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THE CASTES AND TRIBES

OF

H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

BY

SYED SIRAJ UL HASSAN

Of Merton College, Oxford, Trinity College, Dublin, and
Middle Temple, London.

One of the Judges of H. E. H. the Nizam's High Court
of Judicature: Lately Director of Public Instruction.

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PREFACE.

This work was undertaken with great enthusiasm, if not by myself certainly by a devoted band, headed by the late Mr. Kalé of the Educational Department, who travelled through the Dominions and thus obtained at first hand valuable information regarding the Tribes and Castes that inhabit the Hyderabad Deccan: I followed them, not everywhere but as far as I was able, to check their investigations and revise the monographs prepared by Mr. Kalé. The Fates were against us from the outset: a serious affection of the eyes—not to mention my official and numerous other engagements—made me despair of these pages ever seeing the light of day. A more severe loss was the sudden death of Mr. Kalé when the last pages of the draft lay before him. If kind friends had not come to my assistance, I could not have consented to the publication of the work at all, despite the gentle and kindly pressure of the Department of Finance which had entrusted me with the work. I am, however, hopeful that the material which has been collected may afford others an opportunity of contributing, in better shape and form, to ethnographic literature.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the learned gentleman who produced similar work in Bombay, for to make our own efforts complete, we had to look for help from the other side with regard to such castes as the "AHIRS" and others, who are to be found in the frontier districts of Khandesh and Nasik. I would have acknowledged in detail the various monographs from which we borrowed; but as Mr. Kalé is no more, I am hardly in a position to do so. My thanks are especially due to my old and capable friend Mr. J. E. Lee, who very kindly saw the work through the Press; also to Mr. Shawcross for looking over some of the articles as they came from the Typist.

A word of thanks to the eminent Surgeon Oculist who attended me will not be out of place; for it is due entirely to the great skill of Dr. Duggan that I am able to read these pages at all. No further apology is needed to the readers of these monographs when they know under what physical strain I had to bring out the work. Its deficiencies will no doubt be patent and I shall always be grateful for friendly criticism which will help to improve a later edition.

S. S. H.

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THE TRIBES AND CASTES

OF

H. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

I

AHIR

Origin.—Ahir, Ahir (*Sansk.* Abhir)—a large pastoral caste regarding whose origin there has been much controversy. Manu represents them as descended from a Brahman and an Ambastha mother, while, according to the *Brahm Puran*, they are the offspring of a Kshatriya man and a Vaishya woman. The traditions current among the people profess to trace their descent from the God Krishna, whose gay amours with the *gopis*, or milkmaids of Brindaban, are set forth at great length in the *Bhágwat* and *Hariwansha Puránas*. These traditions, as well as their sub-divisions Nandabansi, Yadubansi and Goalbansi, evidently called after Nanda, Yadu and Gopál, seem to identify them with the Gopás, who were mentioned in the Buddhist Pali *Jatakas* and Hindu *Puránas*, as a caste of cowherds, found in Mathura and its neighbourhood and settled down into an orderly community long before the Christian era.

These claims of Ahirs to be the descendants of Gopás are not, however, borne out by evidence. The *Vayu*, *Markandeya* and *Matsya Puránas* mention the Abhirás with Valhikas and Vatadhanas in the north and Shabaras, Pulindas and Vaidharbas in the south. The *Bhágwat Puran* (II. 4-18) associates them with Kiratas, Hunas, Andhras and Pulindas as the tribes purified by Krishna. In the *Mahabharata* (*Musulparva* VII) the Abhiras are described as Dasyu, or free booters who assailed Arjuna in the Panchanada Desh (the Punjab) and carried away the widowed wives of Krishna and Yadavas whom he was escorting from Dwarjka with immense riches.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta also refers to the Abhiras as a tribe and places them on the frontiers of Samudragupta's kingdom. These facts evidently show that the Abhiras were originally a distinct tribe, outside the pale of Hindu Society, who dwelt somewhere in the Punjab and combined the character of banditti with that of herdsmen. This view is favoured by Professor Lassen, who describes the Abhiras as a non-Aryan pastoral race living near the mouth of the Indus, and also by Ptolemy who noticed them as occupying Pataline, the country about Tatta on the Indus. The word 'Abhira' is first given as a synonym for *gopa* (cowherd) in the *Amarakosha* (550 A.D.), from which it follows that the Abhiras, or Ahirs, became incorporated into the Gopa or Goala caste sometime before 500 A.D.

History.—The Ahirs have not, for many centuries, been of any political importance. But the evidence of inscriptions shows that a dynasty of Ahir Kings once ruled over the Deccan and Gujarath. In a cave inscription at Nasik, reference is made to the reign of an Abhira prince named Ishwarasena, son of Shivadatta. Another inscription, found at Gunda and dated 181 A.D., in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasinha, speaks of his General Rudrabhuti, who is therein called Abhira. The *Purānas* describe them as having ruled as paramount sovereigns after the Andhrabhṛityās and in the 8th century, when the Kathis arrived in Gujarath, they found the greater part of the country possessed by the Ahirs. The old fort Ashirgada, in the Khandesh, testifies to their former importance and still retains the name of its founder Asā Ahir, or the Ahir prince Asā, who is said to have had 5,000 buffaloes, 5,000 cows and 20,000 sheep.

Immense numbers of the Ahir still cling to the nomadic life of their ancestors. Seeking the high grazing ground of Central India and the Deccan, they form encampments on the pasture lands, where they reside with their wives, families and herds, till the grass in the neighbourhood is exhausted, subsisting entirely on the proceeds from their cows and buffaloes—milk, butter and ghee. The houses they use are constructed of large bamboo mats which can be taken to pieces and removed like tents.

Internal Structure.—The Ahirs have 6 endogamous divisions—Nandabansi, Yadubansi, Goalbansi, Lingabansi, Ghosi and Gujar, of whom the Nandabansi are found in very large numbers in these Dominions. The Nandabansi trace their pedigree to the cowherd chief Nanda and his wife Yashoda, the foster parents of Krishna. These are subdivided into a large number of exogamous sections, the names of which appear for the most part to have reference to locality rather than to descent. A few of these sections seem to be of the totemistic type. The following are given as specimens :—

Chiyawale	Route
Mandalye	Jangle
Kotwal	Chediwale
Khandare	Barodiye
Kheryawale	Kodiwale
Bhurewale	Pariwale
Bhanoriye (bow)	Hinwar (deer)
Katariye (dagger)	Moriye (peacock).

The section names go by the male side. The rule of exogamy is strictly observed, *i.e.*, a man cannot marry outside the subcaste nor inside the section to which he belongs.

The Ahirs exclude the section of both father and mother or, in other words, forbid a man to marry a woman who belongs to the same section as himself or his mother. Ordinarily, the prohibition extends only to three generations in the descending line and in counting generations the person under consideration is of course included. Thus, a man may not marry a woman descended from his own paternal or maternal grandfather, or from his own paternal or maternal aunt. He may marry two sisters at the same time, provided that the elder is married first. Polygamy is permitted and there is nothing to prevent a man from marrying as many wives as he can maintain. It is unusual, however, for a man to take a second wife unless the first is barren or incurably diseased.

Marriage.—Ahirs practise both infant and adult marriage, according to their means, infant marriage being deemed the more respectable and adult marriages being resorted to only if the parents

of the girl cannot afford to get her married earlier in life. Sexual licence before marriage, though not expressly recognised, is nevertheless tolerated, it being understood that, if a girl becomes pregnant, she will disclose the name of her lover and he will come forward to marry her. Intercourse with a member of the same sect is punished with a fine, and that with an outsider by expulsion from the community.

The negotiations leading to marriage are opened by the father of the bridegroom. After the bride has been selected, the bridegroom's people pay a visit to her house to ascertain whether her parents agree to the proposal. If the point is settled to the entire satisfaction of both parties, the match is ratified by the bride's father providing liquor for the bridegroom's party and for the caste people present on the occasion, and distributing parched paddy and gram among them. This ceremony is known as *Galikuchi*. Then comes *Sagai*, which consists in the bridegroom's father going to the bride's house with a present of jewels, clothes, areca nuts and betel leaves for the girl, and receiving from the bride's father a ring of gold or silver as a present for his son. These clothes and jewels are worn by the bridal pair on the wedding day. *Sagai* having been performed, a Brahman is called in to fix an auspicious day for the marriage. On the day previous to the wedding, the ceremony called *Telchadhana* is performed by the relatives of both the bride and the bridegroom. The betrothed pair, in their respective houses, are each anointed separately with turmeric and oil, the bridegroom a little while after the bride, and then bathed by married females whose husbands are living. The women touch the feet, knee and shoulders of the bride and bridegroom with their fingers, at the same time holding turmeric coloured rice in their hands. Offerings are made to the tutelary deities and the spirits of ancestors, who are invited to be present and witness the ceremony.

On the night of the wedding day a procession (*barat*) of friends, relatives and neighbours is formed, escorting the bridegroom, magnificently dressed and dagger in hand, to the bride's house, with as much show, music, and noise as the means of the family permit. On arrival, the bride's mother comes out to meet him, waves an

auspicious light round his face from a winnowing fan and makes a spot of sandal wood paste and red aniline powder (*kunkum*) on his forehead. The bridegroom is then taken to the wedding canopy (*mandap*), made of mango and other leaves with a post called *medha* planted in the centre. An earthen pot, crowned with a burning lamp, and containing rice, areca nuts, betel leaves and turmeric, is placed at the foot of this post with some mango twigs. The bridegroom touches the booth with the point of his dagger and enters it. Here the bride, dressed in yellow clothes, joins him and both, seated side by side on low wooden stools, the bride on the left hand of the bridegroom, make offerings to Ganesh, represented by an areca nut, and to Gouri, in the form of a cowdung ball be-daubed with vermilion. The clothes of the bridal pair are knotted together and they walk seven times round the sacred post (*medha*), the Brahman reciting *mantras* or wedding hymns, women singing songs, music playing and the assembly showering rice on the couple all the while. The seventh circumambulation, taken only on the consent of the bride's parents, is deemed to be the essential and binding portion of the ritual, and to unite the pair irrevocably as husband and wife. After this, the knot of their garments is untied, the Brahman and the *hajam* (barber) receive their fees and all the men retire leaving the bride and bridegroom to the care of the women, who then perform their own peculiar ceremonies, playing at the same time various tricks on the bridegroom. The rest of the night is spent in feasting and merrymaking, the wedded couple leaving for the bridegroom's house early next morning. All through the ceremony the bridal pair wear high crowns, or helmets, made of leaves of *shendi* (wild date palm).

Widows are allowed to marry again. It is considered right for the widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or younger cousin. There is, however, no positive rule against her marrying an outsider and she incurs no social penalty by doing so; but in this respect she forfeits all claims to the share in her late husband's property or to the custody of any children she may have had by him. Under no circumstances can she marry her husband's elder brother. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is called *Dharona*

and is a very simple one. On a dark night the bridal pair bathe and put on new clothes and a widow ties their garments in a knot. A feast, in which liquor plays a prominent part, is given to caste people, after which the bridal pair retire to a room. Neither Brahmans nor married women attend the ceremony. For three subsequent days the bride remains in concealment, as to see her face during this period is considered unlucky by married women. On the third day she puts on bangles and is free from the ban. If the man who marries a widow be a bachelor, he is first married to a *rui* or *madar* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) and five stones are placed near the plant to bear witness to this marriage.

Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the *Panchayat*, if the wife be proved unchaste or if the husband suffers from an incurable disease such as leprosy or impotence. A woman who has been guilty of a liaison with a man of a lower caste, is turned out of the community. Divorced women may marry again by the same rite as widows.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance, the Ahirs follow the Hindu law, with this exception, that the father is the absolute owner of the ancestral property and the son cannot claim any portion thereof during his lifetime.

Religion.—The religion of the Ahirs is of the orthodox type in vogue among the Hindu castes of the same social standing, and presents no features of special interest. Their favourite deities are Kisanji, Balaji, and the Goddess Bhavani, the last of which is worshipped with offerings of goats on the *Dassera*, or the 10th of the light half of Aswin (October). They celebrate *Janmashtami*, or the festival of the birthday of Krishna, with great circumstance. A fast is observed throughout the day and at night a picture of Krishna is painted on the wall and an offering of flowers and sweetmeats is made before it. The fast is broken early next morning. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ Goud Brahmans; but when these are not available, any local Brahman, either Maratha or Telugu, is called in for the purpose. Besides the above mentioned gods, they pay reverence to Khandoba, Biroba, Hanuman, the Goddess of Tuljapur and other minor local deities, whom they propitiate with a

variety of offerings. They also make pilgrimages to Tuljapur, Pandharpur, Jejuri and other sacred places. When an epidemic breaks out among the cattle, the usual practice for the Ahirs is to kindle a fire and to throw on it the blood of goats and sheep sacrificed on the occasion. A swine is then buried alive with its head remaining above the ground and the cattle are made to run over it till it is trampled down to death.

Disposal of the Dead.—Ahirs burn their dead, laying the corpse on the pyre with the head pointing to the west. The body is washed clean, wrapped in new clothes and carried to the cremation ground on the shoulders of four men. Bodies of unmarried persons of either sex are buried. The chief mourner alone remains unclean for 10 days. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death, when caste people are feasted and presents of money and rice are made to Brahmans. The spirits of departed ancestors are propitiated on any day in the latter half of the month of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status.—In the point of social precedence, Ahirs rank above Maratha Kunbis and all other castes of the same social standing. A Maratha Kunbi will eat *kachi* cooked by an Ahir, but the latter will take cooked food only from Brahmans. Most of them eat fowls and mutton and indulge in spirituous and fermented liquors.

The hereditary occupation of Ahirs is to tend milch cattle and deal in milk, butter and ghee. Some of them enter Government service, mostly as police constables. Of late years a few have taken to agriculture.

II

ANDH

Andh—a cultivating and hunting tribe confined to the hilly tracts, which include the Northern parts of Parbhani and Nander and the western part of Adilabad. They appear to be a very remarkable people, with dark complexion, thick lips and prominent cheek bones. They show, on the whole, a marked aboriginal type of features, resembling that of the Gonds, while the fact of their entire occupation of many villages indicates traces of savage independence. On the other hand, their language, customs and religion are those of the Maratha Kunbis. They show respect to Brahmans and have their totemistic sections modelled on those of the Maratha Kunbis. The question arises—what must have been the original affinities of the tribe?

Origin.—Possibly, the Andhs are a branch of the Gonds. They seem to have remained in these hills when the inroads of the Marathas overwhelmed the country and drove the Gonds to the Satpura ranges and the Adilabad highlands. In course of time, the Andhs probably forgot their original connections with the parent tribe and assumed the manners, customs, and language of the Kunbis, in whom they have now become entirely merged.

Beyond a faint recollection that their forefathers came from Mahur and the adjoining districts, the Andhs have no traditions which will throw light upon their origin. It seems highly possible that the word Andh is only a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Andhra', a designation given by the ancient Aryans to an aboriginal tribe dwelling in the Andhra Desh (Wilson, V p. 190). In the *Ramayana* (IV. 40-44) and in the *Mahabharata*, the Andhras have been represented as Dasyus (non-Aryans) inhabiting the regions very nearly occupied by the modern Gonds. It may be believed, therefore, that the Andhras and Gonds are cognate tribes or, in other words, that the

Gonds were known by the name of Andhras in ancient times. This view is supported by Manu (X. 34-36) who identifies Andhras with Medas, the term 'Medas' being, in the opinion of the learned Maratha Brahmans, equivalent to Gonds. (Dr. J. Wilson's "Indian Castes", p. 59.) The question of the origin of the Andhs may, therefore, appear to have two solutions—(i) that the Andhs were separated from the parent tribe before the name 'Gond' for the Andhras came into common use; (ii) that the isolated branch was renamed Andhra by the Maratha Brahmans, in consonance with the traditional list of the Indian castes and that the term 'Andhra' passed in common parlance into Andh by the dropping of the 'r.' The latter solution appears to be more plausible, for instances of the fragments of aboriginal tribes being renamed by Aryans are not wanting in the ethnic history of the caste. (Risley's "The People of India", pp. 86-87.)

Internal Structure.—The Andhs are divided into two sub-castes, (1) Andhs and (2) Shadu Andhs, or the illegitimate progeny of Andhs. The two eat with each other, but do not intermarry. Their exogamous sections are based upon the model of those of the Maratha Kunbis. Most of them are of the territorial character. A few are totemistic, bearing the names of trees and animals. The totems, however, are not taboo to the members bearing the section names. As a rule, marriage within the same section is strictly prohibited. A man may marry two sisters, so also may two brothers marry two sisters, the elder brother marrying the elder sister and the younger brother the younger. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt is permitted by the caste: it is, however, disallowed with a maternal aunt's daughter. Exchange of daughters takes place. Outsiders are not admitted into the community.

Marriage.—The Andhs marry their daughters either as infants, or after they have attained puberty. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, the father of the child is called upon by the caste *Panchayat* to get her married immediately. A girl bereft of parents or relatives is married to a man of her own choice. The Andhs celebrate their wedding in the Maratha fashion. The cere-

mony takes place in the bride's house, after midnight, in a marriage *pandal* of twelve pillars. After the bridegroom has been brought in procession to the bride's house, the couple are made to stand face to face and, a curtain being held between them, the Brahman recites *mantras* and throws rice over their heads. They are then seated side by side, *kanakanams*, or bracelets of woollen thread, are tied on their wrists by a washerman and water from the blessed vessel (*ravireni*) is poured over their heads from the top of the wedding shed. A four-anna piece is afterwards dropped into the vessel and is claimed by the village *patel*, who is usually an Andh. Polygamy is permitted in theory to any extent but is restricted in actual life to as many wives as a man can afford to maintain. Widows are allowed to marry again, but not to the younger or elder brothers of their late husbands. The ritual of a widow's marriage is very simple. At night the widow is presented with a new *sari* and *choli* (bodice) and bangles, and the clothes of the pair are knotted together. Divorce is effected, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, on the ground of the wife's adultery, or the husband's inability to maintain her. Divorced women may marry again by the same ritual as widows.

In matters of inheritance and succession, the Andhs conform to the usages of the local Hindus.

Religion.—No vestiges of their primitive faith are now discerned in the religion of the Andhs. They worship the Hindu gods and employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. Their household gods are Khandoba of Jejuri and Bhavani of Mahur. Ancestors, embossed on metal plates, are also honoured. On *Ambil Dwadashi*, or the 12th of the lunar half of Chaitra (end of March), Mahadeo is worshipped with offerings of *ambil*, or gruel prepared from *jawari* (Indian millet). Besides these principal gods, Andhs appease Mari Ai (the deity who presides over cholera), Sitala, or the deity of smallpox, and other minor deities and a host of ghosts and spirits, with animal offerings.

Disposal of the Dead.—Bodies of married persons are burnt, and the unmarried are buried in a lying posture, with the head towards the south. In cases where cremation is resorted to, the ashes are gathered on the third day after death and thrown into a

rive? The Andhs observe mourning ten days for adults and three days for children, during which they abstain from any food except *dal* (pulse) and bread. *Sradha* is performed on the 13th day after death, on the lunar third of Vaishakha (April) and in the dark half of Bhadrapad (September). The deceased first wife is appeased by the second in the form of *Manvi*, a vessel of water.

Social Status.—Socially, the Andhs rank below the Maratha Kunbis, and above the *Dhobi* (washerman), *Navi* (barber) and all the unclean classes. They will eat food prepared by a Kunbi, though the Kunbi will not take food or water from an Andh. They eat pork, fowl, mutton, fish of all kinds, venison, lizards, hare, peafowl and crabs and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other people.

Occupation.—The majority of the Andhs are engaged in agriculture and are good and industrious cultivators. Some of them are *patels* of villages. Many of them are landless day labourers, bringing firewood from the jungles, and collecting wild bees' nests. They are considered born hunters and, as such, are employed by sportsmen in the hunting of large and small game. They make good watchmen.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Andhs in 1911 :—

	Males	Females
Adilabad	1,347	1,258
Aurangabad	7	3
Bhir	10	...

ARE KATIKA

Aré Kátiká, Kátiká, Lád Kasáb, Kasai, Suryachélád, Arewáru, —a small Marathi-speaking caste of butchers found in almost all the districts of Telingana. 'Kátiká,' in Telugu, means 'cruel' and refers probably to the profession of the caste as butchers, while the prefix 'Aré' (Sansk. 'Arya') is the generic name by which all the Maratha castes are known to the Telugu people. Some derive the name Kátiká from the Sanskrit word *kartak*, a knife. Arékátikás are also called Lád Kasébs or Lád Butchers, the term 'Lád' being a variant of 'Lát', the ancient name of a portion of Modern Gujarath, from which these people are supposed to have come originally. The members of the caste dignify themselves with the title 'Suryáche Lád' (Láds descended from the sun), claiming Surya, or the sun, as their progenitor.

Origin.—Regarding the origin of the caste a variety of legends are current. According to one, they trace their descent from 'Dharma Vyadha,' who, in some Pauranic time, supplied meat and mutton to the people. Another legend makes them the offspring of one Vithobá, who was ordered by the gods to kill a sheep which had sprung from a mole-hill and caused annoyance to the Sun god. Vithobá carried out the orders immediately and was rewarded for the act with a knife, a wooden block, and a tripod. Vithobá cut the throat of the sheep and found in it a *shaligram* (fossil ammonite), which he used for a weight.

Internal Structure.—The caste has two endogamous divisions—(1) Sajjanam Kátiká, or Suryáche Lád, (2) Barki, or Adjath Kátiká, who are illegitimate descendants of the Sajjanam Kátikás. The members of these sub-castes neither take food together nor intermarry. Besides these, there is one more division called Kuramá Kátiká, who are doubtless men of the Kuramá caste, following

the butcher's calling. The Kátikás say they have only one *gotra*, 'Ramashata Rana,' which is obviously inoperative in the regulation of their marriages. Their section names show a curious mixture of two types ; the one borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis before their immigration into Telingana, and the other adopted from the Telugu castes after their immigration.

• Exogamous sections :—

Namtawáru	Ghodker
○ Mirayalwáru	Bhatnase
Nayamathadi	Magdiker
Vankhare	Jamalpuri
Gouliker	Gomiker
Dapalker	Koyalker.

The *aré* tree (*Bauhinia racemosa*) is regarded with great reverence and a branch of it is worshipped as *devak* (marriage guardian) in marriages. A man is prohibited from marrying into the section, or outside the sub-caste, to which he belongs. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt, or elder sister. He may also marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is practised by the caste. A girl attaining puberty before marriage is excommunicated. Girls are not offered to temples or trees. Polygamy is permitted to the extent of two wives. The marriage ceremony resembles that of the Telugu castes in general. Some of the rites, however, deserve notice. Two branches, one of the *saundad* or *shami* tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) and the other of the *aré* (*Bauhinia racemosa*), are tied, each with a sweet cake, to the western corners of the booth and on its top a winnowing fan is placed. Previous to the wedding, a picture of the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur is painted on a wall, and a lamp, made of a piece of cocoanut kernel filled with oil, is placed before it, the wick in the lamp being re-trimmed by a stalk of *jawari* (Indian millet). This ceremony is called *Tel Chadhai*. At the time of the wedding, the girl only is dressed in new clothes, while the boy appears in his old clothes, except for a new head-dress.

After *Nagvelly*, the bridegroom is made to 'slay a sheep and the bride to gather green herbs in which she finds a nose-ring previously hidden.

Widows are allowed to re-marry and divorce is permitted. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. In default of male issue, females inherit.

Religion.—The *Aré Kátikás* are all *Vibhutidhárís* (Saivaites) and mark their foreheads with round spots of red aniline powder. *Ellammá* is worshipped on Sundays and Tuesdays, when they observe a fast. *Pochammá*, and other malignant deities, are appeased in the month of *Ashadha* (July-August) with offerings of sheep and fowls. A man of the *Kummará* caste is engaged as priest at the worship of these goddesses, while the sacrificial animals are killed by a Muhammadan butcher and not by a member of the caste. *Narsinha* and *Mahádeva* are also held in great reverence. Brahmins are employed in marriages and *Jangams* at funerals.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are either buried in a sitting posture, facing the east, or burnt in a lying posture with the feet to the north, according to the custom of the family of the deceased. In cases of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river. Ten days' mourning is observed for the married and three days for others. On the 3rd, 5th and 10th days after death, birds are fed for the benefit of the soul of the deceased and Brahmins and *Jangams* are given rice.

Social Status and Occupation.—The occupation of the caste is that of selling the flesh of sheep and goats. They also manufacture liquor and sell it. Some have taken to agriculture.

They eat the flesh of sheep, deer, hare, fish of two kinds and drink liquor and *shendi*. They do not eat the leavings of any caste. They have a caste *Panchayat* with a *chowdhari* at its head. Social disputes are referred to this council for decision.

They eat from the hands of Brahmins, Komtis, Baljas, Kapus and Munnurs, while Balijas, Kurmas and Goundalas eat *kachi* from them.

IV

BANJARA

Banjára, Brinjára, Lambádi, Lamáne, Wanjára, Gohar Herkeri (Carnatic)—grain and salt carriers, cattle-breeders and cattle dealers, found all over the Dominions, but especially in the Districts of Warangal and Adilabad, which abound in rich pastures. They have no settled homes, but lead a wandering life in bands, each band being under a hereditary leader styled *naik*, to whom implicit obedience is yielded by the men. Their camp, comprising a large number of followers with their pack bullocks, is known as *tándá*. The *naik* exercises complete authority over his men, settles caste disputes and directs the movements of the *tándá* when travelling.

The men are fine, muscular fellows, of medium height, with generally a Rajput caste of countenance. They are strong and energetic and capable of enduring long and fatiguing marches. Their ordinary dress is the *dhoti*, a covering reaching to the hips, and a *pagri*, or turban of several folds, wound round the head. The women are, as a rule, comely in appearance and as active as the men in their business avocations. They wear a *lainga*, or skirt, of coarse cotton prints, rich in embroidery work and hung from the waist in ample folds. A *phadki* (*odni*), or scarf, of a similar texture, is carelessly thrown over the shoulders and on the head, where it rests on a sort of a horn or wooden comb. A bodice, or *choli*, with long sleeves and tastefully embroidered in front and on the shoulders, covers the bosom and is tied at the back by bands, the ends of which are ornamented with *cowries*, beads, and gaudy-coloured tassels of cotton. About their necks they wear a silver or brass *hasali* and a profusion of bead strings with a pendant of *cowrie* shells threaded on horse hair. On their wrists they wear brass and horn bracelets, 10 or 12 in number, extending, on either arm, to the elbow and sometimes to the arm-pit. Brass or horn anklets with

jingling bells are worn on the feet. Their movements are easy, graceful and stately, rendered slow from the quantity of ornaments they wear. The hair is parted in the centre, combed back, plaited and profusely decked with silk and cotton tassels. Heavy pendants of silver plaited in the hair hang over their cheeks. The well-to-do women wear silver ear-rings and a gold or gilt nose-ring. The Banjara women seldom change their clothes till they are tattered and torn and are only renewed by new ones.

The Banjara *tándás* are always on the move; but during the four rainy months they encamp on the outskirts of villages, generally on some dry spots where there is good grazing, their *pals* being made of coarse stout cloth fastened with ropes. Their means of carriage is usually the bullock; but it is no unusual thing to see even cows laden with burdens, with young calves at their heels. One of their best bullocks is selected as leader. His horns and the crest of his pack saddle are ornamented with cowrie shells, scarlet cloth, peacock feathers and tassels of silk, his neck is encircled with brass chains and a band of scarlet cloth or leather, to which are fastened numerous bells which, as he walks, give out a monotonous sound. He is supposed to be deified, being devoted to Báláji, forms the protector of the herd, and is termed *Guru Bail*. At his feet the Banjárs make their vows when difficulties overtake them, and in illness, whether of themselves or of cattle, they trust to his worship for a cure. As soon as the march is over, the cattle are let loose to browse in the vicinity and at night they are tied round the packages of loads in a circle. In the midst, the Banjára lights the fire and goes to sleep. He is up at sunrise, loads his bullocks and proceeds to the next stage.

Names and their Derivations.—The name Banjára is supposed to be derived from the Persian *Berinj Arind* meaning 'dealer in rice'. Some derive it from the Sanskrit *Banij*—a merchant. The Banjárs have other names, as Lamáni, derived from the Sanskrit *Lavana*—salt; Wanjári, from *Vana*—a forest; and Lambádi, from *Lamban*—length, which has probably reference to the long line or train in which their bullocks move. Their tribal name is *gohar*—a man.

Origin.—The Banjarás claim to be descended from Motá and Molá, the two brothers who tended Sri Krishna's cows. From Motá sprang the ancestors of the modern Márwáris, Matlurá Banjarás and Labhanas. Molá, having no issue, once visited a prince's court, with his wife Rádhá, and there exhibited gymnastic feats, in which he was an adept. The prince was so pleased with Molá's skill and so charmed with Rádhá's beauty and grace, that he gave them, as reward, three infant boys of different castes, whom they adopted as sons. In course of time the boys grew up and were married. Their progeny have been collectively known as Cháran Banjarás.

This account, ascribing to the Banjarás a mixed parentage, appears to have been founded on fact. There can be no doubt that these people, so varied in their characteristics, were recruited from different races of Northern India and bound together by ties of common occupation. The Banjarás are alluded to by Arrian as one of the classes of Indian Society. In *Dashakumár Charitra*, a work written by Dandi, mention is made of a cock fight in a Banjará camp. It is said that these grain carriers came into the Deccan with the Moghal armies early in the 17th century. Their carrying trade has been noticed by almost all European travellers of the past three centuries. Thus, Mandelso wrote of them in 1638 A.D. as buying wheat and rice in the markets of the Deccan towns and carrying them to Hindustan in caravans sometimes of ten thousand animals ("Mandelso in Haris", p. 130). In the accounts of Sir A. Wellesley's campaigns in the Deccan, they are frequently mentioned as supplying his forces with food and forage. "Many thousands of them," says the Abbe Dubois, "were employed by the English for transporting their provisions in the last war with the Sultan of Mysore" ("Abbe Dubois", p. 451). "They seem to have derived their whole origin and organisation," remarks Mr. Lyall, "from the long wars of the Delhi Emperors in the south, and the restoration of peace and prosperity is breaking them up. Neither trade nor their tribal system can survive another generation of English predominance."

Internal Structure.—The Banjarás are divided into four tribes—(1) Mathurá, (2) Labhání, (3) Cháran, (4) Dhádiá,

who do not intermarry nor eat together. The Dhaliás, or Banjári Mángs, constitute the fifth class and are attached as musicians to each Banjárá tándá, although even their touch is regarded as impure by other classes. Mathurá Banjárás claim to be of the highest rank and purest blood, coming probably, as their name indicates, from Mathurá in Upper India and tracing their origin from the mythical founder Motá, Sri Krishna's herdsman. Their tándás are chiefly confined to the hilly tracts of the Kinwat, Bodan and Hadgaon Talukas, where they rear fine bullocks and cows. During the dry season, they visit different markets and dispose of their commodities, returning, in the rains, to their head-quarters in the hills. They have six exogamous groups :—(1) Chaupád, (2) Padwád, (3) Bási, (4) Goli, (5) Khichkád, (6) Kakár, which differ from those of the Chárans and appear to have been introduced after their immigration into the Deccan. The original surname of the Chaupáds was supposed to be Sábade. From Padwád sprang three different clans—(1) Bharwat, (2) Bathada, (3) Antarvedi, who do not intermarry. Each of the other groups is subdivided into families—Bási into Bási and Bárad, Goli into Goli and Tátiría and Khichkád into Khichkád and Dhirbi. The Kakár group has become extinct. Mathurás are fairer in complexion than other Banjárás and, unlike the latter, are neat and cleanly in their habits, washing their bodies daily. They wear the sacred thread and do not eat animal food nor food cooked by any caste except their own. At their meals they are very careful to keep a fire burning, eating no more if by chance the fire goes out. Their widows are not allowed to marry again, nor are they permitted to wear bracelets or bangles on their wrists. Until a Mathurá girl attains the age of puberty, she is required to retain, as a symbol, cowrie shells and betel-nuts, tied in the skirt of her garment. Mathurás have their own *bháts*, or genealogists, whom they employ in the settlement of marriages. Their important festival is *Gokul-áshtami*, or the celebration of Krishna's birthday, which they perform with great pomp and rejoicings on the 8th of the dark half of Shrāvan (August-September). They speak a dialect which is a mixture of Hindi and Gujarathi. The Chárans form the majority of the Banjárás found in Hyderabad territory. The origin of their

name is obscure. They have five exogamous sections—(1) Ráthod, (2) Panwar, (3) Chaván, (4) Báditiyá or Vadtíyá and (5) Tori, all of the eponymous character, being the names of their founders. Of these founders, the first three were the adopted sons of their legendary ancestor Molá ; the fourth, Badiyá, was believed to have been the offspring of the grand-daughter of Panwar by a Brahman ; Tori, the last, while an infant, was found by Molá exposed in a farm and brought up by him as his own son. The development of these five primary branches into several families is illustrated in the genealogical table given below :—

Ráthod	Panwár	Chauván	Tori
Seven sons	Twelve sons	Six sons	Four sons
(1) Bhukiya	(1) Jharbala	(1) Kora	(1) Samalalani
(2) Aloth	(2) Amgoth.	(2) Sagawath	(2) Jogalalani
(3) Jatoth	(3) Lolasawath	(3) Moda	(3) Mohilalani
(4) Dharmasoth	(4) Vinjarawath	(4) Palita	(4) Zalalalani
(5) Banoth	(5) Tarbani	(5) Keloth	Their <i>gotra</i> is
(6) Mukhale	(6) Khotbani	(6) Lawdiya	Tori.
(7) Mohan	(7) Goramu	with Chauhan	as
The descendants	(8) Bani	their <i>gotra</i> .	
of these have the	(9) Ayoth		
<i>gotra</i> Rathod.	(10) Lodhi		
	(11) Moyagnani		
	(12) Chaboloth		
	These have Pan-		
	war as their <i>gotra</i> .		

Badiyá (Vadtíyá)

Zarbala (son of Pawar).

Daughter—a Brahman.

Kahitaji	Punitaji	Niyatji
Seven sons	Four sons	Three sons
(1) Halataji	(1) Dharawat	(1) Barmawat
(2) Kanwal	(2) Pagugalat	(2) Padiya
(3) Jitawat	(3) Lukhadat	(3) Malawat
(4) Bharawat	(4) Lonawat	
(5) Budawat		
(6) Ura		
(7) Tihawat		
These have Bad-		
tiya as their <i>gotra</i> .		

Bhukiyá (Bhutiya) son of Rathor.

Khandari

Seven sons

(1) Dewashi

(2) Ramsee

(3) Patalsee

(4) Tanisee

(5) Karamsee

(6) Urasee

(7) Watasee

(gotra Kooloth).

Maighā

Five sons

(1) Laksee

(2) Udha

(3) Hadsee

(4) Donga

(5) Ana

(gotra Maigla).

Barmawát, the son of Niyátji and the grandson of Badtiyá, had no issue. He got a son by the favour of Khájá Mohin-ud-din of Ajmere, and named him Ajmiryá, after the residence of the saint. Ajmiryá had six sons—(1) Sailu, (2) Ramá, (3) Bábilá, (4) Totá, (5) Manná and (6) Bhánd, whose descendants have adopted Ajmiryá as their *gotra*.

Of the five original Cháran Banjára clans, Ráthods and Badtiyás or Vadiyás are chiefly found in H. H. The Nizam's Dominions, the Ráthods occupying the Marathawada Districts adjoining Berár and the Badtiyás abounding in Telingana. Both these clans are said to have come to the Deccan with the armies of Asaf Jáh, the Vazir of Sháh Jahán, who campaigned against Bijapur about the year 1630 A.D. The Ráthod Banjárs, under their *naiks* Bhangi and Jhangi, had 180,000 bullocks, which formed the army commissariat of the Vazir and, in order to keep up the supply of grain and fodder, they secured from him the following prescriptive rights engraved in golden letters on a copper plate :—

“ Ránjan ká páni, chappar ká ghas ;

“ Din ká teen khun máff,

“ Aur jahán Asaf Jáh ke ghore

“ Wahán Bhangi Jhangi ke bail.”

A very free rendering of this inscription would be :—(Bhangi and Jhangi may freely have) pots of water and grass for *chappars* (roofs) ; three murders a day will be pardoned, (because) where Asaf Jah's horses (cavalry) are, there (are) Bhangi's and Jhangi's bullocks.

This plate remains in the possession of the descendants of Bhangi, who are still recognised by the Hyderabad court ; and on the death of

the representative of this family his successor receives a *khillat* from His Highness the Nizam.

Bhagwandas, the *naik* of the Badtiyá Banjárás, was also said to have accompanied the army and asked for a similar right, which was refused. This led to a feud between the rival clans, which gathered strength after the campaign was over and the Chárans remained in the Deccan. "One day when Bhangi Naik was returning from the Hyderabad Darbar with four followers, he was attacked in daylight by Bhagwandas who, with a number of followers, killed all five men. On the Chárans complaining to the Nizam, they were told to take their revenge, which they shortly did : and headed by Narayan Bhangi, son of the deceased, they fell unexpectedly on Bhagwandas in such large numbers that he and one hundred of his followers were killed. The Badtiyás availed (*sic.* ?) their turn and attacking the Rathods killed a number of them and took away their standard. This standard is a yearly present from H. H. the Nizam who gives Bhangi's descendants eight '*thans* of *khádi*' of sixteen yards a *than* for a new standard. This standard is now in the possession of the Badtiyás, though the Ráthods have made many attempts to regain it and the feud will exist so long as the Badtiyás remain in possession of it." (Berar Gazetteer.)

The Chárans have a bad name for highway robbery and *dakaiti* and are under the strict surveillance of the police. They do not, however, appear to be hereditary criminals and have taken to a course of rapine and pillage owing to the decline of their original trade. They are now settling down to respectable means of livelihood and it may be that, in a few years, their criminal propensities will be entirely repressed.

The Dhádis profess themselves to be bards and genealogists of the Chárans, from whom they are probably an offshoot. They are a hybrid tribe, half Muhammadan and half Hindu ; they observe circumcision like Muhammadans, but worship the Hindu deities, especially the goddess Saraswatī. They subsist by begging alms from the Chárans and singing songs in praise of their Cháran ancestors and the Emperors of Delhi. It is believed that they embraced the faith of Islám during the time of the Emperor Humayun.

Marriage.—A man cannot marry outside the sub-caste nor inside the section to which he belongs. He is also forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his (1) mother's section, (2) paternal or maternal grand-mother's section and (3) paternal or maternal great grand-mother's section. A man may marry two sisters. Two brothers are allowed to marry two sisters. Polygamy is permitted to any extent, but is rarely practised.

Banjára girls are not usually married under twelve years of age. Sexual licence before marriage is tolerated on the understanding that if a girl becomes pregnant her lover shall come forward to marry her. The bride's price varies according to the means of the bridegroom, but is, in no case, less than Rs. 121/-. Half the amount is paid at the betrothal and the remaining half is paid when the bridegroom comes to the bride's house for the marriage.

The proposal for marriage comes from the father of the boy and, on the match being settled, betel-leaves and molasses are distributed to the guests in token of confirmation. *Badá Guda*, or the betrothal, follows. The bridegroom's father and relatives visit the bride's house. After the horoscopes of the parties have been examined and found to agree by an astrologer, the bride's father, in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*, promises to give his daughter in marriage to the proposed boy. Molasses (*gur*) and betel-leaves are distributed to the whole *tándá* (encampment) and the assembly disperses. A considerable quantity of liquor is consumed on the occasion. The betrothal expenses are shared equally by both parties. The marriage ceremony is performed at the bride's house. It takes place at midnight in the months of Kártika, Fálguna and Ashádha. One day previous to the wedding, the bridegroom starts out on foot to the bride's village, accompanied by a friend or two. The bridegroom has in his hands a sword and a dagger while his companion carries a tobacco pipe. On arrival they are welcomed by the bride's father and are given separate lodgings. A marriage booth, supported on four posts of *palas* (*Butea frondosa*) and covered over with a blanket, is erected in front of the bride's house. Under the booth a square of ground is smeared with cow-dung and at each corner are piled nine earthen vessels one upon the other. In the centre two

wooden pestles of *khair* (*Acacia catechu*) are planted and decorated with bunches of mango leaves. By the side of the eastern post a small stool is placed. The following plan illustrates the arrangement—

Pile

Pile

O East post

West post O

Stool

Pile

Pile

Fridays and Sundays are regarded as auspicious days for marriages. Previous to the wedding, the bride is seated on the stool, rubbed over by her sisters with turmeric and oil, and bathed. Then comes the bridegroom's turn and while he is being bathed on the stool, a mischievous girl flings round his neck the bride's *lainga* (petticoat) and with it pulls him backwards unawares so as to make him fall flat on his back. Great fun is made at the expense of the poor boy. Dressed in wedding clothes, the bridal pair are next seated side by side on a bullock saddle near the posts. After the worship of Ganpati and other deities, the Brahman priest joins their right hands and ties their garments in a knot, in which is enclosed one rupee given by the bride's father. A sacrificial fire is kindled between the pestles and fed with seven kinds of wood, viz., mango (*Mangifera indica*), *tendu* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*), *sag* (*Tectona grandis*), *palas* (*Butea frondosa*), *nim* (*Melia indica*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) and *badh* (*Ficus bengalensis*). When the fire is well ablaze, the bridal pair march seven times round the pestles and the fire, keeping these always to their right side, the women singing songs and the priest repeating *mantras* the whole time. These seven *feras* (rounds) are regarded as the binding portion of the ceremony. After the pair have resumed their seats, the priest makes offerings of (*satu*) grain to the fire. On this occasion, he is surrounded by mischievous lasses of the *tándá* who pinch and prick him on all sides, smear his body with cow-dung, try to strip him naked and tease him in every way possible. On the third day the whole *tándá* is entertained at a feast, liquor in plenty being consumed at the time. A Brahman is engaged to perform the ceremony; but if one is not available, a member of the *tándá*, supposed to trace his origin from a Brahman, wears the sacred thread and acts as priest. The bride's

father has to make her a present of a young bullock with pack saddle, a complete set of ornaments and a sufficient number of *laingas* to last her for life. On the early morning of the fourth day, the wedded pair, mounted on the bullock, set out for the bridegroom's encampment. The bride departs singing blessings on her parents. At some distance, the party stop for the day and a grand feast is given in their honour to the whole *tándá*. The parting scene follows. The bride, with her eyes filled with tears at the grief of separation, embraces all her relatives and friends, who each present her with a rupee and at last the pair are sent off with a heavy heart. The Brahman receives Rs. 1-4-0 as the marriage fee (*daḡṣhaṇṭ*).

Widow-Marriage.—Widow marriage is allowed by the Cháran Banjárás, the widow being required to marry her late husband's younger brother or, in default, some other member of his family. If she persists in marrying an outsider he is made to pay to her former mother-in-law Rs. 60, or half the price paid for her as a virgin. The ceremony of a widow-marriage consists of the pair being made to sit face to face on a bullock saddle and to feed each other with molasses and cooked rice. Divorce is recognised and is effected by breaking a piece of straw before the caste *Pancháyat* in token of separation. Unchastity is not tolerated and a woman whose virtue is in question, has to undergo a solemn ordeal in order to establish her innocence. A woman detected in a liaison with a member of an inferior caste is turned out of the community. Female infanticide is said to be still in vogue among them, in consequence of the large sums of money required to ornament and clothe the girl on her marriage.

Inheritance.—The devolution of property is governed by a tribal usage. The youngest son is allowed the first choice in the shares and the eldest son is given a cow in addition to his own share. The Banjárás are never known to go to law, but settle their disputes in their caste *Pancháyat*, presided over by the *naik*. The decision of the *Pancháyat* is never disputed.

Religion.—The religion of the Banjárás is of the orthodox type. Their special deity is Káliká Devi, or Bhaváni, whose image is embossed on silver and worshipped in every Banjará household.

Once a year her worship is celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by the whole *tándá*. On a Tuesday in the month of Kártika (November-December), six sheep are taken before her, washed and decapitated. Seven bones from the left leg of each sheep with twenty-one small heaps of cooked rice and molasses are offered to the goddess and subsequently eaten by the votaries at three meals. On the *Dassera* holiday the goddess is propitiated with offerings of black ram and liquor. The other deities honoured by the tribe are Hanumán and Báláji, to whom offerings of flowers, cows' milk and sweetmeats are made in the *Divali* holidays. The memory of their great heroes. Shivá Bháiyá and Mathá Bhakayyá, is perpetuated in their annual worship, when offerings of sheep and goats are made to them and afterwards partaken of by the devotees. Máthá Bhakayyá was a notorious free-booter, whose daring commanded the respect of his community. He is said to be still worshipped before the commission of crime. Shivá Bháiyá was a great saint and has a temple dedicated to him in Berar. Guru Nának, the founder of the Sikh sect, is held in the greatest reverence and many Banjárs pay a visit, in his honour, to the great Sikh temple at Nander. In addition to these, the Banjárs appease minor deities, such as Mari Ai, Sitalá Devi, Khanderáo, and several others, with a variety of offerings. Homage is also done to Muhammadan saints and *pírs* by the members of the tribe. They observe all the Hindu festivals, the most favourite with them being *Holi* in Fálgun (March). Men and women throw aside all feelings of modesty and give free vent to their vicious propensities. Great licentiousness is said to prevail on the occasion. A few of the Banjárs, who have settled down in the Telugu parts of the State, have been brought under the sectarian influences of Shri Vaishnava and Arádhi Brahmins. They are in other words divided into Tirmanidháris and Vibhutidháris like the other Telugu castes.

The Banjárs have a strong belief in witch-craft. Women are generally supposed to be expert in the black art and are often accused of having caused sickness to a person, or brought calamity on a family. Witch-finders are employed in divining the witches, and a woman, denounced as a sorceress, is secretly done to death.

Many a Banjára woman has been tortured to death under this horrid suspicion. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The oath most sacred to the community is that of Shivá Bhaiyá, taken while holding the tail of a cow.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burnt, but are occasionally buried in a lying posture with the face downwards and the head pointing towards the south. Unmarried persons, persons dying of cholera or smallpox, and children, are buried. On the third day after death the ashes are collected in a heap with twigs of the *qui* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) and sprinkled over with sheep's milk. The mourners thereupon resort to a well where they are fed with *malidá* or a mixture of *gur* (molasses) and rice. On the 10th day, a feast is given to the caste people. No *Sradha* is performed. Widows do not wear bangles after the decease of their husbands.

Social Status.—The social position of the Cháran Banjárás may be determined by the fact that they eat from the hands of all Hindu castes except the Dhobi, Hajám, Panchadáyi, Jingar, and the lowest unclean classes, while only the Málá, Mádigá and other impure castes eat from their hands. They eat mutton, pigs, fish, fowl, lizards and the leavings of high castes, and drink spirits. The Mathurá Banjárás rank higher than the Chárans and eat only from the hands of Brahmans. These abstain from flesh and wine.

Occupation.—The Banjárás are, by profession, wandering grain and salt merchants and, in this capacity, have rendered invaluable services to the country. They visit the most secluded regions and lone hamlets, collecting the small quantities of grain, cotton, wool and other commodities obtainable, and bring them to the larger markets. Their value, as carriers and collecting merchants, in times of scarcity and great demand, is incalculable, for no other means could bring in the small stores of the outlying hamlets. With the rapid extension of rail and metalled roads, these industrious traders are fast disappearing from traffic. In most of the Telugu Districts of His Highness' Dominions many of them are to be found, settled down as village Banjárás and have taken to cultivation and cattle breeding. They rear fine animals and take them to different markets for sale or turn them into pack animals. The poorer mem-

bers of the tribe subsist by bringing wood from the jungles or being employed as day-labourers. Banjára women are good at needle-work, make their own *laingas* and bodices, embroider them in tasteful designs and dye them in various colours to suit their peculiar castes. The poorest women sell grass and fuel or work as labourers ; but the majority work at home and look after the dairy. While travelling, they carry their own burdens, chiefly their children, provisions, utensils and other chattels with them.

•The following statement shows the number and distribution of Banjárs in 1911 :—

				Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	...	...	...	26	2
Atrafi Balda	...	...	...	2,255	1,812
Warangal	...	...	...	28,924	24,634
Karimnagar	...	...	...	3,227	2,868
Adilabad	...	...	...	2,806	2,573
Medak	...	...	...	2,154	1,821
Nizamabad	...	...	...	971	848
Mahbubnagar	...	...	...	7,213	5,650
Nalgunda	...	...	...	20,728	17,337
Aurangabad	...	...	...	2,284	2,197
Bhir	...	...	...	159	204
Nander	...	...	...	1,166	1,124
Parbhani	...	...	...	1,094	1,039
Gulbarga	...	...	...	2,859	2,401
Usmanabad	...	...	...	84	81
Raichur	...	...	...	132	130
Bidar	...	...	...	621	620

V

BARAI

Origin.—Bárái, Támboli—a caste of betel vine growers and betel leaf sellers, found in the Sirpur and Rajurá Talukas of the Adilabad District. The two terms, although used indifferently as the names of the caste, disclose some shades of variation in the meaning, Bárái, signifying one who grows the betel vine, and Támboli, the seller of the prepared leaf. The following passage, quoted from the Central Provinces Ethnographic Report, may throw some light upon the origin of the caste. “No very probable derivation has been obtained for the word Bárái, unless it comes from *bári*, ‘a hedge or enclosure,’ and simply means ‘gardener.’ Another derivation suggested is from *barana*, ‘to avert hail storms,’ a calling which they still practise in Northern India. Owing to the fact that they produce what is perhaps the most esteemed luxury in the diet of the higher classes of Indian society, the Báráis occupy a fairly good social position and the legend gives them a Brahman ancestry. This is to the effect that the first Bárái was a Brahman, whom God detected in a flagrant case of lying to his brother. His sacred thread was confiscated and, being planted in the ground, grew up into the first betel vine, which he was set to tend.”

Internal Structure.—In the Central Provinces the caste is very numerous and is broken into several sub-castes, mostly of the territorial type. The number of Báráis in these Dominions being limited, they have no endogamous divisions; but their exogamous sections are numerous and of different types, as illustrated below:—

Territorial type

Burhanpuria (Burhánpur)

Rajurkar (Rajura)

Wadaskar (Wadas)

Chitore (Chitor in Rajputana)

• Titulary type

Bhandare (store keeper)

Ghodmale (groom)

Aglave (firebrand)

Darve (a Gond sub-caste)

• Totemistic type

Narale (cocoanut)

Kutre (dog)

Sayale (porcupine)

Khokari (fox)

Makuri (ape)

From the mixed character of their exogamous sections it may appear that the caste is mainly a functional group, made up of a number of immigrants from Northern India and of recruits from different classes of the population, including a large proportion of the non-Aryan element.

A man cannot marry a woman belonging to his own section. As the section names go by the male side, the rule prohibiting marriage within the section is supplemented to the extent that a man cannot marry any of his first cousins. A man may marry two sisters; but the rule in this case is that he must marry the elder first.

Marriage.—Girls are married before they attain the age of puberty, usually between five and ten years. Polygamy is permitted. In theory, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain; in practice, however, he rarely takes more than two.

The marriage ceremony is of the type in use among other local castes, especially among Khairá Kunbis. The following are the important stages comprising it:—

1. The worship of Mari Ai, or the goddess of cholera, with offerings of goats. This is done by both parties, each in their own house.
2. The worship of Devak, which consists of the mango and *saundad* (*Prosopis spicigera*) leaves, and of two big and twelve small earthen pots brought coremonially from the potter's house.
3. The bridal procession:—The bridegroom goes in proces-

sion, accompanied by his friends, relatives and neighbours, to the bride's village where, on arrival, he is formally received by the parents of the bride and lodged in a house known as *jánvása*.

4. *Antarpát* :—At a lucky moment, fixed for the wedding, the bridal pair stand facing each other in front of the *bohólá* (earthen platform) under the wedding booth. A curtain is held between them and the officiating priest, who is a Brahman, recites *mantrás*, while the assembled people throw rice, coloured with turmeric, on the couple. The *antarpát* is removed and the Brahman fastens their garments in a knot and ties *kankānum* or thread bracelets on their wrists, at the same time putting a string of black beads (*mangal sutra*) round the bride's neck. This is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony.
5. *Tamborá* :—The bridal pair are seated on the *bohólá* and married females, whose husbands are living, touch the feet, knees and shoulders of the pair with their fingers, holding at the same time a mango leaf and yellow rice in their hands. *Dhendá*, as described under Dhanojiá Kunbis, is performed and the bridal pair return in procession to the bridegroom's house.

Báráis allow a widow to marry again and do not require her to marry her late husband's younger brother or any other relative. The marriage ceremony is of the type common among other castes of the locality. An areca nut is offered to Máruti, representing the deceased husband's spirit, and is subsequently placed on a low wooden stool and kicked off by the new bridegroom in token of his usurping the other's place; the nut is finally buried to lay the dead husband's spirit. The bridal pair are then seated side by side and their garments are tied in a knot. The bride is presented with a new *sari*, new bangles are put on her wrists and a spot of *kunkūm* or red aniline powder is made on her forehead. This concludes the ceremony. The widow forfeits all claims to her late husband's property.

A bachelor marrying a widow must first go through the cere-

mony of marriage with a rui plant (*Calotropis gigantea*). When a widower marries a virgin, a silver impression, representing the deceased first wife, is made and worshipped daily with the family gods. Divorce is permitted with the consent of the caste *Panchayat* (council) on the ground of the wife's adultery, or if the couple do not agree. If a husband divorces his wife merely on account of bad temper, he must maintain her so long as she remains unmarried and continues to lead a moral life.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Báráis follow the usages of all orthodox Hindus. Their favourite deity is Kurbhán, adored in the form of an idol made of sandalwood. Ancestral worship is in strong force and silver impressions, representing the departed ancestors, are placed among the family gods and worshipped every three years with offerings of goats and fowls. Reverence is also paid to the animistic deities of Pochammá and Mari Ai. Greater gods, such as Báláji, Anant, Shiv and his consort Gouri, are worshipped under the guidance of Brahmans, who serve them as priests on all ceremonial and religious occasions, and act as their spiritual advisers (*gurus*).

According to the Báráis themselves, their special and characteristic deity is the *Nág*, or cobra, in whose honour the festival of *Nág Panchmi* is observed every year. The following story related in this connection deserves mention * :—

“Formerly there was no betel vine on the earth. But when the five Pándava brothers celebrated the great horse sacrifice after their victory at Hástinápur, they wanted some, and so messengers were sent down below the earth to the residence of the queen of the serpents in order to try and obtain it. Básuki, the king of the serpents, obligingly cut off the top joint of his little finger and gave it to the messengers. This was brought up and sown on the earth and *pán* creepers grew out of the joint. For this reason, the betel vine has no blossoms or seeds, but the joints of the creepers are cut off and sown, when they sprout afresh, and the betel vine is called *Nágbél* or the serpent creeper. On the day of *Nág Panchmi* (the

* Central Provinces Ethnographic Report, pp. 1—9.

fifth of the light half of Shravana), the Báráis go to the *bureja* with flowers, cocoanuts and other offerings, and worship a stone which is placed in it and which represents the *Nág* or cobra. A goat or sheep is sacrificed and they return home, no leaf of the *pán* garden being touched on that day. A cup of milk is also left in the belief that a cobra will come out of the *pán* garden and drink it."

The Báráis say that the members of their caste are never bitten by the cobra, though many of these snakes frequent the betel gardens on account of the moist coolness and shade which they afford.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south. Bodies of unmarried persons, of lepers, and of those who died of smallpox, cholera, or snake-bite, are buried. The ashes and bones are collected on the tenth day after death and thrown into a river or stream. On the same day, *Srádha* is performed for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, to whom seven balls of wheaten flour are offered and subsequently thrown into a stream or tank. Mourning is observed for ten days for adults and for three days for children. Ancestors in general are propitiated in the months of Vaishakh and Bhadrapad.

Social Status.—In point of social standing the Báráis rank a little above the Maratha Kunbis and eat food cooked only by a Brahman, while Maratha Kunbis and Kápús take food cooked by a Bárái. The members of the caste eat the flesh of fowl, fish, deer, goat and hare and drink fermented liquors.

Occupation.—The chief and characteristic occupation of the caste is the growing of the *pán* plant or *Piper Betle*. Of late years some have taken to trade, while others are found in Government service. The Báráis also sell betel leaves and usually employ women for this purpose. *Pán* leaves are sold at from 1 to 2 annas per hundred, or at a higher rate when they are out of season. For retail sale, *bidas* are prepared, consisting of rolled betel leaves containing areca or betel nut, quick lime and catechu, and fastened with a clove. These are sold at from 1 to 2 for a pice.

The *pán* vine is very delicate and requires careful cultivation. The *pán* gardens (*Pán Malás*) are treated liberally with manure and irrigated. The enclosure, generally eight feet high, is sup-

ported by *pángra* (*Erythrina indica*) and *nim* (*Melia indica*) trees. The sides are closely matted with reeds to protect the interior from wind and the sun's rays. Care is taken to drain off the rain as it falls, it being essential for the healthy growth of the plants that the ground is kept dry. The joints of the creepers are planted in June-July and begin to supply leaves in about five or six months' time. The plant being a fast growing one has its shoots loosely tied with grass to upright poles supplied by *pángra* (*Erythrina indica*) and *shevri* (*Sesbania ægyptiaca*) trees, while every year it is drawn down and coiled at the root. Weeds are carefully eradicated. *Pán* leaves are plucked throughout the year, but are most abundant in September and October, while a garden, if carefully looked after, continues productive for from 8 to 10 years.

A *Pán Malá* is regarded as sacred by the growers, and women, when ceremonially unclean, are not allowed to enter it; animals found inside are driven out. At the present day the castes that are engaged in rearing the betel vine in these Dominions are Tirgul Brahmans, Ful Mális, Binjlodes and Lingáyits.

VI

BEDAR

Bedar, Bendar, Berad—the great hunting and agricultural tribe of the Carnatic, identical with the Boyás of Telingana and the Rámoshis of the Maráthawádá. They call themselves Kānayámkula “descendants of Kanayam,” Dhorimkulam “children of chiefs” and Válmika Kshatriyás “Kshatriyás descended from Válmiki.” They are a wild and fierce looking people, of coarse features and dark complexion, and bear an evil reputation as highway robbers and dakaits. Their predatory habits have been greatly repressed, and they are now largely employed as village watchmen.

Origin.—The word Bedar is derived from Byáderus, a corruption of Vyádherus (*Sansk.* Byádha, a hunter). The origin of the tribe has been the subject of many legends. According to one they are descended from the primitive pair, Kannayyá and Kanakavvá who are fabled to have sprung from the right and left eyes of Basvānná respectively. The Bedars claim descent also from Válmiki, who is represented in the *Puránás* as being reclaimed from his pernicious and marauding habits by the divine sage Nárad. But the legend which is very widely current among them, states that from the thigh of the dead king Hoti of the Solar race was produced, by the great Rishis, a black dwarf, ugly in appearance and ferocious in habits. Being unfit to rule, he was driven by the sages into the jungles to live on forest produce or by hunting. In his wanderings he once met Meniká, a celestial nymph of matchless beauty, and made love to her. Their union was blessed with seven sons :—

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Nishád, | (5) Ksharakári, |
| (2) Sherá, | (6) Ansári and |
| (3) Kuvángriyári, | (7) Sheshatardhári, |
| (4) Sálíká, | |

from whom sprang the following seven great clans of Bedars, bearing the names of their progenitors :—

- (1) Nishádas, who hunted tigers, bears and wild boars and ate the flesh of buffaloes.
- (2) Sherás, who made a living by selling jungle roots, fruit and sandalwood (*Santalum album*).
- (3) Kavangriyáris, who wore long hair and had their ear-lobes bored with large holes. They subsisted on the sale of *bíblá* (*Pterocarpus marsupium*) and oyster shells.
- (4) Salikás, who were employed as day labourers in digging wells and tanks.
- (5) Ksharakáris, who made lime and salt.
- (6) Ansáris, who were fishermen and worked also as ferrymen.
- (7) Sheshatardháris, who were hunters and fowlers.

All these seven clans were distinguished by their respective *gotra* names or *bedigá*—

- (1) Gojaldáru or Gujjar.
- (2) Gosalru or Gurrál.
- (3) Bhadmandalkáru.
- (4) Sáranga Gundá Bahsarandlu or Sárang Gáuda.
- (5) Tayarasamantáru or Tair Samant.
- (6) Pingal Rangamanya.
- (7) Rájádhiraj (Maharája).

This elaborate organisation appears to be traditional and to have no bearing upon the present social division of the tribe.

Early History.—The Bedars were a Southern India tribe and came into the Deccan under their leader Káláppá Náik early in the sixteenth century. They first settled at Adhoni and Dambálá, situated in the Raichur Duáb, which was then a bone of contention between Krishna Raylu, the king of Vijayanagaram, and Ismail Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. The Bedars, taking advantage of the disturbed times, raided and plundered the country far and wide, so that, for the time being, they were the terror of the surrounding districts. Partly by colonisation and partly by conquest, they gradually extended their territories until, under Pám

Náik I. (1674-1695), they founded a State, and fixed their capital at Vakinagir, two miles west of Shorapur. Pám Náik was the bravest of the dynasty and helped Sikandar Adil Sháh, the last of the Bijápur Sultáns, in subduing his rebel nobles and in his wars with the Generals of Aurangzeb. The Sultán, in gratitude, granted him a magnificent *jagír* and conferred upon him all the insignia of royalty with the titles "Gajag Bahirand Gaddi Bahári Bahádur." Pám Náik styled himself Raja, a title which has since descended to his successors. He organised the State, dividing it into provinces, over which he appointed Subedars. He was also a great builder, and raised new forts, constructed roads and tanks, and built stately temples. It was in his time that the kingdoms of Bijápur and Golconda were subdued by Aurangzeb. In his successor, Pid Náik Báhári (1695-1725 A.D.), the power of the Bedars had reached its zenith. He strongly resisted the power of Aurangzeb, and defeated the Imperial forces in pitched battles. At last the Emperor took the field in person and besieged the Bedar strong-hold of Vakingirá. The fort made a galant stand, but was reduced ultimately by Zulfikarkhán, the best of Aurangzeb's Generals. It was, however, retaken by the Bedars immediately on the departure of Aurangzeb. Pid Náik removed the seat of government from Vakingirá to Shorapur, which he founded on a hill. He introduced many reforms and ruled the State in greater splendour than any of his predecessors. After a glorious reign of 31 years he died in 1726 A.D. The later history of the Shorapur Rajas is blended with that of the Nizams of Hyderabad, whom they acknowledged as their suzerain lords, paying an annual tribute of 1,45,000 rupees. Though brave, they were not able rulers and were not infrequently involved in the wars of the Nizams with the Maráthás and other contemporary powers. The decline of the State had already commenced and was hastened by internal dissensions, mal-administration and reckless extravagance, until, after a brief revival under the administration of Colonel Meadows Taylor, it was confiscated on account of the rebellion of the Rajá Venkatáppá Náik against the British Government (1858), and ceded to H. H. the Nizam in 1860 A.D.

• **Internal Structure.**—The internal structure of the Bedars is very intricate. This is due, partly to the large area over which they are scattered, and partly to the different social levels that have been formed among them. Thus at the highest level are the Rájás and rich landholders who have, in every respect, assumed the style of higher Hindu castes, while the lowest level is occupied by the bulk of the people who adhere to their aboriginal customs and usages and have few scruples in diet—eating beef, as well as cats and other unclean animals. The following endogamous groups are found among them :—

- (1) Sadar or Náikulu (Válmika) Bedars.
- (2) Tanged Bedars.
- (3) Mangalá Bedars.
- (4) Cháklá Bedars.
- (5) Neech Bedars.
- (6) Basavi Bedars.
- (7) Rámoshi Bedars.
- (8) Jás Bedars.
- (9) Bedars (proper).

Of these, the Náikulu sub-tribe, called also Náikulu Maklus, claim the highest rank and decline to hold any communion either of food or of matrimony with the other sub-tribes. To this sub-tribe the Bedar Rájás of Shorapur and other principalities belong. The Mangalá Bedars are barbers and the Cháklá Bedars washermen to the Bedar tribes and have, in consequence of their occupation, formed separate groups. Neech Bedars are known to abstain from eating fowl or drinking *shendi*, the fermented sap of the wild date palm. They do not touch the *shendi* tree, nor sit on a mat made of its leaves. Basavi Bedars are the progeny of *Basavis*, or Bedar girls dedicated to the gods and brought up, subsequently, as prostitutes. They form a separate community comprising (1) children of unions, by regular marriage, between the sons and daughters of *Basavis*, (2) the children of *Basavis* themselves. While among other Bedar tribes *Basavis* are made in pursuance of vows or ancient family customs, among Basavi Bedars there is a rule under which

each family is said to be bound to offer up one of its girls to the gods as *Basavi*. The daughters of *Basavis*, for whom husbands cannot be procured in their community, are wedded to swords or idols. On an auspicious day, the girl to be dedicated is taken, in procession, to the temple, bearing on her head a lighted lamp. After she has been made to hang a garland round the sword or the idol, a *táli* (*mangalsutra*) is tied round her neck and her marriage with the sword or the idol is complete. She is, thenceforward, allowed to consort with any man provided that he is not of a lower caste than herself. A *Basavi* girl is entitled to share, equally with her brothers, the property of her father or mother. The euphemistic name *Basavi* originally denoted girls who were dedicated to *Basvanná*, the deified founder of the *Lingáyit* sect, but the title is, at the present day, borne by a girl dedicated to any god.

The *Rámoshi* Bedars are found in large numbers in the *Maráthawáda* districts. They are, no doubt, a branch of Bedars who appear to have migrated to the *Maráthá* country after their settlement in the Carnatic. This view is supported by a tradition which states that they came into *Maharashtra* under the five sons of *Káláppá Naik*. In their features and customs, but especially in their predatory tendencies, they have preserved the characteristics of their race. They regard, with pride, the *Rájá* of *Shorapur* as the head of their clan. Like their brethren in the Carnatic, they were highly valued for their military qualities, filled the armies of *Shiváji* and his successors, and distinguished themselves as brave soldiers. During the last century they gave a good deal of trouble to British officers, but they have now settled down as industrious cultivators. Their social status among the *Maráthá* castes is very low, for even their touch is regarded as unclean by the respectable classes. They appear to have broken off all connection with the Carnatic Bedars and form at present an independent group. They talk *Maráthi* in their houses. The word '*Rámoshi*' is a local name and is supposed to be a corruption of *Ráma-vanshis* "descendants of *Ráma*" or of *Ránwáshis*, meaning 'dwellers of forests.' Bedars (proper) occupy the lowest level among the tribe. They cling to their aboriginal usages, eating beef and carrion and worshipping animistic deities. They

carry Márgammá Devi on their heads in a box, and subsist by begging alms in her name.

The Boyás, as the Bedars are designated in Telingana, are divided into (1) Sadar Boyá and (2) Boyá, corresponding to the Sadar Bedars and the Bedars of the Carnatic. It is also said that they have only two main divisions (1) Nyás Byádrus, (2) Gugáru Byádrus, the members of which neither eat together nor intermarry.

The Bedars are said to be divided into 101 exogamous sections, numbers of which are of the totemistic type, although the totems do not appear to be respected.

Marriage in one's own section is strictly forbidden. The marriage of two sisters to the same husband is permitted, provided the elder is married first. Two brothers may marry two sisters and a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister.

A member of a higher caste may gain admission into the Bedar community by paying a fine to the tribal *Pancháyat* and by providing a feast for the members of the community. On the occasion, the proselyte is required to eat with them and subsequently to have a betel-nut cut on the tip of his tongue. After the meals he is required to remove all the plates.

Marriage.—The Bedars marry their daughters either as infants, or after they have attained the age of puberty. Sexual indiscretions before marriage are tolerated and are condoned only by a slight punishment. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage her seducer is compelled to marry her. Cohabitation is permitted, even though the girl has not attained sexual maturity. Polygamy is recognised and a man may marry as many wives as his means allow him to maintain.

The marriage ceremony of the Bedars comprises rituals which correspond closely with those in use among other local castes. A suitable girl having been selected, and preliminary arrangements and ceremonies concluded, a marriage *pandal* of five pillars of *shevri* (*Sesbania ægyptiaca*) is erected in the court-yard of the bridegroom's house. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house the bridal pair are seated on a platform, built, under the wedding bower, with ant-hill earth, and are rubbed over with turmeric paste by five

married females. Previous to the wedding, four earthen vessels, filled with water, are set at the corners of a square space prepared outside the booth, and are connected with a cotton thread. A fifth vessel, also filled with water, is kept in the centre of the square, and covered with a burning lamp. The bridal pair, with their sisters, are seated opposite to this lamp, and made to undergo ceremonial ablution. Dressed in new wedding garments, with their brows adorned with *bashingams*, and the ends of their clothes knotted together, the bride and bridegroom are led immediately to a seat under the booth and are wedded by Brahmans who hold an *antarpát* (a silk curtain) between the pair, pronounce benedictory *mantrás* and shower rice and grain over their heads. *Mangalsutra*, or the lucky bead necklace, is handed round to be touched by the whole assembly, and tied, in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*, by the bridegroom round the bride's neck. The couple are then led round, making obeisance first to the gods, then to the *Panchás* and lastly to the elderly relatives. The ceremony next in importance, and purely of a Kuláchár character, is *Bhumá*, celebrated on the 3rd day after the wedding. A conical heap of cooked rice, crested with twenty wheat cakes and a quantity of vegetables, is deposited on a piece of white cloth under the wedding *pandal*. Before this sacred heap, frankincense is burnt and offerings of eleven betel-leaves and nuts and eleven copper coins are made. After two handfuls of this food have been handed to the bridal pair, eleven married couples mix the food with sugar and *ghi* and eat it. After the meal is over, five of them touch, with their hands soiled with food, the bodies of the wedded pair who, thereupon, are required to cast away the lumps of food they held in their hands. The celebration of the *Dandya* ritual on the 4th day, and the bestowal of a feast to the relatives and friends, bring the nuptial proceedings to a close. It is said that Bedars abstain from drink during the four days of the marriage ceremony.

Except among respectable families, a Bedar widow is allowed to marry again, but not the brother of her deceased husband. She may, however, re-marry the husband of her elder sister. The price for a widow is Rs. 12 and is generally paid to her parents. The

ceremony is of a simple character. At night the parties repair to Hanuman's temple, where the bride is presented with a new white *sari*, a *choli* (bodice) and some bangles. After the widow has put on these, her proposed husband ties *pusti* (a bead necklace) about her neck. The assembly then return to the bridegroom's house. Next day a feast is given to the members of the tribe in honour of the event.

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised by those who allow their widows to re-marry. A divorced woman can claim alimony from her husband if it be the latter's fault that led to the divorce. If a woman goes wrong with a man of a lower caste she is turned out of her community. Liaison with a man of a higher caste is tolerated, and condoned only by a small fine. Divorced women are permitted to marry again by the same rite as widows.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance, the Bedars follow the Hindu law. The usage of *Chudawand* obtains among them. Under this usage the property is divided equally among wives, provided they have sons. A *Basavi* girl (dedicated to the gods) shares equally with her brothers.

Religion.—In point of religion, the Bedars are divided into Vaishnavas and Saivas. The Vaishnavas worship Vishnu and his incarnations of Rama and Shri Vyankatesh. The Shivas pay homage to the god Siva and generally abstain from all work on Mondays, in honour of the deity. Some of the Bedars follow the tenets of Lingayitism, do reverence to Basava in the form of a bull, and employ Jangams as their priests. The favourite deity with Basavi Bedars is Shri Krishna, in whose honour a great festival is held on the Janmāshtami day (the 8th of the light half of Shrāvana). But the special deities of the tribe are Hanumān and Ellamá, worshipped on Saturday, when the Bedars abstain from flesh. Their principal festivals are *Dassera* in Aswin (October-November) and *Basant Panchmi* in Māgh (February-March), which are celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. Pochammá (the smallpox deity), Mariammá (the goddess presiding over cholera), Maisamma, Bálassá, Nágamā (the serpent goddess) and a host of minor gods and spirits are also appeased with offerings of animals.

The wotship of departed souls is said to prevail among the tribe.

Child-Birth.—A woman, after child-birth, is unclean for five days. As soon as the child is born, its umbilical cord is cut by the mid-wife, and buried underground on the 3rd day after birth. Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Vaishanava Bedars burn their dead in a lying posture, while the Saivas bury them in a sitting posture with the face turned towards the east. Members of respectable families perform *Srādha* on the 12th and 13th days, and generally conform to the funeral rites in vogue among the Brahmins.

Social Status.—The social status of the Bedars is not easy to define. The great Zamindars and Rájás occupy an eminent position in the caste and are looked upon with respect, while even the touch of the Ramoshi Bedars is regarded as unclean. Village wells are open to them for water and temples are open to them for worship. Concerning their diet they have few scruples—eating beef, pork, fowl, jackals, rats, lizards, wild cats, in short all animals except snakes, dogs and kites. They eat carrion and indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of any caste.

Occupation.—The Bedars believe their original occupation to be hunting and military service. Peaceful times and the introduction of game laws have compelled them to take to agriculture. They are also employed as village watchmen and messengers and discharge their duties faithfully. As agriculturists, a few have risen to the position of great land-lords and *jágirdárs*. The bulk are either occupancy and non-occupancy ryots or landless day-labourers.

Panchayat.—The Bedars have a strong tribal *Panchayat* known as *Kattá*. The head of the *Panchayat* is called Kattimani and has authority both in religious and social matters. All social, religious and ceremonial points and disputes are referred to this body for decision, and judgments passed by it are irrevocable and enforced on pain of loss of caste. A woman accused of adultery, or of eating food from a member of an inferior caste, is expelled from the community and is restored only on her head being shaved and the tip of her tongue branded with a live coal of the *rui* plant.

In the case of the man, his head and face are clean shaved. Both are required to bathe and their bodies are sprinkled over with some spirits, upon which they become purified.

NOTE :—Cohabitation and pregnancy before marriage are tolerated, and condoned by the girl's marriage with her paramour. Every woman is compelled to be tatooed.

Distribution.—The following statement shows the number and distribution of Bedars in 1911 :—

District.	Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	1,873	1,854
Atraf, Balda	135	138
Warangal	141	107
Karimnagar	196	188
Adilabad	999	845
Medak	124	108
Nizamabad	35	25
•Mahbubnagar	849	803
Nalgunda	27	8
Aurangabad	221	147
Bir	109	76
Nander	697	675
Parbhani	320	348
Gulbargah	25,432	25,217
Usmanabad	1,113	1,074
Raichur	70,314	70,538
Bidar	1,218	1,142

VII

BHADBHUNJA

Bhadbhunjá, Bhārbhunjá—a grain parching caste, found in almost all the Maráthwádá towns and the Hyderabad city. They are divided into two classes:—Maráthá and Pardeshi. The Maráthá Bhudbhunjás are, no doubt, recruited from among the Maráthá Kunbis, whom they resemble in appearance, customs, and habits, and consequently require no special description. The Pardeshi Bhadbhunjás, as their name denotes, are outsiders, having come into these Dominions from Northern India, especially from Cawnpur, Mathurá, Lucknow and Bareilly. They are supposed to be descended from a Kahár father and a Shudra mother, thus ranking among the mixed castes. The Bhudbhunjás are not to be confounded with the *Halwáis*, or confectioners, who make and sell sweetmeats but do not parch grains.

Internal Structure.—The Bhudbhunjás are divided into the following sub-castes:—Shri Basant, Barelikáde, Kándu, Chaktaina, Kaithwár, Guryár, Bhadesiá and Kanaujiá, who are strictly endogamous. All Bhudbhunjás style themselves as Kanojiá and allege that they have only one *gotra* (section) Káshyap. This is of course taken as an ornamental appendage and is inoperative in the regulation of their marriages. No information is available as to the precise form of exogamy practised by the caste.

Marriage.—Girls are married both as infants and as adults between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. In the case of adults, sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, and may be atoned for by payment of a fine to the *Pancháyat*. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover, who is compelled to take her to wife. Polygamy is permitted up to a limit of two wives; but in practice a second wife is taken only in the event of the first being barren or suffering from an incurable disease.

The marriage ceremony is of the type in use among Jaiswar Teli and other Northern India castes of the same social position. The initiative is taken by the father of the bridegroom, who employs emissaries to settle the match. If the terms are agreeable to the bride's parents, the marriage is at once agreed upon and the occasion is celebrated by a feast to caste *panchás* and other caste brethren, when liquor is provided by the father of the bride. On an auspicious day, a booth, supported by five pillars, is erected at the bride's house. At the foot of the central pillar are placed leaves of the mango and *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*) trees, with an earthen pot of water topped by a constantly burning lamp fed with oil or *ghi*. Near the lamp *jau* grains are sown on a small earthen mound raised on the ground. On the wedding morning, a man is sent with a present of unhusked rice to the bridegroom's house, and the bridegroom's party have it parched, the women of the house singing songs at the time. At night, the wedding procession starts from the bridegroom's house and on its way to the bride's makes a halt at a well. Here the bridegroom dismounts from his horse and goes seven times round the well, accompanied by five married females whose husbands are living. Every time he passes his mother, who is sitting on the rim of the well with one foot hanging over the edge, he touches her head. On the completion of the seventh round, he goes to her and pretends to suck her milk, promising, in the presence of the deity presiding over water, that he will never abandon her. The procession then resumes its march towards the bride's house. On arrival, the bridegroom is conducted to a seat under the wedding canopy. Here the bride joins him. *Kanyádan*, the gift of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of her, takes place, and the bridal pair wear paper crowns on their heads and iron bracelets on their wrists. *Hom*, or sacred fire, is made, round which the bridal pair, with their garments knotted, walk six times. This is followed by *Sindurdán*, when the bridal pair are seated side by side covered with a sheet of cloth, and the bridegroom takes a small cup of vermilion in his left hand and with his right hand smears the colour on the parting of the bride's hair. This done, the bridal pair make the seventh round. This seventh circuit round the fire

is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the marriage ceremony.

A widow may marry again and the ritual in use is less meagre than is usual among other widow-marrying castes. A Brahman is employed to recite *mantrás* and *sindur* (vermilion) is besmeared on the forehead of the widow. She is not obliged to marry her late husband's younger brother, should such a relative exist, but in practice it is usual for her to do so. If she prefers to marry an outsider, the members of her late husband's family may claim custody of her male children by him.

Divorce.—Bhadbhunjás allow of divorce for adultery with a member of the caste and permit divorced wives to marry again. A woman who has a liaison with an outsider is excluded from the caste.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the caste seem to belong to the Saiva sect and worship Máhádev and his form Bhairava. Kanojia Brahmans serve them as priests and, if these are not available, local Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. Among their minor gods are Khandobá, *Narsobá, Hanumán, Bhaváni of Tuljapur, and the animistic deities of Pochammá, Mariammá, and Maisammá. They observe all the fasts and festivals of local Hindus and make pilgrimages to Tuljapur, Pandharpur and Alandi.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the north. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the nearest river or stream. Bodies of persons that are unmarried are buried. Mourning is observed nine days for females and thirteen days for males. On the tenth day after death the chief mourner shaves his head, bathes and offers ten *pindás*, or oblations of rice, for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. On the eleventh day the chief mourner entertains the relatives of the deceased and other caste brethren at a feast and on the 12th day he is presented with a turban by his caste people, who raise a subscription for the purpose. Ancestors, in general, are appeased^e in the month of Bhádrapad (September). Brahmans are called in to conduct the funeral ceremony.

Social Status.—Among Upper India castes the Bhadbhunjás hold a social position which may be said to be respectable. On this side of the country they eat food cooked by a Brahman ; while no caste except the lowest unclean classes eat *kachi* from their hands. All castes, including Brahmans, eat sweetmeats prepared by a Bhadbhunjá. The members of the caste eat mutton, fish, the flesh of deer and hare, and indulge freely in strong liquor. They do not eat fowls.

Occupation.—Bhadbhunjás believe the parching of grain to be their original and characteristic occupation. Some have enlisted in the native army and a few have taken to agriculture.

The actual work of parching grain is usually done by women. The process is a simple one. A clay oven is built somewhat in the shape of a bee hive with ten or twelve holes in the top. A fire is lighted inside and broken earthen pots containing sand are put on the holes. The grain to be parched is thrown in with the sand and stirred with a flat piece of wood or a broom until it is ready. The wages of the parcher vary according to the quality of the grain, millet costing half an anna and gram three-quarters of an anna per seer.

VIII

BHAMTA

Origin and Occupation.—Bhám-tá—a caste of pick-pockets, found mostly in the districts of Bir and Aurangabad, extending southward to Látur in the Usmánábád and to Kalyáni and Humnabád in the Gulbarga Districts. In their manners and language they resemble the poorer Kunbis of these places. They are popularly known as Páthrods, or Pátharkers (mill-stone pointers), as their ostensible means of livelihood is the pointing and repairing of mill-stones. For purposes of crime, they assume various disguises and visit great fairs and festivals, where large crowds of men, dressed in their gayest clothes, and of women decked in jewels, assemble. With their peculiar knives, or with pieces of broken glass, they rip open bags and pockets and cut the strings of jewels worn by women and children and readily pass the pilfered articles to their accomplices, so that if a Bhám-tá is caught, nothing is found on his person and he has to be released. Sometimes, respectably dressed, they gain admission to the best of the community, and while the unsuspecting victims are reposing full confidence in them they are robbed of their valuables. On their predatory excursions they travel in parties of four or five and are often accompanied by their women and children.

The Bhám-tás are early trained in the art of picking pockets and snatching jewels from unsuspecting travellers. When a boy is ten years old, he is taken to a fair, and if he succeeds in his first attempt at pilfering a goat is sacrificed to Mari Ai, their tutelary goddess. If he fails, or subsequently shows inaptitude in the profession, no one gives him his daughter in marriage and he is degraded.

The Bhám-tás hold the *arandi*, castor plant (*Ricinus communis*), in great awe. It is said that while no torture will extract from them a moan or a tear, they will, if threatened with a stick of *arandi*, at

once confess their guilt.

Internal Structure.—The Bhámtás have no endogamous divisions. A few of their exogamous sections are :—

Pawar	Aundhe
Idur	Gawad
Jádhava	Sheke
Andgule	Shirke.

Marriage.—The rule of exogamy is carefully observed and a man may not marry a woman belonging to the same section as himself. Bhámtás practice both infant and adult marriages. Polygamy is permitted and in theory there is no limit to the number of wives. The marriage ceremony is of the standard form. After the bride has been selected and the bride-price settled and paid, a lucky day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. Previous to the wedding, goats and fowls are killed as a sacrifice to the deities Mari Ai and Tuljápúr Bhaváni. A procession is formed conducting the bridegroom, on a bullock, to the bride's house, where, on arrival, he goes straight to the wedding canopy. Here he is joined by the bride, and the bridal pair are made to stand opposite each other while the Brahman, who officiates as priest, holds an *antarpát* between them, recites *mantrás* and throws *jawari* (millet) grains over their heads. A feast to the caste brethren concludes the ceremony.

A widow may marry again, by an inferior rite, at which the clothes of the bridal couple are knotted together and jaggery (molasses) is distributed among the assembly. The ceremony takes place at night and, after the wedding, the bridal pair have to pass the remainder of the night, outside the village, in some temple or grove. Only widows attend the ceremony, married women, whose husbands are living, deeming it unlucky to be present.

Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the *Panchayat* of the caste and divorced women may marry again by the same rite as widows.

Religion.—Bhámtás are Hindus by religion, and look upon Mari Ai (the goddess who presides over cholera) as their special deity, whom they worship with offerings of goats and fowls. Reverence is also paid to Bhaváni of Tuljápúr. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. After a successful foray, goats are sacrificed

to Mari Ai and the booty is shared equally by the band engaged in the pilfering expedition.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burnt, but are occasionally buried in a lying posture. The *Srādha* is performed on the 13th day. Ancestors in general are propitiated in the month of Bhádrapad (September-October), and on the third day of the light half of Vaishákha (May).

Social Status.—Bhámítás, socially, rank immediately below the Maratha Kunbis : barbers, oilmen and washermen eat *kachi* (cooked food) from their hands. They eat mutton, fowl and fish and indulge in strong drinks.

IX

BHANDARI

Origin and Internal Structure.—Bhandári, Shingáde, Sanaiyád—a small caste of temple musicians found in all districts of the Dominions. A popular tradition represents them as having sprung from the matted hair of the god Siva. Bhandáris have no endogamous divisions, while their exogamous sections are mostly of the territorial type. Some of them are :—

Ráhareker	Kotgir
Gangamale	Kallále
Nálure	Nágarpalli
• Kandrollu	Nazampurollu.

Marriage.—A man cannot marry a woman belonging to his own section, but he may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or elder sister. Two sisters may be married to the same man.

Bhandáris marry their daughters as infants. A bride-price, ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 40, is paid to the parents of the girl.

Previous to the marriage ceremony Khandobá and other tutelary deities are worshipped. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and does not differ from that in practice among the higher castes. Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised. Divorced wives may marry again by the same rites as widows.

Religion.—Khandobá and Bhaváni are the chief objects of their worship. Departed ancestors are honoured in the form of *Virs* * and *Munjyas*, † who are represented either by earthen balls smeared with vermilion, or by engravings of human forms on silver or copper. They have a strong belief in ghosts and magic, and in sickness the ghost is identified and appeased. Brahmans are employed in the marriage ceremony and the worship of Satya Náráyan.

* *Virs* are the spirits of persons who die in battle.

† *Munjyas* are the ghosts of thread-girt, but unmarried, Brahman lads.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture with the face pointing to the east. Jangams officiate at the funeral ceremonies.

Social Status.—Socially, they rank below *telis*, or oilmen, and *darzis*, or tailors ; they eat pork, fowl and mutton and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other castes.

Occupation.—They are temple musicians and play on the *sanai*, a pipe, *sambal*, a drum, and cymbals, and blow the *shinga* or conch at the worship of the temple deity. They also make leaf-plates and cups. They have a caste *Pancháyat* presided over by a *mehataryá* or *chaudhari*.

X

BHAT

Origin.—Bhát, Thákur, Shivachandi Thákur—a caste of genealogists and family bards found in the Maráthawádá Districts. Their original name was Thákur and the designation 'Shivachandi Thákur' was subsequently adopted by them, probably to elevate their parentage to the god Siva, from whose third eye they claim to have sprung. Regarding their origin very little is known. Their traditions say that they came from North India during the rule of the Báhmání kings and were employed as bards to the noble Maráthá families as the latter rose into prominence. The word 'Thákur' is either a title applied to the nobles of Rajputáná, or an epithet of the god Báláji (Shri Krishna), and although some of the members of the caste claim to be descended from the god Báláji, it may be more reasonable to suppose that they were a branch of one of the Rajput clans bearing the name as a tribal designation. At the present day, however, the Thákurs have become so thoroughly assimilated with the Maráthá Kunbis that every trace of a separate origin has been completely obliterated.

Marriage.—Thákurs have no endogamous divisions. Their exogamous divisions are the same as those of the Maratha Kunbis. A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. A maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter may be taken in marriage. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Girls are married in infancy. The custom of offering girls to the temples or gods does not prevail. Polygamy is permitted without any limit in theory. The marriage ceremony is analogous to that of the Maratha Kunbis. After the wedding portion of the ceremony has been completed, two tripod stands are placed on the *bohola* (wedding dais) to serve as seats for the married couple, where all the subsequent rites are performed. The *Devak* consists of the twigs of *saundad* (*Prosopis*

spicigera), jambul (*Eugenia Jambolana*) and mango trees, which are ceremonially brought from the woods and placed behind the village god Máruti. The married couple, with the ends of their garments tied in a knot, go in procession to the temple, repeating all the way the unintelligible word, 'Gharyár,' worship the *Virs* (departed ancestors) and return home carrying the twigs comprising the *Devak*, which they place in the marriage canopy with, an earthen pot containing food and water. Two posts of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) wood, representing the bride and bridegroom, are planted close to the *mandap*, and *mangalmátá*, in the form of an earthen pot, is installed near them. The marriage ceremony always takes place at night. Thákurs of Amba Jogai state that their *Devak* consists of a kind of creeper, which is brought once for all, preserved in the house and made use of in subsequent marriages.

Sur-name

Devak

Pavár

Edge of a sword.

Chaván

Vasani, a creeper grown in *jawari* fields.

Yádava and Jád hava A dish of sandal-wood and moss.

Each section has its own *Devak*, which is either a plant or some other object held in great reverence. This usage is said to be peculiar to Dravidian and Mongolian tribes and points to the non-Aryan origin of the Thákurs.

Widows are allowed to re-marry and divorce is permitted. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow resembles that of the Maratha Kunbis.

Inheritance and Religion.—The Hindu law of inheritance is followed by the caste. The religion of the caste is of the orthodox type. Adi Chandi is their patron deity. All the gods of the Hindu pantheon are worshipped and reverence is paid to the souls of departed ancestors. Brahmans are engaged as spiritual advisers on all religious and ceremonial occasions.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried and mourning is observed for 11 days. On the 10th day after death, oblations are offered in the name of the deceased. *Sradha* is performed every year.

Occupation.—Begging is the chief occupation of the caste.

Members of the caste officiate as priests and genealogists to Hátkars, Vanjáris and Kunbis. Some of them have now taken to agriculture.

Social Status.—Thákurs rank socially with Maratha Kunbis. They eat the flesh of sheep, deer, hare, fowl and drink spirits. Pigs are avoided. They eat from the hands of Brahmans and Maráthas. Marathas eat *kachi* from their hands.

Their dress is similar to that of the Marathas. They do not wear the sacred thread. A Thákur woman, after child-birth, is impure for ten days and on the fifth day after birth Satwái * is worshipped.

* The goddess of pregnant and lying-in women.

XI

BHATRAJA

Bhatrájá, Bhat Murti, Bhatwándlu—a caste largely to be found in the Telugu Districts of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. They are hereditary bards of the Velmá and Kápu castes and once had the honour, like the Bhats of Northern India, of attending the courts of the Vijayánagar and Warangal kings, whose deeds they chanted throughout the country. The title of Rájá is said to have been given to them on this account. They are a very intelligent class of people and have produced some of the most eminent poets in Telugu literature.

Origin.—The Bhatrájás seem to be a mixed caste, recruited from among Brahmans and Velmás. Their legends tend to support this view. One of the legends tells how Velmá fugitives were given asylum by the Rájá Pratáprudra of Warangal and raised by him to high commands in his army. The Velmás were wifeless, and the local Brahmans, who entertained doubts regarding their caste, declined to perform any religious ceremonies at their houses. Pratáprudra, who was appealed to, offered large sums of money, which induced some of the Brahmans to undertake the work, but these Brahmans were degraded by the rest of their community and had to take wives from Kápus and other low classes and became the ancestors of the present Bhatrájá caste.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into two endogamous divisions, Vandi Bháts and Are Bháts, the latter being said to be the illegitimate progeny of the former; but the term is generally applied to the Marathas, and Are Bháts may be Maratha Bhats who have been described in a separate article, and have probably no relation with the Bhatrájás, who form the subject of this report. Members of these sub-castes do not eat together nor intermarry. It is stated by a Bhatrájá of Adilabád that girls, for whom husbands are not procurable, serve as *dásis* (hand-maids) in rich Brahman or Komti families and

the children, born of such women, are termed 'Krishna Pakshi' and admitted freely into the Bhatrájá caste.

The exogamous system of the caste is of two different types, the one consisting of Brahmanical *gotras*, and the other also of eponymous names, the eponym probably being the progenitor of the family. Both the types are in vogue at present, but the latter appears to be of recent origin and is gradually displacing the Brahmanical *gotras*. If the theory of a Brahmanical origin of Bhatrájás be true, the Brahmanical *gotras* were transmitted by the degraded Brahmins to their progeny. Section names of both types are given as follows:—

Gotras—

Bhārdwaja	Gautama
Kásyapa	Jamdagni
Vashistha	Koundinya
Atreya	Angirasa
Párashar	Shri Vatsa

Vishwámitra

Exogamous sections—

Partigadpa	Sarikundá
Párijat	Muchan
Dharpati	Kapalwai
Janaparāja	Jonalgáda
Tárápandi	Birolu
Neelkanthwáru	Tangalpalliawáru

Marriage.—Marriage within the section, and outside the sub-caste is prohibited.

A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. Marriage with the daughter of a sister is allowed. A man cannot marry any of his first cousins, except the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.

Bhatrájá girls are married either as infants or as adults. It is not customary to offer girls to temples or trees. A girl committing herself is excommunicated. A second wife is only taken in case the first wife is barren or incurably diseased. The marriage ceremony

does not differ materially from that in vogue among Komtis. *Kanyádan* (the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom), and *Pusti Mittalu* (the tying of an auspicious bead necklace around the bride's neck) form the essential portions of the ceremony. A Brahman is consulted in fixing an auspicious date for the wedding. The bridegroom, at the time of the *Polu*, is presented with *guntam* (an iron pan and a book of palm-leaves), which symbolises the hereditary occupation of the caste.

Widows are not allowed to marry again, nor is divorce recognised. An adulterous wife is expelled from the caste. In matters of inheritance the caste is guided by the Hindu law. Failing male issue, females are entitled to inherit. The eldest son receives a cow or a bullock as *jetháng*.

Religion.—The Bhatrájas are almost all Vaishnavas, worshipping Vishnu in the form of Venkateshwar, and following the guidance of Shri Vaishnava Brahmans in spiritual matters. Every member of the caste is required to be invested with the *Ashtákshari Mantra* (eight-syllabled mystic formula) of Vishnu, and marked with *Mudrás* (*sankha*—conch and *chakra*—wheel) on his arms. Females worship the Gouri goddess at the *Divali* festival. The favourite deity of children is the god Ganesh, who presides over Arts and Learning. Members of the caste have a strong belief in magic and ghosts; malignant deities, such as Maisámmá and Pochammá, are appeased on Sundays by sacrificing fowls. Brahmans are employed on ceremonial and religious occasions.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt in a lying posture with the head towards the south, and the ashes are collected on the 3rd day after death and thrown into a river. Burial is resorted to only when the family of the deceased is too poor to bear the cremation expenses. Mourning is observed 12 days for the married and 3 days for the unmarried. On the 3rd day after death, birds are fed, and on the 11th day libations of *til* water (*tilodak*) and balls of rice (*pindas*) are offered in the names of the dead. The *Sradha* ceremony is performed once every year on the anniversary day.

On the third day after the birth of a child the *Purud* ceremony is performed. On the 12th day, the barber pares the nails of the

- mother, on the 21st day she becomes ceremonially pure by bathing and performing the *Gangá puja*, and the child is named.

Occupation.—The Bhatrájás are beggars by profession, reciting the deeds of heroes, and maintaining the genealogy of the Kápu and Velmá families. Of late, many of them have taken to cultivation and hold lands on various tenures. A few have entered Government service. Some hold *Inam* lands (rent free), which are mostly grants of an ancient date.

• **Social Status.**—In point of social status the Bhatrájás rank below Kápus and Velmás. They eat *kachi* from the hands of Brahmanas, Komtis, Ayyáwars, Belmás, Jangams, Sátánis and Gollás. •Kurmá, Telagá Dhobi, and Mutrásis eat from their hands. They eat the flesh of sheep, pig, fowl and fish, and drink spirits.

XII

BHAVSAR

(Titles 'Ji,' 'Rao.')

Bhavsár, Bahusár, Bhauságar, Bhavaságari, Wannekar, Rangári, Rangrez—the dyer and tailor caste of Maháráshtra, whose traditions say that they came originally from Gujaratha nearly seven hundred years ago. Many of them have settled in Telingana, where they are known by the popular designation 'Vinnekar' (a dyer). They are generally stout and short, dress like the Maratha Kunbis and speak the Marathi language.

Origin.—Bhavsárs lay claim to a Kshátriya origin and profess to derive their name from 'Bahusár,' *Bahu*—arm and *Śar*—sprung (*lit.* moved) meaning "sprung from the arm of Brahma." Regarding their origin, they relate the following legend. When Parshuram, in fulfilment of his vow, extirminated the Kshatriya race, a few of them escaped the general carnage by taking shelter in the shrine of their patron goddess, Ingalá Devi. The Devi, to save them from destruction, deprived them of their sacred thread and enjoined them to betake themselves to their present occupations. Those who were furnished with thread and needle became tailors, while others were supplied with dyes and became dyers. But neither their physical character, nor their traditions, throw any clear light on their real antecedents. They were known to the ancients as 'Sindolaka' or the descendants of a Shudra father and Bhandá mother.

