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**XV**

**MORASU OKKALU.**

BY

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## MORASU OKKALU.

Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) is a generic term applied to a number of castes, whose main occupation is agriculture. They are distinguished by different names in different parts of the State. The *Raddis* or the Telugu Okkaligas are found in parts of the Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, the *Morasu* Okkaligas, in parts of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts, the *Gangadikārs* in the Mysore and Hassan and parts of Bangalore Districts, the *Nonabas* in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts and the *Nāmadhāri* Okkalu in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts. Interspersed with these are other Okkaligas called *Kunchigas* or *Kunchatigas*, *Hallikaras*, *Sālas*, *Hālu Okkalu* and other sub-divisions. There is reason to believe that all or most of these divisions formerly formed one homogenous caste which from various causes separated themselves into different groups. Many of these divisions have become Lingayats and their affinity with the main division is still recognised by the practice of their intermarrying with non-Lingayat families of their division, which however is now becoming rare.

The population of the Okkaligas of all divisions according to the last Census (1901) was 1,283,947, of whom 642,245 were males, and 641,702 females, thus forming nearly a fourth of the entire population of the State.

Morasu Okkalus, though they form a division of the main caste, are among themselves a homogeneous community, not only limiting marital relations within itself but also containing a few divisions which are endogamous. They are most commonly called *Morasu Okkalu* (ಮೊರಸು ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ), and less frequently *Hosadēvara Okkalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರ ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ). The common honorific suffixes to their names are *Gaṇḍa* (ಗಂಡ) in Kannada, and *Raḍḍi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) in Telugu.

The meaning of the term *Morasu* is not clear. Some say that it is the name of the language which they speak, that is, Kannada ; but this name is not traceable in usage for the Kannada language. The term *Morasu* is said to mean weavers of mats and baskets. This meaning cannot be a correct one, as *Morasus* are nowhere known as having been basket or mat makers. The third and the most probable meaning is that they are so called because they formerly inhabited a country known by the name of *Morasunád* (ಮೊರಸುನಾಡು). Similar divisions are found in other castes as well.\* There is said to be a division of Srivaishnava Brahmins called *Morasunád*.

The term *Okkalu* (ಒಕ್ಕಲು) meaning 'a family' is derived from the Kannada root *Okku* (ಒಕ್ಕು) which means to thresh. It means especially a family residing on a cultivating farm ; and *Okkaliga* (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) means "a man of such a family" and the term is applied to all those whose profession is agriculture.

Some of the people of the *Okkalu* caste say that the term is the shortened from *Okkahálu Malakalu* (ಒಕ್ಕಹಾಲು ಮಕ್ಕಳು), that is, the children of the spilt milk and that they were born out of milk spilt by *Pàrvati* ; but this fanciful derivation owes its origin to the usual motive of finding a divine pedigree for the caste.

*Hosadévara Okkalu* are so called because of the custom of worshipping *Hosadévaru* (ಹೊಸದೇವರು) i. e., the new deity. *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) also spelt *Gavuda* (ಗವುಡ) is derived from *Gáva* (ಗಾವ) or *Gramu* (ಗಾಮ) and denotes the chief officer of a village. This term with its Tamil equivalent *Kaundan* is used as a title of honour among the peasants. Some derive the term from *Gadikára*, that is, the head of a country within a defined boundary, or the protector of a boundary.

*Radḍi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) is said to be derived from *Raḍḍas*, a ruling race of the olden times. The term is properly applicable to the Telugu cultivating caste.

Language. They speak both Kannada and Telugu, the sections known as *Radḍi* and *Pàlyadasime* speaking Telugu and the rest Kannada.

Origin. The *Morasu Okkalu* are indigenous and are practically confined to the Eastern part of the State and the adjoining

British Territory. They admit that they belong to the fourth caste, agriculture being their original as well as their present occupation. They are said to have emigrated from the country, near Kanchi or (Conjeveram) which is apparently the tract known as Morasunād, and the cause of the exodus is given in the following story.

The Palyégar or petty ruler of the country, who happened to be a man of the Yàkila caste, wished to marry a girl from a higher caste, and sent his man to select a bride among the Morasu Okkaligas. Going to the chief place of these men, the Palyégar's agent was struck with the extraordinary beauty of a girl whose locks of hair were so luxuriant that she used them as a rope to lead a calf with which she was playing. The parents and the chiefs of the caste were unwilling to enter into the degrading alliance, but were at the same time reluctant to incur the displeasure of a strong chief. They dismissed the emissary with a temporising message. All preparations were made as if for marriage, and the day was even fixed and a marriage pavillion erected. But they had secretly packed all their valuables, and had made themselves ready to flee from his district during the night. Professing to act according to an old custom, they put all the bride's presents sent by the Palyégar on a dog, which they tied up to the *milk* post of the pavillion, and deserted their ancestral homes in a body carrying with them the image of their god Bhairava in a cart. Unfortunately the river that separated them from another territory was then in full flood. The river god however heard their prayers and allowed them a dry passage in the middle as at the Exodus of the Israilites, and afterwards swallowed up the Palyégar and his followers, who, having learnt of the trick that had been practised against them, rushed somewhat too late in pursuit. Thus seven clans under their seven Gaudas or leaders first came to Kolar and settled there and gradually spread themselves all round.

One of these clans under their headman Bhairé Gaṇḍa settled in Avati about the close of the 15th century. Near this village was a small hamlet called Dévana-Doddi (ದೇವನ ದೊಡ್ಡ i. e., the cattle pen of Dēva). Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa persuaded this man to cede the place to him promising to immortalise his memory by constructing a fort to be named after him. The fort of Devanahalli thus built together with the surrounding country remained in the family of the



founder till 1749, when after a gallant struggle it passed to the possession of Nanjarāja, the Mysore Commander, an occasion rendered memorable as bringing Hyder Ali first into notice.

After building the fort of Devanhalli and entrusting its affairs to his younger brother Saṃṃa Bhairé Gauḍa, the ambitious Malla Bhairé Gauḍa undertook further conquests. The first of them was the subjugation of the country to the North of Devanhalli and founding the fort of Chikballapur. While hunting in the jungle near Kōḍi-Manchenahalli village, this Gauḍa observed a hare turning back to oppose the pursuing hound, and taking the place to be *gandu bhūmi* (virile soil), he proposed to the two brothers who were joint Patels of the village to build a fort and a *péte* there. The permission of the sovereign in Vijayanagar was duly obtained. An auspicious time was fixed, and it was agreed that the foundation should be laid as soon as the sound of a conch should indicate the exact moment. Unfortunately a passing Dāsari beggar blew his conch, and mistaking it as the signal, Malla Bhairé Gauḍa commenced the work half an hour too soon. The result of this contretemps was declared to be that the dynasty would wield power there only for 300 years. The *Pālyapat* which continued with varying fortune for three centuries exactly, fell into the hands of Tipu Sultan in 1779.

A similar origin is attributed to the fort of Doddballapur. This time a cow was observed to pour its milk over an anthill in the jungle; and when Malla Bhairé Gauḍa who had observed this unusual phenomenon went to bed revolving it in his mind, he was commanded in his dream to build a temple on that spot to Vishnu who had his abode there. He carried out the injunction; and after obtaining a warrant of the Viceroy of Vijayanagar stationed at Ponakonda, he reduced the chiefs of the surrounding territory to submission, and secured a tract of country with a revenue of a lakh of Pagodas for himself. He established his brother Hāvaḷi Bhairé Gauḍa there; and this petty kingdom remained in the family till the 16th century when it passed into the hands of Ranadulla Khan, the general of Bijapur.

Bhairé Gauḍa, the last Pālyégar of Doddballapur went to Gudibanda after this defeat and taking possession of it reduced the country around to some order by subjugating the freebooters, and built a fort there. As he died childless, his wife's brother took possession of the place, but

Baiché Gauda of Chikballapur who had a better title to succeed to the childless Palyégar, put him to death and added Gudibanda to his territory.

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

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

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

Divisions:-  
Endoga-  
mous.

The endogamous divisions are Musaku (ಮುಸಕು), Radḍi (ರಡ್ಡಿ), Pályadasime (ಪಾಲ್ಯದಸಿಮೆ) and Morasu (ಮೊರಸು) properly so called, the last being sub-divided into three Sálus (or lines) styled Kànn Sálu (ಕಾನುಸಾಲು), Nérlegaḷṭada Sálu (ನೇರ್ಲೆಗಲ್ಟದಾ ಸಾಲು) and Kúṭora Sálu (ಕುಟೋರಸಾಲು).

*Musaku* means a veil and the division is so called because during marriages, the bride covers herself all over with a veil. This is the division to which the several Palyégar chiefs of the caste belonged.

*Radḍis* are the Telugu speaking section of the caste.

*Pályada Sime* men also speak Telugu. The name is applied to the section of the Telugu Morasus living in the Bangalore District, especially round about Bangalore. They are immigrants into these parts from the country of Gummanáyakana Pálya in the Bagepalli Taluk. The name is common only in and near Bangalore and their relations in Gummanáyakana Pálya are only called Morasus.



Exogamous  
divisions.

The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, each being called after an animal, plant or other material, with the usual prohibitions against the members of the divisions cutting or in some cases, even touching the thing representing their division or *bedagu* (ಬೆಡಗು) or *gôtra* (ಗೋತ್ರ). Some of these divisions with the name of the thing represented by each are given in Appendix B.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Birth cere-  
monies.

There is little that is peculiar to the caste in the ceremonies observed when the woman is carrying or after confinement. The mother is kept apart for 7 or 9 days and those who attend on her should bathe before touching anything in the house. On the day of purification, the relatives of the family in the village each bring a potful of hot water and a ball of soapnut paste, which is mixed with what has been prepared in the house and used for bathing the confined woman and her child. One of the elderly matrons while carrying the baby challenges the evil spirits to harm it, if so disposed. before entering the house, as their God will protect the child effectually after the child is taken inside. \*

If the daughter-in-law is delivered of a child in her mother's house, her mother-in-law visits her on the third day, carrying as a present a basket (ಕಾರದಗೂಡೆ), filled with rice, pepper, dry cocoanuts, garlic, palm jaggery, old arca nuts and betel leaves. On the day when the woman and the child are bathed, the child's paternal aunt presents it with a *hana* for a ring.

The name-giving ceremony takes place generally one or two days before the end of the first month. A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is sometimes consulted, but this practice is gradually going out of use. The name selected is either that of a god or a deceased ancestor. The following may be taken as typical names for both sexes†:—Irlappa (ಈರ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Kempappa (ಕೆಂಪಣ್ಣ), Bayyappa (ಬಯ್ಯಣ್ಣ), Bandappa (ಬಂಡಪ್ಪ), Bairappa (ಬೈರಪ್ಪ), Bachchappa (ಬಚ್ಚಣ್ಣ) and Sonappa (ಸೊಣ್ಣಪ್ಪ).

\* The Kannada formula runs as follows:—ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗು ವದೇವರೆಲ್ಲಾ ಈಗಲೇ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಬೇಕು, ಒಳಗೆ ಬಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮದೇವರು ಬಳೈದಲ್ಲ.

† Many names are employed, and almost all names may be so employed for both sexes with the addition of the corresponding sex endings.

Names of inferior objects are sometimes given to children, though the practice is not common. Names of endearment, such as Appayya (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Magu (ಮಗು—child), Sámi (ಸಾಮಿ—God), Táyi (ತಾಯಿ—mother), Ammanni (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ), Puttátáyi (ಪುಟ್ಟತಾಯಿ) are common; so also are the shortened forms of such names as Kittā (ಕಿಟ್ಟ) for Krishna, Lachchi (ಲಚ್ಚಿ) for Lakshmi.

The young mother with her child returns to the husband's house in the fifth or the seventh month. Her mother-in-law goes to fetch her, carrying a silver neck-chain as a present to her. The child is presented with some coins before leaving for the father's house. The cradle is carried by the mother of the confined woman. Before entering the husband's house, the woman and the child are taken to a temple where they receive *tírtha* and *prasáda* (holy water and victuals). The woman's mother is kept there three or four days and then dismissed with the present of some clothes.

Before the child is a year old, a feast of Munísvara is held in a grove outside the village on a Monday. This sylvan deity is represented by a row of stones under a large tree, and sometimes a tiny shed with a low enclosure is provided for them. The family repair thither with friends and enjoy an out-door picnic till the evening. The *púja* is performed by the *pújári* who generally is a low caste man, or in his absence, by the head of the family himself. A goat is generally sacrificed and consumed at the feast; and the party return in the evening with music, and an *áratí* is waved before the child enters the house, to ward off the evil eye.

The first tonsure for a male child is performed in the first or the third year, before the temple of the family god or before a shrine of Munísvara in a grove. The barber is generally presented with a new cloth besides other perquisites, and a dinner is given to the caste people.

Another important ceremony is the worship of Makaladévaru (ಮಕ್ಕಳ ದೇವರು—the god of children), observed before the lobes of the child's ears are pierced for holding earrings. For this festival, all the families who are related as agnates club together, and they should select a time when none of the female members are pregnant, and no death has occurred in any of the families between the last new-year and the day of the *púja*. As all these families have to

observe common *sútaku* (ಅಂಟುಕು ಮುಟ್ಟುಕು ಕಲನೆ), it may be easily guessed that where they have a large congregation, it is extremely difficult to find a suitable day, and sometimes they have to wait for years together. The worship is a matter of considerable expense; and so it is usual for all castemen in a particular locality to join together and raise a common fund by subscription. Each group worships the family god in its own way, but they join together at a common dinner. If any members of the same group have for any reason neglected to join the common performance of the *Púja* of Hosadévaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು); or, in their language, divided the Hosa-dévaru, they cannot join that group in the worship of Makkala-dévaru. It is said that if a girl attains her age of puberty without this festival on her behalf, she has to be put out of caste. But this rule is probably relaxed in many cases.

The family deity that is worshipped in this manner by the finger cutting division is known as Bandi-dévaru (ಬಂಡಿದೇವರು-cart god), so styled as at their flight from Kanchi to escape persecution from a local tyrant, they carried their household god in a cart. The other name is Bhairé-dévaru (ಬೈರಿದೇವರು) which is a name for Siva in one of his fierce moods. The section of the caste that do not offer their fingers have, in some cases, given up this cult and taken other names for their family deity.

It is to this Bandi-dévaru that the women of the caste are said to offer two of their fingers, a custom which however has altogether fallen into desuetude. The origin of this barbarous practice is traced as usual to a Puranic source, the real origin being probably in the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

When the demon Bhasmāsura had obtained the power of reducing everything he touched to ashes by severe *tapas*, he wished to test his power first on god Siva, the donor himself. The deity fled from the demon and hid himself in the fruit of a creeper, which to this day resembles a *linga* \* in appearance. The demon who was pursuing the god, suddenly losing sight of the latter, asked a Morasu man who was ploughing in the fields there, in which direction the fugitive had escaped. The man of the plough wished to evade the wrath of both the mighty parties and

\* This is known as *Tonde* and sometimes as *Linga-tonde* (ತೊಂಡೆ or ತಿಂಗ ತೊಂಡೆ) the red gourd *mamordica manodulfa*,

while saying he had not observed, pointed with his fingers to the creeper on the hedge which had sheltered the fleeing god. Just in the nick of time Vishnu came to the help of his brother in the shape of a lovely maiden, Mòhini. The Rakshasa became enamoured of her, and like a fool, forgetting the fatal virtue that his bare touch had been endowed with, he was lured by the damsel to place his hand on his own head, and was immediately reduced to a heap of ashes. Siva now triumphant was about to punish the treacherous rustic with the loss of his erring finger, but his wife who had carried his food begged hard that the deprivation would render him unfit to do his field work and offered two fingers of hers for one of her husband. The custom of a Morasu married woman cutting off the upper joints of the last two fingers of the right hand had been observed ever since, till it was stopped recently by an order of the unbelieving Sarkar.

