | |
| Arakula or Ankollu Gotra .. | Adikavaru. |

* *Madras Census Report* 1893, Vol. XIII pp. 235-237.

| GOTRAS. | FAMILY NAMES. |
|---|---|
| (do not touch Bannu tree *Prosopis Spicigera Lin*) .. | Aguduri Varu or Agaluri Varu. |
| Avula Gotra .. | Akula Varu. |
| Bonakanulla .. | Amita Varu. |
| Bonakanulla .. | Arivaru. |
| Chintakula (do not burn tamarind wood) .. | Bhoga Sandram Varu. Bhogati Varu. |
| Chimula .. | Buchipeta Varu. |
| Devamulla .. | Chegi Ruddodu. |
| Goba Kantlu Varu Gotra .. | Chinnalodu. |
| Gonakula Gotra (do not cut *Ficus clastica Roxb*). .. | Chingirodu. Chingakarollu. Chinta Varu. |
| Gumkanulla Gotra .. | Dada Reddi Varu. |
| Jonnankula Gotra .. | Dadu thotodu. |
| (do not sow millet) | Desi Raddi Varu. |
| Kakarla Gotra (do not eat *Memordica Charantia Lin*) .. | Gangarpu Varu Ganga Reddi Varu. Gauravallu. |
| Kavulla Gotra .. | Godlodu. |
| Korralu Gotra (do not grow or eat Korra) .. | Golapalli Varu. Gonapatilakkalu Varu. |
| Kuddimudra Gotra .. | Gongadi Varu. |
| Kurunulla Gotra .. | Gopula Varu. |
| Marrakula Gotra .. | Gullur Varu. |
| (neither cut nor burn) .. | |
| Modakakula Gotra (do not burn or use its bones) .. | Gurrala Varu. Idumudala Vandlu. |
| Mudinulla Gotra .. | Illuri Varu. |
| Munikolla Gotra .. | Jampuri Varu. |
| Nanulla Gotra (Do not eat *Memordica Charantia Lin*) .. | Jangodu or Jangalavaru. Jillelavaru. Kalava Varu. |
| Navanandala Gotra. .. | Kamapam Varu. |
| Navula Gotra .. | Manavaru. |
| Neepikandla Gotra .. | Kanchama Varu. |
| Ootakolla Gotra .. | Kurana Varu. |
| Padakolla Gotra (Do not use wooden shoes) .. | Karaddulavaru. Kongavaru. |
| Paia Vula Gotra (Do not use cows in ploughing) .. | Koppala Varu. Kota Kondla Varu. |
| Pasunulla Gotra .. | Kudali Varu. |
| Patnulu Gotra (Do not use silk) | Kummalapalle Vallu. Kyasam Varu. |

| Gotras. | Family names. |
|---|---|
| Ra (Re) lakula Gotra .. | Lekkisetti Varu. |
| Radlu Gotra .. | Malle Varu. |
| Samalu Gotra .. | Mallu Varu. |
| Savirakula Gotra .. | Madi Reddi Varu. |
| Siramulla Gotra. .. | Marama Varu. |
| Sira Vulu Gotra .. | Masapalli Varu. |
| Souti Gotra (Do not touch ginger grass .. | Mekala Varu. |
| *Andropogon martini Roxb*) .. | Muli Varu. |
| Tanulla Gotra .. | Nadavala Varu. |
| Uttamula Gotra. .. | Nalapuvaru. |
| Yadanakolla Gotra .. | Nalamulla Varu. |
| Yanamuddala Gotra .. | Nandyala Varu. |
| Yanumanolla Gotra .. | Nelamadugu Varu. |
| Yalanulla Gotra .. | Netturu Varu. |
| Yedurindla Gotra .. | Ooyya Varu. |
| Yeenula Gotra .. | Pallalu Vandlu. |
| Yenugala Gotra .. | Paluri Varu. |
| Yerrankala Gotra .. | Pandikuntavaru. |
| Akula .. | Patala Varu. |
| Giripi Gotra (As they lived in hills) | Pondatavaru. |
| | Potu Reddi Varu. |
| | Puli Varu. |
| Gongate Gotra (From weaving blankets) .. | Rajula Varu. |
| | Sagam Varu. |
| Kavadloru .. | Saipativaru. |
| Kavilla Gotra .. | Samalavaru. |
| Mandoru (After Mandi Bobbilli | Samativaru. |
| | Sandidivaru. |
| Roya, a lame person) .. | Sannapa Reddi Varu. |
| Nallamalla .. | Sannapilli Varu. |
| Nandulavaru (Gurus for all and Presidents of Kattemanes. They are named as they constantly serve god. They do not in Gongati, Yamaka and Niranti Gotras) .. | Saturi Varu. |
| | Sejjalavaru. |
| | Sannuri Varu. |
| | Semi Kesavavaru. |
| | Sesa Reddi Varu. |
| | Seraddivaru. |
| | Sillavaru. |
| Neganati Gotra .. | Singatalavaru. |
| Nennudaloru .. | Silamvaru. |
| Niranti Gotra .. | Singiri Varu. |
| Pasupindlaru or Pasumundloru | Singamuravaru. |
| | Sintapa Raddi Varu. |
| | Sirisiri Varu. |

| Gotras. | Family Names. |
|---|---|
| Peru Gotra | .. Tippi Reddivaru. |
| | .. Tondurivaru. |
| | Uppavaru. |
| Puttaninadaloru | .. Vadagandluvaru. |
| | Vaddenallavaru. |
| | .. Vadulavaru. |
| Rokkadoru | .. Varollu. |
| | .. Yasatavaru. |
| | Yadakilavaru. |
| Sangi Reddiyavaru | .. Yelduruvaru. |
| | Yellaluvaru. |
| Vaddaloru | .. Yemupusuvaru. |
| | Yemumalavaru. |
| Yamaka Gotra | .. Yepallivaru. |
| Yeddula (from tending bulls) | .. Yerra Vipivaru. |
| Yerra Guntaloru | .. Adigiloru. |
| | (Adigi near Rayadurg). |

### Yellama Kāpus.

| Gotras. | House names. |
|---|---|
| Ittinchara | .. Mapurivadu. |
| Ollutlu | .. Niluruvadu. |
| Sadakalu. | .. Pappa Raddiyavaru. |

### Kodati Reddi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Guggelu | .. Marrilollu (*Ficus bengalensis Lin*). |
| Kanugalollu (Pongamia glabra is sacred). | Palollu (Palu Korra). |
| | .. Samanti Calollu. |
| Mallelollu | .. Vyapulollu. |

### Exogamous Divisions.

*Paknati Reddis* :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Chesonala Banda | .. Naga Reddiyavaru. |
| Halu Kuriyoru | .. Osu Reddi Yavaru. |
| Ichcha Madaloru | .. Palugodaloru. |
| Kasa Reddiyavaru | .. Rama Reddiyavaru. |
| Kempu Kuriyoru | .. Sanna Kuriyoru. |

| Gotras. | Family names. |
|---|---|
| Kota Reddiyoru | .. Savu Reddiyoru. |
| Madi Reddiyour | .. Yamiki Reddiyoru. |
| Mallelliyollu | .. Yatagantiyavaru. |
| Munigodaloru | .. Yera Godaloru. |

### Velnati Reddis.

| | |
|---|---|
| Avalu (do not use mustard and consider it as their ancestor.) | .. Allollu.<br>Arollu.<br>Dandavallu. |
| Kocharla | .. Jakka Raddi Vallu. |
| Mudinollu | .. Janga Vallu. |
| Munnool (use thread as Tali) | .. Kanchu Patralavallu. |
| Naga Woolu | .. Kota Vallu. |
| Oollutla | .. Maravallu. |
| Pagapalla | .. Mulupur Vallu. |
| Sanna Woolu | .. Pandagollu. |
| Yelnoolu (use thread as Tail) | .. Samkommavallu. |

### Kamma Reddis.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bandarivallu | .. Ballavandlu.<br>Bandlavandlu. |
| Chilaka Mukkuvallu | .. Bellamuvandlu (Jaggory).<br>Bhimaneedu Vandlu. |
| Chinta Voppalu | .. Challagondlu.<br>Cherukulu or Cherukuru |
| Danelli Vandlu | .. Vandlu (sugarcane).<br>Darasivandlu. |
| Gorjalavandlu | .. Gatiparti Vandlu.<br>Girijalollu. |
| Goranti vandlu | .. Gorantilollu.<br>Gundari Vandlu. |
| Kanupai Vandlu | . Gutta Vandlu.<br>Iraganeeti Vandlu. |
| Kodivallu (Kodi-hen) | .. Jannaraddi Vandlu.<br>Jinkalollu. |
| Kondapallavandlu | .. Jonnagaddala Varu.<br>Kacharla Vandlu. |
| Medu Kulavandlu | .. Kapavollu. |
| Modugulavandlu (Do not cut bastard nor use its leaves as dinner plates). | Kasollu.<br>Kodigumpalollu.<br>.. Kolashuru Vandlu. |

| Gotras. | Family names. |
|---|---|
| | Kommalapah Vandlu. |
| Mudinoolu Vandlu | .. Kuchchipeta Vandlu. |
| | Lakaputi Vallu. |
| Nimmala Vandlu | .. Madapurivandlu. |
| | Madarapu Vandlu. |
| Noothati Vandlu | .. Manda Vollu. |
| | Motakurollu. |
| Odlutla Vandlu | ... Mummanuldu Vandlu. |
| | Muttavollu. |
| Padupallu Vandlu | .. Mandigamollu. |
| | Nanlurollu. |
| Pagidivallu | Nugulapativallu. |
| | Ongalavallu. |
| Penugunoolu Vandlu | .. Origantalollu. |
| | Painidi Vandlu. |
| Pidipilla Vandlu | .. Pamalupadi Vandlu. |
| | Patipati Vandlu. |
| Pennulla Vandlu | .. Patralavaru. |
| | Pemmasalu Vandlu. |
| Pogunoola or Pogala | .. Puligorlu Vandlu. |
| Valle | .. Punugupati Vandlu. |
| | Puttavallu. |
| Rajulollu | .. Ragulapeta Vallu. |
| | Sallavallu. |
| Sandrollu | .. Sandivollu. |
| | Seraddi or Seranti Vandlu. |
| Tammanilu Vandlu | .. Surevandlu. |
| | Surlakuntavallu. |
| Yalalu Vandlu | .. Topurollu. |
| | Tumati Vandlu. |
| | Yeddna Vallu. |
| | Yerra Vandlu. |
| Venkanta Vandlu | .. Yerragunta Vandlu. |
| | .. Yetakurollu. |

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies.

Marriages are both infant and adult. Among Pedakānti and Pāknāti Reddis, a woman may remain unmarried, but such instances are unknown.

Marriage in one's own *gotra* or family stock is prohibited. A man may marry his elder sister's, maternal uncle's, or paternal aunt's daughters or under



A GROUP OF REDDI WOMEN (VELNAD).

special circumstances, his younger sister's daughter, but not the daughters of his paternal uncle, or maternal aunt. A man may marry the sister of his wife, whether the latter is living or dead. He may also take his elder sister's daughter to be his wife and take his younger sister's daughter to his son born of another wife. Girls may be selected from one's mother or grand mother's families, provided the latter do not belong to the same *gotra* as oneself. Simultaneous marriages with two sisters and the exchange of daughters, though viewed with disfavour, are not prohibited. Two brothers are allowed two girls who are sisters. Difference in social condition does not act as a bar for marriage, but owing to geographical differences they hesitate to contract relationship beyond the known area and outside the previously connected families.

The marriage ceremonies of all the Reddis are alike in main points, but there may be some variations in minor details. The ceremonies among the Lingāyet Reddis does not differ much from those of the non-Lingāyets, but the former call in a Jangama priest wherever available instead of a Brāhman priest. As the customs of many sub-divisions are here dealt with, only the ceremonies that are common to all are described here. Marriages are settled by the parents or guardians of the parties to be married and they usually take place in the five months following the Hindu month *Pushya* (January-February) and last for five days. The latter period is either extended or reduced according to usage, family custom or one's convenience. The marriage season follows the rainy season and coincides with the harvest time.

The preliminaries to marriage begin with betrothal called *nischitārtha*, *vilyaprasta* or *sāstra* or *pradhāna*. For this ceremony the boy's parents with their near

relatives and some matrons start on an auspicious day for the girl's village, observing omens on their way and carrying with them dress, jewels, *ashta mangalya* and the articles of *sukamanchi*.* If the omens are auspicious, they go to the girl's house where they are met by her father. Here also they observe omens by lighting a lamp before the family god and anxiously waiting for the chirping of a lizard. If their fears are allayed by the steady and clear burning of the light and hearing the lizard chirp from a favourable direction, the bridegroom's father announces his mission. If the girl's father is satisfied with the proposed match, he summons his priest and the caste relatives to form an assembly. In the presence of the men assembled therein, the horoscopes of the persons to be married are consulted, and if the latter agree, the dress and jewels brought by the boy's father are sent in to the girl to be worn by her. The girl is then anointed, bathed and bedecked with the dress and jewels. She then worships a cone of turmeric paste representing the god Gaṇēsa. Then she is led to the assembly and there seated on a plank or a black blanket. The articles constituting *Sukamanchi* are then made into several heaps on a spread blanket and worshipped by offering them incense, cocoanut and date fruit. In the meanwhile, the boy's mother or her representative places jaggery cubes, dry cocoanut halves, rice, turmeric roots and other articles in the girl's lap (fold), and the maternal uncle of the girl measures out the articles of *Sukamanchi* and hands them to the girls' father. In some places and with some Reddis, these articles are delivered on any subsequent day. After the delivery of *Sukamanchi* articles, the girl's father presents one

* The articles constituting *Sukamanchi* are :—64 or 500 seers of rice; 16 or 80 seers of doll; 5 or 160 seers of ghee; 5 seers of jaggery; 10 or 20 seers of nuts and a quantity of betel leaves.

*tāmbula* (one packet of betel leaves and nuts) to the boy's father and the latter presents the former with two of the same, in token of offer and acceptance, the reason for which is that he is not the seeker but he is sought after. The letters of contract containing the names of the persons to be married and the date on which the marriage is to take place are then drawn up by the priest and worshipped by him. These letters are then exchanged and *pan supāri* distributed to God, *guru*, Brāhman, the head of the caste and the assembled persons in a prescribed order. Either on the same night or the next morning the boy's party are entertained with a feast known as *tuppaduta* or *Pappubuvva*, the essential dishes being ghee and rice or cooked dhal and rice, after which dinner they return to their village.

Marriages take place either in the boy's or the girl's house, but generally in the latter's house. Two or three days previous to the marriage, the boy and the girl bathe anointing themselves with oil and besmearing their bodies with turmeric paste in their respective houses. In the name of the family God and the deceased ancestors, a feast called *Dēvarūta* or *Hirerahabba* is given at which the caste people are fed. If the party profess Vaishṇava faith, Dāsayya is also fed. The feast is intended not only to appease the family God and the ancestors, but also to invoke them to witness the ceremonies. Either this day or the next or on the morning of the wedding day, a booth of 12 pillars with a dais is raised in front of the house where the marriage is to take place, the milk-post or *Adi Kambha* (the central pillar) being of *Jambolina* or fig tree. The wood for this post is cut by the girl's maternal uncle after worshipping the tree and brought to the booth (house) with much ceremony. Into the hole intended to receive this post, milk, nine kinds of cereals, coral, etc., are put

and then the post is set up there. The washerman of the village supplies washed clothes to wrap round this post and draws red stripes over the cloth. Near this post *kankaṇās* (wrist threads) are tied to the bridal pair and at the conclusion of each item of the marriage ceremonies, the couple bow to it.

Pedakānti Reddis place a pot with a lighted lid near this post and call it *vajjebana*. This light is to burn throughout the ceremonies without any interruption.

The dais in the *pandal* may or may not be enclosed by posts, but it should have a light constantly burning in its north-east corner. With some Kammās the erection of the booth is not obligatory. The next ceremony is called *airane* or the ceremonial bringing of pots from the potter's; earthen pots varying from five to twenty with the same number of lids for covering the pots as well as for holding lights are made by the village potter and placed either in his house or in a temple. Married women of both the parties walk on spread cloth under a canopy, carrying with them a *kalaśa* (metal vessel full of water), a mirror, some quantity of rice, jaggery, dhal, etc., and meet the potter. They worship the pots and offer them food and incense. The potter is presented with rice, dhal, etc., and the pots are then carried home by married ladies who keep fasting. At the entrance of the house red coloured water is waved round the pots placed on a seat of cowdung and *Navadhānya* (nine kinds of cereals)—paddy, wheat, gingelly, black-gram, green-gram, horse-gram, pigeon-pea, *avare* (*Dolichos lablab Lin*) and Bengal gram.

The next ceremony is bringing consecrated water called *Sāstrada Nīru*. Some married ladies with the same ceremonies go to a well or water-course preceded by musicians, music is always played before

them whenever they go out, worship the water under the name of Goddess Ganga, and fetch water and empty it into the vessels placed on the chosen spot.

Previous to the bringing of pots from the potter's, the bridegroom arrives at the bride's village and he is met at the confines of the village and led to a temple. Here the deity is worshipped and the bridegroom and his party are treated with *pānakam* (syrup of jaggery) to allay the fatigue caused by the journey. Then they are taken to their lodgings.

On the day of marriage, the bride and the bridegroom bathe with their respective mothers in a square extemporised by four women holding vessels at the four corners with threads passing round the vessels. This is called *Suragi* or *mala nīru*. In some places, the bridegroom bathes in such a square near a temple whither he is led. Married ladies carry the dress and jewels intended for the bride from the temple or the bridegroom's quarters to the bride's house. This is repeated three times. The dress and other articles intended for the bridegroom are similarly carried to his house. After putting on his new dress, the bridegroom with a dagger in his hand is then led to the marriage pavilion.

The Velnati Reddis present the bridegroom with a *hachchada* having unwoven threads at the border, a white long coat, a turban and a boquet. On his arrival at the entrance of the booth, the bride's sister washes his feet and receives a fee. A large quantity of rice is sprinkled by both the parties on one another and the bridegroom is then led to the dais. He stands facing east having his right foot in a basket. Then the bride is brought by her maternal uncle. She stands opposite the bridegroom, having her right foot in a basket and separated from him by a screen. If the *kankanas* have not already

been tied, either near the milk-post or the *airane* vessels, the priest invests both the bride and bridegroom with wrist threads, which are of black and white wool and an iron ring. The pair then sprinkle cumin seeds and jaggery over each other's heads. Then the screen is removed and the pair look at each other for the first time. The Lingāyet Pākanati Reddis paint the figure of a bull on the screen and at the appointed hour, make a slit in it on the spot containing the representation, and make the pair to look at each other through this opening. The bridegroom then ties round the bride's neck the *tāli* which consists of 100 strands of thread dyed yellow, handed over to him by the priest after being blessed by the assembled caste people. These strands are made into a thread by an unmarried girl.

The next item in the programme is *dhāre*. For this ceremony, the bridegroom joins his palms to form a cup-like cavity and into this the priest puts a cocoanut. The bride keeps her joined palms below those of the bridegroom. Then the priest pours milk and water over the cocoanut held in the palms of the bridegroom and the liquid drips into those of the bride. Her parents and close relatives repeat the process. This constitutes *dhāre*. Then the couple look at Arundhati, the pole-star. After paying their homage to the *airāne* pots, they sit together on a bedstead on the dais and worship five cocoanuts placed in a row on rice spread on a plantain leaf. Presents of cloths and money are made to the couple by the relatives present there. Sometimes these presents are also sent through a *proxy*. *Tāmbulas* are then distributed to God, *guru*, Brāhman, *kattemane*, *salumula* (cultivators and traders) *Gauda*, *yajaman* and the castemen in due order.

The proceedings of the day close with the performance of *nalugu*,* and prostration before the milk-post, *airane* pots and the family gods. When they go to the family gods, the bridegroom's sister bars their passage, extracts a promise from her brother to give his first daughter to her son and makes the couple to recite the names of each other (at ordinary times husbands and wives do not repeat each others' names). Then the dinner follows, and the couple have *buvva*, that is, they eat from the same dish.

The next two days are occupied in enjoying *nalugu* and feast.

On the fourth day after marriage, the couple stand in a *suragi* square and over their bent heads married ladies hold a nose-screw and pour water on the screw which dribbles on the heads of the couple.

In the evening, the bridegroom pretends to be offended and goes to his house unknown to others. The bride's party go to him accompanied by his wife or by a boy disguised. They request him to let them know what has offended him, and he cites such trifles as the insufficiency of sugar in the cakes or of salt in the *dhal* water supplied to him. They promise to cure these defects and induce him to undergo *nalugu* with the real or the mock bride. If the *nalugu* is done in the company of the mock bride, she reveals herself to the bridegroom, at which the latter is discomfited. He is then led to his wife's house. In the evening, a procession of the couple is formed, and it passes through the village streets to the temple. After offering their obeisance to the deity, they are led home.

On the morning of the fifth day, the couple again bathe in *suragi* square after getting their nails pared.

* This is no sastraic ceremony. This is only indulged in by females to enjoy fun. This consists in the bride and bridegroom sitting in front of each other, and mutually applying turmeric paste, offering scent, flower and *tāmbula* and addressing each other in bombastic language, etc.

Then the bridegroom, or, in some places, the bride's maternal uncle, goes to an anthill, the bridegroom sometimes being accompanied by his wife. In this case, the bridegroom digs earth with a hoe, and his wife or some matrons carry it home in a basket. The earth is then made into twelve balls by the bridegroom and the bride places them, one at each post of the booth. Offerings of food are made to these balls by the bride, and the couple bow before the milk-post, in front of which they untie their wrist threads.

Among a section of non-Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis, there is a custom that soon after bathing in the *Suragi* square at 3 A.M., the couple extinguish a lamp kept in the *pandal* and sit in the dark for sometime without speaking to each other.

Then the milk-post and the *airāne* pots are removed. This ceremony is known as *nāgavali*, after which all wend their way back, as even a dog refuses to eat in the house after the event.

In the afternoon of the same day, they worship *simhāsana* (throne symbolising caste authority) and distribute *tāmbulas*. The newly married girl makes her first entry into her husband's house on the same day, and she is delivered over to the custody of her husband's parents. Before entering the house, it is customary for her to trip a measure of rice purposely placed near the threshold and this custom may indicate that she brings prosperity to the family in her train. Scattering of rice indicates abundance of crop.

Mock-ploughing is a ceremony peculiar to this caste. It is done either on the fourth or the fifth day of marriage. In the *pandal* or outside the village, the bridegroom pretends to plough and the bride hands him seed to be sown. This ceremony indicates their occupation and the co-operation required in

their future life. "The bride and bridegroom accompanied by their maternal uncles, four or five male and female relations walking under a canopy, go in procession to a field outside the village taking with them a pair of tracers, a plough-share, a goad, some kind of grain, a little cowdung, two bullocks, a yoke, a plough and some water. The uncles wash the bride and the bridegroom's feet and they sit down. The bridegroom afterwards gets up, yokes the bullocks to the plough, turns up the earth and the bride gives him the grain and he sows it and ploughs the field over again. The other people cover the ploughed ground with clothes, and the parent of the bridegroom makes them presents. The cowdung is thrown over the seed, and water sprinkled over it and they all return to the pandal; some women stand at the door of the house and make the bride and bridegroom pay a trifling sum of money for admittance;*"

It is said by some of the Lingāyet Pāknati Reddis that, on the night of marriage, the bride and bridegroom are taken on the shoulders of their respective maternal uncles, and while the latter dance with their burdens, the couple sprinkle sandal dust over each other.

The bride price is paid by all except the Velnati Reddis who say that the articles of *sukamanchi* are a substitute for it. The following are the amounts paid as bride-price by the several classes of Reddis:—

Pāknati Reddis—Rs. 63-8-0 to Rs. 66-8-0.

Kammas—One Varaha and 100 strands of threads instead of 101 Varahas formerly paid.

Renati or Naradi Reddis—9 Varahas or Rs. 66.

Yellamma Kāpus—Rs. 35 to 127.

* Baramahal Records, Section III, page 154.

The following are some of the peculiar customs observed only among a few divisions of Reddis :—

Among Velnati Reddis when a man takes a wife during the lifetime of his first and second wife, his first wife during the *dhāre* in his third marriage dresses herself in new clothes and receives the usual articles in her lap and also undergoes *talabālu* ceremony with the third wife. But his second wife is said not to attend this marriage as it is disgraceful to her according to the proverb that a shameless woman goes to attend her husband's marriage. Why this proverb is not applied to the first wife who attends the marriage is not explained.

Among the Kamma Reddis, both the parents of the parties for marriage subscribe in equal shares, at the commencement of preliminaries to marriage, a sum of two rupees and one *varāha*. After the conclusion of marriage, accounts are said to be taken, and he who has spent more than the other is given this sum. This is called the common fund.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains her womanhood, she is impure from three to eleven days, and she is kept in a separate shed having its roof covered with the leaves of *Vitex negundo* or in a separate room in the house. Shoes and broom sticks are placed near the entrance of the room or shed to ward off evil spirits. She bathes daily and renews her dress with the clothes supplied by the village washerman. During this period, she is fed on fatty food, such as cocoanuts, dates, sweetened gingelly and sweetened rice paste. In the evenings, she is exhibited in the company of married ladies who sing to the occasion and wave red-coloured water round the girl's face. The women are treated with *tāmbula* and sweetened gingelly balls in addition to the female toilette. On the first evening she gets her lap filled by her mother, and on subsequent days

by her relatives. On the expiry of the period, she is admitted into the house after bath, but she will not be given entrance into the kitchen or god-room until after the sixteenth day has passed, when the sprinkling of holy water completely purifies her. The shed occupied by her is burnt, and the earthen vessels used by her are thrown away.

After her purification, the intimation of her attainment of age is sent to her husband's family through the village washerman. On receipt of this information, her parents-in-law proceed to the girl's house and fill her lap when she is exhibited before married women. An unmarried girl is to get her lap filled by her parents-in-law after her marriage. The consummation of marriage takes place on the sixteenth or any subsequent day, if three months have elapsed from the date of their marriage. Thereafter, the couple are permitted to live together. Until this event, the girl does not live with her husband, but she visits her husband's house like an ordinary relative. The washerman who supplies dress to the girl claims the dress worn by the girl at the time of her attaining the age in addition to other perquisites. He also gets presents from her husband's family when he delivers the news to them.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The remarriage of widows is said to be permitted only among the Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis. The ceremonies observed are similar to those observed by the other Lingāyet castes. The children of the remarried widows are held in low esteem and they form a separate line. They are allowed to marry those who are similarly circumstanced. The remarried widows are not allowed to take part in auspicious ceremonies but nothing prevents them from eating with the rest. Widows who are not allowed to remarry, remove their bodice, bangles,

toe and nose-rings, jewels containing pearls and silk-bordered cloth from the date of the death of their husbands. Kamma widows retain their ear ornament and dress in white cloth. Some of the Kamma Reddis say that a girl becomes a widow if the person to whom she is betrothed dies before marriage.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

The Pāknāti Reddis, Pedakanti Reddis and a section of Kamma Reddis condone adultery in a woman if her seducer is of the same or of a higher caste. An unmarried girl who becomes pregnant by a man of the caste is married to him, but their issues form a separate group. But the non-Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis say that a widow or an unmarried girl is expelled from caste if she is guilty of adultery. The other Reddis consider adultery on the part of a woman as a heinous offence deserving expulsion from caste.

Husbands are allowed to divorce their wives who are convicted of loose morals and not *vice versa*. If her seducer is of the same caste, he will be forced to marry the woman on pain of expulsion of both the offenders from the caste. Divorce is given by the caste *panchāyat*.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH CHILD BIRTH.

The Lingāyet Reddis do not observe pollution either for birth or death. The period of pollution for a birth among Kammas is three days. Generally the first two deliveries of a woman take place in her mother's house. Soon after delivery, the mother of the new-born babe is administered musk, brandy or arrack. In some places, she is seated in a tub containing arrack. The new-born baby is branded (with red hot iron) round the navel and the navel cord cut. The navel cord is eagerly severed mixed with flour by barren women with the hope of becoming mothers, after waving the mixture thrice round their faces. The placenta is buried in a pit in front

of the house. She is seated on this pit on the seventh, ninth or eleventh day, the woman in confinement is given a bath. All the Reddi families of the village contribute a pot of water in addition to the supplying of soapnuts, turmeric paste, vermilion, flowers, betel leaves and nuts, and Bengal gram. The mother bathes painting her body with turmeric and margosa paste. The cot on which she is to lie thereafter is then kept on the pit upside down and after washing and worshipping it with the offerings of incense and a cocoanut, it is removed into the house. All the young children present there are given a bath, and fried paddy is distributed among them. The women present there are given turmeric paste and *tāmbulās*. The same night the babe is rocked in a cradle secured by begging without regard to the status of the party in so doing.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES

The name may be given to the child either on that day or on any day before the close of the first month. If the name is given on the day on which the mother bathes, the Bengal gram contributed by several families is cooked into what is called *Gaggellu* and made into two packets—one packet to be placed near the feet of the child and the other near its head with a broken cocoanut half. The maternal uncle who names the child, gets as his perquisite the packet, and the cocoanut half placed near the feet of the babe for his service. The contents of the other packet with *tāmbula* is distributed among the ladies present.

Before the expiry of the third, seventh or the twelfth month, from the date of birth, *Munisvara*, a Sylvan deity, is propitiated generally in a grove or near a mountain. It is represented by a stone set up on a conspicuous spot. Light, incense and food are offered to him. Animal sacrifices are sometimes made to him and the flesh of the sacrificed animal is

cooked and eaten, the head of the sacrificed animal with 4 as. 8 pies goes to the share of the priest of the deity. Then a lock of hair or all hair on the head of the child whether male or female is removed. Until this is done, the child's head cannot be shaved. Among the Pedakānti Reddis, Munisvara is propitiated during the seventh month of the woman's pregnancy. On the day of worship, the pregnant woman and her brother-in-law fast and offer animal sacrifices. The sacrificed animal is brought home and cooked and eaten there. During the pregnancy of a woman, her husband abstains from killing serpents or animals, building new houses or renewing roofs and from carrying dead bodies. He sometimes allows his hair to grow from the sixth month of the pregnancy up to the tenth day after the woman's confinement.

A Koracha woman or sometimes the village astrologer is consulted as to the suitable name to be given to the child. Generally the names of the family ancestor or those of the family gods are suggested. As there are both Saivas and Vaishṇavas among Reddis, they are named after the several names of Śiva, Vishṇu and their consorts.

Opprobrious names such as Tippaiyya and terms of endearment like Appaiyya, Akkayya and Ammanni are also used. When a man has too many daughters, the newly born female child is called Sākamma expressing thereby that female children are no more wanted, Sāku in Kannada signifying sufficient.

The following are some of the names taken by the members of the caste:—

| Males. | Females. |
|---|---|
| Hanumantha Reddi. | Mangemma. |
| Gurappa. | Yangamma. |
| Buchaiya. | Yellamma. |
| Sanjivappa | Sanjivamma. |
| | Bhimakka. |



A GROUP OF KAMMA REDDI MEN.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Adoption is practised by those who are not blessed with sons. Daughter's sons are preferred, but in their absence, boys are adopted from the same family stock as the person who adopts belongs. In the absence of even these, a man may adopt his wife's brother or the latter's son, his (adopter's father's) sister's son or his maternal aunt's son. No ceremony is required for adopting a boy and yet some observe it. To avoid future complications and law suits, the fact of adoption is recorded in written deeds. A boy adopted by one family from another cannot wed in both. Even adults if they are unmarried are adopted. The system of *Illatam* (the affiliation of one's son-in-law into one's family) is also in vogue.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

Sons-in-law are affiliated into families of Kamma and Pāknati Reddis whether the latter have sons or not. They are then entitled to a share in the family property.

Almost all the Reddis have *kattemanes* or courts to decide cases connected with the caste dereliction. These are presided over by *yajamans*. The non-Lingayet Pāknāti Reddis have five Kattemanes:

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

1. Muradi.
2. Tadacherla (Roydrug).
3. Nallaralhi Tirumalapur (Chellaken).
4. Peiuru Peruru (Kalyan Drug).
5. Meti Kurike (Hiriyur).