Internal Structure.—Bhavsáras have two main subdivisions—Bhavsár Rangári and Bhavsár Darji, or Chippalu—which are, however, purely functional, for members belonging to them intermarry and eat together. Their exogamous system is obscure and complicated. It consists of a double series of sections, a specimen

of which is shown below :—

Brahmanical *Gotra*

Family Surnames

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| (1) Bhārgava | Gudale, Talkare, Chotwe, Shaivarkare, Chitalkare. |
| (2) Gārgya | Sutarawe, Tandre, Sotarage, Ruparange. |
| (3) Vasistha. | Anante, Málve, Meendárker, Rákade, Jirse, Mále, Gánde, Upáre, Náge, Nákte, Supker, Gambire, Patnekar, Dewatraja. |
| (4) Káśyapa | Ksheersagar, Tandule, Dhumale. |
| (5) Vyása | Modalker, Yasuker, Jamanker, Alne, Dhanker. |
| (6) Nandap | Rangdar, Bhojid, Vadse, Chalke. |
| (7) Posháti | Khemkar, Bhakare, Keenker. |
| (8) Kapila | Navale, Gadekar, Neelpanke. |
| (9) Moreshwar | Goje, Patangi, Banchode, Alne. |
| (10) Bandáshi | Basotkar, Habare, Ratnapalke, Chavan. |
| (11) Gautama | Gujari. |
| (12) Pandárik | Amburi. |
| (13) Bharamar | — |
| (14) Kamalá | Kalekar. |
| (15) Sanátana | Pabamsi. |
| (16) Pippala | Malalkar. |
| (17) Márkandeya | Dholekar, Gujar, Pandane. |
| (18) Durwása | Bodke. |

Although it is held that, for the purposes of marriage, the *gotra* series is taken into account, it is not very clear whether the fact of two persons belonging to the same family, or bearing the same family name, would operate as a bar to their intermarriage, notwithstanding their *gotras* being different. Such a case has not been made out in the enquiry, and further information is, therefore, wanted on the point. The rule of exogamy is carefully practised, and a man is prohibited from marrying a woman of his own section. In matters of prohibited degrees, that overlap the rule of exogamy, Bhavsárs follow the practice in use among the Maráthá Kunbis. Polygamy is permitted, but there is no rule limiting the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—Among Bhavsárs, girls are married as infants, and

social reproach attaches to a girl's parents if she is not provided with a husband before she has reached the age of puberty. The ceremony is of the orthodox type, in practice among the Maratha Kunbis and other Maratha castes of the same social standing. After the preliminary negotiations have been completed, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman skilled in such matters. The ceremony takes place at the bride's house, under a booth of nine or eleven posts, the *muhurta medha*, or wedding pillar, being of *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*). To this hallowed pillar are fastened an axe, five cakes, and leaves of the five sacred trees—the mango, *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*), *jambul* (*Eugenia Jambolana*), *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), and *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*)—the whole representing *Deva Devaka*, or marriage guardian deity. The ceremony comprises several usages, which may be described as follows :—

(1) *Mangani* or *Kunḡu Lavane* (the betrothal), in which the maiden is presented with a silver coin and sweetmeat and has her forehead smeared with *ḡunḡum*, or red powder, by the Brahman who officiates as priest : this completes the betrothal. The guests are offered *pan supari*, or betel-leaves and areca nuts, after which they disperse to their homes.

(2) The invocation of the village and family deities for their blessing upon the betrothed couple. These are (1) Bhavani and (2) Ellama, both propitiated with offerings of flesh, (3) Gorakha, (4) Mahadeva, (5) Yankoba and (6) Narsinha. The Bhavsárs also worship the jungle grass, a usage the true significance of which is obscure at the present day.

(3) *Haldi Lavane*, or the smearing over with turmeric. The betrothed pair, in their respective homes, are separately rubbed over with turmeric paste and oil. Five married females, whose husbands are living, grind, ceremonially, turmeric, with which the boy is first smeared, a portion of this being subsequently conveyed in procession to the bride's house and applied to her body. Before the wedding a curious *Kulachar*, or family rite, is performed by the caste and merits special description. In a large pot filled with water are arranged wheaten cakes and leaves of *makai*, in alternate layers,

• which, having been sufficiently boiled, are distributed among the wives of the caste *Panchas*. Each of the matrons receives two cakes and gives *jawari*, or Indian millet, in return. On the wedding day the boy is carried in procession to Máruṭi's temple, where he is formally received for the first time by the bride's relatives. He is thence conducted by both parties to the girl's house, where, on arrival, the bride's mother waves two cakes round his face and washes his feet with water. On alighting from his horse, the bridegroom is taken straight to the wedding platform, built under the wedding booth. Here the bride immediately joins him and both are made to stand face to face, in bamboo baskets containing ropes used for drawing water from wells. The ceremonies that follow, viz., *Antarpát*, *Kañkana bandhan*, *Mangalsutra*, *Kanyádan*, *Navagraha Pujá*, *Homa* and several others, closely resemble those current among the Maratha Kunbis. It should be observed, however, that those Bhavsárs who have settled in Telingana or the Carnatic follow wedding rites peculiar to the respectable members of their adopted localities.

A Bhavsár woman, after child-birth, is unclean for ten days. On the 5th day after birth, the worship of the goddess Satwái is observed, at which the image of the goddess is traced on a grindstone, laid near the mother's cot, and worshipped with the sacrifice of a goat. The child, if a male, is named on the 13th, and if a female on the 12th day after birth.

Widow-Marriage.—The Bhavsárs allow a widow to marry again, but do not require her to marry her late husband's younger or elder brother. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow consists of the tying of the *mangalsutra*, or auspicious thread, round the bride's neck by the bridegroom. A Brahman attends the ceremony and acts as priest. Widows may witness the ritual, but married women are on no account allowed to be present on the occasion. The wedded couple sleep together during the night and early next morning repair to Máruṭi's temple, where they screen themselves from the public gaze. At night they return to the bridegroom's house. The proceedings terminate with a feast to the caste people.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's unchastity, or the husband's inability to maintain her, or if the couple

cannot get on together. It is effected, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, by depriving the woman of her *mangalsutra* and driving her out of the house. The divorce claims alimony from her husband if her innocence is proved in the presence of the head-man of the caste. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows.

Religion.—The religion of the Bhavsárs differs little from that of other castes of the same social status. Their special deity is Ingálá or Hingálá (a form of Bhaváni), worshipped on Fridays or Tuesdays, with offerings of sweetmeat. On the eighth or ninth of the light half of Aswin (beginning of October), the grand worship of the goddess is held, at which *Homa* (sacrifice) is performed, *mogara* or jasmine flowers (*Jasminum Sambac*) offered to the deity and goats and sheep sacrificed to her. They also pay devotion to Khandobá, Báláji, Hanumán, and the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon. Parsharám, the incarnation of Vishnu, and the slayer of Kshatriyas, is represented by a *panja* (metallic palm) and is adored with the sacrifice of a sheep. In this worship the Brahmans take no part, but the head of the household officiates as priest. Animistic deities, including Pochamma (Sitala), Mari Ammá, Maisammá and Ellamá, are also propitiated by the members of the caste. They have a strong belief in ghosts, charms and witch-craft.

In Telingana, the Bhavsárs are divided into Shivas (Vibhutiháris) and Vaishnavas (Tirmanidháris). Some of the Maratha Bhavsárs are followers of the Manbhao sect and are generally known by the name of Bhaváls: these have Manbhao mendicants for their *Gurus*. On all religious and ceremonial occasions the assistance of Deshastha Brahmans is requisitioned by the caste.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt, the body being laid on the pyre with the head pointing to the south, and the ashes are collected on the 3rd day after death and thrown into the Ganges or any stream near by. Mourning is observed ten days for agnate adults and the ceremony of *Sradha* is performed on the 12th day after death, when libations of *til* water (*Sesamum indicum*) and balls of rice or wheat flour are offered for the benefit of the deceased. Children, before teething, and persons dying of cholera or smallpox,

are buried. Burial is also resorted to in the case of persons who become Bhaválus or disciples of Manbhaos. Ancestors, in general, are propitiated in the dark half of the month of Bhadrapad (September), with offerings of libations of water mixed with *til* (gingelly) seeds. In Telingana, Tirmanidhárís are burnt, while Vibhutidhárís are buried. A goat is sacrificed on the 3rd day after death and the flesh is cooked and placed, with a vessel of *shendi* (juice of the wild date palm), on the spot where the body was cremated or buried.

Social Status.—The social rank of Bhavsárs is respectable, and Marathá Kunbis are said to eat *kachi* from their hands, while the members of the caste eat only from the hands of Brahmans. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, fowl, deer, hare and wild boar and indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors. Leavings of other people are not eaten by the caste.

Occupation.—The general occupation of the caste is the dyeing of cotton clothes, silks and woollen fabrics and yarns for weaving. The colours used in dyeing are mostly of vegetable origin and are obtained by ingenious combinations of different dyes. Safflower, madder, turmeric, indigo, myrabolams and mango leaves furnish beautiful tints of scarlet, pink, rose, crimson, purple, yellow, orange and green. The garments are dyed in pieces to suit the tastes of customers. They are first steeped in the dung of cow-buffaloes, washed and then submitted to the process of dyeing. An earthen pot or *kundi*, two metal vats for the principal dye becks and a cotton bag (*zoli*) for straining the colour comprise the simple apparatus employed for the operation.

Some of the Bhavsárs are now engaged as tailors, while a few of them have taken to cultivation.

XIII

BHIL

Bhil—a non-Aryan tribe, inhabiting the hilly ranges which form the north-western boundary of the Aurangabad Subah. On the eastern side they have for their neighbours the Gonds and the Andhs and on the western and southern sides they imperceptibly pass into the Koli and Wanjari tribes. They are principally found in the Talukas of Vaijapur, Kannad, Bhokardan, Aurangabad and Gangapur. They probably came to this tract from Khandesh, to which part of the country they are said to have been driven, firstly by the pressure of the Rajputs, and later on by the Muhammadan immigration from Northern India. A considerable portion of the Bhils have settled on the plains and taken to cultivation and farm labour.

Physical Characteristics.—In point of physical characteristics, the Bhils display remarkable variations. Those on the plains are well built, of tall stature and generally handsome features, their original type having probably been refined, partly by intermarriages with the low caste Hindus and partly by the effects of the salubrious climate of the plains. The hill Bhil, on the other hand, has preserved all the characteristics of a pure Dravidian. He is hardy and active, with dark complexion, prominent cheek bones, wide nostrils and coarse features. Like his brother, the Gond or the Koli, he is noted for his truthfulness and simplicity, love of independence, excessive indulgence in ardent spirits, thriftlessness and detestation of honest work. He has his own dialect, which is scarcely understood by the inhabitants of the plains. His national weapon is a bow made of bamboo, the 'string' being a thin strip of the same flexible material.

Origin.—The name 'Bhil' is supposed to be derived from the Dravidian 'Billu'—a bow (Wilson's "Aboriginal Tribes", 2). A popular legend represents them as being descended from Nishad,

son of Mahadev, by a human female. Nishad was vicious and ugly and, having killed his father's bull, was, in consequence, banished to mountains and forests.

History.—The Bhils are, indisputably, one of the pre-Aryan races. The earliest mention of their name occurs in the great epics of the *Ramayana* and *Mahābhārata*. A Bhil woman is said to have made presents of *bors*, or plumes, to Rama, during his wanderings through the wilderness of Dandaka. In the *Adiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, mention is made of a certain Bhil, who attained extraordinary skill in archery by placing before him a clay image of Drona, as his preceptor, and thus practising the art. It was a forester Bhil who mortally wounded Krishna, having mistaken him for a deer.

For ages, the Bhils have been known as daring marauders, who set at defiance one and all the governments that tried to subdue them by coercion. They were cruelly dealt with by the Muhammadan and the Maratha governments and were several times severely punished by the British. Some of the Moghal Emperors, however, adopted a policy of conciliation towards them and treated them kindly. Aurangzeb enlisted them in a sort of local militia, by entrusting to their charge the whole hill country south of the Narbada. The passes of the Satpura and the Ajunta ranges were committed to their care, with a liberal grant of land for their services. His armies passed unmolested through the Bhil country, which contained difficult passes, and during the Moghal rule of the Deccan the Bhils remained quiet or loyal.

With the rise of the Marathas, they appear in history as a truculent and lawless tribe, committing great depredations on the plains from their mountain fastnesses. Expeditions against the Bhils became frequent, but in every instance the soldiers of the Peshwas were worsted in action. The Marathas never scored against the wily hill tribes, until they resorted to treachery. Peace having been concluded, the Bhils were invited to celebrate it by a grand feast at a place near Kannad. They responded to the invitation and came down to the plains in great numbers, expecting a good time. They were treated on a lavish scale and indulged freely in the strong liquor which had been liberally provided. Armed bodies of men,

kept hidden for the purpose, were soon on the helpless Bhils, who were then butchered without distinction of age or sex. Large bodies of Bhils, however, still remained and they soon took measures of reprisal and terrorised the Maratha villages on the plains. The Peshwas proscribed them as out-laws and ordered that they should be put to death wherever found. A Bhil caught anywhere was flogged to death, or hanged by the lowest Maratha official without trial or enquiry of any kind. Great ingenuity was displayed in torturing the Bhils, such of them as fell into the hands of the Marathas being subjected to cruelty of the most revolting kind. The favourite method adopted was to slit the nose, strip the ears, and, in the case of females, to rip open the breast and sprinkle powdered chillies over the wounds, exposing the victim meanwhile to the hottest sun. The operations were concluded either by burning the victims at the stake or on heated guns. The heights of Antur, twenty miles from Kannad, were especially selected and a large number of Bhils were hurled to destruction, every year from the high cliffs that surround the fort of that name. This policy of extermination was vigorously pursued as long as the rule of the Peshwás lasted. It is astonishing how frequently the Bhils fell into the snares cast by the Marathas under promises of pardon, and how often their simplicity and faith led them to destruction. It is on record, that thousands of Bhils, assembled in the towns of Kannad, Dharangaon, Chalisgaon and Kopargaon under such promises, were annihilated with the greatest cruelty. The Bhil country, along with the other territories of the Peshwás, was divided between the English and the Nizam in 1818. The Districts of Khandesh, Ahmednagar and Nasik, containing a considerable Bhil population, were annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and the Talukas of Kannad, Ambad, Bhokardan and Paithan were restored to the Nizam. The officers of the two Governments deputed to settle the new districts found the Bhils, who had suffered so cruelly at the hands of the Marathas, in a state of exasperation. The Bhil question attracted the serious attention of the British Government. Their depredations had become so serious that operations were directed against them in the Ajantá and Gaotálá ranges, where they had greatly increased in numbers; they were at that time under

thirty-two leaders, the chief of whom, in 1819, was Chil Naik. Detachments were sent into the hills and the fort of Baitalwádi and other strongholds were captured. Chil Naik was taken and hanged, but the Bhils were far from being subdued and two new leaders, Jandhulyá and Fakiryá, fiercely ravaged the plains to avenge the loss of Chil Naik. A military cordon was drawn round the base of the Ajanta hills for about a hundred miles, and Jandhulyá, Fakiryá and 4,200 of their followers surrendered in 1821. After a few months' quiet there was another outbreak in 1822, headed by the famous Hirya. The low country was harassed for some time, but as force had failed, it was determined, in 1825, to try kind measures. The Bhils had been promised a living if they would come down to the plains, but they refused, and attempts were now made to encourage them to enlist and form a Bhil corps. An agency was established near Chalisgaon and Major Ovans and Lient. Graham induced many of the Ajunta Bhils to form settlements and engage in agriculture. The Bhils were, however, still troublesome and those at Kannad recommenced their depredations about 1830. The Gaotala hill, seven miles north of Kannad, became noted as one of their strongholds and a body of the contingent troops was ordered up from Aurangabad to hunt them out of the hills and re-open the ghat roads. The troops were encamped at Gaotala for six months and the hills were scoured. It was about this time that the Outram ghat was constructed by the British officer of that name, while engaged in conciliating the wild hillmen of the Ajanta and Gaotala ranges. A force was afterwards cantoned at Kannad for several years and a British officer was stationed there as Bhil agent. The troops were withdrawn about 1840 and the Bhil agency was abolished a few years later.

When measures of coercion were found unsuccessful, and it was repugnant to the feelings of the authorities to follow a policy of extermination, it was resolved to resort to more humane measures. The policy with reference to the Bhils was accordingly reversed and the dealings with the tribe became distinctly marked with sympathy and kindness. The distinguished names of Robertson, Ovans and Outram are associated with this policy. Under their personal

influence, many Bhils settled to a regular life as policemen, cultivators and field-labourers in the District of Khandesh. The same policy of sympathetic treatment of the Bhils was inaugurated in the District of Aurangabad and they were granted every facility to settle down to more peaceful occupations as cultivators or village servants. Accustomed as they were to a life of strife and lawlessness, it was not to be expected that they would give up their predatory habits so quickly and resist the temptations of crime when pressed by scarcity and famine. They desisted, however, from concerted acts of lawlessness as long as measures of repression were directed against the criminal portion alone, but, whenever the zeal of the authorities to maintain the peace assumed the character of a persecution of the whole tribe, fresh outbursts of the Bhils took place. Such was the case in 1307 F. (1898 A.D.) when an encounter took place at Bhamiri between a powerful gang of Bhils and the police. The serious attention of Government was once more drawn to the long vexing question of the Bhils, and it is satisfactory to record that once more the policy of repression was reversed in favour of the consideration of the very root of the evil. It was held that their spirit of lawlessness was in no small measure due to their great poverty, long suffering and want of honest occupation. The measures adopted, with this view, by the Revenue and Police authorities, have been in the direction of affording immediate relief to the tribe in order to distract them from crime. Since 1310 F., some two hundred Bhil families have been induced to settle down in the plains as agriculturists and the total number of acres in their possession is now over 2,556. *Taccavi* grants, amounting in all to Rs. 9,360, have been distributed amongst them, in addition to a grant of Rs. 10,000 from charitable funds. Employment has been found for nearly one thousand Bhils, as village watchmen, of whom 315 are paid from the Police funds; the Revenue Department maintains another 300 out of the village cess and many are employed by private individuals in the same capacity. Mr. A. C. Hankin, the Head of the District Police, whose distinguished name is intimately connected with every measure of amelioration of the Bhils' condition, has paid particular attention to the rising generation. Under police supervision no fewer

than 215 lads have been sent to elementary schools. Eight new schools have also been introduced by the Police Department, four in the villages of Wadol, Savergaon, Kinhai and Jowla in the Kannad taluka, and the rest in Sondgaon, Basada, Majri and Nevargaon of the Vaijapur taluka. The lads attending the school are properly clothed and well cared for. This excellent policy is yielding the happiest results, for the present Bhil youths have taken admirably to schooling and, sobered by instruction, are losing the recollection of the wild state of their ancestors. Some of these boys are reported as smart and often superior to other low castes in intelligence.

Internal Structure.—The term 'Bhil' includes, besides the Bhils proper, several aboriginal tribes of the Sahyadri and Satpura ranges, such as Khotils, Pavras, Varlis, Mavchis or Gavits, Dangchais, Tadvīs, Nirdhis, etc. The Bhils proper, or the Bhils of the plains, are mostly found in the villages on the plains and in their dress, language and customs are scarcely distinguishable from the low caste Hindus. They constitute the bulk of the Bhil population of the Hyderabad Dominions, other clans being scattered only here and there in very small numbers. The Khotils are confined to the hills and forests, and barter gums and wax for the produce of the plains. They eat carrion and beef and are on this account regarded by the pure Bhils as degraded. They are great hunters. The Pavras are small built men with flat faces and resemble Konkani Kolis more than Bhils. They claim to be originally Rajputs, who were driven by their chiefs from their homes. They are mostly husbandmen and their women are stout and buxom. The Varlis, though found in mountainous tracts are, unlike Pavras, tall, dark and well-made, with somewhat negrolike features. Their women are usually unclad from the waist upwards. The Dāngchis, or Dāng Bhils, stunted in body and dulled in mind, are the most uncivilized of all the Bhil tribes. They eat monkeys, rats, all small vermin and even cattle killed by tigers. They wander about with bows and arrows in search of such small game as peafowl and hare. They hold the tiger sacred. The Tadvīs are found in the Bhokardan Taluka. They are believed to be the descendants of Muhammadan soldiers who, during the reign of the

Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707), contracted 'intimacy with Bhil women. They are tall, well built, fairer in complexion and more refined in features than the pure Bhils. Their weapons are the sword and the matchlock, but seldom the bow. They are very vindictive and quarrelsome and dislike hard work. Though Muhammadans by faith, they have a deep reverence for certain Hindu deities. Their hereditary chiefs are Khan Sahibs and are appealed to in all matters of difficulty. The Bhilalas, a mixed Bhil sub-tribe, are stated to be the offspring of Tiloli Kunbis, whom they resemble in every respect. They celebrate their marriages at sundown.

Each of the above-mentioned tribes, with the exception of the Tadvis, who are Muhammadans, is broken up into a large number of exogamous groups which show a singular mixture of varied elements. Thus the sections, Waghia, Ghania and Pipalasa are totemistic, being derived from the names of animals and trees. Other section names such as Jadhava, Pawar, Gaikwad, More and Salunke are evidently borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis. They also have eponymous and territorial sections, the former being the names of their founders and the latter the names of favourite places.

Like other tribes, the Bhils scrupulously observe the rule of exogamy, marriage within the section being strictly prohibited. Some system of prohibited degrees also exists, although it cannot be clearly defined by them.

Marriage.—The Bhils marry their daughters both as infants and as adults between the ages of five and sixteen, but infant marriage is deemed the more respectable and the tendency, at the present day, is towards the abolition of adult marriage. Girls are sometimes dedicated to temples or offered to deities and in such circumstances receive the name of 'murlyas'. The customary price, *ghun* or *deja*, paid for a Bhil bride, is Rs. 20, but the amount is liable to vary according to the means of the bridegroom's parents. Polygamy is allowed, and the Bhils impose no limit on the number of wives a man may have.

The proposal for marriage comes from the boy's relations and the marriage may take place after betrothal, but it depends on the pecuniary circumstances of the parents and may be postponed for

years. The marriage is arranged in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*. A Brahman is consulted to fix the betrothal day, the boy and his relations proceed to the girl's house, give presents to her and are entertained in the evening. After the marriage is decided on, the bride-price is paid to the girl's father and a feast is given. The betrothal is witnessed by the caste council, and the party leave next morning. The *Bhat* or family priest is next consulted to fix the wedding day; when this has been settled, the *haldi* ceremony is performed, booths are erected and a platform is raised at the girl's house. On the wedding day the boy goes in procession to Hanuman's temple, wearing on his head a paper ornament called *bashingam* and his sister follows him with a pot of water containing a few copper coins. After worshipping the deity, the party drink the water that has been brought by the boy's sister. Intimation of the boy's arrival at the temple is then sent to the girl's house; at sunset they all proceed to the bride's house and are received by a number of women each holding a pot of water into which some copper coins are dropped, while one of the women waves a lighted lamp in front of the bridegroom and receives a present of cloth. The bridegroom stands facing the east, a curtain is put up concealing the bride and a thread is twined round the pair. The officiating Brahman repeats some verses, grain is thrown, and, at the auspicious moment, when the priest claps his hands, the thread is severed, the curtain is withdrawn and the bridal pair throw portions of the broken thread and garlands on each other. Congratulations are received; *pan*, *supari*, *haldi* and *kunku* are distributed; yellow strings and turmeric are tied to the wrists of the bride and the bridegroom, and a feast is given to the caste. On the next day the couple are bathed, the boy's mother and other relatives come in procession to the bride's house, give her presents and are entertained at two dinners. Two or three days after the wedding, the bride's relations go in procession to the house of the bridegroom's father, presents are exchanged and a dinner is given. With this the festivities terminate, the yellow threads on the wrists and necks of the bride and the bridegroom are removed and all traces of *haldi* are washed away.

Widows are allowed to marry again, and a man takes to himself three or four such wives in addition to the one whom he has married as a virgin. The widow bride is presented with certain clothes, and a bead necklace which the bridegroom ties round her neck. The ceremony ends with a feast to friends and relatives. Some of the Bhil classes allow a widow to marry the younger brother of her late husband, but the custom is not universal. Divorce is recognised, divorced women being allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows.

The Bhils admit into their caste men of the Kunbi, Mali, Kumbhar and other castes ranking higher than their own.

Child-Birth.—The child is named as soon after birth as possible. On the 5th day after birth the mother and the child are bathed, turmeric lines are drawn upon a raised platform built outside the house and a lighted lamp is placed in the centre of five quartz pebbles. Pieces of cocoanut kernel are arranged round the pebbles and the whole is worshipped by the mother, after being sprinkled with *haldi*, *jawari*, *pinjar*, or red powder, and liquor. In the evening a feast is given to the caste. On the twelfth day, the mother worships Jaldevata or Satwai and another feast is given.

Religion.—The religion of the Bhils is a mixture of animism and debased Hinduism. They worship Mahádeva and his consort Bhaváni, as symbols of terror, and hold, as sacred to them, certain groves and parts of forests, in which they offer sacrifices. Local deities, including Bhairoba, Khandoba, Hanuman, Ai Mata and Sitala, are propitiated with a variety of offerings. The tiger god Wagh Deva has no image, and is worshipped in the headman's house at the beginning of the rainy season. The Bhils have no shrines, but raise a platform, round some old tree, on which their deities, represented by maunds of mud with stones fixed in the middle, receive the devotion of their votaries. They make pilgrimages to Nasik and other holy places, but their chief place of pilgrimage is Hanmant Naik's Wadi, a few miles south of Sangamnair, on the way to Poona. They reverence the horse and the dog and offer mud horses to Muhammadan saints and Khandobá. Their chief festivals are *Holi*, *Dassera* and *Divali*, of which the first is the occasion of much

drunkenness and excesses, while at the second they make sacrifices to the goddess Durga. At all festivals the men perform various dances. At one of them, the drummers stand in the centre and the dancers revolve in a circle, with sticks in their hands, which they strike alternately against the sticks held by those in front and behind them. In another, men and women join hands and bend backwards and forwards, wheeling round and keeping time to the music. They sing or play on a type of violin called *chikari*, or *pai*, have a kind of instrument made out of a hollow bottle gourd with a reed inserted at one end, and use the *dhol*, or drum, *dafra*, or tambourine and *lur*, or kettle drum.

The Bhils believe in ghosts and departed spirits. They are also firm believers in witchcraft and employ *Barás*, or witch-finders, to point out the witches. The *Baras* are either Brahmans, or other Hindus such as Dhobis, Barbers, etc., and are employed as doctors, but diseases beyond their skill are attributed to the influence of witches. When the Bhils meditate plunder they consult the *Baras* before taking any action. The Bhils of the plains employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Funerals.—The Bhils usually bury their dead, but, if means permit, burn them with the head pointing to the south and the arms stretched along either side. The funeral obsequies commence with the usual distribution of alms; after this the body is taken outside, washed and dressed in new clothes and a turban placed on the head, the face being left exposed. In this condition the corpse is laid on the bier, some cooked food is placed by its side and the whole is sprinkled with *gula*. At the burial ground the corpse is laid in the grave with some food in its mouth: the body is then sprinkled over with water and finally covered with earth by all the mourners present. The party then bathe in the nearest river or tank, and, on returning to the house of the deceased, the bearers are fumigated with *nim* leaves thrown into a fire and liquor is served out. On the third day after death some further ceremonies are performed for the bearers and they receive a dinner. On the 10th day the chief mourner shaves his head and offers cakes to the departed spirit. On the 12th day a *Kumbhar* is called and a seven-

step ladder is set against the wall of the house so that the soul of the departed may climb to heaven. The priest chants mystic verses on this occasion and a grand funeral feast brings the rites to a close. The wild Bhils bury their dead without form or ceremony and worship the spirits of their ancestors by raising a rude pile of stones which, on festive occasions, they smear with red lead and oil.

Social Status.—Being still outside the Hindu caste organisation, the social status of the Bhils cannot be precisely defined. The Bhils of the plains eat fowl, hare, deer, fish, tortoises, pigs and lizards and indulge in liquors. They, however, abstain from beef. The wild Bhils have no scruples in this respect and eat carrion and cows.

Occupation.—Originally a predatory race, the Bhils have been greatly improved in recent years by kind and conciliatory treatment and have taken largely to cultivation as a means of subsistence. They raise coarse grain and a few vegetables, such as gourds, &c., which, with meat from the chase, or fish from the neighbouring stream, are rudely dressed for food. They collect and sell fire-wood, honey, gums, jungle fruits, and *mahua* flowers (*Bassia latifolia*), and also serve as watchmen of villages, besides being frequently employed as day and farm labourers. All cases of social disputes and quarrels amongst Bhils are settled by a caste council or *Panchayat* headed by a *naik*, under whom there is a deputy called *pradhan*. The *naik*'s authority generally extends over ten or twelve villages or *pals*.

XIV

BHOI

Bhoi—a generic term used as the designation of various classes who are engaged in boating, fishing, palanquin bearing and as domestic servants. In the Hyderabad Territory it includes several castes, such as the Bestas and Gunlodus of Telingana, the Machinde and Maratha, Bhois of Marathawada, the Bhanare and Bendor of the Adilabad District, the Gangamasalu of the Carnatic and the Kahars, who are immigrants from Northern India.

The etymology of the word 'Bhoi' is uncertain. It is supposed to be a Telugu word, derived from 'Boya,' the name of an aboriginal tribe; but the derivation appears to be fictitious and has probably been suggested by the similarity of the names 'Boya' and 'Bhoi.' No traditions are current regarding the origin of these people. The Hindu legislators distinguish the Bhoi (*paustika* or bearers) from the Dhivar Kolis (*kaivartaka* or fishermen), the former being the offspring of a Brahman father and a Nishad mother, while the latter are descended from a Párasava father and an Ayogava mother. At the present day, however, the name 'Bhoi' is used to denote all classes who follow either profession.

The Bhoi castes enumerated above differ widely from one another in physical character and habits. The Telugu Bhois comprise two sub-castes, Besta and Gunlodu, who eat together but do not intermarry. They appear to have originally sprung from the same common stock, but have subsequently become broken up into endogamous divisions by reason of their long occupation of different tracts of land.

XIV-A

BHOI—BESTAS

Origin.—The Bestás, also called Parkitiwaru, are mostly to be found in the Telugu Districts adjoining the Madras Presi-

dency. The origin of their name is obscure. Some derive it from the Persian 'Behishti,' but this derivation seems to be fanciful. The Bestás claim to be descended from Suti, the great expounder of the *Mahabharata*. Another legend traces their descent to Santan, the father of Bhisma by Gangá. These traditions, of course, throw no light upon the origin of the sub-caste. Their physical characteristics tend to mark them as Dravidians.

Marriage.—The Bestás profess to belong to, one *gotra*, *Achantraya*, which is obviously inoperative in the regulation of their matrimonial alliances. Their marriages are governed by a system of exogamy consisting of family names. The following are some of the typical surnames of the caste :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Kattewadu (stick). | (8) Nasuwadu. |
| (2) Mamliwadu (mango). | (9) Shebelawadu. |
| (3) Gantawadu (bell). | (10) Badawadu. |
| (4) Gundodu (ball). | (11) Allewadu. |
| (5) Pusawadu (beads). | (12) Gurebomollu. |
| (6) Chintawadu (tamarind). | (13) Pamparollu. |
| (7) Duntiwadu (pile). | (14) Vemolollu. |

The exogamous sections are modelled on those of the other Telugu castes. The Bestás forbid a man to marry a woman of his own section. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided he does not marry his aunt, his niece, or any of his first cousins except the daughter of his maternal uncle. A man may marry two sisters, or two brothers may marry two sisters, the elder marrying the elder sister and the younger marrying the younger. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Bestá girls are married before they have attained the age of puberty; but sometimes, owing to the poverty of her parents, a girl's marriage is delayed till after the age of puberty. Girls are not devoted to temples, or married to deities. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, her fault is condoned by her marriage with her lover, a fine being imposed upon her parents by the caste *Panchayat*. Sexual indiscretion with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste. Conjugal relations commence even before the girl attains puberty, provided a special ceremony is performed on the occasion. A Bestá girl on attaining puberty is

ceremonially unclean for five days. Polygamy is recognised theoretically to any limit, but is practically confined to two wives.

The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and closely corresponds to that in vogue among other Telugu castes of the same social standing. It takes place at the girl's house, under a booth made of eleven posts. The central post, *muhurta medha*, consists of a *guler* branch (*Ficus indicus*) and is topped with a lamp which remains burning throughout the ceremony. The marriage procession is made on horseback. A Brahman is employed as priest to conduct the wedding service. *Kanyádán*, or the formal gift of the bride, by her parents, to the bridegroom, is deemed to be the essential portion of the ceremony. In the *Nagbali*, which is celebrated on the fourth day after the wedding, the bridegroom, with a net in his hand, and the bride, with a bamboo basket, walk five times round the *polu*. The *panpu* which follows is very interesting as, therein, the young couple are made to enact a pantomimic drama of married life. The final ceremonial is *Wadibiyam*, by which the bride is sent to her husband's house. The bride-price, varying in amount from Rs. 9 to Rs. 12, is paid to the girl's parents.

Widow-Marriage & Divorce.—Widow marriage (*Mar-mannu*) is in vogue. The widow is not restricted in her choice of a second husband, save that she is not allowed to marry her late husband's younger or elder brother, nor any one who belongs to her husband's or her father's section. The sons of a widow are admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by the sons of a virgin wife. The ceremony is performed on a dark night, the widow bride being previously presented with a *sari* and *choli* and a sum of Rs. 1¼ for the purchase of bangles. A woman may be divorced on the ground of unchastity, the divorce being effected by the expulsion of the woman from the house, a little salt having been previously tied in her apron and the end of her garment having been removed from off her head. A divorced woman is allowed to marry again by the same rite as a widow, on condition, however, that her second husband refunds to her first husband, half the expenses of her marriage as a spinster.

Inheritance.—The Bestás follow the Hindu law of inheritance. A sister's son, if made a son-in-law, is entitled to inherit his father's

in-law's property, provided the latter dies without issue and the former performs his funeral obsequies. It is said that the eldest son gets an extra share, or *jethanga*, consisting of one bullock and Rs. 25.

Religion.—The religion of the Bestás is a mixture of animism and orthodox Hinduism. They are divided, like other lower Telugu castes, between Vibhutidhárís or Saivas, who follow the tenets of Arádhí Brahmans, and Tirmanidhárís or Vaishnavas, who acknowledge Ayyáwárs as their *gurus*.

Their tutelary deity is Vyankatrám, worshipped every Saturday with offerings of sweetmeats and flowers, but the favourite and characteristic deity of the Bestás is Gangá, or the river goddess, worshipped by the whole caste, men, women and children, in the month of Asháda (July-August), when the rivers and streams are flooded. The *púja* is done on the evening of the Thursday or Monday subsequent to the bursting of the monsoons. The elders of the caste officiate as priests. They observe a fast during the day, and at about five in the evening resort to a place on the bank of a river at some distance from the village. A piece of ground is smeared over with cow-dung and four devices representing, respectively, a crocodile, a fish, a tortoise and a female figure of Mari Mátá (the goddess presiding over cholera), are drawn upon the ground over which sand has previously been strewn. These devices are profusely covered with flowers, *kunkum*, turmeric powder and powdered limestone. In front of the figure of Mari Mátá is placed a large bamboo tray, containing a square pan made of wheaten flour and a turmeric effigy of Gourámmá. The flour pan is filled with six pounds of *ghi*, in which are lighted five lamps, one in the centre and one at each of the four corners. In front of Gourámmá, and in the pan, are placed six bangles, a piece of cocoanut, a bodice, four annas, some areca nuts, betel-leaves, catechu and *chunam*. The bamboo tray is then rested on a wooden frame made of four pieces of *pangra* wood (*Erythrina indica*), each two feet in length, and furnished with handles of split bamboo. After the worship is over, the priests, and as many of the male members as are able to touch the bamboo tray, lift it with the wooden frame and carry the whole into the flooded river, plunging into the water sometimes neck

deep. After *shendi* (the fermented juice of the wild date palm) has been sprinkled on all sides, the bamboo tray is thrown into the flood to be floated away by the current. After the distribution of *prasad* the multitude disperse. Women are not allowed to touch the goddess. At the *Dassera* festival the Bestás worship their nets, which they always regard with extreme reverence. When epidemics of cholera and smallpox break out, the Bestás make animal offerings to the Mari Mátá or Pochamma. Brahmans are employed for the worship of the great gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Bestás burn their dead, with the head pointing to the south, but persons dying before marriage are buried. Women dying during childbirth are burned. The ashes are collected on the third day after cremation and thrown into the nearest stream. Married agnates are mourned for eleven days: the unmarried for five days only. Relations are fed on the 11th day after death. On the *Mahalaya* day, rice, *ghi* and some money are offered to a Brahman in the name of the deceased ancestor. Ayyáwárs, in the event of the deceased being a Tirmanidhari, and Jangams, should he be a Vibhutidhari, attend the funeral ceremonies.

Social Status.—Socially, the Bestás rank above the Dhobi, Hajam, Waddar, Yerkala and lower unclean classes. Their social status is equal to that of the Mutrásis. They do not eat food cooked by a Jingar or a Panchadayi but will do so from the hands of the Mutrásí, Gollá, Kápu Kurmá and other castes of equal social standing. As far as their diet is concerned, they eat fowl, fish, mutton and the flesh of the crocodile, tortoise and lizard, but abstain from pork. They indulge freely in fermented and distilled liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other castes.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste is fishing and palanquin bearing, but many of the members are engaged as domestic servants in Muhammadan and Hindu houses. A curious custom that prevails among them is that, when employed as palanquin bearers, they have their food cooked in one place, sharing equally the expenditure incurred thereon: at the time of meals the cooked food must be divided into exactly equal portions among the members, no matter what,

their ages may be. Some of the Bestás have of late years taken to cultivation as a means of livelihood.

XIV-B

BHOI—GUNLODU

The Gunlodu, also called Nilbandhu, or the dwellers on the river bank, are mostly found in parts of the country where great rivers abound. Thus, they are found in the Nizámábád, Adilábád and Karimnagar Districts. They eat with the Bestás but do not intermarry with them. Their exogamous sections are as follows :—

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Maikalwaru | (8) Chatarwaru |
| (2) Tokalawaru | (9) Budhawaru |
| (3) Kondalawaru | (10) Shavalawaru |
| (4) Palikandawaru | (11) Raghupatiwaru |
| (5) Sitaralawaru | (12) Dawalhawaru |
| (6) Gamalawaru | (13) Padigallawaru |
| (7) Tupurwaru | (14) Kalampalliwaru. |

Origin.—The Nilbandhus give a singular account of their origin. The story runs thus :—There was one Narumani, who had a son by his mistress. Immediately on his birth the boy was exposed, by his mother, on the seashore and when full grown was disowned by his father, but commanded to subsist by fishing in the sea : since his profession bound him to the sea-shore, his descendants have been designated ' Nil-bandhus ' (*neel*, water, and *bhandu*, bank), or those who live on river banks. The legend suggests that the Nilbandhus may be illegitimate descendants of the Bestás, the great Telugu fishing caste. Their customs and usages are the same as those of the Bestás and need no separate description.

XIV-C

MARATHA BHOIS

Origin.—The Maratha Bhois, as their name denotes, constitute the numerous members of the fishing caste of the Marathawada country, which includes all the Districts of the Aurangabad Subah and the Bidar and Usmanabad Districts of the Gulbarga Subah. In physical

features and customs they differ markedly from the Telugu Bhois. They are divided into two endogamous groups—the Maratha proper and the Machinde—who eat together but do not intermarry. The Maratha proper may be an off-shoot from the Maratha Kunbis, whom they closely resemble and from whom they are probably separated by having taken to the degraded occupation of fishing and litter bearing. The Machinde Bhois claim to be descended from Machindranath, the chief disciple of Gorakhnath, the famous founder of the sect of Kanphate Jogis. This, however, gives no clue to the real origin of the sub-caste.

Internal Structure.—The Maratha Bhois have a number of exogamous sections, consisting of family surnames, many of which are common to this caste and the Maratha Kunbis. The following are some of the commonest of them :—

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| (1) Adane | (13) Kajale |
| (2) Lonare | (14) Pabale |
| (3) Tamkhane | (15) Bhujange |
| (4) Landage | (16) Kambale |
| (5) Nemade | (17) Surdushe |
| (6) Khandgale | (18) Satode |
| (7) Dake | (19) Bavne |
| (8) Wankhile | (20) Gavande |
| (9) Hirawe | (21) Bhadaskal |
| (10) Jirange | (22) Ghone |
| (11) Kesapure | (23) Ghatmal |
| (12) Jamdade | |

Marriage.—Marriages within the surname are prohibited. A man cannot marry the daughter of his maternal aunt or of his sister, though he may marry that of his maternal uncle. He rarely marries his paternal aunt's daughter, although such marriages are not prohibited by any tribal usage. Two sisters may be married to the same husband, or to two brothers, provided the elder sister is married to the elder brother and the younger sister to the younger.

The Maratha Bhois marry their daughters both as infants, and as adults between the ages of eight and twenty, and their sons

between twelve and twenty-five. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, but a girl taken in adultery is punished with a small fine. If she becomes pregnant before marriage her paramour is called upon to marry her, but in case he declines, she loses caste. Polygamy is permitted. In theory, there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have and it is not uncommon to find a man having more than one wife.

The father of the boy, as a rule, takes the initiative towards the settlement of a marriage. At the betrothal, or *kunkū lavane*, the girl is presented with a *sari* and the caste *panch* receive, by right, Rs. 2 from the boy's father for *khusali* or drinking. The *Devak*, or marriage deity, is represented by twigs of the mango, *saundaf* (*Prosopis spicigera*) and *apta* (*Bauhinia racemosa*), which are tied, with an axe and a wooden pestle, to the milk post (*muhurta medha*) of the marriage booth. Previous to the marriage, *Virs* (ancestral spirits) and the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur are propitiated by the sacrifice of a goat. The marriage procession is usually made on horseback, but occasionally on a bullock. *Panigrahana*, or the gift of the bride to the bridegroom, forms the essential portion of the ceremony. In other respects it resembles that of the Maratha caste. A widow may marry again. Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's adultery, or if the couple cannot live in harmony.

Religion.—Ancestral worship is in full force and the souls of the departed are propitiated every Saturday by the elderly member of the family; the souls of adults are called *Virs*, those of children *Munjas* and of females *Manvi*. On the wedding day goats are sacrificed in honour of these spirits. The members of the caste are very scrupulous in the worship of these spirits, for it is firmly believed that if they neglect this worship they will never live in peace and happiness. Muhammadan *pirs* are also duly honoured with animal sacrifices. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The dead are burned, but occasionally buried. Mourning is observed for 9 days, and on the 10th day *Sradha* is performed and the caste people are feasted. *Sradha* is also celebrated on the *Pitra Amawasya* day and on the *Akshatritiya* day.

XIV-D

MACHINDE BHOIS

General Description.—The Machinde Bhois are mostly fishermen, but are also engaged as palanquin bearers and domestic servants. The females soak and parch grain. The members of the caste use donkeys for carrying burdens and are hence looked down upon by the Telugu Bhois. The Maratha and Machinde Bhois occupy the same social rank among the Maratha castes as the Telugu Bhois do among the Telugu caste. They eat the flesh of fowl and sheep and drink spirituous and fermented liquors, but abstain from beef and pork.

Manners and Customs.—In the Adilabad District, especially in the Talukas of Jangaon, Rajura and Shirpur, Marathi-speaking Bhois are found, but these are entirely distinct in their manners and customs from the Maratha Bhois of the Marathawada Districts. It appears that the former are the descendants of those Bhois who came with the Maratha conquerors, settled with them in the Berar and Nagpur provinces and subsequently emigrated to the neighbouring territory in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. They are divided into two sub-castes, Bendore and Bhanare, who are said to eat with each other but not intermarry. These are broken into exogamous sections, which consist of family names resembling those of the local Maratha Kunbis. A man cannot marry a woman of his own section. He may marry the daughter of his mother's brother or his father's sister and two sisters may marry the same man, provided the elder is married first. Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, but punished with a small fine. If, however, the girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she is required to disclose the name of her seducer, who is compelled to marry her by the caste council. Polygamy is allowed.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony takes place towards sundown, at the bridegroom's house, to which the girl is escorted in procession on horseback by her people. Under the marriage booth is a circular platform built of earth with a post of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) planted in the centre. This central post is surrounded by earthen vessels, and the bride-

groom facing the east and the bride facing the west, with the post in their middle, are wedded by a Brahman priest. A man of the washerman caste provides threads for marriage bracelets, which are tied by the bridal pair on each other's wrists. On the third day, the bridegroom dressed in the bride's clothes and the bride in the bridegroom's are paraded in procession, after which they are mounted on the backs of their respective maternal uncles, who dance to the accompaniment of drums and go five times round the earthen platform. The 'bride-price' to the amount of Rs. 5, is paid to the girl's father. Re-marriage of widows is permitted and celebrated on a dark night of any month. Women are divorced and are subsequently allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows.

Religion and Funerals.—Khudbhan, the favourite deity of the caste, is worshipped every day. The other deities honoured are the god Mahadeva of the Hindu pantheon and the animistic deity Pochamma, who presides over smallpox. The spirits of ancestors are also propitiated. The dead are either burnt or buried. When a person is on the point of death, *ambil*, or gruel, is poured into his mouth. Mourning is observed for 5 days. No *Sradha* ceremony is celebrated, but an image of the deceased is embossed on a metal plate and installed in the god's room.

Social Status and Occupation.—Their social position may be determined by the fact that they will eat from the hands of the Kunbis, Malis, Dhangars and Kumbhars, while the Kunbis will accept water only, but nothing else, from a member of the caste. The members of the caste eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, hares, deer, scaly and scaleless fish and great lizards and drink spirits. Their hereditary occupation is fishing, palanquin bearing and working as domestic servants. Some of them have taken to cultivation. They have a caste *Panchayat* to which social disputes are referred.

Distribution.—The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Bhois in 1911 :—

District			Males	Females
Hyderabad City	...	...	4,041	3,524
Atrafi Balda	...	...	1,460	1,443
Warangal	...	...	5,054	4,812

District				Males	Females
Karimnagar	...	...	...	11,318	11,456
Adilabad	...	...	...	8,130	8,056
Medak	...	...	...	2,892	2,817
Nizamabad	...	...	...	11,740	11,670
Mahbubnagar	...	...	...	15,383	15,203
Nalgonda	...	...	...	2,786	2,724
Aurangabad	...	...	...	1,080	1,059
Bhir	...	...	...	1,045	1,061
Nander	...	...	...	5,164	5,135
Parbhani	...	...	...	1,526	1,508
Gulbargah	...	...	...	906	717
Usmanabad	...	...	...	347	303
Raichur	...	...	...	16,003	15,725
Bidar	...	...	...	494	422

XV

BHUTE

Bhute, Bhope, Arádhī—a caste of religious mendicants, founded on the worship of the goddess Bhaváni of Tuljapur, in the Usmánabad District, and originally recruited from among the Marathas. The etymology of the name 'Bhute' is uncertain. The word 'Bhut' means a ghost in Marathi and is popularly given to these people as their designation, probably on account of the weird appearance they present to beholders while on their begging missions. They wear a long, oily, sombre gown, put on necklaces of cowrie shells hanging to their knees with silver or brass pendants marked with the image of the goddess Bhavani, and hold a lighted torch of rags (*pót*) in their hands. When dancing, they wave themselves to and fro and from side to side, touching, at the same time, their bodies with flames from the burning torch, and making a din with the cries of 'Udeh, Udeh' (victory to the goddess) and with the sounds of their *sambals* (half drums), *tals* (cymbals) and *tuntune* (one stringed fiddle). The word 'Bhope' is supposed to be derived from 'Bhup,' a king, and is the designation of those Bhutes who are actually engaged in the worship of the goddess: they say that they are so called because, like kings, they are allowed to use torchlight by day.

Origin.—Very little is known regarding the origin of the caste, but the fact that a Kadam family of Marathas are the hereditary priests of the goddess and hold the entire village of Tuljapur in *Inam*, may suggest the conclusion that the original founder of this religious order was a Maratha of the Kadam clan. At the present day, the family has developed into fifty branches. These priests help the pilgrims who visit the temple of Bhavani, by arranging for their lodgings and food, and claim the offerings made to the goddess by her devotees.

Customs.—Bhutes admit into their caste only members from the

Maratha and Brahman communities. When a Brahman or a Maratha has no issue, or if his children are short lived, he makes a vow that if he begets two children he will offer one to the goddess Bhaváni and make him a Bhutya. This child, when grown up, is taken to Tuljapur, where the head Bhute, or Patil Kadam, obtains the consent of the goddess to make him a Bhutya, worships her and puts the string of *cowrie* shells, worn by himself, round the neck of the newcomer. He then admits him into his caste and makes the fact known to the whole Bhute community. If the neophyte is poor, he wears the badge of the goddess and begs in her name.

Internal Structure.—Bhutes have no endogamous divisions : their exogamous sections are the same as those of the Marathas. Marriage between persons belonging to the same section is forbidden. Polygamy is permitted and, in theory, there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—Girls are usually married before they reach the age of puberty. But the age at which a girl is married depends mainly upon the ability of her parents to defray the expenses of her wedding and no social penalty is inflicted upon a man who allows his daughter to grow up unmarried. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type common among the Maráthás. The *Devak* (marriage guardian) consists of a lotus flower. A *mandap* (wedding booth) is erected at the bride's house and the bridal couple stand under it facing each other. The officiating priest, who is a Brahman, holds a curtain (*antarpát*) between them and recites *mantras* or sacred hymns, while the assembled persons throw coloured rice over the heads of the couple. This is deemed to be the valid and binding portion of the ceremony.

Widows are not allowed to marry again, but divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, on the ground of the wife's adultery.

Religion.—The religion of the Bhutes is simply the average Hinduism of the middle classes, and calls for no special remark. Their special deity is Bhaváni, to whom *púja* (worship) is offered ; some worship daily, and others only on festive or religious occasions. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Among their greater gods are Shiva, Vishnu and Ganpati, while their minor gods include the cholera goddess Mari Ai and the goddess Sitala, who presides over smallpox. Women worship the *tulsi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) plant and the *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*) and *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) trees.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead, if males, are buried in a sitting posture, with the face pointing to the east, and a mound of earth is built over their remains. The bodies of women are burnt in a lying posture. *Sradha* and other funeral ceremonies resemble those in use among the Maratha Kunbis.

Social Status.—Socially, the Bhutes rank with the Marathas and other castes of the same social standing. They are superior to the Gondhalis, who also recite religious songs and wear strings of cowrie shells.

Occupation.—The characteristic occupation of the caste is begging. They leave their headquarters at Tuljapur in the month of Márgashirsha (November-December) and wander all over the Deccan, going from village to village and from door to door, with a lighted torch in their hands, playing on *samel* (drums), *táls* (metal cymbals) and *tuntune* (a one stringed fiddle). They smear their foreheads with *pinjar* (red aniline powder), cover themselves with cowrie shells from head to foot and have a square breastplate (*ták*) hung from their neck. While begging, they dance, sing songs and touch their bodies with the burning torch. They return home at the end of Jeshtha (June) and pass the rainy season with their families. Of late years some of the Bhutes have taken to agriculture.

XVI

BOGAM

Bogam, Bhogam, Varangana, Kasban, Kalawant, Pathura Dawaru, Tawaif—an order of Telugu dancing girls, originally attached to the temples of Siva and Vishnu as servants of the gods ; most of them now earn their livelihood by singing and dancing, or by prostitution. The word 'Bogam' is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Bhogam,' which means a 'common woman.'

Internal Structure.—The Bogams are divided into two main classes, Hindu Bogams and Muhammadan Bogams, the first being distinguished by the titles 'Sani' and 'Nayaka Sani' attached to their names and the second by the titles 'Jan' and 'Nayakan.' The Hindu Bogams have the following sub-divisions :—

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Munnur Bogam | (5) Erkala Bogam |
| (2) Telaga „ | (6) Jakoluwaru |
| (3) Balja „ | (7) Agamodiwaru |
| (4) Sani „ | (8) Bedar Patharadoru |

Munnur and Telaga Bogams are recruited from the Munnur, Kapu, Golla, Telaga and other castes of the same social standing. Balja Bogams, otherwise known as Basvis, are Lingayits in their creed and are chiefly to be found in the Carnatic. They are also called Linga Basvis, being devoted to the god Siva. They abstain from eating flesh or drinking spirits. Erkala Bogams, also called Kalapuramwaru, Kaikalaluwaru and Pather Korwa, trace their origin to Urvashi, one of the heavenly courtezans. It is customary among them, when dancing, not to wear jingling anklets nor plait their hair into braids. The Jakoluwarus trace their descent from the nymph Meniká. The origin of the Agamodiwarus is obscure. The Bedar Patharadorus take their name from the Bedar tribe, from which they are recruited.

History.—The Sanis regard themselves as prototypes of the Apsarás (celestial dancers), Rambhá, Urvashi, Meniká and Tilottamá,

who dance in the celestial court of Indra. Their origin was synchronous with the building of the great temples in which the Andhrabhṛitya, Chola, Kákatiya and Warangal dynasties expressed their devotion to their sectarian gods. In the different services of the temples, the duties assigned to them were to fan the idol with *chamrás*, or Tibetan oxtails, to carry the sacred light called Kumbhārti, and to sing and dance before the god when he was carried in procession. They lived, as now, in free quarters round about the temple and held tax-free lands out of its endowment. Their orders have been recruited from among the lower classes of Kapus, Gollás, Munnurs, Mutrásis, etc., either by admission or by purchase. Their ranks are also recruited by girls who are devoted by their parents to the service of temples, in pursuance of vows made in times of sickness or affliction.

The usage of attaching girls to the temples, for the service of the gods, has been in vogue for ages in different countries. "To the temples of Venus, in Asia Minor, large bodies of *hierodulæ* were attached who were at once prostitutes and ministers to the goddess. The daughters of the most illustrious families in Armenia passed from the service of the goddess Anaitis into matrimony with those of equal rank, and no stain adhered to them from their former mode of life. In Babylon, no woman of whatever rank could escape the obligation of once prostituting herself in the temple of Mylitta." (Dr. Shortt, the Anthropological Society of London, Journ. III, 1867-68.)

A girl to be prostituted has to undergo, on or before attaining the age of puberty, the ceremony of marriage. Hindu girls are usually wedded to the idols of Shri Krishna and Muhammadan girls are married to a *khanjir* or dagger. In the former case, a marriage booth of 16 pillars is erected at the girl's house and, on an auspicious day fixed for the celebration of the occasion, the idol of Shri Krishna is brought in procession from the house of a 'Satani' Ayyawar. The girl is made to stand before the idol as if it were the bridegroom, a curtain is held between them and the officiating Brahman, reciting the *Mangalashtaka*, or marriage stanzas, weds them in the orthodox fashion. The ceremonies that follow correspond

in every particular to those of a Kapu or Munnur marriage. On the *Nagveli* day the girl is seated by the side of the idol and made to offer *pūja* to Gauri, the consort of Siva. Betel-leaves, areca nuts and *kunkum* (red powder) are distributed to the assembly of dancing girls, who sing songs, and, after blessing the bride, retire to their houses. A Bogam girl is sometimes wedded to a dagger, the ceremony resembling the one described above. Married dancing girls are regarded by Hindu women of all castes as never getting into widowhood, for the simple reason that they are wedded to an immortal deity.

Inheritance.—Among dancing girls, property descends in the female line. In the failure of issue a dancing girl can adopt a daughter, but not a son, for the transmission of property. An adopted girl cannot share her mother's property during the latter's life time. The sons can claim only maintenance and marriage expenses.

Religion.—The Bogams belong both to the Vaishnava and the Saiva sects and their religious observances do not differ materially from those of other Hindu castes of the same social standing. Their favourite festival is *Gokūlashtami*, celebrated, in honour of Shri Krishna, on the eighth of the light half of Shravana (August). The image of the god is worshipped with a variety of offerings and paraded with great pomp through the streets. They honour all the Hindu gods, celebrate *Ganesh Chouth* (the light fourth of Bhadrapad) in honour of Ganpati the elephant-headed god, and other festivals, and worship the implements of their craft on *Dassera*, the light tenth of Aswin (October). They employ Brahmans on religious and ceremonial occasions and 'Satani' Ayyawars or Jangams for the performance of funeral rites.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually buried, but are occasionally burnt in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south and the face generally downwards. Mourning is observed ten days for married girls, while the unmarried are disposed of unmourned. The ashes of those burnt are collected on the third day after death and either thrown into a stream or buried under a platform. No *Sradha* ceremony is performed, but ancestors in general are propitiated on the last day of Bhadrapad (beginning of October).

Social Status.—The social status of Sanis depends upon the castes to which they originally belonged. All Bogams, except the Erkala and Bedar, rank above the Mangala (barber), Chakla (washerman) and other lower castes. They eat the flesh of sheep, pigs, fowls, fish and *ghorpod* (iguana) and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They eat *kachi* from the hands of Brahmans, Komtis, Kapus, Velmas, Gollas, Munnurs, Mutrasis, Ayyawars and Baljas, and all these, except Brahmans, eat sweetmeats from their hands.

Occupation.—The Bogams are professional dancers and musicians. The lessons in singing and dancing are given daily and it requires four or five years for a girl to become proficient in the arts. For this purpose, good-looking and well-made girls are generally chosen and, along with singing and dancing, they are taught how to dress tastefully and to exhibit *abhinaya*, or graceful attitudes and gestures, during the performances. Commencing their studies at the early age of seven or eight, they are able to perform at twelve or thirteen years of age and continue dancing till they are thirty or forty years old. Dancing girls attached to temples are required to dance daily before the idols, while the priests are officiating and offering *puja* to them : but the majority of these are trained to appear in public, when they are profusely ornamented with gold and jewels and sumptuously dressed in silk and muslin. The hair is divided in front along the centre, combed back, plaited into a single braid and decked with jewels and flowers. When dancing, a string of small brass bells, known as *ghunguru*, is tied around each leg immediately above the ankles. Some of the girls dance with exquisite grace and lascivious attitudes and motions. When singing, a dancing girl is accompanied by three men singers, one of whom plays on a *tabla*, or drum, while the other two, sitting on either side of her, play on *sarangis*, or fiddles. One or two old women join in the music and keep time either by playing on cymbals or by clapping their hands : these are dancing girls who have given up the profession on account of age. Their songs comprise praises in honour of Hindu gods and are set to a variety of tunes. Most of the songs are lewd in character, relating to some circumstance or other of the life

of the amorous Kannayya (Krishna), the favourite and most popular god of Hindu females. But they adapt the quality of their songs to the place and the audience before which they perform. The earnings of a dancing girl depend upon the renown and popularity she enjoys, as well as upon the rank and wealth of her employers. Frequently, she receives valuable presents in money and clothes, bestowed upon her during the performance.

All Bogams live in concubinage. Some of them are very handsome, with regular features, large, intelligent eyes, beautifully small hands and ankles, so exquisitely turned as to merit the admiration of any beholder. Frank and gentle in appearance, modest and courteous in manner, possessing all the grace which the training in the *Ars Amoris* gives, they form a striking contrast to the ordinary housewives, who are deprived of any kind of learning and allowed to grow up in ignorance and superstition.

With respect to their occupation, the dancing girls are divided into two classes, the one comprising Kanchan, Patharkar and Ramjani, and the other Therker and Ranmals. The former regard themselves superior in social status and will decline to dance or sing on the same seat as the latter. The origin of these names is uncertain. Among dancing girls special reverence is paid to *Deva Dasis*, or those who are consecrated to the service of the gods and hold *inams* from the endowments of temples. If a dancing girl associates herself with a man lower to her in social standing she incurs instant excommunication.

A Muhammadan dancing girl, on coming of age, is married to a dagger. Before a dancing girl is initiated to prostitution, the *Misi* ceremony is performed, of which the smearing of her teeth with dentifrice and the tying of a string of glass beads round her neck form important portions.

The sons of dancing girls and such of their daughters as are too plain to take to prostitution have formed a separate caste of their own, governed by the same laws of matrimony and inheritance as are prevalent among other Telugu castes. A full description of these will be found in the section dealing with the Telaga caste.

XVII

BORUL

Origin.—Borul, Buro!—a very small caste of Banias found in the Parbhani and parts of the Bhir District. In physical character they resemble the Carnatic Banias, being short in stature, with dark complexion and coarse irregular features. Their tradition represents them as descended from Káshyapa Máhámuni, the son of Marichi. They can give no information, however, which will throw light upon their original habitat or tend to connect them with any existing caste or tribe. There are unmistakable signs that the caste is gradually disappearing.

Internal Structure.—The Boruls are divided into two sub-castes, (1) Bail Borul and (2) Ghod Borul, which are endogamous. The true significance of these terms is obscure. It is said that the Bail Boruls are precluded from using the ox (*bail*) for riding, or any other purpose, while the horse is taboo to the Ghod Boruls, although in practice these restrictions do not seem to be observed, nor are the animals held in any special reverence which would give them a totemistic character. The Bail Boruls form the bulk of the caste in the Parbhani District.

Some of the Boruls allege that they have only one *gotra*, Káshyapa, while others hold that they belong to thirty-one *gotras* of the Brahmanical type. But these are inoperative for the purpose of controlling intermarriages which are governed by surnames mostly of the territorial type. Some of the family names are—(1) Chinchane, (2) Rampurkar, (3) Khedkar, (4) Phatke, (5) Naswale, (6) Wagde, (7) Pike, (8) Tote and (9) Rajekar.

Marriage.—A man cannot marry within his section or outside his sub-caste. Marriage with the daughter of a mother's sister or of a sister is not permitted. It is allowed with the daughter of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle. Marriage of two sisters to the same man is

recognised. Polygamy is permitted but is rarely practised, a second wife being taken only in the event of the first wife being barren or incurably diseased. Widows are forbidden to marry again and divorce is not recognised by the caste. Sexual indiscretions are met with instant expulsion from the caste.

Borul girls are married as infants between the ages of 5 and 12 years and social reproach attaches to her parents if she remains unprovided with a husband before she reaches the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony corresponds precisely to that in vogue among the Deshasth Brahmans of the locality. Báláji, their patron deity, is invoked before the marriage, which is performed at the girl's house. *Saptapadi*, or the seven steps the bridal pair describe along the *laja homa*, or the sacrificial fire, forms the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. The bride's father is required to pay a dowry to the bridegroom.

Inheritance.—Succession to property is governed by the Hindu law of inheritance.

Religion.—The religion of the Boruls presents no features of special interest. Their favourite object of worship is Báláji, a form of Krishna, who is honoured, with great ceremony, at the *Dassera* festival, when they abandon work and pass their time in religious service. Offerings of flowers, fruits and sweetmeats are made to the god on this occasion. They also worship other gods of the Hindu pantheon and observe the Hindu festivals and fasts. They make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Tuljapur and Benares. Deshastha Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial observances. Women pay devotion to the *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) daily and to *Nága* (the cobra) on the *Nágapanchami*, or the 5th of the lunar half of Srávana (July). Ancestral worship prevails and images of ancestors, embossed on silver plates, are set up in a sanctified part of the house and worshipped every day.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Boruls burn their dead in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. Mourning is observed ten days for agnates and three days for distant relatives: the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a sacred river. *Sradha* is performed under the superintendence of Deshastha Brahmans,

on the 10th and 12th days, when balls of rice and oblations of water are offered to the spirit of the deceased person. Ancestors in general are appeased in the latter half of Bhádrapad (September).

Social Status.—In point of social standing Boruls rank next to Brahmans and above all the Vaishya or Shudra castes. They will eat food cooked by a Brahman, while Brahmans eat sweetmeats prepared by them. All castes, except the Lingayits, will accept *kachi*, or cooked food, from their hands. The members of this caste are strict vegetarians and abstain from animal food and liquor. They wear the sacred thread, but no *munja*, or thread ceremony, is performed on the occasion.

Occupation.—The Boruls are, by profession, shop-keepers, money-lenders, and traders, buying goods wholesale in the towns and selling them retail in the villages. The poorer members of the caste work as cartmen and frequently hire out carts. Some of them have taken to cultivation and hold lands on small tenures.

XVIII

BRAHMAN

The Brahmans found in the Hyderabad Territory are divided into three great classes—the Mahārāshtra or Maráthá, Carnatic or Kánaddi, and Andhra or Telugu, according to their locality. The Mahārāshtra Brahmans rank among the Panch Dravida and derive their name from Mahārāshtra, a tract of country comprising portions of the Bombay Presidency, the Nizam's Dominions and Berar. They have several endogamous divisions, each of which is sub-divided into a large number of exogamous groups of an eponymous type, the eponym being a Vedic saint or *Rishi*. The main divisions of the Maratha Brahmans residing in the Nizam's Dominions are the Kokanastha, Deshastha and Karháda.

XVIII-A

BRAHMAN—KOKANASTHA

Kokanasthás, as the word indicates, are the residents of the Konkan, the narrow strip of land lying between Broach on the north and Ratnagiri on the south, and bounded on the west by the Arabian sea and on the east by the Sahyádrí ghats. The sub-caste is also known by other names—Chittapávan, meaning 'pure in heart' (*chitta*—heart, and *pávan*—pure); Chitapaván, or 'pure from pyre' (*chitá*—funeral pyre, and *pávan*—pure), and Chitpol, or 'residents of Chitpolan', the ancient name of Chiplun, in the Ratnagiri Collectorate, which has been regarded as being their original settlement. Being created by Parsharám, they are also called Parsharám Srishti, or the creation of Parsharám. Regarding the origin of the Kokanasthás a variety of opinions prevail.

Origin.—Popular tradition locates their original home at or near Ambajogai in the Bhir District of the Nizam's territory, where they have their titular deity, Yogeshwari. It is said that fourteen

Deshastha Brahmans of different family stocks or *gotras* accompanied Parsharám to the Konkan and settled at Chiplon, or Chitpolan of the Pauranik times, and hence afterwards came to be called Chitpols or (in its modified form) Chitpavans.

A legend gives another account of their origin. The Sahyádrí Kánd relates that Parsharám, defiled by the slaughter of Kshatriyas, could not obtain Brahmans for the performance of the Vedic ceremonies for him. He, thereupon, recovered from the sea the strip of land now forming the Konkan and made it over to Brahmans, whom he resuscitated from fourteen corpses washed ashore at the foot of the Sahyádrí hills after a ship-wreck. Since the corpses were purified on the funeral pyre before being restored to life, the Brahmans received the name of Chitpavans (*chítá*—pyre, and *pávan*—pure), pure from pyre. This legend no doubt revilingly indicates that the first ancestors of this caste came to the Konkan by the sea, and was probably suggested by the physical characteristics of this community, their light complexion, gray eyes and fine delicate features, which distinguish them remarkably from the other Maratha Brahmans. Writing about the Kokanasthas Dr. John Wilson says, "Perhaps it was under the patronage of the Sinhás of Gujerath, before the Christian era, that they began to settle in their present habitat. They are among the fairest (probably the fairest) of the Hindu races. They are greatly distinguished for their talents and administrative capacity and are often the ministers of the native states." A similar testimony is given by Grant Duff ("History of the Marathas," Vol. I., p. 77), and by Sir George Clark, who thinks them the cleverest class of men in the country.

The importance of the Kokanasthás in modern history dates from the rise of Báláji Vishwanáth Peshwá, and as the Peshwa's power advanced many families of the Kokanastha Brahmans emerged from their Konkan recesses and settled in provinces brought under the Peshwa's rule. During the whole of the 17th century they constituted a prominent factor in the political history of India.

Internal Structure.—The exogamous divisions or *gotras* of the

sub-caste, with the families belonging to each, are given below :—

1. Káshypa	Gotra ...	Lele, Ganu, Gokhale, Jog, Lavate.
2. Shándilya	,, ...	Soman, Gangal, Bhate, Gan- pule, Damle, Joshi, Parchure.
3. Vashistha	,, ...	Sathe, Bodas, Oke, Bapat, Bagul, Dharu, Gogte, Waze, Bhambe, Pongshe, Sathye, Govandye.
4. Kaundinya	,, ...	Patwardhan, Phanse.
5. Vishnu-varadhan	,, ...	Kidmide, Nene, Paranjape, Mehendale.
6. Nittundan	,, ...	Vaishampayan Bhide, Bhad- bhoke.
7. Bháradwaj	,, ...	Achawal, Lone, Darve, Gan- dhare, Gungurde, Ranade.
8. Gárgya	,, ...	Karve, Gadgil, Londhe, Mule, Daslike.
9. Kapi	,, ...	Limaye, Khambete, Jaeel, Maeel.
10. Jámadagnya	,, ...	Pendse, Kunte.
11. Vatsa	,, ...	Malse.
12. Bábhavya	,, ...	Bal and Behere.
13. Koushika	,, ...	Gadre, Bam, Bhawe, Wad, Apte.
14. Atri	,, ...	Chitale, Athawle, Bhadbhole.

These 60 ancient families have now developed into 352, some deriving their names from the occupations they subsequently adopted, such as Vaidya (physician), Kapse (cotton-dealer), Jamdar (treasurer), Desh-mukh and Bhasame (sacred-ash dealer), and others from the localities they resided in, such as Kelkar Kashiker, Shivnekar. A few of the family surnames were probably based upon the personal characteristics of the founders, such as Mahabale (mighty), Vinode (funny fellow), Manohar (charming), also Khule, Aglawe, Vidwánsa, Khare, &c., &c.

The following table compares the present and past number of families belonging to each *gotra* or family stock :—

No.	Gotras.	No. of past surnames.	Subsequent additions.	Total.
1.	Káshypa	5	40	45
2.	Shándilya	7	58	65
3.	Vashistha	12	50	62
4.	Kaundinya	2	3	5
5.	Vishnu-varadhan	4	6	10
6.	Nittundan	2	6	8
7.	Bháradwaj	6	15	21
8.	Gárgya	5	26	31
9.	Kapi... ..	4	21	25
10.	Jámadagnya	2	2	4
11.	Vatsa	1	18	19
12.	Bábhavya	2	2	4
13.	Koushika	5	34	39
14.	Atri	3	11	14
Total		60	292	352

The Kokanasthas have no endogamous subdivisions. They belong to two *shákhás*—Shákal of Rigveda, of which the *sutra* is composed by the seer Ashwaláyan, and Taitirya of Black Yajurveda, with the seer Hiranya-keshi as its *sutra* composer. Members belonging to these two *shákhás* intermarry. Intermarriage is forbidden between families who have the same *gotra* and the same *prawara* (founder's name). Each *gotra* (family stock) is subdivided into a number of *prawarás*. The following table shows the *gotrás* having the same *prawara* :—

No.	Gotra sections.	Prawaras.
I. (i)	Bháradwaj ... ..	...Angirasa, Bráhasptya, Bháradwaj.
(ii)	Gárgya ... ..	...Angirasa*, Sainya, Gargya.
(iii)	Kapi ... ..	...Angirasa, Amaihya, Vouruksha.

* Atri has no kin and consequently its members can intermarry with the members of all the other thirteen *gotras*. This Angirasa is a different personage from the one who is akin to the first group.

No.	Gotra sections.	Prawaras.
II.	(i) Jamadagnya ...	... Bhûrgawa, Chyawana, Atmawana.
	(ii) Vatsa ...	... Aurwa, Jámadagnya.
III.	(i) Bábhrya ...	... Vishwámitra, Awadala, Babhrawaya.
	(ii) Kowshika ...	... Vishwámitra, Aghmarshana.
IV.	(i) Vishnu-varadhan ...	... Angirasa, Pauru, Kutsu.
	(ii) Nittundan ...	... Trisadáya.
V.	(i) Vashistha ...	... Vashistha, Indra, Pramada, Bharadwaja.
	(ii) Koundinya ...	... Vashistha, Koundinya, Maitrávaruna.
VI.	(i) Káshyapa ...	... Asita, Káshyapa, Avasar, Naidhruva.
	(ii) Shándilya ...	... Asita, Shándilya, Daiwal.

Marriage is also prohibited between those who bear the relationship of *sapindás*, which extends to seven degrees if the common ancestor be a male and to five degrees if the common ancestor be a female. Thus marriage is only permitted if the common progenitor, being male, is beyond seven degrees either from the bridegroom or the bride, and beyond five degrees from either of them if the same be a female.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is the custom among Kokanasthas, as among other Brahmans, the girls being married between the ages of 8 and 13 and the boys generally between 12 and 20. The duty of the selection of a bridegroom for a girl, or a bride for a boy, devolves upon the parents of each and, in their default, upon other relatives or guardians. A girl deprived of all relations is allowed by the *shástrás* to marry a man of her own choice. Such marriages are, however, obsolete at the present day. A girl attaining maturity before marriage may be married after certain prescribed ceremonies of penance (*Nirnaya Sindhu*). After the *jamma patrikás* (horoscopes) of the bridal pair have been found to satisfy all the astrological requirements, and after the bridegroom price (*hunda*), varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 5,000, according as to whether the bridegroom is educated, or the son of a moneyed man or land-holder, has been agreed

upon, an auspicious day is fixed for the wedding ceremony in any of the months of Margashirsha, Magh, Falguna, Vaishakha, and Jaishta. The marriage is celebrated in accordance with the Brahma form, which enjoins "the gift of a daughter, clothed with a single robe, to a man learned in *Vedás*, whom her father voluntarily invites and respectfully receives." (Manu.)

The actual ceremony comprises the following stages:—

- (1) *Punyaváchana*—The recitation of benedictory *mantras*.
- (2) *Nandi Srádha*—The offering of oblations to deceased ancestors, five on the father's and four on the mother's side, in order to procure their blessing on the couple.
- (3) *Grahamakha*—The propitiation of planets.
- (4) *Mandapa Devatá Pratishthapan*—The consecration of the marriage god and wedding booth deity on their being deposited in the house at the north-east corner.
- (5) A. *Vákḍán*—The verbal gift of the bride by her father or guardian.
 B. *Vágnishachaya*—The formal consent of the parents on both sides to the marriage.
- (6) *Simánta Puja*—The bridegroom's welcome and adoration on the outskirts of the bride's village boundary.
- (7) *Varaprasthán*—The starting of the bridegroom in procession to the bride's house, where the marriage ceremony is performed.
- (8) *Madhupark*—The offering of honey and curdled milk as a token of holy welcome to the bridegroom on his arrival to the bride's house.
- (9) *Antarpát*—The interposition of a silk veil or curtain between the bridal couple, who stand with garlands of flowers in their hands which, on the removal of the curtain at the lucky moment fixed for the marriage, they place round each other's necks, amidst the chanting of *mantras*, the roar of the tom-tom and the cheer of the assembled guests and relatives of both sexes.
- (10) *Kanyádan* and *Kanya Práti-graha*—The formal gift of the bride to her husband, with other presents, and his formal

acceptance of her from her father.

- (11) *Kankana Bandhan*—in which each party ties a piece of turmeric to the other's wrist.
- (12) *Viváha* and *Lajja Hom*—The sacred fires worshipped by the bridal pair with oblations of *ghi* and parched grain.
- (13) *Saptapadi*—The pacing of the seven steps. On the north of the sacrificial fire, seven small heaps of rice are arranged and the bride, conducted by her husband, walks over them, placing her right foot on each heap in turn, each step indicating that the matrimonial tie is being strengthened until, at last, after the seventh step is paced, the marriage becomes irrevocable.
- (14) *Shesha Hom*—The concluding fire sacrifice which brings the regular marriage to an end.

The concluding ceremonies, which are of minor importance, are as follows :—

Sunmukha—The first interview between the bride, decked in jewels, and her mother-in-law.

Varát—The return of the bridal pair in procession to the husband's house.

Laxmi Puja—The worship of the goddess Laxmi—the deity of fortune and wealth.

Devakothápan and *Mandapothápan*—The dismissal of the marriage and wedding booth deities.

The bride remains chiefly with her parents, and occasionally in her father-in-law's house, until she attains puberty. On attaining puberty she has to undergo the *Garbhádan Sanskár* (impregnation ceremony), which entitles her to enter upon her household and conjugal duties. Cohabitation before maturity is forbidden on pain of *práyaschitta* (penance). Polygamy is practised, but only in the event of the first wife proving barren, having no male issue, or being incurably diseased. Divorce is not permitted. If the husband loses caste the wife is permitted to live separately but cannot re-marry. The re-marriage of widows is strictly prohibited, the widow being required to pass an ascetic life, avoiding all sensual pleasures, prac

tising ceremonial worship, feeding Brahmans and making pilgrimages to holy places.

Inheritance.—The Hindu law of inheritance is followed by the caste.

Religion.—The religion of the Chitpávans is of the Vedic form and consists, in brief, in performing *Sandhyá*—twilight devotion—morning and evening, and repeating the holy *Gáyatri*, the most sacred text of the *Vedas*. They worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, preference being given to the worship of Shiva. Their patron deities are Mahákáli of Adiwará, Mahá laxmi of Kolhapur and Jogeshwari of Amba, to whom they pay homage once every year. Every religious ceremony (sacrament) begins with a *homa*, or sacrificial fire, in which oblations of *ghi* are offered. Women honour the *tulsi* plant (the "Sacred Basil") daily. The cow is held in great reverence, as the symbol of *Gáyatri*, and serpent worship prevails in every household on *Nágpanchmi* or the lunar fifth of Shravana (July).

The Kokanasthás are Smarthas (upholders of *Smriti*) and are the followers of Shri Shankaráchárya, the great expounder of Adwaitism (monism), which recognises "Prabrahma," or the supreme self, as the sole cause or supreme ruler of the universe and which identifies 'Parmátma' with 'Jivátma,' the supreme with the individual soul.

Child-Birth.—A woman in child-birth is ceremonially impure for ten days. When labour begins she is taken into a room rendered artificially warm. The midwife, who is a woman of any caste, cuts the umbilical cord, removes the puerperal impurities, bathes the mother and the child and lays them on a cot. Both the cord and the impurities are enclosed in an earthen pot and buried. The mother is given a mixture of saffron and *ghi*. During the first two days the child is maintained on cow's milk, castor oil and honey being given to it at intervals. On the third day after birth the mother is presented with cocoanuts and red powder and for the first time gives her breast to the child. When the child is six days old the father worships Sasto or Satwái, who is supposed to assist at child-birth and to be the guardian of young children. The goddess is

represented by two dolls of wheat flour and a sickle with its blade painted with strips of *chunam* (lime). Offerings of flowers, betel-leaves and nuts, sweetmeats and roasted gram, are made to the goddess, and a vigil is kept during the night in her honour. On the 11th day the mother bathes and is free from child impurity. The child is named on the 12th day, when friends and relations are entertained at a feast.

Funeral Ceremonies.—When a Chitpávan is on the point of death he is removed from his bed and laid on a blanket on the floor, with his feet pointed to the south. Immediately after death his sons, if any, are bathed and have their moustaches shaved clean. The corpse is then washed, wrapped in cloth and carried on a bamboo bier to the burning ground. A funeral pyre is made and the body is placed upon it in a lying posture, with its head turned towards the south. The pile is lighted by the chief mourner, at the head if the deceased be a man, but at the feet if the same be a woman. Agnatic relatives, within seven degrees, observe mourning for ten days. The bones and ashes are gathered on the third day after death and consigned to a sacred stream. Funeral obsequies for the benefit of the departed are performed during the first thirteen days. Oblations of cooked rice are offered daily to the disembodied soul, to enable it to assume a subtle form which, developing limb by limb, attains full perfection on the 13th day, and is able to start on its journey to the region of the Manes. The journey is accomplished by twelve stages, extending over twelve months, and as each stage is reached *Srádha* is performed to impel the forlorn spirit onward. *Srádha* ceremony is celebrated on an extensive scale on the anniversary of the day of death, in honour of the spiritual body getting to its destination (*Garud Puran*). The ceremony is annually repeated afterwards. The departed Manes of ancestors are propitiated in the dark half of the month of Bhádrapad (August-September) by the performance of *Mahálaya* or *Paṣṣha*, the leading procedure in which is the offering of balls of cooked rice—three to the three paternal ancestors and three to the three maternal ancestors; the rest of the ancestors receive small balls, while the remote ancestors receive only oblations of water. Besides these, daily oblations of water are offered to the dead

after *Sandhyá Wandanam*. Children dying before teething are buried without ceremony. The dead bodies of *Sanyásis*, or anchorites, are buried in a sitting posture, and the funeral ceremonies are performed by their sons or disciples, no mourning being observed in that case.

The practice of *sati* was in full force among the Kokanasthas until its total discontinuance in the administration of Lord William Bentinck. One of the victims of the horrid practice was Ramabai, the wife of the Peshwa Madhaorao.

Occupation.—The traditional occupation of the sub-caste was believed to be the one assigned by Manu to Brahmans—(1) *Yajan* and *Yájana* (sacrificing and assisting in sacrifices); (2) *Adhyáyana* and *Adhyápana* (learning and teaching the *Vedas*); (3) *Dán* and *Pratigraha* (giving and receiving largesse). The Kokanasthas follow, at present, any respectable profession that does not entail social disgrace. Many of them have entered Government service and hold high and responsible posts under the British Government and Native States. Among them there are eminent lawyers, doctors, engineers and journalists.

As agriculturists they are *khots*, or hereditary farmers holding land on permanent tenure; there are other tenure holders, such as Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patels, Mirasdars, Inamdars, Jagirdars and Mokashis and occupancy and non-occupancy ryots. They have also prospered in other professions and are village accountants, money-lenders, cloth-merchants, bankers, native physicians, Shastris, Puraniks, Vaidiks and Bhikshuks (priests).

They are strict vegetarians and eat *kachi* only from the hands of the members of their own caste or of castes of the same social footing as their own. Kokanastha women, like other Brahman women, do not touch servants of inferior castes and if they do they afterwards bathe.

XVIII-B

BRAHMAN—DESHASTHA

(Titles—Pant, Rao, Desai, Deshmukh, Deshpánde, Kulkarni, and Patel.)

The Deshasthas, who form the bulk of the Maratha Brahmans in the Nizam's territory, derive their name from the Desh, or the highland tract above the Western Ghats lying between the Nerbada and the Krishna rivers. They claim to be the earliest settlers on the soil, having been brought from Aryáwartha by Parshuram from whom, it is alleged, they received the land as a gift. They are generally of a darker complexion than the Kokanasthas. They have four sub-divisions—(1) Ashwalayan; (2) Apasthamba; (3) Mádhyandinas; (4) Kanvas or Pratham-Shákis; deriving their names from the *Shakhas* they follow. The first two sub-divisions comprise one endogamous group and have no matrimonial relations with the other two sub-divisions. The Ashwalayanas are also called Rigvedis, the two together signifying that the members of the sub-caste are Rigvedis of the Ashwalayan Shakhas. The Apastambhas belong to the Taitirya Shakha of Krishna (black) Yajurveda who respect the *sutra* of Apastambha. The Mádhyandinas derive their name from the fact that they reckon day from mid-day to mid-day, at which time they perform their religious ceremonies and offer *Sandhya*, i.e., their daily adoration to the goddess Gayatri. They are Shukla Yajurvedis (white) of the Madhyandin Shakha. The Kanvas are also known as Pratham Shakhis because they are the first Shakha of the white Yajurveda. Some of the Deshasthas are Samvedis, or Samaka, but, having lost their special *shakha*, they now intermarry with the Rigvedis.

Internal Structure.—The exogamous sections or *gotras* of the sub-caste are very numerous and are of the eponymous type. In the *Nirnaya Sindhu*, by Kamalaker Bhatta, the Brahmans of Western India are represented as having primarily sprung from seven *gotras* founded on the seven Rishis—Bhrigu, Angirasa (embracing the Gautamas and Bharadwajas), Atri, Vishwámitra, Káshyapa, Vasishta, and Agasti, which have now branched and sub-branched innumera- bly. Unlike the Kokanasthás, they have no surnames, their family names being based upon the place of their residence, or the calling they pursue. The rule of exogamy is the same as prevails among the Kokanasthás. In addition to one's own *gotra*, the Madhyandinas avoid their maternal uncle's *gotra* in matrimonial alliances. The

Rigvedi Deshasthas, on the other hand, allow a man to marry his maternal uncle's daughter and the Kánwás go a step further and recognise a man's marriage with the daughter of his elder sister.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Deshastha Brahmins are either—(1) Smartha, or the followers of Shankeracharya, or (2) Vaishnavas, of the sect of Madhwácharya, the founder of Dwaitism (Duism), which identifies Vishnu with the supreme spirit as the pre-existent cause of the universe, and which separates the Jivatma from the Paramatma, or the principle of life from the Supreme Being. A few of the Deshasthas are Shakhtas, or the worshippers of Shaktis (female energies) and carry out their abominable practices in secrecy.

The Smárthas perform *Sandya* devotion every morning and evening, pay daily homage to *Pitras*, or Manes, and worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, especially the five principal ones (*Panchayatan*)—Vishnu, Shiva, Surya, Ganpati and Devi. Their sectarian mark is *vibhuti* (cow-dung ashes), which they smear in three transverse streaks on their foreheads and which, after the *pūja* is over, they replace by a sandal spot.

The Mádhvās pay devotion to Vishnu alone, worshipping him daily in the form of Shaligram (fossil ammonite). Unlike the Shri Vaishnavas (followers of Ramanuja), they are friendly disposed towards the Shaiva sects. Their sectarian mark is a smear of *gopichandan* (ochre) on the forehead in two perpendicular lines, running from the nose to the root of the hair, with a central line of charcoal, divided in the middle by a circular turmeric patch at the centre. When being initiated, a Mádhva is marked on the shoulders and on the breast with the *shankha* or conch shell, the *chakra* or wheel, and other emblems of Vishnu, the stamp used being of red hot iron. With Sháktás the favourite object of worship is Durgá or Shakti (female energy) in whose essence it is considered all existence is concentrated.

The patron deities of the Deshasthas are Bhairobá of Sonari, Shri Bhaváni of Tuljapur and Mahur, Khandobá of Jejuri, Shri Narsinha and Shri Vyankatesh of Tripati. Each Deshastha family has its own family or patron deity worshipped with great ceremony either on the Purnima (the 15th) of Chaitra (March-April) or on the

15th of Kartika (October-November). The members of the sub-caste observe all the Hindu fasts and keep all their festivals.

Occupation.—With respect to their occupation, the Deshastha Brahmans may be divided into two classes. (1) Grihasthas or householders and (2) Bhikshuks or religious mendicants. The former include Government servants, merchants, money-lenders, bankers, land-holders and village accountants. Some of the land-holders, such as Deshmukhs, Deshpandes and Patels, are hereditary farmers holding permanent tenures. Other are occupancy and non-occupancy ryots. Their titles are Pant, Rao, Desai, Sir-Desai, Deshmukh, Sir-Deshmukh, Deshpande, Sir-Deshpande, Mokasi, Kulkarni, Patil, &c. Their aliases are:—Bábá (father), Bháu (brother), Dádá (brother), Káká (uncle), Mámá (maternal uncle), Tátyá, Abá, Appá and Anná. The Bhikshukas comprise Vaidiks (reciters of the *Vedas*), Shastris (expounders of the laws), Puraniks (readers of the *Purans*), Joshis (astrologers), Vaidyās (physicians), Haridasas (religious preachers) and Brahmacharis (religious students). The Bhikshukas act as family priests to their own caste as well to the inferior castes. They are vegetarians, abstain from all intoxicating liquors, and eat only from the hands of those who come up to their own standard of ceremonial purity.

XVIII-C

BRAHMAN—KARHADAS

Karhádás, Karhatakás—receive their name from the town of Karhád; situated on the confluence of the Krishna and Koyana rivers, in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency. Their earliest settlement is said to have extended from the town of Karhád in the south to the river Vedawati in the north (*Sahyadri Khand Adh. 2*). It was from this tract that the Karhádás appear to have spread over different countries and are now found in considerable numbers in the Konkán, Kolhapur, Bombay, Zansi, Indore and Hyderabad.

Origin.—The Karhádás seem to be an offshoot from the Deshastha Brahmans, separated from the main stock in far early times. In the *Sahyádri Khánd* of *Skandha Purána* and in the *Uttar Khánd* of

Brahmānd Purāna (*Adh.* 11), the Karhádás are said to have been made by Parshuram from a camel's bone, and are accused of carrying out horrid practices. The author of the *Sahyādri Khánd*, who showed hostile feelings towards all rival sub-castes, no doubt based this legend upon the absurd derivation of the word Karhád from *kāra* or *karabha*—camel, and *hád*—bone. According to another account, they are believed to be descended from a disciple of Parshuram, who was enjoined by his master to bring flowers of Karhataka (*dhotra*) daily for the worship of Nilkanth (the blue-necked Shiva). The regular performance of his duty procured him the nickname, Karhataka, which was subsequently transmitted to posterity and became the designation of the sub-caste.

Internal Structure.—The Karhada Brahmins are sub-divided into 22 exogamous groups, or *gotras*, which comprise more than five hundred families (surnames). A list of these *gotras* is given below :—

No.	Gotra	No. of surnames of each <i>gotra</i> .
1.	Kashyapa	90
2.	Shandila	19
3.	Angirasa	1
4.	Gargya	20
5.	Gautama	15
6.	Mudgal	8
7.	Jamadagni	77
8.	Bhargava	2
9.	Vatsa	3
10.	Parthiva	2
11.	Rouhila	1
12.	Bharadwaja	85
13.	Vashistha	90
14.	Koundinya	1
15.	Badrayana	1
16.	Upamanya	2
17.	Wainya	2
18.	Atri	83

No.	Gotra					No. of surnames of each <i>gotra</i> .
19.	Koushika	...	...	...	...	50
20.	Kutchā	...	...	...	...	6
21.	Vishwamitra	...	...	...	...	1
22.	Naidhrava	...	...	...	...	11
						<hr/> 560 <hr/>

These exogamous sections are eponymous in character, the eponym being the name of a Vedic saint or *Rishi*.

Intermarriages are forbidden between families not only bearing the same *gotra* but also bearing the same *pravara*. *Sapinda* relations (agnates), extending to seven degrees, are also avoided in marriage. Marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is allowed by the caste. The three sub-castes, Deshasthas, Konkanasthas and Karhadas, were formerly strictly endogamous: but with the spread of western education this rigidity of the caste bond is being slackened, and instances of intermarriages between their members are of frequent occurrence at the present day.

Religion.—The Karhadas are all Rigvedis of the Shukla Shakhas, who respect the *sutra*, or aphorism, of Ashwalayana. They belong to both the Smartha, and Vaishnava sects, and in religious and spiritual matters follow the guidance of Shri Shankaracharya, and Madhwacharya, respectively. Their titular deity is Mahalaxmi, or Ambabai, of Kolhapur. They also pay reverence to Shanta Durga, Mhalsa, Aja Durga, Vijaya Durga, and other local divinities. It is believed that a few of the Karhadas are Shakti worshippers and offered, in ancient times, human sacrifices to Matrika and Lalita, two terrible forms of Shaktis. The blood-thirsty goddess claimed a son-in-law as the proper victim but, if one was not available, any stranger of the Brahman caste was allowed. The ill-fated Brahman was lured into confidence, poisoned on the special day appointed for the worship and, while in his death pangs, was sacrificed at the altar of the goddess. The following is an extract from a narrative communicated to Sir John Malcolm by a Karhada friend in 1799 A.D.

"The Shakti is supposed to delight in human blood and is represented by three fiery eyes and covered with red flowers. This goddess holds a sword in one hand and a battle axe in the other. The prayers of her votaries are directed to her during the first nine days and on the evening of the 10th day a grand repast is prepared, to which the whole family is invited. An intoxicating drug is contrived to be mixed with the food of the intended victim, who is often a stranger whom the master of the house has for several months, perhaps years, treated with the greatest kindness and attention and, sometimes, to lull suspicion, given him his daughter in marriage. As soon as the poisonous and intoxicating drug operates, the master of the house, unattended, takes the devoted person into the temple and leads him three times round the idol; on his prostrating himself before it, the opportunity is taken of cutting his throat. The blood having been collected with the greatest care in a small bowl, is first applied to the lips of this ferocious goddess and then sprinkled over her image; a hole having been dug at the feet of the idol for the corpse, it is deposited with great care to prevent discovery. After perpetration of this horrid act, the Karhada Brahman returns to his family and spends the night in mirth and revelry, convinced that by this praiseworthy act he has propitiated the favour of his blood-thirsty deity for twelve years. On the morning of the following day, the corpse is taken from the hole in which it had been thrown and the idol is put away till the following *Dassera* festival, when a similar sacrifice is made. The discontinuance of this horrid custom in recent years is said to have principally arisen from the following circumstance:—At Poona, a young and handsome Carnatic Brahman, fatigued with travel and oppressed by the scorching heat of the sun, sat himself down in the verandah of a rich Brahman who chanced to be of the Karhada sect. The Brahman shortly after passed by and, perceiving that the youth was a stranger, invited him to his house, and requested him to remain till perfectly recovered from the fatigues of his journey. The unsuspecting Brahman youth readily accepted this apparently kind invitation and was several days treated with so much attention and kindness that he showed no inclination to depart. He had seen also the Karhada Brahman's beautiful

daughter and conceived a violent attachment for her. Before a month had elapsed he had asked and obtained her in marriage. They lived happily together till the time of the *Dassera* arrived, when the deceitful old Brahman, according to his original intention, determined to sacrifice his son-in-law to the goddess of his sect. Accordingly, on the tenth day of the feast, he introduced an intoxicating poisonous drug into his son-in-law's food, not, however, unperceived by his daughter. She, being passionately fond of her husband, contrived, unobserved, to exchange this dish for that of her brother, who in a short time became senseless. The unhappy Brahman, despairing of his son's recovery, carried him to the temple, put him to death with his own hands and made to his idol an offering of his blood. The young Brahman, perceiving this, and alarmed for his own safety, effected his escape and related the whole affair to the Peshwa. The infamous perpetrator with others was seized and put to death." (Trans. of Bombay L. Society, Vol. III, pp. 86-87.) Major Moore, in his "Hindu Infanticide," (pp. 196-198), refers to three instances of human sacrifice brought to his notice by Vishnupant, a Karhada Brahman.

This horrid custom, which was confined to only a few Karhada families of Shakti worshippers, has probably been totally abandoned, as no instances of its occurrence have been recorded for many years.

The Karhada Brahmans are remarkable for their neat and cleanly habits and hospitable conduct. They are a very intelligent class and have risen to high offices under the present Government. The poet Moropant and the notoriously brave Rani Laxmibai of Zansi belonged to this caste.

XVIII-D

BRAHMAN—TIRGUL

Tirgul or Trigul—found in all the Districts of the Marathwada and in the Bidar, Gulbarga and Mahbubnagar Districts of the Carnatic. They rank among the five Dravidas and generally speak the Canarese language. Those who have settled in Maharashtra speak Marathi, although traces of the original Canarese tongue are.

still discerned in their intonation. They are, as a class, strong and well-made, with dark complexions. They almost all belong to the Taitariya Shakha of the Black *Yajurveda*, which gives them a southern Indian origin, as it is a well-known fact that the followers of the Black *Yajurveda* are all confined to Southern India ("Indian Antiquities," Vol. I).

Internal Structure.—They have several *gotras*, or exogamous groups, all of the eponymous character, as among other Brahmans of the Panch Dravida class. Their surnames are entirely the names of villages which are found scattered all over the Carnatic. Thus the name 'Pargi' is derived from a village in the 'Mahbubnagar District, 'Arankale' from the village Arankal in the Gulbarga District, and so on. It is generally believed that the Turguls were originally a branch of the Telugu Brahmans, who first settled in the Carnatic and subsequently came over to Maharashtra. They apparently seem to derive their name from the country of Turgula which, in the Pauranika times, constituted one of the great kingdoms of southern India, for, in the *Ramayana*, the king of the Trigula country is mentioned as having attended the *Swayamwara* (choice marriage) of Sita and was described to her by her female companion. The name of this country has become obsolete, nor can its locality now be identified.

Occupation.—The Turguls mostly follow secular employments and among them are found great Zamindars, Jagirdars, village *patels* and accountants. Some of them have taken to trade, while others are eminent Government servants and are also found in learned professions. The majority of them, however, are engaged in growing betel-vines and are deemed very skilful in rearing these delicate plants ; it is on this account, and because of their tendency towards cultivation, that they are generally looked down upon by other Brahmans.

XVIII-E

BRAHMAN—GOLAK

History.—Golaks, Govardhans—found in the districts of Parbhani, Bir and Usmanabad and in the northern Talukas of the District of Aurangabad. They are supposed to be the illegitimate

offspring of a Brahman by a Brahman woman who was not his wife. They are divided into two main classes : (1) 'Deeraj,' or born of a woman who, with the consent of her husband, is intimate with his elder brother, and (2) 'Jaraja,' born of an adulteress. The latter are further sub-divided into (1) Kunda Golaks, or the adulterous progeny of a woman who has a husband, (2) Randa Golaks, who are descended from the illegitimate son of a widow who has not shaved her head, and (3) Munda Golaks, descended from a widow with her head shaved. These classes have now passed into rigid castes and do not admit newly sprung bastards into their community. Members of these different groups neither interdine nor intermarry. The Deeraja claim the highest social rank among the Golaks and are believed to include among them the descendants of child-widows who were re-married. It is said that Golaks have only four *gotras*, or exogamous sections—Washistha, Bharadwaja, Sankhyana and Vishwamitra. They have surnames also, such as (1) Dange, (2) Nachane, (3) Oute, (4) Badave, (5) Bhale, (6) Mahajana, (7) Samartha, (8) Undawale, (9) Kakade, (10) Nimbalker, (11) Dhanwantari, (12) Chariker and (13) Chandi. In their religious and ceremonial observances they entirely conform to the customs and usages of the Deshastha Brahmans.

Occupation.—The Golaks are Rigvedis of both the Shakala and the Bashkala Shakhas, belonging to the Ashwalayan *sutra*. They are hereditary village accountants, astrologers, money-lenders, money-changers and cultivators. They also occasionally officiate as priests to the Kunbis. A few have entered Government service.