The worship of Paṭālamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ) and Pùjé Dévaru (ಪುಜೇದೇವರು) takes place as an introduction to the more important festival of Bandi-dévaru. The mothers of the children whose ears are to be bored fast during the day, and in the evening repair to the temple of Paṭālamma carrying lights on their heads. These lights are made to burn on wicks soaked in ghee placed in receptacles of rice flour sweetened with jaggory. After making púja to them at home with the sacrifice of a sheep, the women carry them on their heads, and repair to the temple in state, walking on washed cloths spread for them in the street. In front of the shrine, they walk over cinders of fire, made in a pit, after making púja to it and offering a sheep or a goat. The pújari then waves these lights before the idol and returns them to the women to carry back to their homes. For each new lamp, as the one carried by the woman who has to offer her fingers is styled, the pújari gets a fee of a *hana*.

On a subsequent day all the families who perform the ceremony of *Bandi-dévaru* join together and put up two new huts of fig leaves, in a central place, one for Māramma and the other for Gangamma and set up idols of earth therein, the latter deity specially styled Pújé-dévaru (ಪುಜೇದೇವರು) being represented by a featureless cone. The ceremony is performed in the same manner as for Paṭālamma, the fire-walking being omitted.



The chief ceremony in connection with *Bandi-dèvaru* should fall on a Sunday in the month of Chaitra or Vaisàkha soon after the opening of the new year. The whole festival extends over a week, but to save expense they generally reduce it to three or five days.

A Koracha woman is invited to read the fortune by *Kani* and she washes the feet\* of the mothers who have to sacrifice their fingers at the time of boring their children's ears. Then a kalasa is set up and offerings of new clothes etc., are placed before it. On a subsequent day, a new house which has not been inhabited is whitewashed and cleaned and a kalasa is worshipped in it. All the members of the families who perform this ceremony occupy the house, and the women draw certain drawings on the wall with rice flour and turmeric † to which pūja with an offering of sheep is offered. They have to cook and eat in that house that day. This is styled the worship of "new house god" (ಹೊಸಮನೆ ದೇವರು).

A man of the Bèda caste worships Peddanra-dèvaḍu (పెద్దన్న దేవుడు) represented by three stones and a trident and a sword, set up in a hut outside the village and gives them Prasāda.

They next worship Ganga represented by drawings of rice flour in a hut built of newly beaten straw, placing lamps burning in receptacles of sweetened rice flour ‡ and offering a goat sometimes with kid. The meat of the sacrificed animal, it is said, should not be given to any strangers to the family, and the bones should be buried so as not to be touched by dogs.

The next two days the women fast till the evening, and cook rice or rice flour in new pots. No animals are killed and after offering food in an *eda* to their gods, they eat it without salt.

When the mother has to bore the ears of her first child or of two or more children together for the first time, she has to offer her fingers. This is styled the worship of "New Bandi-dèvaru." For subsequent ear-boring, she has no fingers to spare, and the ceremony is styled "Enjalu Bandi-dèvaru" (ಎಂಜಲಬಂದಿದೇವರು that is, stale worship).

\*This is styled the ceremony of Kālēḷi Kālēḷi in Kannada.

† This is called పోలుపోనేడి in Telugu.

‡ Rice flour and jaggory beaten in a mortar into paste and consumed after offering to the idols. This is known as ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು in Kannada and చలిబిండి in Telugu.

The ceremony takes place in the temple of the deity where it exists. In other places separate sheds of green leaves are put up outside the village at the north-eastern corner, one for the first child's *Bandi-dévaru* and another for the other, with another shed of *Lakki* leaves in front of the village gate. A number of carts, one for each child, washed and decorated with white and red stripes of colour are brought to this last shed. The parents of the children wash early in the morning, and going to a potter's house, select two pots known as *karaga* (ಕರಗ), and after offering *púja*, bring them in state, to their houses. A silver coin is placed in each pot and the eldest female member does *púja*, offering an animal sacrifice. The parents of the children then carry these pots on their heads, placed on a cloth which is thrown over both of them. They go to the sheds where the carts are ranged and again sacrifice a kid which they place in the cart, and thence repair carrying the *karaga* pots on their heads to the other sheds outside the village.

The procession is composed of all the members of the families concerned in the ceremonies and their relations and the principal characters walk on cloths spread along the road. They are accompanied by the band of village musicians, and drummers of the *Mádiga* caste, and the carts form an essential part of the show. On arrival at the sheds, the parties go to the shed set apart for the kind of ceremony (first or second) that they have to perform, after going round the sheds thrice.

Three stones are placed to represent the god of the ceremony, and *púja* with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat and fruits and flowers, is offered. Then each woman who has to undergo the operation goes to a wooden block driven into the ground, places on it her two fingers to which some flower or a betel leaf or a gold wire has been tied round and the smith chops off the last joints with his chisel. This was in vogue till about forty years ago, and the elderly women whose fingers are so mutilated may now be seen. The severed bits used to be thrown into an anthill and the ends used to be dipped in boiling oil to stanch the bleeding. It was believed that if any nails were allowed to grow on these fingers, some dire misfortune would overtake the family. At present, however, they are satisfied with the fiction of cutting the flower or leaf wound round these fingers.



After this they wave *mangalārti* before the idols and go back to their houses in procession, and indulge in feasting. The carts are driven away, handfuls of jaggory being thrown among the spectators, and the drivers race among themselves and exhibit their skill in driving over difficult places.

On the following day, the children are bathed and seated in a pandal put up in front of the house. The maternal uncle cuts a lock of hair and with a flower dipped in sandal paste make a mark on each ear for boring. The children are presented with eatables and other more valuable things by the near relations. The actual boring may be done either then or on any subsequent day.

For three months after this ceremony, the members of the family should not eat food cooked in the houses of others, not even relatives, who have not been purified by the performance of similar ceremony for themselves. The women should guard themselves from contamination of approach of *Holeyas* and *Mādigas*. Any woman who gets her monthly sickness during this period, has to remain in a separate shed nine days cooking her own food.

In the case of orphans and others who are too poor to perform all this elaborate ceremony, the boring of the ear is done before the shrine of *Bhairava* in *Siti Bōṭṭa*, a hill in the *Kolar Taluk*. The *pūjāri* who is the chief officiator gets a *hana* and provisions for a meal and the party have a general picnic at the close of the event.

It is only one section of the *Morasu* people that have to cut off their fingers. The others also celebrate the ear-boring ceremony, but in a less elaborate manner, after *pūja* in some temple, such as, of *Paṭāḷamma*, *Chaudēsvari*, *Madamma*, or *Venkaṭaramaṇa* or *Narasimha*. An animal sacrifice is offered if they resort to the shrine of a female deity. The worshippers of *Vishnu* invite a number of *Dāsaris* who perform their religious dance and give *prasāda*. The maternal uncle of the children marks the ears with sandal paste for boring the holes.

adoption. Adoption of boys may be effected as in other castes of Hindus. A brother's son may be adopted even after his marriage and without any public ceremony. There is no objection to the adopting of a daughter's or sister's son. The boy's waist thread is cut and a new thread is put on, when he is handed over by the natural parents to the

adopter and the latter and the boy are made to drink a little saffron water. The natural mother is given a present of clothes and there is a feast held that day.

The practice of bringing up a son-in-law as heir (*illā-tam*) is common, especially among the Telugu speaking families. No particular ceremony is observed, and an understanding between the parties is all that is required. Such a son-in-law succeeds to the whole property of the father-in-law who has no sons, or shares the patrimony equally with the sons.

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

They have what is styled *kula* or *bedagu* to denote exogamous limits for marriage. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt or elder sister is specially favoured. Except in extreme cases (such as marriages of widowers), a younger sister's daughter is not taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by two brothers; and one man may marry two sisters simultaneously, the hands of all the three being joined together at the time of pouring *dhāre* water. The rule of *varase* (ವರಸೆ) which prohibits marriage between persons who stand analogously as parent and child or brother and sister, has to be observed also. This is sometimes carried so far as to prohibit marriages between two families who have marriage relation with a common third family. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families may take place but some believe this to be unlucky.

The village astrologer is consulted for *Sālāvali* (ಸಾಲಾ ವಳಿ) to see if the stars representing the first letters of the names of the bride and the bridegroom agree, and omens are observed, and prognostication by *Kani* (ಕಣಿ) sometimes resorted to. The father of the boy goes to the bride's father to propose marriage, by the formula "to eat rice and ghee in the latter's house." He receives *Oppu Vilya* (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ಯ) i. e. *tāmbūla* in token of consent, and returns

without eating in the bride's house. On a subsequent day, the *Vityada Sástra*, (ವಿಶ್ವದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ), takes place in an assemblage of castemen and friends with a Brahmin Puróhit. The boy's father and members of his family go with a new cloth and a jewel to be presented to the girl along with the auspicious articles (ಪುಂಗುಳದವ್ಯಗಳು). A *Simhásana* is made on a kambly and a kalasa is placed on a low tripod before it, in a flat eating dish (ಕಂಬದತಟ್ಟಿಗೆ) of bell metal. The chief man of the caste makes púja to this, and the girl to be married is smeared with saffron and presented with fruits, flowers, etc, wrapped in her garment. In some places, the young man to be married is also seated by her side at the time.

The *Lagnapatrikas* (marriage letters) prepared by the Puróhit are exchanged between the parents and each rises up and declares to the assembly in a set formula that he of such a *kula* has taken a girl of such other *kula* in exchange for a boy, and *vice versa*. After distribution of *támbula*, there is a dinner given to the male's party. If after this formal compact, the match is broken off, the defaulting party has to pay the expenses of the other and sometimes a small fine to the caste is exacted. Such breaches, however, rarely occur.

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

The pandal is raised the next day, with 12 pillars of which the "milk post" is of Atti (Indian fig) or Neraḷe (Jambolana) unless either happens to denote the name of the party's *kula* when it is not used. The maternal uncle has to bring the milk post, and the ceremony is done pretty

much in the same manner as among other raiyat classes\*. After the milk post is fixed, a twig of a Neraḷe tree is again brought by a party going with music and tied up to it. They style this Eḷevāra (ಎಳೆವಾರ).

The bride's party arrive in the evening and are received at the village gate and taken to their lodgings. Some married women of both parties go in state to a potter's house and bring the sacred pot (ಅರಿವೆಣಿ) which in this caste is only one.† They place this on a bed of earth and manure in which nine kinds of grain are sown, and offer pūja to it and keep a lamp of castor oil always burning before it. This is Arivēni or karaga pūja (ಅರಿವೆಣಿಪೂಜೆ, ಕರಗಪೂಜೆ i.e. pot worship). In some families, the bridegroom and his party go at midnight to a place where three paths meet and after offering cooked food to a drawing of a human figure, return home without making any noise, and without looking back. This is known as *Birugudi* (ಬೀರಗುಡಿ) and is apparently meant to propitiate malignant spirits.

The next morning after nail paring and bathing in *Maleniru*, the bridegroom is taken to a temple or an *Aśvattha* tree and seated there. His maternal uncle ties the *bhāshinga* on his forehead, and five married women pour rice on his head, shoulders and knees (Sāse, ಸಾಸೆ). The headman present worships *Simhāsana*. The bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house thrice each time carrying some article of present to the bride. A *Morasu-Holoya* (who is regarded as a *halemaga* of this caste) or a sister of the bridegroom carry the marriage chaplet in a basket. On the third occasion, the bridegroom himself goes holding a dagger in his hand. The maternal uncle is fantastically dressed and subjected to bantering fun by every one during this procession.

The bride and the bridegroom are seated ‡ on the marriage dias facing each other, with a screen between them. The *Puróhit* after chanting some mantras removes the screen when the couple place handfuls of jaggory and gingelly on each other's heads. Four vessels are placed on the corners of a square with a cotton thread passing round

\* See Kuruba account (Monograph No. I) page 10.

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

‡ Among some families of this caste, *Kundāpagaḷu* (ಕುಂಡಾಪಾಗಳು) i.e., hollow wooden rings kept on the mortar while pounding paddy to prevent its scattering, are used as seats for the couple.



their necks seven times. This thread is cut into two halves and two *kankanas* are made by attaching to each a turmeric root and an iron ring; and each party ties a *kankana* round the wrist of the other. The bridegroom then ties the *tāli*, round the girl's neck, while some mantras are again recited by the *Puróhit*. The couple join hands and the parents and all the members of the assembly pour milk (*dhāre* ಧಾರೆ), over them. This is caught in a vessel and thrown over an anthill.

The fringes of the clothes of the married couple are tied together by the maternal uncle and they are made to exchange handfuls of rice and salt, perhaps a method of swearing mutual fidelity. The minor events of the day take place in somewhat the same manner as among other castes of similar status \*

That evening the star *Arundhati* is shown to the bride. They go in procession and worship an anthill and carry away some earth dug out of it. Then a party of married women go with three pots to a well or river and after *Ganga-pūja*, bring back water, which is used for mixing anthill earth to make balls. Twelve balls are made and the bride deposits one at the foot of each pillar. The barber is then called upon to pare the nails which he does nominally by passing his razor over the nails of the bride and the bridegroom. The latter bathe after this and proceed to a temple. On their return, the pillars are worshipped along with a *kalasa* installed to represent the *Hasé-dévaru* (ಹಸೇದೇವರು) and offerings of cooked rice in balls and sweet cakes are placed before each, which goes to the washerman as his perquisite. Finally they have a procession of the marriage party in the streets.

At the *Nāgavali* ceremony taking place the next day, the couple newly bathed and dressed are seated before the milk post, with two brass vessels filled with red coloured water (ಬಿಳುಪು) before them. A lime is thrown into one and some jewel in another without their being allowed to be seen by them, and each is asked to pick up one of the articles, and it is pretended that the party who picks up the jewel will have ascendancy over the other in their future domestic life. Then the *kankanas* or wrist threads of the couple are taken off by each other and tied to the milk post.

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\* *Vide* Kuruba Account.

In the afternoon after dinner takes place the final ceremony of *Simhāsana pūja*. This is done on three occasions during the marriages of Morasu people, whereas other castes perform it only once. The last is the most important one and is performed to close the marriage ceremony.

They spread a kambly fourfold and draw on it a figure of four tridents (trisūla) \*radiating from a center with the sun and the moon at the top, and place a quantity of arecanuts and betel leaves in the middle, and pieces of *vibhūti* (ashes) at the extremities. The Yajaman of the caste makes *pūja* to this and distributes *tāmbūlas* out of it in the following order:—God, Guru,

Brahmins, King, represented by the village officials *gaṇḍa* and *shanbhog*, *sūlu* and *mūle* (i. e., the 18 phana and 9 phana communities) *Bhūmi Raddi*, that is, the head of the whole caste, *Kaṭṭémaṇe*, i. e., sectional heads, the *Raddis* and *Yajamans* of the sections to which the parties belong, the bride's party including all her relatives and lastly to the rest of the assembly. This order of precedence is scrupulously observed and any transgression is sure to cause much annoyance and sometimes quarrel.

