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THE

MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

VOLUME II

BY

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THE

MYSORE TRIBES AND CASTES

Volume II.

AGASA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION—HABITATION, FURNITURE AND UTENSILS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—BRIDE PRICE—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—DIVORCE—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—NAMING CEREMONY—EAR-BORING—MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION—MAGIC AND RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE AGASAS—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. LINGAYAT AGASAS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

AGASAS or Madivals are the Canarese speaking washermen of the Mysore State. Another form of Agasa is Asaga which is derived from *Asaṇi*, a turban.* Chakkālavandlu, Vannān and Dhōbi are Telugu, Tamil and Hindustani equivalents of Agasa. *Madivāla* means a person who makes clothes *madi* or clean. Agasas are known as Viraghata Madivāla on account of their supposed descent from Vīrabhadra, the son of Siva. They are called Mallige Madevi Vakkalu or devotees of a goddess known by that name. Rajaka also means a dyer of clothes corresponding to the Tamil name of Vannān,

* Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, page 17.

the Malayalam equivalent of which is Mannān. Possibly the term Agasa or Asaga means a bleacher.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The following is current regarding the origin of the caste. On the occasion of Daksha's sacrifice Vīrabhadra got his clothes blood-stained, while killing Daksha and his companions. He appeared before Siva and thoughtlessly allowed his impure garments to come into contact with the God. He was then doomed to fall from his high state, and condemned to expiate his sin by washing the clothes of Basava and his followers in Kalyan. This was the washerman named Māchayya who is described as a follower of Basava mentioned in the twenty-first chapter of *Basava Purāna.*

There is also another story about their origin. Five goddesses, Sarasvati, Lakshmi and Pārvati, consorts of the three divinities of the Hindu Triad, as also Sachi and Chāya, wives of Indra and Surya, when in their monthly courses, felt difficulties in getting some one to wash their clothes.* Just then they saw a woman coming towards them with a boy, and asked her to do the work, promising to give whatever she desired as her remuneration. The woman took the clothes to the sea in a bundle, and finding no slab to wash the clothes on, cut off the head of her son, used his blood as colouring matter, eyes as indigo, the flesh as fuller's earth, the back as a slab, legs as fuel, forearms as ironing rods, and the abdomen as the pot. She obtained fire by praying to Agni, the god of fire, and having thus cleaned the clothes, she took them back to the Divine consorts. They were naturally gratified at the result, but not finding the boy with her, they questioned the woman,

* Washing clothes of women during monthly sickness is considered to be a degrading kind of work, and when people wish to show their contempt for others they call them as washermen of polluted caste.

who reluctantly informed them of the use she had made of his mortal frame. Highly touched by his fate, they asked her to call him by name, and when she did so the boy stood smiling before her. The gods were pleased on hearing this, promised her a further boon as she desired, which was formulated as knee-deep water for washing, ankle-deep food as wages, and a monopoly for washing clothes.

The Agasas are believed to be the descendants of the son of this washerwoman. Basava is said to have converted some of the washermen into Lingāyats, and some are found in this caste at present.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

At the last Census the Agasas numbered 99,876 ; 50,792 being males and 49,084 being females. In the Census of 1911, they numbered 97,772 and showed an increase of 2,104 during the subsequent ten years. Their distribution in the different districts and the cities of Bangalore and Mysore is given below † :—

DISTRICTS.	POPULATION.
Bangalore City	902
Bangalore District	12,998
Kolar Gold Fields	503
Kolar District	13,291
Tumkur District	13,444
Mysore City	589
Mysore District	21,935
Chitaldrug District	8,764
Hassan District	10,726
Kadur District	4,004
Shimoga District	11,366
Bangalore Civil and Military Station	1,354
Total ..	99,876

In the Madras Presidency where these people are known as Vannāns, they number 252,595 ; 127,688 being males, and 124,907 females. In the Bombay Presidency they numbered 79,752 ; 41,746 being males, 38,006 being females. ‡

† *Mysore Census Report*, 1921.
‡ *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. I. 1., Part II, pages 161, 162.

In the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District the Agasas are found in large numbers. They numbered 3,204; 1,667 being males, 1,537 being females.

HABITATION, FURNITURE AND UTENSILS.

The Agasas live in narrow streets in the neighbourhood of the main ones occupied by the higher castes. Their houses are arranged in a row, and are built partly of mud and partly of brick walls with wooden doors and windows as also of tiled roofs. The mud in many parts of Mysore is said to be excellent, and walls constructed out of it with tolerable care will resist the rains for many years. Some houses are terraced with mud during the hot weather which turn the rain very well. These mud walls are smoothened, and neatly whitewashed to put on a decent appearance. Those that cannot afford to have wooden rafters, use bamboo ones which are equally durable. Their houses consist of a few rooms one of which serves as the kitchen, while the others are used for keeping the washed and unwashed clothes of their customers also as dormitories. Some houses have separate rooms for dining. There is also an open space (a backyard) in which is a large earthen vessel to contain dirty clothes soaked in a solution of hot water mixed with fuller's earth before being removed for washing. The Agasas have invariably a few asses for carrying their heavy loads of washed and unwashed clothes. Very often they are left after work in the streets to take care of themselves. They have no article of furniture beyond a cot and a few mats and their domestic utensils consist of a few earthen vessels, a few copper or brass ones as well as some enamelled or bell-metal dishes or tumblers. In point of sanitation both inside and outside of their houses and their surroundings, there is left much to be desired.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The Agasas who are found in the State come under two main endogamous groups, based on the language they speak, namely, Canarese and Telugu. There are also found in the State in small numbers, Mahratta, Hindustani and Tamil Agasas with their name endings of Sing and Rav, but they are immigrants of quite a recent date. These divisions neither interdine nor intermarry. The Telugu section is further divided into the following sub-divisions which are endogamous. They are :—Murikinādu, Pasupunati, Asadi, Edamollu, Pādahara and Panāmvāndlu; belonging to the sixteen phanas. These divisions appear to be of territorial origin. They have no distinct exogamous clans, but in some places the identity of the several families is preserved by their allegiance to the same family god, and the memory of their relationship by the annual or periodical celebration of worship in honour of their tutelary deities. Some also have divisions called after a well-known ancestor such as Lakkappanna, Kalayanna Manetana, Jodi Siddayan Manetana, and Kempa Lingayanna Manetana. These distinctions are being left in oblivion. But the common ancestry and the worship of the same tutelary deity give broad hints as to their original clan organization.

Some among the Telugu Agasa have returned the following exogamous clans, namely, Mugulikula, Belli kula and Halu kula and some others Kumbaloru, Murugaloru, Huvinavaru, Khandagadavaru.

There is also a section of them who carry on their work at night, while another only during the day. Both depend upon the custom of their families, and this distinction makes no difference in their social relations.

The Agasas of the Bombay Presidency have the following exogamous clans known as Badagus, namely, Ambarakul, Adbhigotraja, Bhuyparna,

Dhautambar, Halagraha, Padata, Rajaka, Rejenami, Romapitra, Telugu Variduvali.*

There is also another division, namely a small community who are the offspring of widows after their recognized remarriage, with whom the rest of the community do not enter into matrimonial relations. It is said that this distinction is obliterated in the course of two or three generations.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

As has been said there is no intermarriage between the Canarese and the Telugu speaking Agasas, nor are conjugal relations allowed between these two communities, and the Tamil, Mahratti and Hindustani speaking communities. Among the agnatic relations no intermarriage is allowed. Beyond these no marriage restrictions are observed by the members of this community.

In marriages, *sodara* or uterine relationship, that is, the relationship of the maternal uncles or paternal aunt's daughter is preferred. Marriage with the daughter of an elder sister is very much favoured. Two sisters may be married by the same man or by uterine brothers. Another rule which regulates the eligibility of conjugal relations, is that the boy and the girl should not be either actually or by analogy, related to each other as parent and child, or brother and sister. Marriage with the younger sister's daughter is strictly prohibited. Marriage by exchange, that is, a brother and sister belonging to one family may marry a sister and brother, respectively, of another. Barring these limits, there are no prohibitions, based either on social status, local position or differences in religion or occupation.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed and practised. A girl may remain unmarried all her

* R. E. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I., page 2.

life, when she remains as a member of her father's family. But an unmarried woman is not considered fit to take part in ceremonies and when she dies the funeral ceremonies are less formal than for a married woman. Among the Agasas, the offer of marriage comes from the boy's father who, along with a few of his relations and friends, goes to the house of the girl's father, and says, "They have come to eat rice and ghee in his house." They are treated to a feast, after which they talk over the matter, and if the conditions are agreed upon, the match will take place. This they call Voppuvilya or *tambula* of agreement. Then follows another ceremony called Vilyesāstra, (ceremony of betel leaves and nuts) also performed at the bride's house to which the castemen and the Jangam are invited. Such business matters as the number and value of the jewels to be given to the girl are also then settled, and if both parties come to an agreement, a seat, called Sangamesvara Gadige, is improvised. The bell and the spoon of the Chalavadi * is placed thereon, and a *pūja* is offered to them. The parties signify their consent by exchange of betel leaves. The new cloth brought by the bridegroom's father is presented to the girl who dons the gala dress and sits on the plank in the assembly of the women. She is also presented with one of the jewels agreed to be given at her marriage. Flowers, fruits and other presents are also placed in her garment. Relations and friends assembled there are then sumptuously treated to a feast.

Marriage proper may take place either at the girl's or the boy's house. A day previous to the marriage, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the bride's village and are met at some distance

* The servant of a Lingayat priest or a merchant carrying a large ladle with chain and bell on his shoulders. A low caste. L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II., page 545.

from it. They are given jaggery water to quench their thirst. *Pan supari* is distributed and then the party is led into the village and lodged in a house set apart for them.

The erection of the marriage pandal is the next event. It should have twelve pillars, that on the north-east corner being a branch of Kalli (*euphorbia tortillis-tirucalli*) or of fig tree. In some places, a maternal uncle or other similar relative, should cut this branch, while in others, it is sufficient if he is a man of the caste, born of parents regularly married. The cut branch is first deposited in some temple, and brought thence after a *pūja*, and set up in its place. The pandal has a canopy of washed clothes decorated with drawings in lime and saffrons. Women go to the potter's house, to bring *Airane*, that is, pots painted outside with red earth and chunam in a variety of designs. The potter is presented with a hana, (4 annas 8 pies), rice and other provisions. The pots are brought to the house, and kept in a row on a bed of manure spread for the purpose in a room. They next go to a well and, after making *pūja*, bring water for the marriage in some vessels, walking in procession on washed clothes (*Nade madi*, to walk on) spread along the road by one of their own caste. They have a general dinner after this in the marriage pandal. In some places (*e.g.*, Davangere) the bride and the bridegroom visit in succession the houses of their castemen in the place where they are besmeared with turmeric paste, as a token of congratulation, and partake of some refreshments. The party go to a temple, where they make *pūja* to the *bhashinga* (marriage chaplet), and bring it home in state, under a moving cloth canopy.

On the second day, early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom both get their nails pared,

(Kuluguru Sāstra) not by a barber, but by one of their own caste. The ostensible reason given is that a barber should not enter the marriage pandal, but the real reason seems to be that the barbers decline to do this service for them. As tit for tat, the Agasas do not hold torches during the marriages of barbers. After bath, the bridegroom, neatly dressed in new clothes, goes attended by a band of musicians to the temple. About this time a green twig of Nerale or Basari tree (*eugenia jambolana*) is cut by the maternal uncle of the bride, and taken in state to the marriage house, where it is tied to the milk-post.

From the temple where the bridegroom is seated, some of his party go to the bride's house thrice. The first time they carry rice, jaggery, saffron and betel-leaves, and return, leaving the things there. The second time the new clothes meant for the bride are similarly delivered. On the third trip, the bride-groom himself goes, carrying a dagger in his hand, followed by his best man, and taking with him all the jewels intended for the bride. As the procession approaches the pandal, the bride's party make a show of resistance by pelting the bridegroom's party with rice, the compliment being duly returned by the latter. This appears to be a survival of marriage by capture.

Then the bridegroom comes to the marriage dais, to which the bride is subsequently conducted. A screen is placed between the two. Here the Purohit is called in. He is a Brahman in some places, a Jangam in others, and where neither is available, an elderly man of the caste conducts the ceremony. Rice, sesamum and cummin seeds are put by the bride and the bridegroom on each other's heads, the screen is taken off, and they garland each other. Tali is tied by the bridegroom to the neck of the

bride, and the union is completed. This is followed by the tying of *kankanas* (wrist threads). Four metallic vessels are arranged in four corners, and round their neck a thread is passed three times. This is then cut into two halves, and to each half is tied a turmeric root and a betel-leaf. Lastly, Dhare or the milk-pouring ceremony takes place. The couple stand facing each other, and keep their hands together holding a cocoanut, on which first the priest, then the parents of the couple, and finally the rest of the assembly, pour milk. During this time, the couple hold their hands, alternately one below the other. The milk thus poured in is caught in a tray held underneath their hands, and, ultimately thrown out on a Bilva tree (*Crataeva religiosa*) or into a jasmine bush. After this they sit side by side, with the ends of their garments knotted together, and each ties the *kankana* to the other. They then rise and go round the milk-post thrice and make *namaskāra* to the sacred pots. The assembly disperse after *tambula*, and later on, there is a general dinner. The essential part of the ceremony is the tying of the *tāli*.

On the third day, the couple are anointed and bathed and taken to an Asvatha (*ficus religiosa*) or the peepul tree in procession, the bridegroom riding on a horse, and the bride on a bull. They are seated side by side on a plank-seat and their parents and other members of the congregation throw a handful of Tumbe* flowers, this being a ceremony known as "Tumbe Flower Dhare." Then each party again ties a *kankana* thread, with a betel leaf attached to the other's wrist.

* Tumbe is a small herb (*phlonis indica*) a tiny, white flowering plant, flowers of which, beautiful though devoid of smell, are believed to be a favourite of Siva, for whose worship they are largely employed in this part of India.

In the afternoon, after dinner, the Simhāsana *pūja* takes place. A black *kambali* or blanket with eight folds is placed on a plank for the couple to sit on. This is called a *gaddige*. Betel leaves are arranged in a circle on it, with arecanuts placed in a heap in the centre. Round the heap are lumps of Vibhūti,* and the bell and the spoon, the insignia of 18 *phana* people, are brought by the Chālāvadi and kept on the *gaddige*. After the married couple have made *pūja* to this *gaddige*, the betel leaves and arecanuts, placed in the heap, are distributed in the known order of precedence, to all the assembled persons. The Gauda or the headman of the caste, is paid one rupee, and the Chālāvadi gets a *hana* (4 annas 8 pies) by way of fees.

On the fourth day, called Nāgavali, the couple perform a *pūja* to the pillars of the pandal with the offerings of cooked rice and cakes. Their *kankanas* are taken off. The next day the milk-post is removed after *pūja*, part of which consists in pouring on it some water, in which a bit of gold and a piece of coral have been washed. After the marriage ceremonies are thus finished, the bride-groom is sent back to his native place with his wife, who is accompanied by her parents or others of her nearest relatives. The party halt at the boy's place for three days, and then return with the girl. If the girl has already attained puberty, she will be allowed

* Vibhuti is the name of the sacred ashes got by carefully burning cowdung cakes, so as to give clean white ashes. All worshippers of Siva smear their foreheads and limbs with this as an emblem of their faith. Brahmans take it out of the sacred fire used for daily sacrifices. Sometimes, especially by Lingayats, the ashes are made into smooth white balls mixed with some starch. The symbolical meaning is that the ashes represent the remains of carnal desires burned in the fires of *jnāna* and *bhakti* (knowledge and devotion). It is connected also with the story of Kama's burning by Siva, which story symbolises the triumph of knowledge over the senses.

to live with her husband after the lapse of 15 days from the close of the marriage. No fresh ceremony is then observed, except giving her the presents of fruits and other articles placed in the folds of her cloth, and a dinner to the castemen. In some places a period of three months should elapse between the marriage and the consummation. A few however put it off till the first Gauri feast after the marriage.

BRIDE PRICE. The boy or his party has to pay a price for the bride, the amount varying in different localities, between Rs. 12 and 24.* A widower marrying a spinster pays an enhanced price in some places, while in other places this is increased by the present of more jewels. The amount of marriage expenses cannot be determined with any definiteness. It depends on the means of the parties, the place they live in and other considerations; and it may be taken as ranging between Rs. 20 and Rs. 50 to the bride's party, and Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 to that of the bridegroom, the latter including also the value of the presents to the bride, which of course is not lost to the parties.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS. When a girl attains puberty, she is under seclusion and lodged either in a room of the house or in a shed erected out of green leaves of either the Indian fig tree or the jack fruit tree (*artocarpus*). This lasts for a period of 3 to 5 days; and every evening she is seated on a plank-seat, and presents of cocoanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to her, and *arati* † performed by married women. The cloth worn by her at the

* In some places, for example Shimoga, the bridegroom gets Rs. 2 from his parents-in-law, styled *Mugadakai Honnu*.

† *Arati* is an important function though not a very essential part in all auspicious ceremonies. A flat metal dish is filled with water,

time of attaining maturity is given to a washerman of another family who has to wash her clothes and to supply her with washed clothes every day during this period.

If the girl is already married, information of the event is sent to her husband either through the servant of the caste, called Hattāra Manushya or through the girl's brother, or any other castemen. The husband or his people have in some places, to pay Rs. 10 styled *Nerada hana* (puberty money), towards the expenses incurred by the father of the girl for the puberty ceremonies and for feeding the girl during that period. If the girl is not married at the time, the parents have a right to be paid this sum by the man who subsequently offers to marry her. When the girl is already married, the consummation takes place within sixteen days if possible, or on some later day.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is allowed and practised; but the husband must always be a widower. The ceremony is less solemn than the orthodox marriage, and is styled *tāli*-tying. It is performed always after sunset, and in the dark fortnight of the month; and it is not necessary to get a lucky day fixed for it by the Brahman. On the day of marriage, the Yajamān (the head-man of the caste) the gauda and other castemen assemble on invitation, and the spoon and bell of the Chālavādi are kept on an improvised seat (Sangamesvara Gaddige). The woman

coloured red by means of Kunkuma powder (vermillion) or turmeric and chunam, some grains of coloured rice are thrown into it, and the plate is held by two or sometimes more women, and waved before marriage couple or other parties in a marriage or other ceremony, just before they leave their stage. Songs are sung by women, the band if in attendance plays, the Brahmans when present chant some mantrams of grace, and throw coloured rice on their heads by way of blessing. The main object of the coloured water seems to be warding off the potency of evil eye.

is bathed, either by widowed women, or those who have been married a second time, and dressed in new clothes given to her by her lover. She puts on silver and glass bangles, and is conducted into the assembly by widowed women. After obtaining the formal permission of the Yajaman for the union and the rest of the assembled persons, the husband ties the *tāli* round her neck. The ceremony closes with the distribution of *pan supari* among the assembly, and a dinner given by the new husband.

A peculiar form of this ceremony is that which is observed at Davangere, in Chitaldrug District and thereabouts. The woman, after being bathed and dressed, is conducted into that room and knocks at the door. The man asks her who she is, and what she has come there for; the woman replies that she has come to light a lamp in that room. The headman and other caste people give permission to the man to tie the tāli, after which *pan supari* is distributed, and the proceedings close with a general dinner. No married women attend the ceremony, nor are they allowed to see the newly married widow for three days after the ceremony. The *tera*, or the bride price paid is Rs. 7 as. 8 which goes towards the repayment of that of the first husband to his representatives.

The widow may not marry her previous husband's brother, younger or elder; but she may marry any of his cousins. Again, she may marry as many times as she loses her husband or is abandoned by the latter, but it is said that, at every subsequent marriage, she is entitled only to half the *tera* of the previous marriage.

The property which she might have inherited from her first husband has to be returned to his heirs, and the children also go back to his family. A woman marrying a second time is deprived of certain privileges, and is, for purposes of joining any

auspicious ceremonies, treated as if she were a widow. She may not even enter a marriage pandal. Her issues for a few generations form a separate division, and are only gradually absorbed into the main body of the caste.

DIVORCE.

A man may not divorce or abandon his wife for any reason other than adultery or loss of caste, on her part. The latter is also a good ground for the wife to break the marriage tie. At the time of dissolution of marriage, the castemen and the Yajaman are called together, and the circumstances necessitating the divorce are laid before them. The council hears the parties, and sometimes, when the complainant fails to make out his case, the parties are dismissed with an admonition, and a reconciliation is generally effected. But in most cases, parties go to the length of laying the matter before the panchayats, unless the facts are likely to be proved by overwhelming evidence.

The divorced woman may marry another in *kudike* form. If a man elopes with a married woman, and on this account a divorce is effected, he has to pay the marriage expenses to the previous husband and a fine to the caste, before he may marry the woman, and the latter has also to return the tāli and any other jewels which she might have received from her previous husband. If a woman commits adultery with a man of any superior caste, the matter may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste; and the issue is regarded as being born in the caste. But adultery with a man of lower rank entails loss of caste.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

When a young woman is about to become a mother, no special ceremony is performed for her, but during the seventh or ninth month Arathi Akshata

known as Sīmanthaprastha is performed for her, when the relatives and friends of the families are treated to a feast. She is then taken to her parent's house for delivery and confinement by her maternal uncle or her brother, and one or two women are also entertained. At the time of her departure, she is presented with a cloth and other necessaries. In anticipation of child-birth, dates, jaggery, garlic, rice and a cow for milk are procured. Her delivery takes place in one of the rooms of the house, and she is helped by a barber woman, her mother and one or two of her relations. Soon after delivery, the baby is bathed in tepid water, and is fed with drops of honey, in which gold has been rubbed, occiput is flattened and the nose is a little pulled out. The women attending on her are considered unclean and become purified only by a bath. The woman in confinement, as also the baby, are unclean for four, six or eight days in some places and ten in others (Hosadurga Taluk), after which they are purified by a bath. The purification is done with some ceremony. The mother and the baby are seated on a plank by a few married women near a small pit made for the purpose by the side of the house. She is smeared with turmeric, and *arati* is waved round her and the baby. This is done to avoid the potency of the evil-eye. It is called Guni Sāstra or pit ceremony. Some Dāsayyas are also fed. During the period of uncleanliness, she is fed with a small quantity of rice, garlic and date jaggery. After this she is given dhal water, ghee and boiled rice. On the third day a chicken is roasted and given after removing the rubbish.

NAMING CEREMONY.

The naming ceremony takes place either on the day of purification or soon after. Relations and friends are invited, and the most elderly of them suggest the

name to be given to the baby. The mother and the baby are seated in front of a winnowing pan placed on its back upwards on a spot purified with cow-dung and streaked with three lines of red earth, to which *pūja* is made by burning incense and offering cocoanut. The midwife applies a little butter with baje root (*acorus calamus*) in the baby's mouth, and calls it by the name decided upon. In some places a number of children are invited, when rice and broken pulse cooked together with spices are distributed among them. After a hearty meal they are asked to repeat the name given to the child. The child is also put into a cradle on the same evening, and the married women invited for the occasion sing appropriate songs. Koracha women invited for the occasion, also sing appropriate songs and are consulted for giving names. Generally the baby is named after its grandfather if male, or after the grandmother if female. Sometimes the name of the family god is also given. If, after the name is given, the baby gets unwell or suffers from some ailment, the first name is dropped, and a new name is given. There are no names peculiar to this caste. Pet names such as Appājee, Appayya, Appoda, Chinnappa, Puttusami, etc., are in use. The following names are also in use:—

MEN		WOMEN	
Canarese	*Telugu*	*Canarese*	*Telugu*
Narasaiya	Yangala	Narasi	Yelli
Papa	Subba	Durgamma	Rami
Rangaiya		Kali	
Timma		Kariamma	
Giriya		Singi	
Thammanna		Muni	
Obaliga		Siddi	
Muniya		Kalyani	
Sotta			

Names of base objects such as Adavappa (desert man) Gudalappa (spade man), Tippa (manure heap), Kallappa (stone man) and Javarayya are also given. To the feminine names in Canarese and other Dravidian languages the word Amma, which means mother or mistress, is added.

FEEDING THE BABY. The ceremony of first feeding the child takes place during the sixth month after birth. Parents often make vows to have it celebrated in a temple. When it takes place at home, the relatives and friends are invited and sumptuously fed. This is an occasion when the parents of the mother present the baby with ornaments.

EAR-BORING. When the girl is six years old, ear-boring takes place. The operation is conducted by an elderly woman, usually her aunt. The ear-lobes are distended, if necessary, by the insertion of pieces of cork, sticks or cotton. The wounds are healed by the application of medicated oil.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE. The Agasa family consist of the father, the mother, and the children, all of whom jointly form the household. The usual routine of the mother consists in attending to the domestic work, by sweeping the house and cleaning it, then in cooking food and raising children, and lastly in helping the husband in washing operations. Her position in the family is inferior to that of the husband. After the marriage, she becomes a domestic drudge loosing her good looks, if any. A woman is more valued by her ability to work, and the performance of hard work makes an old hag of her. The father, as the senior head of the family, has the control of it, and attends to his daily routine of washing, in which he is assisted by his grown-up sons and daughters. As

the latter grow old, they are married, and join their husbands. Grown up sons after marriage, either live with their parents, or set up separate households. When his work increases, an Agasa takes a secondary wife in place of an assistant on daily wages or monthly salary.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

As regards inheritance, the Agasa follows the ordinary Hindu law. Widowed and destitute daughters and sisters are considered entitled to maintenance from the family. Adoption is allowed and practised. Generally brother's sons are preferred to any other. The ceremony in this connection is similar to that observed by the Kurubas.*

CASTE ORGANISATION.

It is a relic of the old tribal organization. The Agasas form part of the old village organisation. Among themselves they have their caste headman Gauda, and his subordinate known as Kolkar called also Hattaramanushya. Their social disputes are settled by the headman with the aid of the elders. In cases where the matter is serious, and the castemen find the settlement difficult, Desa Setti, who is the head of all the castes forming the 18 *phana* group is called in, and his decisions are final. The delinquents are generally fined.

The Agasas do not form an exclusive caste. They admit into their own caste members of the higher castes, such as Vakkaligas, Kurubas and others. It is known as *Kulamāduvadu* that is, making the caste. After ascertaining that a member of the original caste has no objection, they invite their own castemen from several *gadies* or divisions for a meeting at which all the Yajamans (headmen) are present to consider the eligibility of the applicant for admission

* See Kurubas.

into the caste. In the event of a favourable decision of the community, he is directed to get himself shaved, bathe in the river or tank, and to worship the water goddess, Ganga. He is then given *thīrtha*, the sanctified water, in which their god is washed. After this he is made to pass successively through several huts which are burnt soon after he leaves each of them. This is believed to be symbolical of the seven births as with the Holeyas. He bathes again, and is given a small paste of soapnut and turmeric which he swallows for internal purification. Then in the presence of the caste assembly he makes *pūja* to the bell and spoon, the symbol of the 18 *phanas* which with some Vibhuti balls (holy ashes) are placed on a black *kambli* (blanket) Gaddige. The Kolkar applies some of the holy ashes to the applicant's forehead. After this he is allowed to eat along with others, and is thereafter treated as a member of the caste. For a generation or two he and his family are looked upon as belonging to an inferior division corresponding to the status of the offspring of the *kudike* alliance. Buchanan says: "They have no hereditary chiefs; but the Collector of the district who is appointed by the Government, and receives a salary, carries all complaints to the Kutwal of the Kasba or the Police officer of the chief town of the district who settles them according to 'custom'".*

MAGIC AND RELIGION.

Like other members of the low castes, the Agasas believe in omens, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. The more unsophisticated among them believe that their God is present at their caste panchāyat meeting and directs their collective wisdom in a way of arriving at a just decision, and that lying on such

* Francis Buchanan, *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 1807. Vol. I., page 234.

occasions will be attended with divine retribution. Their caste symbol, the bell and the spoon suspended by a chain, is placed in a prominent position at such meetings and the delinquents swear by them to speak the truth.

In religion they are more Saivites than Vaishnavites. Like other Hindus they show reverence to all the recognized shrines. They adore Lakshmidevi, the consort of Vishnu. They also worship Hanumanta. The tribal god of the Agasa is Bhūmi Devaru (Earth God) whom they worship during the Gauri feast, which falls on the third day of the bright half of the lunar month of Bhadrapada (August-September). On that day they all bathe, keep themselves clean, and eat only one meal. The washing tub, the steaming pot and the ironing apparatus are also washed and cleaned. They are placed together and worshipped with flowers and fruits, and animals are offered in sacrifice to them. They observe the occasion as a holiday, and do not work with their implements. In certain localities there are temples dedicated to Bhūmi Devaru to whom they may make offerings of fruits and cocoanuts after which their Ubbe *Pūja* is done at home. Their minor gods or godlings are numerous.

The Agasa occupies an important position in the village economy. In fact, no worship of the village goddesses such as that of the Seven Sisters,* can take place without the help of the Agasa who officiates as *pujari* (priest) especially when the goddess of small-pox, cholera and plague has to be propitiated at the outbreak of one of these epidemics. *Pūjas* are offered to these deities on Tuesdays and Fridays

* The Seven Sisters or goddesses above referred to are Annamma the presiding deity, Chaudeswaramma, Mayeswaramma, Mariamma, the goddess of cholera, small-pox and plague, Uddalamma, Goddess of swollen neck, Kokkalamma, goddess of cough, Sukkajamma (goddess of small-pox and measles).

when animals are sacrificed and distributed among the castemen. The Agasa priest also gets his share, and he gives it away to Holeyas and Mādigas.

Whenever a person in a village suffers from any of the diseases above referred to, it is supposed to have been caused by one of the Seven Sisters. The service of the washerman is at once requisitioned to do the *pūjas* to these deities. He is given some money according to a recognised scale such as one-half or quarter of a hana. He soon sets up seven stones in a small shed constructed of green leaves outside the village, generally near a water course, and places before it offerings of fruit, fried Bengal gram and cocoanut. He thus propitiates the deities for the cure of the disease. In fact, the Agasa is the *pujari* of all the gods and goddesses that are worshipped near water courses and in groves. In some places the custom of worshipping the family deity once a year is recognised. The whole family observes fast till the evening. In the afternoon with music they go to the water-course where they bathe and wash the deity. Sometimes a Brahman is invited to perform the purificatory rite and the Homa (fire sacrifice). After this he retires, and the castemen perform the *pūja* to the deity with offerings of fruits and cocoanuts, and the burning of camphor and frankincense and waving of *arati*. Then the idol is carried back with great pomp, and set outside the village boundary in a shed erected for the purpose. The god is again worshipped with similar offerings according to usage. Animal sacrifices are offered to the deities who are manifestations of Sakti, and never to the higher gods. From this spot the idol is carried in procession to the village and finally restored to the temple. Then the several families attached to the god

individually make offerings to the idol and receive *thirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and the remains of holy offerings). In the evening the castemen and members of other castes are treated to a grand feast.

Other gods worshipped by the members of this caste are Hiriyanna and Hunasamma. It is said that at the annual celebration of the festival in honour of Hiriyanna, buffaloes are slaughtered. This is the only instance in which this animal is slaughtered for a male deity. Agasās apprehend misfortunes if they fail to propitiate the deity without due offerings. They also adore the saint, Madivala Māchayya, Mallge Madevi. The former is located in groves where he is worshipped. Jangams are respected and given doles of rice. But for the worship of Madevi which takes place in Sivarātri at midnight in February-March, strangers are not permitted to witness it. No part of the offerings of rice boiled at this *pūja* is given to any member of the lower caste. In most cases their priests are the Jangamas or their own caste headman. Brahmans rarely act as priests. For the followers of Saivite worship, a Lingayat is their spiritual guru to whom they give periodical presents to receive *thirtha* and *prāsāda*. He also receives *Kāṇike* or a gift of money.

At one shrine in one of the outskirts of Bangalore where there are the Seven Goddesses who are the Seven Sisters, the fire-walking ceremony forms an important part of the annual festival which lasts for ten days. A trench is dug in front of the shrine about thirty feet long, five feet broad, and one and a half foot deep, and washed with solution of cow-dung to purify it. About thirty seers of boiled rice are brought on the fifth day of the festival and offered to the goddess before the trench. It is all put into the trench and some ten seers of curds are poured

into it and then distributed on the spot to the people who eat some on the spot, and some at home. A cartload of firewood is then spread over the trench, set alight, and left to burn for about three hours till the wood becomes a mass of red embers. When all is ready, the people assemble and the *pujāri* whose turn it is to conduct the worship, first bathes to purify himself, and then amid the defeaning din of trumpets, tom toms and cymbals, and the clapping of hands, walks with bare feet slowly and deliberately over the glowing embers, the whole length of the trench towards the shrine of the Seven Goddesses. After him, about thirty or forty women walk over the red hot embers with lighted *ārātis* on their heads. The power of the goddesses is such that nobody is injured. Similar festivals are celebrated in honour of the deity in most of the districts of the Madras Presidency. Their *gurus* are of the Sātani caste. They come round occasionally bestowing holy water and getting rice, vegetables for food as also a few annas as charity. The Panchānga Brahman who reads the almanac attends at marriages and tells them the times of the New-moon, at which the Hindus offer oblations to the deceased ancestors and fast.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are generally buried, but when pregnant women or lepers die, their bodies are disposed of either by burning or by heaping stones * over the dead bodies, though the latter practice is somewhat rare. The non-Lingayats bury the dead bodies. Nothing is buried with the body except half of the new cloth in which it is wrapped, the other half being thrown away at the graveyard. On the grave either Tulsi (*ocimum sanctum*) or Tumbe plants are planted. After the body has been disposed of, the party

* Kallu-seve.

bathe, return home, and see that a light is kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. In the night, a bunch of Ekka leaves and water in a small vessel are kept on ragi grain spread at the spot.

On the third day, the carriers, the chief mourner and some others, go to the graveyard, keep milk, ghee and some other eatables on the grave. Milk and ghee are rubbed over the shoulders of the carriers.

The next ceremony in connection with the funeral is observed on the 11th day. A Brahman is called in to purify the house. Then the castemen and the chief mourner go to the burial ground, and offer cooked food and cakes at the grave. In the evening a dinner is prepared. In the central part of the house a *kalasa* (a vessel filled with water) is set up, and after the offering of a cocoanut and the burning of incense near it, the following prayer is addressed to the deceased :—

"You are no longer on earth, but have joined your ancestors in the *Svarga* (Heaven). We look up to you for the protection of ourselves and our family. O father! protect us."

Then all disperse, shutting up the house, so that the ghost may have an undisturbed meal of the good things spread before it, and returning after two or three minutes, they consume the victuals. Before eating, the chief mourner and some others go to the temple, and, after *puja* to the God, the chief mourner throws three balls of butter at the idol, saying.—

"O God! the deceased might have thrown stones at you, but now for him we throw butter. Have mercy on him, and open the door of *Svarga* for him to enter."

The Agasas observe pollution only for three days, but the chief mourner is not purified till the 11th day ceremony is over. During the period of pollution, they abstain from putting any caste-mark on the forehead, from attending to their profession, and also from eating either flesh or sweet things.

They do not perform *srādhas*. But periodically they offer *yede* (rice and vegetables) to all the deceased ancestors. They set up a *kalasa* in the central portion of the house, keep new clothes near it, burn incense, break a cocoanut, and offer also cooked food in the name of all the deceased ancestors. This custom is observed either during the Dasara, or at the Dipāvali or Yugādi (New Year's Day), or on the New-moon day in the month of Bhadrapāda (Mahalaya Amavāsya), the last being the most common occasion.

The ghost of the deceased wife is believed often to torment or trouble her successor. If the latter is unable to suckle her newborn baby, or gets hysterical, or otherwise ill, the first wife is then propitiated by setting up a *kalasa* in her name, and making *pūja* to it, and also offering a new cloth, which the second wife afterwards wears.

OCCUPATION. The original occupation of the caste is washing clothes. Their method of washing is to soak the cloth first in water, for which they go to a tank or river, not generally resorted to for bathing or drinking purposes. They next apply the fuller's earth and after partly drying, boil the clothes or steam them. Some indigo is also added, and the clothes are washed in pure water. Rice gruel is also applied to such clothes as are required for starching and ironing. When washing with silk borders, they tie up the silk portion as to protect it from being spoiled by soda. They have huge earthen vessels as tubs for steam pots. Clothes are beaten on stones, folded when dry, compressed with wooden mallets, and ironed with the ironing apparatus. They say that they were originally Banajigas, and by virtue of their profession they became subsequently separated. Some have of late taken to agriculture, while a few others have become day labourers. As cultivators they follow the

custom of not working their bullocks on Mondays. As members of the village corporation, they have to render free service on occasions of religious festivals for the processions of their gods. In some localities each Agasa has a number of families as customers by hereditary usage, and others are not allowed to interfere with his rights and privileges. But such usages are fast disappearing. For a family consisting of a husband, a wife and two children with aged parents the washerman gets one bundle of unthreshed corn and a winnowful of grain at the threshing floor, and 20 measures of grain with other perquisites such as food on all festival days, marriage and other auspicious occasions. The washerman of every village whose office is hereditary, washes all the farmers' clothes, and according to the number of members in each family, receives a regulated proportion of the crop. Out of this he must pay a certain sum to the Government which is generally collected by the head-washerman of the Kasaba. The washerman is entitled to get the clothes worn by a girl at the time of her first puberty, and to the presents given by her husband when he carries the news of the occurrence. The clothes of the unmarried persons in the family and those of the caste Yajaman (headman) are washed free. They are employed as torch bearers on festive occasions and to lead the way with light to persons of rank as a mark of respect. They are also the priests and worshippers at some of the shrines of the lower or minor gods and godlings. They do not wash the clothes of the Holeyas and Madigas.

SOCIAL STATUS.

The Agasas are a settled people, and are found all over the State. They form part of the village corporation. They have no recognised headquarters. They rank above the impure castes, namely, Holeyas,

Mādigas and a few others. The two main groups of Agasas have no objection to interdine though they do not intermarry.

DIETARY OF THE AGASAS.

They are flesh-eaters, and as such, eat pork, mutton, fish, big lizards, fowls but not beef. They also drink liquor both foreign and indigenous. The lower caste from whose hand they eat, are the Kurubas and Kumbaras. Only Holeyas and Madigas eat in their houses.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Both Agasa men and women are either dark or dark-brown, and rarely white, and the tufts of hair on the head of both the sexes are black and coarse. They are generally stout but short in stature. Their bodies are somewhat bent owing to their frequent carrying of heavy loads on their backs. They wear an ordinary loin cloth and a head-scarf. Some wear coats and shirts when seen outside. Their indoor dress is only a loin cloth and a small scarf round the head. The women like those in other castes wear a coloured *sari* with a bodice having a back and short sleeves. They seldom buy clothes, but wear those given by their customers. They are clean in their habits.

Men are sparing in their ornaments, and wear holy ashes on their foreheads. Married women put on a red mark of vermillion on their foreheads. They wear nose-ring, necklets, glass-bangles and gold ear-rings. Some wear gold necklaces and bracelets. On the whole they are very thrifty and well-behaved.

LINGĀYAT AGASAS.

LINGAYAT AGASAS.

They are found all over Mysore as also in the districts of Canara, Satara and Belgaum of the Bombay Presidency. While the Lingāyats of the Bombay Presidency claim their descent from Samudragupta, those in Mysore are mostly converts to the Lingāyat faith.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Restrictions on intermarriage are those prevailing among the Lingāyats. They enter into no conjugal relations with the Canarese and Telugu speaking Agasas of the State. Girls are married before they come of age, but there are no restrictions for boys. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The offer for marriage comes from the boy's father who has to pay a bride-price to the girl's father. The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by the Jangam in consultation with the astrologer. Customs connected with marriage are mostly similar to those prevailing among the Lingāyats. Re-marriage of widows is permitted with the restriction that the bachelor cannot marry a widow. The ceremony is conducted by a Jangama who places the widow dressed in white robes on the left of her new husband. The hems of their garments are then joined, and they bow to their household gods. Divorce is allowed if the husband and wife do not agree, or if the wife's conduct is bad. A divorced woman is not allowed to marry again. A woman committing adultery with the member of a higher caste is condoned by a fine or by giving a dinner to the caste people. If the offence is committed with a member of the lower caste, she is excommunicated. The caste follows the Hindu Law of inheritance.

RELIGION. Lingāyat Agasas are non-Panchama sali without the Ashtavarna rites. Their domestic gods are Vīrabhadra and Parvati. They adore Siva, Basava and a few of the minor Hindu gods. The trees and animals held sacred by the Hindus are also worshipped by them. Images or *lingas* are installed in the name of the ancestors and worshipped with offerings of the daily articles of food. In the outbreak of an epidemic such as small-pox or cholera, wooden images of the goddesses Durgamma and Mariamma are made and worshipped. Lingāyat Agasas observe all the holy days of the Hindus, and make pilgrimages to Gōkarnam and Yadur.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS. The dead are buried. Those dying of leprosy are burnt, and if buried, they are supposed to prevent rain-fall. Some following the practice of Lingāyats carry the body placed in a sitting posture in a *vimāna*, and bury it in the same posture in a niche made in the grave ; while the others use a flat bier of bamboos, the body being carried and buried in a horizontal position with the head to the south. Putting the bier down when half way to the burial ground and breaking a waterpot at the grave, are also observed as among other castes.

OCCUPATION. These Agasas are hereditary washermen of the Lingāyat community, and as a rule, wash the clothes of the Lingāyats only, though no objection is held against doing the work for other people. Some of them hold lands under the Rayatwari and Bhadri system. Some are day labourers, and are paid either in corn or in cash.

CONCLUSION. From the foregoing account of the manners and customs of the Agasas it may be seen that the Agasas are quite conservative in the observance of their

manners and customs. They are an indispensable factor in the village organization. They are orderly and hardworking, and appear to have enough for a living. They are averse to taking to new walks of life. Those of the Lingāyat faith closely follow the tenets of their religion under the influence of their priests. Though Lingāyat by faith, they still observe some of the customs of the Canarese Àgasas.

ĀRĀDHYA.

INTRODUCTION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—INITIATION FOR THE BOYS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANISATION—RELIGION—VIRASAIVA DOCTRINES—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—ROUTINE DIETARY OF THE CASTE—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CASTE.

THE Ārādhyas are a sect of Brahmans found chiefly in and around the district of Mysore.* They are largely found in the five northern districts, as also in Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts of the Madras Presidency. Owing to the adoption of the Vīrasaiva creed and customs, they differ from the other sections, and form an endogamous community with priestly functions, both among themselves and Jangama. They add the titles of Ārādhya and Dēsika to their names. The word Ārādhya means one fit to be worshipped, and this shows they have been men of learning and holy living. Reformers such as Basava, a member of the community, give it decidedly an uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character. This must have given rise to a good deal of ill-feeling between the Ārādhyas and the ordinary Lingayats, which led to the retention, by the former, of some of the Brahmanic rites, such as the repetition of the holy *Gāyartimantram*, and the wearing of the holy thread. On the evidence of Ānandagiri, the Ārādhya sect may be considered to have originated about the time of Sankaracharya, that is before the ninth century A. D.†

* They numbered 5,912 at the Census of 1881, and were not enumerated at the subsequent Census operations.

† Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, page 139.

The Ārādhya Brahmans according to the Vîrasaiva creed acknowledged as their *gurus*, five saints, who were considered to be holy beings, and who gave *dîkshā* or initiation to all the Saiva devotees on earth. In all religious ceremonies, namely, birth, initiation, marriage, and funeral, five metallic vessels filled with water are placed in front of the person to be initiated, four in the cardinal directions and the fifth in the centre to represent them. Prayers are offered and their blessings invoked. The fifth one belongs to the person to be consecrated as *guru* or preceptor, who is supposed to represent an old *āchārya*, or teacher of the name of Visvarādhya, and the other four, to four other priests chosen as having been brought up in the schools of Rēvanārādhya or Rēvanasiddha, Marulasiddha, Ekōrāma and Panditārādhya, connected with certain mutts or establishments. These five vessels which are consecrated to the five faces or forms of Siva in this world are also mentioned. Of the five teachers, three at least are mentioned as having preceded Basava probably a hundred years before him.*

" Of the five āchāryas represented by the five metallic vessels Mr. Brown does not mention the middle one, and calls all other four ārādhyas, so that all the five preceptors honoured at the time of initiation and other ceremonies belong to the ārādhya sect, which according to Mr. Brown, was a sect of the Vîrasaiva creed. There has been a good deal of ill-feeling between the ārādhyas and the ordinary Lingayats, and that appears to be due to the retention by the former of some Brahmanic rites such as the repeating of the holy Gāyatrimantra and wearing the sacred thread. But the name ārādhya, which means one to be adored or worshipped, shows that before the contention between the sects arose, the Ārādhyas enjoyed very great respect. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, what appears to be the truth is that the Vîrasaiva creed was reduced to a shape by the Ārādhyas, who must have been men of learning and holy

* *Vivekachintamani, Purvabhaga*, Sholapur, 1909, page 230.

living and the subsequent reformers, such as Basava, gave decidedly an uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character. And thus these two sects of Virasaiva faith came into existence."*

A *purana* known as *Panditārādhya Charita* is named after the name of one of them, namely, Mallikārjuna Panditārādhya, versions of which are found both in Canarese and Telugu languages. A Sanskrit poem known as *Siddhānta Sikhāmani* represents Revanārādhya as human manifestation of one of the ministers of Siva, preaching to Agastya, the doctrine of Shatsthala. There has been a good deal of ill-feeling in the early days, which led to a separation into two sects.

It is very probable that the Ārādhyas must have been at one time closely connected with those in the Telugu districts who also in addition to the observance of the Brahmanic customs carry a linga on their persons. But they have at present lost all touch with them. The ancestors of the Ārādhyas of Mysore, originally dependents of the local chiefs and Palegars were overthrown by the Muhammadans. They then took shelter in the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and accompanied the Viceroys to Mysore, where they acted as priests, and exercised great influence so long as the ruling family professed the Saivite faith, but lost much of their importance when that family was converted into Vaishnavism.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

There are four *ācharyās* or *gurus* (preceptors) among them, namely, Rēvanārādhya, Marulārādhya, Ekorāmārādhya and Panditārādhya. In the four ages, it is said, that these four successively appeared as precursors to the divine Basava, and were like Basava Brahmans. There are further ten divisions belonging

* *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XI, page 176.

to Panditas, one of whom is named after bāle or plantain leaf.

The following are the ten divisions of the Panditas :—

1. Srisaila Pandita Ārādhya.
2. Sivalinga Manchunna Pandita * Ārādhya.
3. Amarakunda Mallikarjuna Pandita Ārādhya.
4. Kere Padmarasa Pandita do
5. Urdhvalochana Pandita do
6. Chaitanya Pandita do
7. Rambha Pandita do
8. Kusmanda Pandita do
9. Pampa Virupaksha Pandita do
10. Sripati Pandita do

They are known as Desa Vidha Pandita Ārādhyas. Of the founders of the ten divisions above-mentioned, the following three are the most famous, namely:—

1. Sivalinga Manchunna Pandita Ārādhya.
2. Sripathi Pandita Ārādhya.
3. Amarakunda Mallikarjuna Pandita Ārādhya.

Among the Ārādhyas, the following three are held to be prominent owing to their vast erudition, and they are:— †

1. Sridhara Ārādhya.
2. Vemana Ārādhya.
3. Utbhata Ārādhya.

INITIATION FOR BOYS.

Ārādhyas perform the Upanayanam ceremony for boys in their seventh or eighth, ‡ year as also the initiation ceremony of the Lingayats. §

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage is endogamous within the community but is prohibited between the members belonging to

* Sivalinga Manchunna is one of the celebrated Pandits. He was the minister of a Bellala king named Narasimha Bellala of Dwara Samudra in the Bélur Taluk of Hassan District.

† I am indebted to Pandita Nanjunda Ārādhya, a member of the community for this information.

‡ *Vide* Upanayanam Ceremony of the Brahmans.

§ *Vide* Initiation Ceremony of the Lingayats.

the same gōtras. Girls are generally married as in other sects of Brahmans before puberty, and rarely after they come of age.

The choice of the bride or the bridegroom is made by the parents. No price is paid for the girls as among other classes of Brahmans. The offer of marriage generally comes from the boy's parents. When a boy's father can afford to spend for his son's marriage, he goes to a family having a daughter likely to make a suitable match. If the girl's parents agree, he returns home and tells his wife that he has secured a wife for their son. Then follow the formal negotiations, and the marriage ceremonies are similar to those performed by other classes of Brahmans.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a married girl comes of age, she is under seclusion from four to sixteen days. During this period, her kinswomen feed her with sweetmeats. On the last day, the girl is purified by a bath, and her father feeds his friends, disciples and relatives. The boy's father gives the girl a rich *sari*, and the girl's father gives the boy a suitable dress.

A girl or woman during the period of monthly sickness is not considered to be impure during the performance of Linga *puja*, while at other times she is unclean. On the first day of her menses, she is considered to be a Chandāl woman, and on the second and third days, as a murderess and washer-woman. On the fourth day, she bathes and becomes free from impurity, and on the fifth day, she becomes absolutely pure after a similar bath.

Consummation of marriage takes place on the sixteenth day after purification by sanctified water. On the auspicious day, the husband and wife take a ceremonial bath, and worship Ganesa and the *kalasas*, *i.e.*, the vessels above mentioned. After

the wife is purfied by *punyāha* (sanctified water) they adore Uma and Mahesvar with due offerings. At night after the performance of the ceremony, they sleep in the same nuptial chamber. On the following day she bathes, and is again purified by drinking a spoonful of the same sanctified water.

When a young woman is pregnant, Pumsavanam and Sīmantham ceremonies are performed for her. In the first month of her pregnancy, her mother gives the daughter a green robe and green bodice, and her kinswoman makes similar presents. Lingayat faith requires the wearing of Sivalinga at the eighth month of her pregnancy so as to transmit the influence of the faith to the embryo in the womb. Soon after delivery the baby is washed and the same linga is tied round its neck. The operation is repeated during the period of Brahmacharya, Grihastha and Vānaprastha.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

It is strictly prohibited. A woman found to be going wrong, is divorced and eventually excommunicated. A *Ghatasrādha* is performed for her which signifies that she is morally dead. It is curious to note that the adulterer is left unpunished. He escapes with a fine. The Lingayat faith permits the remarriage of widows.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Ārādhyas follow the Hindu Law of inheritance and adoption.

CASTE ORGANISATION.

There are only a few Agrahārams (villages of Brahmans) in the taluks of Mandayam and Elandur in which the Ārādhyas live. In the event of any social disputes arising from the infringement of caste rules, the castemen meet and a panchāyat consisting of leaders, adjudicate upon the matter and punish the delinquent with fine or expulsion from caste.

RELIGION.

They are strictly Saivites like the Lingayat, and their philosophy is known as Sakti-visishtā-adwaita (Siva and union of Sakti). These are symbolised by the wearing of gandha (sandal paste) and kunkuma (vermillion) on the forehead of the males. They also adore Ganesa, Pārvati and the saints. They believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft.*

VIRASAIVA DOCTRINES.

"The One, Highest, Brahman, characterized by existence (Sat), Intelligence (Cit) and joy (Ananda) is the essence of Siva (Sivatatva), and is called Sthala. Then are given explanations as to why the principle is called Sthala, two of them based upon an artificial etymology. In the Supreme Brahman, or the essence of Siva, Mahat and other principles exist. The Universe, arising from Prakriti and Purusha, starts from it and returns in the end; therefore it is called Sthala. (The first part *Stha* signifies Sthāna or standing, and the second part *la* signifies *laya* or resolution.) That name is given to it also because it is the support of the whole movable and immovable world. It is the resting place of all beings, of all worlds and of all possessions. It is the highest place to be attained by those who seek the highest happiness, and therefore it is called the one non-dualistic Sthala (position). By the agitation of an innate power, Sakti, that Sthala becomes divided into two: 1. Lingasthala, 2. Angasthala. Lingasthala is Siva or Rudra, and is to be worshipped or adored, while the Angasthala is the individual soul, the worshipper or adorer. In the same manner, Sakti or power, divides herself into two by her own will, one of the parts resolving to Siva is called Kala, and the other resorting to individual soul is called Bhakti or devotion. Sakti or power has got a certain susceptibility, which leads it to action and entanglement with the world, while Bhakti is free from the susceptibility and turns away from action from the world, and leads to final deliverance. Sakti or power makes one the object of worship, while Bhakti makes one worshipper; therefore the former exists in Linga or Siva, and the latter in the Anga or the individual soul. Eventually by this Bhakti, there is the union between the soul and Siva.

"The Linga is Siva himself, and not a mere external sign of him. The Lingasthala is divided into three: 1. Bhāvalinga, 2. Prānalinga and 3. Ishtalinga. The first is without any parts

* *Vide* Monograph on the Lingayats.

(Kala) and is to be perceived by faith. It is simple Sat (existence), not conditioned by space or time, and is higher than the highest. The second is to be apprehended by the mind and is said to be with parts and without parts. The third has parts and is apprehensible by the eye. This confers all desired (ishta) objects and removes afflictions; or it receives its name because it is worshipped with care. The Pränalinga is the intelligence (Cit) of the supreme soul and ishtalinga the joy. The first is the highest principle, the second is the subtlest form and the third is the gross form, and being characterised by use (Prayöga), formulas (mantrams) and action (Kriya), form what are called Kala, Näda and Bindu. Each of these three is divided into two: the first into Mahälinga and Prasädalinga, the second into Caralinga and Sivalinga and the third into Gurulinga and Achara linga. These six operated on by six kinds of Sakti, power, give rise to the following six forms. 1. When the Siva essence is operated on by the power of intelligence (Cit), it forms the Mahalinga, the attributes of which are the absence of birth and death, freedom from taint, perfection, unity, subtleness, being higher than the highest, incorruptibility, unfathomableness, capability of being apprehended by faith and love and idealistic (Caitanyarüpa). 2. When the Siva essence gets permeated with its highest power (Parāsakti), then is produced a principle called Sadäkya, which is light eternal, invisible, indivisible, imperceptible to the senses, apprehensible by reason, indestructible and the rudiment that develops; and that principle is called Prasädalinga." 3. When the Siva essence is operated on by its primeval power, Ādisakti, Caralinga is produced, which is infinite and pervades the internal and external world, which is full of light, is a Purusha (person), and is higher than the Pradhäna or Prakriti and capable of being contemplated by the mind alone. 4. When permeated by will power (Icchasakti) it forms Sivalinga, which is a finite principle with a sense of egoism, possessed of knowledge and power (Kala), having a celestial refulgence with one face and serene. 5. When permeated with the power of knowledge (Jnänasakti) it forms a Gurulinga; it possesses agency and presides over every system of science that instructs, is full of light, a boundless ocean of joy, and dwells in human intelligence. 6. When influenced by the power of action, Kriyäsakti, it is called Ācharalinga, which in the shape of action serves as the support for existence of all things, which is conceivable by the mind, and leads to a life of renunciation.

"It will be seen that the original entity becomes divided into

God and individual soul by its innate power, and the six forms of the first that are mentioned, are the various ways of looking at God. The first form is the infinite being considered independently. The second is the form in which we conceive of him as developing or creating by its highest power. The third is the form in which he is conceived as distinct from the material world. The fourth is a bodily form, the body, however, not being made up of ordinary matter, but celestial like the body attributed to Nārāyana, or Krishna, by the Vaishnavas. The fifth is the form in which he instructs mankind. And the sixth involves the idea of his guiding the individual soul in his action until he is delivered. In this form, Siva is the Redeemer.

"Bhakti is the characteristic of the individual souls. It consists in a tendency towards God, and there are three stages in the progress of this tendency, and corresponding to these there are three divisions in Angasthala, or the subject of the individual soul. The first or the highest division is called Yógänga, the second Bhōgānga and the third Thyāgānga. By the first, the man obtains happiness by the union with Siva, by the second he enjoys along with Siva. And the last involves the abandonment of the world as transient or illusory. The first corresponds to the resolution into the cause and to the condition of sound sleep, the second to subtle body and to dreamy sleep, and the third the gross body and a wakeful condition. Two varieties of each of these are distinguished. Of the first or Yogänga, we have the two Aikya and Sarana. The first consists in sharing the joys with Siva, after one is convinced with the unreality of the whole world. This is called Samarasa Bhakti, in which God and the soul are united in blissful experience. The second is called Sarana Bhakti, in which one sees Linga or God in himself and everything else. It is a condition of joy for oneself. The second is also of two kinds; 1. Prānalinga and 2. Prasada. The first consists in abandoning all regard for life, renunciation of egoism, and concentration of whole mind upon Linga or God. The second is realised when one resigns all the objects of one's enjoyment to the Linga or God, and serenity (Prasada) is acquired. The divisions of the last are Māhesvara and Bhakta. The first is one who has a firm belief in the existence of God, who goes through the whole discipline, consisting in the observance of vows and restraints, which have Siva for their object, and truth, morality, cleanliness, etc., and the firm belief in the unity of Linga or God. A Bhakta is one, who, turning his mind away from all objects by which it is attracted, and practising devotion and rites, lives a life of indifference to the world.

" This represents the progress of the soul from indifference to the world, which is the first step, through the intermediate stages, in reverse order, to Samarasya or union,in blissful experience with Siva, which is the highest condition. The goal thus pointed out does not involve a perfect identity with the supreme and individual souls or the shaking off of individuality and becoming a simple soul unconscious of itself, which is the doctrine of the great non-dualistic school of Sankara. The belief of the Vīrasaiva school that the original essence of Siva divided itself by its own innate power into Linga or God, and Anga, or the individual soul, and under the influence of other powers the essence became the creator of the world, shows that the doctrine of that school is that the rudiment of creation exists in God himself in the shape of his power but this power is not unreal. This doctrine, therefore, resembles that of Rāmānuja, but with the latter, there is a real rudiment of the soul and of the external world characterising God, which afterwards develops, but with the Vîrasaivas, there exists a power only in God which leads to creation; so that, it is the power that characterises God according to the latter, while the rudiment is his characteristic according to the former. The Lingayat school, therefore, is a school of qualified spiritual monism. It will also have been seen that the method of redemption taught by this school is that of Bhakti or love of God, and a course of moral and spiritual discipline up to the attainment of samarasya with Siva. In this respect also it resembles Rāmānuja's system.

" From a Telugu work recently published by the Āndra Sāhitya Parishad at Madras, entitled *Sivatatvasaramu* by Mallikarjuna Panditārādhya, a contemporary of Basava, and an Ārādhya Brahmana, we learn that they accept the definitions of Pasu, Pasa and Pasupathi of the Southern school, and are like them qualified followers of a monism and opposed to the *advaita* of Sankara (see stanzas 20-25 of that work). We also find in the same work reverence paid to Brahmans, Vedas and Vedic ceremonies (verses 20, 25, 33 and 101). But all the oblations and the Karmas laid down in the Vedas, Puranas, etc., are considered useless if they are not done without devotion to Siva (verse 113). In other respects, such as in the worship of Linga, Jamgams, Dîksha and the forbidding of intercourse with non-Saivas, they resemble the Lingayats. At present there is very little intercourse between the Ārādhya Brahmans and the ordinary Lingayats."

The Ārādhyas think it necessary for every man to become a Sanyāsi even before his death, if not earlier.

When this Asrama is adopted, a he- and she-calf are let loose by them, with the marks of a Linga and Trisula branded on them, and for the expiation of sins caused therefrom, ten gifts [cow, bhumi (earth), gold, umbrella, bed, fan, sandal, vessel of water, stick and cloth] are made. The Panchagavya (a mixture of five products of cow) is taken by the man who enters the Āsrama for purification. He then worships the Guru, Linga, the Jangama or Māhesvara, sips the washings of their feet, and partakes of the leavings of their food. He then adorns himself with Rudrāksha * and ashes. He has always to repeat the Panchākshara mantram (Namasivāya). He is thus initiated to the ascetic life. Sometimes a man at death-bed is also initiated. It is the belief of the Yogins that the soul escapes through the Brahmarandram and gets the final bliss. Unlike other Lingayats, the Ārādhyas believe in the Vedas to which they give allegorical interpretations. They observe I. Ashta Varna (eight-fold ceremony) which consists of 1. Respect to the Guru, 2. Jangama or Mahesvara, 3. Recitation of Mantra, 4. Taking Prasāda, 5. Padōdaka (water used in washing the feet of their priest) 6. Wearing Linga, 7. Vibhūti and 8. Rudrāksha; II. Pancha Āchāras: 1. Satyāchāra. 2. Sadāchāra. 3. Nityāchāra. 4. Brityāhāra. 5. Sivāchāra; III. Shatsthala; 1. Muladhāra (Baktisthala), Sivathisthana (Lingasthala), Manipūraka (Mahesasthala), Anahata or Anahridya (Prasādasthala), Visudhi (Saranasthala) and Āgneya (Aikyasthala).

The Ārādhyas observe the following fasts and festivals:—

1. Renuka Ārādhya Jayanti in the month of Meenum (February-March) the day of Ārdhra Nakshatram.

* The berries of *elaeocorpus lanceolatus*, used as beads for rosaries.

2. Pandita Ārādhya Jayanti in the month of Meenum on the day of Sravana Nakshatram.

The followers of each celebrate the feast for only one day.

3. Marula Ārādhya Jayanti in the month of Mésha or April on the day of Punarvasu.

4. Ekorāma Ārādhya Jayanti in the same month on the day of Chitra Nakshatram (14th lunar asterism Spica Virginis).

5. New-moon days.

6. Ekādesis, especially Magha Ēkadesi (the dark half), the day on which Siva drank the poison.

7. Telugu New Year Day.

8. Sankramanas. 1. Tula and 2. Magha.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

When a person of the community dies, the Linga which he has been wearing is well washed and smeared with ashes and again tied to his neck or arm by means of a string. The dead body is also well washed, decked with Rudrāksha, and smeared with ashes, and placed in a sitting posture (Padmāsana) by which he is supposed to enter the grave. Graves are generally dug in the form of a square either on the banks of a river, a tank, in a grove or in a monastery. The grave should be five feet long and nine feet deep. Three steps are made on the north side of the grave with a raised platform in the centre. In the southern side of the grave, a triangular niche is scooped out whose sides are three feet long with the base on a level with the floor of the grave. After the grave is thus made ready, four persons from the burial ground go to the house of the deceased to announce themselves as Sivadhūtas, coming from Kailāsa, the abode of Siva. They say that they come under orders to carry the body of the departed to his seat of residence. The messengers are respected. The body is placed on a bier looking like a tiny

mantapam and provided with a canopy, the whole being well decorated with leaves and flowers. Generally these men and the chief mourners are sumptuously entertained with meals.* Then the bier is carried by the messengers to the grave, round which they go three times, and place the corpse on each step facing towards the north, after a *puja* on each step, and finally on the platform in the same direction. On the third step the *guru* places his foot on the head of the corpse. He is worshipped in that posture, and is presented with new clothes. The corpse is fixed into the niche, cross-legged, according to Palāsa Vidhi. The copper plates engraved with mystic syllables and figures are placed on the several parts of the body. The niche is then stuffed with Vibhuti, Bilva leaves and then closed with a plank. Finally the grave is filled with earth. The mantapam is generally erected over the grave and decorated with festoons of mango leaves. Then hundred and one lights are lit up to symbolise hundred and one stages which a Lingayat soul should pass along before it reaches Kailasa. Exactly above the grave in the mantapam are placed a Linga and a Basava stone or earth. The chief mourner who takes a shave at the beginning of the ceremony, bathes a second time and worships the Guru Linga and the Basava on that day and during the nine following days. The chief mourner throws offerings of jaggery and rice into the water. On the first day, the gift of a cow is made to a member of the community. On the eleventh day, eleven Ārādhyas representing eleven Rudras are sumptuously entertained. On the following two days, a general feast is given to the members of the community after two Ārādhyas are duly worshipped. This marks the solidarity of the kinsmen and the community. Gifts are made in honour of the

* It is denied by the members of the Community.

deceased on the twelfth day as well.* Further, every month for a year on the same *thithi* † two Ārādhyas at least are fed at first, after which the castemen are similarly fed. The chief mourner and the agnates do observe pollution. Ārādhyas unlike Brahmans, do not perform annual Sradhas, but only Ārādhana, ‡ for they believe that the soul of the departed has become one with Siva, and that the annual commemorative rite is unnecessary. Nevertheless they feed some castemen in memory of the deceased on the day of death. Among the Brahmans, the living are bound to prepare the way for the dead in the other world, to provide them with food for their great journey into Yama's realms, and to supply them with means for crossing rivers. These ends are served by Utkrānti or Vaidharani cow and by some gifts which in some cases have been presented to the Brahmans before his death, by the deceased himself or his son. They observe the death pollution for ten days, and also perform Ekōdishtam and other Brahmanical ceremonies for their progenitors. These are not done by the Lingāyats. The realm of the dead is variously located in the west, in the south or in the east in conformity with the conception of *Rig Veda*, x. 15.7. It speaks of the fathers as Arunām Upāsthi, in the bosom of the dawn. In the case of the Lingayats, the realm is said to be Kailas and head of the dead is turned towards the north to which he is supposed to go.

Beng a priestly class they officiate as priests in the families of their own community as well as those

OCCUPATION.

* Kailasa Samaradhana takes place on the 13th day.

† A lunar day: 15 in the half-noon.

‡ In the Aradhana, there is no Apasavyam, wearing of the sacred thread from right to left, no use of gingelly seed and dharba grass. Nor is there Homam (sacrificial fire) Parvanam (offering of rice balls) or Tharpana (oblations of water). Widows do not shave their head.

of the Lingayets. But now the latter act themselves as priests and dispense with the priestly services of these people. They now take to agriculture and medicine. Many among them own inam and Government lands and let them on rent. They refrain from regular agricultural work, especially on Mondays. They are a cultured and peace-loving community and occupy a decent position among Hindus.

ROUTINE DIETARY OF CASTE.

The Ārādhyas are strict vegetarians and abstain from liquor. Young men eat *pakki* (cooked in ghee without water in the bazaar), but grown up men and women avoid them. Before they partake of the food, they make an offering of it to the Lingam they are wearing. They do not accept the offerings distributed in the temples. They do not take the food cooked with water from the class Lingayats. The Brahmans, Vaisyas and the Jains do not eat with them, but the lower castes eat in their houses.

CONCLUSION.

The Ārādhyas appear to have been the early emigrants from the Telugu districts to the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, after the downfall of which they became the dependants of the Palayagars. After their decline, they immigrated to the Province of Mysore. They are now found in and around the district of Mysore. They were orginally the devout worshippers of Siva, and some among them became leaders of a new faith but did not go far enough in the desired reform. They still retain most of the Brahmanic customs. They have now ceased to discharge the priestly functions to the Lingayat community.

ARASU.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CASTE—HABITAT —INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—ENDOGAMOUS DIVISIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS— INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE ORGANIZATION— RELIGION—DASARA FESTIVAL IN MYSORE—FUNERAL CUSTOMS —OCCUPATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Arasus belong to the Rājapinde Branch of the Kshatriya caste, and come under three divisions, namely, Arasu proper (ruling class), Kumārapatta, and Bada (poor) Arasus. According to the statistics recently collected by the Arasu committee under orders of His Highness the Maharaja, the pure Arasus number about 4,000, while the other two divisions number about 5,000 and 7,000 respectively.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CASTE.

During the reign of Chikka Dēvarāja Wodeyar about 150 years ago, a census of these families was taken after a very careful scrutiny, and 31 families were recognised as having been fit for matrimonial connection with the Royal House of Mysore, which stands first among them. Each of these families or clans bears a separate *gōtra* which goes by the name of the village or pāllepat (principality) in which it had been settled.

Regarding the origin and history of the Royal Family of Mysore, the following account is taken from the *Mysore Gazetteer*: "The origin is traced to the heroes of a chivalrous exploit, Vijaya and Krishna, two young Kshatriyas of Yādava descent, who, according to tradition, had left Dwāraka, in Gujerat with a view to establish themselves in the

south. On arriving at Hadi-nad or Hada-nad (called Hadana by Wilkes, but now known as Hadinaru), a few miles south-east of the present city of Mysore, they learned that the chief of the place * who was also a Kshatriya of Yādava descent had wandered away in a state of mental derangement; and that the neighbouring chief of Karugahalli, who was of inferior caste, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the family, had demanded the only daughter of the house in marriage. To this, a consent had been given under compulsion, and arrangements unwillingly made for the ceremony. The two brothers espoused the cause of the distressed maiden, and having secreted themselves with some followers, fell upon the chief and his retinue while seated at the banquet and slew them. Marching at once on Karugahalli they surprised it, and returned in triumph to Hadanad. The girl became the willing bride of Vijaya, who took the title of Odeyar or Wodeyar (Lord) and assumed the Government of Hadanad and Karugahalli.

"The following is the succession of the Mysore Rajas, according to the annals compiled in the palace, Vijaya being here called Yādu Raya :—

Yadu Rāya Vijaya	.. 1399–1423
Hire Bettada Chāma Rāja Wodeyar (I)	.. 1423–1458
Timma-Rāja Wodeyar (I)	.. 1458–1478
Hire Chāma-Rāja Wodeyar (II) Ārberal (1)	.. 1478–1513
Bettada Chāma Rāja Wodeyar(III), Ārberal.(1)	1513–1515
Timma Rāja Wodeyar (II), Appana	.. 1552–1571
Bola Chāma Rāja Wodeyar (IV)	.. 1571–1576
Bettada Chāma Rāja Wodeyar (V)	.. 1571–1576

(1) Six-fingered.

* One Sūradēvarāya, a descendant of Bhōjarāya of the Yādava dynasty ruling in Muttra, came to the country of Karnatic and established a principality in Mysore through the blessings of Chāmundeswari Dēvi. The princess in question was a descendant of that family. The *gōtra* of this family was Gautama.—Ramakrishna Rao, *Annals of Mysore*, Part I, pages 6 and 7.

Rāja Wodeyar (I)	.. 1578–1617
Chāma Rāja Wodeyar (VI) ..	.. 1617–1637
Immadi Rāja Wodeyar (II) ..	.. 1637–1638
Ranadhira Kantirava Narasa Rāja Wodeyar.	1638–1659
Dodda Deva Rāja Wodeyar ..	.. 1659–1672
Chikka Deva Rāja Wodeyar ..	.. 1672–1704
Kanthirava Wodeyar Mūkarasu ..	.. 1704–1713
Dodda Krishna Rāja Wodeyar (I)	.. 1713–1731
Chāma Rāja Wodeyar (VII) ..	.. 1731–1734
Krishna Rāja Wodeyar (II) ..	.. 1734–1766
Nanja Raja Wodeyar	.. 1766–1770
Bettada Chama Raja Wodeyar (VIII)	.. 1770–1776
Khasa Chama Raja Wodeyar (IX)	.. 1776–1796
Krishna Raja Wodeyar (III) ..	.. 1799–1868
Chama Rajendra Wodeyar (X)	.. 1868–1894
Krishna Raja Wodeyar (IV) ..	.. 1895-

"Yādu Rāya or Vijaya is said to have been eleventh in descent from Yādu Vīra of Ātreya gōtra and Āswalayana sūtra. But of the early period no annals were preserved until the time of Chāma Rāja, III. He, during his life-time, made a partition of his dominions between his three sons. To Timma Rāja or Appana, he gave Hemmanhalli, to Krishna Rāja he gave Kembala, and to Chāma Raja IV, surnamed the Bol or the Bald,* he gave Mysore. No male heir surviving to either of the elder brothers, succession was continued in the junior or the Mysore Branch. With Krishna Rāja I, the direct descent ended. Chāma Rāja the VII, a member of the Hemmanhalli family, was next elected, but was eventually deposed by Dalavāyi † Dēva-Rāj and minister Nanja Rāj. He died a prisoner at Kabbāldurga in 1734. Chikka or Immadi Krishna Rāja the II of Kenchengode, a younger and distant branch, was put on the throne in 1734, and he died in 1766. His eldest son, Nanja Rāja was directed by Haider to be installed, but

* Dumb king; he was born deaf and dumb.

† The title of the chief officer of the State, who combined the functions of a general and a minister.

finding him not sufficiently subservient, Haidar turned him out of the Palace in 1767 and took all control into his own hands. Nanja Rāja was strangled in 1770, and was succeeded by his brother Chāma Rāja VIII, who died in 1775 childless. Chāma Rāja IX, son of Deva Rāja Arasu of Arkotar, a member of the Karugahalli family, was then adopted by the wife of Chamaraja VIII. He died in 1796.

On the fall of Seringapatam, and the death of Tipu, the British Government restored the Hindu raj, and placed on the throne Krishna Rāja III, the son of the last named Chāma Rāja. The British Government took charge of the province in 1831, but in 1867, a year before the death of Krishna Raja, his adoption was recognised of Chāma Rājendra X (the third son of Krishna Arasu of the Beṭṭadakote family) who succeeded him, being placed on the throne on his attaining majority in 1881. He died at the close of 1894, and his eldest son Krishna Raja IV, has been installed as his successor."

LANGUAGE. The mother tongue of the Arasus is Canarese.

HABITAT. The pure Arasus are found mostly in Mysore, and are to some extent connected with the Royal Family. Many of them have their duties to discharge in the palace of His Highness the Maharaja. They live in decent houses of European pattern, and are provided with decent furniture. Habitations of the other divisions are mostly situated in villages, and partake of the character of those possessed by other similar classes of people.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE. As already mentioned, the Arasus come under three main divisions.

The endogamous divisions are:— ENDOGAMOUS DIVISIONS.

Arasu Proper,
Komara Arasu,
Bada Arasu.

The following are the gotras of the 31 families.—

		GŌTRAS.
1.	The Royal Family ..	Atreya Gōtra.
2.	The Mugur family ..	Vasistha ,,
3.	The Yelandur ,, ..	Agasthya ,,
4.	The Kothegal ,, ..	Viswamitra ,,
5.	The Harikotara ,, ..	Puruksha ,,
6.	The Nilasoge and Hayianoor ,, ..	Mudgala ,,
7.	The Belaguli and Naranahalli ,, ..	Srivatsa ,,
8.	The Kalale Hunasanahalu ,, ..	Bharadwaja ,,
9.	The Hale Beedu Belakere ,, ..	Kanva ,,
10.	The Hedathale Nemmagala Thoravalli. ,, ..	Sounika ,,
11.	The Kote Moodan Kote Huva Hullahalli. ,, ..	Kasyapa ,,
12.	The Thagadoor ,, ..	Harithsa ,,
13.	The Karagalli ,, ..	Gautama ,,
14.	The Tirugunda ,, ..	Swathanthra ,,
15.	The Bagaly ,, ..	Vainasa ,,
16.	The Multuru ,, ..	Mandata ,,
17.	The Kondy ,, ..	Kasyapa ,,
18.	The Mulagoodu ,, ..	Pururava ,,
19.	The Sindhuvalli ,, ..	Gruthsamara ,,
20.	The Marsy ,, ..	Vethsaya ,,
21.	The Hebbalu ,, ..	Daphika ,,
22.	The Kikkeny ,, ..	Not known ,,
23.	The Hindanuru ,, ..	Madhata ,,
24.	The Kulagana ,, ..	Not known ,,
25.	The Thala Kadu ,, ..	Mardhula ,,
26.	The Belturu ,, ..	Not known ,,
27.	The Hosakote ,, ..	,, ,,
28.	The Malalavadi ,, ..	,, ,,
29.	The Madduru ,, ..	,, ,,
30.	The Hebbalaguppe ,, ..	,, ,,
31.	The Theppuru ,, ..	Sandilya ,,

Marriage is endogamous so far as each of these divisions is concerned, but the contracting parties should not be of the same gōtra. The members of the

community are Vaishnavites, Saivites or *Jains*, and they wear Yagnōpavītha.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Two sisters cannot be married to the same person at the same time. A young man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, of his maternal uncle, or of his paternal aunt. In marriage alliances, exchange of daughters is permissible. Girls for whom husbands cannot be obtained are not married to swords or trees. In the divisions of the Arasus mentioned above, there are members who belong to Vaishnavite, Saivite or Jain faiths, and these faiths are no hindrance to intermarriage. Polygamy is allowed, and polyandry is unknown. Girls are married either before or after puberty, but now among the Arasu proper, marriage takes place only after the girls come of age. Among the rules of marriage now in force, they do not permit a girl under 16 and a boy under 20 to be married, so that the (nuptial) ceremony may take place either on the fifth day of the marriage ceremony, or on any auspicious day.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a room of the house, and is in seclusion for three days. She is bathed on the first day, neatly dressed and decked out with ornaments. In the evening, ladies who are related to her family, as also friends are invited, and ārathi akshate is performed for three days. On the fourth day she bathes, and takes Punyiahām (sanctified water), and thus becomes purified. The friends and relatives are treated to a grand feast.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Before the settlement of marriage, it is customary to consult the astrologers with a view to ascertain the agreement of the parties for marriage, as also

the *kula* (family and *gōtra*—clan). Nischithārtha ceremony is decided upon and performed as follows :— The bridegroom's party, consisting of the elderly relations (both men and women or Suvāsīnis) go to the house of the bride, carrying with them auspicious things such as fruits, betelnuts, turmeric and vermillion. The girl's party receive them (men receiving men and women receiving women). After a formal talk of the alliance, they write two copies of Lagnapatrika (a writ) setting forth the settlement of the proposed marriage. The parents of the parties exchange these writs to which a little turmeric is applied, along with plantains, cocoanuts and betelnuts. After this *tāmbula* (betel leaves and nuts) is distributed among the parties and the other people assembled there for the occasion.

On the day previous to the marriage if it is auspicious, or on some other day before it, the parties propitiate according to their faiths, the family deities in their own houses and entertain their relations and friends with a sumptuous feast. A *kankanam* dyed yellow with turmeric is tied around the wrist. On the following morning, water is ceremoniously brought from the river, a tank or a well in a vessel and is known as Kalasam.

The members of the community including those of the Royal Family follow all the vedic rites for marriage and other ceremonies, according to the *Aswalāyana Grihya Sutras*, an account of which is given in my monograph of the Brahmans, and here, only brief reference is made to them. On the third day, Gauri *pūja* and the worship of the God in the local temple takes place. After which the regular marriage ceremony begins, and is presided over by a Brahman priest. If the ceremony of Upanayanam (investiture of the sacred thread) has not been already performed, it is done at the time of marriage, and is

terminated by *Samāvarthanam*. The main features of the ceremony as among the Brahmans are :—

1. Kāsiyātra (Journey to Benares).
2. Invitation of the bridegroom to the bride's house.
3. Waving of different articles to avoid the potency of evil eye.
4. Varaprēshana (Invitation of the bridegroom).
5. Seating the bridegroom in a mantap tasetfully decorated.
6. Akshatārōpanam.
7. Ganesha *pūja* for a happy termination of the ceremony, Sankalpam, Navagrihapūja (worship of the nine planets).
8. Kanyakadānam (gift of the maiden).
9. Varapūja or Vishnūpuja. Madhuparka with 16 Upachāras (Salutations).
10. Mangalyadhāranam and the *pūjas* connected with it.
11. Asmārōhanam (Treading on stone).
12. Lājahomam (Putting fried grain into the hōma or fire).
13. Saptapati (Seven paces).
14. Mangala Asīrvadam (Blessings of happy married life).

If the ceremony takes place during the day, the following ceremonies take place during the night:—

1. Pravēsya Hōmam or Griha Pravēsam (Pravesam).
2. Dhruva and Arundhati Darsanam (Observation of the Pole star and Arundhati).
3. Oupāsana Prārambham.
4. Sthālipakam.
5. Gandharva *pūja*.

On the fourth night the ceremony is terminated with a few other ceremonies, namely, Sēshahōmam, Gandharva Utsarjanam, Tāmbūla Charvanam, Āsīrvādam and Mangalasnānam.

Kāsiyātra procession is now abolished, but observed in the house only. During this ceremony a *Mounji* (a girdle spun from grass) is not tied to the waist as is usual with the Brahman but a *Mourvi* (a silken cord tied to the ends of the bow).

Another peculiar custom among the Arasus during the marriage ceremonies is Umbina Kaddi (arrow

ceremony) performed by Brahman suvasīnis. It refers to their touching the main joints of the marriage couple, namely head, shoulders, knee-joints and ankles with an arrow. The bridegroom always carries a sword or a dagger with him till the marriage festivities are over. It is a remnant of the old custom prevalent among the Rajputs who used to carry a sword during the days of the marriage. At the time of the dhāra and during days of processions the bridegroom wears a laced *pagadi* for his head dress, which is ornamented (surmounted) with a jewelled *Sirepesh Thuri*, with a bunch of pearls attached to the same, hanging on a side. He wears a long coat, trousers and vali, all laced. On the fifth day after the commencement of the marriage, the bridegroom takes the bride to his house in procession and on the way a near relative often invites them to his house, and after performing *ārathi akshatai*, feeds them and all those who accompany the party, and presents *Killats*,* to the couple and gives them a hearty send off. It is called Dibbane Thadayuvadu. After *dhara* Muhurtha, the girl's parents present the bridegroom with clothes, rings, while the other party present the bride, vessels and clothes. The marriage expenses of the bride's parents will amount to Rs. 600, and the bridegroom's party to about Rs. 500. There are no special customs observed by women during the days of marriage. A grand procession is held, as the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom.

Widows are not allowed to re-marry. A woman who is proved to be guilty of adultery is divorced by her husband and is thrown out of caste. What is called a Ghata Srādha is performed which severs all her connections with the family of her own parents and her parents-in-law. A young woman found to be pregnant before marriage is generally outcasted.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Arasus follow the Hindu Law in matters of inheritance and adoption.

CASTE ORGANIZATION.

There is no special organization, but His Highness the Maharaja is both the spiritual and temporal Head. The Palace Officers carry out His Highness's Orders, which are scrupulously obeyed by the members of the community.

RELIGION.

The religion of the Arasus is Hinduism, and they belong to the Kshatriya caste. Some Arasus worship Siva and some Vishnu in their various forms. A very few are Jains who worship their own Gods.

They perform all the *pūjas* observed by the Brahmans. There are no mutts to which they belong. Fasting days are Sri Rāma Navami, Ekādéshi, Sri Krishna Jayanti, Rishi Panchami, all Mondays on Kārthika, Subramania Shasthi and Mahāsivarathri. The festivals are New Year's Day, all Fridays in Ashāda Māsa, Vara Lakshmi Feast, Svarna Gauri, Ganesha, Ananthapadmanābha Vrita, Bhīmana Amāvasya, Utthâna Dvâdasi, Dīpāvali and Mahāsankarānthi. They make pilgrimages in all seasons to all the holy shrines like the Brahmans.

The festivals given above are observed on the days on which they happen to fall. They worship rivers, serpents, Aswatha tree and cows just as Brahmans, and other high caste Hindus.

Generally, Arasus do not believe in magic but they show consideration to such facts as when people make any assertion of the existence of spirits in fields.

DASARA FESTIVAL AT MYSORE

DASARA FESTIVAL IN MYSORE.

"The Dasara is a grand national festival in India. The Hindus have been celebrating it from time immemorial. There is not a race, or sect, in this vast ancient continent of Bharata Khanda but

observes it. Its chief peculiarity is its religious aspect. The Sāstraic texts prescribe the observance of Navarātri or the nine days' ceremonies which with the final closing day make ten, twice a year; once in March-April, the spring, and again in September-October, the autumn. The former is generally celebrated as Rāma-Navarātri, being the occasion of the anniversary of the birthday of Sri Rāma and the latter is termed Sharannavarātri, dedicated to the worship of Devi, the Goddess of Energy. Both the dawn of summer and the commencement of winter are regarded in India as periods when sickness generally prevails; they are known as Yamadamshtra Kāla; and to ward off their calamitous influences, certain propitiatory ceremonies are ordained. It is believed that due performance of the prescribed rites in these seasons is calculated to ensure protection to the public against the baneful effects of bad bacilli in the atmosphere, to bring in prosperity and to enhance the merit of the performers, while augmenting their powers. In actual practice the observance of the autumnal function has been more universal throughout India." *

I shall now deal with this autumnal function. The festival is severally one of nine days, sometimes reduced to eight days, at other times prolonged to ten days, according to the changes for the time being in the Hindu Calendar; all the same the technical term used is Navarātri. According to the Kalpa †

* The chief concern of Navaratri is with the cultural aspect of life as expressed in the cultivation of the soil for human good, and the cultivation of the mind for human expression, from which aspects of culture proceed physical and intellectual prosperity. Across this background of religious and philosophical tradition, to which we shall refer in some detail in order to appreciate the significances of the occasion, moves the spectacle of India's social life as grouped around the Head of the State.

† The authorities I have consulted in this connection are chiefly the *Devi Bhagavatha* and *Nirnaya Sindhu*. I have also made use of the information available in the *Padma Purana, Matsya Purana, Vasistha Purana* and *Soura Purana*.

or the formula laid down, a roofed enclosure, a *Mantap*, twenty-four feet square has to be erected on a fine raised level ground with pillars supporting it duly provided with a ceiling inside and decorated with flags. The floor should be washed with cowdung mixed with white earth. In the centre a dais should be put up six feet square with its sides whitewashed and a sacrificial pit, called Hōma-kunda, made to the south-east of it in a triangular shape. Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedanta as well as Devi Tatwa or the mysteries of Sakti *pūja, i.e.*, the worship of personified energy make recitations of the required sacred text and passages. At first, *pūja* is made to *Ganesha* and then the worship of the Goddess begins. The Goddess mounted on a lion-seat is placed on the dais, with four hands, one holding a sankha (conch), the other a chakra (discus), the third a gadha (mace), and the fourth a padma (lotus). In the absence of a suitable image of the Goddess, it is usual to use in its place what is called Sri-Chakra, the sacred circular emblem of the Goddess containing Navārnava or nine points, four of which represent Purusha, the primordial soul, and the remaining five prakriti, the ultimate subtlest matter of the Universe. Worship and homa (sacrifice) go on by means of recitations of mantrams, sacred mystic texts.

For the sake of Shānti, propitiatory purposes, feeding of some healthy girls according to the means of the performer, is necessary for nine days, the girls selected being of good physique possessing no deformities of any kind whatever and their number increasing on every successive day by one ; in other words, if two girls are fed in the first day, three have to be fed on the second day, four on the third day and so on ; the ages of the girls to range from two years to nine. A girl of two years symbolises what is termed

as Kumārika for cure of diseases, one of three years Thrimūrthi for destruction of enemies, one of four years Kalyāni, one of five years Rōhini, of six Kālika, seven Chandi, eight Sāmbhavi and of nine years Durga to ward off evil or calamitous influences and to secure health and prosperity. In such juvenile innocence, the pure spirit of the Goddess, the Divine Motherhood is believed to be best manifest. On this account the girls of one's own caste, or those of a superior caste are preferable, not of an inferior caste. The total period of nine days is grouped into three sub-periods of three each; *pūja* in the first sub-period is intended to propitiate the Goddess in her manifestation as Mahākāli to effect cure for diseases, and afford relief from poverty and grief; that in the second is addressed to her in her form as Mahālakshmi to grant wealth and prosperity, while worship during the third is made to her as Mahāsaraswati to grant purity of mind, to sharpen the intellect and lead up to the realization of bliss. The first is the Saiva Sakti, the second is Vaishnavi and the third is Brahmi. The Homa or the sacrifice is performed with all due ceremony on the ninth day to conclude the nine days' course of rituals or the Navarātri Dīksha is followed by the final ceremonies of the tenth day which generally end in a procession. In the procession not only the Devi's image, but also the other images to which during the same period special *pūjas* are offered in the various temples or shrines and in the families of the householders are carried to the nearest *banni* tree in the town or village concerned; and after Mangalarāthies there, *i.e.*, the ceremony of waving light while suitable mantrams are chanted, they are brought back.

Worship of the Goddess is ordained for all castes and classes; it should be performed in a spirit of true devotion and in accordance with the rules

prescribed. It is said that he who makes a mere show of piety or harbours evil thoughts fails to secure success. Many perform the *pūja* themselves in their respective families. Several others employ competent Brahmans to do it for their sake. The general object sought for is immunity from illness and acquisition or augmentation of wealth and happiness. The Brahman priests are expected to observe the Dasara religiously with a view to ward off evil magnetism and malevolent influences in the country in which they reside and enhance royal prosperity and public comforts. The rulers and Kshatriyas perform it with the additional object of securing victory in their martial enterprises, besides the enhancement of the wealth of their subjects and their dominions.

The various functions which our beloved, benign and popular Sovereign observes during the Dasara as has been the immemorial custom in the Mysore Royal Family will now be briefly adverted to.

The Dasara comes off in the month of Aswija which corresponds to September-October every year. On the morning of the first day, after *prārthana*, *i.e.*, prayer to the family tutelary deity, Sri Chāmundeswari Devi, Mangalasnāna oil bath takes place. Then come off in succession *puja* to Ganesha, the elephant-faced deity; Kankanadhārana or the wearing of a silk thread on the wrist of the right hand as a token of vow taken for the due observance of Navarātri functions; *Pūja* on the Sejje, the Durbar Hall, to Navagraha, the nine planets; *Pūja* to the Royal Throne and the ceremony of mounting on it after passing round it three times. The State Sword which is daily worshipped during Navarātri in the inside shrines is brought and placed beside His Highness on the Throne during the Durbar on

the Sejje.* Then offerings sent by the principal mutts, the Seats of Gurus, are presented to His Highness; and are followed by temple honours. Next, select Vaidiks—Brahman Pandits and priests of the sacerdotal order—present *phala mantrākshate* (cocoanut with coloured rice) to invoke blessings on the Sovereign. Then comes off Muzre and Nazar by all the prominent State Officers, Civil and Military, Principal Officials and leading Merchants and other Citizens led by the Dewan. *Feu-de-Joie* is next fired three times by the State Troops as well as the Royal Household Troops drawn up in the open yard in front down below, where afterwards the State Elephant and the State Horse which after being duly bathed in the Dodkere (big tank) appear well decorated and in due ceremony offer their obeisance one after the other and retire: all the time sweet melodious music resounds from below. The Durbaris, after being duly garlanded and presented with betel-leaves, make due Muzre by batches and leave the Hall. The Royal Zenana then enter and after interview to them is over, some of the principal Durbaris go in front of the Throne in order one by one headed by the Dewan and receive Prasāda of flowers from His Highness. This done, His Highness dismounts from the Throne and after ārathi in the Zenana, retires.

"His Highness afterwards goes to the sanctum inside the Palace where special worship is offered in all due Vedic forms to the Family Goddess, Sri Chamundeswari Devi, day and night, and where, special recitations of selected sacred texts also take

* Prior to the opening of the festival, an auspicious hour is chosen for the setting up of the Maharaja's throne in the Durbar Hall. Again an auspicious hour is chosen for the ceremonial placing in the seat of the throne of an image of a lion. It was on a lion that Kali went into battle against the demons; and on ascending the lion's seat (*simhāsana*, from simha, a lion, and asana, a seat or posture) the Maharaja is regarded as becoming for the time the representative of the Goddess Chamundi and the intermediary for the conveyance of her blessing to the people.

place during the period of Navaratri, and worships to the Goddess. Throughout the Navaratri His Highness pays regular timely visits there and continues worship of the deity in all due reverence. "

" In the evening of the first day about seven o'clock comes off the Darbar again on the Sejje when His Highness after offering flowers worshipfully to the Throne takes seat on it. The Darbaris are then allowed to present Muzre in due order and by batches from either side of the Throne. When all this is over, they are allowed to take seats. Wrestling of Jetties and various feats of arms, etc., are held in the arena below from where the State Elephant and State Horse also present obeisance.

" From the second to the eighth day inclusive the Sejje Darbar comes off only in the evenings, while all religious ceremonies take place in the sanctum inside above mentioned."

Worship to Saraswati, Goddess of Learning, takes place on the morning when the nineteenth asterism known as Mōola Nakshatram prevails. This generally falls on the seventh day. His Highness then performs the *pūja* himself in the special sanctum referred to above.

On the eighth day, known as Kalarātri, the ceremony of Mahishāsuramardhana, the destruction of the demon Mahishāsura by the Goddess is celebrated in due accordance with the prescribed rites at night.

The ninth day witnesses worship to the select State Arms, to the State Elephant and State Horse ; also to Lakshmidēvi, Goddess of Wealth. All these are done by the Maharaja himself. On the same day is performed what is called Chandi hōma, a great sacrifice in honour of the Chandi form of the Goddess, after which His Highness removes the *kankana*— the silk thread worn on the first day. The same evening, the Hon'ble the British Resident and other European guests visit His Highness, attending the Durbar and witnessing the amusements.

On the morning of the tenth day after *pūja* again to the State Arms, they are placed in the State

Palanquin and taken in procession to the Banni Mantap. On this occasion, His Highness leads the procession on the State Horse for a short distance, and returns in a Palanquin. Wrestling is then witnessed by him.

In the afternoon at about 4 o'clock, the Royal Procession starts from the Palace with His Highness (the Yuvaraja accompanies His Highness when he is present in the Capital) mounted on the Ambāri placed on the procession-elephant, and proceeds by the old principal bazaar road (Bangalore Road) northwards to the Banni Mantap in Cole's Garden. There His Highness reviews the troops and after Sami *pūja* in one of the inner apartments listens there to the verses of the Palace Vamsāvali which the Sheristadar reads out in Sanskrit, and which conveys the blessings of the Banni and afterwards kindly hands over consecrated banni leaves as *prasādam* to the Dewan, the principal officers and the Palace staff, after leading back the Royal Arms and having them put into the State Palanquin, mounts on the elephant again and returns. A short Durbar on arrival at the Palace closes the day's events.

" Throughout the Dasara, a general feeding of Brahmans takes places in the Maharaja's feeding *chatram* by way of Shānti, *i.e.*, propitiation, while special *pūjas* are performed in all the temples in the city, the images of which are also carried in procession to the Banni on the tenth day which is known as the Vijayadasami day, or the day of Victory.

" Two more Durbars follow : one on the eleventh day and the other on the twelfth : both come off in the evenings. They used formerly to take place in the Ambavilas in the first floor : they are of late being held in the Marriage Pavilion in the New Palace. On these occasions, those who were invited but were not able to attend the Durbars on the Sejje, are allowed to present their respective Nazars, and His Highness kindly favours suitable titles to Officers who, according to his pleasure, merit recognition, and also gives away prizes to the Alumni of the

Maharaja's Sanskrit College declared passed in the annual examination held in the previous month.

"All over India, this Dasara is observed in almost a similar style, not only by the Ruling Princes, but also by the public in general, although local customs may vary according to their respective traditions. In Indore, Central India, I learn that His Highness Maharaja Holkar in his observance of the Dasara also wears *kankana* and worships; and recitations of the sacred texts also take place. But the procession on the tenth day, Vijaya Dasami, marches southwards, not northwards as in Mysore. How enthusiastically the Dasara is celebrated in Bengal in winter as the sacred season of the Durga Puja is too well-known to mention here. It is worth noticing here that under the civilizing influence of the modern age, animal sacrifices and such rude customs, are fast becoming things of the past, and the pure spirit of the original texts is gradually dawning on the public."

In Mysore, as in other places generally, the Hindu home, the happy centre of co-operation, the cradle of sympathy, quite looks up in the Dasara. Its atmosphere then is one of delight. The houses are cleaned up; the walls whitewashed; the floors cleaned and worked on with white and coloured earth into many fine geometrical shapes; the inmates gay and cheerful, extending a liberal hand not only to guests but to strangers arriving by chance; sweet sounds of prayers and songs devotional, as well as voices breathing a pure spirit of loyalty to the Sovereign, sumptuary dinners, these and like events render the people happy and cheerful during the Dasara.

This closes my description of the festival and the functions. Dry as these details might appear they are not without their purpose or value.

I shall now make a few observations on what seems to be their import. Man's course in life is progress. In the language of the Poet:

> Not enjoyment and not sorrow,
> Is our destined end or way:
> But to act, that each tomorrow,
> May find us further than today.

and " Happiness is our being's end and aim." Man accordingly is destined by the all-wise creator to attain bliss. In regard to this being the final aim of life, all the great religions are in perfect accord. There is no great religion but has its appointed course for the spiritual training of its votary, the *sine qua non* for higher existence. We, Hindus, call it Āchāra, discipline, which in forms suited to varying conditions all other great religions also enjoin. Religion is nothing if it is not practical ; it becomes popular in proportion to its translating the higher truths of science for observance in the work-a-day life. Where do we Live ? Live we not in the Mercy of Providence ? Mercy everywhere ; Mercy potential ?

There is what may be called the Triple Principle in the world ; the first is Creative, the next Preservative and the third Reformative ; and all manifestation and mutations according to the Hindu philosophy proceed from what is called Moola Prakriti, the Primordial Energy in the Lord Omnipotent ; that energy is Sakti or Divine Motherhood. Names may vary in denoting it, but the root principle is one and the same, puja to Her consists in doing honour with knowledge ; knowledge is indeed power ; and knowledge realised is bliss. Our present subject lets us into a domain of a Sāstra, a science, a department of knowledge, considered sacred by the Hindus ; one too, of great practical value. It is termed Mantra Sāstra. The Unseen is wider, greater far than the Seen in the Universe. Man's ordinary vision is limited. To widen it, to cognise as far as possible even the realms of the Unseen which exercise influence on the Seen, who, but, does not desire this power? Yet it has been kept, evidently not without good reasons, quite a mystery by ancient wisdom and its portals are allowed to be opened only to those who stand the prescribed tests for it, undergoing

proper training. This is not a myth, but a reality. What Geology is to the secrets of the Globe, what Astronomy is to the stellar world, what Physics is to the world of visible phenomena, objects in nature, matter and force ; and what Chemistry is to the substance, their composition and changes, that is Mantra Sāstra to the conditions of the Unseen World.

The great charge levelled against Hinduism is Idolatry. But what is its real significance ? It is a means to the end, not the end itself ; as a matter of fact it is not the idol or the image that is worshipped but the energy of which it is a symbol or its concrete remembrancer. The great Formless Cause and Guide of the Universe for the sake of attainment of knowledge in Life, considered as a form in the first instance, and what is called Upāsana or psychological worship then begins, and grows gradually till the great Light dawns on the devotee and the problem finds a practical solution. The repetition of some select mystic syllables in prescribed methods and with proper intonation in contemplative mood, mindful of their significance as expounded by the Guru (Spiritual Preceptor) is believed too highly efficacious to imbue the devotee with higher powers and in improving his Aura. This term Aura has been borrowed by the modern scientists from the phraseology of the Occultists to denote the subtle atmosphere which surround the human being, male or female. Walter J. Kilner, B.A., M.B. (Cantab), Late Electrician, St. Thomas Hospital, London, is the author of a recent publication entitled, " The Human atmosphere or the Aura made visible by the aid of Chemical Screens." This is quite a revelation of the modern Science, rather testimony that modern science bears to the truth imbedded in Oriental Philosophy. What the Hindus call Tapas includes the *mantric* practices : this goes far to develop man's clairvoyant power to see

such Aura. Stronger than any fort, and more secure than any steel armour is this atmosphere which, the mind, purged of its impurities by the prescribed *mantric* methods and trained to virtue, harbouring no ill-will and possessing unalloyed sympathy, generates around man in proportion to his sinless and self-less activity. The cluster of luminous rays forming the Aura creates quite a potential charm around man which no bomb ever so powerful can harm. Such is the cardinal principle that underlies the Dasara observances.

Ganēsha Puja is the very first function undertaken to clear all obstacles and render the path to success safe. It signifies a vow to bachelorship, continence, for the time being so necessary, to proper concentration of mind without which no Siddhi or power could be hoped for. Among the others, I may mention the *puja* done to the State Horse, the State Elephant and the State Carriage ; these are worshipped to represent their respective prototypes, namely, the Uchaisrava (white horse), the Iravatha (white elephant) and Devaratha (car) of Indra, the ruler of the Celestials ; the first, namely, the white horse symbolises riches and power, and the second majesty and dignity, the third being the reminder of locomotion on the sacred path of virtue. The *pūja* offered to the Royal Throne and the State Arms is believed to infuse magnetism into them for the benefit of the worshipper. The ceremony of the Goddess slaying Mahishāsura, the buffaloe-headed monster, signifies the destruction of Pride, Prejudice and Passions, of which the buffalo is a reminder. In Mysore, the Throne is the most valuable asset, the most sacred heritage of the Sovereign from his Royal Ancestors.* It constitutes the emblem of

* Bearing in mind this association, it is fitting that the double festival of Navaratri and Dasara should be marked by special solemnity

pure might in its normal conditions untainted, the lion below it signifying how by his superior nature and development the Sovereign holds all bestial instincts under complete subjection and control. During the Dasara, when His Highness wears the sacred *kankana* and performs all the prescribed observances, an additional halo of purity is believed to surround him too subtle to be seen by the naked eye ; a clairvoyant, however, can recognise it, or it might perhaps be made visible by means of suitable chemical screens when such could come to be made.

The Chandi Homa, or the Great Sacrifice offered to the Goddess Durga on the ninth day at the conclusion of all the observances is regarded as highly efficacious. The principle it symbolises is the control of the passions, their sacrifice ; literally, the burning up in the sacred fire, of lust, hate, ire and pride and prejudice. This sacrifice when properly performed is believed to ward off calamities and counteract evil magnetism.

The Banni called the *Sami* Tree in Sanskrit, is what is known in Botany by the term of *Prosopis Spicegera*. It is symbolic in more ways than one. In the first place, it is intended to undo the effects of evil and to destroy sin. Thus, the great Indian poet, Kalidasa, refers to the Sami as the seat of latent heat, there being in it material ready for fire. His words are

in Mysore State. The celebration of the festival, with the splendour that now characterises it, began after the year 1610, when Raja Wodeyar ruled in Mysore (1578-1617). This strong prince had given much help to his neighbour, the descendant of the great house of Vijayanagar, Sri Rangaraj of Srirangapatam (now Seringapatam) against his enemies, and the latter, when nearing his death, and having no heir, made over to Raja Wodeyar his kingdom and his throne. This throne (now used only in the Dasara festival) is regarded as a very venerable object. Tradition ascribes its early possession to the Pandavas, the heroes of the Mahabharata, and later to the Yadu dynasty to which Sri Krishna belonged, and to which the ancestry of the present ruling family at Mysore is traced back through two adventurous princes of that august line.

"*Samivabhyantara Leena Pavakam,*" like the Sami which bears the fire germ in it. The wood of this plant is used to generate sacrificial fire by friction when Yāgas are performed, and fire is regarded generally as Symbol of energy; so, the Sami is meant as a reminder of concentrated Energy generated by a life of selfless activity, purity and love. Thirdly, the word Sami is also a derivative from the term *Sama* which means *Shānti,* peace of mind. In this sense the Sami signifies freedom from aberration and equanimity representing a high stage of evolution and is regarded as the harbinger of prosperity.