These have become Lingāyets.

Under the *yajaman* there is a servant who is known as *Bandāri*, whose chief function is to carry information. He and the *yajaman* of the caste each get an extra *tāmbula* called *Mavada tāmbula*; the Bandari is also given.

The Neradi (Renati) Reddis have *kattemanes* in Kadalur and Konasagara.

The Kodati Reddis have *kattemanes* presided over by a Gauda. The other functionaries are called Reddi and *yajaman*, the former officiating at the Durbar and the latter managing the ceremonies and known as *moktesar*. A beadle is attached to each *kattemane*, the Gauda, Reddi and Yajaman each get two extra *tāmbulas* and the beadle one extra *tāmbula*. The beadle and the *kulam chalavādi*, another servant of the *Pariah* caste gets 0-4-8 each. The Gauda, Reddi, the *yajaman* and the castemen decide tribal disputes and the fine levied is divided among the first three and the beadle. Adultery and expulsion from caste come under the cognisance of the *kattemanes*. The offence of adultery is condoned with the sprinkling of holy water by the *guru* and receiving *prasāda* from him.

The *yajaman* who presides over the *kattemanes* of the Yellamma Kāpus is to attend at the worship of *simhāsana* and *ariveni* pots during marriages.

RELIGION. Except Kamma Reddis and Velnāti Reddis who are Vaishṇavas and Lingāyet Reddis who are Saivas, the others are both Saivas and Vaishṇavas. Gods of both the religion are worshipped by all. Venkataramaṇa is worshipped by a majority of Reddis. Yellamma, Mallamma, Munidévaru and Gurumurthi are the other gods worshipped by the caste. The Sun, serpents, water, pipul and margosa trees, village deities and gods of diseases are also propitiated. Potalappa, a saint, is worshipped by Renāti Reddis as the regenerator of the caste.

Omens, magic, sorcery, and witchcraft are believed. Oaths are taken in the name of one's ancestor or the family god. Trial by ordeal is not resorted to.

To conduct their religious ceremonies, Brāhmans are invited by all except the Lingāyet Reddis. When the latter find it hard to secure a Jangam to conduct



A REDDI STREET.

ceremonies, they avail themselves of the services of a Brāhman priest for marriage ceremonies. The non-Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis are said to invite a Jangama priest to help them in the house-warming ceremony. The priest cooks the first meals in the new building whereafter the owners of the house prepare food there.

The Pāknāti Reddis offer their allegiance to the *guru* called Parvatamvandlu. The Kodati Reddis pay their homage to the *guru* who presides over Mopuri Maṭha. Kamma and Velnāti Reddis have as their *gurus* among Śrīvaishṇava Brāhmans bearing various titles such as Tirumalavallu, Chakravartulu, Bhattaravaru and Kandalvāru. The religious ceremonies of these Reddis are conducted by Smārta Brāhmans. The *guru* of the Yallamma Kāpus is called Bhattachārya and he resides at Rāmasamudram near Punganur.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis and Renāti Reddis bury the dead like the rest of Lingāyets, but carry the corpses on hands. They observe no pollution for deaths or births. On the third and eleventh day, they offer food at the grave to the spirit of the departed.

The non-Lingāyet Pāknātis cremate or bury their dead. Illustrious men and women who die in old age are cremated and the rest buried. Persons dying unmarried are buried with face downwards and no annual ceremonies are observed for them.

The bones of the cremated persons are buried under a tree. On the third day after death, they go round the grave thrice and offer three *yedes* to it to be picked up by crows. But if the crows reject them, they are given to oxen.

On the eleventh day, *Srādh* is performed. The *Jangam* or the priest does not attend but a casteman

offers *yede* to the deceased. They purify the house and go to a temple led by a Dāsayya beating his gong. There the deity and a *kalasa* are worshipped. The *Pūjāri* sprinkles holy water on the corpse-bearers. Before entering the house where death has taken place, they bow to the threshold. One section of non-Lingāyet Pāknāti Reddis say that no pollution is observed by them for death. The Velnāti Reddis cremate the dead and are said to follow *Sūdrakamalākara* in their obsequial ceremonies.

The Kammas burn the married dead and bury the rest. A man dying unmarried becomes an *Iragara*, but an unmarried woman is accorded the same funeral ceremonies as those given to a child. The dead are carried in a bier with their great toes and thumbs fastened by a string. They cover the dead with a new cloth, and place a cocoanut and a nail under the head on the bier, and bury these articles with the dead. On the way to the burial ground, the bier is lowered and the chief mourner carries a pot containing cooked rice three times round the bier and drops the pot on the ground. Then he tears the new cloth near the nose. When the bier is placed in the burial ground, the mourner goes round the bier thrice with a pot full of water and drops it down. After this the body is buried, the party bathe and return home. At the entrance of the house, they wash their feet with (water) mixed with cow-dung and look at a lighted lamp kept in the place where the deceased expired. On the third day, for the death of a child, they offer milk and fried paddy at the grave.

For the death of adults, they place three stones, one *tāli* and some thread on a leaf of *Calotropis gigantea* at the root of a *Tangedi* plant (*Cassia Auriculata Lin*) and offer the stones as many balls of rice as there are

sons left by the deceased. Similarly, another offering is made on the same leaf to another plant. The period of pollution is from ten to fifteen days for the married adults and three days for the rest. If the last day on which they are to purify themselves falls on an inauspicious day, it is postponed to the next auspicious day.

The third day's ceremonies are repeated on the last day when the mourners get themselves shaved as on the first day. The *purohit* purifies the house. During the period of pollution, sweet or animal food and other luxuries are eschewed. The Kammas have a custom of paying 2 as. 4 pies to a Holeya as *Nela Haga*.

Those Kammas who observe pollution for ten days go to the temple of Venkataramaṇa on the twelfth day, worship the deity and pelt three lumps of butter at the door of the temple saying, "Then he (the deceased) pelted at you with stones and (as a reparation) we offer you these lumps of butter." Then they ask the officiating *pujāri* to throw open the gates of heaven. When a person dies on a Tuesday or a Friday, a chicken is buried with the dead body and when a matron dies, her lap is filled, and its contents buried with her. In other cases, nothing is said to be buried with the corpse.

Among Renāti or Narādi Reddis, a woman dying during her pregnancy is left to be devoured by crows and wild beasts, if it is found impossible to remove the child from the womb.

The lepers are burnt by the Yellamma Kāpus. They perform *Srāddhas* in the first year of death. Thereafter, like other Reddis, all the ancestors are propitiated on the New Year's day, *Dīpavali* or *Mahānavami*. Two *kalaśas* represent the male and female ancestors, and they are respectively given the male and female dress. Two *yedes* are offered

then to them and the Jangam priest sits between them. He may not eat them.

The other Reddis worship two *kalaśās* similarly but they do it during the dark fortnight of *Bhādrapada* the month of *Kārtika* or on the eleventh day of the bright half of *āshādha*. *Yedes* are offered to the kalaśās and one of them is given to a Dāsayya. The deceased females in the married state are propitiated with the performance of *huvilya*. Strict fast is observed on these days till the ceremonies are completely gone through.

Occupation. From time immemorial Reddis' occupation is agriculture. Even at the present day, almost all are agriculturists. Almost all hold lands direct from Government and very few are landless tenants. The latter pay a share of produce or some fixed amount of money to their landlords. Lands are held individually and not in common. They are very partial to the black-cotton soil, and wherever this is found, Reddis are there in large numbers. Their method of cultivation is similar to that of the other agricultural classes in the State and they use the same kind of agricultural imlpements. They use more than one pair of bullocks in breaking the black cotton soil. Indian millet (Jola), sugarcane, ragi and paddy, if sown in the months of *Kārtika* (bright half), *Pushya* (bright half), *Jēshtha* (dark half) and *Śravaṇa* respectively, are said to yield good crop. The rains from *Bharani* to *Mākha* asterism are supposed to be favourable for agricultural operations; the implements of agriculture and oxen are worshipped. They worship the implements whenever they commence to sink a new well or build a new house. In the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, they worship Gangamma (water) thus:— Near a well they set up five stones to represent the five brothers or Pāndus, offer flower, turmeric paste,

vermilion, palmyra rolls and a new bodice cloth to water, burn incense and break cocoanuts. A girl receives in her lap the bodice cloth, the palmyra rolls, turmeric paste and vermilion.

Gorru Dēvaru is propitated during the sowing period.

To avert evil eye, they scatter on the growing crop cooked rice mixed with butter-milk, kiln ash and gruel. A sheep is offered to silence the mischief-making devils. To scare away birds, they stuck up on a pole painted pots. To ensure a bumper crop, a feast in honour of Jokumara or Karebhanta is held seven days previous to the full moon of *Bhādrapada* (July-August). On that day, a woman of the caste of lime-burners (may be Bestas) announces the birth of *Jokumara*. A Reddi woman dressed in new clothes carries on her head a basket containing an effigy of *Jokumara* surrounded by mango leaves, visits every Reddi house and recites songs relating to his birth. The inmates of the house give her some grain. On the full-moon day of the month, the *Jokumāra* dies and his effigy is burnt. The next morning the raiyats of the village make another effigy of *Jokumara* out of the ashes of a Potter's-kiln, place it on a stone at the entrance of the village and pour water on it. To attain the same end (*i.e.*, securing bumper crops), Killekyatas are asked to exhibit their play during the time of the ripening of corn.

Social Status.

The Reddis are a settled people. The houses in which they live are similar in construction and material to those of the rest of the agricultural castes. They do not admit outsiders into the caste.

They are high class Sūdras and hold the same rank as Okkaligas in social scale. They interdine with Okkaligas. The Lingāyet Reddis interdine with

Lingāyets who follow the profession other than those of barbers and oil-pressers. The non-Lingāyet Reddis eat in the houses of Brāhmans, Vaisyās and Lingāyets; but some Reddis say that they do not accept food from Lingāyets. Okkaligas, Kurubas, Banajigas, Gānigas and Bēdas are said to eat in their houses. The Reddis are not an impure caste and they mix freely with Brāhmans and other high class Hindus. Orthodox Brāhmans, if they come in contact with them by touch, bathe and change clothes. This is not a disability as the Brāhmans are wont to do the same if they have contact with other than their own class. They can draw water from public wells, and enter a temple up to the entrance of the god's room. The village barber and washermen render their services without losing their status.

Kamma Reddis say that they do not belong to any of the phana divisions, but Renāti Reddis state that they belong to the 18th division meaning thereby, that they belong to the right-hand faction or the eighteen phana division. Pichchaguntalavandlu, Javanikavandlu and Batti thinayya (of the Uru Golla caste) are said to be beggars dependent on the caste. Bhatarāzus are dependent on Reddis and they are given one Hana (4 as. 8 p.) during marriages. These are said to be the custodians of the history of Reddis.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

The Reddis neither hunt nor fish, as doing either is considered derogatory. All Reddis are teetotallers. The Lingāyet Reddis are strict vegeterians and the others eat animal food. Sheep, goats, fowls, fish, deer and pig are killed for food.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Men dress themselves like the rest of the agriculturists. They generally cover themselves with a thick

cotton cloth or use short breeches and put on a coat and turban.

Married women use coloured dress and cover themselves with bodice. These are denied to widows. Some Reddi women allow the end of their *saris* hanging from the left shoulder and the rest from the right shoulder.

Married women use all kinds of Hindu jewels, the most important of them indicating their married state, *tāli*, wristlets, toe-rings and nose-rings. The nose-ring used by a Kamma woman should contain a genuine pearl, and its place may be substituted by a gold bead. Widows may retain ear ornaments. Only women are tattooed and this is done by Korachas or Killekyathas. Talismans, etc., are used to ward off evil spirits, etc.

Married men use toe-rings to indicate their married state.

CONCLUSION.

The Reddis are a caste of cultivators. They are also traders. They have once formed a part of the foot militia in every part of India. Buchanan says that "the Reddis serve as Cadashshara or the armed men, that without discipline collected the revenue, and composed the most powerful body in the armies of all the native princes." Some are Telugu, while others are Canarese. They eat together, but do not intermarry. They have the ordinary caste *panchayet*. They are both Vishnavas and Śaivas. The latter are a kind of Vira-Śaivas without the wearing of Lingam.

# SĀDARU.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD BIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Census Report of 1901, Sādās were included among the Jains, and their number was returned as 173 males and 214 females. These figures are misleading, and the caste is certainly very much stronger. It is presumed that these numbers represent only the Sādās who call themselves Jains, and do not include a large portion of the castemen who are, "still within the pale of Hindusim." The Lingāyet Sādās are even larger in number and are found in parts of Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts. The caste is commonly known as Sādāru, and its members style themselves *Sādu matastharu*. The honorific ending added to their personal names is Gauda. They are said to be so called on account of their strict abstinence from flesh and liquor, the term Sādā being a modified form of the Sanskrit word Sādhu, meaning gentle or tame. Their language is Kannada, and they have stuck to it wherever they may be living, but they also know the local language. A comparatively large percentage of the caste know how to read and write the Vernacular, but only a very few have learnt English.



A GROUP OF SADARU MEN

Origin and Tradition of the Caste.

Sādās are said to have been originally Jains, but when Vishṇuvardhana was converted by Rāmanujāchārya to Vaishṇavism, some only escaped the religious persecution and remained in their original faith. Some again were converted to Lingāyetism by the Lingāyet Reformer Basavaṇṇa and his followers. Thus the caste which appears to have originally been a homogeneous one was split up into three sections, Lingāyet Sādās, Non-Lingāyet Sādās, and the Jain Sādās who have more or less a belief in Jainism.

Internal Structure of the Caste.

The Hindu Sādās worship both Siva and Vishṇu without preference to either, but the Jain Sādās worship the Tirthānkaras of the Jains, though they also respect the Hindu gods. Lingāyets and Jains have no commensality with each other, but other Sādās interdine. It is said that all the non-Lingāyet Sādas eat together and intermarry. It is reported that the Sādās who call themselves Jains, do not observe the rules of conduct peculiar to Jainism, such as not eating after sunset, and abstaining from taking life. They are, however, showing a tendency to assimilate with other Jains, by abandoning the service of Brāhman priests and the practice of eating in their houses.

There are no exogamous clans among non-Lingāyets, though two sub-divisions known as Huvvinavaru and Hongeyavaru are found near Koratagere. Those called Hongeyavaru do not burn Honge (*Pongamia glabra*) wood, or use the oil, but have made an exception from necessity in favour of using leaves as manure. The Lingāyet Sādās have a large number of exogamous clans, several of which bear the names of plants, animals and other material articles, but they do not show any respect to the object after which their division is called by either

worshipping it or, abstaining from cutting or otherwise interfering with it. A list of exogamous clans is given below :—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Adike | .. Arecanut. | 18. | Kalasti | .. |
| 2. | Ale | .. a herb. | 19. | Kale | .. A wristlet. |
| 3. | Baicha | .. | 20. | Kanne | .. A herb. |
| 4. | Ballala | .. | 21. | Kappa | |
| 5. | Bale | .. Dhal. | 22. | Macharaga-dakaru. | |
| 6. | Belle | .. a herb. | 23. | Malle | .. Jasmin. |
| 7. | Bilegudara | .. White tent. | 24. | Manne | .. |
| 8. | Benne | .. Butter | 25. | Maruva | |
| 9. | Chitta | .. a tree. | 26. | Matti | .. A tree. |
| 10. | Gauda | .. Head man. | 27. | Muttina sattige. | |
| 11. | Harate | .. | 28. | Nimbe | .. Lime fruit. |
| 12. | Hasibe | .. Double bag. | 29. | Sannakki | Fine rice. |
| 13. | Havu | .. A snake. | 30. | Semanti | .. Chrysanthemum. |
| 14. | Honge | .. Pongamia glabra. | 31. | Sette | .. |
| 15. | Hurali | .. Horse-gram. | 32. | Soge. | .. |
| 16. | Huvvu | .. Flower. | 33. | Surige. | |
| 17. | Kaggallu | .. Hardstone. | | | |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

It is said that formerly the Lingāyets married girls from the non-Lingāyet Sādās, but this practice was subsequently given up. But there is no such prohibition as regards the other two sections. Among Sādās who are not Lingāyets, there are no exogamous divisions, the two divisions of Huvvinavaru and Hongeyavaru having no significance in this connection. The only rule of prohibition observed by them in regard to marriages is the real or conventional relationship between the marrying couple of parent and child, brother and sister. The daughters of a paternal uncle and maternal aunt are both called sisters, and have to be avoided, but the daughter of a paternal aunt and that of maternal uncle are both eligible for marriage. Exchange of daughters between two families is allowable.

The proposal for marriage should properly emanate from the male's side. A Brāhman astrologer is generally consulted to determine astrological affinity by reference to the names of the two parties. On

an auspicious day, the boy and his father with some married women repair to the girl's house. The boy and the girl are seated together on a plank, and sometimes the *tera* amount which varies from twelve to twenty Rupees is paid down before the castemen. The girl is presented with a new *Sire* and a jewel, which she puts on. Married women rub the boy and the girl with turmeric, and the engagement is announced and *tambulas* are exchanged between the two parties in the presence of an assembly. Both parties are bound by this agreement. After this *vilyada-śāstra*, the bridegroom's party have to present the girl's parents with provisions for the marriage, consisting of 300 seers of rice, 25 seers of dhal, 3 maunds of jaggery, 20 seers of ghee, a maund of arecanut, and 500 betel leaves. Soon after this takes place *Devarūta* (or God's feast), when the bride and the bridegroom pour milk on an ant-hill and worship a *kalaśa*. Next day is known as *Nādu-madavaniga Śāstra*, when the boy and the girl, each in his or her own place, are rubbed with turmeric paste. The marriage pandal is put up on the next day.

The marriage generally takes place in the house of the bride, and her maternal uncle brings the pole of *Kalli* wood, which has to serve as the milk post, and keeps it in a temple. In the evening, both parties repair to the temple in state, and they bring home the pole along with *ariveni* pots and instal them in the *pandal*.

Early next morning, the boy and the girl are bathed in *malenīru*, and the boy is dressed in new clothes and sent to a temple, where he sits on a *Kambli* in the company of his relations and with the best man by his side. His maternal uncle ties *bhashinga* on his forehead, and married women rub him with turmeric paste. From the temple all the wedding

clothes, jewels and other articles intended for the bride are sent to her, in a tray twice. The third time the bridegroom is taken to the *pandal* by the girl's party. Then the ceremonies of putting gingelly and cummin seeds by the bridal pair on each other's heads, tying of the *tāli*, dropping of rice, and other events take place in the prescribed order as in other castes. The couple go round the milk post with the hems of their garments knotted together and are shown the Arundhati Star. They then go into the room in which the *ariveni* pots are installed, dropping gingelly and cummin seeds as they go along. After bowing before the sacred pots, they have the *bhashingas* removed and the bridal pair and their near relations eat *buvva* (common meal).

Among the Lingāyet Sādās, the ceremony styled *gindiprasta*, is osberved the next day. The bridegroom goes away from the marriage house pretending to be dissatisfied with the girl. The latter sets out carrying with her a brass vessel with a spout called *gindi*. She finds him out and appeases him by presenting the vessel. They are seated together, rubbed with turmeric paste and conducted back in state to the girl's house. In the night, a procession of the bridal party takes place.

Next day, nāgavali takes place, when the posts of the *pandal* are worshipped. The *kankaṇas* are removed and tied to the milk post. The married couple are not allowed to remain in the marriage house that night. They go to the bridegroom's house, and return, after remaining there two or three days. If, however, the bridegroom's village is far off, they are taken to a neighbour's house, where they spend the night.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is kept outside in a shed of green leaves, erected by her maternal uncle.

In the evenings, the girl is exhibited before a company of married women, when she is presented with flowers, *pansupāri* and dried cocoanut and sweets. Early in the morning on the fourth day, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle, and the materials are burnt at some distance from the village. The girl bathes and is admitted into the house; for a month, however, she is not allowed to enter the inner apartments. Girls who are married after puberty do not begin to live with their husbands till three months after the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The non-Lingāyet Sādās strictly prohibit widow marriage. But among the Lingāyet section, such remarriages are common. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow, and the married women are not allowed to see the married widow on the day of the marriage. After negotiations for such a marriage are settled with the father of the widow, she is brought in the evening of the appointed day to the lover's village, and is lodged in a temple. The lover goes there with some other men, and presents her with a *Sire* and a bodice cloth, which she wears. Glass bangles are put on to her wrists, and in the assembly of castemen, the man, and in some places, a remarried widow, ties a *tali* to her. She is conducted to the man's house, which is kept dark and vacant. The man goes into it and sits in a corner. The woman enters it, and when the man asks her why she has come there, she replies, "I have come to light a lamp in your dark house." Then a light is lit; and the caste men are served a dinner.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Adultery is regarded with abhorrence, and a woman proved to be in criminal intimacy with another man is excommunicated. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

It is the recognised custom among Sādās to bring the daughter to the father's house for first and sometimes even the second delivery. On an auspicious day in the seventh or the ninth month, the mother-in-law, or some other elderly female member of her (pregnant woman's) husband's family, presents the woman while in her father's house with a new cloth (*sire*) and a *ravike* and decks her with flowers. During the wife's pregnancy, the husband observes the usual taboos, such as not carrying a corpse, and not touching the milk post, and in some places he does not shave his head after the seventh month.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for ten days during which time she remains confined in a room. The near agnatic relations of the family are in a state of partial pollution, but may go to temple and take part in agricultural operations. On the eleventh day, the mother and the child are seated on a plank kept on a small pit excavated by the husband in the verandah and bathed by married women, the neighbours contributing a pot of water and soap-nut paste. Before carrying the child inside, a metallic tray is beaten like a gong by an elderly woman who calls on evil spirits to snatch it away, if they dare, warning them that it would be too late after going inside as their household god would prove too strong for them when once the child is placed under his protection. The child is put into a cradle in the evening, and named by an elderly woman of the family.

Lingāyet Sādās do not observe birth pollution as in other castes, the woman is confined to bed for six or seven days, after which she bathes. On the first day, after consecrating it in the usual way, a jangama priest presents the child with a *linga* which



A GROUP OF SADARU FAMILY.

the mother keeps, and ties it to the child when it grows to be three or four years old.

They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. INHERITANCE.

Sādās have a regular system of Caste Government. They are divided into groups, at the head of each of which is a *kattemane* presided over by a Gauda who settles all the caste disputes. If the disputes are of a serious nature, the heads of several *kattemanes* join and decide them, and sometimes they are submitted to their *guru*. A Helava is their *halemaga*, and they have to pay him some customary fees whenever he pays them a visit. They do not admit outsiders into their caste. CASTE ORGANIZATION.

Lingāyet Sādās are Saivās, but respect Vaishṇava gods also, and some have the latter as their family deities. The non-Lingāyets worship all the Gods of the other Hindus. Some have in recent times adopted the Jaina mode of worship, and pay special respect to the Tirthānkaras. All pay respect to the village Goddesses, such as Māramma and Mārigamma. Their *gurus* are Brāhmans of the Srivaishṇava section. The Lingāyet Sādās have a *guru* of their own caste in a *maṭha* at Sirigere in the Chitaldrug District. They believe in omens, sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying. RELIGION.

Sādās bury the dead. The ceremonies observed by the Lingāyet section are the same as those of other Lingāyets and the non-Lingāyets observe ceremonies similar to those of Morasu Okkalu. Both the sections observe pollution for the first ten days. To propitiate all the deceased ancestors, they worship a *kalaśa* with offerings of food and clothes on the Mahālaya FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Amāvāsya and some other important days such as Yugādi. Some non-Lingāyets have of late begun to perform Kāla Srāddhās.

Occupation. Sādās are all cultivators, and have adhered to this profession in the main. Most of the *patels* in those parts of the State where Sādās are found are of this caste. Some have adopted other professions, such as trade and Government service.

Social Status. Sādās rank high in social status, as they are strict vegetarians and totally asbtain from liquor.

Lingāyet Sādās only eat in the houses of Lingāyets, and Jangamas, but the non-Lingāyet Sādas eat in the houses of Brāhmans, Jains and Lingāyets.

Dietary of the Caste. Their staple diet is rice, ragi, millet and split pulse. They smoke tobacco and hemp, but neither drink liquor, nor eat flesh.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments. The women wear the robe without passing the skirt between the legs. The men wear the waist cloth, the shoulder cloth or blanket and the head scarf. Both men and women use all the ornaments worn by Banajigas. The men are a short, dark, muscular, round-faced set of people. They are hard-working, thrifty and well-behaved.

The original totemistic faith has been superimposed by the superior Vira Saiva faith of the Lingāyets.

Conclusion. The Sādās or Sādaru Okkaligas are a cultivating caste. Buchanan says that they once acted as native militia, and sometimes acted as traders in grain. By religion, they are divided into three sects; some are Vaishṇavās, some are Saiva and others follow the Jain faith. Their families belong to a number of *gotras* as among the Brāhmans. Marriages

are regulated by *gōtras*. The Vaishnava section take the vow of Dāsaris, and bury the dead. They refrain from animal food and drinking spirituous liquors. The *guru* of the Vaishṇava sect is Tāthachārya. It is said that formerly all Sādās were Jains. They are now a thriving community.

# SALAHUVA VAKKALU.*

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—HABITAT—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—HABITATIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS AND THOSE CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANISATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE members of the caste are called* "*Salahuva Vakkalu*" in Kannada, "*Salapu Kāpulu*" in Telugu, "*Lōha Kāraka*," in Sanskrit, and "*Vyokara*" in Prakrit. But, in recent times, the village folk of other castes, with little or no knowledge of the linguistics, call them "*Swalpas*" or "*Sarpas*", which is palpably wrong. The Telugu name "*Salapu Kāpulu*" was derived from the Sanskrit name "*Lōha Kāraka*", because, in Telugu the word "*Salupu*" means 'to do,' and the word 'Kāpu' means 'to protect,' and thus the name of "*Salupu Kāpu*" signifies "protectors by rendering service," which has the same meaning in Sanskrit also. The same meaning is conveyed in the Kannada name as well.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

Information regarding the origin of this caste is derived from the great work of the famous author,

* The word "Salahu Vakkalu". "Salahu" means 'to protect; since the words such as 'Palu' and 'Patthi', are turned wholesale into the Kannada equivalents of 'Halu' and 'Hatthi' (the 'p' sound of the Telugu language alone undergoing the change into the 'h' sound in pronunciation in Kannada) in this case also. The word 'Salapu' in Telugu has undergone the same change and has become '*Salahu*' in Kannada which is the true name of the caste in Kannada, the other names, as mentioned above, have been attributed to this caste by the ignorance of the village people.

* These people add the word *Sri* before their caste name as *Sri* Salahuva Vakkalu.



A GROUP OF SALAHUVA OKKALIGA MEN.

Bāṇa *Kavi*, (poet) who was the State *pandit* of the Emperor Harsha. His famous work is "The History of Harsha Vardhana,"* in which an account of this "Salupu Kāpu"—then known as "*Vyokāraka*," —and its origin has been detailed as follows:—

In the 6th century A.D. when Emperor Harsha Vardhana and his Minister came to the south, for the conquest and annexation of Southern India to his Empire, they happened to meet two girls, named Lakshamma *alias* Lakkamma and Sērestamma, who were respectively the daughters of the King and his Minister of the Vallabhi (Gujarat) kingdom. Harsha Vardhana and his Minister had these girls by way of *Gāndharva Vivāha* (marriage by love). The progeny of the Emperor and his Minister became later on known as "*Vyokara*" *Caste.*

The characteristic feature of the people who belong to this caste is that they are blacksmiths by profession. The term *Vyokara* literally means one who handles iron while it is also analogous to the term *Lohakara* with the suffix *kara*. This view is also confirmed by Kamalākara Bhatta whose work contains a corroborative stanza which explains the term *Lohakāra* and clearly sets forth its meaning.

HABITAT.

The members of the community are scattered far and wide in the Mysore province, such as Chikkanāyakanahally, Sira, Tumkur, Gubbi and Pāvagada of the Tumkur District, Holalkere and Hosadurga in the Chitaldrug Disitrct, Arsikere in Hassan District, Birur, Tarikere, Kadur and Chikmagalur in the Kadur District, and Shimoga and Channagiri in the Shimoga District, and they select such places

* "Harsha Vardhana Charitra", Part III.

in the said Taluks, where there is the convenience of small streams flowing from hills.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

There are only two endogamous groups in this caste, namely (1) the "La-Adigas," and (2) "Shrêishte-Adigas," or Shreishtelavaru," and there is relationship only between these two groups of this caste. Even to this day, the "La-Adigas" are treated as masters and the "Shreishtes" are treated as subordinates. There is absolutely no difference in language or religious customs of these people. A statement showing the details of the said two groups is given below :—

"LA-ADIGAS."

| S. No. | Katte Houses of La-Adigas | District | Taluk. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Maddalur .. | Tumkur .. | Sira |
| 2 | Thekulavati .. | Chitaldrug .. | Hosadrug. |
| 3 | Bukkasagara .. | Do .. | do. |
| 4 | Havalagere .. | Tumkur .. | Chikkanaikana-halli. |
| 5 | Bora Pura .. | Do .. | do |

Of these five groups, the first three are the important *kattemanes* (houses) of the caste people, and jurisdictions have been allotted to them, each one exercising its sway only on the portion allotted to it. And so, the Maddalur *katte* house exercises the jurisdiction over the places lying to the east of the Boranakanive, while such places as lie to the west of the same Boranakanive are enjoyed by the Thekulavati and Bukkasāgara *katte* houses.

| No. | Amavasya Houses of La-Adigas | Taluk | District |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | Basvagondanahalli .. | | |
| 7 | Ganada Halu .. | Chiknaikana- | Tumkur. |
| 8 | Thoobina Kunte .. | halli. | |
| 9 | Marolay .. | Hosadurga .. | Chitaldrug. |
| 10 | Chigakarpura Katte .. | | |
| 11 | Mundenahalli .. | | |
| 12 | Bhoovanakatte .. | | |
| 13 | Arenahalli .. | | |
| 14 | Byate Ranganahalli .. | All are situated | Tumkur |
| 15 | Arasina Gundi .. | in Chiknai- | |
| 16 | Benakana Katte .. | kanahalli and | |
| 17 | Kantalagere .. | Gubbi. | |
| 18 | Gyarahalli .. | | |
| 19 | Manchaladare .. | | |
| 20 | Yedavanahalli .. | | |
| 21 | Kallu Kote .. | | |
| 22 | Jaboo Katte .. | | |

SHREISHTELAVARUS.

| No. | Amavasya Houses of La-Adigas | Taluk | District |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sirya .. | | |
| 2 | Manchandra .. | All these are | Tumkur. |
| 3 | Sabbenahalli .. | situated in | |
| 4 | Gowdanakatte .. | Chiknaikana- | |
| 5 | Kamalapura .. | halli, Gubbi, | |
| 6 | Gopalanahalli .. | Sira and | |
| 7 | Kaggala Katte .. | Tiptur. | |

These seven are called the "Amavāsya people" and are related to the said "La-Adigas" on the maternal side from seven heads, and so they are called "Maternal relations for seven heads."

| No. | Amavasya Houses of La-Adigas | Taluk | District |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kamma Sagara .. | Hosadurga .. | Chitaldrug. |
| 2 | Malappanahalli .. | | |
| 3 | Thittarahalli .. | | |
| 4 | Mensaina Nodu .. | | |
| 5 | Devarahalli .. | Chiknaikanahalli. | Tumkur |

These five are called the amavāsya people, and are related to the "La-Adigas" for five generations past, and so they are called the "maternal relations for five generations."

| No. | Amavasya Houses of La-Adigas | Taluk | District |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Babbur .. | Hiriyur .. | Chitaldrug. |
| 2 | Ankasamudra .. | | |
| 3 | Gollarahalli .. | Chiknaikana-halli. | Tumkur. |
| 4 | Sorala Mavu .. | | |

Like the above, these are called the "maternal relations for four generations."