They repair to the bride's house the next day and return after a sojourn of two or three days. A dinner is then given in honour of the occasion to all the guests. This is called *tiruvāli* and *maravāli* (ತಿರುವಳಿ ಮರವಳಿ). Before the close of the month on a certain day, some milk is poured on the milk post and after the usual *pūja*, it is removed and thrown into a well.

The bride price or *tera* varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 12. This amount goes to the girl's father but he generally uses it for some jewel to be given to the girl. A widower has to pay Rs. 1½ more as *Sauti Honau* (ಸೌತಿ ಹೊನ್ನು, that is, the other wife's money) and has invariably to give more jewels to the girl. It is not easy to estimate the average marriage expenses which vary very largely according to the means of the parents and their desire not to be outdone by their neighbours. It is however kept within moderate limits especially in rural parts where the most considerable item is the feeding of relatives and friends. There is no attempt made towards securing any reduction of those expenses.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her father's house till she attains womanhood, after which



consummation of marriage takes place and she is sent to her husband's house to live with him. During the interval she visits the husband's house only occasionally and goes back with her parents.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for nine days and is not permitted to enter the main house. She is kept in a shed in the outer yard made of green leaves which are brought by her maternal uncle. In the evenings, she is dressed in washed clothes supplied every day by the washerman, and is seated on a plank in the presence of married women who thus celebrate what is known as *Osige* to mark the event. They give her presents of fruits and flowers packed in her garment (ವೆಡಲುತುಂಬುವುದು), and sweet things to eat. To ward off the evil spirits, an old broom stick and a winnow and a shoe are placed at the entrance of the shed.

The girl pulls down the shed before her bath on the tenth day, and the materials are removed by her maternal uncle and burnt at a distance from the house.

The expenses of the *Osige* ceremonies for one day are borne by the maternal uncle if she happens to be unmarried; if married, the information of the event is sent to the husband's house through the washerman, and one of the members of that family comes over and performs the *Osige* for the girl for one day. Other relatives may similarly treat her for any number of nights.

Where marriage takes place after puberty, the couple are brought together on the last day without any further ceremony. But in some places the consummation is put off some time, on account of the belief that a child should not be born within a year of the marriage. Where the girl has already been married, they fix a day for the consummation of the marriage soon after her attaining puberty.

When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, she is presented with clothes or jewels by her father and the husband gives a dinner to her mother and others that accompany her.

Widow marriage.

It is considered that even child widows should not remarry. But a widow may live in concubinage with a man of her own caste, and though her issue are restricted to marriage only with others of the same class, she and her children are not denied the privilege of eating together, and she may cook food for the castemen on all occasions.

The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity, Divorce. and the wife her husband for habitual ill-treatment and loss of caste. A divorced woman may not marry again, but is allowed to live in concubinage with a man of her caste. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same caste is condoned by subjecting her to pay a fine to the caste and levying a similar fine from her paramour. The husband may then take her back into his house if he is so disposed. Otherwise she may live with her paramour. It is said that a man eloping with another's wife has to pay the marriage expenses of the latter, though of late, the rule is not being enforced. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant or is found to have been in the keeping of a man of the same caste, either her union will be formally recognised by the caste council or she will live as a concubine of the man. In either case, her children will drift into a separate *Sālu* styled *Berikè-sālu* (ಬರಿಕೆಸಾಲು) or mixed section.

The practice of marrying girls to trees or swords or the dedicating of them in the temples does not obtain in this caste.

The common mode of disposing of the dead is burial, Death cere- though cremation is resorted to by some persons of late. As monies. soon as death takes place, a *halemaga* who should be present carries the information round. Two earthen pots, a new cloth and materials for the bier are procured from the bazaar. A band of musicians are engaged and *Dāsayyas* also go with the body with their shells and other sounding instruments. Some build a *mantapa* (cage) at considerable expense to carry the body. The body is dressed in a new cloth with a turban on the head. Crushed betel leaves and nuts are put into its mouth. If the deceased be a woman dying when her husband is alive, the body is profusely decorated with flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma*, etc. The bier is carried by four men, the son or the chief mourner going with water in a new earthen pot on the left shoulder and fire in the right hand. It was the custom formerly that one of four bearers, must be a *Holeyā halemaga*, but this practice has almost gone out of use, the *halemaga* now attending to the digging of the grave and walking in front of the funeral procession. As they pass along, betel leaves and fried rice are thrown on the corpse and guns are fired. While midway to the graveyard, the corpse is kept on the ground, and the son going

round it three times throws some cooked rice at the head of the body. After laying down the corpse at the burial place, the sons and other near relations put some rice into the mouth and eyes. The sons get shaved. After being carried round the grave three times, the body is lowered into the pit and deposited on a plantain leaf, with the head to the south. In a corner of the winding sheet some rice is tied, and a piece of this cloth is torn and thrown out, and the pit is filled up, some twigs of a thorny plant known as *chitramūla* (ಚಿತ್ರ ಮೂಲ plumbago zolamica) being placed near the top to prevent dogs and jackals digging up the grave. Four quarter anna pieces are kept at the four corners and a stone slab is inserted at the side of the head. Some doles of money and grain are given to poor persons who may be found at the place. The son goes round the grave three times with an earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder and a fire-brand in the hand. At the end of every turn a hole is made in the pot by some one with a stone. The *halemaga* goes with a cowdung cake in his hand and holds it at the head and the four corners of the grave, while the son applies his firebrand to it in each place. At the end of the third turn, the son throws away the upper half of the pot, and keeps the lower half with the water in it near the head and puts out the fire in the faggot by plunging it in the water. The *halemaga* keeps the cowdung cake there on which a three-pie piece is thrown as his fee. The whole party then repair to a river or tank without looking backwards. The corpse bearers and the son plunge themselves in water and go home without even † wringing their wet clothes, and the others only wash hands and feet. The friends and relatives have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired before they return to their houses.

A small shed is put up on the grave, and some times a figure to represent the deceased is drawn on the ground there. The chief mourners and the bearers of the bier with the *halemaga* go there on the third day, carrying with them some rice and vegetables cooked together in

\* The common abuse ನಿನ್ನ ಮುಖಕ್ಕೆ ಚಿತ್ರಮೂಲ ಬಿಡಿಯ, that is, may the plant *chitramūla* be thrown on your face derives its meaning from this practice.

† On account of this association, it is considered inauspicious to come out of the bath room after bathing without wiping the water on the body with a cloth.



one vessel. Pūja is offered to the deceased, incense burnt and food placed on a plantain leaf. Part of this is given to the *hulemaga* who must eat it, and the rest thrown to the crows. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers are touched with ghee and milk, and all of them bathe before taking food. On the eleventh day, all bathe in the morning. A Brahmin parōhit is invited to purify the house (by *Pannāha*). The old earthen pots in the house used for cooking are thrown out and new ones are substituted for them. A kalasa is set up in the middle of the house and is worshipped with offerings of new cloths and raw rice (*Ida* ২৪). The Brahmin parōhit repeats mantras and makes the chief mourner offer libations of water (*tarpana* তর্পণ). Some presents are made to Brahmins according to the means of the family, of such articles as an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a cow, raw provisions and money. The object of some of these gifts is to ensure that similar conveniences may be provided for the ghost of the departed on its journey. It is believed that a cow enables him to cross the river of fire by holding on to its tail.

In the evening the mourners go to a temple and get pūja performed to get the gate of heaven opened for the departed soul; and there is a general dinner given to their castemen on their return. The next day, some near relation of the chief mourner, such as a maternal uncle or father-in-law, present him with a new turban, to mark the close of the funeral ceremonies.

The period of *Sātaka* (death pollution) is ten days for the mourner and three days for the more distant agnates. It is only three days for the death of a child or an unmarried person. Only a bath is sufficient for a daughter's son.

Morasi Okkaligas do not perform yearly Śrāddhas, except some of them who having risen in the world have adopted the custom of observing the anniversaries of the deaths of their parents. On such occasions, a kalasa is set up and pūja offered with the help of a Brahmin parōhit. The son offers libations of water in the name of the deceased, and presents Brahmins with raw provisions and money. After this, the people at home cook their food and partake of it in the company of some invited guests of their own caste.

The Mahālaya ceremony is however very generally observed in honour of the general body of deceased



ancestors. They also make pūja to ancestors on the new year's day and the Gauri feast. On such days, some resort to the burial ground and burn incense before the tombs of their ancestors and apply sandal paste and offer cocoanuts before the stones. They have only one meal that day in the evening.

Religion. They worship Siva, generally under the appellation of Bhairēdēvaru also known as Bandīdēvaru, that is the cart god. The chief place of this deity is Sīti Bōṭṭa, a hill in the Vēmagal hobli of the Kolar Taluk, and there is also a temple in Gudamarlahalli in the Chintamani Taluk. In the latter place, the image of Bhairava is a round shapeless stone partly buried in the ground and a rude country cart is preserved as the one in which the god was originally brought away. The principal temple is surrounded by a number of small temples. In front of the main temple is a smaller one in which a stone is worshipped under the name of Chipāṇḷu (ಚಿಪಾಣ್ಣ). When the Bandī-dēvaru is worshipped, the goats and sheep sacrificed to it are all deposited near this god. Close to this is a temple dedicated to the spirit of an unmarried girl of the caste called Irū-bayyanūna (ಇರುಬಯ್ಯನು) who was shut up in a granary by her brother in a fit of anger and was starved to death. There are also temples dedicated to the spirits of males dying unmarried, under the names of Iragūṛu (ಇರಗುರು).

The celebration of the feast of Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು new god) by women is a unique institution of this caste. Some observe this only once a year at Dipāvali, while others also celebrate it at the Yugādi. No married woman is allowed to eat of the fruit of any "harvest" till she has performed this pūja for the year; and after performing it, she is precluded from eating or drinking at the hands of those who have not similarly sanctified themselves. For this it is essential that all the agnate families must join in the common worship, and those who do not for any reason join it are said to divide their Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು ಭಾಗವಾಡಿ ಕೊಂಡವರು) and cannot afterwards join together in the performance of this or any other common worship, such as Bandīdēvaru. As such separation is considered rather to be avoided, they generally manage to congregate together on these occasions often at considerable inconvenience. In such celebrations, the elder woman should always have priority over younger members.

As regards the origin of the custom, one account says that this ceremony was originally observed by the Bédas and that they sold the right of celebrating it to the Morasus in exchange for some grain. Another account is that a Kómañi after *tapas* in Benares got as a boon a philosopher's stone which converted everything in contact with it into gold. While on his way to his place, he halted in a Morasu Okkalu's house and hanging the bundle of his things from the roof of the house went near a well to cook his food. The rod with which the women were pounding rice happened to touch the stone and became gold. The discovery roused the cupidity of the master of the house, who purloined the miraculous stone and set fire to the house to deceive its owner. The latter could not survive his loss and cast himself into the flames. As his ghost which of course became aware of the fraud, began to molest the family of the thief, they vowed to make *púja* to the spirit thenceforth as a new god.

The feast is celebrated in connection with the harvest either of the first crop in the year, (at new year time) or also of the second crop in Kàrtika (Dipavali). That was probably its origin and the other stories were invented to account for it after its meaning became obscured.

The ceremony takes place on two days beginning either on a Friday or Saturday. The women fast till the evening and then worship a *kalasa* set up in a room offering balls of meal called *tambittu* (ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು). This should be made of the flour of rice of the new crop mixed with jaggery. A sweet dish is prepared by cooking rice, milk and jaggery together and kept in the holy vessel (ಕಂಟಕತಣಿಗೆ) and offered before the *kalasa* and eaten by all the women together. They have to keep a vigil on that night.

Early in the next morning, the male members in the family go to the fields and sacrifice sheep there, making it stand on a bed of margosa leaves which are scattered over the field and the standing crops, the men shouting out repeatedly *Kó-bali* (ಕೊಬಲಿ), that is, take the sacrifice. The women placing the *kalasa* in the sacred dish (ಕಂಟಕತಣಿಗೆ) carry it in state, walking on cloth spread along the way, to a shed erected outside the village under a *Tangadi* plant (*cassia auriculata*). Three small stones set up therein represent the deity before which the *kalasa* is placed and lights burnt in burners of *tambittu* flour. They cook rice and some



pulse together in a pot called *hālanudike* (milk-pot) and make a paste (calling this pallya ಪಲ್ಲೆ) out of some grains of rice, ragi and other cereals taken out of fresh ears. These articles are worshipped by the women with flowers, incense etc. Then the oldest of them keeps the *kalasa*, the light, and the paste in the dish (*kantada tanige*) and carrying it on to her head turns towards the sun and bows saying "ಹಳೇದು ಹೋಗಿ ಹೊಸದು ಬಂತು. ಏನು ತಪ್ಪುವುದಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಿಟ್ಟುಕೊ! ಬಿಟ್ಟುಕೊ! ಹೊಸದೇವರೇ." (The Old has gone; the New is in. Whatever our faults, condone them, condone them, O new god!) Then she passes the dish on to other women in order of age and they repeat the proceeding. On their return home, they place the sweet flour of the lamps in the milk-pot with plantains mixed and deposit it on a loft. Then all the women sit in a row on a kambli spread in the yard of the house and the eldest of them applies a little of the paste (ಪಲ್ಲೆ) to her forehead and eats a little as prasāda and similarly marks the forehead of other women in order. The confection preserved in the milk pot is then distributed to all participators in the ceremony.

For some days after this these women consider themselves too holy to have any dealings which may expose them to contact with lower castes, like Mādigas and Holoyas.

They worship in all the Hindu temples, including those of village deities and tree spirits. Some are Vaishnavas who get marked with Sankha and Chakra having either Srivaishnava Brahmin or Sātāni priests.

There is a shrine at Vanarāsi near Kolar largely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by this caste. A man of the Vadda caste who resided in a Mofasu (Okkaliga) village as an ascetic once did great service to them in routing their enemies but he was treacherously attacked and mortally wounded while returning from the fray. His two married sisters who had been living with him also died along with him. According to his deathbed request, the grateful Okkaligas built a temple in his name and deified him. An annual fair is held here for fifteen days at which many cattle are brought for sale.

They have beliefs in omens and other similar superstitions common to such classes. Whenever necessary, they

\* It is reported that in some places when the women make these bows styled *Hosadevara mokkugalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರವೊಕ್ಕುಗಳು) they clothe themselves solely in kamblies (coarse woollen blankets).

swear on their family gods to attest to their speaking truth in their caste assemblies.

Morasu Okkaligas are a caste rather high in the social scale. Social Status.

They generally employ Brahmins as *puròhīts* and some also respect Lingayet priests or Jangamas to whom they often make presents of rice and other provisions. Those of the Morasus who are *Tirumadhàris* call *Sàtànīs* to conduct funeral ceremonies, the Brahmins being required only to purify the house by *Puñyātha*. They also invite *Dásayyas* for *Manè Sève* (ಮಣಿ ಸೇವೆ).