"The Pāndava Prince Arjuna in the Mahabharata, on the eve of his going to lead a life *incognito* in the dominions of King Virāta is said to have bundled up all his arms and placed the bundle on a Banni tree and it looked like a veritable huge corpse, an apalling sight scaring away all on-lookers. None dared to approach it, till time came for him to reclaim and own them once more. This, it need hardly be said, is figurative, intended to signify that that Great Hero had on that occasion to set aside all his paraphernalia, to bid farewell to the tempests of passions and to centre all his martial spirit, his heroic energy and his Astra Sakti, *i.e.*, power of manipulation of the secret forces in Nature and his control over the elementals, in equanimity of temper and perfect peace of mind. His celebrated bow, the great Gāndiva representing desire, was no longer active; and self-control reigned supreme in him. His great prototype in this respect was Sri Rama of a far older age. The Sami tree is accordingly meant as a reminder that perfect self-command, patience and self-denial constitute the essential requisites to ensure success in life.

"What I have said here goes, I believe, to show that the Dasara in Mysore is celebrated as far as possible in conformity with the Vedic principles which, thanks to the disinterested labours of the modern scholars both of the Occident and the Orient, are beginning to attract the attention they so well deserve. The Vedic ceremonies are not meaningless; nor useless. They constitute the precious gift to the world of the Most High; and have been interpreted by the selfless sages of yore, who, by practice of what is called Yōga, concentration of mind or introspection, were able to read the glories of Nature in her Majestic

innermost regions not open otherwise to ordinary mortal vision. They have spoken fearlessly of the results of their valuable experiments and researches for the benefit of mankind : their wisdom has also mercifully prescribed methods and courses for man's higher evolution. To follow them pure-minded and in a spirit of disinterested devotion elevates humanity. Among these, the Dasara observances find a prominent place. Those following them, whether individuals or family units, or social bodies, as part of the prescribed functions, offer prayers for the happiness of the reigning Sovereign who, in the course of his observance of the enjoined rites, keeps in view the welfare of his subject population and the prosperity of his territory. The text of our daily prayer is quite an all-embracing significant formula. It says : 'May the Kings and the Emperors successfully protect their subjects in the ways of Justice ; may prosperity attend the selfless and the innocent ; may all be happy ; may the clouds bring down rain timely ; and the earth bear abundant harvests ; may the country be free from calamities ; may the selfless and the innocent flourish fearless ; may the childless beget issue and multiply in generations ; may the penniless grow wealthy ; and may all live happy a hundred years.' This chorus voiced by willing, sincere and loyal hearts in never-ending strains is expected to win Divine Grace."

Activities of the body and the mind require to proceed in tune with man's moral nature under the light of reason. They have to run parallel to awaken self-consciousness in man and throw open to him the portals of wisdom and higher life. Self-control, self-surrender, concentration, purity and continence, the results of training in the school of sacred observances, constitute the elements of speed on the normal line of higher evolution. Time spent on ceremonials as laid down by religion is never spent in vain ; it is so much treasure laid by ; credits and debits to our account in Nature's books are not all visible to the naked eye ; the process is ceaseless.

Enjoying as we do an antiquity beyond calculation, tracing descent from Maharishis of time-tested reputation and enjoying through the disinterested exertions of our beloved and benevolent Sovereign, under the ægis of the British Government, peace, toleration

and protection never before known, shall we be found in any way wanting in our reverence to that hoary knowledge which in the mercy of Providence has come down to us for the re-generation and uplift of mankind ? Shall Mantra Sāstra and Yōga Sāstra be ours no more ? No ; an emphatic no, I expect to be the general answer. It is indeed highly auspicious that Mysore, the happy soil of survival—here be this said to the glory of Great Britain, for, to it, we owe the restoration of the ancient line of Royalty in this land—is fortunately not inactive, but pushing to the front in this direction. History, in her serene Majesty, records Piety as the brightest jewel in the diadem of Mysore Royalty. How exemplary is our present popular Sovereign's instance in this respect ! His Highness' unflinching attention in the midst of heavy State responsibilities to all normal religious observances is quite a charm against evil, calculated to ward off all calamities and is moreover destined to promote public prosperity in this land on a scale never before known.

May the Almighty, in the richness of His Grace, grant unto His Highness the Maharaja, health, wealth, progeny, prosperity and bliss eternal, is now our most loyal, sincere, earnest prayer ! *

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Bada Arasus bury their dead naked with the head of the corpse turned towards the south. The washerman takes away the clothes with which the dead body is dressed. The other Arasus burn their dead. The chief mourner who is the son, in whose absence, somebody in his capacity and closely connected with him, performs the ceremony. For the sake of ceremonial purity he gets himself shaved. The

* I am indebted to the late Rajakaryaprasakta Ramakrishna Rao for the account of the Dasara festival : Journal of the Mythic Society 1924, Vol. XI, pages 301—311.

rites performed are similar to those of the Brahmans. After burning the dead body, the ashes and bones are collected and thrown into some river. The period of pollution is ten days for the agnates or *gnāties*, while for the others, the period is three days according to the degree of relationship. There is no pollution in the case of children that die before eighteen months. During the days of pollution or *āsouch*, those under pollution are tabooed from entering the kitchen, offering prayers to or from worshipping any deity. On the morning of 11th day, the members are purified from pollution by a bath and receive *punyaham* from their Brahman *purōhit* (priest). The house is freed from uncleanliness by sprinkling in every nook and corner the same sanctified water. Before this the whole house is well swept, and washed with water mixed with cowdung. The sacred thread of every male member is renewed. The remaining ceremonies performed on the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth days are similar to those of Brahmans after which *yedés* (raw rations) are distributed to the Brahmans.

Srādhas are performed every year on the anniversary day of death when *yedès* are given to the Brahmans according to the family customs. In the case of childless ancestors, *Srādhas* are performed by the *gnātis* but during the Mahālaya fortnight all the deceased ancestors are given offerings of wheat or rice balls (*pindās*) according to the family customs and oblations of water with sesamum. In the case of a deceased wife, the second wife, if any, propitiates her with *Huviliya*.

OCCUPATION. The members of the community who have received Western education are in the Government Service, both Civil and Military. The rest are landholders who have their lands cultivated under their supervision

or let out on lease. They do not sow or plough on Mondays. Ploughing is immediately begun, generally, after rains. Before commencing the operations, the plough, after it is yoked, is adored along with the village raiyats. Sometimes this is taken in procession round the village. In every village where there is an Arasu he leads the *Honeru*.

THE D OF THI

The Arasus are strictly vegetarians. Both Arasus proper and Kumāra Arasus dine in the houses of Brahmans without distinction; but Bada Arasus do not. All except the Brahmans dine in their houses. Arasus proper and Kumāra Arasus interdine.

APPEA DRESS ORNAM

The Arasus are seen in all shades of complexions. Their dress is that of the high class Hindus, but their women wear ornaments of gold for their ankles which others do not. Excepting those abovementioned, the other ornaments they wear are as those of the women of the aristocratic class. Toe-rings, *tali* and earthen bangles are the badges of married women. But widows are forbidden to use ornaments of any kind.

ĀRE OR KUNBI MAHRATTAS.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRIBE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—TRIBAL COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—KUMRI CULTIVATION—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

ĀRES are the descendants of the Mahrattas who seem to have immigrated to North Canara from the districts of Dharwar and Belgaum of the Bombay Presidency. Till recently they were a nomadic tribe, carrying on a kind of migratory cultivation in the dense forests and the lower elevations of the Western Ghats bordering on the Shimoga District. They are now being induced by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to colonize the forest tracts of the same district, and cultivate lands given them at concession rates. Their present settlements are in Karur and Bharangi *hoblis* of the Sagar taluk and in the Lakshmipuram *hobli* of the Nagar taluk. My account of the tribe is about those inhabiting the jungly tracts of the *hoblis* above mentioned, and in the tract not far distant from the Falls of Gersoppa.

The word "Āre" is derived from "Ārya" meaning noble. It is a sub-division of the Jogis and Kolhatis of the Bombay Presidency.* It is loosely applied to the sub-divisions of the several castes, namely, Kale (Konkan) Kumbis, Talher Kumbis.†

Habitations.—As mentioned above, the habitations of the Āres are in the forest tracts of the Sagar and Nagar taluks in the Shimoga district. Twenty or thirty families are located in a jungly tract which

* Enthoven, R. E.: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I., page 43.
† Ibid, Vol. II., pages 313-14.

is cleared before occupation. In the construction of an Āre house, bamboo is the chief material used, together with some posts and thatch grass. The large posts support the ridge poles, while smaller posts are used in the walls, which are made of thin bamboo splits and plaited together. The joints are well tied with strong fibres and covered with leaves or a kind of grass. For the roof, long thatch grass is bound to the strips of bamboo and put on in layers. Sometimes a pumpkin creeper is allowed to grow on the roof, which, with its leaves also serves as a protection. In the building process no nails are used, but everything is bound together with *withes* or rattan or bamboo splits. For the carpenter work, only one tool, the *dao*, is used.

The ordinary Āre house is only a hall of thirty to thirty-five feet in length, and fifteen to twenty feet in breadth. On one side is the hearth around which are the domestic utensils, a few earthen or copper pots, and a few other vessels. At the other end are secured their bullocks. In another small enclosure are secured their chickens. In the space between the two extremities are kept ragi in a large vessel of basketry, and the implements of husking rice. This space is used for dining and sleeping purposes. A few houses are also divided into rooms. Their houses are provided with small doors, both in front as well as in the rear, and are without any opening for the smoke to escape, so that everything inside becomes covered with grime and soot. But it has its compensation, for it wards off the ravages of mosquitoes. It must be noted that the construction of a house is an individual matter. Sanitation leaves much to be desired. The whole hamlet looks extremely filthy. Cattle, fowls and pigs are sometimes kept in their dwelling houses. Refuse and waste matter are thrown about indiscriminately.

Altogether the Āre house is small, and is not elaborately fitted. It lacks nothing essential to comfort. Inside the house, there is the mortar for hulling rice. In the centre of the house, there are two holes six inches in diameter and eight inches deep, in which the rice or ragi is put and pounded with a long heavy wooden pestle. In the ceiling are several cross-beams, from which are suspended various kinds and sizes of baskets to suit all the members of the family. These are used for keeping various articles. This completes the furnishing of the house.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The Āres are divided into two sections, one of which speaks Mahratti and the other Canarese. These sub-divisions eat together but do not intermarry. The following are their exogamous septs :—

Chohan.	Bhonsle.
Ghatga.	Shilke.
Yadev.	Savanth.
Malkar.	Hundariyo.
Darpe.	Hala.
Holkar.	Hataq.
Bhaske.	Rokkade.
Povar.	Sinde.
Karade.	Jadav.
Surve.	Salve.
Pirbli.	Joshi.
Nandekar.	Kamtekar.
Sankatkar.	Malankar.
Thannakar.	

Their surnames are Mane, Salunke, Suravasi Jadav, Sinde and Adkar.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITION.

The prohibitions of intermarriage prevailing among them are the same as those in the corresponding castes. A young man may marry the daughter of his elder sister. Exchange of daughters between two families is generally allowed.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Preliminary arrangements for the marriage are the same as in other castes. The ceremony lasts for six days, three at the girl's and three at the boy's house. On the first day the bride's party consisting of four or five women with a few men go to the bridegroom's house, singing Canarese songs, rub him with turmeric paste, and bathe him with water in a square behind the house, shaded by festoons and mango leaves. The bridegroom's party goes to the bride's house with what is left of the turmeric, rub her with it and bathe her. At their own houses, the boy and the girl are dressed in new clothes, and a piece of turmeric is tied to the wrists of each with a thread dipped in turmeric water. On the second day, a marriage altar is made with seats for the bride and the bridegroom. The third day is the marriage day. A copper pot full of water with its mouth closed by a cocoanut decorated with flowers, mango leaves and vermillion, is worshipped as the abode of marriage and the household gods. The caste people are then treated to a feast. The bridegroom dressed in loin clothes, head scarf and marriage coronet, comes to the bride's house accompanied by his own house people, relatives and friends. He is received by the parents of the bride, who lead him to the bridal seat after washing and drying his feet. Five women each carrying a water pot go from the marriage booth to the nearest well, and bring them back filled with water to the brim. They are placed in the middle of the booth close to each other in a circle. The *joshi* or the astrologer then winds a long thread round the pots, from which it is passed to the necks of the bride and the bridegroom, who stand under the canopy face to face. The girl's parents pour water on the joint hands of the boy and the girl, and the mother and another kinswoman whose first husband is alive fastens the tāli or the

marriage badge, round the girl's neck. The day's ceremony ends at sunset with a sumptuous dinner of rice, curry and *pāyasa*,* and with the distribution of *pan supari*. On the fourth day after dinner, the bridegroom with the bride and a company of friends goes to his house, worships the family gods and entertains the party. The next two days are spent in the bridegroom's house with similar feasts. On the sixth day, a sheep is slaughtered, and the guests are treated to a dish of meat with rice or millet bread, spirit, curry and rice. When the girl comes of age, offerings of flowers and fruits are made to the family gods, and she is bathed, dressed in a robe and decked with flowers. The girl is bathed on the fourth day, when her relatives and friends of the family are treated to a feast. Owing to the poverty of the people, the days for the celebration of marriage ceremonies are reduced to three and four days respectively. The bride price varies from fifteen to twenty rupees. Widow marriage is allowed and practised. It is not considered disreputable. Customs connected with pregnancy and child-birth are the same as in other corresponding castes. The names in common use among men are Yellappa, Tuljappa, Khandappa, Ramba, Subbanna and among women are Tukki, Satvi, Demi, Sanlubai and Tuljabai.

TRIBAL COUNCIL. The village headman, Gauda, whose office is hereditary decides breaches of caste rules and settles social disputes. The delinquents are invariably fined.

RELIGION. The Āres are animists and believe in ghosts and evil spirits. In times of sickness, they consult exorcists. Their family gods are Tuljābhavāni, Yellamma, and Khandoba whose shrines are in Kolhapur and Belgaum. Their holidays are Yugādi in

* Milk pudding.

March-April, Nāgapanchami in July-August, Ganēsh Chathurthi in August-September, Dasara in September-October, Dipāvali in October-November, Sivarāthri in February-March and the local fairs. They keep no images in their houses except the figure of a bull engraved on a metal plate. They adore all local gods and goddesses to whom offerings of fruits, flowers and oil are made. Māridevi is propitiated with bloody sacrifices. They respect Brāhmans whom they employ at their birth and death ceremonies. Their spiritual teacher is the head of the Sringeri Mutt in Mysore who collects tithes from them through his deputies.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The Āre dead are either burnt or buried. The period of mourning is ten days. On the eleventh day, they are purified by a bath, when they are free from pollution. The family priest gives them the sanctified water to drink, and on the twelfth day the caste people are treated to a feast.

OCCUPATION—KUMRI CULTIVATION.

In most of the forest tracts in India as in other countries of the world, one of the primitive forms of tillage is by forest clearing, and raising crops of grains on the clearing. Sometimes, the area thus cleared is generally abandoned after harvest, with a view to take up a fresh one somewhere for the same purpose. This form of tillage has been carried on by these jungle folk and is known as Kumri. This kind of tillage may take one of two forms, namely, the Kumri proper and the Hakkal. The former consists of forest lands thus cleared, in which the cultivation is of a temporary and migratory nature, and are known as the Kumri lands; while in the latter (Hakkal), though the cultivation is of the same nature, the control of man over the clearings is never relaxed, when once the soil is rescued from the forest

growth. This happens when valleys are brought under cultivation, where the inroads of wild growth are not persistent. In such lands rice is usually grown.

Apart from the Kumri cultivation conducted by the professional Kunbis of the Tirthahalli Taluk lying along the Ghats, there has been another form of tillage, Vala Kumri tillage, which is the practice of setting fire to a small tract of high lying jungle land, and sowing ragi in the first rains in the burnt tract, and when the ragi has sprouted, they transplant it in high wet lands called Makki as also in dry lands. It is not possible to prepare nursery beds other than on Kumri lands described above.

The technique of the Kumri tillage is rather primitive. Soon after the rains on a forest area, a hill site is generally chosen, on the slopes of which a portion is cleared, in November, December and January, when brushwood and branches of large trees are lopped and pollarded. The loppings are left till March or April, when the sun and the easterly winds have made them as dry as tinder, when they are burnt to ashes. The soil is baked from three to six inches below the surface, and is left untouched by implements of any kind, and, soon after the first rains, the seeds are sown. The only further operations are fencing and weeding. When the plants begin to sprout, a strong fence of fallen trees or wattled wedge is raised from the clearing to keep off the wild beasts. Though no elaborate treatment is needed, constant watching and weeding is exacted of the Kumri cultivator. The ripening offers a great temptation to the denizens of the forest, and for a month before harvest, the crop is watched at night by a person on a raised platform. The crop is reaped between October and December. A similar crop in Supa is taken off the ground in the second year, after

which the spot is deserted until the jungle is sufficiently dry to tempt the Kumri cultivator to renew the process of cutting.

This nomadic type of tillage is to be differentiated from the permanent Hakkal cultivation. In the latter, treatment and operations involved are more elaborate. It is carried on, as mentioned above, in valleys, by clearing brushwood or scrub jungle or grass. The men burn the bushes when they become dry and leave to the women the remaining portion of the labour. The method of tillage and crops obtained therefrom are the same as in Kumri, but more labour is required. Where there is no brushwood, burnt ash or manure is brought and spread. When the rains commence, they dig up the ground with a small edged bamboo hoe to a depth of three inches. A woman in one day can hoe about ten cubits square of the ground for sowing. The sowing season lasts about two months, so that the quantity sown by every woman in a year may be estimated at somewhat less than the sixth part of an acre. The custom, however is for all people of one village to work one day at one family ground, and on the next day at another's in regular succession. The women perform also the whole harvest.

The variety of crops raised in both the Kumri and the Hakkal lands are both same, except that rice is grown in the latter. The principal crops are dhal and cotton in small quantities, castor and gingelly, various cucurbitacious plants; shamay (*panicum miliaceum*), ragi (*eleusine coracana*), here and there dropping a seed tovaray (*cajanus indicus*), avaray (*dolicos lablos*), mustard maize (*curcuma longa*), horse-gram (*dolichos biflorus*), turmeric, chillies (*capsium annum*), the latter being the most paying, but at the same time, they involve great labour and considerable outlay. Grains are

sown separately, but the seeds of cucurbitacious fruits are mixed with farinaceous crops. The returns in the first year are said to be prodigious, but may be estimated at least double of what may be raised under the ordinary modes of tillage. That this is nothing extraordinary, will be evident when the nature of forest sites is considered. The virgin soil, wonderfully rich, rendered still more fertile by the presence of the ash manure, and the abundance of humus always found in forests of any considerable age yields for the small amount of seeds sown a bountiful harvest. That these primitive tillers of the soil are not mistaken in their instinct is clear from the fact that some of the finest coffee estates, worked with European skill and method in Mysore, have been formed in the Kumri lands, which possess a rich deposit of decayed vegetable mould, that has not been exposed to atmospheric influences, and hence contains an almost inexhaustible store of organic and inorganic constituents available as food for the coffee plant.

The tools used in tillage vary with the circumstances of the case. Hoeing is practised in the restricted areas, and the hoe is therefore used only by the primitive tribes. To speak of tillage as hoe culture is somewhat misleading, and it should therefore be avoided. In forest clearing, the most important tool is the axe, which is usually of iron. Outside India, the forest-clearing tribes of Africa use a ground stone axe with a wooden handle. This is the typical tool, and therefore the polished stone axe and forest clearing are closely associated all through the history of both. In comparison with the stone axe, tillage tools are rare among the forest clearing tribes. The digging stick is the universal tool of the tribes that pursue the gathering process of production and the forest clearers use the small pointed planting stick

or dibble. It is used to make holes in the soil to receive the seed or the cutting to be planted. Billhook is another of the implements in constant use.

The Āres or Mahratta Kunbis were chiefly occupied with this form of tillage above described, in the forest areas of the Nagar and Sagar taluks of Shimoga district. It was found to be wasteful, because of the great injury done to the forest growth; and this led to the prohibition in 1847. Since then, both the Supreme and the Local Governments recognising the necessity for this form of cultivation under limitations, devised plans to remove the baneful effects of destruction, and at the same time to induce this particular class of labourers that frequent the forest tracts, to take up the cultivation under concessions. In the Sagar and Malnad taluks, many respectable and formerly well-to-do raiyats ran deeply into debt in trying to maintain their gardens and wet lands at heavy cost, and some were unable to stand the strain any longer. They had therefore to abandon them one by one. There were also others still retaining possession of gardens, and rice lands in spite of the loss to them but hoped that Kumri would soon be introduced with the reduction of the assessment.

"The prime necessity of a Kunbi is his Kumri lands, and, in spite of his settling down with his wet cultivation, he must have it, for without his ragi and sāve (*panicum frumentaceum*) he cannot live. The first year of the clear fellings, the Kunbi grows his ragi, and the second his sāve, thus each part is worked in succession for two years and then left fallow. The Kunbi who was hitherto leading a nomadic life, and working as "*Jithagar*" (hereditary labourer or slave) under the cultivating classes, has since the introduction of this scheme, been taking to permanent cultivation, and leading a more independent life than formerly. So long as he was permitted to have the Kumri cultivation whenever he pleased, he used to select the best forest areas possible, cut the trees recklessly, burned them and grew his dry crops, but since he is now bound down to cultivate wet lands, he must have his

Kumri as near as possible to his paddy fields, so that both the crops could be protected against the depredations of wild animals. In cases where Kumri lands are not available near his wet lands, he seems to rest content with the wet lands alone. This is a good sign."

The Kunbis seem to be a contented lot. They suffer from fever, and are mortally afraid of small-pox. It would be to their interests, if they, their women and children are vaccinated to prevent mortality amongst them, when they are desired to populate the Ghat regions.

Various suggestions were made from time to time for the Kumri cultivation along with the conditions for the allotment of the jungles for the purpose; but the Kunbi settlement scheme was started in 1908 with the object of bringing under cultivation large extents of waste lands in the Malnad, and of meeting the inadequacy of labour supply therein. In order to attract a large number of Mahratta Kunbi families, living in the forests just outside the State, the Government sanctioned the grant of forest tracts on the following concessions:—

Each Kunbi family was given one acre of forest land for Kumri cultivation every third year, on the understanding that he would take up a minimum of three acres of paddy lands to be held rent free for three years, and he was to receive a pair of bullocks at a cost of fifty rupees, and five rupees worth of seed grains. In addition to this, each family was given for settlement, a money grant of twenty rupees during the first year, a sum of ten rupees for the expenses of the journey and two acres of forest land for Kumri cultivation instead of one acre.

These were enhanced by a further grant of ten rupees for seed grains; fifty to sixty rupees for bullocks, and a loan of thirty rupees to each family at the discretion of the forest officer for discharging

old debts. As a result of this action on the part of the Government, there were 256 families with a population of 1,231, living in 20 new colonies. Some of these lived in huts near their cultivated lands and others lived in old villages.

For the benefit of the community, the services of a midwife and the opening of a dispensary at Arlgod at a convenient distance from the colonies, were sanctioned by the Government. Five elementary schools were opened for their children, a co-operative society was organised for their benefit. The schools were constructed, a trained Inspector was appointed for rattan work, books and slates were supplied freely to the schools in the colonies. Ploughs, manure and seed grains were supplied by the Government. A medicine chest was also supplied to them. To the headman of each colony a gun was supplied free of cost. The grant of all these led to the progress and prosperity of the colonists.

During the last year (1925) there was a further addition of six families of thirty members, to whom the same concessions were granted. In all, they numbered, 1,379 in June last. Rattan work was introduced in all the colonies, but it showed a poor quality of the outturn in most of them. But the work of the primary schools and the co-operative society showed signs of progress.*

Mahratta Kunbis like to be independent, and a few here and there have taken up lands on their own account.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

The staple diet of the Āres is cheap rice, ragi and millet. They eat also fish, fowl, mutton, venison and drink liquor, but not to excess. They were good hunters and marksmen.

* Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

DRESS, APPEARANCE AND ORNAMENTS.

They are dark and of middle height, strong, muscular and healthy, but dull and clumsy. The men wear a narrow waist cloth and shoulder cloth, with a black blanket thrown over the shoulder and a scarf. Coats and shirts are also other additions on gala days. The women use no bodice but wear a dark robe, the lower end of which hangs like a petticoat to the knees, and the upper end is drawn towards the head. They wear cheap gold and silver ornaments on their heads, necks, fingers, wrists, noses and ears. On holidays both men and women put on rich and fresher clothes than usual, and the women wear flowers after dressing their hair neatly. They have their red marks on their foreheads. The men are not careful to have their heads shaved. On ordinary days, the women bestow no care on their hair, but when it is dressed on festive occasions it has an old fussy appearance. The women wear the *bugudi* on the ear, the *tali* round the neck, and the bangles and rings on wrists and fingers. The *bugudi* and the *tali* are made of gold, and the bangles and rings are either of gold or silver. They also wear glass or lac bangles. They are not very clean, but are hard-working, honest, sober, even-tempered and well-behaved.

BAIRĀGI.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY—RELIGION.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

THE word Bairāgi is derived from the Sanskrit "*Vairāgya*," which means freedom from passion. It is often used in a vague sense, but is generally applied to a sect of Hindu ascetics. Among them there are various orders, all of whom are attached to the worship of Vishnu in his incarnations of Rāma and Krishna. The sect had its origin in the Deccan, but largely flourished in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where it is even now the strongest.

The origin of the Bairāgi is to be traced to the Vaishnavite apostle of South India, who is supposed to have lived in the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth; but the sect became more powerful and popular in Northern India from the time of Rāmānand. The term is now applied to the followers of Rāmānand and his contemporaries. Rāmānand who is said to have been the founder of the sect, abandoned early the cares of the world and became the first Bairāgi. Properly speaking, a religious mendicant of the Vaishnava sect should be called a Bairāgi. Among the Bairāgis, there are four divisions or orders, namely, 1. Rāmānujis or, the followers of Rāmānuja, also called Sri Vaishnavas, with whom are attached Rāmānandis or the adherents of Rāmānand in Northern India; 2. Nimānandi, Nimat or Nimbāditya sect, the followers of a saint Nimānand; 3. Vishnuswamy or Vallabhachārya sect, the members of which are the special worshippers of Rādha and Krishna; 4. Mādhavachārya or the Vaishnavite sect of south India. It

may not be without interest in this connection to give a short account of the tenets of each.*

The *Sri Vaishnavas* form the most ancient and respectable of the four divisions. They follow the teachings of Rāmānuja, the philosopher who flourished about the close of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. The tenets of the followers of this sect are the same as that of the original sect in the South, but with one important difference, namely, the omission of Rādha in the worship. They also retain the distinction of two subdivisions corresponding to those of Sri Vaishnavas. The Rāmānujis address each other "Dasōham," (I am your servant) and this is accompanied with a *pranam* or slight inclination of the head and the application of joined hands to the forehead. The sect mark is like that of the Sri Vaishnavas of Southern India. Rāmānand is another apostle of Vaishnavism. He initiated the struggle against social tyranny and exclusiveness of the caste. According to a common tradition, the schism of Rāmānand originated in this resentment of an affront offered to him by his fellow desciples without the permission of their *guru* (teacher). It is said that he spent some time in travelling through the various parts of India, and that he returned to his matt, to which his colleagues objected on the ground that in the course of his wanderings, he could not have observed his privacy in his meal, which is of vital importance to the Rāmānandis. He was condemned to take his meal in a place far away from his disciples. This treatment so offended and provoked him, that he thereafter retired from society altogether, and started a schism of his own. This was carried on by his disciples and his successors, Kabir, Nānak, Dādu Rai Das and others. The

* R. V. Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. II., page 94.

Rāmānandis consider the *Rāmāyana* as the most sacred work, make pilgrimages to Ayōdhia, and Rāmēswaram ; and have established special worships of Rāma and Sīta. The sect-mark slightly varies from that of the Rāmānujis. It consists of two white lines down the forehead with a red one between, but they are continued on to the nose, ending in a loop, instead of terminating at the line of the eyebrows, like that of the Rāmānujis. It must be noted that he began a radical reform by which he abolished all caste distinctions; and by which all Vaishnavites of whatever denomination could inter-dine. He introduced the vernacular languages for the propagation of the new creed.

Nimānandis, Nimat or Nimbādityas:—The Nimānandis are named after the saint Nimānand who had his headquarters at Mathura, Brindaban. His original name was Bhāskarāchārya, and he is held to have been an incarnation of Vishnu or the sun. His followers worship Rādha and Krishna, and the chief festival is Janmāshtami.

Mādhavas:—Mādhavāchārya was the founder of the Mādhava sect. Their tenets were more conciliatory as they combined the worship of Krishna with that of Siva and Pārvathi.

Vallabācharya:—He worshipped Bālakrishna for whom there are numerous temples in Mathura, Brindaban, Benares, Jagannāth and Dwāraka.

RELIGION.

The Bairāgis are worshippers of Vishnu and adherents of Sri Vaishnava Brāhmans, but many of them wear the sacred thread, and say that they are Gauda Brāhmans. They do not take their meals without worshipping *Sāligrāma*.* When they offer *pūjas*, they usually cover their heads with a piece of cloth on

* A kind of ammonite found in the Gunduck river.

which the name of Rāma is printed. Their face and shoulders are also stamped with the same name in similar characters. While engaged in meditation they squat on the ground with a tiger or deer skin beneath them, and rest their hands on a cross-piece of Yōgadanda or bent stick. A pair of tongs is also stuck on the ground on the right side and sometimes fire is kept near it. They go on pilgrimages to Tirupati, and their usual route is from Rāmēswaram, thence to Todādri, Srīrangam, Gōpālaswāmibetta, Mēlkote and lastly to Tirupati. They are also called Bāvāji or Sādhu, and their *guru* is known as Mahanth. Each sect consists of Nihangs who are really ascetics that lead a life of seclusion, and Samayōgis or the laity who marry and live with their families. The latter are known as Bhat Bairāgis. Jogendranath Bhattacharjee observes that the monks of this order have generally a large number of women attached to them as nuns with whom they live as man and woman.

Bairāgis wear necklaces of Tulsi beads (*ocymum sanctum*) or lotus (*Nelumbium speciosym*) seeds. A striking feature in the practice of the followers of Rāmānuja consists in their maintaining an unusual privacy in their meals. They must not eat in cotton garments, but must eat after bathing and wearing silk or woollen garments. The teachers allow their special pupils to assist them. But all Rāmānujis cook for themselves, cleansing the place with cow-dunged water, and should the meals, either in the process of cooking or while eating, attract the look of a stranger, the operation is stopped at once, and the viands buried at once, in the ground. They take only one meal in the afternoon and strictly abstain from flesh-eating. While travelling, they have with them one or two vessels for cooking purposes, a *Sāligrama* and a conchshell for worship, and a chillum

for smoking ganja (Indian hemp or opium). Bairāgis are generally naked, except for wearing a small piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the thighs. They allow the beard to grow, and the hair on the head is long and matted sometimes with a long tail of yalk, or sometimes false hair is tied round into a knot, on the top of the head. When they go about, they smear with ashes all over their bodies.

"The Bairāgis have numerous mutts or monasteries scattered all over the country and usually attached to temples. The mutt comprises a set of huts or chambers for the Mahant or superior and his permanent pupils; a temple and often the Samādhi or tomb of the founder, or of some eminent Mahant; and a dharmasāla or charitable hostel for the accommodation of wandering members of the order, and the other travellers who are constantly visiting the temples. Ingress and egress are free to all, and, indeed, a restraint on personal liberty never seems to have entered into the conception of any Hindu Legislator. Therefore, there are, as a rule, a small number of Chelas or disciples who are scholars and attendants of the superiors and also out-members who travel over the country and return to the monastery as headquarter. The monastery has commonly some small endowment in land, and the resident Chelas go out and beg for alms for their common support. If the Mahant is married, the headship may descend into his family; but when he is unmarried, his successor is one of his disciples who is commonly chosen by election at a meeting of the Mahants of the neighbouring monasteries. Formerly, the Hindu governor of that district would preside at such an election, but it is now, of course, left entirely to the Bairāgis themselves.

"Large numbers of Bairāgis now marry and have children and have formed an ordinary caste. The married Bairāgis are held to be inferior to the celibate mendicants, and will take food from them, but the mendicant will not permit the married Bairāgis to eat with them in the Chauka or place purified for eating of food. The customs of the married Bairāgis resemble those of ordinary Hindus such as Kurmis. They permit the remarriage of widows, and burn the dead. Those who have taken to cultivation do not, as a rule, plough with their own hands. Many Bairāgis acquire properties and become landholders, and others have extensive money-lending transactions,

Two such men who had acquired possession of extensive tracts of Zamindari lands in Chattsgurh, in satisfaction of loans made to Gond Zamindars, and had been given the Zamindary status by the Mahrattas, were subsequently made feudatory chiefs of the Nandagoan and Chuikahadan States. These chiefs now marry and the states descend into their family by primogeniture, in the ordinary manner. As a rule, the Bairāgi landholders and money-lenders are not found particularly good specimens of their caste. "*

Some Bairāgis profess to be herbalists and physicians while others pretend to be alchemists. All of them are beggars, and as such always resort to holy places.

Francis Buchanan in his travels through Mysore, Canara and Malabar describes the Bairāgis as follows:—

"There is here a matam or convent of Bairagis. They said that their caste was descended from the children of persons of all kinds, who not having had any heirs, have made a vow to the image of Rāma at Ayōdhya (Oudh) to consecrate to his services their eldest son, should the God interpose and grant them a family. Many of these consecrated have married, and the whole of their descendants are Bairāgis. Their chief convents are at Ayōdhya, and Jayapura; but smaller ones are scattered in every part of India. Their *gurus* are also Bairāgis, but are always descended from the children of Brāhmans. They say that in Hindusthan proper the only *pūjāries* in the temples of (Vishnu) are the Brāhmans of their caste. In that country many of them are learned; but those here acknowledged their ignorance. They abstain from animal food and hold in abhorrence the custom which prevails here of marrying their aunt's daughter. In every part of India a man's marrying his uncle's daughter is looked upon as incestuous. The Bairāgis of Sūdra origin always assume the appearance of beggars; but they frequently trade from place to place in hoses, arms, pearls, shawls and other valuable articles; and on such occasions they travel in large bodies well armed; not trusting entirely to their profession of poverty. They never trade in shops. They are at constant variance with the people of a tribe called Gossain (properly Goswami); and in the engagements that take place between these two sects of

* Russel: *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. II, page 104.

vagrants, lives are frequently lost. The forms assumed by the Bairāgis are various. Some of them constantly remain in some painful or difficult posture; and according to the postures which they assume, are called Urdabāhu or Ticrawalla. Some of them, called Paramahansa, or Digambara go quite naked, with their hair matted and thickened with dirt; these beg from door to door, frequently pretending to be idiots, and live in wastes and woods on leaves and wild fruits. The remainder are called Rāmānandis. There is in this country a set of scoundrels who call themselves Bairāgis, but who are disowned by those who pretend to be really so, and are called by them Bersta. These fellows exhort compassion by burning themselves with torches, and cutting themselves with swords. If possible, they surround a woman who is with child, and threaten to torment themselves before her, unless she gives them money. The women in general comply with their requests." *

* Buchanan: *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore Canara and Malbar*, Vol. I., page 346-347.

BAKKARU OR BAGGARU.

INTRODUCTION—MARRIAGE—RELIGION—FUNERAL AND SHRADDHAS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DRESS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Bakkaru also called Bagga Holeyas are found in the Taluks of Shimoga, Tarikere and Yadahalli. They say that they are called Baggaru after the name of their original settlement, Baguvalli (Boggavalli) in the Ajjampur Hobli of the Tarikere Taluk. This story is to be doubted because their exogamous divisions are termed *balis*, and are similar to those of many other castes who are immigrants to the State from South Canara. They speak Cannada, and affix the titles of Gauda and Gartiaru to the names of males and females respectively.

SUB-DIVISIONS.

The caste has no endogamous groups but it has several exogamous clans known as *balis*, which are traced through females such as the following :—

Gangara Bali.	Kandla Bali.
Tolara Bali.	Bale Bali.
Setti Bali.	Kaudasige Bali.
Hadlige Bali.	Dandige Bali.

These appear to be totemistic though they do not admit to be so.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Marriages of girls are both infant and adult. Girls for whom husbands cannot be procured are dedicated as Basavis to their gods and goddesses, chiefly to Garti Devaru, Ranganatha Devaru and Gautamma and Venkatapur Mutt. Girls married before puberty remain with their parents until they attain their age ; and those married after attaining age live with their husbands soon after marriage. Women who are not

married and convicted of adultery, enter into conjugal relations under *Sire Uduke* and such women are not given the privilege of taking food in the same row with the regularly married.

Polygamy is allowed for the usual reasons, but polyandry is unknown. It is said that a sum of Rs. 150 is paid as bride price; and the marriage expenses amount to only Rs. 30 to 50 to the bride's party, while the other has to spend as much as Rs.300. The price of the bridegroom is not in vogue among the castemen. It is said that there is a movement to put a stop to the payment of *tera*, but the Sahukars (money-lenders) are not in favour of it. Girls are not taken from agnates. A man cannot marry his girl if she belongs to his *bali*. He can marry his maternal uncle's daughter; but he cannot marry two sisters at the same time. Marriages are settled by the parents.

When it is said by an astrologer that the horoscopes of the boy and the girl agree, *Nischithārtha* is done, when the pair are seated on a plank, *ārati* is waved and a dinner to the castemen given.

On the day of marriage, a pandal is put up in the bride's house with twelve posts, in the presence of the castemen, with a raised seat in the centre. Then the bride's party go to the house of the bridegroom where they are conveniently lodged. The bridegroom is neatly dressed in the marriage costumes and is conducted to a seat in the pandal. The bride similarly decorated, is seated by his side. The boy and the girl stand on separated baskets, and the girl's parents pour *dhāre* with milk, ghee and water in token of the gift of the girl. The boy then ties a *tāli* round the neck of the girl. The pair throw rice on each other's head. The ends of the clothes of the pair are tied, and the ceremony is closed. The caste people are fed for three days, and they wave *ārati*.

On the fourth day, the bride and the party are taken to the house of the bridegroom where they are sumptuously entertained, after which both the parties go back to the bride's house. On the eleventh day, the conjugal pair are again taken to the bridegroom's house, and are shown Dhārādīpa in the pandal, which is then removed. If the girl is below age, she goes back to the house of her parents. They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance.

RELIGION. They worship both Vishnu and Siva in their several forms as Rāma, Ranganātha and Manjanātha. Goddess Guttamma is offered animal sacrifices with fruits and flowers on Tuesdays and Fridays. Their ceremonies are conducted by their own *gurus* who are their castemen, and not by Brāhmans. They swear after Manjanātha, and have belief in omens and witchcraft.

FUNERALS AND SRADHAS. The dead are either buried or burned. The disciples of Venkatāpur Matt practise cremation. Soon after death the corpse is washed with warm water, dressed in clothes proper to the sex of the deceased, and with caste-marks on the forehead. A piece of new cloth goes with the body and a piece of gold is placed in its mouth. The relatives then offer incense and fruits (cocoanut) to the deceased, and the body is then placed on bier and carried to the burial ground. The chief mourner goes in front of the bier, carrying fire. The body is placed on pyre or pit, with the head to the south. In case of burning, the remains are consigned to water. The period of pollution is eleven days, and for children three days, during which the chief mourner and the members of his family with other people, do not enter the kitchen, nor do they go to temple for worship. The family deities are also not worshipped. They abstain from

animal food. The usual caste-marks are avoided. Annual srādhas are not performed; but on the Mahālaya Amavāsya they offer and adore the Manes, and feed some caste people.

OCCUPATION.

Agriculture is the only occupation of the Baggaru from time immemorial. A few of them own lands. The rest are tenants cultivating lands for a portion of the produce. It is said that they do not cultivate any land except the wet ones. They do not plough on Mondays. To get good crops they plant Mundu gada (*euphrobia antiquorum*) branches in wet lands. They commence agriculture operations on Sundays and Thursdays. At the close of the ploughing, they hold a feast to the castemen. They believe that a good shower during the Bharani (Second constellation, Musca Borealis) will ensure a good crop. Punarvasu (seventh Nakshatra, Gemini Sirius) and Pushya (eigth lunar asterism Cancer and the head of Hydra) rains produce an eight anna crop.

SOCIAL STATUS.

They eat flesh and drink all kinds of liquor; but they do not eat the flesh of the horse, pig or cattle. They do not approach Brāhmans, lest their touch might defile them. They do not live with other castes. They are not allowed to use public wells or to enter village temples. The village barbers and washermen do not render them their services; so they have their own castemen to do these duties for them. No other caste people dine in their houses. It is said that out-caste Lingāyats and Nāmadhāri Vakkaligas are admitted into their caste. A new recruit should pass through seven huts, each of which is burned down after his exit, and should get his head and whiskers shaved. Further he should pay a fine to the castemen, give a dinner to them, and finally take *thīrtha* (sanctified water) and *prasāda* from a temple,

before he is admitted into the caste. With all this he is not allowed the privilege of dining in the same row with them, or of marrying a pure Baggaru girl.

DRESS. There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men while engaged in work always carry a chopper attached to the belt (worn round their loins). Married women wear *tāli* on their necks and silver rings on their toes. Their women get themselves tattooed.

BANAJIGAS.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS—EXOGAMOUS CLANS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—FAMILY LIFE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—PHANAS—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

BANAJIGAS are a trading people found all over the Mysore State. The caste is known by various names, one of which is 'Balija.' It appears to be a later form of Banajiga, and is very popular with the Telugu division which is by far the largest portion in the State. Another name by which the caste is generally known is 'Gauravulu' which is a more recent designation. It is rarely known in the State and appears to be a variation of 'Kavarai' or Vadugans (Northerners) which again is a corrupt form of Gauri, the patron deity of the caste. Yet another name by which the caste is known is the Nayadu caste, which is not acceptable to the castemen, for some Banajigas resent the term, while others, especially the educated portion of the community, have indifferently adopted the designation. The term 'Nayadu' is the same as Nāyak (leader) in Canarese, and is used as an honorific surname.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The term Banajiga is derived from the Sānskrit *Vanik*, signifying a tradesman, but different derivations are however given to the word 'Balija' or 'Balaja' which seems to be another form of the same name. Some say that it means 'Born of Bali or Sacrifice,' as their progenitor was born in the course of the *yagna* performed by Gauri. Others say that they

are the descendants of Balarāma, the brother of Krishna, and are hence known as Balijas. A third derivation of the term explains that they are the descendants of a king of the Magadha country, called Bali, Balija or Subhakara, who is said to have been reigning in the country from 31 B. C. to 8 A.D.

Concerning the origin of the Balijas, (Banajigas) the following stories are mentioned. The word Balija is derived from *bali*, a sacrifice and *Ja*, born, signifying that the Balijas owe their origin to the performance of a *yāgam* (sacrifice). The legend describes how Dākshāyini, the daughter of the saint Dakshaprajāpati, dissatisfied with the ornaments bestowed upon her by her father, desired more. Her father consulted Bramha as to how he might satisfy her. The young woman was directed to perform a *yāgam*. With the assistance of a Brahman she did it, and from the sacrificial flames came forth a person with glass bangles, turmeric and other auspicious articles to bestow upon the woman. She accepted and wore them, directing that all women should henceforth wear similar ornaments. The person who came out of the sacrifice became the progenitor of the Balijas who were also called Gauriputras or the sons of Gauri. Originally the caste would seem to have been employed in making bangles, pearls and coral ornaments, and other similar jewellery; but now a large majority are employed in agriculture and trade.*

It is stated by Buchanan† that all the Banajigas are descended from a person known as Prithvi Malla Chetty, by his first wife, who was of the Vaishnava sect; he had ancestors of the Telugu Banajiga caste,

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. I., page 137-138.

† Buchanan, Fr.: *Travels through Mysore, Malabar and Canara*, Vol. I., page 168.

and by his second wife who worshipped Īsvara or Siva, he had ancestors of the Lingavantaru.

It is also claimed by some that they are descended from Balarāma, the brother of Lord Krishna by a Sudra wife, who bore him 101 sons. As Sūdras, they learned the Vedas by hearing Brahman pupils reciting them, and so the rain held off and famine visited the land. Balarāma, on hearing the cause became indignant, and sent them to their tribal goddesses for correction. The goddess showed them the true religion and origin, and directed them to earn their living by trade, after presenting them with seven casks of coins as their starting capital. It is also claimed by some of the castemen that they are the Kshatriyas of the Lunar race, through the Narapatis of Vijayanagar, whose descent is traced by various authorities to the ancient Āndhra Kings and to the well-known Yayāti Raja mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

The caste, in fact, is a composite one, comprised of people who have trade as their occupation. It is a popular resort to those who cannot range themselves under any of the established castes. It is sometimes said that they are an offshoot of the Kāpu or Reddi castes, and that Kammas, Vellalas and Gollas are found in it. But in the State, the Banajigas do not claim any affinity with the Kāpus and Gollas, and say that though many persons assume the name without any claim to it, they have no difficulty in finding out who do and who do not properly belong to their caste. "Banajigas," says Sir H. A. Stuart, "are the trading caste of the Telugu country, but they are found in every part of the Madras Presidency. In spite of the various traditions concerning their origin, it is highly probable that they are a recent offshoot of the Kāpu or Reddy caste. It is a mixed caste, and the castemen without much scruple admit persons who

have been expelled from their own castes or who are the products of irregular unions."*

The following passage will be found to be interesting in this connection :— †

"It is said to have two main sub-divisions, Dēsa or Kōta and Peta. The first of these includes those whose ancestors are supposed to have been the Balija (Nayak) kings of Madura, Tanjore and Vijayanagar or provincial governors in those Kingdoms. To the second belong those like the Gazulu (bangle-sellers) who live by trade. In the Tamil Districts, Balijas are known as Kavarais. The descendants of the Nayak or Balija kings of Madura and Tanjore claim to be Kshatriyas and of Kāsyapa *gotra*, while the Vijayanagar caste trace their descent from the sage Bharadvāja. Others trace their ancestry to the Kauravas of the Mahābhārata. This Kshatriya descent is not recognised by other castes, who say that Balijas are an off-shoot of the Kammas or Kāpus, or that they are a mixed community recruited from these and other Telugu castes. None of the castemen now wear the sacred thread or follow the vedic ritual.

POPULATION. At the census of 1921, the Banajigas numbered 1,35,000, 68,816 being males 66,184 females. There has been, since 1911, an increase of 2,045 in the population. It is recorded that the caste suffered much during the famine of 1877. As many as 28,098 or 28 per cent of the caste either died or left the State in 1881. Since then there has been a steady increase, so that at the census of 1901 there were 10,439 or 8.5 per cent more than in 1871, and 26,074 or 24.5 per cent more than in 1891.

Distribution of population in Districts according to the last Census is given below :—

Bangalore City	8,467
Bangalore District	20,668
Kolar Gold Fields	4,689
Kolar District	41,711
Tumkur	15,099
Chitaldrug District	4,380

* *Madras Census Report*, 1891.

† Thurston, E. : *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. I., page 134-5

Hassan District	..	..	..	3,526
Kadur District	..	..	..	6,921
Shimoga ..	..	..	..	4,449
Bangalore Civil and Military Station			..	6,506

Taluks having a population of more than 2,000 are given below :—

Hoskote ..	..	..	..	2,129
Kānkanhalli	..	..	..	3,187
Anekal ..	..	..	..	3,327
Kolar	..	..	..	3,149
Mulbagal ..	..	..	..	3,792
Chintamani..	..	..	..	2,779
Sidlaghatta	..	..	..	3,393
Bagepalli ..	..	..	..	5,485
Maddagiri ..	..	..	..	3,207
Goribidnur	..	..	..	4,724
Chikballapur	..	..	..	7,504

From this it is clear that the Banajigas are largely found in the Districts of Kolar, Mysore and Bangalore, as also in the taluks of Goribidnur and Chikballapur.

In the Madras Presidency where the Banajigas are known as Balijas, they numbered 1,042,097, 516,141 being males and 525,956 females.*

HABITATIONS

The Banajigas who have come under my observation in Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore live in streets called pēttas, and the houses of the well-to-do members are quite as good and decent as those of the corresponding higher castes, while those of the poor members are constructed with mud-walls and tiled roofs with neither front nor back yards. The domestic furniture and utensils are similar to those of the corresponding castes.

LANGUAGE.

The Banjigas speak Telugu, but the Dasa Banajigas and some of the Ele Banajigas speak Canarese at home.

* *Census of India Part* II, page 162.

ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE

Of the various sub-divisions of the Telugu Banajigas, the following are the most important. They are :—

1. Dasa Banajiga.
2. Ele Banajiga, or Tōta Banajiga.
3. Dūdi Banajiga.
4. Gazula Banajiga or Setti Banajiga.
5. Puvulu Banajiga.
6. Nāyadu Banajiga.
7. Sukamanchi Banajiga.
8. Jidipalli Banajiga.
9. Rājamahendram or Musu Kamma.
10. Uppu Banajiga.
11. Gōni Banajiga.
12. Rāvut Rahutar Banajiga.
13. Ralla. (Tel)
14. Munnutamor Pusa. (Tel).

Dāsa Banajigas or as they call themselves Jaina Kshatriya Ramanuja-Dāsa Vaniyas say they were formerly Jain Kshatriyas, and were converted into Vaishnavism by Rāmanujachārya. They are very clean in their habits, pure vegetarians, and follow the doctrines of Rāmānujāchārya. They are found in large numbers in Chennapatna (Bangalore District). They do not eat food cooked even by Brahmans, who are not Sri Vaishnavas.

Ele Banajigas, as their name implies are betel-growers. Some of them are vegetarians.

Dūdi or Cotton Banajigas are traders in cotton. They are also strict vegetarians, and abstain from eating in the houses of persons other than Brahmans. They have some (eponymous) exogamous clans, *e.g.*, Govila and Babhruvāhana, and are found in small numbers in the Kolar District. They have a Purana known as Lakshminārayana Purānam, written for them by their *guru* Lakshminārayana Sāstri.

The Gazulu or the glass bangles section is also known as Setti Banajiga. This is considered a very

respectable division, and it is not unusual for persons of other sections to claim it as their own. They are the dealers in glass bangles, and are at the head of the 18 *phanas*. Setti is the title applied to persons of this section.

Pūvvalu or flower sellers, are also said to belong to the Gazulu division.

The Nāyadu division is said to be the same as Kota division above referred to. On behalf of these, it is claimed that they are Kshatriyas of the Lunar Race, and that the term which is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit '*Nāyak*,' came to be applied to them when, at the zenith of Vijayanagar rule, the king divided his whole realm into nine districts or provinces and placed at the head of each a man of this caste with the title of Nāyak.* This division has become much mixed up, the title Nāyadu being appropriated by many persons of doubtful origin, such as the children of dancing girls.

The Jidipalli and Rājamahendram† originated from the places inhabited by them, but they subsequently came to denote caste sub-divisions. The members of the latter division are the immigrants from the districts of Nellore, Cuddapah, Anantapur, North Arcot and Chinglepet.

The Ravut are a small section living specially in the town of Mysore. They are also known as Oppana Banajigas, because they are said to have been sent into the Mysore country from Vijayanagar to collect the tribute due to that king, *oppana* meaning appointment. They were all soldiers, and were hence known as Ravuts.

The division Uppu and Gōni have become separate castes, with distinct traditions as to their origin, and they are not included in this account.

* *Balija Vamsa Puranam*, page 33.
† *Madras Census Report*, 1891, page 277.

Munnūta Banajigas are wandering hawkers and beggars. They are otherwise styled Dandi Dāsaris. They have all the customs of the wandering tribes, such as having to meet at an appointed time for the settlement of their tribal disputes, performing many marriages at a time, and a son-in-law having to reside with the father-in-law till the birth of his first child. They are looked upon as very low in the social scale, and eat in the houses of very low castes.

There are other divisions among some of the Banajigas which are neither endogamous nor exogamous. One set of such divisions is based upon the number of booths they erect at marriage ceremonies, and are styled 'Onti Chapparamuvāllu' (of one pandal) and 'Rendu Chapparamuvāllu' (of two pandals). The other set of divisions is based upon the number of saris (woman's cloth) which they have to present to the bride on her marriage, and are known as 'Rendu Chīraluvāllu' (of two saris), and in places 'Aidu Chiraluvāllu' (of five saris) according as they have to present two, or five saris respectively to the bride. This custom is not in vogue in Mysore.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The Telugu Banajigas have a large number of exogamous clans, many of them are perhaps totemistic, though the significance of the terms is forgotten. In addition, they have what are called house names, '*Inti-perlu*' which are also exogamous in their operation. Some of the exogamous septs and house names are given below :—

Puli	..	.. Tiger.
Avula	..	.. Cow.
Yenumala	..	.. Buffalo.
Jilakara	..	.. Cummin seeds.
Gandham	..	.. Sandal paste.
Mutyāla	..	.. Pearls.
Pattindla	..	.. Silk House.
Ganta	..	.. Bell.

Balli	..	.. Lizard.
Nimili	..	.. Peacock.
Pappu	..	.. Split pulse.
Nārikella	..	.. Cocoanut.
Miriyala	..	.. Pepper.
Pagadala	..	.. Coral.
Tupākala	..	.. Musket.
Ungārala	..	.. Rings.*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Marriages are either infant or adult, and there is no limitation as to the age prescribed, either for a man or a woman; but as a rule a girl is married before the twentieth year. A woman may even remain unmarried without incurring any caste odium, provided her chastity is unquestionable, but when she dies her obsequies are modified to a considerable extent and are the same as those for infants. She cannot take part in a few ceremonies, such as smearing the bridal pair with turmeric, etc., which are to be performed by married women alone.

Marriage prohibitions are the same as in other corresponding Hindu castes. Polygamy is rarely practised without some special reason, such as sickness or childlessness; and there are no traces of polyandry.

The preliminary agreement for marriages is arrived at by the ceremony of exchanging betel-leaves and nuts, the gifts of clothes, etc., to the bride, and the delivery of a marriage letter to the bridegroom's father.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

The marriage ceremonies commence sometimes afterwards and lasts for five days. On the first day, the ceremonies called the pounding of turmeric and distribution of betel leaves and nuts take place. The ancestors are worshipped in the evening. The bride and the bridegroom fast till the night of that day. Some rice is presented to the temples of that place, and at night a *kalasa* is installed in the names

* Thurston, E.: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I. Vide *Totemism* Vol. I.

of the deceased female ancestors, and new clothes intended for the bridal pair, jewels such as nose-screw, toe-rings, bangles, and also a dagger are kept and worshipped near it. Then the toe-rings are put on the bridegroom's toes, and he is smeared with turmeric. This is followed by a dinner. Next day, the putting up of the marriage booth on twelve * pillars, and setting up of the milk post by the married ladies, take place. The Muhūrtha or the chief ceremony, takes place on the third day. Early in the morning both parties get their nails paired, and bathe in Malanīru (water from the hill). The bridegroom dressed in new clothes repairs to a temple. A party of married women go to a potter's house, to bring pots styled *arivenis*, which are arranged in a row in a room and worshipped. The maternal uncle of the bridegroom attaches *Bhāshinga* to him. Then a party of married women and the father of the bridegroom in procession take cocoanuts, plantain, jaggery cubes, turmeric, *kunkuma*, clothes and jewels to the bride's house, and present them to her, and the ceremony styled Nischithārtha (confirmation of agreement) takes place. Then the bridegroom holding a dagger in his hand, and accompanied by the best man, is conducted in procession to the marriage pandal under a moving canopy. Then the bride is also conducted to the pandal. The purohit (priest) who is always a Brahman, repeats *mantrams*, and the bridal pair put jaggery and cummin seeds on each other's heads. This is followed by the *tali*-tying, milk-pouring, *Kankana*-tying and rice-pouring ceremonies, as in other castes. The *pan-supari* and money are distributed among the assembled Brahmans. The bridal pair from their seats holding each other by the hand and, having

* It is said that only unmarried men must bring the pandal pillars, but the milk post must be brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle.

the fringe of their garments knotted together, go round the milk-post three times, and then worship Arundathi Star. Then they are conducted into the *ariveni* room, at the entrance of which the sister of the bridegroom bars the passage, and gets a promise that the first born daughter shall be given to her son in marriage. After a dinner to the castemen, the bridal pair are exhibited in their company and undergo the *Nalugu* ceremony. Then wedding presents are given to the bride and bridegroom. Next day, the bridegroom feigning dissatisfaction with his wife, leaves the marriage house by stealth, and conceals himself in a garden or elsewhere. In the evening the bride, her sisters and others go in procession in search of him. On meeting the bridegroom, they present him with new clothes, and coax him to go back to the marriage pandal. The pair sit on planks, and undergo *Nalugu* with much fun and frolic when songs are sung relating to the flight of the bridegroom, his discovery and return. Then, after dinner, the ceremony of *Nāgavale* takes place. Early in the morning the couple are seated together, and undergo the nail-paring again. Then they make balls out of it, and placing them near the pandal posts, worship them with offerings of food.* Then the pot searching ceremony and the removal of the *kankanas* take place. In the afternoon after dinner, they play at mock child-birth, housekeeping and ploughing† a field. Then the *Nalugu* ceremony, distribution of cocoanuts with money, and *ārati* (water dyed with turmeric and chunam) is waved in front of them. At night the bride formally enters the house of the bridegroom. Then either on that day or in the afternoon of the next day, takes place the worship of Simhāsana,

* Vide *Kurubas*.
† Vide *Golla Caste*.

when, after *pūja, tambulam* is distributed in the prescribed order. Near the Simhāsanam they keep a bundle of glass bangles, and also the bell and the ladle, and worship them. Next day the milk-post is removed, after milk has been poured on it. Then the bridal party goes to the bride's house where they stop for a day or two, and then return leaving the bride there. It is customary in some places, for the bridegroom to steal some article, such as a brass vessel or a hatchet, when he returns from his father-in-law's house.

Most sections of the Telugu Banajigas pay bride price, the amount varying from Rs. 12 to 20. But some either do not receive any amount, or pay it back to the girl in the shape of jewels.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for ten * days, during which time she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves put up for her use by her maternal uncle or one similarly related. Each day she bathes and puts on fresh clothes supplied by the washerman. On the eleventh day after bathing, she is admitted into some portions of the house. She is not quite free from taint till the sixteenth day. If the girl has already been married, consummation takes place on that day. In the case of unmarried girls, the event is put off for three months after the marriage.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

Widow marriage is strictly for bidden, except among the wandering divisions styled Munnūta Banajigas, who are regarded as being low in the social scale.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

Divorce is not allowed and adultery is looked upon with abhorrence. An unmarried girl becoming

* Some have reduced the period to three days as among Brahmans.

pregnant is outcasted, and is not re-admitted. Girls are not dedicated as Basavis.

FAMILY LIFE.

A Banajiga with his wife and children constitutes his family, and he is the head of the household. His daily routine is chiefly confined to his occupation whether trade or agriculture in which his children, as they grow, automatically get a training. His wife attends to the domestic work, keeps the house neat and tidy, rears children and helps the husband in his work, besides cooking and serving the family members with food. Among the poorer families, it often happens that while the husbands attend to the domestic work, the wife and the grown-up son go about trading in petty articles. Thus the family forms the nursery ground for all kinds of co-operation.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The descent is in the male line and the castemen follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

BIRTH CEREMONIES.

When a woman is pregnant for the first time, she is taken to her parents' house, where she is fed and presented with new clothes. During pregnancy, the husband abstains from such acts as killing animals, carrying any corpse or putting a roof over a house. He also abstains from shaving for a few months before delivery, and he may not touch the milk post of a marriage pandal.

On the birth of the child, the mother is impure for ten days, when she is confined to a separate room, at the entrance of which are placed margosa leaves, old shoes and brooms, to ward off evil spirits. Some people attach importance to the ceremony of the severing the naval cord, after which they place a drop of honey or sugar in the mouth of the child, invoking the name of Vishnu at the time.

On the eleventh day, the mother and the child are bathed in the usual fashion, after performing the pit ceremony.* In the evening, the child is put into a cradle, and rocked in the presence of married women. The names given are the common ones, but as Telugu Banajigas are generally Vaishnavites in religion, the names of Vishnu are more popular. The giving of opprobrious names is also popular and in vogue, and for the same reason as in other castes, nicknames and pet names are also given.† The other post-natal ceremonies, namely, ear-boring and tonsure are the same as in other castes.

A man without male issue is allowed to adopt a boy, who must, as in all other castes, be younger than the adopter. The boy may be of any age, provided he is not married, but even this restriction is overlooked, if he is the adoptive father's brother's son. But the most popular and proper adoption is that of a young boy below twelve years of age. A man may take in adoption his brother's or daughter's son, and often his sister's son, but in the latter case the boy is almost always adopted as an *Illatam* son-in-law, and is married to the adopter's daughter. But in no case can a brother be adopted as son. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes. The matter is notified to the head of the caste, styled Desāyi Setti who either attends in person or sends a deputy. The caste servant called Chālavādi, who is a Holeya, attends with his insignia, the bell and the ladle.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION; PHANAS.

The caste is at the head of the organization styled Désa Phanās, that is eighteen Phanas, or the right hand group. The origin of the two opposite groups, called respectively the Right and the Left Hand

* Vide *Gollas.*

† Vide *Morasu Okkalu.*

Phana is obscure, and no satisfactory account is available. As usual there are myths to explain the distinction, but one of them is given in the account of Holeyas. The following is another version:—

Parvati, the consort of Siva, having had no issue, performed a *yāga* to get children. Out of the sacrificial fire came a man called Rathakara, carrying with him a hammer, an anvil and a firepot. The goddess adopted him as her son, and he made various jewels for his divine mother. She, however, wanted other things needed for a married woman, such as bangles, turmeric and other auspicious articles. She was enjoined by her consort to perform another *yāga*, as a result of which was born a man called Pattabhadra who got her these articles. She was quite pleased with his work, and as a reward gave him a number of insignias. Siva invested the elder son Rathakara with the headship of all the castes, enjoining him to govern according to the time-honoured customs. But the boy utterly failed in the appointed task, and to allay the universal discontent that he aroused, he was deposed, and the younger son was installed in his place. Under the latter's rule, the people were happy and contented, and the praises of Pattabhadra were in everybody's mouth. This roused the elder brother's envy, who collected a large faction and fought with the other. The mother intervened and separated the combatants, and took the two sons into the presence of her husband to be reconciled. The god settled the dispute by dividing the followers of each brother into an independent group under his headship. As Pattabhadra who had the larger following had been led by the right hand of Pārvati, his adherents became the "Right Hand" faction, and the others for a similar reason, the "Left Hand" faction.

A rational explanation is attempted to be given for the rise of this distinction by ascribing to it a later wave of immigration (that from outside Dêsa or country) overpowering the earlier settlers (in the Nadu or internal provinces) and claiming superiority over them.* Little value is, however, attachable to such conjectures, unless they are corroborated by the discovery of any contemporaneous records. It is quite likely that these associations arose out of a federation of trade guilds. Whatever the origin may be, it appears to have been more of a social than of a religious character.

The headman of the Right Hand group of castes is called Dêsa Setti or Dêsāi Setti who occupies a very influential position. He is usually of the Banajiga caste, and has certain assistants. The insignia of the office (the bell and ladle) are carried by the Chalavādi of the Holeya Caste.†

In important cities and towns, the Dêsa and Nādu sections have different streets, and processions of one party are not supposed to traverse the streets of another. On such occasions, a faction fight is sure to ensue. Cases are recorded where the carrying of an umbrella or the wearing of particularly coloured flowers in the turban have given rise to severe outbreaks accompanied by bloodsheds.‡

The following extract is taken from Buchanan's Travels :—

" The origin of the division of the Hindus into the right and left hand sides is involved in fable. It is said to have taken place at Kunji or Conjeevaram by order of the Goddess Kāli and the rules to be observed by each side were at the same time engraved on a copper plate, which is saidto be preserved at the temple of that place. The existence of such a plate is very

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1891, page 308.

† As to functions and privileges of Dêsa Setti in Madras, see a note by the late Pandit Natesa Sastri.

‡ *Mysore Gazetteer*, page 224, Vol. I.

doubtful as both parties found their diametrically opposite pretensions on its authority. The different castes of which each sub-division is composed are not united by any common tie of religion, occupation or kindered; it seems, therefore, to be merely a struggle for certain honorary distinctions. The right hand side pretend that they have the exclusive privilege, of using twelve pillars in the pandal, or shed, under which their marriage ceremonies are performed; and that their adversaries, in their processions, have no right to ride on horseback, nor to carry a flag painted with the figure of Hanumantha. The left hand side pretend that all those privileges are confirmed to them by the grant of Kāli on the copperplate; and that they are of the highest rank, having been placed by that Goddess on her left hand, which in India is the place of honour. Frequent disputes arise concerning these important matters; and on such occasion not only mutual abuse is common, but also the head of the divisions stirs up the lowest and the most ignorant of their followers to have recourse to violence, and encourage them by holding out houses and shops of their adversaries as proper objects for plunder. A very serious riot took place at Seringapatam since it fell into the hands of the English. Thirty families of the weavers, belonging to the left hand side, joined themselves to the Telugu Banajigaru, and were encouraged by them to use all the honorary distinctions claimed by the right hand side. This gave great offence to Pancham Banajigāru and the Holeyaru were let loose to plunder nor could they be repressed without an exertion of the military force, by which several people were killed. In order to preserve the peace of the garrison, and to endeavour to bring the two parties to an agreement, it has been since thought expedient to prohibit any marriage from being celebrated within the Fort." *

The word *Désai* means, of the country. For almost every taluk in the North Arcot District, there is a headman called Désāi Setti, who may be said in a manner to correspond to the Justice of the Peace. The headmen belongs to the Kavarai or Balija caste, their family name being Dhanapāla, a common name among the Kavarais which may be interpreted as the 'Protector of wealth.' The Dhanapāla Désai

* Buchanan: *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar* Vol. I, page 1.

Setti holds sway over eighteen castes, Kavarai, Uppara, Lambadi, Jogi, Idiga, Paraiyan, etc. All those that are Valangai, or right hand caste, fall within his jurisdiction. He has an establishment of two peons (orderlies), who are castemen, and another menial, a sort of bugler, who blows the horn whenever the Désai Setti goes on circuit. When any deviation in the moral conduct of any man or woman occurs in a village under the Désai's jurisdiction, a report of it is at once sent to the Désai Setti, through the Paraiyan of the village, by the Désai's representative in the village. He has his local agent in every village within his jurisdiction. On receipt of a report, he starts on a circuit to the village, with all the quaint looking paraphernalia attached to his office. He moves about from place to place in his bullock coach, the inside of which is upholstered with a soft cushion bed, with a profusion of pillows on all sides. The Paraiya horn-blower runs in front of the carriage blowing the horn (bhānka) which he carries suspended from his shoulder when it is not in use. On the Désai Setti arriving at the village, the horn is blown to announce his visit on professional matters. While he camps at a village, the people within the surrounding country within his jurisdiction usually go to him with any representation they may have to make to him, as the head of their caste. The Désai generally camps in a tope (grove) adjoining the village. At the sound of the horn, the castemen on whose account the visit is made, assemble at the place of encampment with the Désai's local representative at their head. The personal comforts of the Désai is first attended to, and he is liberally supplied with articles of food by the party on whose account the visit has been undertaken. A large cup-shaped spoon is the ensign of the Désai. On the outer surface all round its edge, are carved

in relief eighteen figures, each being typical of one of the castes of which the Désai is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers. The menial, taking up the cup, rings the bell attached to it to summon the parties. As soon as the sound is heard, the castemen amongst whom any offence has occurred assemble, each house in the village being represented by a member, so as to make up a panchāyat. The Désai's emblem is then placed in front of him in the midst of the panchayat and a regular enquiry held. Supposing a person stands charged with adultery, the accused is brought before the assembly, and the charge formally investigated with the advice of the panchāyat. The Désai declares the accused guilty or not guilty, as the case may be. In the event of a man being pronounced guilty, the panchāyat directs to pay the aggrieved husband all the expenses he has incurred in connection with his marriage. In addition to this, a fine ranging from ten to twenty rupees is imposed on the offender by the Désai, and is collected at once. A small fraction of this fine, never exceeding four annas, is paid to every representative who sits in the panchāyat, the balance going into the Désai's pocket. If the delinquent refuses to pay the fine, a council of the same men is held, and he is excommunicated. The recalcitrant offender soon realises the horrors of excommunication, and in a short time appears before the Désai and falls prostrate at his feet, promising to obey him. The Désai then accompanies him to the village, calls the panchāyat again, and in their presence removes the interdict. On this occasion, the excommunicated person has to pay double of the original fine. But disobedience is rare, as people are alive to the serious consequence of

excommunication. The Désai maintains a regular record of all his inquiries and judgments, and in the days of the Nawabs these decisions were, it would appear, recognised by the courts of justice. The same respect was, it is said, also shown to the Désai's decision by the early courts of John Company.*

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF DESAI SETTI.

"Every house belonging to the eighteen castes sends to the village representative of the Désai, who is called Pariyatanakaran a pagoda (Rs. 3-8-0) in cash, besides rice, dal and other articles of food for every marriage that takes place in the village. The representative reserves for himself all the perishable articles, sending only the cash to the Désai. Thus for every marriage within his jurisdiction, the Désai gets one pagoda. Of late in the case of those Désais who have purchased their rights as such from the old Désais instead of a pagoda, a fee of two annas and a half is levied on each marriage. Every death which occurs in the village is equally a source of income to the Dèsai, who receives articles of food and four annas or more according to the circumstances of the parties in whose house the death has occured. As in the case of marriage, the local representative appropriates to himself the articles of food, transmits the money to the Désai. The local agent keeps a list of domestic occurrences, and this list is most carefully scrutinized and checked by the Désai during his tours, and any amount left unpaid is then collected. Whenever a marriage takes place in his own house, all the houses within his jurisdiction are bound to send him rice, dal and other articles, and any money they can afford to pay. Sometimes rich people send large sums to the Désai to enable him to purchase the clothes, jewels, etc., required for the marriage. When a Désai finds his work too heavy to attend to single-handed he sells a portion of his jurisdiction for some hundreds or thousands of rupees according to its extent to some relation. A regular sale-deed is executed and registered."

PHANAS.

The reason assigned is that the Lingayat Banajigas who are at the head of the right hand division, not being the original natives of the place are called Désawallis or outsiders, and others Péte or Nādawallis. The two factions are:—†

* A Note from the late Pandit Natesa Sastri.

† *Mysore Census Report* 1891, Part I, pages 308-309.

RIGHT HAND FACTION.

1. Banajiga or Trader.
2. Vakkaliga or Cultivator.
3. Gāniga or Oilman, who yokes only one bullock to the mill.
4. Rangāri or Dyer.
5. Lada or Mahratta Trader.
6. Guzaratti or Guzaratti merchant.
7. Komati or Labourer.
8. Jaina or Buddhist.
9. Kuruba or Shepherd.
10. Kumbāra or Potter.
11. Agasa or Washerman.
12. Bestha or Fisherman or Palanquin bearer.
13. Padmasāle or a Weaver class.
14. Nayinda or Barber.
15. Uppara or Salt-maker.
16. Chittragar or painter.
17. Golla or Cow-herd.
18. Holeyas.

LEFT HAND FACTION.

1. Pānchāle, Artisan castes.
2. Bhēri, Trading class.
3. Devānga or a class of weavers.
4. Hegganiga or Oilman who yokes two bullocks to the mill.
5. Golla or Dhanapāla.
6. Beda or class of hunters.
7. Vakkalu, Cultivator.
8. Palli or Tiglar.
9. Madiga.

The Banajigas and Linga Banajigas are the foremen of the right hand faction. They say that all the eighteen factions or professions belong to them, and that the left-hand factions are separate. The Panchalas and Nagaratas, on the other hand, who are at the head of the left hand faction, contend that the eighteen factions are equally divided between the

two factions and the nine above belonging to them.

RELIGION. Telugu Banajigas are Vaishnavas in religion, but they respect and offer *puja* to Siva also. It is written of them that they were originally Buddhists (meaning perhaps Jains), and then adopted Vaishnavism and Saivism, and built many temples for these gods.* Their *gurus* are all hereditary chiefs of Sri Vaishnava Brahmans of the Tāttacharya or Bhattācharya families. And they never punish a delinquent without the advice of the council of elders. In their visits these *gurus* live in the temples in order to collect their contributions, and to bestow *upadesa* and *chakrāntikam* on such as choose to receive them. The Panchānga (astrologer) acts as their *purohita*, attending at births, marriages and funerals, and on each occasion receives a small remuneration of a few annas. They go on pilgrimages to Tirupati, Mélkotte and other Vaishnava shrines ; also occasionally to the Siva shrine at Nanjangud. They observe a custom of Dāsari. A Dāseri is a man dedicated to the services of the Tirupati Vishnu, popularly known as Venkitāchalapati ; *i.e.*, who subsists by begging in the name of the deity. When a sick man is in great danger, he invariably vows after recovery to take Dāseri or to make one of his sons assume that profession. Ever afterwards, the eldest son of the family must follow that business, but the younger sons follow some industrial employment while the Dāsari leads the life of a mendicant in the service of God by wandering about and collecting grain from thosewho are charitable. His younger brothers live in the house, cultivate the ground or carry on trade. They are conversant with some Telugu

* S. P. Narasimhalu Naidu : *Baliyavamosa Puranam*, pages 90-91.

songs which they sing in the streets, and try to attract notice by blowing on a conch.

In times of danger they invoke the aid of Māriamma, Putaliamma, Mutialamma, and Gangamma which is a lump of mud made into a sort of temporary image. Temples of these deities are numerous, and are the abodes of the original gods of the country.

The Telugu Banajigas observe all the feasts of the Hindus such as New Year's (Telugu) day, Gauri, Ganésa, Dasara, Dīpavali, Sankrānti and Hōli and also fast on the Ekādesis of the bright fortnights of Ashāda and Pushya and on Sivarathri in Magha. They often form *bhajana* groups among themselves.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are buried, except those who were afflicted with leprosy whose bodies are cremated. The mode of disposing of the body by Kallu Séva also prevails in some localities. There is nothing peculiar to the caste in the burial ceremonies. They are the same as those obtaining among the Morasu* Okkalu, except that Dāsayyas and sometimes Sātanis also assist. The dead body of an unmarried girl or woman is tied to a single pole and carried by two persons. No ceremonies are performed for her in some cases. Buchanan says that women used to bury themselves alive with their deceased husbands, but the custom was afterwards given up.

OCCUPATION.

The chief occupation of the Banajigas who reside in towns is trade. They chiefly trade in arecanuts and spices, as also in other articles. Those in the villages have agriculture as their main business, both as landholders and as tenants. They are also well represented in other professions, such as those of contractors and Government servants, the

* Vide *Funeral Customs of Morasu Okkalu*, Vol. III.

Nāyadu section being especially strong in Government service.

Many are pedlars carrying beads, penknives, locks, silk threads, toys, rice and spices. Boys beg in as apprentices and are warned against lying, stealing and cheating. Except some of the women who stay at home to cook, both women and children go out to sell their merchandise on small hands. Many are field labourers. Among them are also brick-layers. Many work for daily wages.

SOCIAL STATUS. The Vokkaligas and Telugu Banajigas may dine with one another. The latter occupy a fairly respectable position socially, and do not admit outsiders into their castes. Those who have been outcasted may be taken back after payment of a fine and purification by burning the tongue.

FOOD. They never dine with the Lingāyats. They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, hogs, fowls and fish. The use of liquor is only nominally forbidden. But Dūdi Banajigas are strict vegetarians and teetotalers. They employ Brahmans and Sātanis as priests. Dāsa Banajigas are also vegetarians.

APPEARANCE DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. Telugu Banajigas are of average stature, and are either dark or dark-brown or strongly made. The males wear a loin cloth, and throw another over their shoulders and tie a scarf round their heads. A shirt and a long coat are also worn by them. They are very sparing in the use of ornaments. The women wear the skirt of the robe hanging like a petticoat and draw the upper end like a veil over the head. Their bodice has a back and short sleeves. They wear rich gold, gilt, or silver ornaments and flowers on holidays. They are clean, sober, hard-working and honest.

CANARESE BANAJIGAS.

INTRODUCTION——ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE——MARRIAGE CUSTOMS——ANTI-NATAL CEREMONIES——POST-NATAL CEREMONIES——RELIGION——RELIGIOUS ORDERS——FUNERAL CUSTOMS——SOCIAL ORGANIZATION——CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

CANARESE Banajigas, also called Pancham Banajigaru, Sivabhaktaru or Lingāyats are an important community in the Mysore State. Their numerical strength cannot be known, as they have not been separately enumerated at the last census. Buchanan says that they do not recognise any distinction among themselves except that arising from dedication to the service of God; but they do not admit of any proselytes from other Hindu castes that wear lingam.* They are also divided into a number of groups, the names of which seem to have been derived from the localities in which they have settled. †

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

Regarding the tradition of the caste, the following account is given in the Baramhal Records:—"Parabramha or the great God Bramha created the god Pralayakāla Rudra or the terrific on the day of destruction. This god who is the manifestation of God Siva created Chatur Āchāryalu or four sages namely, Pandita Rāju, Ekoramalu Raju, Murula Raju and Somaluradhulu; and taught them mantrams or prayers and made them his deputies. Once the Asuras (giants) and Devatas (Gods) made war on each other, and the god Pralayakāla Rudra produced from his nose a being, whom he named Muchāri

* F. Buchanan: *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I, 165.

† *Ibid.*

Rudra, who had five sons with whom the father went to the assistance of the Dévatas or Gods and enabled them to defeat the giants. For his services, the Gods conferred on him the following honorary distinctions.—

1. "A flag with the figure of an alligator portrayed in it."
2. "A flag with the figure of a fish portrayed in it."
3. "A flag with the figure of a bullock."
4. "A flag with the figure of an eagle."
5. "A flag with the figure of a bell."
6. "A bell."
7. "A *moduganta* or iron for marking cattle."
8. "The use of burning lamps and flambeaus, in their public processions during the day." *

"Once when the god Pralayakāla Rudra and Mochari Rudra with his five sons along with other celestial attendants were assembled on the Kailasa Parvata or the Mount Kailas, the god directed the latter to go to earth and multiply the species. They humbly prayed to him and wished to know when they would return to his presence. He answered, "Go and manifest yourselves on earth in the form of Lingams or Priapus, and if you worship me in that form, you will be permitted to approach me." They obeyed him by going to the world below, and from thence originated the caste of Balijavaru or Banajigas." †

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Banajiga boys are married between twelve and twenty, and girls between nine and sixteen. The castemen are not very particular about the girls' being married before they come of age. Proposals of marriage generally come from the boy's parents. When the proposal is accepted, the bridegroom's party, after consulting the Jangam or the Brahman astrologer, go to the house of the bride, and fix the auspicious day for the marriage. The bride is then presented with gold and silver ornaments, a robe and bodice. The bridegroom's party is then treated to a feast. Large booths are erected in front of the houses of the bride and the bridegroom. The marriage

* † *The Baramahal Records* 138, 139.

ceremony generally lasts for four days. On the first day, the bride's party comes to the bridegroom's house, and rubs him with turmeric paste, and the bridegroom's people do the same for the bride. On the second day, the family god or goddess is worshipped by the two parties. The roots of the turmeric plant are then tied round the wrist of the bridegroom and the left wrist of the bride. The family god or goddess is brought from the house of priests who are either laymen or priests, and represents the heads of the Lingāyat family. The priest, hanging it by a cord from his neck, brings from his own house where it is kept, and sets it on a low stool in a square marked off with lines of quartz powder. After this, Elepūja, leaf worship, and Guggulupūje frankincense worship, are performed. The former is performed by persons whose family goddess is Pārvati, and the latter by those whose god is Virabhadra. Leaf worship consists in covering a bamboo screen with green leaves of the Basri (*ficus speciosa*) or the waved leaf of fig-tree by forcing the leaves between the slips of bamboo. In the frankincense ceremony, the bottoms of two new jars are taken off, and laid as lids on their mouths. They are filled with white flour, and eight sandal sticks about a span long are planted in the flour in the shape of an octagon. Pieces of cloths are tied to the ends of the sticks, and spread tightly like the top of drum, and on the cloth are laid small quantities of camphor and frankincense and round pieces of cocoanut kernel on which are laid two white rags soaked in oil and sprinkled with water mixed with cowdunged water. The jars are then set on a piece of white cloth spread on the ground in the god's room. In performing this as well as in producing the leaf ceremony, the priests dance and sing Canarese hymns before the god or goddess. After the worship, the castemen assembled there are, then, treated to

a feast, the special dish being *godhi hugge* (wheat, milk and molasses, cooked together).

Early morning, the bride, accompanied by her people and friends, comes in procession to the house of the bridegroom. Then the oiled rags already laid on the pieces of cocoanut kernel are lighted, and the bridegroom, and his mother, each carrying a pot or bamboo screen, go in procession to the temple of Virabhadra or Pārvati. In front of the bride and bridegroom go the dancing girls, musicians and priests; on each side of them are men and behind them women. The procession occasionally halts on the way when the dancing girls dance, and the musicians sing in honour of Virabhadra. When they approach the temple, the parties enter, leaving the dancing girls outside. The bridegroom, the bride and the mothers walk with the pots or bamboo screens on their heads round the chief priest who sits on a raised seat in a conspicuous place. After finishing the third round, they drop the jars or the bamboo screens on the floor and extinguish the lights. Then leaving the pots in the temple and distributing the leaves among the guests, the bride goes to her house and the bridegroom to his own. Soon after, the party from the bride's house comes to invite the bridegroom to her house. He goes with them, and at the auspicious hour, the bride and the bridegroom sit on the marriage booth on a piece of white cloth spread on the ground before the priest or Ayya who sits on a raised seat. On the floor between the bride and the bridegroom and the priest, millet is spread, five small earthen pots are set, and a long cotton thread is passed several times round the neck of the pots. The one end of the thread is given to the bridegroom to hold and the other to the officiating priest. The priest holds in his hands a tray of millet or rice which he blesses, giving the bride and

bridegroom a sermon on the duties of the married state. At the end of the service, the guests draw near the priest, and take a little of millet or rice from the tray in the priest's hand. The ends of the bride and bridegroom's garments are tied into a knot, and a dancing girl throws a lucky necklace round the neck of the bride. The priest then says, "Live long in peace and unity," and blesses them, throwing some grains of millet on their heads. The guests follow his example and shower millet on them. The ceremony is for the time being over, and a dinner is soon after served to the assembled guests.*

On the fourth day, the bride is hidden, and the bridegroom is made to find her out. After this, they are seated on an ox and taken in procession to the village temple. After bowing to the deity there, they visit the bridegroom's house. Before they enter the house, they are stopped by the bridegroom's sister who makes him promise to give his daughter in marriage to her son though he is by no means bound to keep it. A feast is given to the friends and relations.†

ANTI-NATAL CEREMONIES.

Customs connected with consummation, pregnancy and delivery are the same as those among the Lingāyats.

CHILD-BIRTH.

Among the Karnataka Banajigas, the family is not unclean on the birth of a child, but among the Dēsam community, it is unclean for nine days. Among the former, the moment the child emerges from the womb, it is washed with a mixture of cow's urine, dung, ghee and curd. The feet of the guru, who is then invited, are washed, and holy water out of the washing is sprinkled over the mother and the baby, both of whom are removed to an out-house. On the fifth day, the *guru* or the family priest, is sent for. The father, the mother and the baby

* † *Bombay Gazetteer, Kanaras*, Pages 174-175.

perform their ablutions, and the former with the priest sits down in the centre of the house, and the mother with the child sits with the child behind a curtain so as to be concealed from the public view. The father spreads out a little raw rice on the ground on which he places five small brass vessels to represent holy rivers, fills them with water under the direction of the priest and worships them in the usual was. The lingam for the child is placed near the vessels, and the father worships it also. He takes away the holy water and sprinkles it over the infant and its mother, and then wraps the former in a piece of cloth. The casket containing the lingam is tied round its neck and brought to the feet of the *guru* who puts this question to the father, namely, "Will thy child become one of the castes of Jangam or follow the profession of affick." He answers it by saying that it would follow the latter, on which the *guru* blesses it, and says, "So be it." Betel leaves and arecanuts are distributed among the guests assembled. In the Désam sect, the family is unclean for nine days and on the tenth day the mother washes her body and puts on clean clothes. The floor of the house is rubbed over with cow-dung and the walls whitewashed. They send for the *guru* and wash his feet, sprinkle the water over the mother; and when the baby is three months old, they perform the ceremony which the other sects do on the fourth day and in the same manner. A voluntary donation is then made to the *guru*. The whole family and the relatives are then treated to a feast.*

NAMING CEREMONY.

It is generally done at the time of purification after child-birth. The ear-boring is done whenever the parents choose a day when the child's ears are bored.

* *The Barahmal Records, Madras Government Press* 1907, page 38.

TONSURE.

This takes place within the first year, when the parents choose an auspicious day, invite the *guru* and the relatives of the family. The father and the mother anoint the child and their heads with gingelly oil, bathe after washing with soap, put on clean clothes, and take their seats when the child's maternal uncle cuts off a lock of hair and leaves the rest to the barber. The child is bathed. The guests and the relations are regaled with betel leaves and arecanuts and perfumes. The usual feast then follows.

Family life, inheritance and adoption are all the same as those prevailing among the Telugu Banajigas.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Social disputes are settled at meetings of the men of the castes under the presidency of the headman and his secretary both of whom are the members of the caste. The headman has the title of the Gauda; and the secretary, is Patnashetti or chief trader of the city. Minor offences against caste rules are punished by fine and warnings. In serious cases, the proceedings are submitted to the teacher whose decision is final. Those who refuse to conform are put out of caste either for a time or for ever. The office of the headman is hereditary, and the person who enjoys it is exempted by Government from house-rent and one-half of the custom of his goods. He finds for merchants coming from a distance, settles disputes among his clans, and punishes them for misdemeanour. Generally he is supported by the officers of the Government, who punish such of the followers as do not give him customary obedience. His judicial authority is not arbitrary. All his proceedings are open, and he cannot act contrary to the council which consists of all the old and respectable men of the caste.*

* Fr. Buchanan: *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar, Higginbotham and Co., Madras,* Vol. I, page 166.

RELIGION. Canarese Banajigas are Lingayats in faith and are therefore Saivites. Their chief deities are the god Siva and his incarnations. Their chief temples are at Trinomale, Conjeeveram, Kālahasti in the Madras Presidency and Nanjangud in the Mysore State.

The tutelary deity of the caste is the God Basaveswaradu or Basavesvara. They attend the annual festival in honour of the God Basavesvara every year on the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Kumbham or Masi (February-March) for one day. The ceremonies connected with it are the same as those observed on similar occasions. In the processions they carry a white flag with the figure of a bullock in it. They have five *gurus* all of whom are named as follows:—Susila or Silavant, Simhasanamuvaru, Nidamamurtivaru, Mulabagalu and Matamvaru.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS. Banajigas are divided into priests and laymen, and were formerly known as Ayyas and Appas respectively. The former are divided into two classes, Gurustaladevaru or married, and Viraktavaru or unmarried teachers. The latter are monks who are generally children of the married clergy, but in accordance with a vow or for other reasons, a layman may make his son either a monk or priest. The laymen are divided into Shilavants or virtuous and Banajigas or traders. The Silavants are those who observe certain rules of conduct and receive sacrament from their *guru*. They are considered superior to the ordinary Banajigas. The priest and Silavants interdine and intermarry. But the latter do not take the food cooked by Banajigas or give their daughters in marriage to them. Both priests and laymen cover their wells to prevent sunlight from falling on the water, and are also so careful as not to let any one see either their food or their drink. The monks are again

divided into three classes, namely, Hiramataddayyas or priests of the highest order or of a great monastery, Pattadayyas or managing priests, and Charanthis or wandering priests. The married clergy or Gurusthaladevaru come under three grades, namely, Savirmathadayyas or priests of the thousand temples, Nurumathadayyas or priests of a hundred temples, and common Ayyas. There are also three lower orders, the monks or married priests or the sons either of the married clergy or of laymen, who under a vow or for some other cause have, as children, been devoted to a monastery. The abbot or the head of the monastery (Hiremathadayya) always lives in a monastery praying for the welfare of the flock, and after death they are believed to be free from transmigration. The abbot's coadjutors are Pattadavarappas, or Pattaddayyas who live with the abbot attending the monastery, and training novices and boys who are sent there for religious education. After dinner he always reads sacred books to the inmates of the monastery and to any one else who chooses to attend. In some monasteries the headman is Pattadayya. Charanthis or Acolytes keep constantly travelling, visiting Lingayat settlements where they are entertained by the local community. They are also occasionally placed in charge of monasteries. The married clergy solemnise marriage and death ceremonies, and teach Lingayat children to pray. Their children pass their time in religious study and in attending on Viraktas or unmarried priests. There are three lower orders of the married clergy whose duties are also hereditary, namely, Ganāchārs who bathe and dress and call to feasts and funerals; Samādhiyavaru or sextons who dig graves and carry dead bodies, temple priests or *pujaris*, the ministrants of god. Unmarried priests *or the sons either* during their life choose one of their disciples to succeed them.

Except this there is no promotion for the lower to the higher orders. The higher priests, both married and celibates, are considered so sacred that the touch of their feet is believed not only to purify everything that is unclean but impart sanctity even to an image. The touch of the Lingāyat priest is also considered the highest honour to an image. Instead of Brahmanical offerings of flowers, fruits and frankincense, and hymns, it is not uncommon on grand occasions to see an Ayya or a Jangam laying his feet on a Siva's bull or Basava and asking him, "Is it Well?"*

Their chief holidays are Sivarathri, in February-March, Gauri's Day in September-October, Ganesa Chathurthi in September-October, New Year's Day in February-March, Dīpāvali in October-November, Holi in April-May and the Jātras of the yearly fairs in honour of Vīrabhadra or Basava.*

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

With the Lingāyats, death is a season of gladness; because they shuffle off the mortal coil to enjoy a blissful life in Siva's abode or Kailasa. When the fatal symptoms set in, the priests are called, and the dying man is bathed, rubbed with holy ashes, and laid on a consecrated ground marked with the line of quartz powder. Lingayat priests are treated to a feast, and money is distributed among them. It is called Vibhūti or ash ceremony. Soon after death, the body-dresser or the Ganāchāri and the grave-digger or Samadhiyavaru, wash and dress the corpse and lean it against a wall in a sitting posture with lights burning before it. The officiating priest then comes, and while musicians play music, removes the silver lingam from the neck of the corpse, ties it to the right arm, and purifies the body by placing his feet on the thighs and throwing a garland of flowers round

* *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Kanara*, pages 176-177.

its neck. Meanwhile all the Ayyas or Lingayat priests of the locality who have heard of the death from the body-dresser flock to the house, and place their feet on the chest of the corpse for which they are paid about four annas. The body is kept in the house for one to four days till the relations have come to take a last look. The funeral bier like a canopied chair, called a *viman* or balloon, is made ready, and the body is seated on it, after it has been again purified by having the head touched by the priest's foot. Then the people who come in large numbers throw flowers on the body. The chair is lifted by the grave-diggers and the men of the family. Before them walk a band of musicians and close behind the body follow the wife and party of friends accompanied by the Ganāchars and other priests. At the grave the body is stripped off its rich clothes and ornaments, and put into a calico sack the mouth of which is tied into a knot over the corpse above the head. Before the head is laid on the grave, it is set at some distance to one side. The priests divide themselves into two parties one to send the dead man to heaven, and the other to ensure his entrance. The former stand close to the body, and tell the other party, who stand near the grave: "This man has done well, and has earned a place in heaven." The receiving party answer: "If this is true, he shall certainly have a place in heaven." The body is then carried to the side of the grave and placed in it in a sitting posture. The officiating priest again sets his feet on the corpse's head; betel leaves are thrown in, and the grave is filled, and the funeral party return home with the clothes and ornaments of the deceased.

When a married man or woman dies, they decorate the dead body with rich clothes and ornaments, and allow it to remain in the house for at least a day, and entertain the jangams and relatives with sumptuous

meals, after which only the dead will be carried to the burial ground where it is allowed to rest in a grave dug vertically.

OCCUPATION. Trade and agriculture are the chief occupations of the Canarese Banajigas. They are honest, thrifty and hard-working. Most of them are traders in cardamoms, pepper, cloth, oil, rice, betel leaves, arecanuts and spices. Some are brokers.

FOOD. These Banajigas are pure vegetarians.

APPEARANCE DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. The Banajigas are found in all shades of complexion and are mostly dark. The ordinary dress of the Banajigas is similar to that of high class Sudras. The men wear gold finger rings and gold or silver girdles. The dress of the priests is ochre-coloured robe hanging from the neck to the ankle with a shoulder cloth, a head scarf and wooden sandals. Married women wear nose and earrings of gold, necklets of gold, small black beads and glass bangles. The Banajigas have a high notion of themselves, and do not allow the Brahmans to enter the inside of their homes, and do not touch the water touched or food cooked by the Brahmans.

BANJARA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE BANJARAS—THEIR EARLY HISTORY—HABITATIONS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—SOCIAL ORGANISATION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS——MAGIC, SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT——HUMAN SACRIFICE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS——DIETARY OF THE CASTE——APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—DANCES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Banjaras are a caste of carriers and drivers of pack-bullocks. They are also called Lambanis and Charāns.

The common name, and the one by which the members prefer to be called, is Banjara. They say that the term Lambani, applied to them by others, is a mistake, and that it denotes an allied division of their tribe. They are also by some, called Sukālis, but they resent the appellation. Among themselves, they apply the term Ghor when addressing another Banjara, Ghor Mati and Ghor Dasi being terms whereby a Banjara calls the member of the tribe, as distinguished from Khor Mati by which they mean a non-Banjara.

Of the word Banjara, sometimes written as Brinjāra, various meanings are given. Some say that it is another form of the word Vanjara, burners or inhabitants of woods; while others derive it from the Persian word Biranjar meaning a rice-carrier*; while yet others say that the word means an arrow. The true derivation is perhaps from the Sanskrit word Vanija (trade), which is also responsible for

* Shakespeare's Dictionary.

the terms Baniya and Banajiga (meaning trader). It may with equal plausibility be referred to *vana-chara* (Sanskrit, meaning a wanderer in the jungle), on account of the nomadic character of the tribe.

Lambāni, sometimes spelt as Lambadi, is said to be another form of the word *Lavān*, or *Labhān*, a sub-division of the main caste Banjaras, the other division being Charāns, who are alone found in this State, and who claim a somewhat higher rank. The word *Labhan* is said by some to be the alternative form of *Lavan*, meaning salt, the Labhans being salt-carriers. "But this explanation," says Professor Grierson,* "goes against several phonetic rules, and does not account for the forms of the word like *Lambani* or *Lambhani*."

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

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

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

They ascribe the origin of the earth to Jāmbava and his two sons Heppumuni and Rudra or Raktamuni, in the same way as in the account of the Mādiga

* *Linguistic Survey of India.*

caste.* Out of the seed of the Creator shot into space, was born a beautiful damsel, who in turn created a boy out of the sweat of her body. She desired to consort with him, but her offer was rejected. A second boy was created for a similar purpose, and he also proved equally obdurate. Her attempt succeeded, and the two were the progenitors of the human race. Of their descendants various names were given, some of which such as Kachchap. are evidently borrowed from classical sources.

Dhaj had a son Kowdhaj, whose son was Karan, and his son was Kachchap who had two sons Thida and Chada. The descendants of Chada are the settled tribes of towns and villages, while the wandering tribes are descended from the other. Thida had five sons: Nathad, whose descendants were Vagris styled Shikaris; Joghad, whose descendants were the Joghis who rear pigs and are also wandering; Khimad who is the ancestor of the wandering blacksmiths styled Bailukammaras; Mota who has given rise to the Labhans; and Mola, who is the ancestor of the Banjaras.

Another account starts with Sugriva, who according to Ramayana, married Tāra, his brother's widow, and mentions Thida as one of his descendants. The latter's son Mola was an attendant of Krishna, who, before leaving the world, assigned all the thousands of Gopi damsels to his followers, reserving only Rādha. Mola who had been absent at the time, got angry as none had been reserved for him, and rushed upon his master with a lifted club. But his anger was appeased, and Rādha was entrusted to his charge. He was afraid of touching her divine person, but won her goodwill by his patient service. She agreed to accompany him in his wanderings,

* See Madigas.

and both adopted the profession of dancers and acrobats. They exhibited their skill before the princes of Dhanjighad, Bānōghad and Jagatghad, and as a reward got three boys, Rathod, Pamhar and Chovhan who became the progenitors of the clans which still bear their names. These three married three Brahman sisters, who, remaining unmarried after they had come of age, had been abandoned in the jungle, according to the custom of their caste. All the Banjaras are said to be descended from them, and the teasing to which the Brahmans are subjected at their marriages is said to be the revenge enjoined on them for the cruel abandonment of those girls by their father.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BANJARAS.

The Banjaras are mentioned as existing in India in certain old works.* There is no doubt of their having come down to Southern India within historical times. General Briggs writing in 1813, speaks of them as follows :

"The first mention of the Banjaras of the Deccan on historical record, which I recollect, is to be found in the work written by Mohamed Kasim Ferishta about two hundred years ago, at the court of Bijapur, entitled "*A History of the Rise and Progress of the Mahomedan Faith in the Country of Hind.*" In his account of the Mahomedan monarchs of Deccan, he records that in the year 1417, a large convoy of Banjara bullocks was seized by Khan Khanan, the brother of Feroje Shah Bhamini, when the former prince rebelled and made an attempt on the throne of Gulburga, the Deccan capital. Ferishta calls them the grain merchants, who travel about the country from one end of the Deccan to the other."

They came into South India along with the great armies of the Moghul Emperors when they invaded the South. The Charans (Banjaras, the descendant of Mola) with their herds of pack bullocks helped the

* *Dasakumara Charita.*

imperial army, fighting in an exhausted country far from their base of supplies, by supplying a fearless and reliable transport service. When the Banjaras came to the South, they were in five groups, Rathod, Pamhar and Chovhan named after the names of Rajput clans said to have been adopted by Mola, Vadatya and Turi. Of these, the Rathod family was, and is even now, the strongest and the most widespread division. The following anecdotes are related about the value of their service to an army in the field.

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

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

Ranjankapani
Chapparaghas
Dinka tin Khun Maaf
Aur Jahan Asaf Janka Ghode
Wahan Bhangi Jangika bail."

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

Bhagavandas, the leader of the Vadatyas, asked for a similar order, which was refused. This naturally

* *Berar Gazetteer.*

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

The Banjaras took service not only under the Delhi Emperors, but also under the rulers of Satara, and subsequently under the Poona Raj and the Subhaship of the Nizam, and several of them rose to consideration and power. Indeed, it is of interest to learn how these people are found spread over the country, and how as opportunity offered and seemed tempting to the different powers greater or lesser as they rose, their own clanship even on opposite sides, remained unbroken. On the part which the Banjaras played in the Mysore

Wars, as purveyers of grain, General Briggs wrote as follows :—

" The peace of 1792, signed under the walls of Seringapatam, dispersed the allied armies, and the Banjaras returned to their respective ranges north of the river Krishna. In the year 1798, however, a similar confederation between His Highness the Nizam and the British Government took place, in order to reduce the power of the restless and ambitious sovereign of Mysore, and the services of Banjaras were again called forth. The British Resident advanced 1,50,000 rupees to the Chief at Hyderabad, and there were mustered below the Ghauts 25,000 bullock loads of grain, which had accompanied the Nizam's forces under the command of Captain (now Colonel) Sir John Malcolm. The army under the command of Lieutenant-General Harris now advanced into Mysore; but before it reached Seringapatam, it experienced considerable distress for want of grain, when the General heard that Bhima Naik with a supply of 15,000 bullock loads was at the foot of the Ghauts; but as he deemed it dangerous to permit his advance alone, Major-General Floyd, with the whole of the British Cavalry was detached to give protection to this valuable convoy. The army of the enemy under the celebrated Kumrood-Deen Khan hovered daily on the flanks, but did not prevent his giving safe conduct to Bhima Naik up the Ghauts. At this time the army besieging Seringapatam was in the greatest distress, and rice sold at two rupees per each seer; but the exertions of the British troops surmounted all obstacles; and the 4th May 1799 witnessed the downfall of the capital and the death of Tipu, whose granaries were so largely stored that the average rate of the price of rice was thirty seers for a rupee.

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

this instance, a very short time afterwards, it was necessary to have recourse to some severe measures in another.

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

The following account of the Banjaras derived from the Charans or Bhats may be found to be interesting :—

It may be suggested that the Banjaras are derived from the Charan or Bhat caste of Rajaputana. Mr. Cumberlege, whose Monograph on the caste in Berar, is one of the best authorities, states, that of the four divisions existing there the Charans are the most numerous and by far the most interesting class.* In the article on Bhat it has been explained how the Charans or bards, owing to their readiness to kill themselves rather than give up the property entrusted to their care, became the best safe-conduct for the passage of goods in Rajputana. The name Charan is held generally to mean "wanderer," and in their capacity of bards, the Charans were accustomed to travel from court to court of the different chiefs in quest of patronage. They were first protected by their sacred character, and afterwards by their custom of *targa* or *chandi*, that is, of killing themselves when attacked and threatening their assailants with the dreaded fate of being haunted by their

* *Monograph on the Banjara clan* page 8.

ghosts. Mr. Bhimbhai Kirparam,* remarks: "After Parasurama's dispersion of the Kshatriyas, the Charans accompanied them in their southward flight. In those troubled times, the Charans took charge of the supplies of the Kshatriya forces, and so fell to their present position of cattle-breeders and grain-carriers." Col. Tod says: † "The Charans and Bhats or bards and geneologists are the chief carriers of these regions (Marwar); their sacred character overawes the lawless Rajput chief, and even the savage Koli and Bhil and the plundering Sahrai of the desert dread the anathema of these singular races, who conduct the caravans through the wildest and most desolate regions." In another passage Colonel Tod identifies the Charans and Banjaras ‡ as follows:— "Murlah is an excellent township inhabited by a community of Charans of the tribe Cucholia (Kacheli), who are Banjaris or carriers by profession, though poets by birth. The alliance is a curious one, and would appear incongruous, were not gain the object generally in both cases. It was the sanctity of their office which converted our bardais (bards) into Banjaras, for their persons being sacred, the immunity extended likewise to their goods and saved them from all imposts; so that in course of time they became the free-traders of Rajputana. I was highly gratified with the reception I received from the community, which collectively advanced to meet me at some distance from the town. The procession was headed by the village elders and all the fair Charanis, who, as they approached gracefully waved their scarfs over me until I was made captive by the muses of Murlah. It was a novel and interesting scene. The manly persons of the Charans clad in

* *Hindus of Gujerat*, page 214 et seq.
† *The Annals of* Rajasthan, 1. 602.
‡ *I bid*, ii, 570, 573.

the flowing white robe which the high loose-folded turbans inclined on one side, from which the Māla or the chaplet was gracefully suspended; and the Naiks or leaders, with their massive necklaces of gold, with the image of the Pritrisvar (manes) depending therefrom, gave the whole an air of opulence and dignity. The females were uniformly attired in a skirt of dark brown dress having a bodice of light coloured stuff, with gold ornaments worked into their fine black hair; and all had the favourite *churis* or rings of *Hathidant* (elephant's tooth) covering the arm from the wrist to the elbow, and even above it." A little later, refering to the same Charan community, Colonel Tod writes: "The *tarda* or caravan, consisting of four thousand bullocks, has been kept up amidst all the evils which have beset this land through Mughal and Mahratta tyranny. The utility of these caravans as general carriers to conflicting armies and as regular tax-paying subjects has proved their safeguard, and they were too strong to be pillaged by any petty marauder, as any one who has seen a Banjara encampment will be convinced. They encamp in a square, and their grain-bags piled over each other breast-high with interstices left for their matchlocks, make no contemptible fortification. Even the ruthless Turk, Jamshid Khan, set up a protecting tablet in favour of the Charan of Murlah, recording their exemption from *dind* contributions, and that there should be no increase in duties, with threats to all who should injure the community. As usual, the sun and moon are appealed to as witnesses of good faith, and sculptured on the stone. Even the forest Bhil and mountain Mair have set up their signs of immunity and protection to the chosen of Hinglaz (tutelary deity); and the figures of a cow and its *kairi* (calf) carved in rude relief, speak the agreement that they

should not be slain or stolen within the limits of Murlah."

