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The
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

XXV.

BANJARAS CASTE.

BY

(Shimoga Dist.)

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

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BANJÁRAS.

The caste is known variously as Banjáras, Lambánis and Sukális. The proper term to be applied to the caste found in Southern India would appear to be Banjáras. Their number, according to the Census of 1901, was 45,579, of whom 23,654 or 51·8 per cent were males. The variations in their number show that this caste has increased since 1891 by 6,442 or 16·4 per cent and the distribution by districts shows that they are most numerous in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts.

Banjáras are often described as the gypsies of India, but the only resemblance consists in both being of wandering habits. They have come down from Northern India, probably the Marwar Country. They are generally of good stature and fair complexion. They are brachycephalous, with an oval face, black or brown eyes, long flowing silky hair and straight nose. Both men and women are strong and stalwart and are capable of much endurance. Women are active and good-looking, though, on account of hard life, they soon lose their pretensions to beauty.

Their chief occupation being the transport of grain and other merchandise on pack bullocks before the advent of the roads and wheeled traffic, they seem to have come down from the North in the wake of conquering invaders, travelling with their women and children. They carry their whole property with them, and even the tribal organisation is complete in each of their encampments. They consequently keep themselves aloof from the surrounding population and their habits and customs are but little affected by their environments.

Banjáras have earned an uneviable notoriety for predatory habits and are included among the criminal tribes and placed under Police surveillance. They were formerly notorious as cattle-lifters. Daring dacoities attended with violence were put down to their credit. Men of local influence of other castes had often a large number of Banjára retainers for committing highway robbery. Though this state of things cannot be said to have altogether

disappeared, many Banjáras are at present found to have settled down to agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.

Name.

The common name and the one by which the members prefer to be known is Banjára. They say that the term Lambáni, applied to them by others, is a mistake and that it denotes an allied division of their tribe. They are also styled by others Sukális, but resent the appellation. Among themselves they apply the term Ghôr when addressing another Banjára, Ghôr Máti and Ghôr Dási being terms by which a Banjára calls another Banjára as distinguished from Khôr Máti by which term they mean a non-Banjára.

Of the word Banjára, sometimes written as Brinjára, various meanings are given. Some say that the term is another form of the word Wanjára, burners or inhabitants of woods; some others derive it from the Persian word Biranjar meaning a rice carrier*; while yet others say that the word means an arrow. The true derivation is probably from Sanskrit word Vanijya (trade), which has given the terms Baniya and Banajiga (meaning traders). It may with equal plausibility be referred to Vanachara (Sanskrit, meaning a wanderer in the jungle) on account of the nomadic character of the tribe.

Lambáni sometimes spelt as Lambádi, is said to be another form of the word Lamán or Labhán, a sub-division of the main caste Banjáras, the other division being Charans who are alone found in this State and who claim a somewhat higher rank. The word Labhán is said by some to be the alternative form of Lavan meaning salt, the Labháns being salt carriers "but this explanation," says Professor Grierson,† "goes against several phonetic rules and does not account for the forms of the word like Labháni or Lambáni."

Of the term Sukáli, various meanings, such as men of good colour or language, northern country, are suggested, but they appear to be all of doubtful accuracy. It is said by some that it means arecanut, being the corrupted form of Supári. It is also referred to as the name of a Lingáyat (Sukáli Setti) whose trade of firewood selling was very prosperous and was taken up by the Banjáras when they came to Southern India. From this they became known as men of Sukáli Setti's trade or Sukális.

* Shakespear's Dictionary.

† Linguistic Survey of India.

Though not regarded as high in the social scale, the Banjáras have their own pride of race, for they style themselves the white people while calling others, especially those of agricultural profession, black people. The terms they use are Ghór (white) and Khór (black), Ghórmāti or Dási meaning a white man and Khórmāti, a black man.

Náyak is the title used for the head of the Thánda or a group and other men have the suffix Bái added to their names. A Banjára woman addresses another Banjára woman as Tándéri, Bai or Banjáraní. Bai and Yádi, both of which mean mother, are used as honorific suffixes to the names of women.

As a rule, Banjáras do not address their elders by their personal names. They call them either Nayák or Bhayya (brother), but the younger persons are called by their names. Women do not repeat the names of their parents-in-law and other elderly person or the husband or his brothers.

The language of the Banjáras is a mixture of the Language. Mahratti, Hindustani and Guzarati languages and is known as Kutni. Owing to their exclusive habits, they have preserved it in much the same state as it is found in Northern India. It is not a written language and has no literature. The Banjáras also speak Hindustani and are acquainted with the prevailing language of the country. Their own language, however, is intelligible to few persons outside the community.

Various fanciful accounts are given of their origin Origin. and it is difficult to find any consistency or significance in all of them, but all agree in giving them Northern India, probably Marwar, as their original home. They claim to be Kshatris and to be descended from Rájput ancestors.

They ascribe the origin of the earth to Jámbava and his two sons Heppumuni and Rudra or Raktamuni in the same way as in the account of the Mádiga Caste.* Out of the seed of the Creator shot into space was born a beautiful damsel, who in her turn created a boy out of the sweat of her body. She desired to consort with him but her offer was rejected. A second boy was created for a similar purpose, but proved equally obdurate. Her third attempt proved successful and the two were the progenitors of the human race. Of their descendants various names are given, some of which, such as Kachchap, are evidently borrowed

* See pages 3 and 4 of Monograph XVII.

from classical sources. Dhaj had a son Kowdhaj whose son was Karan whose son was Kachchap who had two sons Thida and Ohada. The descendants of Ohada are the settled tribes of towns and villages while the wandering tribes are descended from the other. Thida had five sons, Nat had whose descendants are Vágris styled Shikaris (शिकारी), Jóghad whose descendants are the Jógis who rear pigs and are also wandering, Khimad who was the ancestor of the wandering blacksmiths styled Bailukammáras (ಬೈಲುಕಮ್ಮರರು), Móta who has given rise to the Labháns, and Móla, the ancestor of the Banjáras.

Another account starts with Sugriva who, according to the Rámáyana, married Tára, his brother's widow, and mentions Thida as one of his descendants. The latter's son Móla was an attendant of Krishna who, before leaving the world, assigned all the thousands of Gópi damsels to his followers, reserving only Rádha. Móla who had been absent at the time got angry that none had been reserved for him and rushed upon his master with a lifted club. But his anger was appeased and Rádha was entrusted to his charge. He was afraid of touching her divine person but won her good-will by patient service. She agreed to accompany him in his wanderings and both adopted the profession of dancers and acrobats. They exhibited their skill before the princes of Dhanjighad, Bánóghad and Jagatghad, and as a reward got three boys, Ráthód, Pamhár and Chowhán whom they adopted. These boys became the progenitors of the clans which still bear their names. These three married three Brahman sisters who, remaining unmarried after they had come of age, had been abandoned in the jungle according to the custom of their caste. All the Banjáras are said to be descended from them, and the teasing to which Brahmans are subjected at their marriages is said to be the revenge enjoined on them for the cruel abandonment of those girls by their father.

History.

The Banjáras are mentioned as existing in India in certain old works.* There is no doubt of their having come down to Southern India only within historical times. General Briggs, writing in 1813, says as follows about these people :—

“The first mention of the Banjáras of the Deccan on historical record, which I recollect, is to be found in the work written by Mahomed Kassim Ferishta about two

* Dasakumára Charita.

hundred years ago, at the Court of Bijapur, entitled 'A History of the Rise and Progress of the Mahomedan Faith in the country of Hind.' In his account of the Mahomedan monarchs of the Deccan, he records that in the year 1417 a large convoy of Banjára bullocks was seized by Khan Khauan, the brother of Feroje Shah Bhamini, when the former prince rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Gulburga, the Deccan capital. Ferishta calls them the grain merchants, who travel about the country from one end of the Deccan to the other."

They came into South India along with the great armies of the Mogul Emperors when they invaded the South. The Charanyas (Banjáras, the descendants of Mólá) with their herds of pack bullocks helped the imperial army fighting in an exhausted country far from their base of supplies by supplying a fearless and reliable transport service. When the Banjáras came into the South, they came in five groups, namely, Ráthod, Pamhár and Chowhán, named after the Rájputs of those names said to have been adopted by Mólá and Vadatya and Túri. Of these, the Ráthod family was and is even now the strongest and the most widespread division. The following anecdote is related about the value of their service to an army in the field :—

"The Charans (Banjáras) evidently came to the Dakhan with Asafjan, sometimes called Asafkhan, the Vazir of Shajehan, and in the year 1630 or thereabouts, Bhangi and Jhangi Naiks had with them one hundred and eighty thousand bullocks and Bhagavandas, the Burthia (Vadatya) Naik, only fifty-two thousand. They accompanied Asafjan, carrying his provisions during his raid into the Dakhan (against Bijapur).

"It was an object of Asafjan to keep these bullocks well up with his force and so much were those prized by that Vazir that he was induced to give an order to Bhangi and Jangi Naiks, as they put forward excuses regarding the difficulty of obtaining grass and water for the cattle. The order engraved on copper and in gold letters runs as follows :—

Ranjankápani
Chapparaghás
Dinká tín Khún Maaf
Aur Jahán Asaf Jánga Ghóde
Wahan Bhangi Jangika bail

The meaning of the inscription seems to be:—If you can find no water elsewhere you may even take it from the ranjans (pots) of my followers; grass you may take from the roof of their huts; and if you commit three murders a day I will even pardon this provided that where I find my cavalry there I can always find Bhangi Jangi's bullocks." *

Bhagavándas, the leader of the Vāḍatyas, asked for a similar order, which was refused. This naturally excited the jealousy of this leader and after the campaign was over and the Banjāras remained in the Dakhan, a feud broke out between the Rāthóds and the Vāḍatyas. The bards of the Banjāras known as Tambūris (Turis referred to above) sing the songs regarding the quarrels of these rival clans, which substantially agree with the following:—One day when Bangi Naik was returning from the Hyderabad Durbar with four followers, he was attacked in daylight by Bhagavándas who, with a number of followers, killed all the five men. On their complaining to the Nizam, they (the followers of Bhangi Naik) were told to take their revenge which they shortly did; and headed by Nārāyan Bhangi, son of the deceased, they fell unexpectedly on Bhagavándas in such large numbers that he and one hundred of his followers were killed. The Vāḍatyas awaited their turn and attacking Rāthods killed a number of them and took away their standard. This standard was a yearly present from His Highness the Nizam who used to give Bhangi's descendants eight "Thans of khadi of sixteen yards a than". The only relics of this feud found in this State are an occasional narration of the deeds of their ancestors of each party and an expression of mild contempt for those of the rival clan.