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Adaragallu .. | | |
| 2 | Thareekatte .. | Chiknaikana-halli. | Tumkur. |
| 3 | Kallenahalli .. | | |

These are called "maternal relations for three generations."

1. Konasanahalli, Chiknaikanahalli Taluk, Tumkur District, are called the "Maternal relations for one generation past."

(There are altogether 20 amavasya people, and there is very close relationship between these and the La-Adigas.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Hanuma Naikanahalli .. | All belong to Tumkur, Gubbi, Chik-kanaikana-halli. | Tumkur. |
| 2 | Yerehalli .. | | |
| 3 | Kampanahalli .. | | |
| 4 | Kanakanaikanahalli .. | | |
| 5 | Sanabanahalli .. | | |
| 6 | Yegachihalli .. | | |
| 7 | Doddakarpura Katte .. | | |
| 8 | Settekere .. | | |
| 9 | Ganegere .. | | |
| 10 | Heggatte .. | Arsikere .. | Hassan. |
| 11 | Swalparahalli .. | | |

These eleven Amavasya people are also related to the La-Adigas, though distantly connected.



A GROUP OF SALAHUVA OKKALIGA WOMEN.

Each and every one of the above named amavāsya members of this caste, has got what is called the "Lakshmi Dēvara amāvasay *kelus*" or mudpots which are possessed by each *sanga*, and indicative of the unanimity and the distinct understanding affecting each, according to the custom in vogue from the very beginning, and each mud-pot connoting the sacred oath taken by the members of the *sanga* to which it belongs.

Thus the La-Adigas comprising 22 *amavasays*, and the *Shreishtelavaru* 31, the two together numbering 53 *amavasays*. Even if we include, on an average, 30 houses in one *amavasay*, there should be something like 1,590 houses, on the whole. This will become clear if, in the Census, a computation of the houses of these people is made separately.

HABITATIONS.

These people do not use the timber of Aswatha, Bilva, Banni, Thare and Thali trees for the construction of their houses. They generally live in villages. Before the *grūha-pravesham*, formal entry to the house, they perform the *punyahavāchana* ceremony with the help of the village purohit. They keep their houses quite tidy, and maintain the vessels, etc., quite clean, like the high caste-men.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The party of the bridegroom go to the bride's house on an auspicious day, with their relations. That night, before the meal, they spread a black *kambli* facing the east, on the corner of which is spread a small quantity of rice. On the rice is placed a Lakshmi *kalaśam* of Bell-metal by the females who also arrange on the said black *kambli*, the articles used for worship, such as, *ekārathi*, *panchārati*, *pushpa dhupa*, *dhipa* and *thāmbula*, and cocoanuts, together with 400 betel leaves and one seer of arecanut. Then the worship of the

*kalaśam* is performed by the *Katte house* gauda *pujāri*, or, in his absence, by his decendant who is invited to the spot for the purpose of worship, and then out of the four bundles of betel leaves called '*yedes*' (*i.e.*, 400 leaves in all), one bundle and one seer of arecanut are used for distribution among those who have gathered for the function, while another bundle of 100 leaves and one seer of arecanut are given to the Maddalur *Katte house* people, another bundle of betel leaves and one seer of nuts are given to the Thekulavati and Bukkasāgara *katte* people, and lastly, the remaining 100 betel leaves and one seer of nuts are given to the Havalagere and Borapura katte-people.

After this function is over, the bridegroom's party are treated to a feast in the bride's house in which sweets are served, and on the following day, what is called the "Ghee dinner" is prepared in the bride's house. Before this dinner, the bridegroom's party should give an amount of Rs. 5-4-0 to the parents of the bride as '*tera*,' and while this dinner is going on, the black *kumbli* is once more spread eastwards, and the worship of the *kalaśam* is once more performed, as on the day previous, after which the bride is dressed in a new white *sarī* in the upper hanging corner of which are placed dried-cocoanut, jaggery and fried *kadale* (*Cicer arietinum*). When all these things are over, it is deemed that the bride is betrothed to the young man. If, after the above *tāmbula* Śāstra and ghee-dinner are over, anything were to happen deterring the programme of the marriage, the bride is deemed to be a widow, and is no longer eligible for marriage according to the custom prevailing among the castemen. If, however, there are differences in religious matters, or in those affecting their occupation or caste assembly the castemen will not condescend to

intermarry. It is significant to note here that, however rich the bride's party may be, the marriage celebration should take place in the bridegroom's house. Every member of this caste observes very strictly the rule by avoiding matrimonial alliances with members of other communities. There is no custom current among them of sham fights or dinner party before bringing the bride to the bridegroom's house.

Formerly there were child marriages in practice, but in recent times, they are performed for girls at the age of discretion. At the time of marriage settlement, it is a rule that the negotiation takes place in the presence of the relations, as also the *katte* house *gauda* and *pujaries*, or their representatives. There are no middlemen engaged for the marriage settlement. The bridegroom cannot, however, exercise any independent right over the bride beyond a certain limit. Save the amount of Rs. 5-4-0 as *tera*, no other amount of dowry is given on the occasion. And with the exception of the usual ornaments and clothes given to the bride and bridegroom according to the respective capacities of the parties, no further wedding gifts pass between them.

As a rule, the marriage ceremony should be performed within ten or fifteen days after the performance of *Tambūla Śāstra*. The castemen are very careful to perform the marriage as soon as possible. The consent of the *katte* house *gauda*, or his representative, is necessary for the performance of the *tambūla śāstra*. Since any departure from it renders the bride ineligible to others of the caste, this custom renders it unnecessary the insistance on any of the parties particularly.

All the items of the ceremony should be gone through irrespective of the financial or any other

considerations of parties and the like. But, in the case of very poor parties, the marriage is celebrated within one day, in a temple. This is, however, very rare. Generally, marriage lasts for five days. Two days prior to the fixing of the *lagnam* by the *purōhit*, some rites are observed by the bride's party in the house of the latter and they are as follows:—Twelve seers of red paddy (for purposes of *hase akki*) are brought, and thumped by big wooden pestles which are previously worshipped and tied together with what is called *anga dāra*, while all along, the females will be singing what are called the *suvvi* songs. The rice thus produced by thumping will be used and utilised for all purposes of *simhasana* or *gaddige* throughout the marriage occasion. It is absolutely necessary that the bride should be brought to the bridegroom's house on the very evening of the day on which *nadalinga śāstra* has been performed. *Sumangalies* (married women) establish the *Lakshmi Kalaśam*, prepare the *hase pitam* with the rice spread over a raised seat placed thereon, the whole platform being covered with a white cloth, and seat the bride-groom, after which three married women smear the bridegroom with turmeric powder and gingelly oil. After the performance of *arathi akshathe*, what is called *sase* follows, which is done by putting the rice on the knees, shoulders and head of the bridegroom thrice over. After this, the females bathe the bridegroom with hot water. The same process is repeated to the bride also. After this is done, a piece of turmeric is tied with a piece of string of five threads on the wrists of both the bride and bridegroom, on their left and right hands respectively. Likewise the same process of tying the turmeric *kankanam* to another party of three persons treated as a couple is done, in which case, if two females are available in the

La-Adiga sect, only one male is taken from the Shreishtelvaru group to form the match, or as an alternative, if two females are secured from the Shreishtelavalru group, only one male is taken from the La-Adiga group to form the match, and to the hands of these three persons consisting of one male and two females are tied similar turmeric *kankanams* with a thread of five strings. That night the newly married couple are given only boiled rice, fruits, sugar and ghee, without any admixture of salt, tamarind, or any pungent things. After the relations take sumptuous supper on that night, what is called *mare hase prasthutha* ceremony is performed on the morning of the day following, which is done in the same manner as on the day previous; and the bridegroom first and then the bride is treated with *arathi* and *akshathe*. On the second day of the marriage, other functions such as *devara vrata*, *hariney*, *chappara*, *bhashinga*, etc., are performed and while the parties go about for these functions in the streets, they are accompanied with *kāhale*, *myāla*, *thaṭate*, white umbrella, *chāmara*, all of which are led by what is called the silver stick and day lamps (Hagalu Divatis) with all the honours and paraphernalia of the kings and ruling families. The marriage *chappara* or *pandal* is constructed well, with twelve pillars, twelve *kumbhoms*, *hullu surigay*, tiger's tanned hide, and a bell all fixed in their usual places according to the practice in vogue. At the top of the *pandal*, there is hung up the *makara thōrana* or festoons and flaglike things. At the time when the relations come, the parties go to meet them with the above paraphernalia of *kāhale* and such-like things, and at the meeting place, the Lakshmi *kalaśa* is worshipped with *ekārthi* and *panchārathi*. The *katte* house, the gauda, *pujāri* should worship,

after which the same functionaries offer *yede* to the *kalasa*. At the time two potfuls of jaggery solution (*pānakam*) is distributed among the relations gathered there, and they are all received by the parties with due honour and led to the *bidadi* house. The nine youths called the *Vīramakkalu*, who have been fasting on that day, start with swords and shields and are led on the ground spread with sacred cloth sanctified for the purpose of being trodden over by them, with the *kalasa* carried behind them; and when they come in front of the village they are welcomed by the females with *athi* fruits and sandal dust which are scattered by the females on their bodies, after which, the females perform the *mangalārati* ceremony to them. After this, the *Sumangalies* go to the temple to worship *harine* and *bhashinga* and bring them to the marriage house. Then they mix nine kinds of grains with cow dung, and prepare a *gaddige* in the bridegroom's house, draw the *hase* pictures on the wall with red earth or some such thing, and worship the *harine*, which is composed of three large pots in accordance with the custom in force, by placing three turmeric balls on each of the three pots. At the time, and in the place where the *arivani* is established, worship is conducted either to a Lakshmi picture written on the wall, or a Lakshmi photo hung on the wall, facing eastwards; after all this is over, the relations and guests are treated to a grand feast. The *gaddige* is then prepared, *yede* offered, and *pan supari* distributed to the relations assembled in the *pandal*. At this time, two persons belonging to the parties of both the bride and the bridegroom, and having the same name, stand by the side of the *chappara* pillars, and declare openly and loudly that such and such a bride is given in marriage to such and such a bridegroom, mentioning first the bride's ancestry,

*i.e.*, the name of her father, grand-father and the great grand-father and the *gotra*; then the same details of the bridegroom's pedigree will be declared by the other person standing by the side of the *chapparam* pillar on the other side. Then the *nischithartham* takes place by declaring the respective *pravarams* (pedigrees) of both the parties, wherein they state that the La-Adigas belong to the Lunar race and the Ātrēya *gotra* and that the Shreishtelavarus belong to the Solar race and to the Kāsyapa *gotra*. After this, *tāmbulam* is exchanged. Then the abovementioned couple—two females and one male formerly installed for the worship of the Hari Rani, go with newly-furnished *harine* pots to the *anthargange* place, where they perform the worship of Ganga. They bring therefrom three potfuls of water, which they pour out into the four pots placed at the foot of each pillar of the *chapparam*, which pots have been previously filled with hot water, thus mixing the newly brought cold water with the existing hot water in the four pots placed at the foot of each pillar of the *chapparam*. Then a piece of thread is placed round each of these pots and the pillars, and then again round the whole *chapparam*. While such things take place outside in the *chapparam*, the bridegroom who is seated before the *harine* is tied with a *suragay* thread, in which his hands and feet are tied down on the fingers and toes respectively, and he is masked. The *sase* is placed on his knees, shoulders and head, as on the previous occasion, whereafter the father-in-law of the bridegroom apparently attacks the bridegroom from behind, and holds him firmly by the shoulders and leads him to the threshhold, where rice has been placed in a bamboo vessel. The bridegroom then kicks the bamboo vessels of rice; when the bridegroom by his own capacity, tears off the strings tying his hands

and feet, and without turning back, either walks backward or is made to do so, to the place of the *hase*. The bride is also treated likewise, after which the bridegroom is led to the *chapparam*. And the maternal aunt of the boy is also brought to the place, where she is made to stand for what is called the *manneru* along with the bridegroom, when on the heads of both is placed a wide tray by the females which is held by them and a thread called *suragay*, as already mentioned, has been passed on the fingers of the females holding the plate over the heads of the bridegroom and his aunt. Then stringed coral beads and the nose ring are placed on the plate and water from the *kalasa* is poured over the plate. At that time, the *Baginada mogeya niru* (or the water which had been poured in the pots near the pillars of the *chapparam*) is also poured on the plate. After all this, red water produced by mixing turmeric powder with lime is then waved in front of the bridegroom and his aunt, and a new cloth is put on the bridegroom and his aunt, and they are led to the spot of the *hase* before the above said *harine*, where the bridegroom has been ornamented with *bhashingam*. He is then led in procession on horseback to the temple, with music and the usual paraphernalia. Likewise the same treatment is accorded to the bride and to her aunt. The bride is also ornamented with the *bhashinga* with a needle or pin. The bride is retained in the house itself, and asked to worship the *harine*. All this is done before the approach of the *lagnam*. The village *purohit* goes to the temple where the bridegroom has been posted and brings the bridegroom to the *chapparam* mounted on horseback, from which he alights and stands facing eastwards. In the meantime, the bride worshipping the *harine* is also brought to the spot, but there is an intervening screen held

up between the boy and the girl to be married, and she is made to stand facing westwards. While she is brought under the *chapparam* or *pandal*, she is under a mask covering completely her head. A small earthen pot filled with rice is placed under the right foot of the groom, while the left foot is over the spread cotton seeds. Likewise the same arrangement is made under the feet of the bride also, but with this difference that her left foot is placed on the rice pot and the right foot on the cotton seeds. Then the *purohit* approaches the couple who have been decorated with *tulsi hārams* on their chests, gives another pair of the same kind of *tulsi hārams* to each of the couple, and instructs first the male to put it on the neck of the bride; and then the bride puts the one in her hands on the chests and around the neck of the boy, as has been already done to her. The *purohit* chants the *mantram*, "*Thadeva Lagnam*" etc., and gives into the hands of the bridegroom cocoanuts, betel leaves, arecanuts and plantains, while the bride is also given the same things. Underneath the couple are also placed what is called the *muhurtha dhāre karaga* which is a tray in which are put milk and ghee. Then the bridegroom and bride are asked to stretch out their hands forwards with the contents in their palms, with the palm of the former above that of the latter while the *purohit* begins to chant the "*Prasugmanthra*" etc., together with the "*Kanyām Kanaka Sampannām*" *slōkams* (verses). In the tray called the *karaga*, are *jirigay*, cumin seeds, jaggery, rice, and grains dyed yellow with turmeric which are taken out and placed inside two cups made of dried cocoanut shells. They are placed over the heads of the couple and the *muhūrtha mantrams* are chanted by the *purohit* when the *dhāre* is scattered by the people on the heads of the couple by throwing

the said yellow rice over their heads. This done, the bridegroom is instructed to tie the *tāli* around the neck of the girl, while the "*Jīvēma Sharadastrothram*" *manthram* is chanted by the *purohit*. It is here to be particularly noted that the said *tāli* is tied to the string so as to hang on the chest of the girl at the right side and on the right shoulder blade almost. Then the *asirvada mantram* is next chanted by the *purohit* while the parents of the couple, the other relations, and the *katte* house people bless the couple with throwing yellow rice on them. Then the *purohit* approaches the couple who are then made to stand by each other's side facing the east, and while chanting the *mantram*, the Brahma knot is tied and this joins the ends of the upper garments of the couple. Then the *purohit* directs the couple to see the sacred Arundhati Star, untie the said Brahma knot joining the upper garments of the couple, and then the bridal pair are led to the inner apartment where the *harine* has been established. After this the *purohit* takes leave receiving the usual rewards. They are then made to seat themselves on the *Hasay-manay* before the *harine*, when the conjugal pair distribute the *hessarbelay-Rice-Ghee-Huggi* (which has already been offered as *naivedyam* to the *harine* Lakshmi) with their own hands, among the parties connected directly with both the couples, who are glad to eat that *huggi* in a common dish without any distinction of untouchability due to spittle, etc. It is this which is called *buvva*. After this, the bridegroom is given betel leaves and the bride holds some of them in her hands, when both of them take oaths solemnly declaring that neither of them should separate from the other on any account. On the evening of that day, the conjugal pair are taken in procession on horseback with all paraphernalia customary on such occasions,

to the village temple, where they are made to bow down to the deity and pray, and then the procession returns home where the *arathi* and *akshate* are gone through and then the couple are showered upon with *thumbay* flowers by the relations. The next day, the bride is hidden away, and the bridegroom is made to search for her till she is found out by him whereafter the bride is made to carry red earth which she should place at the foot of the pillars of the *chapparam*, as a token of punishment for having absconded and thus displeased the husband, all in a merry joke.

The next day, the *nāgavali śāstram* is performed, in the same way as in other castes of the Hindus. On the same day, what is called the "*Vokuli*" is played not only by the conjugal pair, but also by the gathering of all relations. It is done by spilling and throwing red-water (prepared by mixing turmeric paste and lime in water) on one another indiscriminately. This done, the assembled guests and relations are treated to a grand feast and the day is spent in jollity. On the morning of the next day, *i.e.*, on the fifth morning, the black *kumbli* is spread over in the house, on which the Lakshmi *kalaśam* is placed for worship by the *Katte* house *gauda* and *pujari*. Then 5 *yedes* or 500 betel leaves packed in five bundles thereof are placed on the black 'kumbly' whereafter the *mangalarathi* is preformed by the same *Katte* house *gauda* and *pujāri*. The married couple are seated on the *gaddige*, and presents are given to the couple by the assembled relations, whereafter, as before, the *tāmbulam* or *pansupari* are distributed first to the *Katte* house, then to the maternal relations of the La-Adiga people and to the 54 Lakshmi Dēvara *Amasay* people, according to the number of betel leaves to which each one or each group is entitled.

The God's portion of the betel leaves, the villagers' portion, the *maṭha's* portion and the Maharajah's portion will be reserved and given to those who are entitled to receive such portions, after which the members of the other castes are also given *maryāda tāmbulam*. In this connection, it is to be noted that however poor and helpless a person might be, he must at all costs meet the expenses of the cost of 5,000 betel leaves and one maund of arecanuts, the distribution of which is compulsory. As in the case of some other castes, it is not the custom to marry the bride to the deity first before performing the marriage with a youngster.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS AND THOSE CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

When a girl comes of age, she is under seclusion in a separate hut for four days, and on the fifth morning she is bathed by three *Sumangalies* (married women) and is thereafter admitted into the house. On the occasion of the nuptials, it is customary to give a dinner only to the caste-men. During the period of pregnancy, no special rites are performed. After her delivery pollution is observed for eleven days, and on the twelfth day, the "*Thotlu śāstra*" is performed and the function of "*nāmakaraṇa*" is also performed when the name is given to the child by elders. If a person is not blessed with children, he is allowed to marry up to five wives in which case, the first wife will not enjoy any more rights than the others, while all the wives enjoy equal rights. The castemen are not allowed to keep concubines. Widow re-marriage is forbidden. Adultery is condoned within the caste and if it is committed outside it, the adulterer is subject to proper enquiry, and put out of caste. If the husband has to divorce his wife or the *vice versa* due to incompatibilities of temper or the like, then both of them are not excommunicated but kept within the pale of the caste

itself and allowed to live separately. If either the husband or the wife contracts illegal connection with persons of lower castes, enquiries are started, and the offspring born of the two are admitted and retained in the caste, while the delinquents are punished with excommunication once for all.

The male members of the community possess strong physique and the females are particularly clean, tidy and handsome. The women of this caste like those of the Abhīra are not in the habit of wearing jacket. But in recent years, the castemen joining together, have decided that the women might wear jackets. All the same, some wear, while others do not. Absence of wearing jackets seems to have come from the *Vaishṇava achārya paddhathi*, which states that a cloth which is torn and stitched is deemed forbidden to be worn.

Some fifty years ago the castemen were very rich. Even now it can be seen, in places where they reside, there are hills or hillocks of iron refuse which testify to their iron mining industry and extraction as also trade in iron by these men in former times. These hillocks stand as memorable monuments of their iron industry and immense wealth as the result of their occupation at one time. They used to supply iron all over the State by collecting the ore from hills in their neighbourhood. Their blast iron furnace is very crude, and the melted iron is separated from the slag which is still seen in heaps. But in recent times, with the import of foreign iron procurable at cheaper cost, the professional income of these people has become considerably lessened and so many of them have taken to cultivation in its stead. The decline of this industry reduced them to comparative poverty. It can be said that these people came into the Mysore Province while the Nolambar dynasty ruled over the kingdom of Hemāvati and

Henjery which lay to the east and north of the Mysore Province, but now the said Hemāvathi is in Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. The castemen migrated into the Mysore Province therefrom.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

Formerly adoptions were resorted to with the consent or orders of the *Katte* house people and *gurus* of the community. But owing to dispute which sprang up later on in this connection, they follow the law and observe all the legal formalities of registration, etc. With all this, no adoption is feasible without the consent of the castemen, *Katte* house, gaudas, village folk and others.

CASTE ORGANISATION.

*The Sanga Customs.*—The *Katte* houses are so called, because it is they that should settle and chalk out lines of work to others of the caste, in cases where differences or disputes arise in their caste itself. There are members in the *katte* houses, who will conduct enquiries and settle any points of doubt, disputes or such like things relating to the caste. Their jurisdiction extends over the following localities :—

(1) The localities lying to the east of the above said Boranakaniva come within the jurisdiction of the Maddalur *Katte* members who are from generation to generation the persons elected by the respective Amāvasya Chiefs thereof.

(2) The places lying to the west of the said Boranakanive fall under the jurisdiction of the Thekalavati and Bhukkasagara *Katte* members, who are likewise elected to be such by the respective Amāvasya Chiefs of the places, with powers exercised by them from generation to generation.

The decisions of the three *Katte* house members are final at all times with respect to the caste affairs.

But these have no power to settle any religious disputes which should be settled only by the *gurus* of the community with the help of the *Katte* house members.

RELIGION.

This castemen establish the superiority of Goddess Lakshmi over other deities, and so belong to the order of *Jathi Niyame Sri Vaishṇava* otherwise known as *Vadagala Sri Vaishṇavas*. This religion was first founded and established by Srī Yamunachārya who was a decendant of Sri Nātha Muni who flourished in the time of the Chola dynasty at Conjivaram. Yamunāchārya came to these parts of the Mysore Province with his fourth son and seeing a large body of Sākteyās and Kāpalikās there, converted them into Vaishṇavas first at Metikunta in Sira Taluk, Tumkur District, (*vide* the work styled "*Sri Saiva Kula Vaibhava*" an ancient book available in the Oriental Library Mysore), from which it spread on to the other parts also in short time. It is ascertained from the fourth *sloka* that this religion is meant to establish *Lakshmi Srītathwam* or superiority of Lakshmi over all other deities. For all the 54 Amasay *sanghams* of this Caste, it has been strictly ordained that the *Lakshmi Dēvara Kelu* or the mud-pots above referred to, should be worshipped. This *Lakshmi Dēvara Kelu* or the mud-pot finds its origin in the fact that the mud available at the confluence of five rivers is brought on an auspicious day (*i.e.*, *puṇya dina*) which is mixed up with clay by means of the green cocoanut water with the chanting of *Sri Sūktham*; and the clay thus formed is moulded into a pot by a potter who has to be under strict religious decipline as required by *śāstras* for the occasion, and *kalaśam* on the top of the pot is placed, and the whole is burnt in the

flames of cocoanut palms. After completion, this becomes the symbol of Lakshmi *Sampradāyam* symbolising the *prakriti parinaya*. This *sampradāyam* or practice has been in vogue even from the time when Buddhism was prevalent, long before the beginning of the Christian Era. The worship of this sort is chiefly and essentially Vaishṇavite in its nature; at least, it has been so from time immemorial; but still, this *Vaishṇava sampradāya* is now declining except in Bukkasagarada Amasay Lakshmi Dēvara *katte* house which is still strictly following the *Vaishnava diksha* custom, as it has been handed down to them from the very beginning. The Achārya *purushas* of the caste belong to the stock of the above named Yamuna chārya, and so belong to the Mysore Raja *guru* of the Parakala *maṭha* which is the principal exponent of this Sri Vaishṇava *sampradāya*. With all this, this religion was on the decline for sometime when the members of this caste had gone away to embrace the principles of Virasaiva and Kāpalika Bhairava, and others even followed the Vaishṇava Tengale (Sātāni) Vaishṇava religion. But, in recent times, they seem to have come and are unanimously going back to their religion of Vaishṇavism.

The principal fasting day for the castemen is Ekādasi, and their principal places of pilgrimage are Thirupathi Thimmappa, Kādri Narasimha Swāmi, Melukote Gopalakrishna, Konkallu Ranganātha, Babur Rangaswamy, Gavi Ranganatha of the Vaishnavite order, and Halu Rāmeswara, Budaālu Virabhadra of the Virasaiva order, and the Vaddikere Sidde Dēvaru of the Jogi order. They also worship some minor deities, such as Mahātma Kattayya Dēvaru, Mahātma Chitrayya Dēvaru. Whatever are the minor deities worshipped by these people in the past, the original is Lakshmi Dēvaru

who is their caste and religious deity. There are no separate deities for females and children. The chief festivals are:—Yugādi, Karabba, Ekādasi Habba, Gowri Habba, Sravana Sanivāras, Navarāthri Habba, Dipāvali, Nagara Habba. They do not worship rivers, oceans, walls, trees, serpents, etc. They have no faith in devil worship.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Generally burial of the dead bodies is very much in vogue amongst them. But in the case of the old and spiritually minded men, burning is resorted to. In both the cases, they place the dead body in the direction of north to south. In the burial ground, the son or another chief mourner of the deceased carries an earthen pot full of water, and darkened for the purpose round the body of the deceased with water leaking out through a hole bored by the bystanding relation. On the third day after death, the grains, such as rice and *hesaru byale*, are mixed together and boiled in the burial ground which is given as *bali annam*. On the tenth day, they are freed from pollution by a bath and on the twelfth day, the relations of the deceased are invited for what is called the Vaikunta *samarādhane* when on the evening of the same day, the heirs and relations go to a well, river or tank outside the village, where a small earthen pot (*kalaśam*) is worshipped with *dhūpam*, *dīpam*, *tāmbulam*. It is repeated also in the village temple where *mangalārathi* is done, and with the *kalaśam*, they all go to the house where the water in the said *kalaśam* is distributed among the relations gathered there, after which the relations and others assembled are treated to a grand dinner.

OCCUPATION.

As already stated, the castemen were formerly well off in their occupation of extracting iron;

but with the advent of the foreign iron into the Indian market at cheaper rates, their occupation declined and many took to agriculture. They have no religious motive attached to agriculture, but practice it as the village custom. Before they begin to plough and to sow, they consult the *purohit*. They do not believe in the existence of minor deities representing the different grains or the like. Hunting and fishing are not undertaken. Though they eat meat, still they do not welcome the idea of slaughtering animals publicly for the purpose. These people associate themselves chiefly with Brahmins, Vaisyas, Pānchalar Lingāyets and Pākanāti Reddies, and eat in the houses of the people of these castemen; but they do not do so in the houses of other castes.

# SĀLE.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—CONCLUSION.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

SĀLE is a general term applied to a group of castes who have adopted weaving as their profession. It comes from the Sanskrit *salika* (weaver), and its Kannada equivalent is *neyige*. The usual honorific terms are Appa and Ayya for males, and Amma and Akka for females. Some learned in the rules guiding their society have recently adopted the title of *sāstri*, that is, learned in the *sāstras*, but this is by no means common.

To account for their origin, it is given out that in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world Siva commissioned Mārkandēya to perform a sacrifice, and one Bhavana Rishi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma*) in his hand. He married two wives, Prasannavati and Bhadravati, daughters of Surya (the Sun), and had a hundred and one sons, all of whom took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower, for men to wear, and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one *gotras* of this caste. God Surya being pleased with what they did, gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Veda*. And so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Sakha* and *Mārkandēya Sūtra*, analogous to the *sākhās*, *sūtras* and *gotras* of the Brāhmans.

They profess to have followed rites prescribed for Brāhmans, till at the beginning of the Kali age, one of their castemen, named Padmāksha declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which Brahma had given to their caste, to Gaṇapati, who sought to learn the secret which they had been enjoined to keep, and who, on his wish not being gratified, cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said, however, that one Parabrahmamūrti, born in Srirāma Agrahāra, pleased Gaṇapati by his *tapas*, and got the curse removed, so that after 5,000 years of the kali-yuga, they should regain their lost position. This Parabrahmamūrti, otherwise known as Padmabhavachārya, it is said, redistributed the caste into ninety-six *gotras*, arranged in eight groups, and established four *maṭhas* with *gurus* for them.

The age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained. It may have been meant to explain the name Padmasāle given to them; and many of these castes have been busy since the advent of the Census in discovering their long-lost pedigrees.*

They have a tradition which says that they emigrated from Vijayanagar territory, in particular from Hampe, the head-quarters of that empire, during the time of Kempe Gauḍa. Members of the Padmasale section speak Telugu, and those of Pattusale and Sakunasale speak Kannada. Such of them, however, as live in the purely Telugu or the purely Kannada parts of the State, speak the language prevalent therein.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

In this category are included a number of tribes who eat with one another, but are not allowed to

* Mr. Stuart has the following note as regards the origin of the caste :— "They claim to be the decendants of the sage named Mrikanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original home appears to have been the Andhra country, from whence a section of the Saliyas was invited by the Chola king, Rajaraja I., after the union of the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties."— Census Report of Madras for 1891, page 285.

intermarry. They form a population numbering 11,000. The principal groups of them are:—

Padmasāle.
Pattusāle (silk).
Sakuṇasāle.

The origin of these sub-divisions is not clear. All of them have a common tradition concerning their descent from Mārkandeya, the weaver of the gods. Bhavana Rishi is believed to be the man who invented weaving. Padmasāle is the more important division. Pattusāle, corrupted into Padisāle, are the peop'e who weave silk cloths. Most of them have been converted into Lingāyetism. The Sakuṇasāles seem to be later immigrants, and the meaning of the term is not known.

The Lingāyets of this community say that "the whole Sāle formerly wore the *Linga*; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the *Linga*, and offered up their supplications to Vishṇu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren." * The men that so separated are said to be Padmasāles. It is, however, more likely that the Lingāyets are the persons that have separated from the main body.

The caste is further divided into a number of exogamous divisions, denoted by family names, with which are associated also the names of some *rishis*. There are a hundred and one of such different families; some bear names of familiar objects, but it is difficult to find out the significance

* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Vol. I. p. 178.

of many names. A list of the family names is given in the appendix.

There are no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages are generally infant, but adult marriages also take place. No sort of penalty is imposed if a girl is not married before the age of puberty. Sāles have no system of marrying their girls to swords, or trees, or of dedicating them to temples.

Girls are generally married between ten and twelve years of age. There seems to be no serious harm if a woman remains unmarried all her life, but it appears that such a case has not been actually heard of.

After marriage, the girl remains with her parents until the marriage is consummated after puberty. The consummation of marriage may take place any day within sixteen days after the first signs of puberty. But if it is postponed, some auspicious day must be selected according to the positions of the stars. Marriages are arranged for and brought about by the parents of the parties, or other elders. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but it is not popular, owing to the belief that one couple prospers while the other fails. Polygamous marriages are allowed, but monogamy is the rule. Polyandry is unknown.

As regards the selection of brides, either an elder sister's or a maternal uncle's daughter is preferred. Padmasāles do not marry their younger sisters' daughters. The rest of the sub-divisions have no such restriction. A man may marry two sisters at different times, and it is said that a wife's sister may not be married when the wife is alive. Two brothers may marry two sisters: the elder marrying the elder, the younger, the younger sister.

Some days, it may be months, before the preliminary agreement of a marriage called *Vakkalu Sāstṛa* (the ceremony of betel-nuts) takes place in the presence of the village elders. The bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house, and expresses his desire to take the girl in marriage for his son, and they exchange *tāmbulas* as a token of consent and the village officers, the astrologer and others assembled are given *tāmbulas* as witnesses.