In the above passage, the community described by Colonel Tod were Charans, but he identified them with Banjaras, using the name alternatively. He mentions their large herds of pack-bullocks, for the management of which, the Charans, who were graziers as well as bards, would naturally be adapted; the name given to the camp, *tanda*, is that generally used by Banjara. The women wear ivory bangles. as the Banjira women.* In commenting on the way in which the women threw their scarves over him, making him a prisoner, Colonel Tod remarks: "This community had enjoyed for five hundred years the privilege of making prisoner any Rana of Mewar who might pass through Murlah, and keeping him in bondage until he gave them a *got* or entertainment. The patriarch of the village told me that I was in jeopardy as the Rana's representative, but not knowing how I might have relished the joke had it been carried to its conclusion, they let me escape." Mr. Ball notes a similar custom of the Banjara women far away in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces: † "To-day I passed through another Banjara hamlet from whence the women and girls all hurried out in pursuit, and a brazen-faced, powerful-looking lass seized the bridle of my horse as he was being led by the sais in the rear. The sais and chaprasi were both Muhammadans, and the forward conduct of these females perplexed them not a little, and the former was fast losing his temper at being thus assaulted by a woman." Colonel

* This custom does not necessarily indicate a special connection between the Banjaras and the Charans, as it is common to several castes in Rajputana; but it indicates that the Banjaras came from Rajaputana. Banjara men also frequently wear the hair long, down to the neck, which is another custom of Rajaputana.

† *Jungle Life in India*, page 517.

Mackenzie in his account of the Banjara caste, remarks:* "It is certain that the Charans, whoever they are, first rose to the demand which the great armies of Northern India, contending in exhausted countries far from their bases of supplies, created, namely, the want of a fearless and reliable transport service. The start which the Charans then acquired they retain among Banjaras to this day, though in very much diminished splendour and position. As they themselves relate, they were originally five brethren, Rathor, Turi, Panwar, Chauhan and Jadon. But fortune particularly smiled on Bhika Rathor, as his four sons, Mersi, Multasi, Dheda and Khamdar, great names among the Charans, rose immediately to eminence as commissariat transporters in the North. And not only under the Delhi Emperors, but under the Satara, subsequently the Poona Raj, and the Subhaship of the Nizam, did several of their descendants rise to consideration and power." It thus seems a reasonable hypothesis that the nucleus of the Banjara caste was constituted by the Charans or the bards of Rajputana. Mr. Bhimbhai Kirparam† also identifies the Charans and Banjaras but I have not been able to find the exact passage. The following notice by Colonel Tod is of interest in this connection.‡

"The vast consumption that attends a Mahratta army necessarily superinduces the idea of great supplies; yet, notwithstanding this, the native powers never concern themselves about providing for their forces, and have no idea of a grain and victualling department, which forms so great an object in a European campaign. The Banias or grain-sellers in an Indian army have always their servants ahead of the troops on the line of march, to purchase in the circumjacent country whatever necessities are to be disposed of. Articles of consumption are

* *Berar Census Report* (1881), page 152.
† *Bombay Gazetteer, Hindus of Gujerat.*
‡ *Letter on the Mahrattas* (1798), page 67, India Office Tracts.

never wanting in a native camp, though they are generally twenty-five per cent dearer than in the town bazaars; but independent of this mode of supply, the Vanjaris, or the itinerant grain-merchants furnished large quantities, which they bring on bullocks from an immense distance. These are a peculiar race, and appear a marked and discriminated people from any other I have seen in this country. Formerly they were considered so sacred that thay passed in safety in the midst of contending armies; of late, however, that reverence for their character is much abated and they have been frequently plundered particularly by Tipu."

The reference to the sacred character attaching to the Banjaras a century ago appears to be strong evidence in favour of their derivation from the Charans. For, it could scarcely have been obtained by any body of commissariat agents coming into India with the Muhammadans. The fact that the example of disregarding it was set by a Muhammadan prince points to the same conclusion.

Mr. Irvine notices the Banjaras with the Mughal armies in similar terms:* "It is by these people that the Indian armies in the field are fed, and they are never injured by either army. The grain is taken from them, but invariably paid for. They encamp for safety every evening in a regular square formed of the bags of grain, of which they construct a breast-work. They and their families are in the centre, and the oxen are made fast outside. Guards with match-locks and spears are placed at the corners, and their dogs do duty as advanced posts. I have seen them with droves of 5,000 bullocks. They do not move about two miles an hour, as their cattle are allowed to graze as they proceed on the march."

"One may suppose that the Charans having acted as carriers for the Rajput chiefs and courts, both in time of peace and in their continual internicine feuds,

* *Army of Indian Mughals*, page 192.

were pressed into service when the Mughal armies entered Rajputana and passed through it to Gujerat and the Deccan. In adopting the profession of transport agents for the imperial troops, they may have been amalgamated into a fresh caste with other Hindus and Muhammadans doing the same work, just as the camp language formed by the superposition of a Persian vocabulary on to a grammatical basis of Hindi became Urdu or Hindustani. The readiness of the Charans to commit suicide rather than give up the property committed to their charge was not however copied by the Banjaras, and so far as I am aware there is no record of men of this caste taking their lives, though they had little scruple with those of others."

HABITAT. The Banjaras are a nomadic tribe, and have now settled down to agriculture. They always settle in quarters outside villages, and own lands on their own account. Even after a hundred years, they have been preserving their exclusiveness to a wonderful degree. Their migratory instinct is still strong within them. Hardly ever do they build substantial houses in any locality, and even after a long residence they abandon it to shift to another place in the belief that their gods no longer like their locality. I had the opportunity of visiting one of their hamlets, called Malagoppa, not far away from the Shimoga travellers' bungalow. It consists of about fifty houses, situated in a jungle by the road-side. Each house is a hall thirty to forty feet in length and fifteen to twenty feet in breadth, and thatched with a kind of wild grass called *Badehullu* in Canarese. Plaited bamboo work serves the purpose of walls all round. It is invariably dark, as there are no openings other than the doors at the front and rear, which are not always kept open. There is no chimney nor any

opening for the smoke to escape; so everything becomes grime and covered with soot. This, however, serves a useful purpose, namely, neither mosquitoes nor sandflies will annoy in such an atmosphere. At one side is the fire-place on the floor, round which are arranged their domestic utensils, mostly earthen pots and a few copper or brass vessels. At the other end are secured their cows and bullocks, each tied to the pole fixed to the ground at short intervals. The space in the middle is used for dining and sleeping during night. There is also a ceiling at one end, which consists of several cross-beams, from which are suspended several baskets of different kinds and sizes to suit all the members of the family. Behind each house, is a small vegetable garden, where they grow the seasonal vegetables. The pumpkin creepers are allowed to flourish on the thatch, which protects it as well. The granary is mostly in front of the house. They have also two small temples of their own, containing their tribal gods Samarāya and Durga. Each family has even now a fairly good number of cows and bullocks. Their women besides attending to domestic work, gather fuel, while the men are partly pastoral and partly agricultural.

It is said that they are not allowed to live in tiled houses, and yet some of them are very spacious and have separate cooking, sitting and sleeping accommodation, besides rooms for storing grains. They have also a large herd of cattle and a separate place to tether them. Their settlement is known as the *tanda*, which is selected generally on a high ground, near and outside the village. The reason assigned by them is that their houses should not be defiled by domestic fowls which they do not rear, though they have no aversion to eating them. Being extremely clannish, they naturally congregate into special

quarters of their own choice. Considerations of health, conveniences of grazing, housing their cattle and immunity from epidemics, are also other factors in their choice of residence. When once the locality becomes unhealthy, they leave it with the least possible delay. Thus their supposed prohibitions against living in substantial houses still betray their predatory habits of living. They have very few articles of furniture and domestic utensils, which are quite in harmony with their mode of living. Beyond a few coarse grass or date mats and some earthen vessels, they have nothing else. A few copper and brass vessels are recent additions. The daily routine of women consists in attending to the domestic duties, rearing children and in helping their husbands in their occupations.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The Banjaras are said to come under three main divisions namely, Mathurias, Labhans and Charans. Mathurias derive their name from Muttra, and Labhan are said to be salt-carriers claiming their descent from Gaud Brahmans, and wearing the sacred thread. The Banjaras found here, however, belong only to the third division, namely Charans or Charanyas. They are so called on account of their wandering habits. These are divided into Banjaras proper, containing Rathod,* Pamhar, Chovhan, and Vadatya sub-divisions, Tamburi or Turi also called Dhadi, who are Mussalmans in religion; Sonar or smiths, who prepare jewels worn by Banjara women; Navi (Hajam) or barber; and Dhalia who correspond to the Madigas and are employed to beat the drum during marriages.

They profess indeed to have within the community, representatives of all the castes found in the towns;

* Rathod is also known as Bhukya, and Pamhar, Chowhan and Vadatya are together styled as Jat.

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

Of the origin of Vadatya sub-division, the following account given by General Briggs is practically the same as that supplied by information given by a man of the rival clan, Rathod.

"The Banjaras, however, give to the Burteeahs (Vadatyas) of the Deccan but half a goat or female; and they account for this fact as follows:—

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

The account which the Vadatyas themselves give of their origin is that they are the progeny of a

Brahman from a Banjara woman of the Jarabla division of the Pamhar clan.

"The Vadatyas remained quite undistinguished and were content to follow and eat of the crumbs that fell from their Rathod cousin's table. During the chieftainship of Sarang, however, the Jadhoos (another name of the Vadatyas) brought to the front one Bhagavandas, who quarrelling with the great Bhangi, made a name for himself under the title of Burthi Naik, in the Teligana country, where his followers have flourished and grown, and where to this day, his children rule in his stead."*

Tamburis are also known as Turis, Dhadis and Bhat Banjaras. They are Mussalmans in faith, and follow that religion in all their ceremonials. But in other matters, they are like other Banjaras, and live in the same *tandas*. They dine in the houses of the other Banjaras, but the latter do not return the compliment. They are the beggars of the caste, and correspond to the Bhats. They sing the family history of the Banjaras. They follow all the customs of the Banjaras, such as the younger brother marrying the widow of his elder brother. They go round begging to all the Banjara *Thandas*, playing upon their musical instruments (*tamburi*). The presence of a Tamburi is considered necessary on all important festive gatherings, when he is paid a fee of two rupees.

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

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

(A) Bhukya. (B) Pamhar. (C) Chowhan. (D) Vadatya.

* Major Mackenzie.

(A) Bhukya also styled Rathod, contains seven main divisions, namely :—

1. Dungavat.
2. Khimavat.
3. Ramavat.
4. Dhegavat.
5. Khetavat.
6. Kharamtot.
7. Nenavat.

These are again split up into two groups named after Jangi (Khola) and Bhangi, their original leaders, the group of Jangi contain fourteen gots or divisions, and that of Bhangi thirteen.

Jangi's divisions (Khola) :—

1. Khatarot.
2. Ratla.
3. Madrecha.
4. Ramanya.
5. Vedyot.
6. Jalapot.
7. Darvan.
8. Sudharat.
9. Phadan.
10. Meplat.
11. Dalpan.
12. Jatarot.
13. Khatarot.
14. (not known).

Bhangi's divisions :—

1. Rajavat.
2. Kumbhavat.
3. Merajot.
4. Dhegavat.
5. Khimavat.
6. Dungavat.
7. Ramavat.
8. Khetavat.
9. Khodavat.
10. Kharamtot.
11. Nenavat.
12. Meghavat.
13. Pitavat.

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

1. Jarabla.
2. Vishalavat.
3. A'mgot.
4. Wankhodot.
5. Vindravat.
6. Lunsavat.
7. Lokavat.
8. Goramo.
9. Aivat.
10. Chaivat.
11. Bani.
12. Tarabani.

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

1. Moodh.
2. Sabhavat.
3. Kheloot.
4. Khorra.
5. Paltya.
6. Lavadya.

(D) Vadatya contains thirteen sub-divisions:—

1. Badavat.
2. Boda.
3. Ghogalot.
4. Daravat.
5. Ajamera.
6. Tera.
7. Meravat.
8. Malot.
9. Lakavat.
10. Lunavat.
11. Barot.
12. Hala.
13. Kunasi.

Tamburis have the following six exogamous divisions:—

1. Ratnavat.
2. Bhat.
3. Seravat.
4. Dhavat.
5. Bajijut.
6. Rudhavat.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

Inter-caste marriages must be confined within the sub-caste, *e.g.*, a Banjara may not take a girl from a Tamburi's and *vice versa*. The Banjaras, as already noticed, are split up into four groups, namely Rathod, Pamhar, Chovhan and Vadatya, in some places also Khamdot. Each of these groups is exogamous, and contains a number of sub-sects. The members of each group, to whichever of its sub-divisions they may belong, are regarded as brothers and sisters, and are not eligible for marriage with one another. Marriage of a man with his sister's or maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, was not formerly allowed. But this rule of exclusion is gradually losing its vigour, and such marriages are becoming fairly common. A Banjara may not marry the daughter of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt, such connections being considered as incest. Two sisters may be married by one man, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters. The rule of exclusion not covered by the rule of exogamy, which prohibits marriage between a man and a woman, who stand towards each other analogously as brother and sister and parent and child, etc., is also observed by them. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but

the practice does not find much favour, and where it does take place, it is said that there should be an interval of at least six months between families living in the same tract, as they are averse to contract such relationship with persons whose antecedents are not known to them.

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

Marriage is always adult, and very seldom, and never, is an infant girl married. If, in any case a girl is married before puberty, she is sent to her husband's house as soon as the ceremonies are over, but regular intercourse begins only after the girl comes of age. Marriages are not compulsory for either sex, but the cases in which a woman has grown to be an old maid are extremely rare.

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

The formal betrothal ceremony is styled "*Goli Khane Jane*," that is, going to eat jaggery. The bridegroom goes to the girl's house with the male members of his family. They meet a large party of

the girl's *tanda* and others of the neighbourhood already assembled either in front of the girl's house or before their temple. The boy's father deposits a part of the bride price before the assembly, and the girl's father takes it. The boy then passes the *hookah* to all members of the assembly and then distributes jaggery, liquor and *pan supari*, of which a sufficient quantity is procured. The father has to spend ten rupees on jaggery, then five rupees on liquor and five or six rupees on *pan supari*. Women do not join the party, but remain inside watching the new bridegroom and amusing themselves by cracking jokes at the expense of the bride. The girl's father gives a general dinner at night. Next day the boy and his party return.

The boy has next to proceed to his intended father-in-law's house to pass his period of probation. A tent is erected on two poles, ornamented on the top with inverted brass vessels; in each of these vessels a rupee is concealed which becomes the perquisite of the Naik. The young man bathes, and dresses himself in clothes peculiar to the caste, namely, a pair of red trousers, a long red turban measuring 60 cubits, and a *pan supari* pouch. While entering the tent he has to pass under a new cloth, held up in the doorway of the house. As he passes the door, two unmarried girls throw rice on his head, singing songs.

Within the tent he takes his seat on a kambli, before an assembly consisting of guests of his and neighbouring *tandas*. On the four corners of his seat four quarter anna pieces are placed with betel leaves and nuts, and a dish with rice. Two married women smear the boy with turmeric paste and throw rice on him. He has now become a *Madavaniga* or Vetudu (a bridegroom). He stands up and remains in that posture with folded hands. A boy and a girl, both unmarried, stand on either side of him, the

boy to the left and the girl to the right. At the bidding of the head of the caste, they take handfuls of rice from the dish, throw it on the bridegroom's head and retire. Then a second pair (a boy and a girl) repeat the procedure. The bridegroom then steps out of his seat and bows before the members of the assembly, repeating the formula of Ram Ram. The guests then arrange themselves for dinner, after which the bridegroom distributes *pan supari* to them. Five quarter anna pieces are given to the Naik on behalf of the *guru* of the caste. The bridegroom, with a cocoanut in his hands, craves permission of the assembly to set out to the bride's house. He is then presented with some money, ranging from a four-anna to a few rupees, and permitted to proceed on his quest. Then all his people catch hold of his shoulder and weep bitterly. It is said that he may not return to his *tanda* till he marries and brings the girl with him.* On arrival at the girl's *tanda*, he has to obtain the permission of the Naik to enter it. Then a party from his father-in-law's house meets him and conducts him to the girl's house, when he has to pay an entrance fee of two rupees. As he enters the house, all the women surround him and make a show of weeping and lamentation on account of the arrival of the stranger who is to carry away one of their daughters. A feast is observed to which all the women of the *tanda* are invited. The son-in-law is seated before an audience chiefly composed of women. He then pays down the balance of the *tera* amount. Either on the next, or some subsequent day, the boy and the girl are smeared with turmeric paste separately. Then the

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

boy is seated on a gunny cloth, and rubbed with turmeric.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then at about midnight, the boy and the girl are led by married women into the yard and made to stand together. To avert the evil eye, two married women wave round them a basin containing some Bengal gram, a cocoanut, and a small coin, and two handfuls of salt, and throw them away. Then the pair walk together a small distance towards the south, where some cow-dung has been kept.

They touch it with their toes, the bride with the left toes and the bridegroom with the right. Then with an axe which the bridegroom carries with him, he cuts the cow-dung into seven bits. The bride also repeats the same procedure. This they call Akkoldido Kayo. From there they return to their seats, and are made to sit on a gunny sheet. A party of young unmarried girls grind together the dried grains of ragi (*Eleusine coracana*), Navane (*Panicum italicum*), paddy, black-gram and Goranti (*barleria*) leaves, during which time the following is sung :—

Mugadala mugudala e ladi.
Vadadala Vadadala e ladi.
Ekaja peroye ladi,
Valto peroye ladi.
Tara bayi. bhaiayi dalage jum,
Tayi dalalaye ladi.
Tara kaki kaka dalage jum,
Tayi dalalaye ladi.
Tara yadi bapu dalage jum,
Toyi dalalaye ladi.

" Women, (turn the grindstone containing) black gram,
Women, (turn the grindstone containing) green gram,
Women, turn (the stone) once,
Women, turn (it) the opposite way,
How your brother and sister-in-law (turned it), you also turn it that way.
How your aunt and uncle (turned it) you also turn it that way.
How your mother and father (turned it), you also turn it that way."

With the paste made of this flour, a mark like Svastika is made on the back of the coat worn by the bridegroom, and on the bride's cloth. Then the flour is rubbed over their bodies. This is said to bring on pollution to the pair, which is shaken off only the next day.*

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

The couple are then seated together and bathed in cold water. When they stand ready to bathe, the young women reprimand the bridegroom thus :—

Tara yadini ka nai parone ?
Deta veganiya ! Atte kasane aye ?
Tari kakani ka nai parone ?
Deta Veganiya ! Atte kasane aye ?
Tari uhcha gadari, venganiya !
Nicha gadari tari nariki.
Deta veganiya ! Atte kaseni aye ?

" Why did you not marry your mother ?
You shameless, obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here?
Why did you not marry your aunt?
You shameless, obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here?
You belong to the up country;
Your wife belongs to the low country.
You shameless, obstinate fellow ! Why did you come here?

The young women gathered there throw the loose end of the bride's garment round the bridegroom's neck and attempt to pull him down, and when they succeed in throwing him flat on the ground, they are in ecstasies over his discomfiture and sing the following song about their feat :—

Laluje chade khado
Tu hete pado, Lalaji,
Jogulu pere tum kanchali pero
Tuna kaya kidaraye, Lalaji ?
Tumana pere tum petia pera,
Tumna kaya, kidaraye Lalaji ?
Pagadi bande tum lavani bando,
Tuno kaya kidaraye, Lalaji ?

" Lalaji, tie up your clothes tight and stand,
Lalaji, you may fall down.
What has happened to you, Lalaji ?
(when the bridegroom falls)
You had put on a coat (man's garment), now (that you have fallen down) you may wear a Kanchali (woman's bodice)
What has happened to you, Lalaji ?
You had worn short trousers, now you may wear a petia (Langa)
What has happened to you, Lalaji ?

You had worn a turban, now you may wear a lavani (portion of a veil covering a woman's head).
What has happened to you Lalaji ?

One of his sisters-in-law offers mock consolation, and the mother-in-law washes the feet of the couple with water, of which she catches and drinks off a few drops.

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

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

with the bride. Her resistance is now redoubled, and he has almost to drag her by force. The following songs are sung during this period :—

Tero mero hoye ladi,
Ekat pero pharle ladi,
Tina pera hoye ladi,
Tuyi hamari lad,
Poncha pera hoys ladi,
Chho pera hoye ladi,
Sat pera hoye ladi,
Sat perami hoye tumari,
Sat pera par liya.

"Girl, you have become mine,
Girl, one round is over,
Girl, three rounds are over.
Girl, you are mine,
Girl, fifth round is over,
Girl, sixth round is over,
Girl, seven rounds are over. After the seventh round I am yours."

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

Chal choriya vadayi maratiti, kolia khav beti,
Chori vetiti, dantiya masiya legadatiti,
Chal choriya, hate ghoomto kadachiti
Ab dar k yku ?
Choriya vetiti, vadaye maratiti
Pera phar beti.

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

It is this which constitutes the binding and essential part of the ceremony. After this the bride and the bridegroom have to take the common meal (Kolea) twice, that is, once before each milk-post. Then the couple, along with an elderly woman, sit before a plate, in which is placed a mixture of rice, flour, jaggery and ghee, and are completely hidden in the

folds of a cloth thrown over them. The woman hands over a ball of the mixture to each party in turn, who puts it into the other's mouth. The woman comes out leaving the couple within the screen, and the remaining meal is consumed by them. All this while. some of the young women are singing songs, mocking the girl for her protestations against marriage and her pretended resistance, describing how completely she has yielded and exhort her to be an obedient wife, eating the common meal without trouble.

Whilst the couple are engaged in this rite, a Brahman *purohit* performs Homa in another place. Dry twigs of the Asvaththa and ghee are thrown into the fire in a hole on the ground, and with each twig the Brahman mutters the formula of Sāvādhana, coupling it first with the names of the newly married couple, and then with the other married members of the *tanda*. The women of the *tanda*, both young and old, flock round and tease him, with all sorts of pranks. The Brahman sometimes takes it coolly, but often retaliates. All this is said to be done in revenge for a Brahman having abandoned in a jungle his three daughters who afterwards became the progenitor of this tribe. As a reward for his patient suffering, the *purohit* is given a fee of two rupees. A Brahman's presence is considered essential at a marriage, but where it is impossible to procure one, an elderly man of the *tanda* belonging to the Vadatya clan* performs the Homa, repeating the word Sāvadhāna on behalf of the married couple alone. But women feel keenly disappointed if they miss the fun with the Brahman. When he officiates as priest, he puts on a sacred thread.

By this time, it is four o'clock in the morning, and the couple have finished eating the Kolea. Then

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

they go into their houses and sleep in different corners till the morning. The milk-posts and the piles of pots are at once removed, and the coins kept under the pots are taken by the men who remove them.

In the morning, the couple are given a warm bath, and served food separately. The *kankanams* are removed in the evening, when the husband and wife sit facing each other in the yard, and untie the thread of each other. After this, a rupee coin, a cowrie and an arecanut are thrown into a wooden saucer filled with rice gruel. The husband and wife are made to search and pick up these articles; and it is said that the winner of the rupee will have the upper hand throughout the future married career.

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

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

on the head and girdles her with a tasseled waist band, Jhalro.*

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

Chuta giyay mari bapuri haveli.
Khayesi pivasi nangri.†
Mari Nayaka bapuri nangri.

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

She also repeats the song:

Guzaratani yadi.
Ummariyav bhapu.
Kesariya viranah‡
Havel chodiyali yadi.

"My mother is a Guzeratani. My father is Ummariyav. My brother is Kesariya. They are all leaving me here."

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

On reaching his *tanda* with his bride, a dinner is given. In the evening the couple are seated on a

* They perform puja to their progenitors Jangi, Bhangi and Bhagavandas by sacrificing a goat and pouring toddy on the ground calling out their names.

† Nangri—city—tanda.

‡ Vira—a brother.

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

The Rathod has to give forty-one rupees and four bullocks to the clan from which he takes the girl as bride-price, while for his girl he gets only twenty-one rupees and four bullocks. The Jat (including Pamhar, Chowhan and Vadatya) pays only twenty-one rupees and four bullocks.

The difference in the bride-price between the Bhukya and other clans is explained by some as due to the inferiority of the Bhukya clan, which is said to have come into adventitious importance, owing to the adventurous exploits of some of its heroes. This, however, is indignantly repudiated by the Bhukyas, who say that their clan is comparatively a large one, and marriageable boys and girls are also many, and that consequently they pay more when their boys have to be married and get less for their girls.

On the first day in *tanda* an intoxicating beverage compounded of bhang (*cannabis indica*) leaves, jaggery and other things, is drunk. When all are merry, the bridegroom's parents bring thirty-five rupees and four bullocks to those of the bride, and, after presenting them, the bridegroom is allowed to tie a square silver *bottu* or tali (marriage badge) to the bride's neck, and the marriage is complete; but the next two days must be spent in

drinking and feasting. At the conclusion of the third day, the bride arrayed in gay new clothes goes to the bridegroom's house, driving a bullock before her. Upon the birth of the first male child, a second silver *bottu* is tied to the mother's neck, and a third when a second son is born. When a third is added to the family, the three *bottus* are welded together, after which no additions are made.

PUBERTY. When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for seven days, and she is made to sit by herself in a shed built of green leaves outside the house, but inside the *tanda*, at some distance from their God's shed. An elderly woman keeps her company during these days. No ceremony is observed, but it is believed that a girl in that condition of delicate health is subject to evil spirits, to ward off which, shoots of margosa leaves are stuck to the doorway of the hut. On the seventh day, the girl is made to bathe, but for the next few days she is in a state of partial uncleanliness and may not go into the god's shed. During the succeeding monthly sickness a woman remains unclean for one or two days, bathes and changes her clothes.

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

for the second marriage, goes to his younger brother.*

An elder brother is not allowed to marry his younger brother's wife. Banjaras claim to be the descendants of Vali and Sugriva, and profess to follow their example in this matter. Another explanation for this custom is also given. If a bridegroom happens to die before finishing the seven rounds with the bride, around the milk-posts, his younger brother is made to finish the ceremony who thus becomes the girl's husband. This has ever since been recognised as a convenient way of filling up a deceased husband's place. Of course, the explanations are fanciful, and the practice is a survival of a widely prevalent archaic custom. The ceremony of the *Kudike*, styled *Bhannu* in their language, takes place at night before the assembly of the castemen, the presence of the Nayak being necessary. The woman is presented with a new cloth, and a tera of fifteen rupees and three bullocks is given. Arrack or toddy is bought for four rupees and distributed to all, followed by *pan supari* and tobacco and the permission of the caste people is obtained. Next evening, before the groom's house, the caste people assemble by invitation. The man and the woman are made to stand facing each other. He then ties the Ghugri to the woman, and this is the essential and the binding part of the ceremony. They then sit together behind a screen and eat the common meal (kolia). When a widow marries her husband's younger brother, no tera is given, but the latter has to supply liquor and *pan supari* to the caste people. The re-married widow has no title to her previous husband's property, and her children by him also to

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

go to his family and inherit the property. The offspring of a remarried widow have no disabilities, but the woman herself is not permitted to take part in auspicious ceremonies, such as rubbing the bridal pair with turmeric.

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

When an unmarried woman is seduced, the Nāyak of the *tanda* has the power to subject the seducer to ignominious treatment, as of shaving his head on one side and parading him in the street on the back of a donkey. This, however, is out of date, and in its place a heavy fine of one hundred rupees is imposed, in addition to a compensation of a hundred rupees to the parents, and the girl is married to him in a modified form of marriage, which consists of the couple walking round the two milk-posts seven times and eating the common meal. When gone through, such a marriage renders the previous offspring legitimate. But if the man is unwilling to marry the woman, or is within prohibited degrees of relationship, she is subjected to pay a small fine, and is then taken into the caste with her child. She may afterwards be married to any one else who takes her along with the child, without incurring any caste disability.

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

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

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

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

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

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

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

The mother of a male child is given a *tali* (disc) of silver to be worn round her neck, on a Thursday after the purificatory bath. This is styled the Devi *Tali*, and has a flower engraved on it, if it is for the first son, and two flowers if there are two or more sons.* The birth of a daughter does not count, and no figure is added to the *tali*.

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

MALE.	FEMALE.	MALE.	FEMALE.
Devala.	Badli.	Dhana.	Bhimni.
Gomla.	Chamli.	Hemla.	Devli.
Lalya.	Dhanu.	Manjya.	Gamli.
Sakarya.	Gojli.	Sevya.	Gomli.
Somya.	Ramni.	Sopya.	Rupli.
Titu.	Tulsi.		

*But Malot sub-division of the Vadatya have as many flowers as there are sons living.

Opprobrious names, such as Gundya (round stone), Bodia (bald-headed) are sometimes given to a child, and if a child does not learn to walk at the proper age, it is placed in an old winnow, and drawn seven times over a dunghill on a Sunday.

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

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance. In the matter of the division of property, their headman (Nāyak) assisted by a panchāyat is the sole judge; and it is said that, even now, partition cases are not taken to civil courts, and any infringement of this wholesome rule is punished with the excommunication of the delinquent. Outcastes are denied the right of succeeding to their ancestral property.

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

SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

"Each *tanda*," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "has a headman called Nāyaka, whose word is law, and whose office is hereditary. Each settlement has also a priest, whose office is likewise hereditary." According to Mr. H. A. Stuart, the *tanda* is named after the headman, and he adds, "the head of the gang appears to be regarded with great reverence, and credited with supernatural powers." He is believed to rule the gang most rigorously, and to have the power of life and death over its members.

The tribal organization is very strong among the Banjaras.

The whole tribe is divided into territorial groups at the head of which is a man styled Nāyak, or the headman. Their settlements which are styled *tandas*, are called after the names of their Nāyaks. Formerly, the Nāyaks had powers of life and death, which of course have fallen into desuetude in recent times. Whenever a guilty person was tried for a very serious fault, such as witchcraft, the Nāyak was assisted by a panchāyat, who gave the accused an opportunity to defend himself. Under the Nāyak, is a man styled Karbari, locally known as Buddhivant, who presides over meetings of minor importance in the absence of the Nāyak. The offices of these are hereditary, but when a Nāyak happens to be too weak or young, he may be set aside in favour of an abler man. In a *tanda* no important event can ever take place without the permission of the Nāyak being first obtained. Their code of laws prescribes punishments for all breaches of caste discipline and crimes, and the dicision of their Nāyak on the several points submitted to him can never be called in question. When any dispute of a very serious nature occurs, the heads of other *tandas* and sometimes other groups are invited to a meeting called together at the expense of the person at fault, and the decision of such an assembly is implicitly obeyed. The Nāyak and his lieutenant are rewarded by fees on all important occasions, such as, marriage. General Briggs, writing in 1813, gives the following interesting account of the constitution of the tribal government among the Banjaras, who still observe it in the main points :—

" The state of the Rathore Banjaras became now such as to require the vigilance and care of a man like Sarang, who saw the necessity of modelling a code of laws, which still exists and

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

"To avoid the possibility of personal hatred against the chief of the tribe, or of the minor *tanda*, from an undue exercise of authority, it was resolved that all punishments should be limited to pecuniary fines or expulsion, but no Banjara should be liable to suffer death by the hand of the Magistrate, which would vest too much power in him, and make his office, instead of being that of a father rather that of a master. And a man cannot be punished in any way without being first tried by a jury of five, to consist of the proprietors of the *tanda*, and all of whom he is at liberty to object to, and this liberty he extends so far as to enable the culprit, if he chooses, to deny the power of the jury, but by which he deprives himself of all his Banjara rights, and is accordingly excommunicated, a ceremony which is performed by the culprit being led to the skirts of the camp attended by the horde, and there, having received four strokes of a slipper on his head, he is expelled. To prevent, however, the same person from entering into the Banjara community, it is an ordinance that no individual or small body of Banjaras shall be received as members of an established *tanda* or horde; if the circumstances disperse a horde, the individuals must re-unite

under their former Nāyak, or remain independant or form a new *tanda*.

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

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

"1. Petty crimes are fined at the rate of five rupees as a mulct, payable to woolsack.

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

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

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

"Although it was considered by this respectable law giver that the power of life and death should not be vested in the hands of his successors, he made it lawful in cases of murder

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

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

ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS

Banjaras admit members from any of the higher castes, but till three generations elapse, the converts and their issues are not admitted into all the privileges of the caste. They must live in a separate shed in the same *tanda*, and are married to similar converts. They can become full members of the caste only in the fourth generation, after obtaining the recognition of the caste panchāyat and giving a dinner and presents to them.

The Banjara caste is not closed to outsiders, but the general rule is to admit only women who have

* *Cyclopædia of India*, p. 270.

been married to Banjara men. Women of the lowest and impure caste are excluded, and for some unknown reason the Patwas* and Nunias are bracketed with them. In Nimar it is stated that formerly Gonds, Korkus and even Balahis† might become Banjaras, but this does not happen now, because the caste has lost its occupation of carrying goods, and there is therefore no inducement to enter it. In former times, they were much addicted to kidnapping children. These were whipped up or enticed away whenever an opportunity presented itself during their expeditions. The children were first put into the Gonis or grain bags of the bullocks and so carried for a few days, being made over at each halt to the care of a woman, who would pop the child back into its bag if any stranger passed by the encampment. The tongues of boys were sometimes slit or branded with hot gold, this last being the ceremony of initiation into the caste still used in Nimar. Girls, if they were as old as seven, were sometimes disfigured for fear of recognition, and for this purpose the juice of the marking nut tree (*senacarpus anacardium*) would be smeared on one side of the face, which burns into the skin and entirely alter the appearance. Such children were known as Jangar. Girls would be employed as concubines and servants of the married wife, and boys as servants. Jangar boys would be married to Jangar girls, both remaining in their condition of servitude. But sometimes the more enterprising of them would abscond and settle down in a village. The rule was that for seven generation the children of the Jangars or slaves continued in that condition, after which they were recognised as proper Banjaras. The Jangar could not

* The Patwas are weavers of silk-thread and the Nunias are masons.

† An impure caste of weavers, ranking with the Mahars.

draw in smoke through the stem of the hooka when it was passed round in the assembly, but must take off the stem and inhale from the bowl. The Jangar also could not eat off the bell-metal plates of his master, because these were liable to pollution, but must use brass plates. At one time the Banjaras conducted a regular traffic in female slaves between Gujerat and Central India, selling in each country the girl whom they had kidnapped in the other.*

MAGIC SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT.

"The Banjaras," Sir A. Lyall writes,† "are terribly vexed by witchcraft, to which their wandering and precarious existence especially exposed them in the shape of fever, rheumatism and dysentery. Solemn inquiries are still held in the wild jungles where these people came out like gypsies, and many an unlucky hag has been strangled by sentence of their secret Tribunals." The business of magic and witchcraft was in the hands of two classes of Bhagats or magicians, one good and the other bad,‡ who correspond to the European practitioners of black and white magic. The good Bhagat is called Nimbu-katna or lemon-cutter, a lemon speared on a knife being a powerful averter of evil spirits. He is a total abstainer from meat and liquor, and fasts once a week on the day sacred to the deity whom he venerates, usually Mahadeo; he is highly respected and never panders to vice. But the Janta or the wise or cunning man is of a different type, and the following is an account of a devilry often enacted when a deputation visits him to enquire into the cause of a prolonged illness, a cattle murrain, a sudden death or other misfortune. A woman might often be

* Malcolm, *Memoirs of Central India*, Vol. II, p. 296.

† *Asiatic Studies*, I, p. 118 (ed. 1899.)

‡ Cumberlege, page 23 *et. seq.* The description of witchcraft is wholly reproduced from his monograph.

called a Dakun or witch in spite, and when once this word has been used, the husband or nearest male relative would be regularly bullied into consulting the Janta. Or if some woman had been ill for a week, an avaricious husband or brother would begin to whisper foul play. Witchcraft would be mentioned, and the wise man called in. The wise man would give the sufferer a bit of betel, muttering an incantation, but this rarely effected a cure, as it was against the interests of all parties that it should do so. The sufferer's relative would go to their Nāyak, tell him that the sick person was bewitched, and ask him to send a deputation to the Janta or witch-doctor. This would be at once despatched, consisting of one male adult from each house in the hamlet, with one of the sufferer's relatives. On the road the party would bury a bone or other article to test the wisdom of the witch-doctor. But he was not to be caught out, and on arrival he would bid the deputation rest, and come to him for consultation on the following day. Meanwhile during the night, the Janta will be thoroughly coached up by some accomplice in the party. Next morning, meeting the deputation, he would ask the man all particulars of his name and family; name the invalid, and tell the party to bring materials for consulting the spirits such as, oil, vermillion, sugar, dates, cocoanut, chironji* and sesamum. In the evening, holding a lamp, the Janta would be possessed by Māri, the goddess of cholera; he would mention all particulars of the sickman's illness, and indignantly inquire why they had buried the bone on the road, naming it and describing the place. If this did not satisfy the deputation, a goat would be brought, and he would name its sex with any distinguishing marks on the body. The sick person's representative would then produce

* His motive being the fine inflicted on the witch's family.

his *nazar* or fee, formerly twenty-five rupees, but latterly the double of this or more. The Janta would now begin a sort of chant, introducing the names of families of the Kuri other than that containing her who was to be proclaimed a witch, and heap on them all kinds of abuses. Finally, he would assume an ironic tone, extol the virtues of a certain family, become facetious, and praise its representative then present. This man would then question the Janta on all points regarding his own family, his connections, worldly goods, and what gods he worshipped, ask who was the witch, who taught her sorcery, and how and why she practised it in this particular instance. But the witch-doctor, having taken care to be well coached, would answer everything correctly and fix the guilt on to the witch. A goat would be sacrificed and eaten with liquor, and the deputation would return. The punishment for being proclaimed a Dakun or witch was formerly death to the woman and a fine to be paid by her relatives to the bewitched person's family. The woman's husband or her sons would be directed to kill her, and if they refused, other men would be deputed to murder her, and bury the body at once with all the clothings and ornaments then on her person, while a further fine would be exacted from her family for not doing away with her themselves. But murder for witchcraft has been almost entirely stopped, and nowadays the husband, after being fined a few head of cattle, which are given to the sick man, is turned out of the village with his wife. It is quite possible, however, that an obnoxious old hag would even now not escape death, especially if the money fine is not forthcoming, and an instance is known in recent times of a mother being murdered by her three sons. The whole village combined to screen these amiable young men, and eventually they made the Janta a

scapegoat, and he got seven years, while the murderers could not be touched. Colonel Mackenzie writes "Curious to relate, the Jantas known locally as Bhagats, in order to become possessed of their alleged powers of divination and prophecy require to travel to Kazhe, beyond Surat, there to learn and be instructed by low caste Koli imposters." This is interesting as an instance of powers of witchcraft being attributed by the Hindus or higher race to the indigenous primitive tribes, a rule which Dr. Taylor and Dr. Jevons consider to hold good generally in the history of magic.

HUMAN SACRIFICE.

Several instances are known also of the Banjaras having practised human sacrifice. Mr. Thurston states: * "In former times the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to the shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks' thoroughly trampling the child to death, their belief in a successful journey increased." Abbe Dubois describes another form of sacrifice.† "The Lambadis are accused of the still more atrocious crime of offering up human sacrifices. When they wish to perform this horrible act, it is said, they secretly carry off the first person they meet. Having conducted the victim to some lonely spot, they dig a hole in which they bury him up to the neck. While he is still alive, they make a sort of lamp of dough made of flour, which they place on his head; then the men and women join hands and forming a circle dance round their victim, singing and making a great noise until he expires. Mr. Cumberlege ‡

* *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 507, quoting from the Rev. J. Cain, Ind. Ant. VIII (1879).

† *Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 70.

‡ Monograph, p. 19.

records the following statement of a child kidnapped by a Banjara caravan in 1871. After explaining how he was kidnapped and the tip of his tongue cut off to give him a defect in speech, the Kunbi lad, taken from Sahungarhi in the Bhandara district, went on to say that, "The tanda (caravan) encamped for the night in jungle. In the morning a woman named Gangi said that the devil was in her, and that a sacrifice must be made. On this four men and three women took a boy to a place they had made for *pūja* (worship). They fed him with milk, rice and sugar, and then made him stand up, when Gangi drew a sword and approached the child, who tried to run away; caught and brought back to this place, Gangi, holding the sword with both hands and standing on the child's right side, cut off his head with one blow. Gangi collected the blood and sprinkled it on the idol; this idol is made of stone, about nine inches high and has something sparkling in its forehead. The camp marched that day, and for four or five days consecutively, without another sacrifice; but on the fifth day, a young woman came to the camp to sell curds, and having bought some, the Banjaras asked her to come in the evening and eat with them. She did come and after eating with the women, slept in the camp. Early next morning she was sacrificed in the same way as the boy had been, but it took three blows to cut off her head; it was done by Gangi, and the blood was sprinkled on the stone idol. About a month ago, Sitaram, a Gond lad, who had also been kidnapped and was in the camp, told me to run away as it had been decided to offer me up in sacrifice at the next Jiuti festival, so I ran away." The child having been brought to the police, a searching and protracted inquiry was held, which however, determined nothing though it did not disapprove his story.

RELIGION. The Banjaras resemble other Hindus in their religious faith and worship all the gods of the Hindu Pantheon, without special partiality to any. In addition, they have family gods, to which they show special reverence. The god of Tirupati, whom they know by the name of Balaji, stands as family deity for many of them. Offerings in money are set apart, and carried by them to the shrine to which they often go on foot. On the days (generally Saturdays) on which they worship Balaji, they invite Dasaris (the Vaishnava beggars), who cook food under a tree near the *tandas* and make *pūja* to the image of this god preserved in the *tandas* and Garudhakamba (lamp stand) carried by them. The Banjaras fast till the *pūja* is over, and then *thīrtha* and *praśada* are distributed to them by the Dasaris. On this day they do not sacrifice any animals, nor eat flesh or drink liquor. Many families keep the images of Balaji in their houses and worship them periodically. On the Sivarāthri day, they all fast till the evening. Their other gods are Tulja Devi, Banasankari, Maramma and Huliamma. Tulja Devi is believed to be a pious Banjara woman who was deified on immolating herself as a Sati on the funeral pyre of a person to whom she had been engaged to be married. Huliamma (tiger goddess) is believed to protect them from the ravages of wild beasts. In addition to these, they have patron saints, to whom they offer *pūja*. The chief of these are named Sévaya Bhaya, Mittu Bhukya and Bhajan Nāyak. Sevaya was a handsome lad of the Rathod clan, who was very pious and of good character. He was on this account employed as the Pujari of their tribal gods. Goddess Maramma fell in love with him, and, appearing in the guise of a beautiful damsel, offered to marry him. As the young man had already promised to marry a girl, more nearly his equal, he at first declined

this tempting offer, but yielded only when the goddess, by her malignant power, killed his betrothed girl and tortured him in various other ways. He then with the help of the goddess, grew rich and influential in his caste, and became endowed with supernatural powers. In his old age, however, he gave offence to his whimsical spouse by declining to marry a young girl for issue, and was killed by her. Wedded during his life to a goddess, he could not bestow his love on any woman of his tribe, and so he became known as Sevaya Bhaya brother of Sevaya, and after his death, a shrine was erected at the place of his burial, and by a process of posthumous deification, usual in such cases, he came to be worshipped, and the belief gained ground that miracles were worked at his shrine.

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

Mittu Bhukya is said to have been a daring robber who once succeeded in carrying off considerable treasure belonging to Government. While going back with it to his *tanda*, he happened to stumble and fall down. Taking this as the premonition of approaching death, he distributed all the booty among his followers, after getting from them a promise to regard him as patron deity. Some days after his death, his parents had a dream, in which he asked them to marry him to a certain girl but, of course they paid no heed to it. However, soon after this, Mittu reappeared in his body, and actually married the girl, and took her back with him to his grave,

where they both turned into images of stone.* Ever since, he and his wife had been worshipped by the men of his clan, and a hut is specially dedicated to him, distinguished by a white flag planted over it. The *pujari* is believed to be in communication with Mittu's spirit from whom he gets any information about any impending danger or calamity to the tribe. He eschews meat and liquor, and is a man of considerable influence among them, and is regarded as a Bhagat, that is, a devotee or a Sadhu.

This deity is particularly connected with their marauding excursions. He is believed to have promised complete protection to them so long as they do not betray their confederates. He is worshipped on important days, such as Dīpāvali. Before starting on any important expedition the members of this clan meet in Mittu Bhukya's hut and invoke his aid. A lamp fed with ghee is lighted, and the manner in which it keeps burning is received as a good or bad omen. If the sign is propitious, they start immediately, and proceed silently to their business, as, if they break silence, the charm would be broken, and the supernatural protection withdrawn.

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

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

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

Banjara women worship certain goddesses known as Nagarasi, Asaveri, Khogarasi and Pibbalavari. Each of these is associated with one of the four clans, the last belonging to the Vadatya clan, being considered to be a half-goddess. These deities are commonly spoken of by them as three and half-goddesses (Sade-tin-devi) and the members of the caste generally decline to pronounce the names of these goddesses, and make a mystery of the rites connected with the puja.

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

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

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

Bagema ghodolo molale Titaraja.
Bagema kamadoro molale Titaraja,
Bagema soneri bagema haselo molale Titaraja,
Bagema kolda mola Kadadhare Titaraja,
Bagema munga mola Kadadhare Titaraja.

" O Titaraja, purchase horses in the jungles,
Purchase them with the silver waist thread on your waist,
Purchase them with the gold necklace round your neck,
Purchase, O Truthful Titaraja, with the silver bangles on your arms,
Purchase them with that coral wreath round your neck.

The most important of the feasts observed by the Banjaras are the Holi, Gauri Feasts and the Dasara, which they generally style Mahanavami. Just before the Holi Feast, Banjara women go out in parties to collect money for the occasion. They go to the surrounding villages and dance and sing before persons likely to give them presents. They beat time with short sticks (Kolate) in their hands, and sing indecent songs, but are fortunately unintelligible to most of the hearers. They spend the money in feasting, for which, they kill one or two goats. The males celebrate their part of the feast on a different day, but no meat is allowed on that day.

Before the Gauri Feast also, women go round to collect subscriptions, but this time they never proceed beyond the bounds of decorum in their songs. On the first day of the feast, they make *puja* to an image of Gauri. They sow some grains of wheat in earth

and manure placed in bamboo baskets. They have special songs for reciting, while they plant the seed and water the seedlings. By the time the seedlings are about six inches high, the season of worship is over. On the last day, they worship the image and the seedlings in the basket, and all the women of the *tanda* receive a few stocks of *prasāda*, and place them in the hair like flowers. A feast is held to bring the occasion to a close.

The Dasara Feast is observed in honour of their family gods. Each family in the *tanda* celebrate the feast by turns on different days, and all the people congregate there to worship Bhavāni. On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Ashada, they fast till evening, set up the image of Sitala Bhavani, and do *puja* to it, the whole *tanda* joining in the celebration. Tamburis, though Muhammedans in religion, take part in all the usual feasts associated with Hinduism, but they celebrate the usual Muhammadan festivals in addition.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

Banjaras generally dispose of their dead by cremation; bodies of unmarried persons are, however, carried by hand, and buried with heads placed towards the north. On the third day, a party of elderly persons go to the graveyard, and place some milk and dry grain on the grave and return. All bathe that day, and the pollution is completely removed. In the case of married persons, as soon as life is extinct, the body is well-washed in warm water, and is covered with a new cloth as shroud. Ghee and jaggery are mixed together and put into the mouth of the corpse. It is then placed on a bier, and an old copper coin (an old four pie piece) is tied to the corner of the shroud near the feet. If the deceased is a married man, the wife takes off the Ghugra (ear pendants) and Chudo (bangles)

before the dead body and beats on the mouth. Four kinsmen carry the bier on their shoulders and walk on. The chief mourner, the son, carries fire in a pot set on bamboo frame in one hand, and a pot with cooked rice on his shoulder. Half way to the cremation ground, the bearers halt, place the body on the ground, and tearing off the knotted end of the shroud with the coin, throw it away into the thorny bush near by. They then change sides, and carry the body to the burning ground without halting anywhere else. A pyre has already been prepared, the bearers take the body three times round it, and finally place it on the pile, with head turned towards the north. The pyre is then lighted by the chief mourner. He then takes a burning faggot and touches the head of the corpse seven times. Each one of the funeral party places a faggot on the fire. All sit around till the whole body is consumed to ashes. They then go to a watercourse, bathe there, and return home in wet clothes. On their way home, they have to pass on the right side of a *bore* tree (prickly plant), and as they walk along each of the party has to pluck out a leaf from it and throw it away, without either standing there or turning back. When they reach home they have to tread on water poured on the ground by the chief mourner across the threshhold. The relations offer their condolences to the bereaved party, and return to their houses. That night on the spot where the deceased expired, water is kept on a bed of grain, which is carefully observed next morning to see whether any marks are left there, and whether any water has been drunk by the deceased.

On the third day, early in the morning, two elderly persons from the *tanda* go to the cremation ground taking with them some milk, and without speaking to each other. They examine the ashes, and if they

observe no foot-marks, they believe that the deceased has gone to heaven. If, on the other hand, there are foot-marks of human beings, the deceased has been re-born as man ; if the traces are of hoofs of cattle, the man has taken their shape, and again gone back to a life of incessant toil. If there are marks jumbled together so as to be indistinguishable, the deceased has been turned into a ghost, hovering in the air, seeking whom he may attack. They believe in the transmigration of souls, and say that a good man on death goes to heaven, but with God's permission may be born again in this world.

In the meantime, the chief mourner and some others come to the place, and with *ekka* leaves, collect together the ashes into a heap, and sprinkle milk over it. They then carry the ashes to a water course, and throw them into water, and all bathe. The rest of the mourning party have already arrived here. A large quantity of bread is baked and broken into bits. Jaggery and ghee are added to it, and the mixture is turned into balls. These are then distributed to all the members, who eat them up. This partly removes the pollution. Only male members take part in the obsequies. Even the bread, and the other necessary articles must be prepared by men. In fact, no woman is allowed to come to the cremation ground. On the fourth day, the *tanda* people kill sheep, and give a dinner to the bereaved family by way of offering condolence. This removes another portion of the pollution. On the twelfth day, when the pollution is completely removed, all bathe, put on washed clothes, and renew the earthen pots used for domestic purposes. In the evening a dinner is given to the castemen. Next day, the thirteenth day, the deceased's family have to give another dinner, to which all the members of the *tanda*, including the Nayak, have to be

invited, and a great deal of goat's flesh and liquor is consumed. The Banjaras do not perform annual ceremonies, but on Dīpāvali and Mahālaya Amāvāsye, they set up a *kalasa* to represent their ancestors, and place *yedes* and new clothes as offerings before it. That day, a fire is made in a pit outside the house, into which lumps of *Maldi*, that is, cakes mixed with ghee and jaggery are thrown. If the fire burns brightly it is believed to presage good luck, while if the fire should go out, it means certain misfortunes to the family. Such burnt sacrifices are often offered in honour of the deceased female ancestors. Thus a woman propitiates her husband's deceased wife.

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

Even now they recollect with pride, certain instances of their ancestors carrying out such contracts on a large scale for the British armies and earning large rewards. This business has now dwindled down almost to nothing, and they have taken largely to agricultural pursuits. During the troublous times before the middle of the last century, they figured largely as robbers and bandits, and the peaceful inhabitants of the villages were more afraid of pillage of these petty robbers than the vicissitudes of the regular wars. This mode of life is also becoming more and more difficult to pursue. The Banjaras are however still regarded as a criminal tribe, and placed under police surveillance. Highway robbery, cattle-lifting, the theft of grain or other property,

are the most common offences, and whenever the necessity arises, they do not hesitate to use violence, even women being known to take part in such encounters.

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

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

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

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

The Naik or headman of the gang takes an active part in the commission of the crime and receives two shares of the spoil in the division. In the event of a gang or portion of it being convicted, if the Naik also happens to be unfortunate, an acting man is chosen as his successor, and upon him devolve all the rights, privileges and responsibilties of the office.

In committing crimes as before specified, *viz.*, dacoity, etc., Lambadis are invariably armed with sickles ("gandakatties"), sticks (gadees), and if resistance is offered, use considerable violence ; the women have been known to take a leading part in dacoities and beat off an attack by villagers on a gang of Lambadis engaged in a serious village dacoity. They are often described as the gypsies of India, but the only resemblance

consists in both being of wandering habits. They have come down from Northern India, probably the Province of Marwar. Their chief occupation being the transport of grain and other merchandise on pack bullocks before the advent of roads and wheeled traffic, they seem to have come down from the north in the wake of the conquering invaders, travelling with their women and children. They carry their whole property with them, and even the tribal organization is complete in each of their encampments. They consequently keep themselves aloof from the surrounding population, and their habits and customs on that account are but little affected by their environments. They earned an enviable notoriety for predatory habits, and are classed among the criminal tribes and placed under police surveillance. They were formerly notorious for cattle-lifting, daring dacoities attended with violence. Men of local influence and of other castes had often a large number of Banjara retainers for committing highway robbery. Though this state of things cannot be stated to have altogether disappeared, many Banjaras are at present found to have settled down to agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.*

SOCIAL STATUS.

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

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Rice, ragi, and millet, and all kinds of vegetables which they grow in their kitchen gardens are their chief articles of diet. They also eat all kinds of meat except that of cow and buffalo. They are fond of drinking and taking opium.

* Mullalay, F. S., *Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency.*

APPEARANCE DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

The Banjaras are generally of good stature, and fair complexion. They are dolichocephalous, with oval face, black or brown eyes, long flowing silky hair, and straight nose. Both men and women are strong and stalwart and are capable of much endurance. Women are active and good-looking, though on account of hard life, they soon lose their pretensions to beauty.

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

Their jewels are numerous and include strings of glass and wooden beads, besides those of brass and other metals. The following are among the more important of them :—Am'ti and Top are attached to the hair, and are always covered by the veil passing over them. Ghūgra are gold or silver pendants, fastened to the hair and suspended on the ears and

have tassels of trinkets styled Chōtla tied to their ends. Pattiya is a neck ornament and is made up of square bits of metal strung together. Vankya (a crescent shaped ornament) Hasali and a profusion of beads called Ladi are worn on the neck. Nine horn bangles styled Bachela worn on the upper arm, and some horn bangles called Balia and a wooden bangle Bodlu, make up the ornaments of each hand. Brass rings are worn profusely on the fingers and the toes. They wear also anklets of the same metal. Strings of cowry beads are attached to the Pattiya and Pachela. Every married woman is possessed of a cloth cushion for resting the water pot on the head and a cloth cover for the pot, both of which are ornamented with embroidery and cowry shells. A metal disc called Sok is sometimes worn by women for the purpose of propitiating a deceased wife of her husband.

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

Of the ornaments worn by the women, the Ghugri, the horn bangles called Chudo and the brass anklets (khas) denote married condition in a woman. And unmarried girls do not wear the Ghugri and the Chudo, but wear on the ankles black beads and small bells. Widows generally remove almost all the jewels but retain some horn bangles on the upper arm and other minor jewels.

BĒDA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CASTE—HABITAT—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—WIDOW MARRIAGE—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—BASAVI—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS—RELIGION FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—AGRICULTURAL BELIEFS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

BĒDAS,' 'Bēdar,' or 'Bērads' are the hunting and agricultural tribe of Mysore, and are identical with the Boyis of Telingana and the Ramoshis of Marāthwada. They call themselves Kanayām Kulam, "Descendants of Kannayya," Dhorikulam, "Children of Chiefs," or Vālmiki Kshatriyas.* The Nāyaka (chief), or Nāyakana-makkaḷu (Chief's children), is sometimes applied to the tribe. Gurikara (a marksman), and Kirāta (a tribe of mountaineers) are applied to them as a nickname. Bēda or Biyada is a corruption of the Sanskrit word Vyādha (a hunter), and suggests to the original occupation of the tribe. They call themselves in Telugu, Dora-biddalu (king's children), and occasionally Palyegars, the latter appellation being appropriated as many gathered a larger band of predatory followers than usual among them, and succeeded in setting themselves up, in the troublous days of the common dissolution of authority during the two or three centuries preceding the last, as Palyegars, or chiefs of a Palya or settlement.

Castes and Tribes of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions.

The connection with Vālmīki is founded on a tradition that the author of the *Rāmayana* was of this caste before his conversion. He was a highway robber of more than usual rapacity, and when he attacked Vasishta, the sage showed him the sin of his bad life, and proved its worthlessness in a worldly sense, when his own wife, for whom he had been undergoing all this risk, declined to share the responsibility of his sins. The man was so ignorant that he could not pronounce the name of Rāma, and the teacher had to adopt the expedient of making him repeat '*mara*' "(tree)" in rapid succession to make him meditate upon Rāma. As a result of his long meditation, the repenting hunter and robber got divine wisdom, and was able to compose the epic which has since become so renowned in the world. He subsequently had twelve sons who are the progenitors of the present caste. It is hardly necessary to add that all this has no support to the statement therein referred to about this. He was induced by Nārada and Brahma to compose the immortal epic. The *Rishi* Vālmīki threw himself into Yōga Samādhi, when all the facts of Rama's earthly career became as clear to him as a fruit held in the palm of his hand, and enabled him to compass his end.

Another ingenious explanation is given of the term Vālmikaru as applied to Bedas, which says that they are so called because during the first rains of the year they dig ant-hills, extract winged ants therefrom and eat them.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CASTE.

As some of the names of the caste unmistakably indicate, the Bedas were originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting. They used to infest the highways for robbery, and were considered fit

instruments for all acts of rapine and cruelty. Hence they were known as Kirātas, a tribe of mountaineers A story of Kannayya, an eponymous leader of this caste, is of some significance as showing the original occupation of the tribe, or at any rate its ideal. He was a devotee of Siva, and was finding fault with the usual form of worship in which the worshipper placed a dish of food before his God, but subsequently ate it himself. When, in order to test him, Siva surprised him in an inaccessible jungle in the guise of a hungry guest, and asked for food, he was offered some meat of an animal killed therein, and after a while when the guest was in danger of losing an eye from disease, Kannayya plucked out his own and offered to replace the wayfarer's organ. Siva was, of course, gratified, and offered the devotee some boon. But he was quite content with his lot, and would accept nothing. He had all that he wanted, some gruel in an earthen pot, children round a common earthen eating place, a burning faggot for light, and a highway for robbery. What more needed he ?

Their early habits fitted them well for the army, of which in later times they became a most important element. They were largely employed in the rank and file of the hosts of the Vijayanagar Empire. They gradually spread south, and by the time of Hyder Ali, they not only constituted the pick of his troops, but many of the caste had set themselves up as petty chiefs known as Palyegars who had also men of the same caste in their armies. Buchanan writing in 1800 says of them :—

" Throughout these hills (near Magadi, Bangalore District), which extend northward from Capāladurga, are many cultivated spots in which during Tipoo's Government were settled many Baydaru or hunters who received twelve pagodas (£4. 5. Sh.) a year, and served as irregular troops whenever required. Being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in the woods, they were

excellent marks-men with their match-locks, and indefatigable in following their prey: which, in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpless creature that came in their way. During the wars of Hyder and his son, these men were their chief instruments in the terrible depredations committed in the Lower Carnatic. They were also frequently employed with success against the Palyegars, whose followers were men of a similar description. At present, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more closely to agriculture; for in that way they always employed their leisure; and there is a prospect of their becoming a quiet and industrious people, although they still retain their arms and an anxious desire for plunder*."

With the advent of more peaceful times, this expectation about the habits and occupation of these people has been fully realised. Many of them are employed as village watch-men, or *talaries*, and also find employment as peons in the Police and Revenue Departments of Government.

According to Buchanan, the Kadambas of Banavasi were Bedars. He notices that in East Mysore, the Bedars were strongly Telugu, and near Verūl on the crest of the Eastern Ghats, the Telugu language was called Bedari. They ranked among the left-handed classes. He notices that in South Canara, Bedas were a savage race who ate cats, and with great propriety called murderers. History relates that after the fall of Vijayanagar the Bedas plundered the town for many days. Wilkes makes that Boyas and Bēdas are the same. He described them as wonderfully enduring, and by their admirable staunchness to their chiefs winning the admiration of Hyder Ali, who turned them into Musulmans and formed battalions of the Bedar Boyas or Chela. "Mr. Rice gives them a strength of 260,000; calls them Bedars or Nayaks and also Kirātakas, Barikas and Kannayyas." Some are Karnatakas and some are Telungas. Most

* *A Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. I, pp. 248, 249

of the Mysore Palyegars or petty chiefs are Bedars. Meadows Taylor in the 'Story of my Life' described them as a ruling tribe in the State of Sholapur in the Nizam's Territory.*

The Bedas are an aboriginal tribe of the Telugu and Canarese Districts. Although they have adopted many of the customs and usages from castes of different social standing, their complexion, flat nose, frizzled hair go to prove their non-Aryan origin. They are probably the remnants of the original inhabitants of the Deccan who belonged to the pre-Dravidian or Dravidian stock speaking a language which they have quite forgotten. Most of the hill-tribes of Southern India, namely, the Beders of the Madras Presidency, the Peringala Vettuvans of North Malabar, the Mala Vedans of the Travancore Hills, the Veddas of Ceylon, as also the Bedas of Mysore belong to this stock, and the different grades of culture in which they are seen at present is a question of environment based on geographical distribution.

HABITAT. The Bedas are scattered over a large tract of the Madras Presidency, their chief centres being the districts of Bellary, Cuddappah, Kurnool and Anantapur. They are largely found in the Nizām's Dominions as also in Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, in the Southern Mahratta Districts and States in the Deccan and Konkan.

POPULATION. We are here concerned with the Bedas of Mysore who numbered at the last Census 271,134: 138,345 being males, 132,789 females. Their distribution in the districts of the State, in the Cities of Bangalore and Mysore, in the Kolar Gold Fields, and in

* Enthoven: *Tribes and Castes of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, pp. 78 and 79.

the Bangalore Civil and Military Station is as follows:—*

Name	Total Population	Males	Females
Bangalore City ..	1,053	574	479
Bangalore District ..	18,578	9,416	9,162
Kolar Gold Fields ..	4,689	2,430	2,259
Kolar District ..	60,446	30,574	29,872
Tumkur District ..	58,311	29,932	28,379
Mysore City ..	618	320	298
Mysore District ..	15,813	7,855	7,958
Chitaldrug District ..	98,174	50,231	47,943
Hassan District ..	5,557	2,782	2,775
Kadur District ..	4,204	2,132	2,072
Shimoga ..	12,742	6,450	6,292
Bangalore Civil and Military Station ..	103	50	53

Taluks having a population of more than 2,000 are given below :—

District	Taluk	Population
Bangalore	Bangalore	2,450
	Hoskote	2,249
	Devanhalli	5,043
	Dodballapur	3,193
	Nelamangala	2,347
Kolar	Kolar	3,030
	Mulbagal	3,740
	Chintamani	6,438
	Srinivaspur	5,090
	Sidlaghatta	6,129
	Bagepalli	9,240
	Gudibanda	2,192
	Goribidnur	13,868
	Malur	5,200
Tumkur	Maddagiri	10,713
	Koratagere (Sub-Taluk) ..	4,009
	Sira	9,861
	Pavagada	10,820
	Chiknayakanhalli ..	4,682
	Gubbi	6,748

**Mysore Census Report*, 1921.

District	Taluk	Population
Chitaldrug	Challakere	22,868
	Chitaldrug	19,140
	Molakalmuru	11,004
	Jagalur	11,055
	Davangere	10,443
	Harihar (Sub-Taluk) ..	3,446
	Holakere	7,380
	Hosdurga	4,746
Hassan	Hiriyur	7,525
	Arsikere	2,421
Kadur	Tarikere	2,379
Shimoga	Shimoga	2,717
	Channagiri	9,305
	Shikarpur	2,529

From the above distribution it is seen that their early military activities were mostly in the four eastern districts, the termination of which led them to permanently settle therein. Many who are settled in the rural parts are known as Ūr (village) Bedas, and others who preferred to live in jungly tracts are called Myāsa Bedas. The Bedas and Boyas of the Ceded Districts must have belonged to one homogenous tribe.

HABITATIONS.

Ūr Bedas who form a large majority of the tribe live in towns and villages. Furniture and domestic utensils are as those of the corresponding tribes or castes.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

They seem to have been originally a telugu speaking people, but after long settlement, those of the Canarese Districts have adopted that language as their mother tongue.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The caste is divided into a number of exogamous clans and their integrity is kept up with the utmost

scrupulousness. The tradition regarding the origin of these divisions is as follows :—

The descendants of Vālmïki by his twelve sons fell out with one another, and had a fight among themselves, in the course of which many lives were lost. The eldest of these sons called Mandala-Manibattu Razu, hearing of the carnage, went to the scene of the quarrel to reprimand them. The combatants afraid of meeting him, fled, hiding themselves in various places. After a search, they were discovered, some lurking under washerman's tubs, some in ant-hills, and some in hills and such other retreats. The chief divided them into separate groups, distinguished each by the hiding place of its representatives, himself becoming the head of the Mandala division. Even now, in marriage and other occasions, a *tāmbula* is given in the name of Mandala-Manibattu Razu, and sometimes in that of his servants also, who belonged to the Ankila section.

The tribe is divided into totemic clans, but the names of all of them cannot be ascertained. Most of them are totemistic, and as usual, bear the names of plants and animals. The names of the exogamous clans current among them are given below :—

Mandala. (Herd of cattle)	.. Yenumalu. (Buffalo.)
Potulu. (He-buffalo)	.. Jerrabotula. (Centepedes.)
Muchchala	.. Sakela.
Kamagetula	.. Chinnamagala.
Manegala	.. Pegadapotula.
Chinnamakola	.. Peddamakila.
Chimalu (Ants)	.. Gujjala.
Sibbila	.. Edu kondala. (Seven Hills.)
Gangavaramu. (Name of a place.)	Puvvalu gampula. (Flower basket.)
Mallelu. (Jasmine)	.. Ankela.
Settila	.. Payyala.
Muchchatla	.. Gutamu.
Nallula. (Bugs)	.. Generu (Sweet scented oleanders)

Minugula	.. Eddulu. (Oxen.)
Surya. (The Sun)	.. Kachi kadla. (A kind of grass.)
Chendra. (The Moon)	.. Hurali. (Horse gram.)
Bangaru. (Gold)	.. Navane. (Italian Millet.)
Bhuchakra. (The Globe)	.. Gannerla. (Sweet-scented oleander.)
Maddala. (Mungala)	.. Gaddubaria. (Crowbar).
Mungala	.. Gajjala.
Janamala	.. Kukkala. (Dogs).

Of these, Yemmalavaru (buffalo-men), Mandalavaru (men of the herd), Pulavaru (flower-men), and Minalavaru (fish-men) are the most important. Members of the clans show the usual reverence for the totemistic animals after which they are named, by not touching or using them in any way.*

ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS.

The following endogamous groups of the Bedas are found in the State :—

1. Ūr Bedas, called in Telugu Chinna Boyis.
2. Myāsa Bedas, sometimes called Pedda Boyis and Chenchus.
3. Gudisi or Gudlu Bedas.
4. Maremmana Bedas, also called Mutyalamma or Urume Bedas and Sadara Bedas.
5. Halu Bedas.
6. Monda Bedas.

There are a few more divisions, such as those named Barika (lime-stakers), Goliga, Gaddalabala, Gudalu and Patra, which are returned as endogamous. It is however probable that they are nothing but synonyms of one or another of the divisions already mentioned.

Ūru Bedas are by far the largest division of the caste, and are so called because of their residence in towns and villages, unlike for example, Monda Bedas, a wandering tribe, who are beggars by profession.

* *Vide* Totemic clans among the Bedas of the Madras Presidency. E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes Southern India* Vol. I, pp. 198-200.

Myāsa Bedas are found mostly in the Chitaldrug District. They profess to derive their names from *mēsha* (sheep) the name of the first sign of the Zodiac.

Gudisi or Gudlu Bedas are so called on account of their living in Gudlu, or temporary huts. They are an inferior division.

Sādru Bedas are Bedas who live in the midst of Sādru, an endogamous group of the Lingāyats, who live by cultivation in Bellary and Ananthapur Districts. The appellation of Halu Bedas (Milk-Bedas) is used to indicate their superiority to other divisions.

Monda * Bedas are said to be the descendants of a man of the Mandala exogamous clan, who, through ignorance, married a girl of the same clan. This was discovered too late, and the couple were expelled from the village, and were made to live outside, eking out their living by beggary. Even at the present day, persons of this division never enter the houses of the other Bedas, and they are not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section. Only the three groups mentioned above and Myāsa Bedas form the main sections, and the others are found mostly in the adjacent districts of Bellary and Cuddappah.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

Marriage is never allowed between members of the same clan or *gotra*. Two sisters may be married by one man, but not at the same time, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is permitted, but one may marry an younger sister's daughter only when inevitable, as when a widower cannot procure any other girl to marry. A sister's daughter may be married to her

* Monda means in Canarese, an indolent rude or obstinate fellow.

In the districts of Kolar, Bangalore and Chitaldrug, different divisions are given under different names.

brother's son, in which case the latter himself cannot marry another daughter of the same sister.

Marriage is generally adult, though infant marriage is also allowed. A woman may remain unmarried all through her life, though few or none do so by choice. A woman dying unmarried is carried by men without a bier and interred with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF THE ŪR BEDAS.

The negotiations for a regular marriage are conducted by the parents or guardians of the parties, the initiative being generally taken by the male's side. The astrologer is consulted, and, where the horoscopes are wanting, the stars corresponding to the first letters of the names of the parties according to a settled convention, are taken as representing the nativity of the parties. If they are pronounced to be suitable, a day is fixed, and the contracting parties exchange betel-leaves with nuts as an earnest of their agreement, in the presence of the elders. The girl is given a present of cloth, and a feast is generally held. After this, the girl cannot be given in marriage to another without the consent of the other party. This preliminary is non-essential as it is often omitted or considerably shortened.

The ceremonies of marriage proper begin with the Devarūta or God's feast. Five new earthen pots painted red and white are brought from the potter's house, and some date fruits, uncooked rice and dhal, glass bangles and other articles are placed in each of them, with an oil light in each of the earthen dishes covering them as lids. These pots with a Kalasa (a small metallic vessel with a cocoanut over it) are placed in a room set apart for that purpose, and worshipped as representing the marriage diety. A dinner also is given, sheep or goat being specially killed for the occasion.

On the second day, a *chappara* or marriage booth, is constructed. This should have twelve posts of which one is called the milk-post, or marriage pillar, and should be green wood of the mango or *termînalia paniculata* tree. In the night, the bride's party repair to a place outside the town, where, on a spot washed with cow-dung water, they place cooked food on three plantain leaves as an offering, and consecrate it with water dyed red with saffron and lime, and return home without looking back.

On the third day, the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their respective houses. They are seated on plank seats, and are besmeared with saffron, and the ceremony is known as the saffron ceremony, or bride and bridegroom ceremony.

The fourth is the chief day of the ceremony. Early in the morning the bridegroom is brought to the bride's house. He is made to sit by the side of the bride. The maternal uncle of the bride comes and pares the nails of the bride and bridegroom. Then the couple are given a bath, called *malē nīru* in Canarese, and *todo nillu* in Telugu. They stand one stooping over the other, and so the married women pour water from four vessels. After this the bridegroom is sent out with a party to a place outside the village and sits under a tree. From there a procession of the people of his party go to the bride's house, taking with them in a bamboo box, jewels and clothes intended for her, and other sundry articles such as rice, fruits, and other edible articles, which they present to the bride. Then her party go in procession led by a married woman carrying a *kalasa* in her hands. They in their turn bring to the bridegroom clothes, toe-rings, *bhashinga* or the marriage coronet and other presents. The bridegroom puts on all these things, and holding a dagger, is taken to the marriage booth. The two parties meet near the

marriage booth and a show of resistance is offered by each party by throwing half-pounded rice (called Bēra) at the other. The bridegroom is conducted to the marriage dais, and is made to stand there. In the meantime the bride is decorated, and is brought to the pandal with the *bhashinga*, and placed standing opposite the bridegroom, with a cloth held as a screen between them. The *purohit* is then called in, and the bride and bridegroom throw on each other's heads some cummin seed and jaggery, the girl if small in stature, being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative. The *tali** is touched by all those present, and the bridegroom, with the countenance and blessing of the men assembled, ties it round the neck of the bride. Both the bride and the bridegroom tie the *kankanam*† to their wrists and stand facing each other. Their hands are joined together holding a cocoanut on which milk is poured first by the parents of the bride, and then by those of the bridegroom and lastly by the whole assembly.

The married couple then sit side by side, with the fringes of their clothes tied together. Some elderly married women besmear them with saffron and put over them *sése*, that is, rice from both their hands, first on the knees, then on the shoulders and then on the heads of the happy couple. The assembly then disperses after the distribution of *pan supari*.

In the evening the couple are shown the star called Arundhati.‡

Another ceremony that takes place that day, is that of the partaking of meal from the same dish. Two

* The small gold disk worn by a married woman as a symbol of the married state.

† This is a twisted thread of black and white wool, with a turmeric root and an iron ring tied to it.

‡ Arundhati is the wife of Vasishta, the sage, and is believed to be in the constellation of stars known as Great Bear.

or three persons from both sides sit together and eat food from the same dish, to indicate the union of both the parties.

On the last day, called the Nāgavali day, the *kankanam* or wrist thread is taken off, and *pūja* is made to what is called *simhasana* (seat) and to a heap of arecanuts and betel leaves, and the latter are distributed to the assembly. A certain order is observed in *tāmbula* giving; Kannayya (the eponymous hero), Vālmiki and the household deity, are named first, and then the local head of the caste (*katte mane yajaman*) and the convenor (beadle), and then the others in the assembly get the leaves in turn.

The next two days are employed in complimentary visits and feastings among the two parties.

The bride's price or *tera* in Canarese and *oli* in Telugu is Rs. 12. But a discount of 1½ rupees is allowed if asked for, except when a widower marries a maid, when the full amount of *tera* namely Rs. 12 and sometimes even a *madu* of 1½ rupees more is levied.

Marriage expenses in a family of moderate means amount for the bride's party to Rs. 30: and the bridegroom's party incur about Rs. 100 to be spent on jewels, *tera* and feeding expenses. There is no particular feeling that the present expenditure is in any way exorbitant; and no movement in favour of reduction is discernible or called for. Marriage customs prevailing among the Ūru Bedas of the Ceded Districts and among those in Belgaum, Dharwar and Sholapur are somewhat different from those in Mysore, and they depend on the contact of culture and environment.*

* Thurston, E: *The Tribes and Castes of India*, Vol. I., pages 200-206.

When a girl first shows signs of puberty, she is considered impure for three days, and does not come in contact with the other members of the family. She cannot use the metal plate for taking her meal which is placed on leaves for her. She bathes on the fourth day, and the washerman supplies her with washed clothes. A shed of green leaves is put up on an auspicious day, in which the girl remains apart for three nights getting a particularly rich food consisting of cocoanut, gingelly oil, pulses and jaggery, the while. She is exhibited in the evenings seated, dressed and decorated, in the company of married women who congregate for the show. Songs are sung and saffron, *kunkumam* and *pan supari* are distributed to all the visitors. During this period, the girl is kept awake at nights, and is allowed to sleep only in day time, for fear that some evil spirits which prowl about only in the dark might take hold of her. PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

Intimation of the event is sent by the village washerman to the parents of the husband if she is already married. It is considered proper for the husband and wife to begin living together within sixteen days. If the girl happens to be unmarried, they try to get her married within the year of her attaining the age. They have a saying that a third head should not appear in the year of marriage, and so where the girl who is married is already of an age to live in her husband's company, intercourse is put off for at least three months.

Widow marriage is allowed and generally practised, but the form differs considerably from the regular marriage, and is styled (*Kudike*) union, *i.e.*, the giving of a cloth to wear, and the tying of a *tali*. WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The ceremony is simple and is generally performed in the evening. The match, as may be expected, is

as a rule, settled by the consent of the parties, and in most cases is preceded by a *de facto* union. The headman and others of the caste assemble in front of the house of the woman, who comes out after a bath. The new husband presents her with a cloth which she puts on. The Yajaman to whom their intentions are formally announced gives his sanction to the union. Thereafter the husband ties the *tali*, which is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. A fine called, *Kannayyana Kanike* is levied from the man, and a feast is held afterwards. The same form is observed in the case of a divorced woman re-marrying, and of an unmarried girl who has clandestinely conceived being married to her lover; sometimes this form is also resorted to in preference to the more regular one to save expenses.

A woman married in this form has certain disabilities. She is not allowed to take part in the ceremonies of a regular marriage, and is not even allowed to enter a marriage booth. She cannot carry *Kalasa* on any auspicious day. The issue for two or three generations at least, are deprived of the privileges of regular marriages. The *Kudike* marriage section is kept separate, and in some places becomes so defined that these disabilities continue to attach to it for generations together.

With regard to the right of inheritance, as soon as the widow is remarried, she becomes divested of her rights to the previous husband's property and even her children continue in his family. This is, of course, compensated for by the acquisition of title to her second husband's property.

A widow cannot marry any one belonging to her first husband's *gotra*, or division; much less therefore his elder or younger brother.

DIVORCE. Loss of caste and adultery are good grounds for divorce. The aggrieved party, generally the husband,

complains to the caste *Yajman* regarding the conduct of his partner, and obtains his sanction for divorce in the caste assembly, who fully investigates the details and determines which party is to blame. If the charge is made out against the wife, the husband tears her *tali*, in token of separation, and gets back the jewels, which he may have given her during their conjugal life. He has to pay a fine to the caste.

The woman thus divorced is married in *kudike* form. The bridegroom (generally her paramour) pays to the previous husband the *tera* amount and the expenses of the marriage, and has also to pay a fine to the caste, and incur the expenses of feeding the caste men. It is said that adultery on the part of the husband is also a good reason for divorce, and he in that case, gets back neither the *tera* amount nor the marriage expenses.

ADULTERY.

If the married woman is guilty of adultery with a man of the same or higher caste, it may be condoned at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste.

DEDICATION OF BASAVIS.

The practice of making Basavis * (a word which is apparently feminine of Basava, Nandi, the bull of Siva) of women obtains in this caste. Parents without any male issue, often instead of adopting a son in the usual manner dedicate a daughter by a simple ceremony to the god of some temple. She remains permanently in her father's house, inherits the property and performs the funeral rights and, in all respects, she takes the place of a son. This may be done in accordance with a vow

* Near Kurubatti Mailari Temple, it is said, the Basavis are dedicated in a large number on the day of the God's marriage. The ceremony is very simple. Girls are brought to the temple after bathing, and in front of it kankanams and talis are tied to them. They have to sleep that night in the temple.

taken when a girl is afflicted with any dangerous illness, and this conversion into a Basavi being, in opposition to all civilized notions, is regarded as a dedication to God's service.

The dedication of a Basavi is made by a ceremony which, as far as possible, resembles a marriage. The *Chappara* with twelve pillars is erected, a procession goes to the temple, where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger, and the *tali* (marriage badge) is tied to her by the *purohit*, by a maternal uncle, or maternal uncle's son. A feast is given to the castemen, and after three days, the girl is free to mate with any man who is not of a lower caste than her own. The first man who receives her favours has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Her children become legitimate, and are entitled to a share of their grand father's properties. For purposes of marriage, the issues of such a Basavi are as eligible as those of the women regularly married. Parents desiring male issue of their own, cure from sickness in themselves or their children or relief from some calamity, similarly dedicate their daughters.

"The right of a daughter to thus inherit the properties in violation of the ordinary canons of Hindu law is a point which has never yet been actually settled by the civil courts, but the Revenue Authorities have frequently registered the *patta* of a deceased raiyat in the name of his Basavi daughter, the more distant kindred who would in ordinary circumstances have succeeded, having freely admitted her claims to be equal to that of a son." *

" The ceremony of dedication differs greatly in its " details in different temples. If dedicated in a Vaishnava temple the girl

* *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Fawcett's Paper*, Vol II.

is usually branded with the '*chank*' and '*Chakram*' on the points of both shoulders and over the right breast. If initiated in a Goddess's temple, the ceremony is different and her position afterwards differs in several essentials.' A second ceremony is necessary when she attains puberty."

"The children of a Basavi are legitimate and neither they nor their mother are treated as being, in any way, inferior to their fellows. A Basavi, indeed, from the fact that she never can be a widow is a most welcome guest at weddings. Basavis differ from the ordinary dancing girls dedicated in temples, in that their duties in the temples (which are confined to the shrine of their dedication) are almost nominal, and that they do not prostitute themselves promiscuously for hire. A Basavi lives faithfully with one man, who allows her a fixed sum weekly for her maintenance and a fixed quantity of new raiment annually, and she works for her family as hard as any other woman. Basavis are outwardly indistinguishable from other women and are for the most part poor coolies. In some places there is a custom by which they are considered free to change their protectors once a year at the village car festival or some similar anniversary, and they usually seize this opportunity of putting their partner's affection to the test by suggesting that a new cloth and a bodice would be welcome presents. So poor, as a rule, are the husbands that the police aver, that these anniversaries are preceded by an annual crop of petty thefts and burglaries committed by them in their efforts to provide their customary gifts. The High Court has held that the dedication of a minor girl as a Basavi is an offence under section 372, Indian Penal Code, but the accused was not represented when the case was argued and several points which distinguished the results of the ceremony from that of the initiation of the ordinary dancing girl were not placed before the learned judges."*

Besides these, who are known as born Basavis (pottu Basavis) there is yet another class of public women called Kulam Biddalu, or children of the caste, who are dedicated as follows :—

A widow, even with issue, and a divorced woman may be made children of the caste, after paying a fine to the caste, and standing the expense of a feast according to her means. She asks for permission

* *Gazetteer of Bellary District*, Vol. I, pages 70-71.

formally at the meeting of the castemen, who as a token of consent give her a handful of food for the feast which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the same license to share her bed with strangers (not of an inferior caste) as a Basavi has. The chief distinction between the two is that the issue of a Basavi is regarded as legitimate for all purposes, while those of a daughter of the caste, though legitimate, rank only as the issue of *kudike* or conventional marriage.

From the above, it may be inferred that sexual license before marriage is not visited with any condign punishment. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will be married to her paramour in *kudike* form if he is of the same caste. If he will not accept her, or is of a higher caste, a fine will be levied, and she will be made a child of the caste, but if the paramour is of lower caste she loses her caste. In cases of regular marriages no courtship is known, and the parents of the parties bring about the connection. But *kudike* marriages are, as a rule, by courtship and consent of the parties. The average marriageable age for the boys may be taken as about eighteen.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that owing to the promiscuous unions described in the foregoing pages, the offspring arising therefrom come under the following grades :—

1. Swajāthee Sampradāyam—Pure Bedas, the offspring of parents who have been married in the proper divisions and sub-divisions.

2. Kudakonna Sampradāyam.—The offspring of a Bēda woman who is separated or divorced from her husband who is still alive, and cohabits with another member of the caste.

3. Vithunthu Sampradāyam—The offspring of a Bēda widow by a member of the same caste.

4. Arsampradāyam—The offspring of a Beda man or woman resulting from cohabitation with a member of some other caste.

In conjugal relations the offspring of the Swajāthee Sampradāyam should marry among themselves. The offspring of two and three marry among themselves or with each other. Both are considered legitimate; but they cannot intermarry with the offspring of the first and the last; because, the children by Arsampradāyam are outcastes who must marry only among themselves.*

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

After the birth of a child, the midwife cuts the navel cord, bathes the mother and the baby in warm water, and lays them on a cot in a retired part of the house. The mother is given a mixture of molasses, dry-cocoanut kernel and decoction of dry dates, dry ginger and pepper. Mother is fed on boiled rice, wheat puddings, boiled millet mixed with molasses and clarified butter. A woman remains unclean for five days after childbirth, and during each of these days, her head is anointed with clarified butter, and her body is rubbed with turmeric powder mixed with oil. She is then bathed in warm water. An earthen pot with burning cowdung is laid beneath her cot. The child is rubbed with oil and bathed in warm water. From the second to the thirteenth day, the mother and the baby are bathed every second day. The child is named and cradled on the thirteenth day, and millet, grams, beans and pulses mixed together are served to all those present. Feeding takes place on an auspicious day during the sixth month.

The ceremony of tonsure takes place either during the third month in some places or after the first year in others.

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, page 207.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

They follow ordinarily the Hindu Law of inheritance. *Illatam* (*maneyaĩana in Canarese*) or affiliation of the son-in-law is practised and such a son-in-law gets a share equal to that of a son. A Basavi daughter also gets an equal share with her brothers, and when she dies, if the family is undivided, her sons step into her place, and are entitled to her share. A destitute sister is generally given a cow and a cloth every year.

TRIBAL CONSTITUTION.

The Bedas belong to what is called the Nine Phanas or Left Hand section. They have a caste council at which their tribal disputes are settled. It is presided over by a headman who has under him a servant, beadle, known as *Kondigadu*. The jurisdiction of a headman is called *Kattemane*, and any matter affecting the caste, such as admission of an outsider, *Kudike* marriage, dedication of a girl as Basavi or a *Kulambidda*, comes before him for settlement. Any transgression of the caste rule is punished by him. And for all these services, he receives *maryāde*, or the conventional fee, and a special *tāmbula*. When, however, a dispute of a very serious nature, affecting not only one *Kattemane* but several, has to be settled, *Yejmāns* of several Kattemanes are invited. There is at the head of several Kattemanes, a Dore, or chief, whose presence is necessary only in cases of great importance. On marriage and other occasions, the Dore, or chief also gets a *tāmbula*.

In Belgaum, and Sholapur the following custom was in vogue among the castemen at one time. A woman put out of caste for adultery or for eating with a member of a lower caste had her head shaved in the presence of *Kattemane* (head man), and then allowed to go back. The present practice is to cut off five hairs of her head with the razor, and for the caste

headman to touch her tongue with the live torch of rui wood. A little liquor also is given her to drink, which is held to purify the body. If a man is guilty of incest with a kinswoman of his own stock, he has to purify himself by shaving off his moustaches, beard and top-knot, by bathing in cold water, and by drinking a small quantity of liquor in the presence of the *guru* and castemen. In such cases when fines are collected, the amount must be sufficient to cover the expenses connected with feeding the *panchayaṭdars* (members of the council) and the remuneration of the headman.*

ADMISSION OF OUTSIDERS.

Outsiders belonging to any recognised higher classes are, though of course rarely, admitted into the Beda caste, a formal ceremony being observed for the purpose. The headmen of two or three Kattemanes, or caste guilds, as well as other castemen are assembled, due notice being given of the purpose of the meeting. Then the person who wishes to be admitted comes to the assembly, and prostrating himself before it, begs that he may be admitted into the caste. A consultation is held, and is sometimes prolonged for two or three days during which time the members are fed at the expenses of the applicant. A fine together with a *hana* or four annas as Kannayya's tax (devoted to the temple of that god), is levied from the neophyte, who is purified with the five products of the cow, his tongue being slightly branded with heated gold. He is also made to drink holy water from a temple. Then the castemen sit down to a feast to receive a morsel from each of the elders before the feeding begins, and partake of the food thus collected with the permission of the assembly, which is given in a set formula that there is no longer any impediment. (doṡha.)

* *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, page 82.

Such perversion from higher castes is generally due to the man having had illicit relation with some woman of the caste. Such a recruit becomes a member of the caste for all practical purposes, and marries the woman, by some inferior form. However, the stigma may cling to his descendants for three or four generations.

RELIGION. They are Vaishnavas, and worship Vishnu under the different names of Venkataramana, Chennarāya, Narasihmha, etc. Some of them also have Siva as their family god and go on pilgrimage to Nanjangud, the chief place of Siva worship in the State. Their *guru* or spiritual leader, is a Sri Vaishnava Brahman who pays occasional visits, gives them Chakrānkitam (branding), holy water and receives his fees. Among the minor goddesses worshipped by the Bedas are Gangamma, Pāyamma, Kavelamma, Lakkamma Odisilamma, Marigamma, Durgamma and Challapuramma.

Gangamma (river or water god) is generally worshipped either at the river side or near a tank or other reservoir of water. A place is selected and cleaned with water. Three, five or seven stones are set up, on which saffron is put. Incense is burnt, a new cloth is kept near the images, and cocoanuts are broken. After the worship, the cloth may be worn by any female member in the house. This worship is specially confined to women, and no bloody sacrifices are offered. The other goddesses are worshipped, some in groves, and some in temples. permanently dedicated to them. Sacrifices of sheep, goats and fowls are very freely offered and partaken of by the devotees. Fridays and Tuesdays are the days set apart for the worship, but the worship of Gangamma is always confined to a Monday.

The women on the occasion of Nagalasandi or snake-festival, worship Nagalaswāmi by fasting, and

pouring milk into the holes of white ant-hills. By this a double object is attained. The ant-hill is a favourite dwelling place of Nāga or cobra, and it was the burial place of Vālmiki, so a homage is paid to the two at the same time. The Bedas do not employ Brahmans for religious purposes. They are consulted as to the auspicious times for marriages (*tāli*-tying) and other ceremonies.

To Mari, the village goddess, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. This worship, though a caste function, is specially associated with the village. In the central portion of the village, a temporary shed is erected, and in it an image generally of some grotesque or hideous form is installed. The whole population, except the Brahmans, Jains and Lingāyats, carry their offerings to the Goddess, and the more superstitious of these excepted persons also send votive offerings. In the night a he-buffalo is sacrificed. The remains of the animal are then divided among the twelve members comprising the village corporation. However, most of them do not eat buffalo-flesh; their shares are taken by the village cobler or Mādiga.

Munisvara is another object of common worship, not only among the Bedas, but also among the lower castes. He is believed to be the soul of a saint who lived at a time beyond memory and is said to reside in trees. Under a tree, assumed to be the dwelling place of this spirit, a small temple, hardly big enough for one to get in, is built, and two or three stones are installed therein in the name of this spirit. Sometimes bells are tied to the branches, and when they are shaken by the wind, the sounds are attributed to the sylvan deity. He is considered an evil spirit, and always waiting for an opportunity to enter the body of the person, passing near, and bring on sickness to the victim. He is much dreaded, and

to propitiate him, occasional offerings of goats, fowls and cooked articles are made. The animals sacrificed are eaten by the votaries, but other articles, such as cooked rice, plantains, etc., are left under the tree. They also name their children after this deity.

The spirits of such diseases as cholera and small-pox, are also worshipped. Serpent worship is also common among them, the belief being that by this, skin-disease, disease of the eye, and ulceration in the ear are cured.

"When a Brahman wishes to perform what is called Vontigadu, a ceremony by which he hopes to avert ill luck and induce favourable auspices before celebrating a marriage, he employs a Beda or Boya. There is a story that a Beda was a destitute who died of starvation. It is possible that Brahmans and Sudras hope in some way to ameliorate the sufferings of the tribe by feeding sumptuously a modern representative on the occasion of performing this ceremony. On the morning of the day on which the ceremony is to take place, a Beda is invited to the house. He is given some gingelly oil to anoint himself for a bath. This done he returns home, carrying in his hands a dagger, on the point of which a lime is stuck. He is directed to a cowshed, and there he is given a good meal. After finishing his meal, he steals from the shed and dashes out of the house uttering a piercing yell and waving his dagger, and he is on no account to look behind. The inmates of the house follow for some distance, throwing water wherever he has trodden. By this means all possible bad omens for the coming ceremony are done away with."*

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are buried except in the case of such as

* *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Thurston, E. Vol. I, pages 196-197.

have been afflicted with leprosy or other incurable diseases, when the bodies are burned.

On the death of a person, the body is washed and wrapped in a new cloth. Two new earthen pots are brought, and in one of them a small quantity of rice is cooked in front of the house. This ceremony is very often dispensed with. The body is placed on a bier made of bamboo or kalli (*Euphorbia tirukalli*). Betel leaves and nuts are crushed and the paste is put into the mouth of the diseased. The relatives and friends put rice in the eyes of the deceased, and sometimes beat their mouths. After this the body is carried by four persons to the burial ground, the chief mourner heading the procession with fire in one hand and the pot with the cooked rice in the other. As soon as the carriers and the mourners start off, a woman in the house, a widow if present, sprinkles cow-dung water on the place where the body had been kept, and cleans it. Half way to the burial ground the body is set down, and balls of cooked rice are thrown around it. It is then carried straight to the burial ground. By this time a Mādiga of the village will have dug a grave ready, for which labour a small fee is paid. The body is carried round the grave three times, and is then lowered into it. The bier is taken together with any jewels which the deceased may have worn at the time of death. The body is then laid on its back with the head to the south, and the grave is closed in. A small mound is raised on the ground, and four quarter anna pieces are laid on the four corners. Another anna is placed on the grave for *Kadupapa*, and is intended to be the price of the ground taken up for the grave, and this is appropriated by the Holeya of the village. Thereafter the chief mourner with an earthen pot filled with water, is made to go round the grave three times, and at the end of each turn,

a stone is thrown at the vessel by some bystander, so as to make a hole. With the water thus leaking he makes three rounds, and then breaks the vessel on the grave with his back turned towards it, and goes away without looking back. The chief mourner and the persons that carried the body wash themselves in a tank or river and return home in wet clothes. By this time the house has been cleaned, and on the spot where the deceased expired, are kept a light on a window and an *ekka* twig, which the party must see before they go to their houses. On the third day, a ceremony called giving food and water to the deceased takes place. The chief mourner with other castemen takes some rice and vegetables to the burial ground and serves them on the grave on a plantain leaf. The party withdraw to a distance, expecting crows to come and eat the food. When the crows have eaten it, the party go to a tank or river, bathe and return home. No further ceremony is observed till the twelfth day. On that day the whole house is whitewashed. The chief mourner as well as all the Dāyādas (agnates) have a bath.

A Brahman *purohit* is called for purifying the house with holy water. Then a party go to the burial ground, and on the grave are served up various dishes of specially prepared food. The chief mourner gets his head shaved. After bathing, the party go to the temple and return home. All the agnates and other relations are invited and treated to a feast. This day cows, shoes, umbrellas and other things are given in charity to Brahmans, their number depending upon the means of the family.

In the case of an unmarried girl or a child, on the third day some milk and edibles are placed on the ground and no further ceremony is observed.

The period of pollution in the case of children is three days. During this period the near agnates do

not put on the caste mark, or eat any sweet substance or drink milk. They should not enter each other's houses, much less touch them.

These men do not perform *srādhas*; but on the new moon day in the month of Bhadrapada, and on the New Year's Day, they make *puja* in the names of the deceased ancestors. They instal a *kalasa* in the house, place near it new clothes, burn frankincense and offer prayers to it. They invite their castemen to a dinner.

OCCUPATION.

The Bedas even now justify their own old designation of Kirātas and still possess the hunting habits. They are skillful in tracking, stalking, lying in ambush and in game runs both with and without specially prepared bait and decoy. They overtake animals with greater speed and endurance. In certain cases they use the active services of dogs and stags (tamed). Very often the tribesmen go together, and organise a party for hunting.

On the Telugu New Year's Day, the Bedas organise a party of their own men for beats, believing that a successful game on that day would be held to be the best of the auguries during the coming year. They are all very jubilant, that all except the old and infirm take part in the expedition, and the tribesmen from different villages vie with one another in the display of their old primitive weapons for hunting pigs and other wild animals of the forests in their vicinity. "They are generally equipped with matchlock guns, daggers or hog-spears, nets like lawn tennis nets used in drives for young deer or hares. They organize drive for pigs, hunt bears in a fearless manner. The following account in *the Madras Mail*, 1902, may be found to be interesting in this connection. "We used to sleep on the top of one of the hills on a moon-light night. On the top of every hill

around, a Beda was found watching for the bears to come at dawn, and frantic signals showed when one has been spotted. We hurried off to the place, to try to cut the bear off from his residence among the boulders, but the country was terribly rough and the hills were covered with a peculiarly *wait-a-bitthorn*. This did not baulk the Bedas. An European who was one of the party was asked to wait outside the jumble of rocks. Each man took off his turban, wound round his left forearm to act as a shield from the attacks of the bear, lit a rude torch, grasped his long iron headed spear, and coolly walked into the inky blackness of the enemy's stronghold to turn him out for him to be shot at. The European shikari was ashamed of the part assigned to him, and was asked to be allowed to go inside with them. But this suggestion was put aside. Because one could not see to shoot in the darkness, and if one fired, the smoke hung so low and so long in the still air of the caves, that it might give an unpleasant advantage to the bear and finally bullets fired at close quarters, might rebound unknowingly. So he had to wait." "Of a certain cunning bear," records the same writer, "unable to shake the Bedas off, he had to take refuge at the bottom of a sort of dark pit, which was so deep, that neither spear nor torches could reach him. Three of the Bedas clambered in after him, when the bear concluded that after all his refuge was unsafe, rushed out, knocking one of the three men against the rock with a force which badly hurt one shoulder, clambered out of the pit and was kept straight by the Bedas until he got the entrance of his residence where he was waiting for him."

They use a bullock to stalk antelope, which they shoot with match-locks. Some keep a tame buck which they let loose in the vicinity of a herd of

antelopes having previously fastened a net over his horns. As soon as the tame animal approaches the herd, the leading buck will come forward to investigate the intruder. The tame buck does not run away. A fight naturally ensues, and the exchange of a few butts finds them fastened together by the net. It is then necessary for the shikaris to rush up, and finish the strife with a knife. They are skillful in tree-climbing and honey-gathering, and in this respect they are as skillful as the Kaders of the Cochin Forests.*

In every village the Bedas have a gymnasium called *Garidimane*, a building without any ventilation often constructed partly underground, in which the ideal excercise consists in using dumb-bells and clubs until a profuse perspiration follows. They get up regular wrestling matches, tie a band of straw round the leg, and charge all and sundry to remove it or back themselves to perform feats of strength, such as running up a steep hill with a bag of grain on their back. Wrestling matches are held in a retired spot outside the village, to witness which a crowd of many hundreds collect. The wrestlers have their hair on their head cleanly shaved, so that the adversary cannot seize them by the hair, and the moustache is trimmed short for the same reason. In the forests where tigers and cheetahs frequent, they construct an enclosure corresponding to a wooden trap with two enclosures in one of which a goat is kept as a bait. When the animal enters the enclosure, the door is closed by an ingenious contrivance, when it is speared to death. Their hunting habits are declining.

The active habits of the Bedas qualified them to be enlisted as soldiers in the wars of South India during the eighteenth century. Col. Wilkes speaks of

* *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page 15.

the brave armies of the Palyegars of Chitaldrug* who belonged to the Beda tribe. Hyder employed them as scouts to ascertain the whereabouts of the enemies, and to poison the wells used by them with the milk-hedge (*euphorobia tiruukalli*). They were characterised as brave and faithful thieves. They still possess some of their old weapons (swords, daggers, spears and match-locks), which I had the opportunity of seeing at Chitaldrug. They have now settled themselves to agriculture as their chief occupation. As is the case with all agricultural classes in the State, many are petty raiyatwari occupants of lands, paying revenue direct to the Government; while many cultivate the lands of others as tenants on "*vara*," generally paying half the produce to the superior holder. The system of joint-ownership of village lands is not in force anywhere in the State. Some who are village watchmen, known as Talāris, have some free lands (service ināms) or get a recognised quantity of grain from each raiyat at the harvest time. Several of them are landless day labourers, earning wages varying from two to five annas a day. There are no nomadic cultivators in the caste.

AGRICULTURAL BELIEFS.

They have many beliefs, some superstitious and some empirical, in regard to the agricultural operations, which, however, are common to almost all the cultivating classes in the State, and which are embodied in popular sayings, such as the following. The first ploughing of the season must be commenced on a Sunday or a Thursday. No ploughing should be done on Mondays. Seeds should not be sown on Mondays and Thursdays. There are some popular sayings about the efficacy of rains in certain specific seasons.

* Wilke's *Historical Sketches of South India, Mysore.* 1810-17.

A scarecrow (generally an old earthen pot with eyes and other marks of the face roughly daubed over) placed on the top of crossed sticks dressed with rags, is often set up in fields, with the double object of frightening away birds and beasts, and averting the potency of the evil eye.

When undertaking any important work such as the sinking of a well, or the building of a house, it is usual to worship Ganēsa made of cow-dung, in the form of a cone. Sometimes a goat, a sheep or a fowl is sacrificed on such occasions.

If an eclipse of the sun or the moon occurs when the crops are fully grown, the owners of the fields sometimes bathe, and sacrifice a sheep or goat to the field. Boiled rice is mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal, and sacttered all over the field.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Beda men are generally dark in complexion, and are of average height. They are hardy, muscular and enduring. They wear short drawers extending to the knees, and sometimes only a loin cloth. Their women wear *sari* like other Sudras without dividing the skirt, but such of them as are not Basavis, do not wear bodice. The family women usually adopt this mode of attire. During the rainy season they are seen wearing a woollen blanket as a body cloth which is sometimes held over the head as a protection against rain and wind. The same cloth further serves as a basket for bringing back to the town, heavy loads of grass. Some wear a loin cloth. Those that work in the fields carry steel tweezers on a string round the loins with which to remove babul thorns (*accacia arabia*), twigs of which are used as protective hedge for fields under cultivation. As protection against demoniacal attacks, they wear as charms, a string round the right upper arm with metal talisman box attached to it, a similar

string round the ankles, a quarter anna rolled in a cotton cloth on the upper arm; some have the figure of Hanuman (Monkey-God) tattooed, on their shoulders. The women are also tattooed on the face and on the upper extremity with elaborate designs of 5 cars, scorpions, centipedes, Sita's *jade* (plated hair), Hanuman and parrots. They are also branded by the priest of a Hanuman shrine on the shoulders with the figure of *chank* (shell) (Turbinella rapa) and *chakkram*, (wheel) in the belief that it will help them to go to Swarga. Beda women who are branded become Basavis (dedicated prostitutes). Necklets of coral, ivory beads, are also worn by them as a vow to bring good luck.