The Banjāras took service not only under the Delhi Emperors, but under the Sattāra, and subsequently the Poona Raj and the Subhaship of the Nizam, and several of them rose to consideration and power. Indeed it is to be gathered from the manner in which these people are to be found spread over the country, that as opportunity offered and seemed tempting, some one or other of them attached themselves to the different powers greater or lesser as they rose, their own clanship when even on opposite sides remaining unbroken. On the part which the Banjāras played in the Mysore Wars, as purveyors of grain, General Briggs says as follows:—

"The peace of 1792, signed under the walls of Seringapatam, dispersed the allied Armies, and the Banjāras returned to their respective ranges north of the river Krishna. In the year 1798, however, similar confederation between His Highness the Nizam and the British Government took place, in order to reduce the power of the restless and ambitious sovereign of Mysore; and the services of Banjāras were again called forth. The British Resident advanced 1,50,000 rupees to the Chief at Hyderabad, and there were mustered below the ghauts 25,000 bullock loads of grain, which had accompanied the Nizam's forces under the command of Captain (now Colonel) Sir John Malcolm. The army under the command of Lieutenant-General Harris now advanced

into Mysore ; but before it reached Seringapatam it experienced considerable distress for want of grain, when the general heard that Bhima Naik with a supply of 15,000 bullock loads was at the foot of the ghauts ; but as he deemed it dangerous to permit his advance alone, Major-General Floyd with the whole of the British Cavalry was detached to give protection to this valuable convoy. The army of the enemy under the celebrated Kumrood-Deen Khan hovered daily on the flanks, but did not prevent his giving safe-conduct to Bhima Naik up the ghauts. At this time the army besieging Seringapatam was in the greatest distress, and rice sold at two rupees for each seer ; but the exertions of the British troops surmounted all obstacles ; and the 4th of May 1799 witnessed the downfall of that Capital and the death of Tippoo, whose granaries were so largely stored that the average rate of the price of rice was thirty seers for a rupee.

" As the grain with Bhima Naik did not reach the City for some days after the fall of Seringapatam, if the British General had adhered to the letter of the compact with the Banjaras, they must have been ruined, and it is more than likely that they would never have joined us again ; but liberality which distinguished our Government from all the others in the East compromised the matter, and secured the hearty co-operation and assistance of these useful people in a subsequent war with the Murhuttas. The whole of the grain was purchased at the average rate of five seers for a rupee ; the Banjaras returned the original sum advanced to them, and had sufficient remaining to pay them for their labour expense, and risk. The Chief Naiks received honorary dresses and swords, and their leader Bhima Bhungi was presented with an elephant. But while liberality characterised our actions in this instance, a very short time afterwards it was necessary to have recourse to some severe measures in another.

" Seringapatam had not long fallen, when a partisan named Dhondy, collecting a considerable body of the disbanded troops of the late Government, refused to acknowledge the authority of the conquerors ; and a large force under the command of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley (now Marquis Wellington) was sent in pursuit of him ; while another detachment under Colonel Darlymple, with the Nizam's subsidiary force, was sent to co-operate. A small horde of Banjaras in the employ of this British Government were endeavouring to go over to the enemy, when they were intercepted by this latter officer, who by way of example to those accompanying him, hung seven of the principal naiks, and explained to them that our vengeance was not less to be dreaded than our liberality was to be desired."

There are said to be three main divisions of the Divisions. Banjāras, namely Mathūrias, Labhāns and Charāns. Mathurias, derive their name from Muttra, and Labhāns are said to be salt carriers, claiming their descent from Gaud Brahmans and wearing the sacred thread. The Banjāras found here, however, belong only to the third division, namely, Charāns or Charanyas. They are said to be so called on account of their wandering habits. These are divided into Banjāras proper containing *Rāthōḍ, Pamhār

* Rāthōḍ is also known as Bhūkya, and Pamhār, Chowhān and Vajatyā are together styled Jāt, जाट).



and Chowhán and Vāḍatya sub-divisions; Tambúri or Turí, also called Dháḍi, are Mussalmans in religion; Sonár or smiths who prepare jewels worn by Banjára women; Návi (Hajam) or barber; and Dhália who correspond to the Mádigas and who are employed to beat the drum during marriages.

They profess, indeed, to have within their community representatives of all the castes found in towns and it is possible that, on account of their exclusive habits, they may have representatives of all the necessary professions among them, though only a few divisions are recognised as separate in this State.

Of the origin of the Vāḍatya sub-division the following account given by General Briggs is practically the same as supplied by information given by a man of the rival clan, Ráthod :—

“The Bānjáras, however, give to the Burteeahs (Vāḍatyas) of the Deccan but half a *gote* or family; and they account for this fact as follows :—

In the course of the travels of Powurs (Pamhárs), they one day discovered a male infant lying under a bur tree so far situated from any habitation as to lead them to conclude that it was left there to perish; but a charitable female of the horde took it up, adopted and reared it; and from the circumstance of its being found under a bur tree it was called Burteeah. From its having been brought up among the Powurs, the foundling imbibed all their customs and habits and learnt their language. At the age of puberty he became enamoured of a beautiful Powuray; but as the Bānjáras do not intermarry in their own tribe, the girl refused to listen to his vows, as it was impossible that they could be married. Mutual daily intercourse served but to increase their affection, and the progress of the passion of love surmounted the difficulties presented by the cooler dictates of reason. At length the time arrived when the secret of their connection would soon have been apparent; and they both consented, for each other's sake, to abandon their little world (the Bānjára camp) and incur the severe but necessary evil of excommunication. They one night left their tents and fled: on the morrow, the news of their elopement was noised abroad, they were pursued and taken. A *Panchayat* (or council of five persons) was held, and the decision expelled the Powuray from her tribe. They consented at last, indeed, to acknowledge the pair as the head of an out-cast tribe, to be denominated after the foundling, Burteeah; but they are on this account only allowed to claim Bānjára origin from the mother's side.”

The account which the Vāḍatyas themselves give of their origin is that they are the progeny of a Brahman from a Bānjára woman of the Jarabla division of the Pamhár clan.

“The Vāḍatyas remained quite undistinguished and were content to follow and eat of the crumbs that fell from their Ráthór cousin's table. During the chieftainship

of Sarang, however, the Jádhoos (another name of the Vádtyas) brought to the front one Bhagavándas, who quarrelling with the great Bhangí made a name for himself under the title of Burthia Naik, in the Telingana country, where his followers have flourished and grown and where to this day his children rule in his stead.”*

Tambúris are also known as Turis, Dhádis and Bhát Banjáras. They are Mussalmans in faith and follow that religion in all their ceremonials. But in other matters they are like other Banjáras and live in the same “Thándas.” They eat in the house of the other Banjáras, but the latter do not return the compliment. They are the beggars attached to the caste and correspond to the “Bhats.” They sing the family history of the Banjáras. They follow all the customs of the Banjáras, such as the younger brother marrying the widow of his elder brother. They go round begging to all the Banjára Thándas playing upon their musical instrument (Tambúri). The presence of a Tambúri is considered necessary on all important festive gatherings when he is paid a fee of two rupees.

These divisions are again split up into a number of exogamous divisions. A list of these divisions is given in Appendix A.

The confinement of a woman takes place in the husband's house. In fact, it was the custom formerly that when a Banjára woman was married and sent to her husband's house, she seldom or never returned to her father's house. But of late they have adopted the practice of bringing the woman to the parents' house for the first delivery. During the wife's pregnancy, the husband observes the usual abstinences such as not killing an animal or carrying a corpse.

Birth ceremonies.

On the birth of a child, the whole family is considered impure for seven days. As soon as signs of labour appear, the woman is removed to a shed outside the dwelling house. Their own midwife attends on the mother. On the birth of a child, if it is a male child, the father has to distribute molasses and dried cocoanut to his castemen. The naval cord is cut and tied to a thread, smoked with incense and buried with a three pie piece at the foot of the mother's bed. The mother and the child are bathed once or sometimes twice a day.

*Major Mackenzie.

On the seventh day when the pollution is removed, some married women proceed to a well or river and bring two potfuls of water. One of them is emptied into a small pit dug in the front yard of the house and a lamp lighted in a receptacle made of sweetened flour, is worshipped and thrown into it. The confined woman is made to dip her toe in the water. Part of the water in the other pot is used for preparing food for the entertainment of women and boys who are invited on the occasion. The guests have their feet washed with water remaining in the second pot. A Brahman astrologer is consulted for naming the boy and he gives five names of which any one may be chosen.

To procure a good flow of milk the mother is made to offer Púja to a lump of sweetened flour (ತಾಜೆಟ್ಟು) which she has afterwards herself to eat up without leaving any remainder. For three months the newly confined woman is not allowed to touch any of the domestic vessels or to enter the kitchen or the god's shed. She lives during the period in a separate shed, generally the cattle shed.

The mother of a male child is given a Táli (disk) of silver to suspend round her neck on a Thursday after the purificatory bath. This is styled the Dévi Tá i and has a flower indented on it, if it is for the first son, and two flowers if there are two or more sons.* The birth of a daughter does not count and no figure is added to the Táli.

The following may be taken as typical names and they are not employed for any other caste:—

Male.	Female.
Dévla (ದೇವ್ಲ).	Bádli (ಬಾದ್ಲಿ).
Dhána (ಧಾನ).	Bhímṇi (ಭೀಮ್ಣಿ).
Gómḷa (ಗೋಮ್ಲ).	Chámli (ಚಾಮ್ಲಿ).
Hémḷa (ಹೇಮ್ಲ).	Dévli (ದೇವ್ಲಿ).
Lálya (ಲಾಲ್ಯ).	Dhānu (ಧಾನು).
Manjya (ಮಂಜ್ಯ).	Gámli (ಗಾಮ್ಲಿ).
Sakarya (ಸಕ್ಕರ್ಯ).	Gójli (ಗೋಜ್ಲಿ).
Sévya (ಸೇವ್ಯ).	Gómli (ಗೋಮ್ಲಿ).
Sómya (ಸೋಮ್ಯ).	Rámṇi (ರಾಮ್ಣಿ).
Sópya (ಸೋಪ್ಯ).	Rúpli (ರೂಪ್ಲಿ).
Títu (ತಿತು).	Tulsi (ತುಲ್ಸಿ).