XVIII-F

BRAHMAN—VIDUR

Vidurs, Krishnapakshis, Brahmanjayis—said to be the offspring of a Brahman father and a Kunbi mother. The members of the caste claim descent from the famous Vidur of the *Mahabharata*, who was begotten by Krishna Dwaipayana or Vyasa, a slave girl of the king Vichitrawirya. They regard themselves as being higher than the Maratha Kunbis and a little lower than the Maratha Brahmans.

Their marriages are regulated by exogamous sections, consisting of surnames, and families bearing the same surname do not intermarry. They have no sub-divisions and in matters of religion and ceremony they follow the Maratha Brahmans. Their tutelary deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Khandoba of Jejuri.

XVIII-G

BRAHMAN—KANADA

or

BRAHMAN—KARNATIC

They rank as the fourth of the five Dravidas living to the south of the Vindhya range. Their name is derived from the Carnatic country, or the country of the Canarese speaking people which, in the Nizam's territory, embraces the Districts of Raichur, Gulbarga and Bidar. In their appearance, physical characteristics and dress, they differ little from the Deshastha Brahmans, except in the turban, which they wear lower and in a less rounded form. Inter-marriages are allowed between the Carnatic Brahmans and the Deshasthas on one side and the Telugu Brahmans and the Carnatic Brahmans on the other, so that the classification of the Southern India Brahmans into the Maharashtra, the Andhra (Telugu) and the Carnatic are in this respect more of a provincial or linguistic character than of an ethnographic one.

Internal Structure.—The Carnatic Brahmans belong either to the Shakal Shakha of the *Rigveda* or to the Taitariya Shakha of the Black *Yajurveda* and are divided, like the Deshasthas, into numerous *gotras* or exogamous groups—a list of which may be found in the *Dharma-Sindhu*. They allow a man to marry his sister's daughter, although such marriages are not sanctioned by the Hindu legislators (*shastris*). Their tutelary deities are Narsinha at Kuppū and Hanuman.

The Carnatic Brahmans are divided into the sects of Shankaracharya and Madhwacharya. A few only are Shri Vaishnavas, the followers of Ramanujacharya. The principle *matha*, or monastery of the Madhawas, is the great temple of Krishna at Udupi in the South

Canara district of the Madras Presidency. Besides this, there are eight subordinate temples in which are set up images of different forms of Vishnu and which are placed under the superintendence of eight *sanyasis* called Wadiyarus. Each Wadiyaru in turn officiates for two years as superior of the principal monastery at Udupi.

Occupation.—The majority of the Carnatic Brahmans are agriculturists and hold lands on various tenures; they also follow other secular pursuits. It was in connection with the Carnatic Brahmans that Abbe J. A. Dubois has made his sarcastic remarks which are, however, hardly justified by facts. ("Abbe Dubois," pp. 144-145.) Almost all the revenue officers under Tippu Sultan were Brahmans of this sect, who were favoured by Tippu's government as the only men of business in the country (Dr. Buchanan's "Journeys," Vol. 1, p. 47). Concerning them Dr. Buchanan remarks that they were very fortunate under the Vijayanagar Rajas. Krishna Rayalu is said to have granted them a tenth of his land revenue.

XVIII-H

BRAHMAN—MALVI

The Malvi Brahmans are found scattered in small numbers all over the Marathawada Districts. They are immigrants from Malwa and the adjoining country and hence are called Malvi Brahmans. They belong to the Boudhayana Shakha (included in the Vajasiya) of the *Shukla Yajurveda* and have eponymous sections of the same character as other Yajurvedi Brahmans. Being outsiders, as well as being deficient in their *acharas*, they are generally considered degraded by the Maratha Brahmans, and are not admitted to the communion of food. They are Shaivas and their tutelary deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Mahur and Khandoba of Jejuri. Narsinha and Vyankatesh are also revered. They are priests, shop-keepers, cultivators, artisans, astrologers and jagirdars.

XVIII-I

BRAHMAN—KASTA

The Kasta Brahmans are found in very few numbers in the Districts of Bir and Parbhani. They call themselves Katyayani Shakhi

Brahmans and trace their origin to Katyayan, the eldest son of the sage Yadnyawalkya and his wife Katya. They are dark in complexion, well-built in frame and look like Deshastha Brahman in appearance. They are looked down upon by the Deshastha Brahman and are not allowed to the communion of food.

The origin of this sub-caste is involved in obscurity. They are the Shukla Yajurvedis of the Madhyandin Shakha and have the six *gotras* mentioned below :—

<i>Gotra</i>		<i>Pravara</i>
Bharadwaja	...	Angirasa, Brahmaspatya, Bharadwaja.
Kaushika	...	Aghamarsana, Kaushika, Vishwamitra.
Kasyapa	...	Avatsar, Kasyapa, Naidhruva. °
Katyayana	...	Katyayana, Kilaka, Vishwamitra.
Vashistha	...	Parasar, Shakti, Vashistha.
Vatsa	...	Apnavan, Bhargava, Chavana Jamadagni, Vatsa.

Intermarriages between members of the same *gotra* and the same *pravara* are forbidden. They marry their girls as infants and conduct the ceremony on the same lines as the Deshastha Brahman. Their tutelary deities are Bhavani of Tuljapur, Khandoba of Ambadgaon, near Paithan, and Shri Vyankatesh. They worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Some of them are Shaktas. By profession they are priests, money-lenders, money-changers and shop-keepers.

XVIII-J

BRAHMAN—PANNASE

Pannase—also found in the District of Bir. Their origin is thus given :—

Origin.—There was a Deshastha Brahman who had in a dream seen a store of wealth. When he awoke he actually went to the place he had seen in his dream and dug out the earth, but, to his great surprise, found there nothing but coal. The coal he had thus secured was kept in an open place for sale. A certain Mahar girl, while passing that way, noticed this and whispered into her mother's ear that the coal was nothing but gold. The man overheard her con-

versation, called the girl's mother to him and asked her to give the girl to him for Rs. 200 or so. Thus the girl was purchased and kept by him in his shop. Every piece of coal she touched was changed into gold, which was afterwards disposed of by him, and by this means the man made a great fortune. The girl was beautiful and the man fell in love with her.

XVIII-K

BRAHMAN—ANDHRA

The Andhra or Telugu Brahmans receive their name from Andhra Desha, or Telingana, which extends from Lake Pulicat, north of Madras, as far to the north as Ganjam, and westward to Tripati, Bellary, Kurnul, Bidar and Chanda. The name 'Telingana' is supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit word 'Tri-Lingam' or the country of the three Lingas, Daksharam, Shri Shailya, and Kaleshwar (emblems of the god Shiva), the temples of the first two being situated respectively in the Godavari and Kurnul Districts of the Madras Presidency, and that of the last one on the confluence of the Godavari and the Indravati Rivers near Mantahni in the Karimnagar District of the Hyderabad Territory. In H. H. the Nizam's Dominions the term 'Telingana' is applied to the country which embraces the Districts of Nalgunda, Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Atrafi Balda, Medak, Nizamabad and parts of Mahbubnagar, Bidar and Nander.

History.—Very little is known regarding the entrance of Brahmans into Telingana. Traditions say that the country was first colonised by Brahmans under the leadership of Agasti, a celebrated Vedic sage, who penetrated through the defiles of the Vindhya mountains, which are fabled to have prostrated themselves before him, and advanced as far to the south as Cape Comorin (B. C. 500). The earliest Aryan colonies in Southern India which are supposed to have favoured the spread of Brahmanism and the Brahmanic influence were those of Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas. The Brahmanic immigration into the south was further encouraged by the Sunga and Kanva dynasties, who ruled Magadha (the modern Behar) from

B. C. 178 to B. C. 31. On the extinction of the Kanya dynasty the Andhrabhritiyas established their authority in Magadha (B. C. 31) and in course of time extended their sway throughout Andhra Desh, or Telingana. They were great patrons of Brahmanism, although, during the earliest part of their rule, they had supported Buddhism. It was, however, in the time of the Chalukyas, who succeeded the Andhrabhritiyas, that Brahmanism received a great impetus. The Chalukyas were Vaishnavas, built many temples of Vishnu and endowed them with valuable gifts. Grants, on copper-plates, assigned by them to the learned Brahmans, are still found here and there all over the extensive country they once ruled. The oldest of these existing grants, made by Shri Vijaya Raja Sarova in A. D. 338 to the priests (Adhwaryus) and students (Brahmacharis), was found at Kaira in 1837 A.D. A copper *shasnam*, recording an assignment of land to Brahmans by Pulakeshi in A. D. 489, is extant in the British museum. The Cholas, to whom the Chalukyas gave way, were Saivaites. They erected magnificent temples to Siva and bestowed liberal endowments for their maintenance upon the priestly class. The largest number of grants to Brahmans were made in A. D. 1078-1135 by Vira Deva, the last king of the Chola dynasty. After the Cholas came the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal (A. D. 1150-1325) whose zeal for the sacred order was amply displayed by their munificent grants and the grand 'pagoda' temple which one of them, Raja Prataprudra, built at Warangal. Under the Vijayanagar sovereigns the power of southern Brahmanism had reached its zenith. Learned Brahmans, such as Madhwacharya (Vidyaranya) and his brother Sayanacharya (the commentator of the *Vedas*), raised to the throne of Vijayanagaram one Bukka, who afterwards became their great patron. Since the fall of the Kakatiya and Vijayanagar dynasties the influence of Brahmanism in Telingana has been on the decline and the great temples and religious establishments still to be found over the country bear overwhelming testimony to what it was in its palmy days (Princep's "Antiquities," pp. 275, 279-280; Sir William Elliot's Paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV; Professor Wilton's "Indian Castes," pp. 81-89).

For ages the Andhra Brahmans have been renowned for learning

and self-restraint. Kumaril Bhatta, who was a violent opposer of the Buddhists ; Shankaracharya, the great vedantic reformer ; Ramanujacharya, who was the first to inculcate the *Bhakti* doctrine ; Madhwacharya, the founder of Dwaitism ; Vallabhacharya, who originated the worship of Balgopal or the infant Krishna ; and other champions of Brahmanism, were all Andhra or Dravida Brahmins.

Internal Structure.—The internal organisation of the Andhra Brahmins is very complex. They may be divided into four main classes : (1) Smarta, (2) Shri Vaishnawa, (3) Madhwa, (4) Aradhi, all based upon their respective sectarian beliefs. The members of these different sub-castes do not eat together. The Smartas are further sub-divided into Vaidiks and Niyogis. They are followers of Shri Shankaracharya.

Vaidiks :—The Vaidiks are so called because they devote their lives to the study of the Vedas, strictly adhere to the vedic rites in the performance of their ceremonies and try to live up to the standard laid down by the *shastras*, never accepting service nor performing any menial occupation. The spread of education and the consequent innovations of the times have compelled them to change their course of living and many of the Vaidik Brahmins are now found in Government service and in other respectable occupations. Their knowledge of the *Vedas* is, however, limited to committing to memory certain portions of these scriptures and reciting them at various ceremonies. They never pretend to know their meaning. They recite and teach the *Vedas* and are greatly respected as authorities in matters of law and religion. They do not intermarry with the Niyogis, as the secularised Brahmins are called.

The Vaidik Brahmins are either Rig Vedis of the Shakal Shakha, or Krishna Yajurvedis of the Taittiriya Shakha. There are also Shukla (white) Yajurvedis among them, both of the Madhyandin and Pratham, or Kanva Shakhās, the latter being called Yadnyawalkyas in Telingana. These classes are subject to the same restrictions of intermarriages as the Deshastha Brahmins of the Maharashtra. The origin of the Yadnyawalkyas is thus described in a legend in the *Vishnu Puran* :—Vaishampayana, a disciple of Vyasa, once failed to attend the meeting of Munis, and was, in consequence, guilty of

the crime of Brahmahatya (Brahman murder). He desired his disciples to help him in the performance of the necessary penance ; but one of them, by name Yadnyawalkya, refused to take part in the expiatory rites ; Vaishampayana, enraged at this wilful disobedience of his disciple, pronounced upon him a curse the effect of which was that Yadnyawalkya disgorged the Yajna texts he had learned from Vaishampayana. The other disciples having been meanwhile transformed into partridges (*tittiri*) picked up these blood-stained texts and retained them. Hence these texts are called Taitireya Sanhita of Black Yajurveda. Deprived of them Yadnyawalkya devotedly prayed to the sun, who appeared to him in the form of a horse and granted him his wish "to possess such texts as were not known even to his teacher." Because they were revealed by the sun, in the form of a horse (*vaji*), the Brahmins who study this portion of the *Yajus* are called Vajis (Vajāseniya). Fifteen branches of this school sprung from Kanva and other pupils of Yadnyawalkya. There are thus two Yajurvedis to this day, the black being considered the older of the two.

The Vaidik Brahmins have the following sub-divisions : (1) Telga Nadu, (2) Wel Nadu, (3) Murki Nadu, (4) Vengi Nadu, (5) Kasal Nadu, (6) Warna Salu, etc., deriving their names from the localities in which their ancestors had settled. These distinctions of Vedic Brahmins into *nadus* (localities) are said to have been introduced, in quite recent times, by learned men, the chief among whom was Eleshwar Upaadhyaya. The Nadus are prohibited from intermarrying among themselves, though rules regarding prohibitions of inter-dining are not so strictly observed.

Niyogis :—Niyogis (occupied) are the secularised Brahmins of Telingana, many of whom are engaged as writers and village accountants. They are almost all Black Yajurvedis of Taitireya Shakha. In point of social standing they rank below the Vaidiks, with whom they eat but do not intermarry. They are divided into four classes : (1) Nanda Warik, (2) Aharayani, (3) Arwelu and (4) Pasarwailu. Of these, the Arwelu sub-caste forms the bulk of the Niyogis in these Dominions. The word 'Arwelu', means 'six thousand' and it is said that the primary ancestors of the Arwelus were invested in one day

with *patawarigiriships* of six thousand villages, by Abul Hasan, the last Kutub Shahi King of Golconda (A.D. 1672-1687), through the influence of Akanna and Madanna, the Hindu Ministers of the king. In those days the office of a village accountant was looked down upon, and intercourse with them in matters of food and matrimony was entirely stopped by other members of the sacred order. This account probably relates to the Golconda Vyaparis, a branch of the Niyogis, separated from the parent stock by reason of their conversion to the Shri Vaishnawa faith, for the Arvelus, as a sub-caste, have been in existence for a considerable time and appear to be a territorial group deriving their name from Arvelu Nadu, an ancient division of Vengi Desh, the southern Telingana. Some of the Niyogi Brahmans are distinguished for their learning and are advancing in culture and civilisation.

Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans are the followers of Ramanujacharya, the great founder of the Vaishnava sect. They are so much influenced by sectarian feelings that they have formed themselves into a separate sub-caste. They have two sub-divisions: (1) Vadhal, Vadahal or Vadgal, and (2) Thingal, Tenhal or Tengal, who eat together, but do not intermarry. They are distinguished from each other by the different sectarian marks on their foreheads. The Tenhals follow the precepts of Manavala Manumi and the Vadhals are the followers of Vedantacharya, both these preceptors being the disciples of Ramanujacharya. Their *mantras* differ slightly in their initiatory letters. Thus the mystic formula of the Vadhals begins with the name of Ramanuja, while that of the Tenguls with the name of Shri Shailu. The Vadhals have their principal monastery at Narsinha Kshetra (Agobilam) and the chief *matha* of the Tenguls is at Shri Shailya. Each of these sub-divisions has eight branches: (1) Madamba, (2) Andhrola, (3) Natapuram, (4) Gandhi Gota, (5) Pancharatrya, (6) Ashta Gotri with eight *gotras*, (7) Vighas with seven *gotras*, and (8) Niyogi Vaishnawas. The first four are territorial and the others social groups.

The Madambas are further sub-divided into eight classes, the Andhrola into five and the Niyogi Vaishnawas into seven.

The Shri Vaishnawa sect was founded by Ramanujacharya,

styled Shri Bhasyakar, about the middle of the twelfth century. According to the *Divya Charitra*, he is said to have been the son of Shri Keshava Achar and Bhuma Devi and an incarnation of Sesa. He was born at Perambatur, 25 miles west of Madras, and studied at Kanchi or Conjeveram, where he taught his system of the Shri Vaishnawa faith. He afterwards resided at Sri Ranga, worshipping Vishnu as Shri Ranganath, and there composed his principal works and spent his life in devout exercises and religious seclusion.

The worship of the followers of Ramanuja is addressed to Vishnu and his consort Laxmi and their incarnations. Images of those deities in stone and metal are set up in houses and are worshipped daily. The principal characteristic of this sect is the scrupulous secrecy with which they prepare and eat their meals, being clad at the time in woollen and silk garments.

The Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans officiate as *Gurus*, or spiritual advisers, to the higher classes of Hindus and initiate disciples by the performance of five sacraments (*Sanskaras*), of which the two most important are (1) *Mudhra Dharana*, or the marking of both the arms with the *shankha* (conch) and *chakra*, the emblems of Vishnu, and (2) *Mantropadesh*, or the communication to the disciple of the 8-syllabical *mantra* of Vishnu. The sectarian marks of the Ramanujas are two longitudinal streaks of *gopichandan* drawn from the roots of the hair to the commencement of the eye-brows. In the case of the Vadahals (Vadagals), the streaks are connected by a transverse straight line at the root of the nose, while the Tenahals, or Thinguls, connect the perpendicular streaks by a lotus-like design upon the upper part of the nose. In the centre is a perpendicular streak of red *sanders*. They also besmear their breasts and arms with patches of *gopichandan*, for which wooden stamps are used. Women have only a single upright line from the nose to the hair.

Ramanuja was the propounder of the Vishishta Dwait philosophy (qualified monism) as contrasted with Shankara's Adwaitism or absolute monism (non-duality), or the doctrine of the absolute identity of the individual soul with Brahman. Ramanujas hold the individual soul as not due to the fictitious limitations of *Maya* (illusion), but as real in itself, whatever may be the relation in which it stands to the

highest self.

The Aradhi Brahmins are Shaivaites and worship the god Shiva, symbolised by a *lingam* which both men and women wear about their necks. An Aradhi on attaining the 7th or 8th year of his age is invested with the sacred phallic emblem when *hom* is performed and oblations of *ghi* are offered to the god Shiva. Though Lingayites, they adhere to the caste system. In other respects, they entirely conform to the Brahmanical rites and practise the wearing of the sacred thread and the performing of the *Sandhyawandan*, or adoration to the *Gayatri*, and observe all the Brahmanical sacraments. They bury their dead, a practice which is condemned by the *Shastras*, and it is on this account that they are not admitted by other Brahmins to the community of food or matrimony. They minister to the spiritual needs of the lower classes, by whom they are highly respected.

The few Madhwas who are to be found in Telingana are emigrants from the Carnatic. Like the Shri Vaishnavas they are extremely bigoted in their devotion and cannot bear even the mention of the name of Shiva. They are mostly Rigvedis.

Like the Smartas, the Shri Vaishnavas and the Aradhi Brahmins, they are either Rigvedis of the Ashwalayan Shakha or Yajurvedis of the Wajasiya or Taitiriya Shakhās. No intermarriages are allowed between the members of these sub-castes, although they are not uncommon between Smarta and Madhwa Brahmins. There are also some Samavedis among them.

The Andhra Brahmins are broken up into 161 *gotras*, which are supposed to have branched from the seven primeval sages, *viz.*, (1) Bhrigu, (2) Angirasa, (3) Kasypa, (4) Atri, (5) Vashistha, (6) Agastya, (7) Vishwamitra. These *gotras* are grouped under eighteen *ganas*, as illustrated in the following table:—

Name of <i>Gana</i> .	No. of <i>Gotra</i> .	Name of <i>Gana</i> .	No. of <i>Gotra</i> .
Jamadagni ...	17	Kanwa ...	2
Veethahavya ...	6	Mondgalya ...	3
Vainya ...	4	Viroopa ...	5
Gritchamada ...	2	Vishnuvardhan ...	13

Name of <i>Gana</i> .	No. of <i>Gotra</i> .	Name of <i>Gana</i> .	No. of <i>Gotra</i> .
Vardhriaswa ...	2	Atri ...	9
Gautama ...	7	Vishwamitra ...	38
Bharadwaja ...	17	Vashistha ...	11
Kapi ...	3	Kasyapa ...	10
Haritha ...	10	Agasti ...	2
Total ... 68		Total ... 93	

Each *gotra* is sub-divided into a number of *pravāras* and inter-marriages are prohibited, not only between the members of the same *gotra*, but of the same *pravara*. The *gotra* rule is supplemented by prohibited degrees and a man may marry two sisters, provided he marries the elder first. A second wife may be taken only in the event of the first wife being adulterous, barren or incurably diseased.

In essential respects, the marriages of the Andhra Brahmans are celebrated on the lines followed by the Maratha Brahmāns, *Saptapadi*, or the seven steps taken by the bride with her husband along the sacrificial fire, being deemed the binding portion of the ceremony. Some divergencies, which are purely local in character, may be described as comprising :—

Ankur ropanam :—On the first day after the *Kanyadan*, *Antarpat* and other Shastri ceremonies have been completed, nine different kinds of seeds (*Navadhanya*) are mixed up and sown in small earthen vessels filled with earth. These are watered by the married couple during the whole of the marriage ceremony and thrown into a tank or river when the ceremony is over.

Sadasyam :—Performed on the 3rd day after the wedding, in which all the gods and planets are worshipped and Brahmans are fed.

Nakḥali :—In which the couple invoke the blessings of thirty-three crores of gods, represented by 33 pots arranged in lines under the booth and encircled with cotton thread. Close to the pots is traced a figure of an elephant, designed in wheat flour. In front of this, two pots filled with water and thirty-three lamps are placed. The couple go three times round this *polu*, as it is called, worship

the elephant figure and the thirty-three pots, and view, in a cocoanut shell filled with oil and *ghi*, the reflection of their faces. The elephant is then removed and the earthen pots forming the *polu* are presented to the married women whose husbands are living.

Panpu :—A sort of patomime of wedded life. The bride and the bridegroom are made to enact the parts of a mother and a father with a doll for their child. The mock infant is placed in a cradle of cloth and the young couple are made to talk over various topics regarding the care of the child. This incident is attended with great fun and mirth among the assembled guests.

Dandya :—In which a barber and a washerman, bearing the young couple, dance to the strain of music and, when they meet, the bride and bridegroom sprinkle each other with *bukka* (red powder) and other scented powders.

No bride price is claimed in theory, but it is said that exorbitant sums are paid for girls by bridegrooms who are old, or cannot otherwise get wives.

Religion.—As has been described under the articles on the Maratha and the Carnatic Brahmans, the Andhra Smarthas worship Panchayatanam, or the five gods Narayan, Shanker, Ganpati, Surya and Devi. They believe that all deities are only different manifestations of Para Brahma, or the supreme soul. The Andhra Madhwās, like their Carnatic brethren, stamp themselves with *gopichandan*, or a kind of mud of a sandal colour obtained in the Gopi Talao, the tank of the Gopis in Kathiawar, in which it is believed Shri Krishna bathed with *gopikas* (cowherd damsels). They are partial to the worship of Vishnu. As has been already mentioned, the different sub-castes of the Shri Vaishanava Brahmans are distinguished by the different sectarian marks of sandal which they put on their foreheads. Besides worshipping Vishnu, as Narayen, Shri Vaishnavas pay devotion to twelve of their patron saints. These latter are designated by the name 'Alwars' and are each said to have written a portion of the *Dravida Pradhan*, or Tamil *Veda*, chiefly designed for Sudras and women. Ramanuja is supposed to be the same as Yembiru Manaru, the last of the Alwars. Their names are :—

(1) Mam Alwar

(2) Poy Alwar

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (3) Pary Alwar | (4) Peedath Alwar |
| (5) Periy Alwar | (6) Thirumang Alwar |
| (7) Tondaradippadi Alwar | (8) Tirmudesh Alwar |
| (9) Kulasekhar Alwar | (10) Madhankavi Alwar |
| (11) Tirupan Alwar | (12) Kuratha Alwar. |

These are worshipped on the anniversary days of their births : besides these there are other *alwars*, or saints, respected by the Shri Vaishnavas.

Minor deities, such as Pochamma, Potraja, Yelamma, Mutyalama and others, are propitiated by the whole caste, a Kumbhar or Bhoi being employed as priest on the occasion of their worship.

There are some Shaktas (Shakti worshippers) among the Andhra Brahmans who carry on their abominable practices in strict privacy.

XVIII-L

BRAHMAN—MARWADI

The Marwadi Brahmans found in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions are emigrants from Northern India, especially from Malwa and, as such, may be ranked with the five Gauras, whom they almost resemble in their customs and usages. They have six sub-divisions, which are grouped under one designation "*Chhannyati*," meaning six castes. Regarding their origin, it is said that Maharaja Jayasingh of Jaipur performed a horse sacrifice (*Ashwa Medha*), to which he invited a vast concourse of Brahmans from different countries and requested them to eat together. The Brahmans, as a matter of course, refused compliance. The Maharaja, thereupon, forced the Brahmans of his own kingdom to be united by interdining, and the six classes, thus brought together, have been known as "*Chhannyati Brahmans*."

The sub-divisions are :—

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Dayama (Dahima) | (4) Sáraswat. |
| (2) Párikha. | (5) Gujar Goud |
| (3) Shrikhwad | (6) Khandelwád. |

Origin.—Dayamas, or Dahimas, claim to be descended from the sage Dadhichi, who was the son of Atharwana and the grandson of Brahma. Dadhichi had a son by his wife, Satyaprabha, who deposited

the child, while still in an embryonic state, under a *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and joined her husband in heaven. The goddess Maya developed the embryo, nursed the child and named him Pippalayan, after the *pipal* tree under which he was born. Pippalayan had twelve sons, who were married to the twelve daughters of the king Mandhata. From these twelve sons sprung 172 families of Dahima Brahmans, of which only 85 are extant at the present day.

The Dahimas belong to the Madhyandina Shakha of the white *Yajurveda*, with three and five *pravaras*. They are Smarthas by sect and worship Panchayatanam, or the five principal deities of the pantheon. Some of them are very learned in the sacred lore. Their women wear ivory bangles. Their tutelary deity is Dudh Muth, of whom there is a temple at the village of Manglod, in Nagor (Malva), where a large fair is held annually in honour of the deity.

The Parikh trace their lineage to the sage Parashara. Like the Dahimas they are white *Yajurvedis* of the Madhyandina Shakha. They are said to have 103 exogamous sections. They are, mostly, Vaishnavas, of the Vallabha sect. Their women wear glass bangles after they are married.

The Gujar Gowds are believed to be an offshoot from the Gaur Brahmans of Bengal. They are Shukla *Yajurvedis*, belong to the Shaiva sect, and minister to the spiritual needs of the Marwadi Mahajans. They claim descent from the sage Gautama.

The Saraswats are rarely found in these Dominions. Their tradition is that Brahma had a daughter named Saraswati, who was married to Dadhicha Rishi. They had a son who was named Saraswat and became the founder of this clan of Brahmans. The Saraswats are Saivaites in their creed.

The Khandelwads take their name from the village of Khandela, in the Jaipur State. They are divided into 53 sects, which are the names of localities they dwell in.

Marriage.—With the Chhannyati Brahmans the eponymous *gotras* are only nominal and their marriages are regulated by exogamous groups, purely of the territorial type. In other words, inter-marriages are allowed between parties having the same *gotra* or

eponym, but they are not allowed between persons having the same surname. Girls are married both before and after they have attained the age of puberty, and adult marriage, which is strictly prohibited by the Brahman caste in general, is in vogue among the Chhannyati tribes. This is certainly a strange departure from the orthodox usage and gives credence to the story of their having been manufactured by the Maharaja Jayasingh some hundred and fifty years ago. A heavy bride-price is sometimes paid to the parents of the girl. The marriage procession is formed at the house of the bridegroom and conducts him, riding on a mare, to the house of the bride. There the whole party is entertained. At the auspicious moment appointed for the wedding, the bride and the bridegroom are seated under the wedding canopy, a sacrificial fire is kindled before them and appropriate *mantras* are recited by the priest. The young couple walk seven times round the holy fire, always keeping their right hands towards it. This forms the essential or binding portion of the ceremony. Widows are not allowed to marry again, nor is divorce recognised by the caste. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Marwadi Brahmans officiate as priests to the Marwadi Mahajānas, or trading classes, and other lower classes such as Sonar, Shimpi, Barbers and others. Some of them are traders and money-lenders. As priests to the lower classes they are notorious for their rapacity and greed. A few of them are eminent astrologers and learned pandits.

Internal Structure.—The section names of the Dayama Brahmans are appended and may serve as an illustration of the exogamous sections of the entire Chhannyati caste.

Name of <i>Gotra</i> .	Name of Family.
Gautamasa	Pathodya, Palod, Nahawal, Kumbhya, Kand, Budadhara, Khatod, Bussana, Bagdya, Bedwant, Bananasidra, Lelodya, Kakada, Gagwani, Bhuwal.
Vatsasa	Ratawa, Koliwal, Baldawa, Rolanya, Cholankhya, Jopat, Ithodya, Polgala, Nosara, Namawal, Ajasera, Kukada, Taranawa, Abadina, Didiyel, Musya, Mang.

Name of <i>Gotra</i> .	Name of Family.
Bhardwaja.	Pedwal, Shukal, Karesha, Malodya, Ashopa Lyali, Barmota, Indokhawal, Halsara, Bhatalya, Gadiya, Solyani.
Bhargava	Inanya, Pathanya, Kasalya, Shilnodya, Kurangava, Jajodya, Khebar, Visava, Ladanava, Badagana, Kadlava, Kapdodya.
Kabchas.	Didvanya, Malodya, Ghavdoda, Jatlya, Dobha, Mungel, Mananwal, Sosi, Goteca, Kudal, Traitawal.
Kashyapa	Choraida, Dirollya, Jamawal, Shirgota, Rajathala, Badwa, Balaya, Cholanckhya.
Shandilas	Ranava, Bediya, Bed, Gothangawal, Dahwal.
Atreyas	Satwal, Jujanodya, Dubanya, Sakalya.
Parasar	Bheda, Parasara.
Kablas •	Chipada.
Gargas.	Tulcha.

XIX

BUDBUDKE

Budbudke—a very low class of beggars, speaking Marathi and Telugu, and deriving their name from the *bud bud* (gurgle-like) sound of the *daphada* (a sort of drum), which they beat while asking for alms. They are both Hindus and Muhammadans. Both classes are periodical wanderers, going on their rounds of mendicancy during the dry season, and returning to their homes when the rains set in. The Hindu Budbudkes obtain alms by singing the names of Hindu deities to the sound of a hollow brass ring which they wear on their right thumb. They wear a *rudraksha* necklace and a semi-lunar brass plate on their heads. In matters of diet they have few scruples, and eat the flesh of lizards, jackals, field rats, wild and domestic hogs and of animals that have died a natural death. The Muhammadan beggars, on their begging rounds, have a bag (*jholi*), a bell, and two sticks. To one stick is fastened the *jholi* and the bell, which rings at every step; the other stick is kept to drive away the dogs that bark at them at the sound of the bell. They are under a superior called Gudusha Fakir, who lives in Martur, six miles from Shahabad. In religion and ceremonials they conform to the ordinary Muhammadan customs.

XX

BURUD

Burud, Miyadar, Myadar, Medare—a low caste of bamboo-workers and basket and mat-makers, found under different names in all parts of the Dominions. They appear to be a heterogeneous group, comprising members of different tribes, among whom there is probably some infusion of aboriginal blood. The name 'Burud,' by which the caste is designated in Maharashtra, is of uncertain origin, and corresponds to the Telugu word 'Medare' and the Carnatic 'Miyadara.' The customs and the social status of the caste are found to vary greatly in different places, a fact which may be due to its wide distribution and its consequent exposure to different social and religious influences.

Internal Structure.—The Buruds have three main divisions, Maratha Buruds, Telugu Buruds and Carnatic Buruds, named after the countries they have long occupied. No intermarriage nor inter-dining is allowed among the members of the sub-castes.

MARATHA BURUDS:—By Manu and other ancient authorities, these are regarded as a mixed caste, being the descendants of the Kanishka, the son of a Kaivartaka father and a Kuravinda mother. Several legends are current among them regarding their origin. According to one story the first Burud was created by Mahadeva for the purpose of making winnowing baskets to hold the offerings with which Parvati, on reaching mature age, was presented by the celestial matrons. The Burud was allowed to cut five bamboos from Parvati's garden; but he over-reached himself and cut seven bamboos instead, for which offence he and his descendants were condemned to a degraded position. Another legend ascribes his degradation to the manufacture of a bamboo basket for Parvati's flowers and fruit as she went to worship the *wadh* (*Ficus indica*) on the full moon day of Jesta (end of June). These legends, however, throw no light upon the real origin of the caste.

It will be very interesting to notice the curious form of totemism followed by the Buruds. Their exogamous sections bear the names of trees, plants and animals, whose representations are set up under marriage booths and worshipped as *Devak* (wedding guardian deity) at marriage ceremonies. Similarity of worship is a bar to marriage, and matrimonial alliances will be broken off if the two houses are discovered to pay honour to the same totem.

The following section names will serve as illustrations :—

Section name.	<i>Devak</i> (Marriage guardian deity.)
Sonune.	A branch of the <i>apta</i> (<i>Bauhinia racemosa</i>).
Wadtele.	Do. <i>wadh</i> (<i>Ficus indica</i>).
Kate.	Do. <i>saundad</i> (<i>Prosopis spicigera</i>).
Pimpare.	Do. <i>pipal</i> (<i>Ficus religiosa</i>).
Salunke.	Do. mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i>).
Kombatkule.	The flesh of the <i>kombada</i> (fowl).
Dukare.	Do. <i>dukara</i> (swine).
Supkar.	<i>Sup</i> (a winnowing fan).
Itkare.	<i>It</i> (a brick).
Surwashe.	A stick of <i>surya</i> grass.
Bhale.	A pod of the <i>bhal</i> plant (a wild plant).

The section names go by the male side. A Burud cannot marry outside the sub-caste, nor inside the section to which he belongs. Marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother or the father's sister is allowed. Two brothers may marry two sisters, provided that the elder brother marries the elder sister.

Marriage.—Daughters are married both in infancy and after they have attained the age of puberty. Sexual licence before marriage is not tolerated, and if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage she is required to undergo *prayaschit* (penance) which consists of bathing her, giving her cow's urine to drink and feasting caste brethren. Polygamy is permitted in case the first wife is barren or incurably diseased.

The parents or guardians of the boy look out for a suitable match for their son and carry on the preliminary negotiations. After the match has been settled, the betrothal or *Kunkū Lavane*

ceremony is performed, at which the girl is presented with a *sari*, a *choli* and one rupee. Liquor is then brought and drunk by the assembled people. The parents of the bride visit and present the bridegroom with a ring. After the village *Joshi* has fixed an auspicious date for the wedding and for smearing the bridal pair with turmeric and oil, offerings are made to the village and family gods and marriage booths are erected in front of the houses of the bride and bridegroom. On the day prior to the wedding, a married couple, belonging to the bridegroom's family, bring, in procession, their characteristic family *Devak* with *Panchpallavi* from Maruti's temple and instal it ceremonially on the central pillar of the booth. The same ceremony is performed by the bride's people on the wedding day. The bridegroom is escorted to the bride's village by his friends and relatives and on the wedding day he is taken in procession on the back of a horse or bullock to the bride's house. The ceremonies that follow are—*Antarpat*, at which a cloth is held between the bridal pair, *mantras* are pronounced by the priest and rice is sprinkled over their heads; *Kanyadan*, or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom; *Kankān Bondhan*, or the tying of thread-bracelets on the wrists of the couple; and *Sade*, or the return of the bridal pair to the bridegroom's house. *Antarpat* is held to be the essential part of the ceremony. The ceremony occupies four days and on each day food and liquor are provided to guests and relatives, who freely indulge in drink and often become uproarious. The caste *Panchayat* claim Rs. 4 as their perquisite in the ceremony, and spend the amount in feasting and drinking.

Widow-marriage or *pāt* is allowed, and is always performed at night, the widow not being restricted in her selection of a second husband, provided he does not belong to her father's or late husband's *gotra*. The couple are seated side by side and their clothes are knotted together, the tying of the knot completing the ceremony. On the next day a feast is given to the caste people. Married women, whose husbands are alive, are not allowed to be present at the ceremony.

Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, on the ground of the wife's adultery or misconduct, and it is effected

by a *Soda Chitti*, or divorce deed. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same ritual as widows. The name for divorce is *farkat*, which means separation. Adultery is usually punished by small fines and the adulteress is required to do penance.

Inheritance.—The Buruds follow the Hindu law of inheritance and a sonless father's property goes to his nephew, the daughters having no claim. The widow has a life estate, provided she does not re-marry.

Child-Birth.—A woman, after child-birth, is held unclean for ten days. On the fifth day after birth an image of the goddess Satwai is set up on a grindstone and daubed with red lead. Near it pieces of moss (*shewal*) and prickly pear are laid, and worshipped by the members of the household with offerings of bread and pulse. A dough lamp is kept burning and the women of the house keep a vigil and sing and converse the whole night. On the 12th day after birth the house is smeared with cow-dung, the clothes are cleansed and the mother and child are bathed. Five pebbles are worshipped outside the house and in the evening the child is laid in a cradle and named.

Religion.—The religion of the Buruds is the ordinary form of Hinduism current among the other castes of the Maratha Districts. They are mostly Shaivas and worship, on Mondays, the god Mahadeva as their favourite deity. Bhavani, Khandoba, Maruti, Bahiroba, Krishna and Ram are also honoured, and a variety of offerings are made on days sacred to them. Among their minor deities may be ranked *birs* and *munjyas* (spirits of departed ancestors), Mari Ai, Shitala, Mahasoba and other local gods. The well-to-do members of the caste make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Tuljapur, Mahur and Pandharpur. Deshastha Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes, but at funerals Jangams usually officiate. Ancestral worship prevails and they have in their houses silver and copper embossed plates of their dead ancestors. In Aswin (*Dassera*) they pay honour to the implements of their craft.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt, as well as buried in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south. In the case of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river or tank. The chief mourner shaves his moustache

and beard. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death, when *pindas*, or balls of rice, are offered in the name of the deceased person. On the 13th day, caste people are feasted and some charity is distributed for the benefit of the departed soul. Persons dying of smallpox or cholera, and children dying under five years of age, are buried.

Social Status.—Socially, the Buruds rank below the Maratha Kunbis, Malis, Harkars and Wanjaris, from whose hands they accept cooked food. They eat mutton and the flesh of fowl, hare, deer and fish and indulge freely in strong drink.

Occupation.—The occupation of the caste has always been that of bamboo working, but some of them have, of recent years, taken to cultivation and are engaged as landless day-labourers. They make bamboo baskets, mats, winnowing fans, cages, cradles, sieves, chairs, and other articles. They also make cane chairs and boxes.

MEDARE or TELANGE BURUDS :—These are supposed to have taken their name from Mount Mahendra, or Mahendragiri, near Cape Comorin. A popular legend regarding their origin relates how Mahadeva, desirous of gratifying the yearning of Parwati for winnowing fans, planted the snakes from his neck, heads downwards, in the ground on Mount Mahendra and how bamboos grew out of them and were worked into fans by Siva's attendants. On one occasion, lovely *apsaras* (heavenly courtezans) visited the mountain and captivated the hearts of the *Siva ganas* (Siva's attendants), their unions being blessed with sons and daughters who were called Mendare, or Medare, after the name Mahendra of their birth-place; these inherited, as their profession, the work of their fathers, and became the progenitors of the present Medare caste.

Internal Structure.—The internal structure of the caste is intricate owing, doubtless, to the fact that the term 'Medare' has now become the common appellation of all classes who have taken to bamboo working. As for instance, there are Mang Medares, or Mangs who have adopted the occupation of bamboo-workers; Tota Medares; and so on. The following sub-castes may be distinguished as constituting the Medare caste—(1) Lingayit Medare, (2) Chetti Medare, (3) Medara, (4) Aré Medare, (5) Pachabadalwad and

(6) *Adi Kodku*. The last are the genealogists, or *gotra* custodians, of the rest of the sub-castes and beg only from them. *Lingayit Medares* are *Lingayits* in creed, and occupy the highest social level among the community. They stand in hypergamous relation to the other sub-castes. Next to these, in social precedence, rank the *Chetti Medares*, who originally represented rich and respectable families, but have now separated themselves from the poorer members of the community and formed an independent sub-caste. In recognition of their superiority the title 'chetti' is affixed to their names. *Aré Medares* were formerly *Maratha Buruds* who, under some social pressure, emigrated into *Telingana*, where, in course of time, they adopted the customs and manners of *Telanga Buruds* and are now completely absorbed into their adopted community.

Like other *Telanga* castes, the *Medares* follow a double system of exogamous sections, one consisting of *gotras* and the other of family names. Both the systems have been given below :—

Gotras.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Devakula. | 11. Rai Akalu. |
| 2. Kasha Kula. | 12. Kokala. |
| 3. Marikula. | 13. Joikula. |
| 4. Ushaula. | 14. Depikula. |
| 5. Padgashala. | 15. Kashkala. |
| 6. Hanmanta. | 16. Tumala. |
| 7. Usikula. | 17. Tamana. |
| 8. Borgula. | 18. Gone. |
| 9. Nagarsa. | 19. Palli. |
| 10. Dayatula. | 20. Ganeshi. |

Family Names.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Sonewad. | Kankamwar. |
| Hatiwar. | Sedewad. |
| Elgandalwad. | Vimalwaru. |
| Surnayaniwaru. | Challiwirawaru. |
| Repalawaru. | Padiwaru. |

While the *gotra* names are almost all totemistic, the family names are mostly territorial, and although information is wanting as to how

these two systems are reconciled in the regulation of their marriages, it is certain that totemism is in full force among the Medares as it is among the Burud caste. Each Medare family has its own totem in the form of a tree, plant, animal or some other object, which its members have to worship at their marriages. Thus, members of the Hanmanta *gotra* pay honour to the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) at their marriages; members of the Usikula *gotra* reverence linseed oil; and those of the Nagarsa *gotra* honour the serpent and abstain from eating the snake gourd (*Trichosanthes anguina*).

Infant marriage is practised by the caste, although adult marriage is still in vogue among the Medares of the Adilabad District. A price varying in amount from Rs. 6 to Rs. 26, according to the social status of the parties, is paid for the bride. The marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with the usage current among the higher Telugu castes, *Kanyadan*, or the giving and receiving of the bride, being the essential portion of the ceremony. Polygamy is permitted, without limit in theory as to the number of wives. Widows may marry again and divorce is recognised with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, the breaking of a straw symbolising the separation. A woman taken in adultery with a low caste member is turned out of the caste.

Religion.—The Medares profess to be orthodox Hindus, being divided, like the other Telanga castes, between Tirmanidharis (Vaishnavas) and Vibhutidharis (Shaivas). They regard Malayya of Mallikarjuna, a form of Mahadev, as their special deity. Brahmans officiate as priests at their marriages and on other ceremonial occasions. Pochamma, Mari Amma and Maisamma are among their minor gods, whom the members of each household worship on Tuesdays and Fridays, with sacrifices of goats and offerings of cooked rice and cheese. The dead are burned by Tirmanidharis and buried by Vibhutidharis and the ashes and bones of the burnt are collected and thrown into a river or under some tree. Jangams officiate at the funerals of the Vibhutidharis while the funeral service of the Tirmanidharis is conducted by Ayyawars.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste is low. It is lower in Telingana than in Maharashtra. The village servants,

barbers and washermen, will not defile themselves by working for them, and a barber shaving a member of the caste has to bathe subsequently. They live on the outskirts of villages and their touch is deemed a pollution by members of the higher castes. They eat fish and the flesh of swine, fowls and lizards, and drink arrack and other liquors.

MIYADARA, or CANNADA BURUDS, are to be found in the Carnatic districts of the Dominions. They are identical with the Telanga Medares, but differentiate from the latter owing to their customs and usages having been affected by the new social influences to which they are exposed. In the Carnatic, Lingayatism has absorbed all rival sects and religions, and Miyadaras are not an exception to the general rule. The Miyadaras admit members of the higher castes into their community on the performance of a ceremony in which a betel leaf is cut on the tongue of the novice and caste people are feasted. Polygamy is permitted; widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised. Infant marriage is customary, and the ceremony is modelled upon that prevalent among other Carnatic castes. In matters of religion they profess to be Shaivayits, but worship Venkatramanna as their special deity. Margamma, Durgamma, Maisamma, Polkamma and Mashamma are among their minor gods. Brahmans officiate at their marriages but Jangams are their *Gurus* and are engaged for all other religious and ceremonial observances. The dead are buried in a sitting posture. Women dying pregnant or in child-birth are burnt. No regular *Sradha* is performed, but caste people are feasted in honour of the deceased on the 9th day after death. Their social status is higher than that of the Telugu Medares, the village barber shaving them and the village washerman washing their clothes.

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XXI

CHAKLA OR DHOBI

Dhobi, Chakla, Parit, Agesaru, Warathi, Madiyal, Ramdu—the washerman caste of the Telingana, Marathwadi and Carnatic Districts. Styled as ‘Manjushar,’ the washermen, according to Manu, are born of a Vaidehik father and an Ugra mother, and are *pratilomaja*, i.e., born against the hair or grain, viz., in an inverse order, the mother being of the higher caste than the father.

Origin and Internal Structure.—Apart from this mythical origin, the Dhobis appear to be a functional group formed from members of the lower classes, a view which the physical characteristics of the Dhobis, and their offices as priests to the animistic deities, seem to support. They have, however, no traditions respecting their origin, nor will their exogamous sections throw any light upon this point. Owing to its very wide distribution, the Dhobi caste is divided into a very large number of endogamous groups, eighteen of which are given below.

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|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Telaga Chakla. | (10) Ganji Chakla. |
| (2) Banthili „ | (11) Mota „ |
| (3) Bundeli „ | (12) Lingayit „ |
| (4) Chippa „ | (13) Marathi „ or Parit. |
| (5) Waddi „ | (14) Handi „ |
| (6) Turka „ | (15) Carnatic „ or Agesaru. |
| (7) Lambadi „ | (16) Barki „ |
| (8) Arwa „ | (17) Boya „ |
| (9) Baliija „ | (18) Bedar „ |

These names either refer to the country to which the sub-castes belong, or to the castes from which they have sprung.

(1) Telaga Chakla—represents the Dhobi caste of Telingana. The name ‘Chakla’ comes from the word ‘sakla’ which means ‘service’ in Telugu.

(2) Chippa Chakla—are the descendants of a Chakla father and a Chippa (tailor) mother.

(3) Turka Chakla—those Dhobis who have joined the ranks of Islam.

(4) Waddi Chakla—of the Waddewar caste, following the trade of a washerman.

(5) Lambadi Chakla—people of the Lambada caste, following the Dhobi's trade.

(6) Baliya or Lingayit caste—do not follow the occupation of other Dhobis, but wash only *rumals* (large kerchiefs used as head-gear).

(7) Agesaru—the Carnatic Chakla, the name given to the Dhobis in the Carnatic.

(8) Bundeli Chakla—also called Hindustani Chakla, being emigrants from Hindustan.

(9) Barki Chakla—descendants of a Komti father and a Dhobi mother, are found in the Nalgunda District.

(10) Parit or Marathi Chakla—the name given to the Dhobis of the Marathawadi Districts.

(11) Waddi Chakla—the lowest class of the Dhobis; they wash the clothes of the unclean classes such as the Mahar, Mang, &c.

(12) Lingayit Chakla—also called 'Madiyal,' are the descendants of Madiyal Machaya, who washed the clothes of Basava and was one of his favourite disciples.

Only a few of the exogamous groups into which the caste is divided are given below :—

(1) Gandamala.

(5) Padur.

(2) Singaraj.

(6) Bappanna Konker.

(3) Gondipurla.

(7) Vastarla.

(4) Manipad.

(8) Chikori.

These divisions present no features of special interest. It may, however, be remarked that one of them, 'Manipad,' is a subdivision of the Erkala caste. Marriages are regulated as by the other Telugu castes. The Dhobis say that they have only one *gotra*, 'Jalnul,' which, however, is against the rule of exogamy.

The Dhobis admit into their community those members of the higher castes who have been expelled from their own caste, no

special ceremony being performed on the occasion. It is said that, formerly, the Dhobis and the Mangalas belonged to the same caste. Once a Mangala went to a Dhobi's house in order to ask the Dhobi's daughter in marriage. Nobody, except the girl in question, was in the house, and the girl informed the suitor that her parents had gone to the *reu* to wash clothes. The *reu* means that part of the river bank where the shaving operations at funerals are performed. Considering this to be an ill omen, the Mangala departed, and since then the Mangalas have ceased to intermarry with the Chaklas.

Marriage.—Girls are married as infants between the ages of 5 and 12 years. Boys are usually married between 12 and 20. Girls are dedicated to temples, in fulfilment of vows or owing to their deformity, if husbands cannot be procured for them. The ceremony is as follows. On an auspicious day the girl is dressed in a new *sari* and *choli* and is taken before the image and wedded to it by a Brahman according to the rites. Five rupees are paid to the Brahman as his fee. Cohabitation is allowed after marriage even before the girl attains puberty.

The marriage ceremony is the same as is observed by the other Telugu castes. It comprises the following rituals:—

(I) *Shastriya Achar*—

(a) *Lagnam*—in which the Brahman priest ties a thread-bracelet on the right wrist of the bridegroom and the left wrist of the bride. (b) *Jilkerbellam*—the bridal pair put a mixture of cumin seeds and jaggery on each other's heads. (c) *Thalwal*—throwing turmeric coloured rice on each other's heads. (d) *Kanyadan*—the formal gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom, regarded as the binding portion of the marriage ceremony. (e) *Padghattan*—treading by the bridal pair on each other's foot. (f) *Pusti*—the bridegroom ties an auspicious string round the bride's neck. (g) *Brahmamudi*—the ends of the garments of the bridal pair are tied in a knot.

(II) *Deshachar*—

The worship of Pinnamma, Pochamma and Nagulu, whose blessings are invoked upon the bridal pair and whose assistance is sought to avert any evil influence in the ceremony.

(III) *Stri Achar*—

(a) *Kotnam* or *Uluḡhala*—pestles, mortars and grindstones are worshipped, (b) *Arveni Kundalu*—earthen pots are brought from the potter's house and placed and worshipped near the household gods.

(IV) *Kulachar*—

On the last day, the ceremonies of (a) *Nagveli*, (b) *Panpur*, (c) *Wappagintha* and (d) *Wadibium* are performed, whereupon the bride is sent to her husband's house. Polygamy is permitted theoretically to any extent.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again, but she cannot marry the brother of her deceased husband. The ritual consists of the tying of a string of black beads (*Mangulsutra*) round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, and the presentation to her of a cocoanut, some rice and date-fruits. No Brahman is called in to officiate at this ceremony, which is attended by widows alone.

Divorce.—Divorce is allowed if the wife is unchaste, or for incompatibility of temper, and is effected by removing the lucky string (*pusti*) from her neck and driving her out of the house. A divorced woman may marry again by the same rite as a widow. Sexual intercourse with an outsider belonging to a higher caste may be tolerated, but that with one of a lower caste involves expulsion.

Inheritance.—The sons inherit by equal shares, no extra share being given to the eldest son. Females can inherit in default of any male issue. The usage of *Chudawand* prevails in the caste.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Chaklas are Saivaites and smear their foreheads with sacred ashes (*vibhuti*). They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes and call in Jangams to officiate at funerals. On Mondays in the month of Sravan (July-August), Madiyal Machaya, the supposed founder of the caste, is honoured, being represented by a round piece of stone daubed with *geru* (red ochre) and besmeared with holy ashes. In the month of Ashadha (June-July), Pochamma and Durgamma are propitiated with offerings of goats, &c.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Chaklas bury their dead in a

lying posture with the head towards the south. No *Sradha* is performed. On the last day of the month of Bhadrapad, all the ancestors are propitiated, when libations of *til* water (gingelly) are poured and charity is distributed in the name of the manes. On the 3rd of the lunar half of Waishakha, the dead ancestors are worshipped in the form of earthen pots painted with red and yellow stripes, with offerings of sweet dainties, which the worshipper subsequently partakes of. The Lingayit Dhobis bury their dead, if married, in a sitting posture with the face towards the north. If the dead are unmarried, they are buried in a lying posture with the face downwards. Pregnant women and persons dying of disease, or leprosy, are burnt, in the belief that their burial causes drought.

Social Status.—Since the Chakla does not object to wash clothes which are considered ceremonially unclean, he is himself regarded as being unclean. His social status is therefore very low, lower than that of almost all those whose touch is regarded as ceremonially unclean. The Chaklas decline to wash for barbers, since the latter do not hold torches at their weddings. The Chaklas eat mutton, pork, the flesh of fowl and cloven-footed animals and are strongly addicted to drink. They also eat the leavings of the higher caste people.

Occupation.—Washing clothes has been the traditional occupation of the caste and to this they still adhere. This is due to the large demand which all classes have for their services. The village Chakla is paid for his services in grain, the quantity of which, for every plough in the village, is fixed. This is called *baluta*. Dhobis plying their trade in towns are paid in cash.

Their mode of washing clothes is as follows :—First the clothes are rinsed in water and beaten. They are then cleansed with fuller's earth and steamed in earthen vessels. After they are all thoroughly steamed, they are again cleansed with soap and washed with cold water in a river or tank. They are then steeped in rice starch and dried. Finally they are ironed and folded. Flannel or silk clothes are not steamed, but only cleansed with warm soapsuds and then washed with cold water.

In the worship of the minor village gods, the Dhobi acts as a

priest and receives, as his perquisite, the offerings, or a part of the offerings, made to the deities. The Dhobi is also useful in the marriage ceremony, in which he shares the presents with the barber. Some of the Chaklas have taken to agriculture. Some manufacture lime and let donkeys for hire. A few have adopted respectable professions and are Government clerks.

XXII

CHANCHU

Chanchu, Chanchukulam, Chanchalwad—a non-Aryan tribe dwelling in the hilly tracts which run parallel to the Kistna river and form the southern boundary of the Hyderabad Dominions. They are a well-built race, shorter than the neighbouring Hindus, with complexions varying from dark brown to black and rather coarse and frizzly hair. Their physical characteristics are high and prominent cheek bones, broad noses with spreading nostrils, and black and piercing eyes.

Customs and Manners.—The habits of the tribe are of the most primitive character. The men are almost nude, wearing merely a piece of cloth round their loins, while the more savage members of the tribe are said to cover their nakedness with aprons made of leaves. They make clearings in the forest and live in bee-hive shaped huts. They are still in a half savage state and are engaged as watchmen and guides in the mountain passes. They speak Telugu with a peculiar intonation.

Origin.—Regarding their origin, they have a tradition which states that their first ancestor had seven sons and one daughter. From the sons sprang seven forest tribes, one of them being the Chanchus. The daughter was given in marriage to the god Krishna and had a son by the deity, who became the progenitor of the Krishna Chanchus.

Internal Structure.—The Chanchus are divided into four endogamous groups: (1) Telugu Chanchus, (2) Adavi Chanchus, (3) Krishna Chanchus, and (4) Bonta Chanchus. The Telugu Chanchus and Krishna Chanchus are beggars, and collect alms by dancing and singing songs before the Hindus of the plains. The chief distinction between the two is that, while the former beg by blowing a long horn, the latter obtain alms by ringing bells and playing on a

bamboo flute. Both these sub-castes live by hunting as well. When begging, the Krishna Chanchus wear crowns of peacock feathers and garlands of beads. The Adavi Chanchus form the savage portion of the tribe and are to be found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Shri Shailya on the river Kistna. They are confined to the secluded parts of the forest clad hills and obtain their living by hunting deer, wild hog and hare with their bamboo bows and arrows. Some of them visit the villages of the plains and live in patch-work tents, which explains their name Bonta Chanchus. They bring for sale bamboo seed and bamboo flutes, which they barter for grain to the villagers.

The information regarding the exogamous system of the tribe is rather incomplete. The section names appear to be partly totemistic and partly territorial. The following specimens may serve as an illustration :—

Nalabotawaru.	Manulawaru.
Myakalawaru.	Gogulawaru.
Avlawaru.	Maripallipadi.
Kudumuduwadlu.	Jalamuttadu
Waregallingu.	Kanyabainodu.

A man may not marry a woman of his own section ; but he may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt or sister.

Marriage.—Chanchu girls are married after they have attained the age of puberty, and free courtship is said to prevail among them. Infant marriages, however, are not entirely unknown though, as a general rule, they are practised only by those who have come into contact with the Hindus of the plains. Girls are occasionally forcibly carried away and married. Sexual license before marriage is tolerated, and if a girl becomes pregnant her lover is required to marry her; if, however, he declines to do so she is married to some other man, provided that the rule of exogamy is carefully observed in the previous liaison as well as in the subsequent marriage. The marriage ceremony is a simple one. The bridegroom's father proposes for the girl and, if his offer is accepted, the wedding day is fixed and a hundred and one peacock feathers are delivered as the bride-price.

The bride is brought by her friends and relations to the bridegroom's house, where both the bride and bridegroom are dressed in white and seated opposite to each other, while the intervening space is filled by drummers who beat the tribal drums in honour of the occasion. A great deal of drinking and dancing follows, after which the bridegroom ties a string of black beads round the bride's neck. The bridal pair then retire into a separate hut to consummate their union. The bridegroom first re-appears, and after him the bride; the pair are then greeted by the company as husband and wife.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again, but she is not expected to marry her late husband's younger or elder brother. No special ritual is ordained for the marriage of a widow. The bridegroom brings the widow to his house and provides a feast for his tribal brethren.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted for adultery and a divorced woman is allowed to marry again.

Religion.—The favourite deity of the Chanchus is Ganga, represented by a small stone set up under a tamarind tree outside the village. A sheep is sacrificed to the deity, one of its legs is suspended from the tree and the rest of the carcass is taken by the votaries. The deity is worshipped only once a year. The Chanchus firmly believe in evil spirits and ascribe every sickness or calamity to their malevolent action. Brahmans have not yet been introduced and all religious functions are discharged by a member of the tribe.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture with the head to the south and the face downwards. Mourning is observed for 10 days. On the 10th day after death a goat is sacrificed, the flesh is offered at the grave and, after it has been touched by a crow, the mourners bathe, drink liquor and return home. No *Sradha* is performed nor are any funeral rites observed afterwards.

Social Status.—The social rank of the tribe cannot be precisely stated. They are still beyond the pale of Hinduism. No castes, except Malas and Madigas, will eat from their hands. The influence of the great Hindu sects has already reached them and they are divided into Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidharis. These will not accept food from the hands of Mangalas, Chaklas and the lowest unclean

classes. They eat the flesh of goats, swine, fowl, field rats, mice and jackals, and drink liquor distilled from the flowers of the *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*).

Occupation.—The wildest of the Chanchus subsist by hunting and also live on forest produce and roots. Their weapons are a bamboo bow and reed arrow tipped with iron. They collect honey, tamarind, wood apples, *mahua* flowers and herbs, which they barter for grain and cloth. Those who are settled on the outskirts of villages earn a livelihood by guarding the crops and cattle of the village farmers. A few only have taken to cultivation.

XXIII

DARJI

Darji, Simpi, Meerolu, Chipollu—the tailor caste of the Hyderabad Dominions—descended, according to ancient authorities, from a Sudra father and a Bhandā mother. Some trace their origin to Chaundākā Devi, the patron goddess of the Devanga Koshtis ; but the caste clearly appears to be a functional group, recruited from among the respectable members of Hindu society.

Internal Structure.—The Darjis are divided into five sub-castes. Namdeva Darji, Lingayit Darji, Marwadi Darji, Jain Darji, and Jingar Darji. The last three divisions indicate the castes from which they are formed, and have been treated in separate articles. The Lingayit Darjis were originally members of the Darji caste who were converted to Lingayitism after its foundation by Basava. They are mostly to be found in the Carnatic Districts and have entirely conformed to the customs and usages of the sect. The Namdeva Darjis claim their descent from the great Maratha saint Namdeva, who sprang from a *shimpa* (shell) found by his mother Gonāi in the Bhimā or Chandrabhāgā river. They include two classes, Telugu Chippolu and Maratha Shimpi, based upon territorial distinctions. The name 'Chippollu' is derived from the Telugu word *chimpi* meaning 'to cut' and refers to their occupation of cutting clothes. In physical characteristics, the Namdeva Darjis appear to be originally of Telugu or Dravidian origin and to have, in later times, spread over the Maratha country. The Namdeva Darjis have a double set of exogamous groups, the one consisting of *gotras* and the other of family names. A close examination of their *gotra* system lends support to the theory of their mixed origin.

The *gotra* system appears to be ornamental and the regulation of marriage is based upon family names. The marriage of persons belonging to the same section is prohibited. A man may marry the

daughter of his maternal uncle or elder sister. Two sisters may be married to the same man, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. Namdeva Darjis marry their daughters as infants between the ages of 5 and 10 years. A bride-price of Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 is paid to the parents of the girl. Polygamy is permitted, but rarely practised on a large scale.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony is of the standard type and includes :—

(1) *Choti Mangani*—at which certain people, on behalf of the bridegroom, go formally to the house of the girl and present her with a *sari*, a *choli* and some sweetmeat. The gods Ganpati and Waruna are next worshipped by a Brahman priest, whereupon the girl dons the garments presented to her.

(2) *Badi Mangani* or betrothal—ornaments such as anklets, bracelets and a nose-ring are ceremonially placed on the girl's body by the boy's people.

(3) The worship of Pochamma, or the smallpox deity—after an auspicious day has been fixed for the wedding, some married women, bearing water jars on their heads, others carrying flowers, betel-leaves and areca-nuts and some men taking a goat and liquor, proceed to the temple of the goddess, situated generally outside the village. The goat is sacrificed, its head and one leg with some of the liquor being placed before the goddess. The goddess is then worshipped and the bride's wedding clothes, dyed with turmeric, are put on her. The clothes are then taken off and the company return home. The flesh of the sacrificed animal and the liquor provide the feast for the day. The same ceremony is separately performed at the bridegroom's house.

(4) *Devak* installation—twigs of the *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) and *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) trees and 9 new earthen vessels are brought by married women to the marriage booth, accompanied by tom-toms and music. Two of the pots are buried, with their mouths open, near the sacred *salai* post, to which are tied the twigs of the *salai* and *shami*. This is called *Devak*. One earthen pot is tied to another post of the *pandal*, and covered with an oil lamp.

(5) *Bir* Procession—two men belonging to the bridegroom's

section, each dressed to the waist in women's clothes, and grasping in his right hand a sword and in his left a *bhande*, are taken in procession to the temple of Maruti, before whom the *bhandes* are placed. The procession then returns home. This ceremony is separately performed at the bride's house also.

An earthen platform having been erected beneath the marriage booth, the bridegroom, at the auspicious moment, is escorted on horseback to the bride's house. On his arrival, the women of each party amuse themselves by throwing coloured water and cotton seed at one another. The actual ceremony corresponds in every respect to that in vogue among all the Telugu castes. This is followed by *Kanyadan* (the formal gift of the bride and his formal acceptance of her by the bridegroom) and *Kankān Bandhanam*, or the tying to the wrists of the bridal pair of yellow bracelets, made of five threads in the case of the bridegroom and four in the case of the bride, with a piece of turmeric and a betel-leaf fastened to each. The Brahman then, on behalf of the husband, places a ring on the bride's finger and ties the lucky thread of small black beads around her neck. On the third day the *Jhenda*, also called *Dhenda* or *Dandya*, and *Nagbali* take place. The caste people are entertained with a feast every day. The last ceremony is that of *Mahadevachi Gadi Pujan*, or the adoration of the god Mahadeva's seat. On the earthen platform is placed a bullock's saddle, which is covered with a white cloth. A square of rice is then formed and a water pot is placed over it and worshipped. All the people present then stand when *Arti* (the great God's hymn) is recited in union, 25 areca nuts are placed by each person present before the seat, and the ceremony terminates. The tying of *mangalsutra* forms the essential portion of the ritual. This form of marriage ceremony is also observed by those settled in the Maratha country. In Telingana it differs slightly, but closely corresponds to that in vogue among other Telugu castes of about the same social standing.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is permitted to marry again, but not the younger brother of her late husband. The ceremony is as follows. In the darkness of the night, the bridegroom, sword in hand, goes to Maruti's temple, places areca nuts and betel leaves

before the god, and proceeds thence to the bride's house. There he removes with the sword an areca nut placed on a wooden stool, which he then occupies. The bride joins him and sits by his side. With their clothes knotted together they salute the family gods and elderly persons. Caste people are entertained at a feast and the ceremony ends.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted, divorced women being allowed to re-marry by the same rites as widows.

Religion.—The Namdeva Darjis belong both to the Vaishnava and Saiva sects. Their special deity is Chaundika, worshipped on *Ganesh Chouth* with offerings of sweetmeat, flesh and wine, the offerings being eaten by the votaries. On the same day they honour the implements of their craft. They pay reverence to all the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Brahmans are engaged on religious and ceremonial occasions.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Shaivas bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face towards the east. A Jangam performs the funeral rites and, after the grave is filled, stands on it and blows a conch. He is then induced to leave the place with presents, and by doing so indicates that the soul of the dead has obtained absolution. The Vaishnavas carry the dead body, bathed and clothed in white, and burn it on a pyre with its head towards the south. Mourning is 10 days for a married adult and 3 for unmarried adults and children. The ashes are collected and thrown into the waters of the Ganges, if possible, or into the nearest river. On the 10th day after death, the caste people are fed, and the principal mourner performs *kshoura*, i.e., he shaves his head and moustache. *Sradha* is celebrated each month during the first year. Ancestors in general are propitiated in the months of Vaishakha and Bhadrapad.

Social Status.—Socially, the caste stands below the Kapus and above the Mangalas (barbers) and Chaklas (washermen). They eat mutton, fowl and fish, and indulge in strong drinks. The original occupation of the caste is tailoring, to which they still cling, and only a few of them have taken to agriculture and other pursuits. Their women help them in their work.

XXIV

DASRI

Dasri—a class of Vaishnawa beggars, taking their name from the word 'Dasa' or 'servant of god.' They were originally recruited from the Telugu castes and comprise several endogamous groups, the principal among which are :—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Bukka Dasri. | (6) Chinna Dasri. |
| (2) Paga Dasri. | (7) Kangyadulu Dasri. |
| (3) Dande Dasri. | (8) Mala Dasri. |
| (4) Bhagwat or Bhutte Dasri. | (9) Hole Dasri. |
| (5) Kunchaloya or Telaga Dasri. | (10) Chanchu Dasri. |

Bukka Dasris, also called Kunkum Dasris, are perfumers, and prepare and deal in *kunṅu* (a mixture of turmeric and safflower), *udbatti* (pastils), *surma* (antimony) and other aromatics and perfumes. Dande Dasris, or Pusalwads, add the selling of glass beads to their occupation of begging. Their traditions say that they were originally engaged as palanquin bearers for their *gurus*, *talacharis* of Kanchi. Pleased with their devotion, one of the *gurus* presented their first ancestor with a *danda*, i.e., the pole with which a palanquin is lifted, to be used as the badge of their mendicancy. They were also furnished with *talam* (cymbals), *tambora* (a sort of Indian violin), *shankha* (conch), *ghanta* (bell) and *diva* (lampstand). When begging they generally form a party of three. The lampstand is placed on the ground and two of the party dance around it, one of them blowing the conch and the other ringing the bell, while the third sings songs in praise of Vishnu to the music of the *tambora* ending each couplet with the words 'Govinda, Govinda.' On Saturdays, they dance with lighted torches in their hands. Sometimes they solicit alms, taking on their shoulders *kavdis*, which contain images of Vishnu, conches, *shaligram* stones, *rudraksha*, and other sacred objects, which they sell to the pious. In this capacity they are called 'Kasi Kavdis'

(bearers of *kavdis* from Kasi). Occasionally they appear in the disguise of Northern India Bairagis and try to act up to their disguise, imitating the Bairagis in language and manners. Their women make baskets of palmyra leaves and sell medicinal drugs. The Bhagwat, or Bhutte Dasris, are low-caste wandering beggars, who obtain alms by performing a 'Bhagwat' dance. A man is dressed in female clothes, wearing tightly the *sari* and the *choli*, and carrying a string of jingling bells around each leg immediately above the ankle. Garlands of wooden beads are also worn round the neck and gilded ornaments of wood on the head. Thus attired, the man dances before an audience to the music of the *mridanga* (drum) and *trils* (cymbals). Some of them trade in small needles and glass beads and are, on that account, called Bhutte Dasris or Pusalwads : they are watched by the police as criminals. The Hole Dasris seem to have connection with the 'Holers' of the Carnatic and the Mala Dasris with the Mala caste of Telingana. The Chanchu Dasris, or Krishna Chanchus, are drawn from the Chanchu tribe. The information regarding other groups is imperfect.

Internal Structure.—The Dasris are divided into a number of exogamous sections. A few of these are shown below :—

Yerlondalu.	Gawiaru.	Anagondiwaru.
Kavatiwaru.	Aditondalu.	Rawalwaru.
Anagalundalu.	Amnaboyaniwaru.	Battondalu.
Bumalawaru.	Adiwaru.	Poshetiwaru.
Poyaniwaru.	Podilawaru.	Poyaniwaru.

Marriage within the section is prohibited. Two sisters may be married by the same man or by two uterine brothers. A man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother, his father's sister or his elder sister. Outsiders are admitted by them into their community, provided that they are Vaishnawas in creed. No special ceremony is ordained for the occasion, except that the tongue of the novice is branded with hot gold.

Marriage.—Dasri girls are married both as infants and as adults. In the case of infant marriage, the girl is not sent to her husband's house until she is twelve years old when, on being presented with a white *sari* by her parents, she goes to live with her

husband. Among some Dasris, the husband remains with his wife at her father's house until she has become the mother of one child. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, but if a girl becomes pregnant her paramour is compelled to marry her. The ceremony is of the type in practice among other Telugu castes, and includes :—

Vadiyam—at which *pan* (betel-leaves) and areca nuts are distributed among the castemen and the *sar-panch*, who is called *gudi gadi*, receives 12 betel-leaves and 12 nuts.

Parthanam—the bride is presented with ornaments and a ring, and is brought to the bridegroom's house for marriage.

Lagnam—the bride and bridegroom, with their foreheads adorned with *bashings*, are seated in the booth and their garments are fastened in a knot. The bridegroom ties *pusti* round her neck and places silver rings on her toes.

Vatanamdalna—in this, *dandi*, *talam* and *darati*, the musical instruments of their profession, are placed in the bridegroom's hands, and the bride sows seeds.

Yatawandy—in which a feast consisting of cooked meat is provided for caste brethren.

The marriage ceremony is conducted without the help of a Brahman. The bride's parents take Rs. 80 as a price for their daughter. The bridegroom's parents have also to undergo all the marriage expenses.

Widow-Marriage.—Widow-marriage is permitted, but a widow cannot marry the brother of her deceased husband. Her parents receive Rs. 40, *i.e.*, half the price paid for her as a virgin, and the castemen present on the occasion are feasted.

If a woman commits adultery with a member of the caste, the latter is required to pay Rs. 80 to her husband and Rs. 40 as fine to the caste *Panchayat*, by whom he is compelled to marry her. A woman committing adultery with a man of a higher caste is out-casted and re-admitted only on payment of a fine of Rs. 10. She is allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. Sexual licence on the part of a woman with a man of a lower caste incurs instant expulsion from the caste. A man committing adultery with a lower caste woman is also outcasted, and re-admitted only on

paying a fine and having his forehead marked with *sutak-namam*, or two parallel lines of ochre, drawn to the roots of the hair and connected by a transverse line at the root of the nose. The distinction between these, and the ordinary Dasris, is that the latter have a red line running between the parallel ones.

Inheritance.—The Dasris follow the Hindu law of inheritance. If a man dies without any male issue his son-in-law inherits the property.

Religion.—The Dasris are all Tirmanidharis or Vaishnavas by faith. They believe in charms, sorcery, etc. Animistic deities, such as Pochamma and Ellamma, are appeased in the month of Shrawan with offerings of sheep and fowls. The goddess Pochantima is represented by a jar of water containing *nim* leaves (*Melia indica*) and covered with a lighted lamp. After this water has been worshipped it is thrown into pure water. This worship is designated *Bonal* by the members of the caste. Brahmans are not employed either for ceremonial or for religious purposes. Ayyawars or Satanis officiate as their *gurus* (spiritual advisers).

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture, with the head to the south. The corpse is borne to the grave in a sitting posture if married and in a lying posture if unmarried. A wheel (*chakra*) made of bamboo is carried to the grave along with the dead body of a married person and left on the bier when the corpse is consigned to the earth. On the 3rd day after death a square space is prepared on the ground before the grave, and the wheel, which is supposed to represent the dead person, is placed on the spot and worshipped with offerings of goats and fowls. The wheel is then buried in the earth and the flesh of the sacrificed animals is cooked by a Satani, who attends at the funeral. The mourners partake of the food and return home.

Occupation.—The Dasris collect alms, in an alms-basket known as *bura-kaya*. Some of them catch fish, by angling, iguanas (*ghodpod*), with nooses, and pigeons with birdlime. A few have of late taken to agriculture and are *pattedars*.

Social Status.—The social status of the Dasris differs for different sub-castes. The highest rank is claimed by the Bukka

Dasris, next to them come the Dande Dasris, while the Bhagwat and Hole Dasris are grouped among the lowest unclean classes. They eat mutton, pork, fowls, fish, the flesh of crocodiles, lizards, jackals, and jungle rats, and drink spirits. They eat from the hands of all castes except Dhers, Mangs, Dhobis and Mangalas. Malas and Madigas alone accept *kachi* from them.

They have a caste *Panchayat*, the head man of which is called *gudi gadi*. This designatory has an assistant styled *kundi gadi*, who is responsible for carrying into force the orders of his chief. The Dasris seldom go to law, but refer their disputes to their *Panchayat*, and if any member disobeys he is put out of the caste.

XXV

DEVANGA

Devanga, Devangalu, Devra, Jyandra, Koshti, Devanga Sale, Myatari—a widely diffused caste of weavers found in every part of the Hyderabad Dominions. 'Devanga' is a Sanskrit word which means 'body of the gods' and is applied to this caste since it claims to be descended from one Devanga Rishi, who was created by the god Mahadeva for the purpose of weaving clothes for gods and men. The thread was obtained from the lotus which sprang from Vishnu's navel. Probably of Carnatic origin, the Devangas are now found scattered all over Maharashtra and Telingana.

Internal Structure.—The Devangas are divided into three sub-castes: (1) Devanga, (2) Hatgar and (3) Kodekul; the Hatgars claim social precedence over the other two divisions. They are Lingayits by creed and are described in the article on Lingayits. The first of these sub-castes is broken up into three territorial groups, (1) Telugu Devangas, (2) Carnatic Devangas and (3) Maratha Koshtis, who speak Marathi and have adopted the section names and manners of the Maratha Kunbis. Two other branches seem to have sprung from the Devangas, viz: (1) Kurvina Shetti or Bili Magu and (2) Kurni Sales or Jyandra, the latter of whom do not castrate their bulls.

The caste is said to have, in Telingana, sixty-four exogamous sections. As stated above, the section names of the Maratha Devangas are the same as those of the Maratha Kunbis. Specimens of both the systems are shown below:—

Maratha Sections

Pandker.	Bhandare.	Doifode.
Asolker.	Bharate.	Takale.
Gosale.	Tadpuruk.	Tawalsing.
Khatavaker.	Kharge.	Upre.

Maratha Sections—*contd.*

Kumtekār.	Gotre.	Tigule.
Taralker.	Galande.	Navale.
Redeker.	Latane.	Narake.
Burzare.	Dhotre.	Kharshe.
Chinke.	Mehitre.	Falke.
Ghate.	Mahader.	Varole.
Gugle.	Dindker.	Munekar.
Fase.	Bhairat.	Dhage.

Telugu Sections

Gopwaru.	Patwaru.	Natuwaru.
Matekawaru.	Madtalwaru.	Govariwaru.
Palliwaru.	Tamtuwaru.	Parmalwaru.
Konapatriwaru.	Katamwaru.	Yemalawaru.

Marriage.—Marriage is forbidden between persons belonging to the same section. Two sisters may be married to the same man or to uterine brothers. A man may marry the daughter of his elder sister.

The Devangas marry their girls as infants and recognise polygamy and, in theory at least, impose no limitation on the number of wives a man may have.

In the Carnatic and Telingana, the marriage ceremony closely corresponds to that in use among other local castes of the same social standing. The *avali*, or bride-price, amounts to Rs. 30. In Maharashtra the price paid for a bride to her parents varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and the wedding ceremony is of the standard type current among the Marathas, of which the essential portion is *Antarpat*, which consists of making the couple stand opposite to each other in bamboo baskets, holding a curtain between them, and the wedding of them by the recital of *mantras* and the throwing of rice over their heads.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to re-marry, but not her husband's brothers. The bride, in Telingana, is presented with a new *sari* and *choli*, and Rs. 1¼ to buy bangles; at night she is taken to the *matha*, where the *mathpati* ties *pusti* round her neck in the presence of the bridegroom, who is seated by her side. Castemen

are then feasted. In the morning the bride and bridegroom go to some temple and return in the evening. Maratha Devangas engage Brahmans for the performance of this ceremony. The bridegroom goes at night, sword in hand to the bride's house, with a following of friends. The couple, having been bathed, are seated side by side, their heads brought in contact by the officiating Brahman and their garments tied in a knot.

Divorce.—A woman is divorced for adultery and driven out of the house before the members of the caste *Panchayat*. She is allowed to re-marry by the same rite as a widow.

Inheritance.—In the division of property the Devangas follow the Hindu law of inheritance. They give an extra share to the eldest son in the division of his father's property.

Religion.—The religion of the Devangas is orthodox Hinduism. In Telingana, they are divided into Tirmanidharis and Vibhuti-dharis. In the Carnatic, they are mostly Lingayits, males and females worshipping the *lingam*, to which they daily offer food of which they afterwards partake. Their favourite deity is Chaundamma, or Choundeshwari, worshipped on the full moon and new moon days with offerings of sweetmeats, especially by women who observe a fast for the whole day. Sheep and goats are sacrificed to the goddess by Maratha Devangas at the *Dassera* festival, or the 10th of the light half of Aswin (October): on the same day they honour the implements of their craft. They reverence all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, observe religious festivals and make pilgrimages to sacred places. Among their minor gods are Pochamma, Maisamma, Mari Ai, and Nágalu, who are appeased with a variety of offerings in times of sickness and epidemics.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually buried, but are occasionally burnt, and are carried to the grave or pyre attended with music. Lingayit Devangas bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face pointing to the east. Mourning is observed ten days for the married and three days for others. *Sradha* is performed on the 12th day after death. Ancestors in general are propitiated on *Akshatritiya*, or the 3rd of the light half of Vaishakha, and on the *Pitra Amawasya*, or the last day of Bhadrpad (October).

Social Status.—In point of social status, the Devangas rank below the agricultural and shepherd castes, but above the Gandlas, or Telis, Mangals and Chaklas. They eat fowl, fish, pork and mutton and drink alcohol. Some of them, aspiring to a higher social status, abstain from liquor.

Occupation.—Weaving is the traditional occupation of the caste. They make a variety of textile fabrics but chiefly *saris*, or garments worn by women. Some of them have relinquished their original occupation and taken to trade, agriculture, carpentry and masonry.

XXVI

DHANGAR

Origin.—Dhangar—the shepherd and blanket-weaver caste of the Marathawada, which comprises the Districts of Aurangabad, Bir, Parbhani, Nander, Bidar, Usmanabad and a portion of Adilabad. The name 'Dhangar' is derived by some from the Sanskrit word 'Dhenugar' meaning 'cow-keeper'; but the etymology seems rather fictitious, for the Dhangars have never been known to tend cows. On the other hand, as shepherds, they form a distinct caste from the Gaulis, who tend cows and other milch cattle. The Dhangars have no traditions which will throw light upon their origin. In physical character and customs they resemble the Maratha Kunbis, which suggests that they are formed from them.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into the following endogamous divisions: Khute Dhangars, Bargi or Hatker Dhangars and Jhade Dhangars. The Khute Dhangars are said to have received their name from *khutes*, or the pegs by means of which they weave blankets. Bargi or Hatker Dhangars are described in a separate article. Jhade Dhangars are found in the Adilabad District. The origin of the name 'Jhade' is obscure, but the word is a general term applied to other castes, such as Jhade Brahmans. The members of these sub-castes interdine, but do not intermarry.

The exogamous divisions of the caste are of the Maratha type, as illustrated below :—

Urade.	Korde.	Rode.	Bagde.
Khodpe.	Latne.	Kanade.	Bhand.
Kare.	Harke.	Chormare.	Bomble.
Pode.	Pitale.	Barde.	Mirge.
Gore.	Dandwate.	Shirgiri.	Dhole.
Nirali.	Hatkavde.	Kerwad.	Sote.
Gonde.	Dukre.	Nikande.	Kale.

Marriage in one's own section, as well as in one's maternal aunt's section, is avoided. A man may marry two sisters, and two brothers may also marry two sisters. Adoption is restricted to the members of one's own section. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste : a socially degraded man is re-admitted on payment of a fine.

Marriage.—Girls are married both as infants and as adults, but the former practice is deemed the more respectable. Boys, but not girls, are dedicated to gods or temples. A girl is sent to her husband's house immediately after marriage, when presents of a goat and money are made to her. Cohabitation before puberty is tolerated. Unmarried men, wishing to marry widows, are first wedded to a ring, all the ceremonies of a marriage being performed on the occasion. Polygamy is permitted, but is rarely practised on a large scale.

The marriage ceremony of the Khute and Khutaphale Dhangars corresponds to that of the Maratha Kunbis. The marriage of the Jhade Dhangars is celebrated at night and opens with the *Mangani* rite (betrothal), in which the boy's father goes to the girl's house and marks her forehead with a spot of red aniline powder and presents her with a cocoanut. *Mothawida* follows, in which two wooden stools are placed side by side in the court-yard of the house, covered with white cloth and decorated with designs of *kunkum*. The girl and her maternal uncle are seated on them and the bridegroom's father presents to her a *sari*, a *choli*, betel-leaves, areca nuts, and dates. Previous to the marriage, Mari Ai or Angana Devi is worshipped by sacrificing a goat to her, and a feast is provided in her name. At night the *gondhal* dance is performed in the name of the goddess Bhavani. A marriage booth is erected and a post, called *mundha*, made of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*), is planted to the right of the entrance. Twelve earthen pots are brought from the potter's house and two of these are filled with water and placed near the *mundha*. The bridegroom is bathed and is seated within a square formed by five earthen pots encircled with white wool. This wool is subsequently removed and fastened on the right wrist of the bridegroom. The same ritual is separately performed by the bride's party also. Then follow, in order, the worship of the village and patron deities, the carrying of

the bride enveloped in a blanket to the bridegroom's village, the adoration by the bridegroom in the temple of the village Maruti and, lastly, the wedding rite. The marriage dress consists of garments dyed yellow in turmeric water, which had been previously offered to the goddess. Just after the wedding, the pair are taken by the Brahman priest to the earthen platform built under the booth and seated thereon opposite each other, with a brass dish between them. The Brahman ties their garments into a knot and the couple exchange garlands of mock corals. After this, each person present waves a copper or silver coin, according to his means, round the faces of the newly wedded couple and throws it into the dish. This ceremony is called *Sulagna*. On the third day after the wedding, *Dandya* is celebrated. A bride-price to the amount of Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 is paid to the girl's parents. Among the Khute Dhangars, a curious ceremony, called the *Bir* procession, is performed on the *haldi* day. A man, possessed by a *bir* (spirit of an ancestor) fastens round his waist all the images of the ancestors belonging to both the parties to be wedded; *saris* (female garments) are tied crosswise across his breast and one shoulder. In one hand he takes a stick and in the other a winnowing fan. He makes frantic gestures and starts running, preceded by five men facing him and striking on the fan with canes in their hands. The moment he reaches the temple of Biroba, he lies prostrate on the blanket spread for the occasion. Incense is burnt before him, whereupon he recovers himself, gets up and returns home followed by all the men.

Widow-Marriage.—Widows are allowed to marry again, the ceremony of widow-marriage closely resembling that in vogue among the Maratha Kunbis. Brahmans are not engaged as priests. Among the Jhade Dhangars, a widow bride is more valued than a virgin and a bride-price ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 200 is required to be paid to her parents. Divorce is permitted in cases of adultery. The Hindu law of inheritance is observed by the caste.

Religion.—Khandoba is the favourite god of the caste and is worshipped every Sunday and on *Sat* (the light sixth of Margashirsha) day, with offerings of sweetmeats. The implements of their craft—scissors, *yeda*, *lavaki*, *nat* and *tulai*—are also revered on

Sat. Vithoba of Pandharpur is worshipped daily in every household. The Adilabad Dhangars worship Khudban, in the form of a wooden image bedaubed with vermilion. Other gods of the Hindu pantheon are also revered by members of the caste. Ancestral worship prevails, and no marriage is celebrated until those who have died in the family since the last marriage are installed as gods in the form of embossed plates. If any member of a Jhade Dhangar family is killed by a tiger, he is worshipped as Waghoba in the form of a stone set up on the boundary of the village.

Child-Birth.—A woman after child-birth is ceremonially impure for seven days. The child is named on the 12th day after birth and on the 15th day the goddess Satwai is propitiated. At the *Divali* festival, sheep are worshipped by the caste.

Disposal of the Dead.—The married dead are burnt and the unmarried are buried, with the head to the south. Mourning is observed for three days. Among the Jhade Dhangars of Adilabad the dead body is washed, taken outside the house and offered cooked food. When the funeral pyre is well ablaze, the coffin bearers and other mourners bathe, go to a liquor shop and, crushing *mahua* flowers (*Bassia latifolia*) with their feet, drink liquor and return to the house of the dead. Next day the mourners, men and women, go to the cremation ground, taking with them one winnowing fan, three pieces of bread and one earthen pot. They collect the ashes and bones with the winnowing fan and throw them into the nearest river or brook. They then place on the spot the bread and the earthen pot, which is filled with water and covered with mango leaves. A small hole is made at the bottom of the pot so that the water may trickle out drop by drop and quench the thirst of the disembodied soul. The widow of the deceased breaks off her bangles and lucky necklace, and all return home after drinking liquor. On the third day after death the chief mourner gets himself shaved on the cremation ground and all, after bathing and drinking liquor, return to the house of the deceased, where a sheep is sacrificed. The head of the sheep is buried under the spot where the deceased breathed his last and the rest is cooked and eaten by the household members. The *Sradha* ceremony is performed every year on the anniversary of death.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste is grazing sheep and goats, and weaving blankets. Some of them are cultivators. They deal in sheep and goats and their wool, and sell the milk of ewes. They are often paid by the cultivators, who greatly value the sheep manure, to have the flock penned on their farms. They are also engaged as day labourers.

Social Status.—The social position of the caste is just below that of the Maratha Kunbis. They eat from the hands of Kunbis, Malis, Hatkers, Brahmans and Komtis, while Hajams, Rangari, Dhobis and other low castes eat *kachi* from the members of the caste. They eat mutton, fowl, fish and the flesh of deer, hare and some birds, and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. The Dhangars have a caste *Panchayat*. The headman is called *mehetraya* and decides all social disputes; he is especially honoured on a marriage occasion with the present of a turban.

XXVII

DHOR

Dhor—the tanner caste of the Maratha Districts, numerous also in all parts of the Carnatic and, in a smaller number, in some parts of Telingana. The name ‘Dhor’ means ‘horned cattle’ and is doubtless bestowed upon this caste with reference to their occupation of tanning and dressing cattle skins. Very little is known regarding their origin. They appear to be a degraded branch of the great Chambhar caste of the Marathawada country. This view derives support from the fact that, in whatever country they are found settled, they speak Marathi as their home tongue. They are robust and fair, with well-developed chests and wide faces, and in all their features they gave evidence of a Maratha origin. The Maratah title of ‘*jhi*’ is also affixed to their names.

Internal Structure.—The Dhors are divided into five endogamous groups: (1) Range Dhor, (2) Budhale Dhor, (3) Kakayya Dhor, (4) Chambhar Dhor and (5) Shadu Dhor. The Range Dhors claim the highest rank and appear to be the original stock from which the other sub-castes have branched. They derive their name from the Marathi ‘rangvine’ meaning ‘to dye,’ which refers to their occupation of staining hides. The Budhale Dhors, probably an offshoot from the Range Dhors, are so called because they make *budhales*, or leather jars, for clarified butter and oil. The mode of making a *budhale* is as follows:—A piece of leather is closely set over an earthen mould of the size and shape of the jar required and the joints are cemented with a paste made from tamarind seeds. After the leather has taken the form of the mould and solidified, the earth is removed from inside. These leather jars were extensively used as convenient receptacles for carrying clarified butter and oil on bullocks; but since the opening of railways, they have been replaced by tins, and the *budhale* industry has almost died out. The Budhale Dhors

have now taken to tanning and curing skins, making *dholaks* (drums), water bags, water buckets and other leather articles. The Kakayya Dhors trace their descent from one Kakayya, a disciple of Basava, the founder of the Lingayit sect. Kakayya was originally a Range Dhor, but having embraced Lingayitism he was cut off from his community and became the founder of a new sub-caste. In addition to their own work of staining hides, the Kakayyas cobble old shoes and sometimes make new ones. The Chambhar Dhor, as the name indicates, is a mixed sub-caste, probably evolved by marriages between the Chambhar and the Dhor castes. It occupies a degraded position to both of them. The Chambhar Dhors tan and stain hides, make shoes and water buckets and water-bags. The Shadu Dhors are the illegitimate offspring of the Dhors, by Dhor women who have been degraded for some social offence.

Within these sub-castes, there are again 360 exogamous sections, which appear to be entirely of Maratha origin. The section names are mostly of a territorial or titular type; but a few of them are totemistic, the totem being revered by the members of the section bearing its name. For instance, the members of the Kavale section may not kill or injure a crow; so also a Kavade is enjoined to pay devotion to *cowrie* shells. Some of the sections of the Dhors are given below :—

Sonkavade (<i>cowries</i>).	Kavale (<i>crow</i>).
Landge (<i>wolf</i>).	Bhokare.
Jadhav.	Hivre.
Kadam.	Pulpagar.
Gaikwad.	Bhalerao.
Sinde.	Kalyanker.
Savre.	Kharad.
Kharatmal.	Jogdanker.
Sabne.	Soneker.
Ingale.	Chougale.
Sherkani.	Darweshe.
Vathar.	Gajankushe.
&c.	&c.

The rule of exogamy observed by the caste is, that a man cannot marry outside the sub-caste nor inside the section to which he belongs. Two sisters may be married to the same husband and two brothers to two sisters. Marriage with a sister's or maternal uncle's daughter is permitted. Adoption is practised, provided the boy be of the same section as the adopter. Both infant and adult marriages are recognised for girls. Sexual license before puberty is tolerated. If an unmarried girl goes wrong with a man of her caste and becomes pregnant, her seducer is compelled to marry her and the pair, as well as the parents of the bride, are admitted to *pangat*, or communion of food, on payment of a small fine to the caste *Panchayat*. The Dhors do not devote their young women to gods. A girl taken in adultery with a man of an inferior caste is expelled from her own caste. Polygamy is permitted and no limit is set to the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—The father of the boy seeks out a bride for his son and arranges the match with her parents in the presence of the caste *Panchayat* and of a Brahman or a Jangam officiating as priest. This having been agreed to, the girl is seated on a low stool, her forehead is smeared with vermilion and clothes and ornaments are presented to her by the parents of the boy. Patron saints and tutelary deities are invoked to bless the couple. The ceremony takes place, on an auspicious day fixed by a Brahman, in a wedding booth made of branches of *guler* (*Ficus glomerata*) and other varieties of trees in the courtyard of the bride's house, in the Marathawada, and of the bridegroom's house in the Carnatic. After the bridegroom has arrived in procession at the bride's house, the young couple are made to sit side by side, surrounded by five pots encircled with cotton thread, their bodies are smeared with turmeric and oil, and they are bathed with warm water. *Kankanas* (thread bracelets) are tied on their wrists, their clothes are knotted together and they walk, the bride following the bridegroom, to the earthen platform, where they are wedded by the officiating Brahman, who holds a curtain between them, recites *mantras* and throws rice over their heads. The curtain being withdrawn, the wedded pair exchange garlands and rice, and

make obeisance to the family deities and elderly relatives. A grand feast is given to the assembled guests and relatives, and the ceremony is completed.

Widow-Marriage.—A Dhor widow is allowed to marry again by a very simple rite, at which no Brahman officiates. A price varying in amount from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 is paid for the widow to her parents. On a dark night, the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's house, makes her a present of a complete dress and ties *mangalsutra*, or a string of beads, around her neck. Early the next morning, the couple repair to Hanuman's temple and, after worshipping the god, they go to the bridegroom's house. The proceedings are concluded by a feast to the caste brethren of the village. A widow is not allowed to marry her late husband's brother.

Divorce.—Divorce is granted on the ground of the wife's unchastity or barrenness, or the husband's inability to support her. Divorced women may marry again, by the ritual in use at the re-marriage of widows.

Inheritance.—The Dhors follow the Hindu law of inheritance. In making a division of property, the eldest son gets an extra share (*jethang*) to enable him to support his unmarried sisters.

Religion.—The Dhors profess to be Saivaites, or the devotees of the god Mahadeva, whom they worship every week. No image is set up to represent the god; but a small piece of ground is smeared with cow-dung on which the devotees burn incense and offer flowers and wheaten cakes covered with rice. They then bow down and are at liberty to partake of the offerings. Basava and his disciple Kakayya are held in the highest reverence and invoked every Monday. Tulja Bhavani is worshipped on the *Dassera* holiday with offerings of goats, sheep and liquor. Khandoba and the other gods of the Hindu pantheon are also worshipped. The animistic deities, Pochamma, Elamma, Mari Amma, and a host of others, are appeased with animal sacrifices, a Bhoi or a Dhobi officiating as sacrificial priest at the worship of the deities and claiming the heads of the slaughtered animals for his services. The Dhors believe strongly in ghosts and departed spirits and in cases of sickness or disease an Erkala woman is consulted to divine the cause. Should a ghost or malevolent spirit

be suspected, it is immediately propitiated with the offerings the Erkala has enjoined. Ancestral worship prevails and images of departed ancestors, embossed or impressed on silver plates, are hung round their necks. At the *Divali* festival, the Dhors worship the chief implements of their trade, which are the tan-knife, and the tan-pit in which the hides are steeped. In the Marathawada, Brahmans, and in the Carnatic, Jangams, serve the caste as priests.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture, with the face turned towards the east. After death, the corpse is washed and carried in a sitting posture to the burial ground. The corpse is seated in a niche carved out on one side of the grave, the forehead is smeared with *vibhuti*, a *lingam* is placed in the left hand, *bilawa* leaves (*Semecarpus Anacardium*) and *vibhuti* are placed at the side, and the grave is then filled in. A Jangam stands on the grave, shouts out the name of the deceased and announces that he has gone to *kailas*, or heaven. The Marathawada Dhors observe mourning for 10 days, and perform *Sradha* for the benefit of the departed; but in the Carnatic, where Lingayitism prevails, no mourning is observed, nor is any memorial ceremony performed after death. Persons dying of smallpox or cholera, and women dying in pregnancy are burned.

Social Status.—Owing to their filthy occupation and habits, the Dhors have been condemned to the lowest grade in the Hindu social system, and hold, at the present day, a rank superior only to the Mahar, Mang and other degraded classes. They are not allowed to approach the temple premises, nor will the village servants defile themselves by working for them. They have, therefore, to procure barbers and washermen from among their own community. Their rules on diet are in keeping with their degraded position. They eat mutton, pork, fowl, venison and the flesh of animals that have died a natural death. They, however, profess to abstain from eating beef and the leavings of other people. They also freely indulge in spirituous and fermented liquors. No other caste, not even the Mahars or Dhers, will eat food cooked by a Dhor.

Occupation.—The hereditary calling of the Dhor is tanning, currying hides, and making leather bottles, leather buckets, water

sacks, *budhals*, *pakhals* and other leather articles. They buy raw hides of goats, sheep, bullocks, buffaloes and deer from butchers and Dhers, and soak them for fifteen days in a strong solution of lime. The hide is then deprived of its hair and steeped in a solution of pounded *babul* (*Acacia arabica*) bark, *amla* or *aonla* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) and *tarvad* (*Cassia auriculata*) leaves. The hide, thus dressed, is bought by Maratha Chambhars, or Mochis, for making shoes and other articles. The Dhors are not known to skin the carcasses of dead animals. Some of them make new shoes and cobble old ones. A few of them work as day-labourers. In social standing, the Dhors are inferior to the Maratha Chambhars or Telugu Mochis.

XXVIII

DOMARA

Domara, Dombari, Domri, Reddi Domara—a vagrant mongrel tribe of acrobats, jugglers, rope-dancers and tumblers, chiefly found in the Telugu and Carnatic Districts of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. They are identical with the Kolhatis of Maharashtra, both of them being associated with the same means of livelihood. Both tribes have the evil repute of being highway robbers, burglars and dakaites, and are classed by the police among the criminal tribes of the Dominions.