MYĀSA BĒDAS.

ORIGIN OF THE TRIBE—HABITATION—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—POLYGAMY—CIRCUMCISION—TRIBAL ORGANISATION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

MYĀSA-BĒDAS or Myāsa Nāyakars form a distinct endogamous division of the Bēdas. Among them are included the Chenchus. The former mostly live in the hilly tracts and the forests of the plains outside the inhabited area of the Chitaldrug District.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TRIBE.

A certain Bēda woman, the tradition goes, had two sons ; of whom the elder, after taking his food, went to work in the fields. The younger son on coming home asked his mother to give him food, and she gave him *chōlam* (millet) and vegetables. While he was eating them, he recognised the smell of meat which provoked him, because his mother had given nothing more. He beat her to death. He then searched the house, and on opening a pot from which the smell of meat emanated, found only a rotten fibre of some plant. He cursed his luck and went to the forests where he lived in penance. He became the ancestor of Myāsa Bēdas.* Another story says that they are the descendants of the sage Vālmiki as described in the *Rāmayana*. There is also the following legend widely current among them. A black dwarf, ugly in appearance, and ferocious in habits, was created by the *rishis* from the thigh of the dead King Goti of the Solar Race. He was found unfit to rule, and was therefore driven out to the jungles where he lived on the forest produce and by hunting. In his wanderings he met Mēnaka, a celestial nymph

* Thurston, E : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, page 187.

of matchless beauty, and made love to her, and the union was blessed with seven sons, namely Nishād, Shera, Kuvangriyāri, Salika, Ksharakāri, Ansāris and Sheshtaradharis. They became the progenitors of different clans with different occupations. From them arose seven *gotras* or family names, namely, Gojaldaro, Gosalru or Gurral, Bhadmandalkāru, Saranga Gauda Bahsarandlu, Tayarasmantāru, Pingal Rangamanya, Rajadhiraj.* Myāsa Bedas were much prized as fighting men in the wars of the eighteenth century, and the brave palyegars of Chitaldrug belonged to this community. Hyder Ali also had a large number of them as soldiers who fought at the battle of Ginje. Several years after when Hyder Ali became the ruler of Mysore, he employed them as scouts for ascertaining the whereabouts of the enemies, and for poisoning the wells used by them with the milk-hedge (*euphorbia tirukalli*). Col. Wilkes characterizes them as brave soldiers and faithful thieves. In 1751, the select army of Morari Rao consisted of these soldiers. They still keep some of their old weapons, namely, swords, daggers, spears and matchlocks. They still preserve their active habits, and are perhaps the only people who are fond of manly sports.†

HABITATIONS

I had the opportunity of seeing them in one of their hamlets at a short distance from Molakālmuru in the Chitaldrug District. The hamlet consists of 25 to 30 huts all surrounded by a thorny fence the entrance into which was somewhat difficult. Their huts which are constructed of bamboo frame work, are circular in shape about twelve to fifteen feet in diameter and thatched with leaves. There is only one small entrance, which is like that of the Toda huts on the Nilgiris. It can be entered only by crawling.

* Syed Sirajul Hassan: *The Castes and Tribes of H. E. H.*
† The N. D. Vol. I., pages 35, 36.

Close to the entrance is the grinding mill near which is the small storage of corn. Their fireplace is on one side. A few vessels for cooking are also seen therein. A family of five or six members reside therein, and it is surprising to see how they can sleep together in so small a space. They sleep on the floor with a blanket which serves as a mat and to cover themselves with. The huts are quite air-tight, and the inmates appear to be strong and healthy. The tribesmen are said to be migratory. They are now taking a little to agriculture and collecting forest produce. After harvest they choose another locality, and put up new huts with the materials of their old ones or with new materials. In the midst of their huts there is also a building to locate their god which they call Sāligram, preserved in a vessel of basketry adorned with silver embroidery. They would on no account show its contents.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

Myāsa Bēdas observe the same marriage prohibitions as the Ūr Bēdas. The preliminaries of marriage are mostly arranged by the parents of the parties and a few elderly men belonging to the hamlet. On the wedding day the bridal pair sit on a raised platform, and five married women place rice stained with turmeric on the feet, knees, shoulders and head of the bridegroom. This is done three times, and five married women perform a similar ceremony for the bride. The bridegroom takes up the *tāli*, and with the sanction of the assembled Bedas, ties it on the bride's neck. They do not entertain Brahmans to preside over the ceremony. It is then followed by a feast to the tribesmen.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

Girls during the first monthly sickness are lodged in temporary huts put up for the occasion. The period of seclusion is sixteen days, after which they are

bathed to be free from uncleanliness. The girls during the period are fed with nutritious food. The temporary edifices are generally burned on the bathing day.

POLYGAMY. Polygamy is allowed, but polyandry and widow marriage are unknown. Divorce is permitted on the grounds of ill-treatment and adultery. A divorced woman is treated as a widow. Though remarriage of widows is not permitted, there is nothing to prevent a widow from keeping a house for a man to beget children by him. The couple announce their intention of living together by giving a feast to the tribesmen. If they omit this formality, they would be regarded as outcastes.

CIRCUMCISION. When Bēda boys are ten or twelve years of age, the rite of circumcision is performed for them. A very small skin is cut off by a man of the tribe, and the boy is then kept for eleven days in a separate hut untouched by any body. His food is given him on a piece of stone. On the twelfth day he is bathed, given a new cloth and brought back to the house. His old clothes and the stone on which his food was given are thrown away. His relations in a body take him to a tankidu (*cassoa auriculata*) bush to which are offered cocoanuts and flowers. It is then worshipped by all of them. This tree receives reverence at funerals. These customs so characteristic of the Mussalmans appear to have been imbibed, when the tribesmen were included in the hordes of Hyder Ali. Other rites such as Panchagaviyam, the burning of the tongue with the nim (*melia azadirachta*) stick are likewise practised prior to the youth being received into the communion.

TRIBAL ORGANISATION. They have their tribal headman and the elderly members who settle all social disputes. There are

three *Kattemanes* in Nāyakanahatti, Nannivala and Chellekara and they have the power to settle all social and religious disputes. In difficult matters, Anagundi Samasthānam is still their appellate authority. Fine and excommunication are the usual punishments for delinquents.

RELIGION. The Myāsa Bedas are animists, but when questioned they say they are Vaishnavites and worship Saligram. They have no *guru* but a member of their tribe acts as a *pujari*. They do not admit Brahmans as their *gurus*.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS. The Myāsa Bedas generally bury the dead. It is noted by Buchanan that those who die unmarried, become Virika (heroes), and to commemorate them, temples and images are erected where offerings of cloth and the like are made to them. If these be neglected, they appear in dreams and threaten those who are forgetful of their duty. These temples consist of a heap of cairns of stones in which the roof of a small cavity is supported by two or three flags. The image is a rude shapeless stone, which is occasionally oiled.

OCCUPATION. They collect minor forest produce and sell them to contractors with the proceeds of which they purchase articles of food and other necessaries. They cultivate dry crops.

The Bedas hunt after all kinds of beasts and birds, attacking them with dagger, spears, match-lock guns, sticks, and clubs. They attack wild animals by lying in ambush by putting up, as it were, leaves and twigs. They train dogs and hawks and get their help in hunting. They surround an animal, and by beat of drums, cause a great noise, and driving the animal into a corner, they kill it with spears. They

sometimes spread nets, and by frightening the animal cause them to be ensnared. They catch tigers and cheetahs by building temporary stone cages which have two compartments. In the one a sheep or some prey is tied, and this can only be seen from the other compartment. The door wherein the wild animal is to get in to pounce upon its prey, is so constructed, that when the animal tries to get into the upper portion, the trap-door slips down, and the door-way is closed. Thus wild animals are caught in the stone and mud cages. The prey is quite safe in the other compartment.

Bedas organize a party during Ugādi festival for hunting wild boars, porcupines and other wild animals. They drive the game by fire, and beat of drums assisted by dogs into nets and pits or to a part, lying in ambush. They use for hunting, a big trap made of strong rope of the thickness of one inch which is tied to trees in a valley, and is supported in the middle by bamboos to a height of six to seven feet, so that the game may not jump over the trap. But they use traps of thinner rope for rabbit hunting.

In the Gubbi Taluk the cheetahs and tigers are hunted by their lying in ambush and by means of traps and baits. The hunter, after discovering that a cow a sheep or any other animal that has been killed by a tiger or cheetah and partly eaten up, comes to the conclusion that the animal will come again to the spot. The next day, where the carcase is lying at a distance from the spot, he digs up a pit to a depth of six to seven feet according to the height of the hunter, and conceals himself therein, by covering the pit with leaves. And from this pit he first sees the animal, and when it comes up to eat the prey, he aims at it. The Myāsa Bedas use firearms of the sort that is handled by the military sepoys or a sort of antiquated fire arm which they cal *Kandaka*

Banduki. When it is found that a position in a jungle track is infested with cheetah or a tiger, they put a trap or cage in which there are two apartments, provided with strong iron bars. In one of the apartments a sheep or a goat is tied up, and the other apartment is left open with an aperture to allow the tiger or cheetah to get into the cage. Particular care is taken to cover the three sides of the cage with green leaves with a view to give the impression to the animal that it is not a cage. As soon as the tiger enters the cage, the aperture comes down and closes up, and the tiger intended to be hunted will be found in the second apartment. The principal weapon used is the firearm. Clubs, spears, and axes, are used in hunting pigs and rabbits. In rabbit and pig hunting, there will be a number of persons engaged, and for hunting other wild animals the required number of men are taken for help by the headman. The wild animals that are found and hunted, are tigers, cheetahs, wild pigs and rabbits.

FOOD.

They are meat eaters and eat the flesh of cows and buffaloes, but avoid fowls which they never touch. They avoid all kinds of drinks. Chōlam (millet) is their chief article of food.

APPEARANCE DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Myāsa Bedas are seen in all shades of complexion, but are generally dark coloured. Both men and women are of average height, and are healthy looking. The males wear a loin cloth and a turban. Very often they cover their bodies with a coarse blanket. Myāsa Beda women wear a *sari* which covers their whole bodies. They do not wear toe-rings. Both they and the Ūr Beda women tattoo on the face and on the upper extremities with elaborate designs of cars, scorpions, centipedes, Sita's jadē (plaited hair), Hanuman and Parrots. Men are branded by their

priests, with the figure of Hanuman, a chank shell, (*Turbinella rapa*), and *chakram* (wheel) in the belief that they will go to heaven. When a Myāsa man is branded, he has to purchase a cylindrical basket called Gopala, bamboo, a stick, a fan and winnow. When female Bedas are branded, they become Basavis.

BESTA.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION—HABITATIONS, FURNITURE AND DOMESTIC UTENSILS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—WIDOW MARRIAGE—POLYANDRY—FAMILY LIFE—INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION—CASTE CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

BESTAS are a caste of fishermen scattered all over the State, and are found in large numbers in the river districts of Mysore and Shimoga. They are known by different names according to the localities in which they live. In the eastern districts they are called Bestas, in the southern Toreya, Ambiga and Parivara (retinue), while in the western parts their names are Kabbēras and Gangemakkalu. Telugu speaking population call themselves Boyis. The members who go by these names speak Canarese, and appear to be the same as Bestas.

The name of the caste is derived from the Canarese word Besāda (thrown). Some derive it from Betta hasta or Vetra-hasta, meaning one holding a cane, but this etymology is fanciful, and is based on the following legend. Once upon a time Varuna invited the Sapta Rishis to attend a sacrifice he was celebrating. They agreed to go if he would expel the disturbers of their penance, from the land, and aquatic animals from the face of the earth. He worshipped and sought the help of the God Iswara, who sent Ganga from whom were sprung Suparnarāju, Guharāju, and Suta with thirty-two weapons

in their hands. One of the weapons was a cane, or stick, and descent is traced for this caste from these semi-divine personages.

Several other legends are told, each giving the origin of the whole or a sub-division of the caste. One legend tells that, Sutaru or *Sūtakuladavaru* are sprung from a person who, when Varuna came out of Ganga, carried him over in a boat and landed him. Another legend is to the effect that Santanu Chakravarti had connections with Sātyavati, a low-caste boat-man's girl who thus became the step-mother of Bhishma, who was his son by his other wife Ganga. Since Bhishma otherwise called Gangasuta, was a Besta, being in a way the son of Sātyavati whose children were all Bestas, the latter got the appellation of Gangasutas, or in Canarese Gangamakkalū like Bhishma.

The attendants of Varuna have given to their descendants, the name of Parivaradavaru (retinue of serving men.)

The less usual names, as given by Nanjangud informants, are Dushyanta, Nishāda, Pārasava, Dāsa or Mārgava. According to Manu, a Dushyanta is the son of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. A Nishāda who is to live by fishing and snaring animal is born of a Brahman father and a Sudra mother. Lastly, a Dāsa or Mārgava, who is to subsist by working as a boat-man, is the son of a Nishāda father and an Ayōgava mother. These names are not in vogue, and are apparently suggested for the occasion by some Brahman instructor, as high sounding titles.

The motive for all this has merely been to make out a superior origin of the caste, which, as its main occupation is boating and fishing in the waters, has adopted the name of *Gangāputras* or sons of Ganga.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

According to the last Census, the Bestas numbered 157,870 ; 79,405 being males and 78,465 females. The distribution of the population according to districts and taluks are given below :—*

Bangalore City	612
Bangalore District	18,702
Kolar District	6,561
Tumkur District	4,867
Mysore City	2,374
Bangalore Civil and Military Station ..	136
Mysore District	107,535
Chitaldrug District	5,857
Hassan District	4,404
Kadur District	3,308
Shimoga District	7,652

TALUKS.

Channapatna Taluk	3,193
Kankanhalli	2,774
Bagepalli	1,076
Chikballapur	1,021
Tiptur	1,000
Yedatore	5,906
Hunsur	9,427
Heggaddevankote	9,225
Yelandur Jahgir	5,699
Shimoga	1,285
Gundlupet	7,157
Chamrajnagar	11,103
Nanjangud	14,210
Narsipur	12,247
Seringapatam	3,365
Mandaya	5,007
Krishnarajpete	3,253
Malvalli	9,316
Kadur	1,491

ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS.

The two main divisions are the Canarese and the Telugu Bestas, between whom there is no interdining

* *Mysore Census Report*, Part II.

and intermarriage. From the Deputy Commissioner of the Kolar District, the names of the following divisions, are obtained. Raivata, Chamavi, Kolavar, Gangamakkalu, Bojjonu, Maley Bois, Torayas, Parivaradavaru, Parigirti, Ambiga and Daru. Here Gangamakkalu is a name applied to all in common, and some, as had been already said, are local names. In the Devanhalli Taluk, the following divisions are found to exist, and they are :— Sunnakallu Bestas, Chunnam Bestas (those employed in the preparation of chunam or lime) ; Tore Bestas (those engaged in fishing and carrying palanquins) ; Telugu Bestas (those engaged in carrying the umbrellas of the king) ; Sarai Bestas, Arishena Bestas.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The following are the exogamous clans or *kulās* existing in the community :—

Chinna	.. ..	Gold.
Surya	.. ..	Sun.
Devi	.. ..	Goddess.
Mugilu	.. ..	Cloud.
Muttu	.. ..	Pearl.
Kasturi	.. ..	Musk.
Mallege	.. ..	Jasmine.
Belli	.. ..	Silver.
Chendra	.. ..	Moon.
Suta	.. ..	Charioteer.
Bhashinga	.. ..	Marriage chaplet.
Ratna	.. ..	Precious stone.
Havala	.. ..	Coral bead.

There are two other divisions called Maniravallu and Kadinavallu, but the significance of the term cannot be made out.

It is said that silver ornaments are not worn by those of the Belli Kula except at marriages.

Kasyapa and Kaundinya *Gōtras* called after the *Rishis* Kasypa and Kaundinya, are said to be found in all the endogamous divisions. These *gōtras*

forbid marriages within themselves as is the case with Brahmans, and seem to have come into existence from a desire on the part of this caste to raise themselves in the social scale.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

The marriage should be confined within the same sub-division, and those of the same *kula* do not intermarry. The same rules of restriction on account of consanguinity may not be of his natural family or that of the person who adopts him. Two sisters may not be simultaneously married to the same person. They may be married to two brothers, the elder marrying the elder and the younger the younger sister. A man belonging to the family following the profession of agriculture does not give his daughter to a person following the profession of fishing, palanquin-bearing or, any profession. If a marriage takes place outside the endogamous circle, the parties lose caste, and are regarded as among the half-caste persons, or those of illegitimate birth. A Besta girl may remain unmarried. The practice of dedicating Basavis, though it exists, is getting into disfavour. Exchange of daughters is in vogue.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed. In the case of the former, a girl is married at about the age of twelve. She lives with the parents till the consummation of marriage. Girls are not married to trees, swords or other inanimate objects. Adult marriages take place generally within the first year after puberty. If a young woman is left unmarried for a long time after that, her chastity is questioned, and thereafter only marriage by *kudike* form is allowed to her.

If a girl has become pregnant before marriage by a man of her own caste, she is allowed to marry her lover in the *kudike* form. If he does not take her

in marriage, he will be put out of caste, and she may marry any other man, and her children, if any, will be affiliated to him. If she has lived with a man of another caste, she will be outcasted.

Marriages are generally arranged by the parents or the guardians. The proposal comes from the father of the boy, who with a few friends goes to the house of the intended bride at an auspicious hour, with cocoanuts, turmeric, red and yellow, betel-leaves, and nuts. If consent is given by the other party, a letter of invitation and agreement is written then and there. A priest is called in to fix the day of marriage. The letters of invitation are worshipped by both the parties, and each party formally presents his letter to the other. Three, five or seven days before *Chappara* or pandal ceremony, the intended bride and bridegroom are made to exhibit themselves, at a gathering of friends and relatives, and an *ārati* takes place. The day previous to *Chappara*, earthen vessels are newly brought to the house, and Dāsaris and Jōgis are fed there.

The construction of *Chappara* is the first of the important ceremonies of marriage. It consists of twelve pillars of which one must be juicy *kalli* wood, in the case of the Kannada Bestas, and in other cases, of Nerale or Kondamavu (*Eugenia jambola*) tree. This post is known as *Halu* Kambha (milk-post), or Muhurta Kambha (marriage post). The Chikka Yajaman of the caste, attended with drums and gongs goes to the tree, and cuts a branch of it. It is brought home and fixed in a pit already formed and spread with milk and ghee at the bottom. A cloth package containing seven kinds of grains is tied to it; and it is sprinkled over with water, in which coral and gold are washed, and painted with red and white stripes. In the evening a *kankanam*

consisting of a white woollen thread to which are tied a piece of turmeric root and an iron ring, is tied to the bridegroom's hand. On the second day, water is brought from a pond in vessels by married women. The Dāsari worships the pond and idols. The bridegroom's sister brings one of the *kalasa* pots (named sister's pot) decorated with *hombale* (arecanut flower). They come back in procession, walking over cloths spread in the street by a washerman, and with *manesēre* at intervals. The latter is described as follows.

As the procession is moving, they spread a cloth on the ground in front, and place on it in six places, a small quantity of fruit *rasāyana*.* Then the Dāsayyas blowing conches and beating gongs and with the cries of Ah ! Ah ! go round and round the cloth three times, and eat up the sweet stuff, picking it up with their lips. This is repeated a number of times before they reach the marriage house. Two Dāsayyas hold the idols in their hands, and walk in front without taking part in the *manesēre*. These are followed by the Odahuttidagadige bearer. The idols and the waterpots are placed in a room and worshipped till the marriage is over.

Among Saivas : instead of *manesēre* the Jogayya worships Trisūla and brings home the water vessels.

Murtha, or Dhāre, takes place on the third day. A Nerale branch is taken to a peepul tree and *pūja* offered to it. It is then brought home, and again worshipped. The bridegroom armed with a spear or dagger is led in procession to a temple, where the relatives and friends of the bridal pair are gathered by invitation. The bride in the meantime enters

* Rasāyana is a sweet compound, generally made by mixing together plantains, cocoanut and jaggery, with cardamoms or pepper as spices, the whole mashed together.

the marriage house and takes her seat on the plank. The bridegroom comes back from the temple, holding a dagger in his right hand, and sits facing the bride, while a screen separates the two. The names of the immediate ancestors of both the parties are repeated. The parents pour *Dhare Niru* * on the united hands of the bride-groom and the bride. The screen is removed and the *tāli*, a golden disc, the symbol of marriage bond, is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. Rice, newly prepared out of paddy for the occasion, is poured in plenty on the bridal pair. The ends of the clothes of the newly united couple are tied together, and they prostrate themselves before their seniors, who bless them in return with blessings for a long and happy married life.

The fourth day is the last day of the marriage. The *kankanam* is untied by the married ladies, and placed in a plate containing jaggery and rice. Then takes place the Kamba Sāstra, or 'pillar' ceremony. At this the newly married couple place a handful of cooked rice on a wet cloth, in front of each pillar, and do *pūja*. After the procession through the village is over, the milk-post is worshipped, and finally it is smeared over with ashes. This is the concluding act of the ceremony. The bride-price is Rs. 12. This goes to the bride's family—father, mother or brother. It is given in the presence of all during the '*dhare*'. The price of the bride married for second time is six rupees. The marriage expenses come to about fifty rupees, of which the major portion goes for feasting.

* *Dhare Niru* means, "Water in drops." When any gift is made in a solemn religious manner, a few drops of water, with a few tulasi leaves, and sometimes small coins are put into the hands of the recipient by the donor. The water falls in Dhare, or drops, and the gift of a girl in marriage being one of the most solemn of such acts, the ceremony is commonly denoted by the single word 'dhare.'

They are entitled to use, at their marriage, a red cloth canopy, a palanquin and an umbrella. Horse-riding is allowed to them. Some Bestas of Nanjangud do not use a palanquin, as once upon a time, when a bride and bridegroom were going in the palki in a marriage procession, this accidently took fire and was burnt.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

A Besta girl attains her age of puberty at about her sixteenth year. She is located in a shed for three days, during which she is considered impure. Soon after the signs are observed, she is made to sit on a plank, and married women wave *arati*, or coloured water before her, and on the fourth day she bathes. Till the eleventh day after the bath, married women gather around her, and make *arati* in the evenings. On the sixteenth day the consummation of marriage takes place. The shed in which the girl is lodged at the time of her first menses, is burnt. During the ordinary monthly periods, a woman bathes on the first day and remains in a portion of the house for three days, during which she does not enter the kitchen or do any house-hold duties.

When a girl is, for the first time, sent to her husband for the consummation of marriage, she is presented with new clothes and *madalakki* (rice placed in her tying cloth), with jaggery, cocoanut, some fruits, betel-leaves and nuts.

Customs connected with pregnancy and child-birth are the same as in other corresponding castes.

When a child is born, the mother is kept in a separate room, at the door of which a hatchet, margosa leaves, an old shoe and a broom are placed, to keep off evil spirits. The period of ten days from the day of birth is one of pollution. On the eleventh day, a bath is given to the mother and child.

POST NATAL CEREMONIES.

The naming ceremony takes place on the twelfth day, when relations and friends are treated to a feast. The child is named by the eldest of the family, and after it is named, it is laid on the lap of the eldest woman in the house who puts it on a cradle which is rocked by women singing songs. When the child is three years old, its ears are pierced, and gold or copper rings are put into the holes.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

Adultery within the caste is tolerated; but the woman and her lover will be compelled to pay her husband's marriage expenses, in case she wants to live permanently with her lover. Sometimes it is settled by a small fine paid to the caste, and the money is used for a general feast of the caste men.

Divorce is allowed on the ground of unchastity on the part of the wife. She may marry again in the *kudike* form after divorce. One half of the first husband's marriage expenses must be refunded by the new husband, in return for which the former unties the *tali*, and renounces his matrimonial rights over her.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

The re-marriage of widows is permitted, if the widow and her new hasband pay to the castemen a fine of rupees six and eight respectively. The castemen in such cases demand an additional fine of a few rupees.

Children of a widow by her second husband may not claim the property of her mother's first husband. Similarly sons of her first husband cannot claim to succeed to the property of her second husband. If a man has children both by his legal wife and by his concubine, and if they all live together, the children of the concubine may claim shares in the property of their natural father.

POLYGAMY AND POLYANDRY.

Polyandry is unknown, but polygamy is freely practised. Barrenness, defect in body or mind,

and unchastity on the part of the first wife are the principal reasons for one to take another wife. The first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife.

FAMILY LIFE.

Husband, wife and children form the unit of the family. Wife attends to her domestic duties, rears children and helps the husband in his work.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION.

The Bestas follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption. A son-in-law remaining with his father-in-law, is stated to be entitled to inherit the property of his father-in-law, provided he performs the latter's obsequies. In other respects, the members of the caste follow the general Hindu law of inheritance.

Adoption of a son is recognized. A boy belonging to the section of the adopting father is more generally selected than one belonging to other sections. A younger brother is prohibited from being adopted by his elder brother. The adopted boy is prohibited from marrying within the prohibited degrees of relationship of either his own natural family, or in that of the person who has adopted him.

CASTE COUNCIL.

The Bestas belong to the eighteen phana, which are said to be a remnant of the old trade guilds. They do not dine with any of the nine Phanas, who are their rivals.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

This caste admits persons of superior caste in the social scale, after the following ceremony. The elders and the representatives of the Besta families gather together in a garden. The aspirant for admission after getting shaved, bathes and goes to a temple where he receives the holy water given by the priest, which he drinks and sprinkles over his

head. He is then smeared with ashes all over the body by the caste headman. A feast is given to the castemen, at which he collects a morsel from each, and partakes of the meal along with the others. Thenceforth he is reckoned as a member of the caste.

The elders of the caste are the Dodda Yajman (Senior Elder) Chikka Yajman (Junior Elder), and Desa Setti. The Dodda Yajman has the power of enquiring into and awarding excommunication or fine thereof for breaches of caste customs. The Chikka Yajman is his personal assistant, and is also called Kolkar (literally, stick bearer), because he carries a stick as the symbol of his authority. His duties are to collect caste people to join in the funerals, or to form a *panchayat* to discuss, when necessary, and decide questions relating to the caste. Punishments are awarded by the councils or by the Dodda Yajaman, and are to be proclaimed by the Kolkar.

RELIGION. Bestas are Hindus by religion and worship the ordinary divinities, and have both Saivas and Vaishnavas among them. The Saivas worship Siddappāji and Rājappaji.

There are two religious mendicant orders in this caste, called Jogis and Dāsaris. The Jogis are Saivas, and are the devotees of Chunchanagiri Baire Devaru. They carry a horn which emits a shrill sound and Kāmakshi Mudra : and they annually send an offering of money to Baire Dévaru. This god they worship on Sundays, if not daily. The Dāsaris are worshippers of Vishnu and followers of Rāmanujachārya. Their principal god is Ranganātha, on the Biligiri Rangan Hill. Both these mendicant orders eat animal food, and drink alcoholic liquors.

Tolasamma, wife of Biligiri Ranga, Māriamma, Uttanahalliamma, Pātalamma and Kalamma are their

deities. These have jurisdiction within certain territorial limits, and are to be annually propitiated for the welfare of the localities by holding *jātras*, or festivals, on which occasion, buffaloes, sheep or fowls are often sacrificed. The remains of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice are partaken of by the people. The carcases of buffaloes are given away to the Mādigas. Individual offerings are made after every recovery from a bad disease, such as small-pox and cholera. During epidemic seasons, special offerings are made to the local deities to induce them to exercise the intruding goddess of the prevailing epidemic.

Pūjaris of this caste worship these deities daily in the temples built for them. At the annual festivities in front of the temple of Māriamma, a *Sidi* is played. A perpendicular beam of about fifteen feet supports and acts as a pivot, to another horizontal beam. To the free end of the latter, a devotee who has made a vow suspends himself by getting a hook passed through the flesh of his back. The beam is turned round, and when it completes one turn, the devotee is taken down, and he falls prostrate before the deity. The priest then gives him *prasāda* This is called the hook-swinging ceremony.'*

Near the *Sidi*, fire-walking takes place. A pit about nine feet by three feet, with a width of four feet is filled with burning cinders. The devotees tread the fire, and walk the whole length without wincing.†

Natural objects are revered, and are accorded divine rank. Thus streams in high floods are worshipped. A new cloth, turmeric powder, and a pair of bamboo winnows are thrown in, and floated away with the current. Snakes and ant-hills are no less important as objects of reverence. On Nagara

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol I, pages 322-24.
† *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pages 368-369.

Panchamai day, *puja* is made with flowers and incense to serpent-holes, and milk is poured in for the snakes to drink. The snake idols, cut in stones and enshrined under peepul and nim trees, are visited with reverence. Lakshmidevi, the goddess of wealth, is the principal deity of the caste, and they observe yearly festival in her honour.

On the Mahanavami day, fishermen worship their nets, and cultivators their ploughs.

In their caste assemblies, an accused person or a witness is said to have sworn when he merely goes round the gathering three times. They do not usually touch the fire, or any other objects, to take the oath. They believe in omens, oracles and sorcery.

The sight of a jackal or of a toddy pot are among those regarded as auspicious omens. When any sickness visits a house, they consult Koracha-soothsayers, to know whether the ailment is one sent by God, or the effect of an evil eye. A new-born child is given a name suggested by the soothsayer. In all cases children's diseases are diagnosed by the soothsayer, and his prescription regarding diseases caused by spirits is followed in detail. For oracles they go to temples, to consult the presiding deity. He is asked to give flowers, and if a flower drops down to the right of the idol, it is taken as a favourable response, while flowers dropped to the left are the reverse. If the deity is reluctant to give any definite indication, he is coaxed by promises of offerings of animals and money. It is believed by them that no devotee supplicating with a faithful spirit has been disappointed yet.

They tie talismans of copper sheet beaten thin, with some writing thereon, called *yantra* (cabalastic figure) round their arms, as prevention against the attacks of the spirits. Sometimes they serve to

procure for the wearers' children, success in important undertakings.

In case of a death, burial is usual; but when the person has died very old, or has otherwise been held in great esteem, his corpse is burnt. During the last moments of a man, all the relatives and caste-people gather to take part in the obsequies. A few grains of rice are put in the mouth of the corpse by all the relatives and friends as a last mark of regard for him. The widow worships the body, and exchanges betel-leaves with it. If a married woman dies before her husband, her body is laid in a litter, constructed of green leaves and flowers, and smeared with turmeric powder. FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead body is generally carried in a frame of bamboo, and where the parties can afford the expense, the frame is decorated with flowers. It is placed on the ground, somewhere, while half-way towards the burial ground, the son or other person officiating as the chief mourner, goes round it with a pot of boiled rice in his hands and smashes the pot on the ground near the head of the corpse.

The dead are buried with their heads turned to the south. A new cloth, a plantain leaf, and a small copper coin stuck in the dead man's nose, are the only things interred with him. The custom has given rise to a proverb in Canarese, which means "though you earned so much, pity you are left without a pie in your nose." A new cloth, betel leaves and a few coins are laid on the grave and the *toti* of the village is bidden to take them as his fees and price for the ground. Before earth is thrown over the body, a vessel containing some boiled rice is again taken round the grave three times and smashed. If the body is burned, its remains and ashes are thrown into a pond or river on the third day. Milk and

ghee are poured on the grave. If it is the husband that is dead, the woman takes off the bangle, *tali*, etc., and throws them in the grave. Henceforward she ceases to paint herself with turmeric paste.

The period of mourning lasts for ten days. On the eleventh day, the caste people are fed. A temple is visited by the chief mourner, and cocoanuts are presented to the god, and broken in his name. This ceremony is meant to open the gates of heaven more easily for the entry of the departed soul. During the period of mourning no festivities are observed. Milk and sugar are not used for food, and caste marks are not put on the face. The whole period of mourning is considered to be one of pollution.

Agnates observe the full period of mourning for the death of an adult, while they do not observe any for the death of a child. Parents, however, observe three days of mourning for the death of their infant children.

For the propitiation of the ancestors in general, a *yedē* consisting of all the articles of food and plantain leaves, and coin is presented to a *purohit* on the Mahalaya day. Religious mendicants such as Dāsayyas are fed. Ceremonies for deceased individuals are not performed periodically.

Brahmans are not required to assist at the funeral ceremonies, which are carried on with the aid of the caste men alone, who are sometimes instructed by the Brahmans.

OCCUPATION. This caste has comparatively a low status. Their main occupations have been fishing in rivers and tanks, lime-burning, palanquin-bearing and cultivation. Of late, the profession of fishing is not looked upon with respect, since it leads to the killing of many living beings. Serving as grooms, sweepers and elephant-driving is also condemned.

Nets are made of cotton threads in the old fashion. The various kinds in use among them are the following :—

1. A cane with a long line to which is attached a hook and a bait at the end. The husks or outer part of grain, well boiled in water and formed into balls are used as bait. These balls are stuck to the ground, and a stick waving on water indicates their position. The smell of the balls attracts fish, and the fishermen make a sweep of them with their nets where they get themselves entangled. Earthworms are used as baits for the cane lines. This is called hand-lining.

2. Casting nets. Generally these are termed as *Beesubale*. The type of casting net in use is, that where the hauling in cord after passing through a small ring opening at the apex or the centre of the net has attached to it, a few feet inwards, a number of radial cords which after branching are attached distally to the peripheral foot rope of the net.

The net when extended has the form of a perfect cone. The circular margin of the base is weighted with sinkers set at short intervals. In the best nets these are of lead, but more frequently they are beads of iron about half an inch in diameter, and in many they consist of cylinders or of beads of burnt clay. At the apex is a small aperture strengthened by a ring of iron laced to the netting. The radial cords, sixteen to twenty in number, are attached to the hauling in cord below this point, subdivided each into three points, two to three feet distant from the periphery.

Before throwing the net, it is piled in folds upon one arm usually, but not invariably the right, together with the coils of the long hauling in cord ten to eighteen feet in length of which the free end is held in one hand or tied to the wrist. Then with the

deft half-swing of the body, the net flies forward opening out gracefully to fall, nearly perfect circle, upon the water. As the weighted periphery drags the net downwards, it quickly assumes the form of a hollow cone enclosing any fishes over which it falls. The fisherman waits till the weighted margin has reached the bottom ; and when he cautiously and slowly pulls the hauling in cord till the knot denoting the attachment of the radial cords comes to his hand at the apical ring. By this he knows that the circular margin of the net has been drawn up into a deep pocket all round on the inner side of the net, and as he now begins to draw the net towards him by the apex, the sides of the cone collapse upon themselves, further insuring the imprisonment of the fish within. He carries it to the shore, and after taking out any fish and rubbish, shakes the net and radial cords into the relaxed position and is ready again to pile the folds on his arm and make another cast. A usual diameter for these nets when fully spread open is fifteen feet.

3. *Yelabale.* It is operated by eight or ten persons, who proceed after spreading the net to a considerable distance and return in the same way by driving water over the nets while an equal number of persons drags it back.

4. *Bidubale* is used by two persons.

5. *Seegadibale* is employed by one driving or pushing to one side against a vertical wall and catching the net by restricting the moving space.

6. *Irabale.* It is a trap made of bamboo twigs, which is forced into the water and the hand is thrust through the opening from the top, and the fish are caught by this means.

In Sira Taluk no poisoning of the water is resorted to. But in Manjarabad, they poison the water and stupefy the fish. There is no scope for the Bestas

of this taluk for organising a party while going for fishing. Sometimes when tanks are about to dry in summer, a party is organised among themselves. Men employ themselves in spreading the nets, dragging and emptying the contents therein on the ground. Their women employ themselves in assorting them. The spoils go in equal shares and the proprietors of the tanks have also a major share.

Another section of the Bestas are employed in collecting and burning lime-stones. Donkeys are used for carrying large quantities of them to the kilns. When they are burnt to quick-lime, it is carried to the market for sale. They also have their subsidiary occupation in wood-cutting and selling bundles of them on donkeys called Kavada. Some among them go in for thefts and dacoity. They are said to be residing in the neighbouring taluks of Harapanahalli, Kudlagi of Bellari District. They have now taken to agriculture

Fishing is prohibited in the months of Phalguna and Chitra as it is egging time.

SOCIAL STATUS.

In caste status, the Bestas are higher than the Vaddas and the Korachas. They do not take food with the Vaddas, Korachas, barbers and the Agasas, though all of them dine in their houses.

The Bestas are the usual *pujaris* of Yellamma and Māranma temples.

FOOD.

Their breakfast is rice or ragi gruel and boiled fish, and their dinner strained rice with fish curry and palm-beer. The women are fond of chewing betel-leaves and tobacco, and men smoke cigarettes and pipes.

APPEARANCE DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Both men and women are short and sturdy. The men shave their heads and face except the

moustache. They wear the loin cloth, the shoulder cloth and the head scarf. The women wear the robe drawing the upper end over the left shoulder and then throwing it back over the right shoulder. They wear no bodice. They wear nose-rings, necklace, brass, gold and glass bangles, finger and toe rings. On festival days, and on other grand occasions, they wear yellow and white flowers. Both men and women are hardworking.

BHATRĀZU.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—PRE-NATAL CEREMONIES—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES—ADULTERY AND DIVORCE—RELIGION—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND MANNERS—CONCLUSION.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

BHATRĀZUS are a caste of bards and genealogists. They numbered, at the census of 1911, 1,230, 644 being males and the rest females. The name *Bhat* means a lord, and *Rāzu* or *Rāya* a ruler, hence a Kshatriya. Some, as Nesfield says, are derived from the Brāhman caste. They are "an offshoot from the secularised Brāhmans who frequented the courts of princes and the camps of warriors, recited their praises in public, and kept records of their genealogies." Limmer, in his work *Altindisches Leben* tells that in the Vedic times there were many Brāhman families of singers who lived as parasites of kings, extolling their deeds. Such were Vaśishta to Tritsu, and Visvāmitra to Bharata royal dynasty. The poet Chandi (Chandra) was the *purōhita* (priest) as well as the bard of the well-known Rajput prince, Prithvírāja Chohan. He was a Brāhman. Bhukhandas, another Bhat who composed the well-known *Rājabhūshana*, was also a Brāhman.

Regarding the origin of the Bhāts various legends are current a few of which are given here. The *Brahma Vaivarta* asserts that they sprang from the intercourse either of a Śūdra father and a Vaiśya mother, or of a Kshatriya male and a Brāhman female. The *Jāt Vivēka* identifies the Bhat with the Māgadha, and traces his descent from a Vaiśya

father and a Kshatriya mother. According to one account, "Bhāts sprang from the creator's brain; according to another they were created from the sweat of Śiva's frown, and driven out of the heaven, because of their persistence in singing his praises and his consorts!" Such, without variation, is the function of the Bhāt at the present day. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of a band of bards and eulogists marching in front of Yudhishthira as he made his progress towards Hasthināpura. But these very men were spoken in the same poem as Brāhmans. Naturally as time went on, these court-priests became hereditary bards, receded from the parent stem and founded a new caste.* "The best modern opinion," says Sir Herbert Risley, "seems disposed to find the germ of the Brāhman caste in the bards, ministers and family priests, who were attached to King's household in Vedic times. The profession of the Bhats has thus an ancient and distinguished history. The literature of Greece and Rome owes the preservation of its oldest treasure to the singers who recited poems in the households of the chief, and doubtless helped in some measure to shape the masterpieces which they handed down. Their place is one of marked distinction. In the days when writing was unknown, the man who could remember many verses and recite them when occasion necessitated was highly respected by the tribal chief, who depended upon the memory of the bard for the personal record of his own and his ancestor's prowess and for the maintenance of the genealogy which established the purity of descent†."

The following story is also given in support of their claims to Kshatriya origin. In Kṛita Yuga the

* Russel: *The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India* Vol. II pages 251-252.

† Risley: *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*: Art. Bhat

Emperor Prithu performed a *Yāga* for the birth of sons (Putra Kāmēshti) and from the fire-pit (*hōma kunda*) there arose two sons Sūta and Māgadha. The sages then decided that the former was better fitted to preach *purānas*, while the latter to recite and preserve the family history of the Emperor. In the Trétā Yuga they ruled over the kingdom which was known as Māgadha. Paraśurāma came to the country for the destruction of the Kshatriyas, when they sang praising the enemy with their hands in supplication for mercy. Paraśurāma deprived them of their kingdom, and ordered them to live as bards and panegyrists of kings, a profession which they pursued even to this day. Manu includes Bhatrāzus whom he calls Māgadhās under mixed Kshatriya women and Vaisya man. The *Amarakōsa* also supports this view. Whatever may have been the origin of the caste, they do not appear to have been looked upon as being Kshatriyās. They have always been considered as ballad singers and panegyrists. They were in ancient times looked upon as one of the seven essentials of properly constituted *sabhās* (assemblies), and as such, were attached to the courts of kings.*

There is also a tradition that the Bhatrāzus were a northern caste which was first invited south by King Pratāpa Rudra of the Kshatriya Dynasty of Warrangal (1295-1323) A.D. After the downfall of that kingdom, they seem to have become court bards and panegyrists under the Reddy and Vēlama feudal chiefs who had by that time carved out for themselves small independent principalities in the Telugu Country. It is also probable that they were also in the court of Vijayanagar, and after the downfall of that kingdom, they passed to the courts of

* *Code of Manu*: Chapter X. Verses 11 and 17.

minor chiefs in the south, and thence to Mysore. As a class they were fairly educated in the Telugu literature and even produced poets such as Rāmarāja Bhūshana, the author of the well-known *Vāsu-Charita*, and the *Harischandra Nalōpākhyāna*.

The Bhatrāzus of Mysore were originally immigrants from the Telugu districts. The ancient Hindu Rajas used to be delighted to be constantly preceded and flattered by them. Even Hyder Ali, though not a Hindu, took special pleasure in being preceded by them, and they are still an appendage to the Hindu and Mussulman chiefs. They possess a wonderful faculty in speaking *improvisatore* on any subject proposed to them, a declamation in measures which may be considered as a kind of medium between blank verse and modulated verse. But their profession is that of chanting the exploits of former times in front of the troops while marshalling them for battle and inciting them to emulate the glory of their ancestors. Times have been since then changed and many of them are now mendicants.*

Concerning their former greatness and influence, Sir Henry Malcolm points out: "They are the chroniclers or bards; among the Bellalas and lower tribes they enjoy great influence. They give praise and fame to those who are liberal to them while they visit those who neglect or injure them with satires in which they usually reproach them with spurious birth and inherent meanness. Sometimes a Bhāt, when seriously offended, fixes the figure of a person he desires to degrade on a long pole and append to it a slipper as a mark of disgrace. In some cases the song of the Bhāt records the infamy of the object of revenge. This image travels the country till the

* Madras Census Report, 1891. North Arcot Manual, Vol. I, page 241.

party or his friends purchase the cessation of the redicule and curses thus entailed. It is not in these countries in the power of a prince, much less any other person, to stop a Bhāt or even punish him from such a proceeding; he is protected by the superstitious and religious awe which, when general among people, controls even despotism." *

The Bhatrāzus living in Aruvanhalli and Malvalli taluks as also in the village of Gejjankuppe in the Māgadi taluk are said to have come to the State during the reign of the Hoysala kings, especially during the time of Vīra Ballāla of that dynasty who invited Kīrtirāj of Bhatarāya caste from Badavara, Bandahalli and Bhāgānagara in the Nizam's territory. This Kīrtirāj is said to have led an army for Ballala Rāya against the chief of Aruvanhalli, and defeated him. The place was captured by the conquering army, but was subsequently restored to him by Vīra Ballāla, son of Narasimha Rāya who is described in the inscription dated 12-1317 A.D. of the Malvalli Taluk as the champion of bards, the composer of eulogies, a stream of sound or melody. This village and Gejjankuppe in the Māgadi Taluk are still enjoyed by them as Jōdi villages, and they still have to go to Mysore during the Dasara festivities to sing the praise of His Highness the Mahārāja when he sits on the throne. Some of the Bhatrāzus living in the Kolar district still possess inām lands granted to them for their service.†

The following story illustrates the attachment of the Bhatrāzus to the Reddy who had three sons, two of whom became cultivators, while the third joined the army. He had seventy-four sons all of whom became prominent in the military life. On one occasion during the reign of Pratāpa Rudra they were

* Malcolm: *Central India*, Vol. II, Chap. XIV, pages 113-114.
† *Mysore Census Report*, 1901.

in the fort of Warrangal and became rebellious. The king who heard this summoned them to his court and directed that they should pass underneath a sword tied across the gate. The latter refused to do so, as it would be a sign of humiliation. A Bhatrāzu who saw this, adopted the plan to help the military officers. He went to the king and said that a Brāhman was waiting to see him, when he ordered for the removal of the sword. The service of the Bhatrāzu very much pleased them, and thereafter these bards were treated as their dependants with considerations. It is said that till then they had their status properly maintained by conforming themselves to vegetable diet and wearing the sacred thread. Even at the present day at the marriage ceremonies of the Reddīs, a Bhatrāzu is engaged to assist the bridegroom in his wedding toilet, to paint the sectarian marks on his forehead, to dress him in the wedding costume, and to act as his personal attendant throughout the ceremonies. Further, as the procession passes through the street, the Bhatrāzu sings by eulogising the merits of the bridal pair at various halts in extempore verses with raised hands.*

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Among the Bhatrāzus, there are three sub-divisions, based on the performance of duties in the courts of the ancient Hindu kings. They are (1). Vaitālikaru, (2). Vandyaru and (3). Māgadharu. The members of the second and third divisions live mostly in the Mysore and Kolar Districts. They interdine, but do not intermarry. A member of the first division used to sing the praises of a king early in the morning to wake him up from sleep. A member of the second division eulogised his valour, while one of the third

* Edgar Thurston, : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, pages 226-227.

dealt with the genealogies and the achievements of his ancestors. These distinctions seem to have been forgotten by the members of the caste, but the three divisions now in vogue among them are based on language, and they are the Telugu, Canarese and Musalman Bhatrāzus. The members of the last sub-division are a wandering tribe found in the Nizam's Dominions also, and are classed among the criminal tribes. The Telugu Bhatrāzus are found mainly in the districts of Bangalore and Kolar, as also in the adjacent British Territory, while the Canarese speaking members are mainly confined to the villages of Aruvanhalli in the Malvalli Taluk and Gajjankuppe in Māgadi Taluk. Those that live in the Kolar district are known as Māgadi Bhatrāzus and those living in the Mysore District are called Vandiya Bhatrāzus.

The following *gōtras* or exogamous clans are found among the Telugu speaking Bhatrāzus, and they are named after the Vedic Rishis, namely Kāsyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Kaundinya, Vasishta and Gautama. Further, they are distinguished by their family names, mostly derived from their places of residence, namely,

Birudarājuvāru.	Prabandhakavāru.
Samadesapuvāru.	Mandhapativāru.
Ellamarāzu.	Moharālavāru.
Allūrinavāru.	Attivaradavāru.
Chintavaradavāru.	Panurinavāru.

The Canarese Bhatrāzus, on the other hand, have no family names and have only two *gōtras*, namely Käsyapa and Atri.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

In the marriage alliance greater importance is attached to the family names than to the *gōtras*. For instance, two families of different names, but

with the same *gōtra*, may contract marriage alliances. Exchange of daughters between two families is freely allowed. The Bhatrāzus of Māgadi taluk intermarry with those of Aruvanhalli. Marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride- and the bridegroom-elect in the presence. of the castemen, when the bride's price is also settled. The first or the preliminary ceremony is called the *Vīlyada* or betel leaves ceremony, which consists of an exchange of betel leaves between the parents of the bride and the bridegroom, in the presence of the relations and other castemen invited on the occasion. The girl is smeared with turmeric, and a mark of *kunkuma* (vermillion) is made on the forehead . She is also presented with a *sāri* (a loin cloth), a *ravika* (jacket) and some jewels by the bridegroom's father. An auspicious day for the celebration of the marriage is then fixed and the *Lagnapatrika* is also written and exchanged in the presence of the assembled castemen. On the auspicious day, the turmeric powder is prepared, when the bride- and the bridegroom-elect are anointed with gingelly oil and bathed after cleaning the bodies with soap. On the following day, the family god is worshipped, and a feast takes place. This is called Dēvaraprasta. A *kalasa* is placed, along with new clothes and the *tāli* for the bride, when *bāginas* are presented to the married women. On the morning the bride- and the bridegroom-elect have their nails pared, and take a bath. Both are smeared with turmeric paste before they are washed for the removal of the oil from the body; and the *kankana* threads dyed yellow with turmeric are also tied to their wrists thereafter. Among them the marriage may take place either in the house of the bride or in that of the bridegroom. On the evening of the same day, the bride and his party arrive at the house of the bride where they

are properly entertained. Early in the morning of the next day, a *pandal* is put up in the house of the bride, and in that of the bridegroom, and decorated with evergreens. Two milk posts of Kalli or Atti tree are cut and brought by the maternal uncle to the *pandal*, and these are set up by married women as the central post of the *pandal* in which the marriage takes place. Then the *ariveni* is brought and installed in a *mantapam* on a bed of manure; and over a bed of earth specially prepared are sown nine kinds of grains. Five married women bring water for the ceremony, a portion of which goes to fill the *ariveni* pots, and the remaining water is used to cook the food on that day. On the following day *dhāra dattam* * takes place. After the usual bath, the bridegroom goes to the temple in procession, and returns to the marriage *pandal*, and goes round the decorated *mantapam* five times. During the first round a small branch of Jambolina tree is taken and tied to the milk-post. In the second and the third, two *sāris* and *kuppāsa* (skirt), turmeric powder and the *kunkuma* are given to the bride. Neatly dressed and adorned, the bride's party also worship the deity in the temple and return to the marriage *pandal*. The bride performs the *pādapūja* (*pūja* to the feet) to the bridegroom who wears the *bhāshinga* and keeps with him a dagger, rolled up in a kerchief. He has his best man with him. *Ārati* is waved before him, and he is then seated on a plank. The *purōhit* invests him with a *Janivāra* after chanting some sacred verses. The bridegroom then rises from his seat, when the bride is brought before him with a *bhāshinga* tied to her forehead. A screen is then placed between them and at the appointed hour it is removed, when the couple place the cummin seed and jaggery on each

* Giving away of the bride to the bridegroom.

other's heads, and each garlands the other. The bride's parents pour a small quantity of water on their joined hands and the bridegroom drinks it signifying that he receives the gift of the girl. The newly married couple arise to look at Arundhati, and then they bow before the sacred pots. After this, they dine together from the same dish. Next follows the *pūja* to the mortar and the pestle, and then the pounding of the paddy. After this. they worship the goddess Gauri. On the last day, another important part of the ceremony called Nāgavalli takes place. The bridal pair bring earth from an ant-hill, and place a lump at the bottom of each of the posts and adore them for the last time. Besides these are other social functions such as the pot searching and bath coloured with turmeric. On the same evening, *Simhāsana*, otherwise known as *Dodda vīlaya*, takes place, when the boy's father pays the bride's price of Rs. 22 and takes the bride to his house. Before entering the house, the girl throws handfuls of rice in it, then gets in, and kicks a measure of rice placed on the door-way. She then adores the family god. The *pandal* posts are then removed after pouring some milk on the milk-post.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl comes of age, she is located in a room or in a part of the house on the ground of her uncleanliness which lasts for seven days. She is considered to be pure only after a bath after sixteen days. Immediately after the appearance of the menses, she is bathed and dressed in new garments and *ārati* is waved round her to avoid the potency of the evil eye, and this is continued till the day of her bath. She is neatly dressed and ornamented every evening, and is exhibited before married women. On the third day, information is given to the family of her husband

through a washerman. She is bathed on the morning of the eighth day, and the castemen and women are invited to a feast, and sumptuously entertained. Consummation takes place on an auspicious day thereafter.

PRE-NATAL CEREMONIES.

Among the well-to-do members of the caste, Pumsavana and Sīmanta ceremonies are performed for a woman during the fifth month. The husband and wife are seated together dressed in new garments presented to them by the woman's parents. The woman wears some glass bangles and distributes some among married women and girls. In the evening, neatly dressed and adorned, she is in the company of married ladies.

POST-NATAL CEREMONIES.

When delivery takes place, the child is washed in tepid water, and the woman in confinement is unclean for ten days. On the morning of the eleventh day, she and the babe are bathed, and her parents and other agnates become free from pollution by a bath and by taking a dose of Punyāham. On the same day, the name-giving and the cradling ceremonies of the babe take place, when the relatives and friends are treated to a feast. The midwife is given some oil for her bath: she is fed on that day. She is given a cloth as a present, as also a *hana* if the babe is a male or half of it, if female. The babe if male is named after its grandfather; if female, after its grandmother. There are no names peculiar to the caste, but *mūrti* and the usual affixes of *appa* and *rāzu* are popular. Sometimes when the parents do not like the names, they are changed in consultation with a soothsayer or an astrologer. The practice of giving opprobrious names is also in vogue: Gunda (round stone), Kuppa (manure pit or refuse), Kāda (desert), are generally common.

The following are the names of males and females :—

Names of males.	*Names of females.*
Muniyappa.	Hanumi.
Venkatramana.	Marakka.
Govinda.	Nārāyani.
Subbayya.	Timmi.
Rudrayya.	Mādamma.
Siddayya.	Bukkamma.
Basavappa.	Kuppamma.
Mudayya.	Sītamma.

The women are, as a rule, reluctant to give their names.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE. A Woman committing adultery is punished with excommunication from the caste, and is never allowed remarriage by the caste-men. She is divorced by her husband. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis or Dēvadāsis to temples.

RELIGION. The Bhatrāzus generally worship both Siva and Vishnu without any difference. The Telugu Bhatrāzus are mostly Vaishṇavās; and the Canarese, Śaivas. They adore Māriamma and other village deities and perform *pūjas* with sacrifices. They have also their family gods such as Gurumūrti and Siddhésvara. Their help is also invoked in times of any calamity in the family. The Canarese Bhatrāzus have the goddess Mahālakshmi as their family deity. The *pūjāri* is a bachelor of the caste. In their temple they do not break a cocoanut; nor do they peal a plantain, nor offer animal sacrifices to the deity. Playing on musical instruments is also prohibited. Married women are generally kept outside owing to the chances of their supposed impurity. Worship of the sun, serpent, tulsi plant, vilva (*eagle marmalos*) and mango trees are all in vogue amongst them. In Chikballapur, the Bhatrāzus are Vaishnavas and

their chief *guru*, who resides there, has no *mutt*. They fast on Nāgara-chathurthi, Ekādasi and Sivarātri.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

The Canarese Bhatrāzus burn the dead, while the Telugu members bury them. When a member of their caste is dead, the corpse is washed and dressed with a new piece of cloth. Some rice and jaggery in a dish are kept near the corpse. If the deceased leaves behind a wife, she has one end of her garments tied to that of the corpse which is also wrapped with a new piece of cloth. The bier is carried by four of the castemen with the chief mourner carrying the vessel containing the fire in front. The others form a procession behind. As soon as the cremation ground is reached, and the body is placed on the pyre, the wife takes off the bangles and the *tāli*, and the corpse is stripped of the cloth. The body is placed with the head directed to the south. The son starts the fire, and, as it burns, the chief mourner and the rest leave the cremation ground taking their final leave of it. They bathe in the nearest river or tank, and return home with a vessel of water. After all have entered the village, the man with the water goes in front, sprinkling water on the way. As they enter the house, five kinds of grain and a pot of water are given to the chief mourner who empties the water on the threshhold and throws the grain inside. They see the light kept on the spot where the corpse is laid and then return home. The ceremonies are performed on the third and eleventh days.

Those that practise burial make a corpse out of *darbha* grass on the third day, and cremate it ceremoniously as on the first day. The ashes of the grass together with the real ones are thrown into the water. The Deśabhāga section among them engages a Sātāni as the priest for performing the ceremony.

The Bhatrāzus observe pollution for ten days for their agnates; and during this period of pollution they abstain from putting on any caste-mark, eating sweet things, or drinking milk. They do not touch others, nor do they go to temples. As a rule, they do not perform *śrāddhas* to propitiate their ancestors, but on the Mahālaya Amavāsya day they offer *pindas*, and distribute rice and vegetables to Brāhmans.

OCCUPATION. The traditional occupation of the caste has already been mentioned. The Telugu section of Bhatrāzus is mostly attached to the Reddis and Vokkaligas, and still pursues their former occupation of singing on occasions of marriage and the like, getting their customary dues. A marriage ceremony in the family of a Reddy would lose much of its status or importance in the eyes of the castemen, if the services of Bhatrāzus are not availed of. Many of them have given up this occupation for want of adequate encouragement. Many have taken to carpentry, and some have joined Government service. Those among them who have adopted agriculture as their profession, are observing all agricultural customs and beliefs connected therewith. A few among them are beggars. The Bhatrāzus have the special duties of singing songs in praise of His Highness the Maharaja in the palace on auspicious occasions. Two songs usually sung on the occasion are herein given :—

1 ధరరిపుయానదత్త భవదింహితదిం హితమాత్రకాన్య మైంద్రహిత ఛాతమిత్ర ఫలనిర్విపణాగ్రజ నుందరినహోదరి జనన లయనభుగజాసన వాసనవాక్య శౌర్యగ్రాహుస్రుహురుదాహవాహపిత్రవ్వైరి శుభంబులు మీకునీయడఁ.

1. *Dhararipuyānadatta bhavadiṁhitadiṁ hitaṁātru kāsya maindrahita chātamitra phalanirvipaṇāgraja sundarisahôdari—janana layanabhugajāsana vāsana vākyasauryargrāhusruhurudāhavāhapitruvairi subhaṁ bulumêkunîyaḍan.*

Translation of the song.—1. "The enemy of the mountains is Devendra whose friends are the clouds. The giver of water to the clouds is sea where the Moon is born, and the wearer of the Moon is Īsvara. The enemy of Īsvara is Manmatha. The mother and house of Manmatha is lotus whose friend is the Sun, whose son is Karna. Karna's elder brother is Dharmarāja whose wife is Draupadi, whose brother is Drishtadyumna whose father is Agni (fire). Agni's friend is wind. The devourer of wind is serpent whose enemy is Garuda who resides in trees which yield fruits. The eater of fruits is monkey whose enemy is Indrajit whose father is Rāvana. The king who killed Rāvana is Sri Rama. May he protect thee."

2 ವೆಯ್ಯುಗಜಂಬುಲುಂಡು—ಪದಿವೇಲುತುರಂಗಮುಲುಂಡಯಾಚಿಮೋರಾಯು ಲಗೆಲಚಿ ಸಜ್ಜನನಗರಮುಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮುನಟ್ಟಿಕೊನ್ನು ಓರಾಯ ಕಳಿಂಗಭೂಪ ಪರರಾಯ ಭಯಂಕರ, ನೀವುಗೆರಾಬ್ಬುನನ್ಪಾಯಕಮಾನಮಾಸಮುನವುನ್ನಮು ಚೇರಿನಷಷ್ಟಿನಾ ಟಿಕ ಎಪ್ಪಟಿಎಟ್ಟಿರಾಜಗಮುಪ್ರದಾನಶೇಖರಾ

2. *Veyyugajambuluṅḍu padivēluturaṅgamuluṅḍa-yāchimōrāyulagelachi sajjananagaramupatti munatti-konnu orāyakaḷingabhūpa pararāya bhayaṅkara, nēvugelābbunanpāyakamēnamāsamunavunnamachērina shashtināṭika yappatiyettirājagamupradānasēkharā.*

2. Oh! Kalinga Bhūpa! the terror of the remaining Rājas, thou hast won victory over the kings in battle consisting of thousand elephants and ten thousand horses and have, and hast been made king in a famous kingdom. What kind of glorious sovereignty it will be on the sixth day after the Paurnima of Mīna month.*

The following account of a criminal class, calling themselves Bhatrāzus or Batta Turkas was published in the Police Weekly Circular, Madras, in 1881. It is quoted here. 'They are known to the Kadapa and North Arcot Police as criminals, and a note is made whenever an adult leaves his village; but as the depredations they commit are far off from home, and convert their spoil into cash before they return, it is difficult to get evidence against them. Ten or twelve of these leave home at once; they usually work in parties of three, four, and they are frequently absent for months together. They have methods of communicating intelligence to their

* Amildar: *Notes on Bhatrazu, Anekal Taluk.*

associates when separated from them, but the only one of these methods that is known, is by means of their leaf-plates, which they sew in a peculiar manner, and leave after use in certain places previously agreed upon. These leaf-plates can be recognised only by experts, but all that the experts can learn from them, is that the Batta Turkas have been in their neighbourhood recently. On their return to the village, an account of their proceedings is rendered, and their spoil is divided equally among the whole community, a double share being however given to the actual thief or thieves. They usually disguise themselves as Brāhmans, and in the search of some of the houses lately, silk clothes worn by the Brāhmans were found together with other articles necessary for their purpose (Rudrāksha necklaces, Śālagrāma stones). They are instructed in Samskrit in all outward requisites of Brāhmanism. Telugu Brāhmans would soon find out that they are not Brāhmans, and it is on this account that they confine their depredations to the Tamil country where allowance is made for them as rude uncivilized Telugus. They frequent *choultries* (rest houses) where their respectable appearance disarms suspicion, and watch for opportunities for commiting thefts, substituting their bags or bundles filled with rubbish for those they carry off. During festivals they often commit thefts of the jewels and clothes of persons bathing in tanks. They are known as Kolamchutti Pāppāns, meaning, that they live by stealing around the tanks.' *

Concerning the Batta Turkas of the North Arcot District, Mr. H. A. Stuart says that a few of these very intelligent and educated classes are found in the North West of Chandragiri Taluk and in the north of Punganūr. They are Muhammadans who know

* Mullaly: *Notes on Criminal Classes of the Madras Presidency.*

nothing about their religion. They have no employment save cheating, and in this they are incomparably clever. Having marked down a well-to-do family, they enter into service, and wait for an opportunity to abscond with what they can get.*

SOCIAL STATUS.

Bhatrāzus of the Mysore State are looked upon as rather high in social status, and are treated on a par with the high class Vokkaligas, Gangadikār and Kunchettigāru. They employ Brāhman priests for marriages and other ceremonies and Sātānis for funerals. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance and adoption and do not allow outsiders into their caste. They have their caste *panchāyats*, presided over by the headman known as Yajamāna who enquires into social matters and settles all social disputes. The *gurus* are Sri Vaishṇava Brāhmans and the other heads of *mutts* such as Sringēri, all of whom are treated with great reverence. *Tîrthams* and *prasādams* are obtained from them on presenting the usual *kānike*.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Some are pure vegetarians, while others are flesh-eaters. All abstain from liquor. They dine in the houses of Reddis and Vokkaligas.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND MANNERS.

The usual dress of the Bhatrāzus is similar to that of the other high class non-Brāhmans. They are usually clean, bathing everyday and washing their clothes. But they have given up wearing the holy thread. Some of them wear Janivara, and some are without it. The women are clean in wearing their *sāri* and *ravike*. They are literate, and know the language of the country. Some belonging to the Telugu section are well acquainted with the

* *Manual of North Arcot District.*

Telugu literature. There have been Telugu poets among them.

CONCLUSION. Thus the Bhats were originally Brāhmans, but their profession of bards and eulogists led them to the constant association with the Kshatriyas whether in court or battle ; and this in course of time brought about a relaxation of the Brāhman customs in favour of those of the Kshatriyās. By this they lost their estimation in the eyes of the Brāhmans. Many of the Bhats were invited by the rulers of the Āndhra Kingdom, where they underwent still further social degradation. They left off wearing the sacred thread, allowed widow marriage, and took to meat. For want of encouragement, they have given up their original occupation.

BILĪ MAGGA.

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

INTRODUCTION.

Bilī Maggas are a division of the weaver caste of Mysore. The name signifies a handloom from which they generally produce white clothes.* It is said that they made clothes for dressing the image of Sivalingam. The term is considered by the castemen as one of reproach, and they call themselves Kuruvinna Setti or Kuruvina Banajiga, the meaning of which is not clear. "Setti" is the surname of the castemen, and is appended to their personal names.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

Regarding the origin of Bilī Maggas, I am indebted to Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, Amildar of Manjarabad Taluk for the following account:—"Dakshaprajāpati or Dakshabrahma performed a grand Yajña (sacrifice) for which he did not invite his son-in-law (Siva) and daughter Pārvati. Siva became indignant on account of this insult and created Vīrabhadra, an incarnation of Shanmukha with six faces, who put him to death. At the time of his death, there arose sixty six Rudras, whose descendants the Bilī Maggas profess to be. Their *gōtras* are also said to have originated from them. The story is given at great length in the *Nīlakantha-Purāna*."

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes o Southern India, Vol. I*, page 239.

There is a tradition that they came from Madhura Desa (Madura District).* Buchanan says that they are an original tribe from Karnātaka.† They speak Canarese in Mysore, and are different from those in South Canara who speak a corrupt dialect of Tulu called 'Poromba.'‡ They numbered 10,000 at the census of 1911.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The caste contains two endogamous divisions, the Lingāyat and non-Lingāyat Bilī Maggas. There is no intermarriage between them, but the latter dine in the houses of the former, while the former do not. The Lingāyat Bilī Maggas are known as *Dodda* or big Kuruvinavaru, and the latter as Chikka Kuruvinavaru. Further, the caste comprises sixty endogamous divisions, sub-divided into two groups called the Siva and the Pārvati groups, each of which contains thirty *gōtras*, with the usual prohibitions of marriage between those belonging to the same *gotras*. Most of the names of *gōtras* are derived from plants, animals, implements, etc. They refrain from injuring any of the plants or animals. Among the objects which give the names to Bilī Magga clans are buffalo, bull, horse, serpent, squirrel, sparrow, Brāhmani kite, banni tree, (*Pongamia glabra*), asafoetida, cummin seed, the pandannus, flower, jasmin, grass, paddy, broken corn, flour, pepper, butter, milk, turmeric, sand, field, forest, the sun, white nest, boulder, cart, pestle plank, pot rope and tank. Clans (*gōtras*) are sixty six in number, but the names given on the next page exceed this, and the additional names may be mere house names.§

* E. Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, page 239.
† *Travels through Mysore, Malabar and Canara.*
‡ *Manual of South Canara*, Vol. I, page 167.
§ *Vide* Totemism, Vol. I.

LIST OF *gōtras* OR EXOGAMOUS DIVISIONS.

Name of clan	Meaning	Name of clan	Meaning
Agari ..	a kind of grass.	Gudlu ..	a shed.
Anche ..	....	Gundu ..	boulder.
Anchu ..	border.	Halige ..	a plank.
Arasina ..	turmeric.	Halu ..	milk.
A're ..	pestle.	Heggotra ..	....
A'rya ..	....	Inachi ..	squirrel.
Bahini, Banni	sansi tree.	Hittu ..	flour.
Banaja ..	purvikari.	Hola ..	field.
Bandi ..	cart.	Honge ..	a tree.
Bannì ..	banni tree.	....	....
Basavihori ..	straw bull	Hullu ..	grass.
Benne ..	butter.	Hingu ..	asafoetida.
Bhogi ..	....	Irani ..	pot.
Bili ..	white	Jali ..	a kind of tree.
Deva ..	....	Jirige ..	cummin seed.
Dharma ..	....	Junja ..	....
Durga ..	....	Kadle ..	Bengal gram.
Gadige ..	pot.	Kadu ..	forest.
Garuda ..	Brahman kite.	Kakke ..	a kind of plant.
Garige ..	an earthen vessel.	Katte ..	boundary.
Gauda ..	headman.	Kanni ..	a rope.
Genasu ..	....	Kara ..	....
Gikkili ..	....	Kenga ..	....
Gudduge ..	....	Kedage ..	the pendanus flower.
Gudu ..	nest.	Tamadi ..	....
Kenja ..	red color.	Naga ..	serpent.
Kesari ..	saffron.	Nuchchu ..	broken corn.
Kinkila ..	....	Parama ..	*sroshta.*
Kudure ..	horse.	Raksha ..	....
Kunte ..	tank.	Rikki ..	....
Kuruve ..	sparrow.	Sampige ..	name of a flower.
Mallige ..	Jasmine	Samsara ..	....
Maralu ..	sand.	Sarabha ..	fabulous animal.
Menasu ..	pepper.	Sindhu ..	....
Midichi ..	....	Soppu ..	vegetable greens.
Mini ..	rope.	Surya ..	the sun.
Muddu ..	....	Salige ..	....
Mullu ..	thorn.	Uttama ..	....
Nada ..	....	Vanki Konke	tree.
Nara ..	....	Vriksha ..	tree.
Nellu ..	paddy.	Vrishaba ..	bull.
		Yemme ..	Buffalo.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriages of girls among them are generally performed before they come of age and rarely after, because it is not considered honourable to take a girl that has driven cattle while in her father's house. A man may marry two sisters, but not at the same time. Exchange of daughters between two families is also allowed. A man cannot marry his younger brother's daughter. The marriage ceremony prevailing among the Lingāyat section are the same as those obtaining among the Lingāyats. The non-Lingāyat section usually invites Brāhmans to officiate at their marriages, while the Lingāyat section generally prefers a Jangam.

They perform the betrothal ceremony a few days before the marriage. It is a kind of preliminary engagement, and it is called *Vīlyada*. The bridegroom and his party go to the bride's house carrying the auspicious articles such as, betel-leaves, areca nuts, flowers, jaggery, parched Bengal gram and fruits, with a new *sāri*. The elders of the caste meet there on the occasion, when the promise is made, and the day of marriage and the other details are fixed. The castemen are invited to a dinner at the time. The marriage takes place in the bride's house and continues for seven days.

On the first day, the worship of their family god, Nilakaṇṭhesvara, takes place. In other castes this is known as Dēvarūta. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their own houses. This is known as *Modalarisina* (*Madavaniga Sāstra*). It is again repeated on the second day when it is known as *Nādu Madavaniga Śāstra*, that is the second smearing of the turmeric.

On the third day is the *pandal* erecting ceremony. A *pandal* is raised in front of the marriage house, and is supported by twelve posts, and roofed with the stalks of sugar-cane. A platform is erected for

the seat of the bride and bridegroom in marriage. The roof overhanging the platform is generally canopied with a white cloth. The bride and bridegroom are anointed with gingelly oil and then bathed after cleaning with soapnut. The bride is dressed in a cloth dyed yellow, and the bridegroom also is neatly dressed.

Then the brother of the bride goes in state to an Indian fig tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and after performing the usual *pûja* to it, cuts a branch. He brings it in procession to the marriage *pandal*, and ties it to the central pillar of the marriage platform. This is considered as *Hālu Kambha** (Milk-post). To it a *kankana* and a bundle of nine kinds of grains are tied and worshipped. Then the married women go to the potter's house and bring twelve earthen pots or *arivenis* and these are carried by them to a well, where they are filled with water. They are then taken to the marriage house, and kept in a separate room for worship during the days of marriage.

On the third day, *Dhāra* (gift of the maiden) takes place. Early on the morning five married women carry five new earthen pots to a tank to bring sacred water for the marriage and return in procession with drums beating and cymbals clashing. The bride and the bridegroom are seated in the marriage *pandal* within the square formed by placing the four vessels at each corner of it, the fifth pot being placed at the milk-post of the marriage dais. In each of these pots, betel-leaves, turmeric and *kunkuma* are thrown, and are connected with one another by means of a cotton thread passing three times round their necks. Then the bride and the bridegroom bathe in this square, and are given fresh clothes. This ceremony is called *Surgi* and corresponds to *malaniru* in other castes.

* It is said that the father of the bride may not touch either the milk post or the Bhāshinga.

The bridegroom is taken to a temple or to a relative's house, where he takes his seat on a blanket. The bride's party go there with a *Kalaśa*, smear the bridegroom with turmeric, and take him to the bride's house. Then the bridegroom comes riding on a bull, with a dagger in his hand. He is led to the marriage dais and made to stand facing the bride with a screen between. As the *purōhit* repeats the appropriate *mantrams*, the bride pours milk over the hands of the bridegroom. He is made to tie the *tāli* round the neck of the girl and the guests assembled throw *akshate*, (coloured rice) over their heads by way of blessing. *Árati* is waved before the couple by married women, and *tāmbūla* distributed to the assembly. The pair now rise, holding each other with their fingers, and with the skirts of their garments tied together, they go round the milk post three times, near which are placed the pots to which the *pūjas* are offered. Then the pair and five married couples on either side, sit to eat *Bhuma* or cooked rice, ghee and sweet cakes mixed and served in two dishes. At one of them the bridegroom and five married couple of his party, and at the other, the bride and similar five married couple of her party sit and take the food so served.

The next day is known as *Nāgavali*. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes, such as bringing earth from an ant-hill and worshipping the pillars of the *pandal*. The bridegroom along with the bride goes to his own house and with her, returns to her family. The expenses of the marriage to be borne by the bridegroom vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 400 and the bride price is Rs. 25. The marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders as among other castes.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept outside the house in a small room for three days. On the

fourth day, she is bathed, but her pollution remains for ten days to come. During this period, the girl is not allowed to enter the kitchen or to touch the water used for the preparation of food or for drinking purposes. On the eleventh day, the house is washed and cleaned, and *mantrams* are recited by Jangamas in the case of Lingāyats or Brāhmans for others. If the girl is already married, her consummation will take place within sixteen days after attaining puberty. The Lingāyat section does not observe any pollution. If a marriage is celebrated before the girl comes of age, she will not be sent to live with her husband, but is allowed to remain with her parents till she attains puberty, after which the nuptial takes place on an auspicious day. In the case of marriage after puberty, a separate ceremony is performed on a special day determined by an astrologer, when the husband and wife live together. When a girl is sent to her husband, new clothes, jewels, household utensils, cows and such other things according to the means of the parents are presented to her.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

This secondary alliance is not regarded favourably by the castemen, and the offspring are considered to be somewhat inferior in status to others, at any rate for a generation or two, after which their parentage is forgotten. Of course, children of one husband do not inherit the property of the other.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

Sexual license before marriage is not connived at, and if a girl is found to be pregnant before marriage, she is put out of caste.

Adultery on the part of the woman is the only recognisable ground for divorce, but with a man of the same caste it is sometimes condoned. With a member of the lower caste it always brings on

degradation and excommunication. Polygamy is allowed but polyandry is unknown.

INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION. They follow the Hindu law of Inheritance and Adoption.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. They have a kind of caste council and have no hereditary chiefs, but infringement of the rules of the caste is punished by *panchāyats* who are bound to follow the advice of the elders of the tribe. Should the faults be of such a magnitude as to require excommunication, an assembly of the heads of the families settles the question.

RELIGION. They are mostly Śaivas. Some who belong to the Lingāyat faith wear the Linga; but others do not wear it. But all the same they profess to belong to one of the tribes of pure Banajigas, and are eligible for appointment to the priest-hood.

Their chief objects of worship are the Linga and the Bull,* the emblems of Īsvara. They also worship Nilakaṇṭhesvara and Narasimhasvāmi. Their women worship all the village gods, except those particularly belonging to the Holeyas. Fruits and flowers are offered to Māriamma and other minor deities in times of epidemics. Worship of these gods and goddesses is confined to women. They have no faith in the virtue of *Iragāraru*, that is, persons who die as bachelors.

Their *gurus* are the same as those of the Panchama Banajigas. Their five chief *mutts* are called the "Simhāsanās of Parvata, at Hampi, Vîrupāksha near Tungabhadra, Ujjaini, Balehalli and Chitaldrug." They can be initiated into the sacred rules of the caste. The *gurus* make what is called "Dètcha."

* One particular custom among them is that they never hold bulls.

The 'Detcha' having shaved and washed his head is instructed in some *mantrams* or forms of prayers, which are in the vulgar tongue, and which like the *Upadeśa* of the Brāhmans are kept a profound secret.* The *gurus* then bestow on the 'Detcha' some consecrated herbs and water, and the 'Detcha' in return gives them some money. This ceremony is analogous to that of Brāhmans. The *gurus* on their circuits receive also from their followers *dharma* or charity or rather duty, but have no fixed dues.

Sangamēswara is their patron god. He is supposed to be present in the bazaars, and is worshipped at the opening of their shops. Those that do not wear the Linga, and a few of those who wear it, employ Brāhmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. An astrologer is generally consulted for the fixing of proper days for marriages and for commencing the building of houses.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

The dead are invariably buried, with the head turned towards the south. The pollution is for twelve days, except for the children under one year, when it is for three days. During the period of pollution, they do not enter the inner apartments of the house. The funeral ceremony is not the same as for the Lingāyats generally. They say that they perform *Śrāddha* for the propitiation of a dead person. It consists in giving raw provisions to Brāhmans or Jangams. This ceremony is not performed for those who die childless or for maternal ancestors. Full obsequial ceremonies are not performed for those who meet with a violent death. The Lingāyat section observes the customs of the true Lingāyats.

If the first wife has died, the second wife propitiates her by celebrating a feast in her honour one

* Buchanan Fr.: *A Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, page 290-291.

day in the year, and feeding married women, and also by giving them presents of bodices, clothes, fruits and flowers. They do not bury with the dead, any articles except ashes.

OCCUPATION. Their original and present occupation is weaving. Some are engaged in mercantile pursuits. All of them work on the old kind of simple loom set up in each house. They are not in a flourishing condition. There are a few agriculturists, and no fishermen among them.

Processes of fly looms:—The first and foremost process before weaving is to separate the thread from the bundle and to circle it round a bamboo stick called "Halte." (*vide* Fig. 1.)

The second process is to transfer the same to another called "Jantige" (*vide* Fig. 2), through a bamboo pipe. This process will enable the weaver to arrange the thread to remain to the required length.

The third process is to remove the thread from Fig. 2 to Fig. 3 called "Oonke" in which the thread will be smeared with rice to make it rough and will be dried in the sun for a short time.

The fourth process is to remove the thread from Fig. 3 and to tie up one of its ends to a rod marked 'A' in Fig. 4 in the required quantities and to adjust the same in the woof as shown in Fig: 4 and marked 'b, c and d.' The loom is attached both vertically and horizontally as shown in the figure. The rope marked 'E' when moved by the weaver in both directions, the flying loom 'D' which will have a shuttle inside it, will discharge the thread horizontally twice for each stroke and the wefts give room for another line at each stroke; thus the clothes are spun.

SOCIAL STATUS. In social matters, such as contact with Brāhmans, entry into temples, personal service by washermen,

Warp Length

Rope

A

A

Lease Rods

Brush

Peg Warping Frame

Arâte Handle

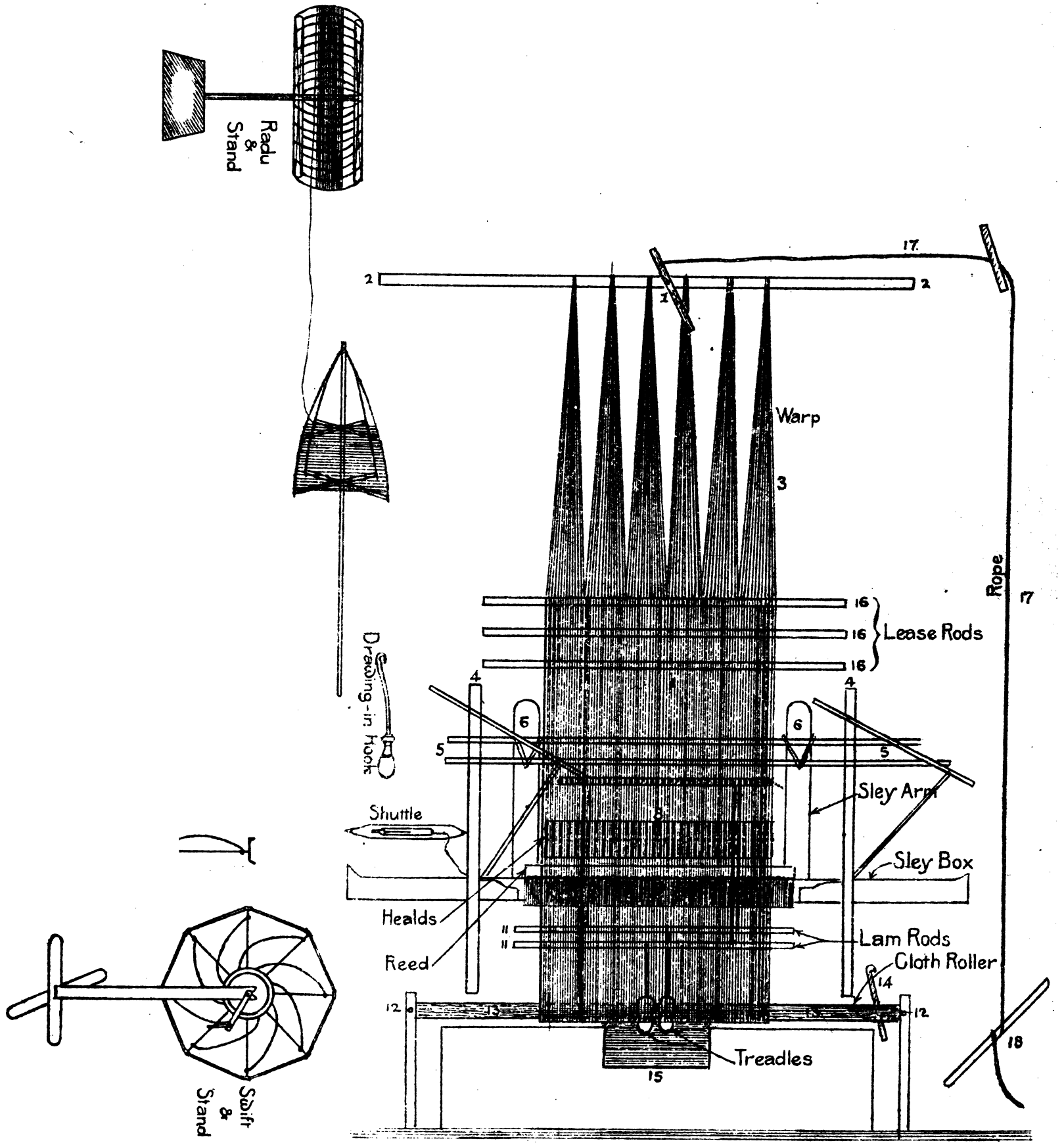
Ar

(c)

Spindle

Cycle Râte

Handle


Radu & Stand
Drawing-in Hook
Shuttle
Swift & Stand
17
2
2
1
Warp
3
Rope
17
16
16
16
Lease Rods
4
4
6
6
5
5
Sley Arm
8
Sley Box
Healds
Reed
11
11
Lam Rods
Cloth Roller
14
12
12
13
Treadles
15
18

etc., they have the status of the higher Śūdra classes. The habit of the caste is settled. They do not admit outsiders into the caste.

FOOD. The Lingāyat portion of the caste is vegetarian, but the non-Lingāyats are flesh-eaters, and drink liquor. The latter use mutton and flesh of the fowl, and drink liquor on festive days. Those who do not wear the Linga take their meals only in the houses of the Brāhmans.

BILLAVA.

INTRODUCTION—INTERNAL STRUCTURE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—BIRTH CEREMONIES—INHERITANCE—TRIBAL CONSTITUTION—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—DIETARY OF THE CASTE—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Billoru or Billavas are a Tulu-speaking caste of toddy drawers, mostly found in South Canara, Manjarabad, Tirthahalli, and Mudigere. They speak Canarese in Mysore. The word Billava signifies bowmen, and the name was applied to the castemen who were largely employed as soldiers by the native rulers of the district. But there is no authority in support of this statement.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

The caste is divided into sixteen septs or *balis*, and some of these are again sub-divided into sub-septs.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

A Billava does not marry his sister's daughter, or mother's sister's daughter. He can marry his paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter. Two sisters can be taken in marriage simultaneously or at different times. Two brothers can marry two sisters.

At the betrothal ceremony, the bride-price (*sirdachchi*), varying from ten to twenty rupees, is fixed. A few days before the wedding, the maternal uncle of the bride or the Gurkāra ties a jewel on her neck, and a *pandal* is erected, and decorated by the caste washerman (*madivāl*) with clothes of different colours. If the bridegroom is an adult, the bride has to undergo a purificatory ceremony a day or two before the marriage (*dhāra*)

day. A few women, usually near relations of the girl, go to a tank, pond or well near a Bhūtasthāna or *garidi*, and bring water thence in earthenware pots. The water is poured over the head of the girl, and she bathes. On the wedding day, the bride and bridegroom are seated on two planks placed on the dais. The barber arranges the various articles, such as lights, rice, flowers, betel leaves and arecanuts, and a vessel filled with water, all of which are required for the ceremonial. He joins the hands of the contracting couple, and their parents, or the headman, places the nose-screw of the bride on their hands, and pour the *dhāre* water over them. This is the binding part of the ceremony which is called *kai* (hand) *dhāre*. Widow remarriage is called *bidu dhāre*, and the pouring of water is omitted. The bride and bridegroom stand facing each other, and a cloth is stretched between them. The headman unites their hands beneath the screen.

If a man has intercourse with a woman, and she becomes pregnant, he has to marry her according to the *bidu dhāre* rite. Before the marriage ceremony is performed, he has to grasp a plantain tree with his right hand, and the tree is then cut down.

At the first menstrual period, a girl is under pollution for ten or twelve days. On the first day, she is seated within a square (*muggu*), and five or seven cocoanuts are tied together so as to form a seat. A new earthenware pot is placed at each corner of the square. Four girls from the Gurkāra's house sit at the corners close to the pots. Betel leaves, arecanuts, and turmeric paste are distributed among the assembled females, and the girls pour water from the pots over the head of the girl. Again, on the eleventh or the thirteenth day, the

girl sits within the square, and water is poured over her as before. She then bathes.

BIRTH CEREMONIES. Customs connected with pregnancy and child-birth are the same as in other castes. Pollution is observed for 10 days, and on the 11th day when the mother and baby are purified by a bath, the child is cradled, a waist thread is worn and the child is named. The relatives are invited to a feast. The astrologer is sometimes consulted for the name to be given, but he does not officiate at the ceremony of naming.

INHERITANCE. They follow the law of inheritance according to the rules of Aliyasantāna. A man inherits the property of his uncle, *i.e.*, mother's brother. Sons can on no account inherit the property of their father.

TRIBAL CONSTITUTION. They have a caste council or *kula panchāyati* which consists of two headmen of the village. All disputes are settled by this council, and if the decision is not accepted, he will be deprived of the privileges of worshipping in the temple.

RELIGION. Every village in Canara has its *Bhutasthāna* or demon temple, in which the officiating priest or *pūjāri* is usually a man of the Billava caste, and shrines innumerable are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land for the propitiation of the malevolent spirits of deceased celebrities, who, in their life-time, had acquired a more than usual local reputation whether for good or evil, or had met with a sudden or violent death. In addition to these, there are demons of the jungle, and demons of the waste, demons who guard the village boundaries, and demons whose only apparent vocation is that of playing tricks, such as throwing stones

on houses and causing mischief generally. The demons who guard the village boundaries seem to be the only ones who are credited with even indirectly exercising a useful function. The others merely inspire terror by causing sickness and misfortune, and have to be propitiated by offerings which often involve the shedding of blood, that of a fowl being the most common. There are also family *Bhūtas* and in every non-Brāhman house a room, or sometimes only a corner is set apart for the *Bhūta* and called the *Bhūta-kōtya.*

The *Bhūtasthāna* is generally a small, plain structure, four or five yards deep, by two or three wide, with a door at one end covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The roof is of thatch, and the building is without windows. In front of it there are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. The temples of the more popular *Bhūtas*, however, are often substantial buildings of considerable size. Inside the *Bhūtasthāna* there is usually a number of images, roughly made in brass, in human shape, or resembling animals, such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the *Bhūtas* on various ceremonial occasions.* A peculiar small goglet or vase, made of bell-metal, into which from time to time, water is poured, and kept before the Bhūtas, and on special occasions *kepula* flowers (*Ixora coccinea*) and lights are placed before them. In the larger *sthānas*, a sword is always kept near the *Bhūta*, to be held by the officiating priest when he stands possessed and trembling with excitement before the people assembled for worship.† A bell or gong is also found in all *Bhūtasthānās.* In the

* Mr. M. J. Walhouse: *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* Vol. V., page 412.

† *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xxiii, page 5.

case of *Bhūtas* connected with temples, there is a place set apart for them, called a *gudi*. The *Bhūta-sthāna* of the Bhaderlu is called a *garidi*.

The names of the *Bhūtas* are legion. One of the most dreaded is named 'Kūlkuti.' Two others commonly worshipped by the Bants and the Billavas are Kōti Vaidya and Chennaya Vaidya, who have always Billava *pūjāris*. These two *Bhūtas* are the departed spirits of two Billava heroes. The spirit of Kunumba Kanje, a Bant of renown, belongs to this class of *Bhūtas*. Amongst the most well-known of the others may be mentioned Koda-nanitaya and Mundaltaya, and the jungle demons Hakkerlu and Brahmerlu. The Holeyas worship a *Bhūta* of their own, who is not recognized by any other class of the people. He goes by the name of Kumberlu, and the place where he is said to reside is called Kumberlu-kōtya.* Very often a stone of any shape or a small plank is placed on the ground or fixed in a wall and the name of a *Bhūta* given to it. Other representations of *Bhūtas* are in the shape of an ox (Mahisandaya), a horse (Jarandaya), a pig (Panjurli), or a giant (Bhaderlu).

The *Bhūta* worship of South Canara is of four kinds, *viz.*, *kola*, *bandi*, *nema* and *agelu-tambila*. *Kola* or devil is offered to the *Bhūtas* in the *sthāna* of the village in which they are supposed to reside. The Śūdras of the village, and of those adjacent to it, assemble near the *sthāna* and witness the *kōla* ceremony in public, sharing the cost of it by subscriptions raised among all the Śūdra families in the village in which the ceremony is held. *Bandi* is the same as *kola* with the addition of dragging about a clumsy kind of car, on which the Pombada priest representing the *Bhūta* is seated. *Nēma* is a private

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xxiii, page 6.

ceremony in honour of the *Bhūtas*, held in the house of any one who is so inclined. It is performed once in ten, fifteen or twenty years by well-to-do Billavas or Bants. The expenses of the *nēma* amount to about 600 or 700 rupees, and are borne by the master of the house in which the *nēma* takes place. During the *nēma*, the *Bhūtas*, *i.e.*, the things representing them, are brought from the *sthāna* to the house of the man giving the feast, and remain there till it is over. *Agelu-tambila* is a kind of worship offered only to the Bhaderlu, and that annually by the Billavas only. It will be seen that *kola*, *bandi*, *and nēma*, are applicable to all the *Bhūtas* including the Bhaderlu, but that the *agelu-tambila* is applicable only to the Bhaderlu.

Previous writers have given interesting accounts of the devil-dance. Mr. Walhouse has dealt with it in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. V, and a detailed description by the late Dr. Burnell was published by Major Temple in the *Indian Antiquary* for January and February 1894.* We give a short account of it here. The performance always takes place at night, commencing about 9 o'clock. At first the *pūjāri*, with the *Bhūta* sword and bell in his hands, whirls round and round, imitating the supposed mien and gestures of the demon. But he does

* The following account of the Canara devil-dancers and exorcists is given in Mr. Lavie's MSS. *History of Canara*: "It is their duty to carry a beautiful sword with a handsomely carved handle and polished blade of the finest steel. These they shake and flourish about in all directions jumping, dancing and trembling in a most frightful manner. Their hair is loose and flowing, and by their inflamed eyes and general appearance, I should suppose that they are prepared for the occasion by intoxicating liquors or drugs.....Their power as exorcists..... is exercised on any person supposed to be possessed with the devil. I have passed by a house in which an exorcist has been exercising his powers. He began with groans, sighs and mutterings and broke forth into low moanings. Afterwards he raised his voice and uttered with rapidity and in a peculiar tone of voice certain *mantrams* or charms, all the while trembling violently and moving his body backwards and forwards." J. Sturrock, *South Canara*, pages 136-138.

not aspire to full possession; that is reserved for a Pombada or a Nālke, a man of the lowest class, who comes forward when the Billava *pūjāri* has exhibited himself for about half an hour. He is naked save for a waist band, his face is painted with ochre, and he wears a sort of arch made of cocoanut leaves and a metal mask. After pacing up and down slowly for some time, he gradually works himself up to a pitch of hysterical frenzy, while the tom-toms are beaten furiously and the spectators join in raising a long monotonous howling cry, with a peculiar vibration. At length he stops and every one is addressed according to his rank; if the Pombada offends a rich Bant by omitting any of his numerous titles, he is made to suffer for it. Matters regarding which there is any dispute, are then submitted for the decision of the *Bhūta*, and his award is generally accepted. Either at this stage or earlier, the demon is fed, rice and fruit being offered to the Pombada, while if the *Bhūta* is of low degree, flesh and arrack are also presented. These festivals last for several nights, and Dr. Burnell states that the devil-dancer receives a fee of Rs. 8 for his frantic labours.

Mariamma, the small-pox goddess of Southern India, is also greatly venerated in Canara, and a temple dedicated to her service is to be found in every important village, at which, in addition to minor offerings, the blood of goats and fowls and, on special occasions, that of buffaloes is freely offered, the victims in the case of the smaller animals being decapitated at a single blow.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The dead bodies of the Billavas are generally burned, though in some places burial is resorted to. The corpse is well washed and laid on a plantain leaf and a new cloth is thrown over it. The body

is carried on a bier to the burning ground. The collection of fuel for the pyre or the digging of the grave is the duty of the Holeyas.

The pollution is for eleven days in some places and thirteen in others after which they are purified by a bath. The relatives and others who have assembled then are similarly purified, and sumptuously treated to a feast. No Śrāddhās are performed, but the day on which the man died is observed annually or at any time, and a food on a cleaned spot is placed over a plantain leaf for the spirit, and the people to eat.

OCCUPATION.

The Billavas are toddy drawers by profession but are agriculturists as well. They own lands for agricultural purposes, and are raiyats in some places.

SOCIAL STATUS.

They do not eat from Hasālaru, Kōmatis, washermen, Hōleyas, and Bēdas. They take the food of Haḷepaikas, Gaudas, Settis, and Brāhmans. They are not allowed to enter into the houses of Brāhmans, but can enter into those of the Gaudas, the Settis and other less important castes than the Brāhmans. They cannot draw water from the well used by Brāhmans, *i.e.*, Brāhmans do not allow them to use their wells. They cannot live in close proximity with the Brāhmans, but may live near the Gauda houses, though they can, as a matter of fact, live in the same village as the Brāhmans.

The village barber and the village washerman render them services though they do not take food in the houses of the Billōru. They cannot enter a temple of the Brāhmans, and cannot receive directly *tīrtha* and *prasāda* from their hands.

DIETARY. OF THE CASTE.

The Billavas take flesh, fish, fowl, but not beef, pork, the flesh of monkeys, crocodiles, snakes,

lizards, jackals, or rats. If they abstain from flesh and drink, they pretend to be above others.

They do not catch fish but go on a hunting excursion if some people meet together. They chase rabbits, porcupine, tiger, bear, and other animals.

APPEARANCE, DRESS ETC. The Billava women get themselves tattooed before or after marriage. They do not wear any jewels to signify the symbol of marriage.

BRĀHMAN.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTE——INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE; MAIN GROUPS AND THEIR SUB-DIVISIONS——GŌTRAS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT——GŌTRAS IN INDIA AT THE PRESENT DAY——ENDOGAMOUS GROUPS: VAIDIKĀS AND LAUKIKĀS——MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE THREE SECTS: SMĀRTHAS; SRI-VAISHNAVĀS AND VAISHNAVĀS; (MADHVĀS). THE SMĀRTHA BRĀHMAN—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SMĀRTHA GROUPS——POPULATION——HABITATIONS——MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS——REASONS FOR THE PROHIBITIONS OF INTER-MARRIAGE——DIFFERENT FORMS OF MARRIAGE——MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES: KANYĀVARANA, VĀGDĀNA, MADHUPARKHA—VIVĀHA HŌMA, PĀNIGRAHANA, MANGALYADHĀRANA. LĀJAHŌMA, SAPTAPADI, ARUNDHATI; DARSANA, PRAVĒSAHŌMA, STHĀLĪPĀKA, AUPĀSANA ŚĒSHAHŌMA, CONCLUSION——TREE-MARRIAGE——POST-PUBERTY MARRIAGE—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE AMONG THE BRĀHMANS——SIGNIFICANCE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONIES——POLYGAMY——ADULTERY AND DIVORCE——MARRIAGE AND MORALITY——STRĪDHANAM (DOWRY)—PUBERTY CUSTOMS——SAMSKĀRĀS——ANTE-NATAL CEREMONIES, GARBHĀDĀNAM (CONSUMMATION), PUMSAVANAM (PREGNANCY RITE), SĪMANTHAM, DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH—POST-NATAL CEREMONIES: JĀTAKARMAM (BIRTH CEREMONY); NĀMAKARANAM (NAME-GIVING CEREMONY); ANNAPRĀSANAM (FEEDING); CHUDĀKARNAM (TONSURE); UPANAYANAM (INITIATION, RELIGIOUS EDUCATION)——FAMILY—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP, (APPENDIX)—FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES OF RELATIVES IN CEREMONIES, RULES OF HOSPITALITY, CUSTOMS OF AVOIDANCE (TABOO)—STATUS OF WOMEN——INHERITANCE AND ADOPTION——CASTE COUNCIL (GROUP SOLIDARITY); FUNCTIONS——MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—FASTING, CHARMS AND AMULETS—RELIGION. DAILY OBSERVANCES; FIVE DAILY SACRIFICES; BRAHMA YAJNA; MANUSHYA YAJNA; VAISVADĒVĀ PŪJA; NAIMITTIKA (OCCASIONAL RITES); TARPANA UPĀKARAMA OR VEDŌPAKARANA, YAJNAMS; SACRIFICE, PANCHĀYATANA PŪJĀ——BRĀHMINISM—WORSHIP OF VEDIC GODS—INDRA (SUN-GOD), SOMA (MOON-GOD), VĀYU (WIND-GOD), VARUNA (WATER-GOD), ASVIN, KUBĒRA (GOD OF WEALTH)——PURĀNIC WORSHIP: WORSHIP OF THE SMĀRTHĀS; ŚIVA, VISHNU, THEIR CONSORTS;

TEMPLES; ARCHITECTURE; GODS; ROUTINE OF THE PŪJAS; CHIEF TEMPLES; FESTIVALS; RELIGIOUS HEAD, ŚANKARA; HIS LIFE AND CAREER; DOCTRINES—RELIGION OF BRĀHMAN WOMEN—FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—TONSURE OF WIDOWS—ŚRĀDHA CEREMONIES—VARIOUS KINDS OF ŚRĀDHAS CEREMONIES—OCCUPATION—SOCIAL STATUS—ROUTINE DIETARY OF THE CASTE; DIETARY LAWS—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—GAMES—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS—CONCLUSIONS.

BRĀHMANA—The well-known priestly caste of India, and the first of the four traditional castes of the Hindu Śaśtrās.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTE.

The word *Brāhman* comes from the word 'Brahm,' which is derived from the root *bṛh* to burst, to grow or to increase. Brāhman denotes prayer, Veda, Prajāpati, Ātman and God. The word Brāhman rarely occurs in early Hymns, and it never occurred till the Brāhmana portions of the Vedas were composed. In the *Śatapáta Brāhmana*, the word 'Brahman' in the neuter gender is exalted to the position of the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods. The word at one time was identified with the 'wind,' at another time with 'breath.' In the cosmogony of the later works, *Brāhman* was exalted to the position of supreme principle which itself creates the universe. "This thought was taken up by the *Upanishads*, which made it their aim to search out the "Brahm" and to impart the knowledge of it. Here the religion passes into the region of philosophy, which in the Vedantic system is devoted to *Brahma-vidya* which has taught the unity of Brāhman and the universe." *

It is said that the early Brāhman of India was none else than a sorcerer or medicine man. He was at a later stage credited with wide literary knowledge,

* E. R. E., Vol. II, page 797.

and was provided with special treatises of rituals and the Atharvaveda, the magical practices of which closely harmonised with his character. It was even found necessary for him to be acquainted with all the Vedas. All the members of the Brāhman caste were, according to their qualifications, to undertake the duties of a Hōtr, Utgātri, Adhvaryu, Brāhman *purōhita* or master of the ceremonies. In very ancient times, one or the other of the families, namely, the Vasishtās and later the Atharvāns, claimed the high office of a priest or sacrificer.* Hence the word *Brāhmaṇa* denotes one that can be looked upon as an authority in teaching the Vedas and their Śākhas (branches, schools and recensions) as well as in conducting the complicated rituals and sacrifices. Hence it is that the *Dharma Sūtras* and the Code of Manu have specified Adhyāpana (teaching of Vedas) and Yajana (conducting the sacrifices etc.,) as the chief *dharmās*, duties, of the Brāhman. The Brāhmans grew in time the chief repositories of learning and wisdom, on account of which they were looked up to by kings as advisers in political administration, as priests in the performance of sacrifices and rites, and as *gurus* in spiritual paths. Times have rolled on, bringing about thorough changes in the condition and circumstances of India and its peoples, whereby the occupational divisions lost their import, owing to environments.*

The germ of the Brāhman caste is, to a certain extent, to be found in the bards, ministers and family priests attached to the king's household in Vedic times. "Different stages of this institution may be observed. In the very ancient times, the head of every Aryan household was his own priest, and even a king would perform his own sacrifices

* E. R. E., Vol. II, page 798.

which were appropriate to his rank. By degrees, families or guilds of priestly singers arose, who sought service under the kings, and were rewarded with rich presents for the hymns of praise and prayer recited and sacrifices offered on behalf of their masters. As times went on, the sacrifices became more numerous and more elaborate and the mass of rituals grew to such an extent, that the king could no longer cope with it unaided. The employment of *purōhits*, formerly optional, now became a sacred duty if the sacrifices were not to fall into disuse. The Brāhman obtained a monopoly of priestly functions, and a race of sacerdotal specialists arose which continually strove to close its ranks against the intrusion of outsiders. Gradually then, from the family priests and those who could recite sacred hymns and verses, handed down orally from generation to generation, an occupational caste arose, and this caste possessed the monopoly of these functions. A doctrine was developed by which nobody could perform them who was not qualified by birth, that is, nobody could be a Brāhman who was not the son of a Brāhman. Religious ceremonies became more and more important, and the priestly function became a hereditary monopoly. The process must have been automatic to a considerable extent, because the priests transmitted their culture to their sons and pupils, and in the circumstances of the Indian society, a married priesthood will naturally evolve into a hereditary caste. The Levites among the Jews, and the priests of the Parsees are examples of the kind. Thus the rise of the Brāhman caste was a comparatively simple and natural product of religious and social evolution, and might have occurred independently of this development of the caste system as a whole. Further, this hereditary priestly status

was further enhanced and strengthened by similar monopoly in the possession of the Sanskrit language in which they have been composed and handed down from the teacher to his pupils, and nobody could learn them unless he was taught by a Brāhman priest. Possession of the sacred literature in an unknown tongue coupled with priesthood made their position absolutely secure. Further, a code of rules, of rewards and punishments arose from the religion which had the disposal of the soul in after-life.*

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The Brāhmans come under two broad divisions, each of which is divided into five groups ; the first group is called Pancha Gauda or the five northern, and the second, Pancha Drāvida or the five Southern, Nerbuda forming the line as boundary between them.