Opprobrious names such as Gundya (round stone), Bódia (bald headed) are sometimes given to a child and if

* But Māḷot Sub-Division of the Vāḍatya clan have as many flowers as there are sons living.



a child does not learn to walk at the proper age, it is placed in an old winnow and drawn seven times over a dunghill, on a Sunday.

When a child begins to toddle about, wheat, Bengal gram and other pulses are boiled and laid on a white cloth spread on a Kampli. The child is then made to walk on it seven times. This is supposed to make the legs strong and sturdy.

A boy may be adopted when there are no male children. Adoption. The most eligible boy is the son of a brother and in his absence, a boy of the same sub-division. Under no circumstances can a man adopt his own brother. The boy is taken in the presence of the caste people and his waist thread is removed and a new one is substituted by the adoptive parents. The day is generally observed as festive.

Marriages among the caste must be confined within Marriage. their sub-caste, *e.g.*, a Banjára may not take a girl from a Tambúri's and *vice versa*. The Banjáras, as already noticed, are split up into four groups, namely, Ráthód, Pamhár, Chohán and Vadatya, and in some places also Khámdót. Each of these groups is exogamous and each contains a number of sub-sects. The members of each group, to whichever of its sub-divisions they may belong are regarded as brothers and sisters and are not eligible for marriage with one another. Marriage of a man with his sister's or maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter was not formerly allowed. But this rule of exclusion is gradually losing its rigour, and such marriages are becoming fairly common. A Banjára may not marry the daughter of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt, such connection being considered as incest. Two sisters may be married by one man but not simultaneously and two brothers may marry two sisters. The rule of exclusion not covered by the rule of exogamy, which prohibits marriages between a man and a woman who stand towards each other analogously as brother and sister and parent and child, etc., is also observed by them. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but the practice does not find much favour, and where it does take place, it is said that there should be an interval of at least six months between the two marriages. Marriages generally take place between families living in the same tract as they are averse to contract such relationship with persons whose antecedents are not known to them.



Poligamy is allowed and as wives not only work but also earn for the family, a Banjára is not averse to taking an additional wife if he can afford to do so. The husband need not always be older than the wife and it is said that when he is a minor, she may live with another man and join her husband when he becomes old enough to need her.

Marriage is always adult, and very seldom, if ever, is an infant girl married. If, in any case, a girl is married before puberty, she is sent to her husband's house as soon as the ceremonies are over, but regular cohabitation begins only after the girl comes of age. Marriages are not compulsory for either sex, but the cases in which a woman has grown to be an old maid are extremely rare.

On an auspicious day fixed by a Bráhmaṇ astrologer, the boy's father and the Náyak of his Thánda along with four other castemen repair to the girl's house, noting whether the omens met on the way have been good. The boy's father carries with him a hookah and a large pouch filled with betel leaves and areca nuts. The subject is broached in the usual circumlocutory fashion by the bridegroom's party, and if the proposal is acceptable to the other party, a day is fixed for the formal betrothal. If after this either party withdraws without proper reason, he will be liable to pay a fine fixed by the Pancháyat.

The formal betrothal ceremony is styled Góli Kháne Jáne (ಗೋಲಿಖಾನೇಜಾಣೆ), that is, going to eat jaggory. The bridegroom goes to the girl's house with the male members of his family. They meet a large party of the girl's Thánda and others of the neighbourhood already assembled either in front of the girl's house or before their temple. The boy's father deposits part of the bride price before the assembly and the girl's father takes it. The boy then passes a hookah to all the members of the assembly and then distributes jaggory, liquor and *pan supari* of which a sufficient quantity has been procured. The father has to spend ten rupees on jaggory, ten rupees on liquor and five or six rupees on *pan supari*. Women do not join the party but remain inside watching the new bridegroom and amusing themselves by cracking jokes at the expense of the bride. The girl's father gives a general dinner at night. Next day the boy and his party return.

The boy has next to proceed to his intended father-in-law's house to pass his period of probation. A tent is

erected on two poles, ornamented on the top with inverted brass vessels. In each of these vessels a rupee is concealed which becomes the perquisite of the Náyak. The young man bathes and dresses himself in clothes peculiar to the caste, namely, a pair of red trousers, a long red turband measuring sixty cubits and a *pan supari* pouch (ಪಾಣ್ವು-ಪೇಲೆ). While entering the tent he has to pass under a new cloth (ಸೀದ) held up in the doorway of the house. As he passes the door, two unmarried girls throw rice on his head, singing songs.

Within the tent he takes his seat on a Kambli, before an assembly consisting of guests of his and neighbouring Thándas. On the four corners of his seat four quarter anna pieces are placed with betel leaves and nuts, and a dish with rice. Two married women smear the boy with turmeric paste and throw rice on him. He has now become a Madavaniga or Vétudu (a bridegroom). He stands up and remains in that posture with folded hands. A boy and a girl (both unmarried) stand on either side of him, the boy to the left and the girl to the right. At the bidding of head of the caste, they take handfuls of rice from the dish, throw it on the bridegroom's head and retire. Then a second pair of a boy and a girl repeat the procedure. The bridegroom then steps out of his seat and bows before the members of the assembly repeating the formula of Rám, Rám. The guests then arrange themselves for dinner, after which the bridegroom distributes *pan supari* to them. Five quarter anna pieces are given to the Náyak on behalf of the Guru of the caste. The bridegroom, with a cocoanut in his hands, craves permission of the assembly to set out to the bride's house. He is then presented with some money ranging from a quarter to a few rupees and permitted to proceed on his quest. Then all his people catch hold of his shoulders and weep bitterly. It is said that he may not return to his Thándá till he marries and brings the girl with him.* On arrival at the girl's Thándá, he has to obtain the permission of the Náyak to enter it. Then a party from his father-in-law's house meet him and conduct him to the girl's house, when he has to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 2. As he enters the house, all the women

* If, however, the marriage is for any good reason put off for a long time, he returns to his Thándá, but is not permitted to enter the inner portion of his house. He is served with his meals outside in the cattle shed.



surround him and make a show of weeping and lamentation on account of the arrival of the stranger who is to carry away one of their daughters. A feast is observed to which all women of the Thánda are invited. The son-in-law is seated before an audience chiefly composed of women. He then pays down the balance of the Tera amount. Either the next day or some subsequent day, the boy and the girl are smeared with turmeric separately. Then the boy is seated on a sheet of gunny cloth, and is rubbed with turmeric.

After this, the affianced persons may not see each other and generally remain within the house. Even if they should go out, they are not allowed to roam in the jungle or cross any brook. The bridegroom cannot leave the Thánda without permission of the bride's parents, and when he is allowed to go out, one of the brothers of the bride is made to accompany him.

The period of probation lasts longer or shorter according to the ability of the girl's father to maintain the intended bridegroom in a comfortable state. It is a pleasure time especially to women, who on that account prolong it sometimes for months. It also entails additional expenditure on both parties, for the caste Guru, Tambúries and other dependants take advantage of the occasion to visit them and extract presents. It is the recognised custom that the bridegroom should pay double of what the bride's father gives. During this time, the bride's mother is busy with sewing the clothes intended not only for the bridal pair but also some additional suits of dress for presentation by the girl to her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law.


The probation ends with a ceremony called Ghóṭa Káḍo, at which a sweet drink of jaggory water is served to all the guests. Early in the morning, the bridegroom after a bath sits on a plank and places the bracelets of ivory or horn intended for the bride together with a sum of fifteen rupees in a plate. The girl's brother rubs him with turmeric paste. The presents are taken by the bride's party, one rupee being given to the head of the Thánda and another rupee returned to the bridegroom. The bridegroom vacates the seat and the bride is seated there and rubbed over in her turn with turmeric paste. This is styled Halad (turmeric rubbing) and the bride's party give a dinner to the Thánda.

A day is then fixed for the Dháre by a Brahman astrologer and the parents and the other relations of the boy are sent for.

In the evening of the Dháre day, some men fetch from a potter's house a number of pots which should be twenty, twenty-eight or thirty-six, the number varying according to the number of families in the Thánda, as after the marriage each family should be presented with a pot. In the open yard, in front of the house, four holes are dug at the corners of a square, in each of which are put betel leaves and nuts and a quarter anna piece. On each of these holes, the earthen vessels are arranged in piles of five, seven or nine and covered with Ekka leaves. Within the square, two rice-pounding pestles are driven into the ground, about twelve feet apart. To these, which form the milk posts, bunches of mango leaves and Kankapas made of yellow thread are tied. Then the men retire, their services being no longer required.

The bride and the bridegroom sit apart inside the house, arrayed in their bridal clothes. The bridegroom is surrounded by boys and keeps distributing *pan supari* to all that may come. The girl is dressed, not in the usual style of a Banjára woman, but wears a Síre and a jacket like the women of other castes. She is surrounded by a number of women who keep singing plaintive songs about the impending loss of the girl to her family. The girl is so affected that she keeps crying almost the whole time.

Then at about midnight, the boy and the girl are led by married women into the yard and made to stand together. To ward off the evil eye, two married women wave round them a basin containing some Bengal gram, a cocconut and a small coin and two handful of salt and throw them away. Then the pair walk together a small distance towards the South, where some cow-dung has been kept. They touch it with the toes of their legs, the bride with the left toe and the bridegroom with the right. Then with an axe which the bridegroom carries with him, he cuts up the cow-dung into seven bits. The bride also repeats the same procedure. This they call Akkóldidó Káyo. From there they return to their seats and are made to sit on a gunny sheet. A party of unmarried young girls grind together the dried grains of Ragi (*Eleusine coracana*), Navane (*Panicum italicum*), paddy, black-gram and Górantí (*Barleria*) leaves to the accompaniment of songs sung by another set of women standing near by. With the paste

made of this flour, a mark like  is made on the back

of the coat worn by the bridegroom and on the bride's cloth. Then the flour is rubbed over their bodies. This is said to bring on pollution to the pair which is shaken off only the next day.*

The couple are then seated together and bathed in cold water. The young women gathered there, throw the loose end of the bride's garment round the bridegroom's neck and attempt to pull him down and when they succeed in throwing him flat on the ground, they are in ecstasies over his discomfiture and sing songs about their feat. One of his sisters-in-law offers mock consolation and the mother-in-law washes the feet of the couple with water of which she catches and drinks off a few drops.