History.—These tribes wander about in small gangs throughout the country and encamp in temporary huts of mats made of palmyra leaves. The men are ostensibly engaged in making combs of buffalo horns and wood, brooms for weaver's looms, dolls and mattresses. To these occupations they add the exhibition of gymnastic feats, rope-dancing, tumbling, conjuring tricks and athletic exercises. In these performances they are joined by their women, some of whom are wonderfully expert in exhibitions on a long bamboo pole or a tight rope. To attract large audiences, the women selected as acrobats are generally smart and good-looking, and are trained in the art from their childhood. In their character, these women are very loose and dissolute, and the men not only encourage them in their depraved habits, but subsist largely on their immoral gains.

Both the Kolhatis and the Domaras are a mixed race composed of various elements and this fact accounts for the appreciable variations observed in their complexion and features. This variation of type seems to be due to the intermixture of blood brought about by the free admission of outsiders into the community, the prostitution of their women, and the kidnapping of high-caste girls to be brought up as dancing girls.

XXVIII-A

DOMARA—DOMAR

(Titles :—Appa, Ayya and Reddi.)

Origin.—The Domars, as a class, are tall and well-made, varying in complexion from wheat colour to very dark. The men usually wear short hip trousers made of a coarse white cloth and, at festivals, shawls, jackets and lace turbans obtained by them as rewards in performances. The women are attired in gay clothes and deck themselves with a profusion of bangles and necklets of cowrie shells. The etymology of their name is obscure. It is said to be derived from the words 'Dimari' and 'Dulmar'; but their meanings are uncertain. They claim to be descended from one Motati Kapu who, being lame, was exposed, in infancy, on a river bank. Shri Rám-chandra and his wife, journeying in a chariot, observed the destitute child, took pity on him and restored him his limbs. The boy, in glee, jumped, and was, for this audacity, condemned to follow the occupation of a tumbler. Another tradition traces their descent from one Chinnamma, who exhibited feats before a king who had imprisoned her father. The father was released, but the woman lost her caste and had to take to prostitution.

Internal Structure.—The Domars are divided into two sub-castes—Telaga Domars and Aré Domars. Telaga Domars speak Telugu and have a slang of their own. Aré Domars, or Maratha Domars, appear to be originally Kolhatis who migrated and settled in Telingana. Their home tongue is Marathi. The members of these sub-castes do not interdine nor intermarry.

They have exogamous sections of a territorial or eponymous type such as :

Karmachawaru.	Padekuwaru.
Ramasaniwaru.	Jopalliwaru.
Rajakawaru.	Gujokuwaru.

Marriage between persons belonging to the same section is prohibited. It is allowed between a man and his maternal uncle's or sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers

cannot marry two sisters. Polygamy is permitted. Adoption is rarely practised by the caste.

Marriage.—Girls are married both as infants and as adults. Cohabitation is tolerated before marriage, but if a girl becomes pregnant she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover, who is compelled to marry her and to pay a heavy fine to the caste council. It is customary to devote girls to temples and deities or to marry them to swords. The ceremony of dedication consists of making the girl sit before the idol of their patron deity, Guda Maisamma, and tying a *tali* (*mangalsutra*) about her neck. The Basavi girl is subsequently allowed to follow concubinage as her profession. The progeny of such girls are admitted to the full privileges of the caste.

Adult girls are sometimes married to men of their own choice. But usually the initiative towards marriage is taken by the boy's father. A suitable girl is selected and a bride-price of Rs. 20 is paid to her parents. The father of the boy goes to the girl's house and presents her with a *sari* and a *choli*. The betrothal is ratified by strong drink, of which the first cup is given to the chief man of the caste council. The marriage is performed before Maisamma, on a festive day, when men of the caste congregate from all parts to pay their devotion to the goddess. The bridegroom is first seated before the goddess on a mat of *shendi* (wild date palm), facing the east and holding in his hand a stick used for beating a drum. The girl is next brought in procession and seated opposite the boy. A necklace of glass beads is tied round the bride's neck and the clothes of the bridal pair are knotted. Rice is thrown on the heads of the couple and this forms the binding portion of the ceremony. A pig is killed the same day and the guests are feasted. On the third day after the wedding, the wedded pair are conducted in procession to the bridegroom's house. It is said that widow marriage is not permitted. But if a widow takes a fancy to a man she remains with him as his concubine. Her progeny are freely admitted into the caste.

A girl on attaining puberty is considered unclean for seven days and is kept during this period in a separate hut, with a piece of

iron by her side. On the eighth day, the hut in which she lived during her pollution is burnt; the girl then bathes and becomes ceremonially pure.

A woman after child-birth is unclean for six days. On the 7th day after birth she is bathed, goes to a well with oil, worships it and returns home with a jar full of water. The child is named on the same day and caste men are feasted in honour of the event.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste assembly, on the ground of the wife's adultery, or for incompatibility of temper. A divorced woman is not allowed to marry again, but she can be kept as a mistress. Her paramour is compelled by the *Pancháyat* to pay to her husband the bride-price he paid to her parents. Elopements are general. Adultery with a man of high caste is tolerated and condoned by a small fine. Social indiscretion with a man of low caste is punished with instant expulsion from the caste.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance, the Domars follow their own tribal usages. Sons and *Basavi* daughters share equally in their father's property. If a man dies without male issue, his *Basavi* daughters share his property. Failing them, the estate descends to his married or virgin daughters.

Religion.—Guda Maisamma is the favourite and characteristic deity of the caste. On Tuesdays, at night, in the month of Shravana (August-September), the goddess is worshipped with great pomp and ceremony. A large concourse of Domars assemble at the shrine of the goddess and offer pigs, fowls and sheep to her. A man of the Kummara caste officiates as priest, and while the grand *pūja* takes place, Domar men beat drums and the women sing songs. The heads of the sacrificed animals are claimed by the priest. The bodies are cooked and provide a feast for the assembled votaries. Ellamma and Pochamma are also worshipped in the same month. Their other deities are Katayya, Maheshwar, Mutyalamma and Kankama, worshipped with various offerings. They have a firm belief in ghosts and witchcraft and Erkala women are consulted to identify a malignant spirit. The Domars have recently been brought under the influence of the great sects and they profess themselves

to be Vibhutidharis or Saivaitis.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture, with the face downwards and the head pointing to the south. On the 3rd day after death, a pig is killed. The flesh is cooked, offered at the grave and subsequently buried underground. On the 11th day, the mourners become purified. Again a pig is killed and the flesh cooked : part of it is offered at the grave and buried underground, the remainder being eaten by the householders. Brahmans are called in and presented with rice and money. Some of the Domars now bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face to the east. The chief mourner shaves his moustache and the widow breaks her bangles. No *Sradha* is performed by the members of the caste. Ancestors in general are propitiated on the *Pitra Amawasya* (last day of Bhádrapad).

Social Status.—In point of social status, the Domars rank very low and accept food from the hands of any caste except the Dhobis, the Hajams and the lowest castes, while no castes except the Malas and the Madigas will accept food from their hands. They eat the flesh of mice, cats, field rats, the mongoose, sparrows, squirrels, pigs and fowls, but abstain from beef. They indulge freely in strong drink. They eat also the flesh of animals that have died a natural death.

Occupation.—As has been stated above, the Domars earn their livelihood by the performance of athletic feats and the prostitution of some of their women. Some of them have settled down and taken to agriculture.

XXVIII-B

DOMARA—KOLHATI

Origin.—Ancient authorities ascribe the origin of the Kolhatis to a liaison between a Shilindhru man and a Kshatriya woman. Their traditions say that they originally belonged to Northern India and are akin to the Bowries, the Kanjars, the Waghris and other Northern India tribes. According to another account, they claim to be descended from Khatri women who were degraded for sexual indiscretions with lower castes. Very little is known, however, regarding

their origin and the etymology of the name they bear. They are divided into three sub-castes : (1) Pál or Káne Kolhatis, (2) Dukkar or Potri Kolhatis and (3) Dombáris. They are found in all the Districts of the Marathawada. The Pál Kolhatis are a wandering tribe, living in portable huts made of *rousa* grass, and carried from place to place on the backs of donkeys. The men are lazy and slovenly, while the women are smart and good-looking ; many of them lead a life of prostitution and support the men. The Dukkar Kolhatis are a fine, manly people and derive their name from their occupation of hunting wild pig and breeding the domesticated pig. They are a settled class, cultivating land and serving as village watchmen. The Dombáris are a branch of the Domars of Telingana and are inferior to the other two sub-castes. The Pál and Dukkar Kolhatis speak a mixture of Gujerathi and Marathi, whereas the home tongue of the Dombáris is a mixture of Telugu and Canarese.

Internal Structure.—The exogamous sections of the tribe are of the Maratha character, such as Gaikwad, Sinde, Pawar, Jadhava, Andhara, Kachare and the like. Inter-marriage within the same section is prohibited. A man may marry two sisters and two uterine brothers may also marry two sisters. Marriage with a sister's daughter is allowed.

Marriage.—Girls are married either as infants, or after they have attained puberty. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated and condoned by a small fine. If the man with whom she has associated be of her own caste, she is married to him. Married girls live a very virtuous life but those who are likely to develop into good athletes are dedicated to the god Khandoba : these remain unmarried and become prostitutes. The ceremony of dedication is as follows. A *pandal* is erected in front of the hut and an image of Khandoba is installed in it. The girl, bathed and ornamented, is made to stand before the deity and *bhandar* (turmeric powder) is thrown over her. Goats are sacrificed to the god and the caste people are feasted in honour of the event.

The marriage ceremony is simple and is performed at the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are seated side by side and their garments are tied in a knot by the bride's mother. Women sing

songs and one of the men beats a *dholak* (drum) all the while. Brahmans have, in recent years, been employed as priests and the ceremony is being elaborated into that current among the Maratha Kunbis. The father of a girl receives a price for her, varying from fifty to one hundred rupees.

Widow-Marriage.—Widows are allowed to marry again, but divorce is not recognised. If the couple disagree and cannot live in harmony, the husband abandons his claims over his wife, on recovering the price he paid to her father. Adultery is severely punished and the delinquent woman has her head shaved and her tongue branded with hot gold.

Religion.—The chief deity of the Kolhatis is Khandoba, to whom offerings are made on Sundays and on the light 6th of Margasirsa (December). They worship Hanuman, Tuljapur Bhavani and other gods of the Hindu pantheon. Among their minor gods are Mari Ai (the deity of cholera), Mhasoba, Jotiba and Bahiroba, propitiated with sacrifices of goats and fowls. They observe the Hindu festivals and make pilgrimages to sacred places. They have a strong belief in sorcery, malevolent spirits and the evil eye. They also worship Muhammadan *Pirs*.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried with the head to the north and the face upwards. The body is washed and carried on a bamboo bier to the burial ground. No regular *Sradha* is performed in honour of the deceased; but, on the 3rd day after death, food is cooked in the burial ground and, after a portion of it has been offered to and touched by a crow, the mourners eat the rest and return home. Ancestors, in general, are propitiated on the last day of Bhádrapad and on the light 3rd of Vaishakha.

Social Status.—The social rank of the Kolhatis is very low. They eat from the hands of all castes except *Nhavis* (barbers), *Parits* (washermen) and castes inferior to these, while no one, except a Mahar or a Manga, will eat from their hands. They also eat the leavings of Brahmans. Their touch is not regarded as unclean and they are allowed to draw water from wells used by the higher castes. They eat mutton, pork, fowl, all kinds of fish, rats and the flesh of carrion, and are addicted to strong drink. The Dukkan.

Kolhatis are said to add beef to this diet.

The Kolhatis admit into their community members of castes higher than themselves in social standing, and the person thus admitted is required to eat the flesh of the pig with his adopted caste brethren.

Occupation.—The Kolhatis pursue the same occupation as the Domars of Telingana. The Dukkar Kolhatis are reputed to be inveterate criminals and are vigilantly watched by the police. Girls of higher castes are often kidnapped and trained as prostitutes and acrobats. Kolhati women are expert in tattooing. Some of the settled classes have followed agricultural pursuits, but they never work as farm-labourers.

XXIX

ERAKALA

Erakalá, Kaikádi, Korwáh—a vagrant gypsy tribe, bearing an evil reputation as professional criminals and infesting the country between the Krishna and the Narbada rivers. For the purposes of crime, the country is divided into districts and sub-districts, to each of which a gang is sent, headed by a *naik*, whose authority over his gang is absolute and who is always regarded with extreme reverence. Ostensibly, the men of the tribe work as basket and mat-makers, day-labourers and musicians, while the women wander from village to village as fortune-tellers and tatooers.

In physical appearance, the Erakalás seem to be non-Aryans. Their irregular features, dark complexion and coarse, unkempt hair may lead to the conclusion that they belong to the aborigines of Southern India. They speak a mongrel dialect, which appears to be a mixture of Támil, Telugu and Canarese, with a preponderance of the first. Their huts, generally funnel shaped, are made of date mats and twigs, and are carried from place to place on the backs of donkeys. The men are scantily clothed, wearing a piece of cloth about the loins and a dirty old turban on the head. The women wear *saris*, after the manner of the Telugu females, and have brass bangles on both arms. Their extremely untidy appearance has become proverbial, so that a very dirty girl, with dishevelled locks, is called a “Kaikádeen.”

Widely distributed as the tribe is, it bears different names in different localities, being called Erakalá in Telugu, Kaikádi in Marathi and Korwáh or Kurwi in Carnatic districts. The Erakalás derive their name from *Eruká*—knowledge or acquaintance—as the females of the tribe profess to be great experts in fortune-telling, which they have adopted as a profession. The derivations of the names Kaikádi and Korwáh are obscure.

Origin.—Regarding the origin of the tribe, several stories are current. A legendary account tells how Renuká, the wife of Jamdagni and mother of Parshurám, while bathing naked in the sacred waters of the Ganges, was beheld by a Dher and, being thereby deprived of the power which she had possessed in virtue of her chaste and meritorious life, failed to turn the holy sand into pots to carry water home. Jamdagni, observing the failure, and suspecting his wife to be guilty of a liaison with the Dher, had them both beheaded by his son Parshurám, and thus the pure-minded and innocent woman succumbed to the rage of a jealous husband. Parshurám implored his father to suspend his wrath, and to show mercy to his mother by restoring her to life. At his entreaty, the sage relented, and desired Renuká's trunk and head to be brought in contact. Parshurám, in his haste, adapted the Dher's head to the trunk of his mother, which so enraged the irascible sage that he cursed his son and doomed him to be the procreator of the vile race of Kaikádís. Renuká, who came to life with a male head, became, under the name of Ellamá, the patron deity of the tribe.

Internal Structure.—Owing to the unsettled state of the tribe, and the wide range of country over which it is scattered, its internal structure is extremely intricate and complicated. A number of sub-tribes into which the tribe is divided, is given below :—

Erakalá sub-tribes.

- (1) Kunchal (brushes).
- (2) Pungi or Pámb (blow-gourd).
- (3) Butti (basket).
- (4) Mide.
- (5) Gampá (basket).
- (6) Bidigal.
- (7) Tattá.
- (8) Badigi.
- (9) Balári.

Korwáh sub-tribes.

- (1) Kunchal.
- (2) Pungi.
- (3) Butti.

- (4) Kallá.
 - (5) Belgar.
 - (6) Wájantri (musician).
 - (7) Páthar (prostitute).
- Kaikádi sub-tribes.
- (1) Kunchi.
 - (2) Pungi.
 - (3) Kothi (monkey).
 - (4) Deccani.
 - (5) Belgar.
 - (6) Sunái (musicians).
 - (7) Kut Kaikádi (prostitutes).
 - (8) Kámáthi.

It will be seen at a glance that one and the same name represents two or more groups which are endogamous. Thus, the name 'Kunchal,' denotes the three sub-tribes, Kunchal Erakalá, Kunchal Korwáh, and Kunchal Kaikádi, the members of which do not intermarry. This may be due to the reluctance of the members of the same sub-tribe to intermarry, when at a distance from one another. It will also be seen that the sub-tribes are functional groups, following the occupations indicated by their names.

Kunchal Clans are engaged in making brushes for weavers' looms and snares for catching game.

Buttin Clans are a wandering tribe, making baskets and children's toys from the twigs of the wild date palm, telling fortunes and selling medicinal roots.

Pungi Clans (Pambal) are snake-charmers and exhibitors, jugglers and showmen. They travel about playing on the *pungi* or blow-gourd. They are suspected by the police of being gang robbers and burglars and of passing base metals for gold.

Belgar Clans own donkeys which they let on hire. They deal in betel-nuts.

Sunái Kaikádi or Wájantri Korwáh are reported to be habitual criminals, highway robbers, dakaits and burglars. It is said that they have adopted crime as an hereditary profession and are under the strict surveillance of the police.

Kut Kaikádi or Páthur Korwáh earn their livelihood by purchasing girls and prostituting them. They live in towns and are reported to kidnap and sell children.

Besides these there are the Bidigal Erakalás, who are lime-carriers ; the Gampal Erakalás, who are basket-weavers ; the Kothi Kaikádis, monkey-showers ; the Bellári Erakalás, who make slings for hanging up cooking utensils ; and several other sub-tribes.

Each of the sub-tribes is divided into two, exogamous groups : the Korwáh and Erakalá tribes into—(1) Káwádi and (2) Sátpádi, and the Kaikádi tribes into—(1) Jádhav and (2) Gáikwád. The latter names are evidently borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis, probably to suit the community among whom the Kaikádis dwelt. The section name goes by the male side. A man cannot marry a woman of his own section. Thus, a Sátpádi may not marry a Sátpádi girl, but he can marry into the Káwádi. The marriage of two sisters to the same man is permitted, provided the elder is married first. The marriage of first cousins is not allowed, exception being made in favour of a man marrying the daughter of his father's sister. According to a custom prevalent among the tribe, every man has a right to claim the first two daughters of his sister, as wives for his sons. If, being sonless, or for any other reason, he is obliged to renounce his claim, his right to the girls is valued and the money paid to him by the parents of the girls before they are married. The bastards among the tribe are not allowed to marry the legitimates and have, consequently, formed a separate class divided into exogamous sections (1) Kotádi and (2) Mánpádi. But the offspring of bastards are not illegitimate, and must marry the legitimate members of the community.

The Erakalás admit into their caste, members of any caste higher to them in social standing.

Marriage.—Marriage is either infant or adult. A price is paid for the bride, which varies in amount from Rs. 14 to Rs. 196 (fourteen fourteens), rising by a multiple of fourteen, according to the means of the bridegroom's parents. If the full amount (Rs. 196) is agreed upon, the maternal uncle of the girl claims Rs. 70 (five fourteens) as his share (which is, however, liable to vary as the

bride-price) which must be paid to him prior to marriage. The bride-price may be reckoned either in cash or in asses. Half the amount at least must be paid before marriage, to enable the girl's father to pay off her maternal uncle and to make wedding preparations. The balance may be liquidated after marriage, either in a lump sum, or by instalments. Sexual license before marriage is tolerated and in the event of an unmarried girl becoming pregnant, or having children, her lover is called upon by the caste *Pancháyat* to take her to wife. Husbands may even be obtained for women who have had children before marriage by members of the higher castes. Courtship is said to prevail and girls, when of mature age, are married to men of their own choice. In fulfilment of vows, girls are dedicated to temples and sometimes to trees, the ceremonial of dedication consisting of the girl's marriage, with all the usual rites, to the temple image, or to the tree which represents the bridegroom. Such girls subsequently become prostitutes. The Pathur Gorwah (Erakalá prostitutes) wed their girls to a dagger before initiating them into their occupation.

On an Erakalá youth attaining a marriageable age, his parents look about for a suitable bride. A selection having been made, and the proposal having been accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed for the performance of the *Agu Madu* (betrothal) ceremony. On the appointed day, the parents of the boy, with their relatives, set out for the girl's house, taking with them a new mat of date palm. On their arrival, they spread the mat in the open, before the house, and on this mat the bride's father and the members of the caste *Pancháyat* (council) are seated. The question of the bride-price is opened and discussed and on its final settlement (to the satisfaction of both the parties) eight rupees are paid, as earnest money, to the bride's father. Liquor is ordered at the expense of the bridegroom's father and distributed to the assembly, the first cup being presented to the girl's father, whose drinking of it symbolises the ratification of the alliance, which can on no account be broken.

On the wedding morning, a marriage shed is erected at the bride's house and the betrothed pair, in their own houses, are smeared five times with a paste of turmeric and oil and are then

bathed. Towards evening, the parents of the girl, the father carrying on his head a new earthen pot and the mother holding in her hand a lighted lamp, proceed in procession to the village tank or river. A twig of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) with five offshoots, previously concealed under water, is searched for and, when found, is worshipped and placed in the earthen jar. The jar is then filled with water and carried back to the marriage booth, where it is kept covered, by the bride's mother, with a lighted lamp, which is not allowed to go out so long as the marriage lasts. At the auspicious hour appointed, the bridegroom, dagger in hand, is taken in pomp to the bride's house where, on arrival, he is joined by the bride coming from the inner part of the house. The couple, dressed in white, are seated facing the sanctified pot, the bride to the left of her husband, on squares of rice drawn on a date palm mat spread underneath the bower. The consent of the caste *Pancháyat* to their wedding having been solicited and secured, the bride's father, who officiates as priest, fastens the ends of their garments in a knot and ties *tila* (one rupee) in the turban of the bridegroom. This tribal ceremonial, which forms the binding and essential portion of the marriage ceremony, is followed by certain Hindu rituals, *viz.*, *Talwál* or the throwing of turmeric-coloured rice on the wedded pair, first by their parents and then by the wedding guests, and *Pusti Mittal* or the placing of a black bead necklace round the girl's neck and toe rings on her toes. The ceremony continues until the small hours of the morning, the bridal pair sitting up all the while. Next morning, the married couple are bathed, auspicious lights are waved round their faces by married females and milk and curds are given them to drink. *Dandya* and *Wadibium* bring the celebration to a close. Among the Korwás, a curious ceremony is performed on the second day of the wedding. The bride is concealed in a neighbour's house by her mother and the bridegroom starting out on foot, seeks her out and carries her home in his arms.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is generally required to marry her late husband's younger brother, even though he be younger than herself. Her choice of a second husband is not, however, fettered and she may marry an outsider, provided he does not come within the

prohibited degrees of relationship. In either case she forfeits all rights to her late husband's property. The ritual in vogue at a widow marriage is simple and consists in dressing the widow in new clothes, putting bangles on her arms and taking her home. A feast to the relatives closes the ceremony.

Divorce.—Divorce is allowed on the ground of the wife's barrenness, or unchastity, or disobedience, and is effected by turning her out of the house in the presence of the caste *Pancháyat*. She is permitted to re-marry by the same ceremony as a widow and, in case she re-marries, her second husband is compelled to refund to the first the amount, or a portion of the amount, which the latter paid to her parents as bride-price.

Inheritance.—The Erakalás very seldom resort to the courts of law, but have their disputes settled by the caste *Pancháyats*. In matters of inheritance, they are governed mostly by tribal customs of their own. In the absence of any male issue, daughters are said to inherit and the fact that a girl is dedicated to a temple and has become a prostitute, does not debar her from inheriting the ancestral property.

Child-Birth.—A singular custom, of great antiquity, which still survives among the Erakalás, is worth recording. The moment labour begins, the woman communicates the fact to her husband, who immediately retires to a dark room and lies on a bed, covering himself with his wife's clothes. When the child is born it is placed by the side of the father, who has his teeth daubed with dentifrice and his eyelashes smeared with lamp-black, while all the prescribed medicines are given to him and he is not allowed to leave his bed for three days, during which period he is regarded as being impure. No attention, on the other hand, is shown to the mother, who lies neglected on the ground. She is given no medicine and no food except bread. The Erakalás tell the following story to account for this singular practice. In days of yore, the donkeys of a certain Erakalá used to wander into fields and do considerable damage to the crops. Thrice was the Erakalá punished for this offence by the owners of the farms. On the fourth occasion, the damage wrought by the beasts to the crop was so heavy, that the Erakalá, afraid of

a sound beating, took to bed, and turned the occasion of the confinement of his wife to his advantage, by declaring that he was being treated for her. It was to this event that the Erakalás ascribe the introduction among them of *couvade*, known among savage tribes.

Religion.—The religion of the Erakalás is animism, overlaid by a very thin layer of popular Hinduism. Their favourite and characteristic deity is Elammá, represented in various forms and worshipped on Fridays and Tuesdays with offerings of flowers and sweet-meats. Among the Korwás, the goddess is represented by an earthen pot set up in a hut specially built to serve as her sanctuary. Early on a Tuesday morning, the Korwá female who is selected to officiate as priestess of the divinity bathes and fills the sacred pot with water. Incense is then burnt, flowers presented, auspicious lights, placed in a shallow dish of palm twigs, solemnly waved and prayers offered in front of the goddess. The water contained in the sacred pot is then distributed and with this water cakes are prepared and eaten by the votaries. Pigs, fowls and goats are sacrificed to the deity on special occasions, the slaughtered animals furnishing a feast to her devotees after the sacrifice.

Among the other animistic deities that are honoured by the tribe, may be mentioned, Pochammá, the goddess of smallpox, and Bálamamá, a deity of vaguely defined functions, who are appeased with the offerings of ewes; while to Máhálaxmi, the goddess who presides over cholera, are offered pigs and fowls on the *Dassera* Holiday (September). At the worship of Bhaváni, a *gondhal* (sacred dance) is performed and ewes are sacrificed on her altar.

The Erakalás are a spirit-haunted and ghost-ridden people and ascribe every disease or malady, every misfortune or calamity, to the action of some malevolent spirit, or of some troubled ancestral ghost. The influence of evil spirits is averted by sacrificing to them such animals as goats, pigs, fowls, &c. The services of an Erakalá priestess are called in to identify and to lay the ghosts of departed ancestors. When a ghost is to be appeased, the following ceremony is performed:—Some *jawári* is spread on the ground and a small earthen pot, surmounted by a lighted lamp, is placed upon it. The priestess, having bathed and seated herself, facing the

lamp, becomes possessed and goes on playing on a musical instrument called a *tingari* (a sort of fiddle), singing, one by one, the names of all the deceased relatives, until the flickering flame of the lamp becomes steady. The image of the deceased person, whose name has steadied the flame, is embossed upon a silver plate which, being hung round the neck of the sufferer, is supposed to cure him. Garlands made of pieces of leather and cowrie shells are also worn in the name of Ellammá by men and women to ward off evil influences proceeding from spirits and ghosts.

In addition to these elemental deities and departed ancestors, the Hindu gods Hanumán, Rájanná and Mahádeva are also honoured, though in a scanty fashion, by the tribe, more particularly by those who have given up their wandering habits and settled down in villages and towns. Brahmans have not yet been introduced either for ceremonial or religious functions which are discharged by their tribal priests. The growing influence of Hinduism may be traced to the fact that a few of the Erakalás have divided themselves, like the Hindu castes of Telingana, into Nám dháris and Vibhutidháris.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burnt, but occasionally buried in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. It is said that the members of the Sápádi section bury their dead and those of the Káwádi burn them. The ashes are either left at the place of cremation or thrown into a running stream. Mourning is observed for five days, during which time the principal mourner is regarded as unclean and abstains from flesh. On the fifth day after death, a swine is killed, its flesh is cooked and a funeral feast is given to all the relatives. In the name of the deceased, birds are fed with the food placed on a leafy plate. No *Srádha* is performed for the propitiation of the manes of the departed. If the spirit of the deceased person is suspected of having reappeared in a ghostly form, a small metal plate, with his image engraved upon it, is placed in the god's room and worshipped on every festive occasion.

Social Status.—The social status of the tribe is very low. No castes, other than the lowest unclean classes of Mahar (Mala),

Mang (Madiga), Chambhar, &c., will take food or water from their hands, while they will accept food from all Hindu classes except the lowest unclean castes. The members of the tribe are not allowed to enter the court-yard of great temples. They have few scruples regarding their diet and will eat fowls, pork, scaly and scaleless fish, field rats, jackals, foxes, cats, mongooses, carrion and the leavings of the higher castes. They indulge freely in strong drink and the tumult that ensues therefrom generally ends in a fight.

Occupation.—The vagrant Erakalás are professional burglars and highway dakaits and are under the strict vigilance of the police. They commit burglaries by digging through the walls of houses with a sharp iron instrument and, after the depredations have been committed, move away many miles from the scene of the crime, disposing of or secreting the plunder very quickly. Their highway dakaities are marked with extreme violence and ruthlessness, ending, not infrequently, in murder. They are very superstitious and never commence their predatory incursions unless the omens are favourable. Their ostensible means of livelihood is to make mats and baskets of date palm, ropes and twines from jungle fibres, slings for hanging cooking utensils and clothes, and ropes for drawing water and tethering animals. With these commodities, the women of the gangs wander from village to village and, under the pretext of selling them, collect information which helps the men in organising crime. The Erakalá females are petty thieves and as they go about begging from door to door they make away with pots and clothes they can lay their hands upon unnoticed. Sometimes they are so bold as to open and plunder locked houses situated in unfrequented lanes.

As a fortune teller, an Erakalá woman is in great favour among all the Telugu castes. She carries, in a date basket, her patron deity Ellamma, in the form of a small circular plate embossed with cowrie shells. She invokes the deity and, as if acting under its influence, tells fortunes and reveals the future. Sometimes, possessed by the goddess, she discloses the name of the evil spirit that haunts a family and prescribes remedies for its pacification.

The settled members of the tribe are peaceful cultivators and village musicians. They also work in date palm leaves, making brooms, baskets, mats and toys for children. They have not yet thoroughly repressed their criminal instincts and are frequently suspected of helping their nomadic comrades in the commission of crime.

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XXX

GAVLI

Gavli—a pastoral caste found in all the Marathawada districts and in some parts of Telingana. The Gavlis have no traditions and cannot give any account of their origin, nor of their former settlement. They are strong, dark and well made. It is possible that they may be an offshoot from the great Lingayit community, differentiated by keeping herds of cattle and taking to pastoral habits.

Internal Structure.—The Gavlis are divided into two sub-castes, Nagarkar and Vajarkar, which are evidently of the territorial type. The members of these sub-castes interdine but do not intermarry. Each of these is further divided into a number of exogamous sections, some of which are given below as specimens :—

Khedkar.	Khandarkar.
Taitankar.	Katikar.
Punekar.	Baride.
Mardkar.	Nandarkar.
Nizamshai.	Aurangabade.
Avasekar.	Bahirwade.
Bhaganagari.	Godulkar.
Hatdurkar.	Shahpurkar.
Bajirao.	Jhade (tree).
Ganjewale (hemp).	Dahiwade (curds).
Divate (torch).	Landge (wolf).
Langote (rag).	Goakhore.
Paraswari.	Devrishi.
Ambarkhane.	Mahankale.
Sevate.	Pathait.
Alankhane.	Bhakare.
Dhamkade.	Mongle.
Pharadkhane.	Shelar.
Atrunkarin.	Chankade.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is practised by the caste, girls being married between the ages of two and ten years. Polygamy is permitted, without any limit being imposed on the number of wives a man may have. The marriage ceremony is of the type common among other Lingayit castes. A bride-price varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 is paid to the father of the bride. The marriage takes place at night. After the bride has been selected, the father of the bridegroom goes to her house and presents her with jewels and new clothes. On this occasion a feast is given by the bride's people in confirmation of the match. On the appointed day, the bridegroom, mounted on a bullock, goes in procession to the bride's house and is received at the entrance by the bride's mother, who waves a piece of bread round his head. The bride and bridegroom are seated on low wooden stools, the bride being on the left hand of the bridegroom. Five metal pots are arranged about them, forming a square, and a man goes five times round them, first keeping them always on his right hand, and then as many times again keeping them on his left. While he is making the circuits, he encircles the pots with a raw cotton thread. Both Brahmans and Jangams are called in to conduct the ceremony, who recite *mantras*, or sacred texts, and throw coloured rice on the bridal pair. This is deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. The scarves of the bridal pair are tied in a knot and their feet are washed with water and milk. The bride's right hand is then placed on the right hand of the bridegroom and the father of the bride puts a rupee and a quarter into her hand, which she drops into that of the bridegroom. This completes the giving away of the bride (*Kanyadan*) and his acceptance of her by the bridegroom. The two sets of cotton thread are then taken off from the pots and one is tied as *kankanam* on the wrist of the bride and the other on that of the bridegroom. After Ganesh and Kalash (water pot) have been worshipped the bridal pair are smeared with turmeric and oil and the ceremony is closed. The officiating Brahman and Jangam claim their fees and retire to their homes.

Widow=Marriage.—The Gavlis allow a widow to marry again and impose no restrictions on her choice of a second husband. The

widow, before her marriage, is, however, required to give up her children, both male and female, to her late husband's family. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is a very simple one and closely conforms to that among the Maratha Kunbis, both Brahmans and Jangams officiating as priests. Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, and divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows.

Religion.—In respect of religious and ceremonial observances, the Gavlis generally conform to the usages of the Lingayit sect. Like other Lingayits, they wear a *lingum*, the phallic emblem of the god Shiva, round their necks and worship it daily with offerings of flowers and food before they dine. No Gavli, so long as he lives, can part with this symbol without incurring expulsion from his caste. Their special deity is Mahadev, whom they worship on festive occasions with offerings of flowers and fruit and in whose honour they observe a fast on Mahashivratri, or the 14th of the dark half of Magh (April) and on every Monday in the month of Shravana (August). They pay reverence also to Khandoba, Naroba, Bhavani of Tuljapur, Ganapati and other gods of the Hindu pantheon, and make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Tuljapur, Kondanpur, Jejuri, Alandi and Benares. They call in Jangams, the priests of the Lingayits, at their birth and funeral ceremonies, while Brahmans are employed to conduct their marriages. Their religion, in fact, is a mixture of Lingayitism and Hinduism, as practised by the middle classes of Hindu society of Maharashtra. Ancestral worship prevails strongly and silver and brass impressions representing departed ancestors are placed in the god's room and worshipped by burning frankincense and camphor before them and with offerings of flowers, fruit and boiled rice.

Child-Birth.—A Lingayit woman, after childbirth, is unclean for ten days. On the eleventh day, the mother and child are bathed and their foreheads are smeared with *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) by a Jangam and they are then free from impurity. Finally, the Jangam brings a new *lingum*, worships it and either ties it round the child's neck, or hands it to the mother to be kept till the child is twelve years old.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting pos-

ture facing the east. When a person dies, the corpse is seated in a wooden frame (*makhar*), its forehead is smeared with *vibhuti* and it is carried to the grave on the shoulders of four men. After the body is lowered into the grave, it is filled in with earth and salt, and the Jangam, standing over the mound of earth raised over it, blows the conch shell, intimating that the soul of the deceased has reached *Kailas* (Shiva's abode). He is then dragged down by the chief mourner and paid his fees. Mourning is observed for three days only and on the third day a feast is generally given to the members of the caste.

Social Status.—The Gavlis rank higher, socially, than the Maratha Kumbis, and are equal to those groups of the Lingayits who have undergone no *Diksha* (initiation ceremony) and with whom Gavlis will eat both *kachi* (uncooked) and *pakki* (cooked) food and smoke from the same hookah. All kinds of animal food are strictly prohibited, and the members of the caste also abstain from indulging in strong drink.

Occupation.—The large majority of the caste find employment as cowherds and comparatively few have taken to agriculture. They purchase cow buffaloes from Berar at prices varying from Rs. 30 to Rs. 120 and cows at from Rs. 20 to Rs. 60. Their women help them in selling milk, butter, curds and whey, and in making and selling cowdung cakes. The children tend the herds of cows and buffaloes belonging to themselves and other people and drive them out to pasture.

Distribution.—The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Gavlis in 1911 :—

District.			Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	...	...	1,433	1,412
Atrafi Balda	...	...	101	87
Warangal	...	...	124	115
Karimnagar	...	...	28	14
Adilabad	...	...	968	817
Medak	...	...	57	13
Nizamabad	...	...	68	73
Aurangabad	...	...	1,096	1,031

District.				Males.	Females.
Bhir	...	...	...	597	592
Nander	...	...	...	1,600	1,652
Parbhani	...	...	...	804	782
Gulbarga	...	...	...	1,219	1,169
Usmanabad	...	...	...	403	333
Raichur	...	...	...	807	835
Bidar	...	...	...	557	544

XXXI

GHISADI

Ghisadi, Baiti Kamara ('Baiti' in Telugu meaning 'outside')—a wandering caste of iron-workers, polishers, tinkers and knife-grinders. The name 'Ghisadi' seems to be derived from the Urdu word 'ghaisna', meaning 'to rub.' Their origin is obscure. The Ghisadis themselves say that they were originally Marathas, and separated from the parent caste by reason of their having adopted their present occupation. Others claim Gujerath to be their original habitat. Their traditions throw no light upon their original affinities. Their home tongue is Gujerathi, but they speak Marathi and Hindustani as well. As a class they are hardworking and robust, but quarrelsome and fond of drinking. They generally live in huts, or *pals*, of cloth, on the outskirts of villages, where they find work. They carry their clothing, utensils and other articles on asses, ponies or bullocks from place to place. Both males and females dress like the Maratha Kunbis. They generally wear top-knots and beards.

Internal Structure.—The Ghisadis have no sub-divisions. Their exogamous sections are based upon family names which closely resemble those of the Maratha Kunbis. Marriages are regulated according to surnames.

Surnames (Marathawada),

Pawar
Chavan
Bhukya
Rathor
Salunke
Katker

Surnames (Telingana).

Poshinarwaru
Paingantiwaru
Palakadawaru
Heerapuramwaru
Badapolawaru
Anvalikarwaru

Persons of the same surnames cannot intermarry. A man may marry two sisters but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. A

niece may be taken in marriage. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste. A girl is sent to her husband's house immediately after the marriage ceremony. Cohabitation before puberty is tolerated. Girls are not dedicated to temples. A girl becoming pregnant before marriage is expelled from the caste. Polygamy is permitted theoretically to any extent, but is limited in actual life to not more than two wives.

The marriage ceremony differs in different localities. The Maratha Ghisadis marry their daughters by the ceremony, in vogue among the Maratha Kunbis. The ceremony among the Baiti Kamaras takes place in a wedding booth of nine pillars, and is attended with the killing of a pig and five sheep, as a sacrifice to the patron deities of the caste. In other respects, it conforms to the usage current among the other Telugu castes.

In general, a widow is not allowed to marry again. But where the custom prevails, she may marry her late husband's younger brother.

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised and is effected by driving the woman out of the house. No expenses are recovered. Adultery on the part of a woman with a member of a lower caste is punished by expulsion from her caste, but with a man of a higher caste it may be condoned by a small fine, or entirely overlooked.

Religion.—The religion of the Ghisadis presents no features of special interest. They themselves profess to be Saivaites, and worship Balaji and Bhavani as their patron deities. They pay reverence to all the Hindu gods, and observe the Hindu festivals. They have a firm belief in ghosts, evil spirits and witchcraft. Maisamma is appeased by Telugu Ghisadis with offerings of flesh and wine. Brahmans are engaged for ceremonial and religious observances.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt, with the head to the north and the face downwards. The ashes and bones are collected on the 3rd day after death, and thrown into any stream that is close by. Mourning is observed, 10 days for agnates, and 3 days for other relatives. Among the Baiti Kamaras a singular custom ordains that

the spot where the body is burnt be marked with a stone bearing the images of the sun and moon. Funeral rites are performed on the 10th, 11th and 12th days after death. Some of the Ghisadis do not mourn for their dead, and their women assume widowhood three days after the death of their husbands. This singular divergence from the orthodox usage may be due to the supposition that the spirit does not shake off its attachment to the dead body until three days after death. No *Sradha* is performed by the members of the caste. Rice and alms are offered to Brahmans in the name of the departed ancestors on the *Pitra Amawasya*, or the last day of Bhadrapad (Sept.-Oct.).

Occupation.—For eight months in the year they wander from village to village and work, especially in iron. They prepare all kinds of ironware, which they sell in the bazars.

Social Status.—They eat the flesh of goats, fowls, pigs, and fish and drink wine and *shendi*. They do not eat the leavings of any caste. They eat *kachi* (uncooked food) from the hands of all castes, except Dhobis, Malas, Mangalas and Panchadayis, while only the Malas, Madigas and Erakalás will eat from their hands.

XXXII

GOLLA

Golla, Gulla, Gullai (in the Carnatic), Gollewari, Gavali, Dhangar—a numerous pastoral caste of the Telugu and Carnatic Districts, found also on the eastern outskirts of the Marathawada country. Dwelling generally on the plains, they move, during the dry season, to the forest-clad hills which yield abundant pasture for their flocks and herds.

Etymology.—Opinions differ regarding the etymology of the word 'Golla.' Some derive it from the Sanskrit word 'gopal,' meaning 'a keeper of cows' ('go'—a cow, and 'pal'—a keeper). Others hold that it is a corruption of 'Godlawaru' (grazier of cows), 'Gollawaru' (cow-herd) or 'Gurlawaru' (shepherd). The last derivation is probably suggested by the fact that the Gollas have, of recent date, taken to tending sheep.

The titles of respect which are affixed to the names of the male members of the caste are 'Anna' (elder brother), 'Ayya' (father) and 'Boyadu' (elder).

Origin.—The Gollas are not a homogeneous race, but are composed of a large number of endogamous groups, the members of which are found to differ from one another in their features and complexion and even in their manners and usages. Their traditions tend to support the same view and to show how people of different origin have been linked together by common occupations and constitute the Golla caste.

The Era Gollas of the Karimnagar and Nalgunda districts trace their descent from the god Krishna's sons, who escaped the destruction by fire of the Yadava race. The survivors were, according to a legend, subsequently grouped under divisions based upon the manner in which they effected their escape. Those who were reddened by the glow of the fire were called Yera Gollas, the word

'yera' meaning 'red' in Telugu ; those who lay concealed in the green foliage of umbrageous trees were called Páknáti, 'páknáti' meaning 'green branches'; those who implored the god Krishna to save them, were known as Puja Gollas ; while others, who carried their family gods in baskets (Telugu *gampa*) got the name of Gampa Gollas ; and, lastly, the descendants of those who fought in the melee, have borne the designation of Mushti Gollas.

Another tradition, purely of a local character, comes from Kurvinal in the Atrafi Balda district, and represents the Gollas as having sprung from one Iránná, the son of the king Pidiráj of Donakunda in Telingana and his wife Padmá. Iránná, and his brave brother Kathanna saved the bovine race from a female goblin and have been, in consequence, elevated to the rank of gods.

Internal Structure.—The number of sub-castes into which the Gollas are divided is unusually large. A few, deserving notice, have been enumerated below :—

1. Yera or Era Golla.
2. Sadnam or Boya Golla.
3. Yaya Golla.
4. Paknati Golla.
5. Puja Golla.
6. Mushti Golla.
7. Modati Golla.
8. Mudra Golla.
9. Sale Golla.
10. Sarsa Golla.
11. Adi Golla.
12. Gujarathi Golla.
13. Ale Golla.
14. Pedwati Golla.
15. Manda Golla or Buchewad.
16. Yadava Golla.
17. Karne Golla.
18. Gampa Golla.

These names appear to refer either to the physical type of the sub-caste, as in the case of the Era Gollas, or to some traditionary

function, as *puja* and *modati*, or to a legendary event, as in the case of Mushti and Paknati. They have also reference either to the place from which the members immigrated, or their descent (probably fictitious) from a particular stock. Gujarathi Gollas are an instance of the former class and Yadava Gollas of the latter.

The Yera or Era Gollas derive their name from the colour of their skin, which is more transparent than that of the other Golla tribes. They form the bulk of the caste living in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Their tall, muscular frames, regular features and comparatively light complexions (sun-burnt by constant exposure) indicate their foreign origin, although history is silent upon the exact period of their immigration. They claim a social rank higher than all the other sub-castes, except the Gujarathi and the Adi, who are, however, to be rarely met with in the districts.

It is customary among members of this sub-caste to dedicate both boys and girls to their patron deities Mallana and Raj Rageshwar; in fulfilment of vows they may have made to these deities. The girls are also married to swords. Such dedicated girls are called Párvati and Jogini and are known to lead loose lives, associating themselves with men of their own caste, or of higher castes, but on no account of inferior castes. A curious, but ancient custom, forbids Yera women to perforate their noses and to wear nose-rings or head ornaments. The parrot is neither tamed nor touched, and the veneration with which the bird is regarded by the members of this sub-caste, leads to the inference that it might be the totem of the tribe.

In Gulbarga and other Canarese districts the name 'Yera' has been dropped and the members of the sub-caste call themselves Anam Gollas, speak Canarese and have preferred the cultivation of land to their original occupation. The Anam Gollas deal also in medicinal herbs and roots and in their capacity of *wai-mandlus* (mountebanks) are popularly believed to be very skilful in cupping and bleeding, in extracting guinea worms, preparing embrocations and ointments, feeling the pulse and prescribing for ordinary diseases. Their women are engaged as farm-labourers, but will never stoop to accept service as domestic servants.

The Sadnam, or Boya Golas are hypergamous to the Era

Gollas to whom, it is said, they give their maidens in marriage. The members of this sub-caste profess to abstain from eating fowls. Their women do not wear *cholis* or petticoats.

The Yaya Gollas appear to be an offshoot from the Yera Gollas, whom they closely resemble in physical type, although they are a little swarthier in complexion. They maintain the *Panchayat* system, the headman of which is termed *chaudhari* or Mehter. At a wedding ceremony the *chaudhari* has the privilege of placing the first spot of sandal paste on the forehead of the bridegroom, for which he claims betel-leaves, areca-nuts, a piece of bodice cloth and five copper coins as his perquisite.

The Páknáti Gollas are divided into two endogamous groups—Domatiwaru and Magdiwaru—based upon the difference of the usages which regulate their marriage ceremony. Before marriage, some male members (usually nine) of a Domatiwaru family are required to observe a fast for a whole day, in honour of their patron deity, Mallanna in Telingana and Chandramma in the Carnatic, and to drink *ghi* at the time when the fast is broken. If any of them declines to drink the liquid it is forcibly poured down his throat and, should he fall ill thereby, he is given wine to drink and onions to eat, and a ram is slaughtered and placed upon the *pandal* beneath which the wedding is to be celebrated. No such usage obtains among the members of the Magdiwaru sub-division. The Páknáti maidens are, like their Yera sisters, dedicated to deities and married to swords and trees and, under the designation of Párwati or Jogini, live subsequently the lives of prostitutes.

The Puja Gollas are a dark complexioned sub-caste, possessing coarse and indelicate features and taking their name from a legend purporting that their ancestors were priests to the shepherd god Mallana. A usage, evidently of a non-Aryan origin, requires them to eat pigs on the first day of the new year, as an act of merit, which is believed to bring them good fortune and happiness during the year to come. Like the Yera women, their females are debarred from perforating their noses or from wearing nose-rings and head ornaments. The Puja women do not wear bodices, owing to the mythological event, which they still fondly cherish, that Shri Krishna, in one of

his amorous frolics, bore away on the *kalamb* tree (*Stephegyne parvifolia*), the garments of the milkmaids of Brindaban while they were bathing, undressed, in the waters of the holy Jamna. The members of this sub-caste honour, among their deities, the river Ganges, which is represented by small stones placed outside their dwellings and worshipped, on a dark night, by the eldest member of the community.

The Mushti Gollas allege that they inherited their name from their ancestors, who were distinguished for their skill in boxing.

The Gujarathi Gollas profess to observe a high standard of ceremonial purity, drink water which is not exposed to the sun's rays and claim, on this ground, to be superior to other Golla sub-castes, with whom they neither interdine nor intermarry.

The Modati Gollas ('modati' meaning 'indigenous') appear, as their name indicates, to be a group of local formation. They earn their living by begging from the higher classes of Gollas, to whom they stand in the relation of family bards and genealogists, singing and extolling the history and renown of the families of their supporters. They travel from village to village under their popular name of Tuljawad or Teljilodu, the word 'tulja' being, it is said, derived from 'tira chira' which means 'a *sari* with patterns of dolls embroidered on it.' This *sari* they spread on the ground in front of their moveable huts, or hang as a curtain at the door and, assuming various disguises, entertain their audience by dancing and singing before the idols.

The Pidwati Gollas, also called Pusalwád (pedlars), are the lowest of the Golla sub-castes. They lead a sort of nomadic life, moving from place to place and retailing, in villages, glass beads, sham corals, trinkets, needles, thread, tape, *kunkum* (red aniline powder) and other articles which they procure at the bazars in the cities.

Of these sub-castes, only the Yerá, Páknáti, Adi, Mushti, Sadnam, Mudrá, Pujá, Karne, and Gampa interdine. All eat from the hands of the Gujarathi Gollas who are, as already mentioned, regarded as the highest of the Gollas. The Modati, Paykani, Padapotolo, and Manda Gollas subsist by begging alms of the Yera and other higher Golla tribes.

The exogamous sections into which the sub-castes are broken up are of the totemistic type. The totems comprise the names of trees, plants and animals and, it has been ascertained, are generally taboo to the members of the sections bearing their names. A member of the *Wankayalu* section will not touch nor injure the *wankayalu* (egg-plant or brinjal—*Solanum Melongena*) nor eat its fruit. So, also, a member of the Shashila section will not touch, injure or kill a *shashilu* (serpent). Some of the sections are worth noticing as being of peculiar formation and possessing curious beliefs and usages.

1. The Shalandalu section.—Members belonging to this do not use turmeric coloured rice in their marriages.
2. The Kanya Sarolu section.—The parents of a boy belonging to this section will not make the first proposals towards the settlement of their son's marriage.
3. The Surwala section.—Members of this will never milk into an empty vessel, i.e., they will put at least a little water into the vessel before milking.
4. The Tanala section.—It is essential for a member of this section that, while on pilgrimage, he should bathe stealthily in *tirtha* (holy-water) or, in other words, he should avoid attracting the attention of the Tirtha Brahmans and paying their *dakshina* (fees). Should a Brahman detect him while bathing and demand his fees, it is believed that all the merit he acquires by his holy trip disappears.
5. The Basutolu section.—Members of this worship the plant *basutolu*, from which they receive their name, on Sundays, or at the commencement of sowing operations, or before they sell a sheep, with offerings of flowers and sweet dishes.

The section name descends in the male line. The rule of exogamy requires a man not to marry a woman of his own section, but it does not preclude him from marrying a girl of his mother's section. A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. He may also marry the daughter of his elder sister, or of his mother's brother, but not of his father's sister.

Marriage.—Except among the Puja Gollas, who practise both

infant and adult marriages, the Golla girls are married before they have attained the age of puberty. Boys and girls, as has been already mentioned in connection with the Yera Golla sub-caste, are dedicated to temples and married to the deities Mallanna and Raj Rajeshwar, such dedicated boys being called Waghes or Mallannas and the girls Parwatis or Murlis. Signs of a girl's puberty in her father's house forebodes no good to her brothers, and she is immediately sent, with her face covered with a blanket, to her husband's house. Cohabitation before the girl matures is allowed, on the performance of a ceremony, when forty seers of rice are cooked and caste-people are feasted, clothes and jewels being presented to the girl and her husband on the occasion. Polygamy is permitted theoretically, without limit, but is restricted in practice to two wives, the second wife being taken only in case the first wife is barren, or incurably diseased.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony is of the usual type. Proposals of marriage are made to the girl's parents and, if they are accepted, the bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house, and performs *Supa Idam* (ceremony of betrothal). In the presence of the caste *Panchayat*, he makes a turmeric spot on the girl's forehead, presents her with *wadibium* and declares that he has approved of the girl and has accepted her for his son. In the *Pedda* or *Gatti Idam*, the boy's father pays to the parents of the girl the bride-price, amounting to Rs. 12, and makes a present of a new *sari* and *choli* to the girl, the ceremony being concluded with a drink and a feast to the bridegroom's party. The Gollas celebrate the *Prathanam* ceremonial, at which a curved ring, sanctified by a Brahman and blessed by elderly relatives, is solemnly put on the girl's right hand ring finger. On this occasion, the girl receives from her husband-elect, wedding gifts consisting of jewels and clothes. The ritual that follows closely resembles that performed at a Kápu marriage and needs no separate mention. *Kanyadan*, or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom and his formal acceptance of her, is believed to be the essential portion of the ceremony. In the *Nagbali* ceremony, which constitutes their *Kulachar*, the Golla bridegroom, with a plough and other implements of husbandry, goes a

little distance from the marriage booth and furrows the soil, in which he sows *navadhanya*, or nine sorts of seed grains. His young wife, in the meanwhile, brings him bread and water, as she would do in actual married life.

The Paknati Gollas of the Carnatic have some curious ceremonies among them. During the course of the wedding, a quantity of *ghi* is distributed in three vessels. Two of these are offered to the parents of the wedded couple, who quaff their contents. A relative of the bridegroom is required to drink the *ghi* in the third vessel. On the *Nagbali* day, in the Carnatic, the bride and bridegroom, seated side by side, are bathed in a *polu*, formed of a *jawari* square with a vessel of water at each corner, the vessels being encircled by a raw cotton thread. The parties, after the bath, exchange their garments, the bridegroom wearing the clothes of the bride and the bride attired in those of her husband and, thus dressed, fetch, in procession, water from a village well. This ceremony over, their maternal uncles mount them on their hips respectively and jump and prance like horses, and as they cross each other the bridal pair throw red powder (*abhir* and *gula*) by the handful on each other's person.

Puberty.—A Golla girl, on attaining puberty, is considered unclean for eleven or thirteen days, and the ceremonial observed among members of this caste more or less resembles that prevailing among other Telugu castes. During this period, she has to occupy a separate room, fitted for the purpose, where she is scrupulously screened by a curtain from the evil gaze of strangers. A wooden puppet, clothed and decorated, and a sword, are kept by her side and are her constant companions throughout. She is sumptuously feasted all the time for the first five days by her husband's people and for the remaining days by her mother and her relatives. On the fifth day after menstruation, she receives her first bath. A female barber attends upon her on the occasion, smears her with turmeric paste and oil, and pares her nails. Married women present her with *wadibium*. On the eleventh day, she receives her last bath and is then ceremonially clean.

Widow-Marriage.—The Gollas allow a widow to marry again.

but do not require her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. She may, however, marry the husband of her elder sister. When a widow marries again, the bridegroom is required to give her parents half the expenses they incurred on her first marriage. The ritual ordained for the marriage of a widow is of the simplest character. The bridegroom gives her a white *sari*, some bangles and a pair of toe rings. He ties a *pusti* round her neck and this forms the binding portion of the ceremony. He then provides a feast to his friends and relatives and the ceremony ends. In the Carnatic, a widow bride, dressed in white, is first led by other widows to a temple, and thence, after she has put on, with her own hands, the *pusti* round her neck, she is conducted to the house of the bridegroom: The pair, thereupon, bathe and become husband and wife. Divorce is permitted, on the ground of the wife's adultery or disobedience, and is effected as follows. The husband gives the offending woman a white *sari*, daubs red lead on her forehead and removes the upper garment from off her head. This done she is deprived of her *pusti* and is expelled from the house in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. Adultery with a man of her own caste, or with one of a higher caste, is condoned by a small fine and the matter is hushed up. An intrigue with a lower caste man does not admit of such tolerance and the adulterous woman is instantly expelled from the caste.

Religion.—The favourite deity of the Gollas is Mallanna, worshipped every Sunday and on the light 14th of Māgh (January-February), with offerings of sweetmeats, flowers, milk and curds. On the *Til Sankrant* holiday, when the sun enters the sign of Capricorn, the god is worshipped with great pomp in every Golla household. Garlands of *zendu* flowers (marigold), hung over painted pots containing milk and curds, represent the deity, to whom red lead, sweet dishes, and flowers are offered by every member of the community. The dog, which is sacred to Mallannah, is fed on the occasion. A loaf is coated with curds, one piece of it is thrown to a dog, another is offered to the son and the third is cast on the top of the house.

Another deity, characteristic of the Golla caste, is the river

goddess 'Ganga (yerudu), propitiated with great ceremony on a moonlight night in the month of Shravan (July-August). In the sheepfold situated outside the village, a square piece of ground is plastered clean with cowdung and adorned with fine patterns of *kunkum* and lime-stone powder. Over this ground, which is bordered by flint pebbles and surrounded by green boughs, a small bower of *tangade-chellu* twigs (*Cassia auriculata*) is erected. The goddess is installed in the centre of the bower, being represented by a branch of the *rui* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), a pitcher of water and a sharp-edged iron-blade resembling a knife. The *puja* done to these fetishes consists mainly of animal sacrifices. The eldest and most respectable member of the community, called *Savkar Lachayya* by the Puja Gollas *Palwanacha*, acts as the priest of the deity, brings forward the sacrificial animal (sheep), daubs its forehead with red lead and decapitates it at one stroke before the deity. The blood of the animal is sprinkled over the deity, its skin is interred in front of the bower and its flesh is cooked and partaken of by the devotees. It is said that the votaries spend the remainder of the night in drinking, singing and merry-making. Women generally keep themselves aloof from this festival.

Pochamma, Maisamma, Ellama, Nagalu and a host of minor gods and spirits are appeased by the Gollas with sacrifices of goats, sheep, fowls and sometimes buffaloes. Reverence is paid to the souls of deceased ancestors and, if a new ancestor dies, and his reappearance in this world in a spirit form is apprehended, his image is stamped upon a metal plate and included among the domestic gods.

The religion of the Gollas, saturated with animism, is gradually drifting towards Hinduism, under the sectarian influences of the Shri-vaishnava and Aradhi Brahmans. The Gollas are divided between Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidharis. They worship all the Hindu gods and observe all the Hindu festivals. Brahmans are called in on religious and ceremonial occasions and for the performance of the *Satya Narayan* worship. Gauramma is honoured by females in the lunar half of the month of Kartika (October-November).

Child-Birth.—A Golla woman is impure for twenty-one days subsequent to child-birth. A female barber generally attends upon

her, as midwife, and cuts the umbilical cord which, enclosed in an earthen pot, is buried near the bed. On the third day after birth, *Purud* is celebrated, at which five leafy plates, containing small heaps of cooked rice with lighted lamps on them, are worshipped and given away to the midwife. On the twenty-first day the mother bathes, besmears the well with *kunḡum*, draws water and is free from all ceremonial impurity.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Gollas, as a rule, bury their dead in a lying posture, with the head turned towards the south. After the grave has been filled up, the principal mourner walks three times round it, carrying an earthen pot of water on his shoulder. At the third round he drops the vessel on the ground and returns home, followed by all the relatives attending the funeral. On the third day after death, the relatives offer food at the grave and wait till it is touched by a crow, which indicates that the offering has been accepted by the hovering soul of the deceased. The Gollas observe mourning for their adult dead for ten or fifteen days, and for children for three days. On the fifteenth day libations of *til* water (*tilodak*) and balls of cooked rice are offered to the manes and a funeral feast is provided for the caste people. *Sradha* is performed on the *Pitra Amawasya*, or the last day of Bhadrapad (middle of September). The bodies of females are laid in the grave face downwards and those of pregnant women are burnt. It is observed that the usage of cremation is deemed the more respectable and is frequently resorted to by the higher classes of the Golla community.

Social Status.—The social status of the Gollas cannot be precisely defined. The Erra, Paknati, Mushti, Sadnam and Adi Gollas are ranked with the Kapu, Velama, Munnur, and other cultivating castes. The Yaya Gollas occupy a lower position, while the Modati, Pidwati, Manda and other inferior groups are looked down upon as degraded castes whose touch causes impurity. On the other hand, the Gujarathi Gollas affect a high standard of ceremonial purity, and regard themselves as being higher than the other Golla castes. The Gollas drink fermented and spirituous liquors and eat the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, fowls, fish, pigs and lizards. They eat the leavings of a Brahman's meal.

Occupation.—The Gollas believe their original occupation to be the tending and breeding of cows, sheep and other domestic animals, the making of butter and the dealing in milk and milch cattle. Unlike the Kurmas, they do not weave blankets, an occupation which they deem degrading to them. Many have taken, of late, to cultivation and trade, and by the acquirement of wealth have raised themselves to great importance. They are both *pattedars* and landless day labourers. A few have been educated and, under the title of 'Pillays' (Madras), hold eminent positions as Government servants, pleaders, doctors and in other branches of the learned professions. The Gollas do not wear the sacred thread.

Distribution.—The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Gollas in 1911 :—

			Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	...	...	1,866	1,781
Atrafi Balda	...	...	14,689	14,601
Warangal	...	...	35,652	33,394
Karimnagar	...	...	42,472	39,245
Adilabad	...	...	4,875	4,872
Medak	...	...	17,498	17,201
Nizamabad	...	...	12,699	12,663
Mahbubnagar	...	...	31,793	31,751
Nalgunda	...	...	53,099	50,820
Aurangabad	...	...	11	9
Bhir	...	...	...	...
Nander	...	...	7,009	6,930
Parbhani	...	...	30	34
Gulbargah...	..	...	2,057	1,973
Usmanabad	...	...	12	7
Raichur	...	...	10,088	10,096
Bidar	...	...	765	754

XXXIII

GOND

Gond—a non-Aryan tribe, whose features, complexion and traces of totemism in their sections mark them as being of Dravidian descent. They inhabit the wild and mountainous tract of the Adilabad District which, flowing in a line parallel to the Paina Ganga river, turns abruptly northward and, running between the Kinwat and Adilabad Talukas, sweeps into the Wun District of Berar. This region, which once formed a portion of the territory known as Gondawana, consists of a succession of hill ranges covered with dense forests of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*), *sag* or teak (*Tectona grandis*), *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*) and other wild trees. Occasionally, in a mountain gorge, or on a hill side in an open spot, a Gond village stands surrounded by patches of cultivated land. The village consists almost entirely of huts of wattled bamboos.

Character.—Owing to their secluded jungle life, the Gonds are a very shy, timid and retiring race. Towards strangers they first assume an attitude of reserve and suspicion, but once they get over their shyness, they become very hospitable and communicative. It is generally reported, by those well acquainted with their habits, that where the Gonds have not come under the influence of the inhabitants of the plains, they bear a high character for honesty and truthfulness. The men are, however, strongly addicted to drink, are very indolent and show a great dislike to methodical work. In a Gond village, one is struck at the sight of the males sitting idle, with no interest in work, while the females are toiling hard from morning till night at all kinds of indoor and outdoor work.

Physical Characteristics.—The predominating physical characteristics of the tribe are, a short flat nose with spreading nostrils, black and sparkling eyes, thick and projecting lower lips, generally scanty beards and moustaches and complexions varying from jet black

to dark brown. Of a strongly built, muscular frame, capable of great endurance, the male averages 5 ft. 4 in. in height ; both sexes possess an erect carriage and a peculiar gait of long and fast strides.

Dress and Ornaments.—The Gonds are scantily dressed. A strip of cloth, nearly a yard long, passed between the legs and fastened, before and behind, to a string around the waist, and a rag tied round the head, make up the complete dress of the male. The dress of a woman consists of one long piece of white, or coloured cloth, girt round the loins, the lower half of which hangs to the knees, the ends being passed between the legs and fastened behind, while the upper half is carried across the breast and over the left shoulder which, however, barely covers the breast. The women wear no bodice or petticoat. Their coarse black hair is collected behind in a knot, sometimes artificially enlarged and decked with wild flowers. Tattooing is very fashionable and their chest, arms and back are covered with most fantastic designs. A mass of very small black and white beads and mock corals, worked to form a necklace, adorn their necks and large brass ear-rings are worn in their distended ear-lobes. On their wrists they wear huge bracelets of pewter or bell-metal.

Origin.—The origin of the Gonds is obscure and their traditions throw no light upon their tribal affinities. "The name Gond or Gund," says Mr. Hislop, "seems to be a form of Kond or Kund. Both forms are most probably connected with the Telugu equivalent for a mountain, and therefore signify Konda Wanlu, or hill people. This name they must have borne for many ages, for we find them mentioned by Ptolemy, the geographer (A.D. 150), under the name of Gondaloi." A popular legend traces the origin of the tribe to the Pandav prince Bhimsen and the demon damsel Hedumba of *Mahabharat* fame. It is said that Hedumba gave birth to five sons simultaneously, and was so disgusted at this unnatural event that she deserted the infants to their fate. In their helpless condition, they were found by Máhádev, who took compassion on them and consigned them to the care of Parvati. She took charge of the infants, but nourished them at her left breast only. Even the divine nursing could not subdue their inborn tendencies towards cannibalism,

for these monstrous infants began to imbibe, along with the milk, the very life blood of Parvati's body which, in consequence, wasted day by day. Máhadev, alarmed at her emaciation, divined its cause and confined the wretches in a mountain cave. From this they were rescued by Pedlingu, a renowned sage, who, henceforth, became their preceptor, related to them their past history and initiated them into the worship of their forefathers. The four elder brothers became the founders of the four important sections of the tribe : (1) Sátdeva (worshipping 7 minor deities, *i.e.*, 5 Pandavas, Kunti and Draupadi) ; (2) Sáhádeo (worshipping 6 minor deities, *i.e.*, 5 Pandavas and their wife Draupadi) ; (3) Páchdeo (worshipping 5 minor deities, *i.e.*, 5 Pandavas) ; (4) Chardeo (worshipping 4 Pandavas, the youngest being dropped). The youngest of the brothers was appointed, under the name of Pardhan or Pathadi, the family bard and genealogist to his elder brothers, on whose charity he was ordained to subsist. This legend, so absurd in its conception, goes to illustrate how myths are devised by aboriginal tribes to glorify their origin, while in process of transition into the Hindu castes.

The Gonds of Adilabad are divided into six sub-tribes : (1) Raj Gond or Gond, (2) Pardhan, (3) Thoti, (4) Dadve, (5) Gowari, (6) Kolam, which are all endogamous. The terms Raj Gond and Gond, formerly used to distinguish the ruling classes from the bulk of the people, have now become synonymous, the poorest Gond calling himself a Raj Gond. This change was probably brought about after the Raj Gonds had ceased to be a ruling power and had sunk into political insignificance. A tendency is still observed among the upper classes of the sub-tribe, to hold themselves socially aloof from the masses, and a sort of hypergamy has sprung up between the two, the former accepting the daughters of the latter in marriage, but showing reluctance to give their own in return. Some of the Raj Gond families, which belonged to the Gond Rajas, have, by reason of their long contact with the more civilized communities of the plains, so far advanced towards Hinduism that they actually lay claims to a Rajput descent. They profess to follow the Hindu religion, relegating their ancient tribal customs to their women, employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes, practise infant marriage and

prohibit widow-marriage and divorce. These facts clearly indicate that disintegrating forces are at work, tending to split up the sub-tribe into two endogamous groups, one of which may, in course of time, become entirely a Hindu caste. Regarding the origin of the Raj Gonds, Mr. C. Scanlan ("Indian Antiquities," Vol. I, page 54) remarks: "Concerning their origin, it is said that while a Rajput prince was once out hunting he espied a goddess perched on a rock enjoying the wild scenery of the country. They became enamoured of each other and were blessed with a son, who was the ancestor of the Gonds, and since he claimed his origin from a goddess and a Rajput, they style themselves Raj Gonds and Gond Thakurs."

The Pardhans or Pathadis are the helots of the Gonds, and serve as genealogists and bards to the Raj Gonds, singing the exploits and great deeds of their rajas and heroes to the music of a kind of violin called *kingri*. This musical instrument is regarded, amongst them, as a mark of distinction which each Pardhan is bound to possess, or have tattooed on his left fore-arm. No marriage of a Raj Gond is celebrated, nor are his death rites performed, unless a Pardhan is present to receive the marriage presents, or to claim the raiments of the dead.

The Thotis, the bards of Pardhan, form a group of wandering minstrels. Their male members are mainly engaged in making small bamboo articles and in selling medicinal herbs, while the females are skilful tattooers. These three sub-tribes, resembling one another in every respect, appear to have once formed a single group, subsequently broken up on account of internal disorganisation, the Pardhans being an offshoot of the Raj Gonds and the Thotis that of the Pardhans. The Dadve formerly recruited the armies of the Gond Rajas, but now they work as day labourers. The Gowaris tend milch cattle and for this reason dwell in villages outlying the hill tracts. Their long association with the neighbouring Hindus, has so far affected their character and customs, that they are often found merged into the lower castes of Hindus and cut off from their own tribe.

Very dark of skin and short of stature, possessing habits of the most primitive character, the Kolam presents a fair specimen of the pure Dravidian type. He constructs his tiny bamboo cottage on the

crest of the highest hill, and so migratory is he that on the least alarm he shifts his quarters to the most inaccessible part of a mountain. He is very ugly in features and filthy in habits, never bathing for days together. He speaks a dialect called Kolami, which differs considerably from the other Gond dialects. In customs and usages, the Kolams resemble the Raj Gonds, to whose Rajas they pay homage and submit their internal quarrels for decision. All these facts taken together help to the conclusion, that these sub-tribes are essentially the branches of a formerly compact tribe, of which the Raj Gonds represent the original nucleus. This view derives support from the fact that each of the sub-tribes is divided into the same exogamous septs.

Internal Structure.—The following table gives the exogamous sections of the tribe, with the founder's name, totem and sub-septs, or families, which each sept comprises :—

Sept name.	Founder's name.	Totem.	Names of the sub-septs, or families sprung from the sept.
Chárdeva (those worshipping four deities).	Sedmákee	Tortoise, crocodile and ghorpor (iguana).	Seedam, Sedmákee, Tálanda, Naitam, Parchaki, Sahakathi, Tekam, Kowa, Pusám.
Páchdeo (worshipping five minor deities).	Kumbhará.	Porcupine and saras.	Adé, Soyám, Surpám, Alám, Godám, Madpati, Kinake, Padram, Karpetta, Maldongre, Jungna.
Sáhádeo (worshipping six minor deities).	Atrám.	Tiger.	Kotnaka, Pendor, Mandaleo, Salam, Kochala, Herekurma, Kulmeta, Kodopa, Veladi, Yermá, Foor-koor, Raisidam, Tolsam, Uikya, Torya, Kadam, Gedám, Kadnee, Korenga.
Sátdeo (worshipping seven minor deities).	Metrám.	Serpent and porcupine.	Madave, Dhurve, Kanháka, Korwetá, Kursenga, Maraskola.

All the septs are clearly totemistic, although they do not bear the names of the totems associated with them. The totem is taboo to the members of the sept to which it belongs, *e.g.*, a Seedám holds the tortoise in the highest reverence and will neither eat, kill, injure or even touch it. It is really noteworthy that while the totems and the founders' names have been preserved, the totemistic names of the septs have been dropped, and replaced by fabulous titles. This indicates an attempt, on the part of the Hinduised Gonds, to convert totemistic titles into eponymous ones and thus give colour to their pretensions for a mythical origin of an orthodox type. The sept name goes by the male side. The rule of exogamy is strictly followed. Thus a man cannot marry a woman of his own sept. No other sept is, however, a bar to marriage, provided that he does not marry his aunt, his first cousin, or his niece.

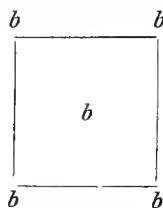
Marriage.—The Gonds marry their daughters both before and after the age of puberty. The former is, however, preferred by the more respectable members of the tribe.

Polygamy prevails and, in theory, there is no limit to the number of wives a man may marry. Sexual indiscretions, before marriage, are indulgently treated. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover, and he is forced to accept the girl as his wife. On the other hand, sexual indiscretion with an outsider involves instant expulsion from the tribe. Two forms of marriage are recognised by the Gonds.

(1) The more polite or regular form necessitates the consent of the parents of both parties. The father, or guardian, of the bridegroom takes the initiative and, when a girl is selected by him, he proceeds, formally, to the house of her parents to make the proposal of marriage on behalf of his son or ward. In the preliminary negotiations the question of the bride-price (varying from Rs. 9 to Rs. 20) takes a prominent part. Every thing having been arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, all the male members repair to a liquor shop and solemnize the betrothal with a drink, at the expense of the bridegroom's father. A singular custom requires every man before drinking the liquor to cry out "Rám Rám," an omission of which involves social disgrace. The caste people are then entertained at a

feast. On this occasion, the bridegroom's father contributes a cock and the bride's father a hen ; the boy's father places a pewter bracelet on the girl's wrist and this completes the ceremony of betrothal. On the day previous to the wedding, the bride's family escort her to the bridegroom's village where, on arrival, they are established under a shady tree and are met, towards evening, by the party of the bridegroom. As a mark of greeting, gruel and onions are exchanged by both parties. The whole company then goes in procession to the bridegroom's house. The bride and bridegroom are next alternately smeared three times with a paste of oil and turmeric, and bathed in warm water. The rest of the night is spent in feasting, music, singing and dancing. Early next morning, in the courtyard of the house, a canopy of *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*) and *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) leaves is erected and, underneath it, five earthen jars of water, crowned with lighted lamps, are arranged in the form of a quincunx on a square drawn of *jawari* flour.

The following plan illustrates the arrangement :—



b. Water pots.

An earthen vessel full of water, and covered with a concave lid, is placed on the cowdung hill of the house, in the open air, and after being solemnly worshipped is left guarded by two girls. This ceremony over, the bridegroom, dressed in cotton clothes dyed yellow with turmeric, armed with a spear and accompanied by music, which is most discordant, is led by his relatives and friends to the cowdung hill, one of the females bearing, on her head, a sacred lamp. The bride, similarly attired and attended, joins him and the bridal pair stand opposite each other near the consecrated earthen pot, the bridegroom facing east and the bride west. A curtain is held between them, and the bridegroom places his right foot upon a wooden stool, placed beneath the curtain, the bride simultaneously touching it

with her own. Then follows the essential portion of the ceremony, when the bridegroom, with his right foot resting on that of the bride, puts an iron ring on the little finger of her right hand. The screen is withdrawn and the wedding procession returns to the booth, where the bridal pair are bathed with water taken from the sacred earthen pots previously deposited. After changing their wedding clothes, the happy couple walk five times round the pots, the sacred lamp burning all the while. They afterwards sit side by side on the floor, with their faces turned towards the east. Grains of rice are then showered upon their heads by the assembled guests. The bride-price is then paid and a present of clothes made to the girl's parents. A feast to the caste, at the expense of the bridegroom's parents, completes the marriage ceremony. The bride's father, on his departure, is decorated with a garland of twenty-five cowdung cakes with a sheep's leg pendant in the centre.

The second form, representing marriage by capture, is resorted to by those Gonds, who are too poor to pay the bride-price, or to bear the subsequent expenses. This custom is in full force among the Gonds of the hilly districts, though it is dying out in the plains owing to the rigours of the law. A girl having been selected, and all information regarding her daily movements having been gathered, the friends of the boy proceed to her village, and lie in concealment close to the place she is expected to visit. In the meanwhile, an elder relative of the bridegroom, generally his father or brother, goes into the village, and wins the assent of the headman to the match on payment of Rs. 2. He then joins his comrades. On the girl making her appearance, sometimes alone, but often in company with others, he falls upon her all of a sudden and touches her hand. This effected, the marriage contract becomes irrevocable, even if the girl escapes from his hands. Great resistance to this capture is often offered by the women present, and the man is chastised in right earnest. Stones and other missiles close at hand are freely hurled, and the man is often severely injured; but the custom allows the women to accept a bribe, for more polite reception, and in such cases the girl is borne away in tears to the boy's house and there married in the absence of her parents.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is required to marry her late husband's younger brother, if alive, but, on his refusal, if her choice falls upon an outsider, no restriction is imposed upon her. In the latter case, however, she forfeits all claims to the custody of the children by her late husband. Infants at the breast are allowed to remain with their mothers, on the express condition that they will be restored to their father's family on their attaining a marriageable age. The ritual followed on a widow's re-marriage is of a simple character. Late in the evening, the woman goes to the house of her husband elect. In the court-yard a stool is placed, on which the bridegroom takes his seat. The bride bedaubs his body with oil and turmeric, and bathes him with warm water, and with the remaining water she bathes herself. Both of them wear white clothes and enter the inner court-yard, where the bride seats herself on a wooden stool, and the bridegroom ties a string of black beads round her neck and smears red lead powder on her forehead. The proceedings terminate with a feast.

Divorce.—Divorce is very common amongst the Gonds, in which both husbands and wives freely indulge. Elopements are of daily occurrence. A woman taking a fancy to a man, simply runs away with him, and if the aggrieved husband is a rich man, he immediately marries another wife, and there the matter ends. But should the husband be a poor man, he merely claims the bride-price paid for her, as a virgin, from the paramour of the unfaithful wife, and with the amount thus obtained he is at liberty to marry another woman. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same ritual as widows.

Religion.—The religion of the Gonds is animism, which flourishes, in its pristine vigour, among the inhabitants of the hilly tracts, although it is gradually losing ground among those of the plains. The principal deity of the Raj Gonds, Pardhans and Thotis is Phersaphen (great god), who is acknowledged to be the supreme god of the universe, and is worshipped with great veneration and awe, under the names of Zonkari, Jalgidar, &c. The emblems of the god vary with the locality of the worshipper, but generally consist of small iron pieces, resembling arrow-heads, each a span in length.

corresponding in number to the minor gods of the worshipper, which, enclosed in an earthen pot, with its mouth closed by a bamboo basket, are hung on a *mahua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*) at some distance from the village. The priest, called *ḥotádá* is a Raj Gond, who officiates at sacrifices to the god and keeps guard over the sacred pot. No woman or stranger is allowed to cast a glance upon the tree bearing the sacred pot, or to go anywhere near it.

Phersapen is worshipped once a year with great pomp and ceremony. It is generally on an evening in the month of Chait (March-April) that a sacrifice of goats and fowls is offered to the god, at the foot of the sacred tree, after which the emblems are taken down by the priest, who is clothed in red, and mounted on a bamboo pole. They are then carried in procession, headed by the Pardhans, with music, to some big river or tank where they are solemnly washed. Close to the village, a canopy is erected for the occasion, under which a branch of the *salai* tree (*Boswellia thurifera*) is planted, and it is here that the bamboo pole, bearing the sacred arrow-heads, is deposited. Frankincense is burnt before these emblems and cows, goats, and fowls are freely sacrificed by the officiating priest, on behalf of the community as a whole, and of individual members in pursuance of vows taken in times of trouble. Formerly, human sacrifices were offered on this occasion, but the rigours of law have now put an end to this. The flesh of the slaughtered animals is then cooked and the rest of the night is spent in feasting, dancing and revelry. The ceremonies are conducted with great secrecy and no Hindu, or Gond woman is allowed to be present. Towards the dawn of the following day, the emblems are taken back to the tree, and restored to their accustomed place.

Next in rank is Bhimsen, or Bhivsen, the favourite and characteristic deity of the Kolam and Dadve Gonds, represented by an oblong piece of *mahua* wood, 4 ft. in length, and daubed with sesame oil. With one end fixed in the ground and the other covered with peacock feathers, the god is set up upright, in a bamboo hut outside the village. He is propitiated twice a year, in the month of Vaishakha (April-May) and on *Til Sankrānt* (when the sun enters Capricorn), with offerings of goats, fowls and cows, which afterwards

furnish a feast for the assembled votaries. A Kolam priest presides on this occasion ; to the sound of a drum and cymbals and to the jingling of little bells worn in a belt round the waist, he dances and sings alternately, in honour of the deity. Every three years, the symbol of the god is carried to the Godavari river for ablution.

The worship of Bhimsen, formerly confined to the Gonds alone, is fast spreading, and Hindus of all orders now hold this animistic deity in reverence. A legend is already current identifying this god with the Pandav prince Bhimsen and giving him a seat in the Hindu pantheon. This furnishes a good example of the unconscious reception of animistic deities into the ranks of the Hindu gods.

The Gowaris reverence Kanhoba, an incarnation* of Vishnu, in whose honour they observe a fast on *Janmāshtami*, the 8th of the dark half of Shravan (July-August). In addition to the principal deities mentioned above, a host of evil spirits and minor gods are appeased by the Gonds. The former include the goddesses of cholera, smallpox, fever, &c., and other malevolent spirits, all of which must be conciliated in one form or another, in order to avert calamities proceeding from them. Among the latter are : (1) Jangu Rai Tad, a blood-thirsty goddess dwelling in a dark and dreary cave, near the village of Sakada in the Jangaon Taluka. The goddess is said to have been wedded to Bhimsen in an adjoining cave and, if duly propitiated, is credited with bringing good luck to her devotees. She once insisted on demanding human lives as the only sacrifice acceptable to her ; but, since the establishment of a vigilant police, and the strong rule of law, she is quite content with the blood of kine and goats. The terrific form of Bhimsen is represented by a fire burning constantly in a cave on the Dantapalli hill. The god is generally invoked by offerings of animals, before the commencement of agricultural operations, at the sowing season, and before the harvest is gathered in. It is also worshipped should the rains fail and a drought continue. Bhimanna is also worshipped at Gololi, in the form of a shaft fixed in the ground. It is rather curious that the priests of these two cults never meet. Serpent worship prevails and, in the month of Magh (February-March), a big fair is held in honour of the serpent god at Kesalapur, when a huge sacrifice is

offered at the altar. Thousands of goats and fowls are slaughtered on that day, and the blood-thirsty god is not satisfied until the altar is completely filled with blood. The votaries believe that not a drop of blood remains about the altar the following morning.

The Gonds have a strong belief in witchcraft. Witches are supposed to hold communion with the dark spirits: they meet them in the forest at night and dance and sing with them in a nude condition. Brahmans are not employed by the Gonds, either for religious or ceremonial purposes.

Disposal of the Dead.—After death, the bodies of persons who are married are burnt, and the unmarried, or those dying of small-pox or cholera, are buried. On the death of a Gond, his relatives and friends assemble at his house, where the body is carefully washed and, dressed in a white cloth, is placed on a bamboo bier and borne by four men, not changing hands, to the cremation ground. The chief mourner heads the procession, bearing in one hand a sling, with a triangular bamboo bottom, in which is placed an earthen pot filled with burning cowdung cakes, and in the other an axe with the head reversed on the handle. The corpse is laid on the funeral pyre, which is kindled with the cowdung cakes. When the pyre is well alight the chief mourner performs an ablution, and filling the earthen vessel with water walks with it three times round the pile. When the fire has nearly burnt down, he throws the axe three times over the pyre and, taking it with him, goes to a river or tank, followed by the bier bearers and other relatives. Having bathed, they adjourn to a liquor shop, rub the *mahua* refuse with the big toe of the right foot, and apply the soot of the furnace to their forehead with the little finger of the right hand. The liquor seller sprinkles them with country spirit, after which they sit down and drink. This over, they leave the axe with the liquor seller and return to the house of the deceased. On arrival, they are received at the door by a female relative of the deceased and sprinkled over with water from an earthen pot, into which a burning coal has been previously thrown. Next morning, all the relatives, male and female, holding mango twigs, visit the burning ground. A cow is sacrificed on the spot where the corpse was burnt, and the spirit of the dead is

invoked to accept the offering and be satisfied. Each person present makes five turns round the pyre, collecting the scattered ashes with the mango twig. As on the preceding day, the mourners bathe, drink, and return home. On the afternoon of the third day, the male members of the family repair to a grove of *mahua* trees adjoining the village. A square foot of ground is plastered with cowdung and before it are arranged small heaps of uncooked rice, as many in number as the minor gods of the deceased. A fowl (a cock or hen according to the sex of the dead) is decapitated and the spot covered with its blood; the head is left before the heaps of rice and the body is cooked and eaten by the assembled relatives. The liquor shop is again resorted to for the purpose of taking back the axe formerly left there. This terminates the funeral rites. No periodical ceremony is performed for the propitiation of departed souls, but dead relatives are held in great reverence. Burial is resorted to in cases of poverty. Tombs are erected over the remains of the rich, and those that are esteemed, to perpetuate their memory. Magnificent tombs of the Bond Rajas may be seen at Manikgad, near Rajura, and also in the vicinity of Jangaon.

Social Status.—The social status of the Gonds cannot be clearly defined. With the exception of a few families, who have been admitted to a high rank in the Hindu social system, by reason of their abstaining from beef and employing Brahmans, they stand wholly outside the Hindu caste system. No orthodox Hindu will ever eat their food, or accept water from their hands. In matters of diet they are not very particular. They partake of beef, pork, fowls, fish, field rats, snakes, lizards and buffaloes—in fact all animal food. They have no repugnance to eating the flesh of animals which have died a natural death; but they will refuse to eat the leavings of Hindus, even of Brahmans. Although wholly outside the pale of Hinduism, they are not free from caste prejudices and, amongst themselves, have formed various social grades, imitating the Hindu castes, as regards restrictions on diet and matrimonial alliances. As has already been mentioned, the Raj Gonds occupy the highest position, and the Pardhans and Thotis, whose touch is regarded as unclean and unceremonial, the lowest.

• • **Occupation.**—The original occupation of the Gonds is believed to be hunting and agriculture, which latter is carried on by the method known as *dhya* or *daha*. In this primitive mode of tillage, neither plough nor hoe is used, but the men cut trees, burn them, and sow seed by small handfuls in narrow holes made in the ashes. As the earth gives proofs of exhaustion, generally in two or three years, the Gonds move off, bag and baggage, to some fresh patch of land and resume their operations. The crops they raise are *jawari*, rice, chillies, maize and various pulses. Cotton is also occasionally grown. The largest share of the field labour devolves upon the women, who assist the men in sowing, weeding and gathering in the harvest. The scanty produce of their fields hardly suffices for their maintenance and they consequently have to eke it out by consuming *mahua* flowers, wild roots and fruit and a variety of jungle herbs. Every household has a sort of rude oil-press, in which oil is extracted from *mahua* seeds and used for eating and lighting purposes. The Gonds have their own carpenters, who make rude wooden implements, and their own distillers, who manufacture liquor from *mahua* flowers.

The Gonds have, hitherto, been lords of the woodlands, roving at will and enjoying perfect freedom in selecting land for cultivation and making new clearances. But the situation has now changed. The forest conservancy laws, which have come into force of late, and the extension of metalled roads, which have opened up their secluded tracts to foreign settlers, are interfering seriously with their *dhya* method of cultivation. The Gonds are thus being compelled to take to settled cultivation with the plough, and to exchange their free life for the restraints of an ordered existence. This new life is proving uncongenial to them, for it has created new wants, which their scanty resources cannot meet, and the result is that these simple jungle people are gradually being drawn more and more within the clutches of the wily money-lenders of the plains and are being subjected to all the evils of indebtedness.

A few of the Gonds, especially the wild Kolams, have been forced by later immigrants into the heart of the hilly forests, where they still maintain their straightforward independence and manliness.

These earn their living by hunting, making strong and durable bamboo mats and baskets, and collecting honey, *charoli*, *mahua* flowers, bees' wax, resins, gums and other jungle products, which they barter to a *bania*, in exchange for food-grains and other necessities of life.

Early History.—Of the early history of the Gonds very little is known. They established governments, one of which ruled the country which once comprehended a portion of the Adilabad District of H. H. the Nizam's Dominion, and the present Chanda District of the Central Provinces. It was founded by Bhim Ballal (804 A. D.) and had capitals at Jangaon Mowāḍa, and at Manikgada on the Wardha. Khandakyá Ballal, the 10th Raja, transferred the seat of government to Chandrapur or Chanda, which he founded on the Zarpal river in 1261 A. D. The legend is, that Khandakyá Ballal was suffering grievously from leprosy, of which he was completely cured by bathing in the balmy waters of the river; this induced him to select the site, as a lucky place, for his capital. The town was walled by Hirabai, the 12th ruler, who also built the shrine of Mahákáli and laid the foundation of the Chanda fort. At a later date the kingdom became subject to the Bhoslas of Nágpur. In 1743, the Gonds raised an insurrection, which Raghoji Bhosla quelled, annexing the principality to his dominions. Another Gond principality established its capital at Atnur, about 40 miles west of Jangaon, where the splendid architectural remains still bear witness to its former glory and magnificence. A Gond-Rajput dynasty, under the name of Kakatiyás, is said to have reigned at Warangal for more than 400 years. The kingdom became very powerful about the end of the 13th century, but, being involved in a conflict with the Muhammadans, its power continued to decline, till it was at last swept away, in 1424 A. D., by the generals of Ahmad Shah Wali, one of the Bahamani kings.

Connected with the Gonds of Adilabad, though not included among them, are the Koitor or Kois, who occupy the Warangal District, extending from Bhadráchalam, on the banks of the Godavari, down to the neighbourhood of Khamamet. A tradition prevails that famine and internal disputes drove them to this region from the high-

lands of Bastar, on the eastern banks of the Godavari. Both the Gonds and the Kois have a physical resemblance and are, in their features, quite distinct from the people of villages; but each of them has a different tongue, the Adilabad Gonds speaking almost the pure Gondi, while the Kois have a dialect with a great preponderance of Telugu words. The term Koitor or, in its radical form, Koi, has been supposed to be derived from *konda*, the Telugu equivalent for 'mountain,' but it seems to approach more closely the Persian *koh*, meaning 'hill.'

The Koi men are dignified with the title of *Doralu* (lords) and the women with that of *Dora Sanulu* (ladies).

The Kois divide themselves into five classes—Gutta Koi, Addilu, Perumbo Yadu, Koi Kammar Vandalu and Dollolu. The Gutta, or hill Kois, include the Madu Gutta, Pere Gutta, Vido Gutta, and other clans holding the highest rank among the tribe. The Koi Kammar Vandalu are Koi blacksmiths. The Dollolu are the religious counsellors or *bhāts* (genealogists) of the upper classes and have charge of the Koi deities. Koi customs are not uniform, but vary with the localities, although, in their essential character, they are not distinct from those of the Gonds. Boys and girls generally marry when of fair age. Marriages, both by proposal and by force, are in vogue. A widow is sometimes carried off a day or two after the death of her husband, while she is still grieving on account of her loss. Elopements are common and husbands are, occasionally, murdered for the sake of their wives. More disputes arise from wife stealing than from any other causes. The Kois pay devotion to Mámilá, represented by a stump of wood, to whom human sacrifices are said to be still offered. It is customary to propitiate the goddess early in the year, so that the crops may not fail. The Kolam god Bhimsen is also worshipped. Korrá Rázu is the deity which presides over the tiger demon. Wild dogs are held in special reverence and even if they kill the cattle they are not injured. A festival is held when *ippa* or *mahua* flowers (*Bassia latifolia*) are in blossom. When the new crop is ripe, and ready to be cut, the Kois take a fowl into the field, kill it, and sprinkle its blood on any ordinary stone put up for the occasion, after which they are at liberty to partake of the new

crop. The Koïs have a strong belief in the spirit world, and it is said that if they are not satisfied that the spirit of a departed person has joined the spirits of his predecessors, they waylay a stranger, kill him during the night, sprinkle his blood on the image of Mámilá and bury the corpse before any one knows of the event. This horrid practice has been on the decline since 1842, when arrangements were made to prevent it. In accordance with a very singular custom prevalent among them, the Koi women drive the men to hunt, on a certain day of the year, and do not allow them to return, unless they bring home some game. On this occasion, the women are said to be dressed in their husbands' clothes. Young persons and children are buried; others are burnt. A cow or bullock is slain, the tail is cut off and placed in the dead person's hands and the body burnt; the friends and relatives then retire and proceed to feast on the animal. Three days later, the ashes are rolled up into small balls and deposited in a small hole about two feet deep. A child is named on the 7th day after birth. Having washed the child and placed it on a bed they put a leaf of the *mahua* tree in its hands and pronounce its name.

XXXIV

GONDHALI

Gondhali—a class of Marathi beggars, musicians and dancers, to be found in all the Districts of the Marathawada, but especially in the District of Ūsmánábád. They take their name from their professional dance, *gondhal*, the word being probably derived from the tumultuous row (Marathi equivalent—*gondhal*) which the Gondhalis raise while performing the dance. Their traditions say that they were descended from the sage Jamdagni and his wife Renuka. According to another account, they are identical with the Maitriyas of olden times, who were regarded as the progeny of a Vaidehika father and an Ayogava mother.

Internal Structure.—The Gondhalis are divided into two sub-castes : Kadamrai and Renurai, who neither intermarry nor eat together. These two classes are distinguished from each other by their distinct badges of mendicancy, the former wearing a garland of *cowrie* shells, and the latter a wreath of *cowrie* shells alternated, with small silk tassels. Both are devotees of Bhavani, the consort of Shiva, the Kadamrais begging at the feet (Marathi—*kadam*) of the goddess, which privilege is said to be denied to the Renurais. There is a third class of Gondhalis, called Akarmasis, probably the illegitimate offspring of the above mentioned two sub-castes.

The Gondhalis have the same exogamous sections as those of the Maratha Kunbis, from whom they seem to be separated by reason of their having adopted the occupation of begging. Some of their exogamous sections are :—

Gaikawad.	Jatal.
Kapse.	Hatkar.
Mali.	More.
Lonker.	Rode.
Bamane.	Shirke.
Pawar.	Todker.
Sonwane.	Khanhal.

A man may not marry a woman of his own section. He may marry the daughters of his sister, his father's sister and his mother's brother. Polygamy is permitted, there being no rule to limit the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—Gondhali girls are married either as infants or as adults, between the ages of three and sixteen. A father receives for his daughter a price which is said to vary from Rs. 25 to Rs. 200, according to the means of the bridegroom.

The marriage ceremony extends over five days and comprises rites which are in vogue in the Maratha castes. On the first day, the bride and bridegroom are smeared with turmeric paste and oil, in their own houses separately. After this the bridegroom is conducted, in procession, to Hanuman's temple, worships the god and returns, bearing the *Devak*, i.e., the leaves of the mango, *saundad* (*Prosopis spicigera*), *palas* (*Butea frondosa*), *ambar* (*Ficus glomerata*), and *rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*). These are ceremonially tied to one of the posts of the wedding booth. Bhavani and other tutelary deities are propitiated with sacrifices, and relations and friends are feasted in their names. The second is the actual wedding day, when the bridal pair are made to stand face to face, either in bamboo baskets, or on leafy plates, and are sprinkled over with grains of rice by the priest. The remaining three days are spent in feasting and merrymaking, and in the performance of such rites as are of minor importance.

Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised by the caste.

Religion.—The principal deities of the Gondhalis are Bhavani of Tuljapur and Renuka Devi of Mahur, in whose honour they celebrate, with pomp, the festival of *Navaratra*, which falls in the month of Aswin (September-October). On the 10th of Aswin, a *Hom*, or sacrificial fire, is ignited, oblations of liquor are offered and goats are sacrificed to their patron deities. In the month of Asadha (June-July), Mari Ai, Pochamma, Sitala Devi, and other animistic deities, are honoured with sacrifices of goats. Besides these, the members of the caste worship the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon and

observe all Hindu festivals. Brahmans are engaged on ceremonial and religious occasions.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are either buried, or burnt, in a sleeping posture with the head pointing to the south; the *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death. Ancestors in general are propitiated in the month of Bhadrapad (August-September) with oblations of water. Spirits of ancestors, especially of female ancestors, are appeased with sacrifices and offerings of flowers and fruits.

Child-Birth.—A woman after child-birth is regarded as impure for ten days and it is said that during the period of her lying-in she is not allowed to sleep on a cot, because their patron deity, Renuka, sleeps on a cot at Mahur. On the fifth day after birth, Satwai, the guardian of infants, is worshipped with offerings of dentifrice and food. A girl on attaining puberty is held unclean for three days.

Social Status.—Socially, the Gondhalis rank below the Maratha Kunbis. They eat the flesh of deer, fowls and fish and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other castes.

Occupation.—The Gondhalis are professional mendicants. They sing and dance to the music of a drum, cymbals and a *tuntune* (a fiddle) and solicit alms from door to door and from village to village, in honour of their tutelary deities, Renuka and Bhavani. But they are particularly engaged for the performance of the *gondhal*, a tumultuous dance in honour of Devi Bhavani, celebrated at the marriage ceremonies of the Maratha Brahmans and other Maratha castes. On these occasions, the Gondhalis, a choir of five men, are entertained at a feast by day and at night, at ten, they commence the dance, after having worshipped the goddess and her lord Shanker, who is represented by a metal pot containing water, betel leaves and areca nuts, topped with a cocoanut. Both the deities are installed on a low wooden stool, covered with a bodice cloth, decked with beautiful designs in turmeric and *kunkum*, and overhung with garlands of flowers suspended from a tripod of three sugar canes. The *pūja* consists of the offerings of flowers, the waving of lamps fed with *ghi*

and the burning of incense and camphor and is held by the principal member of the household. Each *gondhal* is opened with the cries of 'Udeh, Udeh' (victory to the goddess) and begins with an invocation to Khandoba of Jejuri, Tukai, Yamai, mother Bhavani (Ai Bhavani), and other minor and greater gods. One of the band holds in his hand a lighted torch (the emblem of the goddess) and the precentor, clothed in a long oily gown, and wearing *cowrie* shell necklaces and jingling anklets, smears it with sandal paste and *kunkum* and makes a low obeisance before it. To his audience, composed of men and women of the household and outsiders, he relates stories from the *Ramayana* and other mythological stories, singing and dancing, all the while, to a drum, cymbals and fiddle, played upon by his three companions, who stand behind him. Often he enlivens his narrative with humorous episodes and ingenious jokes which he plays upon the torch bearer. The performance is occasionally kept up till the small hours of the morning. The *gondhal* ends with a supplication for blessing to the goddess Bhavani.

A few of the Gondhalis have now settled down and taken to agriculture.