Except in extreme cases, such as, joining other lower castes, persons who have lost their caste, may be readmitted after proper *prāyascitta*, which consists of paying a fine imposed by the caste panchayet, giving a dinner, and getting the tongue slightly branded with a piece of gold.

They eat meat, sheep, goats, fish, rabbits and fowls being allowed. Some of them have no objection to pork but the more orthodox practice is to eschew it. They rarely indulge in drink though the practice is not absolutely prohibited. Kurubas and other classes mix with this caste in eating. The women as noticed already, are stricter in observing restrictions against dining with others who have not undergone the ceremonies of offering up the fingers and worshipping the *Hosulèvaru*. Such exclusive rules, it may be observed, are now greatly relaxed especially in larger towns. Food.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The youngest son has, it is said, the privilege of selecting his share first at a partition; and in some cases, the eldest son is given a specially extra share as a matter of customary concession. The *illālam* son-in-law is entitled to a share equal to that of his brother-in-law. An unmarried brother gets his marriage expenses in addition to his share of the property. And if there be sisters to be married, some amount is set apart for their marriages and is given to the charge of the person who undertakes to be the guardian of the girls. Female children are not entitled, as a matter of right, to any share, but a destitute and a widowed sister is generally given some share in the ancestral property. In fact, on account of the extreme utility of the working hands, a childless and widowed sister or daughter is brought to her parent's house and very often she becomes the mistress of the family, much to the annoyance of the daughter-in-law. Inheritance

**Occupation.** Agriculture is the pursuit of the great bulk of this important caste, though a few have taken to other walks of life such as building contracts, money lending and Government service. They have houses built to suit their needs as agriculturists, having accommodation for cattle generally in the main building and with granaries and backyards attached. The seed grain is preserved in packages known as *múde* (ಮೂಡೆ) neatly made of twisted straw. Ragi is generally preserved in dry pits known as *hagēvu* (ಹಗೇವು) in Kannada and *pútra* (ಪುತ್ರೆ) in Telugu which are excavated either in their own yards or in a common village site. The grain keeps well for years in such pits.\*

**Tribal  
constitu-  
tion.**

The Morasu Okkaligas have a well defined caste organisation. The whole caste is divided into separate groups known as *Kattémanés* (ಕಟ್ಟೇ ಮನೆಗಳು) each of them being presided over by a headman called Yajaman or *Gauda*. Several *kattémanés* form a *Nádu*, meaning a division of the country, and at the head of each *Nádu* is *Gauda* called *Nádu Gauda*. Several such *Nádus* form a *Désa* of country presided over by a *Desáyi Gauda* or *Bhúmi Gauda*. There are two such *Désáyi* or *Bhúmi Gauda*s, one at the head of the Telugu Section and the other at the head of the Kannada Section, the head-quarters of the latter being Muduvádè in the Kolar Taluk.

The tribal disputes are, in the first instance, enquired into and settled by the *Kattémane Yajaman*, but when the latter finds them to be of a serious nature, he refers them to the *Nádu Gauda*. The *Désáyi Gauda* or the *Bhúmi Gauda* has the final appellate authority. Sometimes the representatives of the latter who are either their agnates or agents decide the important questions submitted to their decision. These offices are hereditary and descend in the male line.

On all the important occasions, such as, marriage, funerals, the presence of either headman of the caste or his representative is necessary. During marriages, he acts as the master of the ceremonies and conducts them according to prescribed form. They have not a separate man to act as the beadle or servant of the caste. Whenever there is necessity for such a person they appoint one from among them to do the functions. They have *Halomagas* (Morasu Holoyas) who carry information regarding the caste meet-

\* For a more detailed account of agricultural matters, see notes appended

ings, etc. As remuneration for their trouble the caste heads are always given extra *límúlas* and some presents. The Halomaga also gets his reward, either in money or in kind and some cloth.

The Morasu Okkaligas are a thrifty, sober caste and form an important and rising class. There is nothing peculiar in their dress, nor are there any games peculiar to the caste. Their women are hardy and help men in the out-door work. They get tattooed from the ages of ten to twenty-five and blacken their teeth after the birth of a child.



## APPENDIX A.

## Note 1.

## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

The ploughs have iron shares (ಕುಳಿ in Kannada, కులి in Telugu) fixed on logs of Jáli or Babool wood, through a ring imbedded in the end. Those used for dry lands are about 2 or 2½ feet in length and for wet lands about a foot and a half. The pole is inserted through a hole in the thicker end of the log, and the yoke is tied to it with a rope made of either raw hide or cocoanut or also fibre called a *mini* (ಮಿನಿ). The knot is sometimes tightened with a wooden tourniquet called *linu-mini* (ಲಿಂಗುಮಿನಿ). To steady the plough and to press it in its passage, an upright stick with a handle is fixed to the end of the long pole after it passes through the head of the plough. This is called *médi* (ಮೇಡಿ).

To remove the weeds and grass uprooted in ploughing, a harrow (ಹಲಿವೇಮರ) is drawn over the fields tied to the yoke with a pair of bamboo poles brought together at its centre. The harrow is a log about five feet in length furnished with twelve teeth of strong wood or iron and is of course drawn crosswise over the ground. The heaps of refuse collected together are burnt in the field. The same log with the teeth turned upwards is drawn over the field to level it, a man standing on the log to add weight to it.

When ragi or other small grain is to be sown, they use a seed drill called *kúriye* (ಕುರಿಯೆ) in Kannada and *gorru* (ಗొర్రు) in Telugu. This is similar to the harrow in appearance, but twelve hollow reeds, each about three feet in length, are fixed to it and they are all inserted into a cup at the top in which the seed grain is placed. As the log is drawn over the ground, the seed cup is replenished by a man who walks behind it. To sow lines of pulses such as *avare* or *togari* (ballar or pigeon-pea) another seed drill with a single reed is tacked on to the larger seed drill. The work of putting in the seed with these instruments requires considerable skill.

When the crop is six or seven inches high an instrument called *kunte* (ಕುಂತೆ), a hoe with three or four teeth, is passed over it once or twice to thin out the crop and to stir the soil near the roots of the seedlings.

When a wet field is ploughed in puddle a log of wood (kan. *mara* ಮರ, Tel. *mānu* మను) is drawn crosswise over it to level the miry soil.

Among the other implements of husbandary in common use may be named the *mamaly* (ಮಮಲೆ or చిప్పకొద్దలి), the pick-axe (ಕೊಲ್ಲುಗొద్దలి) and the sickle (ಕಾಡುಗೋಲು). In addition, they have a special hoe, with four teeth to stir up the manure in the manure pits. Most of the raiyats own all these implements, which are not expensive. They are crude in appearance, but seem to be effective for the simple methods of husbandary practised. Generally there is a smith and a carpenter in most villages who can make and mend them whenever needed. The seed drill (*kúrige*) is the only complicated instrument beyond the reach of the poorer raiyats, but it is usually borrowed from some kindly disposed neighbour.

### Note 2.

#### PERIODS OF RAINS.

The whole year is, according to the raiyat's calendar, divided into twenty-seven parts named after as many Nakshatras or heavenly bodies. These divisions are known popularly as *mata* (ಮತೆ) in Kannada and *hārti* (హార్తి) or *oānu* (ఓను) in Telugu, each meaning rain. Each rain is again divided into four quarters styled *pādas* (పాదಗಳು) or feet. These 27 *hārtis* or rains are again parcelled out into two groups called *mungāru* (మంగారు or early rains and *hīngāru* (హింగారు) or later rains. The former begin with the Rōvati rain (April) and end with Mrigasira rain (about June). If the *mungāru* rains fall regularly, the agricultural prospects are very good, as most of the chief crops are then sown. From Pūrvāshāḍha to Uttarāshāḍha (December to February), the rains are said to be in incubation (గರ್భ) and it should be cloudy then but should not rain. If it does, it is believed to be an abortion, which is sure to bring on a failure of the later rains.

Each Nakshatra period of the rains lasts, roughly speaking, two weeks and nearly corresponds to the periods named against them according to the English calendar. Rōvati and Asvini cover the whole month of April; Bharani and Krittika last up to about the end of May; Rōhini and Mārgasira till the third week of June, when Aridra



begins. The latter and the following two rains, viz., Punarvasu and Pushyami, extend up to about the first week of August. Ashlesha and the succeeding three rains Magha, Pubba and Uttara, cover the rain period till about the end of September. Hasta, Chitta and Svati fall in the following five weeks ending with the first week of November, the other three weeks of November and the whole of December, being taken up by the rains Visakha, Anuradha, Jyeshtha and Mula. The incubation period commences about the beginning of January and lasts till the end of March.

The knowledge and the beliefs of raiyats about the relations of these periods to agricultural operations are embodied in various short sayings and proverbs. It will be convenient to begin with Revati, which is the last of the Nakshatras, as rains generally commence then. The rain falling under this Nakshatra is not of any use, and is rather prejudicial to the threshing of ragi, as the grain will not get clean.

Asvini is said to be harmful to the fruit of Arecanuts and cocoanuts, and if paddy is irrigated from tanks filling in this rain, the crop, it is believed, will be diseased and will yield a poor return. Asvini destroys everything (సవం నశ్యంతి అశ్వినీ).

During Bharani, ploughing operations are begun, and in some places, minor crops such as navane, hirika (millet) or gingelly are sown in the fields so that another crop may be taken after these are harvested.\* It is believed that seeds put in this rain are immune from attacks of disease and yield a good crop. Earth prospers if Bharani rains (భరణి మోబిద్దరే భరణిబిళియొత్తే).

If rains do not fall till Krittika, people will suffer want (కృత్తికేవరేగూ మో బరదిదరే జనర బాయయిల్ల మృత్తికే).

During Rohini fields are ploughed and kept ready, but the seed should by no means be put in, for the yield will be scanty, (రోహిణివానకు మడిపంట పెట్టితే రోహిణుంటున్నాడు దొంగనా. If sown in Rohini, there will not be even one mortalful of paddy).

In Mrigasira, popularly known as *minchini* (మంచిన) in Telugu, ground is prepared and minor crops raised.

Aridra is said to be good for sowing all kinds of grain. If the rain begins in the night time, it is a good

\* The best lands are never sown with any grain in this rain. Such lands are prepared and reserved for important crops, such as ragi.

sign, but crops do not thrive if it begins during the day. If there is thunder in the first three quarters (pádas) and none in the fourth, the rains during the following six nakshatra periods will suffer. If the reverse is the case, it is a good sign for the following rains. Thunder, breaking in the fourth quarter, will nullify the evil effect of thunder in the first three quarters, (అంధ్రములో గుడుగిదరే ఆరములో బరువుదిల్ల. If the Aridra rain thunders, six following rains will not fall). On the whole the rains under this sign are greatly appreciated, as contributing to a plentiful harvest (అంధ్ర అన్న ఇడుత్తె).

Punarvasu and Pushyami, styled popularly Chhinna Púsi and Pedda Púsi (చిన్న పూసి, పెద్ద పూసి) in Telugu and Chik-kavúsi and Doddavúsi (చిక్క వూసి, దోడ్డ వూసి) in Kannada, are also regarded as timely for sowing ragi and other dry crops.

In Aslésa, popularly known as Asale (అసలే) seeds may be sown, but the crop is uncertain owing to lateness of the season. Crops then sown are said to be liable to insect pests.

Magha is considered a fitful rain, raining either very hard, or failing altogether (ఒకదరే మగే బురదొద్దరే మగే), Magha if it comes, an enemy if it fails).

During Pubba or Hubbe if winds are high, it is said that paddy crop turns red and deteriorates. If there should be excessive rain, the standing crops suffer. The skies are often overcast, but the rain is generally scanty. Even a sparrow's wings, it is said, will not get moist from showers of this period. (పుట్టిమలో బుబ్బుల్లి ముప్పుల గుబ్బు పుట్టి నేనేయదు). They do not sow anything in this period as it will not yield any crop. (పూర్వములో పుట్టిమలో పట్టిగానికంఠ, హస్త వానలో అడ్డడు పల్లడము మేలు). It is better to sow a seer in Hasta than a hundred seers in Pubba.

The rains in Uttara and Hasta rarely fail, and the raiyats have great faith in their regularity. They are regarded as having given a solemn promise to the raiyat to save his crop. If Uttara rain fails, a raiyat should be ready to flee with his goods in a basket. (పుర్వములో ఉత్తరం సంప). If Hasta fails even a mother will be unable (unwilling) to give food (కన్నోమలో మాయునిద్దరే తేత్త తాయాయూ అన్న ఇడళు). If there are winds in Hasta, it is said to be a bad sign, for if the leaves shake in Hasta, not a drop will fall in Chitta (హస్త వానలో ఆకు అల్లడే నే చిత్తములో పొడిగావడము).

Chitta is considered to be fitful, and the rain falls without any method in distribution. It is characterised as being blind, and it is even said that it rains chiefly during the

day, as at night it is afraid of breaking its neck by falling in a pit. If this rain follows that of Hastā without a break, it is believed that the rains will be copious. If both these rains fail, it spells ruin for the raiyats, who then become as destitute as non-cultivators. హస్తా చిత్తూరు తే అందరు ఒకటే) in Telugu and (ಹಸತ್ತ ಚಿತ್ತೂ ಹೋದರೆ ನಾವೂಸುಲ್ಕರಂತೆ, in Kannada.

In Svāti, the downpour is generally continuous. Grass grows plentifully and this is believed to be the rain which conduces to the ears of corn filling properly with juice. If this rain falls properly, you may look for ears of corn even under a washerman's slab (స్వాతివాన కురిస్తే చాకిలవానిబండకిల వాయున్న). It rains devils in Svāti (స్వాతిపట్టి నే శనిపట్టినట్టే), and one will not be allowed respite even to answer calls of nature (స్వాతివాన కలతే నందరೂ బಿడద). Lightning is a sign of heavy rain in Svāti and even the sea trembles to see lightning with Svāti rain, (స్వాతివానమించితే సముద్రముతల్లి డిండును).

The water afforded by Visākha (corrupted into Isāki ఇసాకి) rain is believed to bring health; and this is the last of the copious rains, as clouds are scanty thereafter; --

విశాఖాంతానిమోఘాని  
ప్రసూతాంతంతు యవ్యవం ।  
లలితాంబాని గృతాని  
తకృంతం భోజనతథా ॥

Anúrādhā (corrupted into Anórāgi—అనోరాయి) ripens the crops before harvest, and if it falls the raiyat's anxiety is at an end (అనోరాయిబిడ్డరే మనోరాయిగే జోషిమితు) and his raggi (crop) becomes his own (అనోరాయిమహా బందరే నమ్మరాగి నమగేమితు).

The rains of Jéshthā and Múla come in low drizzle and create a dirty murky weather (జేష్ఠ మూల హిందరే జమ్మే మూజీ ద హాగే). It is harmful to the pulses, *avare* and *logari*, as insects multiply after this rain and flowers are destroyed.