The Northern Group comprises :—

1. The Sārasvata Brāhmans named after the river Sarasvati occupying the Punjab.

2. The Gauda or Gaur Brāhmans who occupy a considerable part of Northern India including Bengal and from whom the Northern group takes its name.

3. The Kānyakubja or Kanūjia Brāhmans who occupy the site of the old kingdom of that name, and form the important caste of the Northern group.

4. The Mithila Brāhmans who inhabit the modern Bihar (Tirhut), the site of the kingdom of Janaka and other Vidēha kings.

5. The Utkala Brāhmans who inhabit the modern Orissa and Ganjam districts.

The Southern Group comprises :—

1. The Maharāshtra Brāhmans of the Bombay Presidency, who include (*a*) Dēsasthās or those of the country (Poona tracts), (*b*) Konkanastha or

* Sir Herbert Risley :—*Tribes and Castes of Bengal—Brāhman.*

those that belong to the Bombay Konkan, (c) Kārtrara of the Satāra District.

2. The Telinga or Āndhra Brāhmans who are of the Telingāna, Hyderabad and the Northern Districts of the Madras Presidency.

3. The Gurjara Brāhmans who belong to Gujarat and whose sub-classes the Khedawals and Nagar Brāhmans are found in the Central Provinces.

4. The Karnāta Brāhmans who belong to the Canarese Country, comprising the Mysore State, and the British districts of Canara, Dhārwār and Belgaum.

5. The Drāvida Brāhmans proper or Tamilians who are of the Tamil country in the South of India.

GOTRAS: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

There is a legend that once when Brahma was performing a sacrifice, there came forth from it seven *rishis*, 1. Bhrigu, 2. Āngiras, 3. Marīchi, 4. Atri, 5. Pulaha, 6. Pulastya and 7. Vasishta, from whom the Brahmanical septs were supposed to have derived their origin.* Of these, the fifth Pulaha brought forth demons (Rākshasās), and the sixth Pulastya, devils (Pisāchās), while the seventh, Vasishtā, died and appeared again as a descendant of Marīchi. "Further, Bhrigu and Āngiras could not, owing to their mythical character, be represented as founders of families.' Their place was taken by the other three. Bhrigu was superseded by Jamadagni, and Angiras by Gautama and Bharadvāja. In the *Śatapatha Brâhmana*, the seven *rishis* enumerated as ancestors are: 1. Gautama, 2. Bharadvāja, 3. Viswāmitra, 4. Jamadagni, 5. Vasishta, 6. Kāsyapa and 7. Atri. To this tradition is added another to make up the eighth, Agastya.† Thus the Brahmanical clans (*gōtras*) are in reality traced to eight ancestors. These rank as Gotrakārās‡ (the founders of the numerous Brahmanical families), and their descendants form the various *gōtras*." This number is far from being constant in the Brahminical traditions.

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* *Matsya Purāna*, CXCV 8ff. † Asvalāyana *Srauta Sutra-Parisista*.

‡ Gotrakara Rishis are:—

1. Jamadagni—A descendant of Bhrigu No. 1. 2. Bharadvāja. Descendants of Angiras No. 2. 3. Gautama. 4. Kāsyapa. Descendants of Marichi No. 3. 5. Vasishta I. 6. Agastya I. 7. Atri. Said to be No. 4 himself but probably his descendants. 8. Viswamitra. Descendant of No. 4.

According to the Āsvalāyana the total number is forty-nine. In a passage of *Kuladīpika* quoted by Radhakāntha the names of the thirty two *gōtrakārās* are given, but the complete number is stated as forty. Again in a passage quoted by Radhakāntha the number given is twenty-four. Chentsal Rao holds that the original eight families were supplemented by ten, and that the latter consisted of Brāhmans who had for a time followed the vocation of Kshatriyas, and had become Brāhmans again, regarding themselves as descended from Bhrigu or from Āngiras. They rank themselves as Kēvala (separated or isolated) Bhārgavas or Āngiras, and may intermarry with any other family. Their names are: 1. Vitahavya, 2. Mitrayu, 3. Saunaka, 4. Vena, 5. Rathitara, 6. Vishnuvridha, 7. Harita, 8. Mudgala, 9. Kānva and 10. Sankriti. The first four are the followers of Bhrigu and the rest of Āngiras.*

The descendants of each of the above-mentioned Rishis cannot intermarry among themselves, but they can intermarry with those of the others. This clearly shows that marriage restrictions did not exist prior to their days; although several of these *gōtrakārās* are descended from one and the same ancestor: their descendants can freely intermarry. For instance, the descendants of Bharadvāja can intermarry with those of Gauthama, though both of them are descended from Āngiras. After the formation of the above eight families, ten more have come into existence. They consist of those Brāhmans, who, having once followed the profession of Kshatriyas (warriors) became again Brāhmans, and they allowed Bhrigu or Āngiras to marry within their families. These families appear to have been originally descended from Atri and Marīchi, but they are allowed to marry even in their families. Owing to the change of profession and reconversion to Brahmanism, they are regarded as new centres.†

Closely connected with the *gōtra* is the *pravara*, *i.e.*, the invocation of Agni by the name of the Rishi ancestors of a Brāhman who consecrates the sacrificial fire. The officiating deity carries the libation to Heaven pronouncing the name of the Rishi ancestors (ārsheya) peculiar to his *gōtra* in order to show that, he, as the offspring of worthy forbears, could fitly and worthily perform the sacred action. It was a law that the number of ārsheya or *pravara rishis* whose names were thus pronounced, might be one, two, three or five and not any other. Thus of the *gōtras* specified as descendants of

* *Asvalayana Srauta Sutra Parisishtabhaga* 8.

† Chentsal Rao: *The Principles of Pravara* and *Gotra P. III.*

Jamadagni in the above list of the *Āsvalāyana Srauta Sūtra*, the Vatsās invoked Agni as Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Apnavana, Aruva, and Jamadagni, the Arstisena as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavana Arstisena and Ānupa and so forth.*

"The Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, were required to pronounce the *pravara* of their *purōhita* (domestic chaplain). If sacrifice was offered by a king, the officient named the ancestors of the *purōhita* and not the king's ancestors. According to other sources, *pravara* was firmly established among the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, Mānava, Aila and Pauruvavasa, being named as the *ārsheyas* of the former, while Agni was invoked by the latter Bhalandhana, Vatsapri and Mankila." †

"Generally persons belonging to the same *gōtra* and having the same *pravara* are not allowed to marry one another. The recognised rule is that individuals are regarded as *Sagōtras*, *i.e.*, belong to the same *gōtra* if they have in common even one of the Rishis invoked in the same Pravara." ‡

Regarding the *gōtras* in Ancient India, the data are insufficient. The proto ancestors must be regarded as no real personalities, but as eponyms whose existence was taken as granted, and to whom the entire heritage of the priestly tribe was ascribed. The *gōtra* restrictions in matrimonial matters were the growth of a later period. In the Rig-Veda no prohibitions of marriage between relatives are seen. On the contrary, it would appear from *Sathapatha Brāhmana* (1.8.3.6) that marriages between members of the same family were of common occurrence in the ancient period. The union of man and woman descended from the same ancestor and of blood relations in the third and fourth degrees is represented as being a general practice. § But Gōbhila, Hiranyakēsin and *Mānavagrihyasūtra*, all emphasize the marriage prohibitions between persons belonging to the same *gōtra*. The same restrictions are also found in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*. In that work, it is said that the head of a family is charged to live by his call. Neverthless, it is doubtful whether the regulations were regularly obeyed. It was found necessary to grant exemptions in certain cases. Certain *gōtras* had the right to intermarry with other families.

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* Chentsal Rao: *Principles of Pravaram and Gotram*, Introduction. Baudhayana quoted by Purushotama, *Pravaramanjari*, Chentsal Rao: page 125, *Asvalāyana Srauta Sutra* XII—15—4—5.

† Bhalandana was the son of Nabhaga, who was originally a Kshatriya, afterwards became a Vaisya. If a Brahman enters into wedlock with a woman of his own *Gotra*, the offspring should be taken as Kasyapas.

‡ *Vishnu Purana*. IV Amba. I. Adhyāya.

§ E. R. E., Vol. VI., page 355, Weber page 75.

GOTRAS IN INDIA AT THE PRESENT DAY.

Just as the system of caste in main features (endogamy and hereditary calling) survives unchanged to the present day, so the state of things in relation to *gōtras* among the Brāhmans at least is the same to-day as it was in ancient times. The Brahmanical *gōtras* are eponymous sections named after the Vedic Rishis and each section is exogamous. Among the Brāhmans, blood relationship is traced in the male line, and carefully constructed tables of relationship have been prepared for guarding against prohibited unions. Further, a Brāhman cannot afford to forget his *gōtra*. It is always in mind before him, and India to-day is under the influence of Hinduism and dominated by Brāhman culture. It has got a footing even in the non-Brāhman castes. The Rajputs who are Āryan Kshatriyas claim their descent from the sun and the moon.

The question whether Totemism which is characteristic of the lower Indian castes prevails among the superior castes cannot be determined with any degree of certainity.*

In the sociological sense of the term, the name *gōtra* means a cow-stall. In ancient times the Indian family used to occupy the grazing ground jointly reserved for grazing cattle.

Brahmanical *gōtra*, then, was simply a community of family whose members enjoyed joint rights in a particular pasturage. But this hypothesis does not account for its characteristic features. It may be explained by comparison with the gods of aboriginal tribes of India. Whether there is any close relation between the Brahmanic *gōtras* and the *gots* of the lower castes, it is not possible to say. Nevertheless there seems to be a mutual influence. The desire on the part of the lower castes to observe the regulations of the higher divinity, and the all-embracing nature of the higher castes to assimilate the *gots* of the lower seem to have been in operation. The practice of exogamy is the common feature of all *gōtras* whether of the higher or lower castes, and it finds no mention in the Vedas. It must have come to prevail only after centuries of development, and possibly as a result of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian Tribes. Exogamy is connected with totemism, and might even gain ground among the Brāhmanical *gōtras* all the more easily, because totemistic ideas whether inherited from remote ages or adopted from aboriginal tribes were not unknown among the Brāhmans themselves. "Among the names of peoples found in the Veda, some are taken from animals and plants, as, *e.g.*, the Matsya (fishes), the Aja

* *Vide* Totemism in Volume I.

(goat), Sigru (horse-radish), etc. "The Kāsyapas whose name signifies tortoise trace their origin to a being closely connected or even identified with Prajāpati; their tribal ancestor was Kūrma, another word for tortoise, in whose person Prajāpati formed all created things." The legendary progenitor of Sagarid *gens*, King Iksvāku, whose name means "gourd" and seems to point to a taboo relating to this fruit, is a descendant of Kāsyapa. The *gōtra* of the Kaundinyas which traces its descent from Vasishta, and to which belonged the wife of Mahāvīra, the founder of the Jain sect, takes its name as the Kapis do from the monkeys. In the passage of the Kacchapajātaka where it is said to the tortoise, which has fastened upon the genital parts of the ape, "Tortoises are Kasyapās, apes are Kaundinyās; Kāsyapā, let go the Kaundinya, thou hast effected copulation." * Thus it is not improbable that totemistic beliefs are not unknown among the ancient Indian *gōtras*, and it becomes quite intelligible that the ancestor worship and exogamy found among the less civilized aborigines should have come to prevail in these *gōtrams* as well. From this we find that the primitive usages and ideas have not failed to operate profoundly upon the culture and development of the conquerors.†

EXOGAMOUS GROUPS.

All Brāhmans must belong to one of the three sects: Smārtha, Mādhva and Śrivaishṇava. In each of these sects, there are Vaidikās who devote themselves to religious studies (Vedas and Śāstras) and live by alms. This is however the original idea. The Vaidika Brāhmans now hold lands, engage in money-lending and small trades. Formerly, these were endowed with *jōdis* and *vrittis* by the kings of Mysore for their livelihood in order that they might lead undisturbed religious lives. There are also Loukikās who are Government servants, contractors and businessmen in trades and arts. Very often the members of a family may contain Vaidikās and Loukikās, or the ancestors of the

* There is thus an allution—in terms of the beast fable—to the matrimonial relations subsisting between the two human families.

† Summarised from an article on *Gotra* in E. R. E., Vol. VI. page 358.

family might have been Vaidikās while the present members are Loukikās.

Smārta Brāhmans.—The name *Smārta* is derived from Smriti, the code of traditional laws, customs and conduct. They worship Vishṇu and Śiva but give predominance to the latter. They hold the Advaita theory in philosophy which maintains the absolute identity of soul and supreme spirit, and regards the Universe as illusion (māyā). This sect was established by Sankarāchārya some centuries after Buddha. He was made *Jagad Guru* (Pope) with Sringēri (Kadūr District) as his seat, for re-founding the Vedic religion in India. He had four disciples whom he placed as the heads of four minor *mutts* believed to have been established at Kudali, Kumbhakonam and Sivaganga.

But from very early times, there was another sect known as Bhāgavatās, who followed the Bhāgavata Sampradāya, namely, worshipping God as having attributes and powers, as having form and feelings as Saguna Brāhman. These are *Smārtas*, but are inclined to Krishṇa. They number about 13,000, and their *Guru's* place is at Talkad. There is another class of Smārtas who, like the Bhāgavatās, worship a personal God, but call Him Śiva. Their caste-marks and customs closely resemble the Advaiti Smārtas, the followers of Sringeri *matha*, who put three horizontal lines as marks on the forehead, breast and three main parts of the arms, with the ashes of cow-dung. They put over it a long horizontal streak of sandal-wood paste. In the middle of the forehead, they add a round red spot, with a paste of turmeric and *chunam*, just before breakfast. The Bhāgavata Smārtas take sandal paste or *gopi* clay and from between the brows, draw upwards with the thumb, so that it is thickest at the bottom and faintest at

the top. In some places they put on *nāmams* of white U-shape with a red streak in the middle parallel to the arms of the U, but much thinner than the marks of Śrī Vaishṇavas. They follow Tengalē Śrī Vaishṇavās in the details of fasting on Ekādasi days.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE SMARTHA GROUPS.

1. Badaganād had their origin in the northern districts (Vadagu means north). The members of this community speak Canarese. They are mostly found in the Nandidrug division and Chitaldrug district. Some of them are Smārtās while others are Mādhvās. They are called Karṇāṭaka Brāhmans.

2. Dēsaśthas are immigrants from the Mahratta country, mostly speaking Mahratti at home. Most of them are Mādhvas and the rest are Smārtās. But the difference of faith is no bar among them for intermarriage and free social intercourse. When a Smārta girl is married by a Mādhva, she is purified by the stamping of conch and disc by the *maṭha* authorities. They are largely found in Bangalore, Kolar, Mysore and Shimoga districts.

3. Babbur Kamme or Karnāṭaka Brāhmans are all Smārtas. Kannada Kamme and Ulcha and Valcha Kamme generally speak Canarese while the rest speak Telugu. Some of these sects are Smārtas while the others are Mādhvās. They seem to have been originally somewhere in the east of the Kolar district, but are now found in the Hassan and Mysore districts as also in Nandidrug and Ashtagrām.

4. Mulikinad or Murikinad are the Āndhra (Telugu) people speaking Telugu at home. They are all Smārtas, and have come from the Ceded Districts. The selection for the *guru's* place at Sringēri has recently been from this sect. They are largely found in the districts of Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur.

5. The Hoisaniga, also called Vaishaniga, Brahmans are mostly Smārtās, and speak Canarese. Their name is connected with the old Hoysala or Hoisaniga Kingdom from which they might have emigrated. They are largely found in Mysore and Hassan.

6. Drāviḍas proper include Vadamans and Brihatcharanams who are immigrants from the Tamil countries and speak Tamil at home. Vadamans belong to the country north of the Chola and to the Chola Kingdoms which form their territorial subsept. They chiefly inhabit Kolar, Mysore and Shimoga districts.

The Brihatcharanam Brahmans form a large class of people in Southern India, and different waves of people came to Mysore for settlement. In the Madras Census Report of 1893, a story is quoted from the *Indian Antiquary* as to their migration to the south of India. "Agastya had been engaged for the performance of a great sacrifice by a Pāndya king, who sent invitations to Brāhmans in different places to attend. Those who received the notice early came away at once, but those who got it late and had further to come, did not arrive till the ceremonies had begun. From these circumstances the former got the name of big striders or fast walkers." But I think the word *Charanam* means a school or branch of Veda as *Kata* or *Kataka*. Hence people who adhere to the big branch are called Brihatcharanam.

7. The Hale Karnāṭaka or Kannadiga Brāhmans belong mostly to the Mysore district where most of the village accountants are of this class. There are two branches of this community, namely, Mugur and Sosile. They are nearly all Smārtās, and speak Canarese. These have no intercourse with the other Brāhmans in respect of either social or

religious matters. There are Smārtās and Vaishṇavās among them. Regarding the origin and history of these people, the following account is given in the Census Report of 1893. "The history of the position of this community in the caste gradations illustrates on the one hand the Brāhmanical influence in Indian sociology, and on the other, the difficulty of obtaining recognition of an otherwise just claim in caste matters. All the other sects and sub-divisions admit them to be Brāhmans in spite of religious, doctrinal and ceremonial differences and mutually disputed purities, all of them hesitated until a few years ago, to recognise Haḷe Karnāṭakās as such. Decisively they call them Mārka or Māraka Brāhmans, the origin and meaning of which is somewhat obscure, but the following account is given in the *Mysore Gazetteer* (Vol. I, page 341).

Mārka.—"A caste claiming to be Brāhmans but not recognised as such. They worship the Hindu Triad, but are chiefly Vaishnavās and wear the trident mark on their forehead. They are most numerous in the south of the Mysore District, which contained five-sixth of the whole numbers. The great majority of the remainder are in the Hassan District. There are none in Tumkur and Chitaldrug. They call themselves Hale Karnātaka, the name Mārka being considered to be one of reproach, on which account also many have returned themselves as Brāhmans of one or other sects. They are said to be descendants of some disciple of Śankarāchārya, the original *guru* of Śringēri, and the following legend is related of the cause of their expulsion from the Brāhman caste to which their ancestors belonged."

"One day Śankarāchārya, wishing to test his disciples, drank some toddy in their presence, and the latter thinking that it could be no sin to follow their preceptor's example indulged freely in the same beverage. Soon after, when passing a butcher's shop Śankarāchārya asked for alms; the butcher had nothing but meat to give, which the *guru* and his disciples were prohibited from taking. According to the Hindu Śāstras red hot iron alone can purify a person who has eaten flesh and

drunk toddy. Śankarāchārya went to a black-smith's furnace and begged from him some red hot iron, which he swallowed and purified. The disciples were unable to imitate their master in the matter of the red hot iron, and besought him to forgive their presumption in having dared to imitate him in the partaking of forbidden food. Śankarāchārya refused to give absolution and cursed them as unfit to associate with the six sects of Brāhmans. They appear to be the same as the Sāpagrasthās among the Nambūdiris of Malabar.''*

The caste is again making a strong effort to be readmitted among Brāhmans, and have recently become disciples of Parakālaswāmi. Their chief occupations are agriculture and government service as Shānbhogs or village accountants.

Some of the more intelligent and leading men in the clan however give another explanation. It is said that either in Dewan Purnaiya's time or some time before, a member of this Mārka caste rose to power and persecuted the people so mercilessly that with characteristic inaptitude they gave him the nickname of '*Māraka*' or the slaughterer or the destroyer, likening him to the planet Mars, which is a certain constellation and is also logically dreaded as wielding a fatal influence on the fortunes of mortals. There is, however, no doubt that in their habits, customs, religion and ceremonials, these people are wholly Brāhmanical, but still they remain entirely detached from the main body of the Brāhmans. Since the Census of 1871, the Hale Karnātakas have been strenuously struggling to get themselves classified among the Brāhmans. About 25 years ago, the Sringēri Matha issued on behalf of the Smārtha section of the people a *Srīmukha* (papal bull) acknowledging them to be Brāhmans. A similar pronouncement was also obtained from the Parakāla Matha at Mysore about three years later on behalf of the Sri Vaishnavās among them. And the local government directed, a little after the previous census of 1881, that they should be entered as Brāhmans in the government accounts. The offensive word Māraka could not however be altogether excluded from the Census papers, as the enumerator had recklessly inserted it wherever members of that community were enumerated. But the necessary correction has been duly made at the present compilation. There are 7,506 present, in all, of this class. More than three-fourths of them are confined to the Mysore district, and a large portion find employment as village accountants. They have two branches known

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pages 175-176.

as Mugur and the Sosale, and between them there is no intermarriage.*

8. The Aruvēlu or (the six thousand) are Smārtas or Mādhvas, and they speak Canarese or Telugu. The caste-mark varies at their choice or family tradition. Some families put on *nāmams* as the Śri Vaishṇavās do, or they put on the black spot in the centre of their forehead as the Smārtas or the marks of the Mādhvās when they adopt their tenets. These are generally Vaidikas. But there is a Loukika class called Niyōgis, who adopt secular occupations. There is another class called Golkonda Vyāpāris who claim to belong to the Vaishnava community, and follow their customs, but they are looked upon as inferiors by the Vaishṇavās.

The Aravathu Vokkalu (the sixty families) formerly belonged to some other sect such as Aruvēlu or Kamme, and were admitted by Vyāsarāya Swāmi to the Mādhva faith, two or three centuries ago.

The small sect of Kambalur, also called Totada Tigala, found in the Shimoga district and Uttarāji, who became the disciples of Srīpādarāya of Venkatagiri, are the other off-shoots of the Aruvelu sect.

9. The Chitpavans are Mahratta Smārtās; they are also known as Konkanasthās, and are found in South Canara. They are said to be immigrants from Goa. Some of them are cultivators and traders. Their customs do not differ much from those of the Dēsasthās. Their titles are Pant (Pandit), Rao, Śāstri and Dīkshita. They are the owners of areca nut plantations.

10. Havika or Haiga are immigrants from Haiga or Ahikshētra, the ancient name of North Canara, and they are almost entirely confined to the west

* *Mysore Census Report* 1893, page 234.

of the Shimoga district. They are Smārtās and are now principally engaged in the cultivation of arecanuts and trade. A few are *purōhits* to inferior classes. They originally belonged to some part in Northern India, and were brought to the south by a king called Mayūra Varma (according to *Sahyādrikānda*). The word Havīka may be a corruption of Havyaka (one that offers sacrifices to gods), Havyam as distinguished from Kavyam (offering to Pitris), and they might have been imported at a time when there were no priests in those parts. They are largely found in the hilly tracts of Nagar. They are the followers of Śankarāchārya.*

Kandavara.—They are immigrants from a village of the same name in the Kondapur Taluk in South Canara. They all belong to one *gōtra* (Visvāmitra). Their girls are generally married to Shivali Brāhmans.

Kavarga and Sishyavarga.—These are Tulu Brāhmans from South Canara. Śishyavarga (class of disciples) has been corrupted into Śisu Varga. Both are allied sub-divisions, and mostly confined to the Kadur district. The name is said to have a reproachful allusion to a legend according to which a brother and sister of this tribe deceitfully received a gift by representing themselves as husband and wife at a Brāhmanic ceremony. The sins of the father were visited on the children, and the community to this day is known by the name of Ka-Varga (of the Ka or Kalla or thief class). They are looked as somewhat inferior Brāhmans who are not entitled to perform all the six important functions of the Brāhmans. †

Kota.—The Brāhmans of this division are immigrants from a village in the northern part of the

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes.* † Vol. II, pages 344-345.

Uduppi taluk in the South Canara, and are confined to the Kadur district. Originally they belonged to the Kota Community. There is a legend that one of their ancestors committed perjury in a land case, and were on that account cursed to lose their Brāhmanhood for 700 years.

Kārhadē.—They are immigrants from Satara in the Bombay Presidency. They are chiefly found in the Shimoga district. They is a tradition that they were created by Parasurāma from camel bones.

Konkanastha.—Brāhmans of this community have immigrated from Konkan and Ratnagiri. There is no intermarriage between Karhādē and Konkanastha Brāhmanas.

11. *Sivalli Brāhmans.*—They are Tulu speaking immigrants from South Canara (the ancient Tuluva country) into the western parts. They also speak Kannada mixed with Tulu in the Mysore State. They are engaged in agriculture, trade, in temple service (as *pujārīs*), and in service as cooks in rich men's houses. They are generally known as Uduppi or Mangalore Brāhmans in Mysore, and as Embrāns and Pōthis in the West Coast. Sivalli is a village near Uduppi in South Canara. They are a branch of Haviks separated forty years ago on account of religious disputes. They are mostly Mādhvās, and it was among them that Ānandatirtha was born. The Vaidikas call themselves Bhatta and Āchārya while the Loukikās call themselves Rāo.

12. Nandavaidikas are from the Telugu country, speaking Telugu and Canarese; some of them are in Kolar, and are Smārtās while others are Mādhvās.

13. Prathama Sākhe, Suklayajus Sākhe or Mādhyāndina Brāhmans speak Telugu and Canarese and are Smārthas or Mādhvās. These are looked upon by others as inferior Brāhmans. But the

Mādhvās intermarry with them. These men follow the first fifteen Śākhas of the white Yajus (Prathama Śākha). They are also called Vājasēniyas and Kātyayanas.

Sankēti Brāhmans are Smārtās who immigrated into Mysore from Madura. Their mother-tongue is Tamil, but owing to long settlement in Mysore, they now talk a corrupt Tamil peculiar to themselves. There are two branches, namely, the Kausika (700 families) and Bettadapura (300 families), named from the localities in Mysore and Hassan districts where they first settled. The Kausikas were the first immigrants with some convention or covenant. They do not intermarry with the Sanketins; but occasionally the Kausikas have taken wives from Bettadapur in which case the girls cease all connection with their parents and other relations. They are chiefly found in the Ashtagrām divisions. Their women tie their *sāri* or cloth, in a manner peculiar to themselves, tight round the body instead of loose and flowing. The custom had its origin in a fable, and is supposed to be in accordance with the wish and warning of the prophetess Nāchiāramma. The males dine together. The Sanketins reverence a prophetess named Nāchiāramma (Nanjiramma) who was instrumental in causing their migration from their original homes. *Sankētan* means certain terms to be subscribed and acted by all of them, *i.e.*, that they should hold together in all circumstances, and never go back to their homes in South India. They have been chiefly agriculturists and gardeners, hard-working and self-supporting. Recently, however, there have been eminent Government servants among them.* Two other divisions are:—1. The Malnād Sanketins of fifty or sixty families in the Kadur

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1871, pages 51-56.
Do 1893, page 236.

district, and 2. Hiriyangala Sanketins of the same number in the Hassan district. There is generally no intermarriage between them. A few intermarriages have since taken place.*

14. *Sāraśvata.*—They are immigrants from Konkan in the Bombay Presidency. The Brāhmans impute to them, rightly or wrongly a fish diet, and hold no social intercourse with them. They are styled Kusaśthalās and Shenvi.

15. Śiranād Brāhmans are a division of Karnātaka Brāhmans having two sub-sections (Hale Śiranād (old) and Hosa Śiranād (new). The former being Smārtās and the latter chiefly Mādhvās. Both speak Canarese and derive their name from Sira, a taluk in the Tumkur district.

16. Vēlnad Brāhmans are Telugu Smārtās who resemble Murikinād in many respects. They are mostly found in the South and East.

17. *Sivanambi or Sivārādhya.*—They are priests in Śaivite temples, and have debased themselves by performing menial services to the deities for wages. They are not allowed to eat with the other Brāhmans.

18. *Sivadhvajas.*--The Sivadhvajas are Siva Nambis of Smartā sect and officiate in Siva temples. The temple servants, as a class, are regarded as such by their services, and consequently, they are prohibited from certain form of intercourse such as interdining and intermarriages. The Sivadhvijās are known as Gurukkal in the Madras Presidency, and are regarded as having lost their Brahmanhood, although in Cochin and Travancore no degradation is recognised in the *pūjaris* of Siva temples who are chiefly Nambudiris, Embrāns (South Canara). The *pūjaris* of some Siva temples are called Tamballa, while some

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1891, pages 233-236.

pūjāris in certain Siva temples are Lingāyats and are called Tammadīs.

19. *Dravida and Vadama.*—They are Smārtās whose forefathers have been immigrants from the Tamil Country. The Drāvidās inhabit the Kolar, Mysore and Shimoga districts. Vadamās are found in Bangalore.

20. *Vangipuram.*—These are purely Smārtas who followed Fauzdar Nallappa to Tumkur. They speak Telugu.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

According to the Census of 1921, the Brāhman population of the Mysore State numbered 215,574, 110,744 being males and 104,830 females. They formed 3.9 per cent of the Hindu population. Looking at the figures of the previous Censuses, there has been a steady increase in spite of the diminution in 1881. The distribution of Brāhmans in the various districts of the State and their numbers at the previous Census operations are given below :—

District.	Number.
Bangalore	18,702
Kolar	25,169
Tumkur	20,276
Mysore	33,576
Chitaldrug	8,662
Hassan	20,409
Kadur	18,085
Shimoga	27,309
Bangalore City	23,047
Mysore City	16,594
Bangalore	2,462

Most of the taluks in the State contain a population of more than 1000.

At the previous Census operations the Brāhman numbered in :—

1871	174,000
1881	163,000
1891	184,000
1901	190,000
1911	195,000

The Brāhman population according to the Census of 1921 is as follows in the :—

Madras Presidency	1,564,111
Bombay Presidency	1,030,119
Hyderabad State	247,126

HABITATIONS.

The Brāhmans are found all over Mysore, their centres being Mysore, Bangalore and other towns. Religious seclusion has always been the guiding principle in the choice of their habitations which are generally in the valleys, on the banks of rivers abounding in natural scenery, by the side of sea-shore or a lake, so as to afford ample facilities for bathing, which is regarded almost as a religious rite in itself, and a preliminary to all sacred ceremonies. They have been, from time out of date, residing in *agrahārams* which are streets occupied exclusively by themselves with a temple in a prominent centre in the vicinity. Around them are the waste lands for the grazing of cattle. At a distance from these *agrahārams* are located the habitations of other castemen in the order of social precedence. These arrangements are based on the principle of co-operation. Śilpa Śāstras lay down rules regarding the sites of villages and *agrahārams* as also of houses for construction. The soil of the proposed site was examined to ascertain the fitness for cultivation, and to find whether good drinking water was procurable at no great depths. The selection of the site was invariably accompanied by the invocation of the gods to whom sacrifices were offered for blessings. For the selection of the house-site as well, the best one is that which slopes towards the east, because it ensures the benefit of full sunlight. In the event of the discovery of bones or other refuse therein, it was rejected in the belief that it would not be conducive to health, comfort and prosperity. The soil for the construction of

a house also was similarly examined and tested. A saline soil, a low water-logged ground, or a locality with cattle enclosure was invariably avoided. Further, the ground which emitted the smell of fish, oil and corpse was also considered unsuitable. The qualities of taste, smell and touch were carefully tested by an expert.*

The site of a house must extend from the north to the south or from the west to east. In the event of the situation on the northern side, the entrance should be on the southern side, and if from the western side the entrance should be from the east. This arrangement would admit free air, and let in light to the houses so constructed. But whether a house be situated in the south or the west, it is desirable that the central hall or the *kūdom* should preferably face towards the east. The verandah on all sides of the central courtyard would then complete a plan best suited to provide light and air to the house. Under other conditions, even the timber to be used for the construction of a house was carefully selected. Timber felled from the cremation ground or in a storm was avoided. Mango tree, nim, or illipai could be used. The entrance way should not be on a higher level than that of the inner apartments. The level of the house should gradually rise from the main entrance. A sloping declivity of the level of the house towards the east is recommended. The entrance to the house should face one of the cardinal points. The intermediate points should be avoided. The door of the entrance should be on the left-hand side, and the verandas in front were intended to afford shelter to strangers. Care should also be taken for a proper system of drainage by

* C. P. Venkitarama Iyer: *Town Planning in Ancient Dekkan*, pages 109-117.

E. B. Havell: *The History of the Aryan Rule in India*, pages 25-27.

allowing drainage water to empty itself into the main drainage canal. All fruit-bearing trees, such as mango, jack, cocoanut, arecanut, plantains as also the flowering plants emitting smell should be planted in the compound around the house. Most of the rules detailed above are even now observed in the construction of houses of the higher castes, which are either quadrangular or square in form with a courtyard in the centre and with rooms and halls for various purposes. The plan is a survival of that of the original village and that of the temples. It required accomodation for the chanting of the Vedas, for the performance of religious rights, and for teaching disciples. A separate low building is set apart for other purposes as well. Another low building is set apart in general for cows and calves, which are the inevitable adjuncts to a Brāhman's family. The houses must be provided with windows for ventilation, and through which the smoke from the sacrificial fire may escape. The houses must be kept daily clean.*

The agrahāram-living of the Brāhmans was originally based on the principle of co-operation and mutual protection, but in these days well-to-do families, and those who can afford it, prefer to live in houses surrounded by gardens. The arrangement to a certain extent relieves the congested quarters by having extensions outside the towns, and such extensions are now being formed in Bangalore, Mysore, and other towns. It is said that the house itself is fashioned after man. It is considered that Vāstu Purusha or the spirit presiding over the ground on which the houses are constructed, is lying on the ground with his head towards the north-east, and feet towards the south-west, reclining

* C. P. Venkitarama Iyer: *Town Planning in the Dekkan* pages 123-126.

on his left arm with his face towards the east, and this position is unchanged. It is to be taken into account in the preparation of any plan for the construction of a house which is in conformity with the idea of allowing Vāstu to face the east. This idea and the open courtyard obtain for the Brāhman house a beautifully sunny aspect which is very important from a sanitary point of view. Thus the dwelling house is constructed on the model of the human body. The doorway and the trellis work in the wall on the eastern side resemble the eyes of the man, and serve as niches for the burning of lamps. The windows and the courtyard serve as nasal cavities. The central courtyard corresponds to the lungs of the house. The entrance gates should be wide, and the exit narrow.*

There are some ceremonies which are performed by the carpenters and stone masons both at the time of laying the foundation of the house, when the work is in progress, and also when it is completed; but the most important of these is performed by the Brāhmans, and is called *Vāstuyagam* or *Vāstu Yajnam* It is a Vedic rite, and no house, nor temple is fit for divine purpose without the celebration of this ceremony. The word Vāstu means the site of a dwelling or the dwelling itself. Vāstōspati is one of the names of Indra in the Vedas. But one of the later conceptions of Vedic religion was a separate Vāstōspati or house-protector, who was regarded as presiding over the foundation of a house, and to him is addressed hymns in that connection.* The Vedic conception of Vāstōspati was developed in later days into a belief in the existence of a Vāstunara or Vāstupurusha with a genealogy of a Vāstunara or his own. Varāhamihira says that he is some being that defied both the worlds, on account of which he was subdued by the host of Gods and finally hurled down. The several parts of the body were subjected to those by whom it was first attacked. It is this being of immortal substance who was destined by the creator to be the spirit of dwelling houses. *Matsya Purāna* gives a different account. Simhika, the wife of Kāsyapa gave birth to two sons, Rāhu and Vāstu. The elder had his

* *Rig Veda*, VII. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, page 273.

neck severed by Hari, while the younger was cast down by the gods. There is also a fuller, but partially different account given in another part of the same work to the effect, that when Śiva destroyed the demon Andhaka, a drop of perspiration fell on the ground from Siva's face which assumed the form of a terrific being who greedily devoured all the demons that had been killed in the battlefield. Still unsatiated he practised austerities and obtained from the same deity boon to have the power of devouring the whole world. Then the gods and their enemies combined to bind him down, and each of them entered into that part of the body which attacked him. He thus became the dwelling of all the gods, and was called Vāstu. As he was thus overpowered, he enquired how he was to subsist, whereupon the gods allowed him to accept the *balis* (sacrifices) within Vāstu or dwelling by the householder, as well as the offering made in the Vastōpaśamana Yajna. Thus from that time, Vāstu Yajna has been ordained for his gratification. The daily offerings of the Vāstu spirit is mentioned in the *Asvalāyana Grihya Sūtra*. The ceremony as performed in these days opens with the performance of Grihya Yajna or the sacrifice offered to the planets which according to *Matsya Purāna* are a necessary preliminary to the efficacy of all optional (*kāmya*) religious rites. Another preliminary rite consists in the performance of *vridhi srādham* or *nāndhimukha* which has to be performed on every occasion of prosperity. The specific ceremony begins with the division of the ground plan of the house into eighty-one squares, by drawing ten lines from east to west and ten lines from north to south. In some cases the aggregate of squares is called Vāstumandala. The large square is supposed to correspond to the body of Vāstunara and its component squares are taken to represent particular limbs and organs, which, in accordance with the mythical story already noticed, are believed to be the seats of particular learning, who are worshipped therein.* The *hōmam* or the sacred fire ceremony, which has next to be performed in this connection, is the connecting link between the rituals of the Vedas and the Purānas (*Matsya Purāna*). Vishnudharmōttara directs Vāstōpati mantrams to be recited at the sacrifice to the house-god, and at all stages of ceremonies. The oblation of milk, rice and sugar seems to be very much favoured. According to *Dēvi Purāna*, the worship of the Vāstumandala ought to be followed by consecration of a water vessel in the middle of Vāstumandala, sacred

* *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, page 189.

to Brahma, and the water from the same has to be poured on the ground following the lines which make up the smaller squares. Finally a pit one cubit square and four fingers deep is made in the middle, and is plastered with cow-dung and sandal paste. The worshipper then meditates on Brahma and pouring the water from the sacred vessel into the pit, throws flowers into it. If they flow to the right, the omen is good, as otherwise ill-luck will ruin the family. The pit is then filled up with sacred grains, and is brought and put earth from the fields. On the conclusion of the ceremony the officiating priest is given a present of a few rupees and a pair of clothes. The worshipper then goes through the usual ablution which is enjoined after the performance of every sacrifice, and feasts of the Brahmans.

If the Vāstumandala cannot be prepared on the authority of the *Padmapūrānam*, the worship of the presiding deities is to be performed before the sacred Sāligrāma stone. It is believed that the gods, Yakshas and Asuras as well as the fourteen worlds are all present at the place where Vishnu is present in the form of that stone.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

The guiding principle involved in the evolution of the Brāhman marriage is the purity of descent which is an important qualification for Brāhmanship, though cases are recorded of the matrimonial alliances with the women of the Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*). The issue of such unions was at first looked upon as belonging to Brāhmans. However, the *Grihya Sūtras* and *Dharma Sūtras* do not recognise the validity of marriages on the principle of hypergamy; but the latter Smritis tend to rule them out as objectionable. The rule at present is against mixed marriages, and limits the possibility of union only within the caste. Simultaneously from the growth of this prohibition of marriage, arose restrictions within the family. According to the Hindu *śāstras*, persons who are related as Sapindās cannot marry. This relationship extends to six degrees where the common ancestor is a male. But there is a difference of opinion if the common ancestor is a female. Manu

and Āpastamba extend the prohibition in the latter case also to six degrees while Gautama, Vasishta Śaṅkha, Nārada and Yājñavalkya limit it to four degrees.* To this restriction is also added another rule, that the parties to the marriage should not be of the same *gōtra* or *pravara*, that is, they must not be of the same family, nor should they invoke the same ancestor. Conjugal relations between the first cousins, according to the local customs, and practice of marriage of cousins in South India are recognised by Baudhāyana.† The practice of marrying outside the *gōtra* has been long ago recorded by Al-Buruni (Tr. Sacho. I, i, 135). Nevertheless, a few exceptions only in South India are found, where some tribes and castes practise the opposite rules of endogamy. Of much less importance are the restrictions which arise from the feeling that the eldest son and the eldest daughter should be married before the younger sons and daughters. A breach of this rule is merely a ground for penance and not a fatal bar to the validity of marriage. This rule is very old and is found in the Yajur Vēda. It is recognised throughout the later literature.‡ In South India, Brāhmans adopt the practice of mock-marriage in which the elder brother is married to the branch of a tree to avoid the evil result of the breach of this rule by a younger brother. The bride should be a virgin, and the importance of this rule renders the remarriage of widows impossible. In the Rig Vēda there is some indication that a woman might remarry, if her husband had disappeared, and could not be found or heard of.§ Mention is made of a spell that a woman married

* *Maitrayani Samhita*, IV, I, 9 ; *Manu*.
† (I, ii. 3.) Chapter III, 1—120.
‡ *Maitrāyani Samhitā IV. I*, 9. Manu, Chapter III, 1-12.
§ (Atharvavēda ix—v—27).

twice may be united in the next world with the second and not with the first. The reference is to remarriage in the case of a lost husband or one who has lost caste. The doctrine of Manu is that a woman should never be remarried, and that the marriage formulæ are intended for the virgins only. It admits of the exceptions, and the re-marriage of a maiden is allowed, if the husband dies before the completion of the marriage. But the objections to such marriages are so strong among the Brāhmans and other higher castes which lay most stress on virgin marriage, and despite the legalising of them by Act XV of 1856, and the efforts of social reformers, they are still disapproved by the higher castes. In the selection of a bride or bridegroom the Brāhmans pay special attention to the following rules.

"That the bride-elect is free from bodily or mental defects, that she belongs to a respectable family, that she inherits the virtue of ten generations, is younger than the bridegroom, and has not been promised to any one else, and that the bridegroom is endowed with all accomplishments, is of the same caste and social standing, is well versed in the Vedas, is youthful, intelligent and agreeable." *

Besides the prohibitions detailed above, there are similar restrictions relating to inter-marriage between the main divisions and the sub-divisions of the Brāhmans. There is no inter-marriage between the Smārthas and the Śri Vaishṇavas, and between the Śri Vaishṇavas and the Mādhvas and *vice versa*. The prohibitions are based mainly on religious difference. Further, the members of various divisions do not enter into conjugal relations with

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes Vol. II, Chapter IX*, pages 182—183, Chapter XII, page 291.

one another merely because of the geographical influences and distribution. Nevertheless some exceptions are found in these days.*

REASONS FOR THE PROHIBITIONS OF INTER-MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—The selection of persons for marriage outside the family and within the caste is designated as exogamy by Mac. Lennan. Sir James G. Frazer suggests that exogamy may be due to a belief that the intercourse of near kin is injurious both to the progeny and to the whole community. He also points out that among the various peoples the intercourse is thought to render the women sterile, and to endanger the common food supply by preventing edible animals from multiplying and edible plants from growing. The idea that sexual crime, in general, and incest, in particular, blights the crops is common among the people of Malayan stock on Indian Archipelago, Indo-China and West Africa. Similar notions must have prevailed among the primitive Aryans including the Greeks. The prohibition of inter-marriage is universal, while customs above referred to are not. Durkheim, on the other hand, derives the custom from a religious sentiment which is due to magical rites or virtues attributed to the menstruous blood of women and the religious awe for blood. This he attributes to Totemism which is the ultimate source of not only clan exogamy, but all other prohibitions against incest aswell.†

"Exogamous rules," says Westermarck, "are regarded as social survivals from remote ages." It is supposed that 'these rules have originated in social conditions which have never been found elsewhere.' ‡ Now, is it really possible to believe? asks Frazer. According to Bentham, "Individuals accustomed to each other from an age which is neither capable of conceiving the desire nor of inspiring it, will see each other with the same eyes to the end of their life." § Dr. Havelock Ellis writes, "Between those who have been brought up together from childhood all the sensory stimuli or vision, hearing, and touch have been dulled by use, trained to the calm level of affection, and deprived of their power of potency to arouse erethistic excitement which produces sexual tumescence."

* *Vide* divisions of the Brāhmans, pages 312—320, *ante*.
† Durkheim in *L. Anne Sociologique*, 1-47.
‡ Westermarck: *The History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, page 102.
§ Bentham: *Theory of Legislation*, page 223.

Manu describes eight kinds of marriage :— DIFFERENT FORMS OF MARRIAGE.

1. Brāhma, in which the father gives away his daughter, well-clothed and neatly-equipped, to a person of good conduct and learning, who is chosen and requested to marry her.

2. Daiva, in which a girl is given away by the father to a Ritwig who officiates at a sacrifice.

3. Ārsha, in which a girl is given away by her father to a man taking two cows from him.

4. Prājāpatya, in which a girl is given to a man, saying "You two work Dharma."

5. Āsura, in which a girl is sold for money.

6. Gāndharva, in which the youths agree among themselves and marry summarily.

7. Rākshasa, in which a girl is captured by force.

8. Paiśacha, in which a girl is abducted by force.

Of these, the first liberates ten manes on either side ; the second liberates seven ; the fourth liberates six ; thus these four are recommended in the order of merit. Though the present marriage ceremony partakes of the nature of more than one of them, it is said that the Brāhma form of marriage is in practice, and that *Kanyā* means a virgin before attaining her age.*

Brāhman girls are married between the age of seven and twelve. Some of the Vedic hymns refer rather to an advanced age. The practice, however, is to have it performed between eleven and fourteen, that is, before they come of age. Generally, the girls have no voice in the choice of their husbands whom their parents or their elder brothers choose for them. When a girl is to be married, her father or her brother selects a suitable young man whose

* Manu approves only of the first four forms of marriage for Brāhmans while the other four are allowed for the warrior and other classes—Chapter, III, 24.

horoscopes he obtains and submits to a learned astrologer. In the event of a proper agreement between his horoscope and that of the girl, and a favourable decision being given by the astrologer, the bridegroom's father is approached. If he approves of the match, he is invited to talk over the matter in the presence of friends and relations of both sides, when the price of the bridegroom is also determined. Sometimes many days, even months, pass before fathers agree as to the sum of money to be paid by the bride's father to the father of the bridegroom. The sum varies from one thousand to three thousand rupees in ordinary well-to-do families, and four to five thousand rupees or even more for the young men of the rich families. University degrees and other qualifications count very much in these days in the matrimonial market. Property and other qualifications also are other considerations to enhance the price which the bride's father will have to pay. There is, however, a tendency in these days to obtain the approval of the parties before marriage. In the event of their unwillingness, the offer is given up.

From the day on which the settlement is made, the girl is regarded as betrothed. It is only a contract entered into by the bride's and bridegroom's parents in the presence of some respectable members of the community and seldom revoked. On this point, Manu says: "Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have ever given a damsel in marriage after she has been promised to another man. But Nārada and Yājñavalkya admit the right of the father to annul the right of betrothal of one suitor, if a better match presents itself; and either party to the contract is allowed to withdraw from it, where specific defects are discovered. But the former says that a man who wishes to withdraw

from his contract, without proper cause, may be compelled to marry the girl even against his will. But it is now settled by decisions that contracts to marry will not be specifically enforced, that the only remedy is an action for damages, and that all the expenses resulting from the abortive contract would be recoverable from such an action. The word betrothal means a promise to marry, and is often celebrated with much ceremony. The marriage ceremony invariably takes place in the bride's house.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

The auspicious day on which the marriage is to take place is fixed by the astrologer. From that day, the bridegroom-elect must have gone through his Samāvarthanam, and he has therefore ceased to be a Brahmachārin. Nowadays, it is nominally passed through before the marriage, which invariably takes place in the bride's house. The parents of the bride, who are busy with the preparations, see that the previous rites and Saṃskāras are gone through before the marriage. If the bridegroom's party belong to a distant place, they arrive generally at the house of the bride-elect on the evening previous to the day of celebration. They are well received and properly housed during the days of the marriage. On the morning of the auspicious day, the bride and the bridegroom-elect bathe and dress themselves neatly. The former is adorned in her best. The latter peforms the Saṃskārās and formally terminates his bachelorhood. He then pretends to go on a pilgrimage to Benares in the course of the procession from his uncle's house, but when the procession passes through the place appointed for the purpose, he is met by the bride's parents, generally in front of the house. The father of the girl with a cocoanut in his hand addresses the young pilgrim,

with a request to desist from his further journey, and promises the hand of his daughter in marriage in token of which he gives the cocoanut to his hands. The bridegroom's party is led to the marriage *pandal*.

Kanyāvaraṇa.—With all the mutual pledge and promise made to the bridegroom, his party go through the ceremony of formally selecting the bride. Four Brāhmans pretending to choose one and repeating some *mantras*, thrice announce that, for the bridegroom of such and such a name and *gōtra*, naming his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, they choose the bride, naming the *gōtra* of her father, grandfather, and great grandfather. The bride's father thrice announces the names of the *gōtra* of the girl, and promises to give her in marriage to the bridegroom of such and such name and *gōtra*, naming the ancestors as before. Kanyāvaraṇa and Vāgdāna (promise) are done either before the Kāsiyātra or after it. The bridegroom is then brought to the *maṇḍapam*. In a few instances, the Niśchithārtha may have been done before this. Even this formal announcement is retained, so that a *sagōtra* may by this, be elucidated. When the bridegroom arrives in front of the house, he is made to stand facing the north or the east. The bride's mother brings water, milk, a lighted lamp and some balls of coloured rice, and walks round the would-be bridegroom spilling the liquid. The light is waved and the balls thrown on different sides to ward off the evil eye. Then the mother of the bride washes his feet with milk and water, and dries up with the end of her cloth. After waving *ārati*, he is led up to the *maṇḍapam*. But among the Drāvida Brāhmans of South India and those of them who have settled there and in Mysore, the bride is soon brought after the arrival of the bridegroom in front of the house, the couple exchange garlands three times, and she stands by the side of

her future husband, while the welcome ceremonies are done by the ladies. Then the bridegroom takes hold of her right hand, and proceeds to the *maṇḍapam*. If the bridegroom is a young boy, he is carried by the mother-in-law in her arms thereto.

But among the Karṇātakās and other Brāhmans of Mysore, more importance is attached to the first meeting of the couple, and they therefore lead the bridegroom to the *maṇḍapam* where the bride stands behind a screen, and the bridegroom stands on the other side of both, with handfuls of rice waiting for the signal. The Brāhmans chant, inviting the auspicious time, when suddenly the curtain is dropped, and the conjugal pair throw rice on each other. The bride is lifted up to the level of the bridegroom's head by the bride's maternal uncle, when they see each other. This is called Mukhadarśanam (seeing each other).*

Madhuparkha.—The bridegroom is seated in the *maṇḍapam* facing the east, and his party are seated by him. The bride's father washes his feet, and his wife dries them with the tip of her cloth, and they sprinkle the washed water on their own persons as holy, because he is regarded as guest and a representative of Vishṇu. Two vessels of water are placed before him, one for *āchamana* and the other for *arghya* (for sipping and washing the hands). He sips three times and washes his hands. The bride's father places one spoonful of *Madhuparka* in his hand, which he takes, and two more are given. Then he sips water and washes his hands. Then begins the marriage proper, the details of which vary with different sects. But the essentials agree in regard to the main ceremonies such as, Kanyādāna, Pāṇigrahaṇa and Saptapadi. Marriage

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, page 188.

proper begins with Varapūja or respecting the bridegroom. It is thus observed by the Mysore Brāhmans: On the day previous to the marriage, generally towards the evening, the bridegroom is led in procession to the temple, where the bride's parents offer presents of clothes, flowers and other auspicious things to the bridegroom, and respect his party as well. Then both the parties exchange greetings, fruits and *tāmbula*. The bridegroom's party is invited to the bride's house for supper, but the bridegroom does not go. Sometimes his parents also do not go, as it is considered more auspicious to do everything at the time of marriage. This is, however, a mere *loukika* or formal matter; and they meet in a temple because *Smritis* ordain it for the meeting of relations after long separation or of strangers for the first time, as being auspicious. Among those who have not done *akshatārōpana* already, it is done at this stage thus: The bridegroom sits on a heap of grain facing the east, and places a vessel of water before him, and some grains are then thrown in, and the vessel is decorated with sandal paste and flower. It is covered with *darbha* grass. A *mantra* is chanted to purify it. The girl is then brought and seated on the western heap of the grain, facing it and the bridegroom. They look at each other, when a *mantra* of Varuṇa is chanted, praying that she may not kill her brothers, one to Brihaspathi that she may not kill her husband, one to Indra that she may not kill her sons, another to the sun that all prosperity may be bestowed on her. The bridegroom then addressing her, requests her to be gentle in her looks, that she may not kill him, that she may have a cheerful mind, bright looks and valiant sons, that she may please the Gods and be good to men and animals. He then takes a *darbha* grass and rubs the part

between the brows of the girl and sips water. Then the married couple wash their hands with milk, and taking *akshata* in their hands or palms throw it on each other's heads. Now the bridegroom chants a *mantra*, meaning that he takes care of her, and that peace, contentment and strength may increase for them; they once more throw rice at each other. Hiranyakēsin has this *akshatārōpanam* after Kanyādānam. On the head of the girl is placed a ring of matted *darbha*, on which a yoke is placed so that its hole may be directly against the *darbha* ring. Through this hole a piece of gold and water are dropped chanting, "O Indra! cleanse and purify this fire, just as you did in the case of Abala by pouring water through three holes before marrying her." After this bath, the bride wears new clothes and stands before the bridegroom who sits facing the east. The bride's father presents clothes to the bridegroom, taking the hands of the girl, and places them on the bridegroom's palms; while her mother pours water above them all, which falls through three pairs of hands into the vessel placed underneath; while the father chants, 'I give away my daughter fully decked with gold jewels to Vishṇu who is in the form of the bridegroom' that I may get Brahmalōka, and that my manes may get a passage into their proper place. He then announces three ancestors of the bridegroom, his *gōtra* and name and unto him he gives his daughter as Lakshmī, naming her, his *gōtra* and his three ancestors. He then requests him to accept her, chanting 'who gives to whom; desire gives to desire,' meaning that both party desire it, and saying that he takes her for getting issue, and for doing household duties he accepts her. The giver of the virgin gives a *dakshiṇa* with the gift, as in others and gives him as many presents as his purse can afford.

The bridegroom touches the stomach of the bride with a prayer for the production of issue. The pair then sprinkle the wet rice remaining in their hands on each other, each loudly reciting a prayer for prosperity, sacrifices, renown and righteousness. The pair then exchange flower garlands. The bride then presents turmeric, *tāmbūla* and fruits to auspicious women.

The bridegroom presents some clothes to the bride, and ties a *tāli* (a golden jewel with a string through it) round her neck, which is considered to prolong her husband's life, and hence make her a *Sumaṅgali* (a woman with a living husband). This *tāli* becomes the symbol of such a woman, and is kept only as long as her husband lives. The husband blesses her with a long life of a hundred years. The mother and other ladies add each a knot, adding their good wishes and blessings with it.

Vivāha Hōma.—The pair make a resolution to take up the *vrata* of marriage for four days. They sit facing the east with wife to the right, and resolve to perform fire offering for making her his wife, and getting the fire of a householder. They throw rice on each other and tie a thread round the wrist (*Pratisara*) as a sign of the *vrata*, the man tying it on the girl's left hand while she ties it to his right hand. To the east of the fire a heap of grain and a vessel of water are placed; to the west, a piece of stone and fried rice are placed. Three preliminary offerings to Pavamāna fire and one to Prajāpati, with ghee, are made, chanting, "O Pavamāna! Thou art protecting our lives, give us food and juice, and keep the Rākshasās away from us. We beg thee for wealth and prosperity..... Thou art the seer of all.....thou art sung in praise even by the Gods. O Agni! Thou art the doer of good deeds; bestow on us auspicious virtues

and lustre, also wealth and cattle." Then the principal *hōma* begins: "O Agni! Thou art Āryaman, thou art related to virgins; thou possessest Svadhā offerings; thou hast the secret name of Vaiśvānara, that secures for thee cow-products as friends; make us a pair of one mind."

Hiranyakēśin and Yajus Śākha have the following *mantras* for the principal offerings: "May Agni come as the first deity, and release the issue of this girl from the rope of death! May king Varuṇa give permission that this woman may not suffer sorrow on account of her sons! May Gārhapatya Agni protect her and bless her issue with long life; let her not be barren, let her become a mother and have the pleasure of seeing her grandson. Let not grief creep into your house, let there be no wailing. May this woman live with her husband and be happy with her children! Let Dyaus take care of your back, Vāyu your thighs, Aśvins give milk to your children, and Savita protect your sons. May Brihaspati take care of your clothes and Viśvadēvās protect you at your back! The evil of barrenness, child-deaths and other evils I let go from you like an old garland from the head and cast them on our enemies. By virtue of my sacrifices to gods and liberality to Brāhmans, I kill the piśāchas, and deaths that haunt you, and bestow on you long life and sons of long life."

This *hōma* is closed by the supplementary offerings to Varuṇa, Prajāpati, and others. Āpasthamba gives sixteen *mantras* for this *hōma*.

Pāṇigrahaṇa.—A handful of *darbha* is placed tip northwards, and another handful to the west of it. The husband sits on the eastern one facing the west; the wife sits on the western one facing the east. The husband with the right hand turned down catches hold of the right hand of the wife turned

upwards, and chants, "I accept thy hand for our happiness (for having good issues, according to another reading); by this mayst thou become old with me as thy husband. The Gods Bhāga, Āryaman, Savitā and Purandhi gave thee to me for my householdership." They stand up holding hands, and turn round and change their places, and he chants the following six *mantras*: "Look gentle at me; do not kill thy husband, be good to cattle; be cheerful and bright. Have living children, valiant sons; bring happiness to us, our servants and cattle." The substance of the next five is: "May Pushan help thee healthy in thy organs of conception; Soma first knew thee, then Gandharva, and thirdly Agni; and I, the mortal, am the fourth to know thee." "I am here as heaven, and thou art earth; I am Sāma and thou art Rik: come let us live together to produce sons, for health and prosperity. May Indra bless thee with ten sons. Make me thy eleventh."

Lājahoma.—Then the wife's hands are washed and smeared with ghee, and they are held together in a cup form; her brother puts in two handfuls of fried paddy from the bamboo plate. The husband drops ghee on it and on the plate, and helps her to make the offering into the fire with the chanting of: "This woman prays with me and offers fried paddy into the fire; may there be long life to me (husband) and may relations prosper. Āryaman, may he send her with me hence (from her father's house), and never take her from me." Then they walk round the fire, the stone and the vessel of water, he leading her by the hand; and coming to the stone, he places her feet on the stone, chanting "mount this stone, and be as firm as this stone; endure sufferings from your enemies and resist them." Coming to their former position, they

repeat the Lāja offering, chanting: "The virgin worships Varuna, etc." They then walk round, she mounting the stone, and they come back. This is done for the third time. The husband empties the remaining paddy into the fire, and finishes the *hōma* with further offerings and Jayāthi.

Saptapadi.—According to Āpasthamba, Saptapadi is done after Pāṇigrahaṇa and before Lājahōma. But Āsvalāyana and Hiranyakēśin are now recognised.

To the north of the fire are placed seven heaps of rice. On each of these, the husband places her foot (right) repeating; 1. "May Vishṇu cause thee to take one step, for the sake of obtaining food." 2. "May Vishnu cause thee to take two steps for the sake of gaining strength." 3. "Three steps for the sake of the solemn acts of religion." 4. "Four steps for the sake of obtaining happiness." 5. "Five steps for the sake of cattle." 6. "Six steps for the increase of wealth." 7. "Seven steps for the sake of becoming my companion." Then the pair put their heads close and sprinkle the water on their head from the vessel.*

Arundhati Darśana.—In the evening, the pair go to an open place where the husband points out the Great Bear to his wife, and then a small star by the side of them, hinting that that star Arundhati (Vasishta's wife) should be her ideal for constancy and character; she says, "May I get children with the husband living" (breaking her silence since the marriage began). With this, the marriage proper is over in one day; and the husband and his party should take his bride home with the fire used in the marriage. The bride enters her husband's house the same evening, with her right foot first. Both sit in the best part of the house, and perform the

* Rig Veda X. 85, 24. Āsvalāyana Grihya-Sūtra, Chapter I, Kandika 7—9.

Pravēśa Hōma. But for convenience and pleasure, the pair and party are detained along with the other guests in the marriage house.

Pravēśa Hōma.—In the evening, the pair make a Saṃkalpam to kindle fire brought from the fire of the marriage ceremony and to convert it into the household fire. The husband chants a *mantra* supposed to be chanted on the entry to his house, "May thy happiness in this house be multiplied with children; supervise the duties of this house. Join thy body with this thy husband's, and please him with agreeable conversation." The preliminaries of Ganēśa worship, *Punyāhavāchanam* and *Agnimukham* being over, the principal offering begins with the *mantra*, "May Prajāpati give us issue; may Āryaman give us life to old age. Thou (wife) being averse to inauspicious things, be near thy husband; be good to our men and cattle," and is addressed to Sūrya and Sāvitri. The second offering is made to the same deities, with "Do not have cruel looks.....". The third is made to them also, with "O Indramidhva! make this woman a mother of children and of happiness: give her ten sons and let me be the eleventh."

A fourth offering is made to the same deities, with "O Wife! win the goodwill and the rewards of thy father-in-law and mother-in-law, of thy husband's brothers and sisters, and rule over them in peace." With the remainder of the ghee, the husband anoints the heart of his wife, chanting "O all ye Gods! anoint our hearts well that we may have one mind of peace and pleasure; make our hearts agreeable to each other." With the usual subsequent offerings, the *hōma* is closed, and *ārati* is waved; the pair look at the stars (especially Dhruva).

Sthālipāka.—The pair come back to their seats, make a Saṃkalpam to perform Sthālipāka attached

to Grihapravēśa. The fire is kindled in the squares, and on the *darbhas* to the north of the fire a vessel for ghee and one for cooking are also placed among the other things. After purifying the things as usual, the vessel is placed on the fire with rice and water. When the rice is boiled, the vessel is taken and placed to the north of the fire, and purified. Two twigs dipped in ghee are offered to the fire. Taking once some rice from the vessel, he offers it to Agni; similar offering is made to Svishtakrit Agni to the north-east part of the fire. Then with the penitential ghee offerings, the Sthālipāka is over. With the remaining rice, sometimes a learned Brāhman is fed.

Aupāsana.—Ever since the Pāṇigrahaṇa, *Aupāsana*, otherwise called Agnihōtra, should be performed both morning and evening into the fire of the marriage ceremony, to the end of a man's life. This is for the first time begun when the Sthālipāka comes to a close. This fire is perpetuated, and if extinguished, it can be renewed with offerings of penance. The absence of the man will be made good by the wife, who does the work without the *mantras*. If both the husband and wife go on a long journey, the fire can be with *mantrams* drawn in a twig, and be carried with them in the place of a fire. When the man dies, it is this fire that should be used to burn his body.

In the evening of the marriage day, and after the Sthālipāka, the pair sit down and make a Saṃkalpam to perform *Aupāsana* every morning and evening during their life time, and on that evening it is again performed. Agni is praised: "He has four horns (Vedas), and seven hands (metres); he is bound with a triple bond (Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa), and he roars with loud blessings. This mighty god has entered into mortals; he has a

graceful look, a happy seat, a pure smile and Goddess Svāhā to his right and Svadhā to his left. In his right hand he has power, food and three sacrificial fires, and in his left an iron club, a fan and a vessel of ghee. He rides a goat, his complexion is yellow; he is bright and has smoke for his flag; his eyes are red; he has seven tongues; he grants all desires. Such is the Fire that is before me."* He invokes the Fire, and decorates the cardinal points with *akshata* for the eight lords that preside over them. Already squares are made with *darbhas*. Then he takes a handful of rice and divides it into two parts; one half is offered to Agni and the other half to Svishtakrit. In the morning the first offering is made to Sūrya, the second is always to Svishtakrit. Then the pair stand up and praise: "O Agni! lead us through the right path to wealth; thou possessest all knowledge; remove from us our sins that would lead us astray. We offer thee ample expressions of adoration." He then makes Abhivādana (naming his *gōtra*, Śākha and Sarma) and prostrates himself with his wife. Begging to be excused for any fault due to the want of knowledge of *mantra*, etc., he takes a little of the ashes and wears a paste of it on his forehead and of his wife, with a prayer to Rudra that he may not do harm to his children, cattle, horses, men and their own lives, and that they respect him with prostrations and offerings. The pair prostrate themselves again to the three Agnis—Gārhapatya, Dākshina and Āhavaniya.

The pair observe for three days *Sātvika* diet, and strict Brahmcharya (celibacy) avoiding music, dance, sports, games and secret talk to each other or thinking of sexual matters. They should sleep

* Rig Veda X, 85—43—47.

on the bare ground together, but separated by a staff indicating that they should not move closer.

On the second and third days, the pair observe only *Aupāsana* in the morning and in the evening. The bride's mother and party take early morning warm water, tooth powder, turmeric, etc., to the bridegroom's mother in her lodge; then lunch is taken always with music; the bride is brought to her husband for *Aupāsana*, which is attended with much fun; then they may have a little *uruttāni* with plenty of fun. The husband is compelled to call his wife by name, and she is compelled to sing before him, and invite him for *Aupāsana*. While they are thus engaged, girls tie the tip of their clothes, throw flour paste and squeezed plantains on the person of the bridegroom; the pair are made to exchange *tāmbūla* and flowers, and mutually rub sandal and turmeric paste on each other, and roll a ball of flower or cocoanut between them. At the end, *ārati* is waved. A breakfast feast is held. Towards evening, the pair is seated for *urattāni* as in the morning but on a grander scale, for all are free then. After the evening *Aupāsana*, a feast is held; then the pair are again seated on a sofa, when the friends and guests again take *tāmbūla*, and while away the time with music or other entertainments; towards the close, *ārati* is waved to the pair. On the evening of the third day, the girl alone is taken in a procession, seated on an elephant in some places, or in a palanquin in others to her uncle's house.

After the night's feast on the evening of the fourth day, the bridegroom's mother is respectfully seated, and presented with clothes, flowers and fruits to win her graces towards her daughter-in-law. Hiranyakēśin calls this *airini pūja*, and invokes Pārvati on her person, while she is formally respected.

In the fourth Yāma of that night, the husband gets up and taking the staff in his hands chants: 'O Viśvāvasu! This bride has got a husband; I praise and offer prostrations; leave her and go to an unmarried girl, who remains in her father's house, for she is thy share by right. He then washes it and puts it away. The pair sit before their fire, and make a *Saṃkalpa* for doing Śēsha *hōma* (remaining sacrifice), and getting rid of the evil of his wife's having been enjoyed by the gods Sōma and others. Offerings are made to Varuna, Agni, etc. He then smears the remaining ghee near her heart, chanting: "May Viśvedevās unite our hearts; may the waters unite our hearts. May Sarasvatī teach us conversation appropriate to this occasion of our intercourse." He then pours the remaining ghee on her head four times chanting, "I offer in thee happiness, fame, brightness and abundance." Then a prayer is offered to Agni; the pair exchange betel leaves and nuts, which they chew and walk round the fire to the bed-room supposed to be for the consummation of marriage. This portion of the ceremony is all done only in *mantras* that are chanted.

The pair then have an oil bath which stands in the place of Avabhritsnāna after a *dīkshā*, for they had the marriage *vrata* for four days, during which period they did not bathe. This fourth night's ceremony is called *Śēshahōma*, because the ghee offering is made on the head of the bride with the remainder of the ghee that was left after offering to the gods. After each offering, the last drop is received in a cup; the ghee thus collected purifies her body for contact. This ceremony is called *Nāgavali*, as the gods are finally propitiated and sent to their abodes.

After bath, the pair take *puṅyāha* water. The

marriage ceremony is brought to a close; the guest and parties depart to their respective homes.

The marriage ceremonies thus far described are in accordance with the Âpasthamba *Grihya Sûtras* of the *Black Yajur Veda*; but the Brâhmans of Mysore who follow the Sâma Veda perform their domestic ceremonies as prescribed by Drâhyayana *Grihya Sûtras*, which, so far as marriage rites are concerned, differ only in some particulars of secondary importance, a few of which are given here.

While the bridegroom is welcomed with formalities (Varapûjâ) already mentioned or properly before his arrival, the bride bathes with the recital of the following texts. Three vessels of water are severally poured on her head with three different prayers:—1. Love! I know thy name. Thou art called an intoxicating beverage. Unite the bridegroom happily. For thee was formed the inebriating draught. Fire! Thy best organ is here. Through devotion wert thou created. May this devotion be efficacious. 2. Damsel! I anoint this thy generative organ with honey, because it is the second mouth of the creator. By that, thou subduest all males, though unsubdued by that, thou lively dost hold dominions. May this oblation be efficacious. 3. May the primeval ruling sage who framed the female organ as a fire that consumeth flesh and thereby framed a procreating juice, grant the prolific fire that proceeds from the three-horned bull and the Sun!

To elucidate the first of these, the commentator cites the following passage:—The sage Vasishta, the regent of the Moon, the Ruler of heaven, the Preceptor of the Gods, the Great Forefather of all beings, however old in the practice of devotion and old by the progress of age, was deluded by women. "Liquors

distilled from sugar, from grain and from the blossoms of Bassia are three sorts of intoxicating drinks; the fourth is women by whom the world is deluded. One who contemplates a beautiful woman becomes intoxicated, so does he, who quaffs an inebriating beverage. Woman is called an inebriating draught, because she intoxicates by her looks." To explain the second text, the same author quotes a text from the Veda, intimating that Brahma has two mouths, one containing all holiness, and the other allotted for the productions of beings, for they are created from his mouth.

But the ritual of the Sāma Vedic priests makes the gift of the damsel precede the tying of the knot, and, inconsistently enough, directs the mantles to be tied before the bridegroom has clothed the bride. After the donation has been accepted as above mentioned, the bride's father should tie a knot in the bridegroom's mantle over the presents given with the bride, while the affianced pair are looking at each other. The cow is then released in the manner before described, a libation of water is made and the bride's father meditates on the *gāyatri*, then ties a knot with the skirts of the bride's and bridegroom's mantles, after saying, "Ye must be inseparably united in matters of duty, wealth and love." The bridegroom afterwards clothes the bride accompanied by the following ceremonies.*

According to the followers of Sāma Veda, the bridegroom, immediately after the scarf has been placed on the bride's shoulders, conducts her towards the sacrificial fire, saying, "Soma (the regent of the Moon) gave her to the Sun, the Sun gave her to Agni, regent of Fire; Fire has given her to me, and with her, wealth and offspring. The

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, pages 220-222.

bride then goes to the western side of the fire, and recites the following prayer while she steps on a mat made of *Virana* grass and covered with silk: 'May our Lord assign me the path by which I may reach the abode of my Lord.'! She sits down on the edge of the mat, and the bridegroom offers six oblations of clarified butter, reciting the following prayers, while the bride touches the shoulders of the bridegroom with her right hand: 1. "May fire come first among the Gods, may it rescue her offspring from the fetters of death; may Varuṇa, King of Waters, grant that this woman shall never bemoan any calamity befalling her children. 2. May the domestic perpetual fire guard her; may it render her progeny long-lived; may she never be widowed; may she be mother of surviving children, experience the joy of having male offspring. 3. May heaven protect thy back; May air and the two sons of Aśvini protect thy thighs; may the Sun protect thy children while sucking thy breast. May Brihaspathi protect them until they wear clothes; and afterwards may the assembled Gods protect them. May no lamentation arise at night in thy abode; may crying women enter other houses than thine; mayest thou never admit sorrow to thy breast; mayest thou prosper in thy husband's house, blest with this survival and viewing cheerful children. 5. I lift barrenness, the death of children, sins, and every other evil, as I would lift a chaplet, off thy head; and I consign the fetters (of premature death) to thy foes. 6. May death depart from me and immortality come; May Yama, the child of the Sun, render me fearless. Death follows a different path from (that by) which we proceed, and from that which the Gods travel. To thee, who hearest and who seest, I call saying, 'hurt not our offspring, nor our progenitors.' And may this oblation be efficacious."

The bridegroom then presents oblations, naming the three worlds separately and conjointly, and offers four or five oblations to the Fire and to the Moon. The bride and the bridegroom then rise up, and the latter passes from the left side to her right and join her hands in a hollow form. According to the ritual which conforms to the Sāma Veda, the bridegroom sits near the fire with the bride, and finishes this part of the ceremony of making oblations, while he names the three worlds separately and conjointly. The taking of the bride's hand in marriage is thus completed. In the evening of the same day, as soon as the stars appear, the bride sits down on a bull's hide, which must be of the red colour, and must be placed with the neck towards the east and the hair upwards. The bridegroom sits down near her, makes oblations with the following prayers, each time pouring the remainder of the clarified butter on the bride's head. "1. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in the palm of thy hands, in the eye-lashes and in the spots (on the body). 2. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in thy hair, or whatever is sinful in thy looking or in thy crying. 3. I obviate by this full oblation all that may be sinful in thy temper, in thy speaking and in thy laughing. 4. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in thy teeth and on the dark intervals between them, and in the hands and thy feet. 5. I obviate by this full oblation all the ill marks in thy thighs, on thy private part, on thy haunches, and on the lineaments of thy figure. 6. Whatever natural or accidental evil marks were on all thy limbs, I have obviated all such marks by these full oblations of clarified butter.. May these oblations be efficacious." ! *

* *Drāhyāyana Grihya Sūtra.*

TREE MARRIAGE.

The following customs are in vogue among the Brāhmans who marry for the third time. It is believed that a third marriage is always inauspicious, and that the bride will soon become a widow. When an individual marries for the third time, the man is first made to marry the Arka plant (*Calotropis Gigantea*) to prevent further mishap, and the real marriage becomes the fourth. In an orthodox fashion, it is generally celebrated on one Sunday or Monday when the constellation *Hastam* becomes visible. The bridegroom accompanied by a priest and another Brāhman, repairs to the temple or the spot near the Arka plant and decorates it with a cloth and a piece of string, and is symbolized into the Sun. The bridegroom, then, invokes it thus: "Oh! Master of three Lokas! Oh! The Seven Horsed, Oh! Ravi, avert the evils of the third marriage." Next, the plant is addressed in the following words; "You are the oldest of the plants of this world, Brahma created you to marry such of us for a third time, so please become my wife." The Brāhman who accompanies the bridegroom becomes the father-in-law for the time being, and says to him, "I give you in marriage Āditya's great-grand-daughter, Ravi's grand-daughter, and my daughter Arkānya." All the ceremonies, such as the preparation of *hōmam*, *tāli*-tying, etc., are performed as at a regular marriage and after the recitation of a few Vedic hymns the plant is cut down. According to some persons, the plant is believed to be a willing scape-goat for other ills. Oil and ghee are sometimes applied to the head of the victim and transferred to this plant when it withers and saves the man, even as Baber is said to have saved his son. 'May the Arka plant grow luxurious in your house!' It is the commonest form of curse. On the other hand, the plant is held

sacred by those who follow the Yajur Veda or Sāma Veda, they use the leaves during the Nāndi ceremony, which is one of the marriage rites. The leaves of the plant are used in the Rasasaptami day, the seventh day after the New Moon in the month of Śrāvan in propitiation of the Sun. In the worship of the Rishis and Pitris at the Upākarma ceremony, the Brāhmans who follow the Sāma Veda makes use of the flowers and leaves of the plant. The juice of this plant is a favourite agent in the hands of the suicides.*

The various ceremonies performed for the wedding by the bride and bridegroom, during the four days, and the recital of the Vedic hymns connected with them are dictated by a priest. The real significance of the holy texts, and the purpose for which they are intended, are entirely lost sight of. In fact, the formalities are gone through without any comprehension of the real purpose of these ceremonies. The worship of Agni, begun on the wedding day, to be continued throughout their life-time, is terminated on the fifth or the sixth day, and renewed after every domestic ceremony, and closed thereafter. On the second and third days of the marriage ceremonies, *hōmas* (sacrificial fires) are performed and worshipped both in the morning and evening, and the Nalagu ceremony is performed in the afternoon. In this the couple are seated on planks covered with mats, and facing each other in the midst of a large number of women assembled within the pandal. In front of them is a tray, in which are placed betel leaves, arecanuts and turmeric paste. The women sing songs, and the bride also sings in praise of the bridegroom. Taking a little of the turmeric made red with the addition of *chunām*, she marks by

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pages 220-221.
Lectures on Ethnography, pages 140-141.

drawing lines over his feet (*nalagu idal*). The ceremony closes with the waving of *āraṭi* and the distribution of betel leaves, to all the women assembled. On the evening of the third day, a procession is got up at the expense of the maternal uncle of the bride, who mounted on an elephant or seated in a palanquin and accompanied by a long line of men and women, all neatly dressed and well-decked out, goes about the streets and is made to worship the deity, after which all return to the bride's house, when the bridal pair exchange garlands and are blessed. At night also, after the *Aupāsana* ceremony, a girl is dressed up as a boy and another girl is well dressed and decked; and they accompany the bridal pair in a procession got up by the women to go round the streets, when some mock play and amusements are indulged in. After supper, they are seated on a swing, when songs are sung, and the guests are entertained with music by professional musicians. There is also a similar procession on the fourth night.

POST PUBERTY MARRIAGE.

The Vedic Hymns recited at the various stages of the wedding ceremony, portions of the Vedic texts, early *Grihya Sūtras*, and *Dharma Śāstras* of Sānkhāyana, Āsvalāyana, Jaimini, Baudhāyana and others as also the Smritis of Manu, and Nārada and the Purāṇas, bear unmistakable evidence to the fact that Brāhman girls were often married after puberty during the Vedic age. There are many instances of young women who enjoyed the choice of husbands for themselves. Marriage, then, was as optional with the females as with the males, and there are instances of young women who remained with their parents unmarried, either rendering filial service or doing penance or speculating on the Absolute. Towards the end of what Dutt calls the Epic

Age, the practice of marrying girls before puberty began to make its appearance. Gōbila, Vasishta, Gautama and others advocated the marriage of girls either before puberty or within three years after puberty which was subsequently modified into three *ritus*; if left unmarried beyond that time, they might choose for themselves a suitable young man. The whole question, however, is one of conjecture. It is said that apparently, since Ushasti's and Chākrānayana's time, an influential sect had grown up who approved of early marriage. The view that the girls should be married before puberty developed partly from their defilement, and partly because of the belief that the neglect of parents to provide husbands for their daughters who were fit to conceive was tantamount to an embryo murder at each *ritu*. Considerations like these began to assert themselves, and were laid hold of by the later Smriti writers, who began to lay down elaborate rules regarding matrimonial alliances before puberty, and the idea of the embryo murder, already referred to, was very much exaggerated. The custom of post-nubile marriage was not condemned wholesale, but gradually, owing to altered conditions in the later periods, the view that marriage should take place before puberty became generally held. Yama, Parāsara, Samvartha and other writers prohibited the custom of post-nubile marriage, showering curses upon the delinquent parents for their negligence, and proclaiming all of them as outcastes. They also mention the rewards that went to parents who gave their daughters in marriage before they reached puberty, and emphasized the gifts of them before puberty, as producing great merits, the principal motive being not the conjugal happiness, but the father's spiritual gain. The religious ideas of that time, such as the importance

of the purity of birth and the chastity of mother, grandmother and great grandmother, whose names a Brāhman has to pronounce on the Śrāddha day, also favoured this change. Thus the gradual lowering of the position of women from the standard of the Vedic times, and distrust of their virtue induced by the example of pre-matrimonial license by the Dravidian races, must have had its effect. These facts are not obscurely hinted at in the literature on the subject, and girls are, at present, married before puberty in order to avoid the possibility of scandal later on. When once the custom of infant marriage has been started under pressure of social necessity by the families of the higher groups, a fashion was set up which was blindly followed by the other groups. Owing to the education of girls in schools and colleges, and the present social and economic conditions, their marriageable age ranges from thirteen to fifteen. In the majority of cases, the marriage takes place immediately before puberty.*

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF MATRIMONIAL RELATION AMONG THE BRAHMANS.

As has been said, the marriage ceremonies last for four days, during which the bridegroom's party, the relations and friends on both sides, are sumptuously fed at 11 A.M. and 8 P.M. every day.

In grand celebrations, the bride's father, in addition to the bridegroom's price (which may be from two to three or even four thousand rupees), spends a similar amount, a major portion of which is spent in feeding the bridegroom's party, the bride's relations, friends and others who attend the wedding. The balance takes the form of presents of dress and ornaments to the bridegroom, and of providing the bride with vessels of silver, copper or brass, according to the demands of the bridegroom's party, with a view to set up a would-be family. Among the

* *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pages 196-198.
Marriage after Puberty, pages 24-27; 28-37; 36-37; 72; 72-74; opp. 4-24; 25.

If owing to the neglect of the guardian, a maiden attains puberty, he incurs the sin of the embryo murder of each *ritu* and becomes a *Patita* (fallen from purity).

bride's parents of moderate means, the expenses may vary from one to two thousand rupees. Among very poor people, the expenditure may amount to five hundred to seven hundred and fifty rupees. In these days, there is a tendency for the diminution of the expenses connected with feeding, as the demands in other directions have comparatively increased. While the expenditure of the bride's parents is enormous, the bridegroom's parents try to make a profit out of the wedding. In many cases this does not succeed. For very often a portion of the bridegroom's price is set apart for ornaments and wedding dress for the bride and for other items in connection with the ceremony, and the balance is reserved as a saving. When the bride's father is unable to pay the bridegroom's price in ready cash, he pays a portion of it, and undertakes to provide his daughter with ornaments before she joins her husband after the nuptials. It is further incumbent on him to provide the bridegroom with presents of clothes on all auspicious occasions, to spend a few hundreds of rupees in the purchase of vessels and presents of clothes for the nuptials and a similar or smaller one for pregnancy rites. The least cause of dissatisfaction or misunderstanding, subjects the poor young girl to every kind of vexation and ill-treatment in the house of her parents-in-law. In rare cases, threats to remarry are also conveyed to bride's parents, if they will not make amends for any frivolous mistakes of omission or commission on their parts. Education and sense of propriety instead of nullifying or, at least, moderating these injurious effects only encourage them. In fact, the University standard has been all along a powerful engine of oppression in the hands of the boy's father. A Bachelor or a Master of Arts, if he be a bachelor, even though he may be poor, must have a handsome wife adorned with jewellery from head to foot and a cash payment of two thousand rupees or more. The bridegrooms thus command a high price in the marriage market. There is now a tendency for the decline of it, as the University degrees are beginning to lose their money-earning value.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Many of the marriage rites are almost restricted to the cult of Agni, the domestic god, who is believed to be a witness throughout their performance, and in the form of the domestic fire he is to accompany the young pair through life. On the other hand, the ceremony is surrounded by magical acts of which the following are the principal: "The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered in the power of her husband.

She steps on a stone to acquire firmness. She takes seven steps with him in order to establish friendship. She eats the sacrificial food with him to create community of life. When she goes to her husband's house, she sits down on a red bull hide to ensure fertility. The son of a woman who has borne only living male children is placed in her lap in order to fulfil the hope of healthy male progeny. During pregnancy, a magical powder is placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son. The husband leads the bride three times round the newly kindled fire, and it is the duty of the couple to maintain it henceforth throughout their lives as their domestic fire. The invocations addressed to gods were mostly in the nature of benedictions. Various offerings are also made of parched grain strewn by the bride with hollowed hands. After sun-set the husband led his bride out of the house, and as he pointed to the pole-star and the star Arundhati, the young couple exhorted each other to be constant and undivided for ever. The wedding is followed by three nights of continued abstinence, meant doubtless to exhaust the patience and divert the acts of hostile demons.

Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralize the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It refers to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart. But in many cases it seems to have developed partly into a sympathetic mode of fertility and partly by its being regarded by some people as an inducement to be stung. The common kind of preliminary ceremonial is purification, the inner meaning of which is the desire to neutralise the mutual dangers of contact. Painting the palm and feet of the bride red before marriage is to neutralise the active elements of poison and to destroy the active potentialities of evil spirits. Red is regarded as the colour of life and well-being. Sight is a means of contagion in primitive science, and the idea coincides with the physiological aversion to seeing dangerous things and with sexual shyness and timidity. It is dangerous to the bride for her husband's eye to be upon her, and this produces the feeling of bashfulness which makes her shrink either from seeing him or from being seen by him. At one stage of the wedding ceremony, the bride veiled, approaches the bridegroom, and they see each other. It is called Mukhadarsanam. These ideas may explain the origin of bridal veil and similar concealments. Besides these, there is a sexual shyness

and the ideas associated with women that these are improper as well as dangerous and so they lead to effiminacy. Thus accordingly the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men. The natural practice of being accompanied on these as on other important occasions, by a friend of one's own sex, has crystallized into the institution of groomsmen, bridesmaids, and the like. In the marriage ceremonials their original function is sympathy and assistance in a trying ordeal and is more or less fraught with spiritual danger, but sometimes their duty becomes more specialized.

POLYGAMY. The practice of polygamy was in vogue among the Vedic Indians, and this is abundantly proved by reference in the Rig Veda and other texts, though monogamy is recognized in the normal. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Smritis*, and the *Purānās*, the rule is laid down that a man may have wives from his own caste, and each of those below his, either including or excluding Sudras, and in such cases, the wife of the same caste is the wife *par excellence* (*Dharma Patnī*) with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes and Brāhmans of the Epic are represented as having several wives, but one of them always ranks first, and similarly later on in inscriptions, only one wife is mentioned with her husband.* The rule of precedence among wives according to caste and within the caste on the date of marriage might be over-ridden by the husband who may degrade a wife from her position as chief wife. In that case, he was required to make her a present corresponding to that made to the wife whom he was marrying. The modern rule and custom permit the husband to contract as many marriages as he wishes without any need for justification or consent on the part of his existing wives.

In addition to wives proper, the *Smritis* recognize the existence of concubines (*dāsis*) who were

* Manu, Chapter III, 12, 13.

distinguished from wives without marriage in the proper form, and they could not become their husband's heirs. They were entitled to maintenance by his brothers on his death, and intercourse with any one of them was regarded as adultery. The *Smritis* show a preference to monogamy. Āpasthamba (11. XI. 12) expressly disapproves of the remarriage of a man who has his wife living, and other authorities restrict the right to become the heir of a husband to the chief wife who is the surviving half of her husband. In all religious observances, the husband is to act with his chief only, and marriage is treated by Manu (IX. 101) as a pledge of mutual fidelity between husband and wife. If a householder, says Āpasthamba, has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of the religious duties and who bears sons, he shall not take a second.*

Polyandry is unknown.

ADULTERY AND DIVORCE.

The true nature of the Brāhman marriage is that it is a union for life. The abandonment of a faithful wife counts as a serious crime which must be expiated by serious penance, which may involve expulsion from caste. Adultery affords a ground for divorce, and might in certain cases be punished with death, but according to some authorities, it could be expiated by severe penance. Any serious offence against a husband might, according to Yājñavalkya (1.72), be a ground for divorce, and Nārada (XII. 92.93) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder or procuring abortion. As early as the oldest historical period, the Hindus in general, and Brāhmans in particular, are found in a patriarchal simplicity and austere moral habit. The word 'adultery' is unknown in the Vedas.

* E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* Vol. III, pages 45—47.

Numerous indications point to the fact that the highly developed culture did not fail to produce in its ordinary results, corruption of character and moral laxity. In later times, a strict marriage law was developed, and the Smriti legal regulations were formulated with regard to adultery (*Strisaṅgrahaṃa*). Polygamy and prostitution continued to exist. Under the priestly theories, adultery involved danger to the caste system, and an attempt was made to obviate this by threat of severe punishments. The wife guilty of adultery was generally repudiated, and expulsion from caste usually followed. Since divorce is opposed to the Hindu Law, which regards it as a sin for husband and wife to be separated on the ground of mutual aversion,* and which according to the testimony of Al-Beruni did not occur, we must assume that adultery was not allowed to come to light.† Absolute repudiation of wife was not always the consequence of adultery. Parāśara ordains that repudiation is to be resorted to only when the adulterous connection has not been without result or when the woman has separated herself permanently from her family.‡ Harīta even expresses himself expressly against the repudiation of the adulteress.§ Other passages make mention of the merely temporary and insignificant penances, such as the use of inferior food and clothing, sleeping on the ground, and performance of servile tasks of scouring and sweeping. Conversations in an improper place or at an improper time, personal contact, playing and jesting, even the rendering of attentions, gifts of clothing, ornaments, and flowers are considered adulterous. It is probably the Brāhmans who laid down strict rules for the punishment of women who committed adultery.

* Nārada, XII, 90.
† India II, 254.
‡ Parasara, X. 15.
§ Harīta, III, 13.

In this connection, the following account of Divorce in ancient India may be found to be interesting. It is quoted from the *Hindu* of 30th October 1926.

The statements in the *Smrithis* fall into two classes. One is to the effect that under no circumstances, whatever the provocation given by her and whatever the intensity and range of her iniquity may be, can a wife be divorced. The other is equally emphatic, and declares that an unwanted wife should be divorced. Let us deal with the authorities of the first type first.

Atri Smrithi.—In the fifth chapter of the *Atri Smriti* a very lenient view is taken of the characteristic frailty of women, and the author is of opinion that under no circumstances can a wife be ever abandoned. The circumstances are these: 1. *Balātkārōpabhukta.* 2. *Chōrahastagada.* 3. *Swayamchapi-vipanna.* 4. *Vipravadita. Natyajya Dūshita Nāree.*

The term used in the text is 'Nāree,' which means a woman. The context would confer upon the meaning wife. 1. If she had been forcibly enjoyed or if her modesty has been outraged forcibly when she must have been quite helpless, she should not be abandoned. 2. If she had been defiled by dacoits and thieves, she should not be given up. 3. Pandits are by no means unanimous in the interpretation of "*Swayamchapi vipanna.*" According to some, even supposing that a woman is congenitally inclined towards romance and gets herself frequently involved in scandal and obloquy, she should not be abandoned. Others maintain that a woman who deliberately chalks out for herself an immoral career, should not be given up. 4. If a woman is implicated in any scandal, and, if her name is associated by others with some act of immorality, evidently in the absence of evidence, she should not be abandoned.

Devala and Vasishta.—A similar view is held by Devala and Vasishta. The former in discussing the admissibility into the orthodox social fold of persons defiled by the Mlēcchas (presumably the Muhammedan invaders) mentions that women forcibly abducted and detained in the custody of the aliens should never be abandoned. The text in the latter is almost the same as in the *Atri Smriti.* There is more or less a repetition of the term *Balātkārōpabhukta,* etc., noted above. Such authorities are interested in praising the womenkind, and their view is definite that the holy knot of matrimony once

tied is tied for ever and under no circumstances can the couple ever think of divorce or separation. It does not require accurate deliberation to realise that the authorities which insist on the inviolable sanctity of the married existence are one-sided, and no institution which seeks to perpetuate a state of nominally married existence, when the radical incompatability of the man and wife has become pronounced, can command social approval or have any normal sanction behind it. There are other *Smritis* which clearly lay down that women can be divorced under specified circumstances.

Vasishta Again.—In chapter 18 Vasishta tells us (stanzas 18-21) *Bhārya putrascha sishyascha samsrista pāpakarmasbhih paribhāshya parityajyah*, etc. One's wife, son or pupil should be abandoned when she or he becomes a *pathitha*. Drinking intoxicants—immorality, adultery, theft of gold, etc., these make a person '*Pathitha*,' literally fallen. Such fallen persons have necessarily to be abandoned as they are unfit for society. I am unable to say whether 'Two' Vasishtas are there or only one author, who blows hot and cold with the same breath. Whatever the theory for a person proficient in the application of historical criticisms to ancient texts, it is clear that a divorce here is definitely contemplated. Before a gathering of friends and relations or the elders of the village, the accused party should be told clearly what has been its offence—adultery, theft, etc.,—and then abandoned and repudiated.

Vasishta mentioned three capital sins which cannot but result in the divorce of the wife. *Bharturvadho Bhrūna hatya Svasya Garbhasya Patanam.* The term 'Vadha' should be narrowed down to mean attempt to take away her husband's life, by poison etc., infanticide, attempts on husband's life, artificially inducing abortion, these constitute sufficient grounds on which a woman should be divorced. Adultery is throughout implied. Or a commentator points out that abortions are secured by women to secure their charms intact and they do not necessarily imply adultery. He would say that infanticide would imply it.

Brihad Yama Smrithi.—This *Smriti* takes a charitable view of the woman's conduct. Women are by nature frail and fickle, and they should not be too harshly dealt with. He writes: "*Garbhe jāte parityago nanyatha.*" She should be abandioned only when she becomes the mother as a result of her adultery. This is painfully reminiscent of the sensational Russel divorce case. It is so difficult to gather evidence and prove that the offspring is not the husband's own. While

permitting divorce in such extreme cases of domestic infelicity, Yama would not allow it in any other case. He emphatically declares '*Nanyatha.*' Otherwise she should not be divorced.

Brihaddarita.—In chapter 9, Harīta writes that a woman can be divorced under the following circumstances: "*Agnidamgaradam chandeem bhartrighneem logagnatineem*, etc." A woman guilty of incendiarism, one who administers poison, one who is a quarrelsome termagant and a shrew, one who makes an attempt on her husband's life, etc., should be abandoned. A commentator makes the funny remark that, as women are for the greater part of the day engaged in the kitchen, where fire is always ready, they burn the things and articles of value as a sort of revenge against the husband with whom they are displeased! By thus burning his property, they cause him loss! That is the women's incendiarism!

Baudhāyana says: "*Aprajam dasame varshe stri prajam dvadesi tyajet. Mritaprajām panchadēsi sadhya satva-priyavādhaneem.*" Divorce an issueless wife in the tenth of the year of marriage. A wife, who gets only female children, should be divorced in the twelfth year after matrimony. One who is so unfortunate as to lose all the children she gets and children dying soon after birth should be abandoned in the fifteenth year. A woman of sharp and bitter tongue should be immediately divorced. There is not a single doubt that the ancient writers of the *Smriti* texts should have had personal experience of the sharpness and bitterness of the women's tongues, when they made such statements.

Manu.—Manu slightly varies the age limit aforesaid. In the eight year since the attainment of age by her, issueless women should be divorced—one who loses children soon after birth should be divorced in the tenth year. One who gets only female issues should be divorced in the eleventh year. A sharp-tongued woman should be immediately abandoned. A woman addicted to intoxicating drinks, of immoral conduct, doing persistently what is unfavourable and unpleasant to the husband, suffering from diseases like leprosy, who ill-treats servants and others, who wastes and squanders away her husband's hard-earned money—such a woman should be divorced.

Such are the authorities which have laid down in unequivocal language that under definite conditions and circumstances a wife can be and should be divorced. The ancient writers of the *Smritis* should have doubtless realised that enforced existence in a family, and life together, of persons who do not somehow like one another on account of either party's

misconduct, immoral ways, or temperamental incompatibility, cannot but be miserable and intolerable, and suggested divorce as the efficacious remedy. I have searched for the texts in vain which would so enthusiastically support the right of a woman to divorce her husband under the condition and circumstances enumerated above, and I regret that I have not been able to come across any pronounced authorities. Perhaps there is the evident logical implication that the grounds, *mutatis mutandis* are common to cases where the woman is the petitioner. Surely the law must be condemned as invidious, if it sanctions certain rights to men and denies them to women, as if the latter sex alone is sufficient justification for such a denial. Manu is decidedly one-sided and partial. Women's inferiority to man is tacitly taken for granted. There is no doubt that against such one-sided and grossly partial estimates enlightened conscience should revolt in protest.

Woman as Petitioner.—Manu makes a reference to what is an implicit type of desertion by the husband. It is even possible to argue that such instances are not exactly those of desertion. If a person leaves his wife and goes to other lands for purposes of spiritual nature, the wife should wait for eight years expecting his return, for six years if he should have gone for purposes of study or winning fame, etc., for three years if he should have gone on an erratic or romantic expedition! The commentators make matters worse. One would expect that the wife under such circumstances would be given the right to divorce her husband. But, no. After waiting for the respective periods of time, she should ascertain her husband's whereabouts and voluntarily go and live with him! Manu and his commentators have nothing to say against the husband who completely becomes oblivious of his wife's existence.

Gautama.—In the eighteenth chapter of the *Dharma-sūtras*, Gautama refers to the woman without husband—one who has lost him or linked her lot with unworthy persons. Gautama would allow a woman right to divorce her husband. The right is just implied and by no means pronounced. The familiar stanza of Brihaspathi is quoted by a commentator. If the husband is an impotent person or *Pathitha*—the wife can abandon him and marry another.*

MARRIAGE AND MORALITY.

Though fidelity on the part of both parties was doubtless an ideal, there is abundance of evidence

* *Hindu*, 30th October 1926.

throughout the literature that infidelity on the part of the husband was neither rare nor worthy of moral censure. In the case of the wife, there is no doubt, that in the *Smriti* literature and in modern usage, adultery is regarded as a serious offence which may in certain cases be punished with death. Some of the Vedic passages (Taittiriya Saṃhita, VI, 8, 3; Maitrāyaṇiya Saṃhita, III, IV, 7) show some tolerance of adultery, but they are susceptible of other interpretations. There remain a special ritual (Varṇśaprakāsa) which is clearly intended to remove the evil effects of adultery. The romance and the fable literature often alludes to cases of infidelity, and the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smritis* recognize one kind of (*Sugudhōtpanna*) or secretly born, and illegitimate son who can nevertheless, succeed to the property of his mother's lawful husband. Baudhāyana (III, 34) and Āpastamba (ii. xiii. 7) preserve a saying of the sage to the mythical king Janaka, referring to the times when the wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Swethekētu. The lack of chastity of the women is recorded by Brihaspati (ii. 30). Too much stress must not, however be laid on these notices.*

STRI-DHANAM (DOWRY).

Strīdhanam is first mentioned by Gautama, and is described in the *Arthaśāstra* (111-2-59), and by Vishṇu (XVII—18). It includes any presents from parents, sons, brothers or kinsmen, the marriage gifts, the brideprice when given by her father, and the fine paid by her husband when she is degraded from her position as the chief wife in favour of another. The property fell on her death to her daughters if she had any, if not apparently to her sons, who according to some authorities shared it

* E. R. E., Vol. VIII, 464.

with their sisters. In the absence of any issue, it went to her father. In some cases, the unmarried girl is preferred in heirship to the married. In the later works of Kātyāyana are found elaborate rules as to the power of woman over her Strīdhana. The Hindu Law recognizes the dominion of women over this property, but the husband has, nevertheless, the power to use it and consume it in times of distress.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a Brāhman girl comes of age, she is lodged in a room of the house, and the information of the joyful incident is sent round to the relatives and friends of the family. The open space in front of the house is smeared with cowdung and decorated with figures as on all auspicious occasions. A few members (males and females of the family), with some cocoanuts, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and sugar go to the family of her husband, to formally announce the glad tidings, where they are sumptuously fed, and given a present of money varying with the status of the family. The girl is dressed in a red garment and a red mark of vermilion is put on her head. In the room are placed a vessel of rice, a vessel of water, and a lighted lamp; and these are waved round the face of the girl, who stands on a grass mat, beneath which is placed some paddy and a few annas. Her girl friends are allowed to be in company with her during the three days of seclusion. They are sumptuously fed at the expense of the girl's aunt, with rice dyed yellow with turmeric (*pongal*), ordinary rice with curries and sweetmeats, and offered presents of her husband and her maternal uncle. Both in the early morning and the evening, the girls sitting on the verandah sing amorous songs, and perform now and then a merry circular dance, clapping hands with

appropriate songs. On the morning of the fourth day, the girl and her friends anointing themselves with gingelly oil, go to a neighouring tank or river and bathe after cleaning themselves with soap. The girl drinks a little of milk and eats a few pieces of plantain fruits, and plunges in water, throwing the vessel containing them over head into the water which is taken by one of the virgins. After bath she is neatly dressed and decked out. Riding in a palanquin or a decent carriage with her girl friends behind, she returns home after worshipping the local deity. There is a grand display of drum beating along with other instruments. Before entering the house the grown up women in the family and the neighbourhood, and the girls gather round and perform a circular dance with appropriate songs. All enter the house and seat the girl on a mat in a conspicuous part of the house, and a few of the elderly women wave round her face the articles above mentioned. The female guests assembled there are then sumptuously entertained. The girl is purified by another bath on the following day; and her friends are rewarded with a few annas each, for having been with her during the days of her seclusion.

There are certain rules to be observed by women in their monthly courses, and they are herein given. They are during this period considered unclean and untouchable. Therefore a woman at this period should remain unseen in some secluded place, should soon sleep abashed in a small closed room with her body completely covered. She should avoid bathing at this period, have only a few ornaments, remain silent with her head bent down. Her diet should be simple. According to the Hindu *Sāstras* the happy married life or otherwise is determined by the time of the occurrence of the first menses of a girl,

the day of the waxing or waning of the moon, the day of the week, and of the month. They are here given in order :—

Lunar Days.		*Result.*
Prathama	.. 1st day	.. Short life, she will be sharp-minded and free from sinful actions.
Dvitīya	.. 2nd day	.. She will become weak-minded, will be blunt in her actions.
Tritīya	.. 3rd day	.. She will become a barren woman, but will be very pious and be loved by her husband.
Chathurthi	.. 4th day	.. She will have abortion and be childless.
Panchami	.. 5th day	.. She will be prosperous and have a few children.
Shastī	.. 6th day	.. She will have a short life, but will be liked by all.
Saptamī	.. 7th day	.. Her husband will be rich, but will have only a son to inherit his property.
Ashtami	.. 8th day	.. Unpopularity.
Navamī	.. 9th day	.. She will be a kind and charitable woman.
Dasami	.. 10th day	.. Excellent character, she will be affectionate to her husband.
Ekādasī	.. 11th day	.. She will be the mistress of the family.
Dvādasī	.. 12th day	.. She will be hot tempered, and will be virtuous.
Thriodaśī	.. 13th day	.. She will be pious and charitable.
Chaturdasi	.. 14th day	.. She will be charitable and will have children.
Purnimā	.. 15th day	.. She will be wealthy, happy, and will have many children.

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sunday	.. Widowhood.
Monday	.. Piety, obedience to husband, many children.
Tuesday	.. (Inauspicious), miserable life with all her health, disobedient to her husband, trying for an independent life.
Wednesday	.. Happy married life with many children.
Thursday	.. Possession of a wealthy husband, happy married life.
Friday	.. Happy married life, possession of many children, good house-mistress.
Saturday	.. Barrenness, a happy woman in other respects, long life.

PREDICTIONS ACCORDING TO MONTHS.

Chaitra (April-May)	.. Manly woman, short married life.
Vaiśākha (May-June)	.. Happy married life, possession of good husband.
Jaishta (June-July)	.. Happy married life, good behaviour and sinless life.
Ashādha (July-August)	.. Inauspicious. Pious though sickly.
Śrāvana (August-September)	Loss of children in infancy. Remedy for this is Nāga Prathishta (installation and worship of a snake image).
Bhadrā (September-October)	Unhappy married life, physical and mental sufferings.
Aśvin (October-November)	Sinless life, mother of many children.
Kārtik (November-December)	Prosperity with her husband.
Mārgaśirsha (December-January).	Happy married life.
Pushya (January-February)	Wise, noble in deeds, clever in domestic economy, very sociable.
Māgha (February-March)	Happy married life, possession of children, charitable, liberal minded.
Phālguna (February-March)	Happy married life, possession of wealthy husband, and many children.*

* *Kāma Sastra*, pages 27-33, 49-54.