The couple put on fresh clothes, the bride tying the Sāḍi still in the ordinary Hindu fashion, and are conducted to seats within a square marked by four brass vessels at the corners. Cotton thread smeared over with turmeric paste is first passed round these vessels seven times and then cut into two parts, which are used to tie as Kankanas on the wrists of the couple. The Kankana thread has seven knots, and a cowry, an iron ring and a wild berry are strung on it.

The next ceremony is known as Dhāre or Vyaha. The couple are made to stand facing each other and the Brahman Puróhit, who has no function to fulfil till then and who is perhaps comfortably sleeping in a corner of the house, is roused from his sleep and brought out. A rupee is placed in the right hand palm of the bride and the bridegroom places his right hand on it and holds the hand tight. The fingers of their garments are knotted together. The Puróhit then chants some Mantras by way of invoking the blessings of God on the pair and repeats Sáva-dhána (may the couple prosper), while the women are singing wedding songs. The couple are then taken to the milk posts, the girl who shows considerable resistance being forcibly led by an elderly woman. They thus go round the first post three times, the girl weeping and howling all the time. In the same manner they pass round the second post three times, after which the elderly woman

* It is said that women in early stages of pregnancy are not allowed to witness this ceremony for fear of having a miscarriage.

retires. The husband has to pass once again round the post with the bride. Her resistance is now redoubled and he has almost to drag her by force. It is this which constitutes the binding and essential part of the ceremony. After this the bride and the bridegroom have to eat the common meal (Kólea) twice, that is, once before each milk post. The two married persons sit along with an elderly woman round a plate in which is placed a mixture of rice flour, jaggory and ghee, and are completely hidden within the folds of a cloth thrown over them. The woman hands a ball of the mixture to each party in turn who puts it into the other's mouth. The woman comes out leaving the couple within the screen and the remaining meal is consumed by them. All this while, some of the young women are singing songs mocking the girl for her protestations against marriage and her pretended resistance, describing how completely she had yielded and exhorting her to be an obedient wife and eat the common meal without trouble.

When the married couple are engaged in this rite, a Brahman Puróhit is offering Hóma in another place. Dry twigs of Asvaththa and ghee are thrown into the fire place in a hole on the ground and with each twig the Brahman mutters the formula Sáavadhána coupling it first with the names of the newly married couple, and then with the names of other married members of the Thándā. The woman of the Thándā, both young and old, flock round him and tease him with all sorts of horse play. The Brahman sometimes takes it coolly but often retaliates. All this is said to be done in revenge for a Brahman having abandoned in a jungle his three daughters who afterwards became the progenitors of this tribe. As a reward for his patient suffering in this night, the Puróhit is given a fee of two rupees. A Brahman's presence is considered essential in a marriage, but where it is impossible to procure one, an elderly man of the Thándā belonging to the Vāḍatya claim* performs the Hóma repeating the word Sáavadhána on behalf of the married couple alone. But women feel keenly disappointed if they miss the fun with the Brahman.

By this time, it is 4 o'clock in the morning and the couple have finished the eating of the Kólia. Then they go into their house and sleep away, in different corners till the morning. The milk posts and the piles of pots are

* When the Vāḍatya officiates as priest, he puts on a sacred-thread.



at once removed and the coins kept under the pots are taken by the men who remove them.

In the morning, the couple are given a warm water bath and served food separately. The Kankanas are removed in the evening when the husband and wife sit facing each other in the yard and untie the thread from each other's wrist. After this a rupee coin, a cowry and an arecanut are thrown in a wooden saucer filled with rice gruel. The husband and wife are made to search and pick up these articles; and it is said that the winner of the rupee would have the upperhand throughout the future married career.

In the night the couple eat Dévi Lápsi (sacred meal). They sit together within a screen in each of the places where they slept the previous night. A dish of bits of bread, jaggory and ghee mixed together is placed before them and they eat up the whole thing, from the same plate and drink water from the same vessel. They wash their hands in the plate and as they rise the bridegroom throws half a rupee into it which is taken by the woman who throws out the water and washes the plate. The couple then go to their separate sleeping places.

Next day, in the evening, all assemble before the bride's house. A bag containing about ten seers of dry cocoanuts is kept there. The bridegroom places two rupees on the bag and retires. The mother-in-law or the eldest female member of the family invokes the Guru of the caste and distributes the dry cocoanuts to all present. A man comes up and puts on the Chúdo (horn bangles) to the bride's arms. Then a married woman fastens the Ghúgra (ear pendants) to her locks, bunches of tassels (Amti) to her back hair and girdles her with tasselled waist band, Jhálro.*

The next morning after breakfast, the bride is sent away with her husband. She is presented with a saddled bullock on which she rides. The bridegroom leads the bullock and as the girl is being carried away she chants in a low monotonous tone some songs conveying farewell to her father's house.

*This day, they do Puja to their progenitors Jangi Bhangi and Bhagavandas by sacrificing a goat and pouring toddy on the ground, calling out their names.

Chúta giyay mári bápúri havéli.

Kháyési pivési nangri.*

Mári Náyaka bápúri nangri.

"My father's house I leave. May they feed well and drink well, our Náyak and my father."

She also repeats the song :

Guzarátani yádi.

Ummariyáv bhápu.

Késariya víranah.†

Havél chodiyáli yádi.

"My mother is a Guzerátani. My father is Ummariyáv. My brother is Késariya. They are all leaving me here."

The girl takes with her as presents to her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law and the wives of her husband's brothers, five Chaṭiyas or gowns, and ten or twelve Káncḥlis or bodices. When about to start from the mother-in-law's house, the bridegroom is made to pronounce his wife's name and is asked whether he would ever treat his father-in-law or mother-in-law with disrespect. He, of course, replies in the negative and prostrates himself before them, holding his ears with both hands and touching the ground with his elbows.

On his reaching his Thánda with his bride, a dinner is given. In the evening the couple are seated on a gunny cloth. An earthen pot full of water is placed before them and each of them throws in a ball of cotton thread and fishes it out seven times. A child is then brought and seated on their laps alternately seven times. In the night after dinner, the bridegroom retires to some lonely part of the house and lies down on the ground feigning sleep, with a cocoanut under his head; while the bride sits in another part of the house beside her mother-in-law near her feet. One of her husband's sisters or other relation, comes up and tells her that her husband wants her and leads her to him, for which service she is presented with the cocoanut.

The Ráthód (रथोद) has to pay Rs. 41 and four bullocks to the clan from which he takes the girl as bride price, while for his girl he gets only Rs. 21 and four bullocks. The Ját (including Pamhár, Chowhán and Vadatya) pays only Rs. 21 and four bullocks. Bride price.

The difference in the bride price between the Bhúkya and other clans is explained by some as due to the

* Nangri=City=Thánda.

† Víra=a brother.

inferiority of the Bhúkyā clan which is said to have come into adventitious importance, owing to the adventurous exploits of some of its heroes. This, however, is indignantly repudiated by Bhúkyas who say that their clan is comparatively a very large one and marriagable boys and girls are also many, and that consequently they pay more when their boys have to be married and get less for their girls.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for seven days when she is made to sit by herself in a shed built of green leaves outside the house, but inside the Thándā, at some distance from their god's shed. An elderly woman keeps company with her during these days. They do not observe any ceremonies such as Osage, but believe that a girl in that condition of delicate health is subject to evil spirits, to ward off which shoots of margosa leaves are stuck to the doorway of the hut. On the seventh day, she is made to bathe, but for the next few days she is in a state of partial uncleanness and may not go into the god's shed. During the succeeding monthly sickness, a woman remains unclean for one or two days, bathes and changes her clothes.

Widow marriage.

Widow marriage is common. The younger brother of the deceased husband is considered the most eligible person to marry a widow. This rule is carried so far as to sanction the marriage of a widow with a boy of tender years with liberty to her to live with another person as substitute till he becomes of proper age. She then joins him as his wife bringing with her any children she may have borne. Of late, however, this custom is being discredited and a stranger is preferred to a brother-in-law who is not of proper age. In such cases, the Tāḷi tied by the deceased husband together with the Tera paid for the second marriage goes to his younger brother.*

An elder brother is not allowed to marry his younger brother's wife. Banjāras claim to be the descendants of Váli and Sugrīva and profess to follow their example in this matter. Another explanation for this custom is also given. A bridegroom happened to die before finishing the seven rounds with the bride around the milk posts; his younger brother was made to finish the ceremony and thus become the girl's husband. This has ever

* It is stated that formerly when a husband became unfit either by old age or impotency, his younger brother could marry her as if she were a widow, but this practice, if it really did exist, has entirely disappeared now.

since been recognised as a convenient way of filling up a deceased husband's place. Of course, the explanations are fanciful and the practice is a survival of a widely prevalent archaic custom. The ceremony of the *Kutige*, styled *Bhānnu* in their language, takes place in the night before the assembly of the castemen, the presence of the *Náyak* being necessary. The woman is presented with a new cloth, and a *Tera* of Rs. 15 and three bullocks is given. Arrack or toddy is bought for Rs. 4 and distributed to all followed by *pan supari* and tobacco and the permission of the caste people is obtained. Next evening, before the groom's house, the caste people assemble by invitation. The man and the woman are made to stand facing each other. He is then made to tie the *Ghúgri* to the woman which is the essential and binding part of the ceremony. They then sit together within a screen and eat the common meal (*Kólia*). When a widow marries her husband's younger brother, no *Tera* is given but the latter has to supply liquor and *pan supari* to the caste people at his cost. The remarried widow has no title to her previous husband's property and her children by him also go to his family and inherit there. The offspring of a remarried widow have no disabilities but the woman herself is not permitted to take part in auspicious ceremonies, such as rubbing the bridal pair with turmeric.

Divorce is very easy and may be obtained almost at will. The only condition necessary is the assent of the *Náyak* for which one rupee has to be paid as fee. If the woman is subsequently married in *Kútike* form to the paramour, the latter has to pay the husband his marriage expenses and a fine of fifteen to twenty rupees to the caste, in addition to the usual bride price of fifteen rupees and three bullocks. If, however, she marries one not responsible for the divorce, he pays only the bride price. It is said that if a woman was pregnant at the time of elopement, the child is claimed by the husband and is delivered to him.