With them the rainy season practically closes, about the time of Dīpāvalī feast, for you cannot discover any rain after Dīpāvalī even searching with a light దీపావళి పోయినపిమ్మట దీపము పెట్టి వెదకినా వానలేదు), and it is as vain to cry for rain after Dīpāvalī is gone, as to hope for good treatment as son-in-law in a deceased wife's parent's house (అటు నచ్చినపిమ్మట అల్లికకానికియే డిచేసి దీపావళి వెళ్లినపిమ్మట పరాకానికియే డిచేసిరెండూ ఒకటే)

They have so much faith in the appropriateness of particular seasons for particular crops, that it is rare to see any raiyat trying experiments with sowing after the proper season for particular crop is past. Some later crop or

some minor crop may be put in as an alternative to letting the field lie fallow altogether.

The agricultural seasons are roughly divided into two parts styled locally as Vaisákha (వైశాఖ) and Kártika (కార్తిక). As the ploughing operations are begun with the first rains, the agricultural year begins practically with the Telugu New year, (Yugādi—యూగాది). On a certain day in the first week after Yugādi all the raiyats in the village congregate in the *Whavadi* or a temple, when the Astrologer after offering *pūja*, to a copy of the new calendar, expounds to them the prospects of the new year. Margosa leaves with jaggery powder, to convey the idea of the sweet and the bitter being linked together in life, are presented as *prasāda* to the audience to swallow.

He tells them which of the rains may be expected to fall regularly, the state of the winds and the sunshine, the paines of grains likely to thrive well, and which epidemic and other diseases are threatening to break out. Then each man consults the astrologer as to his individual prospects, which are determined either by the star indicated by the first letter of his name or, if he keeps a horoscope, the star under which he was born. When all this is over, the head of the village, generally the patel, consults him about the auspicious day for beginning the agricultural operations, the name of the person who may lead the first plough, and the colour of the bullock to be yoked to it, the direction with reference to the village in which ploughing has to be begun, and such other important particulars. The astrologer finds appropriate answers for all these queries from calculation, and is rewarded with presents of grain and sometimes money and new cloths.

On the day fixed, the person who has to begin the ploughing operations in the village, goes to the temple with the village elders. The *pūjari* worships the god and sprinkles holy water on the man and his bulls and plough, a sheep being sometimes sacrificed. The man begins to plough and is followed by others with other ploughs. They pass the ploughs over all the lands in the village, and then enjoy a common feast styled that of Honnōru (హొన్నేరు) or the golden plough.

Each family also begins ploughing with a *pūja*, and at the time of first sowing they hold a *pūja* of the sowing implements called *Kúrige-pūje*.



When crops are standing, *Sidi-dóvaru* (ಸಿದಿಡೇವರು) is worshipped to avert insect pests. When they are two or three inches high, each raiyat in one of his fields builds a small shed out of green leaves and sets up seven small stones in it in a row with another small stone in front to represent *Munisvára*. All the important members of the family, with the young boys, go there and offer on two plantain leaves cooked rice and curds with some condiments. A fowl is then killed and its blood is mixed with the food in one of the leaves and is scattered over all the fields belonging to the family. The rice on the other leaf is eaten up by the boys and the remains of the fowl are taken home to be cooked and eaten by all the inmates.

All the raiyats in a village join together and enjoy the picnic of *Hasté Pongalu* during the *Hasta* rains. Small branches of *Ankólé* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*—ಅಂಕೋಲೆ), are brought in large quantities and stuck in the fields in different places. Figures of the several agricultural implements are drawn with the ashes of the potter's kiln, on the boundaries of the fields, in the paths and at the entrance of the village. A goat or sheep is sacrificed near the figure drawn at the village entrance and offerings of rice and milk cooked together called *Pongili* (ಪಂಜಿಲಿ) are made to it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is mixed with *margosa* leaves and is scattered over all the fields in the village. The head of the sacrificed animal is given away to the village *Tóti* (ತೊಟಿ) and the body is divided among all the raiyats.

No other ceremony is observed till the time of reaping, if the crop grows well in the normal condition. At the time of mowing the crop *Kudugólu Dévaru* \* (ಕುದುಗೋಲುಡೇವರು the Sickie God's púja) is done. A handful of crop is cut and placed in the central part of the field, near five small stones set up there. The sickles of all the reapers are collected and deposited in a row in front of these stones. They are then worshipped in the usual way, with burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then ears of this handful of crop are then cut and safely preserved at home and the grain out of them is mixed with the seed grain of next year.

Before the crop is removed in carts, or in head loads, from the field to the threshing floor, a cocoanut is broken.

\* This practice of making puja to the instruments of one's calling is almost universal. Even a grass cutter woman is often seen to bow before her scythe or hoe before beginning to cut or dig grass.

The crop thus transported is stacked into a heap and allowed to remain in that state for three or four months.

The threshing of the crop begins generally in the month of *Māgha* and continues till the close of the next month. When the threshing is done and the grain is heaped together, a *Pillāri*\* (ಪಿಲ್ಲಾರಿ) that is, a cone made of cow-dung, is installed with an ear of corn stuck into it at the top. Water is sprinkled on the grain heap and the threshing floor and the grain heap with the *Pillāri* is worshipped, incense being burnt and a coconut offered. The winnowing of the grain is done after this by a man standing on a stool about four feet high and pouring down the grain from a bamboo winnow, slowly so as to let the chaff be carried away by the wind, the heavy grain falling in a heap below. It is considered essential that when this process is going on, they should preserve silence all round.†

• It is the universal custom that before measuring the grain, a small quantity, if only a handful even, is set apart for charity. This is styled *Dēvara Kolaga* (ದೇವರ ಕೊಳಗ) i. e., God's measure and is distributed to a *Pūjari* or a Brahmin or to a *Dāsaiya* or *Jangamayya* or to beggars generally.

### Note 3.

#### CROP DISEASES.

There are certain crop diseases for which the raiyats apply different nostrums, some savouring of superstition, while others have more or less a remedial value.

The recognised diseases of the paddy are *Suruga Jādya* (ಸುರುಗಜಾಡ್ಯ), *Bāsara Vyādhī* (ಬಾಸರವ್ಯಾಧಿ) and *Kembatti Rōga* (ಕೆಂಬತ್ತಿರೋಗ). The *Kārtika* or the earlier crop of paddy is liable to attacks of the first disease in which the leaves turn reddish and wither away after the fall of the *Pubba* rain. The excreta of bats found in caves and ruined temples is mixed with the ashes of the potter's kiln and lime, and dusted over the whole field affected, and a sheep or goat is

\* *Pillāri* means a small image, and is a cone made of cow-dung or rice paste or earth, with blades of green grass stuck on the top. It is generally taken as representing *Ganēsa*.

† Perhaps a relic of troublesome times when the raiyat wished to gather in his grains as quietly as possible, without drawing the attention of robbers or others who habitually preyed on him. Or was it meant to keep off evil spirits?

sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the standing crop. When the heads of the stalks become knotted together, urine of cattle is sprinkled over them. *Búsara Vyādhi* is caused by the attacks of insects about the time ears shoot forth, by which the sap is drained and the leaves turn white and drop away, leaving the stalk bare. There is no remedy known for this pest. *Kembatti Rōga* known in Telugu as *Pandi-Rōgamu* (పందిరోగము) is nicknamed in Telugu as *Bāpini Rōgamu* (బాపినిరోగము) or the Brahmin disease, on account of the leaves all turning red when it attacks the crop. A pig is killed near the field and its blood is mixed with *margosa* leaves and thrown on the standing crop. Sometimes a crow pheasant (సంవారకాకి) is substituted for the pig.

Ragi crop is also subject to various diseases. The plant suddenly begins to dry up when the crop is about an inch high. The disease is styled *Bru Dūdara* (బ్రుదుదార) and the farmer makes pūja to a deity called *Dūdara* deity (దుదరదేవత). Small branches of *ankōlā* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*) are stuck in the several parts of the field and a fowl or sheep is sacrificed.

A similar but less injurious disease attacks the crop when about three inches high and is called *Nārūpālu Dūdara* (నారుపాళుదుదర). The leaves wither and fall off, but the stems are unaffected. The farmer performs *Dūdara Dēvadu* as in the case of the other disease and also sprinkles the ashes of the potter's kiln on the field.

*Aggi-Dūdara* (అగ్గిదుదర) in Telugu and *Benkūlādara* (బెంకూలదర) in kannada, is a more serious disease and injures crop considerably. The plants attacked wither away and do not survive. To prevent the spread of the disease, incense is burnt and a coconut is broken and its water sprinkled on the crop. When this disease is observed to occur after a drought, the raiyats take it as a sign of impending rain. Caterpillars (కంబ్బిపూవు) multiply very fast in fields attacked with this disease and eat up the pulses *Anare* and *Togari*, sown in the ragi fields. It is supposed to be a remedy to render pūja to these insects to ward off their attack. Two or three of them are caught, turmeric and *kunkuma* powders are put on them, and a cotton thread coloured with saffron is tied to each and after prayers to them not to molest the crop, they are taken to the village boundary and let off, probably with a benevolent wish that they may bestow their favours elsewhere.



*Kūluyādhī* (ಕೂಲುವಾಧಿ) attacks the crop when it is ripe for being cut. Insects eat away the stocks just at the ear heads which consequently fall off. There is no known remedy for this pest.

If there is too much rain when the ears are coming out, they all rot and turn jet and no grain is formed in them. No remedy is known for this either.

*Arare* and *Togari* pulses which are sown in lines in a ragi field are allowed to stand after the ragi is harvested as they ripen about two months later. They are liable to be attacked by insects called *Sīdi* (ಸಿಡಿ) which eat up the seeds in the pods. The remedy is to burn a quantity of bones heaped up in a place when wind is blowing so that the smoke may envelope the plants and poison the insects.

#### Note 4.

#### CATTLE DISEASES.

The importance of cattle to the agricultural people of the country cannot be overestimated. Cattle diseases cause enormous loss to the raiyats; and their want of knowledge and inability to administer timely remedies when epidemics occur cripple their resources year by year. There are, however, certain empirics in most places, who in addition to superstitious practices, know some remedies which are often very efficacious. Sometimes the cures effected by the employment of simple herbs available at their very doors are said to be little short of miraculous. But it is difficult to make these men impart their knowledge to others, as they believe that if their secret is shared with others its efficacy would disappear.

The most serious of the recognised cattle diseases is known as *Dodda Rōga* or *Doddamma* (great disease) i. e., Rinderpest. It corresponds to cholera for men and carries off a large number of cattle. Ragi gruel is given to sustain the strength of the animal and the mouth and the nostrils from which there is a large flow of mucus are often washed. They also segregate affected animals from the healthy ones more or less completely. Pills made of the roots of the Jambu wood (*painum interuptum*) and jaggery are administered.

The juice of the tender shoots of the creepers known as *Ugani-balli* (ಉಗನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿ) in Kannada, and *Tindra-balli*



in Telugu, a shrubby creeper (*cocculus cordifolius*), is given. Plantains of the variety known as *rasa-bale*, camphor and ghoo mixed together are sometimes given as a medicine.

When the village is visited with this epidemic, the God of the village is worshipped. An image of Māranna is made and worshipped by the washerman in the village square. Then it is taken in state to the boundary and left there with its face towards the next village.

The disease of the eye (శబ్దజ్వర) is also contagious and the infected animals are segregated. There is water flowing from the eyes and the animal becomes listless and gives up feeding and chewing the cud. It is not a common disease, but when it occurs it is not easy to get rid of it. The treatment resorted to is branding on the back about eighteen inches across in two places. The animal is also branded often under the tail, the neck and on the chest. The juice of the green leaves of the lemon (*citrus limonium* — కర్ర), gingelly oil, country arrack, asafoetida, pepper, garlic and mustard are all ground together, and about a hornful of the mixture is given to the animal.

Inflammatory fever or black quarters, known as Chappé Jādya (చప్పజ్వర) is a contagious disease generally proving fatal from a few hours to two or three days. The animal ceases to feed and to ruminate; swellings may appear on any part of the body and the parts so affected are hot to the touch. There is practically no remedy known to the raiyat, except branding on the affected parts. Sometimes a mixture of plantain flowers (బాళజూవిన శుశుమ) cummin seed (జీరం), onions (నిరంజం) and butter-milk (మజ్జి) ground together is given. The worship of a Goddess styled Chappalamma (చప్పలమ్మ), Goddess of Chappé disease, is observed, sheep and goats being killed to propitiate the deity.

There are certain preventive measures adopted to protect the healthy cattle when an epidemic of this disease is threatened. They are branded with a red hot iron rod on the right shoulder and on the left thigh. Milk or juice of *calatropis gigantea* (ఎక్కువకాలు), *terni* (గేరు semi *carpeus anacardium*), kernel of the castor seed (కరళాపూపు), *kādékárá* (కాడేకార, a drug), a drug *Chitramúla* (చిత్రమూల) and *plumbago zeylanica* (నెలగొరిమిడి) are well ground together in the curds of a buffalo and mixed with castor oil. The paste is put on the thighs and the shoulders of the healthy animals. Slight blisters appear on these spots; and

it is believed that the animals suffer from a slight attack of the disease and then recover. This inoculation is said to render them immune from this particular disease.

The foot and mouth disease is known as ಕಾಲು ಜ್ವರ, ಬಾಯಿ ಜ್ವರ, ಗಾಳಿ ಸೆಬ್ಬೆ, or ಗಾಳಿಯಮ್ಮ. It is a contagious disease but is not generally fatal. It spreads over large areas in the hot season and hampers agricultural operations seriously. Saliva flows from the mouth and ulcers are formed between the hoofs. The animal lifts and shakes the legs frequently; if the sores are neglected, they breed maggots. The animal is fed on nutritious food such as conjee made of ragi flour. The feet and the mouth are washed twice every day, morning and evening, and sometimes the animal is made to stand in mire. If there are maggots, tar or camphor mixed with the oil of *Pongamia glabra* (ಹೊಂಗಿ) or *margosa* seeds (ಬೇವಿನ ಎಣ್ಣೆ) is applied to the ulcers. Sometimes the feet and the mouth of healthy cattle are washed with water in which fish have been washed and the same water is sprinkled over the surface of the cattle yard.

The worship of the stone marking the boundary of the village site, known as *Goddu rāṇi* (ಗೊಡ್ಡುರಾಯಿ) a barren-stone in Telugu, or *Kāru kallu* (ಕಾರುಕಲ್ಲು) in Kannada, is considered to be efficacious in warding off the disease. They first make vows to this deity, and all the inhabitants of the village join in the worship. One hundred and one pots of water are poured on it and saffron and *kunkuma* powders are applied and small branches of *margosa* leaves tied to it. Sheep and goats are killed near the stone and all the cattle in the village are made to walk through the mire and are brought near this stone, where the *pūjāri* sprinkles water over them and applies turmeric and *kunkuma* to their foreheads. This is believed not only to cure the disease already broken out but to prevent an impending outbreak. It is supposed to prevent the spread of the disease to the uninfectious houses, if the inmates of the latter make an offering of food consisting of cooked rice, curds and milk mixed together with an onion (styled *ṣaṅṅaḍḍu* in Telugu), at the spot where the cattle are tethered, and sacrifice a fowl and sprinkle the blood on the cattle.