Gopal—a class of wandering athletes, acrobats, mat-makers and buffalo dealers, chiefly found in the northern parts of the Aurangabad District. During their wanderings, they live in huts of grass mats, which they carry with their goods and chattels on the backs of buffaloes.

Origin.—They trace their origin to persons who were, in ancient times, dedicated to the god Kanhoba of Tisgaon Madhi, in the District of Ahmednagar, and were designated 'Bal-Gopals,' after one of the names of Krishna or Kanhoba. They are divided into : (1) Vira Gopal, (2) Pahilwan Gopal, and (3) Kam Gopal. The Vira Gopals resemble the Maratha Kunbis, live in huts of date palm leaves and earn their livelihood by making mats from the leaves of the date palm. The Pahilwan Gopals are acrobats, practising gymnastics and performing feats on a long pole, to the accompaniment of a *tom tom*, or circular drum. They also make mats of date palm leaves. The men wear tight drawers, while the women dress in the Maratha Kunbi fashion. There is one more division, known as Gujarati Gopals, who have, however, nothing in common with the above mentioned sub-castes. The male members of this sub-caste wear tight white drawers, a large red or white turban and a coloured cloth over the shoulder. Unlike the other Gopal tribes, they wear necklaces of white beads and ear-rings of brass wire with white beads strung on the end. They earn their living by performing on the tight rope, tumbling and exhibiting other feats of strength on the ground, and by mat and basket making. They occupy the lowest social position among the Gopal tribes.

Internal Structure.—The section names of the caste are as follows :—

Kala Pahad (black hill).	Wani
Dhangar	Gandhe
Hatkar	Kangane
Koli	Pole
Nawghare	Maske
Pawar	Gavane
Shinde	Yeshwantrao
More	Wanjari
Gire	Mali
Gaikawad	Hambre
Kapurwade	Jadhawa

The sections show a curious mixture of different types. 'Yeshwantrao' appears to be the name of a man who may have been the eponymous founder of the Yeshwantrao section. Some of them, such as Hatkar, Koli, Mali, Wani, Dhangar and Wanjari, are doubtless the names of castes from which the Gopal tribe was originally recruited. Others, such as Yeshwantrao, are purely eponymous in their character, being the names of persons who founded the section names, while the name 'Kala Pahad' (black hill) and others similar to it represent the territorial element among them. But, by far, the greater number of them have evidently been borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis.

Marriage.—The Gopals observe the simple rule of exogamy that a man may not marry a woman of his own section. He may marry the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother. Daughters are married either as infants or adults; but, as by other wandering tribes, the latter usage is deemed the more convenient. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, but if a girl becomes pregnant, her lover is called upon to marry her. Polygamy is recognised, and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. The customary bride-price paid for a Gopal girl is Rs. 5. The marriage ceremony is of the Maratha type and needs no special description. A widow may re-marry and a wife may be divorced for adultery or for incurable ill-temper. Divorced wives may marry again in the same manner as widows.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Gopals differ very little

from the Maratha Kunbis. Their special deity is Kanhoba of Tisgaon Madhi, who is worshipped once a year with great pomp and ceremony. For ceremonial and religious purposes, Brahmans are employed by the members of the caste, who also revere the spirits of their dead ancestors.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture. The body is carefully washed, smeared with *gulal* (red powder) and borne to the grave swathed in a sheet of white cloth. The *Sradha* ceremony is performed on the 10th day after death and ancestors in general are propitiated twice a year, *viz.*, on the *Akshatritiya*, which falls on the light third of Vaishakha, and on the *Pitra Amawasya*, the last day of Bhadrapad.

Social Status.—Socially, the Gopals rank below the Maratha Kunbis, but far above the impure classes of Hindu society. They eat mutton, pork, fish, fowl and the flesh of hare, deer and the iguana, and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other castes.

Occupation.—In addition to their occupation as acrobats and rope-dancers, the Gopals deal in the milk of buffaloes. They have an evil reputation as inveterate robbers and their movements are vigilantly watched by the police.

XXXVI

GOUNDALA

(Titles : Ayyá, Appá, Goudá.)

Goundala, Gouda, Idiga, Kalal—a toddy-drawing and liquor-vending caste, found widely distributed in all the Telugu districts of His Highness's Dominions.

Origin.—Regarding their origin, several stories are current. According to the *Goud Puran*, they are said to have come from Benares and other parts of Northern India, where they were originally engaged in the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors. Another legend represents them as having sprung from Koundinya Rishi, who was created by Parvati for the purpose of extracting and fermenting the sap of the wild date palm and thus supplying the wants of gods and men in the matter of intoxicating drinks. It is said that the gods and demons were so delighted with the pleasant beverage, that they conferred upon him the title of 'Gouda,' or 'the head of mankind.' A third legend describes how Mannad Shetti, the ancestor of this caste, was created by Shiva to supply him with a drink of water when thirsty, and how, instead of water, the Shetti brought the god the fermented juice of the *shendi* (wild date palm) tree. Shiva discovered this and, in his anger, condemned the offender to the servile occupation of a liquor vendor. Several legends, more or less grotesque in description, are given which, however, throw no light upon the real origin of the caste. It seems probable that the caste is a functional group, formed from the members of other castes under the pressure of the demand for intoxicating drinks. This view bears support from the internal structure of the caste, which shows that it comprises several independent groups.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into six endogamous groups : (1) Deva Goundala, (2) Shetti Goundala, (3) Mashti

Goundala, (4) Goundala, (5) Idiga and (6) Laguwad.

- (1) Deva Goundala.—Very little is known regarding the origin of the name 'Deva Goundala'. It is traditionally ascribed to the fact that members of this sub-caste supplied liquor to the *Devas* (gods). At the present day they hold the highest rank among the Goundala castes.
- (2) The Shetti, 'or Chetti Goundalas are very numerous and assert that the distinctive title Shetti was conferred upon their ancestor by Raja Prataprudra of Warangal, for 'successfully meeting and overcoming an invincible gymnast in a wrestling match.
- (3) The Mashti Goundalas occupy the lowest position among the Goundala sub-castes. They have five sub-divisions : (1) Tella Idiga, (2) Kulla Jain, (3) Kada, (4) Ayanotiwaru and (5) Jeti. The members of these sub-castes do not eat together, nor intermarry. The Ayanotiwaru and Jeti groups earn their living by begging alms from the other sub-castes of liquor vendors.
- (5) The Idigas rank lower, socially, than the Goundalas, but have been grouped with the latter by reason of their common occupation. The word 'Idiga' comes from 'Ita' which means a *shendi* tree, and those who make incisions in the tree for its sap are called 'Ita Godlu', the two words ultimately passing into the term 'Idiga'. The sub-caste is said to have been recruited from among members of other castes, especially from the Mutrasi, Munnur and Telaga castes. The Idigas have a sub-division called 'Thala Idiga,' the word 'Thala' signifying 'the head.'
- (6) The Laguwad or Lagullawandlu are so called because they wear *lagus*, i.e., short trousers. This sub-caste is also recruited from other castes and is found chiefly in the Southern Districts of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

The members of the caste claim to have five *gotras* (exogamous groups). (1) Shivansha *gotra*, (2) Shivanama *gotra*, (3) Nishila

gotra, (4) Surabhandeshwar and (5) Koundinya. These are purely ornamental and have no bearing upon the regulation of marriages, which are governed by exogamous sections based upon family names, the majority of which are of the territorial character. A few only are totemistic, being the names of trees and animals. The totems, however, are not taboo to the members of the sections bearing their names.

The rule of exogamy is strictly observed and a man cannot marry within his section, or outside his sub-caste. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle, or a paternal aunt, is allowed. A man may marry two sisters and two brothers may also marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is permitted by the caste. The usage of *illatam*, under which a man is allowed to bring up his son-in-law as heir to his estate, obtains in the caste. The son-in-law succeeds to the whole of his father-in-law's property if the latter has no male issue, otherwise he shares equally with the sons of his brothers-in-law. A son-in-law can also perform the funeral obsequies on behalf of a father-in-law who has no male issue.

Women of higher castes are admitted by the Goundalas into their community, no special ceremony being prescribed.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is practised by the caste. If a girl's marriage is delayed by reason of poverty, or any other cause, and she attains the age of puberty, she is dedicated to a temple and remains unmarried. Polygamy is permitted, theoretically, to any extent. The marriage ceremony corresponds in all essential particulars to that prevalent among the other Telaga castes of the same social standing. The negotiations leading to marriage are opened by the father of the boy, who pays a visit of inspection to the girl's house. If his proposals for marriage are accepted, a local Brahman is engaged to compare the horoscopes of both parties and, if they are found to agree, an auspicious day is fixed for the performance of the wedding ceremony. No price is generally claimed for the bride, but sometimes *voli*, amounting to Rs. 50, is said to be paid to her parents. Marriage *pandals*, consisting of 6 or 8 pillars, are erected by both parties in front of their houses.

The actual ceremony comprises the following rites :—

(1) *Mailapolu*.—A square piece of ground is daubed clean with cowdung, and at each of its corners is placed a vessel filled with water. These vessels are encircled seven times by a cotton thread. Within the square are seated the bride and bridegroom on two low stools. They are smeared with turmeric and oil by a female of the barber caste and subsequently bathed with warm water.

(2) *Mutyal Polu*.—Rice and *jawari* (millet) grains being spread on the ground and the bridal pair being seated over them on two wooden stools, the feet of the bridegroom are washed by the father of the bride, her mother pouring water on them the while.

(3) *Madhupark*.—A mixture of jaggery and curds is placed in a concave piece of cocoanut kernel and is offered to the bridegroom by his father-in-law.

(4) *Kanyadan*.—The formal gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom and the latter's formal acceptance of her.

(5) *Lagnam*.—The bride and bridegroom being seated face to face, a screen is held between them by the officiating priest. Auspicious verses are repeated and grains of *jawari* or rice are thrown over their heads, both by Brahmans and by the assembled guests.

(6) *Jira Gudam*.—The couple place handfuls of cumin-seeds mixed with molasses on each other's heads.

(7) *Pada-ghattanam*.—The bridegroom first touches the left foot of the bride with his right foot and, subsequently, the bride places her left foot upon the right foot of her husband.

(8) *Tila Bala Biam*.—The couple are made to exchange rice.

(9) *Kankanam*s.—Thread bracelets, with a turmeric root attached to each, are tied on the wrists of the bridal pair.

(10) *Mangalsutram*.—A necklace of black beads is tied around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom, under the guidance of the priest.

(11) *Brahmamudi*.—The ends of the garments of the wedded pair are fastened in a knot by the officiating priest.

(12) *Mangalarti*.—Auspicious lights are waved round the happy couple by females whose husbands are alive.

(13) *Arundhati Darshanam*.—The star *Arundhati* is pointed

out to the married couple by the Brahman priest.

The important ceremonies of *Nagbali* and *Panpu*, which are performed on the fourth day after the wedding, do not differ materially from those of the Kápu caste and have been fully described in the article on that caste.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, but she is not expected to marry her first husband's younger or elder brother. The ceremony in vogue at the marriage of a widow is known as *Oodki*, in which a rupee is given to the widow-bride for the purchase of bangles and toe-rings. On an auspicious day, in the evening, people on behalf of the widower go to the widow's house, present her with a white *sari* and jewels and bring her at nightfall to the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom, after giving her a *sari* and *choli*, ties the *pusti* round her neck. The proceedings conclude with a feast to the friends and relatives of the newly married couple.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's adultery, or barrenness, or if the couple cannot live in harmony. It is effected simply by driving the woman out of the house before the caste *Panchayat*. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. A woman taken in adultery with a member of her own caste, or with one of a higher caste, is punished only with a fine of Rs. 10. If she goes wrong with a man of a lower caste, she is expelled from the caste.

Inheritance.—The Goundalas follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Females inherit in default of any male issue in the family. Under the usage of *illatam*, a sister's son succeeds to the property of his maternal uncle. Among the Goundalas, as among the other lower castes of Telingana, the custom of *chudawand* obtains in full force. Something extra is said to be given to the eldest son.

Religion.—In matters of religion the Goundalas differ very little from the other Telaga castes. They are divided into Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidharis, or the worshippers of Vishnu and Shiva, under the guidance of their respective sectarian *gurus*, Shri Vaishnava and Aradhi Brahmans. Preference is, however, given to the worship of Shiva, whom they adore under the peculiar name of Surabhandashewar, or "the god Shiva sprung from a toddy pot." As

the story goes, Shiva once fell in love with Sara Devi, the wife of Maila Goud, a man of the Goundala caste. On one occasion, while the lovers were together, the husband suddenly made his appearance, and Shiva, in confusion, concealed himself in a pot of *shendi*. The suspicious husband boiled the contents, but, on opening the pot, discovered that it contained only *Shiva Lingam*, or the phallic symbol of the god Shiva. This was regarded as a miracle and led to the universal worship of the deity among the caste. Katamayya, or Kattam Raja, the supposed guardian of palm groves, is held in special reverence by the members of the caste. According to the legend in vogue among the Goundalas, Katamayya was created by Mahadeo, from his necklace of *rudraksha* (*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*), to kill the demon Gajasura, who infested the *shendi* groves belonging to the Rishi Koundinya. Katamayya is represented by a piece of stone, set up at the bottom of an untapped *shendi* tree, and is worshipped with great pomp and ceremony in the month of Shravan (August-September), especially when the sun enters Magha. Offerings of sweetmeat, flowers and milk are made to the deity and a black ram, screened from the god by a curtain, is sacrificed before it. Maisamma is appeased in each *shendi* grove by the sacrifice of a bull-buffalo. After the animal has been slaughtered, its blood is collected in a bowl and sprinkled on each *shendi* tree. Idamma, Pochamma, Durgamma, Mari Amma, Mutyalamma, and other local minor deities, are duly propitiated on Fridays and Sundays, with offerings of fowls, sheep and other animals. A man of the Madiga caste is employed in the worship of these animistic deities and claims the offerings made to them as his perquisites. The Goundalas have a firm belief in witchcraft and in the existence of the spirit world. Every disease that cannot be cured by medicine is attributed to the baneful influence of some malignant spirit, or spiteful witch, and an Erakala woman is employed to pacify the spirit, or to avert the spell of the witch. Brahmans serve the caste in religious and ceremonial observances, while Jangams (Lingayit priests) officiate at funeral ceremonies.

The *Bandi Sidi* (literally cart and ladder), or swing festival, is held annually by the members of the caste in honour of Mallanna.

On the top of a long pole is fixed a cross beam, with iron hooks attached by ropes to both its ends. The hooks are thrust into the flesh of the votary's back and the pole, bearing its burden, is raised aloft in the air by several men sitting on an open temple car. When the pole has attained a perpendicular position, the car is moved three times round the temple. Sometimes two or more devotees are suspended simultaneously from the beam and, with swords and shields in their hands, make a pretence of fighting with one another. This horrid practice has, of late, entirely ceased in the Khalsa Districts, but it is said to be still prevalent in the Paigah illaquis.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Goundalas usually burn their dead, but occasionally bury them if they cannot afford to pay the cremation expenses. In the former case, the ashes and bones are collected on the third day after death and either thrown into the nearest river or tank, or buried under a *tarvad* tree (*Cassia auriculata*). If burial is resorted to, the married are placed in a sitting posture, with the face pointing towards the east, while the unmarried are interred in a lying position, with the face downwards and the head turned to the south. Mourning is observed for ten days for the married and for three days for the unmarried and children. No *Sradha* ceremony is performed. On the *Pitra Amawasya* day (middle of September), rice and money are offered to Brahmans for the benefit of the departed ancestors. A metal pot, painted externally with turmeric and red lead, represents the deceased's first wife and, under the name of *Jagdi Muntha*, is worshipped by the 2nd wife, if living.

Occupation.—The Goundalas still follow their traditional occupation of extracting the juice of the wild date palm (*Phœnix silvestris*) and fermenting it into a spirit popularly known as *shendi*. Shops for the sale of this liquor are almost exclusively owned by members of this caste. The wild date palms are tapped generally after mid-day and the sap is collected early next morning. The quantity of juice extracted from a single tree varies from one to two pounds.

The Idigas, on the other hand, tap both the wild date and the palmyra palms. The juice of the latter is largely used in the manu-

facture of sugar and intoxicating liquor. The Idigas use a sort of leather sling in climbing palm trees. Owing to the extensive sale of fermented liquors, the Goundalas are as a well-to-do class of men. Some of them amass large fortunes and are regarded as prominent members of the village community. The poorer members of the caste are engaged as palm-tappers. Only a few of the Goundalas have taken to cultivation.

XXXVII

HATKAR

(Titles.—Naik, Rao.)

Hatkar, Bargi Dhangar—a cultivating and hunting caste, found in large numbers in the Districts of Parbhani and Nander ; they are also found in the Adilabad and Bidar Districts where, however, they are comparatively rare. Of a strongly built, vigorous frame and generally of a dark complexion, with a bold and haughty demeanour, the Hatkars show a marked difference from the Maratha Kunbis. Like the Welammás, they appear to be a foreign race, who immigrated and settled in the country in very early times. The armies of Shivaji were composed of recruits mainly drawn from this caste and it is said of them, “The most trusted of Shivaji’s foot-men and many of the bravest Maratha Generals, among whom the Holkars were the most distinguished, belonged to this tribe.” The “Ain-i-Akbari” describes the Hatkars as being a proud, refractory and domineering race of Rajputs, living in the Basim Sircar and, with numerous armed forces, occupying the forts and controlling the surrounding districts.

Origin.—The word ‘Hatkar’ is popularly derived from the Marathi ‘hat’ obstinacy, and ‘kar’ doer, meaning obstinate. This derivation appears to be fictitious and throws no light upon the origin of the caste. The Hatkars have no traditions of origin, and their original affinities and the time of their immigration are lost in obscurity.

Regarding these people Captain FitzGerald, once an Assistant Commissioner in Berar, made the following observations :—

“They (the Hatkars) declare that they emigrated from the north to this part of India many years ago, supposed to be some time prior to the Nizam becoming Subedar of the Deccan on behalf of the kings of Delhi. But the “Ain-i-Akbari” seems to suppose that the Hatkars were driven westward across the Wardha by the Gonds. The Hatkars are all Bargi Dhangars, or the shepherds with the spears.

The general idea is that, originally, there were twelve tribes of Bargi Dhangars, who came down from Hindustan, and that from them the country about Hingoli (the Parbhani District) was called Bār Hatti, which, the Hatkars say, is a corruption of the words 'Bára Hatkar', or the country of twelve Hatkars. At present there are only three families. To one or other of these families all the Hatkars about Berar, Hingoli, etc., belong. The names of these families or clans are : (1) Poli, (2) Gurdi, (3) Muski."

"The Hatkars say that they formerly, when going on any expedition, took only a blanket seven hands long and a bear-spear, and that on this account they were called 'Bárgir,' or Bargá Dhangars. They would appear to have been all footmen. To this day the temper of the Hatkar is said to be obstinate and quarrelsome. They will eat with a Kunbi."

Customs.—"The Hatkars bury their male dead, if death has not been caused by a wound in the chase or in battle. The corpse is interred sitting cross legged, with a small piece of gold placed in its mouth. If a male Hatkar dies of a wound received in battle, or in the chase, they burn the corpse, the feet being placed toward the east, so that obsequies by fire are clearly an honourable distinction. All women who die in child-birth are burnt, others are buried."

"Widows may, on the death of their first husband, marry again by a *pat* marriage."

History.—"The Naiks of Hingoli and Berar were principally Hatkars. The duty of a Naik was to keep the peace and prevent robbery, but in time they became the breakers of law and the dakaits of the country. Some of them, about the year 1818, were very powerful. Nowsajee Naik Muski's army gave battle to the Nizam's Regular Troops, under Major Pitman, before Umerkhed. The Naik was beaten and he was besieged in his stronghold of Nowa, with a garrison of five hundred Arabs. The place was carried by assault after a very stout resistance in 1819. Nowsajee Naik was sent to Hyderabad, where he died."

"The power of the Naiks was broken by Brigadier Sutherland. He hanged so many, that the Naiks pronounce his name to this day with awe. To some of the Naiks he gave money, and told them

to settle down in certain villages. Others, who also came expecting money, were at once hanged."

"Brigadier Sutherland would appear to have hanged only the leaders that did not come in before a certain date. In this way died Lachaman Naik, Gardi of Hatah, who was next to, if not equal in power to, Nowsajee Naik; also the Naik of Jámb whose clan name is Poli."

Physical Characteristics.—"Most of the Hatkars do not permit the removal of the hair on the face. They are fine, able-bodied men, and have a most wonderful resemblance to each other, which may be accounted for by the constant exclusive intermarriage of their three great families. They are independent in bearing, pretentious in character, and are the stuff of which good soldiers are made. They inhabit, generally speaking, the hills on the northern banks of the Painganga. Their villages are placed like a line of outposts along our frontier with the Hyderabad territory."

This account of the caste is substantially correct to the present day. The Hatkars, although called Bargi Dhangars, have nothing in common with the shepherd or pastoral tribes who keep sheep and weave blankets.

The relations of the Hatkars with the Holer caste (the Dhers of the Carnatic) appear to bear a close analogy to the connections which the Welammás have with the Mala caste (the Dhers of Telingana). The Hatkars have the same section names as the Holers and should a Hatkar and a Holer, both belonging to the same family section, happen to live in the same village, it is incumbent upon the Hatkar to attend the marriage ceremony of the Holer and to tie the *deva-devak* (a bunch of twigs representing the wedding deity) to the wedding post. Concerning the Welammás, it is known that some of their families, especially those of the Ráchelu section, have to pay the expenses of a Mala marriage before they celebrate their own weddings. The Welammás, like the Hatkars, have a fine physique, are endowed with vigour and energy, possess an arrogant and over-bearing demeanour and were once highly esteemed for their soldierly qualities. The points of resemblance between these two races are very striking. In the absence of any precise evidence, however, it

would be treading on risky ground to ascribe a common origin to these two tribes who, at the present day, differ widely from each other in their customs, usages, and language.

Internal Structure.—The Hatkars have no endogamous divisions ; but their exogamous sections are numerous, some of which are shown below :—

(1) Sátapute, (2) Márke, (3) Devakáte, (4) Kátagunde, (5) Shirane, (6) Hakke, (7) Mundane, (8) Mundhe, (9) Deváre, (10) Naváte, (11) Shilgar, (12) Shimpe, (13) Gáode, (14) Shinde, (15) Dhone, (16) Wághamode, (17) Suranare, (18) Salgar, (19) Dotigandia, (20) Tarange and many others.

The section names (*kulis*) are formed after the model common among the Maratha castes. They are not totemistic, but a few of them are eponymous, the others being either of the territorial or the titular type. The section name descends in the male line. A man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own section. No prohibited degrees restrict him in the selection of a girl, provided he does not marry his niece, his aunt, or any of his first cousins, excepting the daughters of his maternal uncle and paternal aunt. The Hatkars permit the marriage of two sisters to the same man and also the marriage of two sisters to two brothers.

Polygamy is allowed without any limit being imposed on the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste. In fulfilment of vows, boys as well as girls are wedded to Khandoba, their patron deity, and are not allowed to marry afterwards. The girls are subsequently called *murlis* and become prostitutes, while the boys, under the name of *waghes*, lead a depraved and immoral life. Adultery is regarded with abhorrence, and a girl committing an indiscretion is expelled from the caste.

The marriage ceremony of the Hatkars differs little from that in vogue among the Maratha Kunbis. On the conclusion of the preliminary negotiations between the parties, and on the nativities of the young couple being found to agree, an auspicious day is fixed for the performance of the wedding. The first ceremony, in connection with marriage, is *Panwate*, or the distribution of *pan* (betel-leaves).

The father of the boy goes to the bride's house with some ornaments and clothes. In the presence of the caste people, invited for the occasion, these are presented to the girl by a Brahman, who presides over the ceremony ; *pan-supari* and sugar are then distributed. *dakshana* (the prescribed fee) is paid to the Brahman, and the assembly disperses.

Marriage booths supported on posts of *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *jambul* (*Eugenia Jambolana*) and *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*), are erected by both parties in front of their houses. To the *salai* post are bound the emblems of Deva-Devakalu, which consist of a wheaten cake and the twigs of five sacred plants, viz., *maula* (*Bauhinia racemosa*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), *hivar* (*Acacia leucophylæa*), *saundad* (*Prosopis spicigera*) and *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), which are brought in procession by five married women from the Maruti temple of the village. Beneath the *pandal* is built an earthen platform, 8 ft. square and generally nine inches in height. This over, the important ceremony of *Haldi* is performed, at which the bridal pair, in their respective houses, are smeared with turmeric paste and oil, and are bathed underneath the booth by five married women. The worship of the family and village deities, the performance of the *gondhal* dance (a *kulachar*) and the procession in honour of *birs* (ancestral spirits) follow in order and precede the actual wedding.

On the wedding day, the bridegroom's party, composed of friends and relatives, escort him to the bride's house. The bridal procession stops, first, at the Hanuman temple, where the bridegroom is given a formal welcome by the bride's father, and then at the entrance to the bride's house, where the bridegroom alights from the horse and is conducted direct to the wedding canopy. The bride is brought out and both are made to stand facing each other, the bride under the arbour and the bridegroom outside it. A curtain is held between them and the officiating priest, usually a Maratha Brahman, recites benedictory verses and blesses the couple, at the same time throwing turmeric-coloured rice on their heads. The assembled guests shower rice over them and the curtain is raised amidst the cheers of the men and the singing of the women. The

bridal pair, who are after this seated side by side facing the east, are girt round seven times by raw cotton thread, care being taken that the thread does not touch their bodies. While this process is going on, the bride's father ceremonially makes over his virgin daughter to the bridegroom—this ceremony is known as *Kanyádán* (the gift of a virgin bride). The girl's thread is then removed and tied to a wedding post. In the *Kankana Bandhanam* ceremony, a Warati, or a man of the washerman caste, fastens bracelets of woollen thread on the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom, thereupon, taking the bride in his arms, or by the hand, ascends the platform, where the pair, seated on wooden stools, perform *hom* (sacrifice) and are presented with clothes, money, &c. The second day passes in feasting and sporting on the banks of a stream, where the newly married couple are taken in procession. The marriage generally ends on the third day with *Sade*, when wedding presents are given to the bride and the bridegroom by their respective fathers-in-law, after which the happy pair are conducted in procession to the bridegroom's house. The marriage expenses amount to from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, but not the brother of her late husband. Except in the month of Pausa (December-January) the ceremony is performed on any date between sunset and sunrise. On a dark night, the widow bathes, puts on new bangles and toe-rings, and wears a new *sari* presented to her by her suitor. Seated side by side, the pair are married by a Brahman, who bedaubes their foreheads with *kunkum*, ties their garments in a knot and puts a *mangalsutra* (auspicious string of black beads) round the widow's neck. The essential portion of the ceremony is the knocking together of the widow's and her husband's heads. The rest of the night they pass together in the bride's house. Early next morning they bathe and stealthily repair to Maruti's temple, where they spend the whole day, returning by night to the bridegroom's house. The widow's children by her first husband are claimed by his relatives. Divorce is permitted, the divorced woman being allowed to re-marry by the same rites as a widow.

Religion.—The religion of the Hatkars presents no features of special interest. Their favourite object of worship is Khandoba, to

whom offerings of flowers and sweetmeats are made every Sunday. In addition to this deity, they pay homage to Bhairoba and the spirits of their departed ancestors, whose images they keep in their houses. They observe all the Hindu festivals, among which the *Holi*, or *Shimaga*, in March and the *Dassera* in October, are held in great importance. Deshastha Brahmans are employed as priests and serve the caste in their religious and ceremonial observances.

Child-Birth.—The impurity of child-birth lasts for twelve days. On the 12th day after birth, the child is named and a feast is provided for the caste people in honour of the occasion. A girl, on attaining puberty, remains in pollution for nine days.

Funerals.—The dead are burned by the side of a stream, in a lying posture, with the head to the south. Some of the families of the Hatkars bury their dead, the corpse being laid in the grave with the legs crossed and the face turned towards the east. The practice of cremation, as Mr. A. C. Lyall observes, appears to be of recent introduction and is gradually becoming universal among the caste. When a person is dying, a mixture of curds and water is placed in the mouth, and after death the body is washed and, being wrapped up in clothes, is carried to the burning ground on the shoulders of his relatives. The chief mourner leads the funeral procession and fires the pile after the corpse has been laid upon it. After the pyre has burnt down he circumambulates it five times, bathes in a stream and returns home, followed by all the relatives. On the 3rd day after death, the ashes are collected and thrown into a stream and food is offered at the burning ground for the benefit of the deceased. On the same day, the pall bearers have their shoulders besmeared with *ghi* and a feast is provided for them. *Sradha* is performed on the anniversary day and in the months of Vaishakha (April-May) and Bhadrapad (August-September). Persons dying violent deaths are worshipped in the form of images which are set up in the houses.

Social Status and Occupation.—In point of social standing, the Hatkars rank with the Maratha Kunbis, with whom they exchange *kachi* (uncooked) food. They eat mutton, fowl, lizards, hare, deer and fish of all varieties, but abstain from beef, pork, she-goats and

the leavings of other people. In occupation, the Hatkars are cultivators and hold land-tenures of different grades. They are *patels* of villages, *deshmukhs*, occupancy and non-occupancy *raiats* and landless day-labourers. The Hatkar males and females dress and decorate themselves like the Maratha Kunbis. The men do not wear the sacred thread. Their home language is Marathi.

XXXVIII

JAIN

Jain—a religious sect supposed to have been originally evolved from Buddhism and owing its elevation to the suppression of the latter faith. In later times it leaned towards Brahmanism, to which it conformed in its recognition of the orthodox pantheon and its deference to the *Vedas*, to the rites derivable from them, to the institutions of caste and to the Brahmins as ministrant priests. This was rather a political move and probably saved the Jains from the persecution of the Brahmins, who successfully opposed and ultimately expelled the once potent faith of Buddhism from the country.

Origin and History.—The origin of the Jain faith is involved in the obscurity which enshrouds all history of remote antiquity. It is said to have been founded by Rishabha Deva, the first of their *Tirthankars*, who is identified by some with the king Rishabha, mentioned in the *Bhāgavat Purāna*; but no direct evidence is adduced in corroboration of the statement. The influence of the faith as a popular religion may be traced to the sixth or seven centuries A. D. and continued till the twelfth, when it reached the zenith of its prosperity and included, among its votaries, some powerful sovereigns of India, such as Kumarpal of Gujarath, Amogha Vasha of Tandai Mandalam in Malabar, Kuna Pandya of Madura, Vishnu Vardhan of Mysore and King Vijala of Kalayani in Gulbarga. The noblest architectural monuments of the Jains, diffused throughout India, and the splendid temples sacred to their *Tirthankars*, belong to this period and bear overwhelming testimony to their influence during this time. The power of the Jains has since been on the decline and the sect scarcely numbers at the present day more than a million people.

The Jains are found in considerable numbers in Hyderabad

Territory. They probably came into these Dominions from Gujarath, Marwar and Southern India, where they were greatly patronised by the ruling dynasties ; but the date of their immigration cannot be ascertained.

Tenets.—The Jains deny the divine origin and infallibility of the *Vedas*, reverence certain saints called *Tirthankars* who acquire, by practices of self-denial and mortification, a station superior to that of gods and show extreme regard for animal life. The *Vedas* are admitted and quoted as an authority, but only so far as the doctrines they teach are conformable to Jain tenets. They admit the existence of twenty-four *Tirthankars*, or *Jins*, but confine their reverence to the last two, Parasnath and Mahavira or Vardhaman. The *Jin* is regarded as a veritable deity and is endowed with divine attributes. He is Jagat Prabhu (Lord of the World), Kshina Karmá (free from bodily or ceremonial acts), Sarvadnya (omniscient), Adhishwara (Supreme Lord), Devádhi Deva (God of Gods), Tirthankar (one who has crossed the worldly ocean), Kavali (the possessor of a spiritual nature), Arhat (entitled to the homage of gods and men), and Jina (the victor over all human passions and infirmities. The statues of the *Jinas*, usually of white or black marble, are enshrined in the temples of the sect.

Name.	Emblem.	Born.	Died.
1. Vrishabha.	Bull.	Ayodhya.	Gujarath.
2. Ajitnáth.	Elephant.	„	Mt. Shikhar.
3. Sambhunáth.	Horse.	Sawanta.	„
4. Abhayánand-náth.	Monkey.	Ayodhya.	„
5. Sumatináth.	Chakwa.	„	„
6. Supadmanáth.	Lotus.	Kausambali.	„
7. Supárshwa-náth.	Swastika	Benares.	„
8. Chandra-prabhá.	Crescent Moon.	Chandrapur.	„
9. Pushpadanta.	Crocodile.	Kakendrapur.	„
10. Sitalanáth.	Tree, or Flower.	Bhadalpur.	„
11. Shri Ansnáth.	Rhinoceros.	Sind.	„
12. Vasupádyá.	Buffalo.	Champapuri.	Champapuri.
13. Vimalanáth.	Boar.	Kumpatpuri.	Mt. Shikhar.

Name.	Emblem.	Born.	Died.
14. Anantnáth.	Porcupine.	Ayodhya.	Mt. Shikhar.
15. Dharmanáth.	Thunderbolt.	Ratnapuri.	„
16. Santanáth.	Antelope.	Hastinapur.	„
17. Kuntánáth.	Goat.	„	„
18. Aranáth.	Fish.	„	„
19. Mallináth.	Pinnacle.	Mithila.	„
20. Munisuvrata.	Tortoise.	Rajagriha.	„
21. Nanunáth.	Lotus with stalk.	Mithila.	„
22. Nemináth.	Shell.	Dwarka.	Mt. Girnar.
23. Parswanáth.	Snake.	Benares.	Mt. Shikhar.
24. Vardhamana or Mahavira.	Lion.	Chitrakot.	Pawapuri.

According to the Jains, all existence is divisible into two heads—*jiva* (life), or the living and sentient principle, and *ajiva* (inertia), or the various modifications of inanimistic matter. These are imperishable, though their forms and conditions may change. With them *dharma* is virtue and *adharma* is vice.

The Jains are divided into two leading branches—‘Digambaras’ or ‘sky clad’ (naked), and ‘Shwaitambaras’ or ‘white robed.’ At the present day the Digambaras do not go about naked, except at meal times, but wear coloured garments. The Shwaitambaras deck their images with jewels and clothes, while the Digambaras leave their images without clothes and ornaments. The Digambaras assert that women never attain *Nirvana*, but the Shwaitambaras admit the gentler sex to final annihilation. Two other sects have lately sprung up: the Dhundiyas, who affect rigorous adherence to the moral code, but disregard all forms of praise or prayer and all modes of external worship, and the Tirapanthis, who deny the supremacy of a *guru* and present no perfumes, flowers or fruits to the images of the *Tirthankars*.

There are clerical as well as lay Jains, the Yati or Jati, and the Shravaka, the former of whom lead a religious life and subsist on alms which the latter supply. The Yatis acknowledge obedience to the head of the *matha* (*pasala*) of which they are the members. They do not officiate as priests in the temples, the ceremonies being conducted by a Brahman trained for the purpose. They carry a broom,

to sweep the ground before they tread upon it, and do not eat or drink in the dark, lest they should swallow an insect. Most of the Jatis act as physicians, and pretend to skill in palmistry and the black art. The secular Jains follow the usual professions of the Hindus. Some of them are engaged as merchants and bankers and form a very opulent portion of the community ; it is said that more than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Although their objects of worship are the *Tirthankars*, they do not deny the existence of the Hindu gods, but pay their devotion to some of them. They visit a temple daily, where the image of any of the last two *Jins* is erected, walk round the image three times, make an offering of fruits and flowers and sing praises in honour of the saint.

The Jains have five great places of pilgrimage, to which large bands of pilgrims resort every year. These places are : Parasnath, near Calcutta, Mount Abu, the sanitarium of Rajputana, Chandragiri, in the Himalayas, Girnar, in Gujerath, and Satranjya in Kathiawar, the last being the most popular among them. The principal festivals of the Jains occur in the month of Bhadrapad, during which most of them fast and devote their time to reading religious books in temples. The days of the birth and the death of the last two *Tirthankars* are celebrated with great pomp.

Internal Structure.—Although the sect had for its aim the abolition of the caste system, the Brahmanical influence has prevailed and the Jains are now broken up into numerous sub-castes, some of which are territorial and others occupational divisions. The following sub-divisions are met with in these Dominions :—

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Oswal. | (10) Gujar. |
| (2) Agarwal. | (11) Kambhoja. |
| (3) Porwal. | (12) Bogar. |
| (4) Jaiswal. | (13) Panchama. |
| (5) Srimali. | (14) Chaturtha. |
| (6) Khandelwad. | (15) Harad. |
| (7) Swahitwal. | (16) Shri Srimali. |
| (8) Lad. | (17) Shrawagi. |
| (9) Neve or Newad. | |

Of these, the first ten appear to have come from the north and the rest from Southern India. They are all endogamous. Each of these divisions is further split up into eighty-four exogamous sections of the eponymous type, a list of which is appended to this article. These endogamous groups differ so widely from one another in their physical appearance, manner and usages, that a separate description of each in detail is necessary.

Oswals—are tall, handsome men and derive their name from an ancient village called Osian, the ruins of which are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Jodhpur. They are almost all Shwaitambar Jains, and were converted to the Jain faith by Jinadattasuri, the forty-fourth teacher from Mahavira. A legend, however, says that a Jain priest, named Ratna Prabhu Suri, visited the village (Osian) and begged for alms, but was given nothing. Raja Oppal Deva was reigning there and the enraged Yati caused the death of the Raja's son by snake-bite. On the pacification of the saint, the boy was restored to life, but the king had to give consent to the conversion of the whole village to the Jain faith. This event is said to have taken place on the 8th of the light half of Sravana Samvat 282.

Agarwals—a few have embraced Jainism and are not bigoted, for they intermarry freely with the Vaishnava Agarwals, the offspring being regarded as belonging to the religion of the father.

Porwals—are said to have embraced Jainism some seven hundred years ago. There are very few found in these Dominions.

Shrawagis—derive their name from the term 'Shrawak,' or follower of the Jain religion, and trace their origin to Nemi Náth, a Yadu Bansi Raja of Dwarka. They are very strict in their religious observances and carry the reverence for animal life to a ludicrous extent. They do not employ Brahmans for religious or ceremonial observances. They are Digambaras, do not eat food after sunset and light no lamp at night, because of the great regard they entertain for animal life. They are regarded as superior in rank to the Porwals.

Srimalis—are immigrants from Gujerath, where they were first converted to Jainism. They intermarry with the Oswals and do not differ from them in their religious views.

Shri, Srimalis, Khandelwads, and Jaiswals—are found in very small numbers in the State.

All these classes have been fully described in the report on the Marwadi Banias. They are the bankers, traders, shop-keepers and money-lenders in the towns and villages of the Dominions and form the wealthiest portion of the community.

Swahitwals—are chiefly found in the Maratha Districts and have the appearance of Maratha Kunbis, from whom they were probably originally recruited. They profess to belong to the Digamber sect of Jains and are strict in their religious observances. They are divided into two sub-castes (1) Swahitwal and (2) Setwal, based upon the difference of occupation. The latter weave bodice cloths and are cloth merchants, shop-keepers and money-lenders. The former are tailors. Unlike the orthodox Jains, they regulate their marriages, not by their traditionary eighty-four *gotras*, but by family surnames of the Maratha type. The surnames are :—

Lavhande.	Ghodke.
Degaonker.	Chakote.
• Swahitkar.	June.
Burse.	Sangawar.
Gajare.	Bhagwati.
Annadate.	Kalyanker.
Sonatakle.	Ambekar.
Maisker.	Belavker.
Hudekar.	Mallavker.
Wakale.	Panchwadker.
Ghante.	Satalker.
Ukhalker.	Alande.
Baratker.	Jogi.
Kursale.	Bhunde.
Bondare.	Katak.
Pahinker.	Dolas.

Intermarriages within the same section are avoided. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt or elder sister.

The Swahitwals marry their daughters as infants, and observe the standard marriage ceremony in vogue among the higher Maratha

castes. The preliminary negotiations are conducted by the parents of the couple and, after they have been satisfactorily arranged, an auspicious day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. A formal visit is paid by the bridegroom's people for the purpose of seeing the bride, and presenting her with clothes and jewels by way of betrothal or confirmation of the match. The bride's people also visit and inspect the bridegroom and present him with a turban. Marriage booths are erected at both houses and the bride and bridegroom, in their respective houses, are smeared with turmeric paste and oil, the bride after the bridegroom, the bride also receiving a part of the paste prepared for the bridegroom. *Deva Pratishtha* (the installation of the deity presiding over weddings) is performed at the temple of Parasnath, or Mahavir, when two brass jars, representing Parmeshti (the wedding deity), are placed before the *Jina*, silk bracelets are tied on the wrists of the assembled guests, and round spots of sandal paste are made on their foreheads. On the distribution of *pan-supari*, the assembly breaks up. Next morning, the consecrated brass pots are taken in procession to the house and deposited before the family gods. On the wedding morn., the bridegroom starts in procession on a bullock or a horse to the bride's house and halts, on the way, at Maruti's temple, where he is ceremonially accorded a fitting welcome by the bride's party, with presents of the nuptial dress. On arrival at the bride's door, the bride's father waters his mount and the bride's mother bedaubs his forehead with *kunkum* (red powder) and offers him milk. Under the wedding *pandal*, the bridegroom stands facing the east, the bride being opposite to him, clothed in gay attire and decked in jewels which have been presented to her by the bridegroom. A silk cloth is interposed between them, auspicious stanzas are chanted by the priest, and at the end of each stanza turmeric-coloured rice is sprinkled by the assembly over the heads of the bridal couple. The curtain is removed, the couple are seated on the seats upon which they were formerly standing, and a fine cotton thread is wound around them thirteen times. The *Kanyadan* ceremony is next performed, two bracelets made of the encircling thread being fastened one on the bride's wrist and the other on that of the bridegroom. Their garments are knotted to-

gether, the bridegroom wears the sacred thread and *mangulsutra* is tied around the bride's neck. These rites, from *Antarpat* to the wearing of *mangulsutra* by the bride, form the essential portion of the ceremony. The ceremony concludes with a feast given to relatives and friends. Widows are allowed to marry and divorce is recognised. Both widows and divorced wives marry by inferior rites, in which the garments of the bridal couple are knotted together and a feast is furnished to the relatives. Polygamy is permitted and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. A woman taken in adultery is expelled from the caste. In addition to the *Tirthankars*, the Swahitwals worship the tutelary deity Padmakshi, whose temple is said to be situated at Warangal. The Hindu gods are accorded due reverence. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial observances. The Swahitwals burn their adult dead, the ashes being collected on the third day after death and thrown into a sacred stream. In pursuance of Jain injunctions, they do not perform the *Sradha* ceremony, but, contrary to them, they observe mourning for ten days. Their social position is high and all castes, from the Maratha Kunbis downwards, eat *kachi* from their hands. They are vegetarians and abstain from radishes, onions, garlic, assafoetida, clarified butter and liquor, in addition to flesh.

Bogar—the Bhopal Jain Kasars, bangle dealers and braziers, claim to have originally been Kshatriyas, but were doomed by their patron goddess Kalika to the low occupation of a *kasar* (brazier). They are to be found in small numbers in the Carnatic and Marathawada Districts. They have five endogamous divisions: (1) Chaturtha Bogar, (2) Pancham Bogar, (3) Pancham Jain, (4) Harad and (5) Apastamb Harad, the members of which are said to interdine but not to intermarry. They profess to follow the standard exogamous system of the Jains given in the list at the conclusion of this article. But this seems to be nominal, and marriages are actually governed by exogamous sections, mostly of the territorial type. Those prevalent among the Maratha Bogars are—

Halge.

Vibhute.

Chilwant.

Dahibhate.

Kathole.

Kolape

Deware.	Satpute.
Warade.	Chingare.
Bede.	Vannere.
Dahatonde.	Mangulker.
Helasker.	Ghase.
Aher.	Dabhe.
Mene.	Kemker.
Husang.	Adamane.
Bhandare.	Tambat.
Anuker.	Pede.
Katle.	Lokhande.
Bhujabale.	Bedare.

Some of these section names, such as Bhujabale, Dahibhate, Dahatonde and Admane, are titular in character. A man is prohibited from marrying outside the sub-caste, or inside the section, to which he belongs. He may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt or elder sister. He may also marry two sisters.

Infant marriage is practised by the caste, the girls being married between the ages of two and twelve years. Polygamy is allowed, but is not practised on a large scale.

The Bogar marriage does not differ materially from that in vogue among the local Brahmans, *Saptapadi*, or seven circuits around the sacrificial fire, being deemed the binding portion of the ceremony. Widows are allowed to marry again, and divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's unchastity, barrenness or ill-temper. Divorced wives re-marry by the same rites as widows.

The Bogars are Digambar Jains and confine their devotion to Parasnath, one of the *Tirthankars*. Their favourite object of worship is Kálikádevi, called also Padmakshi, honoured on the fifteenth of Falgun (February) and on the third of the light of Asadha with offerings of sweetmeats and flowers. The gods of the Hindu pantheon are also duly honoured. Brahmans are engaged at the marriage ceremony.

The dead are burned in a lying posture on a funeral fire made generally of cowdung cakes. Children dying prior to teething are

buried. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a pond or a river. Mourning is observed for ten days, and on the tenth day after death balls of flour or rice are offered for the benefit of the dead. On the twelfth and thirteenth days after death, the *Sradha* ceremony is performed and caste people are fed. In this last rite the Bogars diverge from the general tenets of Jainism. The Bogars are vegetarians and rank socially below the Brahmans and above the agricultural castes of the locality. Previous to the marriage ceremony, the male members of the caste are invested with the sacred thread. Social disputes are referred for decision to a caste council, headed by a chief called *mehetarya*. There is a saying in Marathi regarding the origin of the caste—"Panch Panchál Ani Saháwá Bhopál" which means that the goddess Kalika first created five Panchals, viz., Sonar, Lohar, Sutar, Tambatker and Silpi; and then she created the sixth, the Bhopal caste.

Kambhoja—are chiefly to be found in Telingana, extending as far north as Benares and Nagpur. Traditions say that they came originally from Kambhoja Desh (the country of Kambhoja) which was situated in Southern India, but cannot be identified at the present day. The almost Dravidian features of the Kambhoja give support to their southern origin. These people were probably converted to the faith between the ninth and twelfth centuries, during which Jainism flourished in Southern India in its full vigour, having been introduced first in Malabar, by the king Amogha Varsha, early in the ninth century, and subsequently patronised by the princes of Conjevaram, Madura and Mysore. The Kambhojas are Jains of the Digambar sect, and strictly adhere to the doctrines and tenets of their religion.

As far as any information goes, the Kambhojas have no endogamous divisions. Their exogamous system is of the eponymous type, being based upon the eighty-four *gotras* into which all the Jains of India have been theoretically broken up. But the Kambhojas of Hingoli allege that their marriages are regulated by exogamous sections, which are a mixture of territorial, eponymous and titular names. Some of these are noticed below :—

Mukerwar.

Somashet.

Kandi.

Todal.

Kariwal.

Arpal.

Waral.

Tyaral.

Yambal.

Madráp.

Mahajan.

Mashta.

Yarmal.

Marriages within the same section are avoided. Daughters of maternal uncles, paternal aunts and elder sisters may be married. Two sisters may be married to the same man.

Infant marriage is practised by the caste, the girl's age being between two and twelve years. A bride-price, which sometimes amounts to Rs. 400, is paid to the girl's parents.

After the bride has been selected, the parents of the bridegroom go to her house to see her and present her with clothes and jewels. The girl's parents also visit the bridegroom and make him presents. The marriage ceremony takes place in a wedding *pandal*, erected in front of the bride's house, and made of nine pillars representing the nine planets. The marriage shows very little divergence from the orthodox usage current among the higher castes of Hindus of the locality. Previous to the wedding, Padmawati, their tutelary goddess, and Parasnath, are invoked. Immediately after the *Antarpat* ritual, the bride and the bridegroom stand face to face, the bridegroom holding a *pusti* (*mangalsutra*) in his hand and the bride the sacred thread; these they exchange after the priest has recited appropriate *mantras*. This rite is supposed to constitute the binding portion of the ceremony. On the 7th day after the wedding, the *Nagbali* ceremony is performed, when 84 heaps of rice, representing the 84 traditionary *gotras* of the sect, are arranged in a square in which the bride and bridegroom are made to sit by the officiating priest and to pronounce all the *gotas*.

Widows are not allowed to marry again, nor is divorce recognised. Polygamy is permitted, there being no limit to the number of wives a man may have.

A girl, on attaining puberty, is unclean for eleven days. During this time she is smeared daily with scented unguents, bathed in warm water and given nourishing food. On the eleventh day, she has to undergo purificatory rites. The *Punyawachana* ceremony is

performed, after which the girl steps over a line of live coals and becomes ceremonially pure.

A woman after child birth is impure for twenty-one days. On the fifth day after birth, five pebbles are placed on the rim of the pit in which the umbilical cord was buried and around the pebbles are grouped, in heaps, cotton seeds, unhusked rice, wheat, millet and *udid* (a variety of kidney bean—*Phaseolus Mungo*). After these have been worshipped, the midwife fills a pot with them, dances and sings a song, the refrain of which is, "May your baby live long and jump like a frog." On the twenty-first day after birth, the mother goes out, worships the rim of a well, round which she walks three times, and returns home with a pot filled with water. On her return the child is placed in a cradle and named.

The Kambhojas are orthodox Jains, carefully observing all the rites of the sect, and worshipping the twenty-four *Tirthankars*, fourteen *Ashtakas* and fourteen *Jalmals*. A grand festival is held in honour of the divinities from the 4th to the 14th of the light half of Bhadrapad (September). They make pilgrimages to Samet Shikhara, situated near Calcutta. *Bhattarakas*, or Jain priests, are engaged for religious and ceremonial observances.

The dead are burned in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a sacred river. Mourning is observed for thirteen days. No *Sradha* is performed in honour of the deceased.

The Kambhojas are vegetarians and abstain from flesh and fermented drink. As they are believed to be outside the pale of the Hindu caste, their social status cannot be determined. They do not eat at night, nor do they kindle a light for fear that moths may be attracted by the flame and perish. They do not eat *kachi* from the hands of any Hindu caste. They are shop-keepers, cloth merchants, and retail dealers.

Newad Jains—have a tradition that they came from Mewad into these Dominions. They call themselves *Sawaji* and have the title 'Sá' attached to their names.

The Newads have no endogamous divisions, but their exogamous sections are numerous. A few of these are—

Dagoja.
Phulade.
Ikshwak.
Rawul.

Dolchipure. ,
Chandre.
Khápre.
Káre.
Gore.

Marriages are avoided within the same section. With regard to the prohibited relationship, which supplements the rule of exogamy, they are guided by the same laws as the other local castes.

A Newad girl is married as an infant, and a bride-price of Rs. 1,000 is paid to her parents. This enormous increase in the bride-price is due partly to the paucity of girls among them and partly to the fact that they are debarred from intermarriages with the parent stock, from which they have long been isolated. The ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's house and extends over ten days. On the first day, Parasnath, Saraswati and other household gods are invoked to protect the couple from harm or evil during the ceremony. Offerings of wheaten cakes and milk are made to the deities and the caste people of the neighbourhood are feasted in their honour. The bride's party, on their arrival at the bridegroom's village, are accommodated at the latter's house. After all the ceremonies previous to the wedding, such as *Devakarya*, *Haldi* and *Airani Kundalu*, have been performed and all preliminary arrangements have been completed, the bridegroom, dressed in yellow, with a red turban on his head, is paraded on horseback through the streets. On arrival at the entrance door of his house, the door is shut, the bridegroom's party standing outside and the bride's party standing inside the house. Then follows a curious dialogue between them. The bride makes enquiries regarding the bridegroom's whereabouts, his religion and his ways of living, to which the bridegroom responds.

Q.—What is your religion? What saints do you adore? Who is your *guru*? What religious book guides you? How many times a day do you offer prayers? Upon whom do you bestow your affections?

A.—*Sandhata* is my religion, and I honour *Arhanta* (saints). *Nighranta* is my *guru*, and I have studied a million reli-

gious books. I offer prayers to God three times a day, and the whole world is the object of my love.

Q.—Lord of men ! will you please give me information regarding your parents, your country and your ways of living ?

A.—Beautiful damsel ! Hindusthana is my home and Sá is my name. Mounted on a noble charger and armed with a sword I roam like a Kṣatriya warrior of the Moda clan. O ! maiden of charming teeth and the graceful form of the swan, adorn yourself in your choicest jewels, wear around your neck a garland of pearls drawn from the head of an elephant, and be prepared for the wedding.

The dialogue ends and the door opens. The bridegroom is conducted to the wedding booth, and is made to stand before the bride. After he has been invested with the sacred thread, *antarpāt* is held between them, and the pair are wedded by the Jain priest reciting benedictory *mantras*. The *Kanḡan-bandhan* and *Kanyádán* ceremonies follow, after which the bridegroom ties the *mangalsūtra* (a string of black beads) round the bride's neck. This last ritual forms the binding portion of the ceremony, after which the marriage becomes irrevocable.

The Newads are Jains of the Digambar sect, Parasnath and Padmavati are their favourite objects of worship, to whom, every Friday, they offer wheaten cakes and milk, which the devotees subsequently consume.

A girl, on attaining puberty, is said to be ceremonially impure for sixteen days. On the 16th day, the *Garbhadān* ceremony (purification of the womb) is performed, and the girl is allowed to cohabit with her husband.

All Jains have a firm belief in magic and charms, and they pacify evil spirits, ghosts and witches, in the same way as other Hindu castes do.

The dead are burnt in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. The corpse is washed, dressed in dry clothes, and borne to the cremation ground on a bier of *guler* wood (*Ficus glomerata*), the bearers uttering the word 'Arhan,' all the way. The dead body is placed on a funeral pyre of cowdung cakes and the chief mourner,

walking three times round it, sets fire to the pile. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the nearest river or tank. No *Sradha* is celebrated, but the adult dead are mourned for 10 days, if they are agnates, and for three days if cognates.

The Maratha Kunbis and the lower classes eat *kachi* from the hands of the members of this caste ; they may, therefore, be ranked above the Kunbis, and below the Brahmans, but, being outside the pale of Brahmanism, as stated above, their rank in the Hindu social system cannot be definitely stated. They abstain from flesh, wine, garlic and onions. In matters of food they observe all the restrictions imposed upon Jains in general.

The Newads are generally rich traders and deal chiefly in silver and gold.

List showing the Jain *gotras* and totems.

No.	Gotra.	Totem.
1	Bharadwaja.	Balsuri (a kind of tree).
2.	Gotum.	Avariya.
3.	Koundinya.	Gollialada.
4.	Karlanta.	Taldodra.
5.	Kashyapa.	Arliya.
6.	Markandeya.	Rudrakshaya.
7.	Samudrika.	Grapes.
8.	Mantapa.	Arliya (wild cotton).
9.	Manubha.	Chuteel.
10.	Vallabha.	Lakime.
11.	Durwas.	Atte.
12.	Gargya.	Basri.
13.	Marda.	Chinangiya.
14.	Chandrika.	Tengin (cocoanut).
15.	Budhika.	Drikshin.
16.	Trotaka.	Belwant (a kind of tree).
17.	Angira.	Kankiya.
18.	Vasistha.	Yelwal.
19.	Brahmawan.	Tariya.
20.	Bhargava.	Boriya.
21.	Shrimant.	Bobliya.
22.	Mandannya.	Mantaniya.
23.	Bhriganga.	Karihanti (a kind of cotton).
24.	Kanyengali.	Chigachi.
25.	Bodhayana.	Kunvyalad.

No.	Gotra.	Totcm.
26.	Kapila.	Sirwalad.
27.	Parsharama.	Tadsina.
28.	Yelwal.	Echal.
29.	Mandodhari.	Chitmuti.
30.	Vishnuvad.	Tugari.
31.	Harit.	Kariya (a species of shrub).
32.	Yegnawal.	Jaliya.
33.	Lohit.	Yekiya.
34.	Romaiya .	Payatiya.
35.	Ashiwal.	Murtimant.
36.	Shrimant.	Shirsad.
37.	Katyayana.	Avala.
38.	Likhit.	Chandana.
39.	Dankshiga.	Shatawari.
40.	Marichi.	Kangini.
41.	Pulists.	Belwaat.
42.	Indrapada.	Tadukai.
43.	Pullakrita.	Kanjin (a kind of tree).
44.	Numan.	Bhangiya (<i>bhang</i>).
45.	Vishwadevi.	Nugiya.
46.	Vandalaka.	Medeya.
47.	Sardhala.	Molagee.
48.	Vishwamitra.	Devadwara.
49.	Bhadrasaliya.	Bhutakshimara.
50.	Astama.	Hevevina.
51.	Putima.	Halsina.
52.	Markandale	Arsina.
53.	Jamdagni.	Sasialad.
54.	Jemanta.	Utotiya.
55.	Jelsaliya	Ankleke.
56.	Kajiva.	Mangariya.
57.	Mudgal.	Mulgita.
58.	Manglya.	Vijana.
59.	Udarik.	Kariali (a cotton plant)
60.	Kapil.	Mudasadiya.
61.	Panaka.	Neliya.
62.	Stulika.	Vipiyamara (a kind of tree).
63.	Sayinta.	Kalatiyama.
64.	Swetant.	Karibayin (kadilimba).
65.	Yemtapa.	Kodsinnara.
66.	Salayin.	Kikichemara.
67.	Devaka.	Dalimba.
68.	Romana.	Kadgi.

No.	Gotra.	Totem.
69.	Santaja.	Kadchigan.
70.	Sampanna.	Alada.
71.	Andavya.	Tungilda.
72.	Metak.	Hotijaliya.
73.	Mahitri.	Chilbijaja.
74.	Puttama.	Dodnupina.
75.	Achim.	Hemustiya.
76.	Betusa.	Alikayi.
77.	Prabhudhanam.	Sediya.
78.	Gangeya.	Hariwalda.
79.	Netrayana.	Nimbiyamra.
80.	Visawa.	Atiya.
81.	Budhika.	Mayina.
82.	Indradanta.	Nilad.
83.	Samanta.	Samudraphala.
84.	Ratnajya.	Madvalaja.

XXXIX

JINGAR

Jingar, Karajkar, Lohár, Chitrakár, Chitári, Dalsingar, Tãmbatkar, Darji, Nakásh Maistri, etc.—a widely diffused caste, regarding whose origin very little is known at the present day.

Origin.—No light is thrown upon the origin of the Jingars by the synonyms given above, which obviously refer to different occupations which they have taken up as the vicissitudes of fortune demanded. The members of the caste themselves claim to be Arya Kshatriyas, or Somavanshi Kshatriyas, i.e., Kshatriyas sprung from the moon, and give the following legend from the *Brahmand Puran* in support of their claim: "The gods and sages were once engaged in performing a sacrifice in Brihadaranya, when Janumandal, a giant, the grandson of Vritrasur, endowed with Brahmadev's blessing and made invincible, appeared with the object of obstructing the sacrifice. The gods and sages fled to Shiva. In Shiva's rage, a drop of his sweat fell from his brow into his mouth, assumed human form and was called Mauktik or Mukhtadev. Mukhtadev fought with Janumandal and defeated him. The gods and sages, pleased with his powers, enthroned him as their king and retired to the forests. Mukhtadev married Prabhavati, the daughter of the sage Durvas, by whom he had eight sons who married the daughters of eight other Rishis. He left the charge of his kingdom to his sons and withdrew with his wife to the forest to do penance. In the height of their power, the sons one day slighted the sage Lomaharshen, who cursed them, saying that they would lose their royal power and their right to perform *Vedic* ceremonies, and would wander in misery. Mukhtadev, on coming to know of the curse, implored Shiva to have mercy on his sons. Shiva could not recall the sage's curse, but, to lessen its severity, added that Mukhtadev's sons might perform the *Vedic* rights stealthily, that they would

be known from that day forward as Aryakshtris and would follow eight callings:—*chitraḱars* or painters, *suvarnaḱars* or goldsmiths, *shilpḱars* or artists, *pataḱars* or weavers, *patveḱars* or silk workers, *loḱars* or blacksmiths, *mr̥itiḱars* or potters and *dhatu-mr̥itiḱars* or metal and earth workers", ("Poona Gazetteer.").

This theory of their Kshatriya origin derives some support from the personal appearance of the members of the caste. They have light complexions and delicate regular features, while some of the men and many of the women are remarkably handsome. This type is singularly uniform and persistent throughout the Dominions, whether in the heart of Telingana or on the outskirts of the Marathwada districts. It is a plausible conjecture that the Jingars are an offshoot of the Aryan race, and the degraded position they now occupy in Hindu society is due to their having adopted the occupation of saddlers, which is condemned by all Hindu castes.

Internal Structure.—It is certainly remarkable that a caste so widely diffused should have no endogamous divisions based upon differences of locality. The character of their exogamous divisions differs in different parts of the country. In some districts, the caste recognises 8 *gotras* : Angira, Bharadwaj, Goutama, Kanva, Kaundanya, Vasishtha, Shandilya and Kausik, all of which belong to the Brahmanical system. In other districts these Brahmanical *gotras* are neglected and marriages are regulated by sections of the Maratha type, the names of some of which are :—

Nidhankar.	More.
Borkar.	Ingale.
Wankher.	Pimpale.
Sumase.	Darule.
Chavan.	Kapse.
Khangle.	Chormare.
Dhade.	Dorle.
Yendhe.	Durgkar.
Dharpawar.	Nagare.
Kalbande.	

In either case, marriage between persons belonging to the same section is forbidden. No other section is a bar to marriage, pro-

vided that a man does not marry any of his first cousins, except the daughters of his paternal aunt or maternal uncle. A man may marry two sisters, provided he marries the elder of the two first but not otherwise.

Marriage.—The Jingars marry their daughters as infants between the ages of 5 and 12 and social stigma attaches to a girl's parents if she is not provided with a husband before she reaches the age of puberty. Polygamy is recognised so far, that if a man's first wife is barren he may take a second.

The marriage ceremony is of the standard type. A few days before the wedding, the *Mangani* takes place; the boy's father makes a spot of red aniline powder (*kunkum*) on the girl's forehead and presents her with a new *sari* and Rs. 2, and her mother with two *saris* and five pieces of bodice cloth. On this occasion a feast is given by the bride's father, at which liquor is provided by the father of the bridegroom. The match being thus ratified, a date is fixed for the celebration of the marriage by consulting a Brahman, expert in the science of astrology. After the usual ceremony of *Tel Haldi* has been gone through, and a marriage booth has been erected at the house of the bride as well as at that of the bridegroom, offerings are made to family gods, and the *devak* (marriage guardian), consisting of five earthen pots and leaves of the mango and saundad (*Prosopis spicigera*) is ceremonially deposited under the wedding canopy. This ceremony is performed at the houses of the bride and bridegroom separately. On the wedding morning, an earthen platform is built at the house of the bride.

At sunset, the marriage procession is formed at the house of the bridegroom and makes noisy progress to the house of the bride. There, under the wedding canopy (*mandap*), the bride and bridegroom are made to stand opposite each other, the bridegroom facing the east, and after the holding of the *antarpat* between the bridal pair and the recital of appropriate *mantras* (wedding texts) the family priest ties *kankanam* (cotton thread bracelets with woollen strings) on the wrist of each. The ceremony of *Kanyadan* follows and the bridegroom receives a present of money and clothes from his father-in-law. Finally *hom* (the sacred fire) is ignited and the bridegroom

taking the bride in his arms, walks five times round the fire, after which the family priest invests him with the sacred thread. The married couple then leave the *mandap* and go to the part of the house where the family deities have been placed. They worship and make offerings to these and bow before the elders; this concludes the marriage. *Antarpat* is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony.

When a girl is sent to her husband's house for the first time, a ceremony known as *Mursada* takes place. A relative of the bridegroom is sent to the bride's house with a present of a new *sari*, five pieces of bodice cloth (*khana*) and a quantity of uncooked articles of food (*shidori*). The bride's father takes the uncooked food, mixes with the articles some of his own and has the mixture cooked. With this food he entertains his relatives and other members of the caste, including the *Panchayat*, after which the girl leaves for her husband's village, accompanied by all the guests present at the feast. On the boundary of the girl's village the party stops, and is treated to liquor at the expense of the bridegroom. *Pan-supari* is then distributed and the party returns home, bidding the girl farewell and leaving her to pursue the journey with her escort.

Among the Jingars, consummation does not take place until after the girl has attained puberty and the *Garbhadan* ceremony (purification of the womb) has been performed.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—The Jingars allow their widows to marry again by the same form and in the same manner as the Maratha Kunbis. A widow is not restricted in her choice of a second husband, nor is she required to marry her late husband's younger brother or any other relative. Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, if the wife is adulterous or if the couple do not agree.

Religion.—The Jingars are orthodox Hindus and worship the local Hindu divinities with offerings and sacrifices common among the people. Special reverence is paid to the god Mahadev and the goddess Ingala, whom they regard as their patron deities. Among the gods are Khandoba, Bahiroba, Hanuman and other local minor deities. On the 8th day of the light half of Aswin, the goddess

Bhavani is worshipped by the members of the caste, with offerings of ripe plantains, which are afterwards eaten by the votaries. Goats are also sacrificed on this occasion. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes and incur no disgrace on that account.

Ancestors in general are propitiated in the latter half of the month of Bhadrapad (September) and also on the third day of the light half of Vaishakh (May).

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river or stream near by. The bodies of children and of those that die of smallpox are generally buried. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death, when they offer *pindas* (rice balls) for the benefit of the departed soul. Mourning is observed for ten days for all agnates.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste does not admit of precise definition. Though their appearance, customs, and habits seem to entitle them to a place among the higher classes of Hindu society, the latter refuse to give them such a position. They are isolated and disliked, and considered impure even by the lowest castes, who will not eat food cooked by a Jingar. The reason alleged for this degradation of the caste in social estimation is, that working in leather is condemned by all respectable people and the Jingars, as saddlers, have to touch leather. The members of the caste, however, will eat cooked food only from the hands of Brahmans. They eat fish, fowl, and mutton and indulge in strong drink. They wear the sacred thread.

Occupation.—The characteristic occupation of the caste is saddlery; but as the demand for saddles has declined, they have taken to other pursuits and crafts that pay better. They are, at the present day, goldsmiths, carpenters, tailors, painters, wood-carvers, farriers, carvers in metal, and stone and silk workers. They are also engaged in casting metals, in making figures of clay and cloth, and in repairing boxes, padlocks and watches. The Jingars have a caste council and their social disputes are settled by the meetings of the caste people.

XL

JOGI

Jógi, Yogi (Sanskrit)—a class of religious mendicants whose principal object of worship is Siva, under the form of Bhairava. The sect was founded by Gorakhnath, a contemporary of Kabir, who flourished early in the fifteenth century and is now recognised as an incarnation of the god Mahadev. It is said to include twelve orders of disciples, who are to be distinguished from one another by rings of different materials, which they wear in their ears as religious symbols. Of these twelve groups, only two, as being numerous in these Dominions, have been treated in this article. They are: (1) Davre Jogis, who belong to the Navanath Sect, and (2) Ravals, who are Adinath Siva Jogis. Both of these sects seem to have been originally recruited from among the Maratha Kunbis and have, at the present day, developed into independent castes.

XL-A

DAVRE JOGI

Davre Jogi, Davre Gosavi, Bharadi—derive their name from the *dabara*, a small drum shaped like an hour glass, on which they play when begging or singing religious hymns in honour of Bhairava. Their name 'Bharadi' comes from *bharad*, a sort of *gondhal* dance, which they are called upon to perform at the commencement of the marriage ceremony of their Kunbi disciples, and in which the 'Trident' of Náth is worshipped, under their superintendence, by the house-holder and songs are sung in honour of the saint. The Davre Jogis admit to their community only Maratha Kunbis and members of those castes higher than themselves in social standing. These are mostly children, dedicated by their parents to the god Bhairava in fulfilment of a vow. The ceremony of initiation is per-

formed generally at the temple of Bhairava, at Sonari, when the novice, male or female, is eight years of age. A pious Bharadi is called in and the neophyte, squatting before him, has his ear-lobes bored with a knife and *mudras*, or brass rings, inserted in them. The *guru* gives to the convert a *shingi*, or hornpipe, and a *dabara*, or small drum, and enjoins him not to eat with low-caste people, to collect alms by singing hymns in honour of Bhairava, and to perform the *bharad* dance only in the houses of their spiritual disciples. At the same time he whispers in his ear the *mantra* or sacred word, which is to guide him through life and which must never be divulged to any one.

Internal Structure.—The Davre Jogi caste has three endogamous divisions: (1) Davre proper or Bharadi, (2) Mend Jogi and (3) Sali Mali; the members of these can neither intermarry nor interdine. Each of these is further divided into a number of exogamous sections which, as shown below, are of the Maratha type:—

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| (1) Wagha. | (7) Devgunē. |
| (2) Jadhava. | (8) Kasar. |
| (3) Shinde. | (9) Wable. |
| (4) Chavan. | (10) Rajle. |
| (5) Gaikwad. | (11) Wamane. |
| (6) Dharde. | |

As a rule, a man may not marry a woman who belongs to his own section. He may marry the daughters of his paternal aunt, his maternal uncle, and his sister, but he cannot marry the daughter of his maternal aunt. Two sisters may be married to the same man, provided that the elder is married first. Polygamy is permitted, in theory, but the extent to which this is practised depends on the means of the individual concerned.

Marriage.—The Davre Jogis profess to marry their daughters as infants; but adult marriage is by no means unknown among the poorer classes. The marriage ceremony in use among them differs little from that of the Maratha Kunbis, except that *Haldi-lavane*, or the smearing of the bride and bridegroom, is performed under a bower made of *arandi* leaves (*Ricinus communis*), and the bridal pair are

made to stand, each in a basket of iron, at the time when the *antarpat* is held between them. Widows may marry again and are in no way restricted in the selection of their second husband. The ritual in use is very simple. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite to each other and, their foreheads being made to touch, their garments are tied in a knot. Divorce is permitted at the option of either party and divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows.

Religion.—Bhairava is the tutelary deity of the caste. They also worship Jotiba of Ratnagiri, Khandoba of Jejuri, Bhaváni of Tuljápúr and Renuká of Máhur. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. Their *gurus* (spiritual advisers) are Kanphate Jogis, so called because of their custom of slitting their ears and wearing a small cylindrical object in the incision. They make pilgrimages to holy places and observe all the fasts and festivals of the local Hindus.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Davre Jogi bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face turned towards the east. The corpse is taken to the burial ground in a *zoli*, or a bag of cloth, the funeral procession being accompanied with music made by the beating of drums and the blowing of *shingis*, or horn pipes. Before burial, the body is smeared with *vibhuti* (cowdung ashes), *bél* (*Ægle Marmelos*) leaves and flowers are offered to it, and water is poured into its mouth. It is then lowered into the grave and *gánja* (Indian hemp), tobacco, wine, or whatever object or food the dead person was fond of when alive is placed by its side. Led by the chief mourner, the relatives throw earth into the grave, which is then filled up. After further offerings of *bél* leaves and flowers have been made to the departed soul, the relatives and friends forming the funeral procession march three times round the grave and return to the house of the deceased person. On their arrival, they chew *nim* (*Melia indica*) leaves, wash their mouths and retire to their homes.

On the third day after death, offerings of flowers, *bél* leaves and *vibhuti* are again made at the grave and a feast, known as *bhundara*, is given to caste brethren. No regular *Sradha* is performed, nor is mourning observed by the members of the caste.

Social Status.—In point of social standing, the Davre Jogis rank immediately below the Maratha Kunbis. They cannot, however, eat *kachi* or *pakki* with men of any caste lower than Marathas in social position. They eat fish, fowl and mutton and indulge occasionally in strong drink.

Occupation.—The Davre Jogis are professional mendicants, wandering from village to village, collecting alms and performing *bharad* at the marriages of their disciples and also on other ceremonial occasions. Their services are specially called in by the Maratha cultivators during *Navratra*, or the first nine nights of Aswin (September), which are sacred to the goddess Bhavani. The *bharad* usually begins at sunset and lasts throughout the night. The performers first sing *pavadas*, or ballads, in honour first of Bhavani and then of Bhairavanath, to the mingled sounds of drums, cymbals and a fiddle (*tuntune*). The audience is, at the same time, entertained with humorous episodes regarding the Hindu gods and heroes. When the rainy season sets in they return to their homes and spend the wet months in weaving *kachas*, or girdles. A few have recently taken to agriculture, as their hereditary calling is not found to be sufficiently paying. They form part of the village community, being the 7th of the 12 *alutedars*, or village servants, entitled to a share in the produce.

XL-B

RAVAL JOGI

Raval, Raul, Shiv Jogi, Kanialanath Raval—a very numerous sect of Jogis, extending as far as the Karnatic in the south and Gujarath in the north. The etymology of the name 'Raval' is obscure, and the meagre traditions of the Ravals throw no light upon their origin. The Maratha Ravals, like the Davre Jogis, appear to have been mainly recruited from the Maratha Kunbis, as most of their exogamous sections are purely of the Maratha type. Some of the section names, given below, will illustrate this point—

Shinde.

Lakhe (lac).

Petkar.

Bhopale (gourd).

Jirekar (cummin seeds).	Keskar.
Yadav.	Sukale.
Chaturbhuj.	Bhise.
Bhot.	Diwale.
Unode.	Narwade.
Chavan.	Jadhav.
Pawar.	Kaváde.

Outsiders are freely admitted into the community, provided that they are Kunbis, Malis, Rajputs, or members of castes higher than these in social status. The ceremony of initiation slightly differs from that of the Davre Jogis. A square of lime-stone powder is traced on the ground and is surrounded by nine burning lamps made of wheaten flour. The novice, with his head shaved and after having bathed, is seated within it on a low wooden stool. His body is smeared with ashes of burnt cowdung and two necklaces, one of a black woollen string of nine threads and another of *rudraksha* wood (*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*), containing a hundred and eight beads, are hung about his neck. The *guru* then gives to the convert a 'Trident,' a piece of cloth (*koupin*) and a *zoli* (alms bag) and whispers in his ear the *mantra* or sacred word. Their ears are not necessarily bored, but, when they are perforated, *mudras*, or earrings made of conch shell, are inserted in them.

The Rawals profess to have one *gotra*, 'Shastra' only, which is of course inoperative in the regulation of their marriages, which are governed by the exogamous sections mentioned above. Marriage between persons belonging to the same section is forbidden. A man may marry the daughter of his sister, his paternal aunt or his maternal uncle, but he cannot marry his maternal aunt's daughter. Polygamy is permitted, but is rarely resorted to in practice.

Marriage.—The Ravals profess to marry their daughters as infants, but cases of girls being married after puberty are not uncommon, when the parents are poor, or if for any other reason there has been a difficulty in finding a husband. Their marriage ceremony is of the standard type. At the *Mangani*, or betrothal, the girl is presented with clothes by the father of the bridegroom and liquor is provided for

the *panchas* and other caste brethren present on the occasion, in confirmation of the match. Their marriage guardian, or *devak*, consists of leaves of the mango, *ru* (*Calotropis gigantea*) and *saundad* (*Prosopis spicigera*) trees. On the wedding day, the boy is conducted on a horse or a bullock to the girl's house where, on arrival, he is received at the door by the girl's mother. The bridal pair stand facing each other under the wedding booth, the *antarpāt*, or curtain, is held between them and *mangalashtak*, or sacred texts, are repeated by the Brahman officiating as priest. This ritual is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony. After this ceremony, the garments of the wedded couple are tied in a knot and they bow down before the family gods and elders; the caste people and relatives are entertained at a feast and the ceremony is brought to an end.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—Widows are allowed to marry again by the meagre form of *Mohatar*, which consists in tying the garments of the bridal pair in a knot and in bringing their foreheads into contact. A Brahman officiates as a priest. The caste council claim Rs. 12½ at the marriage of a widow and Rs. 7½ at that of a virgin. Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat* and is symbolised by the breaking of a straw. Divorced women may marry again by the same form and in the same manner as widows.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Ravals differ very little from the Datre Jogis. Their favourite deities are Bhairav, Khandoba, Jotiba, Bhavani and Renuka. They observe all the fasts and festivals of the local Hindus and make pilgrimages to holy places. Reverence is paid to Gorakhnath, the founder of the sect, Machindranath, and also to the 'Trident' and *linga* of Siva. Like the Maratha Kunbis, they worship images of departed ancestors, especially of those who have died childless or as bachelors. They employ Brahmans on religious and ceremonial occasions.

On the eighth of the light half of Aswin (October) they perform their chief religious ceremony, known as *Bija Hom*. On that day a goat is sacrificed in honour of Bhairav. Its blood is thrown on the sacred fire kindled for the occasion and its flesh is cooked and offered

to Bhairav. The cooked flesh is afterwards eaten by the members of the family. This ceremony is performed by the house-holder himself.

Disposal of the Dead.—When a Raval is on the point of death, a few drops of Ganges water and some cow's urine are poured into his mouth. After death the corpse is washed, smeared with *vibhuti* (ashes of burnt cowdung) and covered with clothes of an ochre colour (*bhagava*). The body is then placed in a sitting posture, with its legs crossed, and frankincense and camphor are burnt before it. After this, it is carried to the burial ground in a *zoli* (bag of cloth) by four men, a fifth one holding the top knot of the corpse and a sixth man heading the funeral procession and blowing a conch shell.

The grave is three sided and about four feet deep, and at the bottom an arched niche is cut for the reception of the corpse. On arrival, the body is lowered into the grave and seated in the niche with the face pointing to the east. After a sufficient quantity of salt has been thrown over the dead body, the grave is filled in with earth and a mound is raised over it. Finally, a Raval stands over the mound, blows the conch shell and recites mystic hymns (*mantras*) for the benefit of the departed soul. On the utterance of the last syllable, each member of the funeral party throws a handful of dust on the mound and they all return home. The mourners besmear their forehead with *vibhuti*, signifying that they are free from impurity. No regular *Sradha* is performed, but on the third day after death, and on the eleventh, a garland of flowers is hung from the roof of the house so that its free end may be just over a water pot and a dough lamp fed with *ghi*. A goat is killed and its flesh is offered before the emblem. The funeral rites terminate with a feast to the caste brethren. Souls of departed ancestors, in general, are propitiated on *Nagapanchami* or the 5th of the light half of Shravana (August) and also in the dark half of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status and Occupation.—The Ravals rank socially below the Maratha Kunbis, from whose hands they accept *kachi*, or uncooked food. Only the lowest unclean classes will eat food cooked by a Raval. The members of the caste eat all flesh, except beef and pork, and indulge in strong drink. Their characteristic

occupation is the collecting of alms in the name of Bhairava. Many of them have now taken to cultivation and trading and a few have adopted the profession of tailors. They also weave coarse cloth and tape.

XLI

JOHARI

Jouhari, Javheri, Rammayye, Manyari—a very small caste of pedlars, jewellers, and lapidaries, found in the Districts of Parbhani and Aurangabad, and also in some parts of Telingana.

Origin and Internal Structure.—They say they came from Malwa, but the date of their immigration and their original affinities are lost in obscurity. However this may be, their physical features, which markedly distinguish them from the Marathas, the peculiar formation of their exogamous sections, their employment of Kanojya Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes and their marriage customs, give ample proof of their Northern Indian origin, and it may be reasonably supposed that a long residence amidst an alien people has entirely cut them off from the parent tribes. They have no endogamous divisions, while only a few of their exogamous sections can be ascertained. They are shown below.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| (1) Digwa. | (5) Bhatti. |
| (2) Mahaisma. | (6) Shishoja. |
| (3) Kapasha. | (7) Gonda. |
| (4) Sonya. | |

The Shishoja, Gonda and Rathod sections are common to them and to the Rajputs. The origin of the remaining sections cannot be traced. The law of exogamy is practised by the caste. A man may marry two sisters, provided he marries the elder first. Girls are married either as infants, or when they become adults, between the ages of seven and twenty. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she is called upon to disclose the name of her lover and, if he belongs to her caste, he is compelled by the caste *Panchayat* to marry her. Adultery with an outsider incurs expulsion from the caste. Polygamy is permitted and no theoretical limit is imposed upon the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—The initiative towards marriage is taken by the father of the boy, who selects a suitable girl for his son and makes the first proposal towards the settlement of the match. After the horoscopes of the couple have been found to agree, and the wedding day has been fixed, a feast (*bhandara*) is given by the boy's father to his relatives and friends in confirmation of the betrothal. Prior to the wedding, Guru Nanaka, Balaji, Khandoba and Tuljapur Bhavani are honoured with a variety of offerings. On the day before the wedding, both parties, in their respective houses, are smeared with turmeric paste and oil. After the bridegroom has been taken in procession to the bride's house, the couple are seated side by side, facing the east, on two wooden stools, the bride being to the right of the bridegroom. Ganesh, the deity which presides over success in life, is worshipped and the garments of the couple are fastened in a knot by the officiating priest, who is a Kanojya Brahman. The sacred fire, or *hom*, is prepared and, before it, is performed the *Kanyadan* ceremony, which consists of the formal gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom and his formal acceptance of her. The family priest recites auspicious *mantras* and at the end of each *mantra* sprinkles rice on the heads of the couple. Thereupon the bride, followed by the bridegroom, walks six times round the sacrificial fire, keeping it on their right. After the couple have resumed their seats, they solicit the permission of their parents, the family priest and the members of the *Panchayat*, to make the seventh round and, on permission being obtained, they circumambulate the fire the seventh time, the bridegroom on this occasion leading the way. This last round, which forms the essential portion of the ceremony, entitles the bride to sit on the left of her husband.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, but she may not marry her late husband's younger or elder brother. In other respects, no restriction is imposed upon her in her choice of a second husband, provided she carefully observes the law of exogamy. On a dark night, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house; both are seated side by side and their garments are knotted together by the officiating Brahman; this concludes the ceremony. The whole of the next day the couple pass in concealment, and at

evening they visit the village Hanuman's temple, after which they return to the bridegroom's house. A feast to the relatives and friends ends the proceedings. A bachelor cannot marry a widow or a divorced wife, unless he is previously married to a *rui* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*).

Divorce.—Divorce is granted by the caste *Panchayat*, on the ground of the wife's unchastity or barrenness. If the divorced woman marries again, her first husband is entitled to recover from her all the money he spent on her marriage as a virgin. Sons by a widow, or a divorced wife, and those by a virgin wife all share equally in their father's property.

Religion.—In point of religion, the Joharis profess to belong to the Nanakashahi sect, and pay reverence to Guru Nanaka, the great founder of the Sikh religion. In honour of their *guru* they make pilgrimages to Nander, and other places sacred in the Sikh religion. They also pay devotion to Balaji of Devalagaon, Khandoba of Jejuri and Bhavani of Tuljapur. The minor gods they appease are Mahalaxmi, Sitaladevi, Hanuman, and other local deities.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Joharis generally burn their adult dead, but occasionally bury them if they are too poor to bear the cremation expenses. The corpse of a male is covered with a cloth and taken to the place of cremation. A dead woman, whose husband is alive, is rubbed with oil, bathed and dressed in a green *sari*. In the case of a widow the body is clothed in red. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the Ganges, or any stream that may happen to be close by. Mourning is observed ten days for adult agnates, and three days for children. On the 12th day after death, *Sradha* is performed and the caste people entertained. The ceremony is repeated every month during the first year, but subsequently only once a year. Offerings to deceased ancestors, in general, are made on the third day of the light half of Vaishakha (May) and in the dark half of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status and Occupation.—Socially, the caste ranks higher than the Maratha Kunbis, and will take cooked food from Brahmans. They drink spirits and fermented liquors and eat fish, fowls, goats and deer. Men wear the sacred thread. Women are

dressed like the local Kunbi females, but are prohibited, by a tribal custom, from wearing toe-rings.

The original occupation of the caste is believed to have been trading in chinaware, but, since the decline of the trade, they ~~have~~ been dealing in jewellery, selling pearls, corals and other jems and glass beads of a variety of colours. A few have, of late, taken to agriculture, holding land on small tenures. Some are engaged as confectioners and personal servants.

The Joharis have a caste *Panchayat* which settles social disputes and decides questions of caste usage.

XLII

JOSHI

Joshi—a class of professional astrologers and fortune-tellers, originally recruited from the Marathas, but now consolidated into an independent caste. They lead a life of periodical wandering, leaving their homes in the beginning of November and returning before the rainy season sets in. In their peregrinations they visit not only places in Maharashtra, but penetrate far into Telingana. The name 'Joshi' is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word 'Jyotishi'—an astrologer.

Internal Structure.—The Joshis embrace three classes : Sahadeva, Amrapurkar and Sarvade, who neither intermarry nor inter-dine. (1) The Sahadeva Joshis, also known as Huseni Brahmans, claim descent from the famous astrologer Sahadeva, the grandson of the great poet Kalidas, and the son of Devidas and his wife Bhadali. They earn a livelihood by deciphering *panchangs* (almanacs), telling fortunes by palmistry and casting nativities. Wearing a long robe and a turban, after the fashion of the Maratha Brahmans, they go from village to village and from house to house, explaining to the villagers their future destinies. They are much respected by the simple folk, who are ever anxious to have a peep into futurity. Ordinarily, they are dressed like Brahmans and wear the sacred thread. Socially, they rank higher than the other sub-castes. (2) The Amrapurkar Joshis take their name from the ancient village of Amrápur, the precise site of which is unknown at the present day. They collect alms in the name of the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur. When on their rounds, they wear a long oily gown of patches, reaching to the ankles, a wreath of *cowrie* shells around their neck, and a turban after the Maratha fashion, and carry a bag slung on their shoulders. They sing songs in honour of their patron deity, to the music of the *tuntun*, a one-stringed fiddle. The house-holders first pour oil on their bodies

and then give them alms. In Telingana they are known by the name of 'Teli Rajas.' (3) The Sarvade Joshis are mostly found in the Maratha Districts of Aurangabad, Bir and Parbhani. The etymology of the word 'Sarvade' is uncertain. They are fortune-tellers and astrologers. They wear a long coat and a Maratha turban, and beg by beating a *hudki*, a sort of drum. Their prophecies are not believed in and they are driven away from door to door.

The caste is broken up into exogamous sections of the Maratha type of surnames. A few of them are noticed below :—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| (1) Sonune. | (10) More. |
| (2) Gajkesar. | (11) Jád hava. |
| (3) Panchánga. | (12) Shinde. |
| (4) Bhise. | (13) Ghadage. |
| (5) Bhágawat. | (14) Mitrak. |
| (6) Lámbkáne. | (15) Samsari. |
| (7) Vaidya. | (16) Mahájan. |
| (8) Pote. | (17) Sasáne. |
| (9) Renukádás. | (18) Ghogre. |

Exogamy is regularly practised and is supplemented by the same rules as are in vogue among the Maratha Kunbis. Girls are married either before or after they have attained the age of puberty. Girls that are offered to the goddess Bhavani, in fulfilment of vows, are called Aradhinis. Such girls are enjoined not to marry but to lead a religious life begging in the name of Ambábái and subsisting on alms. The Aradhinis dress like the Maratha women, and set out, for begging, with *cowrie* wreaths round their necks and torches in their hands.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony is a copy of the ritual followed by the other Maratha castes. *Deva devak*, or the marriage guardian deity, is represented by an axe, a bundle containing mango leaves and a wheaten cake ; and it is installed on the *muhurta-medha*, or milk-pillar. The essential portions of the ceremony are (1) *Kanyádán*, or the formal gift and acceptance of the bride, and the seven rounds taken about the sacrificial fire. A girl taken in adultery with a casteman is degraded and the couple are looked down upon

as *akarmasi*, or bastards. Intrigue with an outsider is punished by instant expulsion from the caste. A widow is allowed to marry again and divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery. Failing any male issue an Aradhini inherits her father's property.

Religion.—All Joshis pay devotion to the god Shani (the planet Saturn), whom they regard with special reverence. A horse shoe, obtained from the foot of a black horse, is set up to represent the deity and is worshipped daily by males and females with offerings of black flowers. On *Shani Amáwasyá* (the 30th lunar day falling on Saturday), *Shani Pournima* (the full moon day falling on Saturday) and *Shani Pradosha*, the image of the god is smeared with oil, bathed with warm water, and worshipped by all the house-holders with offerings of flowers. The Kanfati Jogis act as their *gurus* or spiritual advisers and whisper in their ears the *guru mantra*, or mystic formula, which the devotees are enjoined to repeat several times daily. Departed ancestors receive attention from the members of the caste. Silver images are made in their names and worshipped by house-holders on every full moon and new moon day. Muhammdan *pirs* and saints are revered in the form of black images set up among the house gods.

The Amrapurkar Joshis are devotees of the goddess Bhavani, whose temple at Tuljapur, in the Usmanabad District, they visit every year on the *Dassera* festival (Aswin 10th, or middle of October). On this occasion they offer to the goddess their dress, the string of *cowries* they wear, and the torch they carry. Deshastha Brahmins are engaged for religious and ceremonial observances.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Joshis bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face turned towards the east. A Kanfati Jogi is said to officiate at their funerals and to whisper a *mantra* into the ear of the corpse before it is lowered into the grave. The chief mourner walks three times round the grave and lowers an earthen vessel of water into it, after which the grave is filled in. A platform is subsequently erected upon the place. On the 10th day after death, *Sradha* is performed and *pindas*, or balls of rice, are offered to the deceased person. Deshastha Brahmins are engaged as priests and conduct their marriage services.

Occupation.—As has been already stated, the characteristic occupation of the Joshis is begging. Many of them have now settled down to other pursuits and beg only on Saturdays, from house to house, and accept oil in the name of Shani and other *grahás* (planets). They accept charity in the form of clothes and grain bestowed by pious Hindus on eclipse days. They are also engaged in preparing horoscopes.

Social Status.—The social standing of the caste is low and they will accept food from all Maratha castes, except the barber and the washerman, and it is said that only Mahars and Mangs will eat from their hands.* They eat the flesh of goats, sheep and fowls and drink liquor, but not the leavings of other castes.

XLII-A

JOSHI—VASUDEVA

Vasudeva—a wandering caste of beggars, occasionally met with at fairs. Rising early in the morning, they wash their hands and feet and put on a long robe reaching to the ankles and a turban after the Maratha fashion. Over this turban a cone-shaped hollow coronet of peacock feathers is worn and a piece of cloth is passed round the neck. They then wrap a piece of red cloth round the waist and hold cymbals, or *chipalas*, in their hands, which they strike when singing and dancing. When they see any one they begin singing and dancing and, after obtaining alms from him, they blow a pipe in the name of the god and the donor and depart. They trace their descent from Vasudeva, but they appear to be originally Marathas. The names of the men and women are like those of the Maratha Kunbis and their language is a corrupt form of Marathi. Their surnames are Bhande, Solanke, Sinde, &c. Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste. A girl becoming pregnant before marriage, is outcasted. The marriage ceremony closely resembles that of the Maratha Kunbis. Shri Krishna is the god specially worshipped by the caste, but all the other Hindu gods are also revered. Before starting for purposes of begging, they worship their coronet of peacock feathers. The dead are buried in a sitting

posture, with the face pointing towards the east. Mourning is observed ten days for adults. Funeral obsequies are performed on the 13th day after death. Deceased ancestors receive homage in the form of embossed plates. In matters of diet they eat mutton, fowl and all kinds of fish and drink spirits. They eat from the hands of Brahmans, Marathas, Vanis and Jangams. Socially, they rank with the Joshis, with whom they are said to interdine and intermarry.

The Dandigans are a caste of wandering minstrels, who travel in parties and make their living by reciting, to music, the deeds of the Pandava princes. Each party consists of a choir of three men, one of whom plays on the *mridang*, an elongated drum, and the other on a *tamburi*, or four-stringed guitar, while the precentor sings and dances, relating mythological stories to the music of a *dandi* (a sort of one-stringed musical instrument), which he holds in one hand, and of cymbals, which he carries in the other. The Dandigans derive their origin from two Maratha youths, who were degraded for having committed a murder, and take their name from the musical instrument *dandi*, the badge of their calling. In every respect, except in their profession, the Dandigans are identical with the Vasudevas and need no separate description.

XLII-B

JOSHI—WAGHES & MURLIS

Childless Marathas, under vows for children, dedicate their first-born, whether a boy or a girl, to Khandoba, an incarnation of Shiva, whose chief shrines are at Jejuri, Malegaon and Khanapur near Bidar. The boys, on being dedicated, are invested with a bag of deer-hide and styled Waghesh, from *wag*, meaning 'a tiger'. They lead the life of wandering minstrels, moving about in bands and singing songs and ballads in praise of Khandoba. Occasionally, they attend on Murlis. Those who have no liking for music take to cultivation, or follow some other calling.

The dedicated girls, when seven years old, are married to Khandoba and receive the name of Murlis (*lit.* flutes). On *Somavati*,

or the full moon falling on a Monday in Magh (February) or Chaita (March), the girl is taken to the god's temple and made to stand before the idol. She is dressed in green and has her body smeared with turmeric, her forehead with *kunkum* (red aniline) and her head adorned with garlands of flowers. A cloth is held between her and the idol, lucky verses are chanted by the temple *gurava* (priest) and turmeric powder (*bhandara*) is sprinkled over their heads. A necklace of nine cowries is tied round the girl's neck and she is greeted as Khandoba's wife. The priest receives Rs. 1-4-0 as his fee. Although enjoined, by the rules, to live a celibate life, the Murlis are tacitly allowed to associate themselves as prostitutes with members of their own or of higher castes. Some of them stay at Jejuri, but others, attended by Waghesh, wander about making a livelihood by begging alms and singing songs. Some of them are skilful musicians and are often seen dancing to music and, at the same time, picking up with their foreheads cowrie shells scattered on the ground. The Murlis are prohibited from wearing toe-rings, anklets or the nose-ring. Their social disputes are settled by the *gurava* at Jejuri.

Waghesh are allowed to marry the girls of the caste into which the illegitimate children of Murlis have formed themselves. They are, however, prohibited, on pain of social degradation, from cohabiting with Murlis. The marriage ceremony corresponds to that in use among the Maratha Kumbis.

In matters of inheritance, they follow their own customs. The sons of Waghesh and Murlis inherit the property of their parents. Failing sons, the daughters take the property.

Waghesh and Murlis are buried in a sitting posture. A Jangam officiates at their funeral ceremonies and receives presents on the third day after death. On the same day, a funeral feast is provided for the members of the sect.

Socially, they rank below the Maratha Kumbis, from whose hands they eat cooked food. They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, hare and all kinds of fish and drink spirituous and fermented liquors, but do not eat the leavings of any caste.

Waghesh and Murlis pay their devotion exclusively to Khandoba,

whom they worship, with great pomp and circumstance, 'on the *Sat* holiday, the 6th of the bright half of Margashirsha (December). On this occasion, the Murlis are said to be possessed by the god and endowed with prophetic power. The Maratha Murlis are identical with the Joginis of the Carnatic and the Basavis of the Telaga people.

XLIII

KACHHI

Kachhi—a gardening and cultivating caste, found chiefly in the Aurangabad and Hyderabad cities. The Kachhis, in the Maratha country, state that they came as infantry and cavalry soldiers from Bundelkhand in the times of Alamgir and earlier kings. In 1869 there were nearly 100 houses in Begampura in the Aurangabad city.

Internal Structure.—The following two sub-castes of the Kachhis are found in these Dominions—Marwari and Bundela. The names have reference to the countries from which they originally came. Members of these sub-castes neither interdine nor intermarry. The exogamous sections of the caste are mostly of the territorial type, as shown below :—

Bunde	Gwaliari
Katkariya	Malkapure
Mabwale	Piloliwale
Hadiyewale	Gulal
Nabab	Elchya

the last three being of uncertain origin. The Kachhis forbid a man to marry a woman who belongs to the same section as himself. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided that he does not marry the daughter of his maternal aunt. A man may marry two sisters, but in this case he must observe the rule that the younger is not married first. In theory, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain : practically, however, the standard of living of the caste limits him to two.

Marriage.—The Kachhis marry their daughters as infants, between the ages of five and eleven. The marriage ceremony is a simplified form of that in use among the Rajputs and other castes of

Upper India; *Bhovari*, or the bridal pair walking seven times round the *muhurmedh* (auspicious post), forms the binding and essential portion of the ceremony. It is completed by *Sindurdan*, in which the bridegroom smears vermilion in the parting of the bride's hair. The marriage takes place at night and Kanojia Brahmans are called in to officiate as priests. A widow may marry again by the ceremony known as *Dharona*, of which the binding portion is the presentation of a new *sari* and bodice cloth to the bride and the putting of bracelets on her wrist, but she is not permitted to marry her late husband's younger brother. If a widow re-marries, she forfeits all claims to a share in her late husband's property and to the custody of any children she may have had by him. Divorce is not recognised by the caste.