It is said that the promise so made is irrevocable and its breach entails the displeasure of the castemen, who impose a fine in consequence. But the occurrence of an ill omen, or other event supposed to betoken divine disapproval, is regarded as a sufficient excuse for breaking it, and the other party may only ask to be compensated for any loss sustained.

The marriage ceremonies last for four days. The first day is known as God's feast, or entertainment, in honour of ancestors, analogous to *Nāndi-Srāddha* among Brāhmans. In the evening of that day, a marriage *paṇdal* is set up, with either a Parivata, or a Ragimanu (pipul tree) branch, for the milk-post. This twig has to be brought by the maternal uncle of the girl, who gets a present of a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.) for his trouble.

On the second day, the bridegroom puts on the sacred thread before the marriage proper. The ceremonies observed this day are the same as in other castes. Among some Sāles, the bridegroom leaves the house, feigning anger, and sits in a temple. A procession from the bride's house, with a mock bride, a boy disguised as a bride, goes to him, and brings him to the marriage-*paṇdal*, after which the other ceremonies take place. A Brahman *purōhit*, or a Jangama, repeats some lucky verses, and makes the bridegroom tie the *tāli* to the bride.

Then *dhāre* and the *kankaṇa* tying take place. The couple retire into the house, holding each other by the hand, and going round the milk-post. A general dinner is given to the caste, and the couple sit to eat from a common dish (*būvva*). The tying of the *tāli* to the bride by the bride-groom, and the pouring of milk into the closed hands of the bride and bridegroom by the priest and the elders of the caste, are the essential features of the ceremony.

The last day, called *nāgavali*, is dedicated to the worship of the ant-hill, the carrying of earth therefrom, and the removal of the marriage-*pandal*.

The presence of a Brhāman priest is not indispensable, but in most cases, he is called in to offer certain invocations at the time. The bride-price in this caste is twenty-five rupees. A widower is not required to pay anything higher for his second marriage.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, and is kept in a shed of green leaves. In the evening, the usual congregations of the married women are held, and the distribution to them of turmeric, *kunkuma* and *pānsupāri* takes place. The girl is bathed on the fourth day, and is admitted into the house. From the sixth day, the relatives of the girl, including the parents of her husband, give her presents, doing what is known as *Osige* to her. If the girl is already married, the consummation of the marriage takes place if possible before the sixteenth day; but in the case of girls who are married after puberty, some time is allowed to elapse before consummation.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is not allowed. A wife guilty of adultery may be divorced, but a divorced woman may not remarry.

Adultery is looked upon with severity, but compoundable with a fine levied upon the culprits. Part of the fine goes towards the worship of the patron deity. ADULTERY, AND DIVORCE

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated, and subsequent marriage with a lover, though of the same caste, is not recognized as condoning such a fault. There are no traditions regarding capture of wives from other tribes.

When a wife is pregnant, the husband is not allowed to carry a dead body, or to take part in building a house. The ceremonies observed after birth are the same as in other castes of similar standing. The Lingāyets invite the Jangama priest to tie Linga to the child. On the sixth day, a spot in the house is washed with cow-dung, and an eight-sided figure is drawn on it with *vibhūti* powder, at each corner of which a *tāmbula* and *dakshiṇa* are kept. The father of the child then worships a *Linga*, washing it with sugar, honey, milk, and ghee. The Jangama repeats *mantras*. A Linga is then tied to the child's arm, with a thread composed of one hundred and eight lines, twisted together. Then the priest touches the child with the toe of his right foot, and hands it over to the mother. POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

Among the other sections of the caste, the child and the mother are bathed on the eleventh day, and a caste-dinner is given, and in the night, married women are invited, who put the child in the cradle, after *pūja* to a *pillari*, (cow-dung cone), meant to represent God Gaṇesa. A round stone is first put into the cradle, rocked to the accompaniment of songs; it is then removed, and the child is put into the cradle.*

* The idea of introducing a stone as a child in such ceremonies seems to be to symbolise a wish that the real child should be as strong and as long-lived as such an object.

The Lingāyets are generally given names after Śiva, while the non-Lingāyet portion adopt the names of both Vishṇu and Śiva. As in other castes, the names of the deceased ancestors of the family are adopted, and in villages, the consulting of a soothsayer for suggesting an appropriate name, is not uncommon.

INHERITANCE. Sāles follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The decisions of their tribal councils in the matter of property are respected, but are not binding. They have no trials by ordeal; an oath taken in a temple is of course considered to be of greater sanctity than one not so taken.

RELIGION. The caste contains worshippers of both Śiva and Vishṇu and they are distinguishable by different marks on the forehead. The goddess of the special Sāle cult is Chaudēswari, who is a sylvan deity located in groves. They also worship all the village gods. There is nothing peculiar with them regarding the worship of an inanimate object or in their superstitious beliefs regarding disembodied spirits, and their powers for good and evil over human beings.

Their belief in sorcery, oracles, etc., is similar to that of Komatis and other tribes.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The dead are buried with the head turned towards the south. During pollution for the dead, they abstain from sweets and milk; and do not perform any auspicious ceremonies, nor take part in festive or other social gatherings. The Lingayet Sāles carry dead bodies in a *vimāna*, and bury them in a sitting posture. They observe no pollution. But among the non-Lingāyet Sāles, the agnates observe pollution for twelve days for the death of adults,

and three days for the death of children and a daughter's son. They do not perform *kālasrādha*, but on Mahālaya day, they give presents to Brāhmans of uncooked provisions, with some money known as *yede*, and they offer *tarpaṇa* (libations) of water to the deceased ancestors.

Weaving is the chief occupation of the Sāles. OCCUPATION.

They do not admit outsiders into the caste. They profess to be vegeterian in food, and to eschew spirituous liquors, but it is not unusual for them to indulge in both with the connivance of their fellow castemen. SOCIAL STATUS.

The Sāles are the great weaver class among the Telugus. They are divided into two main endogamous groups, Padma Sāles and Pattu Sāles, of whom the former do not wear the sacred thread, while the latter wear it. Each group has a number of exogamous clans. The religious distinction is no bar to inter-marriage. The guru of the Padma-sāles is Tatāchārya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Padma sāles. The goddess of the Sāle cult is Chaudēswari, a sylvan deity located in groves. Their occupation is weaving; they are a thriving community. CONCLUSION.

## APPENDIX.

| Family name | Eponymous hero or Guru | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| Bapu .. | Purisha Rishi .. | .. |
| Battini .. | Suka .. | .. |
| Bandi .. | Twashtru .. | Cart. |
| Bussa .. | Markandeya .. | .. |
| Bandara .. | Vidhu .. | .. |
| Baku .. | Sannaka .. | Dagger. |
| Boda .. | Manasvi .. | .. |
| Bajja .. | Sindhu .. | .. |
| Balabhadra .. | Pachvin .. | .. |
| Bheri .. | Jhareela .. | Drum |
| Betta .. | Vakava .. | Mountain |
| Bhoga .. | Rishidhara .. | .. |
| Byramuri .. | Pranchiva .. | .. |
| Bhima .. | Vrisha .. | .. |
| Bhandari .. | Ambarisha .. | Temple servant |
| Charugu .. | Narada .. | Hem of the garment. |
| Chakka .. | Valakhilya .. | Bark |
| Chappa .. | Mandavya .. | .. |
| Chiruvelu .. | Vasishta .. | .. |
| Chettalu .. | Agastya .. | .. |
| Cheppur .. | Gowtama .. | .. |
| Channa .. | Dhananjaya .. | .. |
| Chintaginjalu .. | Swayambu .. | Tamarind seed. |
| Devareddi .. | Saksha .. | .. |
| Dharmavaram .. | Brahmarishi .. | Name of a place. |
| Diddi .. | Madhurishi .. | .. |
| Durga .. | Sramsi .. | Fortress of hill fort. |
| Gaddamu .. | Koundilya .. | Chin. |
| Gollu .. | Srivatsa .. | Nail. |
| Gopi .. | Vyasa .. | A kind of earth of yellow colour. |
| Gujjari .. | Kousila .. | Dwarf |
| Gundalu .. | Digvasa .. | .. |
| Gurramu .. | Paundrika .. | Horse. |
| Gorantlu .. | .. | |
| Janaga .. | .. | A kind of plant. |
| Ganchigudlu .. | Puttarishi .. | .. |
| Guvvalu .. | Bharati .. | |
| Gajulu .. | .. | Sparrows. |
| Jinka .. | Meshajatha .. | A deer. |
| Kandalam .. | Ruruksha .. | .. |
| Kayatti .. | Sadu .. | .. |
| Kanijepalle .. | Paulastya .. | Name of a place. |
| Kencha .. | Sutisha .. | .. |
| Kuppa .. | Pururusha .. | Manure heap. |
| Kyatha .. | Yadurishi .. | .. |
| Karipili .. | Upendra .. | .. |
| Kongatti .. | Gargeya .. | .. |

| Family name | Eponymous hero or Guru | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| Kota .. | Kapili .. | .. |
| Kyabaresi .. | Kundali .. | .. |
| Kosalu .. | Vedantama .. | .. |
| Kokku .. | Pravrisha .. | Bandicoot. |
| Makam .. | Sukirthi .. | .. |
| Mancharlu .. | Vurahvasa .. | .. |
| Myadam .. | Vurjiswa .. | .. |
| Munagapati .. | Punvava .. | Drumstick. |
| Myakala .. | Sutra .. | Goat. |
| Mara .. | Atri .. | .. |
| Madduri .. | Tukshi .. | .. |
| Marepalli .. | Guha .. | Name of a place. |
| Manjarlu .. | Sanstidi .. | .. |
| Nallagondlu .. | Deynaka .. | .. |
| Nili or Nukula .. | Bhargava .. | Indigo. |
| Nenari or Nyayamu .. | Prithvi .. | .. |
| Padadimi .. | Purasina .. | .. |
| Pandimili .. | Nishnata .. | .. |
| Panaganti .. | Asrama .. | A herb |
| Palapati or Pegada .. | Niyanti .. | .. |
| Pulakanda .. | Kamandala .. | .. |
| Polachalli .. | .. | |
| Potu .. | Atreya .. | He-buffaloe. |
| Prananatham .. | Bhrigu .. | .. |
| Parimi .. | Kaundila .. | .. |
| Palamari .. | Chokrida .. | .. |
| Palakalapalli .. | Kousika .. | Name of a place. |
| Pabbiti .. | Markandeya .. | Do |
| Pattigondlu .. | Bhargava .. | .. |
| Pellukooru .. | Raghu .. | .. |
| Palaram .. | Maricha .. | .. |
| Suda .. | Rikshibha .. | .. |
| Siripi .. | Rishyasringa .. | .. |
| Silam .. | | |
| Sultani .. | Brihatti .. | .. |
| Soma .. | Brisista .. | .. |
| Sandra .. | Bhikshu .. | .. |
| Sadanapalli .. | Subhikshu .. | Name of a place. |
| Samadesi .. | Soundilya .. | .. |
| Sama .. | Vaidhatri .. | .. |
| Suppalu .. | Bharadvaja .. | .. |
| Srirama .. | Parasara .. | .. |
| Tyaka .. | .. | .. |
| Tadipatri .. | Dhrihurishi .. | Name of a place. |
| Tatigondlu .. | Srashtarishi .. | .. |
| Tada .. | Chandrarishi .. | .. |
| Tadri .. | Chanava .. | .. |
| Tarunikanti .. | .. | .. |
| Tumma .. | Durvasa. | |
| Tirumala .. | Visvavasu .. | .. |

| Family name | Eponymous hero or Guru | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| Togaturu .. | Vaichina .. | .. |
| Vangari .. | Pavana .. | .. |
| Vina .. | Jatila .. | Musical instrument. |
| Vudata .. | Jamadagni .. | Squirrel. |
| Vastralu .. | Angirasa .. | Cloth. |
| Vasi .. | Trisaka .. | .. |
| Vangam .. | Pavana .. | .. |
| Yallalu .. | Mauksha .. | .. |
| Yinchamuri .. | Tahksa .. | .. |
| Yala | | |



SANYASIS.

# SANYĀSI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—INHERITANCE—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

SANYĀSIS form a caste of itinerant mendicants of the Śaiva order known generally as such, and are found thinly spread over the districts of Kolar, Hassan and Mysore.

The only resemblance they have to Brāhman Sanyāsis is that they wear orange coloured clothes, and live by begging, to which they are initiated by a Lingāyet priest. They are known as Jangama Kāpulu. Sometimes they are identified with Sudugādu Siddas in Hassan and Mysore, as being like them devotees of Śiva, *the lord of the burial ground.* They are hereditary claimants of *nelahaga*, the fees of the burial ground. Though a *kulavādi* generally receives the amount, a portion of the collections is given to them whenever a claim is made. In contradistinction from Lingāyet Jangams, they call themselves *ghanta* Jangams, as they carry a bell with them to announce their arrival at a new place for alms. Their home language is Telugu, though they have picked up Kannada, the language of their adopted country.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The Sanyāsis believe they are the descendants of the Jangams (the Lingāyet priests) who have taken a vow of celibacy and mendicancy, but unable to

observe them, lived with Telugu Kāpu or Gangadikar women. In accordance with this reputed origin, their status is much lower than that of the Lingāyet Jangams.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Telugu and Kannada Sanyāsis, Sudugādu Siddas, Honnuru Babaiya Jangams, and Pusalu or Sanchalu Jangams form their chief endogamous groups. They generally do not go out of their division for brides, but Telugu Sanyāsis seem to have no objection to intermarry with Kannada Sanyāsis. Honnuru Babaiya Jangamalu remain entirely separate either for marriage alliances or partaking of food, as their religious beliefs are tinged with traces of Muhammadanism.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

Exogamous clans arranged according as they are related as consanguinous brothers or marriageable relations to one another, are given below. The names of these divisions are traced to their original territory situated in the Telugu country.

| | Marriageable relations. | Agnatic relations. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Masivandlu | .. Seelingam | .. Tripurantaka. |
| | Tirupathi | .. Yeerlapalli. |
| | Bandithiguru | .. Palanki. |
| 2. Tirupathi | .. Kavati | .. Bandithiguru. |
| | Gantavallu | .. Seelingam. |
| | Tirupatakam | .. Veebhuti. |
| | Yeeralapalli. | .. |
| | Palanki | .. |
| | Jatagatti | .. |
| | Kandakuru | .. |
| 3. Vibhuti | .. Masivadu | .. Tirupati |
| | Jatagatti | .. Seelingam |
| | Tirupataka | .. Bandithiguru. |
| | Yeerlappalli | .. Kavati |
| | Palanki | .. Kandakuru. |
| | Gantavallu | .. |

PERSONAL NAMES.

Personal names are selected from those of their tutelary deities. Names as Potla, (male buffalo

and Tippa (manure heap) are sometimes used; but such names are only rarely given.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

A girl may be married before she attains puberty, but it is more common to celebrate the marriage later. Very often, the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles elsewhere. There is no harm if a woman remains unmarried, but generally all women are married either before or after puberty. Males are generally married after they are twenty years of age.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated, except to the extent that a woman who is seduced by a man of the same caste may become his *kūtige* wife. He has to pay a fine of seven rupees to the caste. If he is already married, and does not wish to encumber himself further, he will have to recompense her by paying some money and a few *pallas* of ragi, that she may maintain herself till she can find some one to give her the status of a *kūtige* wife. Children of such unions are married to such as stand in a similar position.

An elder sister's daughter is preferred to any other to be taken in marriage, and a paternal aunt's and maternal uncle's daughter comes next. There is no objection to marrying two sisters at the same time, or successively; or to two families exchanging daughters. The recognised profession of the caste being mendicancy, some who live by selling beads, such as Sanchalu, Jangamalu, or Pusalu Jangamalu, are considered inferior, and others do not, as a rule, intermarry with them.

Some months before the marriage, the bridegroom, with his parents or other elders, visits the intended bride's house, and presents betel-leaves, nuts and fruits. The match is formally arranged and the

period for which the intended son-in-law has to remain in his father-in-law's house, is fixed. On the settlement of these matters, betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the persons assembled, and sometimes they are invited to dine at the bride's house.

For performing the marriage, a Monday is deemed lucky. The services of an astrologer for finding the proper day are rarely sought. The initial ceremony takes place on a Sunday, and is styled the applying of saffron to the bridal pair. The girl, after bathing, dresses herself in a new suit of clothes, and puts on new bangles and flowers. The bridegroom shaves his face, pares his nails, bathes, and puts on toe-rings.

On Monday, a round *pandal* of twelve pillars is put up before the house of the bride, and another before that of the bridegroom. Underneath the *pandal* in front of the bride's house, a milk-post of Kalli wood is pitched, and its top is decorated with the leaves of *Honge* or Atti tree. In the interior of each house, three stones or a *kalaśa*, to represent the tutelary deity, which is either Gurumurti or Chokkamma Dēvaru, are installed over a bed of rice spread on a plank. In front of the deity, they burn a light fed with ghee, and spread an *yede* consisting of boiled rice and curds over a plantain leaf. For the purposes of other marriage ceremonies, they consecrate another *kalaśa* to be portable. The bride's father, or her brother, and in the absence of both, the bridegroom, offers *pūja* to the deity, by placing over it flowers and sandal paste, and burning incense. A he-goat is sacrificed in the bridegroom's house, and a she-goat in that of the bride. If the deity worshipped happens to be Chokkamma, the slaughtered animal is concealed behind a screen. The flesh of both the victims is mixed and served to the bridal party. At the end of the feast, the bride and the bridegroom are treated with *nalagu*.

Next morning, *tāmbulas* are distributed to the marriage guests, in order of precedence. In the afternoon, a potter is made to sit, exhibiting his pots under a tree, and two men are employed in decorating them with lines of chunam. Two Nerale twigs are planted in two pits near the place. A party of women and men going in procession, buy his pots, after presenting him with a *tāmbula* and provisions, including oil and soap-nut for a bath. They also bear the washermen's charge for washing his clothes that day. The Nerale twigs are pulled out by the women and carried with them to tie up to the milk-post by way of decoration. In the meanwhile, the bridegroom has paid twelve rupees as *tera* (bride-price) to the bride's father, and given presents to the bride of a white *sire*, and some quantity of pepper, garlic and spices.

In front of the milk-post, plantain leaves are spread in two rows, of five each, and some sweet cakes are placed on them. These offerings are meant for Rudra and Vīrabhadra. One of the elderly men of the caste ties a *linga* on the arm of the bridegroom, and one on that of the bride. He answers for Rudra and another acting for the deity Vīrabhadra, both blow on conch shells and ring bells and then eat up the cakes on the leaves.

In the course of the night, *ariveni* or the sacred pots brought from the potter's house in the afternoon are installed over a bed of manure spread opposite to the tutelary deity *gurumurti* or the milk-post. Lamps fed with castor-oil are lit in saucers placed over these pots.

On Wednesday morning, the nails of the bridal pair are pared by a barber, and after their bath, Nalagu is performed. The bride and the bridegroom dress themselves in their best, and after tying chaplets to the head of each other, enter the marriage-booth.

Then the parties go in separate processions to an appointed spot, where a washerman spreads a cloth for the whole party to sit on. As they meet, a screen separates the bride and bridegroom, but they tie the *kankana* to each other, putting forth their hands over the screen. The bride pushes her foot below the screen, and stepping over it, the bridegroom ties the *tāli* round her neck, after obtaining formal consent of the assembly. The couple then throw rice over each other's head. Then the elders of the caste join the fingers of the couple, and tie the ends of their clothes, and the married couple prostrate themselves before the assembly, and receive their blessings. This part constitutes the *dhāre*, or the essential part of the marriage.

Dinner is served to the whole party assembled for the *dhāre*, when the new bridal pair do *pūja* to the *ariveṇi*. After this, the *simhāsana pūja* is performed, for which a quantity of betel-leaves and nuts are heaped over a blanket, and incense is burnt before it, conch shell and bell being sounded. The bridegroom repeats the various names of Śiva, and presents the first *tāmbula* to the priest. Then the Kulam-Pedda (the head of the caste) Gudigādu (*pujāri*) and Buddhivanta (wise man), each in order, receive their *tāmbūla*. Then the various functionaries of the village and the other persons present are given *tāmbūla* in order.

In the evening, the bridegroom with his bride worships an anthill, and, carrying some of its earth, raise an altar with it round the milk-post, and place a quantity of cooked rice over it, and before each of the pillars of the *pandal*. Nalugu is again performed at this altar. With a toy plough, the bridegroom ploughs the soil round the milk-post, while the bride throws seeds into the furrows, as her brother goads his new brother-in-law with a stick.

Music and dances are avoided in their marriages. The expenses of marriage generally amount to about thirty-five rupees, of which twelve is for the *tera* or bride price, four or five rupees for the price of small ornaments, and a similar amount for clothes, the remainder being used for food and drink.

Polygamy is rare, and polyandry unknown.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

On the day a girl attains her age, she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves of *Tangadi*, which is put up by her father or husband, and if she is not married, by an intended husband. Two or three girls keep her company, and amuse her with *nalugu*, which is to smear her body and face with turmeric powder and adorn her head with wreaths of flowers. During this period, she is given rich food, consisting of sesamum, jaggery, dhal and plantains. After her meal, she is anointed with ghee and bathed. On the morning of the third day, the shed or some portions of its materials are burnt at a distance, and the girl bathes before going into the house. On the fifth and seventh day, she again bathes and sprinkles over her head the urine of a cow, to purify herself from pollution. She may henceforth touch the utensils in the house and enter the kitchen. In the two succeeding periods of monthly sickness, she similarly lives outside, and drinks cow's urine after bathing, but afterwards she has only to bathe after the occurrence of sickness.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Marriage of widows in *kūdike* form is permitted. A widow may not marry any of her husband's *agnātes*, (relatives) and has also to avoid those of her father's sept. The essential portion of the ceremony is for the husband to tie a string of *rudrākshi* beads round her neck in the presence of the elders of the caste. Such a woman may not take part in ceremonial

functions, and she loses all claim over the property and the children left by her deceased husband.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Either party may obtain a divorce, after paying some fine to the caste, and a divorced woman may apparently marry another man in *kūdike* form. If the wife is guilty of adultery, her paramour has to pay the husband all his marriage expenses and the cost of her jewels, together with a fine of seven rupees to the caste, and half the amount of *tera* to her father. If a wife is divorced without her fault, she does not lose her right to maintenance, as she would for adultery. Adultery involves loss of caste. If the husband condones the offence, he has to pay a fine of seven rupees, in addition to two rupees for keeping the woman in caste. Sometimes, the seducer is also made to pay a fine of seven rupees.

INHERITANCE.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance. *Illatam* is not in vogue among them. A widow wishing to remarry has to return all the jewels and other property received from her deceased husband to his family. It is said that in default of heirs, the property of a Sanyāsi goes to his castemen, or to Parvata Simhasana Maṭha.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

They have a caste constitution consisting of a *guru*, a Kulampedda (caste head), a Gudigādu, or *Pujari*, and Buddhivanta, or a wise man. These form a *panchāyat*, and decide all caste disputes. The Kulampedda, who is the head of the caste, wields extensive executive powers, and regulates the period of begging tours, and levies fines on any persons who disobey his injunctions. For thefts and other misdemeanours, Sanyāsis are punished severely by their own caste headman, and they, as a class, are free from criminal tendencies.

Though they worship the idols of Venkataramaṇa, Akkamma Dēvaru and Gangamma and others of this class, they are, by preference, devoteees of Śiva, in his various forms of Vīrabhadra, Rudra and Bhairava. To them Śiva's Nandi or Bull is sacred, and like Lingāyet priests, they smear ashes on their body, tie a wreath of *rudrāksha* (the berry of the tree *Elaescarpus ganitrus*) beads to their neck, dress themselves in *kāvi* or ochre, coloured cloth, and carry a cane and a bell in the hand, with a begging pouch slung under their arms. They are not however Lingāyets, and do not wear the *linga*, but are only disciples of Lingāyet *maṭhas*, of which it is said that there are seventy-two.* RELIGION.

Before the Sanyāsi enters on his begging profession, he undergoes an initiation ceremony under his Lingāyet *guru*, who invests him with the insignia of a mendicant, *viz.*, *jolige* (bag) beads, ochre-coloured cloth, ashes, a conch, a bell, a gourd, a cane, and twisted hair. The disciple in return has to pay some contribution of money annually to his *guru*.

Once a year, they worship Akkamma, a Goddess of *topes*. The *pujāri* is generally a Koracha, and the devotees take offerings of fried Bengal gram, fried rice, pulse and cocoanuts. The *pujāri* burns camphor and incense, and returns the eatables as *prasāda*. Sometimes a sheep or a goat is killed, and women carry an offering of *tambittu*, sweet rice, flour.

* The principal of them are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Srisaila or Sivagiri. | Mullayyanavara Matha. |
| Simhasana Matha. | Sitappa Matha. |
| Nidumamudi Matha of Gulur. | Sivagangappa Matha. |
| Dalaraswami Matha. | Kaveekantappa Matha. |
| Galisiddappa Matha. | Karike Basappa Matha. |
| Nirvanswami Matha. | Bababudangiri Matha. |

Kuruve Kallaijayya and Manappa Matha.

Gangamma is a common village goddess, to which all the castes including the Sanyāsis show their reverence by attending its annual *jātra*.

The yearly festival of Sivarātri is observed with peculiar reverence. The house is cleaned, all the members bathe, and besmear themselves with ashes. In the evening, they keep an image of a bull and their conch and bell on a plank, and worship them with flowers, incense, offerings of fruit, and various kinds of unboiled gram. In their ecstacy, they cry aloud and repeat the name of Śiva, turning towards the skies, and blowing conch, and ringing bells. During the night, they keep a vigil, sitting round a blazing fire, and narrating stories of their wanderings. Next morning they have a rich breakfast, to make up for the previous day's abstinence. They consider all rivers as sacred, and bathe in them whenever they get a chance. When they purchase a new cloth, they first dedicate it to an anthill, the supposed abode of serpents, before wearing it.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

At the approach of death, the patient is generally removed to a verandah, or other sheltered spot, outside the house. Some water, in which gold or the leaves of the sacred *tulasi* plant have been washed, is poured into his mouth. The legs are crossed before *rigor mortis* sets in. The body is washed with warm water, and smeared over with ashes, and wrapped in a new cloth. A string of beads is placed round the neck, and pounded betel-leaves and betel-nuts, stuffed in the mouth, and the body is placed in an upright position on a bier of Kalli wood. The corpse of an unmarried person is carried to the grave slung on a single bamboo stick. Flowers are placed over the body, incense is burnt before it, and some cooked rice, kept at the corners of the bier before it is carried to the last resting place. The

chief mourner goes in front of the body with a pot in which cooked rice is taken, and the procession goes along with conches blowing and bells ringing. Four persons carry the body and rest in half-way on the ground, when rice is again served at the four corners of the bier. The body is stripped of all clothing, and buried with its head towards the south. Some balls of *vibhūti* are placed along with it, and the son and the wife of the deceased throw in the first clods of earth to fill the grave. A stone about two feet high is planted over the grave, and rice and water are placed over it for the use of the departed spirit. The mourners all return to the house, in which, at the place where the deceased breathed his last, a lamp is kept burning and some food and water are placed. They prostrate themselves before the lamp, and repair to the nearest tavern to have a carouse for the peace of the departed soul, which they euphemistically style "touching the Gangamma."

On the third day, the house is cleaned and white-washed. Some rice, boiled with the flesh of a fowl, and pulses and greens, is placed over the grave, to be eaten up by crows, in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to have taken its temporary abode. The carriers get rid of their taint of contamination by bathing on the third day and drinking some cow's urine. The relatives of the principal mourner have to visit him before the twelfth day; otherwise they should meet only after exchanging cups and betel-leaves in a tavern.

The *sūtaka* is got rid of on the twelfth day, when the old cooking pots are thrown away and replaced by new ones. They prepare their food that day under a new *pandal*, with new earthen pots, and they are allowed to eat the flesh of a goat or sheep for the first time after mourning. The deceased man's son goes with the *pujāri* and drowns an earthen

image of the bull in water. This ceremony, called *Jaladi*, is said to enable the spirit to live in water, in the form of a bull, till, in good time, it is called up to heaven. The widow removes her bangles and *tāli*; and if a man has become a widower, he removes his toe-rings on the twelfth day. The *pujāri* is then presented with flowers and a *dakshina* of four pies by each of the party, who prostrate themselves at his feet, and have their foreheads touched with *vibhūti* by him. They all return after bathing in water, and the chief mourner is given some gruel to drink. This is styled milk drinking. They have a look at the lamp at the place of death once again, and repair to the tavern to finish the mourning with drink.

The last part of the funeral rites consists in enrolling the departed soul among the ancestors. An image of the bull (cow), and a receptacle for oil are made of rice flour by the *pujāri*. The latter is lighted with a wick, and the lamp and the bull are placed on a sieve made of a few twigs. After offering *pūja*, these things are lifted towards the sky, and the *pujāri* and the mourners all repeat the formula 'Go to Kailāsa holding on to the tail of the cow.' They perform no yearly *srāddhās*, but sometimes place offerings of new clothes, fruits and flowers on the grave on some festive days.

No special ceremonies are prescribed for those who die a violent death.

Occupation. The Sanyāsis believe that they have been living all along by mendicancy, and that they are not permitted to practice any manual occupation. Even carrying earth or fuel for hire is considered an offence against the caste, and is punished with the fine of a *hana*, (4 as. 8 p.). Few possess any lands, and they never cultivate them personally. They are mostly illiterate

and such as know anything spend their time in singing praises of *Virabhiksha*, or of Naraṇappa Swāmi, the latter a *jogi* who had gathered a number of followers and built an asylum for them at Kaivara in the Chintamani taluk.

They seem to have had some connection with the watch and ward of cremation grounds, and they aver that one Virabāhu, the ancestor of *kulavādis*, succeeded in ousting them and usurping the office. The latter, however, recognise their more ancient right, by giving them a share of the fees collected.

In their begging rounds, they sometimes perform feats of magic and jugglery, and they practice divination by professing to read the incidents of *Rāmayana* and *Bhārata* from a palm-leaf book. They occasionally sell drugs of some medicinal virtue for stomach-ache, head-ache, jaundice, and scorpion bite.

Social Status.

They eat food cooked with water from the hands of Okkaligas, Kurubas, Gollas, Bedas, Banajigas and Mudaliars; but they consider Vaddas, Boyees, Mondaru, Hajams, Agasas and Korachas as beneath them. Dāsaris eat the food given by Sanyāsis. Mudaliars are said to regard this caste with special regard, and to feed them in their houses often. In respect of going to temples, touching wells, and getting services of barbers and washerman, they are not different from the higher classes of non-*dvijas*.

Dietary of the Caste.

Ragi is their staple food, and rice is used occasionally as a luxury. They eschew the meat of uncloven footed animals, and of crocodiles, lizards and other vermin. The flesh of sheep, goat, wild cat, mungoose, rabbit, squirrel, fish and deer may be eaten. Of course, they do not touch what remains after use by other people. They do not believe that they become

socially higher if they abstain from flesh or any other kind of food.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. The men dress themselves in ochre-coloured long coat and a waist cloth. They should not shave their mustaches or the hair of the head. They do not dress their hair, but twist it into a rope by applying the milk of Goni, or other fig tree, or some gum. They wear a silver armlet and a brass ear-ring. Their women wear silver and glass bangles, nose-ring and a coil of palm-leaf in their ear-lobes. They have a string of glass beads round their neck. There is no noticeable difference in appearance between their women and those of the other beggar classes.

CONCLUSION. As a class, they are indolent and intemperate. They smoke ganja and drink liquor. Begging being their profession, they lead a wandering life, and make their rounds principally in the maidan tracts. Their chief seats in the State are Chintamani, Srinivaspur, Mulbagal, Kolar, Malur, Chikballapur, Goribidnur, and parts of Hassan. They do not move with bag and baggage and building-materials as the Voddas and Korachas. They leave their women at home, and, before starting, consult among themselves as to the direction and probable period of each man's wanderings, so that his whereabouts may be easily learnt. Each one is at liberty to change the direction of his tour, or the country of his peregrinations, but may not prolong the period of his return, unless detained by sickness, or other good cause. If he fails to appear within the period, he is tried by his *kulapedda* and the *panchayat*, and is mulcted in a fine payable to the caste. When pressed by necessity, their women may also go out for begging, but if they should stay away from home for the night unaccompanied by another woman, they are liable

to be outcasted. Their houses resemble the temporary sheds ordinarily built by the raiyat class when they camp out during plague time. The sheds are generally built on waste lands, and thatched either with straw or sugar-cane grass.