When an unmarried woman was seduced, the *Náyak* of the *Thānda* had power to subject him to ignominious treatment, shaving his head on one side and parading him in the street on the back of a donkey. This, however, is out of date and in its place, a heavy fine of one hundred rupees is imposed, in addition to a compensation of a hundred rupees to the parents, and the girl is married to him in a modified form of marriage, which consists of the couple walking round the two milk posts seven times

and eating the common meal (Kólia). When gone through, such marriage renders the previous offspring legitimate. But if the man is unwilling to marry her or is within prohibited degrees of kinship, she is subjected to pay a small fine and is taken into the caste with her child. She may afterwards be married to any one else who takes her along with the child without incurring any caste disability.

Adultery on the part of the wife is not a serious fault if the husband is willing to pardon it. It is said that if a man is convicted and is undergoing imprisonment, his wife may live with another man of the same caste bearing him children, and after the release of her husband, she may go to live with him along with the children by her paramour.

During the Holi Feast, Banjára women sometimes go out to collect doles for their festival and any peccadilloes they may be guilty of, in course of such expeditions, are easily condoned. It is said that formerly they were more strict in this matter and a woman suspected of incontinency had to clear her character by subjecting herself to some severe ordeal. They do not dedicate their girls as prostitutes.

Funerals.

Banjáras generally dispose of their dead by cremation; bodies of unmarried persons are, however, carried by hands and buried in the ground with heads placed towards the North. On the third day, a party of elderly persons go to the graveyard and place some milk and fried grain on the grave and return. All bathe that day and the pollution is completely removed.

In the case of married persons, as soon as life is extinct, the body is well washed in warm water and is covered with a new cloth as shroud. Ghee and jaggory are mixed together and put into its mouth. It is then placed on a bier and an old copper coin (a four-pie piece) is tied to the corner of the shroud near the feet. If the deceased was a married man, the wife takes off the Ghúgra (ear-pendants) and the Chúdo (bangles) before the dead body, and beats on her mouth. Four kinsmen take up the bier on their shoulders and walk on. The chief mourner, the son, carries fire in a pot carried on a bamboo frame in one hand and a pot with cooked rice on the other shoulder. Half way to the cremation ground, the bearers halt, place the body on the ground, and tearing off the knotted end of the shroud with the coin, throw it away into a thorny

bush near by. They then change sides, and carry the body straight to the burning ground without halting any where else. A pyre has already been prepared, the bearers take the body three times round it and finally place it on the pile with head turned towards the north. The pyre is then lighted by the chief mourner. He then takes a burning faggot and touches the head of the corpse seven times. Each one of the funeral party then places a faggot on the fire. All sit around till the whole body is consumed to ashes. They then go to a water course, bathe there and return home in wet clothes. On their way home, they have to pass on the right side of a Bore tree (prickly plant), and as they walk along, each of the party has to pluck out a leaf from it and throw it away, without either standing there or turning back. When they reach home, they have to tread on water poured on the ground by the chief mourner across the threshold. The relations offer their condolences to the bereaved party and return to their houses. That night on the spot where the deceased expired, water is kept on a bed of grain, which is very carefully observed next morning, to see whether any marks are left there and whether any water has been drunk by the deceased.

On the third day, early in the morning, two elderly persons from the Thánda go to the cremation ground, taking with them some milk, and without speaking to each other. They examine the ashes and if they observe no foot-marks, they believe that the deceased has gone to heaven. If, on the other hand, there are foot-marks of human beings, the deceased has been reborn as a man; if the traces are of the hoops of cattle the man has taken their shape and gone back to a life of incessant toil. If there are marks jumbled together so as to be indistinguishable, the deceased has been turned to a ghost hovering in the air, seeking whom he may attack. They believe in the transmigration of souls and say that a good man, on death, goes to heaven but with God's permission may be born again in this world.

In the meantime, the chief mourner and some others come to the place and with Ekka leaves, collect together the ashes into a heap and sprinkle milk over it. They then carry the ashes to a water course and throw them into water, and all bathe. The rest of the mourning party has already arrived here. A large quantity of bread

is baked and broken into bits. Jaggory and ghee are added to it and the mixture is turned into balls. These are then distributed to all the members who eat them up. This partly removes the pollution.

Only male members take part in the funerals. Even the bread, and other necessary articles must be prepared by men. In fact, no woman is allowed to come to the cremation ground.

On the fourth day, the Thánḍa people kill sheep and give a dinner to the bereaved family by way of offering condolence. This removes another portion of the pollution.

On the twelfth day, when the pollution is completely removed, all bathe, put on washed clothes and renew the earthen pots used for domestic purposes. In the evening they give a dinner to the caste people.

Next day, the thirteenth day, the deceased's family have to give another dinner to which all the members of the Thánḍa including the Náyak have to be invited and a great deal is consumed in goat's flesh and liquor.

They do not perform annual ceremonies, but on Dípávaṇi and Mahálāya Amávāsye, they set up a Kalasa to represent their ancestors and place Edes and new clothes as offerings before it. That day, a fire is made in a pit outside the house, into which lumps of Máldi (ಮಾಲ್ದಿ), that is, bread mixed together with ghee and jaggory, are thrown. If the fire burns brightly, it is believed to presage good luck, while if the fire should go out, it means certain misfortune to the family. Such burnt sacrifice is often offered in honour of the deceased female ancestors. Thus also a woman propitiates her husband's deceased wife.

Religion.

Banjáras resemble other Hindus in their religious faith and worship all the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, without special partiality to any. In addition, they have family gods to which they show special reverence.

The God of Tirupati, whom they know by the name of Báláji, stands as family deity for many of them. Offerings in money are set apart and carried by them to the shrine to which they often perform their journey on foot. On the days (generally Saturdays), on which they worship Báláji they invite Dásaris (the Vaishnava beggars) who cook food under a tree near their Thánḍas and make Púja to the image of this god preserved in the Thánḍa and the Garuḍakambha (lamp stand) carried by them. The Banjá-



fast till the Púja is over and then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to them by the Dásaris. This day they do not sacrifice any animals nor eat flesh or drink liquor. Many families keep the images of Báláji in their houses and worship them periodically. On the Sivarátri day, they all fast till the evening.

Their other gods are Tulja Dévi, Banasankari, Máramma and Huliamma. Tulja Dévi is believed to be a pious Banjára woman who was deified on immolating herself as a Sati on the funeral pyre of a person to whom she had been engaged to be married. Huliamma (tiger goddess) is believed to protect them from the ravages of wild beasts.

In addition to these, they have patron saints to whom they offer Púja. The chief of these are named Sévaya Bháya, Mittu Bhúkya and Bhajan Náyak. Sévaya was a handsome lad of the Rathód clan, who was very pious and of good character. He was on this account employed as the Pújári of their tribal gods. Goddess Máramma fell in love with him and, appearing in the guise of a beautiful damsel, offered to marry him. As the young man had already promised to marry a girl, more nearly his equal, he at first declined the tempting offer, but yielded only when the goddess, by her malignant power, killed his betrothed girl and tortured him in various other ways. He then with the help of the goddess grew rich and influential in his caste and became endowed with supernatural powers. In his old age, however, he gave offence to his whimsical spouse by declining to marry a young girl for issue and was killed by her. Wedded during his life to a goddess, he could not bestow his love on any woman of his tribe, and so he became known as Sévaya Bháya, brother Sévaya, and after his death, a shrine was erected at the place of his burial and by a process of posthumous deification, usual in such cases, he came to be worshipped and the belief gained ground that miracles were worked at his shrine.

Another story about him says that he was a Pújári and by his piety and devotion to his gods, he interceded successfully with Máramma, the goddess of epidemics, to save his people from her ravages. To enable her to identify these nomads and pass over them, the goddess directed that they should strap their bullocks in a different manner from others, by tying the knot on the left side.

Mittu Bhúkyā is said to have been a daring robber who once succeeded in carrying off considerable treasure belonging to Government. While going back with it to his Thánda, he happened to stumble and fall down. Taking it as the premonition of approaching death, he distributed all the booty among his followers after getting from them a promise to regard him as their patron deity. Some days after his death, his parents had a dream in which he asked them to marry him with a certain girl but, of course, they paid no heed to it. However, soon after this, Mittu reappeared in his body and actually married the girl and took her back with him to his grave where they both turned into images of stone.* Ever since he and his wife are worshipped by men of his clan and a hut is specially dedicated to him, distinguished by a white flag planted over it. The Pújári is believed to be in communication with Mittu's spirit, from whom he would get intimation about any impending danger or calamity to the tribe. He eschews meat and liquor and is a man of considerable influence among them and is regarded as a Bhagat, that is, a devotee or a Sádhu.

This deity is particularly connected with their marauding excursions. He is believed to have promised complete protection to them so long as they did not betray their confederates. He is worshipped on important days, such as Dipávali. Before starting on any important expedition the members of this clan meet in Mittu Bhúkyā's hut and invoke his aid. A lamp fed with ghee is lighted and the manner in which it keeps burning is received as a good or bad omen. If the sign is propitious, they start immediately and proceed to their business without any speech, as, if they broke silence, the charm would be broken and the supernatural protection withdrawn.

With the change of times, opportunities of successful robbery are fast diminishing and the power of this deity is greatly on the wane. They give a ready answer for this decline. One of their gang was tempted, in an evil hour, to reveal the secret of the clan to the British Government, whose officers had the sense to strike at the root of the evil by loading a silver image of this patron saint with iron chains and thus depriving him of his virtue and prestige.

* It is also related that he often visited other damsels and married them at nights and that they were invariably found to sicken and die soon after.

Bhajan Náyak is another deceased person whose memory is held sacred by the Banjáras of the Bhúkya clan. He is said to have been an adept in the practice of Yóga, and a story is told that when he sat in Samádhi a five-headed cobra would shelter him under its hood. Notwithstanding this miraculous power, he was quite a modern man, for he is said to have owed a lakh of Pagodas advanced to him for commissariat contract by the popular Munro. While on his death bed, he enjoined on his relatives to keep his body carefully for three days. His soul pleaded with the god of death and obtained a fresh lease of life. Within six months after this, he freed himself from his debts and went back to heaven.

Banjára women worship certain goddesses known as Nágarsi, Asávéri, Khógarasi and Pibbalavari. Each of these is associated with one of the four clans, the last, belonging to the Vadatya clan being considered to be a half goddess. These deities are commonly spoken of by them as the "three and a half goddesses" (Sádé-tín-dévi) and the members of the caste generally decline to pronounce the names of these goddesses, and make a mystery of the rites connected with their Púja.