Religion.—In matters of religion, the Kachhis differ little from local castes of the same social standing. Their favourite deity is Sitala, the goddess presiding over smallpox, who is worshipped at weddings and on occasions of sickness. The goddess is represented by a stone from the river, smeared with vermilion, and offerings of goats, flowers and betel leaves are made to it. Reverence is paid by the members of the caste to Balaji, Hanuman, Bhavani and other local gods and goddesses. Kanojia Brahmans are employed on all ceremonial and religious occasions.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Kachhis burn their dead in a lying posture, with the head pointing towards the south. The ashes and bones are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the nearest river, stream or tank. Mourning is observed for three days and, on the 4th day, the chief mourner shaves, bathes and is free from impurity. Persons dying unmarried, or of smallpox, are buried.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste cannot be defined precisely. The members of the caste say that they eat *kachi* only from the hands of Kanojia Brahmans, while sweatmeats are taken only from Banias and Marwaris. The Maratha Kunbis do not eat food cooked by a Kachhi. The members of the caste eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, hare and some birds, but abstain from that of the domestic fowl and from pork. Some say that they do eat

domestic fowls. As regards the use of strong drink they have no scruples.

Occupation.—The Kachhis are excellent cultivators. They are noted for their skill and industry in growing tobacco and other special products requiring more careful cultivation than the staple crops. In the neighbourhood of large towns they work as market gardeners, growing and selling all kinds of vegetables, flowers and fruit. Some of them are employed as soldiers in the native army.

XLIV

KAHAR

Kahar, Kahar Bhoi, Mahigir—a very small fishing and cultivating caste, some of whose members are engaged as palanquin bearers. It is represented as a mixed caste descended from a Brahman father and a Nishad mother. The Kahars are supposed to have come into these Dominions from Upper India, during the time of Aurangzeb. They are mostly found in villages situated on the river Godavari, along its course through the Marathwada Districts.

Very little is known regarding the internal structure of the caste. The Kahars have no exogamous sections and marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is prohibited, as long as any relationship can be traced.

Marriage.—The Kahars marry their daughters as infants or as adults, according to their means, the former practice being deemed the more respectable. A man may take a second wife, if the first is barren or incurably diseased. The marriage ceremony closely conforms to that common among the Rajput and other castes of Northern India. *Bhovri*, or the seven circuits taken by the bride and bridegroom round the sacred post, is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony. Kanojia Brahmans are engaged to officiate at their marriages. Widows are allowed to marry again and are under no restrictions in their choice of a second husband. Divorce is recognised, and divorced wives may marry again by the same form as widows. If a woman is convicted of an intrigue with a man of a lower caste she is at once excommunicated.

Religion.—The religion of the Kahars presents no features of special interest. Their favourite deity is Sapta Shringi, of Nasik, whose image is placed in the god's room and worshipped on the *Dassera* or the 10th of the waxing moon of Aswin, with offerings of flowers, fruit and boiled mutton. They also revere Amba of Tuljapur

and other local Hindu gods. Kanojia Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial observances.

Child-birth.—When a child is born, the umbilical cord is cut and thrown into a river. The mother is unclean for five days and, on the sixth day, the goddess Satwai is worshipped, in the form of stones bedaubed with vermillion. Offerings of limes, fruit, boiled rice and curds are made to the goddess, and five married girls are feasted in her name. Two charcoal figures are painted on the wall and adored with offerings of flowers and sandal paste. On the twelfth day, the mother bathes and, taking the child in her arms, crosses the village boundary. She picks up a few pebbles of stone from the ground, places them under a tree, and worships them by daubing them with turmeric paste and offering flowers, boiled rice and molasses. After the goddess Satwai has been thus appeased, she returns home and is free to resume her household work.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned in a lying posture, with the head pointing towards the south. Bodies of persons who are not married are buried. On the third day, the ashes and bones are collected and thrown into a river. Kahars perform *Sradha* for the benefit of departed ancestors in general, either on the *Diwali* (in October) or the *Shivaratri* festival (in February).

Social Status.—The social status of the caste is superior to that of the Bhois and inferior to that of the Maratha Kunbis, from whose hands they eat *kachi*, or uncooked food. A few of the Kahars in the Hyderabad City say that they eat *kachi* only from the hands of Kanojia Brahmans and *pakki* (cooked) from the Bania castes, while they accept water from the hands of the Maratha Bhois. In respect of diet they eat fish, mutton, venison and the flesh of hare, pigeons and quail, but abstain from fowl and pork. They drink spirituous and fermented liquors.

The Kahars have a strong and well organised *Panchayat*, on which every head of a family is bound to serve when summoned. Small breaches of social rule are condoned by the nominal punishment of giving *pan-supari*, or betel leaves and areca nuts, and graver faults, by a caste feast. The decisions of the caste council are enforced under pain of expulsion. The council is presided over by a headman.

whose office is hereditary and who is shown special honour at all marriages and caste feasts.

Occupation.—Palanquin bearing is the chief occupation of the caste ; but as palanquin travelling is no longer the prevailing custom in the country, the members of the caste have taken to cultivation and fishing. Some have enlisted in the army.

XLV

KALAL

Kalál—a liquor-selling and distilling caste, found in all parts of the Dominions. The Kaláls say that they were originally Vaishyás and were degraded on 'account of their having adopted the profession of liquor-sellers and distillers. The caste is divided into two sub-castes : Lád Kalál and Pardeshi Kalál.

Lád Kalál.—The Lád Kaláls are chiefly found in the Gulbargah district. They probably came from the southern part of Gujarath, which bore the name of Lát (Lád) in ancient times. They have three sub-divisions :—Surya Lád, Chhatri Lád and Kodi Lád, the members of which neither interdine nor intermarry. The Surya Láds are so called because their men and women, as they allege, do not dine until they have first offered *pūja* to Surya, or the sun. The Chhatri Láds are probably a degraded offshoot of the Chhatri (Khatri) caste, while the origin of the name Kodi Lád is uncertain. It may be a variant of 'kodu', a kind of millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*), which is said to have the property of intoxicating when made into bread. The section names of the Lád Kaláls are of a peculiar type, as noticed below :—

Tonpe.	Katwate.
Sabane (soap).	Ganagane.
Kol.	Hagal Diwate.
Khadke (rock).	Sadanande (very merry).
Vanjare.	Pinjare.
Kamade.	Sandve.
Tapase.	Dingre (hill).
Palangatode.	Paske.
Jamalpure.	Ganagane.

Marriage between persons belonging to the same section is forbidden. Two sisters may be married to the same man, provided

the younger is married first. A second wife may be taken if the first is barren, or suffers from an incurable disease. Infant marriage is practised by the caste. A girl attaining puberty before marriage is excommunicated. Girls are not offered to temples or trees. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and resembles that in use among the other castes of the Karnatic. A widow is allowed to marry again and is under no restriction as regards her choice of a second husband. Divorce is recognised and divorced wives may marry again by the same rite as widows. The Kaláls are orthodox Hindus, worshipping Mahadeo every Monday. The goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur is worshipped every Friday, with offerings of flowers, betel leaves and sweatmeats. The dead are either burned in a lying posture, or buried in a sitting posture, according to the means of the family of the deceased. In the case of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river or stream. Brahmans are employed on religious and ceremonial occasions. The social status of the caste is inferior to that of the Maratha Kunbis and superior to that of the Bhoi, Nhavi and Dhobi. The members of the caste eat fowl and fish and the flesh of deer, hare and sheep, and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. Distilling and selling liquor is the original occupation of the caste, but many of its members make their living by shop-keeping and money-lending. Some have taken to agriculture, in the capacity of occupancy raiats, while a few are landless day-labourers.

Pardeshi Kalál.—The Pardeshi Kaláls are supposed to have come from Northern India, although little is known regarding the date of their immigration. They have six sub-castes :—

Sinhor.	Chansakha.
Purbhayya.	Letarayya.
Gurer.	Jaiswar.

among whom there is neither interdining nor intermarriage. Each of these is further broken up into a number of sections, such as, Modi, Pirwatiya, Ghodchadha, Chaitaha Tatari, and so on. In point of marriage, the Pardeshi Kalals exclude the section of both father and mother or, in other words, forbid a man to marry a woman who be-

longs to the same section as he himself or his mother. This system is supplemented by prohibited degrees, calculated to six generations on the male side. All Pardeshi Kaláls who can afford to do so, marry their daughters as infants, but the daughters of poor families frequently remain unmarried up to the age of eighteen or nineteen. A man may marry two sisters, and the number of wives he may have is subject to no limit, except his ability to maintain them. The marriage ceremony does not appear to differ materially from the standard type common among the other castes of Upper India of the same social standing. The marriage shed (*mandap*) consists of five posts, one at each corner and one in the centre, and to the latter are tied branches of the mango and *umber* trees, while at its foot is placed an earthen jar of water, topped with a burning lamp, and with mango leaves inside. Seven circuits taken by the bridal pair round this sacred post are deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony. A widow is allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised. The religion of the Pardeshi Kaláls presents no features of special interest. Kanojia Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The dead are usually burned, but bodies of persons dying unmarried are buried. No precise definition can be given regarding the social position of the caste. The members of the caste say that they eat *kachi* only from the Kanojia Brahmans, while they take water from the hands of the Bhois. Only the Dhobis, Bhois, and lowest unclean castes will eat food cooked by a Pardeshi Kalal. A Pardeshi Kalal eats fish and the flesh of deer, hare, goats and sheep, but abstains from fowl and pork. He drinks both fermented and spirituous liquors. The bulk of the caste follow their traditional occupation of distilling and selling liquors. Some have taken to other pursuits, such as shop-keeping, money-lending and agriculture.

XLVI

KAPU

Kapu, Kunbi, Reddi—the chief land-holding and cultivating caste of Telingana, whose physical characteristics, although difficult of accurate description, are decidedly of a Dravidian type. The name “Kapu” means “guardian”, which is interpreted in the sense of ‘food donor’, inasmuch as members of this caste cultivate land and grow corn, thus contributing to the maintenance of animal life. They rear milch cattle and bullocks, which are employed in agricultural operations.

Origin.—The Kapus trace their descent to one Adi Reddi, from whose seven sons the whole Kapu race is said to have sprung. Beyond this vague story they have no traditions which will throw light upon their origin.

Internal Structure.—They are divided into the following sub-castes :—

(1) Panch Reddi, from “Reddi”, “king or master”, so called as they include five endogamous groups, viz :—

- (i) Motati.
- (ii) Gudati or Godadi.
- (iii) Paknati.
- (iv) Ghittapu.
- (v) Gone.

(2) Yaya, (3) Kamma, (4) Patti, (5) Padkanti, (6) Sakhamani, (7) Vakligar, (8) Reddi, (9) Penta, (10) Velma, the members of which interdine, but do not intermarry. A question arises whether these sub-castes are sprung from a common stock, or are heterogeneous elements, brought together under one tribal designation, “Kapu”, by reason of the similarity of occupation. It seems that the first five sub-divisions, grouped under the title ‘Panch Reddi’,

are indigenous to these Dominions and are the offshoots of a once compact tribe. They are found in their greatest strength in the central districts of the Telingana and are gradually displaced, on the western side by the Maratha Kunbis, and on the eastern and southern parts (adjoining those of the Madras Presidency) by the Kammas. The Kamma and Patti sub-castes possess the same set of exogamous sects and the same customs and usages as the Panch Reddis and, may on this account, be regarded as castes ethnologically akin to them. The Velmas and Pentas, on the other hand, differ materially, in features and habits, from the Panch Reddis and seem to bear no affinity to them. Though classed as Kapus, they will, for this reason, be treated under separate articles. The origin of all the sub-castes is obscure.

(1) *Motati Kapus*.—The name Motati is derived from the word 'mota' meaning a 'rash worker.' In the social scale, they take the highest rank amongst the Kapus and are proud of their blood, since, as they aver, Raja Pratap Rudra and his descendants belonged to their caste. A hypergamous division, called the Motati Chowdhari, has lately been developed, consisting of *jamedars*, landlords and other rich grandees, who may either be the descendants of the ruling princes or their nobles, or of those who rose to eminence and renown by acquiring wealth and military fame. The Motati Chowdharis receive the daughters of the Motati Kapus in marriage, but do not give their own daughters in return. The reason is obvious; for the Chowdharis, observing seclusion among their women, are reluctant to marry their girls to Motati Kapus, whose women appear unveiled in public and are employed on out-door labour. A Motati girl, before being admitted into a Chowdhari family, is ceremonially purified by being branded with the emblems of *Tapta Mudras*, represented by the conch shell (*sankha*) and the dice (*chakra*) of Vishnu, and she is not afterwards allowed to return to her parents. To secure a Motati Chowdhari bridegroom, entails upon a Motati Kapu the payment of a high bridegroom price, which the father gladly pays, anxious as he is to see his daughter lodged in a respectable family. The members of the Motati Chowdhari have aped, in their desire to elevate themselves, all the supposed usages of Brahmans. This

hypergamous group is tending to become endogamous, for there are indications that, in course of time, the Chowdharis will entirely cease to contract matrimonial alliances with the lower classes.

(2) *Godadi Kapus*.—Also called 'Gurudwar,' profess to derive their name from Godadwan, most probably identical with Gondawana, where they are very numerous. Hypergamy prevails, forming three groups, Chowdhari, Patel and ordinary Kapus. They are believed to rank lower than the Motatis. The Godadi females pass the ends of their upper garments over their right shoulders.

(3) *Gone Kapus*.—Take their name from gunny bags (*goni* meaning gunny bags) with which the pack bullocks are saddled. It is said that members of this sub-caste used to make bags and thereby came to be differentiated from the other Kapus. Regarding the origin of the name "Gone" the following story is related. Once upon a time, the earth was deluged with rain and, while all the others were drenched, the members of this sub-caste found cover under gunny bags and were saved. They were, therefore, nicknamed "Gone", by which their descendants are still distinguished from the other Kapus. A Gone will never mount a bullock having a *goni* (bag) on its back. They do not allow their widows to re-marry and are hence ranked above the Godadis, whose widows re-marry.

(4) *Chittapu Kapus*.—Chittepod, or Kule Kadgi, resemble in most of their customs, and to a certain extent in features, the Maratha Kunbis, between whom and the Telingana cultivating caste they seem to form a link. The origin of the name is obscure. Members of this sub-caste abstain from flesh and drink.

(5) *Kamma Kapus*.—The members of this sub-caste are chiefly found in the eastern talukas of the Warangal district, where they are supposed to have come from the Madras Presidency, especially from the adjoining districts of Kistna and Godavari. They have two endogamous divisions :—

- (i) Illo Bellama Kamma, who veil their women and hold therefore a superior position, and
- (ii) Gampa Kamma, whose women appear unveiled in public.

(6) *Patti Kapus*.—Very little is known regarding this caste, except that they have got the same exogamous divisions as the Kapus,

and that they practise both infant and adult marriages and do not recognise widow marriage.

(7) *Vakligar* or *Lingayat Kapus*.—Those of the Kapus who embraced Lingayitism come under this category. The members of this sub-caste acknowledge Jangams as their *gurus*, do not call in Brahmans either for religious or ceremonial purposes and, like other proselytes, are very punctilious in their sectarian observances. This class is confined to the Karnatic Districts where Lingayitism is in full force. Among the Padkante Kapus it is customary for a bridegroom to tie a cotton thread, stained with turmeric, around the bride's neck at the wedding, instead of a string of black beads, as is done in other sub-castes. The women of this sub-caste do not wear bodices.

The exogamous sections into which the sub-castes are divided are very numerous. Some of them deserve special notice.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Lyagawanola | (<i>Lyaga</i> , calf). |
| 2. Yelavedlawandlu | (<i>Yelavedla</i> , white ox). |
| 3. Karedlawandlu. | (<i>Karedla</i> , black ox). |
| 4. Charkuneelu | (Sugar-cane). |
| 5. Renakulla | (<i>Zizyphus jujuba</i>). |
| 6. Paspulollu | (Turmeric). |
| 7. Coppunilollu | (Salt water). |
| 8. Yelakula | (Cardamom). |
| 9. Guralollu | (<i>Guralu</i> , horse). |
| 10. Thokalollu | (<i>Thoka</i> , tail). |
| 11. Chintalollu | (<i>Chinta</i> , tamarined). |
| 12. Mudnoorollu | (Name of a place) |
| 13. Alampalollu. | Do. |
| 14. Amlapuramollu | Do. |
| 15. Beloorolu | Do. |
| 16. Baradollu | Do. |

It should be observed that the section names are of two different types, the one totemistic and the other territorial. The survival of the primitive totemism among the Kapus favours the view that they are derived from a Dravidian stock. There is, however, no evidence whatever to show that the totems are taboo to the members of the sections or, in other words, that the members of those sections regard

with veneration the animals or plants whose names they bear. This essential omission may be easily accounted for by the fact that, being long subjected to Brahmanical influences, the Kapus have naturally dropped all usages antagonistic to Brahmanical theories.

The rule of exogamy observed by the caste is that a man cannot marry outside his sub-caste nor inside his section. The section name goes by the male side. This simple rule is supplemented by a formula which enjoins that a man cannot marry his aunt, his first cousins, except his maternal uncle's daughter, or his niece. A man may marry his wife's younger sister during the former's life time, but not her elder sister. Adoptive brotherhood is practised, a boy belonging to the same section as his adopter being given the preference. No outsider is admitted into the caste.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is the rule, but adult marriage prevails among the higher classes (*chowdharis*) owing to the paucity of husbands due to the enormous increase of the bridegroom price. No prominence is given to the latter usage and social stigma attaches to the parents of the girl if she attains puberty before marriage, the fact of her being mature before marriage being concealed as much as possible. No courtship prevails and the marriage is settled by the parents or guardians of the parties concerned. The higher classes taking maidens in marriage from the lower ones, do not have them actually wedded to the boys, but a sword is sent from the boy's house to the girl's and there the girl is married formally, according to rites and ceremonies, to the weapon and is then accepted with the sword in the higher family, where she enjoys all the privileges of a married lady. Sexual indiscretions before marriage admit of no atonement and the girl loses her caste. Polygamy is permitted, there being no definite limit as to the number of wives a man may have. Connubial relations may commence even before the girl attains sexual maturity.

Among the Kapus, the initiative towards the settlement of marriage is taken by the parents or guardians of the bridegroom, who depute a man of the Bhatmurti (Bhatraj) caste to select a suitable match, and to carry on the preliminary negotiations. After the horoscopes of both the bride and bridegroom have been found to agree, and after the bridegroom price, which is generally Rs. 116,

but which varies with the pecuniary status of the parents of the bride, has been settled, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman skilled in such matters. The marriage ceremonies comprise the following stages :—

(a) *Chyupwidam*—The verbal gift and acceptance of the bride. The bridegroom's party proceeds to the bride's house. At an auspicious time fixed for the ceremony, the bride is brought, by her maternal uncle, from the inner part of the house and seated on a wooden stool placed in the court-yard. In the presence of the relatives and friends assembled for the occasion, the bride is verbally given by her father, and verbally accepted by the bridegroom's father, for his son. The bride is then adorned with flower wreaths, and the ceremony ends with the distribution of *pan supari* (betel leaves and areca nuts) to the assembled people.

(b) *Nischitartha*—confirmation of the match—On this occasion a new *sari*, five cocoanuts, five betel leaves, five bodices (*cholis*) and two lbs. of rice are presented to the bride by her mother-in-law.

(c) *Wara Nischaya*—

(i) The worship of *Pinnamma* (the goddess of fortune).

The goddess, who is not represented by any image, is worshipped in every household a month or a fortnight previous to the celebration of marriage. At night, a spot of ground is plastered clean with cow-dung and decorated with designs of *kunkum* (aniline powder) traced in various patterns. A twig of the *apta* tree (*Bauhinia racemosa*), representing the deity, is installed on the ground with a cradle of flowers hanging over it, and before it are placed a coconut, a piece of bodice cloth, a piece of coconut kernel and two betel leaves with an areca nut. The deity is worshipped with offerings of flowers and rice coloured with turmeric, after which a sheep is slaughtered before it. The head of the animal is buried in the ground and its body furnishes a feast to all the household members.

(ii) The worship of *Pochamma* (the smallpox deity) and *Nagula* (a serpent)—These animistic deities are appeased outside the village with offerings of goats, flowers and sweetmeats. Marriage booths are erected at the houses of both the parties. Usually, the marriage takes place at the house of the bride, but if the parents of the bride are too

poor to undergo the marriage expenses it is performed at the house of the bridegroom.

(d) *Prathanam*—This important ceremony is performed at the girl's house. The bridegroom's parents and relatives go, with the bridal ornaments, the *prathan* ring and other articles, such as cocoanuts, betel leaves, areca nuts, etc., to the girl's house. At the time appointed for the performance of the ceremony the girl is bathed. Wearing a new *sari* and putting on flower garlands, she is seated on a wooden stool, with a heap of rice in front of her. On this heap are placed the ornaments and the *prathan* ring, which are worshipped by the girl along with the deity Ganesh. The *prathan* ring is then circulated in a cocoanut shell among the relatives and, after being touched and blessed by them, is put on the right hand little finger of the bride. This ring is afterwards connected, by a yellow thread, with the bangles worn by the girl on her wrist. The ornaments are put on her person and she is led in procession to the bridegroom's house.

(e) *Yadulu Kodlu*—A ceremonial greeting of the members of both the parties.

(f) *Kotanum*—In which mortars and grind-stones are worshipped and rice and turmeric are pounded by five married women.

(g) *Arweni* or *Airani Kundalu*—A few days previous to the wedding, some women of the bride's house go, under a canopy, to the house of a potter, who has already been instructed to keep from nine to twenty-one earthen pots ready. Two of these pots are bigger than the others, are painted outside with ornamental designs and are called 'Airani Kundalu'. Rice, pulse and cakes are offered to the pots, the offerings being taken by the potter. The pots are then brought to the marriage booth and placed before the family gods. Lighted lamps are kept burning near them day and night as long as the ceremony continues. Every morning and evening, two married women of the bride's or bridegroom's house, as the case may be, take the smaller pots with them and go to a well, attended by music and under a canopy. On their arrival, they worship the well, fill the pots with water and return home.

(h) *Mailapola*—The bride and bridegroom are seated side by

side in a square formed of rice and having at each of its corners an earthen pot filled with water. A female barber smears the pair with a paste of turmeric and oil and a male barber pares the nails of their fingers and toes. Five married women throw rice on their heads. The couple then receive a bath and, dressed in white, are taken into the house, where they take their seats before the family gods and the consecrated pots. The deities Ganesh, Gowri, and Airani Kundalu are worshipped and *bashingams* (paper and flower coronets) are tied on their foreheads.

(i) *Lagnam*—The bride and bridegroom dressed in wedding clothes of a saffron colour are conducted to the marriage booth. On a mat of *shendi* (wild date palm) are placed two wooden seats, on which the couple are made to stand facing each other, a screen being held between them. The Brahman priest recites *mantras*, or sacred texts, and the assembled guests throw rice over the heads of the couple.

(j) *Padghattan*—The bridegroom places his right foot upon a stool placed beneath the screen and the bride touches it three times with her left foot. Then, the bride, in her turn, puts her right foot upon the stool which is trodden upon by the bridegroom with his left foot three times.

(k) *Jira Gudam*—The bride and bridegroom throw a mixture of *jira* (cumin seeds) and *guda* (jaggery) three times alternately over each other's head. The screen is then removed.

(l) *Kanyadan*—The parents of the bride wash the feet of the bridegroom and give him a mixture of honey, curds and *ghi* to drink (*madhupark*). Then follows the formal gift of the bride by her father and the formal acceptance of her by the bridegroom. The bride's father is made to repeat the words—"I give her to you as a gift", to which the bridegroom replies—"I accept her."

(m) *Puste Metallu*—In a shallow cup are placed two ornaments, viz., *puste* (*mangalsutra*, a string of small black glass beads with a gold disc) and *metallu*, (silver toe rings) and, after they have been worshipped by the Brahman priest and passed round to be blessed by those present, the bridegroom ties the *puste* round the bride's neck and puts the *metallu* on her toes.

(n) *Tilabalubium*—Thread bracelets (*kankanam*), dipped in

turmeric water, are worshipped by the wedded pair and tied, together with pieces of turmeric, on their wrists by the priest. Rice is thrown over their heads by all the people present; the bride and bridegroom also throwing rice over each other's heads.

(o) *Brahmamodi*—The ends of the garments of the married couple are tied together in a knot with a piece of turmeric, a piece of cocoanut kernel and a pice. Lucky lights, placed in a shallow plate, are then waved round their faces by married females.

(p) *Arundhati Darshan*—The goddess Arundhati, wife of the sage Vashistha, and represented by the pole star, is shown to the wedded pair as a pattern of constancy and fidelity. Two ornaments are put in an earthen vessel, which is conjointly taken by the couple outside the house. The *bashingams* are then removed from their foreheads and milk and curds are given them to drink. Thereupon, the bride prepares gruel and the bridegroom turns up the earth in furrows in which he sows five kinds of seed grains. While thus engaged, his child wife brings him the gruel to drink.

(q) *Nagveli*—A square is marked out on the ground, with a water pot at each of its corners, the pots being encircled five times with a raw cotton thread. Inside this are arranged the Arweni Kundalu vessels, the small earthen vessels (*palamuntal*) and six plates made of leaves holding lighted lamps. The bridegroom, taking a dagger and the share of a plough in his hand, goes five times round the *polu* accompanying the bride, her parents, five married women and the priest.

Airwani Kundalu and the *palamuntal* vessels are thereupon worshipped and the Brahnamudi knot and *kankanam*s are untied.

(r) *Panpu*—In which the young pair are made to enact a drama of their future life. A wooden doll is placed in a cradle of cloth and is rocked by the couple seated on a cot. They are then made to converse on various domestic matters. The bridegroom asks the bride to take charge of the mimic child so that he may go out, but the bride returns the charge, pleading that she has to fetch water. A good deal of fun and merriment ensue on the occasion.

(s) *Vappaginta*—The bride's parents entrust their daughter to the care of the bridegroom and his parents, requesting them to treat her kindly.

(t) *Vadibhujam*—The bride is presented with cocoanut, dates, a *choli* and turmeric coloured rice which she takes in the front fold of her *sari* (*wadi*).

A marriage feast completes the ceremony.

The marriage rites of the Reddi Kapus differ in some particulars from those of the Panch Reddis and deserve special mention. The Reddi bride, previous to the wedding day, is conducted, in procession, to the bridegroom's house, where a marriage *pandal* of twelve posts is erected. One of the posts consists of a *salai* branch (*Boswellia thurifera*) and represents the *Deva Devak*. The branch, before being cut off, is girt round with cotton thread and worshipped by a man having children. At an auspicious hour appointed for the wedding, the bridal pair are made to stand facing each other and an *antarpat* is held between them. A wheaten cake, two inches thick, is placed on a wooden stool just beneath the screen, the girl places her foot upon it, and the boy treads upon her foot with his own. The screen is removed and the cake is given to the *dhobi*. What follows, corresponds to the ceremony among other Kapus. Next day the bridal pair are taken to the temple of the village Maruti and have their mouths washed by each other. At night the bridal procession (*barat*) conducts the wedded couple all about the village and, as it approaches the *pandal*, betel leaves and food are waved round their faces and given to the *dhobi*. The bride and the bridegroom are, thereupon, carried round the sacred *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) post and each of the relatives present carries them on the hip and jumps and dances about the place. At the *Panpu* ceremony, the bridal pair, while going into their house with the puppet daughter, are interrupted at the door by the bridegroom's sister, who allows them to enter only after exacting a promise from her brother that her son shall receive his daughter in marriage.

Divorce is permitted among the Reddi Kapus and the offending woman is required, in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*, to break a piece of straw in two as a symbol of separation. Among the Paknati Kapus, before marriage, the goddess Pidda Darsu is worshipped in the form of a twig of the *rui* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*), a day's fast being observed in her name.

Widow-Marriage.—All Kapus, excepting the Motafi Gone and Paknati, allow a widow to marry again, the widow not being expected to marry her late husband's younger brother. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow, is of a simple character. On a lucky evening, the bridegroom goes to the house of his wife-elect and presents her with a *sari* and a *choli*. After she has put on the garments he ties a *pusti* round her neck. Only widows attend the ceremony. Early next morning, the couple go to the village Maruti's temple and stay there till dusk, when they return home.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the *Panchayat* on the ground of the wife's unchastity, or if the couple cannot get on together. It is effected by driving the woman out of the house with salt and rice tied in the end of her cloth. Divorced women are allowed to re-marry by the same rite as widows. An innocent woman, if divorced, claims alimony from her husband.

Inheritance.—On the death of the father the estate is divided equally among his sons, subject to the usage of *chudawand*, which is found to exist in all the Telugu castes of the Dominions. According to this usage "the sons, however few, of one wife, take a share equal to that of the sons, however many, of another. In applying this rule no distinction is drawn between the status of the wives, and the sons of a wife married as a widow get the same share as the sons of a woman who was married as a virgin by the regular ceremony." Mothers claim maintenance and clothes and sisters only wedding expenses. In other matters the Kapus follow the standard Hindu law of inheritance.

Religion.—In matters of religion the Kapus are divided between 'Namdharis' and 'Vibhutidharis'; those whose foreheads are marked with *nam* streaks of sandalwood paste running parallel from the root of the nose to the hair, and those who smear *vibhuti* (sacred ashes) on their foreheads. The Namdharis are Vaishnavas of the Ramanuj sect and acknowledge Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans as their *gurus* (spiritual guiders) with "Ashta-Kshari Mantra" (octosyllabic mystic formula), the constant repetition of which is supposed to lead to salvation and final beatitude. The Vibhutidharis, as Shaiwaits, are under the influence of the Aradhi Brahmans, whose

“mantra” for the initiation of their disciples consists of five syllables. The Namdharis burn their dead and the Vibhutidharis bury them, a Satani Ayyawar officiating at the funerals of the former and a Jangam at those of the latter.

The Kapus worship all the Hindu gods and celebrate the Hindu festivals. Satya Narayan is the favourite deity, which is revered with the help of Brahmans. High class women honour the *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) daily. Besides this, the women observe several ‘Britas’ such as Kedari Gauramma, Badkamma, Bodhamma, Gauramma, the most important of them being performed on any day between the 1st and the 15th of the lunar half of Kartik. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ Brahmans, who are received on terms of equality by the other members of the sacred order.

Under this veneer of Hinduism, vestiges of primitive animism survive in the religion of the Kapus and the masses pay more reverence to the animistic deities than to the great gods of the pantheon. Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox, is worshipped under her various forms, viz., Potiling (the village guardian deity), Manganma, Adeli Mhaisamma, Maha Laxmi, Urda Mhaisamma, and Moramma, the first two being represented by wooden idols set up outside the village, and the rest by pieces of stone. Offerings of goats and sweetmeat are made to the goddess on Friday in the month of Asadh (July-April), or if a member of the family has an attack of smallpox. A Bhoi or a Dhobi officiates as priest on the occasion and divides the offerings between himself and the worshipper. Yellamma is appeased on Tuesday with offerings of fowls and Laxamma and Iddamma on Wednesday with offerings of sweets. Bala Devi or Balamma, a malignant deity, the neglect of whose worship brings on calamity, is propitiated on the 15th (full moon day) of Chait (February-March) and the 9th of the lunar half of Aswin (September-October) in every household. A small earthen pot, painted externally with stripes of *chunam* (burnt lime) and covered with a lighted lamp, represents the deity. On the ground, smeared clean with cow-dung and beautified with lines of *kunkum* powder, is spread some *jawari* (Indian millet), and over this is deposited the vessel representing the

goddess. Festoons of mango leaves (*Mangifera indica*) are hung over the pot from the roof. A Madiga woman is called in to officiate as priest to the deity, who is worshipped with offerings of flowers and cooked food, which must contain at least one green vegetable. Incense is then burnt and a torch light is waved round the goddess. The ceremony ends after a goat has been sacrificed in the name of the goddess, and the Madigani, on receiving her share of the offerings and her fees, is dismissed. Sheep and goats are slaughtered before Maisamma, another deity of an extremely maleficent nature. On the 15th day of the month of Waishakha (April-May) homage is done to the implements of husbandry, when all the servants working on the farm are invited. Milk, sugar, rice and balls of wheat flour are offered to the implements and the balls of wheaten flour are placed before the servants. Those that are willing to serve on the farm during the next year take the balls and eat them. Others hesitate and thus express their unwillingness to remain in service. If a servant who has eaten the balls proves faithless, he is supposed to meet with endless misfortunes. On the 10th of Aswin the deceased first wife is appeased by the second wife, in the form of a small earthen pot called "Pyarantal Patwa" with offerings of sweetmeat and clothes.

Child-Birth.—A woman in child-birth is unclean for twenty-one days. On the third day, to protect the new-born child from evil influences, the *Purod* ceremony is performed, at which the mother daubs five pebbles with turmeric and offers boiled rice, toddy and oil-cakes to them. Among the Reddy Kapus cooked rice, shaped like a cone topped with a lighted lamp, is given to a Dhobi. On the twenty-first day the mother marks, with red lead, five spots on the rim of a well, makes five turns round it, draws five pots of water and is regarded as purified.

Funerals.—The Kapus burn their adult dead. Infants and unmarried persons are buried. Mourning is observed 10 days for married adults and 3 days for infants, the unmarried, the son of a father-in-law, mother-in-law, maternal uncle, paternal aunt and daughter. During mourning they are unclean and abstain from eating flesh, oil, sweets, onions and turmeric. Persons dying of smallpox or cholera are buried.

On a person dying, the body is washed and the forehead marked with sandal paste. The corpse, adorned with garlands of flowers, is placed on the bier and borne to the cremation ground in a procession formed of men and women. It is there laid on the pyre with the head towards the south. The principal mourner pours, in the mouth of the corpse, water in which an Ayyawar's feet have been washed. He then walks three times round the pyre and lights it with a burning brand. When the pyre is well ablaze, the persons composing the funeral party all go to a river or well, where they bathe and return home. During the next four days, the chief mourner visits the burning ground with the Ayyawar and burns incense and offers food in the name of departed ancestors. On the 5th day a sheep is sacrificed on the spot where the person has died and is then cooked. All the relations of the deceased then go to the burning ground, taking the cooked meat, cakes and sweetmeat with them.

XLVII

KASAR

Kásár—the bangle selling and brazier caste of the Maratha Districts, supposed to have been originally recruited from among the middle classes of society. They have no endogamous divisions, while their exogamous sections are mostly of the Maratha type. A man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section. No other section is a bar to marriage. He may marry two sisters, provided that the elder is married first, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. All Kásárs marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and twelve and social stigma attaches to the parents of a girl who is not provided with a husband before she has attained the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony conforms to that in use among the Maratha Kunbis, *Antarpat* being deemed to be the binding and essential portion of it. Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren. A widow is allowed to marry again by the *pat* form, similar to that in vogue among the Maratha Kunbis. This must take place on a night of the waning moon. Only widows must attend the ceremony, married woman deeming it unlucky to be present. Divorce is recognised and divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the same form as widows. By religion, most of the Kásárs are Vaishnavas, but they also worship Khandoba and Bhavani of Tuljapur. Their tutelary goddess is said to be Káli. Brahmans are employed on ceremonial and religious occasions. They burn their dead, throw the ashes and bones into a holy river and perform *Sradha* in the orthodox fashion. Their social rank is a little below that of the Marathas. The bulk of the caste are engaged in their characteristic occupation. They purchase bangles from Kacharis or in the bazaars and put them on the wrists of women of all classes, among whom they are in great request. Their women and children help them in their work. The

Kásárs also, manufacture utensils of brass and copper and sell them in retail or wholesale. A few have taken to agriculture of late years.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Kásárs in 1911.

The figures include the number of Bogars.

	Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	74	43
Atrafi Balda	350	377
Warangal	40	36
Karimnagar	863	727
Adilabad	771	466
Medak	165	151
Nizamabad	80	93
Mahbubnagar	127	125
Nalgunda	217	173
Aurangabad	1,341	1,350
Bhir	1,009	857
Nander	329	313
Parbhani	902	899
Gulbarga	269	208
Usmanabad	421	531
Raichur	593	531
Bidar	138	119

XLVIII

KAYASTH

Kayasth, Kaeth—an influential and highly respected caste, which counts among its members some of the chief landholders and nobles of Hyderabad.

Origin & Internal Structure.—The Kayasths claim to be Kshatriyas and trace their parentage to Chitrugupta, the scribe of Yama, who was produced from the inner consciousness of Brahma. Chitrugupta had two wives, Nandini and Saubhavati ; the former bore him four sons—Gangadhar, Bhanuprakash, Ramdayal, and Dharmadhvaj and the latter, eight sons—Shamsundar, Sarangdhar, Dharmadatha, Somasta, Damodar, Dindayal, Sadanand, and Raghavrao. Chitrugupta and his sons were invested by Brahma with the sacred thread and enrolled among the twice-born. Their occupation was ordained to be the management of the business affairs and the keeping of the accounts of the other castes. For this purpose, the sons were sent to different localities and became, subsequently, the founders of the twelve sub-castes of the Kayasths, each of which was called after the country its founder occupied.

The following table will illustrate this point :—

No.	Founder.	Country occupied.	Subcaste originated.	Gotra.	Patron deity.
1.	Gangadhar.	Mathura.	Mathur.	Kasyapa.	Durga.
2.	Bhanuprakash.	Bhatner.	Bhatnagar	Bhatta.	Jayanti.
3.	Ramdayal.	Kabul (Lucknow)	Saksena.	Hansa.	Sakambari.
4.	Dharmadhvaj.	Sri Nagar.	Sri Bastab.	Sriharsha.	Laxmi.
5.	Shamsundar.	Punjab.	Surajdwaj.	Saubhara.	Durga.
6.	Sarangdhar.	Gaya, Patna.	Amastha.	Wasistha.	Durga.
7.	Dharmadatha.	Bengal.	Gour.	Gautama.	Jayanti.
8.	Somasta.	Kandhar.	Nigam.	Mandhwaj.	Jayanti.
9.	Damodar.	Karnatic	Karan.	Walabhya.	Sakambari.
10.	Dindayal.	Gaya. Agra.	Aithana.	Sambar.	Sakambari.
11.	Sadanand.	Agra.	Kulrsrashta.	Harat.	Laxmi.
12.	Raghavrao.	Surat Gujarath.	Balmik.	Walmik.	Laxmi.

The Sri Bastab sub-caste is further divided into two sub-divisions, Khare and Dusre, tracing their origin to the two sons of Dharamadhvaj the fourth son of Chitragupta. The Khare Sri Bastabs claim to be higher than the ordinary Sri Bastabs. The two sub-divisions do not intermarry nor eat nor drink together.

Of these thirteen sub-castes, those that are numerous in these dominions are the Mathur, Bhatnagar, Aithana, Saksena, Sri Bastab Khare and Dusre. The Mathur Kayasths are recognised by all to be the chief class.

The Chandra Seniya Kayasths of Bombay and Poona, a few of whom only are to be found in the Hyderabad State, claim to be the descendants of Raja Chandrasena, a Kshatriya king of Oudh, and style themselves 'Prabhu', popularly 'Parbhu', from 'Prabhu' a lord. The legendary origin of these people is just the same as that of the Bengal Kayasths (Risley's "Tribes and Castes", Bengal, Vol. I, p. 438), both claiming descent from Raja Chandrasen of the lunar race, whose wife and son were protected by the sage Dalabhya from Parsuram's wrath. This may lead to the conclusion that both have come originally from the same stock and their separation is due to geographical causes.

The Chandraseniya Kayasths were divided, formerly, into two endogamous divisions, Davane from Daman, and Chandraseniya proper, the members of which did not intermarry. The two branches have been recently reunited and marriage relations have been re-established, as it was recognised that they were originally one and the same people and the differentiation was due to purely geographical causes. The Prabhus rendered distinguished services as revenue accountants and soldiers under the Muhammadan and subsequently under the Maratha rule.

As regards marriages, the Brahmanical *gotras*, though recognised in theory, are ineffective. Thus, all Mathurs belong to the Kasyapa *gotra* and of necessity violate the primary rule of exogamy upon which the *gotra* system depends. The intermarriage is regulated by a number of exogamous sections, mostly of territorial or titular type. A man must marry within the sub-caste and outside the exogamous section to which he belongs. The system is supple-

mented by a table of prohibited degrees, calculated in the manner prevalent among other Northern India castes of the same social standing.

Marriage.—As a rule, girls must be married after the completion of the eighth year and before attaining puberty. It is not unusual, however, for the daughters of poor Kayasth families to remain unmarried up to the age of eighteen or nineteen. When a girl is married before puberty, she lives with her own people, apart from the husband, until she has attained sexual maturity. When she is married after puberty, she goes to live with her husband at once or, at the latest, after a year. Polygamy is allowed, but is rarely resorted to unless the first wife is barren or incurably diseased. Widows may not marry again nor is divorce recognised.

The first step towards initiating a proposal for marriage is taken by the parents or guardians of the bride, who depute a Brahman and the family barber to select a suitable bridegroom. The ceremony is of the orthodox type and comprises several observances. *Sindur-bandhan*, or the smearing of vermilion by the bridegroom on the bride's forehead, is deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Connubial relations cannot commence until the ceremony of *Durgaman*, or the bringing home of the bride, has been performed. This may take place one, three, five or seven years after the marriage, according to the age of the bride.

Religion.—The religion of the Kayasths is that of the orthodox high caste Hindu. They are either Vaishnavas or Saivas. The worship of Durga and Sakti is believed, however, to be their favourite cult. Chitrugupta, the mythical ancestor of the caste, is honoured once a year with offerings of sweetmeats and money and the symbolical worship of pen and ink and the tools of the Kayasth's trade. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes and for the worship of the greater gods. The Kayasths burn their dead, throw the ashes into a holy river and perform *Sradha* generally on the 13th day after death.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste is highly respectable. The Vaishnava members of the caste abstain from flesh and wine, but the Kayasths usually eat mutton and goat's flesh, and

indulge freely in strong drink.

Occupation.—“ Clerical work is believed to be the original and characteristic occupation of the caste and an illiterate Kayasth is looked upon as a creature with no proper reason for existing. Kayasth tradition, however, puts a very liberal construction on the expression clerical work, and includes in it not only clerkly pursuits of a subordinate character, but the entire business of managing the affairs of the country in the capacity of *devan*, *sarbarhkar*, etc., to the ruling power. It is doubtless owing in some measure to this connection with former governors that the Kayasths are now in possession of considerable zamindaries and tenures of substantial value, while comparatively few of them are to be found among the lower grades of cultivators.” *

* Risley's " Tribes and Castes," Vol. I. p. 452.

XLIX

KHATIK

Khatik, Sultánkar, Alitkar—the tanner caste, supposed to have come from Nágár in Márwar more than two hundred years ago. According to the traditions current among the people, they are descended from Dharmaraja, the eldest of the Pandav brothers. The members of the caste are tall, strong, with an alert expression, and speak Hindustani with a mixture of Marwari. They have no endogamous divisions. They say they have got eighty-four exogamous sections, but only a few of these are known, as shown below—

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Samare. | 10. Asawal. |
| 2. Parewal. | 11. Chawal. |
| 3. Navare. | 12. Khichi. |
| 4. Chandel. | 13. Khas. |
| 5. Bhurasha. | 14. Sakunya. |
| 6. Padelwal. | 15. Butele. |
| 7. Nagore. | 16. Chavade. |
| 8. Tepan. | 17. Chavan. |
| 9. Pilwal. | 18. Pohade. |

19. Sambre.

A man is forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his own section. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided that he does not marry any of his first cousins. This rule of exogamy is further supplemented by prohibited degrees, calculated to three generations in the descending line.

Marriage.—Both adult and infant marriage are recognised by the caste, but the latter is deemed the more respectable. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type. On the wedding day, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house where, on arrival, he is conducted to a seat under a wedding canopy or *mandap*. There the bride joins him and is seated on his left hand. A sacred fire is kindled before them by the priest and the bride's maternal uncle puts

her left hand into the bridegroom's right hand. After the clothes of the bridal pair have been knotted together by the officiating Brahman, they walk seven times round the milk post (*mani khamb*). This is followed by *Kanyadan*, or the giving away of the bride by her parents and the bridegroom's acceptance of her. The seven circuits, taken by the bridal pair round the milk post and the sacred fire, are deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Polygamy is permitted and there is no positive rule fixing any limit to the number of wives a man may have. Most Khatiks, however, are too poor to keep more than one wife, and a man only takes a second wife when the first is barren. A widow may marry again, but she is not required to marry her late husband's younger brother. Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the *Panchayat* and divorced wives may marry again by the form in use at the remarriage of widows.

Religion.—By religion, the Khatiks are orthodox Hindus and employ Maratha Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. Their chief deities are Bhairoba of Nagar, in Marwar, and Amba Bhavani of Tuljapūr, who are worshipped at their weddings. A goat is sacrificed in the name of Bhavani on the *Dassera*, or the tenth of the light half of Aswin (September). If smallpox breaks out in the family, they appease the goddess Sitala with offerings of goats and fowls. The dead are usually burnt, but recourse is had to burial if the deceased is an unmarried person. When the body is burned, the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river. *Sradha* is performed on the tenth day when *pindās*, or balls of rice, are offered for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. On the eleventh day, the chief mourner shaves and becomes purified. The funeral ceremony is closed by a feast to the members of the caste.

Occupation.—The characteristic occupation of the caste is the tanning of leather. They buy hides from the neighbouring villages and sell them, after dressing, to Chammars and Bohoras. In tanning, they use the red lac dye, *math* (a kind of bean), salt, and the bark of the *tarvar* (*Cassia auriculata*). Socially, the Khatiks rank very low. They will eat fish and fowl and the flesh of hare, deer and goat, but abstain from beef and pork. They indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors.

L

KHATRI

Katri, Chhatri (*Sansk.* Kshatriya)—a very widely diffused caste of the Panjab and Gujarath, supposed to have come into these dominions nearly four hundred years ago. The Khatri claim to be descended from Kshatriyas, of early Indian tradition, and, in support of this claim, they allege that they assume the sacred thread and commence the study of the *Vedas* at the age of eight years, as is enjoined in the sacred books. They are a very fine, fair, handsome race with delicate Aryan features. "Trade is their main occupation," says Sir George Campbell, whose remarks on the caste are worth quoting, "but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Panjab and the greater part of Afghanistan and doing a good deal beyond those limits, they are, in the Panjab, the chief civil administrators and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, moreover, the priests or *gurus* of the Sikhs. Both Nának and Govind were Khatri. Thus, then, they are in fact, in the Panjab, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Maratha Brahmans are in the Maratha country, besides engrossing the trade, which the Maratha Brahmans do not. They are not usually military in their character, but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Divan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, and his successor, Mulraj, and very many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries, were Khatri. Even under Muhammadan rulers they have risen to high administrative posts. It is said that a Katri was Dewan of Badak Shah or Kunduz, as was the Peshkar Chandu Lal of Hyderabad. Under the Afghans a Khatri was governor of Peshawar, and the Emperor Akbar's famous Minister, Todar Mal, was a Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that the Khatri is one of the most acute, energetic and remarkable races in India. The Khatri

are staunch Hindus, and it is somewhat singular that, while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs."

Internal Structure.—Three divisions of the Khatri are to be distinguished in these dominions, viz :—Brahma Khatri, Kapur Khatri, and Khatri, or Patkar Sale, who, though bearing a common caste name, differ so entirely from one another in their domestic and social customs as to deserve separate treatment.

Brahma Khatri.—The members of this caste say that they came from Gujarath, but little is known regarding their immigration. A legend, current among them, traces their descent from one Raja Ratnasen of the Solar race who, to escape the wrath of Parasram, sought the protection of Dadhicha Rishi. The Raja was killed while hunting in a forest and left four male children, whom the Rishi brought up as his own sons. Parasram, when once visiting the *Ashram* of the sage, noticed the children and thinking them to be of Kshatriya origin, called upon Dadhicha to give them up to him, but the latter refused to do so, saying that they were Brahmans. Thereupon Parasram remarked that if they were really Brahmans, as Dadhicha said, he should eat with them from the same dish. Dadhicha readily partook with them of some food placed on a plantain leaf ; Parasram was satisfied and did not molest the children. The princes were called Brahma Khatri, a name which has since been transmitted to their descendants.

The sections of the Brahma Khatri are of the ordinary Brahmanical type. A man may not marry a girl belonging to his own section, nor may he marry within the usual prohibited degrees reckoned to the seventh generation in the descending line. Girls are married as infants at ages varying from five to twelve. The marriage ceremony is the standard Brahmanical type, the gift of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of her being deemed the essential and binding portion. Polygamy is permitted, without any definite limit as to the number of wives a man may have. Widows are not allowed to marry again nor is divorce recognised. In matters of religious and ceremonial observances the Brahma Khatri exhibit little divergence from the standard of orthodox Hinduism. They employ Saraswat

Brahmans as priests, who are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order. In point of social standing, they rank next to Brahmans. The members of the caste eat fish and the flesh of the goat, sheep and deer, and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. Some of the members abstain from flesh and wine and are, on that account, raised in the estimation of the caste. Most of the Brahma Khatri are engaged in trade. Some of them have distinguished themselves as high officials and as members of learned professions.

Kapur Khatri.—The members of this caste trace their origin to the Panjab and the bulk of them are said to have emigrated from that country in the time of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam of Hyderabad. They conform, on the whole, to the traditional usages of the Panjab branch of the caste. They look upon the Panjab as their original home and the Panjabi customs are the standards by which their social and domestic affairs are regulated. Their exogamous sections are of the eponymous type, the eponym being mostly a Vedic Saint. The Kapur Khatri marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and twelve, condemn the re-marriage of widows and do not recognise divorce. Polygamy is permitted without any restriction as to the number of wives a man may have. The marriage ceremony is of the type in use among Northern India Brahmans. In matters of religion and ceremonial observances they are at all points orthodox Hindus. Most of them belong to the Vaishnava sect. Kanaujia Brahman officiate as their priests. The members of the caste also pay reverence to Baba Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. They burn their dead and perform *Sradha* in the orthodox fashion. The social position of the caste is a high one and all Gour Brahman will accept water from their hands. Trade is believed to be the original occupation of the caste.

Khatri.—Khatri, Patkar Sale, the silk weaving caste, found distributed all over the Dominions. Their traditions say that they came into these dominions from Mandugad in Malwa nearly four hundred years ago and first settled at Gulbarga, whence they spread all over the country. The Khatri have the same legend of origin as the Bhavsars, relating how they were descended from the posthumous

son of a Kshatriya woman who, to save her child from Parasram, fled to the goddess Ingala for protection. The goddess brought up the child, trained him in the art of silk weaving and changed his caste name from Kshatriya into Khatri. The sections of the Khatri are of the Brahmanical type and marriage between persons belonging to the same *gotra*, is forbidden. A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. The Khatri practise infant marriage, and allow polygamy without setting any limit to the number of wives a man may have. Widows may marry again and enjoy full freedom of choice in selecting a second husband. Divorce is recognised and divorced wives may marry again by the same rite as widows. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type, *Kanyadan*, or the gift of the bride and the bridegroom's acceptance of the gift, being deemed the binding portion of the ceremony. Their patron deity is the goddess Devi, who is worshipped with great circumstance with offerings of goats. In other respects, the religion of the Khatri exhibits little divergence from that of middle class local Hindus. They engage Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes and invest their boys with the sacred thread at the age of nine. The dead are either burnt or buried, according to the means of the family of the deceased. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day, and subsequently on each anniversary of the death.

Socially, the Khatri rank higher than Kapus and Maratha Kunbis, but lower than Brahmans. The members of the caste eat the flesh of sheep, goats, and deer and indulge freely in strong drink. Their sole occupation is weaving. They weave silk cloth and silk borders.

LI

KOLI

Koli, Táru, Dhimar (*Sansk.* Dhivar)—a boating and fishing tribe, many of whom are engaged as village watchmen and water carriers. The Kolis are numerous near Naldrug, along the Bálághát range on the western frontier of the Nizam's territory, extending eastwards to the districts of Nander and Nizamabad, and also to the tract of country lying between the Godavari and Hyderabad.

Traditions of Origin.—The etymology of the name Koli is obscure. Some seek to derive it from the word 'Kul' denoting 'clan' as distinguished from the word 'Kunbi' meaning a 'family man' from 'Kutumb' a 'family.' This, however, proves nothing. The members of the tribe claim descent from Walmiki, the author of the *Ramayan*. Others believe them to be the modern representatives of the *Kirátás* (hunters) spoken of in the *Puranas* as the offspring of Nishad, who was sprung from the arm of the solar king Vena. These mythical stories, however, throw very little light on the origin of the tribe.

Early History.—The first reference to the tribe was in 1340, when Muhammad Tughlak found the fort of Kondana or Sinhagad, about 10 miles south of Poona, in the hands of a Koli chief. In 1347, another Koli chief was mentioned as ruling over Javhár, in Thana, which yielded an annual revenue of 9 lacs of rupees and included thirty-two forts. By the Bahmani kings, the Kolis were left almost independent under their own hereditary chiefs or *naikhs*. The Koli country was then known as Bávan Mávals, or fifty-two valleys, each under a *naik*. These *naikhs* held a good position, both in the Bahamani and in the Ahmednagar kingdoms, ranking among the nobles called 'Sardars' and 'Mansabdars.' About the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Emperor Shahjahan, on the final fall of Ahmednagar, introduced the Toda Mal's survey into the con-

quered territories, the Kolis resented the minute measuring of their lands and the fixing of a regular rental. Under one Kheni Naik they rose in rebellion against their Mogal rulers and the revolt was not put down without extreme severity. After this outbreak was crushed, the Kolis were treated with kindness by Aurangzeb. Under the Peshwas they gained a high reputation for their skill and daring in taking hill forts. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, and for many years after, the beginning of British rule, the country was disturbed by the robberies of bands of Koli outlaws. In 1760, the peace was broken by a rising of Kolis under their Naik Jiwaji Bomla (Trans. Bom. Georg. Soc., I, 245 and 256). Jiwaji withdrew to the hills and organised a series of gang robberies, causing widespread terror and misery throughout the country. For twenty years he held out bravely, defeating and killing the generals the Peshwa's Government sent against him. At last he was so hotly pursued that, on the advice of Dhondo Gopal, the Peshwa's governor at Nasik, he surrendered all his forts to Tukoji Holkar and, through Holkar's influence, was pardoned and placed in military and police charge of a district of sixty villages with powers of life and death over Koli robbers and outlaws. In 1798, a fresh disturbance took place among the Kolis. The leader of this outbreak was Ramji Naik Bhangria, who was an abler and more daring man than his predecessors, and succeeded in baffling all the efforts of the Government officers to seize him. As force seemed hopeless, the Government offered Ramji a pardon and gave him an important police post, in which he did excellent service.

Even after the establishment of the British rule in the Deccan, nearly twenty years passed before the warlike Kolis were brought to order. In 1829, they were again troublesome and, under their leaders Ramji Bhangria and Rama Kirwa, ravaged the country far and wide. In 1830, they were joined by the Bhils and their conjoint raids became most daring and systematic. Troops were despatched against them under the command of Captain Luykin and Lieutenants Lloyd and Forbes and, with the help of the people, the revolt was put down and the leaders were taken and executed.

During the 1857 mutiny, the soldierlike qualities of the Kolis were

turned to account and a corps was formed under Captain Nuttall, which proved very useful and serviceable. In spite of want of time, the Kolis mastered their drill with the ease of born soldiers and proved skilful skirmishers among the hills and on rough ground. They were great walkers, moving with the bright, springy step of Highlanders, often marching thirty or forty miles in a day over the roughest ground, carrying their arms, ammunition, baggage and food. Every time they met an enemy, though sometimes taken by surprise and sometimes fighting against heavy odds, they showed the same dashing and persevering courage. When the regular troops were withdrawn in 1860, their places were taken by detachments of Koli corps. These corps continued to perform this outpost duty till 1861, when they were disbanded and all, except a few who entered the police, returned to their former occupation of tillage and field labour. The Kolis have now settled down to peaceful pursuits.

Internal Structure.—The Kolis are divided into several endogamous sub-tribes two of which, Malhár Koli and Mahadev Koli, are to be found in these Dominions. The Malhár Kolis take their name from the god Malhári, whom they reverence as their tutelary deity. They are also called Panbharis, or water carriers, and Chumli Kolis, because they wear on their head the *chumli* or twisted cloth on which to rest the water pot. Captain Mackintosh describes them as one of the purest and the most respectable of the Koli tribes. They are found in almost every village of the plains, where they are employed as members of the *Balota* and supply water to the villagers and travellers and clean out the village rest house and office. A few of them are headmen of villages.

The Mahadev Kolis, who derive their name from the god Mahadev, are very numerous in this territory and deserve special description. They are dark in colour and short of stature, but strong and muscular. The women are generally slender and well-formed, with a pleasing expression of features, and some are very pretty.

The Mahadev Kolis have twenty-four exogamous septs, each of which is further divided into a number of surnames or sub-sections. These are as follow :—

Main section.	Number of sub-sections.				
Aghásee	3
Bhágivant	14
Bhonsle	16
Budivant	17
Chaván	2
Dagai	12
Dalvi	14
Gaikwad	12
Gowli	2
Jagtáp	13
Kadam	16
Kedár	15
Kharad	11
Khir Sagar	15
Namdev	15
Pavar	13
Polevas ,	12
Shiv	9
Sirkhi	2
Suryavanshi	16
Utercha	13
Ságar	12
Shaikhacha	12
Shesh	—
Vanak Pál	17

The sept names show a very curious mixture of different elements. Two of them, Namdev and Shiv, are of the eponymous type. Six, *viz.*, Bhonsle, Chavan, Dalvi, Gaikwad, Kadam and Pavar are evidently taken from the Marathas and suggest a common element in the two communities. This view is supported by Captain Mackintosh (Trans., Bom. Georg. Soc., 1, 204), who says, "we are supported by tradition in stating that, in former ages, from necessity, choice or other cause, persons of rank occasionally joined the Koli community and became founders of new clans." A few of the names, such as Bhagivant (fortunate), Budivant (intelligent), Gowli (milkman).

suggest reference to some personal distinction, or attribute, or occupation of the original founder of the sept. On the whole the sept names give no clue to the early affinities of the tribe.

The Kolis observe the simple rule of exogamy that a man may not marry outside the sub-tribe or inside the sept to which he belongs. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. He may also marry two sisters, provided that the younger is not married first. Polygamy is permitted and, in theory, no limit is set as to the number of wives a man may have. In actual life, however, it is unusual for a Koli to have more than two wives.

Marriage.—Girls are married either as infants, or as adults at ages ranging from eight to sixteen years. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not recognised and is visited with expulsion of the girl from the community. The marriage ceremony corresponds closely with that of the Maratha Kunbis. The initiative is taken by the father of the bridegroom, who sends some elderly persons to the girl's house to ascertain whether her parents approve of the match. After the preliminary negotiations have been completed and a bride-price, varying from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30, has been paid to the father of the girl, the boy's father goes to the house of the bride and makes her a present of new clothes and jewels according to his means. This ceremony, known as *Mangani*, having been performed, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman skilled in astrology. On the wedding day, the bridegroom's party march in procession to the bride's house, the time of starting being so arranged that they shall arrive there at sunset. On arrival, the bridegroom is conducted to a seat placed under the wedding canopy. When the bride enters, both are made to stand opposite to each other and a curtain is held between them. Rice, coloured with turmeric, is thrown on the heads of the couple by the assembled persons and also by the officiating Brahman who, at the same time, recites sacred texts (*mantras*) purporting that the bridal pair have now become husband and wife. This part of the ceremony is called *Antarpât* and is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the marriage ritual. On the removal of the curtain, the wedded couple are seated side by side, the bride on the left of her husband, and their clothes are

tied in a knot.

Hom is performed by throwing *ghi* and rice on the sacred fire. The bridal pair then go round making obeisance before the family gods and the elders and securing their blessings, after which the knot of their garments is untied. Thus end the rites which are necessary to make a marriage binding.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again and is under no restrictions in her choice of a second husband. In case a widow re-marries she is allowed to take nothing with her, not even the children she may have had by her late husband. The ritual used at the marriage of a widow is very simple. On an auspicious night, the pair are seated facing each other on low wooden stools in a square made of wheat flour, and the officiating Brahman priest ties the ends of their garments in a knot and daubs vermilion on the bride's forehead. For three days after her re-marriage the widow remains in concealment, since to see her face, during this time, is considered unlucky by married females whose husbands are living.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the tribal Panchayat and divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same form and in the same manner as widows.

Child-Birth.—Koli women are unclean for twelve days after child-birth, at the end of which time the mother and child are bathed and the floor of the house is plastered with cowdung. The ceremony of *Chhatti*, for propitiating the goddess Satwai, is performed on the sixth day after birth.

Religion.—In religion, the Kolis differ very little from other communities of the same social position. Their patron deity is Mahadev, in whose honour a fast is observed on Mahashivatra, or the 14th of the dark half of Māgh (end of February), and offerings of milk, flowers and *bél* leaves (*Ægle marmelos*) are made. Their household worship, in which priests take no part, is addressed to Bhairoba of Sonari (Ahmadnagar), Devi of Tuljapur (Nizam's territory) and Khandoba of Jejuri (Poona). Among their minor gods are Daryabai, Ghorpaddevi, Gunavir, Hiroba, Kalsubai, Mhasoba and Navlai, who are propitiated with a variety of offerings. Reverence is also paid to Musalman saints and to the spirits of ancestors who have died a

violent death. The assistance of Brahmins is called in on all religious and ceremonial occasions. Their chief festival is celebrated on the 2nd of the light half of Mágh (January) when a goat is sacrificed and offered to Khandoba; the victim is afterwards cooked and eaten by the votaries. This period corresponds to the harvesting of the *rabi* (cold weather) crops.

The Kolis have a strong belief in spirits and sorcery. Persons who die a violent death, or those who leave this world with their desires unfulfilled, are liable after death to reappear as *bhuts* or malevolent ghosts and give trouble to the living. In such cases the services of an exorcist (*jánta*) are requisitioned to ascertain what spirit (*bhut*), witch, or god has caused a particular illness and to prescribe the cure. The spirits or gods who are pronounced by the *jánta* to have been the cause of the illness are appeased by gifts of money, goats or fowls.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture, with the face upwards and the head pointing to the north. If the body be that of a woman whose husband is alive, it is bathed, rubbed with oil and dressed in a green *sari*. In the case of a widow this is omitted. Mourning is observed for 10 days. On the 10th day, the chief mourner shaves, bathes himself and offers to the deceased twelve balls (*pinda*) made of cooked rice and daubed with vermilion and turmeric paste. This ceremony is performed with the assistance of a Brahmin who receives presents of money and corn on that account. On the thirteenth day, relatives are fed and final purification is obtained.

Social Status.—Socially, the Kolis rank below the Maratha Kunbis, Kapus and Gollas and above the Parit, Nhavi and the lowest unclean classes. They eat fowl, fish, mutton and venison and indulge in spirituous and fermented liquors.

Occupation.—Little is known regarding the original occupation of the tribe. At the present day, the great bulk of the Kolis are cultivators holding land as occupancy or non-occupancy *raiats*. They are said, however, to be less painstaking and less skilful in the management of crops than the Maratha Kunbis. Many of them are *patels*, or village headmen, holding service land, while others make

a livelihood, as landless day labourers. They are also engaged as village watchmen and boatmen and are known as *tarus* while serving in the latter capacity. Of late years, a few have entered government service.

LII

KOMTI

Komti, Komati, Vaishya, Baqal, Bania, Sahukar—a wealthy trading caste, who are cloth and grain dealers, bankers, money-lenders, grocers, and shop-keepers. They are found scattered all over the Nizam's Dominions but are especially numerous in the Telugu speaking districts, where they enjoy the almost entire monopoly of trade. The etymology of the word 'Komti' is uncertain and throws no light upon the origin of the caste. It is supposed to be a variant of the Sanskrit 'Kumati' (*ku*-base, *mati*-mind) meaning base-minded, or peculant, which probably has reference to the exacting practices of the members of the caste as money-lenders and village grocers. The Komtis themselves, maintain that their original name was 'Gomati' and its corruption into 'Komti' was the outcome of the feeling of jealousy with which their rival classes have always regarded them. Even the word 'Gomati' has not been satisfactorily explained. Some derive it from *go*-cow and *mathi*-shed and assert that it refers to their traditional occupation of cattle-keepers, which was assigned to them as Vaishyas by Manu. Others trace its connection to the river Gomati in Oudh, whose valley, it is alleged, the ancestors of the present Komtis originally occupied. Other derivations, more or less fictitious, follow, all tending to support the pretensions of the caste to an Aryan origin.

Origin.—The Komtis of the Atrafi Balda District have the following legend regarding the origin of their caste. In the far remote past, the Vaishyas pleased Mahadeo by their devotions and piety and were in a body translated to Kailas, the blessed abode of Shiva. This caused distress in the world. Trade vanished and men and beasts died of hunger. To alleviate the prevailing calamity,

the Vaishyas were directed by Mahadeo to revisit the world and renew their mortal existence. To this they demurred on the ground that they had been, once for all, absolved, by his grace, from the cycle of life and death. The solution of the difficulty devolved upon Vishnu who created a golden cow with a golden city in her stomach and induced the Vaishyas to people it, as this would save them from the wrath of Shiva. The Vaishyas, on entering it, were so oppressed by the internal heat that they repented of their folly and implored the God Shiva to release them, promising never to disobey him in future. They were helped out through the cow's ear and therefore got the name 'Gomati,' which, as the Komtis interpret the word, means 'sprung from the cow's ear'. They were, subsequently, established at Penukundapattan (situated nearly 100 miles from Bezwada, on the Madras Railway line), and the god Mahadeo, who promised ever to remain with them and to protect them from danger or distress, was installed in the town and, under the name of Nágareshwar, became the patron deity of the caste.

The Komtis, as the legend suggests, claim to be the descendants of the ancient Vaishyas and, next to Brahmans, are most strict and punctilious in the performance of their religious and ceremonial duties and the observance of ceremonial purity. They occupy a very high rank in the caste system, as it prevails at the present day in Telingana, and have assumed for themselves such denominations as Vaishya, Urjaloo, Oorvaya (all meaning 'sprung from the thigh of Brahma') and such titles as 'Gupta' (concealed) and 'Shetti' a corruption of the Sanskrit *shreshti* (noble). Their present calling, too, is in keeping with the traditionary functions assigned to the Vaishyas in the *Smritis*. On the other hand, the exogamous sections into which they are divided are entirely of the totemistic type, being the names of plants, trees, flowers, &c., which are held in reverence by the members of the sections bearing their names. So also the custom of *Myanarikam* (marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter), so common among the Dravidians, has become a rigid law among the Komtis, so that a Komti is obliged to marry his maternal uncle's daughter whether she is liked by him or not. Whatever claims, therefore, the Komtis may have to an Aryan origin, their uniformly dark complexion

and coarse features, the totemistic character of their exogamous sections and the existence among them of well preserved Dravidian usages lead to no other conclusion than that they are of Dravidian descent.

Internal Structure.—The Komtis of the Hyderabad Territory have the following endogamous divisions :—

- (1) Yegna or Vegna Komti.
- (2) Neti or Raipak Komti.
- (3) Vidur Komti.
- (4) Arva Komti.
- (5) Gouri Komti.
- (6) Jain Komti.

Yegna or Vegna Komtis—these form the bulk of the caste in His Highness's Dominions and receive their name from Venginada or Veginada, "which, in olden times, comprised the territory between the Godaveri and the Krishna rivers below the Eastern Ghats." (Mr. Walter Eliot of R. A. S., Vol. IV). It was from this tract they appear to have entered the adjoining districts of Warangal and Nalgunda and to have thence migrated as far north as Adilabad and as far west as Bidar and Parbhani. The members of the sub-caste are, however, disposed to give a mythical origin to their name, which they derive from the following legend. Once upon a time a Gandharva named Chitrakanta was deeply in love with a celestial nymph, Wasukanya, but she refused to listen to his addresses. Enraged at this refusal, he inflicted upon her a curse by which she was doomed to be born a Vaishya girl on earth and he, born as a Kshatriya king, would seize her by force, and gratify his lust. Wasukanya meekly replied that were that to be her destiny she would rather perish in flames than submit to his will. In course of time the curse took effect and Wasukanya was born as the daughter of Kusuma Shetti, an opulent merchant (Vaishya) of Penkundapattan. Chitrakanta took birth in the illustrious family of the Pandawas, then reigning at Raj Mahendry, on the banks of the Godaveri river, and was named Vishnuwardhan. When Wāsavāmbika, as was the girl's name, was eight years old,

Vishnuwardhan happened to visit the town. The girl accompanied her father, who went to the court to pay allegiance to his sovereign. The girl's superhuman charms captivated the king's heart and he expressed his desire to marry her. The father could neither refuse the king's demand nor could he consent to marry his daughter to a Kshatriya. He therefore made some excuse and returned home in grief. The king persisted and was impatient of delay. To save her honour Wásavámbika resolved to die. It was also resolved in an assembly that the headman of each family of Vaishyas should perish with the maiden to save their caste from disgrace. A large funeral pyre was made and Wásavámbika, before leaping into it, cursed beauty and ordained that no Komti female should, in future, be born beautiful. She also enjoined that a Komti boy should have, henceforth, for his wife his maternal uncle's daughter. She then threw herself into the flames and was reduced to ashes. Out of 714 Vaishya families only the heads of 102 followed her to death. One pair (Labha Shetti and his wife) had no issue to perpetuate their lineage and the family became extinct. The descendants of the others have since been known as Yegna, or Agni, Komtis meaning "sprung from those who perished in fire." The maiden received divine honours and, under the name of Kanyaka Parmeshwari, became the tutelar goddess of the caste. The members of the Pindli Kula *gotra*, to which Kusuma Shetti belonged, have been highly respected and accorded special honours in all religious ceremonies.

Neti or Raipak Komtis—an offshoot from the Yegna Komtis, so called since the members separated from the main caste owing to a petty quarrel over the serving of *ghi* (*neti-ghi* in Telugu). At a caste dinner, two lines (*pangats*) of Komtis sat at meals and *ghi* was served to one line, which commenced eating before it was served to the other. This was against etiquette and the two parties quarrelled and separated. After the incident above referred to, the insulted Komtis retired to the village of Raipak and hence were known by that name. The legend continues

that the two classes agreed to make up the quarrel and unite and, with this purpose, arranged a common dinner party in a mango grove. Kankamma, their patron deity, appeared on the scene in the disguise of a milk-woman, bearing on her head a milk-pot which, on arrival, she dashed on the ground and began to cry. This attracted the attention of the guests who gathered around her and offered her the price of the broken pot. "Can that unite the broken pieces?" she asked, and so saying declined the offer, thereby intimating that once they had separated, union among them was impossible. The Neti Komtis are exclusively Vibhutidharis or Shaivaits, bury their dead, acknowledge Arádhi Brahmans as their gurus, or spiritual teachers, and wear a *lingam* on their person. It may be that the difference of cult has occasioned their separation from the main caste.

Vidur Komti—the illegitimate offspring of the Vegna Komtis by women of other castes.

Arva Komtis—emigrants from Madras are so called, 'Arva' being a generic term distinguishing the Tamil-speaking people from the Telugu-speaking communities. They are mostly found in Chancharta, Kangipalli, Masaipeth and Jagtyal of the Karimnagar District. They have a peculiar custom by which a girl, on attaining puberty, is immediately removed from her father's house and is either sent to her husband or is kept in a neighbour's house.

Gouri Komtis—are believed to derive their name from Gouri, the wife of Mahadeo, with whom Kankammawaru or Kanyaka Parmeshwari, the patron deity of the Komti caste, is identified. They are found in very small numbers in these dominions and are probably immigrants from the Madras Presidency and the Mysore State. Both the Vegna and the Gouri Komtis are said to have sprung from the same stock, their customs and traditions closely resembling each other.

Jain Komtis—the legend relating to Kankammawaru says that those of the Vaishyas who, through fear of King Vishnuwardhan, escaped from Penukundapattan and embraced Jainism, were so styled. Whatever value may be attached to this legen-

dary account, the term Komti is, at the present day, erroneously applied to the Kámboj and other Jains and probably has its origin in the similarity of their occupations to that of the Komti caste.

Exogamy.—The Komtis are divided into 102 exogamous sections, mosily of the totemistic character, bearing the names of trees, plants or flowers, which the members of the sections abstain from touching, using, cutting, or injuring in any other way. Alongside of these clearly defined totemistic sections are found the names of Vedic Rishis, or saints, which have no bearing upon the regulation of marriages and appear to be only ornamental appendages intended to give an eponymous character to the original sections, so as to make them conform to the Brahmanical *gotras*. Some of the sections are divided into two or more sub-sects which do not, however, form different exogamous groups and may therefore be different local names of the parent sections.

The Komtis forbid a man to marry a girl who belongs to the same *gotra* as himself. The Komtis observe an elaborate system of prohibited degrees by which each member of the caste is required to know—

- (1) one's own *gotra*—styled "First *gotra* ;"
- (2) one's maternal uncle's *gotra*—styled "Second *gotra* ;"
- (3) one's father's maternal uncle's *gotra*—styled "Third *gotra*."

Now if the *gotra* of the proposed bridegroom, or his first *gotra*, should be the same as the *gotra* in which the proposed bride's paternal grand-mother is born, or the bride's third *gotra*, the bride stands in the relation of a grand-daughter to the bridegroom and the parties can be married. If, however, the above *gotras* are reversed, *i.e.*, the third *gotra* of the proposed bridegroom be the same as the first *gotra* of the proposed bride, the bride is regarded as the mother of the bridegroom and the parties cannot be married.

The rule defining the prohibited degrees is illustrated in the following table :—

<i>Gotra</i> of the proposed bridegroom.	<i>Gotra</i> of the proposed bride.	The <i>gotras</i> in 1 and 2 being the same the relation in which the bride stands to the bridegroom.	If the girl to be married is agreeable or not.
First.	Third.	Grand-daughter.	Yes.
Third.	First.	Mother.	No.
Second.	Third.	Daughter.	No.
Third.	Second.	Paternal-aunt.	Yes.
First.	Second.	Daughter-in-law.	Yes.
Second	First.	Sister-in-law.	Yes.

This table is consulted only if the boy has no maternal uncle's daughter, for, by the usage of *Myanarkam*, he is obliged to marry her, whether there is mutual liking or affection between them or not.

The marriage of two sisters to the same man is permitted. Adoption is resorted to and the boy adopted may belong to the adoptor's *gotra* or to any other *gotra*. In the latter case, preference is given to the daughter's son. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but it is said that an infant of a higher caste may be admitted before its umbilical cord is cut. Polygamy is allowed in case the first wife is barren, adulterous or incurably diseased.

Marriage.—The Komtis marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and ten. Should a girl attain puberty before marriage she is turned out of the caste. Generally, a dowry is paid to the bridegroom, but if the bridegroom be a widower, or advanced in age, a price varying in amount from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, or even more, is paid for the bride. Girls are not offered to temples nor dedicated to trees. The *Garbhadan* ceremony (the purification of the womb) is performed even before the girl is sexually mature, whereupon she is allowed to cohabit with her husband.

A suitable girl being selected, proposals of marriage are formally made by the parents of the boy to the parents of the girl and, on their being accepted by the latter, a Brahman astrologer is called upon to examine the calculations made on the astrological data at the births of the young couple. The parents of both parties are very scrupulous on this point and when they are thoroughly satisfied that the horoscopes of the couple entirely agree, they proceed to decide the question

concerning wedding expenses, the amount of dowry to be paid to the bridegroom and the value of jewels and clothes to be presented to the bride on the wedding day. These points having been settled, a day most propitious for the celebration of the nuptials is ascertained and fixed, and the fact is announced by the father of the bridegroom to the bride's party. Invitation letters, sprinkled with saffron water, are addressed to relations and friends, requesting them to grace the occasion with their presence. On an auspicious day, marriage *pandals* decorated with flowers, plantain trees, bunches of cocoanut and mango leaves, and adorned with festoons, are erected by both parties in front of their respective houses. To the wedding pole (*muhurta medha*), which consists of the *umbar* tree (*Ficus glomerata*) and which forms one of the supports of the *pandal* in the bride's house, are tied pieces of turmeric, nine kinds of grain and some coins, all contained in a piece of turmeric-coloured cloth. The household gods and departed ancestors are invoked to attend the marriage ceremony. This is followed by *Kottanam*, in which five married women, whose husbands are alive, pound rice in a wooden mortar with two wooden pestles bound together and consecrated by the fastening to them of a piece of turmeric and two betel leaves. After this, the females proceed to grind turmeric in grinding mills. Both the turmeric powder and the pounded rice are then collected in a bundle and are reserved for use on the occasion of the wedding. The next ceremony is that of *Ravi Reni* (*Araveni Kundulu*), or the ceremonial bringing of earthen vessels from the house of a potter. On the afternoon of the same day, Pochamma and Nagalu, the village guardian deities, are propitiated with offerings of flowers and sweet dishes, the whole family, men and women, proceeding under a canopy to the temple of the deities, situated outside the village. These ceremonies are performed by both parties separately. The bridegroom's party, after this, set out for the bride's village, timing their journey so as to arrive at sunset. Previous intimation of their arrival having been conveyed to the bride's people, both parties meet on the outskirts of the village, the greeting being marked by their mutual embraces and by the throwing of abir (red powder) at one another. The bridegroom is here formally welcomed by his future father-in-law and is conducted, with

music and singing, to the house prepared for his temporary lodging. This ceremony is known as *Yadulukodalu*. The next day begins with *Ghatikapuja* (the worship of the time-indicating pot) and the distribution of 5 pieces of turmeric and oil to each family invited to attend the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom, in their respective houses, are smeared over with turmeric, the bridegroom a short while after the bride, a part of the turmeric used by the bride being sent for the use of the bridegroom. To wash this off is deemed very inauspicious to the bridal pair and they are not allowed to bathe until the day of the *Nagbali* ceremony. As the auspicious moment for the wedding approaches, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house and the boy, dressed in white, is pompously taken, on horseback, to the bride's house, holding in his right hand a nut-cutter (*sarota*) and a small bag containing the *pusti* (lucky string), toe-ring, bracelets, a sandal puppet, five pieces of cocoa-nut, five areca nuts and the jewels to be presented to the bride. At the entrance to the bride's house, a mixture of cooked rice and curds are waved round his face and then thrown to evil spirits to avert their baneful influence. Here, too, he is accorded a welcome by the bride's father and conducted to a seat, specially prepared, under the wedding booth. As he enters the booth, he ties a piece of silk cloth to one of its posts. On being seated on a low wooden stool, he is offered *madhuparka*, or a mixture of honey and clarified butter, by his parents, in token of reception. He is, thereupon, invested with the sacred thread by his father, under the guidance of the family priest, a ceremony which is supposed to entitle him to take a wife and to enter upon his duties as a house-holder. The bride is now brought out, attired in white silk, her brow adorned with *bashingams* (paper ornaments) and is made to stand facing the bridegroom, the bridegroom also standing; a silk curtain is interposed between them, auspicious verses are chanted by the priests and grains of rice are sprinkled over their heads by the Brahmans and by the assembly of men and women. This concluded, the bridal pair throw cumin seeds and jaggery three times on each other's heads and tread upon each other's feet, it being incumbent on a man of the 'Pendlikulam' *gotra* to hold their feet while this treading is being done. These ceremonies are known as *Jilkar-*

belam and *Padghattan* respectively. The curtain being raised, the bridal pair are seated opposite each other, the bridegroom facing the east and the bride the west. It is now the turn of the bride's father to offer *madhuparka* to the bridegroom and invest him with the sacred thread. The *Kanyadan* ceremony, or 'the gift of the virgin,' follows, at which the bridegroom places the bride's hand in the hollow of his own forming two cups, and the bride's mother pours cold water upon the palm of her husband, which he allows to drop into the bride's, from whence it trickles into the bridegroom's and falls into the plate below. The whole procedure symbolises that the bride has been, formally, presented by her father to the bridegroom who, on his part, has formally accepted the gift. At the *Kaṅkan Bandhanam* ceremony, the *kaṅkanams* (thread bracelets) and *pusti* (auspicious bead necklace) are placed in a dish, worshipped by the bridal pair and afterwards handed round to the guests to be touched and blessed by each of them; when this is done the *pusti* is hung round the bride's neck by the bridegroom and the *kaṅkanams* are fastened on their wrists by the family priest. The bride honours, with *puja*, the clothes and jewels presented to her by the bridegroom and, adorned in them, takes her seat to the left of her husband. Their clothes being tied in a knot, they throw rice three times over each other's heads. The guests, one by one, offer them each three handfuls of rice, the ceremony being termed *taḱwal*. Wedding presents are given to the newly married pair by their parents, relatives and friends, after which the family priest takes both the bride and the bridegroom outside the marriage *pandal* and points out to them the star "Arundhati" (the pole star) as an emblem of matrimonial virtue and constancy. The happy pair are then taken round to make obeisance to the family gods, their parents and relatives. After the distribution of *pan-supari* (betel-leaves and areca-nuts), *attar* and nosegays of flowers, all the men retire leaving the bride and bridegroom under the canopy. Women then come and perform their own peculiar ceremonies, playing various tricks on the couple, all of which may be summed up in one word *Aḱalpokaḱal*. At the *pota*, or wedding feast, which is generally given on the second day after the wedding, relatives, friends and acquaintances are entertained at the

bride's house. This is followed, on the third day, by *tqta*, at which the newly wedded couple are perambulated, in a palanquin, through the town and led in procession to a garden outside. Here they make merry, nautch performances by dancing girls and feasting forming the order of the day. The procession returns to the bride's house by night. The ceremonies that are performed on the fourth day and subsequently, are described as follows :—

Mailapolu.—The bride and bridegroom are seated on a square of rice, with a brass vessel filled with water at each of its corners. The vessels are encircled five times with a raw cotton thread. The bridal pair are smeared with oil by a barber and bathed by five married women in warm water. The bridegroom subsequently stooping over the bride, the water in the vessels is poured over them. The pair change their clothes and their wet clothes are given away to the barber.

Sadasu or Alms-giving.—Alms are given by the bridegroom in the name of the 33 crores of gods, which comprise the Hindu pantheon. In counting the measures of alms, the bridegroom commits mistakes and his brother-in-law corrects him by gently striking him on the back. Much amusement ensues on the occasion.

Wadabiaram or Marine Trade.—Two toy boats, each made of 16 grass sticks, are lighted with lamps, worshipped by the bridal pair and floated in water.

Nágabali.—Under the booth, a platform is built with earth, brought in procession and with music from an ant-hill outside the village. Beautiful patterns in five different colours (white, yellow, red, green and black) are traced upon the platform, which is surrounded by five earthen pots encircled with cotton thread, and by conical heaps of food, topped with lighted lamps. In its centre, on two wooden planks, are seated the bride and bridegroom, facing towards the east. The parents of the bride march five times round the pair, her father bearing in one hand a bell, and in the other a sword, while her mother keeps pouring a stream of water on the sword all the time. At the end of the last round, they take with them the bride and bridegroom and walk straight into the house, none of them turning back to see the *bali*. The *nagbali*, viz., the food, pots, etc., is

claimed by a washerman and removed by him immediately.

Panpu.—The wedded couple are seated, face to face, on a cot under the booth, with twenty-one turmeric figures, representing Gouramma, arranged in a row between them. Each figure is placed on two betel leaves, with a comb, turmeric and *kunkum* powders, black bead necklaces, dry dates, cocoanut kernels, almonds and flowers before it. The bridal pair worship the deities, with the help of the family priest and, after the *pūja* has been completed, present the figures, with their offerings, to married females. This ceremony over, the young couple are made to play a drama of domestic life with the sandal wood doll (brought by the bridegroom from his house) as their child. The doll is placed in a cradle hung between the couple and is rocked to and fro while a lullaby is chanted by all the women present. After a while, the bride takes out the doll and hands it to her husband, asking him to take charge of it as she has to attend to domestic affairs; but the bridegroom returns it to her on the plea that he has to mind his shop business. This incident is attended with a great deal of mirth and amusement among the assembly.

Navagradha Pūja, or the Worship of Nine Planets.—This ceremony is performed in the god's chamber inside the house. A nose-ring is dropped in an earthen vessel and the couple are asked to pick it out. Whoever succeeds in first doing so is regarded as the cleverer of the two. As the couple enter the house for the performance of the preceding ceremony they are obstructed at the door by the bridegroom's sister, who demands her brother's first born daughter for her son, and lets them enter only after she has extracted a promise from them to that effect.

Kankān Visarjan, or the Untying of the Wrist-threads.

Opagantha, at which the bride is formally entrusted by her parents to the charge of her husband and his parents.

Barat (Sade), or the bridal procession which conducts the bridegroom with his young wife to his house.

Padhari Panduga, or the concluding ceremony in connection with marriage, performed on the 16th day after the wedding, when all the family members are entertained with a dish of rice termed *atalu*.

The auspicious months for the celebration of marriages are Már-gashirsha, Mágh, Fálguna, Vaishákha and Jaishtha. The bride's parents pay *vara dakshina*, or dowry, to the bridegroom amounting to Rs. 116, or to any higher sum, with however the figures 1 and 6 as its last two digits, e.g., 216, 316, etc. Aged widowers are required to pay prices for brides which are proportional to the ages of the girls.

Widow-marriage is not recognised by the caste. A woman taken in adultery, is expelled from the house and entirely ceases to be a member of her husband's family. A woman abandoned by her husband is not allowed to marry again.

Inheritance.—The Komtis follow the Hindu law of inheritance. At the time of the division of the property *jaishtha bhag*, or an extra share, is paid to the eldest brother.

Religion.—The Komtis are orthodox Hindus and belong to the Vaishnava and Saiva sects. The worshippers of Vishnu distinguish themselves as Tirmanidharis and mark their foreheads with three vertical streaks of sandal paste, running from the root of the nose to the root of the hair. The devotees of Shiva are designated Vibhutidharis, or those who smear ashes of burnt cowdung on their foreheads. A few of the caste have joined the Lingayit sect and worship Mahadeo in the form of Lingam. These wear both the *lingam* (phallic symbol) and the sacred thread as badges of distinction. The characteristic deities of the caste are Nágareshwar and Kankamáwaru, whose chief temples are situated at Penukundapattan in the Godaveri district. On Makar Sankránt (the 12th or 13th of January) Kankammawaru or Kanyaka Parmeshwari is worshipped by all the members, men and women, with offerings of sweetmeats, flowers, cocoanuts, *kunkum* and other objects. The Komtis employ Brahmans in this, as well as in the worship of Vyakatswami, Raj Rajeshwar, Hanuman, Ganpati and other Brahmanical gods and in the performance of their religious and ceremonial functions. The *tulsi* plant, or sacred basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), and the *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) are worshipped by women daily, the *badh* or banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) on the 15th of Jaisha and the *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) on the *Dassera* holiday. The cow is regarded as a sacred animal and

is not used for labour of any kind. The only other animal that is respected is the serpent, worshipped annually on the lunar 5th of Shrawana. But the deity most in favour is Kedari Gouramma, honoured by every Komti family on Sundays, Wednesdays or Fridays in the lunar half of the month of Kartika. On a spot of ground, plastered over with cowdung and painted with designs of powdered lime and *kunkum*, are placed two idols made of turmeric powder and milk and representing Gouri, the consort of Shiva. Bodices of women and robes of men and children, all newly made of white cloth, are placed in front of the deity. A married couple of the family observe a fast during the day and, under the presidency of a Brahman priest, worship the goddess in the evening with offerings of sweet cakes, betel-leaves and nuts, cocoanuts and other fruit, molasses and flowers, all deposited on twigs of the *badh* or banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), and the *tarvar* (*Cassia auriculata*) trees. All the members of the family are required to be present on the occasion and, as the worship is over, they dress themselves in the consecrated apparel and wear *kankanams*, or thread bracelets, on their wrists. In the month of Aswin, the Komti females worship Badakamma, or the image of Gouri, perched on a heap of a variety of flowers. Offerings of auspicious objects are made to the goddess by married women who, with arms linked, sing and dance round the sacred object in a large circle. The Badakamma is then led in solemn procession by the throng and thrown into a stream or tank. The Komtis believe in charms and sorcery and appease spirits and ghosts, to whose malignant influence are generally ascribed all incurable diseases and the maladies of children.

Funeral Ceremonies.—The dead are burnt by the Namdharis and buried by the Vibhutidharis and the Raipak and Lingayit Komtis. When a Komti is on his death-bed, he is required to perform *Prayaschit*, or the ceremony of expiation, which is supposed to deliver him from all sin. He is also made to bestow gifts, such as *godan*, or the gift of a cow, upon Brahmans. After death the body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth, laid on a bamboo bier and borne to the burning or burial ground by four men on their shoulders. The chief mourner, the son, or in default the nearest

of kin, heads the funeral procession, bearing fire in an earthen pot. On arrival, a funeral pyre is made and the corpse is laid on it with its head pointing to the south. A piece of gold and *tulsi* leaves (the sacred basil) are put in its mouth. The chief mourner walks three times round the pyre, with a pot filled with water on his shoulder. At the end of the third round, he throws the pot on the ground and sets fire to the pile. When the body is completely consumed, the mourners bathe in a well, or a running stream, and return to the house of the deceased. Before return to their houses, the bier bearers have to look at a lamp lighted on the spot where the dead person breathed his last. The ashes and bones are collected on the third day after death and either thrown into a holy river or, if circumstances do not permit, into any stream that is handy. The dead bodies of unmarried persons are carried suspended on a bamboo pole termed *untipara* and buried without any ceremony. The Lingayit Komtis carry their dead to the burial ground in a sitting posture. The corpse is seated in a niche carved out at one side of the grave and is buried with a *lingam* placed in its left hand and *bilva* (*Ægle Marmelos*) leaves and *vibhuti* (ashes) on its side. Agnate relatives of seven degrees are mourned for fifteen days. Mourning is observed three days for unmarried agnates and for such cognates as maternal grandfather, maternal grandmother, sister, daughter, mother-in-law, father-in-law, son-in-law and sister's son. *Pindas*, or balls of cooked rice, are offered for the benefit of the soul of the deceased generally on the fifteenth day after death. The funeral ceremonies followed by the Komtis, who aspire after the introduction of Vedic rites in their ritual, closely resemble those of the Brahmans and are given as follows :—

- (1) *Dahan*, or the cremation of the corpse.
- (2) *Sinchana*, or the collection of the bones.
- (3) *Kshaura*, or the shaving of the beard and moustaches.
- (4) *Nitya Karma*, which is performed every morning during the period of mourning and consists of—
 - (i) *Sila-prasthapan*.
 - (ii) *Mritika Snana*.
 - (iii) *Waso-daka*.

- (iv) *Tilodaḥa*.
- (v) *Pinda-pradanam*.
- (5) *Ama Sradha*.
- (6) *Anhika*.
- (7) *Dasha Homa*.
- (8) *Shodasha Homa*, or the last funeral sacrifice, on the performance of which the mourners are free from pollution and are ceremonially clean.

On the 16th day, caste people are entertained at the house of the deceased.

All the deceased ancestors are propitiated on the *Pitra Amawasya* day, or on the 30th of Bhadrapad (middle of September), with offerings of *til* libations (water mixed with gingelly seeds). The Komtis celebrate monthly *Sradha* (*masik*) during the first year and annual *sradha* every year subsequently. If the first wife dies, a small earthen pot (*jagdi muntha*) is set up in her name and worshipped annually, or periodically, by the second wife.

A Komti widow removes the *pusti* (auspicious bead necklace) from her neck and breaks her bangles on the tenth day after the death of her husband. Children who die before teething are buried and not mourned. During the period of impurity, the mourners have to abstain from sleeping on a cot, eating sweet things, turmeric, betel-leaves and nut and even from smoking.

Social Status.—In point of social status the Komtis rank almost next to Brahmans. All the Telugu castes, except Brahmans, Panchdayi, Satani, Lingayits, Jangam, Tamadi, and Gandalas, eat *kachi* (cooked food) from their hands. They are vegetarians and abstain from liquors or other alcoholic drinks. They do not eat the leavings of higher castes.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste was supposed to be trade, the rearing of cattle, and agriculture. The Komtis of the present day are mostly traders and are found engaged in banking, shop-keeping, money-lending and similar other professions. Some of them are land-holders and have acquired rights of permanent tenure ; but in this respect they cannot be reckoned as agriculturists, for they do not plough themselves but employ labour in cultivation. In most

of the villages the Komtis are *sahukars*, or money-lenders to the agricultural classes, advancing money on the mortgage of lands at exorbitant rates of interest. The poorer members of the caste are cooks, confectioners and petty brokers and follow every pursuit deemed respectable. A few of them have entered Government service.

LIII

KUMMARA

Kummara, Kumbhar, Kumbhakár—the potter caste of the Hyderabad Dominions, concerning whose origin differences of opinion prevail. According to some authorities, they are the descendants of a Brahman father and a Vaishya mother, while others make them the offspring of a Brahman father by a Kshatriya mother. The Kummaras, themselves, claim to be descended from Sháliváhan, a king of Paithan, who was said to be the son of a Brahman father, and a Kumbhár mother. But it seems highly probable that, like other functional castes, this caste was also recruited from among different classes of Hindu society. The name Kummara, or Kumbhár, is derived from the Sanskrit 'Kumbhakar'—*kumbha*-water jar and *kár*-maker.

Internal Structure.—The caste has six endogamous divisions, (1) Shetti or Telaga, or Penta Kummara, (2) Balja, or Lingayit Kummara, (3) Bendar Kummara, (4) Dandu Kummara, (5) Maratha Kumbhar, and Rane Kumbhar. The Shetti Kummaras are found in the Telugu Districts and form the bulk of the caste. The Baljá or Lingayit Kummaras are numerous in the Carnatic and are described in the report on the Lingayit sect; they make bricks and tiles. The Bendar Kummaras were originally Bendars who adopted the profession of potters and, consequently, separated from the parent tribe. The Dandu Kummaras are base-born and earn their bread by making plates of leaves and by buying manufactured jars from the other Kummara castes and selling them at a profit; they also manufacture earthen vessels: the name 'Dandu' means 'army' and seems to have been applied to the members of this sub-caste as they were attached as potters to the imperial forces in ancient days. The Maratha Kumbhars are the potters of the Marathawada country. They speak Marathi and look like Maratha Kunbis. The Rane

Kumbhars were originally Rajputs and have only recently taken to the occupation of a Kumbhar.

As the sub-castes are territorial groups, each has its own exogamous sections, characteristic of the locality it occupies. The exogamous sections are based upon family names, and are either territorial or titular groups. Only a few of them are totemistic. The section names of the Balja Kummaras are derived from the names of the different gods they worship. Two families bearing the name of the same patron deity cannot intermarry.

Section names of the Balja Kummaras—

Veerabhadradewaru.	Lingadewaru.
Shivadewaru.	Mathadharidewaru.
Ishwardewaru.	Rampadewaru.
Madladewaru.	Sograppadewaru.

Exogamous divisions of the Chetti Kummaras—

Rangamgiri.	Pagdi.
Kodisarlu.	Mudunola.
Domakunda.	Nellotala.
Puskur.	Paralollu.
Madugalollu.	Kannollu.

Some of these sections are totemistic, and the totem is taboo to the members of the section bearing its name. For example, the members belonging to the 'Koyigarwaru' section, abstain from eating *kulfa* greens, (*Portulaca oleracea*) and those of the 'Gomadpalliwandlu' section from eating *gomad*, (*Leucas linifolia*).

Section names of the Maratha Kummaras—

Chavgule.	Vagule.
Mhetre.	Urleker.
Saswadker.	Ghodke.

Exogamous sections of the Rane Kumbhars—

Varvade.	Thakur.
Kotangane.	Patal.
Girwala.	Vani.

The rule of exogamy is carefully observed and a man cannot marry outside the sub-caste and within the section to which he belongs. He may marry two sisters. He may also marry the daughters of

his maternal uncle and elder sister, but he cannot marry the daughters of his paternal and maternal aunts. Exchange of daughters is allowed. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste.

Marriage.—The Telugu Kummaras marry their daughters as infants between the ages of 2 and 12 years and social reproach attaches to the parents of a girl who attains puberty before marriage. Among the Maratha and Rane Kumbhars, girls are married either as infants, or as adults, and if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage the father of her child is compelled to marry her. Immediately after marriage, the girl is sent to her husband's house.

•The marriage ceremony of the Kumbhars differs for different sub-castes, but materially conforms to the usage current among the local castes of about the same social standing. The Telugu Kummaras regard *Kanyadan* and *Pusti Mittalu*, the wearing of *mangal-sutra* by the bride, to be the binding portion of the ceremony, while among the Maratha Kumbhars, *Saptapadi*, or the seven rounds made about the sacrificial fire, render the marriage irrevocable. The Rane Kumbhars marry their girls after the fashion of the Northern India castes and deem *Mundha*, or the practice of walking five times round the sacred post of *mowha*, to be the essential part of the ritual. Polygamy is permitted and no theoretical limit is set to the number of wives a man may have.

General.—It is customary among the Telugu and the Maratha Kummaras, to devote their daughters to the service of temples and deities in pursuance of vows made in affliction or difficulty. Such girls are called Basavis or Murlis; after dedication they live in the houses of their parents and consort openly with members of their caste or of higher castes. A Basavi girl inherits her father's property in equal shares with his sons.

Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is permitted.

In matters of inheritance the Kumbhars follow the Hindu law. In default of male issue in the family, females inherit. The eldest son gets 25% in addition to his own share.

A woman in child-birth is impure for seven days.

Brahmans are employed as priests in marriages, and Jangams or Ayyawars serve them in death rites.