Naradi or Sukhanaradi (ನರಡಿ, ಸುಖನರಡಿ Splenic Apoplexy) attacks cattle apparently in good health. If proper care is not taken soon, they succumb to the disease. The animal

ceases to feed or chew the cud. Labourd respiration, staggering gait, flow of saliva and mucus from the mouth are among the symptoms of the disease. The feces and urine are coloured red with blood. The most popular remedy is branding on or about the region of the spleen. The internal medicines are dry chillies ground to fine powder and mixed with butter milk or the leaves of *wrightia tinctoria* or ivory wood (ಮರಜಾತೀಸೊಪ್ಪು), pepper and garlic ground together and mixed with butter-milk.

The symptoms of the disease known as Musara-jádya (ಮಸರಜಾಡ್ಯಾ in Telugu) are dullness, going off feed and twitchings of the muscles. The most efficacious remedies are said to be the following. A quantity of the bark of the Muttaga tree (*Butea Frondosa*) is beaten into pulp and immersed in water, and about six seers of the infusion are given as a drink. The leaves of the plants *Adusògo*, *Adratoda Vasica* (ಅಡುಸೋಗಿ), (ಅಡ್ಡಸರಪಾಳು in Telugu), tender leaves of *Nallavirili* (ನಲ್ಲವಿರಿಲಿ), *Nélagorimid* (ನೆಲಗೊರಮಿಡಿ) and *Muranelli* (ಮರನೆಲ್ಲಿ) and some garlic are ground into a paste and a powder of mustard, pepper, cloves, piper longum (ಹಿಪ್ಪಲಿ), ವೋಡಿ (greater galangal) ದಂಪರಾಸ್ಕ and the leaves of *Azima tetracantha*, (ಬಿಳಿಲಿಪ್ಪೆಯಲಿ) is mixed with that paste. Pills of the size of a gooseberry are made of this and one or two administered for two or three days. This remedy is applied for many diseases, especially those which cannot be properly diagnosed. Sometimes as soon as this disease attacks the animal, feces of human beings are mixed in water and two or three hornfuls given to it.

Ubhasa-jádya (ಉಬ್ಬಾಸಜಾಡ್ಯಾ) is brought on by exposure or by eating cooling substances. The disease proves fatal if it is not discovered in early stages and treated. The second remedy noted for the previous disease is also used for this disease. As an alternative the water in which washerman boils clothes with fuller's earth is given to the animal.

Domné Jádya (ದೊನ್ನೆ ಜಾಡ್ಯಾ Pleuro pneumonia) is also known as Sogadommu (ಸೋಗದೊಮ್ಮು) or Sukhadommu (ಸುಖದೊಮ್ಮು) in Telugu. It is a dangerous malady unless attended to in the early stages, but it is said not to be contagious. It is believed to arise from the abnormal swelling of something near the spleen (which they call ಖಡಗದೊಮ್ಮು) which finally chokes up the passage in the throat. The lungs get affected



and the animal coughs, and ceases to feed and ruminate. The remedies used are the oil or the juice of the bark of *Honge* (ಹೊಂಗಿ *Pongamia glabra*), or the juice of the leaves of *Addasarpáku* (ಅಡ್ಡಸರಪಾಕು) and *Muranelli* (ಮುರನಲ್ಲಿ) crushed together, and mixed with the oil of *Pongamia*, one or two hornfuls given internally, and branding on the body.

Dysentery, variously known as *Rakta kattu*, *Rakta bhédi* or *Katturóga* (ರಕ್ತ ಕಟ್ಟು, ರಕ್ತ ಭೇದಿ, ಕಟ್ಟುರೋಗ) is generally preceded by simple diarrhoea which is brought on by the cattle grazing on immature green fodder after the rains. The medicines used are pumpkin and rice boiled together; or the cellular spongy-like substances found in the ant hills (ಹುತ್ತದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಕೂಗು) mixed and ground together in water; or the juice of the leaves of a creeper called *si-tonde* one hornful, followed by another hornful of milk with fine powder of hæmatite known as *kápi* stone (ಕಾವಿ ಕಲ್ಲು).

Simple catarrh is known as *Kundu*, *Sela*, *Padisenu* or *Nogadi* (ಕುಂಡು, ಸಲೆ, ಪಡಿಶೆನು, ನೆಗಡಿ) and the symptoms are cough and thirst. Its cure is generally left to nature. The remedies sometimes used are unboiled milk, assafoetida, the ear heads of the grass out of which broom sticks are made, and mustard ground together; or the juice of the leaves of a small herb styled *బిడ్డా* in Telugu, mixed with goat's milk and assafoetida and given three days; or branding. Two women of the same name throw ashes on the back of the affected animal by means of a winnow. This is popularly known as *Kundu kervudu* (ಕುಂಡು ಕೆರುವುದು).

When this disease occurs in an aggravated form it is said to turn into *Salo* (ಸಲೆ). The animal is branded in addition to being given the above medicines.

Choking (ಎದುರು ಕುತ್ತಿಗೆ in Kannada and అంజీకారం in Telugu) may sometimes happen by the sticking of a foreign substance in the throat, which the animal makes a constant effort to bring out by coughing. The obstructing substance can, often, be felt by passing the hand gently on the animal's neck. It is removed mechanically either with the hand by a dexterous person or by inserting a cap of the oilon fruit with a cord attached beyond the obstructing substance and dragging it out. Ragi congee is then given and the part fomented with tamarind leaves and heated salt to soothe the irritation. If there is any wound, the blood of a cock is first given to the animal and a hornful of the mixture made of the juice of radish (మొలగి) and lard (జంబి తూప్ಪ) is given as a drink.



When the glands in the throat or the epiglottis swell, the air-passages may be choked and the animal die of suffocation. This disease is known as Gudlupenjari (గుడ్డుపంజరి) in Telugu. There are experts who break the swelling mechanically; and the animal is fed on ragi congee and other soothing and nourishing food till the sore is healed.

The disease known as Námu (నాము) is caused by the animal eating the tender shoots of Jôla (great millet, *Sorghum vulgare*) grass grown on the stubble left after reharvest. It is said to be due to an insect known popularly as Námu hula (నాముహుళ); it is perhaps due to some poisonous acid (Hydrocyanic?) which is found in this grass. The animal shivers, does not eat or ruminate and falls on the ground beating the legs violently. The juice of the leaves of the wild castor plant (పొత్తరళం *Jatropha curcas*) one or two hornfuls, are given mixed with water. This medicine is commonly known and is very effective.

Urla Jádya (అల్లజాడ్య) attacks calves, when all the hair on the skin falls off. As a remedy one of the teeth of the calf known as Gajjihallu or Itchi tooth, is pulled out and the calf gets all right. It is believed that this occurs when any salt is mixed with butter-milk of the calf's dam before the calf begins to chew the grass.

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## APPENDIX B.

*List of Hologamous divisions.*

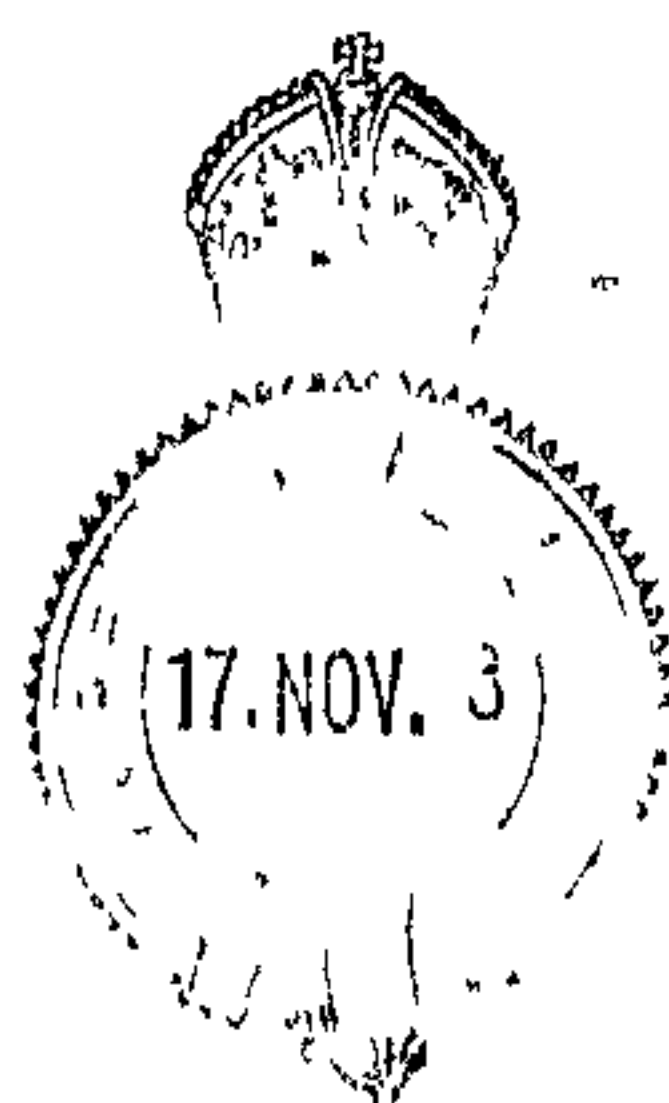
- Aohyuta (ಅಹೈತ) — People of this division do not cultivate saffron.
- Alada (ಅಲದ) — Banyan tree.
- Amé (ಅನೆ) — Elephant.
- Ardharané (ಅರ್ಧರಾಣೆ).
- 5 Bāchi (ಬಾಚಿ) — A kind of tree.
- Bādālu (ಬಾದಲು) — A kind of grass.
- Bāle (ಬಾಳೆ) — Plantain.
- Bangi (ಬಂಗಿ) — Ganja.
- Bólada (ಬೇಲದ) — Woodapple tree.
- 10 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ) — Silver.
- Billāṇḍa (ಬಿಲ್ಲಾಂಡ) — A kind of tree.
- Bollikóḍi (ಬೊಲಿಕೋಡಿ) — A bird, found in hedges, of black colour with white face.
- Búsi (ಬುಸಿ) —
- Chalindala (ಚಲಿಂದಲ) — A cistern for water erected in the roads for the use of travellers.
- 15 Chachali (ಚಾಚಲಿ) — A kitchen herb.
- Chikkanda (ಚಿಕ್ಕಂದ) — A vegetable plant.
- Dālimbo (ದಾಲಿಂಬ) — Pomegranate.
- Dévaḡannēra (ದೇವಗನ್ನೇರ) — A kind of flower bearing tree.
- Ḍóḷḷe (ḍóḷḷe) — Small bells.
- 20 Ḥónḍāra (ಹೆಂಡಾರ) — A kind of fish.
- Ḥimpu (ಹಿಮ್ಮು) — Milk of a buffalo or a cow which has lately calved.
- Gókóḥa (ಗೋಕೋಹ) —
- Gókula (ಗೋಕುಲ) —
- Gongāḍi (ಗೊಂಗಡಿ) — A blanket turned into a cloak.
- 25 Góṇṇi (ಗೋಣಿ) — Barlaria.

- Guliganji (ಗುಲಗಂಜಿ)—The wild liquorice.  
 Halu (ಹಾಲು)—A herb.  
 Hoggana (ಹೆಗ್ಗಣ)—A bandicoot.  
 Hippó (ಹಿಪ್ಪೆ)—A tree *Basia latifolia*.  
 30 Huttla (ಹುತ್ತಲ)—Anthill.  
 Ichalu (ಈಚಲು)—Date tree.  
 Irisédlu (ಇರಿಸೆಡ್ಲು)—A wooden spoon.  
 Kabbádu (ಕಬ್ಬಾಡಿ)—  
 Kadaba (ಕಡಬ)—A species of deer.  
 35 Kaggali (ಕಗ್ಗಲಿ)—A tree.  
 Kalindala (ಕಲಿಂದಲ) —They do not eat milk hedge plant.  
 Kalivi (ಕಲಿವಿ)—A kind of tree.  
 Kanne (ಕನ್ನೆ)—A kitchen herb.  
 Kánaga (ಕಾನಗ) —*Pongamia Glabra*.  
 40 Kappu (ಕಪ್ಪು) —Flesh of animals.  
 Káre (ಕಾರೆ)—A thorny jungle plant.  
 Khachóra (ಖಚೇರ) —A kind of shrub bearing sweet scented  
 fruits used with sandal paste.  
 Kode (ಕೋಡೆ)—Umbrella.  
 Kolaga (ಕೋಳಗ)—An Indian measure.  
 45 Kommé (ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ)—A herb.  
 Kondáda (ಕೊಂಡದ)—  
 Kunchi (ಕುಂಚಿ)—A hooded cloak.  
 Kurandara (ಕುರಂದರ)—  
 Kúrategá (ಕೂರಟೆಗ) —A milky thorny plant.  
 50 Kúriga (ಕೂರಿಗ) —A seed drill.  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)—A Jasmin flower.  
 Mandi (ಮಂಡಿ)—  
 Manéndra (ಮಣೇಂದ್ರ)—  
 Mandalige (ಮಂಡಲಿಗೆ)—They do not use mats.  
 55 Masi (ಮಾಸಿ)—  
 Mávu (ಮಾವು)—Mango.  
 Mékala (ಮ್ಯಾಕಲ)—Goat.  
 Mudre (ಮುದ್ರೆ)—A seal.  
 Mudaráni (ಮುದ್ರಾಣಿ)—Kitchen herb.  
 60 Mungili (ಮುಂಗಿಲಿ)—Mongoose.

- Mutlagu (ಮುತ್ಲಗು).—Bastard lank.  
 Nakkalu (ನಕ್ಕಲು).—Jackal.  
 Nelli (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ).—The umbilic myroba jam.  
 Néralo (ನೇರಲೆ).—Jambalana.  
 65 Nili (ನೀಲಿ).—Indigo.—They do not keep black bullocks and  
 their women do not wear black bangles or black sadis.  
 Niṭṭuva (ನಿಟ್ಟುವು).—They do not use stone posts for houses.  
 Nuggi (ನುಗ್ಗಿ).—Horse radish.  
 Nūnabudagi (ನೂನಬುಡಗಿ).—A vegetable drug.  
 • Otṭu (ಒಟ್ಟು).—They do not eat on plates of dry leaves.  
 70 Paṇḥakódi (ಪಂಚಕೋಡಿ).—  
 Punagu (ಪುನಗು).—Civet.  
 Sāmantige (ಸಾಮಂತಿಗೆ).—Chrysanthimum.  
 Sampige (ಸಂಬಿಗೆ).—Champak tree.  
 Sankḥa (ಸಂಖ).—Conch shell.  
 75 Sāsuvē (ಸಾಸುವೆ).—Mustard.  
 Sōṇṭhi (ಸೋಂಠಿ).—Ginger.  
 Tāṭārlu (ತಾತಾರ್ಲು).—  
 Tēngina (ತೆಂಗಿನ).—Coconut.  
 Tyābali (ತ್ಯಾಬಲಿ).—Tortoise.  
 80 Tumāla (ತುಮ್ಮಲ).—A kind of tree.  
 Turubu (ತುರುಬು).—They do not tie their hair in a knot.  
 Uḍārlu (ಉಡಾರ್ಲು).—Seeds of weed, a kind of grass largely  
 grown in paddy fields.  
 Uḍama (ಉಡಮ).—Big lizard.  
 Uttarēni (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ).—A common weed (*Achyranthis aspera*).







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## S A N Y Á S I S.