1. *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol, II, pages 209-210.

SAMSKARAS. The word *saṃskāra* means to make better, clean or purify. Hence it is applied for a purification ceremony. The number of *saṃskārās* varies with the different authorities, some lists giving only ten, some sixteen, while others sixty-two. They mark the different stages of a man's life, from conception in the womb of his mother to his marriage. The larger lists of the improved ceremonies which may be performed daily or occasionally, are subsidiary to some one of the ten. The ten *saṃskārās* are :—

1. Garbhādāna.
2. Pumsavana.
3. Simōnthannayana.
4. Jātakarma.
5. Nāmakarana.
6. Annaprāśana.
7. Choula.
8. Upanayana.
9. Samāvartana.
10. Vivāha.

The sixteen rites enumerate the first eight as given above, and mention under *Vratams*

11. Prājapatya.
12. Soumya.
13. Āgnēya.
14. Vaiśvadēva.
15. Gōdānam.
16. Pitrumēdam.

Thus, the whole life of the Indo-Aryan is thus guarded and purified from conception to death.

Garbhādāna.—The ceremony of Garbhādāna sanctifies the creative act not to be undertaken carelessly nor for the sake of sexual pleasure, but with the purpose of exerising the divine power of creation, to pay the debt of *pitris*. This impregnation ceremony according to the *Grihya Sūtras*, should be performed on the fourth day of the marriage ceremonies, which imply that marriage in ancient times was post-puberty. Now the bride is a young girl of about ten years. The Vedic texts are merely repeated, and the actual Garbhādāna is performed after she has attained puberty and

within sixteen days. It is also called Ritu Śānti or Nishēkam.

On an auspicious day, the pair take an oil bath, wear new clothes, perform their daily duties, such as Aupāsanam, and with the priests and other Brāhmans have *punyāham* and *Udakaśānti mantras* repeated. With the water thus made holy, the husband sprinkles, sips, and pours the remainder on his wife's head. A feast is held. In the evening, with the priest and others assembled, he repeats his *samkalpa* which expresses his resolve to perform Garbhādāna. He then makes gifts of fruits and *tāmbūla* to Brāhmans and elderly relations; and his wife also makes similar gifts to Brāhmans and ladies. After prostrating to elderly persons (parents included), the pair retire to the bed-chamber. The priest going with them, makes the husband touch the abdomen of his wife, with his right hand, and repeat the following *mantras*: "Let all pervading Vishṇu prepare thy womb, let the creator shape its forms; let Prajāpati be the impregnator; let the Creator give the embryo which the two Aśvins produce with their golden sticks, that embryo we call into the womb, that thou mayest give birth to it after ten months. As the earth is pregnant with Agni, as the Heaven is with Indra, as Vāyu dwells in the womb of the regions, thus I place an embryo in thy womb. May he be born valiant of his skin. May a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow the quiver. May he be born here, as thy son, after ten months; I do with thee the work that is sacred to Prajāpati. May a child be born without defects, with all its limbs, not lame, not blind, not sucked out by Piśāchās." The priest then clears out. The beddings and curtains, decorations, fruits and sweetmeat dishes in the bed-chamber are according to the purse of the parents. Generally

the girl's parents supply all this; outside the bedroom, girls and women sing songs about God and His consort. Hence many theories are propounded as to the issue being a male or female, and as to the union is on odd or even days.

Garbhādāna, or the second marriage, refers to the ceremony of consummation. The proper time for this is the sixteenth day or night from the beginning of the menstruation, or the sixteenth day with the exception of the first four days, the eleventh, the thirteenth, the Full Moon and New Moon days. Peculiar importance is attached to the Nakshatrās. According to Yājñavalkya, Māgha and Mūlā are to be avoided. Manu prescribed the cohabitation on even nights for the birth of a son, and uneven nights for daughters. Certain ancient teachers of physiology state that if the seminal fluid preponderates, a boy will be born, if the blood of the mensturation is in excess, a female embryo is formed. If there is an equipoise of power, the issue will be twins.* Brihaspati shows how it is possible to assist nature by the use of oily foods. If the ceremony proves unsuccessful, the ceremony of Nārāyaṇa *bali*, according to the Grihyapariśishta, is performed. It is a kind of offering to departed spirits or ancestors or rather demons, by which Vishṇu is supposed to purify the *prēta* which is supposed to have assumed the form of Vishṇu. Nāgabali or offerings to snakes is also an offering to the dead. Putrīya-ishti (*Raghuvamsa*, 4) performed by Daśaratha is resorted to. According to Taittiriya Saṃhitā, it consists of the presentation of cakes to Agni Putravat, and to Indra Putrin. †

Purāṇās and other texts lay down a number of rules to be observed for the birth of a son.

* Manu, III—49.
† *Samskāraratnamāla.*

Puṃsavana.—This ceremony is to be performed in the third month of every gestation; but in practice it is done only in the first pregnancy and that along with Sīmantham in the seventh month. The object of the ceremony is to cause the embryo to take a male form, the first part of the word meaning male, and the second meaning squeezing, expressing. After the daily duties, the pair make *saṃkalpa* by performing Puṃsavanam. They then place before the assembly *tāmbūlam* and *dakshiṇa* and take formal permission; they then make a *pūja* to Vināyak to ward off all obstacles. These are preliminaries to all *saṃskāras* and may be taken for granted as being done before them, even though they are not mentioned.*

Then *puṇyāha* and *Udakasānti* are gone through, with a *Kalasa* full of water on which mango leaves and cocoanuts are placed. A coin is dropped in, and Varuṇa is invoked. About three hundred *mantrams* from the Yajur Veda are chanted, and the latter ones praise the stars. This water is sprinkled on the body and sipped by the pair, and the remainder is poured on the head of the bride. If the *lagna* for the Pumsavana is very early, the Udakaśānti is performed on the evening of the previous day. The pair then sit again for the Pumsavana. Their Aupāsana fire is placed in the centre of the square drawn with quartz powder or rice paste. If the pair are not in the habit of doing Aupāsana daily and they make a *prāyaśchitham*, they do their Aupāsanam, and then use that fire for Puṃsavanam. For every rite involving fire offerings, the householder should always make use of his Aupāsana fire; and when he is dead, this same fire is used to burn his body.

* *A. G. S.* 1-13, 1-7.

Then *pratisara* ceremony is done. A cotton thread half-a-yard long, and smeared with turmeric, is placed on a betel-leaf with some holy ashes, and is passed within the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand with the chanting of Tryambaka *mantram*; a cocoanut with some rice is placed in the folded palm of the wife, and the thread is tied to the right wrist.

Then the fire-offering is done as follows. A Brāhman is appointed as Brahmā (master of ceremonies); preliminary offerings are made to Prajāpati and Indra, which is necessary for all the fire offerings. Then in the fire called Chandra the principal offerings, with ghee, are made, one to Indra, the lord of daughters, and the other to Agni, the lord of sons with *riks*, the sacrifice being wound up with Jayādi *hōma* (propitiating the Vedic deities for the protection of Brāhmans and Kshatriyas) with the chanting of three *riks* special to Agni accompanied with ghee offerings, which request a pardon for all shortcomings and excesses which might have been committed consciously and unconsciously. The officiating Brāhman is set free with a *dakshiṇā* (gift).

Then a small twig of a Nyagrōdha tree from its northern or eastern side, shoot with two fruits on it, is placed on a stone. A virgin girl pounds the shoot with another piece of stone, repeating 'child' at each stroke. The pounded matter is placed in a corner of a new *sāri*. The wife leans back with her head towards the east, and offers her nostrils to receive the juice of the pounded matter, which the husband squeezes and drops into the right nostril saying. "Thou art a male child." The husband touches her heart with the formula, "With my ten fingers I touch thee that thou mayest give birth to a male child after ten months. Mitra

and Varuṇa are males, the two Aśvins are males, so are Agni and Vāyu, so also is the child in the womb." In some places two grains of black gram and one *yava* (wheat) in curds, are administered to the wife.

In a few localities, a supplementary rite called *Garbhasthambana* is done to steady pregnancy and stop miscarriage; it is performed by sprinkling the juice of a stock of fresh *darbha* grass into the nostrils, repeating, "May Twashtrā tie you up in a knot for ten months." And with the same *mantram* rubs the abdomen of the wife with the wet hand.*

Sīmantham.—The ceremony called Sīmantōnnayanam is the parting of the hair of a pregnant woman by her husband in the fourth, sixth or the eighth month of her pregnancy, and is the last of the pregnancy rites. If it cannot be performed in those months, it may be done in the ninth month.

On an auspicious day in the bright fortnight, after the daily rites are performed, the husband sits with his wife on his right (as is usual in all rites) and makes Saṃkalpam, expressing his object of warding off the evils pertaining to the seed, the womb, and to purify the soil. Vināyaka being propitiated with a Nāndi srāddha, *puṇyāha maṇtram* is chanted and the water is sipped by the pair. This may be done before Nāndi.

Then Aupāsana Agni is brought, which is now called Maṅgala Brahmā being appointed and Agnimukha being made, the principal offerings are made, four to Dhāta, two to Varuna and Agni, and four more to Agni, chanting, "May Dhāta grant us wealth." It is closed with Jayādi and Anjanāta as

* A. G. S. 1-14.

before mentioned. The husband stands facing his wife, and holding in his right hand a quill of porcupine with branch of Udumbara *Ficus racemosa* (Atthi leaves), and parts her hair, beginning from the middle of the forehead leading backwards; this he repeats thrice chanting, "May Rākā (Full Moon) listen to my prayers; may she help me to carry out this ceremony without any defect or omission, and bless me with a male child endowed with praise-worthy qualities, with valour and generosity. May she approach us with the same grace as she shows to the sacrificer, and with good-will and promise of protection in future." Vīna is played for a while, she then bows to the elders, *tāmbūlam* is distributed, and a feast is held. In the evening, she is seated in the midst of the women-folk who sing and wave *ārati*. Though this ceremony is ordained as a *saṃskāra* at each pregnancy, it is done only once, as the soil is considered purified once for all.

Pāraskara says that this ceremony should take place in the second, third or even the fourth month, before the child stirs, to ensure the birth of a son. Sīmanthōnnayana is the parting of the hair of the head of the woman when she bears a child. Players of the lute conclude the ceremony. Gōbhila makes no mention of them, but represents a young Brāhman woman as sitting with the young wife and addressing to her auspicious tales of heroes, mother of heroes, mother of living sons. He also enjoins the cooking of seasmum upon which the woman has to look. She is asked, "What do you see," and she answers descendants.*

Delivery and Child birth.—For the child in the womb during the period of gestation, care is taken to

* A. G. S. 1-14, 1-9.

protect the mother and the child against the machinations of evil spirits. Susruta in his medical work, warns pregnant women about walking in the open air, or visiting such sports as are frequented by demons, deserted houses, tombstones, and trees in places of burial. Even in these days, as in ancient times, she must not sit or walk in the compound, where spirits might injure her, and as a protection against their mischief, she constantly wears a slender reed, five inches long in her topknot.*

Susruta and other Hindu Physicians of ancient times give a list of possible injuries to the unborn child, and with these they also warn against coming in contact with what is unclean or deformed. It is also believed that miscarriage is prevented by performance of certain ceremonies. Garbharakshaṇa or fruit-bearing according to Sānkhāyana takes place during the fourth month after conception, and the same purpose is served by the ceremony which Āsvalāyana calls Anvalōbhana. The death of the child is often ascribed to *prēta bādha* † which raises either from the omission of the above ceremonies or from the causes above mentioned. The observance of these and other rites are well attested by several passages in the Mahābhārata and Raghuvamsa (III-100) where King Dilipa is said to have performed in due order the various above mentioned ceremonies over the prospective birth of a son.

When a woman is suffering from the pains of child-birth, she is lodged in a room, to which the male members have no right of entrance. At the door a fire is lighted for ordinary purposes and to keep off evil spirits. Hiranyakēsin directs (11-2-8) that at the time of delivery a bowl of water should be placed at the woman's head, and Turyanti plant at

* Bose, *The Hindus*, page 293.
† Injury of the demon.

her feet; and enjoins the performance of ceremonies with the recitation of texts, one of which is actually found in Rig Veda (V,—78-79). "Different plants are employed as embrocations or internal remedies. Some are hung up, and others are given to the women for good luck. It is also prescribed that men with swords in their hands shall keep watch, women sing, lamps are kept burning, weapons and clubs laid in the house of the woman while the father repeats *Oms* and the *Vyāhritis.*" For the new born child, 'the ceremony of animation,' 'endowment with understanding,' 'tendering of the breast and naming' are observed. At first, the father must first inhale and exhale over the child and whisper into his navel or right ear some Vedic texts relating to long life. Brāhmans are stationed towards the five regions of the heavens and have to say in order *prāna, vyāna,* etc. Before this act, the baby is fed with a food compounded of butter, honey and certain other materials. Hiranyakēsin's instructions are to take gold, an axe and a stone, to hold the boy over them, and give expression to good wishes for his life.*

The endowment with understanding. It consists in thrice whispering into the ear of the child the words, "May the God Savitār grant thee wisdom," or another text, the word, *vāch,* or in placing butter in his mouth with a golden vessel, while reciting this text, "May Mitra Varuṇa grant thee understanding."

A woman at the time of her delivery lies in a room on the ground floor, or on a cot, which must be strung with hempen cord, not with the cotton tape used for ordinary beds. In the room is placed some iron articles (iron being the averter of evil), and the woman lies with her head towards the north or east, for, the other cardinal points are believed to be

* *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, page 651,

dangerous. Should the delivery be delayed, the powers of the evil spirits are believed to be in the ascendant. She is then advised to invoke the blessings of the household gods, to drink the water with which a charm, written by Brāhman, has been washed off, or that in which the feet of the husband, her mother-in-law or a young virgin has been washed, or in a region in which rice forms the staple diet of the people, to step seven times over the rice-pounder, this being supposed to hasten labour. As soon as the child is born, it is also placed on a grain sifting tray, in which have been put some cow-dung ashes, turmeric and a few coins. If it is a male child that is born, a brass tray is beaten to scare away evil spirits, but this is not done in the case of a girl, whose sex protects her against evil. Until the placenta is removed, everybody should remain silent, lest it might ascend into the womb. After the placenta is expelled, the child is washed with warm water, dried and laid on the cot beside the mother. The midwife must have passed the little finger into the nostrils and anus to widen the apertures, so that the child may not suffer from shortness of breath or constipation. The umbilical cord is tied in two places above the navel, and cut between these by an iron knife or with an outer rib of a bamboo as soon as the placenta is expelled. The placenta is disposed of. The woman is sometimes subjected to fumigation for warming. The doors and windows of the room are kept closed. A lamp is kept alight night and day. The clothes soiled by the discharges incidental to delivery are removed. The woman is given a decoction. The pot in which the decoction is prepared is touched by seven boys, if the infant is a boy, and seven unmarried girls if the child be a girl. The children receive sweetmeats for their services.

The local astrologer who receives the information goes to the house to receive the date, and casts the horoscope. The mother and child are bathed by the midwife in water in which the water of the *neem* leaves has been boiled, after which she takes some of the water in the hollow of her right hand and waves it seven times in the direction of the Sun round the head of the mother, and then throws the water away in the direction of the room. This is done to avert evil. On the morning, the lying-in-woman is purified by a bath, when all the earthen vessels in her room, as well as those in the house, are thrown away. The room is cleaned by holy water. The woman in confinement is still in a state of impurity, and is free from it by a bath after twenty-two days. She can enter the kitchen only after forty days.

By reason of the uncleanliness invariably associated with birth, many talismans as means of charms and amulets are used as defence.*

Jātakarmam.—This ceremony is to be performed immediately after a child is born and before the navel tube is cut; but in practice, it is done with the next ceremony Nāmakaraṇa on the eleventh day. The father should bathe as soon as the child is born, and make Saṃkalpa to purify the child from all impurities of lying in the womb and to acquire long life, wisdom, etc. The preliminaries (Vināyakapūja, Punyāha and Nāndi) being done, *māntrams*, "Agni appeared at first in the Heavens as Āditya and then as Agni in sacrifice and Badava in water," etc. are repeated. While the child is brought to him, he takes it in his hands with its head towards the east, and repeats in its right ear, "Be a stone, be an axe, be as firm as a rock, as sharp as an ace, be insuperable gold; mayst thou live for a hundred years, for thou

* *S. B. E.* No. 1, XXIX, pages 179-180. *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, page 652.

art Veda born as my son. From limb after limb thou art produced from me ; thou art born from my very heart. Thou art myself with the name son. Being such, mayst thou live for a hundred years." He sniffs the child at the crown of its head, and touches its shoulders.

Then Aupāsana fire is brought near the confinement room, where the father performs a *hōma* of mustard seeds and rice brans to drive away evil spirits (Bālagrahas, etc.,). This is to be done every morning and evening for the first ten days after birth. The child is fully exposed to the smoke which is allowed to get into the confinement room also.

The father makes a *Saṃkalpa* for Mēdhajanana or creating intelligence in the child. A piece of gold ring is tied to darbha grass, and dipped in a mixture of ghee and honey. It is placed in the mouth of the child, chanting, " I sacrifice the four Vedas in thee which will shine in thee ; " Āsvalāyana adds, " May Sarasvati and the Aśvins give thee intelligence, offspring and rētas : I make thee free from all diseases. I make the heaven and earth agreeable to thee." When the child is placed on the lap of the mother, the following *mantram* is chanted : " Let not thy son be killed by Rākshasās. Live thou happy in my house, loving thy son as a cow its calf." " May this child suckle long life, and reach old age in suckling thy breast milk. O ! Breast ! Pour forth long life, lustre, fame and strength in thy milk." *

Nāmakaraṇa.—Authorities vary as to the day on which the naming ceremony is to be done. Ten, eleven and twelve being mentioned by the majority ; as there is pollution on the tenth, Raghunandan

* A. G. S. I—15-1-10.

says, that the eleventh is the best, and this is the practice in South India.

As to the nature of the name, Sūtras say that it should contain two or four vowels with a semivowel in the middle, and end in Visarga ; that a di-syllabic word will produce power and eminence, and a quadru-syllable will produce Brahmvarchas (brightness of Vedic learning) ; that males should have an even number of syllables, and females an odd number of them, that males should have a name to be used in Abhivādana (saluting the elders) after Upanayana in addition to the names to be used in public.

After the daily duties are over, the parents sit with the child (the wife and child to the right), facing the east, *Saṃkalpa* is recited, mentioning the object of naming and securing longevity and well-being of the child. Vināyaka *pūja*, *puṇyaha* and Nāndi are done. Hiranyakēśin says that a *hōma* in the fire called Pārthiva, of thirteen principal offerings to Anumati, Raka, Sinivali, Kuhu, etc., is made and that a mantra to Varuṇa is chanted.

A plate of rice is brought, on which the name of the Kuladēvata, and that of the month in which the child is born, are written.

Here commences the ceremony that is in vogue in these parts. The name of the Nakshatra (star in which the child is born) and its presiding deity is written on it ; then the name to be used in public is written ; the secret name to be given before *puṇyāha* is done, and which the parents alone know, is written here. To the names and their presiding deities are offered sixteen *upachārās* (salutations). Then the father calls the child by each name at the right ear and chants a *mantram*. The Brāhmans assembled bless the child with house names. Then the wife and the rest of the family

call the child by the public name. *Árati* is waved and *tāmbūlam* with *dakshiṇa* is distributed, which are the finishing strokes of all auspicious rites.

The Brāhmans add the appellation Sarma to the end of their name as Krishna *Śarma*; the Kshatriyas take *varma*; the Vaisyas take *chetty* (*śrēshtin*) and Guptas in Northern India.

Regarding name-giving, Sānkhāyana states that the child should have two names, but Hiranyakēsin (ii, 4-11-15) declares that he must have three names, one being secret and one astrological. Father and mother should name him first. One of the two should be of lunar mansion, and the other secret. Gobhila says (II—x—24) that the second name may also refer to a divinity or *gōtra*. Instead of a secret name, Asvalāyana (i—xv—8) speaks of an appellative to be given by the father, and to be used by a pupil, while the early Hindu texts say that the teacher is to bestow the name. From these irreconcilable accounts, it is clear that the Hindu system of name-giving is not rightly fixed. The name should be of good omen.

Regarding the date on which the name is to be given, the authorities differ. According to Manu (II—30) the child should be named on the tenth or the twelfth day on an auspicious lunar day or *muhūrtha*, or under a lucky lunar mansion. Gobhila sets this ceremony for the tenth or the eleventh day or the lapse of a year.* Pāraskara (I—xvii—1) Āpasthambha (vi—xv—8) and Baudhāyana (1—xi—1) all lay down that the name-giving should take place either on the tenth or the twelfth day, when the mother is able to leave her bed. According to later texts, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras should receive their names on the sixteenth, the nineteenth,

* Gobhila, II, viii, 8.

twentieth or the twenty-second or the thirty-second day respectively.

In view of the wide-spread belief in transmigration, the concept that grandfather may be re-incarnated in his descendant, and that this should find its manifestation in giving to the child one of the names of its grandfather. This was a common practice in Greece (Demosth-Macart 1075), and in India. Patanjali and others state that a child should be named after his grandfather or great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather. In the list of Indian kings, we find instances of a large number of names. Caste names are regular in India. A Brāhman name should have the component sarman, deva, and Kshatriyas, varma, rāja, ātrata, and Vaisyas, gupta, bhūti, datta or dāsa.

In later Hindu customs, special titles are given to scholars and writers. In this category we find components Svāmin (lord),—soma, ācharya (teacher) ānanda (bliss), kavindra (mighty poet),—tarkāralankāra (adornment of logic),—thirtha (ford), pandita (scholar), bhatta (master), muni (sage) and sāgara (ocean). There is no rule by which a man's sect can be inferred exclusively from a man's name.

Tabu of names:—With certain analogy to the secret name, names are often regarded as tabu, lest some ill-wisher may, through them, gain control over their owners. This is particularly important in the case of husband and wife. A Brāhman wife will never mention the name of her husband. "He, the master of the boys, or the girl's father" are the titles used to others. The custom still survives in such phrases as 'My man,' 'My woman' current in humbler classes. It is very likely that this principle of tabu underlies the reluctance which is felt regarding the use of one's personal name, except by close friends. We brand familiar use of our names

by casual acquaintances as impertinence ; primitive man would see the actual menace in such employment in the early part of our names that has any individual value.*

On the twelfth, sixteenth or twenty-second or some other convenient day, the child is put into the cradle, for which no *purohit* is needed ; ladies assemble, sing songs of Hari lying on water, and place the child in the cradle decorated with turmeric, with the child's head towards the east. Soaked pulses, rice mixed with jaggery, fruits, arecanut and *tāmbūlam* are distributed, and *ārati* is waved.

In the third or the fourth month after its birth, the child is taken out of the house into the open and sunny air. This is called Nishkramana and Suryāvalōkana. But Āpasthamba says that the child and its mother are taken to a river or tank where both of them bathe, and enter into a temple to worship the God, implying thereby that the woman is pure enough to partake in all religious rites. She then sips *punyāha*, and enters the kitchen and touches the hearth and utensils. In hot countries all this is done on the forty-first day after delivery. Instead of *punyāha*, Panchagavya may be given without the help of the *purōhit*. Panchagavya may be briefly explained here ; in a cup, a small pinch of cow-dung, a small quantity of cow's urine, seven times as much of cow's milk, three times as much as cow's curds, and a little water are mixed together, and stirred with a blade of darbha grass, with the chanting of some *mantram*, if possible. This contains five products of a cow, and hence the name. This is administered for purification after every pollution.†

* S. B. E. Vol. XXIX, pages 183-84, A. S. G. I, 16-1-6.
E. R. E. Vol. IX, pages 162—167.
† Sankhayana J, XXIV. 1, 6 ; II 1, 5, 11-15.

Karnavēdhanam, or piercing a hole in the lobe of the ear, is said by Parāsara as one of the purificatory ceremonies. But, now-a-days, on an auspicious day, in the course of the year, a few ladies assemble, and then when the child is sucking its mother, some one of them, an expert hand, skilfully penetrates a gold wire and bends it into a ring, or they insert a socket and a screw which is even better. This is enlarged in the case of a female child to the size required for the ear-ring customary in the caste.

Hiranyakēśin mentions Upavēśana or laying the child on the ground with a prayer to Earth for protecting the child wherever it goes, but this is not in practice now.*

Annaprāśana.—Annaprāśana is the ceremony of feeding the child for the first time, with food consisting of rice and a variety of dishes. All authorities unanimously fix the sixth month after birth for this ceremony. It may also be done according to the family custom, in the eighth month, as Manu says. Food mixed with honey, curds, and ghee is now given in South India.

On an auspicious day, after daily rites are over, the father with his wife and child on his right, makes *saṃkalpa*, expressing the object of removing impurities of the soil, and of improving nourishment, brightness, growth and longevity of the child. Viṇāyaka *pūja*, *punyāha* and *Nāndi* being over, Aupāsana fire called *Suchi*, is brought, and is placed on the square prepared, and preliminary offerings made. Then a general offering is made to Jātavēdas (Fire) for all the gods concerned in this ceremony, and the *mantrams* for the auxiliary *hōmas* are simply chanted for there is not a single special *hōma*.

S. B. E. Vol. XXIX, pages 181-182.
* A. G. S. I—14-1-6.

Then a good plantain leaf is placed in front, and all dishes are served. The father mixes rice with curds, ghee and honey, and feeds the child with his rings at the end of each *mantram*, before beginning which, he recites a general *mantram* on *anna* (food) which means, "Lord of food, sinless and strong food give us; bring forward the giver and bestow the power on us, on men and animals." Then he chants, "Bhus I place in thee" and feeds: "Suvas I place in thee" and feeds. Then chanting, "I feed with the essence of water and of plants; may they prove wholesome to thee," he then gives a drop of water. The mother then feeds it out of the same leaf; the near relations do it similarly. *Árati* is waved and *tāmbūla*, etc., are distributed.

Hiranyakēsin and Jyotustatwa mention a ceremony of placing the child in the worshipping room with all sorts of things around it, and observing its natural aptitude, but this is not in vogue here.

Chudakarma (*Chaulam*).—This is the first tonsure ceremony done on the child as purification. The time is generally the third year, and at any rate it should be one before Upanayana. Whether it should be done for both the sexes, is not clear; but the practice is that it is done for the boys only; and for girls the *mantrams* are only recited on their marriage, and before the marriage ceremony begins. The number of locks left and its place depend on family custom.

Saṃkalpa with the usual objects is made; Vināyak *pūja*, Punyāha and Nāndi are done. Then Amkurārpana is made; four small pots in a square form with one in their middle, are placed in a plate with anthill earth in them; in the central one, Brahma is invoked; in the eastern, Indra; in the southern, Yama;

in the western, Varuna; and in the northern, Soma; different grains are mixed and sown in them.

Aupāsana fire, now called Sabhya, is put in the square, and a general offering is made to Jātavēdas; there is no principal *hōma*.

The child sits in the lap of the mother; a copper razor or one with a little copper attached to it, the dung of bull, cold and hot water, and *audumbara* leaves (*Ficus glom*) are placed in a new earthen plate, in front of the mother (west of the fire); to the north are three new earthen pots filled with paddy, wheat and black gram respectively. *Puṇyāha* is made. The father takes the hot water in one hand and the cold in the other, and mixes by bringing them together. Āśvalāyana would put some water or ghee, to rub on the head from left to right, chanting, "Let water wet the parts of the body that touch the ground when lying for sleep," he wets the hair thrice, and placing the razor with their tips to the north, he chants, "Herb, protect him, etc.," and places the razor on them; chanting "Razor, do not hurt him," he moves the blades of the *darbhas* with his razor; he then cuts the tip of the *darbhas* chanting, "With the razor with which the Sun, expert in shaving, cuts the hairs on the hands of Somarāja, I remove the hairs of this boy, may he get longevity and lustre." The *darbha* tips and a little hair cut by the father, are handed over to the mother, who receives them on the cow-dung plate, to the north side, chanting, "The razor with which Pusha has shaven the hair of Brihaspati, etc.;" he does likewise, to the front chanting "that thou mayst see the Sun as well, I shave thee for longevity, etc." Then the whole shaving is done with all these *mantrams*. The barber finishes the shaving neatly. The earthen plate with cow-dung and hair is removed by the maternal uncle of the boy accompanied by

the ladies. After a bath, he is led in procession to a temple and then home. The barber takes the grain and the cloth the boy has been wearing at the time of shaving, besides good wages. When the boy comes in front of the house, *ārati* is waved, before he enters the house *tāmbūlam* is distributed and a feast is held.*

Aksharābhyāsa, or the teaching of the alphabet is done when the boy is five years old, generally on the Vijayadaśami day of the Dasarā, on which the books of the house, placed together two days previously to represent the goddess of learning, are now worshipped, and the Saṁkalpas pronounced. In a broad plate, rice is spread, on which the priests write, "*Om Namo Nārayanāya*"† sometimes followed by "*Iti Siddham.*" This is the eight-lettered *mantram*, which the father repeats after the priest, and the boy repeats after the father; then the letters of the alphabet are written in order, and one after the other with the boy's fore-finger by the father. The boy prostrates to the Goddess, priest, parents and elders and distributes *tāmbūla* and *dakshiṇa*. All the members pray to the Goddess and prostrate themselves. Hence "*Om Nama*" have come to mean the A B C. or the first principle.

Upanayana.—The word Upanayana means leading or bringing near or to a *guru*, from 'Upa' near and 'Ni' to lead. It is this Saṃskāra that makes a man Dvija, (twice-born), and is therefore the most important of all Saṃskāras; and if this is omitted, the man becomes a Vrātya, worse than a Sūdra. The ceremonies that are to be done before this, must all be done now, if they are not done in their due time.

The age of Upanayana is the 8th year from conception, seventh year from birth, although Manu

* A. G. S. I, 17-1-19.
† Salutation to Nārayana.

recommends the fifth year, but it depends upon the development of the boy's intelligence to understand what he does. It is on this principle that the Indian Penal Code exempts a person under seven years from all crimes. The final limit for Upanayana age is double of that which is prescribed as the best, *i.e.*, the sixteenth after conception, after which one born in a Brahman family cannot be initiated into the *Gāyatri Mantram.*

The time for the initiation is Uttarāyana, in spring (between January and June), in the waxing moon, when the sky is bright, when the planet presiding over the Veda of the family is powerful, in a *lagna*, whose eighth house is free from all evil or free from all planets. (Jupiter presiding over Rig Veda, Venus over Yajus, Mars over Sāma Veda and Mercury over Atharvana). The initiation should be done in the forenoon, and the ceremony lasts for four days.

On the appointed day, the morning duties being over, the father sits with the boy and his mother to his right, and worships Vināyaka. Then he makes Saṅkalpa, mentioning the object of initiating the boy into Sāvitri *mantram*, of giving him re-birth and the qualification for the study of the Vedas. Puṇyāha *mantra* is chanted, and water is sprinkled on the three persons. Afterwards a prayer is offered to the family god. Nāndi *śrāddha* is performed on a larger scale than usual. The Manes are invoked on eight Brāhmans ; clothes, *tāmbūla* and *dakshiṇās* are given them ; in some places they are also fed. The planets are propitiated with gifts of grains peculiar to each, with *dakshiṇā* ; and if there be any minor influence, special rites are performed to ward it off. If the *lagnam* fixed is very early in the morning, these preliminaries are done in the previous evening.

Kumāra Bhōjanam and Vapanam.—The boy is then fed in the company of young children, and his mother, and often the boy eats from the same dishes as his mother, thus indicating that the boy has this as the last occasion of such indulgence. He is then led to the *maṇḍap*, where the same ceremony of Chāula is gone through in full detail; he is then shaved by the barber, leaving his lock of hair untouched. The boy bathes and then comes to the *maṇḍap* again.

Meanwhile, the squares are prepared; and fire prepared fresh from churning wooden pieces, or from Srōtriya, is brought and kindled in the centre of the square, with three *samits* (twigs), and the fire called Samudbhava is invoked; the father invokes the Gods by chanting, "In the Sōma for Upanayana, I welcome the gods that are to be worshipped."

To the north of the square are placed Dārvi (spoon or leaf) Ājyasthālī (ghee-vessel), Prōkshani (a vessel for sprinkling water), another Dārvi, a bundle of twigs, cloth to be worn by the boy, Mēkhala (belt of grass), a stone, a staff, a vessel for begging alms and *darbha*.

The boy stands to the north of the square facing the east, wearing his caste-marks and having his lock of hair tied up. He is made to perform Āchamana (sipping water three times), uttering the name of Vishṇu each time. A *Saṅkalpa* is made to wear the sacred thread which qualifies him for the performance of rites ordained by *sruti* and *smrithi*. This thread consists of three strands made into a knot in one place called Brahmagranthi, each strand contains three threads twisted together. There is a little difference in making the knot among the Vaishṇavas. This thread is taken by the boy between the left palm turned downwards and the right palm turned upwards, stretched to the full length of the

thread, with the *mantra*, "May the sacred string always worn by Prajāpati, clean and white, be conducive to longevity, strength and lustre." The boy wears this on his left shoulder by pushing both his hands through, and then performs Āchamana.

The boy is between the *āchārya* (the father) and the fire, and sits to the right of the *āchārya*. The *āchārya* sprinkles water round the fire and makes the preliminaries called Agnimukha. Then a Palāsa twig dipped in ghee is put into the boy's hand, and he throws it into the fire, the father chanting, "O! Life-giver Agni! Lead this boy as a father to his son, to old age, after drinking this sweet ghee." Then an offering is made to Varuna and Agni. Then the boy is led between the *āchārya* and the fire to the stone placed beyond the second square, to the north of the fire. He is made to stand on it facing the east, placing his right foot first; the father chants, "Tread on this stone and mayst thou be as firm as this stone, and mayst thou subdue thy enemies with endurance." The boy's cloth is removed, and the unbleached cloth on the north of the square is given to the boy, and is tied round his waist and between the thighs, which are left almost bare, the father chanting, "The Goddess Rēvati separated the cotton from the seeds; the Goddess of Wisdom wove for thee; other Goddesses made the hem for thee; may they lead thee to old age. Mayst thou wear this." "Wear this and live a hundred years; Brihaspathi gave it to Soma.....Live a hundred years in wealth and lustre, and be prominent among the people. Thou hast put on this cloth to secure happiness. Thou hast become great among them, having become the lord of much wealth, distribute the same as becoming a lord." Then the grass-belt is tied round the waist (in three rounds) and secured in a knot with the *mantram*, "O! Girdle,

thou hast come to us keeping away evil words, purifying our houses; thou art the friend of the Gods; thou givest strength for breathing; thou art good." After tying, this is chanted, "Thou protectest sacrifices, truth and penances; thou destroyest Rākshasās and enemies, and art free from misfortune; protect us also, thy wearers." Then a bit of deer-skin is attached to the sacred thread with the *mantram*, "O! Skin, thou art the eye of the Sun; worn, thou givest strength, lustre, fame and old age. Thou art not fit for wicked people, thou art the giver of food." Then the boy is given a staff of Palāsa (*Butea frondosa*) or Bilva (*Crataeva religeosa*).

Then the *āchārya* holds the right hand of the boy chanting, "In whom the past and the future are resting, by that Prajāpathi, I hold thee to me," (calling him so and so Sarman). Then the boy is given to various gods, Viśvedevās, Sōma, Sāvitri, etc., with the prayer that each may protect him. Then the boy is drawn near (Upanayana), chanting, "I draw thee near by the hand, Sarman! (in his right ear) Long live and beget good children." Then the boy offers one offering of cooked food, chanting "May Indra who is the master of the Vedas and who is born from Nectar give me intelligence and let me bear immortality in me." Then more ghee offerings are made.

Savitrivratam begins:—The boy dips palāsa twig in ghee chanting, "O! Agni! I am going to practise *Sāvitrivratam*, enable me to accomplish it. O! Vāyu! Do." Then the āchārya sits on a Kūrcha (a bundle of tied *darbha*) with the boy sitting in front of him, facing west and his father; the boy bows his head to *āchārya* (his father) and touches his feet, and says, "I have entered Brahmacharya." "Who art thou?" says the *āchārya*. "I am so and so

Śarmā," replies the boy. "Whose Brahmachārin art Thou ?" says the *āchārya*. "I am Brahmachārin of Prāna," replies the boy. Then the *āchārya* chants some *mantras*, asking him to follow the Gods and practise Brahmacharya, and blesses him with a *mantra* ; and taking hold of the boy's hand makes eleven offerings. Then the *homa* is closed with Jayādi. Then the Kūrcha is placed with the tips to the north ; the *āchārya* sitting on it, chants, "Thou art the ruler of the kingdom....." While the boy sitting in front of him with his right hand holding the right foot of the āchārya ; the boy then says, "O ! Teach me *Sāvitri mantra*." The *āchārya* places his hands on the boy's shoulders (right hand on the right shoulder and the left on the left), and then places his right hand on the boy's heart, and draws him near (*Pradhānōpanayana*). The *āchārya* gives him instructions as to the conduct of Brahmachārin such as the avoidance of all pleasures, music, dance, etc. With the *Vyāhritis* the *mantra* is whispered into his ear, when both of them are under the cover of a silk cloth ; "Let us meditate upon the lustrous and auspicious ray of that glorious Sun ; may he enlighten our intelligences (intellectual faculties)." When the *āchārya* says, "It is finished," the boy touches his upper lip and touches his own ears, saying, "I am led to Brāhman." The boy eats a little of the cooked rice that remains after the offering, chanting "My tongue has tasted honey, my ears have heard much; my body has become a sheath for the Veda; may what I have learned be preserved." Then the boy performs *āchamana*, and worships the Sun chanting, "We worship thee, who resist, etc...." The *āchārya* advises : "Thou art a Brahmachārin ; be active, do not sleep in the day, offer *samit* to Agni ; live by begging alms ; bring firewood from the forest ; fetch us pots of water ; be obedient to

thy *āchārya* and learn Veda." The boy says, "I remember all this." The boy then offers a cow as *dakshiṇa* to his *āchārya* (*guru*), which he accepts, blessing him.

The boy, takes a vessel in which a little rice is already put, and begs alms of his mother, saying, "Mother! Give me alms." She places a handful of rice in the vessel; this is repeated thrice. Then the ladies, one by one, do as the mother did, some of them presenting coins and clothes besides. The boy places the collection of alms before his *āchārya*, saying, "It is well collected." The boy offers fire offerings for three days, abstaining himself from salt and pungent things, and avoiding cot and comfortable beds. The offerings of *samits* are made to Indra, Agni and the Sun, praying for intelligence, issue, lustre and strength; the boy then stands before the fire and repeats the same prayers. In the end, he repeats, "Make me as learned as you are.....Let me become the seat of Vedic lore among the Brāhmans."

On the fourth day, the boy is led to a river or tank to bathe; the cloth worn by the boy for the three preceding days is given to the priest with *dakshiṇā*, who blesses him, saying, "May the Visvedēvās protect thee, and mayst thou be followed by brother." The boy is then dressed well and taken in procession through the streets, and visits the temple of the place. In some places this procession is done in the evening, with much pomp and show. The boy's studentship may continue with his father, or he can choose his own teacher.

When a *guru* is chosen, the boy goes with him to a river or tank for bath and after finishing the morning rites, they sit facing the east, the boy to the right of the *guru*. A *Saṅkalpa* is made to begin the four Kāndāvratas in order that the boy may

be qualified for the study of the Vedas. Vināyaka is propitiated as also the manes. He is given a shave; his sacred thread, staff, waist-ring and clothes are changed for fresh ones. Samudbhava fire is kindled, and with offerings to Prajāpati-Kāndarishi Soma-Kāndarishi, Agni-Kāndarishi and Sadasaspathi, and a similar offering to Varuna closes the *hōma*. He prays to Agni, Vāyu and Āditya; the *āchārya* is respected and the Brahmans are fed.

The course of the vedic study may last life long, or forty-eight years, or twelve years; and very rarely a student may be permitted to end his studies by his sixteenth year. The pupil returns home, kindles Samudbhava fire and makes the same offerings as when he began his studies, Vratōtsarjana being substituted for Vrataopakaraṇa. Then the ceremony of Gōdana or giving his hair to the earth, or a formal shaving, is gone through in the same way as Choulam; and this is considered as important as the first Choulam.

Then the formal termination of Brahmachārya-*āsrama* is made by the ceremony of Samāvartana, which is generally done on the eve of entering into family life. On an auspicious day, several offerings and prayers are made to several deities that he may be pardoned for conscious and unconscious violations of the rules of conduct of a Brahmachārin.

The Brahmachārin makes a *Saṅkalpa* to give up his bachelorhood. He may choose Vānaprasta or Sanyāsa; but Grahasthāsrama is generally chosen. Vināyaka, family gods and the manes are propitiated; Pāvaka fire is kindled, and preliminary offerings with palāśa twigs are made to Jātavēdas. The things that he should use as a *Grahastha* are already placed to the north of the fire, namely, sandal flower, perfumes, ear-rings, necklace, walking-stick, umbrella, mirror, shoes, collyrium and a pair

of good clothes; in addition to these, a razor and a piece of bull's dung are also placed.

He first takes off the deer-skin that formed his upper garments hitherto with two *mantras*; then the cloth that he had tied round his waist is removed. He wears another cloth, and sips water; the staff is cast off. From Samāvartanam all acts are done by himself, and the grass girdle is removed. He sits facing the east, touches the razor, mixes the hot and cold water, wets his hair, and placing *darbha* grass on his head with *mantrams*, gets shaved by a barber, excepting his lock of hair and eyebrows. He cleans his teeth with *udumbara* twig; he bathes in water which is tepid. He wears a pair of white clothes, and rubs sandal and scent on his body; he puts on ear-rings and garlands, and looks into the mirror; he applies collyrium and takes a walking stick that will support him in his old age; he takes an umbrella, and a pair of shoes, all this with the recital of a *mantra* for each. He then ascends his car, or horse and goes on a procession. He is then invited to the house of the maternal uncle and other relations, and given Madhuparkam; he is seated facing the east; water is offered to wash his feet, then for sipping (*pādya* and *āchamana*); then water for hands (*arghya*) and for sipping; then Madhuparkam, a mixture of curds, ghee and honey, to which some add water and flour of rice, is served to him thrice. The bath after Gōdana is significant, and Snātaka means one who has completed Vedic studies and is well versed in it.*

Of the various religious ceremonies which are performed during boyhood and which display the same magical character, the chief is that of initiation (Upanayanam).† This appears to go back to

* S. B. E. Vol. XXIX, pages 187-193.
† A. G. S. I, 19-23.

pre-historic times as is shown by the parallel avestic ceremony and the Vedic transformation of the rite by which the boy is received into the community of men. It is regarded as second birth as being the entry into a new life, when the boy is introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedic study. The external signs of initiation are the girdle which is wound three times round the pupil's waist, and the sacred cord, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm with which he is invested. On this occasion also he receives a garment and a staff. The actual initiation is performed by the teacher instructing the boy in the holy *gāyatri* prayer which he mutters in a low voice so that the bystanders may not hear it. It is the father who mutters the *gāyatri* in the boy's right ear, whereas it rests with the priest to kindle the sacred fire and to gird the boy with the sacred thread.

Marriage and other pre-natal ceremonies have been already described.

FAMILY. The Brahman family is the survival of the joint-family type of the Indo-Aryans. Its main principles are reduced to writing in the legal Sanskrit treatises called *Dharmaśāstras* or Smritis. "The state of a family of this type living together implies a common habitation, as well as a community of property, of means, and of culture." * Sir Henry Maine describes it as a group of natural or adoptive descendants held together by subjection to the eldest living ascendant, father, grandfather or great grandfather. The head of such a group is always despotic.† It should be added that if the family chooses to continue united after the father's death, the eldest son would generally become its head as stated in

* Sir Henry Maine, *Early Institutions*, page 116.
† *Ancient Law*, page 123.

the law book of Nārada. "Let the eldest brother by consent support the rest like the father." Even at present, he does not merely confine himself to the financial part of the household. There is not a single domestic affair of any importance which may be undertaken without his consent or knowledge. He is even expected to watch over the principal needs of the members and to check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of the sway may be gathered from the facts that the married sons with their wives, sons and children generally choose to reside under the paternal roof, as they marry early and avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. A responsible Hindu is often obliged to support the indigent relatives together with their families, as well as a hereditary priest and other dependants. It should be remembered that a general body of undivided family extends further than the coparcenary, which consists of the three generations next to the owner of certain property in unbroken male descent, and possesses a right of survivorship for all descendants included in it.

The eldest son is very often allowed by the father to manage the affairs of the family under his direction during his life time, especially when he is advanced in years and unable or unwilling to continue to concern himself with the management. After his death, his eldest son invariably succeeds him. The precept of Nārada is sometimes followed, that even the youngest brother may govern the family, if specially capable, because the prosperity of the family depends on ability. There is also nothing to prevent democratic methods of family government.

The wife also occupies an important position as she has to look after the inner apartment of the household, to see that everyone is duly fed, to

regulate the expenses according to the means of the family, to exercise a mild and prudent sway over her daughters and daughters-in-law, over the domestic servants, to get the daughters married in time and the nuptials duly celebrated. The daughters and daughters-in-law, whose attitude towards one another is not always one of peace and harmony, are not only subject to the control of the female head of the house, but also, shut up as they are in the family Zenana. A young daughter-in-law is regarded as immodest and unmannerly, if she should happen to enter the outer or male compartment of the house. No married female is permitted to leave the house without the permission of the male or female head of the house. Women take their meals after the men, and the choicest part of the food is given first to the males and the residue kept for the females.

Women are more conservative and they never fail to go through their morning service at their domestic place of worship, at the close of which they invoke the blessings of the guardian deity. At the daily *pūja*, all the inmates of the house are expected to be present to make their obeisance. In rich families a sufficient endowment in inalienable landed property is set apart for religious observances. Those who, owing to some bodily or mental defect, are disqualified from inheriting have a claim to maintenance, against the head of the house. Illegitimate sons and concubines are also entitled to maintenance.*

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The institution of family such as that described above has had a long and varied history and has established the rights, the family name of children, now through the mother and now through the

* E. R. E. Vol. V, pages 737-738.

father. It has widened to include all blood-relations in a net-work of family rights and responsibilities. It has been a means of carrying on industry on a co-operative basis, and government and religious tradition. Among the advantages arising therefrom may be mentioned, (1) a large measure of companionship among all the members, (2) a plenty of opportunity for children to play, to learn, to work, to learn how to work, as also to enjoy the companionship of elders and help them, and (3) the possibility of little or no economic risks. Unfortunately modern conditions cannot help the continuance of such an institution any longer. Nevertheless, the joint family system still persists to a certain extent.

Regarding kinship it is said that habitual proximity and contact are the strongest and most natural of ties. The conception of the tie of blood appears to be not very strong in primitive culture. Identity of flesh, if not of food, that is, commensality is said to be earlier in thought than that of blood. Psychologically speaking, relationship develops only from relations, and in primitive thought relations are the tests of kinship and not *vice versa*. In the ordinary meaning of the term it is applied to kinship based on consanguinity, and finally depends on the institution of the family. It signifies a social group consisting of a man, his wife and children. The term includes cases of relationship based on a kind of social convention as adoption. A writer on human society used the word to designate relationship set up by a clan or other social groups. In that case it does not concern with the institution of the family, but is applied to persons with whom there is no tie of consanguinity. Hence arises a confusion in the use of the term. The terms of relationship that are prevailing amongst the Brāhmans of Mysore are given in the Appendix.

DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF RELATIVES.

1. *Parents and children*:—Parents provide for the child, feed, clothe, educate and marry him, when he is old enough for it. They support his family till he is able to maintain his wife and children. The son obeys his parents, assists them in their occupation. Parents are respected as gods. It is so enjoined in the Dharmaśāstras. So are the daughters similarly looked after.

2. *Brothers and sisters*:—In several parts of Melanesia, a brother and sister are not allowed to speak to one another. Among the Nayars also a young man may not speak to his younger sister. Among Brāhmans the relationship is intimate, affectionate, and enduring. In many cases their children are allowed to marry. A sister is an important factor in the marriage of her brother. So also is she in social functions. In the same manner, a brother assumes the position of a father. In the absence of her husband, she is looked after by him.

3. *Mother's brother and Sister's son*:—Among people who follow the matrilineal line of inheritance, the mother's brother is definitely responsible for the welfare of the children, for their training, education and maintenance until they are able to work and earn for themselves. Among Brahmans, he and his wife are important factors in all ceremonial functions. The sons and daughters, on the other hand, look upon him in affectionate and respectful regard. The duty of obedience on their behalf is almost obligatory. In ceremonial functions, he has to make presents to the sister's sons and daughters. His wife plays a secondary role.

4. *Father's sister*:—Her duties and privileges are also equally important in all marriage and other ceremonies. She has to make presents to her brother's sons on marriage and other occasions. She is an important relative in marriage and other ceremonials.

5. *Father's sister's husband*:—His duties and privileges are only secondary.

6. *Cousins*:—Rules of conduct are best seen in the case of those who are known as cross cousins who are children of brothers and sisters. Among Brāhmans, brothers senior in age are treated with respect. Those junior in age are considered by them as potential sons, while those equal in age are as intimate friends.

7. *Grandfathers and grandchildren*:—Very often grandfather has a special position of authority and advice.

Marriage brings the partners along with its definite relations with large groups of persons in whom they had previously no

special interset. Among them special functions take very definite and well-established forms.

Customs of Avoidance.—Prominent among them are the customs of avoidance. Restrictions of conduct are generally most pronounced in the case of a man and his mother-in-law. A man may not speak to his mother-in-law, or may not speak to her familiarly. He may not use personal name, but must use the appropirate term of relationship. A similar mode of conduct accompanies the relationship of a man to the wife's father as well, but generally the avoidance is less strict. The avoidance of a wife with her parents-in-law is more or less of the same nature. These customs appear to be associated with the idea of the likelihood of sexual relations between those who avoid one another; but the avoidance between persons of the same sex shows that this is not the only explanation. Similar rules of avoidance are also seen between brothers and sisters-in-law. They are often less strict, and often limited to familiar conversation. In the case of relatives by marriage the same rule holds good.

Sir James Frazer has explained this widespread reluctance, the name is the vital part of man, and is often regarded as a soul. Sexual taboo has used this idea to form a special duty as between husband and wife. In one or two cases, feelings of sexual jealousies have had some influence, but as a rule the religious fears as to sexual relations have played the chief part of prohibition.*

Privileged Familiarity.—Among some relations practical jokes are tolerated when they meet, as between brothers-in-law and cousins of the same age.

Artificial Relationship.—The same terms of relationship generally used for persons related by blood and marriage are applied to persons with whom no geneological connection can be traced. It depends more upon membership of a social group or artificial tie. When a young Brāhman meets an elderly member of the same caste, he calls him by the name of *māma* or maternal uncle, *thātha* or grandfather in the event of his being very old. In the event of one's being senior to another, the term *anna* is used. Similarly, a young woman addresses another of the sex

* *Lectures on Ethnography*, pages 182-186.

senior to her in age as *māmi* or *pāti* (grandmother) if very old. An adopted son addresses the adopted parents by the same terms used to designate the real parents. The terms of relationship are modified by cross-cousin marriage, and by that of a young man with his sister's daughter.

Customs of Etiquette.—These include salutations, rules of hospitality, forms of address, rules of politeness, standard of decency. When a Brāhman meets another, he is often saluted with the hands joined in front of the breast with the expression of *namaskār* (lying prostrate). It is often done by an youngster to an elderly man. He stands before him, and does not take his seat unless the guest takes his. The rules of hospitality are rather rigorous among Brāhmans, and are rigidly followed. The sacred character of the Brāhman places him socially and religiously on a level above that of his host, and the latter does not dine until his guests have been satisfied. "In the Dharmasāstras it is enjoined that if a Brāhman is welcomed in a standing posture all the gods are satisfied." * By welcoming a Brāhman in one's house, the god Fire is pleased. If he is fed, the god Prajāpathi is satisfied. A traveller who comes to a Brahman's house, is a guest, and the Vedic Brāhmans are always sacred to all. It is a sin to turn out a guest during the day, but to turn him out during the night is eight times a sin. Thus to provide for the wants of Brāhman guests is a sacred duty enjoined upon the Brāhman householder. Usage and custom fortified by religious sanction has demanded an expenditure in the entertainment of guests at festivals or important events in the family life which has sometimes left the householder in poverty or in debts. Nevertheless the obligation has been generally recognised throughout the whole course of Indian life and history. Closely connected with this is charity in which alms-giving is important. Poor people are always given handfuls of rice or pies. It is actuated or inspired by a religious motive, the desire to secure personal advantages and rewards in a future life. As early as the Vedic age a man's gifts take a prominent place in the thought and teaching of Hindu poets; and the virtue and merit of the giver are repeatedly emphasized. In the Vedic literature, later Smritis and Purānas, one of the chief duties of the householder is charity-giving (dātrtā, datrtva), and definitions are given as to the persons upon whom alms are given. Manu lays down distinct rules on the subject which govern the practice even to this day.

* *Manu. III*, 72.

The position of women in ancient times, as testified by Vedic rites of marriage, is one of security and dignity. She was controlled by her husband, though it is not as clear as to the extent of personal restraint they were subjected to. But she was the mistress (*patni*) of the household as her husband was the master in the marriage hymn of the Rig Veda (x. Lxxxv). She is asked to exercise authority over her father-in-law and her husband's brothers and unmarried sisters. The case contemplated seems to be one in which the eldest son of the family marries at a time when he through old age and weakness has ceased to exercise control over the family. Therefore the wife of the eldest son becomes the mistress of the joint family. This is not inconsistent with the respect elsewhere mentioned as due from the daughter-in-law to father-in-law. The wife also was a participator in the sacred rites performed by her husband. A certain deterioration of her position can be noticed as being due to the growing importance of the priestly class. The regulation seems to have been due to the supposed impurity of women, and the same idea may have been at the root of the practice which appears in the *Satapata Brāhmaṇa* requiring women to take food after their husbands. There were also different views as to the character of women. A wife completes her husband and is half of his self (*Brahadārnyaka Upanishad*), and her good qualities are mentioned. On the other hand, *Maitrayani Samhita* (I. X. vi—8. II. vi.—3) describes woman as untruth, and as connected with misfortune. She is classified with dice, and drink as the three evils. Elsewhere (*Taittiriya Samhita* VI. V—8-2) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the *Katha Samhita* (XXXI—1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night. In the political

STATUS OF WOMEN.

sphere woman took no part, and man alone went to the assembly. But while the position of the wife in the sacrificial ritual was narrowed by the priests, there is evidence that women took part in the speculative activity which manifested itself in the 6th century B. C. in the Upanishads. We learn that there are not only several women teachers who may or may not have been married, but also of one of the two wives of the great Sage Yājñavalkya who shared her husband's intellectual activities.

The better side of marriage is put before us in the *Harita Smriti* (III— 3). "The wife is to devote her whole thought to her house and her husband, to prepare his food, eat what is left over by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, strew cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before going to rest, and in the hot season to fan him, support the head when he is weary and so forth. To her falls the place of honour in the family, and she is the undisputed mistress of her daughters and any other women living under the husband's roof. In society, woman is the goddess, and she becomes a Lakshmi. Where women are respected, the Gods are respected. In their absence every effort becomes fruitless. Where the parents of the woman see tears at her miseries (due to ill-treatment) the family of the husband is doomed to ruin."

Conduct of a woman:—A woman should not retaliate against her husband's objections. She should not quarrel with him. She should neither speak loudly, nor laugh in the presence of her parents-in-law. If through irritation or for some fault, her husband beat her, a woman that would wish to assault him is a veritable tigress. She who eats dainties is born a she-pig, she-donkey or a bitch. No woman should leave her house without her husband's

permission or that of her father-or mother-in-law, and should dress herself so as to cover as far down as the ankles. She should always be frugal, should manage the household, remain ever content, clever as housewife, respectful to her husband and parents-in-law. It is said that a woman that retaliates her husband's angry expressions is born a bitch in the town, and a veritable she-wolf in the jungles. She who keeps her dear husband pleased with her good conduct has the merit of pleasing the whole universe. Where a wife and husband are in accord, religion, money and love are ensured. It is enjoined that women should be protected by the father before the marriage, by the husband during youth, by the sons during old age, or in their absence by the relations and brothers. A woman has no independance at any time. She should be brought up with good food, ornaments and dress.

Taboo to women:—Alcohol, company with bad people, voluntary separation from husband, walking unattended, sleeping alone are tabooed to women. During the absence of her husband on travel, a woman should not wear jewellery, should not take perfumed baths, should not go to other people's houses, should not stand at the doorways and windows.

The ideals mentioned above have become so far antiquated that they do not satisfy the modern conditions of family and social life. Old joint families have begun to give way to the ideals of individualism and to break up into separate families. Western education and ideals have exerted a great influence on the present generation of our women. Their present political aspirations are another important factor. The feminist ideals of the west which are foreign to the spirit of India are slowly creeping into the Brāhman family and social life.

These factors tend to assert the status of women in a new direction.

INHERITANCE.

The principles of succession as developed by the Brāhman jurists of India were largely based on a spiritual bargain. "The right to succeed to another depended on the capacity of benefiting a person by the offering of funeral oblations or by performing *śrāddhās.*" The term "Sapindās" is used to designate a heritable relation, and signifies literally a relation connected through funeral oblations such as a rice ball or *pinda*-offering. The more remote ancestors, namely, great grandfather, grandfather and father who are offered only fragments of balls of rice are called the "partakers of the whippings," "*Lēpabhāgins.*" * Still more distant is the relationship of *Samānōdakas* or kinsmen connected by the mere offering of water which is said to extend to the fourteenth degree. In the Vedic law there is a close connection between the religion of the Brāhmans and their succession to property, and the preferable right to perform *srāddha* ceremony is generally looked upon as governing the preferable right to succession to property. The right of inheritance and the duty of presiding at the obsequies, therefore, are inseparable from one to another. According to an old Sanskrit authority, he who inherits the wealth, presents the funeral oblations, and a son shall offer them to his father even though he inherit no property.† The doctrine of spiritual efficacy was further developed and relied on as a strong argument in favour of certain expositions of the texts on inheritance on the Dāyabhāga and other schools of law in Bengal. The Mitākshara, on the other hand, which is the leading authority in the

* *Manu III*, 213.
† *Institutes of Vishnu* 40—43.

South, as in other parts of India explains the terms *Sapinda* as denoting one of the same body, that is, a blood relation, and therefore does not give countenance to any other principle other than proximity of birth as regulating the order of succession. To the Hindu mind the connection between the right of succession and the right to offer customary *śrāddhās* has been always present. The widow who succeeds to the husband's property on the failure of the male descendants is enjoined to offer up regular oblations to him at stated times. Thus the religious element enters largely in the Indian law of inheritance, besides the general rules of succession. The exclusion of a man from his caste on account of some offence or breach of caste rules has also the same results as natural death, and causes the property of the person outcasted to devolve on his heirs; and himself to lose the right to inherit any property devolving on him.* Civil death from loss of caste is now inoperative according to an Act of 1850 and does not affect a man's civil rights.

Spiritual relationship is also recognised as well as blood relationship. The pupil succeeds his teacher and *vice versa*. No relative can generally claim any property acquired by a man during the time he was an ascetic. It is taken by one of his disciples who will perform his funeral rites according to custom. In such cases the succession goes by either nomination by the previous *sanyāsi* or election after his death. When *sanyāsis* are at the head of *mutts* founded and endowed (with considerable grants of land by Hindu princes and noblemen)

* In the joint family of Bengal, property is altogether held in common, while in the Mitākshara system of other parts of India only ancestral property is thus held in common, every member of the group having full rights over property acquired by his own exertions. Property is regarded as ancestral, when it has been transmitted for two generations, and it is then inalienable.

for the purpose of maintaining and spreading the doctrines of some religious sect, their property is vested in the preceptor or head, for the time being, who is called the Mahant. Though many of these Mahants have become rich, they are not even versed in the first principles of their religion, the acquisition of wealth by trade being the sole object. The old rule of succession remains, and the property passes only to one who holds the office.

ADOPTION. Amongst the Aryan Hindus, the adoption of a son, according to *śāstras*, is a religious act. The ceremonies as described in them resemble the formalities at a wedding, and adoption consists, like marriage, in the transfer of a paternal dominion over a child which passes to the adopter in the one case and the husband on the other. A Brāhman who adopts a son has to procure two garments, two ear-rings and finger-ring, a learned priest, sacred grass, and fuel of sacred wood. He has to give notice to the king or his representative in the village and convene his relatives for the purpose of giving publicity to the transaction, and for ackowledging him as their kindred. The adopter has to say to the natural father, "give me thy son." The father replies: "I give him"; whereupon the adopter declares, "I accept thee in fulfilment of thy religion." "I take thee for the continuation of lineage." After that, the adopter adorns the boy with two garments, the two ear-rings, and the finger-rings and performs the *Vyāhriti-hōma* or *Datta-hōma*, *i.e.*, a burnt sacrifice coupled with certain imprecations, apparently from the idea that the conversion of one man's child into the son of another cannot be effected without the intervention of gods. The learned priest obtains the two garments, the ear-rings and the finger-ring as his sacrificial fee. Where the

ceremony of tonsure has already been performed for the boy in his natural family, a special ceremony called "*putreshti*" or sacrifice for male issue has to be performed in addition to the burned sacrifice in order to undo the effects of the tonsure rite. The motive for adoption is purely for spiritual benefits upon the adopter and his ancestors by means of the ceremony of ancestor worship. Manu has a fanciful derivation of the word *putra*, a son as denoting the deliverer from the infernal region called *put*. In the same way, it is declared by Vasishta (XVII—1), that if a father sees the face of the son born and living, he throws his debts on him, and obtains immortality. Heaven awaits not one who has no male issue, so says another ancient text. The importance of the practice was enhanced by writers on adoption who declared as obsolete in the present age (Kaliyuga) the other ancient devices for obtaining a substitute for a legitimate son of the body, such as appointing a widow to raise issue to her deceased husband or a daughter to her sonless father or legitimatizing the illegitimate son of one's wife. *Śāstras* are unanimous in declaring that none but the legitimate son of the body (*aurasa*) and the adopted son (*dattaka*) are sons in the proper sense of the term and entitled to inheritance. Adoption which is even now in force, is one of the important institutions of the Family Law, and its leading principles as developed in the writings of the Indian commentators are fully recognized by the High Courts, and form the basis of modern case-law on the subject. It must not be supposed that the religious motive for adoption in India has ever really excluded or prevailed over the secular motive. The existence of adoption among the Jains and other Hindu dissenters who do not offer oblations of spritual benefit conferred by sons proves that the custom of adoption

did not arise from the religious belief that a son is necessary for the salvation of man.*

CASTE COUNCIL.

Smārthās who live in *agrahārams* have a kind of group solidarity in social matters. All minor social disputes are settled by the leading and elderly members, and the delinquents are generally fined. In serious and important matters the religious head is informed, and he with his subordinates along with the leading members enquire into the matter, and pronounce the judgment. All such disputes are of a socio-religious nature. Delinquents are generally fined, while in breaches of conduct in religious faith, they are not only fined, but are also compelled to go through certain expiatory ceremonies.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

In Vedic literature, religion and magic have different aspects. The former represents the "relation of man to the gods and godlings with the object of cultivating their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifices thus inducing them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires." The essential character of Vedic religion is therefore propitiatory and persuasive. Magic, on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events without the intervention of divine beings by means of spells and rituals. Its essential character is therefore coercive. Both thus aim at the same results but in different ways. The relation of magic rites and sorcery to elementary religion has been all along a subject of discussion among anthropologists, some of whom contend, that religion and magic belong to two distinct orders of thought, while others hold that religion is saturated with magic, and that it is only in their later development the one becomes separated from the other.†

* E. R., E. Vol. I, pages 110-111.

† *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* Vol. I, Introduction, page xviii.

Magic is mainly the real subject-matter of the Atharvaveda. It is a collection of materials relating to ceremonies aiming either at the welfare of the magician or the injury of the enemies. Regarding magic, the Yajurveda occupies an intermediate position between the Rig Veda and the other. The original part consists of prose formulae, and the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulae are associated, and which they follow in the minutest details. Its character is more of a magical rather than of religious type. Vedic magic is important to the study of magic in general, for it has a bearing on every aspect of human life from very ancient times. It is very helpful to the student of Indian religion, without which he would arrive at erroneous conclusions as to the purity and advanced character of the beliefs and practices of that religion in its earliest form.*

"The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic is found in the Rig Veda which consists almost of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised, and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the Sōma sacrifice. There are only a dozen hymns out of the 1028, that are concerned with magic, about one half of which are auspicious, the rest being maleficent in character. Regarding the magical rites connected with sacrifice, the Rig Veda gives us no information. It is very likely that religion and magic were separated during the Vedic period. It must be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rig Veda are addressed to the great gods, and few references are made to magical practices. The rituals which the hymns are intended to accompany, are saturated with magical observances." *

* E. R. E., Vol. VIII, page 312.

There is no dividing line between the sacrificial act to propitiate the gods, and a magical act which is intended to control the course of things.

The magician of the pre-historic ages who only manipulated the lower ritual concerned with the demons and natural forces gradually developed into a priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, the priest is found to a considerable extent reverting to the role of a magician. For he constantly appears independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing powers of nature by the use of spells and other expedients of sorcery. "He causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he produces an imitation of rain that it may actually rain. Here he is not a servant of the gods, but is simply a magician. The post-Vedic code of Manu contains an express statement (XI, 33) that the magic spells of the Atharva Veda are Brāhman's weapons which may be used against his enemies. In the Upanishads the magician-priest has become a philosopher, who had passed from the path of *karma* to that of *jnāna*, but his mode of thought was still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. Of such a nature was the conception of the world-soul (Brahman) and of the identity with it of the individual soul, *ātman*, as well as the speculations on the sacred syllable of '*Om*' analogous in sense to omen. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises of Yōga which is an inextricable blend of philosophy and magic. By the aid of Yoga he believed himself to be capable of acquiring the ability to make himself minute and invisible, to increase his size infinitely, to multiply his body, to remember his former existences and so forth." *

* E. R. E., Vol. VIII, page 313.

Dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (*tapas*). Speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods, (*Taittiriya Âranyaka*). He who has practised austerity reaches the sun, *Rig Veda* (x, cliv). By practising austerity Indra attained heaven. The magical power of austerity will bring calamity on the man who injures him (x, Cix, 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations. In many passages of the *Brâhmaṇa*, the creator Prajâpati is described as giving, by the power of austerity, the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures. In *Satapatha Brâhmaṇa* (X, cix, 4, 2), he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came out lights which are the stars. It is for such magical rites or effects that austerity is required as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites.

Magical agencies are largely based on contact, which has to be brought about if the agency is beneficial to oneself, or to be prevented if the agency is injurious to one self. The result is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. But the places usually selected for the same purpose are (1) a cemetery which is the seat of flesh-eating demons, (2) a cross-road which is a favourite locality to divest oneself of the evil influences, (3) the secluded part of a house, and (4) a shed and solitary spots in a field or forest. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night, but that of others depends on the circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. Thus the south is the home of demons and manes. In auspicious rites, walking and other kinds of movements are directed from

left to right following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed, the performers moving from north to south.

Some of the lesser spirits are concerned with only one activity such as presiding over the fields and helping at harvests, others with Arbudi at their head, are invoked to spread terror and death among enemies on the field of battle.* The nature of most of the rest is to cause damage and destruction in the sphere of human life. These demons are known by the name of Rākshasās, Yatūs or Pisāchas, though many of them have individual names. Their appearance is mostly human, though with some kind of deformity, but they have an animal or bird shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, owl or vulture. They also appear in assumed figures, human or animal: thus at funeral rites they intrude in the form of soul of the ancestors to whom the offering is made. They also approach women in various disguises. The sorcerer himself might assume animal form and thus injure enemies. Belief in such transformations is expressed in the Rig Veda where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at nights. Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against the hostile army with the spell. "Go forth Apva to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs to attack them: burn them with thy heat in their hearts, let the foe fall into deep darkness." "Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere, in the sea, in the air, and in the human dwellings. They specially frequent the place where four roads meet. Their activities are mostly during the night. The usual method of attack is to enter into a man through the mouth, and then eat the flesh, suck his marrow,

* *Atharva Veda* XI, IX, 1. E. R. E. Vol. VIII, page 314.

and drink the blood." They also cause madness, and take away the power of speech. They are dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—at birth, weddings, and funerals. These powers of darkness do harm to a man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his houses, in short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human works of calamity.*

The type of magic is always intended to avert evils or calamities. Thus in the Atharva Veda deterrent homage is paid to the demon of disease. "Thee lurking in each limb with burning, we, paying homage, would worship with oblation." Lightning is similarly addressed † "homage to thee, child of light whence thou gatherest heat be merciful to ourselves, do kindness to our offspring." Avoidance of contact exercises a great influence. The touch of beings in which malevolent spirits or substances are supposed to dwell are avoided. To touch the mother during the days of impurity after childbirth is regarded as dangerous. The access of injurious powers through other senses is similarly avoided. A bundle of sticks or twigs is tied to the corpse on the way to the burning ground in order to efface the foot-steps, and so hide the path from the demons. Similarly, the sacrificial fire of the departed is removed by some aperture other than the door.

Magical operations are intended not only to ward off malificent powers, but also to expel them after they have taken possession of the victim. The hymns of the Atharva Veda represent the beginnings of medical lore in India. The border line between magic and primitive science is not definite, for in

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, pages 76-81; 164-167, 176-178.
† *Atharva Veda* 1, XIII 2.

some cases the plant used with the spell may have been the cure for a particular disease, while in other cases, its application might have been purely magical. For instance, the two charms from the Atharva Veda are intended for the cure of baldness and to promote the growth of hair. "That hair of thine which drops off, and that which is broken root and all upon it do I sprinkle the all-healing herb." * "Make firm their roots and draw out their ends, expand their middle O! herb, may thy hairs grow like reeds, may they cluster black about thy head.† Fractures are cured by the plant Arundhati, ‡ and wounds by the use of the pepper corn."

Fasting.—One of the precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers is the abstention from food in order to prevent them from entering the body. It is therefore a leading element in the preliminary consecration (*dīksha*) for the sōmā sacrifice. When an initiated man grows thin, he becomes purified for the sacrifice. Another safeguard is in the practice of chastity. This is enjoined for three nights after the wedding ceremony in order to ward off the attack of demons that destroy the offspring. Asceticism is also another factor. Exposure to heat, sleeping on the ground, keeping oneself awake, holding the breath, and silence are other forms of observance. From the earliest period, there is evidence of ascetic practices (*tapas*), primarily exposure of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstinence and silence all of which were regarded as means of attaining various supernatural powers resulting from the ecstatic conditions induced by them. It is said that those who are in the frenzied conditions that the Gods have entered into them. A poet of the Veda (VIII,

* *Atharva Veda.* VI, CXXXVI, 3.
Do VI, CXX, 3.
Do IV, XII.

IX) tells how, in a vision produced by austerity (*tapas*), he saw the old creations of ancient sages, the first sacrificers in the remotest art of the human race. There are many other passages ascribing similar powers.

Demons and spirits.—The people of India, especially the jungle tribes and the low caste men from the cradle to the grave are oppressed with fear that they are haunted by evil spirits of all kinds, some malignant fiends, some mischievous elves, to whose agency are attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune. Their worship is based on fear, and the higher gods in the opinion of the less intelligent classes are regarded as those indifferent to the evils which attack men, while demons are active and malignant. This belief is very strong both in North India as well as in the South. In South India this belief is even more widespread, and every village is believed by the people to be surrounded by evil spirits who are always on the watch to inflict diseases and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers. They lurk on the tops of the palmyras, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms. They fly about in the air, like birds of prey, ready to pounce down upon any unprotected victim. The Indian villagers pass through life in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn for the protection of the village guardian deities, whose duty it is to ward off these evil spirits, and to protect the villagers from the epidemics of small-pox, cholera or fever, from cattle disease, failure of crops and all the manifold ills to which flesh is heir to.

Origin and nature of the cult of demons and spirits.—The worship of the demons (Demonolatry) is a form of belief which in its origin is independent of Brahmanism though it has in many cases absorbed it. It is somewhat ill-organized with little or no sacred literature and has no established priesthood. The most obvious distinction is between non-human and human spirits. The non-human spirits known as fiends are endowed with super-human powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds, which they can change as they like. As free agents they choose between good and evil with a disposition towards the latter always preponderating in their character. The so-called Asurās, Dānavas and Rākshasās belong to this group. This group as a whole is the outcome of pre-animistic beliefs, the worship of dreadful powers, the vague impersonations of the terror of night, hill, cave or forest. The Aryan view of the demon-world was coloured by association with the indigenous

races. The second and the important class of evil spirits is that of the ghosts of human beings known collectively as Bhūta (*bhu*—to become). They are the malignant spirits of men which for various reasons cherish feelings of hostility to the human race, and ever try to do endless mischief, unless they are expelled or propitiated. Among the more primitive tribes, the belief that disease and death are the results of the normal or abnormal processes of nature, is only imperfectly realized. These and other spirits, sometimes act on their own initiative or are sometimes incited by a sorcerer or witch.

The Bhūtas and their characteristics.—In South India three terms are used to designate these spirits—*Bhūta*, *Prētha* and *Pisāchā*, the first name being ordinarily applied to all classes. "These are always with evil propensities, and originate from the souls of those who have died untimely deaths or been deformed, idiotic or insane; afflicted with unusual ailments. The precise distinction between these are that the *Prētha* (*Pre*—to depart from life) is the ghost of the dead to whom no funeral ceremonies are performed. The *Pisāchā*, on the other hand, is derived from mental characteristics, and is the ghost of mad men, habitual drunkards, the treacherous and the violent tempered. *Bhūtas* emanate from those who die in any unusual way, by violence, accident or suicide or who have been robbers, notorious evil-doers dreaded for cruelty and violence. The death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all the neighbourhood, and he is sure to become a *bhūta* or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life. They are represented with small thick bodies of red colour with pig tails round their bodies covered with ornaments. A *bhūta* drinks any kind of water, eats filth. They cannot rest on the ground, and for this reason, a stick or bamboo pole is placed at their shrines on which they may perch or sit."

Spirits of the murdered and the unsatisfied are believed to be the most dreadful of all, and they have a tendency to cherish an angry passion for revenge. Some of the most dangerous *bhūtas* belong to this class. The conception of Brahma-rākshasa or Brahma-purusha come under the same category, and are believed to be specially powerful and malicious. They are represented as a headless trunk with the eyes looking from the breast. They are said to live in large trees by the side of a river or in some lonely places whence they oppress travellers, and lead them astray on dark nights. The spirits of unhappy widows and of those dying in childbed are also very much dreaded. Widows among the lower castes are married invariably

during night, because the spirit of her deceased husband is most dangerous to his successor. A man's second wife is always afraid of the ghost of her predecessor and anticipates trouble to avoid which, she propitiates the ghost on all auspicious occasions. Similarly, the same feelings of awe or fear naturally attach to the spirit of the foreigner. At Saharanpore, a Mussalman named Allah Baksh, who died in a state of impurity has become a dangerous demon, and is worshipped by the low caste Hindus.

Various methods are employed to repel or conciliate evil spirits. If the spirit after death is to pass to the home of the *pitri* or sainted dead or to undergo the necessary stages of transmigration, it is necessary that the funeral rites shall have been duly performed. Hence the family spirit is benevolent, and is propitiated on all auspicious occasions to provide its wants. Sometimes when funeral ceremonies cannot be performed owing to the death of a person in a foreign land, his spirit becomes restless and malicious. In such cases, the ceremonies are performed in effigy. A straw figure of the person is made to represent the dead. Then the funeral ceremonies are regularly performed. Even in the case of a person dying in a natural way, care is taken to prevent the return of the ghost from the burial or cremation ground. As the corpse is taken outside, the chief mourner pours water on it, saying 'as a stream divides countries, so may the water now poured divide us.' Another plan is to endeavour to deceive the spirit, so that it may not find its way back, by taking it out of the house, feet foremost or through a door not usually opened for ingress and egress. Sometimes the repression of the evil spirit is secured in a physical way. The thumbs and toes are tied together to prevent the ghost from walking or it is tied in a cotton bag as among the Bhūtiyas. One reason given for the widespread custom of shaving after death is that it changes the appearance of the mourners so as to prevent the pursuing spirit or removes the shelter in which it may hide and cling to the mourner. To prevent the spirit rising from the grave and walking, it is a common practice among the low castes to bury the corpse face downwards and to pile stones and thorns on the grave. The misery of the unmarried dead is relieved by the curious rite of marriage with the dead. The custom is widespread, and in India it seems to prevail among some of the Madras and Burmese tribes, namely, among the Todas, Badagas, Billavas and Komatīs, while among the Pallis and Vaniyans the dead bachelor is married to the arka plant (*Calotropis gigantea*).

Spirit possession.—Possession by evil spirits or demons is of two kinds. The theory of embodiment serves very highly important purposes in savage and barbarian philosophy. On the one hand, it provides an explanation of the phenomena of morbid exaltation and derangement especially as connected with abnormal utterance, and this view is so far extended as to produce an almost general doctrine of disease. On the other hand, it enables the savage either to lay a hurtful spirit in some foreign body, and so to get rid of it, or to carry about a useful spirit for his service in a material object to set it up as a deity for worship in the body of an animal or in a block of stone or image or other thing which contains a spirit as the vessel contains a fluid. This is the key to true fetichism, and in no small measure to idolatry. Certain persons are supposed to be specially liable to spirit possession. The men most liable to such attacks are the impotent, the lustful, lately widowed, bankrupts, sons and brothers of whores, convicts, the idle, brooders on the unknowable, and starvers. The women most liable to such attacks are young women who have lately come of age, young widows, and those above mentioned. Women are particularly liable to such attacks during the monthly sickness, during pregnancy and childbed. Men, women and children are apt to suffer when dressed in their best. Demon-possession thus accounts for various abnormal states of mind and for the phenomena called hysteria. Women suffering in this way require special protection or it is necessary to expel the spirits by whom they are possessed. Attempts are also made to conciliate them on such by throwing food for them by the roadside. The demons are expelled by flagellation especially in the case of attacks of hysterical nature, when the patient is soundly beaten until the demon speaks

through him or her, and promises to depart. The demons that are most dreaded are the disease spirits which bring all kinds of illness. To their agency are attributed, epidemics in general, especially cholera, plague or small-pox, and maladies which are unforeseen. Such spirits are got rid of by transference to another village or to some distant place.

Village Gods.—There are a special kind of Gods of non-Aryan origin who are supposed to protect the inhabitants of the village when duly propitiated with offerings. They are often identified with the mother Earth or with a wider host of mothers whose worship largely prevails in South India. The goddess Bhagavati is worshipped by all classes of people. The connection of this worship of the female powers with the matriarchate is not clearly established. The women are generally supposed to be more susceptible to spirit influence than men, and are mysterious beings charged with supernatural powers. In South India the chief of these is Ayyanar (honourable father) or as he is sometimes called Śāsta. Mounted on a horse or elephant, he rides sword in hand over hill and dale to clear the land from evil spirits. Any one who meets him and his demon troop dies at once. When he is not riding, he appears as a red coloured man wearing a crown with lines of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*) on forehead and richly dressed. He has two wives, who are also worshipped.

Periodical expulsion of evil spirits.—Every year in April-May, the village god, the demon of small-pox, known by various names in South India as also other village deities are specially propitiated by celebrating a grand festival lasting for more than a week in some cases. The object is one of thanks-giving to the deities for the good harvest and also for the protection of the village-folk against all kinds of epidemic during the coming year. It is a grand socio-religious festival that is celebrated.

Relation of Demonology to orthodox religion.—From the Vedic times the gods ever war against the demons. Krishna slays the demon Pūtana, Aishta the bull-demon, Kēsin the horse-demon. All Hindu Purānas teem with examples of the kind. As a matter of fact, the antagonism between demonolatry and the orthodox religion is a little more than nominal, and popular Hinduism consists of a veneer of the higher beliefs overlying demon-worship, the latter being so closely combined with the former that it is impossible to discriminate the rival elements. The combination is very clear in South India, where Brahmanism appeared at a comparatively recent period, and forced to come to terms with the Dravidian beliefs. The original village gods are female, and gradually their male consorts became prominent. Ayyanār or Sāsta is independent and occupies a special shrine of his own. He has special festival and sacrifices made to his attendants Marudavīran and Mundiyan. In some cases, Brāhmans act as priests, and animal sacrifices are either abolished or very much limited. Gradually such deities get into the orthodox religion, and the fusion between the two faiths become clear.

Charms and amulets.—India is perhaps one of the very few countries in the world where the people protect themselves with charms and amulets against the attacks of malignant spirits and demons. They are constantly beset by the fear of danger from spirits of various kinds and from the potency of evil eye; and to these agencies they attribute most of the diseases and misfortnnes to which they are exposed. Their strong faith in the efficacy of the ritualastic cults leads them to adopt various magical or semi-magical devices which according to their belief are capable not only of securing protection, but are also used offensively to destroy an enemy. A careful examination of the domestic ceremonies performed at marriage, conception, birth, puberty, initiation and death, reveal that they consist of various charms and other magical devices intended to protect bride and bridegroom, mother and child, youth and maiden, and the mourners of the dead.

The word "charm" is derived from Latin "carmen," meaning the chanting or recitation of a verse supposed to possess magical power or occult influence; in other words, what is commonly called "spell." In its secondary meaning it includes all material things credited with magical properties worn on, or in close connection with, the person whom it is designed to protect. Besides being protective, it may be also offensive as those used by the tantric school to injure or destroy an enemy. The amulet belongs to a sub-class of the physical charm. It is usually defensive, and is worn about the person as protection against malignant attacks. The word "charm" has a wide significance, and it is difficult to arrange, in orderly sequence, the numerous devices of the kind used by the people of India. Nevertheless in Hindu works on the subject there is a classification. All these are generally based on the principle of animism current among all classes of the people of India. Further, the charms used by the Brāhmans in their ceremonies are more or less similar to those of very low castes belonging to non-Aryan races." They are also common to believers in all existing religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism, and many are retained by the native Christian converts as well.

The spell or the spoken charms (*Mantrasāra*)—This includes all *mantrams* with their efficacy for good or evil, and the methods of learning or reciting them with the aid of a *guru* (spiritual instructor). *Mantras* are the combinations of the five initial letters of the five sacred elements which produce sounds, but not words. These are believed to vibrate on the ether and act on latent forces which are there. The *mantras* are all powerful, and of various kinds, the most important being the Gāyatri or invocation of Sun-God. The Tantric mantrams originate in the Sakta cults and come under a different class. *Mantrams* are recited in every religious rite, and form an essential part of every domestic ceremony. They assume many varied forms and are sometimes an adjuration to the deity in whom the suppliant believes or who is supposed to be competent to secure the desired result. Sometimes the appeal is made to some hero or deified saint. It is also addressed to the spirit producing disease or other calamity whom the worshipper desires to scare or prevent from doing further mischief.*

There are many substances out of which charms are prepared. There are also others used for similar

* *Lectures on Ethnography*, Lecture X., page 214-219.

purposes. To this class belong the branches, leaves, fruits and others of various plants: mango, (*Mangyanefera indica*), tulsi, (*Ocimum sanctum*), bel (*Aegle marmilos*), the bamboo and many others. Thus special trees are selected for the pillars to form the pavilion in which the marriage rite takes place. Garlands of leaves and flowers are wound round the neck of the bride and bridegroom during marriage, pregnancy and other rites. Various kinds of grain, namely, rice, and wheat are used, and others are used in the same way. Chillies are thrown into the fire to scare away spirits. The ghost of the dead clinging to the Nayar mourners in Malabar is repelled by rubbing them with oil in which the seeds of sesamum have been mixed.

Substances derived from animals are believed to confer upon the weavers, courage, agility, etc. Among these may be mentioned, claws, teeth, fat, milk and skin of the tiger or the leopard. The five products of the cow, milk, curds, ghee, urine, dung are used as charms in various ceremonies. Brāhman boys after Upanayanam wear a strip of the skin, of the yak, attached to their holy thread. The skin of the black buck (*antelope cervicapra*), the sacred animal of the Aryans, forms the seat of the ascetics. Hair from the tail of the elephant, the pearl extracted from the forehead or belly possess protective qualities, and are used as charms. The horn of rhinoceros detects poison and cures epilepsy. Some birds possess similar virtues. The chicken bones are used by the Was of Upper Burma. The habit of wearing feathers, common among the jungle folk, is probably due more to protection than to ornaments. Crescent moon made of gold or silver is used as charm by children. Iron bangles worn by married girls and women are also protectives. Perforated stones are also used as protectives. In the marriage

ceremonies of the Brāhmans, the bride treads upon a stone with her right foot, while the bridegroom says, "ascend this stone; distress thy foe, and be firm like this stone." In the same way, old flint implements are valued. The same belief attaches to the precious stones. They are most valued in special combinations. The collection of nine (*navaratna*), ruby, pearl, emerald, topaz, diamond, saphire, amethyst, coral and cat's eye, and of five (*pancharatna*) gold, amethyst, diamond, emerald, pearl are also most efficacious. Coral wards off the evil influence of the sun and purifies mourners from death taboo. The protective value of beads depends upon the substance of which they are made. The Rudrāksha (Rudraś-eye, berry of *Eloeocarpus ganitrus*) of the Śaivas and the beads made of the wood of the sacred basil (tulsi) of the Vaishṇavas, both bring the wearer in communion with, and protection of, the deity.

The demons and evil spirits of India come down from the age of stone, and for this reason are afraid of the influence of stones. Iron is therefore valued as a protective. Copper is a sacred metal with the Hindus, and many of the sacrificial utensils are made of it. The same beliefs extend to precious metals in the form of jewellery the use of which in India was prophylactic before it became ornamental. This is shown by the fact that jewels are used to guard the orifices and other parts of the body most exposed to the entry of the evil spirits, the ears, nose, temples, neck, hands, feet, waist and pudenda. Further, among the forest tribes ornaments take the shape of the leaves, flowers, fruits or berries of the sacred trees, which were originally used for the purpose of protection, and to these are added the bones, teeth or horns of animals the virtues of which are communicated to the wearer. Ring also

is used as a charm. Coins serve the purpose of a charm. A small silver coin known as *chakram* and the old venetian sequins are worn by children. Salt owing to its preservative qualities is often used in charms. Special colours are used in many charms. Yellow, red and black, are obnoxious to evil spirits, and so they are prescribed as charms. The belief in the virtue of yellow is one of the reasons why both Hindus and Muhammadans smear the bride and bridegroom with turmeric. The virtues of black is illustrated by the universal custom of smearing the eyelids of women and children with lampblack partly because the spirits detest black, and partly as disguise against the evil eye. Strings, threads, and knots are also used as charms and also to prevent the entry of evil spirits. In marriage, an important part of the rite is the tying of the lucky thread (*mangalya sūtram* a saffron coloured thread or cord to which a small gold ornament is fastened) and worn round the neck so as to hang down in front like a locket. The tying of the *Kankana* during marriage and other ceremonies is common in all parts of India. Another form of the thread is the sacred thread (*Yagnōpavīta*) with which the Brāhman children are invested at the initiation (Upanayanam) ceremony to be worn throughout life. Fire and light scare away evil spirits. The fires lit at the holi-spring-festival are intended to drive away evil spirits or as a mimetic charm to produce sunshine. Shouting and gun-firing are to scare away evil spirits. Abuse and indecency serve the same purpose. The abuse of the bridegroom and his party by the bride's relations explain the survival of marriage by capture. It is probably based on the desire to protect the married pair from evil spirits. In some cases as propitiatory charm, people submit to gross abuse. On the feast day of Ganēsa, men who have to go out

and risk the danger of seeing the moon fling stones at the house of a stranger in the hope that he may abuse and remove the danger.

Charms are written, engraved, on a small metal plate which is either rolled or enclosed in a small case which is fastened to a thread to be made fit for wearing. It is called a *yantram* (that which holds, restrains, or fastens). *Yantrams* are usually drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper, led and sometimes on a piece of cadjan leaf, and the efficacy of the figures when drawn on a gold leaf will last for 100 years, while those on the less precious metals will last for a year or six months. Leaden plates are used when the *yantrams* are to be buried underground. The figures should possess the symbols of life :—the eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass and the five cardinal points. When properly made and subjected to a routine of *pūjas* by a magician (*mantravādi*), it is supposed to possess occult powers. Each *yantram* is in honour of some particular deity, and when that deity is worshipped and the *yantram* is worn, the wearer's object is satisfied.*

The Swastika.—The symbol of Swastika (Skr.—*swasti*, welfare-health). It appears on the early Iron Age pottery of South India. At the present day, it is drawn on textile fabrics, on religious and domestic utensils, on the representations of the foot-prints of Buddha, and saintly personages as also on the opening pages of account books. etc., where it is believed to be charm against all evil influences. In the normal form the arms bend to the right; in Buddhism, they are always bent in the respectful attitude, but towards the left. The charms are connected with sacred places and persons. Hindus often wear round their necks metallic lockets containing the image of the goddess Devi or of some other divinity. Under the same category fall the sālagrāma used in the worship of Vishnu and Lingam or the phallic symbol of Siva. Both are valued as

* *Lectures on Ethnography*, Lecture X, pages 224-229.

protective charms, and small images of the Lingam are worn for the purpose by the Lingāyats. Ashes or Vibhūti is used for the same purpose. It is probable that these were originally the ashes of the sacrifice. In the Himalayan regions, it is one of the potent charms against evil spirits. The patients are smeared on the forehead with the recitation of the formula, known as the *Vibhūti mantram*. A similar application is current among the Hindus all over South India. Sometimes a thread smeared with it is after the recital of prayers worn round the neck or wrist. A bath of ashes is one of the modes of purification by the Lingāyats. Charms are frequently used on cross roads, boundaries and cemeteries to protect villages. Nudity is one of the essential conditions for charm-working. It is often an essential part of such rites that they are done in a state of nudity. Ceremonial nudity appears in many rites in India. It perhaps represents a profound submission to spirit power or is based on the belief that clothes used in a sacred place or in magical rites become taboo and cannot be used again.

A chief condition for successful charm-working is that the officiant must be in a state of personal purity. He must exercise extreme care in the recital of the charm, lest in the event of error it may recoil on himself. A man becomes an expert in the art only by learning it from a *guru*, by proper recitals of them, burning the sacred fire *hōmam* and by giving offerings to the deity.

From the foregoing examples it is clear, how largely the Brāhmans depend upon white magic in the forms known as mimitic or sympathetic. Two ideas underlie magic of this kind, first that like produces like, or that effect resembles its cause ; and second that things which have been once in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact persisted. A Brāhman husband at the Pumsavanam (male production) ceremony feeds his wife with one grain of barley and two beans symbolising the genital organ of the male. Women owing to their extreme susceptibility to spirit influences are often appointed to priestly functions. It is generally the old women of the family who usually perform the wave-rite at marriage ; and the same feeling accounts for the part taken in such magical

performances by dancing girls attached to sacred temples.*

RELIGION: DAILY OBSERVANCES.

As the inner soul and its surroundings act and react upon one another, external purity is enjoined: the house and its premises should scrupulously be washed with water in which cow-dung is mixed and swept clean; the Brāhmans must rise early, wash their teeth and their limbs with fresh earth and water; they should bathe three times a day, making a Samkalpa; for every act of man is complete only when done consciously and with the three *Karanās* (mind, word and deed). He puts on his caste marks which express his ideal. In the morning before sunrise, and in the evening at sunset, he performs his Sandhyāvandana, and at noon Mādhyānika. Sandhyāvandana consists of Prōkshaṇa, Aghamarshaṇa, Arghyapradāna, Prāṇāyāma, Gāyatrijapa and Upasthāna. Prōkshaṇa, also called Mārjana, is the sprinkling of water on the body with the tips of the fingers of the right hand chanting, "O Waters! you are the source of happiness; as such, grant us food and wisdom; as mothers nurse their children, give us that essence of yours that is conducive to our happiness. We readily sprinkle you on our head, as you absolve us from sin. Grant us offspring."

Aghamarshaṇa is the absolution from sin committed during the previous night; a handful of water taken in the right palm is sipped after the recital of the *mantram*, "May Sūrya (Agni in the evening), Anger and the lords of Anger, protect us from sins arising from my various parts, during the previous night. I burn the sins in the light of the sun, (and in the light of Satya in the evening)."

* *E. R. E.*, Vol. VIII, pages 449-452.

At noon, the Aghamarshaṇa is done with, "May Waters purify the Earth; may the purified Earth purify me; may waters purify the lord of the Vedas, and the purified Veda purify me; may waters purify me from the sin of eating stale food, forbidden food and offals, and of all other misdeeds of mine." After every Aghamarshaṇa, Prōkshaṇa is made with, "I praise the powerful, all-pervading and swift god Dadhikrāvan; make our mouths sweet and prolong our life....." Then water is taken up with the palms held together in a cup form, and looking at the sun and uttering Gāyatri, he throws it up; three such offerings are made in the morning and evening, and two at noon; then throwing a handful of water round him, he offers another *arghya* with Gāyatri and says, "Yonder Sun is Brāhman." Some give water offerings to the nine Planets and 12 names of Vishṇu. Sipping water, he offers its merit to Brāhman. (The Arabs make symbolical offerings with handfuls of sand).

He then sits in a clean and undisturbed place, and having controlled his breath with Prānayāma, and his senses, he puts himself *en rapport*. Mentioning the seat and the metre, he makes Anganyāsa and Karanyāsa (with his hand touching the various parts of the body and making crosses and passes). He praises Gāyatri, "Hail Gāyatri! come to us; Thou art liberal in gift; Thou art immortal, and art the abode of the Vedas; Thou art the mother of the metres; give us this Brāhman; Thou hast the power of the mind, senses and body; Thou art effulgence; Thou art the seat of gods; Thou art the Universe; Thou art the life of all. I take thee in as Gāyatri, Sāvitri and Saraswati." Then he contemplates on Gāyatri as having five faces representing five colours, each face having three eyes, and as having ten hands having in each symbol of evolution;

he thinks of her as representing the five *tatwas* five *bhūtas*, five *prāṇas*, five senses and their five objects. *Japa* (meditation) is of three kinds; loud, whisper, and mental, the last being the most powerful. Then he performs his *japa*, "We contemplate upon the auspicious ray of that illustrious Sun; may that enlighten and guide our mental faculties."

The Goddess is sent to her sublime abode. Then in the morning a prayer is offered to the Mitra; at noon to Sāvita; in the evening to Varuṇa. The morning prayer runs thus: "The all-knowing Sun causes persons to perform their duties; he bears the sky and the earth. To him we offer oblations of ghee, may the sacrificer obtain his reward; he will be protected by the sun and will be freed from all diseases, enemies and sins."

The noon prayer:—"The unchangeable sun, with his lustre, pleasing all, urging gods and men to follow their pursuits, and granting all their requests, drives in his golden chariot, and causes everything to shine in his light. With the object of obtaining salvation we approach him, who dispelling darkness, shines best among gods.....He is the eye and soul of the world, animate and inanimate; he is the support of the world. May we see his bright orb rising in the east for a hundred years..... He being all-knowing, may he keep me pure and safe." The evening prayer: "O Varuṇa! listen to my prayers: make me happy; I seek thy shelter; the sacrificer seeks the same protection from thee by offering thee oblations. O Varuṇa! grant my prayer, and do not be offended. Grant me the full term of life; I consider it my duty to offer my prayers to thee. Forgive our sins." Then bowing to the gods of the cardinal points, he offers a prayer to Yama, Parabrahma, and to Vishṇu in his auspicious form in the centre of the disc of the

sun. He prostrates and renounces the merit to Brāhman.

The five daily sacrifices.—1. Brahma Yajna, or Veda Yajna is called Ahuta (without *homa*), is the study of the Vedas and the teaching of the same to students. A Brāhman takes water in his palms, and touching with the wet fingers the various limbs and organs, and covering left palm with the right placed on the right thigh, and chants the first verse of every Veda, and hails the Vedic Rishis. This is the practice among the orthodox Brāhmans.

2. Deva Yajnas are sacrifices in fire with ghee to Dēvās in recognition of the debt for their guiding nature. In practice, the Brāhman offers some tarpanās (water-offerings) to Brahma and other gods, the water falling from the tips of their fingers. Then the Brāhman offers tarpana to Rishis and their wives, with their sacred thread worn as a garland, the water falling between the palms.

3. Pitri Yajna is done then offering water to the Manes, with the sacred thread worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm, the water falling between the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand.

4. Bhūta Yajna consists in acts of kindness and charity to all animals in general, such as throwing food to the cows. Food is placed on the wayside that it may be picked up by the outcaste men and diseased persons.

5. Manushya Yajna is hospitality and liberality to guests and strangers (Atithis). The fourth and the fifth pleases God most, for it is said in the *Śrīmat Bhāgavata* that God is not pleased with any worship to Himself if it is not attended with love and charity to His creatures.

Vaiśvēdeva.—Some take this different from Dēvayajña, and do it just before breakfast to remove the sins arising from killing living beings for food : cooked rice is taken in two trays, one called Havishya—the other Ahavishya. Water is sprinkled on them ; Havishya is divided into two halves, and ghee is poured on them ; one part is offered to Agni and Visvēdevās ; from the other tray an offering is made to Prajāpati ; the rest are mixed and offered as *bali* to other gods, etc. The remainder is thrown to the crows, dogs, etc. The main point is that water

and plants contain many lives which are killed every day in cooking; also that *ahimsa*, non-injury, is cultivated by doing this.

Nimithika or occasional rites.—Tarpaṇams (oblations of water) are offered on New Moon days and at eclipses to *manes* with water and gingelli (seeds) as also on the days on which the sun enters Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn. Sthālipakas are done on Full Moon, etc. *Srāddhas* to three generations of manes are performed on the anniversary days of the death of father and mother, and other elders sometimes. In the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada, the manes are specially propitiated with Srāddha and *tarpaṇa* on a day.

There are a series of fasts and festival days throughout the year, for which special deities are worshipped, and some feasts held.

Srāvaṇi or Upākarma or Vedōpākaraṇa.—In former days young men flocked to an *āchārya* here and there for the study of Vedas. Their study commences from the Full Moon of the month of Taishya. This Upākarma is done to commemorate the commencement of the Vedic studies on the Full Moon of Srāvaṇi. Since Vedōtsarjana or the giving up of the studies from the Full Moon of Taishya is not done, a penance by way of confession is first made by chanting Kāma (desire did it); Manyu (anger did it). Then people assemble near a river or tank; they make a Samkalpa to bathe as a part of Upākarma; they then perform Brahmayajña, Dēvarshi *tarpaṇa*, Brahmarshi *tarpaṇa*, Kāndarshi *tarpaṇa*, after having made gifts of sacred threads and put on new ones; those that have no father do Pitri *tarpaṇa* also.

Then they sit in a temple hall or the like, where squares are made to the east of it, Brahma, Brahaspati and other gods are invoked; to the north are

Viśwāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadwāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishta, Arundhati, and Kāśyapa; to the south Agastya; in the middle are 52 Rishis, Vyāsa, etc., and *pitris*. These are worshipped with all things and prostrated: then the beginning of all the Vedas and śāstras (vedāngas, etc.) are chanted by the *purōhit* and repeated after him by all people. At the end, *dakshiṇās* are given to the *purōhit* and prasāda received by each, before he goes home to make a feast.

Manu says, "As all the streams and rivers flow to rest in the ocean, so do all the *āsramins* flock to rest in the house-holder; so he is called the best, for he verily supports the other three."

When a Grahastha grows old, and has grown-up children, he may enter Vānaprastha by going to a forest; his wife may go with him or remain with her sons. He takes with him his fire and does his daily sacrifices spending his life in study and austerity. The next *āśrama* can be entered from any of the other three. A Sanyāsin divests himself of everything, family, property, his lock of hair, and sacred thread; he wears an ochre-coloured cloth, a bowl and a staff. He lives alone in meditation till his body falls off, for Prārabdha Karma (that with which a birth is taken) must be spent of its force; while Sanchita (the remaining bundle) and Āgāmi (accretions for the future) are destroyed and prevented by Jñāna. He is called a Jīvanmukta when his body alone is clinging to him as a petal to an old flower. The first two āsramas are Pravartimārga (going outwards) while the last two are Nivrittimārga (return-journey) leading the person to final release from this cycle of Samsāra. The lot of an ordinary good man is to go by the Dhūmamārga (Pitriyāna) to Pitri Loka and be born again on earth; those that do sacrifices go by the path of

light (Dēvayāna) to heaven, and after enjoying the fruits of their deeds, return to earth; those that acquire knowledge living in forests go by the Path of Light to Satya Loka, and in Mahāpralaya (great dissolution) they get final release along with Brahma. Till he gets mōksha or final release, he has his fine body called Sūkshmasarīra or Lingasarīra, and changes only his outer or Sthūla body at each birth.

Yajña sacrifice.—Sacrifices pervade the whole of the true Aryan life. Īsvara sacrificed a portion of himself in matter to create the universe, so that every life in it is part of divine life. This sacrifice of God is called his Karma Yajña. This is the pouring out of life which alone enables separate beings to live. Hence Karma has become a general name for sacrifices, and Karma Kānda is the name which covers all sacrificial rites. The essential idea of a sacrifice is the pouring out of life for the benefit of others, which is seen in the mineral, vegetable and the animal kingdoms.

The Rishis did *Pancha Yajña*, namely *Dēva Yajña Pitri Yajña, Bhūta Yajña, Rishi Yajña* and *Atithi Yajña* by which they returned the debts they owed to others. Then they sacrificed some of their possessions as gifts to others which would be valuable for their happiness in the world to come. Next they learned to sacrifice everything as duty without expectation of any reward, and this eventually led them to the complete self surrender to the divine will. At this stage, dharmās or duties have no binding force. By and by, they learnt that inner sacrifices and the purification of heart and mind are more important than the external purifications. "Once on a time," we are told, "a thousand horse sacrifices and Truth were weighed against each other in the balance. Truth weighed heavier than the thousand

horse-sacrifices."* "The man is always performing sacrifices." † Thus man rises from Vaidika sacrifices to Self Sacrifice and Wisdom sacrifice.