Religion.—The patron deity of the Telugu Kumbhars is Pochamma, to whom they offer various sacrifices. Generally, the members of the caste officiate as priests, or *pujaris*, to Nala Pochamma (the deity presiding over black smallpox), Avra Pochamma (the goddess of smallpox), Mahakali (the goddess of cholera), Idamma, Mutyalamma, Maisamma and other animistic deities, and sacrifices of sheep, goats and fowls are offered to them on Sundays generally. The heads of the animals are given to *chaklas* and *mangalas*. Sometimes, buffaloes are offered to the deities and are afterwards claimed by the *malas* and *madigas* of the village. Almost all the gods of the Hindu pantheon are held in great reverence by the members of the caste. On the *Ganesh Chouth* day, they worship the implements of their craft with offerings of sweetmeat and flowers. At the *Divali* festival, the females adore Gowri, the consort of Siva, with the help of a Brahman, the ceremony being called *Nawam*. Balamma and Danama, who are supposed to trouble infants, are also appeased. Ancestral worship prevails and is performed on every *Amawasya* day. When a new ancestor is installed, caste people are entertained at a feast.

Kurbhan is the patron deity of the Rane Kumbhars. Like other Hindus, they make pilgrimages to Kasi. They observe all Hindu festivals and worship the Hindu gods.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually buried, but are occasionally burnt with the head towards the south and the face turned towards the east. The ashes and bones, in the case of cremation, are thrown into a river or buried under a tree. Mourning is observed for ten days for the married, and 3 days for the unmarried and infants. All the rites conform to those of the lower castes of Telingana. On the *Pitra Amawasya* day, alms are given in the names of the dead ancestors. Vaishnava Kummaras perform the *Sradha* ceremony. Nearly a month after death, the Saivaites perform the ceremony called *Pinnamma* and hang bells made of flowers in temples.

Occupation.—The occupation of the caste is to manufacture pottery, big and small earthen ware, bricks and tiles. The implements are the potter's wheel, a ball and a wooden mallet. A spade

is used to pound earth. Black or red earth is used to make earthen vessels, which are first made on the wheel and then moulded and beaten into the requisite shape by women. The Bendar Kummaras make tiles and bricks. The Dandu Kummaras purchase earthen ware ready made from the Chetti and Rane Kummaras and sell them at a small profit. Formerly, the Kummaras did not know the art of burning the pots and the people used unburnt earthen vessels. Once, one Kummara Gondaya, or 'Gonda Brahma' as he is nicknamed, while making pots, applied a quantity of spittle to it as he had no water at hand. God was displeased with this impious act and ordered that the pots should be purified by baking. Ever since then the baking process has been brought into use.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste differs for different sub-castes. The Balja Kummaras, being Lingayits, hold the highest rank in the community. But the entire caste takes rank just below the Kapus and Velmas and above the Mangalas and the Chaklas. The Balja Kummaras eat only from the hands of Lingayits, Jangams, Lingayit Kapus and Balijas; the Chetti Kummaras eat *kachi* from the hands of Brahmans, Komtis, Satanis, Jangams, Baljas, Kapus and Velmas. All castes, except Brahmans and Komtis, eat sweetmeats from the hands of this caste. Jangams, Kapus, Sales, Kurumas and other inferior castes eat *kachi* from the Balja Kummaras. The Telugu and Maratha Kummaras eat mutton, pork, fowl and fish and the flesh of small cloven-footed animals. They indulge in spirituous and intoxicating liquors. The Rane Kumbhars will not eat fowls. Any earthen vessel containing water is broken and thrown away if it is touched by a hen. The Balja Kummaras, being Lingayits by creed, abstain from eating flesh and drinking wine. They drink water in which a Jangam's feet have been washed and eat the leavings of a Jangam. Social disputes are referred for decision to a council of the caste presided over by a chief called *chaudhari*.

LIV

KURUMA

(Title : Goud.)

Kuruma—the shepherd, goat-herd and ‘blanket-weaver caste of Telingana, corresponding to the Kuruba of the Karnatic and the Kurumba of the Tamil country. These tribes probably belonged to the same original stock, for they closely resemble one another in their features and complexion and in some of their customs and usages. The names ‘Kuruma’ and ‘Kuruba’ seem to be variants of the Tamil ‘Kurumba’, the first being formed by the dropping of the letter ‘b’ and the second by the dropping of the ‘m.’ All the names are said to be derived from the word ‘kuri’ meaning a sheep.

The Kurumas bear the honorific title ‘Goud’ attached to their names, concerning the origin of which they have a very curious legend. Once upon a time, Beerappa, their patron god, had a desire for strong drink, but being short of money had to procure liquor from a *goundala* (a liquor vendor) by pledging his moustaches. In a few days, Beerappa offered to redeem the pledge, but the moustaches had already disappeared from the *goundala*’s possession, being surreptitiously made away with by a squirrel at the god’s command. The *goundala* was thereupon compelled to part with his title ‘Goud’ to the Kurumas.

Origin.—The Kurumas trace their descent from their tribal god Mallanna, who was fabled to have originally been a Kapu by caste but subsequently made the god of shepherds by Mahadeva. Once Mallanna, having ploughed his farm, collected the rubbish and disposed of it by burning it on an ant-hill. Two sheep had already been sheltered by Parvati in the ant-hill and, being oppressed by the intense heat of the fire, they came out and solicited Mallanna for protection. Mallanna reluctantly consented and desired them to follow him to his dwelling. On arrival at his house, he found that

the sheep had multiplied into thousands. Dismayed and confused at this singular development, he appealed for relief to the god Siva, who came down from *Kailas*, transformed him into a god, and assigned to him the duties of presiding over the destinies of the shepherd class.

Internal Structure.—The Kurumas are divided into 3 sub-castes : Patti Kankan Kuruma, Uni Kankan Kuruma and Ugad. The last of these are socially inferior to the other two sub-castes and make their living by officiating as priests to the Kurumas and by begging only from them. The Patti Kurumas are so called because they use wedding bracelets of cotton thread (*patti*) while the name 'Uni Kuruma' is derived from the word *uni* (wool) and refers to the custom of the sub-caste of fastening bracelets of woollen thread on the wrists of the bride and bridegroom at their wedding. The origin of these usages is obscure. The Kurumas aver that Mallanna had two wives, one Padmakshi (lotus-eyed), a Kapu girl who was married in accordance with the usual Kapu usage of fastening thread bracelets on the wrists of the bridal pair. The other wife was Ratnangi (resplendent as gems), the daughter of a Brahman woman who, while pregnant, was devoured by a *Rakshashi*. The *Rakshashi* brought up the new-born girl until she came of age. One day Mallanna, while grazing his flock in the jungle, where the girl dwelt, observed her and was so struck with her beauty that he fell in love with her. He killed the demon and married the girl, but the wedding bracelets on this occasion were made of wool instead of cotton, which could not be procured in the jungle. Hence Mallanna's descendants by Ratnangi have been distinguished from those by Padmakshi by the name *uni* (wool) Kuruma and are said to hold a position superior to that of the latter.

In the Karnatic the caste has four divisions : Hatti Kankan Kuruma, Uni Kankan Kuruma, or Kurbur, Lingayit Kurbur and Beerlods. The Beerlods are priests of Birbhadra and subsist by begging from the other sub-castes. The Hatti Kankan Kurburs and Uni Kankan Kurburs are identical respectively with the Patti Kurumas and Uni Kurumas of Telingana and have the same badges of distinction as the latter, the Hati (cotton) Kankan Kurburs wearing cotton

thread bracelets at a wedding while the Uni Kankan Kurburs put on wedding bracelets of wool. The Lingayit Kurburs are converts to Lingayitism from the Kurbur caste. Regarding the origin of this sub-caste a story is told that Mallanna once met Basava, the founder of the Lingayit sect, and was converted by him to his faith. The progeny of Mallanna, subsequent to this event, became Lingayits by creed.

These legends seem to suggest that the Kurumas were a mixed people, recruited from the Kapu and other castes. There is, however, no independent evidence to support this view.

The Kurumas are broken up into a large number of exogamous sections, which are partly of the territorial and partly of the totemistic type. In very few instances only are the totems observed as taboos; as, for instance, the members of the 'Myakalollu' (*Myaka*—sheep) section abstain from eating sheep and those of the 'Miryalawandlu' (*Miryal*—pepper) from using the pepper; but, in general, the totems have lost their significance to the members of the sections bearing their names. The members of the caste assert that they have only one *gotra*, 'Chandesha' or 'Choundesha', which, is, however, only ornamental and has no bearing upon the regulation of their marriages.

The section name goes by the male side and a Kuruma is prohibited from marrying outside the sub-caste, or within the section to which he belongs. This rule of exogamy is supplemented, and a man cannot marry the daughters of his maternal and paternal aunts. He may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle or of his elder sister. He may marry in the sections to which his mother or his father's mother belongs. Two sisters may be married to the same man, provided the elder is married first. Two brothers may also marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is allowed by the caste.

Marriage.—The Kurumas marry their daughters both as infants and as adults, but the former practice is deemed the more respectable and is followed by the majority of the caste. The custom of dedicating girls to temples survives among some of the Kurumas. The girls thus dedicated are married to the image of Mallanna, or to a sword. The dedicated girl is taken before the image, or is seated by the side of a sword, and wedded to either as if it were

the bridegroom, the ceremony in this case closely resembling that of the real marriage current among the caste. The Basavis, as these girls are afterwards called, are allowed to remain in their parents' houses and can cohabit either with the members of their own caste or of higher castes. Girls for whom husbands cannot be procured are also dedicated to gods. Polygamy is permitted and there is no rule limiting the number of wives a man may have.

The marriage ceremony of the Uni Kurburs is described below, the distinction between the Uni Kurburs and the Patti Kurburs being only in the nature of their *kankānams*, or wedding bracelets. The negotiations for marriage are opened by the boy's party and, after the girl has been selected, the parents of the bridegroom go to see her and present her with betel-leaves and areca-nuts. On this occasion, a feast is given by the bride's people, at which *ghī*, *kichari* and sugar are provided and Rs. 21 are presented to the bride. Five or six days later, the girl's parents visit the boy and are entertained at a feast. If both parties are satisfied with the match, the boy's people go to the bride's house and present her with a new *sari* and *choli*, nine pieces of cocoanut kernel, fifteen seers of rice and Rs. 14, which constitute the bride-price. On the day before the wedding, the bridegroom's party escort the bride and her parents to the bridegroom's house and stop on the way at Maruti's temple. Here the fathers of the bride and bridegroom and their relatives meet and embrace one another. From this place, the procession marches to the bridegroom's house, where a wedding *pandal* of five pillars (the middle one being made from the wood of the banyan tree, *Ficus bengalensis*) has already been erected and Birappa and Laxmi, their tutelary deities, worshipped under it. At night, the bride and bridegroom are smeared with oil and turmeric paste and bathed simultaneously. Next morning the *deva devaka*, or earthen vessels, are brought from the potter's house by five married women, established under the *pandal* and besmeared with lines of *chunam* (lime). The portion of the wall where the bridegroom is to be seated is whitewashed and decorated with a design of *bashingams*. Out of the five pots brought from the potter, the one containing areca-nuts, two betel leaves, dates, a cocoanut and a pice, is taken in procession

to a well, there filled with water, after the well has been worshipped by burning incense, and then brought to the booth. Underneath the booth, the other four pots are arranged so as to form a square and woollen thread is wound round them. The bride and bridegroom are seated within, smeared with oil and turmeric and bathed with warm water, with which the water previously brought from the well has been mixed. The woollen thread is then taken off and tied to the banyan pillar of the booth. The bride and bridegroom are dressed in new clothes, adorned with *kankans* and *bashingams*, and taken to the *devaḱa*, near which an earthen platform has been erected. They are seated on a blanket spread over the platform and ornamented with lines of coloured rice. Then, in the presence of the assembled guests, who bless the couple and touch the *mangalsutra*, the Brahman priest repeats *mantras* and ties the consecrated *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck. After this, the bride and bridegroom are made to stand facing each other, each in a basket containing *jawari* grains. A piece of cloth is held between them and the Brahman, uttering *mantras*, throws rice on their heads. All the assembled guests follow his example and, subsequently, the bride and bridegroom also throw rice on each other's head. *Kanyadan* and *Kankan-bandhan* follow and are celebrated on the lines followed by other castes. The bridegroom, taking the bride in his arms, goes to the gods' room, and bows to the gods and to the elderly members of the family. *Pan-supari* is distributed and the assembly disperses. On the evening of the same day a piece of cloth is spread underneath the booth and a large quantity of food containing cooked rice and *puris* is placed over it. The women sing songs and four women and five men eat some of the food, the remainder being distributed among the relatives. This ceremony is termed *Bhuma*. Next morning, the bride and bridegroom are led on a bullock to Hanuman's temple, where cocoanuts are broken and the god is worshipped. On the third day, the parents of the bride take her to their house. On the fifth day, Beerappa is worshipped with offerings of sweets, the *kankans* are untied and the wedding booth is dismantled. This completes the marriage proceedings.

The marriage ceremony of the Telugu Kurumas does not differ

materially from that in practice among other Telugu castes of the same social standing. It comprises, as among the Kapu caste, the following rites, which are merely enumerated in the order in which they are performed—*Vadibiyam*, *Papawanam*, *Ravireni*, *Yadrukodalu*, *Mailapolu*, *Lagnam*, *Kanyadan*, *Padghattan*, *Jiraguda*, *Pusti Mittalu* (the tying of *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck which is deemed to be the essential portion of the ceremony), *Kankanam*, *Bashingam*, *Talwál*, *Brahmamodi*, *Nagvelly*, *Polu* (cotton thread in the case of the Patti Kurmas and woollen in that of the Uni Kurmas is wound round the *Polu* and at the time of walking round it the bridegroom is given *kaduru* and the bride *bads* in their hands), *Vappaginthá*, *Arundhatidarshanam*, *Panpu* and *Vadibiyum Sari*. Mallanna is worshipped before marriage and Beerappa after its completion. The bridegroom is presented with a dress by the bride's father. A bride-price amounting to Rs. 12 is paid to the parents of the girl.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, but she is not expected to marry her late husband's younger or elder brother. She must also avoid all relations which come under the prohibited relationship. The ceremony is simple and consists in escorting the bride, at night, to the bridegroom's house and tying the *mangalsutra* round her neck. A widow, on remarrying, is required to return the ornaments given to her by her first husband.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, on the ground of adultery on the part of the wife. The husband removes the upper garment from off her head and drives her out of the house. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of a lower caste is punished with expulsion from her own caste.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance the Kurumas follow the Hindu law. Females inherit in default of any male issue in the family. It is said that the eldest son gets five sheep, or Rs. 25, in addition to his own share. Basavi girls claim the same share in their father's property as the sons.

Religion.—In respect of religion, the Kurumas are divided between Tirmanidharis (Vaishnavas) and Vibhutidharis (Saivas). Some of them are the followers of the Lingayit sect and abstain from flesh

and wine. Their favourite object of worship is Mallanna, to whom offerings of sheep, goats and sweetmeats are made in the months of Aswin, Margashirsha and Magha. Beerappa, their *guru*, is honoured in the months of Kartika and Magha with the sacrifice of sheep, the offerings being subsequently eaten by the members of the household. Beerlods and Uglods officiate as priests in the worship of these gods. Among their minor deities are Pochamma, Elamma, Rajamma and Mariamma, propitiated with a variety of offerings. A man of the Kummara caste officiates at the worship of these deities. The members of the caste worship also the greater gods of the pantheon and observe all the Hindu festivals. Mohamedan *pirs* are also duly revered by them. Brahmans are employed for the marriage ceremony. The Kurumas have a strong belief in ghosts and evil spirits, identify them with the help of Erakala women and appease them with various offerings. An oath on the name of their *guru* Beerappa is deemed very sacred by them.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. The Lingayit Kurumas bury their dead in a sitting posture, with the face to the north. After life is extinct, the corpse is washed, dressed in new clothes and borne, on the shoulders, to the grave. On the 3rd day after death, a goat is sacrificed on the burial ground. The flesh is cooked, offered at the grave, and thrown to the birds. The unmarried dead are disposed of without any rites or ceremonies. If a wealthy man dies unmarried, a curious ceremony is performed, which entitles him to the full funeral rites. As soon as the man breathes his last, his body is washed with water and carried to the temple of Beerappa. Four vessels are arranged in a square and a thread is wound round them. The body is seated within this, with a *bashingam* tied to its forehead and a stick of *amaya* wood in its hand. To this stick is tied a handkerchief with five knots. A number of sheep and goats are killed before the god and the members of the caste present are feasted. After the performance of this ceremony the dead man is buried as if he had been married in life. Mourning is observed ten days for the married and three days for the unmarried. No *Sradha* is performed by the members of the caste. On the *Pitra Amawasya*,

or the last day of Bhadrapad (September-October), alms are given to Brahmans and Jangams. In the month of Shravana the deceased first wife of a man is appeased by his second wife if alive. The dead wife is represented by an earthen pot, which is known as *Pyarantal* or *Korati Ellama*.

Social Status.—In point of social standing, the Kurumas rank above the Manglas and 'Chaklas and below the Kapus, Gollas, Mutrasis and Sátánis, from whose hands they eat *kachi*. They eat mutton, pork, fowl, venison and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of any caste.

Occupation.—The majority of the caste are engaged in their traditional occupation of tending sheep and goats and weaving blankets (*kamblis*). Some of them weave very fine blankets which fetch more than Rs. 15 apiece. They deal in sheep's milk, which is largely used by villagers, being cheap and deemed very nourishing. The cultivators purchase, from them, sheep's manure, which is regarded as of high quality. A few of the Kurumas have taken to cultivation and are *pattedars* and *shikamidars* of Government land. A few hold *inam* lands. The poorer members work as day labourers, cartmen and *hamals* (coolies).

The females of the caste do not wear head ornaments, but have their faces and arms tattooed in different patterns.

Kurmi, Kurmi Kshatriya, Kunbi—a very large landholding and cultivating caste of Northern India supposed to have come into these dominions as soldiers early in the seventeenth century. During the wars of Aurangzeb with the Bijapur and Golconda kingdoms, and subsequently with the Marathas, they enlisted in the Moghal army and held posts of honour as *hajaris*, *subedars* and *jamadars*, or as commandants of the different forts and districts which were conquered and annexed by the Moghals. Since their disbandment, after the death of Aurangzeb, they have settled down as peaceful cultivators, their ranks being recruited by fresh immigrants from Upper India.

Origin.—The Kurmis of this State allege that they are the direct descendants of the well-known Kshatriya dynasties of early Indian tradition, and, in support of this claim, refer to the fact that the term 'Kurmi' was borne, as a title, by the princes Vivashwan (son of Manu) and Sharyati of the solar race, and by the lunar kings Yadu and Kuntibhoja.¹

It was the designation of a son of the solar king Sumitra ² and of the son of Gritsamad, author of several hymns of the *Rigveda*. ³ The famous Chauhan king Prithvi Raj of Delhi and his descendants, Jagatsing and Jaising, were also distinguished as Kurmis. ⁴ Agreeably to this tradition the Kurmis derive their name from the word 'Kurma' occurring in the *Rigveda* ⁵ and *Shatapath Brahman*, ⁶ and meaning 'Lord, Master, Powerful,' etc.

The physical appearance of the Kurmis tends to support the

1 *Skanda Puran, Sahyadri Khand, Adhyaya* 33.

2 *Vansha Bhaskar*, p. 1013.

3 *Vishnu Puran* IV, *Adhyaya* 8, *Shloka* 1.

4 *Prithvi Raj Rayasa, Jaga Vinoda* and *Kalpdruma*.

5 *Mandala* VIII, *Sukta* 66, *Hymn* 12 ; *Mandala* III, *Sukta* 30, *Hymn* 3.

6 *Khanda* VII, *Adhyaya* 5, *Brahmans*.

view of their Kshatriya origin. They are tall, well made, with regular features and generally fair complexions. "The Kurmi has," says the Revd. Sherring ("Tribes and Castes", Vol. III, p. 258), "a strong, bony hand, natural to a man of his employment. He is frequently tall and powerful; manly, outspoken and independent in manner, and is altogether free from cringing obsequiousness." Colonel Dalton regards them as the descendants of some of the earliest Aryan colonists, "a brown, tawny coloured people, of an average height, well proportioned and with a fair amount of good looks. They show well-shaped heads and high features, and, except when they have obviously intermixed with aborigines, they are, unquestionably, Aryan in looks. Grey eyes and brownish hair are sometimes met with amongst them. The women usually have small and well-formed hands and feet." ("Ethnology of Bengal", p. 320.) Sir George Campbell, speaking of the Kurmis of Hindustan, says they are on an average darker and less good looking than the Brahmans and Rajputs, but still quite Aryan in their features, institutions and manners. ("Ethnology of India", p. 92.) "In Gorakhpur are found the Patanwar Saithwars, whom Dr. Buchanan identifies with the Audhias of Behar, who claim to be of the highest dignity and of the purest blood." (Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh.")

The foregoing description holds good as regards the Kurmis of this State who are, on the whole, a fine manly race, conforming to the usages and manners of Brahmans, wearing the sacred thread and forbidding their widows to re-marry. An examination of the exogamous sections into which they are divided, seems to tell strongly in favour of the hypothesis that they have sprung from the same original stock as the Rajputs. The section names, a list of which is given at the conclusion of this article, correspond to, or closely resemble, those current among the Rajputs. Putting even tradition aside and looking, on the one hand, to the physical type of the Kurmis and, on the other, to their internal organisation, it would appear that their claim to a Kshatriya descent cannot be wholly rejected.

Internal Structure.—No information is available regarding the endogamous divisions of the caste. The exogamous sections, as

shown below, are of two different types—one original and the other borrowed from the Brahmans. Only the original or the tribal series is taken into account for purposes of marriage. The rule is absolute that a man may not marry a woman of the same tribal section as himself ; but the fact that two persons belong to the same Brahmanical *gotra* does not operate as a bar to intermarriage, provided that their tribal sections are different. Apart from the section rule, prohibited degrees are reckoned on the system in vogue among the Kanojia Brahmans. A man may marry two sisters, but he must take them in order of age, and he cannot marry the elder sister if he is already married to the younger. Two brothers can marry two sisters, the elder marrying the elder sister and the younger marrying the younger one. Polygamy is permitted, theoretically, to any extent, but in practice a man takes a second wife only if the first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease.

Marriage.—Girls are married before they attain puberty, between the ages of nine and twelve. Immediately after marriage, *i.e.*, on the third day after the ceremony, the bride goes in procession, with her husband, to his house, but is brought back again to her father's house on the fifth day after the ceremony. But the final ceremony (*Gauna*), by which she is made over to her husband, may take place one year, three years or five years after the regular marriage. That is to say, if the husband does not claim his wife after the expiration of one year, he must wait three years, and if he does not come forward then, he must wait five years. This custom prevails among most of the higher castes in Northern India. Another ceremony known as *Ravana* takes place when the bride goes to live with her husband the third time, and is generally performed after the girl has attained puberty.

The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type in use among the higher castes of Northern India, the essential portions being *Sindurdan*, or the smearing of vermillion on the parting of the bride's hair, and *Bhonvari*, or the seven circuits taken by the bridal pair round the milk-post and the sacred fire ; the bridegroom leads in the first six circuits and the bride in the last one. This is followed by *Kanyadan*, or the presentation of the bride to the

bridegroom and his acceptance of her. A feast to the members of the caste concludes the ceremony. The marriage takes place at night and, before the bridegroom starts in the wedding procession to the bride's house, a ceremony known as *Durga Janco Sanskar* is performed, when he is invested with the sacred thread by a Brahman priest.

The re-marriage of widows is strictly forbidden among the Kurmis of this place. Divorce is also prohibited and if a woman is taken in adultery she is summarily expelled from the caste. If, however, a married couple cannot live in harmony together, a separation is arrived at by mutual consent. In such cases, the wife returns to her father's house and the husband marries again.

Religion.—The religion of the Kurmis does not differ materially from that of the highest Hindu castes in Northern India. Votaries are found among them of the main Hindu sects—Vaishnava, Saiva, Sakta and the like. For religious and ceremonial observances, they employ Kanojia Brahmans, who are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. The dead are burned in a lying posture and the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the river Ganges or any other sacred stream. On the eleventh day after death, the mourners shave their heads and offer libations of water in the name of the deceased. *Sradha* is performed on the 12th day after death and on the thirteenth a feast is given to the Brahmans of the neighbourhood. In the first or third year after death, the chief mourner makes a pilgrimage to Gaya and performs the *Sradha* ceremony there for the benefit of the soul of the deceased.

Social Status.—The social status of the Kurmis is respectable. They will eat *kachi* food cooked only by a Kanojia Brahman, who is their family priest. All castes, including Brahman, will eat *pakki* food from their hands.

Occupation.—The characteristic occupation of the Kurmi caste is that of settled agriculturists. They are very tenacious of their ancestral holdings and seldom alienate rights in land unless under the greatest pressure of circumstances. The great majority of the caste are occupancy or non-occupancy raiats and a few have risen to be *zamindars*. Some have, in recent years, taken to trade and learned

pursuits. As a class, they are a most peaceable set of men and have always been remarkable for their loyalty to the ruling power.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE THREE SECTIONS OF KURMI KSHATRIYAS.

Shukla Vamsha.

Name.	Residence.
1. Shukla	Dwarakapuri.
2. Vishvaksen	"
3. Jaisen	"
4. Visen	"
5. Pramoda	"
6. Sindhu Varma	Sind Desha.
7. Sindhu Dwipa	"
8. Shree Pati	Kachha and Shreepati Desha.
9. Bhuja Varma	Bhuja Desha.
10. Ran Varma	"
11. Chitra Varma	Sachitrapur.
12. Dharma Varma	"
13. Krishna Varma	Udayapur.
14. Udaya Varma	"
15. Vapya Varma	"
16. Valada	"
17. Gubil	"
18. Kalbhoja	"
19. Rastrapal	Mahoba-Mahavati.
20. Prajai (Jaipal)	Kannauja.
21. Krita or Venuka	"
22. Yasho Vighra	Vighrapur.
23. Mahi Chandra	Aryadesh.
24. Chandradeo	"
25. Mandapal	"
26. Kumbhapal	Rajaniyanagiri.
27. Deopal	"
28. Jaichandra and Ratnabhanu	"
29. Lakham, son of Ratna Bhanu	"
30. Vaisya Pal	"

- NOTE : 1. Vishvaksen Vamsha arose from Vishvaksen.
 2. Guhila Vamsha arose from Guhila.
 3. Rastrapal Vamsha arose from Rastrapal.
 4. Vaisya Vamsha arose from Vaishapal.
 5. Rana Vamsha arose from Rana Varma. (Maharaja Rana Pratap Singh of Udaipur belongs to this section of Kurmis.)

6. Mahala arose from Yasobigraha.
7. Kalhi Singh.
8. Dvanda.
9. Shuklaha.
10. Yashobigrah, the twenty-second Raja of Shukla Vamsha, inhabited Bigrahpur in Baiswara and building the palaces (*mahal*) there put up his family members in them. Since then his family members and descendants have been called "Mahalaha."

<i>Pramar Vamsha.</i>					
Name.					Residence.
1. Pramara	...	...	...	...	Umbavati (Ujjain).
2. Mahamar	...	...	...	...	"
3. Devaya	...	...	...	...	"
4. Deoduta	...	...	...	...	"
5. Gandharvasen	...	...	...	...	"
6. Vikramaditya	...	...	...	...	"
7. Deobhakta	...	...	...	...	"
8. Shalibahan	...	...	...	...	"
9. Shalihotra	...	...	...	...	"
10. Shalibardan	...	...	...	...	"
11. Shaka hanta	...	...	...	...	"
12. Suhotra	...	...	...	...	"
13. Havihotra	...	...	...	...	"
14. Endrapal	...	...	...	...	Indravatipura.
15. Malyavan	...	...	...	...	Malyavatipur.
16. Shambhu Dutta	...	...	...	...	"
17. Bhomaraja	...	...	...	...	"
18. Vatsaraja	...	...	...	...	"
19. Bhojaraja	...	...	...	...	"
20. Shambhu Dutta	...	...	...	...	"
21. Bindupal	...	...	...	...	"
22. Rajpal	...	...	...	...	"
23. Ahisar	...	...	...	...	"
24. Saumvarma	...	...	...	...	"
25. Kama Varma	...	...	...	...	"
26. Bhumipal	...	...	...	...	"
27. Rangapal	...	...	...	...	"
28. Kalpa Singh	...	...	...	...	Kalpa Nagar.
29. Ganga Singh	...	...	...	...	"
1. Yuga Mahatma.					
2. Jagannathi.					
3. Vivahita.					
4. Hatath Grihita.					

NOTE - Ganga Singh, the last king of this Vamsha, was killed in Kurukshetra ; his descendant, Yuga Varma, inhabited Chamyani and was famed with the appellation of Mahatma.

Parihar Vamsha.

Name.	Residence.
1. Parihar. (He had two sons)	Kalinjar.
(1) Gaur Varma	Gauda Desha.
(2) Ghora Varma	Kalinjar.

(I) Gaur Vamsha.

Name.	Residence.
1. Suparna	Gauda Desha.
2. Rupuna	"
3. Kar Varma	"
4. Kam Varma	"
5. Bhoga Varma	"
6. Kali Varma	"
7. Kaushika	"
8. Katyan	"
9. Hemavanta	"
10. Shiva Varma	"
11. Bhava Varma	"
12. Rudra Varma	"
13. Bhoja Varma	Bhojapur.
14. Gava Varma	"
15. Bindha Varma	Ranga Desha.
16. Shukeen	"
17. Balak Varma	"
18. Lakshman Varma	"
19. Madhava Varma	"
20. Keshao Varma	"
21. Shursen Varma	"
22. Narayan Varma	"
23. Shanti Varma	Shantipur.
24. Nadi Varma	Nadiya.
25. Gangadeo	"
26. Amenga	"
27. Rajesvar	"
28. Neisinga Varma	"
29. Kali Varma	"
30. Dhriti Varma	Urai.

(II) Ghora Vamsha.

Name.	Residence.
1. Dvijapal or Shardul	Kalinjar.
2. Dharpal	"
3. Paurush	"
4. Brahmapal	"
5. Prajapal	"

- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| 6. Bahubal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Kalinjar. |
| 7. Randhir | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 8. Brijapal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 9. Dhari Varma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 10. Gurjar Varma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 11. Narnath Varma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 12. Antitipal | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 13. Suhotra Varma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | " |
| 14. Yagyadar Varma | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Shardulpur. |
| 15. Birkarma Ghuren. | (He had two sons.) | | | | | " |
| 16. Jangasen and Ramakumar | (Dwarpal) | | | | | " |

NOTE : Parihar Bhoja Deo was ruling over Kanuja in 880 A.D. At the same time the Kurmi-Kshatriya of Kalingar being driven out by the Chandel, resided at Shardulpur by the side of the Tedhi lake. Ill-feeling arose between the Ghuren Kurmi Kshatriya and the Gohalauta of the vicinity. In 1019 Raja Rajyapal Parihar fled away to Shardulpur where he was killed by the Gohalauta and the Raja of Gwalior. A general massacre took place and all the claims of the Ghuren were confiscated. Of these, Birkarma Ghuren went to the Tomar Raja of Delhi, and describing his ill-fate begged for the Kannuja Shahi troop. Being successful in his attempt, he returned to Shardulpur and defeating the Gohalauta regained his property and inhabited a new village by the side of the Tedhi lake which is now called Tedha.

Sub-castes. Sections. Gotros.

- | | | |
|---------------|--|----------------|
| (1) Parhar : | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Parhar. (2) Ghor. (3) Jangi. (4) Dwarpal. (5) Shardul. | } Yagya Valka. |
| (2) Shukla : | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Vishvaksen (Vishen). (2) Guhila (Guhilota). (3) Rastrapal. (4) Vysya (5) Rana. (6) Yashovigrahmahalalaha. (7) Kalahi Singh (8) Dvanda (9) Shuklaha (10) Ravut (11) Pruvahirao. (12) Jujhai Rao. | } Bharadwaj. |
| (3) Pramari : | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Yuga Mahatma. (2) Jagannathi. (3) Vivahita. (4) Hatath Grihita. | } Loumas. |

Pahivar.	Deoraja.
Ajavamshi.	Dalabhya.
Kashtahar.	Upamanu.
Danurdhar.	Garga.
Brihadaval (Brihatcha).	Gauatma.
Eshvari.	Sandilya.
Gore.	Katyayana.
Vegavana.	Deval.
Katyan.	Gobhilya.

Jai Singh Chauhan, a Raja of the Agni Vamsha, conquering the whole of Northern India, performed a great *yagya* and adopted the respectable title of 'Chakradhar' (*chaudhari*). His son, Patteneshwar, inhabiting Pattan near the Ganges, began to live, and sent his son Ananda Deo to rule over Hastinapur. (*Bhavisya Puran—Prati Sarga Parva Adhyaya 2.*)

"Chakra."—A troop, multitude, collection, realm, sovereignty, province, district, group of villages. Caregy's "Races and Tribes of Oudh."—Prof. V. S. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

"Kurmis"—well-to-do members of these classes adopt the honorary distinction of "Chaudhari."

The following hundred *kulas* of the Northern India Kurmi-Kshatriyas, who are also residing in the Deccan, are given according to Krishnaji in the *Mahabharata*.

1. Brahma Vamshi.	22. Pailawar	Kurmi.
2. Nidar.	23. Sumitravamshi	„
3. Bhargava.	24. Rathaur	„
4. Manwaha.	25. Sachan	„
5. Virat Vamshi.	26. Avadhya	„
6. Marichicamshi.	27. Ramavamshi	„
7. Dikshi Kurmi.	28. Kushavamshi	„
8. Garhvaliya Kurmi	29. Ikshakuvamshi	„
9. Gautamiya „	30. Kashyapiya	„
10. Sukalanki.	31. Vishen	„
11. Udavatiya.	32. Kachvaha	„
12. Maharamya Kurmi.	33. Rana	„
13. Meruiha „	34. Chauhan	„
14. Gaunaha „	35. Bhojaka	„
15. Bhruwar „	36. Gorakha	„
16. Pathari „	(Raghuvamshi)	„
17. Chanderi „	37. Gaura	„
18. Lohthamba „	38. Hajari	„
19. Gohalauta „	39. Rishal	„
20. Baghela „	40. Sharduliha	„
21. Nikumbha „	41. Adharanda	„

42. Karshaka	Kurmi.	73. Tomar Vamshi	Kurmi.
43. Mahaiha	"	74. Vatsal	"
44. Malika	"	75. Thimbaka	"
45. Mathavar	"	76. Bhuvallabha	"
46. Chaudhari	"	77. Baisa	"
47. Suhotriya	"	78. Gadhawar	"
48. Banshavar	"	79. Ghiravaliha	"
49. Kharagvar	"	80. Rakshavaliha	"
50. Pathitapur	"	81. Shreshthavan	"
51. Jayasawar	"	(Chhatavan)	"
52. Baiswar	"	82. Thakkur	"
53. Katiyar	"	83. Fadindra	"
54. Sainthawar	"	Vamshi	"
55. Singaraur	"	84. Sasan	"
56. Kanavajya	"	85. Ghurein Parihar	"
57. Ghorachara	"	Vamshi	"
58. Kshatriya	"	86. Yashovigrah Mahalaha.	
59. Chandela	"	87. Pramam Chaman Purihar.	
60. Silahar	"	88. Chakradhar (Chaudhari).	
61. Shursenvamshi		89. Galharaha Gohalaut.	
62. Bundela	"	90. Ravat Raya.	
63. Kaukishaya	"	91. Pahivar.	
64. Kairati	"	92. Aja Vamshi.	
65. Gaharawar	"	93. Karchul	"
66. Raikawar	"	94. Dhanurdhar	"
67. Vrishni	Vamshi.	95. Behtaha.	
68. Pathanwar	"	96. Eshawariha.	
69. Yadu	"	97. Gore.	
70. Andhak	"	98. Begwan.	
71. Kuru	"	99. Kashtasen.	
72. Soma	"	100. Parihar.	

LVI

LALBEGI

Lalbegi—a class of Muhammadan sweepers, whose customs are partly Hindu and partly Muhammadan.

Origin.—The traditions current among the people say that their ancestor was one Satisha Lalbeg, who was descended from the sage Walmiki. Lalbeg is identified by Sir H. Elliot with Lal Guru and, in Benares, he is confounded with Pir Zahr (Sherring, "Hindu Tribes of Benares," p. 397). Though styled Muhammadans the Lalbegis do not practise circumcision.

Internal Structure.—Lalbegis have the following seven sub-classes who neither interdine nor intermarry :—Hele, Malkane, Chhichhade, Dumar, Chhajgade, Bhadeye dassan, Makhyar. They have also a number of exogamous groups, such as Phatrod, 'Sanakat, Kanderao, Suraswal, Gaikwad, Sarwan and Kanderia and marriage between persons belonging to the same section is forbidden.

The Lalbegis admit outsiders freely into their community, the new comer being bathed and required to smoke from the same *hukka* as themselves.

Marriage.—Marriages are arranged by matchmakers, who are generally old women. Previous to the betrothal, *Rajjaga* (the night vigil), is observed and women sing songs throughout the night in honour of pirs. Next morning, a red cock is offered to *Kuda* (God) and eaten afterwards by the householders. The betrothal ceremony (*Mangni*) consists of taking the bridegroom to the house of the bride and presenting her with new clothes and jewels. A day for the marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman. A marriage booth (*mandap*) supported on four pillars and covered with mango leaves is erected at the house of the bride. A twig of *palas* or *dāk* (*Butea frondosa*) is planted in the centre of the booth and near this are placed two earthen vessels covered with dung, in which are sown seeds of wheat. The *Tel*

Haldi ceremony follows and is celebrated as among the Hindu castes. Early on the wedding morning, a procession is formed conducting the bridegroom to the bride's house. On his arrival, the bridegroom is received at the door by the bride's brother and is not allowed to enter the canopy until he pays some money to his receiver. He is here joined by the bride, dressed in a green *sari* and red bodice, and wearing two necklaces, one of black beads and the other of eleven golden beads. The bridal pair each throw on the other's head, some coloured rice and have their clothes tied in a knot. Finally, seven pegs of *palas* wood are planted in a row in the ground and the couple walk seven times round them, the bridegroom kicking off one peg at the completion of each round. A Brahman standing outside the booth recites *mantras* and blesses the couple. The bridal pair are then seated side by side on a carpet and the bride's parents wash their feet with milk and present them with money. The rest of the day is spent in feasting, the wedded couple returning to the bridegroom's house the next morning.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's adultery, or if the couple do not agree. A bond is executed in the presence of the *Panchayat* sanctioning the divorce and afterwards the divorced woman is allowed to marry again.

Religion.—"The Lalbegis follow many Hindu customs, observing the *Diwali* and the *Holi* as the greatest festivals of the year. On these occasions a mud image of a mosque with five domes is made, supposed to be a model of one still existing at Ghazni, in Kabul, which belonged to Lalbeg, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. In front of the image a cock is sacrificed, and offerings of *pilau*, *sherbet* and sweetmeats are made in his name." (Risley's "Tribes and Castes", Vol. II, 4). Every Friday, at sunset, offerings of flowers are made to Lalbeg by every householder. Brahmans are called in to fix the marriage day and to conduct the marriage ceremony, and suffer no degradation on this account.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south. "The funeral ceremonies of the Lalbegis are peculiar. The dead may not be buried

in a Mussalman cemetery, but are consigned to the grave in some waste and jungly spot. The corpse is wrapped in five shrouds, a handkerchief is placed under each arm and in each hand, a *kasawa*, or napkin, is bound round the head, and a *khirja*, or blouse, is put on the body. After the grave has been filled in, a cloth cover (*phulka chadar*) is laid over it, while four pieces of agar wood (*Aquilaria Agallocha*) are inserted at the corners and set fire to. The rest of the funeral ceremonies are strictly Muhammadan. For four days after a death a fire is not allowed to be lighted in the dwelling house of the deceased, the family in the meantime receiving food from their neighbours; but on the fifth day a tray laden with betel nuts and adorned with flowers is placed in front of the hut, and a feast is given to the whole tribe." (Risley's "Tribes and Castes", Vol. II, 4.)

Social Status.—No respectable Muhammadan will marry, eat or associate with the Lalbegis. They are not admitted into the public mosques nor buried in the public graveyards. Their touch is regarded as being ceremonially unclean by all respectable classes of Hindus, while a Brahman officiating at their marriages stands far away from their community outside the wedding booth. Their women appear unveiled in public and help the men in their profession as sweepers. It is said that they eat the leavings of Europeans and drink any sort of wine or spirits. They are employed as sweepers in European households and are always addressed as 'jamadars' by the other servants.

Occupation.—Formerly, the Lalbegis lived on the outskirts of villages and towns and were not allowed to enter the locality by day. It so happened, however, during the reign of Aurangzeb, that a corpse was found lying in the streets of Delhi and it appeared to Muhammadans to be a Hindu corpse and to Hindus to be a Muhammadan one. The Lalbegis were at last ordered to remove it, but as they went to carry it away it became converted into a heap of flowers. This they claimed to be their *pir* Lalbeg, who had come to help them out of their degraded position. The Emperor was so struck with wonder at the change that he allowed the Lalbegis to live in towns and villages and to carry on their profession by day as well as by night.

LVII

LINGAYIT

(Titles : Ráo, Áppá, Anná, Ayyá, Acharyá.)

Lingayit, Virshaiva, Lingadhari, Lingawant, Linga Baliya, Banjigaru, Wani, Guru Hastulu, Mahajan, Devadoru, Pasyandi (heretics by Brahmans)—a religious sect of Saivaites, deriving their name from the *lingam*, or the phallic emblem of the god Siva, a model of which, in stone or gold, they enclose in caskets of gold or silver, and wear on their bodies, either fastened to the left arm or suspended from the neck. They are very numerous in the Carnatic Districts of Gulbarga and Raichur, and from this centre appear to have spread all over the Dominions.

History and Origin.—The sect was founded during the 12th century A. D. by a Brahman named Basava, whose life has been recorded in the *Basava Purana*, the religious book of the Lingayites. According to this account, Basava was the incarnation of Nandi, the vehicle of the god Siva, who, on hearing from the sage Nanda that the Saiva faith was on the decline on the earth, took birth as the son of a Saiva Brahman named Mádirája and his wife Mádambá (Mahamba), inhabitants of Hinguleshwar situated to the west of Shri Shailya. The child was named Basava (bull) after one of the designations of Nandi. On attaining the age of investiture, he refused to assume the sacred thread, because the initiatory rites required the adoration of the sun. Being persecuted by Brahmans for this irreligious act, he, with his sister Nágambá, fled to Kályáni, the capital of a Jain prince, Bijjal Raja of the Chálukya dynasty, and obtained, in marriage, Gangámbá, the daughter of Baldeva, the Raja's minister. On his father-in-law's death, Basava succeeded him in the office of Prime Minister. He had great influence over the king, to whom he is said to have lent his sister. Thus secure in power and fame, he began to preach openly the doctrines of the

Virashaiva faith, in which he was initiated by Sangameshwaram Swami, and under his untiring zeal the new faith began to spread rapidly. As the creed inculcated equality of men, great numbers from all castes joined him and king Bijjal was at last aroused to the sense of danger. But his attempt to repress the movement drove Basava's adherents to desperation, and he was assassinated by a fanatic, named Jagadev, in 'open court. Basava, upon this, removed to Sangameshwar, where he is said to have disappeared at a Siva Lingam temple standing on the Kapila confluence of the Krishna and the Malaprabha. The sect was afterwards extended, by his sister's son, Channá Basava, who is popularly regarded as the real founder of the creed.

The *Basava Puran* records marvellous anecdotes regarding Basava and his disciples, such as converting grains of corn into pearls, feeding multitudes, healing the sick and restoring the dead to life.

The first disciples made by Basava were called Pramad Ganás. They were from all castes and of both sexes; thus, Kinnuri Brahmayyá was a goldsmith, Bachi Rajayyá a carpenter, Baḍihori Brahmayyá a cowherd, Madiwal Máchayyá a washerman, Gundayyá a potter, Harlayyá a shoe-maker, Kákayyá a Dhor, Kotayyá a Burud, Nulká Chandayá a Máng, Sooli Cholakká a concubine (courtesan?), and several others. The views expounded by Basava were to change the worship of Siva. The *linga*, as the emblem of Siva, was always to be worn on the person and called *jāgam linga* (the locomotive or moving *lingam*) in contradistinction to the *sthávāra linga* (the stationary *lingam*) set up in the Saiva temples. He inculcated the doctrine of equality of men, that man is the living temple of the deity, that women should be protected and permitted to teach the doctrines of the creed, unchastity alone causing them to forfeit their claims to respect. His principles do not reverence Brahmans, nor acknowledge the *Vedas*, nor recognise caste distinctions, and they deny polytheism and the inferiority of women.

History of Linga Worship.—The worship of a deity in the form of *Linga*, was not, however, originated by Basava. Linga-worship had prevailed, long before his time, not only in India but also in several other countries. It is the main purport of the *Śkanda*,

Saiva and *Linga Puranas* and references to it may be found in almost all the other *Puranas*. The idol destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni, is said to have been a *Linga*. It was a block of stone, four or five cubits long and of proportionate thickness. 'Trilingam' is said to be the source of the name 'Telinga' and 'Telingana', the country extending from the north of Madras to Ganjam, and west to Bellary and Bidar.

"The *lingam* is the Priapus of the Romans, and the phallic emblem of the Greeks. The Egyptians, Greeks and Romans had temples dedicated to Priapus, under the same form as that of the *lingam*. The Israelites worshipped the same figure, and erected statues to it."

"Scripture (1 King's XV, 13) informs us that Asa, son of Rehoboam, prevented his mother Maachah from sacrificing to Priapus, whose image he broke. The Jews caused themselves to be initiated into the mysteries of Belphegor (Baal-peor ?), a divinity like the *lingam*, whom the Moabites and Midianites worshipped on Mount Phegot; and which worship, in all appearance, they received from the Egyptians. When Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord, and built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill and under every tree, the object was Baal, and the pillar, the *lingam*, was his symbol. It was on his altar that they burned incense, and sacrificed unto the calf on the fifteenth day of the month, the sacred monthly period, the *amavas* of the Hindus. The calf of Israel seems the bull Nandi of Iswara, the Apis of the Egyptian Osiris. According to Colonel Tod, the *lingam* is identical with the Arabic idol Lat or Alhat. The worship reached France, doubtless with the Romans, and the figure of the *lingam* is still to be seen on the lintel which surrounds the Circus at Nismes, as well as on the front of some of their ancient churches, particularly on that of the Cathedral of Toulouse, and on some churches at Bourdeaux. Plutarch says that the Egyptian god Osiris was found everywhere with the priapus exposed."

"Linga-worship was conducted in Phoenicia (the Canaan of Scripture) in its worst aspect. According to Lucian ("De Syria Dea"), after the return of Bacchus, he placed the two colossal

phalli, each 300 fathoms high (?) in the vestibule of the great Syrian temple. In the great Bacchic pomp, celebrated by Ptolemy of Alexandria, we read ("Athenæus", lib. V.) of a Golden Phallus, 120 cubits high."

"There can be no doubt but that the god Baal, whose votaries the Hebrews frequently became, is identical with the *lingam*, and the god styled 'Chiun' in Amos V. is Śiṣa, whose name the races dwelling along the valley of the Indus pronounce Chivin and Swin. Yet there is nothing to show which race brought the Linga-worship to India and at what date. It seems, however, to have been introduced about the beginning of the Christian era, from the basin of the Lower Indus through Rajputana, and to have displaced the nature worship of the *Vedas*." (Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India", pp. 716, 717).

Internal Structure.—The aim of Basava seems to have been to abolish caste and polytheism, and although he succeeded in forming a community composed of all grades and castes, yet social distinctions asserted themselves soon after his death, and the Lingayit community is gradually drifting into a caste with its endogamous and hypergamous divisions. The Districts of Sholapur, Bijapur and Dharwad have formed the centre from which the movement is spreading into these Dominions. Owing, probably, to this tendency of the community to develop itself into castes and sub-castes based upon social distinctions, its internal structure is very complex. The Lingayits may be divided into four main groups. First, Jangams, who are the priests to the community. The second group comprises those who were the first converts to Lingayitism, and, in course of time, closed their ranks to new comers. These at present represent the Lingayits proper and form the bulk of the community. They are known as Linga Balijas in Telingana, and Lingawant Vanis in Maharashtra, while in the Carnatic they have assumed the name Vira Shaivas. The third is composed of later converts, who were chiefly recruited from occupational castes, such as Ganglas or Telis, Ausalas or Sonars, Kumbhars, Sales or Koshtis and many others. They have dissociated themselves from their parent castes and formed separate endogamous sub-castes of their own. The fourth includes members

of the lowest unclean classes, such as Mala Jangams and Madiga Jangams, who, though converted to the sect, are destined to remain as impure as before.

Jangams.—Maháshaiva, Virshaiva Brahman, Aprákrata Brahman, Ayyánoru, Gángalu, the priests of the Lingayit sect, who officiate at their religious rites. The word 'Jangam' means 'motion' in Sanskrit and is applied to these priests, who are regarded as being the living symbols of the god Siva. Under the recent development of the Vir Shaiva caste, they called themselves Vir Shaiva Brahmins, claiming, like Brahmins, social predominance over the rest of the community, and are dignified with the Brahmanical titles, Achárya, Swami, Murti, Pandit and Shástri. The Jangams have four divisions : (1) Mathpati, (2) Stháwara, (3) Ganáchari and (4) Madpati. The Mathpatis (heads of monasteries) are further sub-divided into (1) Pata, (2) Chara and (3) Madwaya.

The Pata Jangams include those who lead a celibate life, claiming to have renounced the world, or overcome its passions. Unlike the Chara Jangams, they live in *maths* or monasteries, and pass their days in meditation and prayers and in the regular worship of the *lingam*. The Chara are also celibate monks and are so called because they lead an erratic life, wandering from place to place, and subsisting on alms. Both these are highly venerated by the Lingayit community. The Madwaya Jangams are householders and officiate as priests to the lower Jangams. On abandoning life and its pleasures, and conforming to other requirements of an ascetic, they can become Pata or Chara Jangams. (2) The Stháwaras, as their name indicates, are stationary Jangams (householders) or those who cling to the world and its pleasures. They serve as priests to the laity.

The Ganáchari Jangams are householders like the Stháwaras, but, unlike them, wander from village to village acting as priests to the laity and collecting alms. They act as disciples to the Pata-dhyaksha (Patachar), and Chara Murti Jangams, and carry out the orders given by the latter. The Madapatis officiate at the funerals of the Lingayit community and lower Hindu castes.

Corresponding to the Sanyásis of the Brahmins, the Jangams have an order of religious mendicants, known as Virakta Murti

Jangams, who practise rigid asceticism, and command the highest veneration of the community.

The following sub-divisions of the Jangams have also been given :—

- (1) Virakta Murti.
- (2) Patatara Devaráchara Murti.
- (3) Atitáchára Murti.
- (4) Gurusthala Chara Murti.
- (5) Deshikáchara Murti.
- (6) Dhanalinga Chara Murti.

These may be different local names of the groups mentioned above.

The different orders of Jangams are distinguished from each other by their peculiar modes of mendicancy. The Virakta Murti Jangams collect alms in ochre-coloured head gear, wearing necklaces of *rudraksha* (*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*) about their necks and holding, in their left hands, a long stick (*danda*) to which is fastened the alms bag (*jholi*), from the upper end of which are suspended three large tassels, emblematic of Siva's killing 'Tripura' or three cities. Immediately above the right knee they wear a string of three large brass bells. They proclaim their mission by repeating the words 'Swayampákád Bhikshá' (alms from self-cooked food). To this begging dress, the Gurusthala Murti Jangams add a large bell, tied on their begging stick, and announce their presence with the words, 'Guru Dharma Koránna Bhikshá' (alms in the name of *guru* and Dharma). The Sansári Jangams beg only with an alms bag, a conch and a bell, and pronounce the words 'Guru Dharma Swayampákáda Bhikshá' or alms from self-cooked food in the name of *guru* and Dharma. The Jangams beg oil and salt only on Thursdays. They stand in hypergamous relation to the Lingayits proper, or the ordinary Baliyas or Vir Shaivas. In other words, they take the daughters of the Baliyas in marriage, but do not give their own daughters in return. On this occasion, the girl is required to undergo *Diksha*, or initiatory rites.

Some of the village Jangams are found too illiterate to understand the principles of their faith, and poorly discharge their functions

as priests. At such places, the services of local Brahmans are frequently 'in request, a fact which illustrates how the community is gradually reverting to Brahmanism.

Baliyas.—These are the Lingayits proper and are called Vir Shaivas (*vira*—warrior) probably because they were the warriors who exterminated, or carried on a prolonged contest with, the Jain and Shri Vaishanava faiths. They are also known as Baliyas, the origin of which is obscure. They have three hypergamous divisions : Silwant, Dikshawant and Raswat ; the Silwants take daughters in marriage from the two lower groups but do not give their own daughters in return ; so also with the Dikshawants. The Silwants are extremely bigoted in their views and punctilious in their religious observances. They scrupulously avoid drinking water exposed to the sun. The Raswats are privileged to become Dikshawants on undergoing *Diksha*, or the required initiation, and a further performance of initiatory rites enrolls them among the Silwant, the highest of the Balija community. It is even said that a Raswat, who stands at the lowest rung of their social ladder, can attain the coveted position of a Pata or Chara Jangam, by performing at each stage a *Diksha* (religious ceremony), and by observing the rigid ceremonial ordained for the stage.

Occupational Lingayit Groups.—These, as stated above, comprise endogamous divisions, recruited from the functional castes of Hindu society. They remain aloof from the parent castes, being guided, entirely, in their religious and ceremonial observances, by Jangams, who are their priests and take food in their houses. Some of these divisions merit a brief description.

Lingayit Gowlis.—These were originally recruited from among the Maratha Gowlis. Although they have embraced the Lingayit creed, they still cling to some of their original customs. They govern their marriages by family surnames, observe mourning for the dead and regard their women as being ceremonially unclean during the menstrual period or in child-birth. They call in Brahmans and Jangams at their marriage ceremony and worship Tulja Bhavani along with their sectarian deity Mahadeo. On the other hand, unlike their original caste brethren, they give Linkayit *diksha*

to their children, wear *lingams* on their persons, abstain from liquor and flesh and do not eat food cooked even by a Brahman. Jangams alone officiate at their funeral ceremonies.

Lingayit Kumbhars.—The Lingayit Kumbhars, although professing to be Lingayits, have not entirely shaken off their old beliefs. Like the Lingayit Gowlis, they employ both Brahmans and Jangams at their marriages, mourn their dead, and regard their women as being ceremonially impure in child-birth and during the menstrual period, usages not sanctioned by their adopted sect. They have such divisions as Dikshawant and Silwant, but intermarriages between them and the Lingayits proper are not allowed. They are very numerous in the Karnatic, but are also found, in small numbers, in the Marathawada and Telgu Districts.

Lingayit Telis.—The Lingayit Telis are converts to Lingayitism from the Teli caste. They are known as Gandlas in Telingana, Telis in Maharashtra, and Ganigar or Kari Ganigar in the Karnatic. They have hypergamous divisions, Silwant, Dikshawant and Raswat, modelled on the type prevalent among the Lingayits proper, with whom, however, they are allowed neither to eat nor to intermarry. Their intermarriages are regulated by the same rule of exogamy as practised by the Lingayits proper. Occasionally they show respect to Brahmans. They have been already described under the Gandla caste.

Lingayit Simpis.—The Lingayit Simpis (tailors) comprise two followers of Kinnuri Brahmayyá, the first goldsmith disciple of Basava. Their rites and ceremonies closely correspond with those of the Jangams. There are also Lingayit Páñcháls including the five artisan classes, as mentioned and described in the report on the Panchdáyí caste.

Lingayit Simpis.—The Lingayit Simpis (tailors) comprise two endogamous divisions : (1) Nágleek Simpi and (2) Siva Simpi. The Nágleek Simpis are mostly found in the Talukas of Shorapur, Shahapur, Pargi, Andol and Gulbarga, and claim descent from Godand Bhat, a Brahman, and his wife Domavá, who were among the disciples of Basava. It may be that the adoption of tailoring, as their occupation, has separated them from the main Lingayit

community. The Siva Simpīs are all Dikshawants. Most of them are cloth merchants, and have the title 'Chetti,' attached to their names. Both Nágleek and Siva Simpīs are staunch followers of the Vir Saiva sect, and are regulated, in their religious and ceremonial observances, by the laws laid down for Jangams.

Phuláris.—The Phuláris are Lingayits who are recruited from among the Gurava caste of Maharashtra and the Tamdi caste of Telingana. They are not such warm and bigoted Lingayits as other proselytes are and still cling to some of the customs and usages of their parent caste. They wear both the sacred thread and the *lingam*.

Lingayit Koshtis.—The Lingayit Koshtis (weavers) are called Hatkars, who, before their conversion, probably belonged to the Devanga caste; for both worship Chaudammá as their tutelary goddess. Their ceremonial is a mixture of Brahmanic and Lingayit usages and rites, in which the latter preponderate.

Lingayit Hajáms.—The Lingayit Hajáms are divided into two hypergamous groups, Silwant Hajáms and ordinary Hajáms. They appear to adhere strictly to their creed and conduct all their ceremonies under the guidance of a Jangam.

Lingayit Dhobis.—The Lingayit Dhobis claim to be descended from the followers of Madiwál Máchayya, the washerman disciple of Basava. They are already noticed under the Dhobi caste.

Kariḡuldáwrus.—An agricultural caste found in the Karnatic. Very little is known regarding their origin and the etymology of the name they bear. They conform closely to the beliefs and ritual of the Lingayit sect. They are very scrupulous in their observances and extremely bigoted.

Lád Kunkumwáles.—The Lád Kunkumwáles, also called Kunkumwále Láds, or only Láds, profess to be originally Raswats, from whom they were separated by reason of their having adopted the profession of selling *kunkum* (red aniline powder). They bear the title 'Sirásat' of which the real significance is not known. Although claiming to be Lingayits, they omit some of the essential rituals of the sect, engage Brahmans for marriages, and worship all the gods of the Hindu pantheon. They follow several occupations.

of which those of *tamboli* (betel-leaf vendor), *chetti* (cloth-dealer) *wani* (grocer) and *kunkumwāle* (vendor of *kunkum*) are, prominent. The last profession is said to have brought them into disgrace with their *gurus*. Jangams do not take food with them, as they do with members of other professions.

Kursalis.—The Kursali group is composed of the off-spring of prostitutes, kept by members of the Vir Saiva community. They follow the Jangam creed. They marry their daughters, both as adults and as infants, by meagre rites and pay a bride-price to the father of the girl varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The Kursalis as a caste still appear to be in an undeveloped stage, for they have no definite system of exogamy, and regulate their marriages simply by kinship. Their views regarding the observance of ceremonials are very lax.

Jyándrás.—The Jyándrás, Jádrás or Járads (Canarese, 'great man') are, like the Hatkars, recruited from the Devanga weavers. They have three endogamous divisions : Padsalgiri, Lingada Keri and Kurwāle, the last one being regarded the lowest of the three. The first two eat together, but do not intermarry. Custom ordains that the Kurwāles should use only white objects. They must weave only white cloth and use white bullocks for riding and agricultural operations. The dog is taboo to the members of the sub-caste, that is to say a Kurwāle should never keep a dog, nor injure nor kill it. They do not get their bullocks castrated, and it is on this account, it is said, that they are looked down upon by the other two sub-castes. For their wedding booths the Jyándrás use pillars of *pangra* wood (*Erythrina indica*) and make their wedding bracelets of white wool. It is this customary use of everything white that is probably carried to an excess by the Kurwāles. It is very difficult to trace the origin of this singular custom.

In their belief, and customs the Jyándrás are rigid Lingayits, and carefully observe the ceremonials and rites belonging to the sect. Their favourite object of worship is Vir Bhadra, whom they worship with great pomp once every year. They are engaged in weaving cotton and silk goods.

The castes, included in the fourth group, are the lowest unclean

classes already referred to. They are only nominally Lingayits, being attached to the Lingayit community by reason of performing its menial services.

Exogamy.—Mythologically, the Vishaivás claim to be descended from five Acháryás: Revaná-árádhya, Marulárádhya, Ekorámárádhya, Panditárádhya and Vishwárádhya, who sprang respectively from the five mouths of Siva, viz., Sadyojáta, Wámadeva, Aghor, Tatpurusha and Ishánya. These Acháryás had their respective gotras, or eponymous sections, viz., Vrishabha, Nandi, Bhrangi, Virbhadrá and Skanda, each of which was further split up into twelve *bhagis* or sub-septs. The *bhagi* traces its origin to a single ancestor, who is regarded as its progenitor.

This well-defined system of sections, so ingenuously framed, was evidently adopted when the community was organised into the sect, and forms the basis upon which the connubial arrangements of the enlightened and aristocratic members of the community rest. But the masses, who are too ignorant to understand its significance, regulate their marriages mostly by territorial sections, which are either the relics of the past, or were adopted in more recent times, owing to the circumstance of their having occupied a particular locality for long.

A man cannot marry a girl of his own *gotra* even though she belongs to a different *bhagi*. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married to the same man. The laity must marry within their own sub-caste, but Jangams can marry in all castes, even the Idiga, Mangala and Kummara castes, provided the latter are Lingayits, and have the privilege of admitting their priests to the communion of food. Polygamy is permitted to any extent, theoretically. The Lingayits marry their daughters as infants, between the ages of 3 and 12, and social stigma attaches to the parents of a girl who attains puberty before marriage. It is said that, generally, girls are first offered to Jangams, and it is only when they are not accepted, not being accompanied by a sufficiently liberal dowry, that they are married to the members of the sub-caste.

Marriage.—Marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties, the first step towards initiating proposals for marriage being

taken by the parents or guardians of the bridegroom. After the marriage is agreed upon, *Nischayārtha* ceremony is performed, at which the bride receives presents of clothes and jewels from the bridegroom's party and the wedding day is fixed, after due consideration of the astrological data presented by the horoscopes of both the bride and bridegroom. A marriage *pandal*, consisting of twelve or sixteen pillars is erected, the milk (wedding) post being of *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), to which are fastened leaves of mango (*Mangifera indica*), *palas* (*Butea frondosa*), and banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*). Raw cotton thread is bound around it and a lamp is kept burning upon it. The marriage ceremony extends over five days and comprises the following rites :—

On the first day, they invoke the family and tutelary deities, among which Virbhadrā occupies a prominent position. The worship of Virbhadrā deserves mention. Early in the morning, after the bride and the bridegroom have been smeared with turmeric paste and oil and bathed with warm water, a Mathapati Jangam (the head of a Jangam monastery) is called in to perform the worship of Virbhadrā. The Jangam breaks an earthen pot horizontally into two equal portions, and forms a sort of pan of these two pieces by placing the lower portion of the pot into the inverted upper portion. In this pan he makes a fire and throws over it some *gugula* (the fragrant gum-resin of *Balsamodendron Mukul*) until it bursts into fumes. His waist is girt round with a *sari* and a string of bells, and his breast adorned with images of Virbhadrā. Holding the fire pan in the left hand and a sword in the right, he goes, in grand procession, to the temple of Virbhadrā, dancing and flourishing the sword all the way and singing praises in honour of the deity. On arrival at the temple, he places the sword before the god, and worships him with offerings of flowers and cocoanuts. After the bridal pair, who accompany the procession, have made obeisance before the deity, camphor is burnt and cocoanut kernel is distributed to the assembly. The party then return. At the auspicious moment appointed for the wedding, the bridal pair are seated side by side, before *panch-kaṭasha*, or five brass pots full of water, with their mouths covered with cocoanuts and their necks encompassed by

raw cotton thread. The pots represent the primeval Panch Acháryās, and are placed upon a figure of an ass traced on the ground in flour mixed with *kunkuma* (red powder) and turmeric (yellow powder). With the help of the officiating Jangam priest, the bridal pair are made to worship the *panch-kalasha*. The cotton thread is then removed from the vessels and made into two bracelets, one of which is tied on the wrist of the bridegroom and the other on that of the bride, this ceremony being known as *Kankānbandhanam*. The *mangalsutra* (auspicious string of glass beads) placed in a cocoanut shell is passed round to be touched and blessed by the assembly, whereupon the bridegroom ties it round the bride's neck. This is done in secret, no one except a Lingayit being allowed to witness the ceremony. Both *Kankānbandhanam* and *Talibandhanam* form the essential portion of the marriage ceremony. The rituals that follow, viz., *Akikāl*, *Kanyadan*, *Brahmamodi*, *Bhuma*, *Mirongi*, *Manitamba*, *Nagol Chagol*, *Panpu* and the like, are of the usual orthodox type current among the higher Hindu castes of the Carnatic and Telingana. The marriage ceremony of the Maratha Lingayits does not appear to differ materially from that in vogue among the higher Brahmanic castes, except that Jangams where obtainable, are engaged as priests along with Brahmans, and that the *Panch-kalasha Puja* is performed just prior to the standard Brahmanic rites of *Antarpat* and *Kanyadan*.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—A widow may marry again by inferior ceremonies. She is not, however, required to marry her late husband's younger brother. The widow returns to the home of her parents, who take the initiative towards finding a suitable husband for her. If a widow becomes pregnant, she is called upon to declare the name of her lover and he is compelled to marry her. Usually, the parents of a widow receive a price for her from the bridegroom. A woman who is widowed seven times is regarded with extreme veneration by her sex and becomes the object of universal adoration among her community.

A faithless wife is turned out of the house without any ceremony. If a man ill-treats his wife, their marriage is dissolved, with the sanction of the caste *Panchayat*, and either party is at liberty to

marry again. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows.

A good deal of sexual laxity prevails in the community, and men taking a fancy to other's wives run away with them and marry them after having divorced their own wives. A man having no issue marries a pregnant widow and, after she is delivered, claims the child as his own.

Inheritance.—In matters of succession the Lingayits have no rules of their own, but follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Religion.—The Virshaiva creed is comprised in three words 'Guru, Linga, Jangam.' This mystic phrase is thus expounded. Guru is one who breathes the five-syllabled sacred *mantra* (formula), Namáh Siváya (bow to Siva) into the ear; Lingam is Siva, and Jangam is the wearer of the emblem, or the living symbol of the deity.

The *guru* is an essential factor of the Lingayit faith, for no one is entitled to be a Virshaiva, unless he is invested with the sacred Siva Mantra by a *guru*, who is a Jangam of the highest order, representing one of the five primeval great Acharyás. In the estimation of his disciples, this spiritual adviser becomes a god, and is given the highest reverence accorded to any mortal.

The *lingam* is a smooth, white stone, shaped like a spoon, which every Virshaiva is enjoined to wear on his body and if, by accident, he loses it he is required to undergo expiatory rites and be reinvested with it. This *lingam* is called *Jangam Lingam* (locomotive) as distinguished from *Sthávar Lingam* (stationary) of the Shaivas, which is a round conical stone rising perpendicularly out of an oval-shaped rim cut in a stone platform. The oval rim represents the *yoni*, the symbol of the female energy, as *lingam* is that of the male. The Virshaivas direct their worship only to the male form, while the objects of reverence of the Saivas are both the male (*lingam*) and the female (*yoni*) forms. Jangams, as living symbols of Siva, are entitled to their highest respect. These three form the basis upon which the whole structure of the Lingayit faith is reared. Every Ligayit is required to undergo *diksha*, initiatory rites, which consist of *Ashtavidhárchana*, or eight-fold sacraments, viz.,

(1) *Vibhuti*.

(2) *Rudraksha*.

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| (3) <i>Panchakṣhara.</i> | (6) <i>Jangam.</i> |
| (Pranava) <i>Mantra.</i> | (7) <i>Padodaḡa.</i> |
| (4) <i>Guru.</i> | (8) <i>Prasad.</i> |
| (5) <i>Lingam.</i> | |

Virbhadrā and Basava (the bull of Siva) are the patron gods of the community, worshipped every Monday with various offerings. Females honour Kedari Gauramma in the month of Kartika. Allam Prabhu, and other saints are also duly revered. The Virakta Jangams pass their days in reading their sacred book, *Basava Purana*, and in telling beads, continually repeating the sacred *mantra*.

Every Lingayit is enjoined to smear his forehead with *vibhuti* (ashes), and not to touch food without offering *pūja* to his *lingam*. Pochamma, Mariamma, Mutyalamma and other minor deities have the same hold upon the members of this caste as upon those of other Brahmanic castes, and are appeased in various ways. The sectarian rigidity of the Lingayits is now breaking down, and there are instances showing that some of the Virshaivās have taken to the worship of Vishnu and other gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Child-Birth.—When a child is born, a Mathādipati Jangam is sent for. A spot of ground is purified by the sprinkling of cow's urine over it, and smeared afterwards with cowdung. It is then decked with designs traced in five colours, and over it five metal vessels are arranged in a quincunx, the middle one being placed on a heap of wheat or *jawari*. The vessels are filled with water and covered with mango leaves. A fine-spun cotton thread is wound round them. The *guru* is seated, facing the east, on a white blanket spread before the vessels. The mother and child are purified by the sprinkling of water, in which the Jangam's feet have been washed. After the *guru* has been duly worshipped by the father, the child is brought out, and the *guru* Jangam binds the *lingam* on its person, besmears it with *vibhuti* (ashes), puts a garland of *rudrakṣha* (*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*) round its neck, breathes into its ear the mystic *mantra* of 'Om! Namah Shivaya', and presents the child to the god Siva, in the person of a Jangam priest who is his representative.

Lastly *tirtha* (water in which the *guru's* feet have been washed), and *prasád* (the leavings of the *guru*) are given to the child ; these effect its conversion to the Lingayit sect.

Lingayit women in child-birth or during the menstrual, are not regarded as impure, but on taking the *tirtha* of their *guru* are allowed to take part in household affairs.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture, with the face pointing to the north. . When a person is on the point of death, the relatives call in a Jangam who smears the dying man's body with *vibhuti*, ties strings of *rudraksha* round his neck and wrist and gives him *pádodaḡa* (*tirtha*) to drink and *prasád* to eat. After this, Jangams are fed in his name. If, after the performance of these rites, the man recovers, it is enjoined that he must be banished from his house and compelled to lead a wandering life. But, in practice, these injunctions are rarely followed. When life becomes extinct, the body is washed and made to assume a sitting attitude, with the legs crossed, and the officiating Jangam places his left foot on the right thigh of the corpse. Food is prepared and all the Jangams are feasted. The members of the household partake of the meal after it has been offered to the dead person. The body is borne on the shoulders of relatives and friends to the burial ground in a vimán, or bamboo car, adorned with plantain stems and flags. The procession is attended with music and tom-toms and is led by a man of the Salwádi or Lingayit Málá caste, who blows a conch and rings a large bell all the way. The grave is dug with three steps on one side and with a niche cut in the other side, large enough to receive the corpse. The corpse is lowered and seated in the niche facing the north. The *lingam*, which he wore, together with *bel* (*Ægle Marmelos*) leaves and *vibhuti* (sacred ashes), is placed in the left hand and covered by the right. Three *bél* leaves are impressed with the mystic *mantra* ; one of them is placed on the head of the corpse, the other on its shoulder and the third under its feet. Salt is placed on the head and the grave is filled in. On the third day after death four *nandis* made of clay are placed on the four corners of the grave, and a *lingam* in the middle of it. Food is offered at the grave and then eaten by the members of the family. No *Sradha*

is performed in the name of the deceased. The anniversary day is celebrated by 'feasting Jangams.

Social Status.—Among themselves, the Lingayits have formed so many different groups that it is not easy to define their social status. As a rule, it is observed that when a portion of a caste is converted to Lingayitism it occupies a social rank higher than the original caste. As for instance, the Hatkars occupy a higher social rank than the Dewangas from whom they are recruited, and the rule extends to all the castes. This is doubtless due to the fact that the proselytes are compelled to abstain from flesh and liquor, which raises them in social estimation. The Virshaivas, or Linga Balijs as they are called in Telingana, rank higher than the Kapus and other castes of the same social standing.

Occupation.—The Lingayits, or Linga Balijs, or Lingawant Vanis, are engaged in some form of trade or another, for instance, they are shopkeepers, cloth-merchants, grain-dealers and bankers and a few of them have acquired great riches and are regarded as the wealthiest portion of the community. Some have lately entered Government service and are also members of learned professions. But the majority of the Virsaivas are agriculturists, being especially skilful in rearing the delicate betel-vine and other garden produce. They are both occupancy and non-occupancy *raijats* and landless day labourers. In some places they are headmen of villages and substantial tenure holders. A small proportion of them are also cart drivers, cattle breeders and confectioners. In short, they pursue every occupation that is not likely to lower them in social estimation.

Unlike the Brahmanic castes, the Lingayits have no tuft of hair on their crowns, but either get their heads clean shaven or keep them all covered with hair. Their word of salutation to each other is 'Sharanát Appá' and their correspondence usually begins with 'Shri Guruhasta Janita Ashtáwarna Pancháchárya.'

LVIII

LODHE

Lodhe, Lodhi—an agricultural caste supposed to have come from the United Provinces, Central India and Bundelkhand. According to Sir George Campbell, "they are cognate to the Kurma and to have, at one time, occupied a very considerable position in the Jabbalpur and Saugar Districts. The Lodhes are scarcely inferior to the Kurmi as agriculturists, are hardy and active, but are the opposite of the Kurmi in natural temperament, being turbulent, revengeful and ever ready to join in any disturbance. They make good soldiers and are generally excellent sportsmen. The Lodhe agriculturists of Upper India attained to some distinction as marauders in the Narbada country and some of their chiefs still retain all the popular respect due to families which have forgotten to live on their own industry" (Campbell P. 193). The Lodhes regard themselves as Rajputs, but can give no account of their origin, nor are there any traditions current among them which will throw light upon the subject.

Internal Structure.—The Lodhes are divided into the following sub-castes : Jariya, Patariya, Singor, Nathniya, Loniya, Nava Khandewale, Handeya, Noniye and Malgeshiya, who do not intermarry. The origin of these names is obscure. The Jariyas claim to be of the highest dignity, deriving their name, as they say, from *jar* meaning 'gold'. The Pataria take their name from *patari*, or leaf plates, and the Loniya from *lona*, or salt. Information is not available regarding the significance of these names. It may be that these are occupational groups, dealing in articles denoted by their names, and have consequently become separated into distinct sub-castes. The Nathnias are so called because their women alone among the Lodhes wear nose-rings.

All the Lodhes belong only to one *gotra*, Kásyap, which is of course inoperative for matrimonial purposes, since marriages between

members of the same *gotra* are not forbidden. They profess to prohibit marriages between persons descended from the same ancestors within seven degrees on the male and three degrees on the female side, but the caste is illiterate and there is no machinery among them for guarding against consanguineous marriages.

Marriage.—The Lodhes practise either infant or adult marriage, the tendency being, for those who can afford it, to marry their daughters as infants. Polygamy is permitted; a man is allowed to have as many wives as he can afford to maintain.

The marriage ceremony of the Lodhes is of the type common among the Khatri and other castes of Upper India. When a marriage is under consideration, the headman and *Panchayat* are consulted regarding prohibited degrees. Mutual visits of inspection follow, at which presents of new clothes and jewels are made to the girl, and of new clothes and five rupees in cash to the boy. After this, a Kanojia Brahman is called in to fix an auspicious date for the wedding. The binding portion of the ceremony is *Kanyadan*, or the giving away of the bride by her father or guardian and the acceptance of her by the bridegroom. When this is done, the bridal pair, with their scarves knotted together, walk seven times round the mango post planted in the centre of the wedding booth. This is followed by *Sindurdan*, when the bridegroom smears vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—Widows are allowed to marry again and are usually expected to marry their deceased husband's younger brother. The ceremony is simple. On a dark night, the bridegroom, accompanied by a widow, goes to the bride's house, presents her with a new *sari*, and puts *mangalsutra*, or a string of black beads, round her neck. The bridal pair then return to the bridegroom's house, where a feast is given to the members of the caste. Divorce is recognised and divorced wives may marry again by the same rite as widows.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance and succession the Lodhes follow the Hindu law in force among the Hindus of Upper India; the sons of one wife, however, take a share equal to that of the sons, however many, of another.

Child-Birth.—A woman in child-birth is unclean for ten days. On the fifth day after birth, a spot is plastered with cowdung and a pair of copper anklets, a piece of black cloth and a baby's dress are placed on it and worshipped with offerings of flowers, boiled rice and curds. A feast is given to the relatives, after which the articles are put on the newly born child. At night, the doors and windows of the house are kept wide open and vigil is kept till daybreak. On the tenth day, a hole is dug in the courtyard of the house and on its edge are placed four pieces of firewood and an earthen pot of water. After the mother has worshipped the pot she is considered free from all impurity.

Religion.—Most of the Lodhes are Vaishnavas and worship Balaji and Krishna. The festival of *Gokulashtami* is celebrated with some pomp. Their religious observances present no features of special interest. Kanojia Brahmans are usually engaged for religious and ceremonial purposes, but no objection is taken to the employment of Maratha Brahmans on these occasions. The members of the caste also pay reverence to Devi, under her forms Kalika and Tuljapuri of Tuljapur. Among their minor deities are Mari Ai and Sitala, who are worshipped with a variety of offerings.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burned, but occasionally buried if the means of the family of the deceased are too limited to bear the cremation expenses. In the latter case, the corpse is laid in the grave face upwards, with the head pointing to the south. Mourning is observed ten days for adults and three days for children. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death and on the thirteenth a feast is given to the members of the caste in the name of the deceased. Libations of water are offered to the spirits of ancestors in general in the month of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status.—The Lodhes will accept cooked food only from the hands of Kanojia Brahmans and Khatris. They will, however, take water from the Bhois and castes equal to or higher than these in social standing. The members of the caste eat fish, mutton and venison, but refrain from fowl. All of them make free use of fermented and spirituous liquors. It is said that the Marathas, and castes inferior to them, will eat food cooked by a Lodhe.

Occupation.—The caste, as a whole, may be described as agricultural, though many of them make their living as carters, labourers, charcoal and cowdung-cake sellers, petty traders and money lenders. Some have enlisted in the native army and a few have entered Government service.

LIX

LONARI

Lonari, Lonmali, Lonkar—lime and charcoal burners, who are mostly to be found in the Districts of Parbhani, Bhir and Aurangabad of the Aurangabad Subah.

History.—Except for the vague account that they were created by Mahadeva for the purpose of manufacturing salt, they have no traditions respecting their origin. The earliest mention of their name occurs in the *Mahabharata*, where Vidura advises Dhritarashtra to act like a Málákar (*mali* or gardener), who grows trees and eats fruit, instead of like a Lonari, who burns trees and prepares charcoal. Some authorities say that they are the offspring of a Kaivartaka father and a Jadhika mother. The members of the caste hold themselves to be a branch of the Maratha Kunbis, separated from the main group by reason of their having adopted the profession of lime burning. They further add that they occupy a degraded position, because they are associated with the donkey which carries broken lime-stone to the kiln for burning. It is said that the *shevri* tree (*Sesbania ægyptiaca*) is held in the greatest reverence by all members of the caste.

Internal Structure.—The Lonaris are divided into two sub-castes : (1) Lonaris and (2) Kadu Lonaris, or the illegitimate descendants of Lonaris. These two classes interdine but do not intermarry.

The following are some of the exogamous sections, which would appear to be the same as those of the Maratha Kunbis.

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| (1) Dagde | (8) Satpute |
| (2) Dhokkat | (9) Tambe |
| (3) Balanker | (10) Landage |
| (4) Khandekar | (11) Jhadge |
| (5) Sinde | (12) Gargunda |
| (6) Dhone | (13) Murge |
| (7) Gavane | (14) Kavale |

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|---------------|---------------|
| (15) Muthekar | (18) Wangdare |
| (16) Khade | (19) Adane |
| (17) Karande | (20) Ingale. |

As a rule, marriage within the section is forbidden. A man is not allowed to marry the daughter either of his maternal or paternal aunt. He may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. The marriage of two sisters to the same man is permitted. Two brothers may marry two sisters.

Marriage.—Girls are married both before and after they have attained the age of puberty. Sexual intercourse before marriage is punished by a nominal fine. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, her paramour is compelled by the caste council to marry her. Her children are, however, ranked among the Kadu Lonaris. Sexual indiscretion with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste. Polygamy is permitted without limit, and poverty is the only restriction to the number of wives a man may have.

The boy's father goes to select a suitable bride for his son. When the girl is approved of, and both parties are satisfied as to their respective selections, the caste people meet and celebrate the occasion with a drink at the expense of the boy's father. This ceremony is known as *Khushali*. The horoscopes of the betrothed pair are compared by a Brahman astrologer and an auspicious date is fixed for the performance of the actual marriage, which is solemnized under a booth erected at the girl's house. The *deva devaka*, or marriage guardian deity, consists of *panchpallavi*, i.e., leaves of the mango (*Mangifera indica*), jambul (*Eugenia Jambolana*), umbar (*Ficus glomerata*), shami (*Prosopis spicigera*) and rui (*Calotropis gigantea*). The marriage ceremony corresponds precisely with that current among other Maratha castes. The bridegroom is taken in procession on a bullock to the bride's house. The bride and the bridegroom are made to stand face to face on bamboo baskets, a curtain is held between them and the officiating Brahman recites *mantras* and throws turmeric-coloured *jawari* grains on their heads. The curtain being withdrawn, the bridal pair exchange garlands of flowers and are encircled with cotton thread which, formed into thread bracelets, is tied on their wrists. This last rite, which is

styled *Kankābandhan*, is regarded by some to be the valid portion of the ceremony. In the opinion of others, *Saptapadi*, or the seven rounds which the bridal pair take round the sacred fire (*homa*), makes the marriage irrevocable.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, and her choice of a second husband is unrestricted, provided she avoids the sections of her father and her first husband, and observes the prohibited degrees. The ritual is very simple. Late on a dark night, the bridegroom, accompanied by a few of his friends, goes to the bride's house, where the principal members of the caste *Panchayat* have already assembled. He takes his seat upon a low wooden stool placed inside a square marked out with grains of wheat. The bride is brought in by widows and seated by his side. After *pūja* has been done by the priest (Brahman) to Ganpati and Varuna, represented by a betelnut and a water pot, respectively, the clothes of the couple are knotted together and their heads are brought into contact. They make obeisance before the family gods, the priest and elderly relations, after which the knot is untied. Very early next morning, the pair go to Maruti's temple, where the widow is concealed till evening, in order that her unlucky face may not be seen by virgin wives. The proceedings end with a feast provided by the bridegroom.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's adultery or bad temper, or the husband's impotency or ill treatment. A divorce bond is drawn up, and attested by the caste *panchas*, and their sanction to the act being thus obtained, the woman is driven out of the house. The husband recovers all the ornaments he gave her while she was his wife. Divorced women may marry again by the same ceremony as widows.

Inheritance.—The Lonaris follow the Hindu law of inheritance. It is said, however, that an extra share is granted to the youngest son.

Religion.—In point of religion, the Lonaris are orthodox Hindus, worshipping the regular gods and belonging to the Warkari, Saiva or Vaishanava sects, according as to whether they observe the cult of Vithoba, Mahadeva, or Vishnu. Khandoba, whose principal

shrine is at Jejuri in the Poona District, is their favourite deity, to whom offerings of flowers, yellow powder (*bhandara*) and sweets are made every Saturday and Monday. The god is worshipped with great pomp annually on the *Sat* holiday, which falls on the 6th of the light half of Margashirsha, when goats are sacrificed to him and Waghesh, his special devotees, are feasted in his name. Mari Ai, the goddess presiding over cholera, and Sitala Mata, the goddess of smallpox, are propitiated with a variety of animal offerings, when these epidemics break out in the family. The worship of animistic objects, such as the cobra on *Nagpanchami*, or the 5th of Sravana (September), *tulsi* plant or sacred basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), the *wadh* or banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) and the *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) is relegated to women. The members of the caste observe all the Hindu festivals and make pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Alandi, Jejuri, Tuljapur, and even to Benares if means permit. Deshastha Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Disposal of, the Dead.—The dead bodies are disposed of either by cremation or burial. Persons dying of cholera and smallpox, women in child-birth and children under three years of age are buried. When burial is resorted to, the corpse is laid in the grave in a lying posture, with the head pointing south. In the case of cremation, the dead body is placed, face upwards, on a pyre made of dung cakes or faggots, which is ignited by the chief mourner. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a sacred stream. On the 10th day, *Sradha* is performed and balls of rice are offered to the departed spirit. On the thirteenth day, a feast is given to the caste people. Libations of water are poured in the names of the manes of departed ancestors on the 3rd of Vaishakha and on the last day of Bhadrapad. Mourning is observed 10 days for the near agnates. The son of the deceased or, if there is none, the chief mourner, shaves his moustache.

Social Status.—Notwithstanding that they boast of their descent from the Maratha Kunbis, the social standing of the Lonaris is just below that of the latter, who will neither eat nor drink with them. Their degraded position is due, as has been already mentioned, to the fact that they use donkeys for carrying their burdens.

They drink country liquor and eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, fowl and hare, but abstain from beef and pork. They do not eat the leavings of any caste.

The Lonaris have a caste council, presided over by a headman called *chaudhari*. All questions bearing on the social usages of the caste are laid before them for decision, and disregard of their orders may, in extreme cases, be punished by excommunication. Ordinarily, however, a fine is inflicted, which is spent in giving a feast to the members of the caste. The members of the caste do not wear the sacred thread.

Occupation.—The traditional occupation of the caste appears to have been that of lime and charcoal burning, and cement making, to which they still adhere. A nodular lime-stone, called *kankar*, is extensively found in the black soil of the Parbhani, Bhir and Aurangabad Districts. The stone is broken into small fragments; alternate layers of wood and these fragments are laid in a circular brick kiln, with a hole at the bottom for the introduction of fire, and the kiln is left burning for nearly a week, at the end of which period the lime is removed. The fuel generally consists of wood and charcoal, and is used in the proportion of 40 maunds to every 75 maunds of lime-stone, and the yield is about 50 maunds of well-burnt lime. The mode of preparing charcoal is to set on fire a heap of wood, and, after allowing it to burn for some time, to quench it either by water or by heaping earth upon it. The woods of the *babul* (*Acacia arabica*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), *khair* (*Acacia catechu*) and other hard-wooded trees, yield excellent charcoals for domestic purposes, while those of bamboos and the stems of palmyra leaves, are said to furnish the best charcoals for ironsmiths. The lime and charcoal thus made is sold in the bazar. A few of the Lonaris have taken to cultivation, holding lands as occupancy or non-occupancy *raizats* and working as agricultural labourers.

LX

• MADIGA

(Male Titles : Appa, Ayya. Female Title : Amma.)

Madiga, Madigowd, Madigaru, Madru, Dher, Chandal, Antyaja, Ettiwandlu, Peddintiwandlu, Panchamollu, Matangi Makallu, Gosangi, Kamathi, Bendar, Chambhar—a very numerous caste of leather-workers and rope-makers, many of whom are engaged as village watchmen and musicians. They are to be found scattered all over the Telugu and the Karnatic portions of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, and correspond, in every detail, to the Mang caste of the Maratha Districts. Some of the synonyms, which stand at the head of this article have reference to the occupations the members of the caste have pursued. The name 'Ettiwandlu', for example, signifies those who do the *etti* or *begari* (forced) work. 'Chambhar' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Charmakār,' which means 'a worker in leather', and the word 'Kamathi' indicates that they are menials. Some, such as, 'Chandal,' 'Antyaja' (lowest born), 'Gosangi' (*gao*, cow, and *hansaṇa*, killer), and 'Dher' are opprobrious titles applied to them by others to indicate their lowest status in Hindu society. To dignify themselves, the members of the caste have assumed such epithets as Matangi Makkalu, the children of Matangi, the daughter of their mythical ancestor Jambavan; Panchamollu, or members of the fifth caste, as distinguished from the four shastric divisions of mankind (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra); and Peddintiwandlu, or dwellers in big houses. Madigas, who are enrolled in the Indian army, call themselves Bendars, with the object of concealing their true caste.

Origin.—The etymology of the name 'Madiga' is uncertain, although attempts are made to derive it from the word 'Matanga', the name of an aboriginal tribe, mentioned by ancient authorities as descended from the illicit connection of a Plava father and Antivasiya

mother. The legends of the Madigas, probably of recent invention, give no clue to their origin or early history. According to one, the Madigas trace their parentage to Jambavant, who was believed to be the primeval creation of Narayen, the supreme god, and to have existed when the whole world was water and there was neither the earth, nor the sun, nor other luminaries. Jambavant once perspired, and from the perspiration came forth 'Adi Shakti' (primeval energy), who laid three eggs, from which sprang Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesha. Brahma created ten sages who became the progenitors of mankind. The names of these Maha Munis are :—(1) Chapalā, (2) Tamila, (3) Brahma, (4) Neela, (5) Pala, (6) Bhadrachi, (7) Raktachi, (8) Gola, (9) Jamadagni and (10) Parshuram, and from the first sprang the Madigas, while the Brahmans are the descendants of the last. Another story relates that Jambavant (Zalazam) had seven sons; Brahma, with a view to create the world and people it, killed Heppu Muni, one of the sons, and from the mixture of his blood with water evolved the solid earth. Brahma then killed another son named Jala Muni and his life stream changed into a stream of water. The mountains were created from Ghata Muni's blood, blood from Rakat Muni, milk from Pala Muni, and an indigo colour from Neela Muni, until at last from the blood of Gava Muni came the Madigas, the first representatives of mankind. A third account states, that, once upon a time, when Parvati and Parameshwar were on a ramble, Parvati becoming unclean, was obliged to leave her menstrual clothes under a tree and from these garments sprang Chinnaya, whom the heavenly pair engaged to tend their divine cow, Kamadhenu. Chinnaya once tasted the cow's milk and found it so delicious that he was tempted to kill the cow itself and eat its flesh. He immediately carried his impious design into effect, but the carcass of the cow was so heavy that none, not even the gods, could move it. Siva thought of Jambavant who was practising penance, and called out to him, 'Mahadigarū' (lit—a great one come down). Jambavant, who thus obtained the name Mahadiga or Madiga, appeared at Siva's call, lifted the dead body, and cut it into pieces. Siva ordered Chinnaya to dress the beef, and invited all the gods to a feast. But Chinnaya, unfortunately, while trying to blow down an

effervescence, spat into the cooking pot and the gods, observing this, left the dining hall. Siva, in anger, cursed both Chinnaya and Jambavant for their negligence and degraded them to the lowest caste. Chinnaya's descendants are called Malas, while Jambavant became the ancestor of the Madigas, and as Jambavant ate the leavings of Chinnaya and drank water after him, the Madigas are ranked below the Malas in point of social standing

Internal Structure.—The Madigas have two main divisions Canara Madigas, and Telugu Madigas, who neither intermarry nor eat together. Each of these is broken up into numerous sub-tribes which vary greatly in different districts. Some of these are shown below :—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Madiga | (13) Jogi |
| (2) Dappu Madiga. | (14) Kajawad |
| (3) Periki Madiga | (15) Velpulawad |
| (4) Dasri Madiga | (16) Komuwad |
| (5) Jangam Madiga | (17) Koya Madiga |
| (6) Mashti Madiga | (18) Bedar Madiga |
| (7) Sindollu or
Bogam Madiga | (19) Sangar |
| (8) Bindlawad | (20) Unja |
| (9) Dakkalawad | (21) Vishturi |
| (10) Penda Madiga | (22) Anpa |
| (11) Lambada Madiga | (23) Ashadoru or Sandewad. |
| (12) Karikuldawru | (24) Bengali Madiga |
| | (25) Kullu Kundalawad. |

This list is in no way exhaustive. The Madiga community is a large one and distributed over a very extensive area, and to this fact are probably due the numerous groups into which it is divided. The origin of these sub-castes is obscure and very difficult of determination owing to the extreme repulsion with which the caste is regarded by all Hindus. Some of the names, such as Lambada, Koya, Bedar have reference to the castes from which the sub-castes have been recruited, while others are based upon the professions the sub-castes have followed.

The Madiga sub-caste, found everywhere in the Karnatic and Telingana, represents, probably, the original nucleus of the caste.

They earn their livelihood by making sandals, leather ropes and buckets and other leather articles.

The Mashti Madiga, *jaladohi*, are story tellers and beggars, occasionally exhibiting acrobatic feats before the public.

The Sindollu, Chindiwandlu, or Bogam Madiga, are the courtezans of the Madiga caste; they attend all Madiga ceremonies and entertain the public by singing and dancing. They maintain themselves also by prostitution. Their name Sindi, or Sindollu, is said to be derived from 'Sairandhri,' the Sanskrit word for 'prostitute.'

The Ashadoru, or Sandewad, are vagrant beggars who obtain alms by performing plays based upon stories from the *Bhagwat*.

The Bengali Madigas are a wandering class of jugglers and conjurers and appear to have no connection with the Madigas, but derive their name from Bengal, whence they probably came. They are doubtless enrolled among the Madigas because they occupy the lowest position in Hindu society.

The Bindalas, or Bindlawad, discharge the functions of priests to the Madiga caste and perform their religious rites to the music of the *jamadke*, a musical instrument characteristic of their profession. Occasionally, they profess to be possessed and to foretell events and exorcise ghosts.

The Penda Madigas are sweepers by profession.

The Dappu Madigas seem to be identical with the Lambada Madigas, and are attached to each Lambada *tanda* (camp). They act as musicians to the Banjara tribes, playing at their religious ceremonies, on the *daphada*, a sort of drum.

The Karikuldawaru make articles from horns.

The Jogis, or Joginis, are boys and girls devoted to the service of particular deities in fulfilment of vows made in sickness or affliction. The girls, after their dedication, take openly to prostitution and incur no social disgrace on that account.

The Periki Madigas assert that they are so called because their ancestors ran away from the marriage of Vashistha and Arundhati to escape the rain of fire that fell on the occasion.

The Kullu Kundalawad are so called because they are engaged as carriers of earthen pots filled with *shendi* (the juice of the wild

date palm) to the market. This occupation has degraded them and no pure Madiga will eat or marry with them.

The Dasri Madigas are *gurus*, or spiritual advisers to those Madigas who profess to belong to the Vaishnava sect. They occupy the highest social level among the caste and stand in hyper-gamous relation to their disciples. They abstain from beef.

The Jangam Madigas trace their lineage from Nulka Chandaya, who was the first Madiga proselyte to the Lingayit creed. Nulka Chandaya was a devout worshipper of the god Siva, and fed Jangams daily with the money he earned by selling ropes and sandals and Siva, as an act of grace, made him a Jangam. The Jangam Madigas claim for themselves the highest social position, and minister to the spiritual needs of the Shaiva Madigas or Madiga Vibhutidharis. Like the Dasris, they abstain from beef, and do not interdine with other members of the caste. It is said that they accept girls in marriage from other sub-castes, but do not give their own daughters in return.

The Dakkalawads are wandering beggars, who appear to be a degraded branch of the Madigas and beg only from them. They are also the genealogists or custodians of the *gotras* of their parent caste. Regarding their origin, it is said that Heppu Muni, the eldest son of Jambavant, after being killed by Brahma for the creation of worlds, was restored to life by his father, but was degraded and condemned to subsist by begging from, and reciting the mythical history of, the Madiga and Manga castes. They extract alms as an hereditary right, and should any Madiga decline to give them their due, they mount his effigy on a bamboo pole and set it up in front of his house. Standing in the neighbourhood, they hurl at him horrible imprecations and curses; he remains under the ban of his caste and no one dares to maintain any communication with him until he thoroughly satisfies the demands of the refractory beggars. The Dakkalawads say that they have only one *gotra* 'Gangadhar.' They bear an evil reputation as criminals and are vigilantly watched by the police. They are regarded as outcastes by the Madigas and are not allowed to enter their quarters, but they pitch their huts of bamboo mats at a distance from the Madiga houses.

The Gond Madigas, Koya Madigas, Lambada Madigas and Bedar Madigas may either represent the lowest strata of their respective tribes, or they may be originally Madigas who were converted to, and were gradually absorbed into, their adopted tribes. The members of these sub-castes do not intermarry, although inter-dining in certain cases is allowable.

The exogamous sections of the caste are mostly of the territorial type, but some of them are totemistic, although the totems are not generally held as taboo by the members of the sections bearing their names.

A few of the sections are as follows :—

<i>Territorial.</i>	<i>Totemistic.</i>
Mukapalli.	Ullello (onions).
Yelpukonda.	Kumollu (horn).
Malangurollu.	Amdyarollu (castor plant).
Kunagollawaru.	Gatollu (hill).
Sultanpurwaru.	Katkoorollu (sword).
Boyampalliwaru.	Gaddapollu (beard).
Nagalpalliwaru.	Awalollu (cow).
Danduwaru.	
Pasupalliwaru.	

A Madiga cannot marry outside the sub-caste nor inside the section to which he belongs. This simple rule of exogamy is supplemented and a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister or maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may also be married to the same man.

Members of other castes are received by the Madigas into their community by their giving a feast to the Madigas of the neighbourhood. Before the feast, a betel leaf is cut on the tongue of the novice who is subsequently required to wait upon his new associates, to eat with them and remove their dishes. The hut in which this ceremony takes place is burnt.