While going with their caravans, they used often to tie rags to trees and sometimes attach bells and thorns to the top branches of trees. The original idea was probably to serve as guide posts to indicate the jungle tract or a convenient camping ground, or a rendezvous. Of course, it soon came about that ghosts or goddesses were assigned to such trees under names denoting goddess of rags (ಪಿಂಬಲಮ್ಮ), bell-goddess (ಗಂಟಲಮ್ಮ), and goddess of twigs and thorns (ಕಂಸಲಮ್ಮ).

In addition, the women of the caste worship the ordinary village goddesses, such as Máramma and Durgamma and certain Satis who burnt themselves with their deceased husbands.*

They believe in omens and used to observe them even when starting on their marauding trips. Their beliefs in this respect are more or less the same as those of their neighbours of other castes. A crow flying from left to right, meeting any person carrying bangles or flowers, and meeting a jackal, are examples of good omens; a snake crossing the way, somebody sneezing once when setting out, meeting a widow or bundle of firewood in the way and an owl hooting, are examples of bad omens. Superstitions.

* See Appendix for some of the songs.

Banjáras had many modes of trial by ordeal which have all nearly gone out of practice. One of them was to ask a woman suspected of incontinency, to take up in her hand a twig of the margosa tree which, specially associated with god Máramma, the guilty woman was afraid of touching, for fear of bringing on her the wrath of this cruel goddess.* Ordeal by fire was also much practised. Another method of testing the character of a woman is to ask her to allow the man suspected of improper intimacy with her, to suck her milk, an act which none but the most hardened would agree to do, since it would be considered equivalent to an incest of a particularly revolting type. They believe in the efficacy of oaths and the oath most sacred to them is one taken in the name of Sévaya Bháya.

Formerly Banjáras were notorious for infanticide and human sacrifices and it has passed into a habit to scare children into obedience by threatening to hand them over to a Banjára.

Witchcraft was prevalent among them formerly and it is said that women believed to practise it were, after a sort of trial, condemned to be killed, the burden of executing the sentence falling upon the husband.† The belief in the efficacy of witchcraft is no doubt still lingering, but there is no trace of any extreme measures being adopted against persons suspected to resort to its practice.

It is said that they used to offer human sacrifices. The existence of this custom is of course not admitted by any member of the caste and there is no authenticated instance of such an offence in the State.‡

Feasts, †

The most important of the feasts observed by the Banjáras are Hóli feast, Gauri feast and the Dasara which they generally style Mahánavami. Just before the Hóli feast, Banjára women go out in parties to collect money for the occasion. They go to the surrounding villages and dance and sing before persons likely to give them presents. They beat time with short sticks (Kóláte) in their hands and sing songs which are often indecent in matter, but which fortunately are unintelligible to most of

* *Cyclopedia of India*, p. 270.

† A. C. Lyall's *Berar Gazetteer* (1870), pp. 197—99.

‡ But see Mr. Thurston's *Ethnographical Notes on Southern India*, p. 507.



the hearers. They spend the money in feasting for which, they kill one or two goats. The males celebrate their part of the feast on a different day but no meat is allowed on that day.

Before the Gauri feast also, women go round to collect subscriptions but this time they never proceed beyond the bounds of decorum in their songs. On the first day of the feast, they make Púja to an image of Gauri. They sow some grains of wheat in earth and manure placed in bamboo baskets. They have special songs for reciting while they plant the seed and water the seedlings. By the time the seedlings are about six inches high, the season of worship is over. On the last day they worship the image and the seedlings in the baskets and all the women of the Thánda receive a few stocks as Prasáda and place them in the hair like flowers. A feast is held to bring the occasion to a close.

The Dasara feast is observed in honour of their family gods. Each family in the Thánda celebrates the feast by turns on different days and all the people congregate there to worship Bhaváni.

On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Asháḍha (ಪ್ರಥಮ ಏಕಾದಶಿ), they fast till evening, set up the image of Sitala Bhaváni, and do Púja to it, the whole Thánda joining in the celebration.

Tambúris, though Mahomedans in religion, take part in all the usual feasts associated with Hinduism, but they also celebrate the usual Mahomedan festivals in addition.

Banjáras may be said to rank below Okkaligas in social status, though, on account of their foreign origin, it is not easy to fix their place definitely. They may freely enter the houses of other castes and their contact is not generally considered obnoxious. They revere the Brahmans, invite them to their houses for important ceremonies and consult them on all important occasions. The barber and washerman serve them without any objection. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas, Kurnbas and other similar castes, but none except the Holeyas and Mádigas eat food touched by them.

Social
status.

Banjáras are a nomadic tribe, just settling down to agricultural habits. They have almost no recollection of their original home in Northern India. They always live in quarters outside villages, though they often own lands

on their own account. They have preserved their exclusiveness to a wonderful extent, though living in the country for hundreds of years. The migratory instinct is still strong in them. They hardly ever build substantial structures and even after a sojourn of thirty or forty years in a place, they leave it altogether and shift to any other place, the only reason which they give being that their gods no longer like the place.

The houses of Banjāras are all made of thatch, even the walls being sometimes built of bamboo frame work. They say they are not allowed to live in mud-roofed or tiled houses, and however easy circumstances a Banjāra may be in, he always has his hut made of this shabby material. Some of the houses are very spacious, and have separate cooking, sitting, and sleeping accommodation, and also for storing their grain. They keep a large herd of cattle and have a separate place to tether them.

Their settlement is known as a Thānda and is pitched outside the villages, generally on high ground. One reason given is that in villages their huts might be defiled by the entry of domestic fowls which they never rear but do not object to eat. They differ materially in habits and customs from the people of the country and, being exceedingly clannish, they naturally congregate together in exclusive quarters. Considerations of health and convenience for their herds of cattle, govern them in their choice of place and perhaps their predatory habits are also a factor in determining the place. They profess to be absolutely immune from attacks of small-pox and other epidemic diseases owing to the protection afforded by their patron saints. This comparative immunity is not altogether unfounded and is probably due to the favourable position they generally choose for their encampments. When the place gets unhealthy, they leave it with the least possible delay.

They live in huts covered with thatch and rarely build any substantial structure. There is said to be a customary prohibition against their living in substantial houses, which is but another way of asserting that they have hardly emerged from their predatory stage of existence.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance. In the matter of division of property, their headman (Náyak) assisted by a Pancháyat is the sole judge; and it is said that, even now, partition cases are not taken to Civil Courts,



and any infringement of this wholesome rule is punished with the excommunication of the delinquent. Outcastes are denied the right of succeeding to their ancestral property.

They indulge in meat and liquor. They eschew beef and cannot touch for food monkeys, snakes and other reptiles. Those of them who devote themselves to worship Báláji and other gods and are known as Bhagats, are pure vegetarians and do not taste liquor. Their women also are strict teetotalers, and another peculiarity is that they never chew betel leaf and arecanut.

Banjáras admit recruits from any of the higher castes, but till three generations elapse, the convert and his issue are not admitted into all the privileges of the caste. They live in a separate shed in the same Thánḍa and are married to similar converts. They can become full members of the caste only in the fourth generation, after obtaining the recognition of the caste Paucháyat and giving a dinner and presents to them.

Admission
of out-
siders.

Banjáras were engaged in transporting merchandise from place to place when roads did not exist and communications were more difficult. They had a large number of pack bullocks and readily hired themselves out to transport grain and other supplies for armies in the field, serving impartially whichever side paid them best.

Occupation.

Even now they recollect with pride, certain instances of their ancestors carrying out such contracts on a large scale for the British armies and earning large rewards. This business has now dwindled down almost to nothing and they have taken largely to agricultural pursuits. During the trebulous times, before the midde of the last century, they figured largely as robbers and bandits and the peaceful inhabitants of the villages were more afraid of pillage by these petty robbers than of the vicissitudes of the regular wars. This mode of life is also becoming more and more difficult to pursue. The Banjáras are, however, still regarded as a criminal tribe and placed under police surveillance. Highway robbery, cattle-lifting and theft of grain or other property are most common offences, and whenever the necessity arises, they do not hesitate to use violence, even women being known to take part in such encounters.

* The following extract gives a succinct account of the criminal habits of this tribe :—

"Formerly, dacoities by Lambadies were committed on the most extensive scale and even to a recent date instances of large organised dacoities have occurred in the Ceded Districts; but they confine themselves principally to dacoities on a small scale on highways and in houses in isolated hamlets, cattle-lifting and occasionally to grain thefts.

"Burglary is not attempted by them, which is a matter for congratulation, for the maxim "nothing succeeds like success" would be adopted by them, and, being, as a class, fearless, they would prove a formidable addition to the many classes of criminals who now look on burglary as an easy and certain means of livelihood.

* * * * *

"Lambadies have their receivers of stolen property among all sorts and conditions of men, * * * who reap a rich harvest in their dealings with their less favoured brethren among the criminal classes. Identifiable property is not brought to the encampment, but is buried in convenient places in the sandy beds of ravines. They are expert cattle-lifters and often annex large herds, but this is chiefly in wild and unfrequented tracts. If questioned by an inquisitive passer-by, the answer they give is that the cattle belong to villagers who have sent them out to graze under their care. After lapse of time, the stolen cattle are disposed of singly or in pairs at distant cattle fairs.

"The Naik or headman of the gang takes an active part in the commission of crime and receives two shares of the spoil in the division. In the event of a gang or a portion of it being convicted, the Naik is responsible for the welfare of the families of the unfortunate; should the Naik also happen to be unfortunate, an acting man is chosen as his successor, and upon him devolve all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the office.

"In committing crimes as before specified, *viz.*, dacoity, etc., Lambadies are invariably armed with sickles ("gandakatties") sticks (gadees), and if resistance is offered, use considerable violence: the women have been known to take a leading part in dacoities and to beat off an attack by villagers on a gang of Lambadies engaged in a serious village dacoity." ("Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency" by Mr. F. S. Mullalay.)

Tribal Government.

The tribal organization is very strong among the Banjāras.