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\*Sanyásis form a caste of itinerant mendicants of the Saiva order known generally as Sanyásis and are found thinly spread in the districts of Kolar, Hassan and Mysore. Name of the caste.

The only resemblance they have to Brahman Sanyásis is wearing orange-coloured clothes, and living by begging to which they are initiated by a Lingayet priest. They are known as Jangama Kápu. Sometimes they are identified with Sudugádu Siddas in Hassan and Mysore as being like them the devotees of Siva, the lord of the burial ground. They are hereditary claimants of *Neluhága*, the fees of the burial ground, though a Kulavaḍi generally receives the amount, a portion of the collections being given over to them whenever a claim is made. In contradistinction from Lingayet Jangams they call themselves as Ghaṇṭa Jangams as they carry a bell with them to announce their arrival at a new place for alms.

Their home language is Telugu though they have picked up Kannada, the language of their adopted country.

They believe they are the descendants of the Jangams (the Lingayet priests) who had taken a vow of celibacy and mendicancy, but unable to observe them, lived with Telugu Kápu or Gangadikár women. In accordance with this reputed origin, their status is much lower than that of the Lingayet Jangams. Origin of the caste

Telugu and Kannada Sanyásis, Sudugádu Siddas, Honnuru Bábaiya Jangams and Púsalu or Sanchalu Jangams form their chief endogamous divisions. They generally do not go out of their division for brides but Telugu Sanyásis seem to have no objection to intermarry with Kannada Sanyásis. Honnuru Babaiya Jangams remain entirely separate either for marriage alliances or partaking of food, as their religious beliefs are tinged with traces of Mohamadanism. Endogamous Divisions

Exogamous Divisions are found in the appendix arranged according as they are related as consanguineous Exogamous Divisions

brothers or marriageable relations with each other. The names of these divisions are traced to their original territory situated in the Tolugu country.

**Personal names** Personal names are selected from those of their tutelary deities. Names as Pótla, (buffalo or a male animal), and Tippa (manure heap) are sometimes used; but such names are only rarely given.

**General rules of marriage** A girl may be married before she attains puberty but it is more common to celebrate the marriage later. Very often, the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles elsewhere. There is no harm if a woman remains unmarried, but generally all women are married within five or six years of their attaining the age of womanhood. Males are generally married after they are twenty years of age.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated except to the extent that a woman who is seduced by a man of the same caste may become his *Kútiye* wife. He has to pay a fine of seven rupees to the caste. If he is already married and does not wish to encumber himself further, he will have to recompense her by paying some money and a few *pallas* of ragi that she may maintain herself till she can find some one, to give her the status of a *Kútiye* wife. Children of such unions are married to such as stand in a similar position.

**Marriage relations** An elder sister's daughter is preferred to any other to be taken in marriage, and a paternal aunt's and maternal uncle's daughter comes next. There is no objection to marrying two sisters at the same time or successively; or in two families exchanging daughters. The recognised profession of the caste being mendicancy, some who live by selling beads such as Sanchalu Jangamalu or Púsalu Jangamalu are considered inferior, and others do not as a rule intermarry with them.

**Ceremonies observed at a woman's puberty** On the day a girl attains her age, she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves of Tangadi (*Sorla*) which is put up by her father or husband and if she is not married, by an intended husband. Two or three girls keep her company and amuse her with *Nalugu*, which is to smear her body and face with turmeric powder and adorn her head with wreaths of flowers. During this period she is given rich food consisting of sesamum, jaggory, dhall and plantains. After her meal she is anointed with ghee and bathed. On



the morning of the third day, the shed or some portions of its materials are burnt at a distance, and the girl bathes before getting into the house. On the fifth and seventh day she again bathes and sprinkles over her head the urine of a cow to purify herself from pollution. She might henceforth touch the utensils in the house and enter the kitchen. In the two succeeding periods of monthly sickness, she similarly lives outside and drinks cow's urine after bathing but afterwards she has only to bathe after the occurrence of sickness.

Some months before the marriage, the bridegroom in the company of his parents or other elders visits the intended bride's house and presents betel-leaves, nuts and fruits. The match is formally settled and the period for which the intended son-in-law has to remain in his father-in-law's house is fixed. On the settlement of these matters, betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the persons assembled and sometimes they are invited to dine at the bride's house. Marriage ceremonies

For performing the marriage, a Monday is deemed lucky. The services of an astrologer for finding the proper day are rarely sought for. The initial ceremony takes place on a Sunday and is styled the applying of saffron to the bridal pair (పాపపుష్పేతి). The girl after bathing dresses herself in a new suit of clothes and puts on new bangles and flowers. The bridegroom shaves his face, pares his nails, bathes and puts on toe-rings.

On Monday, a round pandal of twelve pillars is put up before the house of the bride and another before that of the bridegroom. Underneath the pandal in front of the bride's house, a milk post of *Kalli* wood is pitched and its top is decorated with the leaves of *Honge* or *Atti* tree. In the interior of each house they instal three stones or a Kalasa to represent their tutelary deity which is either, Gurumūrti or Chokkamma Dévaru over a bed of rice spread on a plank. In front of the deity they burn a light fed with ghee, and spread an *Bde* consisting of boiled rice and curds over a plantain leaf. For the purposes of other marriage ceremonies they consecrate another Kalasa to be portable. The bride's father or her brother and in the absence of both, the bridegroom, offers *pūja* to the deity by placing over it flowers and sandal paste and burning incense. A he-goat is sacrificed in the bridegroom's house and a she-goat in that of the bride. If the deity worshipped happens to be Chokkamma, the slaughtered

The general prohibition of marriage within the exogamous circle is observed as in other castes. For marriage, preference is given to a near relation such as a daughter of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle, or of an elder sister. Marriage is not contracted between persons who are related as mother's sister's children or children of agnatic cousins. Two sisters are not given in marriage simultaneously to one person. Exchange of daughters is not considered objectionable, though only rarely practised.

The proposal for the marriage comes from the boy's parents or friends, who after consulting an astrologer as to the agreement of the stars representing the names of the bridal pair, repair to the house of the girl's father on an appointed day, and make the proposal by presenting him with the amount of the "bride price," one measure of rice, a small measure of ghee, and some betel-leaves and nuts. The elders of the caste and other friends of the girl's father are invited to witness the ceremony, which is known as the *timbila* of agreement (ನಿಷ್ಪತ್ತಿಬಿಲಮು). The father receives the gifts and the proposal is thereupon considered to be accepted.

The marriage takes place on a subsequent day fixed by the parties. It is celebrated in the house of the bridegroom, and generally lasts four days.

The first day is known as *Tolipasunu* (ತೊಲಿಪಸುನು) that is "the first saffron," on which the bride and the bridegroom are anointed and bathed, and turmeric paste is smeared over their bodies. The new clothes to be used for the marriage occasion are dedicated to the ancestors, and fruits and cocoanuts are offered to an idol in a temple.

The second day is known as *Muyyipasunu* (ಮುಯ್ಯಿಪಸುನು), i. e., "the return saffron."

On the third day, the *Airane*, that is, the sacred pots are installed in their place. That evening, the party of the bride arrive, and are met by that of the bridegroom. As a mark of respect, the latter entertain the former with toddy, a considerable quantity of which is consumed. A company of married women go to a well and washing the new pots, bring them back in state to the pandal of green leaves set up for the marriage. A wooden postle wrapped round with a yellow turban and crowned with leaves of the Jambolana (ಜೇರಳೆ) tree is fixed in front of the marriage

booth, to serve as what is styled the "milk post" by other castes; and *pūja* with incense and fruits and flowers is offered to it.

The bride and bridegroom are then seated in the booth and new clothes are presented to them, and rice poured into their hands joined together, by the elders of the caste. The bridegroom then ties a string of black beads or a palm leaf round the neck of the bride, and leads her round the post three times.

The sacred pots are then visited by the couple who make *pūja* to them. They then light up a lamp placed near these pots, and it is considered an evil sign if this lamp should go out by any accident, and so it is tended with anxious care.

The *nuharta* or the real marriage takes place on the fourth day. A betel-leaf is shaped as a funnel and some married women first pour milk or water through it into the hands of the couple joined together, and then the latter pour milk into each other's hands, while the *Buddhivanta* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತೆ the caste elder man) repeats the formula "ಭಾಷಮಾಯ, ಭಾಷ ತಪ್ಪುಕ" (The word is given; do not go back on the word). After this ceremony the couple are taken in state to a temple to offer prayers to the deity.

The same evening, the bride and her party with the bridegroom leave the house of the latter and go to the bride's house, and it is said that the lamp lit in the bridegroom's house should not be seen that night by the bride and her party. Next morning all return to the bridegroom's house where a general dinner is given to the caste. After dinner the usual *Simhasana*\* (ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ) is worshipped and betel-leaves and areca nuts in the heap formed for *pūja* are distributed in the prescribed order of precedence.

The principal item of expenditure in a marriage is liquor supplied to the guests on a liberal scale, and the total amounts to more than Rs. 100 in ordinary cases. The expenses are mostly borne by the bridegroom's party and the customary presents given to the head of the caste and other functionaries are subscribed for by both parties, the bridegroom's contribution being double that of the bride's party.

Traditions regarding capture of wives are not found in this caste.\*

\* See account of Bēda caste, p. 9.



Tera.

*Tera*, *Vdli* (ವಲಿ) or bride-price is Rs. 7 and sometimes varies up to Rs. 15 according to family custom. A widower when he marries a spinster has to pay Rs. 25 as bride-price in addition to the *Savuti-honnu* (ಸಾವತಿ ಹೊನ್ನು, co-wife's money).

It is said that Rs. 101 was the amount of *tera* formerly fixed, but as it was too heavy to be borne, many could not marry. One of their headmen (Nayaks ನಾಯಕರು) observing that most of his gang were long beards, being unmarried, realised the oppressive nature of the tax, and reduced it to the present amount together with 101 nuts. Even this may now be compounded for, by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law, till he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law.

Peculiar  
observances

These men have certain peculiar observances. The bridegroom grows his beard until marriage and removes it at that time. Drums and music are not allowed, but in their place, a metal plate is sounded during marriage processions. *Bhāshinga* (ಭಾಷಿಂಗ- marriage chaplet) and flowers are not used.\*

Puberty.

A woman during her menses is considered to be in pollution, which is observed with more than ordinary rigour for seven days on the first occasion. She is prohibited from entering the kitchen and touching utensils used for household work and is given a separate dish for eating. Green leaves of *Ankole* (ಅಂಕೋಲಿ) tree are kept as a charm in the shed erected separately for her. In the evenings her relatives present her with jaggery, coconut, *pan-supari* and turmeric. She is not allowed to sleep at night and her mother and other female relatives keep on talking to her to keep her awake. She bathes on the eighth day and after touching the *Tangudi* (ತಂಗಡಿ) plant, is allowed to enter the inner parts of the house. If the girl is already married, the consummation of marriage may take place any day after this event without any further ceremony. If she is not married, the consummation

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\* These rules have become almost obsolete, only the wandering section still adhering to them. The Vaidias who have settled down, have to a large extent been imitating the customs of Vakkaligas as regards marriage and call in the pipers for music and use *Bhāshinga* and do not grow beards till marriage. But all the sections use a pestle (ವರಿಕೆ) as the 'milk post.'



takes place some day after the regular marriage ceremonies are over, when the husband has to give an additional dinner to the caste and regale them with drink. Girls married before puberty remain with their parents till the time of consummation; boys are not generally married till they are able to work and earn for themselves.

Remarriage of widows is allowed, and it is stated that a woman may not marry more than seven times,\* a restriction not certainly onerous to the weaker sex. She may not marry a brother, but may consort with any of the cousins of her deceased husband. She should eschew those belonging to her father's *kula*. The binding portion of this union which is regarded as somewhat an inferior kind of marriage, is the tying of the black beads round the neck of the woman by the suitor, or by a widowed woman. Widow marriage

The caste people demand Rs. 4 for effecting unions of widows with their partners. The husband pays to the parents of the woman a sum equal to only half the value of the proper *tera*.

It is said that a widow may transmit the property inherited from her former husband (if sonless) to her issue by a subsequent marriage, but it is doubtful whether such a custom even if proved to exist will be recognised by the Courts.

The marriage tie may be dissolved at the instance of either of the parties. A husband can divorce his wife for adultery, but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 6 which is spent for drink. But when a wife leaves her husband, she has to return the symbol of the marriage tie to him. If she subsequently marries another man, the latter has to refund to the first husband his marriage expenses, and the *tera* amount, besides returning the jewels given to the woman. In some places, however, the *tera* is not refunded. The second husband has also to pay a fine of Rs. 5 to the caste. Parents do not receive into their family a daughter who has deserted her husband or has been divorced by him. If they do so, they are required to pay a penalty of Rs. 12 to the caste. Divorce

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\* A proverb which expresses the license given to a Vadda woman runs thus.—*ಏಳುಮನುವುಲ ಪೊಯ್ಯಂದಿ ಪೆದ್ದಬೇಯಿಸಾನಿ*, and means that a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (i.e., a Vadda) matron.

## Adultery.

Adultery is not abhorred and may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste and the infliction of corporal punishment on the guilty party. If a charge of adultery is made good against a man, he is made to crawl round their settlement on all fours carrying one or two persons on his back. A woman similarly convicted has to force herself into a basket and tumble about with weights in another basket placed on her head. Sometimes she is laid on a bed of thorns thinly spread on the ground with weights loaded on her. These modes of punishment formerly in vogue, have probably almost gone out of practice. If they are ever practised at all now, it may be among the primitive section of the wandering Vādās.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated as a matter of course, but if the girl is discovered to have erred with one of her own caste, the fault is condoned by marriage with him. If he is within prohibited degrees or is of a different but higher caste, the girl is fined five to ten Rupees by the caste headman. After payment of the fine, she may be given over to any other in marriage. If the lover should decline to marry her when marriage is permissible, he is put out of caste, and she is free to marry any other person.

## Bṛasavās.

If an adult female cannot get any one to marry her, she may be dedicated to a free life in the name of Yallamma. She is bathed and smeared with saffron, and is seated on a blanket in the temple of this goddess, in the presence of the headman and others of the caste. Married women give her turmeric and the *pūjārī* of the temple makes *pūja* to the goddess and ties a *tūli* (with an effigy of the goddess) round her neck, with an invocation to the deity to protect the girl as her child. The castemen who attend at the ceremony are fed at the father's expense. The girl has to spend the first night at the temple. Thenceforth she may live with any person of her own or of a superior caste, but may not entertain one of a lower caste, without forfeiting her own. Her children if born to a man of the same caste rank as legitimate members, while those born to men of higher castes are regarded as forming a separate *śilā* or line. Such a daughter is regarded as equal to the son of her father, and her children are entitled to inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue.

The dead are buried in the ground, but in the case of those who meet with an unnatural death such as from bites of wild animals, or of pregnant women or of lepers, the dead body is generally burnt, and in some parts of the State, it is placed by the side of a boulder or a stump of a decayed tree and covered over with stones heaped up. This practice which goes by the name of *Kallu Séve* (ಕಲ್ಲು ಸೇವೆ—stone-service) is probably the relic of a very archaic age. Women dying without a marriage or childless are buried without funeral ceremonies among Kallu Vaddas. The body is muffled up in a blanket and carried by hands to the graveyard where it is buried with its head turned to the south.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

The funeral ceremonies observed by the people of this caste are the same as those observed by Kurubas and other similar classes. The section of Vaddas who are *Tirumadhāris* (ತಿರುಮಾಧಾರಿಗಳು)\* invite Sātānis to officiate at the funerals.