# SĀTĀNI.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Sātānis are a class of temple servants very much like the Mālis of Bengal. The word Sātāni is a corrupt form of Sāttadavan (Tamil), Sātānivadu (Telugu) which literally means one who does not wear the sacred thread and tuft of hair. For temple service it is said that Rāmānuja classed Vaishnavas into Sāttinavan and Sāttādavan. The former are invariably Brāhmans, and the latter Śūdras. Hence the Sātāni is the professional name given to a group of the Vaishnava creed. In the Mysore Census Report of 1891, it is noted that the Sātānis are styled Khādri Vaishṇavas, Sāttādavāl, Chātāli, Kulśēkharam, Khatriyas, Samerāya. These names seem to have wounded their *amour propre* in the last census, and they took considerable pains not only to cast them off, but also to enrol themselves as Prapanna Vaishṇavas, Nambi Venkatapura Vaishṇavās, etc. The idea of their being tabulated as Śūdras was so hateful to them that in a few places, the enumerators who had so noted down their caste according to precedent, were prosecuted by them for defamation. The cases were of course thrown out. Further, the Mysore Superintendent in 1901, writes that the subdivisions of Sātāni are Khādri Vaishṇavas, Natacharmūrti, Prathama Vaishṇava, Samērāya, Sāttādhava, Telugu Sātāni and Venkadapuradavaru.

In the *Madras Census Report*, the following endogamous groups are given :—1. Ekāksharī, 2. Chaturāksharī, 3. Ashtāksharī, and 4. Kulasēkhara. The Ekāksharis hope to get salvation by reciting the one mystic syllable Om; the Chaturāksharis believe in the religious efficacy of the four syllables *Rā-mā-nu-ja*; the Ashtāksharis hold that the recitation of the eight syllables *Om-na-mo-nā-rā-ya-ṇā-ya*, (Om Salutation to Nārāyaṇa) will ensure them eternal bliss; and the Kulasēkharas who wear the sacred thread claim to be the descendants of the Vaishṇava saint Kulasēkhara Ālvar, formerly a king of the Kērala country. The first two sections make umbrellas, flower garlands, and are also priests to Balijas and other Śūdra castes of the Vaishṇava sects while the members of the other two have taken to temple service. In social and religious customs, all the endogamous groups closely imitate the Tengalai Vaishṇava Brāhmans.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Adult marriage, and the remarriage of widows are strictly prohibited. An unmarried girl attaining her age is married according to the custom of the locality, or in rare cases kept without marriage all her life-time. A young man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, but not that of the younger one. Polygamy is practised, but polyandry is unknown. In some places, two sisters are married either severally or simultaneously, but in others it is not allowed. Exchange of daughters is freely allowed.

The marriage customs and ceremonies are the same as in other corresponding Śūdra castes.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

When a girl attains her age, she is kept under seclusion in a separate shed covered with green leaves for three days, and on the morning of the fourth day, she bathes. It is believed that she is

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

not completely pure, until she bathes in a water course, and receives holy water from her priest. For subsequent monthly sickness, she bathes on the fourth day. It is said that girls during this period are fed with nutritious food. They remain with their parents till consummation which invariably takes place within sixteen days.

Customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as in other Śūdra castes.

RELIGION. The Sātānis are Sri Vaishnavās, and attach no importance to the Sanskrit Vēdas, or to the rituals sanctioned therein, but revere the sacred hymns of the twelve Vaishṇava saints or Aḷvars called *Nālāyira Divya Prabhandham*, or treatises, book of the 4,000 songs which is in Tamil. From this, their *purōhits* recite verses during marriages and other ceremonies which is in Tamil. All Sātānis revere Bhāshyakār (another name for Rāmānuja) whom they believe to have been an incarnation of Ādi Sèsha, the Couch of Vishnu, and other *Guruparamparas* (apostolic succession) in the series of Sri Vaishnavas who are the *āchāryas*.

The Sātānis claim to have sprung from the sweat of Virāt Purusha (Lord of the Universe). The following legend is given for the removal of the *sikha* or *kudumi* (tuft of hair on the head) and wearing the cloth without a fold behind. In the time of Rāmānuja, the Sātānis enjoyed certain privileges in temples, but, not satisfied with them, they claimed to take rank next to Brāhmans. The privilege was accorded, and when flowers and other things used in the worship of the god were to be distributed, they were handed over to the Sātānis. They were unable to decide who would be deputed to represent the community, each person decrying others as being of low caste. Rāmānuja directed

that they should shave their heads and wear loin cloths with a fold in front only. But many wear the tuft in these days in imitation of the Brahmans.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Sātānis generally burn their dead, but in some cases, bury them in pits under a heap of stones. The ceremonies to be performed do not in any way differ from those of other Śūdra castes. The pollution is for eleven days. Both monthly and yearly srāddhās are performed by those who can afford. In their absence, deceased ancestors are propitiated during the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada (*Mahālaya Paksha*).

OCCUPATION.

The chief occupation of the Sātānis is, as is mentioned above, temple service. Some are agriculturists, strolling minstrels, basket and chaplet makers. Some manufacture a white paint, while others act as *gurus* to the Śūdra castes who follow the Vaishṇavite practices. Both the Vadagalai and the Tengalai sections are found to exist among them, and the majority are of the Tengalai denomination. They act as *gurus* to the Śūdra castes, namely, Kadu Golla, Uppara, Telugu Banajigas, Okkaligas, Rāchevar and Holeyas. In some places, they receive Pancha *samskāra* and *chakrānkitam* from Sri-Vaishṇava Brāhmans. The saint is Sata Gōpar, otherwise known as Nammālwar. They pay homage to the *gurus* at Melkote, Koppa, Tirupati, Srī-rangam, Māgadi, Kunigal, Kankanhalli, and Chitnahalli. These *gurus* number 74. They worship Krishna and his other manifestations. It is said that they do not accept water and food from temples where the twelve Alwars are not revered, and where Sri Sadagopanas (a kind of crown) is not used. Their holidays are the same as those of the Sri Vaishṇavas. Of late, some of their castemen conduct ceremonies at

Tirupati and Tirunārayaṇapuram, their sacred places of pilgrimage. They are said to undergo the sixteen samskāras in addition to the five Śri Vaishṇava Samskāras.

SOCIAL STATUS.

The Sātānis are a settled people, and those in the Mysore State do not admit outsiders into their caste. They form a mixed caste recruited from other castes. Though drink and liquor are prohibited, it is said that they are indulged in by some. Their ordinary diet is rāgi and rice. It is said that they do not accept food from the hand of Brāhmans other than that of Srivaishṇavas. So far as *prasāda* is concerned in Vishṇu temples, they accept it from the hands of Śri-Vaishṇava Brāhmans. High caste Śūdras are said to eat in their houses.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Men dress like ordinary Hindus, except some who do not tuck up their under cloth between their legs. They do not wear *śikha* (tuft of hair on the head) with exception and the sacred thread. But these restrictions are not observed by some of their younger generation. They paint their bodies and face with white and red powder, wear rosaries of tulsi or lotus beads, and carry with them a gourd-like pot when they go for begging. It is said that women belong to Venkatapura, Bhāgavata, Dravida, Aravattumane Khadir and Andra sections wear their dress like the Śri-Vaishṇava Brāhman, and the rest like ordinary Śūdra women. Widows as a rule, do not remove their hair but take off their *tāli*. Their dress is a piece of red cloth. Married women wear a *tāli* round the neck, a wristlet, but rarely glass bangles to their hands. They wear toe-rings. They tattoo their bodies. Sātānis learn by heart various songs in praise of Srirangam and its deity, by reciting which they make a living. He rises in the early morning,

and, after a bath, adorns his forehead and body with the Vaishṇava marks, ties round his clean shaven head a string of tulsi, garland round his neck, and takes a fan *gajakarṇam* or elephant's ear, in his right hand. In his left hand he carries a copper gourd-shaped vessel. He is generally accompanied by another Sātāni similarly got up. When begging, they sing the songs above referred to, and collect the rice which is given to them in their vessels. At the end of their round, they return home, and their wives clean the rice, bow down before it, and cook it. No portion of the rice obtained by begging should be sold for money.

CONCLUSION.

The word *Sātāni* is a corrupt form of Sāttādavan which literally means one who does not wear (the sacred thread and tuft of hair). For temple service Rāmānuja classified Vaishṇavas into Sāttinavan and Sāttādavan. The former are invariably Brāhmans, and the latter Śūdras. Therefore Sātāni is a professional name given to a group of the Vaishṇava creed. It is said they are the disciples of the great Vaishṇava reformer of Bengal, Chaitanya; but there is no evidence to support this statement. They shave their heads completely, and tie their loin cloth like a Brāhman bachelor. They are called Dāsa Nambis.

## SHOLIGA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE——FAMILY LIFE—INHERITANCE—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES——OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS——DIETARY OF THE TRIBE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Sholigas are an aboriginal forest tribe inhabiting the interior of forests skirting the slopes of the Biligirirangan hills on the South-eastern border of the Mysore District. Buchanan writes that they speak a bad or old dialect of the Canarese language, have scarcely any clothing, and sleep round a fire lying on a few plantain leaves, and covering themselves with others. They live chiefly on the summits of mountains, where the tigers do not frequent, but where their naked bodies are exposed to a disagreeable cold. They have since then become very much changed in their habits.*

In the hilly tract of Ramagiri, these people are called by other natives Cād Eraligaru ; but they call themselves Cād Chensu. The language of the Chensu is a dialect of Tamil with occasionally a few of Canarese or Telugu words intermixed, but their accent is different from that of Madras. Their original country is said to be the Ānamalay forests below the ghauts which is confirmed by their dialect. Those who live in villages have taken in Panchama Banagigas as their chiefs.†

* Buchanan : *A Journey through Madras, Mysore and Canara.* Vol. I, page 415.

† Do do do



TWO SHOLIGARS

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE.

The Sholigas have given the following account of their origin. Mādhēswara (god) once went to see Niri Sholigayya at his residence, but the latter was absent from home. The former requested the wife of the latter (Sonkamma) to give him some food. She answered in reply, that as she had no dress to put on, she was ashamed to appear before him naked. Mādhēswara made a *sari* with plantain fibres, and placed it at the door of her hut. Dressing herself with the new cloth, she gave him food. He was satisfied, and blessed her, that she would have children, but made her promise that her first born would be his. Afterwards Sonkamma became big with child, and brought forth a son, who was called Kārayya. She handed the child to Mādhēswara as promised by her. Mādhayya thereafter entrusted him with the task of looking after the jungle buffaloes, supporting himself with the milk of these animals. After a laspe of time, Kārayya went in search of his father, and found him in a jungle. The father was well pleased with his son. Mādhayya placed Kārayya on the top of a tapering stone, and deified him. Kārayya remined a bachelor, though it is said that he has had several children. The Sholigas say that Biligiri Rangan is their brother-in-law. They say that they have descended from Kārayya. A different origin and tradition is given in the Castes and Tribes of Southern India Vol. V P. 380-381.

HABITATIONS.

Their huts, like those of many of the jungle tribes are flimsy ones, which consist of bamboos with both ends stuck into the ground, so as to form an arch which is covered with plantain leaves. The Sholigas, who inhabit the jungles of the Coimbatore forests near the Mysore frontier, have at present comparatively better huts for their residence.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE.

There are four endogamous groups among the Sholigas, namely, 1. Urāli Sholigas, 2. Male Sholigas *i.e.*, those residing on the hills, 3. Kādu Sholigas, those residing in the forests, and serving under the people of the plains, 4. Urubatti Sholigas, *i.e.*, Dāsayyas of the Sholigas (Kankankote Forests) and Burude Sholiga. The following are their Exogamous clans:—1. Aluru kula, 2. Jungalur kula. Members of the latter are not to be found in Biligiri Rangan Hills. The members of these *kulas* neither burn nor touch these trees, 3. Belloru *kula* (the clansmen do not use silver for leglets). 4. Surena *kula* (Clansmen adore the Sun); 5. Teneru *kula*. The first three clans are said to be brother *kulas* which trace their ancestors from the males. There is also a twelve *kulam* class, by the members of which everything is done by twelve. For instance, on the twelfth day after birth, twelve or eight elders are invited to the house to bless the child.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The custom of a young man marrying the daughter of his maternal uncle prevails among the Sholigas. Polygamy is practised, and Polyandry is unknown. Girls are exchanged in marriage between two families. These appear to be the customs borrowed from the Hindu castes with whom they often come in contact.

The marriage ceremonies of the Sholigas are very simple. When a young man has to be married, he elopes with an adult girl to a jungle and remains there for a day or more as he thinks proper. After their return to the village, a fowl or a goat is killed in honour of the event, and the tribesmen are invited to a feast. On the same day, the husband ties a tāli (marriage badge) round her neck. Until this is done, he is not allowed to become a member of the tribe. Any children born to him after the elopment



SHOLIGAR HABITAT.

are legitimate. Of late, they have borrowed the customs of the Okkaligas in the erection of the *pandal*, in the bringing of the *ariveni* pots and worshipping them with offerings, the formal gift of the maiden (*kanyādān*), and in other formalities. The marriage takes place during nights. The bride-price is fifteen rupees, and this is paid in instalments.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains her age, she occupies a separate hut at a distance of a stone's throw from her hut, and is under seclusion from seven to thirty days. Her maternal uncle has to provide her with a new cloth, betel-leaves and arecanuts. During the period of her seclusion, she has a companion, generally an elderly woman. She returns to her hut after a ceremonial bath at the end, when she is believed to be purified. In some places, they imitate the customs of the Okkaligas. The tribesmen of the Biligiri Rangan hills pay no bride price.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widows are allowed to remarry under the *kudike* form, and the formalities connected with it are the same as those prevailing in some of the lower castes.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

Among the Sholigas when an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, she is required by the tribesmen to name her paramour who is compelled to marry her, and in the event of his refusal, he is excommunicated. It is said that adultery is very rare among them.

FAMILY LIFE.

As denizens of the Forests, food-quest is an important factor of their life. There is always a division of labour among the men and women. Men go for hunting, fishing, timber cutting and forest-cleaning, and the women with their digging sticks go in search of edible roots and fruits. The former go for honey-gathering, a difficult operation which

requires a good deal of skill, and for the collection of forest produce. They have their regular contractors with whom they exchange their collections for rice, salt and other necessaries. Coming in contact with the inhabitants of the plains, they have borrowed their customs and modes of living. The women have their domestic work in cooking and looking after children, weave mats during leisure hours. They were once a contented lot, but they are not so at present.

INHERITANCE. The Sholigas have very little in the shape of property, which, if any, is divided among the sons. The dwelling house is generally occupied by the mother and the minor children.

TRIBAL CONSTITUTION. They have a number of hamlets or settlements presided over by an *yajaman*. Their *kattemanes* are found at Māgadi, Huliyur and Closepet and at Yelandur for the Sholigas of the Biligiri Rangan Hill. The *yajaman* is assisted by a *kolkar* whose name implies that he is a servant of the tribe. When the *yajaman* holds an enquiry on some social disputes, or when a marriage takes place, he gets five *hanas*, and the *kolkar* a *hana*. Delinquents are either fined or excommunicated.

RELIGION. The Sholigas are mainly animists, and are the devotees of Biligiri Rangan, a Vaishnava God. They worship tiger and even its foot-prints. Besides these, they have other gods and goddesses, namely, Mudalagiriyamma, Dabbagoilappa, Thimmaraya, Yelemakkadu Bairamma, Māriamma, Yellamma, whom they worship with offerings whenever any epidemics or other kinds of danger beset them. They set up seven stones of quartz on a bed of sand in the jungle and smear them with red and white

stripes, burn incense and offer them fruits. When they can afford, they sacrifice a goat to obtain their satisfaction and blessings. One of them, generally a *pujāri* who is an intermediary between God and man, works himself to an ecstacy, and passes orders which are supposed to be emanating from God. They adore snakes and ant-hills. Their tribal deities are Kārayya and Mādēswara who are adored with offerings once a year after their harvest. They also perform the fire-walking ceremony. They believe in oracles but not in omens. They are credited with the power in charming tigers. When commencing an agricultural operation, they place the plough near an ant-hill, and after it burn incense and cover it. They say, that Biligiri Rangan (God) married one of their girls, and he is their brother-in-law. He had a son.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead are buried with the body on the left side and the head to the south, and place a heap of stones over it and call it *kalluseve*. It is said some throw it to be devoured by vultures and wild beasts. Some also have begun to cremate. Lepers are always buried under a heap of stones. The corpse is carried in a bier, and on half the way, they place the dead body to change sides, in remembrance of which they and their followers place each a stone called *hinda-gundla gudda*, which in some places grow into a big heap. The burial is attended with no ceremonies. On the spot where the dead person breathed his last, a little ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) paste and water are placed, and here on the fourth and the twelfth day for the elders, a goat is sacrificed, and offered to the soul of the departed. After this, the son proceeds to the burial ground, carrying a stone followed by men from each of the exogamous clans, arrive near a water spot (*the grave*)

where they sit down, while the son places the stone on the ground. They then lift in succession and the last man while doing so is said to fall in a trance. On his recovery, leaves (plantains, teak, etc.,) corresponding to the number of exogamous septs are arranged round the stone, and on each leaf different kinds of food are placed. The men partake of the food, each from the leaf allotted to his sept, after which the son holds the stone in his hands, while his companions pour ragi over it, and then carries it away to the *gopamaṇe* (burial ground) of his clan, and sets it up there.

His widow is not required to remove the *tāli*. If she remarries, she returns it to one of her husband's relatives. Nowadays they observe pollution for eleven days. They also give a funeral feast to the tribesmen at the end of the year.

Occupation. The chief occupation of the Sholigas, like other tribes, is the collection of forest produce and honey. They work as day labourers under the Forest Department in collecting timber. Very few are cultivators and fewer still who own lands. Their method of cultivation is *kumri*. Those who live in villages work as serfs or servants under very prosperous raiyats for food and dress and for some money payment. The advances given are never discharged, and sometimes run for generations. The debt with servants is transferred to new masters. When they carry on Kumri cultivation, they burn patches of jungle in the hilly tract, and taking one or two crops of ragi, they go to new spot when the soil is exhausted. Honey-gathering is their speciality. Where the hive is of a smaller variety (*kiri jennu*), they merely remove the comb without any trouble. But they smoke out the bees before they carry the hive. When the hive is in an inaccessible

part or on a precipitous rock, they either erect a scaffold or let down a ladder from the rock. It is believed that a man in pollution will be attacked by the bees if he attempts to collect the honey especially when in ordinary cases they are driven away by the smell of the assailants. The month of Āshād (June-July) is favourable for the collection of honey especially of the larger type. The honey of the smaller hive is considered superior in taste and in medicinal virtue to that pressed out of the larger or jungle bee-hive. They are expert hunters.

Social Status.

They do not come under any caste gradation. They live outside the villages. They profess their superiority over the Mādigas and similar low castes.

Dietary of the Tribe.

The Sholigas eat the flesh of deer, porcupine, cat, monkey and birds. They abstain from eating the flesh of cows and buffaloes, jackals, serpents and kites. They do not indulge in liquor, lest their gods might be provoked. They do not take the food of the Holeyas and Mādigas, but the latter eat their food. They are not classed as untouchables.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments.

The Sholigars are dark coloured and short in stature. They were at one time very scantily clad. But now they wear cotton clothes, and coats.

# SUDUGĀDU SIDDHA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES——INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION——CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

SUDUGĀDU SIDDHAS are a tribe of mendicants like Jogis and found mostly in the districts of Mysore, Kadur, and Shimoga. They frequent Bababudan hills, Bettadapura, Chetnahalli, and Aleghatta. They call themselves Telugu Jangams, Gombeyatadavaru, and Pakanātti Gollas. They are sometimes named Kādupapas (junglemen) by others. The name Sudugādu means cremation ground and Siddha means one that has obtained the object of his aspiration. They were once lords of burning grounds to whom the Kulavādi who takes the cloth of the deceased, and a fee for every dead body burned, paid something as acknowledging their overlordship. These people are described under the name of Sudugādu Siddha as agents of Gangadikara Okkalu caste, and have become a separate caste, called after their head Sudugādu Siddharu. These men are supposed to have acquired some infernal powers from the cremation grounds, and often prowl about those places to collect pieces of human bones for charms and jugglery. Another interpretation is that they are worshippers of Siva who is the lord of cremation ground, since they exhibit puppet dance for their living. Like the Sillekyata, they are properly speaking a sub-sect of the Jogis.

Origin and Tradition of the Caste.

The Sudugādu Siddhas are said to be descended from a Kuruba Siddha by name, whom Basavaṇṇa miraculously brought back to life after his body was taken to the grave for burial. He was not allowed to re-enter the village, and the villagers under the advice of Basavaṇṇa built for him a hut on the spot. He was invested with a woollen thread, a *jolna*, and directed to go for begging. Others say that the caste has sprung from the union of Patravat (stone-cutter) tribe and of Kulu or Kabir who taught the art of magic to some ancestor of the tribe.

Internal Structure of the Caste: Exogamous Clans.

Twenty-one names are returned as denoting the exogamous septs, most of which are house or family names, some of which point to places whence they originally came.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies.

Marriages are both infant and adult and ceremonies connected therewith are the same as in other Hindu Castes. A woman may remain unmarried all her life, but she cannot become a Basavi. Customs connected with adultery, divorce and widow-marriage are the same as in similar castes.

Inheritance and Adoption.

The castemen follow the usual laws of inheritance and adoption.

Caste Council.

Petty offences and small disputes are settled by the council of elders presided over by *yajaman* (headman) who is served by *budhivanta* (*kolkar*). Delinquents are fined. The castemen believe in magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and omens.

Religion.

Sudugādu Siddhas are Saivas, but worship Vishṇu also. Vīrabhadra is their special deity. Gangamma si wsorhipped by women, who offer to her sheep

as sacrifice. On Mondays women fast till night-fall, and adore Siva *lingam*. They keep a small purse wherein they keep small coins which they use for religious purpose. They do not employ Brahmans for religious purposes. Their *gurus* are the heads of the *Gulipūja maṭha*, and Parvata Srisaila, one of whom is the priest to initiate them in the begging pursuit, and boys of twelve years of age receive initiation from them. It is said that Sudugādu Siddhas, Linga Siddhas, and Musem Siddhas used to sit in the burial ground at Delhi in pits neck-deep in depth, and that they cause the dead to rise and to roam about the city at night. A pious man Mala Sidhyya by name, and renowned for his penance and piety went to Delhi to counteract the evil deeds of the two wicked men, who fell at his feet, and acknowledged him and his decendants at their *maṭhas* at Parvata, and make their offerings to the Jangams there when they receive small bags in which they carry their charms. There is also in Miraj in the Southern Mahratta country, a shrine much visited by the Sidhas. It is the tomb of a Mahomedan saint—Sheima Mir Paigambar who is said to have possessed miraculous powers to overcome a washerman named Gango Dhobi, a skilled magician that tormented the Siddhas.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead are generally buried. On the third day after burial, rice gruel and water are offered to the spirit of the dead either near the grave or by the side of a tank or river. The ceremony is sometimes repeated on the eleventh day. The castemen are fed on the twelfth day. The period of pollution is for ten days. An image of the deceased is made of gold or silver and worshipped along with the household gods. The deceased ancestors are propitiated with offerings once a year either in the dark fortnight of



A GROUP OF SUDUGADUSIDDHA WOMEN.

*Bhādrapada* or *Kārthika* (November-December). In the Sorab taluk, Koana *pūja* is observed during the Hutti habba in the month of *Kārthika* when a water-pot is made to represent all the deceased ancestors. A deceased wife is invoked by a man's second wife, and her spirit is propitiated with offerings.

Occupation.

The traditional occupation of the caste is begging for which they roam about the country. They were receiving from Kulavādis contribution of a fowl, one *hana* and a handful of rice for allowing them to collect *Nela bhāga* for the use of the burial-ground by the other castes. The Kulavādis take the cloth of the corpse and a fee for every dead body burned or buried. They were therefore paying the members of this caste something in acknowledgement of the Siddhas' superior right. As the income from these sources is very scanty, they have taken to cultivate lands and work as labourers, for wages.

Social Status.

In spite of their caste name, the Siddhas are a settled people, and live within their villages. They use the village wells and obtain the services of the washerman. They are said to admit children of Okkaliga or other similar castes into their community.

Dietary of the Caste.

They are flesh eaters, but abstain from eating the flesh of cow or monkey. They drink liquor.

Dress and Ornaments.

The ordinary dress of the castemen does not differ from that of the Okkaligas. But while going out for begging, they wear ochre-coloured breeches, an upper cloth and a turban entwined with various coloured kerchiefs with peacock feathers stuck into it. They suspend garlands of *rudrāksha* beads from their neck, and paint their foreheads with ashes and bracelets, and carry a wallet, a wooden or metal bell

and a conch shell. There is nothing peculiar in the dress of the women-folk. They get tattooed, and the most common patterns being *jogi jade* (plaited hair), *Madankaiyi* (hand of cupid), *yele thōtta* (betel garden) and the moon.

# THAMMADI.

INTRODUCTION—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE, AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THAMMADIS are, by profession, worshippers of Iswara in Śiva and other temples. They are employed for supplying flowers, in certain temples where Brāhmans are *pujāris*. They are mostly found on Chāmundi Hills in Mysore, in Mudakadore (T.-Narsipur), Thagadur, Nanjangud and Mugur. The caste is commonly known as Thammadiyavaru and there is no other name by which it is known. The castemen are all named after the god, Śiva, and in common, with the other castes. A son or daughter, whose elder brothers and sisters have died, is given an opprobrious name, such as Sudugādu or Sudugādi, Gunda or Gundi, Javara or Javari.

Their language is Canarese. Aiyya is the title added to their names. There are no exogamous divisions in the caste. Children are named after their forefathers.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages are contracted only with families with which there has been a previous connection. On marriage occasions, they worship a small branch of Konde tree which they cut and instal as their family god in their houses. They do not use this as fuel or as timber for building purposes. They do not know why they worship it. Women get their body tattooed with the representation of this tree out of pleasure.

Marriages are prohibited among *sapindas*. Elder sister's and maternal uncle's daughters are preferentially married. But if the girl is related as sister, mother, daughter either in male or female line, marriages cannot take place. Two sisters cannot be simultaneously married to the same man. But, if the husband has, for any reason, such as want of issue, to marry again, the wife's sister is preferred. They believe that if two sisters are simultaneously married to the same man, one of them will not prosper. If a husband cannot be got for a deformed girl, she is married to a dagger, and thenceforward she will remain in her father's house, and will be treated like a son. Very rarely are two girls married simultaneously. A man may marry a woman of his mother's family and also of his paternal grand-mother's and maternal grand-mother's families. Exchange of daughters in marriage is prohibited. Girls are married before, and not after, puberty. Girls attaining puberty before marriage are outcasted. It is said that the old custom was to marry girls after puberty, but for the last twenty years, they have been imitating Brāhmans. Marriages are settled by parents. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will not be admitted into the caste.

Worship of the family Gods takes place. Brāhmans act as *purōhits* (priests). It is not the custom of the caste to have the ceremonies of tonsure and *upanayana* performed separately. They are performed on the day of marriage. No price is paid either to the bride or to the bridegroom. Marriage expenses amount to twenty-five to the bride's party excluding the expenses of feeding and clothes and to hundred rupees to the bridegroom's party. The ceremonies connected with marriage are the same as those in other Hindu castes.

Of late, they have begun to give up the practice of remarrying widows. But in villages, the practice of marrying under *kudike* prevails, and this involves the tying of the *tāli* round the neck of the woman, and the feeding of the castemen. The customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as those in other castes, and call for no special notice.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Thammadis follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption.

RELIGION.

The Thammadis are Śaivas and consider it sacred to serve in temples dedicated to Śiva. They perform Śiva *pūja* but do not recite *gāyatri*. They go in a procession to a river and worship Ganga there. The vessels are filled with water and after decoration with mango leaves, a cocoanut will be placed on each. Two men representing the bride and bridegroom's parties, carry it on their heads. The procession reaches home with a band, the members of which are met at the threshold by married ladies, and the vessels are installed in the worshipping place. The Goddess Lakshmi is also worshipped. Women adore Gauri also. They consider Monday as sacred and take only one meal that day. They do not go to Vishṇu temples.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The Thammadis bury the dead. The Jangam attends the funeral. After eating in the burial ground, they begin the funeral ceremonies. The dead are carried in a lying posture with the head turned towards the villages. The body is buried with a new cloth on. Then a formula is repeated, signifying that the dead man has left this mundane world, and has gone to Kailāsa. The body is worshipped with *pūja*. The Lingam will be tied in a

new cloth to the neck of the deceased and buried with him. On the third day after death, a *lingam* is made on the grave, and milk and ghee are poured on it. Till the twelfth day, no ceremonies are observed. On that day, *dānams* (gifts) are given to the Jangams. The pollution lasts for 10 days. For the death of a daughter's son, the pollution is for three days. When in pollution, they do not attend temples, worship gods, enter the kitchen, and perform any religious ceremony. *Māsika srāddha* is performed for one year and then on *Mahālaya amāvāsya*, they perform *āradhana* in propitiation of all the deceased ancestors. Female ancestors are worshipped on a Friday in the month of Srāvana.

Occupation. Their profession is mostly service in Śiva temples. Some supply flowers also. Some are agriculturists. They have not given up their original profession. In marriage, they dance with a sword in hand. During the seasons of ploughing, sowing, reaping and harvesting, they begin on auspicious days. They do not plough on Mondays.

Social Status. The Thammadis are strict vegetarians. The Śivāchār Gondas eat the food prepared by them. They eat with Sivāchār Arādhyas. Arasus, Okkaligas etc., eat in the houses of these people.

The Thammadi women tattoo their bodies with the representation of lotus flower, etc.

On the eleventh day after birth, *Lingadhārane* is made to them by Arādhyas. This is worn by them round the neck till the eighth or ninth year when *upanayana* is performed.

# TIGALA.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—PERSONAL NAMES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

TIGALA is the Kannada term for a Tamil-speaking man. The caste that is known by that name, and the castemen call themselves Vannēru, or Vannikuladavaru, the descendants of Vanni Raja, who is said, to have had five sons, the ancestors of the Vanniya caste.

The name *vannēru* is derived from the Sanskrit *vanhi*, fire, and there is a legend to explain the connection, which is similar to that of the rise of the Agnikulas from a sacrificial fire. In fact, these men say that they are descended from one of the Agnikula warriors. They call themselves the descendants of Agni Bannirāya. They are also known as the devotees of Dharmarāya, as they worship the eldest of the Pāndava brothers as their patron deity. Usually they are known as Totada Tigalas, their chief profession being vegetable and other petty gardening, and as Arava or Tamil Reddis, or Pallis (*i.e.*, villagers). Gauda is the title of the headman of the caste, and is exclusively borne by him. Their earliest home, according to tradition, is Kanchi-Puram (Conjevaram).

They talk either Kannada or Tamil. Those that talk Kannada are the earliest immigrants among them into this State, and they are found in Tumkur.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

*Endogamous Groups.*—There are two main endogamous divisions, known respectively as Ulli or Kannada Tigala, and Arava Tigala or Dharmarāyana Okkalu. The latter includes some subdivisions who are not pure Tigalas, and who are known as Tondaramallaru, those born of a Tigala man and an Okkaliga woman, Agamudiyavaru, or those born of a Tigala man and a woman of a different caste, Kānjavara, or people of Conjevaram, Vannigaru, and Yele Tigala, those who grow betel-leaves.