The whole tribe is divided into territorial groups at the head of which is a man styled Náyak or the headman. Their settlements, which are styled Thándas, are called after the names of their Náyaks. Formerly the Náyaks had powers of life and death, which, of course, have fallen into desuetude in recent times. Whenever a guilty person was to be tried for a very serious fault such as witchcraft, the Náyak was assisted by a Pancháyat who gave the accused an opportunity to defend himself. Under the Náyak is a man styled Kárbári, locally known as Buddhi-vanta, who presides over meetings of minor importance in the absence of the Náyak. The offices of these are hereditary, but when a Náyak happens to be too weak or young,

he may be set aside in favour of an abler man. In a Thánda no important event can ever take place without the permission of the Náyak being first obtained. Their code of laws prescribes punishment for all breaches of caste discipline and crimes, and the decision of their Náyak on the several points submitted to him can never be called in question. When any dispute of a very serious nature occurs, the heads of other Thándas and sometimes other groups are invited, to a meeting called together at the expense of the person at fault and the decision of such an assembly is implicitly obeyed. The Náyak and his lieutenant are rewarded by fees on all important occasions, such as, marriage. General Briggs, writing in 1813, gives the following interesting account of the constitution of the tribal government among Banjáras, who still observe it in its main points :—

“The state of the Ráthóre Banjáras became now such as to require the vigilance and care of such a man as Sárang, who saw the necessity of modelling a code of laws, which still exists and forms the basis of their little government. He found that the personal character of the chief could alone secure the obedience of his tribe, and that, as the whole community were proprietors of a general stock, it was in the power of any member, if he chose, to emigrate, and thus divide the formidable power which he, by his wisdom, had brought together; he saw that amongst a body of proprietors there must be certain number amenable to one, and this person was called *naiq*, who was elected by the proprietors of his horde or *tanda*; and the several *naiqs* paid obedience to the chief of them all, who was seated on a *gady* or wool-sack; and this office naturally devolved on Sárang Bhungay, the lineal descendant of Bheeca. The several hordes which had joined him had each of them a nominal chief; but it was now agreed that the *naiq*ship should descend lineally on the nearest relation, and that he should only be put aside by the majority of voices of the proprietors composing the *tanda*, the number of which, of course, must necessarily depend upon the demand for their services in one place. These proprietors at the present day possess from four or five as far as two hundred head of cattle each, and a *tanda* not unfrequently, in times of great demand, consists of thirty thousand bullocks. The only privilege of a *naiq*, or chief of a horde, is the exclusive right of appropriating to his own use everything which is presented to him by his employers.

* * * *

“To avoid the possibility of personal hatred against the chief of the tribe, or of the minor *tanda*, from an undue exercise of authority, it was resolved that all punishment should be limited to pecuniary fines or expulsion, but no Banjára should be liable to suffer death by the hand of the magistrate, which would vest too much power in him and make his office, instead of being that of a father rather than of a master. And a man cannot be punished in any way without being

first tried by a jury of five, to consist of the proprietors of the *tanda*, any and all of whom he is at liberty to object to; and this liberty extends so far as to enable the culprit, if he chooses, to deny the power of the jury, but by which he deprives himself of all his Banjára rights, and is accordingly excommunicated—a ceremony which is performed by the culprit being led to the skirts of the camp attended by the horde, and there, having received four strokes of a slipper on his head, he is expelled. To prevent, however, the same person from entering into the Banjára community, it is an ordinance that no individual or small body of Banjára shall be received as members of an established *tanda* or horde; if circumstances disperse a horde, the individuals must reunite under their former *naig*, or remain independent or form a new *tanda*.

“If a serious cause of dispute should take place between two Banjáras, in order to prevent its leading to blows, and oftener to drawing of swords, each member of the community is bound to throw himself between the disputants, in order that it may be settled by law; if swords are drawn and this appears imprudent, the mediator takes off his turban and, holding one end in his hand, throws it at full length between the parties; and this seldom fails to remind both of the nature of their laws, and the necessity of abiding by them; and to continue the quarrel after the intercession of a mediator is a crime punishable by jury.

“The unanimity which exists among this body, and the extreme punctuality with which they adhere to these customs considered by them as religiously sacred, would probably prevent the frequent occurrence of crimes of a minor consideration, such as stealing among themselves in any shape; but whatever be the nature of the crime, it is punishable only by the jury in the following proportion of pecuniary mulct:—

(1) Petty crimes are fined at the rate of five rupees as a mulct, payable to the woosack.

(2) The next great fine is a rupee to be paid in the name of each of the seven families of Rathore, in addition to fine to the woosack, making twelve rupees.

(3) The greatest fine that can be levied is seven rupees to the Rathores, six to the tribe of Chowan, and twelve to that of Power, besides five to the woosack, making the extreme sum of thirty rupees.

“After the collection of the fine, the sum of money, excepting only one rupee which is scrupulously reserved for the woosack (rather as a register of the number of fines than the amount of them), is all expended in purchasing *Bhung*, liquor (of which the Banjáras are devotedly fond), and any other inebriating articles. The plaintiff and the defendant are seated next to each other. Some *Bhung* leaf pulverized is placed in the right palm of each, and they blow it off in token of their quarrel having been blown over, for ever, as the dust which has just been dispersed. The rest of the horde sit round and drink; and it is at this time that their *Bhatts* or bards, sing, either extempore or not, as it may happen (accompanying with a kind of guitar), the deeds of their illustrious ancestors.

“Although it was considered by this respectable law-giver that the power of life and death should not be vested in the hands of his

successors, he made it lawful in cases of murder that the friends and relatives of the murdered should put the murderer to death within the period of three days after the commission of the deed ; after which if any revenge was taken, the parties attacking the original murderer should be themselves liable to the same punishment by his friends and relatives ; so that by this simple institute, a murderer seldom escaped death although it not unfrequently happened that one of the parties was excommunicated on account of these protracted feuds."

The dress and ornaments of the women form a characteristic feature of the Banjāras. They wear a skirt or Lunga made of stout, coarse print of Karwar cloth embroidered in heavy patterns. The bodice (Kānchalī) is also elaborately embroidered and is open at the back where it is tied with coloured ribbon. The bodice has three flaps with profuse needle-work and bordered with lead disks styled Ghūgra and tassels called Phoonda. Two of them, Thunthania fall upon the breasts and the other, Khaviya is sewn on the upper arm of the shoulder. A veil, Chātīya, is also made of the same coarse cloth, measuring about five feet and has an elaborately worked border. One end of it is tucked to the Pétia at the left side, goes over the head and hangs loose on the right shoulder. To that part of the veil which covers the head, a thick border styled Ghoomto with leaden beads and disks is attached and hangs on the forehead. At the back, on the veil, are sewn pendants called Ladaki made of black thread, and embedded in metal cups styled Tópli. Jhálaro is the thick waistband worked into the Pétia or Lunga.

Dress and ornaments.

Their jewels are numerous and include strings of glass and wooden beads, besides those of brass or other base metal. The following are among the more important of them :—Am'ti and Tóp are attached to the hair and are always covered by the veil passing over them. Ghūgra are gold or silver pendants, fastened to the hair and suspended on the ears and have tassels of trinkets styled Chótla tied to their ends. Patīya is a neck ornament and is made up of square bits of metal strung together. Vankya (a crescent-shaped ornament) Hasali and a profusion of beads called Lá'di are worn on the neck. Nine horn bangles styled Pachéla worn on the upper arm and some horn bangles called Balia and a wooden bangle, Bódlu, make up the ornaments of each hand. Brass rings are worn profusely on the fingers and the toes. They wear also anklets of the same metal. Strings of cowry beads are attached to the Pétia and Pachéla. Every married woman is possessed

of a cloth cushion for resting the water pot on the head and a cloth cover for the pot, both of which are ornamented with embroidery and cowry shells. A metal disk called *Sók* is sometimes worn by a woman for the purpose of propitiating a deceased wife of her husband.

The peculiar ornaments of a Banjára man are a silver bangle worn on the upper arm of the right hand and another on the left wrist. The waist-thread is decorated with leaden beads and tassels. The ordinary dress is a *Dhóti* with short trousers and a red turban. Each man has an embroidered *pan-supari* pouch and a hookah.

Of the ornaments worn by the women, the *Ghúgri*, the horn bangles called *Chúdo* and the brass anklets (*Khas*), denote married condition in a woman. An unmarried girl does not wear the *Ghúgri* and the *Chúdo*, but wears on the ankles black beads and small bells. Widows generally remove almost all the jewels but retain some horn bangles on the upper arm and other minor jewels.

Dance.

The dance of their women is also characteristic. Eight or more form a ring and go round and round keeping time to a monotonous chant singing the praises and exploits of their heroes and calling, at intervals, for blessings on the patron of the entertainment.

The women get themselves tattooed profusely.

The Banjáras are, as a class, illiterate. But in recent times, the Government have started some schools for the education of their children and they are showing appreciable progress.

APPENDIX A.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

I. The whole caste of Banjāras is divided into four exogamous groups, each of which being again split up into a number of allied divisions. The following represents the internal structure :—

(A) Bhūkya, (B) Pamhār, (C) Chowhān and
 (D) Vāḍatya.

(A) Bhūkya, also styled Rāthod, contains seven main divisions, namely—

- (1) Dungāvat (ಡುಂಗಾವತ್).
- (2) Khimāvat (ಖಿಮಾವತ್).
- (3) Rāmāvat (ರಾಮಾವತ್).
- (4) Dhéḡāvat (ಧೇಗಾವತ್).
- (5) Khétāvat (ಖೇತಾವತ್).
- (6) Kharamtót (ಖರಂತ್‌ಮೋಟ್).
- (7) Néḡāvat (ನೇಣಾವತ್).

These are again split up into two groups named after Jangi (Khóla) and Bhangi, their original leaders, the group of Jangi (styled Khóla) contain 14 gòts or divisions and that of Bhangi, 13.

Jangi's (Khóla) divisions—

- (1) Kháṭarót (ಖಾಟರೋಟ್).
- (2) Ráṭṭla (ರಾತ್ಲ್ಯ).
- (3) Mádrécha (ಮಾದ್ರೇಚ).
- (4) Rámaṡya (ರಾಮಸ್ವಯ).
- (5) Védyót (ವೇದ್ಯೋಟ್).
- (6) Jálápót (ಜಾಲಪೋಟ್).
- (7) Dárván (ದಾರ್ವಣ).
- (8) Sudhārat (ಸುಧಾರತ್).
- (9) Phadán (ಫದಾಣ).
- (10) Méplát (ಮೇಪ್ಲಾಟ್).
- (11) Dálpán (ದಾಲ್ಪಾಣ).
- (12) Jáṭarót (ಜಾಟರೋಟ್).
- (13) Kháṭarót (ಖಾಟರೋಟ್).
- (14) (Not known).

Bhangi's divisions—

- (1) Rájāvat (ರಾಜಾವತ್).
- (2) Kumbhāvat (ಕುಂಬಾವತ್).