The period of mourning is twelve days for the death of adult agnates and five days for that of young children and daughter's sons. In Tumkur and parts of Pavagada, however, Kallu Vaddas observe a period of twelve days also for the death of daughter's sons. They show their grief by abstaining from flesh and spirituous liquors and by not taking part in auspicious festivities during the period of mourning (*Sūtaka* ಸೂತಕ). Ordinarily a body is buried with no accompaniments, but that of a person dying on Friday is buried with a live chicken.

They believe in the survival of the ghost after death. Śrāddhas are not observed by them but once a year new clothes are dedicated in honour of the dead and worn with devotion. Brahmans do not officiate as priests for these people, but Sātānis conduct their ceremonies on the last day of the pollution.

Kallu Vaddas may be said to have settled down to ordinary village life, while some Maṇṇu Vaddas are still nomadic in habits, wandering from place to place and encamping temporarily in the outskirts of villages or tanks near their work. Once in every two or three years they attend the *Jatra* festival of their tutelary deity. Their temporary settlements consist of fifty to one hundred families according to the quantity of work found in the

Social  
status and  
habits.

\* Worshipers of Vishnu, wearing the Vaishnava mark on the forehead, the inner line being of reddish or yellow saffron, and the rest white.



neighbourhood. As they have to move out for fresh work, they travel with all their goods and watch dogs, even the materials of huts being transported on donkeys or bullocks. Though they cannot be set down as professional thieves, they seldom miss an opportunity for replenishing their scanty riches by means of highway robbery or petty larceny.

#### Dwellings

The dwellings of the wandering Vaddas consist of huts made of split bamboo mats and rounded like the covering of a country cart, without any separate apartments. Kallu Vaddas and others who have settled in villages build houses of a permanent nature. While the itinerant Vaddas pitch their huts either outside the villages or near the places where they work, the settled Vaddas have their houses along with those of others in the village.

#### Admission into the caste.

They take into their caste a Kuruba (ಕುರುಬ) or a Golla (ಗೋಲ) or a man of any other higher caste than their own. Female members, it is said, can be taken from among the inferior castes, but such recruits are regarded as half caste. The aspirant has to spend a considerable amount in supplying food and drink to the caste before his admission, and the headman touches his tongue with a heated needle besides procuring for him *ārtha* and *prasada* (holy water and victuals) from the temple of their tribal goddess, Yallamma.

#### Food.

Their daily food consists of ragi bread and balls, with vegetables and dhall. They eat almost any animal food except beef. Sheep, goats, pigs, squirrels, wild cats, lizards and mice are equally welcome to them. Both the sexes indulge in immoderate drinking and even children are not free from this vice. They do not fish and do not catch big game, but are adepts in snaring field rats and squirrels, and men, women, and children armed with sticks join with considerable zest in hunting for such vermin by the aid of dogs. This indeed is one of their keenest sports.

Idiga is the lowest caste in whose houses Vaddas eat. Madigas, Malas (Holeyas) and Korachas eat in the houses of Vaddas.\*

Village washermen wash their clothes and the barber pares their nails, but it is said these two classes do

\*Vadda women are said not to eat in the houses of Vakkaligas (ವಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) as the latter touch night soil when manuring the fields.



not render their services to the Vaddas during marriages. A Vadda can draw water from the common village well and his approach is not regarded as polluting by anybody.

Earth and stone work is their characteristic occupation, and tank-digging, well-sinking, road-making and quarrying stone are mostly done by men of this caste. They also carry on trade in salt in out-of-the-way places. The Salt Vaddas (ಉಪ್ಪು ವಡ್ಡರು) at Bangalore, Kolar, and other municipal towns are employed as street sweepers and they are regarded as outcasts by the main body. There are a few among them who are cultivators possessing lands of their own. Some stone Vaddas also go about villages and towns in search of jobs of roughening the surfaces of grinding stone mills.\* Occupation.

Vaddas have earned a bad reputation as thieves. †

Though they cannot be properly classed among the professional criminal tribes, many of those detected in the commission of highway robberies, are found to be Vaddas, especially of the itinerant and immigrant classes. The indigenous Vaddas whether of the Kallu or of the Mappu section have mostly settled down to peaceful habits.

Another prominent characteristic in the wandering Vaddas is their persistent and insatiable demand for money from their employers. They always have an advance owing to their employer equal at least to twice as much as their work is worth, and it is not uncommon that when the advance accumulates to a tolerably large amount they desert their employer and decamp without any previous notice. The Vaddas work in gangs under contractors, who are often put to much loss on this account.

The Vaddas believe themselves to be raised above others of the same craft, if they do not engage themselves in

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\* Most houses possess stone mills for grinding rice and ragi. A circular stone is imbedded in the ground or placed loose, and on a wooden pivot driven through its center another round stone with a stake fixed as a handle near its rim, is made to revolve driven by women squatting on the floor. There is a cup-like receptacle on the upper stone where it takes the pivot and grain is put in through it. The mechanism is crude, but it is very effective. The grinding surfaces of the two stones get worn out by use, and then the surface has to be made rough again by the chisel of these Vaddas. They get about an anna for the work which is done in an hour's time.

† Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency by Mr. P. Mullaly

plastering walls with cowdung or red earth or in sweeping the streets.

Inheritance In the matter of inheritance, they follow the Hindu Law as administered in the State. The property of the father is on his death distributed among all the sons, the oldest of them getting an extra share. The unmarried sons at the time of partition are allowed their marriage expenses from the common property in addition to their shares; the daughters and the sisters are given some portion, either a field or some cattle or a jewel. One peculiarity in their partition, is said to be that a pregnant woman gets also a share for her unborn child. *Illátam* the affiliation of a son-in-law, is practised in this caste.

Caste as-  
sembly.

They have caste *panchayats* which consist of the Yajaman (headman) and a few old men known as *Buddhirantulu* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತರು or wise men), with a headle called *Kondigga-du* (ಕೊಂಡಿಗಾಡು). They take cognizance of disputes between the members of a family or different families and offences relating to the violation of caste rules in the matters of eating, drinking, adultery, etc. In an enquiry at such an assembly, the complainant and the accused swear by placing a twig in the hands of the foreman of the council to promise to abide by the decision arrived at by the assembly. They have also to deposit a certain sum as the probable cost of feeding the caste and supplying them with liquor, as a preliminary condition of enquiry. A witness called before the assembly has to go round them holding in his hands a little twig presented to him by the party who has called him to testify. He then says “ಮಾತೃಪಿತೃವಚನದ ಮೇರೆಗೆ” ಅಂದರೆ, “ಅಂದರೆ” that is, “Upon my parents’ word, I shall not tell a lie as to what I know.” Thereupon he breaks the twig into two and begins his statement. This is equivalent to his swearing that he separates the truth from falsehood in his testimony, as pieces into which the twig is broken \* are separated from each other. If the witnesses decline to swear in this manner, the party who called them loses his case. The contesting parties are then advised to come to terms. If, however, they are obdurate, the losing person is made to bear the weight of a grinding stone on his head as a penalty.

\* When it is meant to say that a man's word is the exact truth, it is said that he speaks as if a twig had been broken and handed over by him (ಕಡ್ಡಿಮುರಿದು ಕೈಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟವನಾಗಿ).

The panchayat may award, either a fine, or corporal punishment. If it is a fine, half of it goes to the Yajaman (headman) and the other half to the rest of the people of the caste assembled. The maximum fine for abusive language is one rupee for a male person and higher if it is a female that is abused. A daughter-in-law abusing her mother-in-law is more severely dealt with, as she will have to carry on her head a grinding stone three times round their settlement of huts. For the offence of adultery, a fine of ten rupees is ordinarily levied.

They are Hindus by religion and are the worshippers of *Saktis* and Vishnu in his several representations. Religion. Venkataramana of Tirupati is the principal object of their veneration. The principal goddess is Yallamma and is worshipped under one or the other of the following names, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), Chaudamma (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ), Máramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Sidubamma (ಸಿಡುಬಮ್ಮ), Kariyamma (ಕರಿಯಮ್ಮ), Gangamma (ಗಂಗೆಮ್ಮ) or Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ).

Goddesses are worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays with the help of a priest belonging to one of the lower castes. On other days, any devotee can break cocoanuts, and burn camphor in front of the temple dedicated to any of these goddesses, without the help of the priest or *pijari*. Annual festivals are held in their honour and on such occasions large collections of people take part in the festivities.

Kariyamma (ಕರಿಯಮ್ಮ) at Sira, in the Tumkur District, is an important goddess worshipped by this caste, in whose honour a *Játra*, i.e., an annual festival, is held on the New Year's Day (ಉಗಾದಿ). Buffaloes are sacrificed to this goddess during the festival. Sidde Dévaru (ಸಿದ್ಧದೇವರು) is the male god installed near the temple of Kariyamma. A man of the Vadda caste is its priest. Animal sacrifices are not made to this god but only vegetable food is offered (ಚೋಕ್ಕ ಭೋಜನ).

They have a belief that children after they depart from this earth live in the shape of spirits known as Iraru or Irágáaru (ಈರರು ಅಥವಾ ಈರಗಾರರು), which visit people in their dreams and cry for help. To propitiate such spirits *Irakallus* (ಈರಕಲ್ಲುಗಳು) that is, stones having male figures cut in them, are planted outside the village and occasional worship is made to them.



When a settlement of Vaddas is suffering from the ravages of an epidemic, such as small-pox, Sidubamma (ಸಿದುಬಮ್ಮ), i.e., the goddess of small-pox is installed on a bed made of green margosa leaves and worshipped in the usual style, curds and cooked rice mixed together forming an important item of the offerings. After due propitiation, the goddess is transported beyond the borders of their village or settlement and left at the confines of another village, the people of which with due ceremony pass her on further. This transportation from place to place goes on, till the goddess misses her way in the jungles or becomes innocuous after the monsoons have well set in.

Dress and ornaments.

Their women do not wear bodice cloths, or tie their hair into a knot, or dress it with oil. A woman that shows even a slight inclination to neatness and trespasses the limits of custom in the matter of dressing herself and her hair, is looked down upon as transgressing the rules of conventional propriety. They wear glass bangles on their left hands and brass ones on the right. Toe rings are used by married women only. A big nose-screw is the characteristic ornament of a Vadda woman who also puts on a large number of strings of white and black beads round her neck. They are however slowly changing in these respects imitating the more refined neighbours, Uppu Vaddas being the most conservative among them.

A Vadda man is not supposed to shave his head or beard, but this prohibition has become obsolete except among the Uppu Vaddas, who still refrain from shaving their heads, though their beards may be removed.

Other customs.

The Vaddas have no spiritual head or *guru*. They say that long ago they had a *guru* or *rasu*, who was of ascetic habits and eschewed meat and sugar. They were also vegetarians in those days. Once when they visited their *rasu* in one of his periodical tours to give them *thrtha* and *prasada* and receive their contributions, he supplied them with rice and other provisions and sent them to a pond to cook and eat their food. The sight of fish in the clear water of the stream was too tempting to be resisted, and they caught and cooked it for themselves. Their *guru* cursed them to remain flesh-eaters for all time and forsook them, and they have never again ventured to raise another to that position.



Another peculiar custom is that Vaddas never eat a tortoise. They call it their grandmother (ಅವ್ವ) and say that formerly it did them some service and in recognition of this, they do not kill it. If a Vadda sees anybody carrying a live tortoise for eating it, he buys it from him and takes it to a well or tank and leaves it there in the water.

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## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions (Gótras).

		Meanings (if any)
<i>Pandipatlavāṇu</i>	(ಪಂದಿಪಟ್ಟ ವಾಳು)	Pig
<i>Jarapala</i>	(ಜರಪಲ)	
<i>Alukuntala</i>	(ಆಲುಕುಂಟಲ)	
<i>Manjara</i>	(ಮಂಜರ)	
<i>Pīṭala</i>	(ಪೀಟಲ)	Plank
<i>Gógala</i>	(ಗೋಗಲ)	
<i>Yanumala</i>	(ಯನುಮಲ)	Buffalo
<i>Uppala</i>	(ಉಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt
<i>Gunjala</i>	(ಗುಂಜಲ)	
<i>Mallela</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ)	Jasmine flower
<i>Mallopala</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆಪಲ)	
<i>Dydrangala</i>	(ದ್ರೈರಂಗಲ)	
<i>Santakuppala</i>	(ಸಂತಕುಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt seller in week-ly fairs
<i>Jadipila</i>	(ಜಡಿಪಿಲ)	
<i>Kunjigula</i>	(ಕುಂಜಿಗಲ)	
<i>Sárigala</i>	(ಸಾರಿಗಲ)	
<i>Boorusala</i>	(ಬೂರಸಲ)	
<i>Manjala</i>	(ಮಂಜಲ)	
<i>Sallala</i>	(ಸಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Pallepala</i>	(ಪಲ್ಲೆಪಲ)	
<i>Yidugalla</i>	(ಯಿಡುಗಲ್ಲ)	
<i>Rólu</i>	(ರೋಲು)	Mortar
<i>Dudugala</i>	(ದುದುಗಲ)	
<i>Sátala</i>	(ಸಾತಲ)	
<i>Gujjala</i>	(ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)	
<i>Battala</i>	(ಬತ್ತಲ)	
<i>Bandi</i>	(ಬಂಡಿ)	Cart
<i>Ohinna Bandi</i>	(ಚಿನ್ನ ಬಂಡಿ)	Little cart
<i>Vorasa</i>	(ವೊರಸ)	
<i>Dandagala</i>	(ದಂಡಗಲ)	

<i>Dundagala</i>	(ದುಂಡಗಲ)	
<i>Gāyamuttala</i>	(ಗಾಯಮುತ್ತಲ)	
<i>Siddigala</i>	(ಸಿಡಿಗಲ)	
<i>Rājula</i>	(ರಾಜುಲ)	
<i>Bachchukallala</i>	(ಬಚ್ಚು ಕಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Tyāpala</i>	(ತ್ಯಾಪಲ)	
<i>Seṭṭi</i>	(ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ)	Headman
<i>Yarra</i>	(ಯರ)	Red
<i>Yārala</i>	(ಯಾನಲ)	
<i>Bosidi</i>	(ಬೊಸಿಡಿ)	
<i>Gampala</i>	(ಗಂಪಲ)	Basket
<i>Yāpala</i>	(ಯಾಪಲ)	Margosa
<i>Bāntala</i>	(ಬಾಂತಲ)	Quilt of rags
<i>Chimpiri</i>	(ಚಿಂಪಿರಿ)	Dishevelled or curly haired
<i>Chuddili</i>	(ಚುಡ್ಡಿಲಿ)	Spade
<i>Komare</i>	(ಕೊಮರೆ)	Dried cocoanut
<i>Pāvula</i>	(ಪಾವುಲ)	Flower
<i>Ryāpanūrala</i>	(ರಯಾಪನುರಲ)	