Ulli Tigalas (Onion Tigalas) are said to have obtained this curious appellation for the following reason. A troupe of Dombars gave an acrobatic performance in a village, to which all except Tigalas were invited. The latter felt insulted, and in order to outdo the Dombars in their own profession, they constructed a pole, by lashing together onion stalks, and made ropes by twisting together the filaments of the same frail material, and surpassed the Dombars' feats of skill. Tondaramallaru are supposed to be inferior to the pure Arava Tigala and the Agamudis. They all eat together, though intermarriages are prohibited.

*Exogamous clans.*—The caste is broken up into a number of exogamous groups, each of which takes its name from a particular patron deity, the members believing that they are all connected by some sort of blood-relationship, which distinguishes them from other divisions.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages are usually arranged by the parents or other elders. Boys are generally married after their sixteenth year. The bride need not necessarily be younger than the bride-groom. Exchange of daughters is recognised, but discouraged, on account

of the superstition that one of the married couple meets with bad luck. It is common to take more than one wife; but there is no trace of polyandry, and the idea strikes these men as revolting. Family descent is traced through males. Marriage prohibitions are the same as in other castes.

A girl is generally married not later than twelve. If the girl is already of the proper age, she begins to live with her husband on the lapse of the first Gauri festival after marriage. If the girl is yet too young, she waits till she comes of age of puberty. A woman is not compelled to marry at any cost. If she chooses to remain single, she need not undergo any mock-marriage with trees, or swords, or dedicate herself to any god.

If the stars corresponding to the names of the parties agree, a day is fixed, and the boy's party, with some married women, go to the girl's house, with cocoanuts, plantains, betel leaves, nuts, turmeric and *kunkuma* powder. The castemen are invited to be present, but the headman of the caste and the Ganāchāri need not be there necessarily. The foreman of the asssembly moots the subject, and the maternal uncle of the girl gives the consent. This is said to be due to the preferential right the maternal uncle himself has for the hand of the girl. If a marriage is performed without his consent, a *panchāyat* is held on his complaint, in the presence of the caste headman, and the Ganāchāri, and the delinquent is fined. Such cases are, however, rare. When the maternal uncle gives his consent, the promise between the contracting parties is ratified by the exchange of betel leaves and nuts, and by the utterance of the words, "The girl is ours, the boy is yours," or "the boy is ours and the girl is yours" on each side. The articles brought are then presented to the girl by her mother and relatives, and

the day ends with a feast, known as *parupusādam* (or dhal and rice) as meat is not cooked on such occasions.

This ceremony binds the party of the girl to fulfil their contract, and a breach is met by a heavy fine, imposed by the caste, independently of any damage that may be recovered by action in the bride's house; and if any bad dreams occur, they will be considered as ill omens requiring the engagement to be broken off. Indeed, so much importance is attached to omens, that after the relations reach home the next morning, they send information to the bride's house, that no serpent has crossed them on the way, and that while they were talking about the matter, they did not hear any pots cracking, or cats quarrelling.

The marriage ceremony takes place in the bridegroom's house, and lasts four days.

On the first day, named *modalarisina* (first turmeric), the boy's party with the usual accompaniments of fruits, and two rupees in cash, called *madupu* (earnest), go to the girl's house, where the Gauda and the Ganāchāri are awaiting their arrival, and they have to assure themselves that the correct amount of money has been brought, and then permit the other presents to be received. The girl is seated on a plank, and presented with the articles; she is attired in the new clothes supplied by the bridegroom, and then prostrates herself before the head of the caste.

The *pandal* is erected on the second day. It is supported by twelve posts, of which one is o *Kalli* plant, being styled the milk-post, and said to be for ensuring continuity of the line. The milk-post must be cut by either the maternal uncle of the girl or the girl's paternal aunt's son. In their absence, the *kolkar*, or the beadle, cuts the tree and brings it,

It is wrapped round with a washed cloth, dyed with turmeric; a *kankana* with a package containing nine kinds of grains and a few coins, is tied round it; and it is planted in the middle of the *pandal*.

The bridegroom is brought in, and besmeared with turmeric. In the evening, the bride's party, with the bride, reach the village, and halt at a temple. The bridegroom's party meet them there, and entertain them with drink.

Then the bridegroom's and the bride's parties together go out in procession, to get the vessels for the marriage, known as *airāne*, from the priest's house, at which the vessels have been kept, decorated with drawings of chunam and red earth. The priest is paid one *hana* (4 annas 8 pies), and the pots are taken to the marriage *pandal*, and installed in a part of the house. Lamps are lighted, with oil and wicks placed in earthen saucers brought with these vessels. They have to burn continuously during the remaining period of the marriage, and it is considered a bad omen if they are allowed to go out. The chief ceremony called *muhurtam* takes place on the third day. The bride is smeared with turmeric powder by the bridegroom's party, and the bridegroom by the bride's party, and a rice-flour cake is waved before each to avert the evil eye. The bridegroom gets shaved, either really or nominally, and the bride gets her nails pared. Then they bathe, and dress themselves in their marriage attire. The bridegroom paints his forehead with a golden streak, while the bride puts on a latitudinal line of vermilion. The bridegroom goes to the temple with married ladies in procession. At the head of this procession, his sister carries a box containing the presents to the bride. In the temple, after offering cocoanuts to the idol, the bridegroom is invested with a sacred string by the priest, and then

he and the bride sit on the marriage planks. The *kolkar* ties the *kankaṇa* to the pair. The various office-bearers of the caste, and others present are given *tāmbula*, and they all return to the marriage *pandal*.

The pair then intertwine the little fingers of their right hands, over which their parents pour *dhāre*, *i. e.*, pure milk in small quantities through a funnel of betel-leaf held by the bridal pair. Garlands worn by them are then exchanged by the bride and bridegroom. After this, they both prostrate themselves before the sacred pots set up for *pūja*. On their way, the bridegroom's sister bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses, and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow, or some jewel, or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Then follows the ceremony of thrusting the hand into a quantity of salt in a vessel.

On the fourth day, the couple are taken in procession to an ant-hill, and earth is brought thence to make it into *pandal*. The posts are painted with the paste of red earth by the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom hands over the balls of earth to the bride, who keeps them one by one at each pillar. Then they both go in procession to a well, with married women, who carry the sacred pots called "*airāne*." The vessels are emptied of their contents in the well, and are worshipped once more. In the meanwhile, the bridegroom turns up some soil with a spade, or a small plough, while the bride sows some paddy, or sometimes all the nine kinds of grain. A mock conversation goes on between the husband and the wife. The wife says, "Husband, you seem to be tired after hard ploughing, take some food," and offers him food. The husband accepts, but does not eat. Then the whole party turn back to the *pandal*, which is then dismantled.

The bride-price, or *tera*, is one rupee and a half.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

There is no peculiarity in the ceremonies when a girl attains puberty, except that the headman of the caste and others attend on the last day thereof. There is no regular ceremony for the consummation of marriage. The bride is presented by the bride-groom or his parents with a new cloth, fruits, a *pan-supari* bag, betel leaves and nuts, in the presence of the elders of the caste. After two meals are over, the party of the husband take the girl to her husband in his house, and thenceforward live as husband and wife. It is stated that the bride-groom need not attend these feasts.

WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE.

Marriage of widows is allowed, and the customs connected with it are as those in other similar castes. The *tera* is the same as for a virgin woman.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

A woman may be divorced for adultery, or for reasons such as want of harmony in the married life, in which case the parties may separate by consent. When a woman has left her husband by divorce, she has to pay back his marriage expenses. An impotent husband may be divorced by his wife returning the *tāli* to him, and the woman may remarry after paying a fine of three rupees given to the caste. If such a man does not consent to the dissolution, she has only to return her *tāli* to the Gauda and Ganāchāri in a caste assembly, after which he is free from her hands. A woman loses her caste if she misbehaves with any person of a different caste. A man may with impunity consort with any woman except the one belonging to the *panchama* caste, and the children of such connections are nevertheless Tigalas. Adultery is compoundable, by the payment of a small fine to the caste. In cases of adultery

within the caste, a woman is merely chastised by her husband, but does not lose her caste, provided she pays a small fine to the community. If a woman is turned out by her husband on account of adultery, the man who seduced her may keep her as his wife, paying a small fine to the husband. Sexual license is condoned, if the girl marries the man subsequently, but the marriage is celebrated only in the inferior form of *kudike*.

PERSONAL NAMES.

The priests of Dharmarāya give their children the names of Arjuna, Bhima, Nakula, Sahadeva, and Dharmarāya. There is no peculiarity in other names, those of gods, places or things being chosen just as in other castes. The following are some of the usual names that have been given in this caste :-

Males—Pullappa, Yarrappa, Lanke, Tumkurayya, Tambi, Hosahalli, Yataraya, Payatanna and Yagappa.
Females—Hombali, Ananti.

The Kannada section sometimes give opprobrious names to children born after loss of previous ones.

The class, as a whole, believe that the spirits of children dying from any accident, or from bad treatment by the parents, tease the surviving children, and, to avert such an evil, they put on a tali known as *Iragara gudu*, with some inscription on it round the neck of their children.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Tigalas follow the inheritance in the male line. It is not necessary that the boy to be adopted should belong to the same stock as the adopting father. A sister's son, or a son of the wife's sister may be adopted. The boy's status for marriage remains exactly as it has been before adoption. The arrangement seems to be intended mainly to keep

up the continuity of the family to which the boy is adopted. The adopted person is not pohibited from espousing the daughter of the adopting father in marriage. In some families, adopted children are not allowed to perform the funeral obsequies for their adopted parents.

CASTE ORGANISATION.

Tigalas have a well defined organization. They have a Gauda as their head, and one learned in their caste and religious beliefs, styled *gaṇāchāri*, as next to him. The *pūjari* of the temple of Dharmarāya is the latter's deputy, and they have a *yajman* besides. The Gauda, the elders of the caste, and the *yajmen* form an ordinary caste-council, while *gaṇāchāri* and the *pūjāri* form additional members of the caste-council at head-quarters. The decision of an ordinary caste-council is not final, as an appeal is open to the larger council at the head-quarters of the *kattemane*. Those who do not abide by the decisions of these councils are deemed to be outside the pale of the caste. But in cases pertaining to divorce, settlement of minor disputes about boundaries of land, and rights of inheritance, the decisions are not binding in this sense. Penalties imposed by such councils are utilised for the purposes of temples and annual caste festivals. It may be noted that in the absence of the Gauda in Council, the *gaṇāchāri* is entitled to take his place, and to exercise his privilege of giving the casting vote.

Tigalas are persons of settled habits. They have divided themselves into sections by the tracts of country inhabited by them, and each section, called a *kattemane*, is under the jurisdiction of a headman, or Gauda, with a council of elders. The different *kattemanes* are named after some important place, such as Tumkur, Kunigal, Turuvekere, Kadaba, etc. Persons from any higher caste may be admitted

into the Tigala caste but, in the matter of eating together, and marriage, the older members do not easily reconcile themselves to join these new men, till in course of time their origin is forgotten. A child of a mixed marriage is considered inferior in caste-status to one having both parents, Tigalas.

RELIGION. There are both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas in the caste, and they worship all the Hindu gods, only regarding either Śiva or Vishṇu as their family god. They worship all the minor gods, such as Māramma, Marigamma, Munisvara, Kollapuramma, Yellamma and Śiddedēvaru. During marriages, they do *pūja* in the name of Agni Vaṇhi Rāya, their progenitor, burning frankincense. Women worship Gangamma during the prevalence of any epidemic disease, in order to escape an attack. They go to a tank, or well, worship the water with saffron, break a cocoanut, and offer a new cloth in the name of Gangamma, and wear it afterwards. Stones carved with the image of serpents are worshipped. On the festival of Gauri, cocoanuts and flowers are offered.

The distinctive tribal festival is that of *Karaga*, which is celebrated with great zeal and ceremony once every year in the month of *Chaitra*, and lasts nine days. The functionary called the *Gaṇachāri* is the grand master of ceremonies for it. His directions on all matters are to be scrupulously observed. During the whole period, he has to keep himself pure, bathing in cold water, either in his own house, or, some tank outside and taking only one meal a day, which his wife has prepared in *madi* (washed state). The *pujāri* conducts the worship. He also bathes regularly, and has to live on fruits, or other uncooked food, during the period. On the first day, he has his head and face shaved clean, and dresses himself in the fashion of females, with

clothes dyed yellow with turmeric water. He wears bangles, and a *kankaṇa*, or wrist thread made of woollen yarn and turmeric root. When the *pujari* goes to the well, to bring the vessels on the seventh night, his wife takes off her bangles and *tāli*. In fact, she is considered a widow during the whole period of this festival. In addition to the *Gaṇachāri* and the *pujāri*, there are others taking part in the celebrations, who are known as *Komaramakkalu*, *i.e.*, young children,* over a hundred in number. These have to bathe and observe fasts and be strict in the matter of meals. Their food is to be prepared by their wives only, who, before the commencement of the festival, subject themselves to a purificatory ceremony, by having their tongues touched with a burning turmeric root, and by drinking *tīrtha*, or holy water. All these men and women keep aloof from other persons during this period, so as to preserve their holy state. If any of the women has her monthly sickness in the interval, she remains outside for three days when she bathes, and meanwhile the husband has to cook his own food.

On each day of the festival, the *Gaṇachāri*, the *Pūjāri* and *Komaramakkalu*, take *Chatri*, (umbrella), *bhandarada pettige*, *i.e.*, a casket containing turmeric powder, a whip, bell, seal, etc., to a well, and wash themselves and the things. Each of the *Komaramaakkalu* offers *namaskāra* prostrating himself before the *gaṇachāri* and *pūjāri* and receives their blessings. Then the procession returns, attended with a band of musicians. Each *Komaramaga* carries his sword with him, waving it occasionally in the air. In the temple of Dharamarāya, the idol is enthroned and the washed things are brought in

* Komaramaga is the singular form of Komaramakkalu in Kannada.

and deposited in the inner sanctuary. The assembly disperses after *pūja*.

On the day the idol is enthroned, or some subsequent day, the ceremony known as *gavanna* takes place. The *pujari* cooks ten seers of rice in the precincts of the temple, and offers it to the idol, the rice being coloured yellow with turmeric powder, and scattered about in the four directions for the deities presiding over the four quarters.

On the seventh night takes place the most important ceremony, the bringing of the *karaga*. Then the potter (Kumbara), observing a fast the whole day, prepares an earthen vessel, and takes it unburnt to a well, and keeps it there at night. A procession from the temple, consisting of *gaṇachāri*, *pūjāri*, *Komaramakkalu*, *Gauda*, *Yajaman* and the caste people, goes to the well, and returns to the temple with this pot.

After the vessel is brought from the well, a Brahman *purohit* is invited, and a grand worship is conducted by him till about 4 o'clock in the morning of the next day. One or two maunds of camphor are burnt in the course of the night. The *karaga* pot is decorated with flowers, and wrapped in a cloth dyed yellow with turmeric; and its mouth is closed by an inverted bamboo basket being placed on it. The *pūjāri*, the *Gaṇachāri* and *purōhit* offer *pūja* to the *karaga*, screening it from the view of the public. The *pūjari* then takes the *karaga* into his hands, and keeps it on a platform. The *Komaramakkalu* beat their chests with the blunt ends of their swords before it. It is said that when times were better, they used to cut themselves with the sharp edge without being injured. The *pūjāri* carries the *karaga* on his head, and the *Komaramakkalu* range themselves round him, with their swords drawn, as if ready to kill him if he dropped

the *karaga*, the penalty being required to ward off evil to the whole tribe from such a mishap. The procession goes round the city, and on its return to the temple, the carrier goes round the car and the temple more than half a dozen times. The *karaga* is finally installed in the temple, and worshipped once again. On the night it remains in the temple, with the usual *pūjā* conducted in a grand style.

Tigalas do not employ Brāhmans for the conduct of ordinary ceremonies, though they have a *guru* who is a Vaishṇava Brāhman. He occasionally visits them, and offers them *tīrtha* and *prasāda*, and receives some money as fees.

According to Buchanan, the gods peculiar to the Pallis are Mannārswami and Pachamma, who is said to be his mother. No sacrifices are given to them, but only to their attendant *munis*, who are all males. In the yard belonging to the temple, a great many figures in potter's work, which represent horses and elephants, are to be found, which are supposed to be the attendants of the gods. These figures are set up as offerings by patients after recovery from any illness supposed to have emanated from the influence of the deity. Pallis frequently offer sacrifices to Pātalamma, Māramma and other saktis, and worship both Śiva and Vishṇu.*

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

When a man dies, his body is carried on a frame of Kalli or bamboo, the pieces being tied together with a rope of twisted straw. Soon after the body is placed on the frame, it is washed with warm water, anointed, and cleaned with soapnut. Dāsayyas come and repeat *tirumantra*. The body is then taken to the burial ground, the mourners accompanying it with the beating of drums and

* Buchanan's Travels, Vol. I, page 479.

cymbals. There a stone is installed to represent Harischandra, and is worshipped. Then those that are the votaries of Śiva place dishes of rice and water for the spirit. In the fringe of the cloth wrapped round the body, some rice is tied up—apparently meant for the use of the spirit while on its way to the next world. When the body is lowered into the grave, some ashes are thrown over it, and the Gauda and *gaṇāchāri* each throws a handful of rice and then a shovelful of earth over it. The body is then duly buried, and two pies are placed over a corner of the grave. These the *tōti* or village watchman takes for himself, after touching the four corners of the grave with cakes of cowdung.

At the spot in the house where the person died, rice and water are kept for the spirit. As the principal mourner enters the house while returning from the place of sepulchre, he rolls the vessel he has carried in his hand at the threshold, and prostrates himself before the Gauda and *gaṇāchāri*, who offer their condolences.

On the third, fifth and twelfth days, food and water are given to the departed spirit. On the twelfth day, the priest and the elders of the caste go to a tank, and perform purificatory ceremonies. The principal mourner gets a shave. He fixes a stick in the earth, to represent the spirit of the dead, and funeral ceremonies are performed under the direction of a Brāhman priest. Then the whole party go to a temple, to get the doors of heaven opened for the departed spirit.

The period of *sūtaka* (pollution) is twelve days for the death of adult persons, and three days for that of children. The Vaishṇavas observe five days for children.

During the first year, monthly ceremonies are performed to propitiate the dead. In succeeding

years, the whole body of deceased ancestors are worshipped on the new year's day and the Mahālaya new-moon day.

Occupation.

The Tigalas are agriculturists, specially skilled as kitchen and flower gardeners. A minority among them are Government servants, and coolies receiving wages. They are well known for their economy and hard work, and are unrivalled for their careful cultivation of fruit gardens.

Dietary of the Caste.

They eat animal food, and are allowed a pretty wide range, there being no objection to pigs, fowls of all sorts, fish, tortoise, and large species of lizards. Kuruba is the lowest caste with which they eat, while in return the Kuruba eats with them.

Conclusion.

The Tigalars are a caste of kitchen and market gardeners. They are divided into three endogamous groups. They have their caste organization, and the office of the headman is hereditary. They are said to be descended from the first born hero Agni Bannirāya. They are both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas.

The following are stated to be names of exogamous groups :—

## APPENDIX.

Siddedevara manētana .. Lakshmidevara manētana
Yellammadevara manētana .. Gule-aravi Lakshmidevara manētana,
Indratimmayyana Budakattu .. Dodd arasayyadevara manētana

| Family name | Eponymous hero of Guru. | Meaning of term |
|---|---|---|
| Sultani .. | Brihatti .. | |
| Soma .. | Brisista .. | |
| Sandra .. | Bhikshu .. | |
| Sadanapalli .. | Subhikshu .. | Name of a place. |
| Samadesi .. | Sandilya .. | |
| Sama .. | Vaidhatri .. | |
| Suppalu .. | Bharadvaja .. | |
| Srirama .. | Parasara .. | |
| Tyaka .. | .. | |
| Tadipatri .. | Dhrihurishi .. | Name of a place. |
| Tatigondlu .. | Srashtarishi .. | |
| Tada .. | Chandrarishi .. | |
| Tadri .. | Chanava .. | |
| Tarunikanti .. | | |
| Tumma .. | Durvasa .. | |
| Tirumala .. | Visvavasu .. | |
| Togaturu .. | Vaichana .. | |
| Vangari .. | Pavana .. | |
| Vina .. | Jatila .. | Musical Instrument. |
| Vadata .. | Jamadagni .. | |
| Vastralu .. | Angirasa .. | Squirrel cloth. |
| Vasi .. | Tarisaka .. | |
| Vangam .. | Pavana .. | |
| Yallalu .. | Mauksha .. | |
| Yinchamuri .. | Tahksa .. | |
| Yalakalu .. | Kasyapa .. | Rats. |

# TOGATA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—PRE AND POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE TOGATAS are a caste of weavers who weave coarse cloths. In the previous Censuses, they are included in the main class of Neyiges, and therefore their separate Census figures are not available. They are found mostly in the Bangalore and Kolar Districts. They are called by other castemen as simply Neyigeyavaru. Setti is the honorific ending added to their names. The meaning of the term is not known. They say that it is a corrupted form of Togaja, and they are so called because they are the progeny of Togaja Pushpandaja Rishi. They are Telugu weavers and speak that language wherever they may be living. They know the language of the country they live in.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE

The origin of the caste is attributed to Īsvara. His consort, Pārvati, who attended the sacrifice performed by her father Daksha, was disgraced. This provoked Iswara who threw out in rage two drops of sweat from his forehead and from them sprang Vīrabhadra and Chowdēsvari. The latter created 360 warriors styled Togata Vīraru and sent them with Vīrabhadra to kill Daksha. After the commission was executed, she entrusted them to the care of Pushpandaja Muni, and enjoined on them

to live by weaving cloth. Another Muni by name had 360 daughters whom the Togata vīras married. The present Togatas have 360 gotras named after their ancestors.

It is also said that the Togatas and the Devangas were originally one caste, and had the same God Chowdēsvari. Subsequently they seceded from the main group by wearing the sacred thread and claiming a higher descent.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

There were no endogamous groups among the Togatas. Of late, however, residence in different localities, attended with differences in religious practices, and in customs, were in operation for the division into endogamous groups. They are, 1. Renati Permabadi, 2. Morasu, 3. Pedda Gumpu (major group) and 4. Chinna Gumpu (minor group). The people of all these groups eat together, but do not intermarry.

Togatas are said to have three hundred and sixty exogamous clans named after their progenitors Tōgata Vīras. Some of them are given below. Most of them are totemistic, representing the name of an animal, tree or some other material, to which usual respect is shown by the people of each division. Some of them, however, are named after some place, and may be family names, but none of them appear eponymous.

EXOGAMOUS DIVISIONS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Abbavallu .. | .. | 11. Chinta .. | Tamarind tree. |
| 2. Alichettu .. | A tree. | 12. Chitike .. | .. |
| 3. Ankiti .. | .. | 13. Deva .. | A plant. |
| 4. Balla .. | .. | 14. Gajjelu .. | Small bells. |
| 5. Bandare .. | .. | 15. Gorantt .. | A plant. |
| 6. Bandi .. | A cat. | 16. Gunda .. | A stone. |
| 7. Bottlu .. | .. | 17. Gurramu .. | A horse. |
| 8. Budali .. | A place. | 18. Gurujje . | .. |
| 9. Bhuma .. | .. | 19. Illuru .. | A place. |
| 10. Chimakote .. | A little fort. | 20. Jakka .. | .. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21. Kande .. | A reel of thread. | 35. Palagiri .. | A herb. |
| 22. Kankanalu .. | Wrist threads. | 36. Pallemu. .. | .. |
| 23. Katta .. | .. | 37. Pattamu .. | .. |
| 24. Kodegudlu .. | Eggs of hen. | 38. Peramallu .. | God. |
| 25. Konda .. | A mountain. | 39. Poppalu .. | A hall. |
| 26. Konta .. | .. | 40. Puli .. | Tiger. |
| 27. Konga .. | A bird. | 41. Puridi .. | A sparrow. |
| 28. Kota .. | A fort. | 42. Sana .. | .. |
| 29. Lingam .. | .. | 43. Sanga .. | .. |
| 30. Maka .. | .. | 44. Satta .. | .. |
| 31. Masara .. | .. | 45. Somanadula . | .. |
| 32. Mayikunta .. | A place. | 46. Tadakala .. | Thatch. |
| 33. Kuttyala .. | Pearls. | 47. Tulasi .. | Sweet basil. |
| 34. Nandyalu .. | A place. | 48. Uduga .. | A tree. |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages may be adult or infant. It is said that a girl may even remain celibate if a suitable husband is not available, and that she does not thereby lose caste if her conduct is all right. Marriages of girls of twenty or even twenty-five years of age are not very uncommon. Polygamy is allowed and practised if the first wife be barren or afflicted with any disease, but polyandry is unkown. As regards relations eligible for marriage, Togatas observe the same rules as other castemen. Marriage prohibitions are also the same as those prevailing in other castes. Marriages may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house, but it is said that the most proper thing is to bring the girl to the boy's house. Negotiations for marriages are commenced by the father of the boy, who, after ascertaining the agreement of the horoscopes of the boy and the girl, goes to the girl's house to propose the match. If the other party give their consent, a day is settled for the "betel-leaves ceremony" when the father and some married women repair to the girl's house with the usual lucky things such as turmeric, *kunkuma*, dry cocoanuts, jaggery and *sire* and *kuppāsa*. The castemen assemble there, and in their presence the father of the girl says loudly, "I have given my daughter to your son," and hands over betel-leaves and nuts to the boy's father, who

in his turn rises up and says that he has accepted the girl, and hands over betel-leaves and nuts, to the other party. Then a day is fixed for the marriage with the help of a Brāhman astrologer.

Three days before the ceremony, God's feast is held separately in the houses of the boy and the girl on which a *kalaśa* is installed and *pūja* is done to it with the offerings of new clothes and *yede*. Before the *kalaśa*, a heap of arecanuts containing 720 nuts, two to represent each of their progenitors "*Togata Vīraru*" is made. *Pūja* is done to it by the father of the bride or bride-groom as the case may be, and the nuts are distributed only among their caste-men. Then the boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric for the first time. In the night, in five earthern dishes, several kinds of grain are sown on a bed of earth and manure and kept in a room. The second day another rubbing of the turmeric to the bridal pair takes place.

Third day a *pandal* is put up on twelve pillars. A milk post is cut and kept in the temple. The maternal uncle does *pūja* to it there, and brings it in procession to the *pandal* and plants it. In the evening, the bride's party arrive and are received with due honour. In the night, the married women of both parties bring *arivenis* and instal them in a room where earthen dishes with seedlings are placed.

In the midnight, they do the ceremony of *Biragudi śastra*. The bridegroom and his party go with bands to a place where three paths meet and after offering food on a plantain leaf to a human figure drawn in *rangoli* powder, return home without making any noise and without looking back.

Early in the morning on the *dhāre* day, the nails of the bridal pairs are pared by the barber. They bathe in *malanīru* and undergo the *Sirebidisuvadu* or the ceremony of freeing from bondage. As usual, the

bridegroom is taken to a temple in procession from which the jewels and clothes intended for the bride are sent to her three times. Then bridegroom and the best man go in procession to the *pandal*. The bridegroom covers himself with a black *kambli*, and as he approaches the *panda'*, the bride's sister waves *ārati*, and then he is conducted to the marriage seat where the pair are made to stand facing each other. Cummin seeds and jaggery are placed on each other's heads and the pouring of *dhāre*, *tāli* and *kankaṇa*-tying take place in the usual course. Then the couple with their fingers linked together and the fringes of their garments knotted, are taken round the milk post, shown Arundhati star, and are conducted to the room where *arivenis* are installed. The way is obstructed by the boy's sister who is induced to leave the way by the groom promising to give his first born daughter to her son. Near the *ariveni* pots food is served in two eating dishes. They sit separately near their respective dishes but exchange morsels of food, for it is the binding custom that each should eat a morsel of food from the dish of the other.

In the afternoon, they are exhibited in the assembly of castemen when they are rubbed with turmeric paste and given marriage presents by their relations. Then when the couple present each other with turmeric paste, and sandal paste, distribution of flowers and *pan-supari* takes place.

Next day, the *nāgavali* takes place when the pair that sit together have their nails pared, bring earth from an anthill to which they go in state, and with the lumps of the earth and food offering they worship the *pendal* posts, as the other castes. Then the pot-searching ceremony and the untying of the *kankanams* take place. In the afternoon, the worshipping of *simhāsana* takes place, the *pujāri* of their

tribal goddess Chowdēsvari, who belongs to *Kankanalu* sept, officiates at it. The *tera* amount is paid down and the betel-leaves and nuts heaped together are distributed to all in the prescribed order. Then a party with the married couple take the *ariveni* pots and the seedlings of grain, and throw them on the water after making *pūja*. They fill the pots with water and bring them home. They empty this near the milk pot which is worshipped and removed. Then the wedding procession is held. Next day, the bridal pair go to the bride's village from which after a day or two of feasting, the bridegroom returns.

The bride price varies from three and a half to thirteen and a half rupees. A widower has to pay rupees one and a half more as *sānti mada* (co-wife's money).

Widow marriage is allowed and the formalities connected with it are the same as in other castes.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered under pollution for three days, and remains in a shed erected out of green leaves either outside or in the corner of a house. They take the usual precautions against evil spirits, and exhibit the girl in the evenings attired in gaudy dress. The consummation of marriage takes place on the sixteenth day after puberty, but if she is not married, the event is put off for three months after the marriage has taken place.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

The customs connected with adultery and divorce are the same as in other castes.

PRE AND POST NATAL CEREMONIES.

During the first pregnancy, the woman is taken to her father's house provided the Star (Venus) is not against her direction or to the right. If this

happens, the girl is left where she is for the delivery. She is taken particular care of during the eclipses of Sun and Moon, and is generally shut up in a room where the rays do not enter. This is believed to bring on a defect in any of the limbs of the child in the womb. In the fifth or the seventh month, a feast is observed in honour of the girl who is presented with flowers, bangles and clothes. The husband is also invited and brings a new cloth and some other presents to the woman. During the advanced pregnancy of the woman, the husband and wife are in partial pollutions and are not allowed to smear the bridal pair with turmeric paste or the *bhashinga* or touch the milk-post.

When the woman delivers a child, she is considered to be in pollution for ten days when she is confined to a lying in room to the door of which shoots of margosa leaves are stuck. At the door are kept an old shoe and a broom-stick to drive away the spirits. The husband and the other nearest agnates also are in pollution from which they are free by a bath on the fourth day. On the third day, the paternal aunt puts the child in a winnow, drags it with the toe of her left foot standing with her back turned to the child. They believe that on the fifth day the fate visits the confinement room to record the future of the child on its forehead, and therefore they keep the door partially open.

On the seventh or the ninth day, the child and the mother are bathed in warm water, a small pit is dug in the front yard of the house, when married women from the neighbouring houses do her the honour of bringing a potful of warm water, soap-nut, turmeric and *kunkuma*. After the bath, rice cooked with pulses is offered at the pit after burning incense at it, and *pan-supari* and *kunkuma* and turmeric paste are distributed to all the married women. Then a

dinner is given to which all the castemen are invited.

In the evening, the women and the child are exhibited in the company of married women. The cradle is worshipped and the child is put into it and rocked. An elderly woman gives a name. The most common name among the Togatas is Chowdappa for the male and Chowdamma for the female. If the name does not prove propitious which is indicated by the child getting ill or crying ceaselessly, a soothsayer is consulted and the name suggested by the latter is given to the child. The midwife is sumptuously fed on that day, and is presented with the customary fee of a *hana* for a male child or half of that sum for the female, besides some cloth.

Tonsure ceremony takes place only in the case of male child in the third or the fifth year when a feast is held, and the barber is presented with a *hana* and a cloth to catch the hair, besides such other perquisites as rice and dhal.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The castemen follow the inheritance in the male line.

Adoption is allowed and practised. The eligible claimants for adoption are the same as in other castes, such as brother's son or the son of an agnate. A sister's or even a duaghter's son may be adopted. The adopted boy ceases to inherit in his natural family. The ceremony observed is the renewal of the waist thread before the assembly of castemen and formal handing over of the boy by the natural parents.