Panchāyatana Pūja.—Smārtās make it a daily practice to worship the five gods, *panchadevas* (five gods) Vishṇu, Siva, Durga, Surya, Gaṇesa in what is called Panchāyatana Puja (five-Shrines worship). It is important to notice that the five are merely a panchāyat representing all the Gods, and the orthodox man recognizes the whole pantheon. In the house of a Brāhman, a special room in a conspicuous place is set apart for the worship of the gods. The following five stones represent the images in their domestic worship. 1. Sālagrāma represents Vishṇu, 2. Bāna Linga, a white stone represents the essence of Śiva, 3. A red stone (jasper) is meant to be Ganēśa, 4. A bit of metallic ore represents Pārvati or a lingam represents Śiva and Pārvati, and 5. A piece of quartz crystal is believed to represent the sun. Smārtās begin the worship by invoking the aid of Vignēswara (Gaṇēśa). A vessel filled with water is taken, and the following prayer is recited. "In the mouth of the water-vessel abideth Vishṇu, in its lower part is Brahma, while the whole company of mothers (mātris) are congregated in the middle part. Oh! Ganges, Yamuna, Godaveri, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu and Kāveri, be present in the water." The Conch or Chank shell (*Turbinella rāpa*) is then adored as follows:—Oh! conch shell, thou wast the product in the sea, and art held by Vishṇu in his hand. Thou art worshipped by all the gods. Receive my homage." The bell is also worshipped with the prayer, "Oh! bell, make a sound for the approach of the gods and for the departure of the demons." Homage is also paid to the *ghaṅta* (bell). The worshipper

* and † *Mahābhārata.*

clasps his hands and rings the bell. Tulsi leaves (sacred basil *Ocimum sanctum*), flowers, sandal paste used for worship on the previous day are removed.

The *Shodaśōpachāra* or sixteen acts of homage are next performed in order, namely—

1. *Āvāhana* or invocation of the Gods.
2. *Āsanam* or seat.
3. *Pādyam* or water for washing the feet.
4. *Arghyam* or oblation of rice or water.
5. *Āchamanam* or water for sipping.
6. *Snānam* or the bath.
7. *Vastram* or clothing of tulsi leaves.
8. *Upavastram* or upper clothing of Tulsi leaves.
9. *Gandham* or sandal paste.
10. *Pushpam* or 12 flowers.
11. *Dhūpam* or incense.
12. *Dīpam* or light.
13. *Neivēdyam* or offering of food.
14. *Pradakshinam* or circumambulation.
15. *Mantrapushpam* or throwing flowers.
16. *Namaskāram* or salutation by prostration.

The five stones above referred to are washed by water with the recitation of the Purusha-Sūkta hymn of the Rig-veda. The remaining items of the upachāras are gone through with the putting of flowers, burning of incense, waving of lights, offering of food prepared in the family, offering of betel leaves with areca-nuts, burning of camphor, and finally surrendering everything of his and himself to the gods with prayers.

It will be at once recognized that Śankara's philosophy fits the Smārta conception of the pantheon perfectly. From the point of view of religious practice, the only difference between the Advaitā-Vedānta and the Karma-Mimāmsā lies in the recognition of the Absolute behind all the gods. Sankara has thus won a large number of Smārtās to the acceptance of his system. The word Smārta, in South India and Gujerat, implies allegiance to Sankara and to the five gods as also to the Vedic

observances. Smārta is literally one to whom Smriti is an authority. In this sense, all Brāhmans are Smārtās. In the case of the Advaities, the term is of *rudha* (or popular) application.

In this connection, it may be interesting to give a short account of the importance of Sālagrāmas used in the *pūja* above mentioned.

"Sālagrāmas are fossil cephalopods (ammonites), and are found chiefly in the bed of the Gandaki river, a mountain torrent which, rising in the lofty Himālayan mountains of Nepal, flows into the Ganges at Sālagrāma, a village from which they take their name, and which is not far from the sacred city of Benares. In appearance they are small black shiny pebbles of various shapes, usually round or oval, with a peculiar natural hole in them. They have certain marks to be described later, and are often flecked and inlaid with gold (or pyrites). The name sālagrāma is of Sanskrit derivation, from *sara*—chakra, the discus of Vishnu, and *grāma*, a stone; * the chakra or chakram being represented on the stone by queer spiral lines, popularly believed to be engraved thereon at the request of Vishnu by the creator Brahmā, who, in the form of a worm, bores the holes known as *vadanas*, and traces the spiral coil that gives the stone its name. There is a curious legend connected with their origin. In ancient times there lived a certain dancing-girl, the most beautful that had ever been created, so much so indeed that it was impossible to find a suitable consort for her. The girl, in despair at her loveliness, hid herself in the mountains, in the far away Himālayas, and there spent several years in prayer, till at last Vishnu appeared before her, and asked what she wanted. She begged him to tell her how it was that the great creator Brahmā, who had made her so beautiful, had not created a male consort for her in a similar perfect form. Then she looked on Vishnu, and asked the god to kiss her. Vishnu could not comply with her request as she was a dancing-girl, and of low caste, but promised ,by dint of her virtue that she should be reincarnated in the Himālayas in the form of a river, which should bear the name of Gandaki, and that he would be in the river as her eternal consort in the shape of a śālagrama. Thereupon the river Gandaki rose from the Himālayas, and sālagrāmas were found in it. How the true virtue of the sālagrama was discovered is another strange little fable. A poor

* Group of mottled stones, including thus all varieties of the stone.

boy of the Kshatriya or warrior class once found a stone when playing by the river side. He soon discovered that, when he had it in his hand, or secreted in his mouth, or about his person, his luck was so extraordinary at his play of marbles or whatever game he practised, that he always won. At last, he so excelled in all he undertook that he rose to be a great king. Finally, Vishnu himself came to fetch him, and bore him away in a cloud. The mystic river Gandaki is within the jurisdiction of the Mahārāja of Nepal, and is jealously guarded on both banks, while the four special places where the sacred stones are mostly picked up are leased out under certain conditions, the most important being that all genuine sālagrāmas found are to be submitted to the Mahārāja. These are then tested, the selected ones retained, and the others returned to the lessee. The first test of the sālagrāmas to show that they are genuine is very simple, but later they are put through other ordeals to try their supernatural powers. Each stone, as it is discovered, is struck on all sides with a small hammer, or, in some cases, is merely knocked with the finger. This causes the soft powdery part, produced by the boring in the stone, to fall in and disclose the *vadana* or hole, which may, in the more valuable sālagrāmas, contain gold or a precious gem. In addition to the real stone with *chakra* and *vadana* formed by natural causes, there are found in many mountain streams round black pebbles resembling the true sālagrāma in colour, shape, and size, but lacking the *chakra* and *vadana*. These are collected by the Bairāgis,* or holy mendicants, who make imitation *vadanas* in them, and, tracing false *chakras* in *balapa* or slate stone, paste them on the pebbles. So skilfully is this fraud perpetrated that it is only after years of use and perpetual washing at the daily *pūja* that the tracery wears away, and detection becomes possible. There are over eighteen known and different kinds of true sālagrāmas, the initial value of which varies according to the shape and markings of the stones. The price of any one sālagrāma may be so enhanced after the further tests have been applied, that even a lakh of rupees (Rs. 1,00,000) will avail not to purchase it; and should experience prove the stone to be a lucky one, nothing will, as a rule, induce the fortunate owner to part with it. The three shapes of sālagrāmas most highly prized are known as the Vishnu-sālagrāma, the Lakshmi-Narasimha sālagrāma, and the Matsya-Murti sālagrāma. The first has a *chakra* on it the shape of a garland, and bears marks

* Nomadic mendicants of a religious order.

known as the Sankha (conch), *gada*, *padma*, the weapons of Vishnu, and is peculiar to that god. The second has two chakras on the left of the *Vadana* and has dots or specks all over it. This stone, if properly worshipped, is believed to ensure its owner prosperity and eternal life. The third, the Matsya-Mūrti, is a long-shaped flat stone with a *vadana* that gives it a resemblance to the face of a fish. It bears two chakras, one inside and one outside the *vadana*, and also has specks and dots on it in the shape of a foot. There are four or five varieties of this species, and it also, if duly worshipped, will infallibly enrich its possessor. One Sālagrāma there is, which has no *vadana*, and is known as the *ugra-chakra* sālagrāma. It is quite round with two *chakras*, but it is not a particularly safe one to possess, and is described as a 'furious sālagrāma,' for, if not worshipped with sufficient faith, it will resent the neglect, and ruin the owner. The first thing to do on obtaining a sālagrāma is to find out whether or not it is a lucky stone; for a stone that will bring luck to one owner may mean ruin to another. The tests are various; a favourite one is to place the sālagrāma with its exact weight of rice together in one place for the night. If the rice has increased in the morning (and, in some cases, my informant assures me, it will be found to have doubled in quantity), then the stone is one to be regarded by its lucky holder as priceless, and on no account to be parted with. If, on the other hand, the rice measures the same, or—dreadful omen—has even become less, then let the house be rid of it as early as possible. If no purchaser can be found, make a virtue of necessity, and send it as a present to the nearest temple or mutt (religious institution), where the *gurus* know how to appease the wrath of the Deity with daily offerings of fruits and flowers. A sālagrāma will never bring any luck if its possession is acquired by fraud or force. The story runs that once a Brāhman, finding one with a Mahomedan butcher, obtained it by theft. The luckless man speedily rued for his deed, for, from that time onwards, nothing prospered, and he ended his days as a destitute pauper. Again, possession of them without worship is believed by all Hindus to be most unlucky, and, as none but Brāhmans can perform the worship, only they will retain the stones in their keeping. For an orthodox Brāhman household, the ownership of three or more stones is an absolute necessity. These must be duly worshipped and washed with water, and the water drunk as tīrtha, and sacrifice of boiled rice and other food must be daily made. When this is done, speedy success in all the businesses of life will fall to

the lot of the inmates of the house, but otherwise ruin and disgrace await them." *

BRAHMANISM.

The religion of the Brāhmans is sometimes called Brāhmanism, but the word is popularly understood to denote the religion of those inhabitants of India who adored Brāhman as their supreme God "in contradistinction to those who professed Buddhism; and in more recent times, Muhammadanism." But this is founded upon a misconception. For Brahma was never universally worshipped as a God. The characteristic mark of Brāhmanism is the acknowledgment of the Veda as its divine revelation. "In Brāhmanism thus defined, two forms of religious development may be distinguished, the earlier one of which is the religion taught in the *Brāhmanās* (the ritualistic books forming part of the ritualistic literature), and is strictly speaking a part of Vedic religion. The later forms of Brāhmanism, are a new departure, and are only to a small extent developed from the religion of the *Brāhmanās* in order to build up a theosophy of their own, while in their cult they worship partly Vedic deities, partly deities of post-Vedic origin or growth. In these forms of Brāhmanism there is an important non-Vedic element which cannot be said to be non-Brāhmanical; for, the beliefs and practices of which this new religion is made up, were shared by Brāhmans who to some extent modelled them. This element may be called the Hinduistic. Brāhmanism became merged into Hinduism. The religion of the Brāhmans is only the continuation of that of the *Yajurveda-Samhita*, and comes under the head of Vedic religion. The Brāhmana treatises are almost concerned with sacrifice, and the orthodox school of Vedic theologians, the Mīmāmsakās, go to maintain that the

* *Madras Mail*, 1906.

sole aim of revelation is to teach the doctrine of sacrifice (*karman*). They are the representatives of the *karma-mārga* (the way of works), the doctrine which declares that the highest end of man is to be realized by action, *i.e.*, by sacrifices and other observances taught in the Veda.*

The first form of Brāhmanism is thus a religion of the ceremonies and observances, chiefly concerned with sacrifices. In each sacrifice certain gods are invoked, and they receive offerings and the Gods themselves are instrumental in bringing about sacrifice or in completing the course of mystical ceremonies composing it. Sacrifice is regarded as possessing a mystical potency, superior even to gods who attained to the divine rank by means of sacrifice. During the Brāhmaṇa period, the theologians had always been searching for those cosmical, physical and psychical phenomena, and forces which were symbolized in the rites and appurtenances of sacrifice. They arrived at a crude and unsystematic knowledge of these potencies and a kind of rough estimate of their importance. The earliest parts of the *Āranyakas* and the *Upanishads* contain attempts at a systematic arrangement of the physical and psychical forces first in connection with some part of the ritual and then in various other allegorical directions. The name given to the mysterious power '*Brahman*' which also meant 'prayer' and latterly is identified with the supreme God, the upholder of the world. *Brahman* is the infinite, the unchangeable. the eternal, the absolute; it is the pure Being on which all that exists depends and from which it derives its reality. Ātman which at first meant 'body or person' signified at a later period the transcendant 'Self or Soul.' Brāhman

* *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, page 799.

and Ātman mark the greatest heights which speculation reached; the one in the cosmical order of things, the other in the psychical. To comprehend their nature, and to investigate the relation between them is the chief object of the ever-recurring theme of the fully developed speculation of the *Upanishads*. *Brahman* is declared to be the innermost essence of all things, animate and inanimate. It abides in them and controls them from within. Hence it is called *antaryāmin* (controller from within). *Brahman* is declared not to be different from Ātman. The *Upanishads* insist on the non-difference between the two. On this point there is great difference of opinion among the interpreters of the *Upanishads*, the *Upanishads* of the Vedāntins, as they are called.

Another factor which greatly influenced the religious life in India and contributed in a high degree to give up its peculiar character was asceticism. As the religion of the priests was concerned with sacrifices and sacraments, they could not have satisfied the religious cravings of the people, especially of those of strong religious feelings. They formed a numerous class in India. There was a way open to them, and that was *tapas* which they practised from time immemorial. Ascetic practices are mentioned in the Rig-veda, and numerous instances are met with under the name of Śramanas who are mentioned in conjunction with Brāhmans as their rivals.* The principal methods they adopted were *yōgic* (introvision). The refined *yōga* or the metaphysical outlook on life gave rise to the first systematic philosophy, the Sānkhya of Kapila, a theory well adapted to account for the efficacy of *yōga* or intellection in general and contemplation in particular.

* Cf. Patanjali, and Panini, II, 412-2.

"The religious and philosophical ideas sketched were, at the same time, so many factors in the formation of the mythology of the Brāhmanic period. This mythology is not the exclusive property of the priests or of the Brāhmans. It may be described as the sum of those myths and legends among the Indians of higher culture found chiefly in the literature, epics and the *purānas*. It also inherited from the preceding period of the Veda, the principal nature-gods. In theory they remained what has been believed to be before, but in practice there was a marked change. Some of the deities invoked in the Rig-veda were forgotten, and those who were retained generally, lost much of their pristine dignity owing to the exclusively sacrificial interests of the priests as mentioned above. Only a few were promoted to higher position. Besides these, some new gods were received into the Hindu pantheon. The majority of the Vedic gods lost their share in popular worship without ceasing to be considered principal deities. This brought about a changed conception of these gods in two ways: the anthropomorphic element in their character was greatly developed, since it was not to the priests, but to poets and legend-mongers, the care of mythology was now entrusted. The gods generally became departmental divinities to a much greater extent than before." *

The Vedic gods who continue to be acknowledged as such in Brāhmanical mythology, are Agni, Indra, Varuna, Yama, and the Asvins; and in addition to them Prajāpati, Vishnu and Rudra. Vedic Gods—Agni in the Rig-Veda is the personification of the sacrificial fire. He was therefore the god of the priests or Brāhmans, and the priest or the Brāhman amongst the gods. The Vedic conceptions of Agni are partly retained, and occasionally revive in later mythology. Agni is present in

* *E. R. E.*, Vol. II, pages 800-801.

every fire, and it was possible to relate legends of many Agnis and to make out genealogies of them. (*Mahābhārata* III—219-220, and differently in *Vāyu Purāna*—29). This accounts for the fact that contracts were made in the presence of fire. Agni the omnicient God was a witness to the contract. Fire in a mysterious way resides in all creatures. It is recognized as the cause of digestion. Therefore Agni is an omniscient god. Agni is one of the eight *lōkapālas*, god of the four cardinal and four intermediate points of the compass. He is usually represented as riding on a ram.

Indra in Brāhmanical mythology is the ruler of Heaven and represents the Kshatriya or warrior class. His weapon is the thunderbolt; the rainbow is called Indra's bow. He rides on the elephant Airāvata or in a heavenly car driven by a charioteer Mātali. He has 1,000 eyes which may be interpreted as the stars of the firmament, but in legendary mythology they are explained differently.

The Sun-god.—In Vedic times there were several sun-gods; in later times they were merged into one who was called Sūrya, Sāvitri or Mitra, Āryamān or Pūshān. He continued to be a popular God, and temples were dedicated to him, and hymns were composed in his honour of which Sūryāshtaka, by Mayūra, Bāna's son-in-law, is a deservedly admired poem of classical literature. An ancient variant of the sun-god is Garuda the divine king of birds on whom Vishnu rides. Garuda is Vēda personified like the Sun, the giver of wisdom, according to the *Gāyatri* mantra.

Sōma, the Moon-god.—Sōma represents the Moon, but since he is identified with the Vēdic god who represents the sacred juice, the functions of the latter are also ascribed to the moon-god. He is the sovereign of the stars as well as of the planets and the Brāhmans. In poetry his rays are said to consist of *amrita* (nectar). Though he is a deity of great holiness, he seems to have scarcely received popular worship as a separate God. No temples seem to have been dedicated to him. The famous temple of Sōmanātha was sacred to Śiva and so was Sōmathīrtha in Srinagara. He married the 27 Nakshatras, the 27 mansions of the moon. The moon plays an important part in the ancient belief about the life after death. The souls of the dead are supposed to go to the moon, and assembling there cause her waxing. At full moon the moon sends some of the spirits on to the world of Brāhmana (the devāyāna), and sends the rest as rain down to the earth to be born again (Pitriyāna).

Vāyu or Māruta is the divine personification of wind, the fourth element which constitutes the breath or the principle of life. He has the power all over the world. He presides over the North-West. There is a plurality of wind gods—the Maruts who formed seven tribes from the seven parts into which the embryo of Diti was split by Indra. In the Rig Veda Maruts are the companions of Indra.

Varuna is the ruler of the waters and the god of the ocean. He still carries the noose and is called *prachetas* in the hymns of the Rig Veda. He resides in the ocean. But there is a world for him (Varuna-lōka) situated somewhere below the earth. There is however another god of the sea, Sagara, distinct from Varuna, who appeared to Rāma when he wanted to force his passage through the sea, and in the romantic tales of the Middle Ages the god of the sea is called Sāgara and not Varuna.

Yama in the Rig Veda, a deified hero, has become in Brāhmanical mythology the dreaded god of the nether world, the sovereign of the demons and the lord of the South. He is the son of the sun-god Vivasvat, brother of Manu and Yamuna. His messengers fetch the souls of dying men and lead them to Yama's hall where Chitragupta the recorder reads the account of their deeds and the god sits in judgment upon them. He is also known as Kāla, Antaka, Prētarāja. He carries a rod or noose and rides on a buffalo. He is often mentioned in epic stories and the best known instance is his meeting Sāvitri to whom he granted the restoration of her husband to life. He is also the teacher of Nachikatas, the mystic science. He is the lord of Justice.

Asvins have lost in Brāhmanical mythology whatever cosmical element they had in the hymns of the Rig Veda. They continue to be regarded as beautiful youths and physicians. They are connected in the *Mahābhārata* as the fathers of Sahadeva and Nakula, the twin sons of Mādri, and in the *Rāmāyana*, they are the fathers of monkeys.

Brihaspati in the hymns of Rig-veda is invoked as a god, the impersonation of the power of devotion. In the Brāhmanical mythology, he is not a god in the proper sense of the word, but rather a divine sage. He is the teacher (*guru*) of the gods, and is identified with Vāchaspati (lord of speech) and with the planet Jupiter. According to *Mahābhārata*, he is the son of Āngiras and from him is descended the family of Agnis. His wife is Tārā. His rival is Sukra, the teacher of the Asuras, who is identified with the planet Venus. Most of the gods mentioned above have lost much of their importance as popular gods with

the exception of Vishnu and Siva and the youngest of the Vedic deities, Prajāpati. The last three advanced to the position of supreme gods. Vishnu and Siva became the highest objects of worship.

Post-Vedic Gods.—To this period must be assigned Kumāra the war god, called also Skanda, Kārtikēya, Guha, Mahāsena. He is mentioned in the *Chandogya Upanishad,* where he is identified with the sage Sanatkumāra. He is considered as the *sēnāpatī* (commander) of the gods. The myth of the birth of Kumāra is variously related, his father being both as Siva and Agni, his mother Umā, Gangā and quite a number of minor deities. These rival claims to his parentage had to be settled, and this was affected by the assumption of a sort of parentage, and by making some of the female deities his nurses or adoptive mothers. He is the war-god common to all the Hindus. Viśvaksēna of the *Upanishads* takes the function of the universal Lord of Hosts.

Another son of Siva or rather of Pārvati is Ganēsa. He is the remover of all obstacles as his names Vināyaka and Vignēsa indicate. He is figured with an elephant head; he carries in one of his hands (parasu-parni) an axe or one of his tusks. He rides on a rat, the animal which finds its way to every place. As a remover of all obstacles, he is invoked at the beginning of all treatises and ceremonies. Thus in a secondary way, he becomes the god of all learning. He is first mentioned by Yāgnavalkya as a demon taking possession of all men, and supporting them when propitiated. Brihaspati is a counterpart of Ganēsa as a god of learinng.

Kubēra or Vaisravana.—He is the lord of treasures, king of Yakshās and regent of the north. In the Vēdas and the *Satapatha Brāhmana,* he is mentioned as the king of Rākshasās and in the *Taittirya-Āranyaka* he is the lord of wishes. In later mythology he is the lord of Kinnarās, Yakshās and Guhyakās. Rākshasās are the subjects of his brother.

A god who is very frequently referred to in classical Samskrit literature is the god of love, called Kāma, Manmatha, Kandarpa, Madana, Ananga. His parentage is variously represented, but usually he is regarded as the son of Dharma (Vishnu) and Lakshmi.

Female Deities.—Some of the goddesses of Brahmanical mythology have already been mentioned. Svāha, the wife of Agni, Sachi the wife of Indra, Sanjna, the wife of Sūrya, are some of the deities. Lakshmi or Śrī is the consort of Vishnu, but she seems to have been an independent deity impersonating

beauty and wealth. She rose from the ocean when the Gods and demons churned it for the production of *amrita* (nectar) and then she delivered herself to Vishnu. The origin of Sarasvati was different. She was a river goddess in the Rig Veda, and became the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and she is most frequently invoked by the poets of classical literature. She has been identified with *vāch*, speech, and, as such, she is the wife of Brahmā. She is identified with Bhārati a separate goddess invoked in the Vedic Hymns. She is also called Śārada whom the inhabitants of Kashmere regard as the guardian deity of their country. The principal river goddess of India is Gangā who has lent her sanctity to many smaller rivers which are said to be miraculously connected or identified with her. Yamunā (Kālindi) is the daughter of Sūryā. So is the Tapti (Tapati), a younger sister of the goddess Sāvitri, and Narmada, the daughter of the moon. Besides these, the enemies of the Gods are the Asurās, Daityas, and Dānavas.

In speaking of the different groups of divine beings who rank below the gods, it must be said that there are those who are not unfriendly to men, and others who are decidedly wicked, such as demons or devils. The most popular class seems to have been the Nāgas (Sarpas, Uragas) who are almost absent from Vedic literature. Then there are the Gandharvās who are already known in the Rig Veda. They are a class of superhuman beings fond of women and possess a mysterious power over them. Their mistresses are the Apsaras, heavenly nymphs of wonderful beauty. There are also the Yakshas, another class of superhuman beings possessing magical powers. They are brought into contact with Rākshasas. Very much like the Yakshas are the Guhyakas who are the followers of Kubēra, guard the treasure and live in mountain caves. Kinnaras and Kimpurushas are also his followers. The Chāranas are divine panegyrists. The Siddhās are beneficent spirits.

Among the malicious superhuman beings may be mentioned Rākshasās and Pisāchās who are hideous and blood-thirsty monsters and who haunt wild and desert places; Bhūtas who also are Pisāchās; Prēthās who are ghosts of the deceased.

There are heroes who may be brought under three classes, namely, 1. Rishis of the gods or living among them, *e.g.*, Nārada, Brahmarshis, 2. priestly Rishis, *e.g.*, Vasishta, the greatest of them; 3. Rājarishis, Rishis of royal origin, *e.g.*, Visvāmitara. There are also others who form a legion.

The Three Supreme Gods.—Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva occupy a peculiar position in the Hindu pantheon, highly exalted

above the rest of gods and divine beings. They are of equal dignity, and form a kind of triad which has been acknowledged in the doctrine of trinity. Brahma, the creator of the world, is the Prajāpati, Pitāmaha and Hiranyagarbha of the Vedas. He had his origin and basis in speculation rather than in the popular cult. He did not therefore appeal to the religious feelings of the masses. Hence the worship of Brahmā has become obsolete. Vishnu and his incarnations, and Siva form the worship of the overwhelming majority of the Hindus. The former with his *avatāras* (incarnations) became merged into a sectarian religion called Vaishnavism. The gods, godlings and heroes belonging to this creed were adored in families of the Brāhmans and other higher classes, and known as Grihādēvatas or Ishtadēvatas. Vishnu (Nārāyana-Vāsudeva) was declared to be one with the Supreme Spirit of the Upanishads, and the creation and destruction of the world were explained in accordance with the Vēdānta and the Sānkhya philosophies. The ascetic ideal and knowledge arising from them led to the path of reaching emancipation. A new way of salvation (Bhaktimārga-way of love), entire devotion to God, became the easiest and surest way to union with him. These doctrines are expounded in the Bhagavat-Gīta which forms part of the *Mahābhārata* which has become the canonical text for all the Hindus; and the Rāmāyana, giving the account of Rāma, one of the *avatāras*. Another equally famous authority is the *Vēdānta-Sūtra* which every founder of the Brāhmanical sect finds himself obligatory to interpret in such a way that its teaching shall be in perfect harmony with his doctrines.

In the Rig Veda, Rudra (the Howler) is the father of the Maruts (wind or storm-gods) who is regarded as a malevolent deity; by his shafts he brings disease and death. Mention is also made of a plurality of Rudras, but in mythology the number diminishes to eleven. Rig Vedic Rudra is the most demoniac of the early gods. In the Brāhmana period, Rudra is the highest god according to the Saivites, and the leader of a host of spirits called Ganēsa and Pramathas. Girīsa and similar epithets are applied to him in later mythology. Rudra-Siva is thus intimately connected with the mountains especially with the Himālayas, and is mostly associated with the devil-worship. He is Bhutēsa, the lord of ghosts, and the lord of Yogins (Yogisvara) who practises fearful rites in places haunted by such spirits to acquire power over them. The garland of skulls which he wears, the corpse on which he is seated, the terrific shape in which he is adored as Mahākāla, Smaśānadeva, (Lord of the

crematory), Vanquisher of death, (Mrityunjaya), all these are factors and are so many indications to regard him first as a ruler, then as a leader of the demons to inspire men with awe. In the Śiva cult, the origin of the linga or phallic worship which was once very popular in India, cannot be properly understood. If he impersonates the generating power, worshipped in the linga, he also destroys the God of sexual Love—Kāma.* Bhrigu is said to have cursed Siva to phallic worship.

Śiva's consort is also known by various names :—Umā, Gauri, Pārvati, Durgā, Bhavāni, Kāli, Kapālini, Chāmunda. Unlike the wives of other Gods she is represented to be scarcely inferior to Śiva herself. Her equality of rank with her husband is represented in the dual form of the divinity the Ardha-Nārīs-vara of which one half is male and the other female, repre-senting the right side of Śiva and the left of Devi. Malignant spirits are of both sexes and the leader of the female spirits must be a goddess as well. Thus Ambikā (Little mother) who is the sister of Rudra (Vājasanēya-Samhitā) is in later mythology Śiva's wife. As Śiva is the Lord of the mountains, so is his consort the Lady of the Hills (Pārvati). A similar mountain goddess known as Vindhyāvāsini is identified with Siva's wife. Durgā is worshipped with bloody sacrifices, and surrounded by a number of demons. Thus the worship of the two Supreme Gods, Śiva and Vishnu represents the highest form of religion of Brahmanical India.

Thus far have we described the religion of the Brāhmans according to the Vēdas. The following account is about the cult of the Hindu Triad.

SMARTA WORSHIP.

The Smārtas; (one of the main divisions of the Brāhman sects) worship the triad of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva, as also other minor Gods. They admit them to be equal, and also exalt Śiva as their chief deity. They hold the doctrine of Advaita or non-dualism which means that the universe is not distinct from the supreme soul. The leading tenet of the sect is the recognition of Brahman, Para-Brahman as the only existing being, the sole

* H. D. Griswold, *Religion of the Rig-Vēda*, pages 293-298.
J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of Religious Literature in India*, pages 22, 32.
E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, page 455.

cause and supreme ruler of them, and as distinct from Vishṇu, Bramha or any individual member of the pantheon; to know him is the supreme god. The attainment of complete wisdom results in *mukti* or liberation, and re-union with the divine essence. But as the mind of man cannot elevate itself to the contemplation of the inscrutable First Cause, and the only soul, he may be contemplated through inferior deities, and sought through the prescribed qualities and exercises. The creed thus tolerates all the Hindu deities, and the worship of Śiva, Vishṇu, Krishṇa, Sūrya, Śakti, Ganēśa and Bhairava was, by express permission of Śankarāchārya, taught by some of the disciples. The distinctive marks of a Smārta Brāhman are three parallel lines of pounded sandalwood or of the ashes of cowdung, on the forehead with a round dark-red spot in the centre. The Dandis of the north of India are an outcome of the Smārtās. They are mendicants. In this connection, a short account of Śankarachārya and his doctrines may be found interesting.

Śri Śankarāchārya was a Nambuthiri Brāhman of the Kaipilli Illam (a Nambuthiri house) in Kāladi, a place six miles off from the Angamāli railway station on the Cochin-Shoranur line. This house has long since vanished, but the spot whereon it stood was enclosed by a wall, and is now marked by a banyan tree. His parents, Śivaguru and Śrīdēvi who were both devout worshippers of Śiva, were for a long time childless, and after years of prayers and penance, they were blessed with one whom they named Śankara after their favourite deity. The date of his birth is even now a matter of controversy, some placing it as early as the third century, while others to 785 A.D. and 825 A.D., respectively, but the orthodox traditionists put it at years before

the Christian Era.* Śankara was five years of age when his father died, but before his death he performed for his illustrious son, the ceremony of Upanayana (investiture of holy thread). According to another tradition, current among the people of Kērala, he lost his father during his third year, after which both the mother and the son were under the protection of their relatives, one of whom performed for him the ceremony above referred to, in his fifth year. The latter version is not accepted by the Śringēri Matha. The boy grew up a prodigy as early as his eighth year and was well-versed in the study of the Vedas and the Śāstras; but against the wishes of his mother he resolved to become a Sanyāsin. There is a popular tradition in support of this. One day the mother and the son went to bathe in the river close by, which was then in flood; and as he was having his plunge, he felt that a crocodile was dragging him by the foot. He then cried aloud to his mother that he was about to die, and wished to have the satisfaction of dying as a Sanyāsin, because he might then depart in peace. His mother could not then hesitate, and told him that he might be a Sanyāsin. Luckily he had a narrow escape from the calamity. Henceforth he was an ascetic though he was not yet ordained as one formally.

Śankara took leave of his mother, promising to be by her side during her last days. He became a disciple of Govindasvami, whom he always styled Govinda Bhāgavata and from whom he learned *Vēdānta-Sūtras*, *Karma-Sūtras*, and other works of philosophy, and soon mastering them he prepared his admirable commentaries on the chief Upanishads, the *Bhagavad-Gīta* and the *Vēdānta-Sūtras* (the

* According to a recent astrological calculation (1) Saka year 728, (2) Vikrama year 863, (3) 805 A. D., (4) Kali year 3907.

Prasthāna-traya of orthodox Hinduism). In his sixteenth year he was ordained an ascetic under the spiritual tutelage of his illustrious guru, and with his blessings went to Kāsi (Benares), where he worshipped the God Visvanātha and paid his respects to the renowned Vyāsa, to whom he submitted his commentaries for approval. Thoroughly satisfied with his works, Vyāsa blessed him, and by his advice Śankara travelled throughout India, preaching the Vedāntic philosophy and successfully refuting the professors of various religious sects. It is said that he spent two years in Benares, where he met two of his famous disciples (Padmapādāchārya and Trotakāchārya), to whom he taught his commentaries, and that along with them he went to Prayāga (Allahabad) and bathed in the Trivēni (the confluence of the three rivers Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati) in honour of his mother. He met Kumārila Bhatta who is said to have ground the Buddhas and Jains in oil-mills, and who was then on the point of death. Kumārila declined to argue with Śankara, but referred him to Mandanamiśra, whom he defeated in argument in the presence of his wife said to be Śārada or Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. The latter subsequently challenged him on all the Sūtras with a view to defeat him. As Śankara still remained invincible, she hit upon the expedient of testing him in the science of love or Kāmaśāstra. Being unable to meet her in argument, Śankara resolved to obtain a short respite to enable him to study the subject. He went to Amritapura, where he animated the dead body of Prince Amaru, in whose form he acquired familiarity with the subject by practice in the gratification of the passions; and on his return, was victorious over Śārada. The throne of Sarasvati on which he then sat is still shown in Kashmir. Sarasvati appears

in the legends of Rāmānuja again in the same place, *viz.*, Kashmir, known as the Sarasvati-Pīṭha.

Consecrating Mandanamiśra as a Sanyāsin (ascetic) under the name of Suresvarāchārya, he bound Sarasvati-pīṭha with spells, and conveyed her to Śringēri where he established a throne for her. After this incident, Śankara became famous in all the Indian States of the time, and this led to future achievements. He established several monasteries or Mathas the chief of which are those of Badrināth in the north, Jagannāth in the east, Śringēri in the south, and Dvāraka in the West; to the headship over each of which he appointed one of his chief disciples. These religious establishments have a complete organization and a regular provision for self-preparation, so that the spiritual powers of the first head of the community were transmitted by a kind of 'apostolical succession' through a line of succeeding heads regularly elected. Having set up a Śivalingam at Kēdārnāth, he returned by way of Ayodhya, Gaya and Jagannath to Śrīsaila. On his way he established the four Mathas at Trichur * two of which (Therkaimatham and Naduvilmatham) are even now in existence and are presided over by Nambuthiri Sanyāsins who have descended in a regular line of succession from the original head of the Mathas. After this Śankara resolved to go to Benares but changing his mind he returned to his native village, conscious of the approaching death of his mother, whom he found in a dying condition. He offered up prayers in honour of Śiva and Vishṇu on her behalf, and thereby obtained salvation for her.

There are traditions which refer to the various difficulties to which his relatives and village folk

* In the State of Cochin.

exposed him. They threw obstacles in the way of his orthodox ceremonials of cremation, and he was so helpless that with the help of some Sūdras he was forced to make a sacrificial pit, into which he consigned his mother's mortal remains. For this, the Brāhmans of the Pāzhur village were so cursed that they cannot become Sanyāsins even to this day, nor receive Sanyāsins as guests in their own *illams* (families). It is said that, in memory of this, he ordained that Sūdras can help at the funerals of Nambuthiris, a custom which, however, is reprobated on the East Coast. Another custom which he is said to have introduced is that every dead Nambuthiri body should be touched with a knife at various points to show that the same procedure was followed by him for his mother's cremation. It was at this time that he is believed to have composed the Śānkara Smriti, which lays down rules for the conduct of the Nambuthiris as well as others.

Contracting some dangerous disease during his travels through Hindusthan, he died at the age of 32. Several places (Badrinath, Conjeevaram, (Kānchī), Kedārnāth and Śringēri contend for the honour of having been his last resting place. If Mādhava's account of Śankara is reliable, then probably that last is his true resting place; further, the succession of the Gurus at Śringēri is traced from him directly, and a small temple is there shown as the place where he disappeared from earth. It contains an image of him seated after the manner of Buddhist and Jain images. The Śringēri Matha, basing its authority on a Sanskrit work Śankara-dig-vijaya, compiled by Vidyāranyasvāmi, says, that travelling *via* Haridvar, Rudra-pādam, Gauri-Śankar, he went to Kailas alive. There is also a tradition in Kerala that he 'shuffled off his mortal coil' from Srī-Mūlasthānam in Trichur.

The fame and influence of the great man are perpetuated in his writings. He is the most famous of all the Vedāntic commentators, and chief among his works are the commentaries on the *Upanishads*, *Vēdānta-Sūtras*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Vishṇu-Sahasranāma* and *Soundarya-Lahari*.* He it was who founded the sect of Vedāntists who have always held the highest reputation for learning, and the cultivation of Sanskrit Vedic literature. As an unsectarian, he admitted all other objects of worship, believing them to be manifestations of Para-Brahman, the Great God.

The Vedāntic system advocated by Śankara is pantheistic and based on the doctrine of Advaita or non-dualism, which means that the Universe is not distinct from the Supreme Soul. The leading tenet of the sect is the recognition of Brahman, or Para-Brahman, as the only really existing being, the sole cause and supreme ruler of the Universe, as distinct from Śiva, Vishnu and Brahmā, or any individual member of the Pantheon. To know him is to know the Supreme God. The attainment of this complete wisdom results in *mukti*, or liberation, and reunion with the divine essence. But as the mind of man cannot elevate itself to the contemplation of the inscrutable first cause, he may be contemplated through the prescribed rites and exercises. The creed thus tolerates the worship of all the Hindu deities.

It is said that Śankara did not found any Sivite sect properly so called, and that, even before his time, there were several Sivite sects embracing within their folds a large portion of the Hindu population of the country. His primary object was to root out Buddhism, and in order to attain that end, he countenanced every form of Hinduism including the worship of Śiva, Vishnu, Śakti and Ganēśa. He himself had great faith in the Vedāntic doctrine of one God manifesting himself by the creation of the Universe without the help of Prakriti or *materia prima* He did not discard the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and it seems very probable that either he or his disciples gave great encouragement to Śivite worship in order to render Buddhistic worship inoperative. Nowhere, however, is Śankara

* According to one account, he became a Sanyasin even earlier and prepared his commentaries under the orders of Visvesvara or Siva whom he met at Benares. He went from Benares to Badrinath (the abode of Nara-Narayana) where he prepared them.

mentioned as a destroyer of Buddhist temples and images. In all probability, he and his disciples took these shrines under their protection, and found it much safer to represent the idols worshipped therein as the Hindu Gods, Śiva and Vishnu, than to throw them away into the streets or destroy them. Even now such images are adored as those of Siva or Vishnu. There are other instances to show that Śankara encouraged the worship of the Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. The presiding deity of Sarasvathi, or the Goddess of learning, at Śingeri, the Vishnavite temple at Badrināth at Joshimath on the Himālayan slopes, are cases in point.

Whatever Śankara's faith may have been, his followers are practically Śivites. The Smārta Brāhmans who acknowledge him as their principal teacher are all professed Śivites. Śankara did not admit any nuns into his monasteries, and the monks of the various orders are called Dasanāmins from their using one or another of ten surnames. The surnames are derived from the names of academic titles of ten disciples of Śankara's immediate pupils. The first three, Sarasvathi, Bhārati and Pūri, are supposed to have been attached to the Śringēri Matha. Tīrthas and Sāgaras to the Sārada Matha at Dvāraka, Vanas and Aranyas to the Goverdhana Mutt of Puri; Giri, Parvata, Sāgara, to the Joshimath on the Himālayas. Monks bearing the names of Aranya, Sāgara, and Parvata, however, are not to be met with now-a-days.

To commemorate the birth place of the great Śankara and the cremation ground of his mother at Kāladi, the late Svāmi of the Śringeri Matha built two temples in February 1910, in the most scientific manner (Bāla-chakra). In one of these is located the image of his first illustrious predecessor, and in the other his favourite Goddess (Sarasvati), while around her, are seven other minor Goddesses, namely, Brāhmī, Māhesvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishnavī, Varālī, Indrānī, and Chāmundi. A few yards to the south of these sacred edifices and midway between them is the holy banyan tree at the base of which the God Ganapati is installed. Thus on the twelfth day after new moon (Dvādesi-Monday) were installed Gods and Goddesses, nine in number, according to the holy rites of Vedic ceremonies which were most faithfully and earnestly performed. Eight days prior to the installation of the images, Vedic ceremonies began, and the images were consecrated by His Holiness, who invited Brāhmans and other classes of Hindus from all parts of India to witness the ceremony. Thus what was once a ruinous village has now become a famous place of pilgrimage.

A brief outline of Sankara's doctrine and philosophy is given below. "There is only one Brahman, one without a second. The material world is Māyā, illusion." "The human mind or soul is identical with Brahman: *Tat Tvam asi*, Thou art that." But this contradicts all human experience, and man must live in his experience. Therefore Śankara distinguishes between truth as known, and truth as experienced. Similarly, he recognizes not only God as He truly is under the name Para-Brahman, the supreme Brahman who is the world-soul and the supreme God. The whole of our lower knowledge, however, our ideas of the world, all our personal experience and our conception of ourselves as distinct personalities—all this is more truly described as ignorance than as knowledge. Liberation comes when a man rises from ignorance to true knowledge. This comes finally by the grace of God. But a man may prepare himself by study of the Veda, and by the discipline of the Vedānta. Even after knowledge is attained, the man continues to live; but at death he receives final release: "Brahman he is and into Brahman he is resolved."

It is noteworthy that Śankara holds strongly that while works may prepare the soul for the attainment of knowledge, they can never help the man to obtain release, but necessarily bind him ever more firmly to transmigration. Hence when a man becomes a Sanyāsin of the Advaita Vedānta, he gives up sacrifices and other duties of the ordinary Hindu completely, and seeks knowledge as the only means to release. The renunciation of the higher Hindu life is typified in the act of laying aside the sacred thread ,which is a part of the ceremony of initiation into the life of the Sanyāsin.

The striking resemblance with certain features of the teaching of Gaudapāda and Śankara present to the Mahāyāna philosophy led Hindu controversialists to assail it as covert Buddhism; and some modern scholars have been inclined to view that its theory of illusion and its doctrine of non-duality have no foundation in the Upanishads and must have been drawn from the real faith. The contention is strengthened by the fact that there is no doctrine of illusion in the Vedānta-sūtras. But scholarly opinion seems inclined to conclude that in the early Upanishads, there is unquestionably, along with other ideas, a basis for the doctrine of pure monism, and that we need go no further than the Svētāsvatāra Upanishad for the doctrine of Māyā, but that Gaudapāda and Śankara were probably influenced in some degree by the two philosophical systems of the Māhāyāna and Hināyana. But there are other characteristics

of the Bhāshya which are worthy of mention. Most of them have a basis in the Sūtras but they are interpreted by Śankara to suit his thesis. All the main features of the orthodox Hinduism are accepted and buttressed with arguments, *e.g.*, the authority of the Purānas, the permanent presence of all traditional gods even though each is a transient being, the visibility of the gods to the rishis in ancient times, the eating of the sacrifice by the gods, the assumption by a god of many bodies so as to be present at many sacrifices at the same time. Thus the great philosophy which began by holding the popular religion in contempt, has now become its willing servant.

It is clear that by Sankara's day the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-Gītā, and the Vedānta Sūtras were recognized as the fundamental scriptures of the Vedānta. At a later date, they were called the *Prasthāna-traya* or the triple Canon. Although the *Bhagavat-Gīta* and the *Sūtras* are classified as Smriti, they are regarded with almost as much veneration as the Upanishads which are Sruti. Indian scholars frequently speak of Śankara as one of the greatest of the world's independent philosophic thinkers. He never questioned the truth of the credentials of the Vedānta. Within these theological limits Śankara displays consummate philosophical capacity. He seems to have been a man of great organising capacity as well as a thinker. Tradition avers that he found the ascetic order and regulated them, divided them into ten groups, placing each of them under one of his disciples, and naming them after their leaders. Certainly, the Sanyāsins of the Vedānta to-day are in ten groups, and are known as Dasanāmins or Sanyāsins of ten names, and they unanimously ascribe their constitution and rule to Śankara. He also founded four monasteries to form centres of Advaita learning and influence, Śringēri in Mysore, Govardhana in Pūri, Sārada in Dvāraka and Joshi at Badrīnāth in the Himālayas. All the four survive to our day, and there are a number of subordinate institutions. Śringēri of which he was himself the head is the chief monastery, and its ruler is the supreme pontiff of all Advaita Sanyāsins.*

The following is the succession of Śringēri *gurus*, obtained from the Mutt :—†

	Consecrated	Died
Sankarāchārya ..	.. 745	769
Sūrēśwarāchārya ..	.. 753	773

* R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pages 157-159. J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of Religious Literature*, pages 171-176.

† L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, pages 473-474.

	Consecrated	Died
Nityabodhaghanāchārya	.. 758	848
Jnānganāchārya ..	.. 846	910
Jnānottamaśivāchārya	.. 905	953
Jnānagiri Ācharya ..	.. 949	1038
Simhagiriśwarāchārya ..	.. 1036	1098
Iswaratirthāchārya ..	.. 1097	1146
Narasimha Muni or Mūrthi	.. 1145	1228
Vidyaśnakara Swāmi ..	.. 1228	1333
Bhārathi Krishna Tīrtha	.. 1328	1380
Vidyāranya ..	.. 1331	1386
Chandraśēkhara Bhārati	.. 1368	1389
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1387	1408
Bhaktasnakara Purushōttama Bhārati.	1406	1448
Śankarānanda Bhārati	.. 1428	1454
Chandraśēkhara Bhārathi	.. 1449	1464
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1464	1479
Purushōttama Bhārati	.. 1472	1517
Rāmachandra Bhārati ..	.. 1508	1560
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1557	1573
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1563	1576
Immadi Narasimha Bhārati	.. 1576	1599
Abhinava Narasimha Bhārati	.. 1599	1622
Śachchidānanda Bhārati	.. 1622	1663
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1663	1705
Śachchidānanda Bhārati	.. 1705	1741
Abhinava Śachchidānanda Bhārati	1741	1767
Narasima Bhārati ..	.. 1767	1770
Śachchidānanda Bhārati	.. 1770	1814
Abhinava Śachchidānanda Bhārati	1814	1817
Narasimha Bhārati ..	.. 1817	1879
Śachchidānanda Śivabhinava-Narasimha Bhārati	.. 1867	1912
Chandraśēkara Bhārati	.. 1912	Now guru.

The religion reflected in the Vēdāntic Sūtras is monotheistic and contemplative as contradistinguished from the Dharma or Karma Sūtras which are polytheistic and ritualistic. The philosophy of the Ātman is mentioned as a subject of meditation for the Sanyāsin, and in one Sūtra,* it is heartily commended to the student on the ground that there is no higher object than the attainment of the Ātman. The four Vēdic Gods Varuna,

* Apastamba 1-8. 22-23.

Indra, Agni and Sūrya practically exhausted the cults of the Vēdic gods which survive in modern times. The other Vedic gods (Mitra, Ushas, Asvins, and Pūshan) hold but a secondary rank. Temples and images also appear side by side with these ancient modes of worship, but there is apparently no mention of the temple cult according to a foreign opinion, the reason perhaps being that it stands outside the Vedic faith.* The old pantheon remains, but several new divinities appear chiefly abstractions—Dharma, religious law; Kubēra, wealth; Kāma cupid. Brahma who is mentioned in the Āranyakas has also an honoured place. The worship of serpents, mountains, rivers and pools is also found. The cow-pens are reckoned among the honoured places. All these lead to the religion of the Epic. Here also, the religion is polytheistic. Everyone acknowledges all the gods; and worship is made by means of sacrifice, including animal sacrifice on special occasions. There is no mention of the philosophy of the Ātman. The idea of divine incarnation also does not occur. Most of the old Vēdic gods are mentioned with no reference to a monarch among them. Only Indra receives a little more recognition. A number of new divinities have taken their places among the famous early gods, especially Kubēra Śukra, and Kārtikēya and the following goddesses :—Gangā, the Ganges, with Lakshmi and Umā, the wives of Vishnu and Śiva, respectively. Semi-divine animals Śesha, the snake, Hanumān the monkey, Jāmbavān the bear, Garuda the eagle, Jatāyu the vulture, and Nandi the Śiva's bull are quite prominent. Vishnu and Śiva maintain their prominence.

TEMPLE IMAGE WORSHIP.

It is in the Epics and the Sūtras that the first distinct reference to temple and image-worship is met with. "At a later period after the organisation of the Vaishṇavas and Śaivas as sects, worship of Vishnu and Śiva in temples and by images, was condemned as unorthodox." † It is also important to notice that from the early times we catch glimpses of the organisation of Hindu temple worship, and there are stringent rules to the effect that the priests

* J. N. Farquahar—*An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, page 41.

† J. N. Farquhar—*Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, pages 50, 293-295. But the opinions given in this book are tentative and gratuitous, many if not all.

must be Brāhmans, and that temples are open to all men and women of the four classes, and to no others. At a later period, Hindu temples fall into two classes, smārta and sectarian. In a Smārta temple, whether it is dedicated to Siva, Vishṇu, Devi, Sūrya, Gaṇēśa or any other god, the ritual and liturgy must be Vedic and the five gods must be worshipped. In sectarian temples, the ritual and liturgy must be tantric, *i.e.*, based on the Samhitas in Vasihṇava temples, the Āgamas in Saivite temples, and on Tantras in a Śakta temple, and the chief deity ought to be some form of the god of the sect, other divinities being also recognised.

Comparatively few Smārta temples are found in North India. In most of the Śaiva temples of the North, a Smārta Brāhman can go forward to the Linga to perform his own worship in accordance with the directions of the *Grihya-Sūtra* of his own *charanas*, while in South India the personal worship is never allowed. Further, in the temples of the former, women are allowed to approach the Linga to place a few *bilva* leaves and pour some Ganges water over it; but it is never allowed to be done in the temples of the South. Most Smārtas give their preference to Śaiva, but others are Vaishṇava or Śākta according to their leanings.

TEMPLE, ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND ARCHITECTURE.

The temple occupies a prominent place in the religious life of India, and is architecturally of great importance. Here also it has evolved from simple structures, and cannot always be traced in archæological sequence from historical evidence. Hindu temples in India, it is believed, owe much in their inception to Buddhism, and are of great variety in structure, size and ornamentation. There are two principal groups, one in South India, the so-called Dravidian style, and one in Northern India,

each of which shows great uniformity in plan. In South India, the structure consists of the temple proper or *vimāna* (the vehicle of the gods,)—a square building with a pyramidal roof which may have one or more stories like the storied vihāra of Buddhism. In this is the square cell containing the chief image of the god, and lit only from the door-way. Between the wall of the inner cell and the outer wall is the circumambulation path or *pradakshiṇa*. Pillared porches or halls called *mandapa* precede the entrance, and are usually larger than the *vimāna*. The *vimāna* and *mandapa* stand in a walled enclosure with gate pyramids or *gopurams*. Within the enclosure stands a pillared hall, priests dwellings, tanks and other structures. The earliest example of the *vimāna* shows its derivation from the Buddhists apsidal chaitya hall. The apse for the relic shrine has become a cell with altar and image, and is entered by a door. These temples are devoted to the Vaishṇava and Śaiva cults and are not otherwise distinguishable apart from the sculptures and images. In another early example, the circular apse has given place to a cell with altar and image surrounded by a tower, and the hall in front is distinct from the cell, pillared cell and pillared nave or mandapa are reproduced in all Jain and Hindu temples of later date together with a storeyed tower. Some besides the original enclosure with its gate pyramids, have a second or even third exterior enclosure with *gopuras*, shrines, porches, cells, etc. The *vimāna* in itself corresponds to the ordinary Hindu village temple or is a little more imposing than one of these. Sometimes two *vimānas* dedicated to different divinities stand within the central enclosure. The largest group of temple buildings is at Śrīrangam. There are seven enclosures leading gradually to the central shrine,

and the space surrounding the central enclosure is crowded with temples, porches, halls, etc., while in each wall there are two or three *gōpuras* of great height. The idea is that each investing square of walls shall conduct the worshipper by regular gradations to a central holy of holies. While the temples are of a comparatively later date, but presenting the same general features, they have been carved out of the solid rock and excavated internally, so that they are monolithic temples.*

The Dravidian style is so named because it is that which is prevalent in the countries occupied by peoples speaking Dravidian languages. The Brahmanical temples in this may be devoted to the worship of either Śiva or Vishnu. Whichever god is specially honoured, the style is the same. Mr. Fergusson defined its characteristics as follows:—1. "The principal part of the actual temple itself is called—the Vimāna. It is always square in plan and surrounded by a pyramidal roof of one or more storeys; it contains the cell in which the image of the god or his emblem is placed. 2. The porches of the *mandapas* always cover and precede the door leading to the cell. 3. Gate pyramids, *gōpuras* are the principal features in the quandrangular enclosures which always surround the *vimānas*. 4. Pillared halls or choultries are used for various purposes, and are invariable accompaniments of these temples." † Besides these, a temple always contains tanks or wells for water to be used either for sacred purposes or the convenience of the priests; dwellings for all the various grades of the priesthood attached to it; and numerous other buildings designed for state or convenience. The Mysore style as described by the same author is characterized by a richly carved base on which the whole temple stands, polygonal star-shaped in plan with a stepped conical roof, not rising high enough to become a steeple, and a peculiar vase-like ornament crossing the summit. The style of architecture of the

* J. Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Book III, Chap. I, page 319.

† "Fergusson's architectural nomenclature," says Havell, "is wholly misleading, because he implies, that 'Dravidian temples' which with few exceptions, follow the Saiva symbolism in their structure are non-Āryan; whereas all the architectural traditions of South India are as much Āryan as those of the North, and Sankarāchārya, the great apostle of the Saivas took his stand upon the Vedas, the fountain-head of all Aryan religious teachings."

temples in Mysore is Chālukyan, and they have preserved the general plan of the Dravidian shrines. But the corners were made more prominent by flat increments placed on them, while the projections on the walls were but slight, the central one on each face of the shrine being made broader and more important. The *śikhara* and roof soon lost the distinctively southern storeyed-form and stepped-forming pyramids of different heights, appeared with breaks corresponding to those of the halls, and with broad bands up the sides of the *śikhara* answering to the larger face in the middle of each of the shrine. Later on, the plan often became star-shaped, and the projecting angles lay in circles whose centres were in the middle of the shrine and *mandap* respectively. The broader faces on the sides, were retained for the images of the cult. The pillars supported the roof of the halls or *mandaps*, and they were arranged in squares; but the device of placing twelve pillars so disposed in a square that eight of them could be connected by lintels to support a roof or dome of larger dimensions was almost unknown to the style.

"The structure and symbolism are good evidence that the new Śaiva sect grew out of, or was in close sympathy with, the Hīnāyāna School of Buddhism. As in all Indian temples, Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical, the Yogi's cell became as a symbol of the divine Logos, formed the holy of holies, the shrine of the sacred image. In the north of India where Vaishnavism and Mahāyāna Buddhism held their field, this is surmounted by Vishnu's symbol, the royal *śikhara*. But in the South which became the stronghold of Hīnayāna Buddhism after the break up of the Mauryan empire, the common symbol of monasticism and Brāhmana asceticism, the domed *stūpa* covered the sacred shrine instead of the *śikhara*. Both Śaiva and Vaishnava symbols belong to the Indo-Āryan religion, and not the non-Āryan or Dravidian superstitions." * "The temple was not only the college, and Parliament-house of the Indo-Āryan community; in the last resort, it was their citadel fortress, and this circumstance may have contributed largely to the wholesale destruction of temples and the massacre of monks and priests by the Mohammadans in Northern India." †

"A favourite arrangement in the later temple was the grouping of three shrines round the central *mandap* or hall. The pillars are markedly different from the Dravidian type; and they are

* E. B. Havell, *History of the Indo-Aryan Rule*, page 116-117.
† Ibid, pages 216-217, 244.

often massive, circular, richly carved and highly polished. They are usually in pairs or fours of the same pattern, the whole effect being singularly elegant. Their capitals are wide with numerous thin mouldings immediately below the abacus; and under these is a square block, while the middle of the shaft is carved with circular mouldings. Frequently the capitals and shafts have been actually re.turned in a sort of lathe in which the shaft was held vertically. Generally the temples stand on a terrace, sometimes ten to fifteen feet wide, quite surrounding them and three to six feet in height. It is a feature which adds considerably to the architectural effect. The structures were erected without mortar, and the joints very carefully fitted. The whole outward variety of sculpture of floral and geometrical patterns intermixed with mythological figures; and generally the mouldings of the base were carved with the succession of patterns prescribed in the *Silpa-Sūtras* or architectural treatises.* Sculpture and carving in stone attained to an elaboration perfectly marvellous. "The artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects were what medieval architects were often aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid. The great temple, the Hoysalesvara, is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand if carried out with the richness of detail which is exhibited in the Kedāresvara temple; and this would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere. It is worthy of remark that the great architectural age in India should have been the thirteenth century which witnessed such a wonderful development of a kindred style (the Gothic) in Europe. The following list of temples of this style in Mysore, with the dates of their erection are given below for purposes of comparsion."

The following is a list of the principal temples of this style in Mysore, with the dates of their erection :—†

Date.	*Temple.*	*Place.*
1117	Channa-Kesava	Belur.
1141	Hoysaleswara	Halebid.
1171	Brahmeswara	Kikkeri.

* Fergusson, *Eastern and Indian Architecture*, Book IV, Chap. I, page 424.

† B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pages 194-195.

Date.	*Temple.*	*Place.*
1173	Bucheswara	Koravangala.
1196	Amriteswara	Amritapura.
1219	Kedareswara	Halebid.
1224	Harihareswara ..	Harihar.
1234	Someswara	Haranhalli.
1235	Mallikarjuna	Basarālu.
1268	Kesava	Somnathpur.

No single date could be given for Hoysaleśvara temple which was more like a national monument. It was under construction for a long period, and was never completed. It is a double temple, says Fergusson, which was left unfinished although the works were in progress for a period of 86 years. But the carving over the southern doorway is said to have been executed and this indicates that the fabric of building was complete in 1141 A. D. or somewhat later. Of the votive offerings inscribed in the inner walls, the earliest appears to be Belur in which the double temple dedicated to Hoysaleśvara and Panchikesvara is fully recognized, and grants are made for the two gods by the Senbhōva of the senior queen Kētala-Devi. She was the queen of Ballāla II and is mentioned in 1177. The temple was completed in the time of Narasimha I. The sculpture of the exterior walls was no doubt carried on during the subsequent reign of Ballāla II, when decorative features were also added to the Belur temple. But the beautiful and completed Somanathapura temple was built after this in the reign of Narasimha III. It is a triple temple, and has often furnished a model for silver or gold caskets.* It was during the three centuries from 1000 to 1300 A. D. in which the famous temples of Mysore, namely, Somanathapura, Belur, and Halebid were erected by Hoysala Ballālas who had their supreme sway in Mysore, a detailed account of which is outside the scope of the present volume. The temple of Somanathapura is a single but a complete whole ; while that at Belur consists of one principal temple surrounded by four or five others and numerous subordinate buildings which are enclosed in a court by a high wall with *gopuras* in the eastern front.* The great temple consists of a very solid *vimāna* with an *antarala* or vestibule, and in front of this is a porch or *mahā-mandapa* of the usual star-like form which measures 90 feet across. The entire length of the temple from the east door to the back wall is 115 feet and the whole stands

* B. L. Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pages 194-195.

on a terrace about three feet and from ten to fifteen feet wide. This is one of the features of the Chalukyan design. The temple owes its pre-eminence to marvellous elaboration and beauty of detail. There are also other temples at Kubbatur, near Belagāmi, and at Haranhalli, Arsikere, Kuravankula, Naglapur, Turuvekere, and other monuments in the Province awaiting the study and illustration of students interested in the study of the subject. The temple at Halebid is the most remarkable.

Among the Srī Vaishnava shrines may be mentioned, the temple at Melkote, Śrirangapatna, Maddur and various others. These temples besides being religious institutions feed the poor, promote learning, enjoin obedience. They are also great centres of activity, and attract from early morning till midnight, large gatherings of people from the various parts of the surrounding country.

Worship of Siva.—The earliest form of the Brāhman faith was connected with the worship of Śiva who was door-keeper to the Mahābalis or Bānas. But Vishṇu in his Vāmana or dwarf incarnation deprived Mahābali in two strides of all his positions except Pātāla which was left to him. And Krishṇa who is another form of Vishṇu found means, in a war against Bāṇa, to overcome Śiva who fought for Bāṇa. Both Vishṇu and Śiva continued to be jointly recognized in all parts, and in the united form Harihara composed of Hari (Vishṇu) and Hara (Śiva) was a symbol of their general equality in religious estimation. It is said that Śiva acquired the form of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu acquired the form of Śiva in order that the saying of the Veda (that they were one) might be fully established. Again Keśava or Vishṇu is identified with the chief object of worship in all the sects. There are numerous ancient Śivite temples in the State. Space forbids me from giving even a small description of some of them. A short account of the Śivite temple at Nanjangūd is given below.

Siva Temple.—"Nanjangud is remarkable for its temple dedicated to Nanjundesvara, a name given to Śiva on account

of one of his exploits, by swallowing poison, and it is from this attribute of the god that the town derives its name. A temple of small dimensions is said to have existed from time immemorial. In one part of the temple are the 66 images of Śiva saints, one of which was of Tiruttondar which may be of Chola origin of the 11th century. But Karāchūr Nandi-Rāja, and afterwards Pūrnayya, enlarged the temple to its present size. The former prince made Nanjangud his favourite place of abode and fortified it. A celebrated car festival which lasts for three days, and is resorted to by thousands of devotees from all parts of South India is held here in the month of March. The temple is 385 feet long 160 feet broad and supported by 147 columns. Some of the images are carved with great perfection of finish. Surrounding the outside of the temple are the figures of various deities with their names below, so that each devotee can find his patron saint. The Gopura was erected in 1845 by Mummadi Krishna Rāja Wodeyar, and various shrines were added by the royal ladies down to 1853. This temple is inferior in point of sanctity to none in the Mysore District, and receives an annual allowance from Government of 20,197 Rupees. At the point where a stream called Chūrnāvati from the tank runs into the Gundal or Kaundinya river is the Parasurāma-kshetra with a temple dedicated to Parasu-Rāma, an incarnation of Vishnu. The moist earth around called mrittika is considered an effective application for various skin diseases, and is being continually carried away to be used for such purposes. But the excavations made speedily fill up again." *

Deities in temples.—"As has been already said, Vishṇu, Śiva and Śakti under various names or shapes, divide the homage of the Hindus and these gods and goddesses are represented by images which are either self grown or made by man. In the Padma-Purāna it is said that the abode of Hari is celebrated by two kinds, namely, the established and the self-revealed. The image of Hari made by stone, earth, wood, metal or the like, and consecrated according to the rites laid down in the Vedas, Smṛitis, and Tantras, is called the established. Where Vishṇu has placed himself on earth

* Lewis Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 289.

in stone or wood for the benefit of mankind, that is called the self-revealed." Vishṇu in the above passage is typical of all deities, (Skāndapurāṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa). Even in these days the miraculous discovery of divine images is not unknown to the faithful, and a common preliminary to such finds, is that a vision appears in a dream to one of the devout worshippers who communicates the same to his relations and neighbours, when a procession is formed to proceed to the spot, where the image is discovered to the delight of the faithful and to the advantage of the favoured dreamer, who becomes the custodian of the image, which may afterwards be established and consecrated in a temple. But Hindu sages have always treated this form of worship as an inferior one, fit only for those who are unable to grasp the abstract idea of the Supreme Being. This statement will be clear from the following passages: "I am in the fire for those who sacrifice; in the heart of those who recite prayers; in images for those of small understanding; for those of true knowledge, I am everywhere."*

Stone images are one of the most common types now prevalent; and stone is now employed for the construction of Śivalinga. Special directions are given for the selections of stones for the construction of images. Stones saturated with acid, saline or efflorescent substances, those thrown upon the banks of rivers and those found in barren spots turned by forest fire are to be avoided; stones which are smooth, of uniform colour, lying under ground, untouched by solar rays, immersed in water, are approved. Stones are classified as infant, young, adult, and old according to their scale of hardness. The very soft varieties of stones are rejected, while

* Pandit Prannath Sarasvati: *The Hindu Law of Endowments*, pages 93, 102-105.

the medium ones are recommended. The stone thus selected is to be brought and placed in the working shed which is to be erected to the north of the temple, where it has to be worshipped, before being taken in by the sculptor.

For the construction of the image of Śivalinga, according to *Brihat-Samhitā*, the stone is set out in the length of the circumference of the round part, and the whole phallus must be quadrangular, the middle octangular and the rest round. The quadrangular portion is covered in a pit, and the middle member into the cavity of the pedestal, which is visible upwards to its cavity in all directions over an extent equal to its height. The greatest care has to be taken in the construction of these images intended for worship. According to the authority above referred to, an image possessing the required characteristics, bestows prosperity by its very presence. According to another authority, the author of an image of Vishṇu possessing all the necessary qualities is blessed with long life, while dire consequences are to be apprehended from the existence of any defect in the image intended for dedication. The gods do not accept the offerings of the men who worship divine images defective in the prescribed characteristics. According to Varāha-mihira, an image with disproportionate limbs bodes peril to the monarch; one with undersized limbs, infirmity to the maker; one with a thin belly, danger of famine; and one that is lean, loss of wealth. When it shows a wound, the death of the maker from the sword may be predicted by being bent to the left. It destroys his wife by being bent to the right. It causes blindness by having its eyes turned upwards, and anxiety by the eyes being downcast. The same sentiments are found more fully developed in the Matsya-purāna also.

Sivalingas are also made from sun-stones, moon-stones, lodestones, diamonds, emeralds, talc, and other kinds of minerals bright as lightning, and self-illuminating at night. Each of them is effective for certain special purposes. The pearl gives fortune. The moon-stone conquers death. The Sun-stone gives power; diamonds, emeralds and crystals, fulfil all kinds of desire. Images are also made of gold, silver and of baser metals. Of the pure metals, gold is mentioned in the Āśvalāyana *Gṛihya-Pariśishta*. "The image of the gods should never be made deficient or having an excess of limbs. An image with hideous face causes the death of the owner. A corpulent image destroys the artist, and an emaciated destroys wealth. One thin in the middle causes famine, and one without flesh causes loss of wealth. One with a crooked nose causes sorrow and one with a compact body causes fear. A flat nosed one causes trouble and affliction, and one with no eyes destroys eyes. One with a defective face and one with sparing hands and feet, causes grief. One deficient in limbs and one with short thighs causes terror and madness in men. One with a weary face or one without a waist destroys the king. If the image be without hands or feet, then a great plague is caused; one without knees or thighs causes the good of the enemy. One without breast destroys children and friends." *

THE CONSECRATION CEREMONY.

As to the parties competent to celebrate the installation, the *Dēvi-Purāna* directs that the gold image should be installed with due regard to the caste or the order of the worshipper. According to the *Brihat Samhitā*, Śambhu is the god of the Brāhmana. The Dēvipurāna allows all the four

* Pandit Prannath Saraswati: *The Hindu Law of Endowments*, pages 93, 102-5.

castes to worship Vishṇu. *Lingārchana-Tantra* enjoins the worship of the emblem of Śiva upon all the four castes threatening extreme penalties for non-compliance. The ceremonies connected with the construction, vivification, *hōma*, and the setting up of images are very elaborate, and is therefore omitted for want of space. By the last process of vivification, the image from the previous statue, as an inanimate object, acquires the status of a sacred entity or ideal personality possessing superhuman powers.

The worship of the gods is one of the daily duties of the Brāhmans and is enjoined by Parāśara and Manu. The following is regarded as part of the duties of the Brāhmachārin. "Day by day, having bathed and purified, let him offer fresh water to the gods, the sages and the manes; Let him show respect to the images of the deities; bring wood for the oblations of the fire." A householder or a *Grihastha* is also required by Manu in Chapter IV, Verse 56, to adore the gods at the beginning of the day. When an idol has thus been consecrated by appropriate ceremonies, the diety of which the idol is the visible image, resides in it. *

The Daily Routine of Pūjās in a Temple.—The *pūjā* in a temple may be said to begin at 4 A.M. daily, when the doors of the Śri-kōvil wherein the God is supposed to reside are opened at that hour. The senior priest after bath enters the temple with his assistants, opens the doors of the Śri-kōvil. The old flowers (*nirmālyam*), dress, jewels with which the god or goddess is decorated is removed, and the image is then washed (*abhishēka*) and bathed with water with the recital of the vedic hymns. After this, the deity is well rubbed, and dressed in newly

* *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pages 245-248.

washed clothes and decorated with flowers and jewels, and Pushpānjali or offering of flowers is then made. This is followed by the offering of food or *naivēdya* which is generally *malar* (parched rice). This closes the morning *pūjā* (*Ushah-pūjā*).

At seven o'clock begins another *pūjā* and *naivēdya*, flowers (prasāda) *thīrta* (sanctified water) are given by the priest to the people that have assembled there at the time. About 10 or 11 A.M., begins another *pūjā* when the same items are gone through, and offerings of Pāyasa, cooked rice are made. At the conclusion of the *pūjā*, the offerings are partly distributed to the servants of the temple.

The evening pūjā begins at 6 P.M., when the *dīpārādhana* (waving of lights) forms one of the important occasions for worship. The image is then neatly decorated with jewels, sandal paste, flowers, silks, and clothes, and the inner shrine is brilliantly illuminated. At this time the temple is thickly packed with devotees, who take care not to absent themselves for the occasion. On important occasions men, women, and children crowd in at the time in large numbers. Dīpārādhana is accompanied with the playing of flutes, beating of drums, the ringing of bells, when the devotees sing verses in praise of the deity. Prasāda is then distributed to the worshippers. Then the last *pūjā* is the *Ardhajāma pūjā*, the course of worship is almost the same as that described above. The *naivēdyam* alone is different, and consists of sugared cakes, cooked rice, honey, fruits, green fruits and betel leaves with areca nuts. The daily round of *pūjā* then comes to a close with this at 9 or 10 P. M.; and priests and servants leave the shrine.

ORIGIN OF SERPENT WORSHIP.

Serpent-worship has been in existence among all the nations of the world, from very ancient times.

All kinds of myths, folk-tales are associated with it; but nowhere in the world is the serpent-cult so widely distributed or developed in more varied and interesting forms as in India. 'The animal is dreaded and revered on account of the mysterious dangers associated with it, its stealthy habits, the cold fixity of its gaze, its sinuous motion, the protrusion of its forked tongue, and the suddenness and deadliness of its attacks.' Its long life, and the habit of changing its skin suggest ideas of immortality and resurrection.

In the south-west corner of the compound about the house of every Nāyar, Izhuvan, and the members of other Hindu castes of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, there is a serpent grove, and the serpents exercise an evil influence, if the shrines are not properly respected. These shrines are called Chitrākūta, Nāgakota, or Vishāthan kāvu. Carved granite stones representing the figures of hooded serpents are seen in every serpent grove in the compounds of people of every Hindu caste in the States above referred to. Leprosy, itch, barrenness in women, death of children, frequent appearance of snakes in gardens and all other calamities are brought about by and set down to the anger of these serpents. Therefore, every snake shrine is worshipped, and *pūjās* are performed with offerings of milk, eggs, and boiled rice in the month of Kumbha (February-March) on the Āyiliam day. In the event of any calamity in a family, an astrologer who is consulted generally attributes it to the anger of the serpents, and the only remedy that is suggested is the formation of a serpent shrine with elaborate ceremonies and sacrifices to obtain their good will and pleasure.* In South Canara, snake

* *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, 320.

stones or stones with the figure of serpents sculptured on them abound all over the district, placed in groves, or set up by the roadside or in raised platforms at the foot of the sacred peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*). Many of them are of great antiquity, but there is nothing to indicate from what period they may be held to date.* There is scarcely a village in Mysore that has not its effigies of the serpent carved on stone erected on a raised platform near the entrance for the adoration of the public. The living serpent is systematically worshipped, and few Hindus will consent to kill one.† An ant-hill is popularly regarded as the shrine of the God, and is very often the abode of a snake. A Nāga kāvu in Travancore is the property of a family whose ancestors among the Nāgas were spared from the burning of the Khāndava forest by Arjuna. Every male of this family even to this day is called Vāsuki, the deified hero of the Nāga people of Northern India. In the family of Pāmbil Mēlkat Nambudiri in the Cochin State, there are numerous snake shrines to which regular offerings of milk are given.

Similarly, snake shrines abound almost in every district of the Madras Presidency as in other parts of India. Among the forest tribes, the Gonds in Chatisgarh worship images of snakes every three years. The cult is common among the tribes of the Vindya range.

In Vedic times, the serpent worship was not only known but also prevalent. We meet with references to Ahibudhnya, the serpent of the deep, and to Ahi, another designation of the demon Vritra. In the later *samhitas*, the serpents are a class of divine beings. The post-vedic Rāhu, the eclipse demon,

* Sturrock, *South Canara*, page 138.
† L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, pages 454-457.

is in modern belief, a serpent. The Atharva Veda contains numerous charms against serpents, and a rite of propitiation on the full-moon day of Mārgasīrsha. They are regarded as gods. Many tales are current describing the enmity between Garuda, the chief of the feathered race, and the Nāgas.*

The belief that serpents live in guard and control waters, is common to many races. The snake living in crevices is often identified with diseased ancestors. The snake becomes associated with fertility and eroticism. Therefore the cult is in the hands of women. Hence snake-worship is often performed at marriages by the Brāhmans of Canara, Mysore and other castemen, by the *Banjiras*. Snakes are supposed to be guardians of treasure buried in earth. The worship of the serpent seems to have originated independently of totemism. Descent from the snake, the use of the name as a sept title, the tabu which prevents its slaughter, and the respect paid to it when dead, all appear in India.

The Nāgas who so constantly occur in ancient Hindu history were no doubt a widespread race of serpent worshippers, and there is every reason to suppose that they occupied most parts of Mysore. Jinadatta, the founder of Humcha, married a Nāgakanya and the great serpent sacrifice of Janamējaya is said to have taken place at Hiremagalur. An inscription at Belgami of the eleventh century, bears at its head the half-human, half-serpent forms of a Nāga and Nāginī.†

The chief serpent-worshipping race in India is known as the Nāgas who appear both in history and folk-lore, and to whom much speculation has been devoted. Oldham distinguishes between the Nāga demi-gods in heaven, and the Nāga

* Hopkins, pages 251, 276.
† L. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pages 202-203.

people on earth, the former being the deified ancestors of the latter. He concludes that the Asuras and the Sarpas, (the serpents of the Rig-Veda) the Asuras and Nāgas of the Mahabhārata and Manu, and the Asuras or demons of Brahmanical tradition all represent hostile tribes, who opposed the Āryan invaders, and the Asuras were Dravidians. Others regard the race of Nāgas of Trans-Himālayan region who adopted the snake as their national emblem, and hence gave the name to the cobra. The great historical fact in connection with the Nāgas is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brāhmans. The destruction of serpents at the burning of the forests of Khāndava, the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms the opening scenes of Mahābhārata, and the supernatural exploits of Krishna against the serpents are all expressions of Brahmanical ill-will towards the Nāgas. From all these it would appear that the Nāgas were originally a race distinct from the Āryans, and wholly outside the pale of Brāhmanism. They were powerful in Central and South India.* Castes like the Maravans, Agamudians and Kallans in the Madras Presidency are descended from them. The serpent is closely associated with Brahmanical Hinduism. The association of Snake with the Śiva symbol, the linga, is very intimate. As symbols of Śiva's energy, they appear remarkable in the Natarāja's image. In Jainism also the symbol of Tirthankara Pārsvanāth is a sarpa (snake). The colossal statue of Gomatesvara at Śravana-Belagola is surrounded with white ant-hills from which snakes emerge.*

The Dravidians are divided into Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas. "Cheras" are the Dravidian equivalent for Nāga; Chera-mandala, means Nāga-mandala or Nāga-dvīpa and not the Nāga country. This points to the Asura origin of the Dravidians of the South. There still exists a set of people over the valley of the Ganges who are called Chēras or Seoris, claiming their descent from the serpent gods, and who appear to have been ousted by the Muhammadans. These people might be the kinsmen of the Cheras, on account of the similarities in their social customs. There are also many tribes in the Beas valley and the adjacent localities who worship hooded serpents and profess to belong to the older solar race. The serpent-worship prevailed in many parts of India in ancient times as in other parts of the world.

* *E. R. E.*, Vol. XI, pages 414-415.

THE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMAN WOMEN.

It is said that in matters of religious worship women have to associate with their husbands. Nevertheless in the worship of the female deities and in that of the female ancestors they have a certain amount of freedom. Women need not observe religious austerities, feasts, etc. They have their salvation if they but serve their husbands faithfully. A Brāhman may have a wife from each of the other *varnas*, but only the one from his own *varna*, can participate in religious ceremonies. He may have a plurality of wives up to four, and only the senior of them is allowed to join him. In the latter case, one who has a son, who is obedient, diligent, truth-loving, amiable, and pure, may be selected for the duty.* The woman who performs austerities and observes fasts, takes herself to hell by such conduct, and reduces the term of life of her husband.† "If a woman feels inclined to go on pilgrimage to holy places, she should drink the washings (sic) of her husband's feet, because to her, the husband is higher than either Vishṇu or Śankara (Śiva)." "She who offers ablutions to the sun early in the morning, shall be protected from widowwood for seven successive lives. She who draws on the clean floor in the front of her house the mystic symbol of the sun, and worships him with moistened rice shall be blessed by all the gods. She who bathes very early and performs this worship at the entrance of her house shall have all her desires fulfilled. She who does not offer out of her dish (before tasting it) a portion as sacrifice to the goddess, Jeshthā-Devi, will go to hell after death. Women who desire sons, grandsons, and wealth should offer food sacrifice to Jeshthā-Devi to keep her pleased." God Vishṇu says, "pure women who desire wealth,

* Manu and Kātyayana.
† Skāndapurāna.

who faithfully serve their husbands, who speak sweetly to them, who never go with empty hands, who have given birth to sons, who are the preservers of the wealth (economical), who offer food sacrifices to Jeshthā-Devi are the ones with whom I remain." "Because her husband is in the place of the gods, of religious preceptor, religion, and of sacred waters, she should discard all and always serve her husband. She shall then get the fruition of all the other worships.* "Women have no right to perform the worship of Vishṇu or Śankara (Śiva). If they but bow unto Vishnu, they will be steeped in misery in this world, then Heaven is impossible. If they touch the (images or symbols) of Vishṇu or Śiva, they will go to hell." † "Women should worship Narasimha (the lion-faced fourth incarnation of Vishnu). Women are prohibited from *japa* (recitation) of the mantrams, *tapas* (austerities), pilgrimage, sanyāsa (asceticism), resorting to charms, or they will lead to perdition." Women should not touch the Lingam (emblem of Siva) after it has been sanctified with the help of the mantrams."‡ "The touch of the woman is like a thunderbolt to the Sālagrāma (ammonite emblem of Vishnu). She who touches a Sālagrāma shall go to the worst of perditions.§ If a woman has any reverence for it, she should worship it without touching it. Women should observe fast during the Navarātras (nine days pending the Dasara)." "Women should worship and pour offerings into the ordinary fire (not sacrificial) or the Grihya (hōma) fire, as they are only accession in the marriage they can take part with their husbands in worshipping the sacred fire

* Brihannaradiyam.
† Nrisimhapurana.
‡ Narada-Samhita.
§ Varahapurana.

at the Saptapadi.* "Women should give as alms, a row of ploughs to Brāhmans because it is a Kāmadhēnu (the giver of all desires)." † "She who will give to a Brāhman a mountain of grains shall go to Heaven in a Vimāna (celestial palanquin)." "Woman should give to a Brāhman a mountain of cotton." ‡ She who gives a mountain of *til* (sesamum grain) will enjoy untold happiness in Heaven. If she be born again, she will be endowed with perfect life, and shall become a queen. The wives of Māndhāta Yuvanāsva, and Kārtavīrya had given (to Brāhmans) mountains of this seed and hence their prosperity." "Women are like the Sūdra (the fourth-caste)." "On the seventh night after child birth, a woman should keep guard over her babe, should worship Goddess Janmadā (Jīvantika), should offer her sacrifice." § "Other women should sing and dance in the room all the night." "Women should worship the *tulasi* (*Ocymum Sanctum*) plant." "By worshipping the *tulasi* plant one attains the credit of offering the fruits of the dhatriphala (*Phylanthus emblica*) or of fasting in honour of the goddess Jayanti." "Twice-born women have a right to study the Vedas, but some learned men rank them with Sūdras." "Women can perform the alms-giving ceremony or giving of charitable gifts of houses, wells, tanks, etc., with the consent of their husbands." "The woman who gives alms becomes as sacred as Pārvati, the wife of Siva."

The taboos above-mentioned are owing to the supposed impurity of women, and their salvation depends upon their chastity and obedience to their husbands in all matters concerning the well-being

* Madana-Maharatna.
† Bhavishyottara-purana.
‡ Brahmanda-purana.
§ Vyasa (smriti).

of the family. Marital chastity on the part of wives has been enjoined and honoured from immemorial times; while both natural chastity and sacerdotal, whether marital or celebate, has been a regular phenomenon.*

FUNERAL CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS.

When a Brāhman feels the approach of death, his relatives are sent for, and a friendly converse is held with all of them. When the dying hour is held very near, he allows himself to be laid on a clean spot. Gifts of 28 articles are then made to the Brāhman Vaidikas, the most important of which is the Vaitarinī cow to conduct him over the stream of the nether world. Divine names of Rāma and Krishna are recited. The body of the dying person is smeared with holy ashes, and a necklace of *tulasi* beads or *rudrāksha* (*Elœocarpus Lanceolatus*) is also put round his neck. After his death, the corpse is laid on a cushion of darbha grass placed on the floor with his head turned to the south. At the time of death or soon after it, the Vedic prayers, *Karnamantram* is chanted into the right ear of the person. "Let the elements composing the body disintegrate and reunite with kindred elements." The dead body is well washed and rubbed with a towel, the caste-mark is put on, the sacred thread is changed, and a fresh piece of cloth is put on to cover the body. His wife, sons and daughters go out of the house to prostrate towards the south which is believed to be presided by Yama. Fire is kindled in front of the house as a sign of death. The eldest son with his brothers, brings the Aupāsana † fire, if any, or fresh fire is prepared with prayers to Yama and the deities presiding on the way to his destination. A bamboo bier is prepared very like a ladder with

* Manu, IV, 44, 53.

† Oldenburg, *Religion des Veda*, 271, 411 ff, 417, 429 ff, 468, 588.

a bed of straw, for the corpse to be placed on it. The toes are bound together. Four members of the deceased's family, especially the Sapindas, carry the dead body covered with a winding sheet to the cremation ground. Behind the corpse come the relatives, the older ones first, men and women, the latter with the hair of the head let loose. At the head of the procession walks the chief mourner with the fire he has previously kindled. At the time of lifting the bier, the invocation, "May Pūshan bring thee from here" is addressed to him. Women of the family burst into lamentations as the corpse is carried. On the way the corpse is laid on the ground three times, and the chief mourner and his brothers with their hair loose walk round it three times repeating some *mantram*. When the body reaches the cremation ground, it is again placed on the ground: the fire that is carried from the one kindled in front of the house by the chief mourner, is kindled again near the pyre that is being raised with firewood. He throws a quarter of an anna as an equivalent of the purchase of the ground for cremation. The sacred fire is lighted, and the right palm of the corpse is rubbed with a gold coin. Saṅkalpa is made for the Pitrimēdha (sacrifice to the fathers), and ghee offerings are made into the fire, and ghee is dropped into the nine openings and then sprinkled on the body. The body is placed on the pyre, when some rice is thrown into the mouth of the body by the first mourner and other relatives. The chief mourner comes three rounds and sprinkling more ghee on the head and chest, he places fire on the chest looking at the sun. More firewood is placed on the body, and camphor pieces are lighted up in several places. He then carries a pot of water with a hole at the bottom, through which water trickles down

his shoulders, three times round the pyre, and at the third round dashes it. Then all his relatives squat on the ground facing the east, and taking up the *kusa* grass and cutting into small fragments scatter them in the air, after the recital of some holy texts. Once more they sprinkle themselves with water. The Brāhmans assembled to attend the funeral are given some *dakshina* (gifts). The chief mourner with his brothers, if any, go to the nearest tank or river, get themselves shaved, bathe, and after their bath return home. Two ceremonies, Nagna Srāddha and Pāshāṇa-Sthāpanam (placing the stone) are next performed.

The disembodied spirit is believed to be naked after the burning of the dead body, and therefore to provide it with a body, offerings of water, rice, a piece of cloth, a lamp and a few annas are given to a Brāhman. Two stones, one on the bank of a river, and the other at home, are set up to represent the spirit of the departed. For ten days the chief mourner and his brothers, if any, bathe early morning, perform the Sandhyā service, and make libations of water (Vāsodaka) by dipping in water a piece of cloth from the winding sheet and rinsing it over the stone placed on the riverside. A libation of water mixed with gingelly seeds (Tilodaka) is also made to it. These offerings are likewise given to the stone set up in the house, along with the balls of cooked rice, which are afterwards thrown in water. A kind of Vriddhi Srāddha is also performed, and this consists of an offering of a measure of rice, vegetables and a few annas to three Brāhmans on the first day, four on the second day, five on the third and thus increased up to the tenth day. A similar Srāddha known as Nava-Sraddha is also performed on the odd days with similar offerings. The collection of bones,

called *sanchayana*, takes place either on the second, fourth, or the sixth day, and the bones are collected in an earthen vessel, buried under-ground or thrown into the water or a river if close by. A figure of the dead man is made of the ashes, and on its mouth is placed a vessel of water with a hole made on the side, and also a ball of cooked rice. On the tenth day the agnates get shaved, bathe and make libations of water to the departed spirit. The mourners also make the offering as usual. The latter along with the agnates return home, and offer libations of water and balls of cooked rice, after which a large quantity of cooked rice, bread, etc., (Prabhūta-bali), is offered to the spirit of the departed, which is believed to be very hungry then. The food is heaped up in a very large plantain leaf, and all near relations go round it, weeping and beating their breasts. This is mostly done by the women while the men stand aloof. The agnates, taking the stones set up, start in procession with the mourners to the tank or river, and throw the offerings and stones into the water. The widow of the deceased is also conducted to the riverside, and after her bath, she is presented with new garments by the son, brother and relations. The sons get shaved. The agnates and the chief mourner all bathe, and the latter perform a homa (ānanda-homa) in the presence of the former. By this ceremony and by taking a dose of sanctified water they become pure, and then return home, taking a little of this fire. On the eleventh day the members of the family bathe, and the sons or the chief mourners perform their usual Sandhyā service, invite a few Brāhmans to prepare the sanctified water with which the whole house, well, cowshed, vessels, etc., are sprinkled and purified. A bull calf, branded on one side of it, is let loose, so as to set the spirit of the departed

free from the *prēta* (short) stage. On the eleventh day, a Srāddha called *ekoddishta* is performed in the fire itself, and then a Brāhman who is seated to represent the *prēta* of the dead person is fed after going through the Srāddha rites. The balls of cooked rice offered at the time are thrown into the water, and the members of the family again bathe and drink a little of the sanctified water.

No *āvahana* (invocation) takes place in this ceremony, nor the oblation of cooked rice into the fire, nor do Vaisvadevas take part in it.* Eko Srāddhas are completed by the performance of Sapindikarana, the reception of the *prēta* into the community of *pitris*. If these ceremonies should be properly performed, the subtle parts of the offerings made during their performance feed the deceased till he goes to *pitrilōka* (the world of the manes). The mantrams facilitate his passage thereto, and he takes a place among the *pitris*. The Sapindikarana, takes place on the twelfth day, but should, according to the Śāstras, be performed only a year after death, *i.e.*, on the completion of all the Māsikas or monthly Srāddhas. Now a ceremony called Shōdaśa (the sixteen) is performed just before it on the twelfth day, and this consists in giving presents of money and vessels to the Brāhmans. On the thirteenth day, the house is purified with sanctified water when twelve Brāhman Vaidikas are invited to perform Graha-Yajña (propitiation of the nine planets). After this worship a feast is given to relatives and friends. During the night of the same day, some verses called Charama-Slōka in honour of the dead man are composed and read by a Sanskrit Pandit. Every month for a year after death in a family, Srāddha is performed as described

* Sankhayana Grihya Sutras, IV, 2-5.

in the following pages. Those who can afford it, go to Benares and Gaya, where they perform a similar ceremony, which renders the performance of the rites not obligatory thereafter.* †

Besides the ceremonies described above, there are other customs in vogue among the Tamil Brāhmans. There cannot be any cooking in the house of the deceased; and the chief mourner and the nearest relatives are fed during the days of pollution with the food cooked in a neighbouring house at the mourners' own expense. In wealthy families, the funeral festivities are very grand and provide for the feeding of a large number of Brāhmans.

In the case of the death of an aged member in a Brāhman family, a kind of weird dance by the female members, their relatives and neighbours is got up at about nine o'clock at night from the second or third day, and continued till the tenth. The women collect together and perform a circular dance, singing special funeral songs, and beating over their uncovered bosoms; and finally mimic loud lamentations. This is continued till the tenth day, when a similar gathering takes place for the same purpose, after which they go in procession to the neighbouring tank or river, with their tresses of hair dishevelled and with their arms on each other's shoulders, and return home in the same manner after their bath. The chief mourners are those to whom the deceased is very closely related.

The funeral songs above referred to are said to have been composed by an old Smārta poet, and they are learned by the girls and young women along with the wedding and other songs. A woman should at least know one song about her grand-parents,

* A. C. Das: *Rig-Vedic Culture*, pages 404-410.

† H. D. Griswold: *The Religion of the Rig-Veda*, Chapter XI, pages 308-327.

parents, brothers and sisters, husband, children, father and mother-in-law. It is not likely that these lamentations really express any genuine feelings in the hearts of the mourners; but the custom implies that such feelings are held in some estimation.*

TONSURE OF WIDOWS.

On the morning of the eleventh day, the woman whose husband is dead has her head completely shaved, and becomes a widow thereafter. She remains in seclusion for a year, and wears white clothes for the rest of her life. Henceforth her status in society is one of social exclusion, and she cannot take part in any of the domestic ceremonies, such as weddings, nuptials and the like. Of all kinds of calamities or misfortunes that can happen to a woman, widowhood involving the loss of hair is considered to be the greatest. But this practice does not obtain amongst the Tengalai section of the Śrī Vaishṇava Brāhmans.

The rules regarding the conduct of widows are like those regulating the conduct of Sanyāsins (ascetics). "Eating on metal plates, sleeping on cot, chewing betel leaves (*tāmbūla*), use of flowers, perfumes, etc., are all denied to the Yati (monk) and the widow alike. To all who are in a *vrata*, the purification is like the Yatis and so for the widow." Thus the sages have prescribed to the faithful widow a number of duties, the keynote of which is austerity. Hence a widow is raised in the spiritual scale, if really lowered in the social scale.

It is interesting to enquire in this connection whether there is any religious sanction for the tonsure of widows. There are passages in the Rig Veda which bear testimony to the fact that the

* A. C. Das: *Rig-Vedic Culture*, page 232.

preservation of hair on the woman's head adds to her beauty. Atharvana Veda contains charms to stimulate and promote the growth of hair. "In order to strengthen the old hair, to grow the new, to render more luxurious that which has grown, the all-healing plant, Nitāni in one of the remedial rites, is prescribed in that Veda for the growth of hair.* That plant was brought, it is said, by Jamadagni from the abode of Asita, for promoting the growth of hair of his daughter. It has the power to strengthen the roots, lengthen the ends and expand the middle. Thus from ancient times the hair was prized as an aid to beauty.

The authorities for the tonsure of widows are very few. In the early Law Books, or Smritis, of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vaśishta, and Yāgñavalkya, and in the Mahābhārata, there is no mention of the custom. The widows then dressed the hair without the parting line or did not deck the hair. The only authorities in which mention is made of shaving, are the Skānda-Purāna and Vyāsa Smriti. There is a tendency for the decline of the custom in many parts of South India.

SRADDHA CEREMONIES.

Śrāddha means an oblation of grain, water or other substances, offered with faith. The performance of the Srāddha by a son is necessary to deliver a father from the hell called *Put*,† whence 'the son' is called *Put-tra* the rescuer from "*Put.*" Hence it is that every Brāhman, in fact, every Hindu desires to have a son and not a daughter. Śrāddha is held to be auspicious, and it is performed for the benefit of a dead person who has received an intermediate body and became a *Pitri* or beatified father. Both in the funeral and Śrāddha ceremonies offerings

* A. V. VI.—21.
† Manu, Chapter IX—138.

of the balls of rice and libations of water have to be made with the recital of the Vedic texts and prayers. In the former the above mentioned offerings are for the nourishment of the ghost and the formation of the body as a vehicle, whereas in the latter they are offered as an act of homage to the spirit with the body so formed. It is also plainly said in Manu II. 1-137, and elsewhere that the embodied *Pitris* require periodical offerings of *pinda* (flour balls) and water for their continual nourishment and refreshment. Śrāddha is not always connected with funerals. According to the *Vishṇu-Purāna* (III-13) a Grihastha or householder should worship the manes at the marriage of a son or daughter, on entering a new building, on naming a child and on other similar auspicious occasions. *Nirnaya-Sindhu* makes mention of twelve different kinds of Śrāddhas, of which Nitya (daily or constant), Naimittika ('special,' performed on special occasions), Vriddhi (for the increase of prosperity), Sapindana and Pārvana-Śrāddhas are the most important. A short account of each of them is given below.

1. Nitya-Śrāddha is one which consists in giving food to a Brāhaman, after offering it to three ancestors by name, with the usual preparatory vows and prayers, and with the formality of placing three blades of grass as a seat to each ancestor, but using a single prayer only for the invocation of the manes and omitting the ceremony of welcoming them with an *arghya* (water offered to guests for washing). It is a short method of performing the ceremony.

2. Naimittika-Śrāddha is that which is performed on special occasions as at funerals, and refers to one person (Ekoddishta) recently dead. Only one man is feasted at the end of the rite. Śrāddhas performed in holy places during eclipse, on the first day of Karkataka, Thula, Makara, and Mesha and Mahālaya come under this division.

3. Vriddhi Śrāddha.—The obsequies for the increase of prosperity, as the term Vriddhi Śrāddha signifies, are celebrated previous to the solemnization of a marriage, or of any of the ceremonies which, according to the notions of the Hindus,

contribute to the regeneration of a twice-born man, that is, of Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaisya. This Śrāddha is likewise performed at the commencement and close of a solemn fast.

4. Sapindana Śrāddha.—This is performed for the benefit of the deceased to enable him to join his ancestors or Sapindas, who are connected by the offering of the *pindas* (flour-balls).

A cow is then usually presented to a Brāhman, and this gift is believed to render the crossing of the river Vaitarani—river of death—easy for the departed soul. The gift of a boat, cow, and the beddings, and twenty-eight other articles is also made to the Brāhman at the time. The *arghya* water of the *prēta* is combined with that of the *pitris*, and an elongated mass of cooked rice is placed between the two rows and divided with blades of grass in three portions which are arranged close to balls of rice. This is regarded as uniting the dead man with his ancestors. Gifts of a few annas are made to each of the Brāhmans assembled there. The two Brāhmans representing the Vaisvadevas and *pitris* are given betel leaves and a few rupees each, and the members of the family go round and prostrate before them, when after bestowing their blessings on them, they depart. The rice ball offerings are thrown into the water. After these, the house is swept and cleaned, and all the members of the family again bathe and drink a little of the sanctified water to become purified. They wear the holy thread as on the previous day. At the last obsequies for one recently deceased, which is named the Sapindana, the following prayer is recited when the rice ball which has been offered to him is piled up with the rest; "May the mansion of those progenitors, who have reached a common abode and who have accordant minds, foster him; may the blessed sacrifices sacred to the Gods be his." The subjoined prayer is likewise peculiar to the Sapindana. "By (the intercession of) those souls who are mine by affinity, who are animated, (shades) who have reached a common abode, who have accordant minds, may prosperity be mine in this world for a hundred years."

After smearing the place with cowdung, a square altar of sand is raised on it, one or two fingers high, and nearly a span in length and breadth. It must be triangular at the obsequies of one recently dead. The person who performs the ceremony first washes his hands and feet, sips water and puts a ring of *kusa* grass on the ring finger of the right hand. He sits down on the seat made of *kusa* grass, or of other materials placed upon a blade of such grass. He lights a lamp, reciting a prayer which will be cited further on. He places the implements and

materials in regular order and sprinkles water on himself and all round, meditating on Vishnu, surnamed the lotus-eyed, and revolving in his mind the couplet, "Whether pure or defiled, etc." He now shifts the sacerdotal thread to his right shoulder and solemnly declares his intention of performing a Śrāddha, and the motive of it. He thrice meditates on Gāyatri, and pronounces the salutation to superior beings, "Salutation to the Gods, to the manes of ancestors."

After this preparation, he proceeds to invite and welcome the Visvedevas, Pitris, Vishnu and the manes. First he places two little cushions of *kusa* grass on one side of the altar for the Visvedevas, and three in front of it for the Pitris. Each cushion should consist of three blades of grass folded up. After strewing *kusa* grass on these cushions, he says, "Shall I invoke the Visvedevas?" Being told "Do so," he thus invokes them "Visvedevas! hear my invocation, come and sit on this holy grass." After scattering barley on the same spot, he meditates this prayer "Visvedevas! listen to my invocation. Ye, who reside in this sky and ye who abide near us, (on earth) or (far off), in Heaven," "Ye whose tongues are fire, and ye, who defend the funeral sacrifice sit on this grass and be cheerful." He then invites the manes of the ancestors with similar invocations, "O Fire! zealously we support thee; zealously we feed thee with fuel; eagerly dost thou call our willing ancestors to taste our oblations." "May our progenitors who eat the moon-plant, who are sanctified by holy fire, come by paths, which Gods travel. Satisfied with ancestral food at this solemn sacrifice, may they applaud and guard us." He next welcomes the Gods and manes with oblations of water in vessels made of leaves, two are presented to the Visvedevas, and three to paternal ancestors and as many to maternal ancestors. Kusa grass is put into each vessel and water sprinkled on it, while the prayer, "May divine waters be auspicious to us," etc., is recited. Barley is thrown into the vessels intended for the Visvedevas, and *tila* (sesamum) into those intended for the manes of ancestors, with these prayers:—"Barley! thou art the separator, separate us from our natural enemies and from our malicious foes. 2. Thou art *tila*, sacred to Soma." At a Śrāddha for the increase of prosperity which is performed on many occasions as a preparation for a solemn act of religion, barley is thrown into the vessels instead of *tila*, and the last prayer is thus varied. "Thou art barley, sacred to Soma; framed by the divinity thou dost produce celestial bliss; mixed with water mayst thou long satisfy with nourishment my several

progenitors whose mouths are full of blessings." The vessels are successively taken up by the celebrant who repeats each time a prayer before recited.* "The water in Heaven, in the atmosphere and on the earth, have been united with milk, etc."

The kusa grass that lay in the vessel is put into a Brāhmana's hand, and that which was under it is held by the person who performs the Śrāddha in his own hands, and through it he successively pours the water out of each vessel on the Brāhmana's hand. He then piles up the empty vessels in three sets, and reverses them, saying, while he upsets the first, "Thou art a mansion for ancestors."

The person who performs the Śrāddha next takes up rice smeared with clarified butter and makes two oblations to fire, reciting these prayers—"May this oblation to fire which conveys the offerings to the manes be efficacious." The Brāhmans are then presented with new garments, sandal paste, flowers, etc.

The Brāhmans should be fed with the residue of the oblation. It is accordingly consecrated for that purpose by the following prayer:—"The vessel that holds thee is the earth; its lid is sky; I offer you this residue of an oblation, similar to ambrosia, in the undefiled mouth of a priest; may this oblation be efficacious." The performer of the Śrāddha then points with his thumb towards the food, saying, "Thrice did Vishnu step, etc." He adds, "May the demons and giants that sit on this consecrated spot be dispersed." He meditates on the Gāyatri with the names of the worlds, and sweetens the food with honey or sugar, saying, "May winds blow sweet," etc. He then distributes the food among the Brāhmans; and when they have eaten and have acknowledged that they are satisfied, he gives them water to rinse their mouths.

He now proceeds to offer the funeral cakes consisting of balls or lumps of cooked rice mixed with clarified butter. He offers three to the paternal and as much more to the maternal ancestors. The prayers, "Ancestors! rejoice, take your respective shares," and the form of the oblation has been already mentioned. It is only necessary to add in this place that he wipes his hands with *kusa* grass in honour of remoter ancestors, who thus become partakers of the oblations.

In the next place, he makes six oblations of water from the palm of his hands, with salutation to the seasons. "Salutation unto you, O Fathers! and unto the saddening seasons,"

* *The Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brāhmans.* Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII, pages 232-285.

etc. By this prayer, the manes of ancestors are doubly saluted; for the Veda declares, "The six seasons are the progenitors of mankind."

A thread is placed on each funeral cake to serve as apparel for the manes, and each time the same words are repeated, "Fathers! This apparel is offered unto you." Flowers, perfumes and similar things are added at pleasure, but water must be sprinkled on each cake with the prayer, "Waters! Ye are the food of our progenitors."

The performer of the Śrāddha, then takes up the cake in the middle and smells it; or his wife eats it, if they be solicitous for male offspring. In this case, the following prayer must be recited:—

"Grant, O Progenitors! the conception of a male child (long lived and healthy, and the like, the lotus and garland for twins that sprung from the Asvini); so that, at this season there may be a person (to fulfil the wishes of the Gods, of the manes, and of human beings")."* He then takes up the cakes, successively smells them, and throws them into a vessel and gives away the food to a mendicant priest or to the cow, or else casts it into the waters.

He then dismisses the manes, with presents of betel leaves, nuts, and a few annas saying, "Fathers! to whom food belongs, guard our food and the other things offered by us, venerable and immortal as ye are and conversant with the holy truths. Quaff the sweet essence of it, be cheerful, and depart contented by the paths which Gods travel." Lastly, he walks round the spot and leaves it, saying, "May the benefit of this oblation accrue to me repeatedly; may the Gods of the earth and the Goddesses of the sky whose form is the universe visit me with present and future happiness. Father and mother, revisit me when I again celebrate the obsequies. Soma, king of the manes; visit me for the sake of (conferring) immortality."†

A Śrāddha is thus performed with an oblation of three funeral cakes only to three male paternal ancestors on such occasions; or with as many funeral oblations to three maternal ancestors on others. Thus at the monthly Śrāddhas celebrated on the day of new moon, six funeral cakes are offered to three paternal and as many maternal male ancestors with their wives; on most other occasions, separate oblations are presented to

* *The Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brāhmans.*
† Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII, pages 232-285).

the female ancestors. At the obsequies celebrated in the first half of Asvini, on the day entitled Mahālaya, funeral cakes are separately offered to every deceased friend and near relation; thus, immediately after offering the oblations to ancestors a cake is presented to a deceased wife, then to a son or daughter, to a brother or sister, to an uncle or aunt, to a father-in-law, to a preceptor, and lastly to a friend. The same is observed at the obsequies performed on the day of an eclipse, or upon a pilgrimage to a holy spot, and especially to Gayā. This kind of Śrāddha is called a Pārvana-Śrāddha, which is performed at the new moon and at other periods of the moon's phases.* †

OCCUPATION.