- (3) Mérájót (ಮೇರಾಜೋತ್).
- (4) Dhégávat (ಧೇಗಾವತ್).
- (5) Khimávat (ಖಿಮಾವತ್).
- (6) Dungávat (ದುಂಗಾವತ್).
- (7) Rámávat (ರಾಮಾವತ್).
- (8) Khétávat (ಖೇತಾವತ್).
- (9) Khóḍávat (ಖೋಡಾವತ್).
- (10) Kharamtót (ಖರಂಟೋಟ್).
- (11) Népávat (ನೆಪಾವತ್).
- (12) Méghávat (ಮೇಘಾವತ್).
- (13) Pitávat (ಪಿತಾವತ್).

(B) Pamhár contains twelve sub-divisions. The whole group is sometimes known by the name of Jarabla :—

- (1) Jarabla (ಜರಬ್ಲ).
- (2) Vishalávat (ವಿಷಲಾವತ್).
- (3) A'mgrót (ಆಮಗೋತ್).
- (4) Wánkhdót (ವಾಂಖ್ಡೋತ್).
- (5) Vindrávat (ವಿಂದ್ರಾವತ್).
- (6) Lupsávat (ಲುಪ್ಸಾವತ್).
- (7) Lokávat (ಲೋಕಾವತ್).
- (8) Gorámo (ಗೋರಾಮೋ).
- (9) Aivat (ಐವತ್).
- (10) Chaivat (ಚೈವತ್).
- (11) Báni (ಬಾಣಿ).
- (12) Tarabáni (ತರಬಾಣಿ).

(C) Chowhán, also styled Moodh, contains six sub-divisions—

- (1) Moodh (ಮೂಢ).
- (2) Sabhávat (ಸಭಾವತ್).
- (3) Khelót (ಖೇಲೋತ್).
- (4) Khorra (ಖೋರಾ).
- (5) Páltya (ಪಾಲ್ತ್ಯ).
- (6) Lávadya (ಲಾವಡ್ಯ).

(D) Vadatyá contains 13 sub-divisions :—

- (1) Bádávat (ಬಾದಾವತ್).
- (2) Bóḍa (ಬೋಡಾ).
- (3) Ghógalót (ಘೋಗಲೋತ್).
- (4) Dárávat (ದಾರಾವತ್).
- (5) Ajaméra (ಅಜಮೇರಾ).
- (6) Téra (ತೇರಾ).
- (7) Mérávat (ಮೇರಾವತ್).

- (8) Málót (ಮಾಲೋತ್).
- (9) Lákávat (ಲಾಕಾವತ್).
- (10) Lúnávat (ಲೂನಾವತ್).
- (11) Barót (ಬರೋತ್).
- (12) Hála (ಹಾಲ).
- (13) Kunási (ಕುನಾಸಿ).

II. Támburis have the following six exogamous divisions:—

- (1) Ratnávat (ರತ್ನಾವತ್).
- (2) Bhát (ಭಾಟ್).
- (3) Sérávat (ಸೇರಾವತ್).
- (4) Dhávat (ಧಾವತ್).
- (5) Bájjíút (ಬಾಜೀಜಾತ್).
- (6) Rúdhávat (ರೂಢಾವತ್).

APPENDIX B.

SONGS.

I. Marriage songs.

An unmarried girl always wears black beads on the ankles which are removed before the bride is conducted to the yard where the marriage takes place. The following is sung by the girl when the beads are being removed:—

Garatani mat tódó Jámané
 Tódó kávaráne kákaróso.
 Mára virári hátéri, garatani mat tódó
 Séréri Sérávi, garatani mat tódó.

“ Sister, do not break my black beads,
 Why do you break the beads and send me to another's
 house ?

Do not untie the beads tied by my brother.”

The following is sung when dried grains are ground
 (see page 15 above) :—

Mugadala mugadala é ládi,
 Vadadala vadadala é ládi.
 E'kaja péróye ládi,
 Valto peróyé ládi.
 Tara báyi, bhajáyi dalagé jum
 Tóyi dalalayé ládi.

Tara káki káka dalagé jum,
 Tóyi dalalayé ládi.
 Tara yádi bápu dalage jum,
 Tóyi dalalayé ládi.

“ Women, (turn the grindstone containing) black gram,

Women (turn the grindstone containing) green gram,
 Women, turn (the stone) once.

Women turn, (it) the opposite way.

How your brother and sister-in-law (turned it), you also turn it that way.

How your aunt and uncle (turned it), you also turn it that way.

How your mother and father (turned it), you also turn it that way.”

When the bridegroom stands ready to bathe, young women reprimand him thus :—

Tári yáđini ka nai paróne ?

Déťa végañiya ! Atte kaséné áye ?

Tári kákani ka nai paróne ?

Déťa végañiya ! Atte kaséné áye ?

Tári unchá gađári, végañiya !

Nicha gađári tári náríki.

Déťa végañiya ! Atte kaséni áye ?

“ Why did you not marry your mother ?

You shameless obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here ?

Why did you not marry your aunt ?

You shameless obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here ?

You belong to the up country ;

Your wife belongs to the low country.

You shameless obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here ?”

When the bridegroom bathes and is afterwards thrown down, the following is sung :—

Lálaje chađé khadó

Tú hété pađó, Lalaji,

Jógulo pére tum kánchezi péró,

Túna káya kidarayé, Lalaji ?

Tumána pére tum petia péró,

Túna káya, kidarayé Lalaji ?

Págadi bande tum làvani bándo,
 Túna káya kidarayé, Lálaji ?

“ Lálaji, tie up your clothes tight and stand,
 Lálaji, you may fall down.

What has happened to you, Lálaji ?
 (when the bridegroom falls).

You had put on a coat (man's garment),
 now (that you have fallen down) you may wear
 a káñchali (woman's bodice cloth).

What has happened to you, Lálaji ?

You had worn short trousers, now you may wear
 a pétia (Langa).

What has happened to you, Lálaji ?

You had worn a turban, now you may wear a làvani
 (portion of the veil covering a woman's head).

What has happened to you, Lálaji ? ”

The following is sung when the bridegroom is lead-
 ing the bride round the milk posts :—

Téró méré hoyé ládi,
 Ekat péró pharlé ládi,
 Tína péra hoyé ládi,
 Túyi hamári ládi,
 Páncha péra hoyé ládi,
 Chhó péra hoyé ládi,
 Sát péra hoyé ládi,
 Sát pérámi hoyé tumári,
 Sát péra par liya.

“ Girl, you have become mine,

Girl, one round is over,

Girl, three rounds are over,

Girl, you are mine,

Girl, fifth round is over,

Girl, sixth round is over,

Girl, seven rounds are over. After the seventh round
 I am yours. Seven rounds are completed.”

The following is sung by young girls mocking the
 bride for her protestations against marriage :—

Chal chóriya vadáyí mārātīti, kolīa khāv bēti
 Chóri vétīti, dantiya masiyā lagaḍātīti,
 Chal chóriya, háté ghoomtó kaḍachīti
 Ab ḍar káyku ?

Choriya vétítí, vadáye mánaratítí
 Pérá phar bétí.

“Go, girl, you were bragging (that you would not marry), daughter, eat kólia.
 You were a girl, and were using black to your teeth.
 Go, girl, you have covered your face with a veil.
 You have gone round the milk post.”

II. Songs sung at feasts.

Kámana Habba or Hôly feast—

Assé ðappé váléké lambi lambi dhóti,
 Oré kaniyan dékan válémé rasiyá
 Dab chaléde,
 Assé ðappé váléké tángemá tódá,
 Táré tódana dékan válémé rasiyá
 Assé ðappé váléké hátéme khóradá
 Assé khóradámé déká váléme rasiyá
 Dab chaléde,
 Assé ðappé váléké kademá kanadóru,
 Uná déká válémé rasiyá,
 Dab chaléde.

“The cloth of a rich man is long; seeing his ear-
 ring, I am enamoured;

Beat the drum.

On the wrists of a rich man there are gold bracelets,
 seeing which I am enamoured.

Beat the drum.

In the hands of a rich man he holds a whip, seeing
 which I am enamoured.

On the waist of a rich man there is a silver thread,
 seeing which I am enamoured.

Beat the drum.”

Mahánavami (Dasara)—

Andhá diyé Upabhaváni táré dáré
 Gadapar nowpat bhájé,
 Andhá diyé aki sadar Bhaváni táré dáré
 Gadapar nowpat bhájé,
 Vánjuva Upabhaváni táré dáré,

Vári gódé sadáur Bhaváni táré dáré
Gaḍapar nowpat bhájé.
Kubádiyé Upabhaváni táré dáré
Gaḍapar nowpat bhájé.

“ O Bhaváni, a blind man is near you, so I beat the drum in your name.

Cure the eyes of your blind devotee, O Bhaváni, so I beat the drum in your name.

There is a barren woman standing in your presence, O Bhavani, make her carry a child in your presence, so I beat the drum in your name.

There is hump-backed person in your presence, (O Bhavani, cure him) so I beat the drum in your name.”

Bágéma gbódólo mólále Titárája,
Bágéma kamadóro mólále Titárája,
Bágéma sónéri bágéma hasaló mólále Titárája,
Bágéma kóldá mólá Kaḍadháre Titárája,
Bágéma mungá mólá Kaḍadháre Titárája.

“ O Tita-rája, purchase horses in the jungles.

Purchase them with the silver waist-thread on your waist.

Purchase them with the gold necklace round your neck.

Purchase, O truthful Titárája, with the silver bangles on your arms.

Purchase them with that coral wreath round your neck.”

These verses are sung during their periodical worship of Vīramāstemma. The story is that a Banjára man called Titárája was killed by a tiger when he went to the forest in search of his horse. His betrothed found this out from a dream and went to the place where his body was thrown. She burnt herself with the body and when in the midst of flames, sang this song in praise of her husband.

The following is sung during Dasara :—

Sudá Saváye Bháktu Péri,
Kaché kéro diváló,
Karpúra víré ártímá
Méka mélári ártímá,



Pavanépani ártimā
Chandé sutári ártimā,
Jánie máta ártimā.

“ O thou beautiful goddess, I, thy devoted worshipper, approach thee with camphor-lighted haligarthi, and I worship thee with it ; I request thee to pour down rain ; I worship thee with clear water ; I worship the sun, the moon and the mother earth.”*

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX (1901), pages 548-549.

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