RELIGION.

Togatas worship both Vishṇu and Śiva. The Tirunāmadhāris are Vaishṇavas and respect Śiva also. They also worship minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara, Māramma, and Gangamma.

Their tribal goddess is, however, Chowdēsvari whom every one worships. In every important centre, the *pūjāri* is a man of their own caste and does *pūja* to the goddess every Tuesday and Friday besides on all the important Hindu fasts and feasts such as Ugādi and Śivarātri. They consider this goddess as Ādi Sakti (or the Primeval Energy) and give the following account of how they came to regard the goddess as their tribal deity:—When Rākshasas were harassing the Dēvatas in their world, they went in a body to Brahma and prayed to him for relief. The latter finding himself unable to meet their request, took them to Vishṇu who in his turn referred them to Śiva. They explained to him their predicament and implored him for request. Śiva commissioned his consort Pārvati to go to the world as Chowdēsvari to get rid of the pests. The goddess with her followers Togata Vīras fought with the chief of the Rākshasās. The latter had a boon by virtue of which a number of warrior giants used to be born out of every drop of blood which fell from his body ready to fight. This practically baffled the goddess who at length hit upon a plan. Growing her tongue immeasurably large, she covered the whole battle-field with it, and sucked up every drop of blood that fell from the giant. This exhausted the strength of the enemy who was then slain. The Togata Vīras annihilated the army. Then goddess enjoined on the Vīras to go to the world as weavers promising that she would become their tribal goddess. Ever since, the Togatas have Chowdesvari as their goddess.

Periodically they celebrate the *pūja* of this goddess on a large scale. The *pūja* is Jyoti Banum and costs about two or three hundred rupees which is raised by contributions among their castemen. Information of the event is sent round by the caste

servant known as Bandāri Kādu who distributes *bandāram* or the turmeric powder used for worshipping the god and circulates news. The *pūja* generally takes place on a Sunday. Early in the morning, a house near the temple is whitewashed and cleaned with cow-dung and water. A party of men boil about 10 seers of rice flour into thick paste and make it into a lamp-stand about a foot and half high. The top of it is turned into a basin to receive ghee, and light is lit with a thick wick soaked in ghee. This is kept burning always. Rice is cooked in a new earthen vessel and the pot of rice and the *jyō'i* (the light), are worshipped with the offerings of frankincense, cocoanuts, etc. A large number of lime fruits are cut into two and placed near them. Then the *pūjāri* takes up the light and a man named *Pedda Vīradu*, the pot of rice They then start on procession along with the idol of Chowdēswari, a number of men armed with swords arranging themselves in rows on both sides and singing songs in a clamorous fashion in praise of the goddess Chowdēswari. As the procession is passing in the streets, goats are killed and with the blood caught in a new winnow, cooked rice is soaked and thrown on the man carrying the light. The carcasses are thrown on the shoulders of men passing in front of the Goddess. Going round the important streets of the town, the procession arrives at the temple at the entrance to which animals are again slaughtered, cocoanuts broken and limes are cut. With the blood rice is soaked and scattered round the temple. The light is then kept near the goddess in the temple and the rice remaining in the earthen pot is distributed among all as *prasāda*.

Next the lamp is broken and after setting apart a small portion as the share of the village officers, the rest is divided into three parts. One is taken

by the *pujāris* one by the Pedda Vīralu and the third part is divided among all the castemen. A large dinner is given in honour of the occasion.

Togatas dispose of their dead by burial except in the case of those who die of leprosy whose bodies are cremated. The bodies of persons killed by wild animals are buried under a heap of stones. The Tirunāmadhāris among them worship *Chakra* before the body is removed. The body is stripped naked before it is buried, and some coins are given to the Holeyas. FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

They observe the third day ceremony when food is offered on the grave and thrown to the crows. The Triunāmadhāri section observe this ceremony on the fifth day when they worship a *chakra*. They do not put food to the crows. Then all observe the eleventh day ceremony when the house is purified and food and clothes offered to a *kalaśa* set up in the name of the deceased. The Tirunāmadhāris set up a *chakra* at night and perform *pūja* to it in the manner peculiar to that cult.

They do not perform *srāddhās* but on Mahālaya Amavasya they all bathe, do *pūja* to a *kalaśa* in the name of all the ancestors, offering clothes and food to it and distribute rice and money to Brāhmans. In the evening, they go to the burial ground, put sandal to their ancestral graves, burn incense and break a cocoanut.

The Togatas are a class of weavers that make a coarse, thick, white cotton cloth with red borders, which among the poor class of inhabitants is used as the common waist cloths of all ages and sexes. The major portion of them adhere to their original profession. Some have taken to agriculture, some to trade and others to more lucrative occupations. Some of them are landless day-labourers and earn their living by wages paid to them either every day or once a week. OCCUPATION.

SOCIAL STATUS.

Togatas occupy a position high enough in the scale of castes. Their touch does not defile another except an orthodox Brāhman and they do not labour under any such disabilities as the refusal of barbers to shave them, or that of other castemen to allow them to draw water from the common well. Brāhmans officiate at auspicious ceremonies, their marriages, and the purificatory ceremonies in their houses when any death occurs. They are a settled class and live in houses substantially built. They do not admit outsiders into their caste, but if any person of their tribe has been outcasted on account of his eating forbidden food etc., he may be admitted back after his paying a fine to the caste and undergoing the *prāyaschitta*.

*Nandavarika* section of the Brāhmans are their *gurus*. The latter are also the followers of the Goddess Chowdēswari and in many places, act as their *pūjāris*. Togatas have a Bhatarāju attached to their family history and gets the customary presents. The presence of a Bhatrāju during their marriages is a sign of respectability.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

They cannot lawfully drink spirituous liquors, but can eat fish, fowls, and mutton.

CONCLUSION.

The Togatas are a class of Telugu weavers who manufacture coarse cotton cloths for the poorer classes. They are generally Vaishṇavas, wear the sacred thread, and have for their priests, Vaishṇava Brāhmans or Sātānis. They eat flesh and their widows do not marry, but are expected to kill themselves. As to their origin, they claim to be sons of Chowdēswari who threw some rice into the fire from which sprang a host of warriors whose descendants they are. They have their regular caste organization with the hereditary headman.

# TOREA.

INTRODUCTION—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE —RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE TOREAS are also called Bestas, and they are numerous in the southern parts of Mysore. They are also found in the adjacent districts of Coimbatore and Salem. They are said to have been originally fishermen, and palanquin bearers. Their name is derived from *turai*, a river ghat. They are low caste Sudras. In former times, they had no hereditary chiefs. They speak Canarese.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Marriages are both infant and adult. When a girl attains purberty, she is taken to her father's house, and her husband constructs a hut with the branches of *Ficus glomerata*. On the bathing day, the hut is pulled down, and the girl sets fire to it. The house is purified and the female relations are treated to a feast. A small quantity of turmeric paste is stuck on the doors of the houses of all who are invited. The relations and members of the caste carry betel and other articles on trays in procession through the streets. The girl is seated on a plank, and the trays are placed in front of her. Rice flour, fruits and betel leaves are tied in her cloth, and she is taken into the house. In the case of an unmarried girl, the hut is constructed by her maternal uncle. Concerning them, Buchanan writes:—They had no caste headman, but Government appoints a renter, who collects four or five old men of the tribe, and by their advice settles all dispute; and by fines laid on with their consent punishes all

transgressions against the rules of caste. The renter must always be a Torea, and he agrees to pay annually a fixed sum. If a member of the tribe properly behaves he must pay this sum out of his pocket; but this is seldom the case; the Toreas are apt to be irregular, and the fines which he levies after paying the rent, leave generally a considerable profit. They are as follows; for fighting, half a *fanam*, for scolding, half a *fanam*, for commiting adultery with another man's wife, two *fanams* and a quarter; and for having a wife to commit adultery, one *fanam* and a half. If the husband prefers giving up his wife to her seducer, he avoids the fine which is then paid by the guilty man. But as the women are bought by their husbands, the men are unwilling to part with them, especially if they be good workers. The men buy as many as they can; for the women are very industrious and even support their husbands. A virgin costs thirty *fanams*, and a widow ten to fifteen. Both these sums are given to the woman's parents or relations."

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

A Torea who has connection with a woman of a higher rank, is flogged, but not fined. If a man of higher rank currupts the wife of a Torea, and the husband should choose to part with her, he may pay a rupee to the renter and keep her. The widows or adultresses, that live with a second man are called *cutigas*; and their children are perfectly legitimate.

RELIGION.

The Toreas worship both Siva and Vishṇu, but consider Ayodhya Rāma as their special deity, and sacrifice sheep and fowls to Māriamma. Some take the vow of Dāsari. The *pujaris* are Toreas in the temple of Mariamma, and the office is hereditary.

They bury the dead and believe in a future state of reward and punishment. They have no idea of heaven or hell. They do not know of what becomes of the spirits of good men. The spirits of bad men are believed to continue to do evil. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

They cultivate the fields and gardens of betel leaves, arecanuts and kitchen gardens. They also act as ferry men, armed messengers, palanquin bearers, burners of lime, fishermen and porters. OCCUPATION.

They are permitted to eat meat, but are forbidden to drink spirituous liquors. FOOD.

# UPPARA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

UPPARAS, or Uppaligas as they are called in the Mysore district, are found all over the State.

The distribution of these people by districts shows that they are most numerous in the Mysore district. They call themselves *Melsakkareyavaru*, and in formal correspondence, they address one another as *Sagaravamasadavaru*. *Kerebandiyavaru* is a less usual name. Setti and Gauda are the honorific suffixes added to their names, besides the general titles, Appa, Ayya and Anna. Those Upparas who are engaged in the manufacture of earth-salt are sometimes addressed with Boyi added to their personal names. Amma (mother) and Akka (sister) are added to names of women.

Uppara and Uppaliga both mean manufacturers of salt, *uppu* being the word for salt. *Melsakkareyavaru* means those of *melsakkare*, the latter word (literally, sugar of a better sort) being used as a euphemism for salt. *Sagaravamasadavaru* (*i.e.*, descendants of Sagara) must have been invented for them by some ingenious person, as, according to a *puranic* story, Sagara, or the Sea, was dug out by the children of Emperor Sagara, thus connecting the name again with salt. The name *Kerebandi*



A GROUP OF UPPARA MEN.

is given to them on account of their being entrusted with the task of attending to repairs of tanks, for which they generally hold some inam lands.

Their language varies with the place they live in. In the Kolar and Bangalore as also in parts of Tumkur Districts, they talk Telugu, and in the rest of the State, Kannada. Some of the Uppaligas who live in the Tamil country, are called Uppaligars, and speak Tamil; and it is reported that this diversity of language does not act as a bar against eating together or intermarriage.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

They have, as usual, some fantastic stories concerning their origin. One is that Pārvati, finding food tasteless, complained to her lord, who created a man from a drop of his sweat, and commissioned him to manufacture salt out of earth; and as he pleased his divine patrons, he was blessed with a large progeny, who were directed to have salt-making as their profession. The other story is that they are the descendants of the sixty thousand sons of the Emperor Sagara, who unjustly accused a Rishi named Kapila of stealing their father's sacrificial horse, and were reduced to ashes by the power of his curse. The slender basis on which both these stories rest seems to be the salt found both in the sweat of the body and in the water of the sea. They profess to have lived originally in the tract round Kāsi, and thence to have migrated south through Ratnagiri and Dharmavaram. They gradually spread in the Mysore State. They are said to have carried with them their tribal god Channakesava, for which they have built temples, such as that in Korlahatti, Chitaldrug District.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Originally, the Upparas were probably a single homogeneous caste, but they are now divided into

a number of endogamous groups, on account of dispersion to different places and adoption of different professions. Some of them despise the original name, and style themselves Banajigas, an appellation adopted by a large number of persons who wish to rise in social status. By language, Upparas are either Telugu or Kannada, and there is no intermarriage between these groups. Those who are bricklayers and masons, are generally in easy circumstances, call themselves, especially in and about Bangalore, Telugu Banajigas; they are also known as Gāre Upparas (Mortar Upparas). Other divisions are Sāda-Upparas (Pure Upparas) and Sunna Upparas, the latter being lime-burners.

Kallukutiga Upparas, also called Janivara Upparas, who wear the sacred thread, work as stone masons.

Uppaligas who live in the Mysore district and the adjoining British territory, where they are known as Uppalians, constitute also a separate group.

Mole Upparas are mostly Telugu-speaking people except those in the Mysore and other purely Canarese districts. They are so called because they still adhere to their original occupation, making earth-salt. They are also called *Kerebandiyavaru* and keep heards of he-buffaloes, which they employ to carry earth for repairing tank bunds. They are looked down upon by the other division, and are, as a matter of fact, little better than Oddas.

There is also another group known as Dombar Upparas, who, like the Dombaras, are itinerant acrobats and tumblers. They, however, do not dedicate their women as Basavis, or allow them to play in public.

The exogamous clans are known as *kulas*, or *bedagus*. The names given are of some plant, animal,



A GROUP OF UPPARA WOMEN.

or other material object, which the members of that division refrain from cutting, eating, or otherwise utilizing. Those of the same *kula* may not intermarry, and their union is considered incestuous and brings on expulsion from caste.

The division is based on relationship through males.

A list of exogamous clans is given below :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agila .. | A tree. | Kathari .. | Dagger. |
| A'le .. | Vegetable herb. | Kasturi .. | Musk. |
| Andala .. | Palankin. | Kenda .. | Burning cinder |
| A'ne .. | Elephant. | Kottumbari .. | Coriander. |
| Arasina .. | Turmeric. | Kindure .. | Horse. |
| Arasu .. | King. | Madarasa .. | .. |
| Belada .. | Wood apple. | Majjana .. | Bath. |
| Belli .. | Silver. | Mallige .. | Jasmine. |
| Chandu .. | The moon. | Manuka .. | .. |
| Chatri .. | Umbrella. | Muchchala .. | Lid. |
| Chilume .. | Spring of water. | Muttu .. | Peral. |
| Doddi .. | Yard attached to a house. | Nachala .. | .. |
| .. | .. | Nagara .. | Cobra. |
| Gauda .. | .. | Nari .. | Jackal. |
| Honge .. | Pongamia glabra | Nerale .. | Jambolana. |
| Honnu .. | Gold. | Sakkare .. | Sugar. |
| Hulivana .. | .. | Sannakki .. | Fine rice. |
| Jogula .. | .. | Santatti .. | .. |
| Kagala .. | A tree | Setti .. | Headman. |
| Kaggalla .. | Black stone. | Talaga .. | A tree. |
| Kalaga .. | A tree. | Tuppa .. | Clarified butter. |
| Karaga .. | Pot. | Yalapa .. | .. |

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

It is not obligatory to marry a girl before puberty, but such marriages are becoming the fashion, in imitation of the higher castes. In marriages after puberty, some ceremonies are said to be omitted, and they are sometimes named *Māle-hakuvudu i e.*, marriage by putting on a flower garland. This, however, entails no loss of status. Women may remain unmarried if they choose. The usual marriage prohibitions are the same as in other castes.

Upparas are divided into a number of professional groups, which have in course of time become

endogamous groups ; thus, the *gāre* Upparas, who were originally of the same group as the salt-making Upparas, now decline to intermarry with the latter, and have given them the nick name of Koracha Upparas, as Korachas follow the trade of selling salt.

Sālavali, or suitability of the couple (as shown by a certain agreement in names), is examined by an astrologer. Then the match is settled by the ceremony of *vilyāda sāstra*, when the father of the boy accompanied by some friends, goes to the girl's house, with turmeric, *kunkuma*, cocoanuts and other things, and presents her with a *sire* and a bodice cloth and sometimes a jewel.*

The actual marriage extends over five days. On the first day, the boy and the girl are separately anointed, bathed, and besmeared with turmeric. This is called Madavaniga Sāstra. The second day is styled Chappara, or Devarūta. This day the marriage pandal is erected on 12 pillars, with a Halukambha. Ariveni pots are brought and installed in the house. A party of married women proceed to a river, and after worshipping Ganga, bring water styled Sāstrada Nīru (ceremonial water) and use it for preparing food that day. In some places, a second ceremony, styled *Nadumadavaniga* Sāstra, is observed, when, as on the first day, the boy and the girl get a second smearing of turmeric. Next day takes place the ceremony of *dhāre*.† The boy and the girl undergo separately the nail paring ceremony, and are bathed in *malenīru*. Then the boy goes to the temple, where he is decorated with *bhashinga*, tied to his forehead, and is led to the

* In some places, on the day when the Brāhman astrologer fixes the day for *dāre*, he also names the persons who have to attend to the several items of marriage, such as besmearing the pair and bringing the ceremonial water.

† The Uppaligas perform the *dhāre* ceremony in the evening, while the other sections observe it in the morning.

marriage house in state, being accompanied by the best man known as *Jodu Madavaniga*, who brings with him a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. When he approaches the *pandal*, an *arati* is waved round him, and he is made to stand on the dais. The girl is conducted there by her maternal uncle. Then the bridal pair throw gingelly and jaggery on each others' heads. The tali-tying, which is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony, takes place amidst the din of an attendant musical band. Then the couple sit together, and tie *kankanas* to each other, after which the rice-pouring ceremony takes place. Then they rise with the hems of their garments knotted together, go round the milk-post three times, the bridegroom leading the bride by the hand, look at the Arundhati star, and go into the room where pots of *ariveni* are installed, and bow to them. The maternal uncle removes the *bhashingas* of the couple, and the latter with their nearest relatives sit together to eat *buvva*. Then the giving of *muyyi*, or wedding presents, takes place. This evening, the bridegroom steals a vessel from his father-in-law's house, runs away and hides in his own house. The bride goes in procession, finds him out and brings him back.

Next day, *nāgavali* takes place. The couple sit together and have their nails pared, and, after bathing, worship the pillars of the marriage *pandal* in the usual way. The couple go to the river in the *madi* state, worship Ganga, and bring two pots of water, which is used for cooking the day's dinner. Then the usual pot-searching ceremony, and the removal of the *kankanas* take place.

This afternoon is observed for the worship of *simhasana* or the improvised seat. The *Yajamān* of the caste officiates at it, and a sheep is generally killed near it. *Tāmbulas* are distributed in the

prescribed order. The marriage proper closes that evening with the procession of the married couple in the streets. Next day, a dinner on a large scale is given, and the bride, the bridegroom, and some others go to the bride's house, and the bridegroom returns one or two days after. The milk-post is kept for about a month, and it is removed after some milk is poured on it.

The bride-price varies in different localities between twelve and thirty rupees. A widower has to pay twice the usual sum, the additional amount being styled *Sauti Bhangara* (co-wife's gold). The total amount spent at a marriage varies with the condition in life of the contracting parties. It may be roughly estimated at about Rs. 300 for the bridegroom, and about Rs. 100 for the bride.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept aloof in a corner of the house for three days, and on the fourth, she bathes and retires to a shed made of green leaves. She remains there for about five days, when she is exhibited every evening in the company of married women who are invited. At the end of this period, she is again bathed and taken into the house. A dinner is given to the castemen. In some places, the girl does not get rid of the pollution for about one month. About five or seven days before the end of the month, she bathes and dresses herself in washed clothes, and is taken in the evening to a river, or a tank, in the company of married women. She does *pūja* to Ganga, and brings home a potful of water. If she is already married, she washes the feet of her husband with the water; but if unmarried, she throws the water on some flower plant, such as asmine. Consummation takes place afterwards. In the case of a girl married after puberty, consummation is put off for three months after the

marriage, as there should be no childbirth within a year of the marriage.*

Widow marriage is permitted and is freely practised. It is said that a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of her marriage, she is either a widow or has been divorced. A widow cannot marry either her husband's brother, or any of his agnates, and sometimes, she has to avoid the whole *kula* of her late husband. A bachelor is not generally allowed to marry a widow, but if he insists on the connection, he is first married to an Ekka plant (*Calatropis gigantea*). It is necessary that the consent not only of the father of the widow but of the caste has to be obtained for such a marriage. In some places, the late husband's relatives have also to give their assent. The *tāli* † tied by the previous husband, along with other property belonging to him, is returned to his heirs, with a *hana*, (known as the release money). The ceremony takes place in the evening at sunset and only widows or remarried women assist in it. In some places, the ceremony takes place either before a temple or in an unoccupied house. In the assembly of castemen, the intended husband presents the bride with some jewels, a *Sīre*, and a bodice cloth. She then puts on bangles and black glass beads, which are the signs of the married state of a woman. The ceremony generally takes place during the dark fortnight. The woman is seated in a dark place, either a room or a temple, behind the door; the husband, with the permission of the castemen

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

* It is possible that this practice of putting off the actual consummation for three months, which is fairly common, originated as a means of making certain that the married woman introduced no foreign offspring into the family.

† When a woman loses her husband, she does not remove the tāli, unless she wants to marry again.

who take their seats outside, pays down the *tera*, and a fine of twelve for the benefit of the castemen. He then goes to the spot where the woman is sitting, and ties the *tāli*. The Biniga Gauda or the Kolkar of the caste, throws rice on their heads, and in some places gives three strokes with a rattan to the woman, and five to the man and declares that they have become husband and wife, repeating the following formula :—

" In the presence of the elder *guru*, and the kinsmen, this woman is given to you as wife. If you fail her, you will be liable to punishment."

It is the custom in some places that this marriage must not take place in the village of the father or the second husband, and should be celebrated in a different place. The pair do not return to their village for some time, and the woman does not show her face to any married woman for three days. The remarried widow is not admitted into all the privileges of the caste, and in some places her issue form a separate line ; but the difference between these two lines is lost in two or three generations. Rights of inheritance, so far as her previous issue are concerned, are not affected by the woman's subsequent marriage ; and her issue by one husband may not succeed to the property of the other husband.

The bride price for this alliance is half that of a regular marriage, and is always taken by the father of the woman.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

If the husband and the wife fall out with each other on account of the continued ill-treatment of the latter by the former, or when the wife commits adultery, or the husband loses caste, a divorce is permitted. In such cases, the matter is laid before the caste *panchāyat* who adjudge the separation and the compensation to be paid by the party in

fault. In cases of adultery, the paramour of the woman is made to pay the marriage expenses of the husband, in addition to some fine to the caste council. Then the woman is made to return the *tāli* tied by the husband, after which she may marry again in the *kudike* form.

Adultery with a man of a lower caste entails forfeiture of caste. In other cases, it may be condoned at the option of the husband, by payment of a small fine to the caste. An unmarried woman who has lived with a man, without marriage may be subsequently married by him; and if she has had a *liaison* with a man of a higher caste, she may be married to a caste man by *kudike*. Those of the *gāre* section, however, do not tolerate such irregularities.

Upparas do not dedicate girls as Basavis, and fallen women are put out of caste. They are branded with Vaishṇava symbols by Dāsayyas, and when they die their bodies are disposed of by the same fraternity.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

It is considered not quite proper to allow the newly married woman to remain in her husband's house for her first confinement. She is taken to her parents', where she is treated with special care and precautions against real and fancied dangers. When a child is born, a washerman carries the information to the father, who gives him a present. On the third day a pit is dug in the yard of the house, the navel cord and the after-birth are buried in it in an earthen jug, and a branch of Ekka plant and of Kalli are stuck on it. Cooked food is offered at the place and distributed to children. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the eleventh day, when the mother and the child are bathed, and thus get rid of the pollution. The usual dinner is given to the castemen. In some places, Brāhmans are called in to purify the house, and to bless the

mother and child by placing consecrated rice on her head.

The name usually given is that of an ancestor or of the family deity. But if the child should subsequently fall ill, it is considered inauspicious, and the name is changed in consultation with an astrologer, or a soothsayer, or a flower oracle * in a temple. The giving of opprobrious names is also common, as among other castes of a similar status. There are no peculiar names among them. As most of them are Vaishṇavas, the names of Vishṇu are more common than those of Śiva. Names of endearment such as Puttu, Sāmi, Magu, are very common.

The tonsure ceremony takes place in the child's third or the fifth year. It is always held before the shrine of the family deity, to which the family go on an auspicious day, with some relatives. The ear holes of the child are bored by an elderly woman and a dinner to the castemen is given with presents of some coins and fried grain. The barber also gets his reward. The relatives present the child with some ornaments.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Upparas follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Adoption is allowed, as among other castes. A brother's son is preferred, but any one may be taken, provided he is unmarried. When a boy is adopted into a different exogamous group, he has to eschew marriage with members of both his natural and his adopted group.

TRIBAL CONSTITUTION.

Upparas have a tribal constitution like other castes of a similar status. The *kattemanes* are presided

* When a person wishes to know whether a given course is propitious or not, he gets *pūja* made in a temple, and prays for guidance. If a flower drops to the right side of the idol at the time, it is taken as an auspicious sign, and it is said that the god or goddess has "given a flower."

over by the *Setties* and *yajamāns*, who have under them a beadle, styled Bandāri or Kolkar. Their offices are hereditary, and they get the usual perquisites of *pan-supāri* on all important occasions. The Upparas belong to the Eighteen Phana section, and as such, command the services of the Chalavādi, the servant of this faction. His insignia are the bell, and the ladle, as also the Upparas' professional mark.

ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS.

Persons belonging to higher castes may be admitted as members on undergoing certain ceremonies, one of which is to go round the caste-assembly carrying a baske of salt on the head. Such admissions are, however, rare and the issue of unions with persons so admitted are kept separate as a new line for one or two generations, after which they become merged into the main body. They believe in omens, magic, etc. In the Mysore district, whenever they have to swear in a caste-council, they improvise a seat, styled Sangameswara's seat, and swear by it (by touching it). They consult soothsayers whenever necessary and seem to have considerable faith in their prognostications.

RELIGION.

Upparas are mostly Vaishṇavas, their tribal god being Channakēsava. They also worship Śiva, and several of them have this god as their family deity. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Kadiri and Nanjangud. They observe the important Hindu feasts, such as the New Year's day, Gauri and Gaṇēsa, the Dasara and Dipāvali. On Śivarātri day, they fast till the evening, and then give doles of raw provisions to Brāhmans and Jangamas.

They worship all the village Gods, Goddesses, and the others such as Durgamma, Yallamma, Māramma and Sunkalamma. The objects of their worship are the mounds of earth on which they manufacture

salt. On important feast days, they repair to these places burn incense and break cocoanuts and offer *puja* ; but they do not sacrifice any animals.

Their *gurus* are Srivaishnava Brāhmans, who pay them periodical visits, give them *tīrtha* and receive fees. Some Upparas have Sātanis as *gurus* in place of Brāhmans.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Upparas bury their dead, except the bodies of lepers or pregnant women, which are always burnt.* Disposing of the dead bodies by burial under heaps of stones (*kalluseve* or *kallubana*) is also in vogue. As most of the Upparas are Vaishṇavas, the ceremonies peculiar to the non-Brāhmin castes of that persuasion are observed. As soon as life is extinct, information of the event is sent round to all their castemen, and the *yajamān* and other people assemble. The Sātani priest is sent for, and he makes a *chakra* out of some twigs, and worships it before the corpse, with the offerings of food and liquor, which he partakes of and distributes to the rest. The body is generally carried on a bier, and laid flat, but sometimes a Vimāna is built and the body clothed and placed in a sitting posture. Dāsayyas muster strong on the occasion, and repeat songs in praise of Vishnu, as the procession moves. About midway, the body is placed on the ground, which is on that account called Harischandra's temple, and the Dāsayyas and the Toti are presented with some money named Pedd aruka, (two rupees and a half). Then the carriers change sides and carry the corpse straight to the grave. It is taken three times round the pit, and is then buried as in other castes, the son throwing the first sod of earth to close up the grave. Doles of grain and sometimes

* In some parts, the bodies of persons dying on Fridays, whether lepers or others, are burnt.

money are distributed among the poor people ; and all return home, after bathing, to see the lamp lighted on the spot where the deceased expired.*

In cases of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day and thrown either into the water or on a green plant. Food, milk and ghee are offered on the grave, and then on the eleventh day, the important ceremony is observed. Those that call in the services of a Sātāni priest worship the *chakra*, first in the graveyard and then in the house at midnight. He gets a fee of about one rupee and four annas with some raw rations for his services.

Next day a feast is prepared at home, to which all the relatives are invited. In the evening, the chief mourner, with some others, goes to the Vishṇu temple, to have the gates of heaven opened for the departed soul, and after the usual *pūja*, returns home for dinner. The maternal uncle and other near relatives present him with some new clothes before they return to their places.

The period of *sūtaka* (pollution) is ten days for adult agnates and three days for children. But some of it is believed to cleave to the nearest agnates till the end of the first month, when a *kalaśa* is set up and worshipped in the name of the deceased, and a dinner given. No pollution ceremony is observed for the death of a daughter's son. The relatives merely bathe once. During the period of mourning, the usual abstinences, such as, not putting on the caste mark, and avoiding milk, sugar and flesh, are observed. Nothing is buried with a corpse. When it is brought out of the house, some rice is tied in the shroud, but before interment the rice and the cloth are thrown out on the grave, on which a three-pie piece is placed, which is taken by a Holeya.

* They keep a lamp and some water on this spot for 12 nights.

Upparas do not perform *srāddhas* but once a year on the *Mahālaya Amāvāsya* day, they do *pūja* to a *kalaśa* in the names of all the deceased ancestors, and distribute raw rice and other things to Brāhmans, Jangamas and Sātānis. On the Mahānavami and New Year days, they offer new clothes, etc., to a *kalaśa*, and some resort to the family burial ground and apply sandal paste, burn incense and break cocoanuts before the tombs.

OCCUPATION. Upparas, as their name implies, are the manufacturers of earth-salt. In the interests of British Indian salt-revenue, this industry is altogether prohibited within 5 miles of the British frontier. Elsewhere also it is in a languishing state, and is dying out gradually. The process of making salt is simple. The circular mounds of earth, which may be seen occasionally, with cups at the top, are known as *Uppinamole* (*i.e.*, saline heaps), and are generally formed of the earth from which salt has been drained off. The crater or cup at the top is made about five feet in diameter and two feet in depth, and its sides and bottom are roughly plastered with lime. A number of these mounds are connected by open channels with a reservoir lower down, which is also made with chunam-plastered sides and bottom. In the dry season, saline earth is collected wherever it is found, and carried to the mounds on buffaloes. It is thrown into the basins on a bed of straw so as to fill them, and water is poured in. The salt is dissolved, and the brine is carried off by the channels into the reservoir. The useless earth is removed, and more saline earth and water are added, till the reservoir is filled with brine. The liquid is then carried by vessels and poured into the pans, which are shallow basins about three feet square, where it is evaporated by the heat of the sun in the



UPPARAS AT THEIR WRESTLING MATCHES.

course of three or four days. The salt left, which is of a dirty yellow colour in small grains, is then scraped off and carried on pack-buffaloes for sale. The article thus made is somewhat bitter in taste, and has more impurities than the sea salt, and on account of the comparative cheapness of the latter, it is not appreciated except by the poorest in out-of-the-way villages. In British India, the manufacture of earth-salt was absoutely prohibited in 1880; and here it is all but extinct. As a consequence, most of the Upparas have changed their original occupation, and have taken to agriculture. Those that are living in large towns are bricklayers and contractors, and are in comparatively easy circumstances. Some, in the Shimoga district, are kitchen gardeners.

Social Status.

Upparas are a settled people, and live in substantially built houses. The bricklayers and the contractors have built for themselves good houses, spacious and well ventilated, while those that are agriculturists are hardly distinguishable from others whose original occupation is agriculture. They live in the same quarters as other castes, and do not suffer from any disabilities, such as the prohibition to draw water from the common village well. But in large towns, they have separate quarters for themselves. The washerman and the barber give their services to the Upparas without any objection. Upparas living in the adjoining British territories often immigrate into this State during the salt-manufacturing season, and after a temporary residence go back to their native homes. A section of the Upparas who are tank-diggers often emigrate to places where their labour is in demand, and then live in temporary huts.