The Brāhmans were, by the Śāstras, required to teach the Vedas, to look after the training and preservation of the moral, social and religious interests of the people, to perform and preside over the religious and sacrificial ceremonies, and also to aid rulers in the administration of justice. These duties were, in after times, discharged by some among them known as Vaidikas, while others called Loukikas were engaged in other occupations. At present, the priestly class of Brāhmans and others proficient in the study of the Śāstras have, owing to the absence of sufficient encouragement, diminished in numbers, while others engage themselves in all occupations which afford decent income for their livelihood. The study of the Vedas and the Śāstras is, in point of money earning, less popular among them, and its place is being taken up by western education. Brāhman children, boys and young men, are being educated in all schools and colleges, and take advantage of the instructions imparted in them; so that they form a conspicuous majority in the ranks of the literates. As in other districts, they are employed in all departments of Government service. Many are merchants, bankers, cultivators, and the like.

* H. D. Griswold, *The Religions of the Rig-Veda*, Chap. XI,
† A. C. Das, *Rig-Vedic Culture*, page 232.

FOOD. The Brāhmans are strict vegetarians and teetotallers. Rice (*Oryza sativa*) is the chief article of food, and other grains such as pulse, black, green and Bengal gram, and dhal are largerly used in this daily meal. Milk, ghee, curds and butter-milk are important constituents of their food. Turmeric, pepper, coriander, cummin, mustard seeds and other spices are also used to add flavour to the preparation. All kinds of vegetables with the exception of onions and potatoes are freely used. Orthodox Brāhmans have their dinner between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning and supper at about eight P.M., with a lunch consisting of some bread and hot water seasoned with coriander, cummin and other seeds. Children, very young men, and women have their breakfast, which consists of rice boiled during the previous night and mixed with water. A small quantity of this rice with butter-milk and pickles is consumed at 8 A.M., and 4. P.M, in addition to their regular dinner and supper. An innovation has however taken place in this direction. Coffee or tea with bread has taken the place of cold rice and butter milk in the morning and evening. Numerous restaurants in towns and villages bear testimony to this innovation.

The kitchen should be the most retired room in the house, so that no Śūdras may look in and thus defile the vessels. It is also improper to look at any one who is eating. The women after preparing the dishes wait on the men, and the wives dine after husbands. They never sit down to dine with the men. The orthodox fashion is to mix and take the food with the fingers. Nothing must be touched with the left hand. Before dining, a person must wash his hands and feet. The rice and other dishes are generally served on banana leaves or in metal trays.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

The Smārta Brāhmans form the one division of representatives in Southern India of the Āryan race, and have all the characteristics peculiar to the Āryan type. Partly owing to the influence of fusion and interminglings during the long lapse of time with the Dravidian population, some of the characteristics of the latter are found among them: and yet they can be distinguished from the rest of the community by their fair complexion and other physical and mental characters. Sir Herbert Risley considers the Brāhmans of Southern India as belonging to the Aryo-Dravidian type.

The Smārta Brāhmans are found in all shades of complexion, and are handsome in appearance. They are of the medium height. The orthodox Brāhmans and others who do not possess western culture get their bodies clean-shaved at least once in every month, leaving a tuft of hair on the back of the head which is made smooth by gingelly oil. It is a kind of fashion among some young men and a few grown up men to have their heads cropped, and keep the rest of the body unshaved on the pretext of better comfort and convenience. Some again shave their faces only. All these innovations are repugnant to the orthodox members. The moustache is the only hair permanently worn on the face by a large majority of those who are not Vaidikas. In this connection, it may be said that tonsure is one of the sixteen sacraments, and the preservation of a tuft of hair is necessary for the Brāhmans on ceremonial occasions: and yet this fact is ignored by those who delight in the innovations above referred to.

The dress of the men of all sections is similar. Orthodox Brāhmans and others wear *sōman*, (*pancha kascham*) a loin-cloth five yards in length and about one and a half yards in breadth. They also put

on *vēshtis* three yards in length and with the same breadth as that of the loin dress. A red, green, or blue blanket or shawl is a favourite article of attire for early morning. The educated young men and Government employees of these days wear costumes of European pattern. Unmarried young men and boys wear only mundus (a piece of cotton cloth four cubits in length and two and a half cubits in breadth). Boys and young men, in schools and colleges, wear coats and caps, and the adoption of European costume is but a step higher. The hair on the head of a Brāhman woman is parted in the middle and tied into a knot behind. It is well smoothened with gingelly or cocoanut oil. Sometimes the hair is gathered into a large plait which hangs straight down the neck, very effectively decorated at the crown at different points with richly chased circular golden cauls and bosses.

The dress of the married woman is called a *pudava*, or *sāri*, which is a coloured cloth nine yards in length and two and a half cubits in breadth. Three or four folds of the cloth are held together on the left side of the loin, while the rest of it is passed between the legs and tucked up behind, and the remaining portion, after passing twice or thrice round the loin is carried over the right sometimes left shoulder after covering the breast. Young women put on a petty coat or *ravikkai*. A married woman wears a cloth of any colour except white, but an old woman generally wears only red clothes. A widow puts on a white cloth. A girl before marriage wears a *pāvadai*.

The men wear ear-rings, a waist-band of gold or silver and rings for the fingers. The women, on the other hand, are not sparing in the matter of ornaments, and their desire for them is unbounded and often beyond the means of their husbands.

They have ornaments for the head, nose, ears, neck, arms, fingers, waist, feet, and other parts of the body.

The following are the ornaments in common use among them :—

Jatabangāra.—It is a gold ornament which consists of a series of admirably carved minor ones, almost square in shape, attached together by gold wire and hooked so as to look like a single ornament. It is attached to the plaited hair by means of hooks.

Nāgar.—It is a delicately worked gold ornament, shaped like a hooded serpent, and generally placed at the back of the crown. This is now superseded by the Rākadi. Below this are placed some minor ones named Tāzhampū, Koppu Jada billai, worked in imitation of rose and other flowers.

Rākadi.—It is an elaborately carved round-shaped ornament, kept in position on the crown of the plaited hair. In front of this, on either side, are two small gold ornaments, one circular and the other crescent-shaped, but these are now worn mostly by children.

Jumiki.—It is a pendant in the shape of an inverted cup made of gold sometimes set with rubies all over and with clusters of pearls hanging from the bottom. It is now out of fashion.

Kammal or Olai.—This is the most common ear ornament, and is made of gold or set with rubies or diamonds. The latter is not now the fashion.

Bulākku.—This is an ornament for the nose, and is made of gold and set with rubies or diamonds with a big pearl attached to its base. This is worn by girls and women below middle age. This is now out of fashion.

Mukra.—This is a circular ring set with pearls and rubies, worked in fanciful shapes of birds and flowers. It is now out of fashion.

Mukkutti.—(Nose-screw). This is worn on the right nostril, and a small hole is bored through the nose-wall for the purpose.

Sara.—A string of gold with the *tāli* or marriage badge is worn round the neck by married women. This *tāli* is never removed as long as the husband is alive.

Kasinsara.—This is a garland of gold coins worn round the neck. Old Venetian sequins were very common, but are now substituted by five-franc French coins. Half sovereigns are also rarely used. The number of coins varies from fifty to a hundred. This jewel is a great favourite with women, and costs five or six hundred rupees. It is presented to the bride at the time of wedding. Various kinds of necklets, made of gold, like watch chains are now being used.

Saradu or Addiyal Addikai .—This is a close fitting ornament worn round the neck.

Sarigē.—This is a common ornament worn by children and young women. It consists of a pretty stiff gold wire with ten or twelve gold beads on each side of the hook.

Bale.—Gold bracclet.

Pataili.—Wristlet. It is a thin leaf of gold worn round the wrist. At the hook are placed two thin plates of gold half an inch square, either plain or set with precious stones.

Valai or Kankana.—Glass bangles.

Vanki.—This is a curiously worked ornament of gold, worn like a bangle round the upper arm. It is worn on both the upper arms.

Dāvu.—This is a silver or gold girdle, an inch or an inch and a half in breadth with a hook in front.

Metti.—This is a plain silver ring worn round the second toe of each foot, and produces a jingling sound in walking.

Kāppu.—These are plain silver anklets worn on each leg.

Golusu.—This is another silver ornament. Thanda Pāvasaram, are not now in use.

Many of these ornaments are worn by grown up girls and young women who, after being blessed with a few children, become indifferent, and limit their desire to the wearing of a few of them. Kammal Kodi, and a few necklets, Kasimālai, armlets Kāppu and Golusu are generally worn by them.

THE PRESENT SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE SMARTA BRAHMANS.

From the foregoing account of the customs and manners of the Smārta Brāhmans, it may be seen that many of the old ideals are gradually disappearing. The old divisions among them exist more for the sake of marriage prohibitions than for anything else. The custom of matrimonial relations thirty years ago, was to select a suitable bride for a young man according to the old śāstraic ideals, and give her ornaments in proportion to the means of the bridegroom's parents, which might in some cases form a nucleus for her maintenance in the event of her husband's premature death; but now this custom has so far changed that the husband has to be purchased at a price which has been enhanced by western education and culture. Parents with a few daughters and sons become poor by the marriage of the former and by the education of the latter; and in the majority of cases, there is no chance of replenishing the family property by the joint labour of the sons, who generally shift for themselves when they are able to earn.

The daily routine of the Brāhman in his family was, in former times, a series of religious observances, and the junior members, women and children, were in a kind of moral and religious atmosphere, from which they are now completely free. The various

ceremonies which a Brāhman has to perform are performed either without comprehending their real significance or purpose, or are sometimes overlooked with the exception of the ancestor worship (Śrāddha). The religious and moral education of boys and young men reading in schools and colleges leave very much to be desired according to the old Brāhmanic ideals.

In point of occupation, they have adapted themselves to the modern environment, and are sufficiently speculative and enterprising. They are engaged in all occupations which yield them a decent income. Thus, many of the old customs are disappearing by the influence of western education and culture. The old Brāhmanic ideals, under the influence of western culture, will be a golden mean.

ŚRĪ VAISHṆAVA.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SRI-VAISHNAVAS—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE SRI-VAISHNAVAS—MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SRI-VAISHNAVISM—VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA—THE TWO VAISHNAVA SCHOOLS—DOCTRINAL DIFFERENCES—FUNERAL CUSTOMS—DIETARY OF THE SECT—CONCLUSION.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SRI-VAISHNAVAS.

Introduction.—Among the three main divisions of the Brāhmans based on religious differences, Śrī-Vaishṇavas rank next to the Smārtās in point of numerical strength. The word Śrī-Vaishṇava indicates that they worship both Vishṇu and his consort Lakshmi or Śrī. The members of this community and the Mādhvās, known also as Vaishṇavās, are as ethnic groups and fissions from the Smārtās. They are scattered all over the State, their chief centres, being Śīrangapatam, Melkote, Mandayam, T.-Narsipur, and some villages in the districts of Bangalore, Mysore and Hāssan. They live on the banks of the Cāuveri, Hemāvati, and Bhadrāvati. The population of this community was not separately given in the last two census operations.

Śrī-Vaishṇavas are comparatively more exclusive than the other sections of Brāhmans in point of food and intermarriage, and they are not only separated from other Brāhmans, but do not coalesce *inter se*. Among them there are considerable divergencies in point of rituals and dogmas, and these have led to two main divisions known as Tengalais (southerners) and Vadagalais (northerners) between whom there are constant bickerings. The schism arose about

five hundred years ago in consequence of a difference of opinion about the interpretations of some texts in the Vedas. The main points in which they differ will be dealt with when we discuss their religious beliefs. Notwithstanding the absence of cordiality between them they interdine and intermarry. They have also distinguishing marks on their foreheads. The majority of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the State are the Vadagalais who may, in a way, be compared and roughly correspond to the Roman Catholics, while the Tengalais to the Protestants among the Christians. Their common language is Tamil, which is more or less mixed with Canarese and Telugu. A few communities speak Telugu alone. Nearly all of them are immigrants from the Tamil and Telugu Districts of the Madras Presidency, but their immigrations are centuries old, and they are now merged in the population of the State with a tendency to speak the local language.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

Endogamous Groups.—The following are the chief endogamous groups among the Śrī-Vaishṇavas :—*

1. Hebbār.
2. Mandyattār.
3. Hemmigeyār.
4. Mettukunteyār.
5. Marudūrār.
6. Someshāndān or Āttān-kuttatār, (Andān Vamśam).
7. Kallukunteyār.
8. Prativādibhayankaratar.
9. Nallānchakravartigal.
10. Yembār.
11. Bhattrāchār.
12. Tirumalaiyār.
13. Vaikhānasāl.
14. Pāncharātrāl.
15. Chōli and Muncholi.
16. Eachambādiyār.

1. *Hebbār.*—The ancestors of the Hebbār Brāhmans are said to be immigrants from Srīrangam, Conjeevaram and Kumbhakonam, Rājamannar Kovil, Tirupati and other parts of Southern India. They have settled in five different parts of the

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1871, page 57.

State, and their descendants formed themselves into five groups called Pancha *grāmas* (five villages), each being composed of five villages. These Pancha-grāmas are :—

1. Kadaba .. .. in Tumkur District.
2. Grāma .. .. in Hassan District.
3. Patna .. .. in Srīrangapatnam.
4. Mālūru .. .. Bangalore District.
5. Belūru .. .. in Hassan District.

The members of these five groups dine together and intermarry. They are both Tengalai and Vadagalai, and speak Tamil.

2. *Mandyattār.*—The members of this community are immigrants from a village called Mandayam near Tirupati. They settled in Melkote and Mandyam, the latter being named after their original village. They are largely found in the Ashtagrāma division. They are all Tengalai and speak Tamil.

3. *Hemmigeyār.*—The members are all Vaidikas of the Vadagalai group, and have settled at Hemmige in the Narasipur Taluk of the Mysore District. Their village is said to have been given them as *inām* to one of their ancestors by the then ruling sovereign as a reward for his distinction in a literary discussion. Their language is Tamil.

4. *Metukunteyār.*—They are Vadagalais, and disciples of Parakālasvāmi. They are found all over the State. They speak Telugu and Tamil.

5. *Marudurār.*—They belong to the Vadagalai group. There are about 40 families in the State. They speak Tamil.

6. *Someshandāns.*—The members are immigrants from Srīrangam. They are chiefly Vaidikas, and are found in the Ashtagrāma division.

7. *Kallukunteyār.*—Nearly all the members of this division live in a jōdi village of the same name in the Hoskote Taluk of the Bangalore District.

8. *Prativādibhayankarattār.*—The members of this division are Tengalais and Vaidikas. They are chiefly immigrants from Śrirangam, and have mostly settled in the Kolar District. They speak Tamil.

9. *Nallānchakravarti.*—They are Vadagalai immigrants from Conjeevaram and are found scattered over the State. They are mostly Vaidikas and speak Tamil.

10. *Yembār.*—They are Tengalais from Śrīrangam and speak Tamil.

11. *Bhattrachār.*—They are Tengalais who have mostly settled in the Kolar District. They are Vaidikas and speak Tamil.

12. *Tirumalaiyār.*—They are the descendants of Kotikanyādāna Tātāchārya who came from Conjeevaram. They are all Vadagalais and Vaidikas. They are found all over the State and speak Tamil.

13. *Vaikhanasāl.*—They are all Archakās (priests in Vaishṇavite temples). Their status corresponds to the Śivanambis among the Smārtas. The members of other divisions abovementioned have no social intercourse with them. They speak Telugu.

14. *Pancharatrāl.*—They are also worshippers in Vaishṇavite temples. There are both Vadagalais and Tengalais among them. They speak Telugu and Tamil.

15. *Choli and Muncholi.*—They are so called because they retain the lock of hair on the top of the head. They are found in the Nandidrug and Ashtagrāma divisions. They are both Vadagalai and Tengalai, and speak Tamil.

16. *The Kilnāttar* has a twofold significance. It means those belonging to the down country or the country below the ghats. If all the Śrī-Vaishṇavas in Mysore are immigrants from the country

below the ghats, only a section of them carry on the traditional name up-to-date. Hence the use of the term Mēlnāttar.*

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

The *gotra* restrictions for intermarriage prevailing among the Śrī-Vaishṇavas are the same as those prevailing among the Smārtas. There is generally no intermarriage between the Smārtās and the Śrī-Vaishṇavas, though exceptions are found among the poor members of the community. The members of the two main divisions, Vadakalais and Tenkalais intermarry. Smārtas become Vadamās, and gradually join the Śrī-Vaishṇavas. There were typical examples in Rāmanujā's times. Similar transformations are taking place even now in some important centres. In this connection, it may be of interest to state that Śrī-Vaishṇavās are very exclusive, and they co-exist as a separate sect of Brāhmans with the Smārtās. But it was only after Rāmanujā's teaching that they seceded from the Smārtās, and their ranks were swollen by frequent additions from amongst the Vadamās. There are some families of Vaishṇavās which observe pollution when there is a death in certain Smārtā families which belong to the same *gōtra*. Vaishṇavas of some places, such as those in Valavanur, Savalai, Peringiyur in the South Arcot District are considered low by the orthodox Śrī Vaishṇavas, because they are recent converts to Vaishṇavism. A good example of Smārtas becoming Vaishṇavas is afforded by the Thammagunta Dravidas, some of whom have become Vaishṇavas, but still take girls in marriage from Smārta families, but do not give their daughters in marriage to Smartās.†

* *Mysore Census Report*, 1891.

† Edgar Thurston,: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, page 349.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage customs among the Śrī Vaishṇavas are the same as those among the Smārtas. But the following custom prevails among them. On the fourth day the Brāhmans assemble, and recite some Vedic verses. The conjugal pair who are seated in their midst are formally blessed. Presents of clothes, and ornaments of gold and silver are made to them by their relatives who are assembled there then. A small quantity of turmeric paste reddened with chunnam mixed with ghee is smeared on the shoulders of the pair, and a mark is made on their foreheads. This is called *Pacchai Kalyāṇam*. After this the bridal pair roll a cocoanut to and fro across the dais, when the assembled Brāhmans chant verses in Tamil composed by a Śri-Vaishṇava saintess named Āndāl, an *avatār* of Bhūdēvi or Bhumippirattiar who dedicated herself to Vishṇu. The Tamil verses chanted on the occasion are called "*Vārunamāyiram*" chosen out of *Nācchiyār Tirumozhi*, a portion of the 4,000 *Prabhandas*. In these stanzas she narrates to her friends the dream in which she went through the marriage ceremony after her dedication to the God. A few betel leaves together with some arecanut and money are set apart for Āndāl, (Nāchiyar Sambhāvanai), and then distributed to all present. A large crowd generally assembles, for it is believed that the recitation of verses in praise of Āndāl is supposed to bring general blessings. The family priest calls out the names of the relatives of those who have become related to the bride and bridegroom through the marriage. As each person's name is called out, he or she is supposed to make a present of clothes or money to the bride or bridegroom. The ceremonial bath takes place on the morning of the fifth day. Among the Śrī-Vaishṇavas the bridegroom's price is not so heavy as among the Smārtas (Tamil

Brāhmans). All expenses connected with the marriage ceremony, such as the ornaments to the bride, wedding garments of the bride and bridegroom, feeding expenses and the like are all borne by the bride's father.

All customs and ceremonies connected with puberty, *garbhādāna* (nuptial), *pumsavana* and *sīmanta* as also those connected with delivery, childbirth and all post-natal ceremonies are the same as those prevailing among the Smārtās, for the Smritis mostly are common to all Brāhmans.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Among the Śrī-Vaishṇavas who live in various Agrahārams, all social and religious disputes are generally settled by their *gurus* who are called the Âchāryapurushas. Whenever a member of the caste infringes on the caste rules such as those pertaining to inter-dining with a non-Brāhman, or a woman going wrong and the like, and when the matter becomes public, the leading members of the community, after ascertaining fully the facts. bring them to the notice of their *gurus*, who, after necessary investigation and after consulting the *Śāstras*, decide the matter. They communicate their decision to the leading members or personally attend to them, and pronounce the judgment. If the delinquent submits to the punishment, by the performance of some expiatory ceremony, he is relieved of the faults. In the event of his disobedience he is outcasted. No member of the community can associate with him in social matters. Further, for the salvation of their disciples, they advise the performance of some ceremony such as *Pancha samskāras*, sacraments of Prapatti or surrender to One God, the all-pervading, and the all-permeating Vishṇu, or Nārāyana and initiation into some mantrams

called the Vaishṇava-dīkshā. They are, in fact, guides and advisers to the disciples to walk in the right path during their lifetime, and suggest the performance of good deeds for their salvation. The institution of *gurus* among them has long been in existence, and the office is hereditary in the family of the original founders who always look to the prosperity of their disciples.*

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF VAISHNAVISM.

The term Vaishṇava is applied to the members of the Hindu sect who worship Vishṇu in a special way. Like Śaivism, Vaishṇavism is a form of monotheism. Since the Vedic period the development of the cult of Vishṇu has undergone many modifications. It is said that Vishṇu occupies a subordinate position in the Rig Veda, and that his essential feature is that he takes three strides, which are interpreted by some authorities to mean the rising, the culminating, and the setting of the sun, but the probable meaning is the course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe.*

In the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* there is a story revealing Vishṇu to be the highest of the Gods. Vishṇu has also become a household God. In the ceremony of the seven steps contained in the marriage ritual, the bridegroom says to the bride when she puts forward a step "May Vishṇu lead you or be with you." This formula occurs in the Grihyasūtras of Āpastamba, Hiranyakēsin and Parāskara but not in that of Āsvalāyana. The *Saptapadi* ceremony is common to all Brāhmanas as well as Vishṇu-worship.

The information given above was supplied to me by Mr. Chakravarti Srinivas Āchārya, Travelling Pandit belonging to the Mysore Oriental Library.

* A. A Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg 1897, page 397.

The late R. G. Bhandarkar traces its stages as follows:— "In the fifth century B. C., a religious reform arose like that which gave rise to Buddhism and Jainism, but was based on theistic principles. This soon assumed a sectarian type in the form of the Pāncharātra or Bhāgavata religion, which again was combined in the cult of Rāmāyana. Soon after the Christian era, the Abhīra race * of shepherds contributed to it their tribal hero Krishna. In the eighth century, their faith the predominant feature of which was *bhakti* or love, came in contact with the doctrine of spiritual monism and world-illusion promulgated by Śankarāchārya. But the hostility to spiritual monism gathers to a head in the eleventh century, when Rāmānuja made strenuous efforts to displace it by the religion of *bhakti* in a reinvigorated form. This was followed in the north by Nimbārka who advocated the cow-herd (Gōpa) element and introduced the cult of Rādhā, wife of Krishna. The same policy was continued in the thirteenth century by Mādhva or Ānandatīrtha who established the doctrine of pluralism of souls with Vishnu as supreme God. In the north Rāmānanda emphasized the cult of Rāma, and his successor, Rāmānuja, that of Nārāyana. Kabir in the 15th century preached strict monotheism, the cult of Rāma, and condemned idolatry. Vaishnavism was thus developed on several distinct lines according as the object of devotion to Vishnu varies with the manifestation of incarnations or descents (*avatāra*). The theory tends towards syncretism, the absorption of the lower animal Gods or totems of the more primitive tribes into the Brāhmanical pantheon. The incarnations of Vishnu as described in the *puranas* became prominent, and this became the basis of popular Hinduism as professed by the Hindus all over India.† In this connection it must be said that the foundation of Vaishnavism is the doctrine of *bhakti-mārga* (path of devotion), which is professed by a vast majority of the inhabitants of India. Equally important is Śaivism which also teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*, and both have numerous sects. The word *bhakti* with the allied words *Bhagavat* and *Bhāgavata* is derived from the Samskrit root *bhaj* to adore, and *bhagavat* signifies the adorable. The word *Bhāgavata*, on the other hand, means a worshipper of the Adorable One. As a religious term *bhakti* is defined as deep love fixed upon the Lord. The faith therefore requires a personal deity

* But the Abhiras figuring in Krishna legends date long before the Christian era, about 30 Centuries B. C.

† R. G. Bhandarkar: *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* pages, 50-55.

as its object, and for many centuries, after Vedic times, all Indian religious literature was confined to one form of thought which was incompatible with the belief in the existence of such a God. This was the pantheistic Brāhmanism of the earliest *Upanishads* and of the works based upon them. But the love directed to God is fully established as a religious technical term only in the *Bhagavad-Gita* and similar works such as the *Bhagavata-purāna*. The devotion of faith is directed not only to a personal God but to one God. It is essentially a monotheistic attitude of the religious sense which was a very old one in India. '*Tad Vishnoh paramam padam*' is the *general Upanishadic formula for all Brahmanas.*"

The Monotheistic Bhāgavata religion had its origin from its founder Krishna Vāsudeva who belonged to the Sātvata sept of the Yādava tribe. In the *Mahābhārata* he appears both as a mighty warrior and a religions reformer. He called the object of his worship Bhagavat or the Adorable, and his followers called themselves Bhāgavatās. He became identified with the Adorable under his patronymic of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarshaṇa. In its original form the religion became monotheistic. Vāsudeva taught that the Supreme being was infinite, and full of grace; and that salvation consisted in a life of perpetual bliss, based on service incessantly rendered to Vishṇu.

About this period there arose the idea of the Śakti or energy *i.e.*, power, of a divinity as a separate personality. The worship of this energic power which became a prominent feature in the cult of Śiva had its counterpart in the religion of the *Bhāgavatas*. Just as Vishnu was identified with the Adorable One, so his spouse Śrī or Lakshmi was looked upon as the adorable energic power. She is one with Him and yet distinct from Him in the manner that rays are connected with the sun, or iridescence with precious gems. The Bhāgavata monotheistic deity has thus become a Trinity in Unity, consisting of the Supreme, His incarnations and His energic power.*

* If the incarnations are combined with the Supreme, Srī and Vishnu (from which Sri Vaishnava is formed), here is a conception of Deity as Unity by Duality.

The members of the various divisions follow the teaching of their founders, and the most important is that of the Śrī-Vaishnavas founded by Rāmānuja, the followers of whom are more numerous in Southern India than in the Northern. The second school is that of Mādhva or Ānandathīrtha who preached the doctrine of duality (*dvaita*) in opposition to the non-duality of Śankarāchārya. The members of the third sub-division follow the teaching of Rāmānanda who abolished all distinctions between the Brāhmans and the so-called untouchables, and the use of the vernacular tongues was made compulsory. Vaishnavism is thus essentially monotheistic.

VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA.

Sankarshana and Vāsudeva were worshipped in the Mahratta country as early as the first century. Very likely the cult must have spread south in the Tamil country. But there is no evidence to prove as to the time at which it was introduced. The Śrī-Vaishnavas of the Tamil country so flourished in their worship that it became a model for other sects to follow in their literature and organization. The *Azhvars* or the saints composed lyrics in Tamil to be sung in the temple service, and the use of this language in the worship brought the cult nearer the people. Thus the rich and passionate devotion of hymns made the *bhakti* of the sect more vivid and real. The man to whom Śrī-Vaishnavas owed much was Nāthamuni who lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. He gathered the hymns of *Nammāzhvār* and of others, arranged them into four groups of a thousand stanzas each, and set them to Dravidian music. The whole collection is called *Nālāyira Prabandham* or book of four thousand hymns. He also arranged to have them sung in the famous temple of Śrīrangam and other temples, such as Āzhvār, Tirunagiri on the banks of the Tambraparni. The practice spread to other shrines. It now obtains in all or most of the Vaishnavite temples. Nāthamuni was a great theologian and teacher, who had under him a school of Samskrit and Tamil scholarship, both combined and was on that account, called the first Āchārya of the sect. The study of *Nālāyira Prabhandam* was one of the chief parts of the curriculam, and a series of commentaries were written on them. The other most important teachers were Pundarikāksha, Rāmamiśra and Yamunāchārya. The first and the second are very little known, but the third who was the grandson of Nāthamuni lived in the middle of the eleventh century. He was a Sanyāsi like the other teachers of the school. He was the author of

several works on the Vaishnavite faith, namely, *Siddhitraya* which aims to establish the reality of human soul in opposition to the school of Śankara, the Āgamaprāmānya, on the authority of Vaishnava *Āgamas* or *Samhitas*, and *Gītārtha-Samagraha* an exposition of the *Bhagavat-gīta* in Samskrit and *Stōtra Ratna* and in these works are found the earliest doctrines of the Visishtādvaita philosophy of which Rāmānuja was the classical exponent.

Rāmānuja was born in Saka 998 which corresponds to 1016 or 1017 A. D. In his youth he lived at Conjeevaram, and was a pupil of Yādavaprakāsa, who was an advaita philosopher and therefore professed spiritual monism. Rāmānuja who was inclined towards Vaishnavism did not agree with his teacher but formulated a monism modified to suit the path of *Bhakti*. He applied himself to the study of the *Prabandhas* of the *Āzhvārs* and drank in their spirit. When he succeeded Yamunāchārya, he lived at Śrīrangam and did his life's work there. He had the control of the temple and of the school as also wielded pontifical authority in Śrī-Vaishnavism. He was most successful both as a teacher and as a controversialist. For about twenty years he preached, held discussions and wrote various works. He thrice went on pilgrimage, *dig-vijaya* properly speaking, to the noted holy places of India. In his later years he was persecuted by a Chōla prince who compelled him to renounce his faith in favour of Śaivism. This led him to leave Śrīrangam and take refuge in 1016 A. D. in the dominions of the Hoysala Ballāla prince who reigned in Mysore, and whose capital was Dvārasamudra, the modern Halebid, where he converted Vittala Dēva popularly called Bitti Dēva, Governor of the frontier provinces. He was called Vishnuvardhana after his conversion to Vaishnavism. He reigned from 1104 to 1141.* It was here that Rāmānuja composed the following works, namely, *Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasangraha, Vedāntadipa*, and commentaries or *Bhāshyas* on the *Brahma-Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad-gītā*.†

The Vedāntic theory or the theory based on *Brahma-sūtras* and the *Upanishads* which Rāmānuja set up to provide scope for *Bhakti* or love for God and spirit of worship, was, that there are three eternal principles, the individual soul (*cīt*) the insensate world (*acit*), and the Supreme Soul (*Īśvara*). There are Upanishad texts to support this, and one of them regards Brahman as embodied of the experiencer (*bhōkta*), and the

* *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, page 173.

† R. G. Bhandarkar; *Vaishnavism* and *Saivism*, page 52.

experienced (*bhōgyan*). The controller or mover (*preritā*), is threefold. But the Brahma-sūtras lay it down on the authority of the Upanishads, that Brahman is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world. To make this possible in his system Rāmānuja resorts to the passage in the *Brihad-Āranya Upanishad* of the Mādhyāmdina school, beginning from III, 7.3, in which the Supreme Soul is stated to be the internal controller (*Antaryāmin*) of the individual soul as well as of the external world. The form which he gives to his theory is that the individual or sentient soul and the non-sentient world are the indescribable attributes of the Supreme Soul. They constitute his body, as stated in the Upanishads also, and thus they, with the controlling inward Supreme Soul, constitute one entity called Brahman, just as the body and the indwelling soul constitute the human being. Before creation the body of the Supreme Soul exists in a subtle form, and when creation takes place, it develops in the form of the existing or gross universe. Thus Brahman is the material cause of the external world. It is also the efficient cause, when, as the internal controlling soul, it wills to create. The subtle form of the inanimate world is Mūla-Prakriti, a term first adopted by the original author of the Sāmkhya philosophy. It is an Upanishadic term. It develops under the guidance of the indwelling Supreme Spirit until the mundane egg is formed. The successive stages of Mahat, Ahamkāra, etc., are similar to those of the Sānkhya system (which has its roots in the Upanishads), which has been adopted by the Purānas also in the account of the creation. And the creation after the production of the mundane egg is also made by Iśvara as the internal controller of Brahmadeva, Daksha, etc.

The Vēdānta of Sankara is absolutely monistic, and is known as *the Advaita-mata* or the doctrine of non-duality. Its professors claim to be *Smārtās, i.e.*, 'holders of tradition.' or 'orthodox.' The Bhāgavatas allow them the title, and condemn the tradition. An essential part of its teaching is the doctrine usually stated to be an invention of Śankara himself, *māyā* or illusion. To this the Bhāgavatās raise the strongest objection, and one of their common nicknames for a follower of Śankara is that of *māyā-vādin*, or declarer of illusion. Śankara's Supreme Deity (Brahman) is an absolutely impersonal, qualityless Being who can obtain an unreal existence only by association with *māyā*. The soul is really part of Brahman individualised by association with *māyā*. When released from *māyā*, the soul is again merged in Brahman and loses its identity.

All Bhāgavatas agree in rejecting the entire doctrine of *māyā* with all its consequences. The Supreme Deity, the Bhāgavat or Bhagavān, is personal by nature. The soul is, as already said, also personal and individual by nature, and once emerged, lives for ever. It is never merged in the Bhagavān.*

The Śrī-Sampradāya is the most important Bhāgavata system which, while rejecting Sānkara's Vedāntism, remains faithful to the alliance with the old Brāhmanism. The Bhagavān identified with the Pantheos or Brahman of the Upanishads, is a Pantheos but a personal Pantheos in whom everything that is, exists, and who is endowed with every compatible auspicious quality. Matter and soul alike proceed from Him, and He pervades all things as their *Antaryāmin*, or Inward Ruler. The doctrine of this system is also monism, but to distinguish it from Sānkara's it is called *Viśishtādvaita-mata*, or doctrine of qualified non-duality. This teaching is said to have been communicated by the Adorable to his spouse, or energetic power, Lakshmi, also called Śrī. Hence the name of the Śrī-Sampradāya. Śrī taught the *nitya* or eternal named Vishvaksēna,† who taught Sāthakopa, *eighth* in descent from the last-named, in succession of master and pupil, came Rāmānuja, who flourished in the beginning of the XI Century.

RAMANUJA'S RELIGIOUS SYSTEM.

The religious system of Rāmānuja and his followers is based on a traditional inheritance of the Pāncharātra or Bhāgavata doctrine. In the *Śribhāshya* itself the only sectarian hint—if it may be justly termed sectarian, is the use of the term Nārāyana as the synonym for Brahman as evidenced by the Vedas, Sathapatha Brāhmana, Tāitirīya and other Upanishads. In the theology of Rāmānuja, God manifests himself in five forms as given below.

1. It is Para or the highest, in which as Nārāyana, called also Parabrahman or Para-Vāsudeva, He lives in his spiritual (ahukrita) Universe of Vaikuntha, which is guarded by certain personages as doorkeepers; He is seated under a gem Pavilion on the serpent Ādī-Sēsha placed on a throne having eight legs, namely, Dharma and others. He is attended by Śrī or Lakshmi, Bhū (earth) goddess and Nīla.‡ He holds the celestial weapons, conch-shell, discus, and others and is also adorned with celestial ornaments, such as the tiara and others; He is possessed of

* For Bhagavan, see *Vishnu-purāna*.

† or the Lord of Hosts, worshipped at the beginning of all auspicious ceremonies by all Brāhmans.

‡ Read the *Srī-sukta*, *Bhū-sukta* and *Nīla-sukta* of the *Rig-Vēda*.

countless auspicious attributes, knowledge, power, and others. His presence is enjoyed by the eternal (*nityas*) spirits, such as Ananta, Garuda, Vishvaksēna, and others, and by delivered souls the Muktās. As to Śrī, Bhū and Nīla, the three Sūktas of the Rig-vēda bearing these names are the original authorities.

2. The second form of manifestation consists of his three or four Vyūhas in which the Para himself has assumed four forms, Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for convenience of worship and for the purposes of creation and other functions. Of these Vāsudeva possesses the six qualities; Sankarasana has two, *viz.*, omniscience (*jnāna*) and sustaining power (*bala*), Pradyumna has the ruling power (*aiśvarya*) and abiding character (*virya*); and Aniruddha has creative power (*śakti*), and strength to overcome (*tejas*).*

3. The third form Vibhava comprises the ten Avatāras of the ordinary mythology; and countless in fact as chronicled in the Bhagavad-gītā.

4. Then comes the *Antaryāmin*, in which mode God dwells in the heart, and can be seen by the supernatural vision of the Yogins, and accompanies the individual soul in the passage to heaven or hell.

5. Lastly, come the idols or images which are set up in houses, villages, and towns. They are made of materials chosen by the worshipper, in which he dwells with a body not made up of matter † as we know, but of matter pertaining to the spiritual plane, *pañch-opanishan-māya*.

The *Arthapanchaka* has another form of the *Antaryāmin*, in which form he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading and the store of all auspicious attributes, and is called Vishnu, Nārāyana, Vāsudēva, etc. ‡

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* *Vyuhas*:—In the Nārāyaniya section of the Mahābhārata occurs the doctrine of Vyūha or manifestation according to which it exists in four forms. The doctrine is that from which Vāsudeva springs Sānkarashana from Sānkarshana Pradumna, from Pradumna Anirudda, and from Anirudha Brahma. Sānkarshana and the three others are then indentified with the cosmic existences posited by the Sānkhya philosophy thus:—

Vāsudeva—the supreme deity.
Sankarshana—primeval matter. Prakriti.
Pradyumna—Cosmic mind. Manas.
Anirudha—Cosmic self—consciousness. Ahamkāra.
Brahma—Creator of the visible world, bhūtāni.†1

The repetition of these names in the Sandhya sacrifice is common to all Brāhmanas.

† A. Govindacharya Svāmin.

‡ *Yatindramatadīpikā* 9.

Self-consciousness, knowledge, union of the soul with a body, or agency, are attributes common to the supreme and individual souls. The latter is self-illumined, joyous, eternal, atomic, imperceptible to the senses, unthinkable, devoid of parts, unchangeable. The substratum of knowledge is subject to God's control, depending on God's existence for his own existence. This description of the individual soul differs a great deal from that of Sankarāchāryā, who attributes no agency or substantiality to it; and the dependence on God in a variety of ways cannot, of course, be thought of under the doctrine of absolute monism. The soul's nature as being atomic is also denied by Sankara's school. The souls are many, and are divided into: (1) Baddha or tied down to the circle of existences from Brahmadēva to the lowest worm, as well as the lowest vegetable form, grass; (2) Mukta or finally delivered; and (3) *Nitya* or eternal. Of the first class, those that are rational, that is, not brutes or vegetables, which are of two sorts, namely, (*i*) those desirous of enjoyment, and (*ii*) those desirous of final deliverance. Of those that are desirous of enjoyment, some devote themselves to the acquisition of wealth and the satisfaction of carnal desires; and others, who seek to attain the happiness of heaven, perform all rites and sacrifices, make pilgrimages to holy places and give charity. Some of them devote themselves to Bhagavān and others to other phases of that deity, universalized into Nārāyanā. On the contrary, some of those who desire final deliverance (*Muktas*) seek the consciousness of their pure soul only (*Kēvalin*), and others eternal bliss. Of these latter, some are *bhaktas*, who seek to attain God by resorting to *bhakti* with all its details, having first of all studied the Vēdas and acquainted themselves with the Vēdānta and the philosophy of works (*Karma*). The three upper orders alone can practise *bhakti*, but not the Śūdras. Others are Prapannas who are those that take refuge in God, surrender themselves unconditionally with no other qualification than that of a helpless man.*

* The ancient traditions of the Bhāgavata system has been exhaustively treated in the article on the Pāncharātras or the Bhāgavat-Sastra, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, by A. Govindāchārya Svāmin of Mysore, where ancient inscriptions such as those at *Besnagar* are refused to evidencing that Greeks had become Bhāgavatas and erected temples to Vāsudeva, etc. The Bhāgavata system is also known as the Sātvata, of which the Bhāgavād-Gīta is a condensed exposition, and the Bhāgavata-puranā particularly its philosophcial portion the XIth Skandha being the commentary thereon. All this has been pointed out by A. Govindāchārya Svāmin of Mysore.

As some Prapannas aspire for no other happiness than that of a heaven which to them is the constant companionship with God and service to Him, this is their *mōksha*. They seek the help of preceptor and acquire from him the knowledge of spiritual practice, and fling themselves entirely on the grace of God. *Bhakti* is thus said to be *adhikrit-adhikāra* whereas *prapatti* is *sarva-adhikāra*. This *prapatti* or surrender to God is the way open to all orders including Śūdras and Panchamas, even to all creation. So proclaimed Rāmānuja from the tops of temple-towers.

The efficacy of the method of *bhakti*, depends on Karmayōga (the performance of actions) and Jnānāyōga (the acquisition of knowledge). Karmāyōga which is the teaching of Bhagavad Gītā, bids man perform acts without desire of reward. It includes the ceremonial worship of the deity—the practice of penance, the offering of sacrifice and the performance of pilgrimages. It serves as a preparation for the *Jnānayōga* in which the devotee attains the knowledge of himself as distinct from matter, and as a mode of Brahman. This again leads to *bhakti*, which for Rāmānuja is ecstatic devotion, as well as a continuous process of meditation upon God. This meditation is to be promoted by subsidiary means including the use of none but unpolluted food, chastity, the performance of rites in God's name, the practice of such virtues as charity, compassion, abstaining from taking life, truth, uprightness, maintenance of cheerfulness, absence of undue elation and so forth. Thus occupied, *bhakti* results in an intuitive perception of God, the highest state realizable. Prapatti consists in the resolution to yield, the avoidance of opposition,* a faith that God will protect, acceptance of Him as saviour or praying Him to save, and a sense of helplessness resulting in throwing one's whole soul on Him.† Prapatti thus means self-surrender. ‡ The term means *entirely falling* upon God's feet for salvation or liberation (*mukti*).

The Arthapanchaka mentions a fifth way called *Âcharyâbhimānyōgā*, which is for one who is unable to follow any of the others and consists in surrendering oneself to an *Âchārya* or preceptor and being guided by Him in everything. The

* The two expressions thus translated have also been otherwise explained as bearing good-will to all and the absence of ill-will.

† There is another reading here which should be translated. Throwing one-self upon Him with a feeling of helplessness. Thus there are six constituents of Prapatti. These are: (1) *Ānūkulyasya samkalpah*. (2) *prātikūlyasya-varjanam*. (3) *rakshishyatiti-visvaso*. (4) *goptritvavaranam tathā*. (5) *ātmaniksepa*, (6) *kārmanye shadvidha sāranāgatih*.

‡ A. Govindāchārya Svāmin, *Yatindramata-dīpika*.

preceptor goes through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant, or the man of sight leading the blind; what is known as the *mārjāla-kisoranyōga.*

Sixteen modes of worship are to be practised by the devotees of Vishnu, as stated in a passage quoted from the *Padma-Purāna* by a recent writer of the Rāmānuja school. Eight of these are the same as those included in the nine modes of *bhakti* enumerated in a previous section as mentioned in the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, Sakhya or friendship or companionship, being omitted. The other eight are: (1) stamping of the discus or conch-shell and other weapons of Hari on the body; (2) the wearing of vertical marks on the forehead; (3) repeating of *Mantras* on the occasion; (4) sipping of the water used in washing the feet of Hari; (5) doing of service to the devotees; (6) fasting on the 11th of the bright and dark halves of each lunar month; (7) laying Tulasi leaves on the holy image of Hari and partaking of the food offered to Him.

THE TWO VAISHNAVA SCHOOLS.

Prapatti Mārga.—Bhakti and *prapatti* which were somewhat obscure in Ramanuja's teaching formed the subject of bitter division between the two schools which claimed to follow his teaching. The Vadagalai or the northern school used Samskrit chiefly, as its medium of teaching, and the Tengalai or the southern school taught both in Samskrit and Dravida as of equal importance grouping themselves under *bhāshya*, and *Bhāgavatvishaya*, thus continuing the tradition of the *Āzhvārs*. The attitude of the followers of the Vadagalai school is compared to that of a baby-monkey which is carried about and protected by its mother, but nevertheless has to cling to her, while that of a Tengalai school is compared to the passive surrender of a kitten carried about in its mother's mouth. They are hence nick-named the monkey school (*mārkada kisōre-nyāya*), and the cat school (*mārjāra kisōra-nyāya*). The corresponding attitudes of the deity are respectively, *Sahaketuka-kripa* or grace sought by the soul, and granted by God, in response thereto; and *Nir-hētuka-kripa*,

the latter being irresistible according to Upanishad: "*Yam evaisha vrimete*" etc. The tenets which form the contention between the Tengalais and the Vadagalais are stated to number 18, and seem to cluster round a few cardinal points of doctrine. Here are some which show the great metaphysical import they bear.

1. Whether Mother Lakshmi or Śṛī is only the mediatrix for, or the co-bestower of *mōksham* or final beatitude, *i.e.*, co-operating with Father God for the purpose.

2. Whether Lakshmi or Śṛī, the consort of Vishṇu, is (*Vibhu*) omnipresent or even co-substantial with Vishṇu, or is discernible as a distinct deity.

3. Whether there is any graduated *mōksham* attainable by the good and blessed according to their multifarious merits or direct elevation thereto.

4. Whether *prapatti* or unconditional surrender of the soul to God, should be performed once for all or to be respected after every act of spiritual rebellion.

5. Whether *prapatti* is open to all, or is prescribed only for those specially prepared and apprenticed.

6. Whether the indivisible atomic human soul is permeable by the universal spirit of God.

7. Whether God's mercy is earned by the effort of the soul or not.

8. Whether the same divine mercy means the witnessing (*dosha-darsaṇa*) or the permission (*dōsha bhōgyatwa*) of the soul's moral turpitude.

9. Whether works (*karma*), and knowledge (*jnāna*) are themselves independently operative to win *mōksha* (release) or they only successfully lead to *bhakti* (faith) which secures final emancipation.

10. Whether the good of other unregenerate castes should be tolerated according to their gradual social statuses or should be ignored in virtue of the soveriegn power of God's grace.

11. Whether *karma* (work) should or should not be bodily removed by those who have resorted to *prapatti*.*

It will be seen from this short summary, that Rāmānuja derives his metaphysical doctrines from the *Upanishads*, *Brahmasūtras* and *Bhagavat-gîta*. His Vaishṇavism is vedic expanded by the old *Pancharātra* or the *Bhāgavata system*, the *Nārāyanīya* element being prominently expounded. The most prominent name is Nārāyana though Vāsudēva takes his proper place when the supreme soul as Para-Vāsudēva and the Vyūhas or first cosmic manifestations are elaborated. The name of Rādha-Krishna is conspicuous by its absence, and Rāmānujā's system is free from the so-called erotic form which Vaishṇavism is imputed with, when Rādha and other cowherdesses are introduced. Rāma too does not appear to be a favourite deity or any *avatāric* forms merge in Nārāyana as the way of reaching the supreme soul, the same as or the amplified form of those in the *Bhagavad-gita*. But in this system *bhakti* is reduced to the form of having its original source in the *Vishṇu gāyatri*: "*Nārāyanāya videmahê tanno vishnu prachodayat*." †— But in this system, *bhakti* is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul. It thus corresponds to the Upāsana, Vedana Dhyāna or Nididhyāsana or meditations, discussed by Bādarāyana-Vyāsa in the *Brahma-sūtra*, and does not mean a boundless love for God, as the word is commonly understood, though the meditation that is enjoined, implies tacitly a feeling of love. The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brāhmanic

* These and other doctrinal differences are exhaustively treated in an article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910, pages 561-620.

† *Taittiriya Upanishad.*

form to the traditional method of *bhakti*, or devotion to God, and this is distinctly seen in the doctrines of the Vadakalai, while the Tenkalai, or the southern learning, is more liberal, and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Sūdras and all according to the precedents found in the deeds of Rāma, Krishna and other *avatārās* of Vishṇu.

TEMPLE WORSHIP.

It is entirely based on the *Samhitās* or the *Pancharātra* and *Āgama-Śāstras*. But the routine of *pūjās* connected with the worship of the holy images in the Śrī-Vaishṇava temples is carried out by the (officiant) *archakas* either on the *Pancharātra* or the *Vaikhānasa system*.* The ordinary mode of daily worship in a temple does not in any way differ in broad principles from that of domestic worship. Every item in the former is done on a large scale, and some *āgamic* or *tantric* rites are the only additions to the sixteen *Upacharās*, already mentioned. In the former which is more like domestic worship in all essential points, any Brāhman may officiate as priest. In the latter *Vaikhānasa* or *Pañcharātra* priest alone can officiate.† At the time of worship some Brāhmans recite Vedic texts. A few stanzas from the *Divya-Prabandhās* are recited by the Brāhmans. The cooking of the food for the daily offering is all done by Brāhmans who are called the *Parichārakās* (assistants). In almost every temple there are generally two images, one of stone,

* R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism*, page 56-57.

† The ritual in almost all Sri-Vaishnava temples is Pancharātra, each temple using one particular Samhita, but there are still a few which use *Vaikhānasa Samhita, e.g.*, Conjeevaram, Sriperumbudur and Venkatesvara on the Tirupathi Hill. It seems clear that these *samhitās* are Bhagavata in origin. Rāmānuja in his eagerness to extend Pancharātra influence sought to replace them and to introduce the Pancharātra *samhitās* and ritual instead; but he did not succeed in all places. About a dozen Vaikhānasa *samhitās* are known.

Mūlāvigraham, and the other of metal, Utsava-vigraham. The former is fixed in the inner shrine or Garbhagriha, and the latter is intended to be carried in procession. The Mūlāvigrahams in a Vishṇu temple are generally in human form either in a standing posture or reclining on Ādisēsha as in the case of Padmanābha, Ranganātha and Govindarājasvami. There are generally three images which constitute the Mūlāvigrahams, and these are Vishṇu, Śrīdēvi, and Bhūdēvi (the goddess of Earth). In all the larger temples there is a separate building in the temple precincts dedicated to Śrī or Lakshmi the cosmic Mother, and within the Garbhagriha of which, called *thāyar* or *nāchiyar sannidhi* is a Mūlavigraham of the Goddess. There may also be one or more of shrines dedicated to the *Āzhvārs* (Vaishṇava saints) and the Āchāryas (Rāmānuja, Desika Manavāla Mahāmunigal or Varayōgi). After the images are washed in the morning, they are dressed and the sect marks are put on the faces of the Mūla and the Utsavavigrahas. For worship in the Vishṇu temples, flowers and tulasi (*Ocimum sanctum*) are used. *Tīrtha and prasāda* are given to those who are assembled, after which an inverted bowl bearing the feet of Vishṇu (Śathāri or Śathagopa) is placed by the *archaka* first on the head and then on the right shoulder and again on the head in the case of grown-up and married males, and only on the head in the case of females and young people. The bowl is always by the side of the Mūlavigraham, and on festival days such as, Dīpāvali, Vaikuntha Ēkādasi, Dvādasi, the God of the temple (Utsavavigraham) is taken out in procession through the main streets of the town or village. In almost every important temple, an annual festival called the Brahmōtsava, which lasts for ten days is held. Every night during the festival, the image, neatly

dressed, and decorated, and seated on a vehicle of Garuda (Brāhmani kite), horse, elephant, Hanumān (Monkey-God), peacock made out of earth, wood or metal, is taken in procession accompanied by Brāhmaṇs, chanting the Vedas and the Tamil *Nālāyira Prabandhas*. There is also a grand display of music to the accompaniment of drum-beating. Of the vehicles or *vāhanas*, Hanumān* and Garuda† are special to Vishṇu. On the last day the image is seated on a decorated car which is drawn through the streets by a large number of people amidst a grand display of music to the accompaniment of drum-beating. The festival is brought to an end on the tenth day with certain purificatory ceremonies.

Melkote alias *Thirunārāyaṇapura* :—is one of the most sacred temples of the Śrī Vaishṇavas. It is known as dakshiṇa (south) Badarikāsrama, and dedicated to Nārāyana as Nara-Nārāyaṇa in North Badarika in the Himalayas. It is situated on a rocky hill and commands a noble view of the valley watered by the Cauvery and the hills to the south. The place is sanctified by the actual installation of ancient Nārāyaṇa hidden in an ant-hill by Rāmānuja. It is now one of the seats of the Śrī-Vaishṇava Brāhmans possessing fairly large revenues. About 150 years ago it contained about a thousand houses inhabited by Brāhmans who did not allow many of the Śūdras to remain in the place. When the Mahrāttas gained a victory over Hyder, they were for some time encamped on the south side of the hill. The Brāhmans were here too cunning to be caught, and the place was deserted. Even the temples of the gods did not escape the Mahratta rapacity. For the sake of the ironwork and to get

* Refer to Garutmān Māturisvām in the Rig-Veda.
† A. Govindācharya Svāmin. *Life of Rāmānuja.*

at it, they burned the wooden car, and the fire spread to the religious buildings some of which were entirely consumed. There are now three temples, one of which is dedicated to Narasimha, over a super-hill, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu, and the other to Chellapillai or Sampatkumāra one of the incarnations of Vishṇu; and a noble tank. The latter called Kalyāni is a square building of great dimensions entirely surrounded by colonnades. The columns are rather rude and only about six feet high. About the entablature, in the place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches in which are huddled numerous images composed of the same materials. The present building was built in its present form by Rāmānujāchārya, but the temple there, was of considerable antiquity, dedicated to Śrī Krishna on the very spot where the *Avatāra* performed great works. The image is now called Chellapullarāya or the darling prince, a term of great endearment which mothers give to children. When Rāmānuja went to Melkote to perform his devotions at that famous shrine, he was informed that the place was attacked by the Turk king of Delhi, and the image carried away by him. The Brāhman saint set out for that capital, and on his arrival there, he found that the king had made a present of it to his daughter. All day the princess played with the image; at night the god assumed his own form and flirted with the princess. When Rāmānuja went there, and called on the image, with the recital of some powerful *mantrams*, the image moved from the bed, and stationed itself at the lap of Rāmānuja, hence called Sampatkumāra or the wealth-son of Rāmānuja. In great pomp and with royal escort the god was conveyed to Mēlkote. The princess became disconsolate for

the loss of the image. She was allowed to go with the cortege. When she arrived at Mēlkote, she is said to have disappeared and absorbed into the substance of the image, a destiny determined for the lovers of God.

A monument was built for the princess, but as she was a Moslem, it would have been a want of orthodox propriety to locate it within the precincts of the main shrine. It was, therefore, consigned to a cave at the east side of the Mēlkote hill, but all the same a metal image of her rests between the feet of Sampat-Kumāran.

At a short distance from the temple is a very fine tank surrounded by buildings, *mandapams* for the accommodation of persons religiously inclined and for seating the images when carried in processions. The residents believe that every year at the time of the grand festival, the water of the Ganges is conveyed by a subterranean passage to fill this tank. On this occasion it is customary to throw in coins of low value. The jewels belonging to the temple are very valuable, and even the Sultan (Tippu) dreaded to seize them. They are never exposed to the risk of being carried away by robbers, but are always kept in the Palace at Mysore. During the festival they are sent to Mēlkote under a strong military guard. The property was respected by the British captors, and the jewels thereof are returned to the said treasury after the festival. Hyder allowed the full enjoyment of the revenues, but his son first reduced their lands to 6000 pagodas. These lands were afterwards managed by an Amildar who was appointed by the Government and accountable to it for his administration. The great festival that is held here is the *Vairamudi-utsava* which is continued for 12 days from *Phalguna or Chaitra Suddha.* The precious-gemmed Crown is yearly brought

from the Palace of Mysore, and returned thereto forthwith, after use. At Srirangapatna is another great Śrī-Vaishṇavite temple.

In Mysore, the capital of the State, there are three old shrines, one of which is dedicated to Ādivarāha installed by the Dewan Pūrnayya, another dedicated to Śri Krishṇa was installed by Krishnaraja Odeyar the then ruler. The third is the very ancient Lakshmī-Nārāyana Kesava temple at Belur, a superb example of Chalukyan architecture, and others of minor importance are found all over the State.*

In this connection, it must be said that the two important shrines about which Śrī-Vaishṇavas centre are those of Tondanur near Mēlkote and Sāligrāma in the Yedatore Taluk in Mysore. The former was the headquarters of the Hoysala Ballāla king, Vishṇu Vardhana, who was the famous royal disciple of Rāmānuja and who carried out the behests of his *guru* in restoring Melkōte to its pristine glory after long ages of obscuration. In Tondanur is an ancient temple dedicated to Nambiar Purna Svāmi, and another temple of Sri Krishṇa built by one of the Maharānis of the Mysore Royal family, but these temples are allowed to go into ruins, a sad commentary on Lord Curzon's principle of restoring and maintaining the old memorable and sacred historical monuments which make any country proud of them. The other shrine at Sāligrāma is memorable in the annals of Rāmāyana. Holy memories focus round it, and pilgrims from all parts of India flock to it, but the neglect here compares with that of Tondanūr.

Vaishṇava Mutts:—There are two maṭhas for Vadagalais; of these, the Ahōbala maṭha was formerly at Tiruvallur, but its head-quarters were afterwards

* Francis Buchanan: *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, pages 341-345.

transferred to Narasimhapuram near Kumbhakonam. In Mysore, there is one at Mēlkote, and the other of Parakālasvāmi in the Mysore City. For the Tengalais there are three maṭhas at Vanamamalai in the Tinnavelly District, Sriperumbudur in Chingleput, and Tirukoilur in South Arcot. These are called respectively, the Todadri, Ethirajayar, and Emberumanar maṭhas. The two groups of mathas supervise the religious well-being of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas. There is the Ethiraja Maṭha * at Melkote established by Rāmānuja himself, and he lived there for fourteen years promulgating his Vedāntic mission on earth.*

Śrī-Vaishṇavas have for domestic worship only Sāligrāma stones, but they are scrupulous about their *gurus* without whose intervention, they believe, they cannot obtain beatitude. Therefore they insist upon *Samāsrayana* ceremony. The orthodox members of the community keep with them, a silk cloth bearing the impressions of their *āchārya*, an *abhayahastha* or the impression of the hand of Vishṇu in a sandal paste, a few necklaces of silk threads (*pavitram*) and a bit of the mark of the tamarind tree growing at the temple of *Āzhvār* Tirunagari in the Tinnevally district. The worshipper puts on his head the silk cloth, and round his neck the silk necklace, and if available, a necklace of *Nilambium* (sacred lotus) seeds. After saluting the *abhayahasta* by pressing it to his eyes, he repeats the prayer of the *āchārya* and proceeds to the *Dēvatārchana* (image worship) which consists in the performance of the 16 *upachāras*. The image is washed with the recital of the *purusha-sūkta* hymn. The daily routine of the observances is brought to a close by the performance of Vaisvadēva ceremony

* A. Gōvindāchāryasvāmin's "*Life of Rāmānuja*," Chap. XXIX, page 185 ff.

or offering to all the Gods. This ceremony is intended to remove the sins which may have been committed by killing small animals in the process of cooking food.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

They are the same as those performed by Smārtās, and call for no special notice here; widows of the Vadagalai section shave their heads, but there is a tendency at present for ignoring the custom altogether. The Tengalai Śrī-Vaishṇavas, on the other hand, cite authoritative texts in support of the immunity of their widows from the rite of tonsure, and they are the following:—

1. Widows should avoid, even when in affliction and danger, shaving, eating sweets, betel-nut, flowers, sexual intercourse, conversation with men, wearing jewels.*

2. A woman (whether unmarried or widowed) who shaves her hair will go to hell called *raurava*. When the husband dies, the woman should perform his obsequies without shaving. She should never shave on any occasion or for any purpose whatsoever.†

3. There is no sin in a devout widow whose object is eternal salvation by wearing her hair. If she should shave, she will assuredly go to hell.

DIETARY OF THE CASTE.

Like Smārtas and other classes of Brāhmans, Śrī-Vaishṇavās are pure vegetarians. As is the custom among Brāhmans, the males of the family take their food before the females. The food is served on platters made of the leaves of the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), *Butea frondōsa bauhinia*. Among the Smārtas, Mādhvas and other classes of Brāhmans, various vegetable preparations are served

* Sandilya.
† Sambhu.
‡ Vriddha Manu in Khageśvara-Samhita.

first, and rice the last. But among Śrī Vaishṇavas, especially the Vadagalais, rice is served first. Before beginning to dine, a little water, *tirtham*, is poured into the hands of those who are about to partake of the meal. They sip the water simultaneously. They take a small portion of the rice with the recital of some *mantrams*, namely *Pranayaswaha*, etc. At the end of the meal a little water is served to all, and they sip it. After this, they rise together for the washing of their hands and feet. Betel nut, and sandal and other things are served as a crowning courtesy.

Śrī-Vaishṇavas on the whole attach more importance to the spirit than to the letter of the law. Ritualism does not weigh upon them as an incubus. They have a liberal outlook upon life ; and they try to aspire after no worldly advantages. These they underrate as being a positive obstacle to the final liberation or *mukti*. Union with God is more important than material happiness on earth or heaven.

To the genius of Rāmānuja has to be assigned the task of reducing the whole Vedic pantheon to one all-compassing unitary concept of God under the designation of the name Nārāyana. If any scholar would read the story of rigid, unswerving monotheism which the spirit of the Vedānta breathes, he need go no further than Rāmānuja for a signal instance of it. His system could give points to any other similar monotheistic system which has its origin in the trans-Indian countries of the globe.

To Rāmānuja belongs the unique achievement of fusing into one uniform monotheistic creed the various elements of differing faiths found in the Dravidian civilization of South India with the Aryans of the North India. His was the pisgah vision which saw into the ancient vistas of the

Aryo-Dravidian humanism. To Mysore belongs the fame of having in it the most holy shrine of Nārāyana instituted in its midst by Rāmānuja—the counter part. On this subject the student may profitably consult the writings on Indology by Govindāchārya Svāmin, a saintly scion of Mysore, who is carrying out Rāmānuja's mission.

MĀDHVA.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY——INTERNAL STRUCTURE——MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—RELIGION—SECTARIAN MARKS—WORSHIP OF HANUMAN.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

THE sect, next in importance to the Śrī-Vaishṇavas in point of numerical strength are the Vaishṇavās or Mādhvas who are the followers of Sri Mādhvāchārya, their religious founder. He was born at Udupi in South Canara in the thirteenth century. While quite young, he became a sanyāsin, and received a training in Śankarā's system. But in addition to the regular study of the treatises in Vēdānta, he also gave much time to the study of the *Aiteriya Upanishad*, the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata Purāna*. The last work dominated his life. It is said that before his period of training was over, he broke away from Śankara. Soon after, he began his public discussion, and gradually formed a system for himself based purely on the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, which, it may be borne in mind, is looked upon in North India as the Vedas, particularly by the Vallabhi and Chaitanya Vaishṇavās. He was successful in securing a large following on the West coast in particular like Rāmānuja on the East coast, as also a number of notable converts. The theology which he taught is, in many points, like that of Rāmānuja, but the philosophy is distinctly dualistic. Soon after his initiation, he went to Badarikāsrama in the Himalayas, and brought back the images of Digvijaya Rāma and Vedavyāsa. Ānandathīrtha, as he was otherwise called, went from province to province putting down the advocates of the doctrines of *māya* and others, and

established the Vaishṇava creed. He had four disciples, namely, Padmanābhatīrtha, Madhvathīrtha, Akshobhyathīrtha and Naraharithīrtha the last of whom was sent to Jagannātha in Orissa to bring the original images of Rāma and Sīta. He was raised to the high priest in the presence of kings.

After further studies he toured round Southern India, having in the meantime developed his own system of dualism in opposition to the monism of Sankara. He journeyed long disputing with the doctors in each town, his most important combat being at Anantapura (the modern Trivandram) with the head of the Śankara monastery at Śringēri. Here there seems to have been a drawn battle. The combatants parted in enmity, and thenceforth began the decided non-conformism that existed between the followers of the two systems. Mādhvāchārya observed *Chathurmasya* for four months at Rāmēsvaram, after which he returned to Udupi. The result of the first tour was to recognize Mādhva as a leader of a new persuasion or dispensation and to widen the breach between him and the authorities of Śringēri.

After years of some more studies at Udupi, during which he seems to have completed his commentary on the Vēdānta-Sūtras, Mādhva started on his second tour through Northern India. He reached Haridvar. Here after fasting and meditation, he went alone to the heart of the Himalayas, where he is said to have stayed with Vyāsa, the compiler of the *Mahābhārata*, who prevailed upon him to return to India, and there to publish his commentary. He accordingly returned to Haridvar where he loudly proclaimed his doctrine, and combated dissentient commentaries. He made a leisurely return to Udupi, converting more than one eminent Śānkarite

on the way, and finally converted his own teacher Achyutaprēksha, even like Rāmānuja converting his own Advaite teacher, Yādavaprakase, renaming him Govindasūre. There now began a period in which Śānkarites, headed by the Śringēri maṭha, did all they could to demolish the teacher and his followers. They went even so far as to carry off Mādhvā's entire library. It was restored through the interposition of the local prince Jaya Simha of Vishnumangala. In his last years, Mādhva again went to the North, and is said to have joined Vyāsa in whose company he still remains awaiting the conclusions of the present age. He is said to have disappeared in the Saka year 1198 (A. D. 1276), when he was 79 years of age. The three systems thus placed in prominence, the Advaita, Visishtā advaita, and Dvaita, prove the versatility of Vēdānta.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE.

Mādhvās are divided into two main groups, namely the Vyāsakūta, and the Dāsakūta, the former adhering to the tenets of their founder in Śanskrit, while the latter base their faith on the vernacular songs and writings of persons of their sect who were devotees, Dāsas (servants of God), and giving Harikatha performances based upon some story or other from *Ithihāsas* or *Purānas*, calculated to impress the mind of the audience on devotion to God and high ideals of conduct. Purandara Dāsa is a famous *bhakta*.

Endogamous Groups:—Among the Karnātakas, the following are the six endogamous groups:—

1. Āruvelu
2. Aruvattuvokkalu
3. Badaganādu
4. Pennaṭhurār.
5. Prathamasākhe.
6. Hyderabādi.

The Karnātakas very closely resemble the Āndhras in their ceremonial observances, and like them attach much importance to *vratams* or austerities.

The Mādhva Karnātakas are recent converts from Smārta (Āndhra Karnātaka). The Pennathurārs are supposed to be Tamil Brāhmans converted to Mādhvaism, and they still retain some of their old customs of the Tamil Brāhmans. The marriage badge is the *tali* and not the *bottu*. Intermarriages between the Smārtas and the Mādhvas of the same section are very common. The Mādhvās except the very orthodox will interdine with the Karnātaka or Āndhra Brāhmans.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

Mādhva Brāhmans begin the marriage ceremony by invoking the blessings of the ancestors of the bridal pair, and requesting them to be present through the performance of the rites. To represent them, a *ravike* (bodice) and a *dhoti* (a male dress) are tied to a stick which is placed near the box containing the Sālagrāma stone and the family gods. Ancestors being thus represented, orthodox Brāhmans of the sect abstain from taking food in the marriage house. When the bridegroom is thus conducted to the marriage booth by his future father-in-law, all those who have taken part in the Kāsiyātra ceremony throw rice on him as a sign of blessing. A ceremony called *rangavriksha* is performed on the second day. After the usual playing with the balls of flowers (*nalagu*), the bridegroom takes hold of the right hand of the bride and after dipping her right forefinger in turmeric and chunām (lime) paste, traces on a white wall the figure of a plantain tree of which a sketch has been made previously by married women. The trace goes on for three days. First the root and stem of the plant are drawn, and on the evening of the third day, it is completed by putting in the flower stakes. On the third night, the bridegroom is served with sweets and other refreshments by his mother-in-law, from

whose hands he snatches the vessels containing them. He picks out what he likes best, and scatters the remainder on the floor of the room. The impurities caused by this are removed by sprinkling water mixed with cowdung, and this is done by the Brāhman cook who is engaged by the family for the marriage. After washing his hands, the bridegroom goes home taking with him a silver vessel which he removes surreptitiously from near the God. Along with this, he removes a rope for drawing water and a rice-poundng stone. But in practice he only steals the vessel, and other articles are claimed by his people on their return home. The customs and ceremonies connected with puberty, all pre-and post-natal ceremonies are the same as those prevailing among other classes of Brāhmans according to the *smriti* injunctions.

RELIGION.

Doctrines of the sect.—The great object of the Vaishṇava teachers of the eleventh and the following centuries was to refute the theory of the *māya* or the negation of the material universe, and to establish the doctrine of *bhakti* or love and faith on a secure basis, or that of the reality of the world, and reality of the soul, and reality of God. Rāmānuja has succeeded in this to a certain extent. But to reconcile his doctrine with the theory set forth in the *Brahma sūtras* on the basis of the Upanishads that God is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world, he propounded the doctrine of God being a composite entity, embodied *sarira* (body), of the individual souls and the inanimate world. All the Sūtras of Bādarāyana were interpreted in this sense. Texts of the Upanishads which seemed not to agree with this composite sense were shown to be universally compatible. Mādhvaism rejects not only the monism of Śankara, but also the *Viśishṭādvaita*

or qualified monism of Rāmanuja. Its followers call themselves Sad-Vaishṇavās to distinguish themselves from Srī-Vaishṇavās as terms of distinction, not that Sri-Lakshmi (their Rāma) is eliminated. The basis of the whole philosophical system is *dvaita* or dualism. By this is meant the dualism of spirit and matter or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (*Paramātman*) and the dependent principle of life (*Jīvātman*). There are five real and eternal distinctions (*panchabhēda*), namely, 1. between God and the individual, 2. between God and matter, 3. between the soul and matter, 4. between one soul and another, 5. between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation closely follows the Sānkhya system as modified by the *purānas*. Vishṇu Nārāyana or Bhagavān is the name given predominantly to the para-Brahman. He is endowed with all auspicious qualities (*guna*), and has a consort Lakshmi distinct from but dependent on him. By her he has two sons, Brahma the creator and Vāyu the principle of life, the saviour of mankind. *Mōksha* or salvation consists in release from transmigration and eternal residence in the abode of Nārāyana. Souls (*jīva*) are innumerable, and each is eternal, has a separate existence, and is subject to transmigration. They fall into three groups, namely, 1. the lesser gods, the *pitris*, *rishis*, kings and a few other select classes of the good: these are destined to salvation; 2. those who are neither sufficiently good to belong to the first class, nor sufficiently bad for the third class; these are destined to perpetual transmigration, (*samsāra*), and 3. demons and sinners, especially the followers of the *māya* doctrine and other heretics who reject Vāyu; they are destined to eternal hell. Further it must be noted that there is no salvation, except through Vāyu, *i.e.*, in the

present age through Mādhva. It is noteworthy that in this religion, the idea of eternal bliss or *mōksha* is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in other religions prevalent before Mādhvas of the indigenous type.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (*avidya*), and this ignorance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained by right knowledge of God. The knowledge is obtainable by souls of the first class, and eighteen means are described as necessary for attainment.

Such are 1. distate of this world,* (*vairāgya*),† Equanimity (*sama*), 2. attendance on a guru or religious teacher, 3. *bhakti* directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies, 4. reprobation of false doctrines, 5. worship (*upāsana*) and so on 6. Acquisition of knowledge from the good Vaishṇava *guru*, 7. reflection over what has been taught, 8. devotion in the order of merits, to a preceptor and persons better than oneself and deserving respect; 9. love of God (*Hari bhakti*) based on the knowledge of God's greatness (*mahātmya*), and his being the best of all 10. sympathy for those who are inferior, and love for those who are equal; 11. resignation of every act to Hari as done by him, and not by himself; 12. the avoidance of prohibited acts, *i.e.*, sins great and small; 13. the knowledge of position of beings and of Vishṇu as the highest of all; 14. knowledge of the five distinctions already mentioned; 15. distinguishing *purusha* from *prakriti* and all distinctions from Nārāyana down to men with their consorts being *purushas*, and the inanimate world being the *prakriti*; 16. reprobation of false doctrines; and 17. *upāsana* or worship which is of two kinds, namely, the learning of the Śāstrās, and meditation.

* and † :—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pages 57 to 62.

Service to Vishnu, (*i.e.*, to God) is expressed in three ways: 1. by stigmatization or branding (*ankana*) the body with symbols of Vishṇu; 2. by giving his names to sons and others (*nāmakaraṇa*); 3. by worship (*bhajana*) with act, word and thought. Worship with word consists in 1. veracity, 2. truthfulness, 3. kindliness, 4. sacred study, 5. almsgiving, 6. defence, 7. protection, 8. with thought in mercy, 9. longing, and 10. faith. Worship is the dedication of Nārāyana.

The custom of branding symbols on shoulder and breast is not peculiar to the Mādhvās. It is also adopted by the Śrī-Vaishṇavas and other Northern sects who owe allegiance to Vaishṇavism, but among the Mādhvās, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the śāstras. All classes, whether sanyāsins or lay men are branded. The chief of each *maṭha* or monastery tours among the faithful, and every time he makes his visit, the laity undergoes the ceremony. The sectarian marks, common to monks and laity are, besides these brands, two white perpendicular lines on the forehead, made with *gōpi-chandana* earth, and joined at the root of the nose. Between them is a straight black line with incense-charcoal and terminating in a spot of turmeric. Mādhva did not allow sacrifices (*yajnās*). The old sacrifices were retained, but was enjoined the substitution of effigies of flour as the victim instead of live animal. Mādhvaism is also remarkable for the extreme lengths to which fasting of extreme rigour is carried out. The life of an orthodox Mādhva is a continuous round of fasts and devotions.

The chief *matha* or monastery of the sect is at Udupi, and is said to have been founded by Mādhva himself. He also founded two others at Mādhyātala, and Subramanya respectively, in the coast district of

South Canara; and appointed a head to each of the three. The chief settlement is divided into eight sub-monasteries to each of which he gave a pontiff. Each of these eight sanyāsins conducts the worship of Krishna at the head monastery in his term of office lasting for two years. The change (*paryāya*) of the pontiffs thus takes place every second year when the Sun enters the sign of Makara or capricorn early in January. It is the occasion of great fair and festival.

SECTARIAN MARKS.

Mādhvas should stamp *mudrās* with *gopi* paste daily on various parts of the body. The names of these *mudras* are *chakra*, *saṅkha*, *padma* and Nārāyana. The *chakra* is stamped thrice on the abdomen above the navel, twice on the right flank, twice on the right side of the chest above the nipple, twice on the right arm, once on the right temple, once on the left side of the chest, once on the left arm. The *saṅkha* is stamped twice on the right side of the chest, in two places on the left arm, and once on the left temple. The *gada* is stamped in two places on the right arm, twice on the chest, and in one spot on the forehead. The *padma* is stamped twice on the left arm, twice on the left side of the chest. Nārāyana is stamped on all places where other *mudra*-marks have been made. Sometimes it is difficult to put on all marks after the daily morning bath. In such cases, single *mudra*-mark containing all the five *mudras* is made to suffice. Some regard the *chakra-mudra* as sufficient on occasions of emergency.

Women and girls after marriage are branded with the *chakra* on the right fore-arm and the *saṅkha* on the left. In the case of widows, the marks are impressed on the shoulders as in the case of males. The disciples of the three other maṭhas are generally

branded with *chakra* on the right upper arm and *saṅkha* on the left. The branding is supposed to remove sins committed during the intervals. They get this done every time they see the *guru*. There is, with the Mādhvās, no restriction as to the age at which the ceremony should be performed. Even the new born baby after the usual ten days' pollution must receive the sectarian marks. If the *guru* should be present, boys before the initiation ceremony of *upanayana*, and girls before marriage are branded with *chakra* on the abdomen above the navel. The copper or brass branding instrument (*mudrās*) are not heated to a very high temperature, but are sufficient to singe the skin and leave a deep black mark in the case of adults, and a light mark in that of young people and babies. Sometimes when the individual is a strong well-built adult, the instruments are so well heated as to leave a clear deep mark. In the event of a man being a weakling, they are allowed to cool before application. In the case of babies, the officient presses the instrument against a wet rag before applying it to the infant's skin. The fee for branding in the case of Śrī-Vaishṇavas is not fixed, whereas high fee is demanded from Mādhvās. It varies from one to two months' income in some cases and failure to pay is punished with excommunication.

WORSHIP OF HANUMAN.

The monkey-god (Hanumān) is particularly adored by the Mādhvās who call him *Mukhyaprānadēva* (the chief god). But the esoteric significance of this doctrine is clear from the interpretation given to the term *prāna* occurring in the Brahma sutras. Bādarāyana or Vyāsa—the incarnation of Nārāyana—himself is at the head of the apostolic pedigree of the Mādhvās. Though this is common to Brāhmanism, particular stress is laid and recognition

given to it by the Mādhvās. It is essentially a *bhakti* method as distinguished from the Śrī-Vaishṇava *prapathi* method of salvation. But these are emphasized distinctions by preponderation; for all ways of salvation are more or less common to all the sectional groups of Brāhmanism, nor is Hanumān a less important figure to others besides the Mādhvās. To the Śrī-Vaishṇava he is the Śriya-Tiruvēdi; and to all to whom Rāmāyana is scripture none doubt that Hanumān or Māruthi is the very life (*prāna*) of Rāma—the incarnation of Nārāyana. Esoterically, the life principle is that which mediates between soul and God; the vital pinciple which makes all cosmos kin.

TULU BRĀHMAN.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TULU BRĀHMANS——SHIVALLI BRĀHMANS——EXOGAMOUS CLANS——MARRIAGE CEREMONIES——RELIGION——OCCUPATION——HAVIKA BRĀHMANS—RELIGION—OCCUPATION—KONKANI BRĀHMAN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Tulu Brāhmans of Mysore are immigrants from South Canara, and are largely found in the districts of Mysore, Kadur and Shimoga. There are twelve endogamous groups among them, namely,

1. Chitpāvan or Konkanasht.
2. Dēshasht.
3. Gauda.
4. Havik.
5. Kandāvara.
6. Karādi.
7. Konkani.
8. Kōta.
9. Pādia.
10. Saklāpuris.
11. Sārasvat.
12. Shivalli.

Space and time forbid me from giving a detailed account of the manners and customs of these communities. Only a brief reference is made to few of them here.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE TULU BRAHMANS

All traditions agree in attributing the creation of Kērala (Malabar and Canara), Tuluva and Haiga to Parasurāma, who is said to have reclaimed from the sea as much land " as could be covered by hurling his battle axe from the top of the Western ghats," and colonized the land with Brāhmans from Ahikshētra. Tulu Brāhman traditions also refer to their periodical immigrations from the north, and to their quarrelling on one occasion with the warrior hero and departure from the land. This led him to procure new Brāhmans for the reclaimed tract by the conversion of some fishermen who were invested with holy

threads made out of their fishing nets. * He soon after retired to the mountains for *tapas* (penance) with a promise to return to them when they were in distress. After some time, they were curious to know whether Parasurāma would remember them. They called on him, and he promptly appeared, and punished them by reverting them to their original status of Sūdras. After this, the newly formed country was again left without Brāhmans. There is also a modified form of this tradition that Parasurāma gave the newly reclaimed tract to Nāga and Machi Brāhmans.†

"All traditions unite in attributing the introduction of the Tulu Brahmans to Mayura Varma, but they vary in details as to the manner in which they obtained a firm footing in the land. One account says that Habāshika, chief of the Koregas (Pariahs), drove out Mayūra Varma, but was in turn expelled by Mayūra Varma's son-in-law Lokāditya of Gōkarnam who brought the Brāhmans from Ahikshētra, and settled them in thirty-two villages. Another tradition makes Mayūra Varma himself the invader of the country, which till then had remained in possession of the Holeyas (Paraiah), and fishermen who had turned out Parasurāmà's Brāhmans. Mayūra Varma and the Brāhmans whom he had brought from Ahikshētra were again driven out by Nanda, a Holeya chief whose son Chandra Sayana had however learned respect for Brāhmans from his mother who had been a dancing girl in a temple. His admiration for them became so great that he not only brought them back, but actually made over all his authority to them and reduced his people to the position of slaves. A third account makes Chandra Sayana, not the son of the Holeya king, but a descendant of Mayūra Varma and a conqueror of the Holeya king." ‡

The traditions prevailing in Malabar and Canara regarding the introduction of the Brāhmans to the West coast are ascribed to Mayūra Varma who was in power about 750 A. D. They are to some extent corroborated by the fact that Brāhmans attested the Malabar grant to the Christians in 774 A. D., but not of the Jews about 700 A. D. In very early times Gōkarnam is believed to have been a Brāhman settlement, and there was

* and 2 :—*Kērala purānam. Kērala Māhātmyam*.
† J. Sturrock: *Manual of South Canara*, Vol. I, page 145.
‡ J. Sturrock: *Manual of South Canara*, Vol. I, page 145-146.

a large influx of the Brāhmans owing to the advance of Muhammadan conquest in the North.

SHIVALLI BRAHMAN.

The Tulu-speaking Brāhmans of the present day are the Shivalli Brahmans who are all the followers of Mādhvāchārya. Some among them are Smārtas, while others follow what is known as Bhāgavata Sampradāyam, and hold in equal respect and devotion both Vishṇu and Siva.

Their head-quarters are at Udupi or Shivalli a few miles from the birth place of their religious founder. A large number of them are found in all parts of Mysore, especially, in the districts of Mysore, Kadur and Shimoga.

The language of the Shivalli Brāhmans is Tulu, but those in Mysore speak Canarese. Their houses are like those of other classes of Brāhmans, neat and clean, and provided with verandahs and a yard in front, in which stands on a raised spot a *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*). Some of their houses are quadrangular, and are really substantial buildings with an open court yard in the centre.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS.

The Shivallis are said to have 252 *gōtras*, and the names of the following appear to be of totemistic origin, but they have lost their original significance.

Name of Gotra.	*Meaning.*
1. Kudrettiya	.. from *kudre*, a horse, and taya, belonging.
2. Talitaiya	.. a palmyra tree.
3. Manolitaya	.. name of a vegetable.
4. Shunnataya	.. chunam, lime.
5. Kalambitaya	.. a kind of box.
6. Nellitya	.. the Indian gooseberry.
7. Nanelataya	.. name of a tree.
8. Goli	.. a banyan tree.
9. Ane	.. an elephant.
10. Perltaya	.. name of fruit.

* J. Sturrock: *Manual of South Canara*, Vol. I.
† Do Do Page 145, 146.

Shivalli Brāhman girls are generally married before puberty and rarely after it. The marriageable age of girls is generally twelve or thirteen, and that of boys is between sixteen and twenty-two or thereafter. The marriage of a maternal uncle's daughter is the best form of union for which no horoscope need be consulted, and it is customary for a bridegroom's sister to obtain from him a formal promise, that if he has a daughter, he will give her in marriage to her son. The marriage ceremonies are in accordance with the *grihya sūtras* to which the bridegroom belongs, and take place in the house of the bride. As among other Brāhmans, the ceremonies and festivities last four or five days. The bride generally resides with her parents till she comes of age, but joins her husband after the performance of the nuptial ceremony which takes place after the attainment of puberty. All pre-and post-natal ceremonies are the same as in other classes of Brāhmans. MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

In religion, the Shivalli Brāhmans are the followers of Mādhvāchārya, whose head-quarters, as has been said, are at Udupi. The temple of Sri Krishna is said to have been founded by himself, who set up in it the image of Sri Krishna which originally belonged to Arjuna, and miraculously obtained from a vessel wrecked on the coast of Tuluva. In it is placed a Sālagrāma presented to the *guru* by the sage Vēda Vyāsa. Besides the temple at Udupi, he has established eight maṭhas or monasteries, each presided over by a Sanyāsin or Swami. RELIGION.

The following description gives a fairly good idea of the maṭha, and it is quoted here :—

" The building was two-storeyed, enclosing a spacious quadrangle round which ran a covered verandah or cloister ; the wide porched entrance opened into a fine hall supported by a massive

pillar with expanding capitals handsomely carved; the ceiling was also wooden, panelled and ornamented with rosettes and pendants as in baronial halls, and so were solid doors. Within these were many rooms, long corridors lined with windowless cells, apartments for meditation and study, store rooms overflowing with all manner of necessary granaries, upper rooms with the wide projecting windows latticed instead of glass with pierced wood-work in countless tasteful patterns, and in the quadrangle, there was a draw-well and a small temple, while a large yard behind contained cattle of all kinds from a goat to an elephant. All things useful were gathered together. Brāhmans and lay brothers walked gravely about or sat in corners with written palm leaves in their hands. Outside sat pilgrims, poor devotees and beggars waiting for the daily dole and villagers were continuously arriving with grain and vegetables. The periodical change of Swāmi presiding over the temple of Krishna is the occasion of a great festival known as *pariyaya* when Udupi is filled to overflowing by a large concourse of Mādhvas not only from the district but from more distant parts of the Mysore territory." *

Another famous temple of the Shivallis is Subramanya at the foot of the ghats on the Coorg frontier, and here also Mādhvāchārya deposited one of Vyāsā's sālagrāma. It seems to have existed before his time and as the name indicates it is dedicated to the worship of Siva. Besides it is the principal seat of serpent-worship in the district.

OCCUPATION. A large number of the Shivallis own land which they cultivate by tenants or hired labourers. Many are astrologers, *tantris*, *purohits*, worshippers in temples or professional beggars. Some are village accountants and Village school-masters.

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS. Many of the Shivallis are fair complexioned with well cut intelligent features. Their women are also handsome. They wear the clothing as low as the feet in front, but usually so low behind, the end being passed between the legs and tucked into the fold of the cloth round the waist. Like all Brāhman women they are fond of wearing sweet-scented

* *Frazer's Magazine*, May 1875.

flowers in their hair. Men and widows bathe the whole body every day before breakfast, but married women bathe only up to neck, it being considered inauspicious to bathe the head. An oil bath is taken once a week. Widows take off their ornaments and wear a red or white cloth. They are forbidden to attend auspicious ceremonies. Of late, the rule has been relaxed. Young widows are allowed to keep their heads unshaven and to wear ornaments. Of course, their remarriage is not allowed.

HAVIKA OR HAIGA BRAHMANS.

Havikas are another class of Tulu Brāhmans brought by Mayūra Varma who settled them in Haiga which forms the southern part of North Canara and the extreme north of South Canara. They remained followers of Śankarāchārya. They speak Canarese. Though originally of the same stock, a distinction has risen between the Shivalli Brāhmans with whom they do not intermarry though no objection is held for interdining. They follow the same customs and manners as the Shivallis.

The Havigas are held together as a body, and their social disputes are settled at meetings of the adult members of the caste held under the guidance and control of the chief head of the Rāmachandra maṭha or under the headman of the caste who is appointed by the spiritual guide and who holds power as delegate.

RELIGION.

The Havigas are smārtas who are the followers of Śankarāchārya, and worship with equal reverence both Vishṇu and Siva as also their consorts. They also worship some village deities whom they regard as mothers, and they are called Durgamma, Honnavāramma, Karikamma and Bhairamma. They believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. Besides the

family and temple priest, they have their *guru* at Rāmachandrapūr in Mysore. He holds the title of Bhārati, and is a Havig by caste. Another *guru* lives at Londa, and he bears the title of Sarasvati. There are also other *gurus* who are held in great reverence. These *gurus* have the power to settle all religious disputes that are referred to them. The delinquents according to the gravity of offence are either fined or passed through a course of expiatory ceremonies or are excommunicated.

OCCUPATION. The Havikas are mostly engaged in the cultivation of areca-palm gardens in which they are experts. Owing to their residence in such gardens in the cool shade, like the Nayars of Malabar, they are fairer than other classes. This fairness in complexion is particularly noticeable in their women who take a prominent part in the work of the gardens. They never wear the end of their cloth passed between the legs and tucked up behind. When they are not engaged in religious duties, they work in their palm and spice gardens with their wives who do a bulk of their work except that they do not climb trees. A priest often becomes a layman when his priestly functions do not fetch him a fairly good income. They are most skilful gardeners growing fine pepper, cardamoms and betel nuts. They arrange for the water and shade with ceaseless care and complete success. They are skilful in climbing palms, in gathering the nuts and the pepper which is trained up their stems. Their working season is from June to October, of which the last two months are the busiest. Their slack time is spent in the celebration of the *upanayanam*, marriage ceremonies and the like, and visiting neighbouring villages on occasions of car-festivals. Their women besides attending domestic duties, weed, manure and water the

gardens as effectively as the men, and are adepts in curing pepper, cardamoms and betel nuts. Some are employed in the Government service, while others are teachers in village schools.

Havig widows are allowed greater freedom than those of most other classes. Some keep dairy and keep a few she-buffaloes to earn a living.

KÓNKANI BRAHMANS.

The members of this community are said to have come from Tirhut, from the banks of the Sarasvati, whence they came south and they settled in the villages near Goa. They are on this account called Sasastikar. A large number of them moved towards the South at the time of the Portuguese supremacy and settled in Canara, and some are found in Mysore. In their homes, they continue to use their old language Konkani. They are almost Mādhvās, but they have *maṭhas* of their own distinct from that of the Shivallis. They worship Venkataramana in whose honour a temple is erected wherever Konkanis live in large numbers. They claim to belong to Gauda Sarasvat class of the Gauda Dravida Brāhmans.

BUDUBUDIKI.

INTRODUCTION—ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE—INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE—MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES—PUBERTY CUSTOMS—ADULTERY—DIVORCE—BASAVIS—CASTE COUNCIL—RELIGION—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—SOCIAL STATUS—FOOD—OCCUPATION—APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS—CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Budubudikīs* are a caste of gipsy beggars and fortune tellers from the Mahratta country who pretend to consult birds and reptiles to predict future events. Strictly speaking, they do not form a caste, but only a tribe. The name is derived from *Budubudiki*, an hour glass drum, and denote the occupation pursued by the Hindu recruits from various castes and Muhammedans. They are found in small numbers in every district of Mysore, but the Mysore district has by far the largest of them.

ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF THE CASTE.

The *Budubudikīs* in Mysore are ignorant of their origin. According to a legend current among them, the first *Budubudiki* who appeared on the face of the earth was a belated product of the world's creation when the scheme of human evolution was complete. Finding himself an undesired being, he was not able to maintain his livelihood. This led to his appeal to Goddess Amba Bhavāni, who, out of pity, presented him with her husband's drum, saying "My son, there is nothing else for thee than this: take this and beg and thou shalt prosper."* The Mahratta *Budubudikīs* say that Hachali and Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District are their head-quarters.

* *Madras Mail*, 1907.

Language.—As has been said, the *Budubudikīs* are recruits from various castes: so that the Mahratta, Hindusthani and Telugu *Budubudikīs* speak their own languages. All of them are conversant with Canarese, the language of the country.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE CASTE.

The following are the endogamous groups of the *Budubudikīs* and those of Mysore belong to one or the other of the following:—

1. Arē or Mahratta Budududuki.
2. Telugu or Uppara Budududuki.
3. Dasan Budududuki.
4. Do
5. Musulman Budududiki.

The Telugu Budubudikīs have two divisions, namely, Pasupanati and Mallelu. The Mahratta Budubudikīs have also the following two divisions namely, the Bārahmāshes (castemen) and Akarmāshes (bastards) who eat together, but do not intermarry. Some of the local Budubudikīs say that they are of the same stock as the Gondaligas and Killekyatas. This statement is to a certain extent confirmed by the fact that Mahratta Budubudikīs outside the State intermarry with the Gondaligas. The Telugu Budubudikīs who claim to be Telugu Banajigas are said to intermarry with Killekyatas. The Mussalman Budubudikīs are the latest arrivals into the State from Hyderabad. The following are the exogamous clans, (*kulas* or *gotras*).*

Name of clan.	Name of clan.	Name of clan.
1. Bhagavant.	7. Gaikwad.	13. Jadhav.
2. Bharat.	8. Ghati.	14. Kadan.
3. Bhise.	9. Garud.	15. Malakar.
4. Bhosle.	10. Goghare.	16. Mandlakar.
5. Chavan.	11. Gorsa.	17. Mane.
6. Dhumal.	12. Gudikar.	18. Multya.

* I am indebted to the Amildar of Molkālmuru for the above-mentioned exogamous clans.

Name of clan.	Name of clan.	Name of clan.
19. Naikar.	22. Sigamda.	25. Vakkoda.
20. Povar.	23. Shinde.	26. Vashter.
21. Sasana.	24. Shingam.	27. Vuguda.

The names given above refer to Mahratta Budubudikīs. The members of the fishing section of the *Killekyatas* have *Dhamalikars*, *Sasanik* and *Vakudas* for their exogamous clans which may go to a certain extent to confirm the opinion that *Budubudikīs* and *Killekyatas* might have formerly belonged to one and the same caste. *Sudugadusidda* seems to be a kindred caste.

The Telugu *Budubudikis* have *Pasupanathi* and *Māllelu* Divisions. The Mahratta *Budubudikis* have the following two endogamous divisions, namely, proper *Baramashes* Castemen and *Akaramashe* or bastard who eat together, but do not intermarry. Their exogamous divisions known as *Kulas* (families) are *Bhise*, *Bhosale*, *Chavan*, *Gaikwad*, *Garud*, *Ghati*, *Jadhav*, *Kadam*, *Mane*, *Naikal*, *Povar*, *Shingam* and *Shinde*. These are common among Mahratta and other kindred castes,

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

Marriage is either infant or adult. Marriage prohibitons are the same as in other Hindu castes. The members of the Mahratta section say that a man cannot marry his sister's daughter. Marriages are generally settled by the parents of the parties. When once the ceremony of *Vilyasāstra* (betrothal) is performed, it cannot be repudiated. If the bride's father revokes the contract, he has to pay a fine to the caste assembly, and pay the cost to the other party; but if the other party does it, he cannot claim his cost. If a girl betrothed to one man is married to another, the latter has to make good the expenses from him. The system of giving the bride-price is common though denied by some. This amount

varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, which is said to be utilised in supplying drink to the castemen. Besides this, the girl's father is said to subscribe Rs. 2 and the bridegroom's father Rs. 121, for the same. The marriage expenses are met by the latter, except for one day which is borne by the former.

The marriage ceremonies last five days which take place in the house of the bridegroom. On the day of putting up the *pandal*, family deities are worshipped, and the castemen are treated to a feast. The castemen have twelve posts for putting up a *pandal*. Then five married women carry *ariveni* pots in procession from the well or the river close to the *pandal*. A Brahman priest officiates at the marriage ceremony, and ties the *tāli* round the neck of the girl, while in the Telugu sect it is tied by the bridegroom. The *tāli* consists of a number of black beads passed through a piece of cotton among *Vashter* and *Vakhod*, and a woollen one among Mukka and Nayikāls. *Nagavali* is celebrated on the morning of the fifth day, in which the married women take part in the erection of the milk post. The couple eat behind a screen to avoid being seen by boys and adults. The bridegroom puts on the toe-ring in token of being married. The removal of the milk-post concludes the ceremonies. The Brahman is given rations and *dakshiṇa*.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS.

When a girl attains her age, she is kept apart for five days, and on the sixth day, she bathes and a dinner is given to the castemen. No ceremonies are observed for the consummation of marriage.

No special ceremony is performed for a woman who is about to become a mother. After the delivery, both the mother and the baby are bathed in warm water. The woman in confinement is put to a special course of diet. On the fifth day after

birth, the mother and babe are bathed, a feast is given to the castemen, and the child is named after some god or ancestor; Hanumantha is often met with. Rāmanna, Venkōji, Pāpayya, Muniyappa, Lachmana, Mārappa and Narasimha, Nanjaiya, Madda with their corresponding feminine names are used by the tribe. Opprobrious names and names of endearment, are as in other castes.

WIDOW MARRIAGE. Widows may marry any number of times, under *Sireuduke* form. The bride-price to be paid varies from Rs. 12 to Rs. 20. Married women do not take part in the ceremonies, and the *tāli* is not tied. The remarried widow is given a white *sari* to wear. The *Ganāchar* of the caste officiates, for which he is paid twenty pies and a little tobacco is placed in a *Gudugudi* (Hooka).

ADULTERY. A married woman eloping with a man is allowed to marry him on payment of a fine to the castemen of the village. In some places, the paramour is required to pay Rs. 140 to the castemen. No part of it is paid to her first husband as it is tantamount to her being sold. If the man refuses to pay the fine, he is thrown out of caste; and the woman is admitted into the caste on payment of a fine of a few *Hanas*.* An unmarried woman becoming pregnant by a man of her caste is married to him under *Sireudike* form. Adultery with a man of higher caste is condoned by payment of a fine.

DIVORCE. Divorce is granted by a *panchayat* of the castemen. They summon the woman, her husband, her father and the members of the families before them. If it is proved on enquiry that the couple cannot live

* A *hana* being equal to annas 4 and pies 8.

together, they fine both the husband and the wife five four-anna pieces to be given to the castemen. Then the father of the woman passes a thread through the eye of a needle and hands it over to the husband who breaks the thread and keeps the needle indicating that his relations with her has ceased. It is said that the husband has to pay a fine of 5 *tenki hanas* to obtain the divorce if she elopes with her lover.

BASAVIS.

The members of the Mahratta section do not dedicate girls as Basavis but those of the Telugu admit the prevalence of the custom among them. A son of the girl's paternal aunt, called Manavādu, ties the *tāli* round the neck of the girl.

CASTE COUNCIL.

The Budubudikīs have their councils to enquire into cases of social matter; and these may be the *panchāyats* already mentioned. The representative of the Vakod division is the priest or the Gauda (*patel*) of the Mukka, Shānbhog and of the Vāshter. The office of Bhāgant may be that of a priest as the name implies. The council has a beadle in the representative of the Nayikel or Dhumal division. They have got several duties to perform:—During marriages the Vakhod must erect the booth, and bless the couple with rice thrown on them when they are seated on a blanket. The Bhāgant must tie the *bhāshinga* (marriage chaplet) on the foreheads of the couple. For these services, each of them gets five cocoanut halves, five dates, a turban and *pan supari*. It is the Gauda who circulates notice for convening the meeting; the beadle has to spread carpets for the people to sit on. During marriage and other occasions, the office bearers of the Council are given two additional *tāmbūlas* (betel leaves) but the beadle is given only one in addition and

these are not given in any order of precedence, but are given collectively.

RELIGION. The Hindu Budubudikīs worship all Hindu gods. Their tribal goddess is Amba Bhavāni also known as Yellamma, and they worship a book containing the pictures of the Goddess. Hanumantha is largely worshipped. The Mahrātta Budubudikīs have the following family gods, namely, Kederēswar, Shidōba, Khāndōba, Bahirōba and Marai. Vithōba of Pandarpur is also specially adored, and his shrine is occasionally visited by them. They worship their drum as Sarasvati during the Dasara festival, Dīpāvali, Nāgarpanchami and Ganapati festivals. They do not practise magic or witchcraft. They believe that Tuesdays and Fridays are lucky, and that the remaining days of the week are unlucky. Brāhmans officiate in their marriage ceremonies, while their own castemen are engaged in funerals. They pay homage to *gurus* at Srisailam and Ujjini, and say that they have obtained 12 insignias from the *guru* at Srisaila, who levies one *hana* from each family. They also attend the annual festival celebrated in honour of Amba Bhavāni at Vellore in North Arcot district, during the Dasara days.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES. The dead are buried in a sitting posture in the usual begging dress of a Budubudiki holding the drum in his hand. The corpse is rolled up in a quilt and carried to the grave by four men, each holding the corner of the quilt. Before lowering the body into the grave, the corpse is stripped of its clothes, and they are taken home. All return to the house of the deceased, and wash themselves in front of the house before entering it. The relatives of the chief mourner give them toddy to drink. On the third or the seventh day after death, the tribesmen

raise a subscription, and purchase a hen out of it. They make an oblation of milk and ghee over the grave, and sacrifice the hen to it. They make an *yede* of cooked food that the deceased liked best in his lifetime ; toddy and hooka are freely indulged in in the morning for ten days in continuation. The castemen are treated to a feast on the twelfth day. The mourners are purified by Brahmans.

SOCIAL STATUS.

The Budubudikīs do not labour under any social disabilities. The village barber and the washerman serve them. They can use public wells, and enter temples up to a certain limit and are allowed to live in villages. The Hindu Budubudikīs do not take food in the houses of Hajāms, Agasās, Muhammadans, Sukālis, Korachas, Vaddas, Dombars and Bedas. They admit into their caste, men of superior castes, *viz.*, Telugu Banajigas, Kumbars, Bestas and Vakkaligas on payment of a fee of Rs. 12 to the castemen, and on the novice getting his tongue touched with a red-hot gold wire and on his receiving *thīrtham* and *prasādam* (consecrated water and food) in a temple, dedicated to God Venkatramana. The Budubudike in Mysore does not beg from Holeyas and Mādigas. They own substantial houses and make periodical begging tours, especially in the harvest season.

FOOD.

They take animal food and drink liquor. In matters of diet, they are said to have no scruples, and include the flesh of lizards, jackals, field rats, wild and domestic hogs, crows, cats and of animals that have died a natural death in their dietary.

OCCUPATION

Budubudikīs are a class of beggers who go for alms from house to house shouting out coming events to the members thereof, and sounding a small kind of double faced drum by means of the knotted ends of

a string attached to each side of it. The operator turns it deftly and quickly from side to side when a sharp and weird sound is produced with a rude resemblance to the warbling of birds. This is generally done in the morning when the charlattan, or the sooth-sayer, after his worship of Kāli from the cremation ground, pretends to have divined the future of the householder by means of the chirping of birds in the early dawn. If some member is seen inclined to persuasion, the Budubudikī promptly takes advantage of it and begins to read the palms and predicts small evils which will happen, but cannot be warded off except by some gifts to his deities. When he gets them, he would demand some clothes worn by the person. They rub a little of ashes on the eye-lashes, and profess to be acquainted with black magic. The drum of the Mahratta Budubudike is provided with two strings with two knots, while the rest have only one. They also beg by sooth-saying, for which they pretend their knowledge from the bird known as Hāla Hakki (Blue Jay) when they pass through the streets sounding the drum giving notice of their presence to people in loud singing tones. This they continue for three or four days, after which they collect alms by going from house to house. As a rule, they visit the rural parts after the harvest is gathered, for it is then that the villagers are at their best and in a position to handsomely remunerate them for their services. Dāsam Budubudikīs also beg by going from house to house but they distinguish themselves as Dāsarēs and Sanyāsavandalu, and carry with them a *Garuda Kamba* (a lamp post), a conch, a gong, and a drum. These are largely found in Cuddappah and Kurnool districts.

The Muhammadan Budubudikīs are also on their begging rounds, and they have a bed (*jholi*),

a bell, and two sticks. To one stick is fastened the *jholi* and the bell which rings at every step; and the other stick is kept to drive away the dogs that bark at them at the sound of the bell. Their leader is called Gudusha Fakir who lives at Matur, six miles from Shahabad. In religion and ceremonial they are like other Muhamadans.*

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND MANNERS.

They are found in all shades of complexion. They are a little broadheaded and well shaped. The face is a little oval. Their expression is intelligent. They are of more than average stature. They wear a loose trouser and a long shirt, and hang about their persons all sorts of old pieces of coloured clothes on their long coats and have a turban on which they tie a piece of cloth generally a red kerchief almost covering their ears. They also have a number of clothes, as many as twenty to thirty, hanging from their necks. Some quills of the peacock or of the pingala or sakuna bird are stuck to their turbans. All sorts of trinkets, amulets, beads and bangles on the wrists and elbows are put on. The face is painted with red lead or ashes. He carries also a wallet for alms on the left shoulder, and a tiger or leopard skin on his back. He may have Rudrāksha garland round his neck. Sometimes he also hangs about his person some shells.

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* Syed Siraj ul Hassan: *The Castes and Tribes of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.*