Brāhmans are invited to assist in conducting marriages and to purify houses after the pollution

of birth and death. They may render such services without lowering themselves in the eyes of other Brahmans.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE. Upparas are flesh-eaters, and eat mutton, fowls, venison and fish, but not beef, or any reptiles. They are said not to drink liquor, but are not very punctilious in this matter. The bricklayers, carpenters and contractors are very clean, and bathe regularly, but those employed as salt-makers and tank-diggers are hardly distinguishable from Oddas.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. There is nothing peculiar in their dress and ornaments, but in some places, women wear the big nose screw, which is also the characteristic ornament of an Odda woman. Their women get tattooed with the common designs.

CONCLUSION. The Upparas are a caste of people with the traditional occupation of salt manufacture in former times. They are also described as a caste of tank-diggers and earth-diggers. They profess to worship Siva and Vishnu, but practically worship the village deities Sunkalamma, Timmappa and others. Buchanan states that their proper occupation was the building of mud walls especially those of forts. The caste appears to be a homogenious group, but is divided into a number of endogamous groups and exogamous clans. They have their granaries or gymnasia, where they are trained in the art of wrestling. They are generally ignorant and uneducated. It is said that in these days they neither follow the ancestral occupation nor any new calling.

# VADER.

"THE VADERS (a curruption of Vadeyar—master or lord) are, like the *jangams*, the priests and devotees of the Lingāyet community. They are found in Kadur and Mysore. There is a very curious custom among the Lingāyets illustrating the extent to which guru-worship forms the Hindu religious sentiment, and may be carried in the intense yearning characteristic of the community for the salvation hereafter. The Vaders are feasted by the laymen of the community on all important occasions. In these symposiums the host places his *linga* on a metal tray on the ground, and the Vader guest places thereon his feet which are washed by the host and the water caught in the tray is received by the latter as *thīrtam* or holy water. The practice of reverencing relics is perhaps common to most religions as a mark of humility and devotion. The washings of the feet and clothes of holy men and religious preceptors are also partaken by the devout among the several Brāhmanical sects in metaphorical acknowledgment of submission and resignation to the alimighty and his servants. The Tengale Srivaishnava Brāhmans attach to this rite more religious merits than any other creed. But the Lingāyets seem to out-herod even them by defining the Vader *guru* above the *Linga* which is the exotic manifestation of their object of worship. The Vader is likewise the hero and revered guest of many a feast especially on the *Mahāsivarātri* day. Every Lingāyet considers himself bound to invite a Vader for that feast and as the laymen out-number the clergy, the Vader cannot do justice to the

invitation for him in many places. The Vader is an epicure in his tastes and habits. The practice has advanced to the region of proverbial philosophy, for it is a common saying, that whenever a person in the country is a gourmand, he receives the soubriquet of *Sivarātri* Vader."



A GROUP OF VODDA MALES.

# VODDA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BASVIS—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION ADMISSION INTO THE CASTE—RELIGION—DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE VODDAS are a caste of tank-diggers, well-sinkers and road-makers, and are found in considerable numbers in the districts of Kolar, Chitaldrug and Bangalore.

The name of the caste is Vodda, said to mean the people of Odra Country, which is identified with Orissa. The titles appended to their names are Rāzu (a chieftain), Boyi (a carrier), and Gauda (a head man), the latter being less common, and applied chiefly by the men of the Kallu Vodda section to their headman. Their home language is Telugu, which they speak with an intonation that is uncouth and characteristic. As a whole, they are rude and illiterate, and rarely know any vernacular other than their own. They are strong, muscular and of fine size and proportion. In common parlance a Vodda denotes an uncommonly heavy-looking, rude, and uncivilized person.*

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

No reliable information is availabe about their origin. They are said to have arrived in the Mysore

* A Vodda is so very noisy, even in his sober conversation, that any loud and disorderly talk is known as Vodda's secret conversation.

State from Orissa, Odra-Dēsa. They narrate a story which gives them a divine origin. Pārvati and Paramēsvara were on a sultry day wandering on earth, and got very thirsty. They looked round for a well whereat to quench their thirst, and finding none, Śiva created a man and a woman out of the drops of perspiration which fell from his body. These were provided with implements necessary to dig, namely, a crowbar, a pickaxe, and a basket, and were asked to dig a well and procure water. The command was immediately obeyed, and cold water was given to the Gods to quench their thirst. The latter were extremely gratified, and asked the new-born pair what boon they would have for the labour. But the demand made by these people was so very excessive and out of all proportion to their labour, that Śiva, disgusted with their cupidity, ordained that thenceforth they and their children should earn their bread only by digging wells and tanks.

HABITATIONS. The dwellings of the wandering Voddas consist of huts made of split bamboo mats, and rounded like the covering of a country cart, without any separate apartments. Kallu Voddas, and others who have settled in villages build houses of a permanent nature, while the itinerant Voddas pitch their huts either outside the villages, or near the places where they work. The settled Voddas have their houses, along with those of others, in the village.

Kallu Voddas may be said to have settled down to ordinary village life, while some Mannu Voddas are still nomadic in habits, wandering from place to place and encamping temporarily in the outskirts of villages, or tanks, near their work. Once in every two or three years, they attend the *Jātra* festival of their tutelary deity. Their temporary settlements consist of fifty to one hundred families,



VADDA HABITATION.

according to the quantity of work found in the neighbourhood. As they have to move out for fresh work, they travel with all their goods and watch-dogs, even the materials of huts being transported on donkeys, or bullocks. Though they cannot be set down as professional thieves, they seldom miss an opportunity for replenishing their scanty means by highway robbery, or petty larceny.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

*Endogamous groups.*—The caste is made up of (1) Kallu, or Uru, or Handi Voddas, (2) Mannu or Bailu or Desada Voddas, (3) Uppu Voddas. The names are suggestive of their professions, and the manner of their living, which are detailed further. These three groups are endogamous. Kallu Voddas who quarry stone are acknowledged to be superior to the other classes, and do not eat with them. Mannu Voddas follow the profession of doing earth-work for tanks, or digging in gardens or elsewhere for wages. They lead a wandering life. The Uppu Voddas are employed as sweepers in municipal towns. These rank as the lowest in the scale, and the other divisions do not eat with them. By changing the line of their work into that of stone, or earth (Mannu), Voddas may be allowed to marry a girl of the Kallu Vodda section.

The caste contains a large* number of exogamous clans, in some of which, such as Pula-vallu (flower-men) Malleluvallu (jasmine flower-men), the members exhibit some special regard for the object which gives the name to the division. A list of exogamous divisions is given below :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pandipatlavallu | Pig. | Battala | |
| Jarapala .. | .. | Bandi .. | Cart |
| Alukuntala .. | .. | Chinna Bandi .. | Little cart. |
| Manjara .. | .. | Vorasa .. | .. |

* Their common saying is, 'Is it possible to count the *gotras* of the Voddas and the grains of sand?'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pitala .. | Plank | Dandagala .. | .. |
| Gogala .. | .. | Dundagala .. | .. |
| Yanumala .. | Buffaloe | Cayamuttala .. | .. |
| Uppala .. | Salt. | Sadigala .. | .. |
| Gunjala | .. | Rajula .. | .. |
| Mallela .. | Jasmine flower. | | |
| Mallepala .. | .. | Bachchukallala . | |
| Dyarangala .. | .. | Tyapala .. | |
| Santakuppala .. | Salt-seller in weekly fairs. | Setti .. | Headman. |
| | | Yerra .. | Red. |
| Jadipila .. | .. | | |
| Kunjigala .. | .. | Yavala .. | |
| Sarigala | | Bosidi .. | |
| Boorasala .. | .. | Gampala .. | Basket. |
| Manjala .. | .. | Yapala .. | Margosa. |
| Sallala .. | .. | Bantala .. | Quilt of rags. |
| Pallepala .. | .. | Chimpiri .. | Dishevelled or curly haired. |
| Yidugatta .. | .. | | |
| Rolu .. | Mortar | Guddili .. | Spade. |
| Dudgala .. | .. | Komare .. | Dried cocoanut. |
| Satala .. | .. | Puvalu .. | flower. |
| Gujjala .. | .. | Ryapanurala. | |

They have no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Polygamy is somewhat common, as an additional wife is taken either to help the family in work or for want of children. The first wife's consent is always obtained, and it is generally considered a mark of affluence to have more than one wife.

Marriages before puberty are not compulsory, but they often take place. No age limit is prescribed and a woman may contract marriage at any period of life; but she will be considered to have lost in status if she is not married at all. An unmarried woman's dead body is carried only by Land, and consigned to the pit without any formal burial ceremonies.

The general prohibition of marriage within the exogamous circle is observed as in other castes. For marriage, preference is given to a near relation, such as a daughter of a paternal aunt, or of a maternal uncle, or of an elder sister. Marriage is not contracted between persons who are related as mother's



A GROUP OF VADDA WOMEN.

sister's children, or children of agnatic cousins. Two sisters are not given in marriage simultaneously to one person and exchange of daughters is not considered objectionable, though only rarely practised.

The proposal for marriage comes from the boy's parents, or friends, who, after consulting an astrologer as to the agreement of the stars representing the names of the bridal pair, repair to the house of the girl's father on an appointed day, and make the proposal, by presenting him with the amount of the "bride-price" one measure of rice, a small measure of ghee, and some betel-leaves and nuts. The elders of the caste and other friends of the girl's father, are invited to witness the ceremony, which is known as the 'tāmbula of agreement.' The father receives the gifts, and the proposal is thereupon considered to be accepted. The marriage takes place on a subsequent day, fixed by the parties. It is celebrated in the house of the bridegroom, and generally lasts four days.

The first day is known as *tolipasupa*, that is, "the first saffron," on which the bride and the bridegroom are anointed and bathed, and turmeric paste is smeared over their bodies. The new clothes to be used for the marriage occasion are dedicated to the ancestors, and fruits and cocoanuts are offered to an idol in a temple. The second day is known as *muyyipasupu*, *i.e.*, "the return saffron." On the third day, the *airāne*, that is, the sacred pots, are installed in the place. That evening, the party of the bride arrive, and are met by that of the bridegroom. As a mark of respect, the latter entertain the former with toddy, a considerable quantity of which is consumed. A company of married women go to a well, and washing the new pots, bring them back in state to the *pandal* of green leaves, set up for the marriage. A wooden pestle, wrapped round

with a yellow turban, and crowned with leaves of the Jambolana tree, is fixed in front of the marriage-booth, to serve as what is styled the "milk-post" by other castes; and *pūja*, with incense, fruits and flowers, is offered to it. The bride and bridegroom are then seated in the booth, and new clothes are presented to them, and the elders of the caste pour rice into their hands, joined together. The bridegroom then ties a string of black beads, or a palm leaf, round the neck of the bride, and leads her round the post three times. The sacred pots are then visited by the couple, who make *pūja* to them. They then light a lamp placed near these pots, and it is considered an evil sign if this lamp should go out by any accident, and so it is tended with anxious care. The *muhūrta*, or real marriage, takes place on the fourth day. A betel-leaf is shaped as a funnel, and some married women first pour milk or water through it into the hands of the couple joined together, and then the latter pour milk into each other's hands, while the Buddivanta (the caste headman) repeats the formula, "The word is given; do not go back on the word." After this ceremony, the couple are taken in state to a temple, to offer prayers to the deity.

The same evening, the bride and her party, with the bridegroom, leave the house of the latter, and go to the bride's house, and it is said that the lamp lit in the bridegroom's house should not be seen that night by the bride and her party. Next morning, all return to the bridegroom's house, where a general dinner is given to the caste. After dinner, the usual *simhāsana* is worshipped, and betel-leaves and areca nuts in the heap formed for *pūja* are distributed in the prescribed order of precedence.

The principal item of expenditure in a marriage is liquor supplied to the guests on a liberal scale,

and the total amounts to more than Rs. 100 in ordinary cases. The expenses are mostly borne by the bridegroom's party, and the customary presents given to the head of the caste and other functionaries are subscribed for by both parties, the bridegroom's contribution being double that of the bride's party.

Traditions regarding the capture of wives are not found in this caste. *Tera, Voli* or bride-price, is seven rupees and sometimes varies up to Rupees forty-five, according to family custom. A widower, who marries a spinster, has to pay twenty-five rupees bride-price, in addition to the *savati-honnu* (co-wife's money).

It is said that Rs. 101 was the amount of *tera* formerly fixed, but as it was too heavy to be borne, many could not marry. One of their headmen (Nāyaks), observing that most of his gang wore long beards, being unmarried, realised the oppressive nature of the tax, and reduced it to the present amount, together with 101 nuts. Even this may now be compounded for, by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law, till he begets a female child, and presents her to his brother-in-law.

These men have certain peculiar observances. The bridegroom grows his beard until marriage, and removes it at that time. Drums and music are not allowed, but in their stead, a metal dish is sounded during marriage processions. *Bhashinga* (marriage chaplet) and flowers are not used.*

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A woman, during her menses, is considered to be in pollution, which is observed with more than ordinary

* These rules have become almost obsolete, only the wandering section still adhering to them. The Voddas who have settled down, have to a large extent been imitating the customs of Okkaligas regarding marriage, and call in the pipers for music, and use *bhashinga*, and do not grow beards till marriage. But all the sections use a pestle as the 'milk-post.'

rigour for seven days on the first occasion. She is prohibited from entering the kitchen or touching utensils used for household work, and is given a separate dish for eating. Green leaves of Ankole (*Alangium hexapetalum*) tree are kept as a charm in the shed erected separately for her. In the evenings, her relatives present her with jaggery, cocoanut, *pansupari* and turmeric. She is not allowed to sleep at night, and her mother and other female relatives keep on talking to her to keep her awake. She bathes on the eighth day, and after touching the Tangadi plant, is allowed to enter the inner parts of the house. If the girl is already married, consummation may take place any day, after this event, without any further ceremony. If she is not married, consummation takes place some day after the regular marriage ceremonies are over, when the husband has to give an additional dinner to the castemen, and regale them with drink. Girls married before puberty remain with their parents till the time of consummation; boys are not generally married till they are able to work and earn for themselves.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Remarriage of widows is allowed, and it is stated that a woman may not marry more than seven times,* a restriction not certainly onerous to the weaker sex. She may not marry a brother, but may consort with any of the cousins of her deceased husband. She should eschew those belonging to her father's *kula*. The binding portion of this union, which is regarded as somewhat of an inferior kind of marriage, is the tying of the black beads round the neck of the woman by the suitor, or by

* A proverb which expresses this license given to a Vodda woman means that a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (*i.e.*, a Vodda) matron.

a widowed woman. The castemen demand four rupees for effecting unions of widows with their partners. The husband pays to the parents of the woman a sum equal to only half the value or the proper *tera*. It is said that a widow may transmit the property inherited from her former husband (if sonless) to her issue by a subsequent marriage, but it is doubtful whether such a custom, even if proved to exist, would be recognised by the Court.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

The marriage tie may be dissolved at the instance of either of the parties. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, but has to pay to the caste a fine of six rupees which is spent for drink. But when a wife leaves her husband, she has to return the symbol of the marriage tie to him. If she subsequently marries another man, the latter has to refund to the first husband his marriage expenses, and the *tera* amount, besides returning the jewels given to the woman. In some places, however, the *tera* is not refunded. The second husband has also to pay a fine of five rupees to the caste. Parents do not receive into their family a daughter who has deserted her husband, or who has been divorced by him. If they do so, they are required to pay a penalty of twelve rupees to the caste.

Adultery is not abhorred, and may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste, and the infliction of corporal punishment on the guilty party. If a charge of adultery is made good against a man, he is made to crawl round the settlement on all fours, carrying one or two persons on his back. A woman similarly convicted has to force herself into a basket, and tumble about with weights in another basket placed on her head. Sometimes she is laid on a bed of thorns, thinly spread on the

ground, with weights loaded on her. These modes of punishment, formerly in vogue, have probably almost gone out of practice now. If they are ever practised at all now, it may be among the primitive section of the wandering Voddas.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated as a matter of course, but if the girl is discovered to have erred with one of her own caste, the fault is condoned by marriage with him. If he is within prohibited degrees, or is of a different but higher caste, the girl is fined five to ten rupees by the caste headman. After payment of the fine, she may be given over to any other in marriage. If the lover should decline to marry her, when marriage is permissible, he is put out of caste, and she is free to marry any other person.

BASAVIS. If an adult female cannot get any one to marry her, she may be dedicated to a free life, in the name of Yallamma. She is bathed, and smeared with saffron, and is seated on a blanket in the temple of this goddess, in the presence of the headman and others of the caste. Married women give her turmeric, and the *pujāri* of the temple makes *pūja* to the goddess, and ties a *tāli* (with an effigy of the goddess) round her neck with an invocation to the deity to protect the girl as her child. The caste-men who attend the ceremony are fed at the father's expense. The girl has to spend the first night in the temple. Thenceforth she may live with any person of her own or of a superior caste, but may not entertain one of a lower caste, without forfeiting her own. Her children, if born to a man of the same caste, rank as legitimate members while those born to men of higher castes are regarded as forming a separate *sālu* or line. Such a daughter is regarded as equal to the son of her

father, and her children are entitled to inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

During the pregnancy of the wife, a Vodda does not breach a tank or carry a corpse. The birth ceremonies observed by them are extremely simple. It is not an uncommon thing for a Vodda woman of the Mannu section to give birth to a child even when she is doing her daily work as a cooly. As signs of delivery appear, she retires under the shade of a tree, some women of the caste attending on her. A little while after the delivery is over, she is led back to her hut with her waist bandaged and a cloth tied round her head. The ease with which Vodda women bring forth their children is proverbial, and is probably accounted for by the exercise they take in the open air, while doing their cooly work, though the unsophisticated Voddas themselves attribute this to some sort of curse which they received from one of their *gurus*.* This description applies fully to the case of wandering Voddas. But those that have settled down in towns observe the ceremonies of the people amidst whom they live. The mother and the child are bathed on the fifth, the seventh or the ninth day, when a dinner is given to the castemen, and the child is put into a cradle, and given a name in the usual fashion.

The following may be cited as typical names :—

| *Males.* | *Females.* |
|---|---|
| Yella Boyi. | Yellamma. |
| Guruva Boyi. | Guruvi. |
| Hanuma Boyi. | Hanumi. |
| Dasa Boyi. | Timmi. |
| Ganga Boyi. | Gangamma. |

* It is said that when a pregnant woman does work (carrying earth), she gets an extra share, the additional share being intended for her child in the womb.

INHERITANCE

In the matter of inheritance, they follow the Hindu Law as administered in the State. The property of the father is, on his death, distributed among all the sons, the eldest getting an extra share. The unmarried sons at the time of partition are allowed their marriage-expenses from the common property, in addition to their shares; the daughters and the sisters are given some portion, either a field, or some cattle, or a jewel. One peculiarity in their partition, is said to be that a pregnant woman gets also a share for her unborn child. *Illatam*, the affiliation of a son-in-law, is practised in this caste.

ADOPTION.

A childless man may adopt a son from among his agnates; but on account of the general poverty of the caste, adoptions rarely take place. The ceremony observed is the one usual in similar caste.

CASTE ASSEMBLY.

They have caste *panchāyats*, which consist of the *yajamān* (headman) and a few old men known as Buddhivantalu (or wise men) with a beadle, called Kondigādu. They take cognizance of disputes between the members of a family, or different families, and of offences relating to the violation of caste rules in matters of eating, drinking, adultery, and the like. In an enquiry at such an assembly, the complainant and the accused swear by placing a tiwg in the hands of the foreman of the council, to promise to abide by the decision arrived at by the assembly. They have also to deposit a certain sum, as the probable cost of feeding the caste, and supplying them with liquor, as a preliminary condition of enquiry. A witness called before the assembly has to go round them, holding in his hands a little twig presented to him by the party who has called him to testify. He then says, "upon my parents' I shall not tell a lie as to what I know." Thereupon

he breaks the twig into two, and begins his statement. This is equivalent to his swearing that he separates the truth from falsehood in his testimony, as pieces into which the twig is broken* are separated from each other. If the witnesses decline to swear in this manner, the party who called them loses his case. The contesting parties are then advised to come to terms. If, however, they are obdurate, the losing person is made to bear the weight of a grind-stone on his head as a penalty.

The *panchāyat* may award either a fine, or corporal punishment. If a fine, half of it goes to the *yajamān* (headman), and the other half to the rest of the people of the caste assembled. The maximum fine for abusive language is one rupee for a male person, and higher if it is a female that is abused. A daughter-in-law abusing her mother-in-law is more severely dealt with, as she will have to carry on her head a grind-stone three times round the settlement of huts. For the offence of adultery, a fine of ten rupees is ordinarily levied.

ADMISSION INTO THE CASTE.

They take into their caste a Kuruba, or a Golla, or a man of any other caste higher than their own. Female members, it is said, may be taken from among the inferior castes, but such recruits are regarded as half-caste. The aspirant has to spend a considerable amount in supplying food and drink to the caste, before his admission, and the headman touches his tongue with a heated needle, besides procuring for him *tīrtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals) from the temple of their tribal goddess, Yellamma.

RELIGION.

They are Hindus by religion, and worshippers of Saktis and Vishṇu in his several representations.

* When it is meant that a man's word is the exact truth, it is said that he speaks as if a twig had been broken and handed over by him.

Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati is the principal object of their veneration. The principal goddess is Yellamma, who is worshipped under one or the other of the following names, Sunkalamma, Chaudamma, Māramma, Sidubamma, Kāriyamma, Gangamma, or Yallamma.

Goddesses are worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays, with the help of a priest belonging to one of the lower castes. On other days, any devotee may break cocoanuts, and burn camphor in front of the temple dedicated to any of these goddesses, without the help of the priest or *pūjāri*. Annual festivals are held in their honour, and on such occasions, large collections of people take part in the festivities.

Kāriyamma at Sira, in the Tumkur District, is an important goddess worshipped by this caste, in whose honour a *jātra*, *i.e.*, an annual festival, is held on the New Year's Day. Buffaloes are sacrificed to her during the festival. Sidde Dēvaru is the male god installed near the temple of Kāriyamma. A man of the Vodda caste is its priest. Animal scarifices are not made to this god, but only vegetable food is offered. Voddas have a belief that children, after death, live in the shape of spirits, known as *Irāru*, or *Iragāru*, which visit people in their dreams, and cry for help. To propitiate such spirits, Irakallus, that is, stones having male figures cut in them, are planted outside the village, and occasional worship is made to them. When a settlement of Voddas is suffering from the ravages of an epidemic such as small-pox, Sidubamma, *i.e.*, the goddess of small-pox, is installed on a bed made of green margosa leaves, and worshipped in the usual style, curds and cooked rice mixed together forming an important item of the offerings. After due propitiation, the goddess is transported beyond the borders of the village, or settlement, and left at the confines, of another

village, the people of which with due ceremony pass her on further. This transportation from place to place goes on, till the goddess misses her way in the jungles, or becomes inocuous after the monsoons have well set in.

The Voddas have no spiritual head, or *guru*. They say that long ago they had a *guru*, or *rāzu*, who was of ascetic habits, and eschewed meat and sugar. They were also vegetarians in those days. Once, when they visited their *rāzu* in one of his periodical tours to give them *tīrtha* and *prasāda* and receive their contributions, he supplied them with rice and other provisions, and sent them to a pond, to cook and eat their food. The sight of fish in the clear water of the stream was too tempting to be resisted, and they caught and cooked them for themselves. Their *guru* cursed them to remain flesh-eaters for all times and forsook them, and they have never again ventured to raise another to that position.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead are buried, but in the case of those who meet with an unnatural death, such as from bites of wild animals, or of pregnant women, or of lepers, the dead body is generally burnt, and in some parts of the State, it is placed by the side of a boulder, or a stump of a decayed tree, and covered over with stones heaped up. This practice, which goes by the name of *Kallu Seve* (stone service), is probably the relic of a very archaic age. Women dying unmarried or childless, are buried with funeral ceremonies among Kallu Voddas. The body is muffled up in a blanket, and carried by hand to the graveyard, where it is buried, with its head turned to the south. The funeral ceremonies observed by the people of this caste are the same as those observed by Kurubas and other similar classes. The section

of Voddas who are Tirunamadhāris * invite Sātānis to officiate at the funerals.

The period of mourning is twelve days for the death of adult agnates, and five days for that of young children and daughter's sons. In Tumkur and parts of Pāvagada, however, *Kallu* Voddas observe a period of twelve days also for the death of daughter's sons. They show their grief by abstaining from flesh and spirituous liquors, and by not taking part in auspicious festivities during the period of mourning (*sūtaka* or pollution). Ordinarily a body is buried with no accompaniments, but that of a person dying on Friday is buried with a live chicken.

Occupation. Earthwork and stone-work are their characteristic occupations, and tank-digging, well-sinking, road-making and quarrying stone are mostly done by men of this caste. They also carry on trade in salt, in out-of-the-way places. The Salt Voddas at Bangalore, Kolar and other municipal towns, are employed as street sweepers, and they are regarded as outcastes by the main body. There are a few among them who are cultivators, possessing lands of their own. Some stone Voddas also go about villages and towns in search of jobs like roughing the surfaces of grinding-stone mills.†

Voddas have earned a bad reputation as thieves.‡

* Worshippers of Vishnu, wearing the Vaishnava mark on the forehead, the inner line being of reddish or yellow saffron, and the rest white.

† Most houses possess stone mills for grinding rice and ragi. A circular stone is imbedded in the ground, or placed loose, and on a wooden pivot driven through its centre another round stone, with a stake fixed as a handle near its rim, is made to revolve, driven by women squatting on the floor. There is a cup-like receptacle on the upper stone where it takes the pivot, and grain is put in through it. The mechanism is crude, but it is very effective. The grinding surfaces of the two stones get worn out by use, and then the surface has to be made rough again by the chisel of these Voddas. They get about an anna for the work, which is done in an hour's time.

‡ Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency by Mr. P. Mullaly.



A GROUP OF VODDAS.

Though they cannot be properly classed among the professional criminal tribes, many of those detected in the commission of highway robberies, are found to be Voddas, especially of the itinerant and immigrant classes. The indigenous Voddas, whether of the *Kallu* or of the *Mannu* section, have mostly settled down to peaceful habits. Another prominent characteristic in the wandering Voddas is their persistent and insatiable demand for money from their employers. They always have an advance from their employer, equal at least to twice as much as their work is worth, and it is not uncommon, when the advance accumulates to a tolerably large amount, for them to desert their employer and decamp without any previous notice. The Voddas work in gangs under contractors, who are often put to much loss on this account.

The Voddas believe themselves to be raised above others of the same craft, if they do not engage themselves in plastering walls with cowdung, or red earth, or in sweeping the streets.

Social Status.

Idigas are the lowest caste in whose houses Voddas eat. Mādigās, Mālās (Holeyas) and Korachas eat in the houses of Voddas.*

Village washermen wash their clothes, and the barber pares their nails, but it is said that these two classes do not render their services to the Voddas during marriages. A Vodda may draw water from the common village well, and his approach is not regarded as polluting anybody.

Dietary of the Caste.

Their daily food consists of ragi bread and balls, with vegetables and dhal. They eat almost any animal food, except beef. Sheep, goats, pigs, squirrels, wild

* Vodda women are said not to eat in the houses of Vokkaligas, as the latter touch night-soil when manuring the fields.

cats, lizards and mice are equally welcome to them. Both sexes indulge in immoderate drinking, and even children are not free from this vice. They do not fish, and do not catch big game, but are adepts in snaring field-rats, squirrels, and porcupines. Men, women, and children, armed with sticks join with considerable zeal in hunting mice and porcupine with the aid of dogs. This indeed is one of their keenest sports.

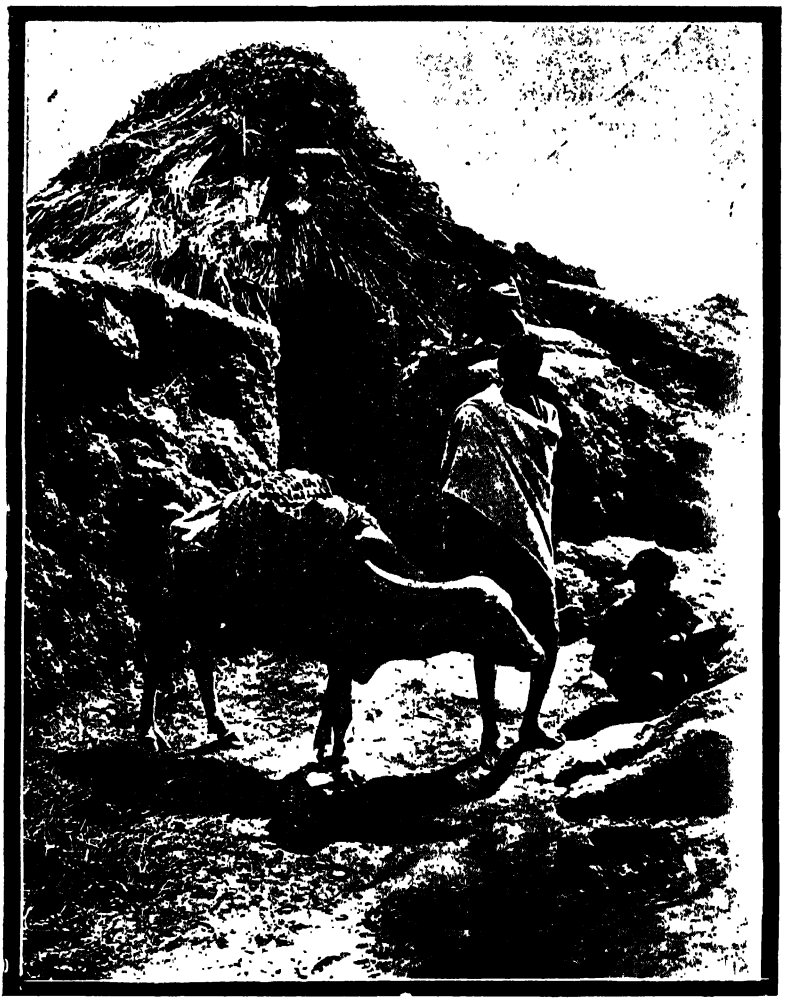
The Voddas never eat a tortoise. They call it their grandmother and say that it did them some service formerly, and in recognition of this, they do not kill it. If a Vodda sees anybody carrying a live tortoise intending to eat it, he buys it from him and takes it to a well, or tank and leaves it there in the water.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

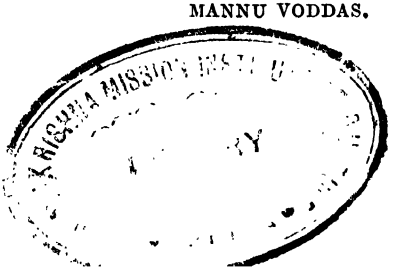
Their women do not wear bodice, cloths, or tie their hair into a knot, or dress it with oil. A woman that shows even a slight inclination to neatness and trespasses the limits of custom in the matter of dressing herself and her hair, is looked down upon as transgressing rules of conventional propriety. They wear glass bangles on their left hands, and brass ones on the right. Toe-rings are used by married women only. A big nose-screw is the characteristic ornament of a Vodda woman, who also puts on a large number of strings of white and black beads round her neck. They are, however, slowly changing in these respects, imitating the more refined neighbours, *Uppu* Voddas being the most conservative among them. A Vodda man is not supposed to shave his head, or beard, but this prohibition has become obsolete, except among the *Uppu* Voddas, who still refrain from shaving their heads, though their beards may be removed.

CONCLUSION.

The Voddas are a Telugu caste of earth-diggers who originally came from Orissa. They are "the natives



MANNU VODDAS.



of the country quarrying stone, sinking wells, constructing tank-bunds and executing other kinds of earth-work more rapidly than any other class of people, so that they have got almost a monopoly of trade." They are very ignorant, and cannot calculate how much work they have done, but trust altogether to their employers' honesty. They are an open-hearted good-natured lot with loose morals. Polygamy and divorce are freely allowed. Women who have had seven husbands are said to be much respected, and their blessings on a bridal pair are greatly praised. There is a proverb that a woman may mount the funeral pyre seven times.