Marriage.—The Madigas practise both infant and adult marriage, but the former usage is deemed the more respectable and is gradually coming into vogue. Girls for whom husbands cannot be procured, or who are vowed by their parents to the service of temples, are

dedicated to their tutelary deities. Such girls are called Joginis or Basavis, and are sometimes married to an idol and sometimes to a dagger. The girl, who is to undergo the ceremony, is dressed in new clothes and taken to the temple. Her forehead is smeared with kunkum (red lead powder), a lighted lamp is waved round the idol or the dagger, and the girl, bearing the lamp on her head, walks three times round the symbol of the deity. The Joginis become prostitutes, but their children are admitted to the full privileges enjoyed by the legitimate members of the caste. Unmarried girls, becoming pregnant, are also devoted to the service of gods. A girl on attaining puberty is unclean for five days. On the 5th day she bathes, touches a green leaf and becomes ceremonially pure.

Polygamy is recognised, and a man is permitted to marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain. The second wife is usually a widow or a divorcee. A bride-price, varying in amount from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15, is paid to the parents of the girl.

The marriage ceremony differs in different districts, but in each district it is a copy of the ritual in vogue among the middle classes of Hindus.

The initiative towards marriage is taken by the bridegroom's father, who sends a party of five men to select a suitable girl for his son and settle the match. After the girl is selected, the boy's father, with his relatives, goes to the girl's house and presents her with a *sari* and a *choli*. In confirmation of the match, the caste *panchas* are entertained with *khushali*, or drink, the expenses of which are shared by both, the bridegroom's father contributing double that of the bride's father. A Brahman astrologer is consulted, and a lucky day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. A goat is killed as a sacrifice to Pochamma, who is worshipped with offerings of the goat's blood mixed with a quantity of liquor. The goat's head becomes the perquisite of a *dhobi* (washerman) while the body is cooked and partaken of by the members of the family. Other deities, such as Ellamma, Pedamma, Mutyallamma and ancestral spirits, are invoked to bless the betrothed couple. On the appointed day, the bride is taken in procession to the bridegroom's house where, on arrival, the *salawadi*, the priest of the caste, lifts her from the

horse, waves rice and turmeric round her face, sprinkles water on her body and places her on a seat under a wedding canopy of eleven posts. At the auspicious moment fixed for the wedding, the bridal pair are made to stand face to face, in a large bamboo basket, containing Indian millet, and a cloth is thrown over them so as to conceal their faces from the assembled guests. In this position, they are encircled five times, twice, with raw cotton thread. After this has been done, the cloth is removed and the young couple are taken out of the basket. The cotton thread is made into two bracelets (*kankams*) and one of them is fastened, with a piece of turmeric, on the wrist of the bridegroom and the other, in like manner, on that of the bride. This simple primitive usage is followed by an orthodox one, and the couple are made to stand face to face on a wooden plank, a cloth is held between them and the *mehetarya*, or elderly member of the caste, officiating as priest, throws grains five times over their heads. This last ritual is believed to be the essential portion of the ceremony and is followed by other rites, including *Myalapolu*, *Kottanam*, *Brahma-modi*, *Dandya*, *Panpu*, *Nagvelly*, *Vappaginta*, *Vadibium* and others, all of which have already been fully described in the articles on other castes. The ceremony is closed with a feast, at which a great deal of drinking and merry-making prevails.

In the Karnatic, the marriage ceremony comprises:—

- (1) *Pod*.—The goddess Ellamma is invoked and a piece of leather is tied, in her honour, about the neck of an old woman.
- (2) *Nischitartha*.—The confirmation of the betrothal, at which the girl is presented with Rs. 2 by the bridegroom's party.
- (3) *Hogitoppa*.—The fixing of an auspicious day for the celebration of the wedding.
- (4) *Uditomba*.—The girl is presented with cocoanuts and rice and escorted in procession to the house of the bridegroom.
- (5) *Patiarshina*.—The bridal pair are smeared with turmeric paste and oil, and *kankanam*s (thread bracelets) are fastened on their wrists.
- (6) *Maniavana*.—The bridal pair, with their mothers, are rubbed with oil and bathed, being seated within a

square formed by placing four earthen vessels filled with water at the four corners and by passing a cotton thread seven times round their necks. The thread is removed, and with it, as well as with a pearl, the water from the pots is sprinkled on their heads. This ceremony is known as *Mani-neera* or pearl-water. The maternal uncle of the bridegroom then plants a twig of the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) under the booth and worships it.

- (7) *Gane*.—The bride and the bridegroom stand facing each other in bamboo baskets containing Indian millet (*jawar*) and a figure of 'Nandi' (Shiva's bull) is traced on the ground between them. Some milk is poured on the heads of the couple and the *mangalsutra* (lucky thread) is tied about the girl's neck by the Jangam or Dasri, who officiates as priest. The bride and bridegroom then sprinkle rice over each other's head and this forms the binding portion of the ceremony.
- (8) *Bhuma*.—Wheat cakes and sweets are offered to the patron deity and four persons of the bridegroom's party and five of the bride's are required to eat the offerings. Anything remaining is buried underground.
- (9) *Mirongi*.—The bridegroom, on horseback, and the bride, on foot, go in procession to Hanuman's temple and, after worshipping the god, return home.
- (10) A square is formed by placing an earthen pot at each corner and a cotton thread is passed round. Within this, the wedded couple are seated and bathed, their *kankā-nams* are untied and then transferred to the banyan twig previously planted under the booth.
- (11) *Chagol*.—The feast given to the caste people and relatives of the bride, after which the bride leaves her husband's house, where the wedding ceremony was performed, and goes to her father's house. This rite completes the marriage ceremonies.

Tera, or bride-price, varying from Rs. 7 to Rs. 100, is paid to the girl's parents.

The Dakkalwad marriage presents some interesting features. The bride and bridegroom, dressed in wedding clothes and with their garments knotted, walk three times round a wooden pestle placed beneath the marriage canopy. They are then seated beside the pestle and grains of rice are thrown on their heads by the assembled relatives and guests. Upon this, the couple undergo ablution and the bridegroom ties the *pusti* (*mangalsutra*) about the bride's neck, the women of the household singing songs all the while. The father of the girl receives Rs. 10 as the price of his daughter.

Widow-Marriage.—Widows are allowed to marry again, but they are not expected to marry their deceased husband's younger brother. On a dark night, the bridegroom's party go to the widow's house, present her with a white *sari*, *choli* and bangles and escort her to the bridegroom's house. There the couple are bathed, and the bridegroom ties a *pusti* of gold round the widow's neck. Next morning the pair conceal themselves in a forest grove, and at night return to their house. After her marriage, a widow cannot claim the custody of her children by her late husband.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted, generally, on the ground of the wife's adultery, and is effected by driving her out of the house before the caste *Panchayat*. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. The morality of the Madiga women is, however, very lax; adultery among them is not looked upon with abhorrence and is usually punished only with a nominal fine.

Inheritance.—Among the Madigas, the devolution of property is governed by the Hindu law of inheritance. A Jogini, or dedicated girl, shares her father's property equally with her brothers, with succession to her children. Wills are unknown. A childless man usually adopts his brother's son, failing whom, any boy of his own section, but in any case the adopted boy must be younger than the adopter.

Religion.—The Madigas are still animistic in their belief, and pay more reverence to the deities of diseases and ghosts and spirits of deceased persons, than to the great gods of the Hindu pantheon. Their tribal deity is Matangi, who is believed to be the female progenitor of the caste. Regarding her, it is said that she gave

protection to Renuka, when the latter was pursued by her son Parshuram at his father's command. Parshuram, in wrath, cut off Matangi's nose, which was immediately restored to her by Renuka. Since then, Renuka, in the form of Ellamma, has been revered as their patron deity by the caste. Next in honour to Matangi are, Mari Amma, Murgamma or Durgamma, the goddess presiding over children, whose worship has been fully described in the report on the Manga caste, Pochamma, the deity of small-pox, Maisamma, Ellamma, Gauramma, and Mahakalamma. To Mari Amma are offered goats and bull-buffaloes in the month of Ashadha. Pochamma is worshipped on Mondays, Ellamma on Tuesdays, and Maisamma on Sundays, with offerings of goats, buffaloes, fowls and liquors, which are subsequently partaken of by the votaries themselves. Bindlas officiate as priests, and perform all religious and ceremonial observances.

Besides these greater animistic deities, the Madigas propitiate a number of ghostly powers, with a variety of sacrifices, Erakala women being engaged to identify and lay the troubling ghost. Honour is also done by the members of the caste to the standard Hindu gods, among whom may be especially mentioned Hanuman and Mahadeva. Muhammadan saints and *pirs* are also appeased by the members of the caste.

Like other Telaga castes, the Madigas are divided between Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidharis. The Tirmanidharis are under the guidance of Mala Dasris, while the Vibhutidharis, or Shaivaitis, acknowledge Mala Jangams as their spiritual *gurus*.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually buried, except in the case of women in pregnancy and lepers, who are burnt. Married agnates are mourned for ten days, and unmarried for three days. No *Sradha* is performed, but birds are fed with cooked flesh on the 3rd day after death. During the period of mourning, the chief mourner may not eat flesh, molasses, oil or turmeric nor may he sleep on a bed. On the 10th day after death, a feast is given to the caste people and purification is obtained. It is said that the Namdharis burn their dead in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south, collect the ashes and bones on the 3rd day after death, and either throw them into a sacred stream or bury them underground.

Bindalwads are employed to perform the funeral rites.

Social Status.—The social rank of the Madigas is the lowest in the Hindu social system. They eat the leavings of any caste except the Erakalas, Domars, Pichakuntalas, Buruds, Jingars and Panchadayis, while no caste except the Dakalwads, their own sub-division, will eat food cooked by them. They live on the outskirts of villages, in thatched one-storied houses, with only one entrance door. Their habits are very dirty, and their quarters extremely filthy. The village barber will not shave their heads nor will the village washerman wash their clothes and they have to employ barbers and washermen from among their own community. Their touch is regarded as unclean by all respectable classes, and a Brahman touched by a Madiga is required to obtain purification by bathing himself, washing his clothes and changing his sacred thread for a new one. The diet of a Madiga is in keeping with his degraded position and he eats beef, horse flesh, pork, fowls, mutton, and the flesh of animals which have died a natural death. The bear, as a representative of their ancestor Jambavant, is held in special respect, and no Madiga will injure or kill the animal.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste is believed to be the skinning of dead animals, leather dressing and the making of leather ropes, leather buckets for hauling water from wells and other leather articles used in husbandry. Like the Malas they are field servants, and supply the farmers with the above articles, for which they get, as their perquisite, a fixed quantity of grain for each plough. They make shoes of various kinds, but especially *chapals* (sandals) of which they produce the best varieties. They are engaged as scavengers, village watchmen, guides, executioners and *begaris*, or forced coolies. They also serve as musicians at the marriage and other ceremonies of high caste Hindus. Their right to carcasses is often disputed by the Malas and tedious litigations result. At some places they hold *Inam* lands, in lieu of services rendered by them to the village community as messengers and carriers. They also work as village criers, announcing by beat of drum (*dafada*) any public orders. Some of them get enrolled in the Indian army, where they pass under the name of Bedars or Gosangi Bantus. Many serve as menials in the houses of Muhammadan landlords. A few only have taken to agriculture.

LXI

MAHAR

(Title : Naik.)

Mahar, Mhar, Dher, Bhumia (guide), Yesker (gate-keeper), Taral (watchman), 'Dharni che put' (sons of the soil)—form, like the Malas of Telingana, the great labouring caste of the Marathawada country and are found in every village of the province.

History.—They are without doubt the oldest inhabitants of the country and are a distinctly aboriginal race with dark skins and rough features. They are generally tall, strong and muscular. They have probably given their name to Maharashtra, which is derived by some as 'Mahá Ráshtra' or the country of the Mahars.

The Mahar is, as he claims to be, an indispensable factor of village life. "He is the very first man appealed to, whether it be about a murder or a robbery, a burglary or a boundary dispute. He is the incarnation of the traditions and history of his village and, though he is despised and condemned to live outside the village, fearful of letting his defiling shadow fall on the Brahman, the latter well knows he can do nothing without him. He holds lands—the worst in the village—on hereditary tenure and is entitled by prescription to certain grain allowances. A stranger or a traveller comes—'Maharala bolawa' (call the Mahar). A robbery occurs—'Maharas vichara' (ask the Mahar). Who owns this field? What are the boundaries? 'Maharas mahit ahe' (the Mahar knows)—and so on."

"In all Maharashtra there is no class on the whole so reliable, so trusty, so honest, so hard-working as the Mahar. Ask any British officer of any service, who makes the best *ghorawalla*, or horse-keeper, or who was his most reliable servant. The answer will be, 'the Mahar.' "

The derivation of the name 'Mahar' is uncertain, but it may have been the tribal name of one of the aboriginal races. Several

legends are current regarding their origin. According to one, they are one of the four cow-born castes, and when the cow asked her sons how they would treat her when she died, the first three answered that they would worship her, but the fourth said he would bear her inside of him. The horror struck brothers called him 'Mahahár' (great eater) which was abbreviated into Mahar. Another story states that while Parvati was bathing, her touch turned some drops of blood on a *bél* leaf (*Egle Marmelos*) into a handsome babe. The child was named Mahamuni by Mahadeva. One day, it crawled out of the house and seeing a dead cow began to eat it. Mahadeva was horrified, cursed him and condemned him to live on the outskirts of villages and to eat carcasses, and called him Mahahar, or great eater.

Internal Structure.—The Mahars are divided into several sub-castes, the members of which neither interdine nor intermarry. In the Aurangabad Subah the chief sub-castes are : Somas, Andhwans and Tilwans. The Somas, or Somawanshas, claim to be of the highest dignity, professing to derive their name from 'Soma' or the moon. The members of the sub-caste regard the pig with traditional reverence, neither killing the animal nor eating its flesh. The oath of the pig is also deemed very sacred by them. The Andhwans say they came from Berar and their name suggests a connection with Andhs, the Hinduised brand of Gonds. They are said to have been descended from a widow. The members of the sub-caste hold the tiger in extreme reverence, regarding an oath on it as binding. The affinities of the Tilwans cannot be traced. In the Adilabad District two sub-castes appear to exist 'Mahar Winker,' also called 'Bamaniya Mahars,' who are weavers by profession, and 'Ladwan Mahars,' who are supposed to be immigrants from 'Lat,' a name by which the tract of country round Broach (Gujerat) was known in ancient times. The Mahar Jangams, also found in Adilabad, are an offshoot from the Mahar Winkers. The members of this sub-caste profess to be Lingayits in creed and act as money-lenders and bankers to the Raj Gond and Kolam tribes of the hilly tracts. Besides these sub-castes, there are others, such as Anant Kule (descended from a Mahar Murlí), Bavne, Bavise, Dharmik and Pans, all of whom are found in very small numbers in these dominions.

The section names of the caste are not totemistic, but are either territorial or refer to some act on the part of their founders. Specimens of these names are shown below :—

Exogamous sections.

<i>Somas.</i>	<i>Andhawans.</i>	<i>Ladwans.</i>	<i>Winkers.</i>
Jondhale.	Khillor.	Dethya.	Mohaker.
Bhadarge.	Wadhawe.	Waghmarya.	Dingarya.
Jogadande.	Hatker.	Nadya.	Durgya.
Hanumate.	Ghonde.	Malkhadya.	Ramtakya.
Gaikwad.	Kambale.	Ondaker.	Zadya.
Sonatakke.	Ingole.	Karmanker.	Piryadya.
Awasrunle.	Dhuldhawane.	Pareka.	Kondagulla.
Chaudante.	Padd.	Umrya.	Piprya.
Sarode.		Paddharya.	Borkutya.
Taliwar.		Jiwanya.	
Mule.		Lokhandya.	
Lambane.		Bhaktya.	
Chondhe.		Teltumdyia.	
Khandare.		Tumberya.	

Among all the sub-castes the law of exogamy is strictly observed and a man cannot marry a woman belonging to his own section. A man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister, but he cannot marry the daughter of his mother's sister. Two brothers may marry two sisters.

Marriage.—Generally, Mahar girls are married as infants and adult marriage is resorted to only in cases where the girl's parents are too poor to get her married before she has reached the age of puberty. It is customary to dedicate girls to Khandoba and such are subsequently called Murlis. Among the Aurangabad Mahars, the marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and conforms to the rites common among the Maratha Kunbis. A Mahar Gosavi officiates as priest. During the ceremony, the bridegroom is wrapped in a black blanket. The Mahar Winkers follow the usage current among the Khaira Kunbis of Adilabad. The Ladwan Mahars tacitly tolerate sexual intercourse between unmarried people, but if the girl becomes

pregnant her lover is compelled to marry her. Their marriage ceremony comprises several usages of special interest. After the preliminary negotiations have been completed and a bride-price of Rs. 11 has been paid to the parents of the girl, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman. Previous to the wedding, and before the marriage booth is erected, a small shed of mango twigs is constructed in the inner courtyard of the house. Beneath this shed a square of *jawari* flour is drawn and sprinkled over with *kunkum* and *gulal* powders. Before this square are placed five dough lamps, five dry dates, a like number of areca nuts and betel-leaves. A sheep, smeared over with turmeric and decked with flower wreaths, is sacrificed over the shed, so that its blood trickles down through the mango twigs over the square of *jawari* flour beneath. The whole is subsequently removed and thrown outside the house and the spot is smeared clean with cowdung. This singular ceremony is known as *Anganadevi*. On the wedding day, five married couples are made to observe a fast and to take their meals at evening, out of the same plate. This is called *Ohorpitar*. The wedding takes place at night, at the bridegroom's house, and, as the auspicious hour for the ceremony arrives, some sesamum oil is poured into the noses of the bride and of the bridegroom and they are made to stand facing each other, the bride on a low wooden stool and the bridegroom on a yoke, and a Mahar Joshi unites them in wedlock by sprinkling *jawari* grains over their heads.

Widow-Marriage.—In point of polygamy, the Mahars profess that a man is allowed to take as many wives as he can afford to maintain. A widow is allowed to marry again and, except among the Ladwan Mahars and the Mahar Winkers, she is not required to marry her late husband's younger or elder brother. But, in such cases, she forfeits all claims to the custody of her children by her late husband. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is simple, consisting of the smearing of the couple with turmeric powder and the tying of their garments into a knot. The bridegroom then puts a string of glass beads round the bride's neck and the ceremony is concluded.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's

unchastity, or if the couple cannot get on together. A divorced woman may marry again, but not before her first husband has recovered the amount he spent on her as a virgin.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance, the Mahars follow the Hindu law.

Religion.—The religion of the Mahars is in a transitory state, passing from primitive animism into popular Hinduism. Their principal deity is Mari Ai (the goddess of cholera) to whom fowls, sheep, and buffaloes are offered in the month of Ashadha and on festive occasions. On full and new moon days, the spirits of deceased ancestors are propitiated in the form of *taks*, or embossed images on silver or copper plates. Among their other gods may be mentioned Masoba, Khandoba, Bhairoba, Chokhoba, Chedoba, Bhavani and Mesai. Votaries of all sects are found among them and, as Saivait, they worship Mahadeva, under the presidency of Mahar Jangams, and, as Warkaris, they worship Vithoba of Pandharpur (the incarnation of Vishnu) and his consort Rakhamai. Some of them belong to the Manbhao sect and a few are the followers of Kabir. The disciples of Chokhamela wear round their necks garlands of the *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) and beads and dance and sing songs in honour of the saint. These make pilgrimages to Alandi in the Poona and Pandharpur in the Sholapur Districts. The Saivait Mahars visit the temple of Mahadeva at Shinganapur in the Satara District. The Mahars have spiritual advisors, or *gurus*, belonging to their own caste, whose advice they are required to take. Both boys and girls, before they are a year old, are taken to the *guru* with a cocoanut, some grains of rice, flowers and frankincense. The child's father marks the teacher's brow with sandal paste, worships him and presents him with the articles. The *guru* then takes the child on his knee and whispers into his right ear some *mantras* or mystic words. At this time, the priest either covers himself and the child with a cloth, or a curtain is held between them and the rest of the people. The Mahars have a strong belief in witch-craft and sorcery and ascribe all diseases and calamities to the working of ghosts and evil spirits. When a person is believed to be possessed by a spirit, exorcists are engaged to lay the possessing spirit. Usually, Brahmins take no part

in the religious and ceremonial observances of the caste and either the head of the household officiates as priest or a professional Mahar mendicant, a Jangam, or a Joshi, is called in. Occasionally, however, Deshastha Brahmans are employed at the marriage ceremony.

Child-Birth.—A Mahar woman, after child-birth, is unclean for eleven days. On the fifth day after birth, a silver image representing the goddess Satwai is set up on a stone slab and worshipped with offerings of flowers and sweet food, and a feast is provided in her honour for five married women whose husbands are living. On the 12th day the mother and the child are bathed and the mother places, in the name of Satwai, five stones under a tree, daubs them with red lead and burns frankincense before them. She smears the child's forehead with frankincense and ashes invoking the goddess to protect the child, walks three times round the stones and returns home. For the first three days after birth the mother is given a mixture of 'katbol' (gum myrrh) and leaves of nim (*Melia indica*) and is fed on a diet of strained millet mixed with oil and molasses; from the fifth she takes her ordinary food. On the fourth day the mother begins to suckle the child.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually buried, but occasionally burnt. Persons dying of cholera and small pox and those dying unmarried are buried. In the case of cremation, the ashes and bones are collected on the 3rd day after death and thrown into a river. Mourning is observed ten days for adults and three days for children or distant relatives. No *Sradha* is performed in honour of the deceased person.

Social Status.—The Mahar stands at the bottom of the Hindu caste system. He lives on the outskirts of the village and his touch is deemed unclean by all the respectable classes. The regular village servants decline to serve him, as they consider themselves defiled by his touch; the caste is required to provide itself with barbers and washermen from among its own members. Although the Mahar occupies the lowest position in the Hindu community, he claims to be superior to Bhangis and Mangs and does not eat from the hands of Buruds, Mangs, Mochis and Bhangis. His ideas on food are in keeping with his degraded position. He eats beef, mutton, fowl,

fish and the flesh of the buffalo, horse, deer, field rat, crocodile and of animals which have died a natural death ; but he abstains from pork and the flesh of the dog, the ass and the crow ; he also eats the leavings of all respectable classes and indulges freely in strong drinks.

Occupations.—Mahars are the predial slaves of villages and either hold grants of rent-free lands or receive grain allowances, or *Baluta*, for the services they render. Their public duties as Yeskers, or Veskers, are to watch the boundaries and the village office, to carry Government letters, to repair the village office and village gate (*gaon-kosa*), to sweep the village roads, and to serve as guides to Government officers passing through the village. The Mahars of a village either divide these duties among them, or serve at the village office in turn for one year, distributing the produce of the land amongst themselves. Their private services consist in cutting firewood, carrying letters and sweeping and cleaning court-yards in front of houses, and for these duties they are paid in cash or in cooked food. They have a monopoly of the village dead animals, of the shrouds used in covering the village dead and of the copper coins cast as largess in the name of the dead. Many Mahars have entered the native army and have risen to the rank of Jamadars and Subedars. Others are engaged by Europeans as domestic servants and grooms. They are also labourers, carriers of dead animals, cultivators, scavengers, sellers of firewood, messengers and beggars. Mahar women, besides attending to their home duties, help the men in the field, but not in carrying or skinning dead animals. Many are engaged as day labourers.

LXII

MALA

Mala, Dher, Antyaja, Panchama—a very numerous Telugu caste of menials and village servants, supposed to be identical with the Mahárs of Maharashtra, the Holers of the Karnatic and the Pariahs of the Tamil country. Black in complexion, short and sturdy in physique, distinct from any other caste of the Dominions, the Malas probably represent the oldest inhabitants of the country. They are found in every village, living apart from other residents. As village messengers and watchmen they receive a part of the village *Balutá*.

Origin.—The etymology of the name *Málá* is uncertain. Some derive it from the Sanskrit word *Málá*, which means dirt, and is said to refer to their traditionary origin from Parvati's menstrual clothes. Others suppose it to be a corruption of *Mailawaru*, by which name the Melas, as scavengers, were formerly known. But to derive the word from the Canarese and Tamil *Maler*, a hill, is more conceivable, for it is not improbable that the people, as old dwellers on the soil, were driven to the hilly tracts by the pressure of later immigrants and came to be known as Malas, or hillmen. Some of the Mala tribes, as Mala Aryans, still cling to the hilly tracts, which supports this view.

The Madiga legend, ascribing the creation of the worlds and mankind to Jambavant and his sons, makes a reference to the Malas, as being descended from 'Chinnaya,' born of Parvati's soiled clothes and the tender of Siva's cow Kamadhenu. Chinnaya killed the cow and for this offence he was degraded by Siva and condemned to become a cow-skinner and beef-eater.

The Malas have other designations, such as Dher, by which they are known to the Mohamedans; Antyaja, of Sanskrit origin, signifying 'last born,' or created after every other being had been

brought into existence; Pancham, also a Sanskrit word, interpreted the fifth creation of god after the first four, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, had been created.

Internal Structure.—The Mala community is a large one and, being distributed over a wider range of country, has been broken up into numerous endogamous groups. Some of these are :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Andhawant. | (20) Ladwant. |
| (2) Are Mala. | (21) Landa Mala. |
| (3) Arva Mala. | (22) Mala Ayyawar. |
| (4) Badge Mala. | (23) Mala Bogam. |
| (5) Begar Mala. | (24) Mala Dasri. |
| (6) Bhat Mala. | (25) Mala Jangam or Chalwadi. |
| (7) Birja Mala. | (26) Mala Mannewar. |
| (8) Boya Mala. | (27) Mala Mashti. |
| (9) Chalka Mala. | (28) Nayatakani Mala. |
| (10) Dadi Mala. | (29) Pachi Mala. |
| (11) Das Mala. | (30) Pambalwad. |
| (12) Dhol Mala. | (31) Racha Mala. |
| (13) Gunta Mala. | (32) Shiva Kantha Mala. |
| (14) Gurram Mala. | (33) Somavanshi Mala. |
| (15) Gurge Mala. | (34) Telga Mala. |
| (16) Hatter Mala. | (35) Tilwan Mala. |
| (17) Jethi Mala. | (36) Tuka Mala. |
| (18) Jina Mala. | (37) Varne Mala. |
| (19) Karne Mala. | |

Are Malas.—Were originally Maratha Mahars who immigrated into Telangana and became permanent settlers into the country.

Arva Mala.—Malas who have come from the Tamil country and settled among the Telugu Malas.

Begar Mala.—They serve as ‘*Begaris*’ or free labourers.

Bhat Malas.—Earn their livelihood by begging and singing praises in honour of Hindu gods.

Das Mala.—Are carpenters. They do not eat from the hands of any other caste, nor do other castes eat from them.

Dhol Mala.—Serve as drummers in the ceremonies of the Koya caste.

Erkala Mala.—The members of this sub-caste make bamboo baskets.

Gunta Malas.—Are also weavers, and seem to derive their name from the Telugu word '*Gunta*' meaning a pit. They work on their looms sitting inside the pit. They weave coarse cotton cloth similar to '*khadi*.'

Gurram Malas, Yayanga Kunda, Sadi Langas, and Chandals are regarded as the lowest of all the Mala sub-castes and earn their living by begging from the Mala caste only. They live in huts made of the leaves of the Shendi tree on the outskirts of the villages. Regarding the degradation of the Gurram Malas it is said that a member of the sub-caste was employed to return the horse brought for the procession in a Mala marriage; but before he came back the marriage feast was over and he was compelled to dine off what was left.

Landa Malas.—Dress skins and animals.

Mala Ayyawar, or Nityalu.—They belong to the Vaishnava sect, and abstain from eating beef and pork.

Mala Bogams.—Are prostitutes of the Mala caste.

Mala Dasri.—Spiritual advisers of the Malas who are Tirmanidharis. They worship Mylar Linga.

Mala Jangam.—Gurus of the Malas who are Vibhutidharis. They are also known as '*Shiva Nagmayya*,' being the worshippers of the God Shiva. They say they have five *gotras* (1) Nandi, (2) Vrashabha, (3) Bhurangi, (4) Yadra, (5) Sakanda.

Mala Mashti.—Are acrobats and earn their living by performing physical feats.

Nayatakani Malas.—Are weavers.

Pachi Malas.—Are weavers; so designated as they weave cloth from the untwisted yarn.

Pambalwad.—The priests of the Mala caste, for whom they perform religious ceremonies. They have received this name from a musical instrument on which they play during worship. In the Karnatic they are known by the names Bone, Garu and Bendalas.

Shiva Kantha Malas.—Weavers and cultivators. They have a legend that they sprang from the poison which Shiva drank, but which, being unable to retain in his throat, he disgorged. This poison was one of the fourteen gems obtained when the ocean

was churned by gods and demons with the Mandar mountain serving as a staff and the serpent Wasuki as a rope.

Tuka Mala.—Are masons.

Very little is known regarding the rest of the sub-castes.

The exogamous sections are either of the territorial or totemistic type; but the totems do not appear to be held as taboo by the members of the caste bearing the names.

Sur-names :—

Kankawaru.	•	Pyaramwaru.
Nokalawaru.	.	Neelamwaru.
Parsawaru.		Mayakatawaru.
Yerpolawaru.		Holnoru.
Kirmandoru.		Jallewaru.

Mala Jangams allege that they have *gotras* as below, borrowed partly from the Veershaiva Jangams and partly from the Brahmins ; but these *gotras* appear to have no bearing on the regulation of marriages :—

Nandi.	•	Vrashabha.	Bhrangi.
Vamdewa.		Sakanda.	Goutama.

Besides these *gotras* they have family names also such as

Madnollu.	Bandrollu.
Rajalollu.	Pabollu.
Komalollu.	Kandollu.

A sort of hypergamy prevails. Mala Jangams and Dasris take girls in marriage from other Mala castes, but do not give their own daughters in return. At the time of admission into the caste the girl's arm and tongue are branded by a lighted 'Nim' (*Melia indica*) twig. After this, these girls are not allowed to go to their parents.

A man can marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. A man must marry within his sub-caste. Inter-marriages within the same section are avoided. A man may marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt and elder sister.

Outsiders are admitted into the caste. The ceremony of admission consists in branding the tongue of the novice with a burning 'nim' twig or a hot piece of gold or silver. The new-comer has to eat a betel-leaf chewed previously by a Mala. A goat is sacrificed on

the occasion and a feast given to the members of the caste. After the meal the neophyte has to remove the dishes and the hut in which the dinner was eaten is burnt.

Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste. Immediately after marriage the girl is sent to her husband by the Vadibiyam ceremony. Cohabitation before puberty is tolerated. If an unmarried girl commits adultery with a casteman and the fact is known, she is compelled to marry her lover by an inferior ceremony. A fine is imposed on a girl committing adultery with a man of higher castes. Polygamy is permitted without limit.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony of the Telugu Mala comprises the following rites, which have been fully described in the passages on the Kapu caste :—

Vadiyam.	Kankanam.
Papawanam.	Talwal.
Parthanam.	Bashingam.
Ravireni.	Brahmamōdi.
Lagnam.	Nagvelly.
Kanyadan.	Plou.
Padghattan.	Arundhatidarshan.
Jiraguda.	Vapaginta.
Pusti Mittalu.	Vadibiyam Sari.

On the *Nagvelli* day, Ganga Puja is celebrated with great pomp. At the time of going round the *Polu*, the parents of the bride make presents to the bridegroom consisting of implements of husbandry, a *Thali* (metal-plate) and *Lota* (metal-pot) and the bride also receives a present from her husband known as *Avali* and amounts to Rs. 5. Among the Gunta Mala the *Avali* is valued at Rs. 4. Among Begar Malas, at the time of *Polu*, the bride takes in her hand a churning-staff and the bridegroom a plough and their feet are washed by married females. In Adilabad, the wedding ceremony is performed at the bridegroom's house under a booth erected for the purpose. The bride and the bridegroom are bathed, dressed in new clothes and wedded by the *Anterpat* ritual.

The marriage in the Karnatic differs in essential points from that in vogue in Teḷangana and, among other rites, include :—

Hogitoppa.—Or the fixing of an auspicious day with the consent of both parties, the occasion being celebrated with a feast.

Bad.—The goddess Ellamma is invoked and, in her name, a piece of cloth is tied round the neck of a *Matangi* (an old devoted woman of the Madiga caste).

Uditamba.—The bride is presented with wheat, areca-nuts, betel-leaves and pieces of cocoanut kernel and brought to the bridegroom's house.

Yaniarshani.—Smearing the bridal pair with oil and turmeric paste. *Kankans* made of thread are tied on their wrists.

Maniavana.—The bride, the bridegroom and their mothers are also annointed and bathed seated in a circle of 12 pots encircled by raw cotton thread. The thread is then collected in a heap and a pearl being placed on it, water is poured over the pearl.

Halgampa.—A branch of the 'Badh' (*Ficus indica*) tree is brought by the maternal uncle of the bridegroom and planted under the wedding booth. This right is claimed by the maternal uncle, but, in his absence, any other relative, who is regarded as the maternal uncle for the time being, performs the ceremony.

Lagnam.—In this the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand opposite each other, the former on *Sindoli* and the latter on *Jota*. The *Antarpat*, or a piece of cloth on which five pictures (one of a snake, the second of Linga, the third of Shiva, the fourth of a five petalled flower and the fifth of the sacred bull) are painted, is held between them, benedictory *mantras* are chanted and turmeric coloured rice is thrown on the couple. The bridegroom is afterwards made to tie the *Mangalsutra* round the neck of the bride. After this, the bride and the bridegroom throw coloured rice on each other's heads, this part of the rite being called *Akikāl*.

Bhum.—The family gods are offered 24 cakes, without sugar, and other preparations; four married women on the bridegroom's side and four married women and one man on the bride's side are then invited to partake of the food, seated before the gods.

The leavings are buried in a pit dug for the purpose, on the spot where they dined.

Mirongi.—The bride and bridegroom are taken on a bullock to the Hanuman's temple and made to worship the deity. A cocoanut is broken before the god and the pieces are distributed among the assembly. An adult bride follows her husband on foot on this occasion.

Nagvelly.—The bride and bridegroom, seated in a square made by arranging four pots, are bathed and the *Kankans*, or wedding bracelets on their wrists, are untied and fastened to the Banian post planted previously by the maternal uncle under the booth.

Chagol.—A goat is killed and a feast is provided to relatives and friends by the bride's parents. A procession is formed and the bridegroom and bride are conducted to the bridegroom's house, and on their arrival at the entrance, cocoanuts are distributed to the assembled guests. A grand feast, given by the bridegroom's parents, concludes the ceremony.

Dedication of Basavis.—It is customary among the Malas to dedicate their girls and boys to the service of temples. These girls are called Murlis, Basavis or Parvatis and the boys are called Potraja. The ceremony of dedication consists in wedding the girl or boy to a sword or to the temple deity.

Dedication of Basavis or Parvatis.—After the *Devaka*, or marriage guardian deity, has been installed under the wedding booth the girl to be wedded is brought in with her forehead adorned with *bashingam* and is seated by the side of a woman holding a sword in her hand. *Bashingam* is also tied to the sword to represent the bridegroom. *Anterpat* is held between the girl and the sword and they are wedded in accordance with rites in vogue among the Mala caste. Such *Basavis* earn their livelihood afterwards by prostitution. In the case of *Murlis*, *Bashingams* of the leaves of 'Palas' (*Butea frondosa*) and Mango (*Mangifera indica*) are used and *Bendalod* conduct the wedding service. A spot is plastered with cowdung and upon it a square is traced with turmeric powder. The *Murli* is seated upon this and the *Bindla* priest ties round her neck two strings, one of black beads and the other of leather pieces, the former allowing

her to pursue the profession of begging, while the latter gives a religious sanction to her becoming a prostitute. A Basavi woman is seen begging armed with a 'trident' (an iron rod with three barbed prongs) on her shoulder and a begging basket in her hand, while two cowrie wreaths are hung from her neck down to her ankles. She is strictly prohibited from begging when she is unclean. Basavi women are allowed to cohabit with members of their own caste or of other castes if higher to them in social standing. The *Parvatis* closely resemble the *Murtis* in their begging uniform and other respects. The only distinction between them lies in the fact that the former add to the profession of prostitutes the arts of singing and dancing and that they are strictly prohibited from combing their hair. These women are very few in number and are rarely met with in the Districts. They are enjoined to wear ornaments solely of brass when begging, but after their return they may adorn themselves as they please.

Potraja.—The boys dedicated in the name of a god are called *Potraja*. These are subsequently permitted to marry in their own caste. The name *Potraja* is derived from the Telugu words 'Pot' (a he-buffalo) and 'Raja' (owner) and are so designated because they officiate as priests when he-buffaloes are sacrificed, to their tutelary deities. Their hair is never shorn and is always unkempt. Their services are in request when cholera or small-pox breaks out among the community. During such epidemics, he-buffaloes are sacrificed to the deity presiding over the prevailing disease. The buffalo to be sacrificed is made to stand in front of the goddess and the *Potraja*, as if possessed by the goddess, tears the throat of the animal with his teeth and besmearing his body with the blood of the beast, begins to dance and foretell the future.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again but she cannot marry her late husband's brother. *Tiru* or bride-price, ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 is paid to the parents of the widow by the bridegroom. The ceremony is very simple. A *sari* and a *choli* are presented to the bride and a *tali* is tied round her neck by the widows attending the ceremony. A feast is given to the caste people.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's

adultery and is effected with the sanction of the caste council. As a symbol of separation, some salt is tied in the woman's garment and she is driven out of the house. She is afterwards allowed to remarry by the same rites as widows.

Inheritance.—The Malas follow the Hindu law of inheritance. Females inherit in default of males. A dedicated girl is entitled to share equally with her brothers in the property. A nephew, if he be a son-in-law, gets a share of his father-in-law's estate.

Religion.—The Malas are in reality animistic in their creed and prefer the worship of the deities of nature and diseases to that of the great gods of the Hindu pantheon. Their chief objects of worship are Pochamma, Ellamma, Mariamma, Maisamma, Mutyalamma, to whom offerings of goats, sheep and he-buffaloes are made in the month of Ashadha (June-July), the offerings being eaten by the votaries subsequently. Of late, the sectarian influences so prevalent among the Telugu and Tāmīl classes have spread to this caste also and the Malas are accordingly divided between Vibhutidharis (Saivas) and Tirmanidharis (Vaishnavas). As the great sectarian gurus (the Aradhi and Shri Vaishnava Brahmins) cannot stoop to serve at their houses, the Malas have created their own priests, the Mala Jangams officiating as priests and giving spiritual advice to the Vibhutidharis, members of the caste and Mala Dasris, initiating them into the secrets of Vaishnavism. With all this, and excepting a very few members forming the upper enlightened layer of the society, the Malas still cling persistently to their primitive animistic creed.

The Malas pay devotion to deified heroes, and Chinna Keshava Swami is worshipped with offerings of sweetmeats on Saturdays, on the first day of the year and on the Ganesh Chauth (the light fourth of Bhadrapad), the members of each household officiating as priests and consuming the offerings after the Puja.

Mala Jangams daily worship the Siva Lingam, to which food is offered before the first meal. They pay reverence to Basvanna occasionally. Females revere Gauri and also Nagalu, (the deity presiding over serpents). The Gods of the Hindu pantheon are honoured by the caste.

Mala Dasri and Jangams are their Gurus. Pambalwads, or Bendlawads, attend the marriage ceremonies and Jangams and Dasris attend the death rites.

Child-Birth.—On the third day after the birth of a child, the *Purud* ceremony is performed, when a goat is killed, the head is placed on the rim of the pit in which the child's umbilical cord has been buried, and the body is cooked and a feast provided to guests and friends. The head forms the perquisite of the midwife. On the 21st day, the mother goes to a well, offers puja to its rim, marches three times round it and returns home with a jar filled with its water. The water is sprinkled throughout the house and the mother is rendered ceremonially pure. The child is named generally on the fifth day after its birth.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are either buried or burnt, according to the pecuniary circumstances of the family of the deceased. In the case of burning, the ashes and bones are collected on the third day after death and thrown into a river and the bones are buried under a platform. In the case of burial, the corpse is laid in the grave with its head pointing to the south. Among Tirmanidharis, as soon as death occurs, a Mala Dasri is sent for and a fowl is sacrificed and cooked by him. He then puts *tirtha*, holy water, wine and a little portion of the cooked fowl in the mouth of the dead body, which is then removed and buried. After burial, the bier bearers and other mourners bathe and the rest of the cooked fowl and wine are distributed among them as a blessing from the Dasri. Mourning is observed ten days for the married and three days for the unmarried. During mourning the Vibhutidharis abstain from flesh. Tirmanidharis treat the Mala Dasris with a feast of meat and wine at the grave on the 3rd, 5th and 10th days; while Vibhutidharis throw food to birds on the 3rd day after death. Jangams and Dasris attend the grave of the deceased and walk three times around it with lighted torches in their hands.

The Mala Jangams bury their dead in a sitting posture with the face to the north. No mourning is observed. On the 10th day a feast is given to the caste members. Some Vibhutidharis also bury their dead in a sitting posture.

On the Pitra Amawasya day alms are given to the Jangams and Dasris in the names of the departed ancestors.

Among Begar Malas, the house is cleansed on the 10th day after death and the relatives of the deceased go to a river or a well and worship it, offering a cocoanut. They then return to the house bearing an earth pot full of water with which sweet food is afterwards prepared.

Social Status.—The Malas occupy the lowest and the most degraded position in Hindu society, being superior only to Madigas in social rank. Their touch is regarded as unclean by the higher castes, the village barber will not shave their heads nor will the village washerman wash their clothes. The wells of the higher castes cannot be used by them and they are therefore obliged to have their own separate reservoirs of water. They eat the leavings of all castes except Madigas and Dakkalwars. In matters of diet they have few scruples and eat beef, mutton, pork, horse flesh, fowls, field rats and the flesh of animals that have died a natural death. They also indulge freely in strong drinks.

Occupation.—The Malas are labourers, servants, grooms and village-watchmen. They are the chief free labourers, *Begars*, of the land. They are very grateful for a little kindness and will willingly show the road to travellers in sun or rain, at midnight or midday. They form part of the village *Baluta* and are paid in corn and grain for the duty they render to the public. Some of them weave coarse cotton cloth. A few only have taken to cultivation, but in most cases they are engaged as farm labourers and never allowed by village farmers to acquire permanent tenures.

LXIII.

MALI

Máli, Marar—an industrious race of fruit and vegetable growers, gardeners and cultivators, found in large numbers in and around Daulatabad, extending as far north as the Central Provinces and the Berars. Moving, from this point, southward into the District of Adilabad, they have spread over the tract of country comprising the present talukas of Rajura, Sirpur and Jangaon and, under the popular designation 'Marar,' have now entirely occupied many villages in the District. The current tradition avers that, early in the fourteenth century, they were brought from Delhi, by the Emperor Muhammad Taghluk, who desired to furnish his new capital of Daulatabad with beautiful gardens, and that their immigration continued so long as the Mogal rule prevailed in the Deccan. Their claim of foreign origin is, to some extent, borne out by the distinction between their features and customs, and those of the local Kunbis.

Origin.—The name Máli is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit 'Málákar,' a garland maker. The etymology of the name Marar is obscure. A variety of legends are in vogue regarding the origin of the caste. Manu makes them the offspring of a Mahisya father and a Nishad mother. According to a legend contained in the Nibhanda Purán, Adideva Banmali, the first gardener, sprang from the pubes (jhata) of the god Shiva as he dashed them on the mountain Dhavalgiri. Another legend supposes that the progenitor of the caste was one Bhramaracharya Rishi, who made daily offerings of flowers to Shanker. Taken by themselves, these legends are valueless, as they give no clue to the real affinities of the caste.

Internal Structure.—The Malis are divided into twelve and a half endogamous groups based mostly upon the nature of articles they chiefly cultivate.

(1) Phul Mali—Growers of flowers.

- (2) Jire Mali—Growers of cumin seeds.
- (3) Halde Mali—Growers of turmeric.
- (4) Ghas Mali—Growers of grass.
- (5) Trigula—Betel vine growers.
- (6) Kosale.
- (7) Bhandare.
- (8) Mithagare.
- (9) Bawane.
- (10) Adshete.
- (11) Lingayit.
- (12) Adiprabhu.
- (12½) Malgand.

The members of these different groups do not intermarry nor eat together. The Phul Malis hold the highest rank among the community. The Malgands form a half caste being composed of illegitimate members of the Mali caste. They serve as bards, or genealogists, to the Malis and subsist by begging only from them.

The exogamous sections of the caste consist of family names, and are the same as those of the Maratha Kunbis.

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| (1) Rawat. | (17) Giram. |
| (2) Gunjekar. | (18) Thakare. |
| (3) More. | (19) Korade. |
| (4) Ingale. | (20) Irkar. |
| (5) Jhagade. | (21) Gaikawad. |
| (6) Lukte. | (22) Sattaldhar. |
| (7) Pariskar. | (23) Chinchane. |
| (8) Udgire. | (24) Sinde. |
| (9) Jambudker. | (25) Bedare. |
| (10) Hagle. | (26) Yadava. |
| (11) Mogre. | (27) Langote. |
| (12) Sonatakle. | (28) Lokhande. |
| (13) Satwe. | (29) Shingare. |
| (14) Bhure. | (30) Dake. |
| (15) Bhangre. | (31) Gore. |
| (16) Kothamirye. | (32) Dhavale. |

The Marars of Adilabad are, at the present day, regarded as a

distinct caste from the Malis and have their own twelve and a half endogamous divisions.

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| (1) Kosre Marar. | (8) Bavne Madi. |
| (2) Phul Madi. | (9) Gadve Madi. |
| (3) Sola Madi. | (10) Mase Madi. |
| (4) Jire Madi. | (11) Halde Madi. |
| (5) Mire Madi. | (12) Bhangi Madi. |
| (6) Dase Madi. | (12½) Pahad Madi. |
| (7) Ghase Madi. | |

The section names of Marars are peculiar to them, although they exhibit the same ground work upon which the Mali surnames are based. They are as follows :—

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| (1) Sinde. | (13) Watgoriya. |
| (2) Ave. | (14) Anjodiya. |
| (3) Lendgore. | (15) Nikiyar. |
| (4) Vadhai. | (16) Wasakya. |
| (5) Nagoriya. | (17) Mandadiya. |
| (6) Gantriya. | (18) Gurnolia. |
| (7) Pitkoliya. | (19) Chahiriya. |
| (8) Kotarangya. | (20) Chowdhari. |
| (9) Sonulya. | (21) Satade. |
| (10) Bororiya. | (22) Rasya. |
| (11) Nikoriya. | (23) Kokordya. |
| (12) Kavadya. | (24) Kokodya. |

The sept name descends in the male line. A man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own section. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided he avoids the following relatives :—Mother's sister, sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter and father's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters. Two brothers may also marry two sisters, but the elder brother must marry the elder sister and the younger brother the younger.

Marriage.—The Malis marry their girls as infants between the ages of four and twelve. In fulfilment of vows, girls are sometimes dedicated to their tutelary deity Khandoba. The dedication ceremony consists in marrying the girl to the deity as if she were his bride. Such girls are designated Murlis, are subsequently debarred

from marriage and lead a loose life. Polygamy is permitted without any theoretical limit.

Either side takes the initiative towards the settlement of marriage. An earthen platform is built at the girl's house only, but both parties erect marriage booths supported on five posts of Mango, (*Mangifera indica*), Umbar (*Ficus glomerata*), Jambul (*Eugenia jambolana*), Palas (*Butea frondosa*) and Saundad (*Prosopis spicigera*). To the Saundad post, which is termed *Muhurta Medha* (auspicious post), is fastened the *Deva Devaka*, represented by an axe, twigs of mango and shami and two cakes. A Brahmin is consulted and an auspicious day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. The marriage ceremony opens with *sakharpuda* (betrothal), when a *sari* and *choli*, one rupee and five cocoanuts are presented to the girl, aniline and turmeric powders are smeared on her forehead and some sugar is put into her mouth.

The marriage ceremony lasts for five days and comprises the following stages :—

- (1) *Tel-Haldi* :—Both the bride and the bridegroom, in their own houses, are smeared with turmeric and oil under special booths (Haldi-mandava) made for the purpose.
- (2) *Warli* :—Five earthen pots are ceremonially brought from a potter's house by five married females from each party.
- (3) *Deva Devaka* :—Or the divine invocation. Family deities are invoked for their blessings on the couple and formal invitations are sent to relatives and friends.
- (4) *Simant Pujan* :—The formal and ceremonial reception of the bridegroom by the bride's parents at Maruti's temple, usually situated on the village boundary.
- (5) *Bridal procession* :—The boy riding on a horse or a bullock is conducted, in procession to the girl's house. At the time fixed by astrologers for the performance of the actual ceremony, the bride and bridegroom are made to stand face to face in two bamboo baskets containing turmeric coloured rice. A cloth is held

between them and they are wedded by the priest reciting *mantras* and throwing coloured jawari grains over their heads. The bridal pair, while standing, are twice encircled with cotton thread, first four times and then five times. The thread is removed, steeped in turmeric water and made into two bracelets which the bridal pair tie on each other's wrists. The bridegroom ties the *Mangalsutra* (lucky necklace) round the bride's neck and puts silver rings on her toes.

(6) *Kanyadan* :—Gift and acceptance. The wedded pair are seated on an earthen platform, side by side, and *Homa* is performed by throwing *ghī* on the sacrificial fire, whereupon the bride's father, taking her by the hand, entrusts her to the care of the bridegroom.

(7) *Sade* :—Or the final procession which conducts the bridal pair to the bridegroom's house.

Zālzendā :—The bridal pair are borne by their maternal uncles on their backs and when the latter, dancing and jumping with their burdens, cross, the former pelt each other with wheaten cakes or throw red powder (*gulal*) on each other's heads.

A very interesting usage, probably of primitive origin, has been preserved by some mali families and deserves special mention. On the wedding night, a man of the caste, disguised in female clothes and carrying a milk pot on his head, represents a 'gaolan' (milk-maid), while a woman, dressed like a man and furnished with a sword and a 'hukka' (hubble-bubble), is styled a Mogal. The antic pair go, in procession, to the bridegroom's house and thence escort his mother to the wedding booth. For this queer office they receive rewards in money and clothes from the assembled guests, who enjoy the occasion, making it the subject of great fun and merriment.

Marar girls are married both as infants or after they have attained the age of puberty. Cohabitation before marriage is connived at, it being understood that her seducer, in case the girl becomes pregnant, will be compelled to marry her. The father of the bride receives a sum of money for his daughter, which sometimes

amounts to as much as Rs. 40. The marriage ceremony of the Marars is only a copy of the ritual in vogue among the other Adilabad castes of the same social standing. The marriage is conducted by a Brahmin who recites mantras, throws jawari grains on the heads of the couple and unites them in wedlock. A curious usage, scarcely less interesting than that of the Malis, requires the bridegroom's mother to make five cow-dung cakes subsequent to the celebration of the *Nagvelli* rite. The cakes are placed under a booth, bedaubed with turmeric and red aniline powder and solemnly worshipped with offerings of milk, mung, wheat and jawari. They are then preserved until the first Divali festival, when they are burnt to heat the water with which the bridal couple are ceremonially bathed.

Widow-Marriage.—Widow marriage is permitted with the sanction of the caste Panchayat. The widow, dressed in white, is seated on a bullock saddle and the bridegroom, dagger in hand, ties the *mangalsutra* round her neck. The pair offer milk to each other and this concludes the proceedings. The ceremony is attended only by widows and is performed under the superintendence of a Brahmin priest.

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised by the caste, but cannot be carried into effect without the express permission of the leading members of the community. The woman is deprived of her *mangalsutra* (wedding thread), which symbolises her separation from her husband. If the husband has just cause of complaint against his wife, he is entitled to recover from her a part of the marriage expenses; but if he neglects or illtreats his wife, he is compelled by the Panchas to give her alimony for six months. A deed of divorce, embodying these conditions, is executed and attested by the headman and other members of the caste council. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same ritual as widows.

Child-Birth.—A woman after child-birth is unclean for ten days. When the child is six days old, worship is offered by the father to the goddess Satwai (sasti), who is generally regarded as the guardian of young children. A girl, on attaining puberty, is impure for four days, the *otabharan*, or propitiatory ceremony, being performed within sixteen days from first appearance.

Religion.—In their religious and ceremonial observances the members of the caste differ very little from the high caste Hindus of the locality. The favourite deity of the Malis is Khandoba, a form of Mahadeo, worshipped on the sixth of the lunar half of Margashirsha (December). Offerings of marigold flowers, yellow powder (bhandara), boiled onions and bringals are made to the god and dogs are fed in his name. Their village gods are Mari Ai, Sitala Devi, Bahiroba, Bhasoba, Satwai and Maruti, who are worshipped in every house-hold with the usual offerings of sheep, goats and sweetmeats of different kinds. The characteristic deity of the Marars is 'Khudban' represented by a lump of dried clay set up in every house. Among their minor gods the most prominent positions are taken by Pochamma, Lakshmi, Jamlai, Waghoba and the local pirs. Women pay devotion to the 'tulsi' plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) daily, to the cobra snake on Nagpanchami (lunar fifth of Shravana) and to the 'badh' (*Ficus bengalensis*) and 'pipal' (*Ficus religiosa*) trees occasionally. In addition to these gods, all Mali house-holders appease a number of spirits of their deceased ancestors, whose images they emboss on silver or copper plates and keep enshrined in a special part of the house. The Malis observe all the Hindu festivals and feasts and employ Brahmans as priests in their religious service.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned in the ordinary Hindu fashion, the body being laid on the pyre with the head pointing to the south. The ashes and bones are collected on the third day after death and thrown into the river Ganges or into any sacred stream that may happen to be handy. Those who are very poor bury their corpses in a lying posture. Persons dying of cholera or small-pox and children who die before they have cut their teeth are buried. The ceremony of Sradha is performed on the 12th day after death for males, and on the 13th day for females. Brahmans are engaged by Malis for the performance of funeral obsequies. On the 10th day the chief mourners, usually sons, shave their moustaches. On the third day of every Vaishak (Akhati) and on the last day of Bhadrapad (Sarva-pitri Amavasya) libations of water and balls of cooked rice or wheaten flour are offered to propitiate ancestors in general.

Social Status.—The social standing of the caste appears to vary in different sub-castes. The Phul Malis hold „a respectable position and take rank with Maratha Kunbis, Hatkars and Wanjaris, with whom they eat *kachi* or cooked food. The Jire Malis, who raise cumin seeds, and the Haldi Malis, who grow turmeric crops, stand on a lower social level, not being admitted to the privileges of eating with the above-mentioned castes, while the remaining sub-castes are held in still lower estimation. These social inequalities afford ground for the belief that the entire Mali caste comprises independent groups, held together under one designation by reason of similarity of occupation. In matters of food, the Malis eat mutton, fowl, goat's flesh and all kinds of fish. They indulge occasionally in strong drink. They do not touch the leavings of higher castes. To the above the Marars add pork, from which the Malis abstain. The Marars rank socially with Kapus, Gollas, Welmas, and Munnurs.

Occupation.—The Malis are very industrious and skilful gardeners, growing and selling all kinds of vegetables, fruit and flowers. They also raise staple crops, but are more profitably engaged in rearing tobacco, cumin seeds, turmeric and other special produce which require careful cultivation. Their talent for all forms of gardening and spade husbandry is remarkable and most of the vineyards of Daulatabad and its neighbourhood, yielding the highly esteemed grape known as 'Habshi' were owned by the members of this caste. In towns they work as market gardeners, while in villages they supply flowers and flower wreaths for the worship of household gods. Many of the Malis are occupancy or non-occupancy raiats, some of whom have risen to be patels, or headmen of villages. A few of them are farm labourers. The Malis have a caste Panchayat presided over by a chief who is called 'mehatar' and to whom all social disputes of the caste are referred for decision. It is said that Phul Malis do not wear shoes embroidered with flowered designs.

LXIV

MALI GUJARATHI

Mali Gujarathi—a vagrant group of beggars singing songs and exhibiting painted scrolls representing the scenes of holy places and rivers and the exploits of Puranic heroes and gods. Both men and women have a Gujarathi cast of countenance which suggests the view that they are a degraded offshoot from some respectable caste of Gujarath. Mali Gujarathis themselves say that their ancestors were originally Malis and were cut off from the parent stock for some social offence. They have no fixed habitation, but wander from village to village begging alms and carrying their household articles on the backs of bullocks. The women wear *langas*, or petticoats of Marwari fashion, and bangles of pewter or horn on their wrists.

Internal Structure.—Mali Gujarathis have no endogamous divisions. Their exogamous sections are mostly of the territorial type. A man may not marry a woman of his own section or of the section to which his mother belonged before her marriage. He may marry two sisters at the same time. Polygamy is permissible, but is usually found to be too expensive.

Marriage.—Girls are married either as infants or adults between the ages of ten and thirty. Sexual licence before marriage is tolerated and condoned only by a nominal fine. A good deal of sexual laxity prevails and, within the community indeed, the idea of sexual morality seems hardly to exist. If, however, a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, arrangements are made to get her married as early as possible. The customary bride price paid for a girl is supposed to be ten rupees, but the amount is liable to vary according to the means of the bridegroom's parents. The marriage ceremony is very simple. After the bride price has been paid and the small-pox goddess, Sitala, has been propitiated, the bridal pair are besmeared with turmeric and oil in their own houses. On the wedding day the

bridegroom is taken, on the shoulders of a male relative, to the bride's house, where a marriage shed supported on two posts is erected. Outside the *Mandap* a square is formed by placing an earthen pot at each corner and a fire is kindled in the centre. The bridal pair throw ghi and 'jav' (barley) on the fire and walk round it four times, the bridegroom leading the bride in the first two rounds while in the last two the bride leads her husband. This is deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. A feast to relatives and friends on the part of the bride's father concludes the marriage. A widow is allowed to marry again and it is considered the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother, even though he is younger than herself. Her choice of a second husband is, however, unfettered ; but in the event of her marrying an outsider, she forfeits all claim to the custody of the children she may have borne her late husband or to a share in his property, which goes to his children or, failing them, to his brother. The price paid for a widow bride is supposed to be forty rupees. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is comparatively simple, consisting of seating the bridal pair side by side, tying their clothes in a knot and making their foreheads touch seven times. This ceremony is called *Natra*. Divorce is effected, with the sanction of the Panchayat, on the ground of the wife's adultery or barrenness, or for incompatibility of temper. If a wife deserts her husband, her parents are required to pay to her husband Rs. 55 for the expenses he incurred at her marriage. On the other hand, a husband claiming a divorce has to pay Rs. 12 to his wife. Divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the same form as widows.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance and succession Mali Gujarathis are governed by customs of their own, by which the sons, however few, of one wife take a share equal to that of the sons, however many, of another.

Religion.—Mali Gujarathis profess to be Hindus, but they do not employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial observances and the functions of the priest are discharged by selected members of their own community. Their favourite object of worship is Sitala, the goddess presiding over small-pox, who is adored at weddings and on

occasions of sickness. When cholera breaks out they appease 'Mari Ai' with a variety of offerings. They occasionally pay reverence to Thakurji and other greater gods.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned, the ashes thrown into a river and the bones buried, but no regular *Sradha* is performed and the only funeral observance consists of a feast given to the brethren by a man's heir ten days after his death. Children, under three years of age, are buried.

Social Status.—The social status of Mali Gujarathis is low and they are said to eat the leavings of all middle classes of Hindu Society. Men, women and children beg alms, singing songs in public to the music of a stringed instrument.

LXV

MANBHAO

(Jaya Krishna in the Punjab and Achyut Panthi in Bundelkhand).

Manbhao, Mahanubhao, Mahatmanā—a religious sect of Vaishnawaites based upon the worship of Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, and Dattatraya, the son of the sage Atri and his wife Anusuya. Clad in sombre long gowns, with their heads clean shaven, the celibate Manbhao mendicants, men and women, wander in 'Melas' (bands) from village to village and from one monastery to another begging alms, blessing Bhavalus (secular disciples) and making proselytes. Their exemplary morals and gentle insinuating manners command the respect of the villagers who regard them with extreme deference and veneration and supply their few wants with care and attention. Their principal monasteries (maths) are at Paithan, Nander, Mahur and Manur in the Hyderabad territory, at Ridhpur in Berar and Kanashi Charud in Khandesh. The votaries of the sect are also scattered over Northern India and in the Bombay Presidency, where they have their establishments at Broach, Indore, Mathura, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Jalandar, Peshawar, Satara and Phaltan.

Origin.—Opinions differ regarding the origin of the sect and of its founder. The sect is recruited from among all castes except the most defiled, it recognises social equality among its members and dis-countenances idolatrous worship; facts which evidently show that it has for its object the denial of the Brahmanical supremacy and the rejection of the bondage of ceremonial observances and caste.

The popular belief is that the sect was founded, in the fourteenth century, by Krishnambhat, a very learned and talented Brahmin of Paithan on the river Godaveri. Expelled from his caste for keeping a beautiful Manga woman as his mistress, he retaliated by originating a new system of religion which condemned caste and

inculcated the worship of one god in the form of Shri Krishna. He established monasteries at Riddhpur, Mahur, Dwaraka and Kasi (Benares) under the presidencies of his four sons by the *Dhemi*. To this account the Berar Gazetteer adds "Krishna Bhat devoted himself to a certain goddess (name unknown) who was so pleased at his performing '*Anusthan*' in her honour that she bestowed on him a *Mugut* (a sort of crown which caused its wearer to appear a four-armed Vishnu), warning him at the same time that if he let it touch the ground it would disappear. He then set to work to found a new religion which he called the Manbhau. Thinking him a new incarnation, his followers increased and the Brahmans became alarmed. At last by the artifice of one Bhunum Bhat, a Brahmin from Benares, he was induced, in front of a large concourse of people, to appear in his *mugut* and assume the form of the god. No sooner did he appear, than the treacherous Brahmin knocked the crown off his head, it fell to the ground and vanished. Krishna Bhat retired amid the jeers of the people, who saw him in his true form, and the new religion received a deadly blow." Agreeably to this legend the word Manbhao is derived from 'Manga Bhav' or sprung from the Manga caste.

The Manbhaos repudiate this story of their origin as an outcome of the feeling of aversion and contempt with which the Brahmans have ever regarded all sects opposed to their religious notions. Around this question a bitter controversy has raged between the members of the sect, who lay claim to high antiquity, and the Brahmans, who refuse to admit their claim. Considerable light is thrown upon this vexed point by the religious literature of the sect, which comprises above four hundred volumes and is not to be confounded with the Brahmanical Puranas, although it occasionally includes legends borrowed from the latter. The works are written either in Sanskrit or in Mitakshar (a disguised tongue); but the greater number are in Marathi and seem, in style and diction, older than the compositions of the oldest Marathi writers, Mukundraja, Dnyana-deva and Ekanath, who flourished between the 11th and the 13th centuries. Referring to them, Dr. Bhandarkar, an eminent authority on the Marathi language, writes: "It is an interesting fact that

these Punjabi Manbhaos should be explaining to us, Marathas, as they have been doing, some difficult points in our old Marathi which we at this day do not understand."

The Leela Charitra, the most esteemed and sacred book of these people, reviews in detail the religious tenets and doctrines of the sect and chronicles important events of the times. It gives, in chronological order, the history of the Devagiri Yadava kings from Sinhana to Ramchandra and describes how Vishaldeva, king of Gujaratha, defeated Sinhana at Ellora and dictated to him terms of peace. But the two principal works bearing on the point under discussion are the Shri Chakradhara Charitra (life of Shri Chakradhara) and the Acharya Charitra (life of Acharya). The former deals with the life of Chakradhara, a Karhada Brahmin, who is represented in all Manbhao works as having revived the sect. He passed his days in pious devotions and enjoyed universal celebrity as a great saint. He was interviewed by the Yadava princes Krishna Raja and Mahadeva, who offered him all their riches; but the offer was declined. He is said to have retired to Badrikashrama, in Shaka 1194 (1272 A. D.). Nagadeva Bhata, his chief disciple, took up his work, spread the sect far and wide and was consequently honoured with the title 'Acharya' the teacher of the sect. In the history of his life, styled the 'Acharya Charitra,' it is mentioned that he was born in Shaka 1158 (1236 A. D.) and died in Shaka 1224 (1302 A. D.). It is also stated that Kamaisha, wife of the Yadava king Ramchandra, frequently paid homage to him. The dates are in keeping with the period during which, as ascertained from copper plates and stone inscriptions, the three Yadava kings Krishna Raja, Mahadeva and Ramchandra reigned. The dates assigned to their respective rules are.—Krishna Raja, A. D. 1247-1260, Mahadeva, A. D. 1260-1271, and Ramchandra, A. D. 1271-1301. These facts show that Shri Chakradhara and Nagdeva Bhatta were historical personages, who flourished in the thirteenth century and were contemporaneous with the three successive Yadava sovereigns—Shri Chakradhara with Krishna Raja and Mahadeva and Nagdeva Bhatta with Ramchandra. As the Manbhao works ascribe to the former the revival of their creed and to the latter its wide diffusion, there can be little doubt that the faith

was in existence earlier than the thirteenth century. The popular theory that the sect was originated in the fifteenth century is therefore untenable.

In "Gajakesari" and "Dinker Prabbanda," two of the most interesting works of the Manbhaos, which contain accounts of the various sects that then flourished in Maharashtra, Krishna Bhatta is described as the founder of the 'Matangapantha,' a pernicious creed which aimed at the acquirement of superhuman powers by means of diabolical practices. Krishna Bhatta was the pupil of one Kantha Nath, at whose instance he sacrificed a beautiful Mang girl to the goddess 'Mesako.' The deity restored the victim to life and forced Krishna Bhatt to marry her. They had five sons and their descendants are still to be found in the Ahmednagar District, following the faith of their ancestor. There appears to be historical truth in the legend upholding the belief that Krishna Bhatt was not the originator of the Manbhao sect and that the word Manbhao was confounded with 'Mangbhao' with a view to bringing the sect into disgrace and contempt.

Mythology.—Like other religious sects, the Manbhaos have their own mythology, according to which Vishnu appeared on this earth under different incarnations in different ages. In the *Krita Yuga*—the virtuous age—he incarnated himself as Hansa and Narayan; in the *Treta Yuga* as Shri Dattatraya and Nara; in the *Dwapara* as Shri Krishna and Rishabha; in the *Kali Yuga*, he manifested himself as Prashanta and Shakradhara, the latter being sometimes regarded as the incarnation of Shri Dattatraya. As stated above, Shri Shakradhara initiated Nagdeva Bhatta, who had thirteen disciples, of whom Kavishwara and Upadhyaya were the most famous. Kavishwara wrote a commentary on the 'Ekadasha Skandha' of Bhágwat, and a poem on 'Shishupal Vadha.'

Religion.—The leading religious tenets of the Manbhaos consist in the observance of celibacy (Brahmacharya vrata), solicitude for animal life (Ahinsa), subsistence by mendicancy (Bhikshacharya) and leading the erratic life of an ascetic (Sanyasi). They profess to follow the Dwait philosophy of Hinduism, which maintains that the individual soul (the soul of man) is distinct from the divine soul (the

soul of the deity). The doctrines, expounded in the Bhagwatgita, Upanishads and Dashama and Ekadasha Skandas of 'Bhagat, form their guiding principles, which inculcate 'Bhakti,' or implicit faith combined with fervent devotion towards one deity, and through Bhakti alone, they hold, can the knowledge of Brahma (the divine soul) be obtained. Their objects of worship are Shri Krishna and Shri Dattatraya, to whom they have built temples at Mahur, Munnur, Paithan and other places where great fairs are held annually in honour of these deities. No images of the gods are installed in the temples; but they are represented by their foot prints, placed on a dais, to which the devotees offer flowers while they sing, with devoted attention and closed eyes, hymns in honour of the deities. Brahma-vidyashastra, embodied in their sacred work 'Lila Charitra,' expounds the system of the Manbhao religion, philosophy and morals.

Several sects have, of late, originated from the Manbhao faith, of which that founded by Bhikshu Muni, a Sanyasi of Nyalkal, in the Bidar District, is of considerable importance.

These people are divided into the following sub-divisions:—

(1) Patadhari, (2) Mathadhari, (3) Wanadhari, (4) Dharma Bhrashta Gharbhari, (5) Jatadhari and (6) Bhawalu.

Patadhari.—Monks and nuns who have renounced the world and spend their lives in celibacy and mendicancy. These have the honour of being worshipped and their heads, known as 'Mahants,' possess royal emblems, such as *chatra* and *chamar*. The appointment of a Mahant is not hereditary. Only male ascetics, possessing high morals, good attainments and experience, are appointed.

Mathadhari.—Superintendents of monasteries. These are also exempt from carnal desires. Old ascetics, who are unable to undergo journeys, are appointed to these posts.

Wanadhari.—Those who take *Sanyas*, or become ascetics, and wander in the jungles. Such men are very rare now.

Gharbharis, Dharma Bhrashta.—When any impropriety occurs between monks and nuns, the guilty parties are removed from the *Maths* and are compelled to reside by themselves, with villagers and others. These are not altogether excommunicated; but are regarded as secular members. They are designated by the term "Gharbari"

meaning causers of confusion. They have in fact abandoned the life of celibacy and have entered into family relations. They wear either a black or a white dress, have to observe the peculiar customs of the sect and live on alms. Formerly, such people were granted atonement and allowed to live together, but now the misdemeanants are immediately expelled, as being unfit for the *math* life.

Jatadhari.—These do not change their dress. They retain a tuft of hair on their heads, like other Hindus. The women also do not have themselves shaved, like nuns. Women apply red powder to their foreheads and the men 'shadu.' These do not beg, but follow a profession for their maintenance; they may smoke or chew tobacco, pluck fruit and flowers, dig roots and deal in agricultural products.

Bhawalu.—These are either disciples, or spiritual advisers. This class does not give up its caste, dress or pursuits. When one wishes to embrace the faith, he must be ready to give up the worship of all the tutelary gods and painted stones, except the worship of Shri Krishna and Dattatraya. He must abstain from meat and wine. A person of any caste can take the *Guru Mantra*, which is whispered in the ear. This is regarded as a secret which is not to be uttered aloud, or repeated to others. It is communicated to those only in whose fidelity there is implicit confidence. They worship the gods, repeat the guru mantras, and pay due respect to Patadhari, Mathe-dhari and Wanadhari. Bhawalus do not eat with the Manbhaos. Men of all castes may become Bhawalus, or *chelas*, without losing their original caste.

The monk at the head of Pathadharis is called a Mahant, and the title 'Bua' is affixed to his name; that at the head of nuns is called 'Ai.' The following are the names to be found among monks and nuns:—

Monks :—Kothibua, Lasurkerbua, Bidkerbua, Patherkerbua.

Nuns :—Bhagu Ai, Kuvar Ai, Kamala Ai, Krishna Ai, &c.

Initiation.—Males and females alike are made ascetics (Sanyasis) and, after initiation, must live on alms, and thus spend their whole time in the service of the gods. The sacred thread and the tuft of hair on the head of a Brahman, who is to be initiated,

are first removed and then he is allowed to take *Deeksha*. Boys and girls, on attaining ten years of age, are initiated, but no age limit applies to outsiders, who are admitted at any time.

Admission.—Brahmans, Lingayits, Rajputs, Jains,* Kasar, Gujarathi and Marwadi Wanis, Fulmalis and Marathas are admitted by Manbhaos into their community. Inferior castes, such as Mahars, Mangs and Chambhars are not admitted, but they can become Bhawalus. After initiation they must not worship images and must abstain from eating flesh and drinking spirituous liquors. At Sháhágad some Muhammadans, converted to this faith, have erected a *muth* in honour of the god Shri Dattatraya.

Dress.—Up to the days of Akbar the dress of these people was *bhagwá*, or of red ochre colour; but when the Emperor sent his army to the south to arrest the Gosavis (whose dress was also of the colour of red ochre), who had raised a rebellion, the Manbhaos of the north put their co-religionists in the south on their guard and the latter, for fear of being caught with the Gosavis, owing to the similarity in dress, changed the colour to black and thus saved themselves. Ever since the black dress has been retained.

Food.—The living of the Manbhaos is very simple. Their food consists of jawari or wheat cakes and dál, and sometimes cooked rice. Monks and nuns are restricted to only one meal a day.

Morality.—They lead a very pious life and are especially kind to animals and insects. They will neither kill an animal nor eat the flesh; even the drinking water must be well filtered before it is used. A Manbhao will not be importunate in asking for alms nor will he touch anything without the owner's knowledge.

Melas.—The Manbhaos travel from place to place in *Melas* of monks and nuns, numbering from 100 to 300, with a Mahant at the head. The Mahant has Pandits, Karbharis, Palakars, &c., under him and has sole control over the *Mela*. When they move from one village to another, some of the 'chelas,' or disciples, are sent in advance to inform the villagers of their coming and the 'Bhavalus,' with zeal and devotion, make all arrangement for their food and lodging. During the rains, or in Chaturmasa, a village with a large number of devotees and having abundant food supplies is

selected, where the whole season is spent. In Chaturmasa they do not cross the 'River Godavari and in 'Sinhasta' they do not touch the Ganges water. In a *Mela* every monk and nun is provided with a 'Koupin' and 'Kantha' and a coloured cloth 12 yards in length to cover the body, also a string of sandalwood beads. The chief festivals of Manbhaos are Datta Jayanti and Gokul Ashtami, celebrated respectively on the full moon of Margashirsha (December) and on the eighth of the dark half of Shravana (August).

Funerals.—When a Manbhao dies, his body is not removed for three hours, the general supposition being that the soul does not leave the body for three hours. The body is then borne to the burial ground (they have their special grounds), and buried in a lying posture with head towards north and face to the east. No mourning is observed by the monks and nuns. Gharbáris and Jatádhari observe mourning for ten days, but are not required to shave their heads or moustaches. After ten days a feast is given to the caste people. No *Shradha*, &c., is performed for the dead.

While Gharbari and Jatadhari women are impure during the first four days of the monthly period, the nuns do not observe this rule.

LXVI

MANG

Mang, Mang Raut—a servile caste of Marathawada regarding whose origin very little is known. In physical characteristics they seem to differ materially from the Mahárs and are much finer people, although in social rank they stand below the latter. Ancient authorities call them 'Shwapach' (dog-eaters) and make them the descendants of a Chandála father and Meda mother. They correspond to the Madigás of Telangana and both are probably the branches of the same parent stock, separated from each other by reason of their occupying different localities. Like the Mahárs they are predial slaves and claim part of the village 'baluta.' Unlike Mahars, they have long been notorious for their wild, untameable habits, and for their great cunning, hardiness and predilection for outrage and robbery.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into the following endogamous divisions, (1) Khákare, (2) Telangi Mangs, (3) Pendhári or Máng Garodi, (4) Dhále, (5) Dasori, (6) Bavise, (7) Bedar, (8) Holer. The members of the first four sub-castes interdine and form the upper strata of the caste. Of these Telangi and Pendhari Mangas are treated of in separate reports. Dhale Mangas are attached to the Banjara tribes and Bedar Mangs suggest a connection with the Bedar caste. The Holer Mangs are village musicians and boast of their connection with the Hatkar tribe. They claim that while Hatkers were descended from an elder branch, they are themselves sprung from the younger branch of the same original tribe. In corroboration of this statement, they assert that at their marriages the presence of a Hatker, having the same Devaka, is quite necessary. It seems, on the whole, a probable conjecture that Mangs are formed from degraded members of higher castes and are thus distinguished from Mahars, who are doubtless a remnant of some indigenous non-aryan

tribe. But sufficient evidence to establish this is wanting.

The exogamous sections of the caste are numerous. Some of them are noticed below :—

• Bháleráo.	Gaikawád.
Londonhe.	Balawante.
Ubále.	Sonatakke.
Bujone.	Páradhe.
Ingale.	Shikáre.
Bule.	Are.
Bujawane.	Gawár.
• Sede.	Jád hava.

These sections are not totemistic. The Mangs hold the tiger in reverence, and will neither kill nor injure it, either of these acts being regarded as sinful. They pronounce the word tiger with reverence, regard it as their patron deity and make obeisance whenever they meet it. They will never reveal its lair to any shikari on any account. This leads to the supposition that the tiger may be the totem of the caste.

Marriage in one's own section is avoided. No other section is barred to marriage, provided a sister's daughter and first cousins are excluded. Adoption into one's own section is practised by the caste.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the caste, but the former is deemed the more respectable and involves great expense. Girls are allowed to grow up only when the parents are too poor to get them married before the age of puberty. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not regarded seriously, the offence being expiated by a trifling fine to the caste Panchas ; if a girl becomes pregnant before marriage the Panchayat force her lover to marry her. Adultery with an outsider involves degradation from the caste. Polygamy prevails, but is practically restricted to not more than 3 wives at a time.

On the selection of a suitable bride, the boy's father goes to her house, presents her with clothes and ornaments and entertains her relatives with liquor by way of betrothal. A return visit is then paid by the girl's father to the boy, who receives on this occasion a turban from his intended father-in-law. A Brahmin astrologer, on

the payment of fees, declares an auspicious day for the marriage, which comprises the following ceremonies :—

Kandori—a dinner, given to the relatives in the (turmeric) booth, consisting of the flesh of a sheep sacrificed in the 'name of 'Hagisa'—a Mohamedan saint.

Worship of Mari Ai.—Sheep are sacrificed, liquor is offered to Mari Ai, the goddess of cholera and five women, whose husbands are alive, are fed in the name of the goddess with the flesh of the animals sacrificed. Pochamma is then worshipped.

Birphali—the Bir procession resembles that in vogue among all the Maratha castes; before the procession starts, however, goats are sacrificed in the name of Birs.

Devaka—is just like that of the Maratha Kunbis. Two booths are erected at the girl's house, one for the marriage ceremony and the other, a small one, called the 'turmeric booth,' for ceremonially besmearing the bride with turmeric-paste and oil : only one booth (turmeric booth) is erected at the boy's house for the same ceremony. An earthen platform is built under the marriage booth. On a lucky day the bridegroom, with his friends and relatives, starts for the girl's village when, on arrival, he is taken to the temple of Maruti. Here he is formally welcomed by the bride's parents and, after the god has been worshipped, the party proceed to the bride's house. The bridegroom goes straight to the marriage booth, where his mouth is rinsed with water by his mother-in-law, for which she receives a sari and choli. The bride being brought forward, the bridal pair stand opposite the earthen platform facing each other, each in a bamboo basket containing a bullock's tethering rope. A cloth is held between them by a Jangam or a Mang saint officiating as priest, and jawari, made yellow with turmeric, is sprinkled over their heads by the assembled guests and relatives, the priest all the while uttering auspicious verses. While thus standing, the bridal pair are encircled five times with a fine spun cotton thread, of which subsequently two bracelets are formed, one of which is bound to the wrists of the bride and the other to that of the bridegroom, the ceremony being known as 'kankan-bandhanam.' Kanyadan,

or the formal gift of the bride, follows. The couple, with their garments knotted together, are then marched five times round the sacred fire kindled for the purpose, keeping it always to the right side, this ceremony constituting the binding portion of the marriage. Widows may marry again and divorce is recognised.

Religion.—The religion of the caste is animism, with a veneer of Hinduism. Mari Ai (goddess of cholera), Pochamma (goddess of small-pox), Hagisa (a Mohamedan Pir) and male and female ancestors are prominent figures in their worship. In the month of Ashādha (July), at night, the whole Mang community of a village, men, women, and children, crowd to the temple of the cholera deity with one big buffalo, five pigs and a number of sheep and fowls. The goddess is dressed in a green sari, bedaubed with vermillion, and offered cocoanuts and dried dates. The animals are then worshipped and decapitated, one by one, first the buffalo, then the pigs and then the other beasts. The heads are arranged in a line before the goddess, the buffalo's head, crowned with a lamp, occupying the middle position. Much dancing, revelry and mirth prevail during the night. Early in the morning, the heads are buried in a trench, dug in front of the goddess, and the flesh is dressed and eaten by the votaries. Sitala Devi (Pochamma) is appeased when a member of the family has an attack of small-pox. The Birs, or departed male ancestors, engraved in human forms on copper or silver, are frequently honoured. The Hindu gods, Máruti, Bhaváni, Máhádeva and others are not neglected. The members of the caste worship also the leather ropes that they make. Brahmins do not officiate as priests for fear of social degradation.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned with gold and Bel leaf (*Egle Marmelos*) in the mouth. Mourning is observed for nine days. On the 9th day after death, the relatives of the dead perform ablution, clean the house and call in a Jangam to perform the rites of purification. The Jangam suspends a wreath of flowers from the roof over a copper jar, placed on the spot where the dead man's head rested. He next burns some cow-dung cakes and on the ashes he presses his conch, thus producing a mark. The

family members, one by one, touch the wreath and offer turmeric and red lead powder to the mark on the ashes. Food is then offered and camphor burnt. The Jangam receives a pice from every member of the household. Dinner is given to the caste people on the 10th day after death. In the months of Vaishakha and Bhadrapad the *Sradha* is performed in the name of departed ancestors in general.

Social Status.—The Mangs occupy the lowest grade in the Hindu caste system. Their touch is regarded unclean by the higher castes. They eat carrion, the flesh of all animals and the leavings of all castes except the Jinger and Buruds.

Occupation.—Their occupation is to weave flaxen tape for cots, to make ropes and to act as village criers and musicians to the higher castes; they make brooms and mats from the date palm; they are tanners, workers in raw hides and leather, shoe and harness makers, messengers, scavengers and public executioners; they are engaged as village watchmen; as daily labourers they live from hand to mouth, but will never groom a horse. They show a tendency to crime and are closely watched by the police. They are very dirty in appearance, live outside the village and are not allowed to take water from the wells used by the higher castes. Their touch is deemed impure even by the Mahárs. They have a strong belief in magic, ghosts and spirits and every sickness, however trifling, is attributed to some evil spirit lurking in the neighbourhood.

LXVII

MANGALA or BARBER

Mangala, Hajám, Nhávi, Návik, Wárik, Máháli, Náyardaru—the barber caste of Telangana descended, according to Manu, from a Brahman father and a Shudra mother. The name Mangala (auspicious) seems to have reference to the barber's presence which, in his professional capacity, is indispensable at the commencement of Hindu ceremonial acts.

Origin.—A variety of legends are current regarding the origin of the caste. According to one, they are the descendants of one Mangal Mahamuni, who was created by the Trinity (Brahma, Vishnu and Mahadeo) from their foreheads, to serve as a barber. Another version is that he was created by Brahma from a lotus flower. A third tradition says that as there was no barber in the world, the serpent king, Wasuki, was called upon by Shiva to issue from out his (Shiva's) navel to supply the want, and the barbers, as his descendants, called themselves Napik, a variant of Nabhik (navel-born). One story ascribes their creation to the divine architect Vishwakarma.

Internal Structure.—The Mangalas are divided into the following five sub-castes :—(1) Konda or Sajjan Mangala, (2) Shri Mangala, (3) Raddi Mangala, (4) Maratha Warik, (5) Lingayit Warik. The name Konda, which means a 'hill' in Telugu, throws no light upon the origin of the sub-caste. The members of the Konda Mangala sub-caste ascribe their origin to Ayoni Mathudu, or Kalyan Bhiknodu, who sprang from the third eye of Mahadeo. They claim to be of higher rank than the members of the Shri Mangala caste, who are supposed to be the offspring of a man begotten by a Konda Mangala man and a Baliya woman. The three sub-castes, Konda, Shri and Raddi Mangalas represent the barber class of Telangana.

The Maratha Wariks are indigenous to Marathawadi districts. In their features, customs, and even in their exogamous sections, the Maratha Wariks closely resemble the Maratha Kunbis and may on this account be regarded as a functional group formed out of the Kunbi caste.

Lingayit Wariks are chiefly found in the Karnatic. They claim to be descended from Udupati Anna, who used to shave Basava and was his favourite disciple. The Lingayit Wariks are sub-divided into two groups; the one is thoroughly influenced by the Jangams, the other only partially so influenced but still attached to their original customs and usages, eating flesh, burning their dead and observing mourning for eleven days instead of nine.

A few of the exogamous sections of the Mangala caste, given below, may illustrate the nature of their formation :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Paspunolla. | 7 Andolollu (a place). |
| 2 Sirisollu. | 8 Jalgamollu (a place). |
| 3 Mamidollu. | 9 Swaramollu (name of a |
| 4 Jembollu. | forefather). |
| 5 Astakankanmollu. | 10 Lingmollu (place). |
| 6 Godavarollu (river). | 11 Chinnonollu. |
| 12 Narsoganollu (place). | |

The first three sections are common to them and to the Kapus, and may have been borrowed from the latter. The remaining appear to have been recently introduced, having reference to the names of their forefathers or to the names of places which they occupied.

The rule of exogamy is that a man cannot marry outside his sub-caste nor within the section to which he belongs. He can marry his wife's younger sister and his maternal uncle's daughter, but cannot marry his aunt or his first cousin. Members of higher castes are admitted into that of the Mangalas, no special ceremony being performed on the occasion. Women excommunicated for adultery or other offences from the higher castes, such as Kapu, Munnur, Mutrasi, Sali, &c., find admittance into this caste and enjoy all the rights of a Mangala woman.

Marriage.—The Mangalas marry their daughters as infants, between the ages of five and twelve. The marriage ceremony corres-

ponds to that of the Kapu caste. After a suitable match has been fixed upon and the preliminary negotiations have been completed, a formal visit is paid by the bridegroom's parents for the purpose of seeing the bride. The parents of the bride then return the visit to see the bridegroom. An auspicious day for the wedding is then fixed. A fortnight before the ceremony, Pinnamma, the goddess of Fortune, is worshipped and her blessing is invoked on the couple. The bridegroom's people then proceed to the village of the girl, present her with a new sari and choli, adorn her with jewels and put the *Prathan* ring on her little finger. After paying Rs. 15 to the bride's parents (bride price), the party return, taking with them the bride and her people. A marriage booth is then erected, consisting of 6 posts, one post being of Umber (*Ficus glomerata*). The marriage ceremony is generally performed in the bride's pandal, but if the parents of the bride are poor, it is celebrated in the bridegroom's. Early on the wedding day, mortars and grind-stones are worshipped by five married females, and turmeric and rice are ground to symbolise the preparation of the wedding articles. This ceremony is known as *Kotanam*. *Arveni Kundalu* follows, in which earthen vessels, painted white, are brought under a canopy from the potter's house and deposited in the room dedicated to the household gods, in which auspicious lights are lit and kept burning constantly throughout the ceremony. The bridal pair, seated on a yoke in the midst of four earthen pots, encircled with five rounds of cotton thread, are then besmeared with turmeric and oil and bathed by a barber, who also pares their nails and claims their wet garments as his fees. After changing their wet clothes for bridal garments, the couple are taken before the household gods and made to worship the deity and the *Arveni Kundalu* vessels. Decked with *bashingams*, they are subsequently brought to the marriage booth and made to stand on a yoke facing each other with a screen held between them. Led by the Brahmin priest reciting benedictory verses, the assembly shower coloured rice on the heads of the couple and bless them. The subsequent ceremonies performed by the bridal couple are (i) *Jelkarbelam*, i.e., putting the mixture of cumin seed and jaggery on each other's heads, (ii) *Padghattanam*, each treading the other's foot.

(iii) *Pusti*, tying of the auspicious string by the bridegroom round the bride's neck, (iv) *Kankanam*, wearing thread bracelets, (v) *Thalwal*, throwing turmeric coloured rice on each other's heads, (vi) *Kanyádán*, formal gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom, (vii) *Brahmámudi*, tying the ends of the garments of the bridal pair in a knot, and lastly (viii) *Arundhati Darshan*, looking at Arundhati, represented by the pole star. The bride and bridegroom make obeisance to the family gods and the elders and are then given milk and curds to drink. The shástriya rites are thus brought to a close, the tying of the '*pusti*' and the formal giving away of the bride (*kanyadan*) by her father forming the essential and binding portions of the ceremony. Generally on the 14th day the ceremony of *Nagweli* is performed. Unhusked rice is spread on the ground in the form of a square with four earthen pots on the corners. The pots are encircled five times with a raw cotton thread. On the rice are placed the Arveni Kundalu pots and twelve platters of leaf, containing heaps of food crowned by lighted lamps. The wedded pair worship the sacred pots and the bridegroom, taking a dagger in his hand, makes, with his bride, three turns round the *polu*. This ceremony is also known as '*Talábálu*.' The bridegroom, carrying the shaft of a plough and a rope, walks a little distance and ploughs a piece of ground into furrows in which he sows seeds. While thus occupied, his child bride brings him some rice gruel to drink. The marriage is completed by (i) *Pánpu*, in which the young pair are made to play with a wooden doll, a mimic drama of their future life, (ii) *Vappaginthá*, which makes over the bride to the care of her husband and his parents and (iii) *Vadibium*, in which the girl is presented with rice, cocoanuts, fruit and other presents. Polygamy is permitted and no restriction is imposed upon the number of wives a man may have.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again, but not the brother of her late husband and in her choice of a second husband, she must not infringe the law of exogamy. Previous to the marriage, one rupee is given to the widow to enable her to purchase bangles and *metalla* (toe-rings). In the evening the widow goes to the house of her husband-elect and puts on new garments. A *pusti*

(a string of black beads) is then tied round her neck, and cocoanuts, rice and dates are presented to her. This marriage is termed Udki, or 'Chirá Ravike.'

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised and wives committing adultery, or not agreeing with their husbands, are divorced. The divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rites as widows. Adultery committed with a member of a higher caste is tolerated and may be punished slightly; but a woman taken in adultery with a low casteman becomes outcaste.

Inheritance.—The Māngalas follow the standard Hindu Law of Inheritance. The usage of Chudāwand prevails among this caste, as among the other castes of Telangana. Females can inherit in default of male issue.

Religion.—The religion of the Mangalas differs very little from that of the Kapus, or other Telugu castes of the same social standing. They are either Namdharis, worshipping Vishnu in the form of Narsinhlu, or are Vibhutidharis and pay reverence to the God Siva. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ Brahmins, who incur no social degradation on that account. The local deities, Pochamma, Ellama, and Mhaisamma are propitiated on Sundays and Thursdays with offerings of fowls, sheep and sweetmeat, a Kumar or a Chakla officiating as priest. On Ganesh Chauth, the 4th of the lunar half of Bhādrapada (August-September), they honour the tools of their profession (razors, scissors, mirrors, &c.), when offerings are made of sweet dainties, which must contain the vegetable *Tumini kura* (*Leucas Cephalotes*). At a funeral ceremony a Sātani is called in by the Namdharis and a Jangam by the Vibhutidharis.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried or burned in a lying posture with the head to the north and face to the east. Mourning is observed 10 days for married adults and 3 days for unmarried or for children. The ashes are either thrown into a river or a tank that is handy, or buried under a 'Tarwad' tree (*Cassia auriculata*), a platform being raised over them. On the last day of Bhādrapad they pour 'Til' libations (Tilodak) in the name of the departed. Lingayit barbers bury their dead in a sitting posture and call in a Jangam to perform the funeral rites.

Social Status.—The social status of the barber caste, according to Manu, was as high as that of the cultivators. From this position the barber of the present day seems to have fallen, for socially the Mangala of these dominions rank below the Kapus, Munnurs, Mutrasis and all shepherd classes. They eat mutton, pork and the flesh of fowls, cloven-footed animals and both varieties of fish. They also eat the leavings of high caste people and indulge freely in spirituous liquors.

Occupation.—Shaving, which has been the traditional occupation of the caste, includes nail-paring, 'shampooing' and "cracking" the joints of the body. A village barber is not paid in cash but in grain, the quantity of which is settled for each plough, or he depends upon the annual produce of each farm. The usual charge for a shave in town is one anna.

The barber is also the village surgeon and prescribes for small complaints. In the capacity of surgeon he opens boils and abscesses, cups and treats gangreneous parts. His wife also plays an important part as a midwife and nurse.

At Hindu weddings barbers are engaged as musicians, playing on drums and pipes (sanai), and as torch-bearers; they are not known to have lost their social status on this account.

LXVIII

MANG GARODI

Máng Gárodi, Rangidás Gárodi, Firaste Máng, Pendhári Máng, Pahilwán—a wandering tribe of acrobats and mat-makers found in the Districts of Aurangabad, Bir, Parbhani, Usmanabad and Bidar. They profess to be a branch of the Mang caste of Maharashtra, but are disowned by the latter and, except in name, appear to have no connection with them. They move in gangs, from village to village, carrying their tents, goods and chattels on the backs of bullocks and barren cow-buffaloes. They generally encamp on the outskirts of villages, pitching their 'páls' (huts) of bamboo mats with openings on all sides and with roofs covered with grass.

Physical Characteristics and Habits.—The men are strong and well set up and wear, like gymnasts, tight short drawers, a waist band and a carelessly folded rag as head gear. The women are very violent and quarrelsome. Their costume resembles that worn by Maratha females. They wear bangles on their wrists, brass ear-rings in their ears and bead necklaces round their necks. Their hair is never combed nor oiled and lies in dishevelled locks. Both men and women are dark in complexion and extremely dirty, not bathing for days together. They are considered to be habitual criminals and cattle-lifters and are, consequently, under the strict surveillance of the police. Their home tongue is Marathi but, like other criminal tribes, they have a flash-slang of their own. It is customary among the males never to shave their heads after marriage but to allow the hair to grow on to the end of their lives.

Internal Structure.—Máng Gárodís have several denominations. They are called Rangidas Garodís, as they colour their bodies before exhibiting acrobatic feats. Their name 'Firaste' indicates their roving habits and the name Pendhari refers to their criminal propensities; being athletes, they are known as Pahilwáns.

The caste has no endogamous divisions. Their exogamous divisions are based upon family names, some of which appear to resemble those of the Máráthá Kunbis. Their exogamous sections are :—

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| (1) Sakat. | (9) Gade. |
| (2) Kasab. | (10) Londe. |
| (3) Hatakale. | (11) Omap. |
| (4) Jade. | (12) Fasge. |
| (5) Uphade. | (13) Bodke |
| (6) Kamble. | (14) Ukarde. |
| (7) Dehade. | (15) Gaikawad. |
| (8) Made. | (16) Hatagle. |

Excepting the Bodkes, all other families interdine and intermarry. The rule of exogamy is strictly observed, and a man is forbidden to marry a girl bearing his own surname. Two sisters may be married to the same man. In matters of prohibited degrees they follow the same laws as the other Mahratha castes.

Mang Garodis admit into their community* members of other castes higher than themselves in social rank. No ceremony is observed on this occasion.

Mang Garodis marry their daughters either as infants or as adults, between the ages of 2 and 20. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated and if a girl become pregnant, her seducer is compelled to marry her. Polygamy is recognised and a man is allowed to have as many wives as he can afford to maintain.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony is very simple. A sheep or a fowl is killed as a sacrifice to their patron deity and the bride, dressed in green, and wearing green bangles and a black bead necklace, is taken to the wedding 'pal.' There the couple are made to stand face to face in bamboo baskets, a cloth is held between them and they are wedded with the sprinkling of grains over their heads. No Brahman attends the ceremony, but the functions of the priest are discharged by the caste elders. A bride-price amounting to Rs. 10 is paid to the parents of the girl.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised. A divorced wife may marry again

by the same rite as widows; but she forfeits the custody of all children she may have had by her first husband.

Inheritance.—In point of inheritance, Mang Garodis follow their own tribal usage. The price received for a girl becomes the property of her father and, failing him, it is divided equally among her brothers.

Religion.—Like other nomad tribes, Máng Gárodís are still animistic in their beliefs and worship ghosts, evil spirits and the gods of diseases, the chief of whom is Mari Ai, or the goddess that presides over cholera. When an epidemic breaks out in the camp, the goddess is worshipped with great pomp by the members of the caste. Bull buffaloes are sacrificed at her altar. The heads are buried before the shrine of the goddess and the trunks and limbs are cooked and eaten by her votaries. Under the influence of Brahmanism their primitive beliefs are undergoing a change and they now pay devotion to the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Khandoba is regarded by the caste as their patron deity and the dog, the emblem of the god, is worshipped by each householder on the light 6th of Margashirsha, when onions, brinjals and molasses are offered to the god and the caste people are feasted in his name. They pay reverence also to deified Mohamedan saints and martyrs (Pirs). The tiger is held in special reverence and no member will either injure or kill this wild beast. An oath by the dog is deemed sacred and binding.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture with the head pointing to the west. The grave is circular and at the bottom a niche is cut for the reception of the head and the chest. The body, after being smeared with oil and washed with water, is carried to the grave by two men in a cloth bag called a '*zoli*.' The body being lowered into the grave and the head and the chest of the corpse placed in the niche, the grave is filled in; the mourners bathe, hold grass in their mouths and return home. On the 3rd day after death three wheaten cakes are deposited on the top of the grave, one just over the head of the corpse, a second over the middle part and the third over its feet. On the 9th day, jaggery is distributed and a funeral feast is provided for caste brethren. Ancestors in general are propitiated once a year, when a new earthen pot is set up to

represent them and is worshipped with the sacrifice of a fowl. Mourning is observed seven days by some and nine days by others, no definite rule being prescribed on this point.

Social Status.—Mang Garodis occupy the lowest position in the Hindu social system, being only higher, in social rank, than Dakalwars, who are their genealogists and eat from their hands. Their touch is regarded as very impure and neither the village barber nor the village washerman will work for them. In matters of diet they have few scruples and eat beef, pork, mutton, fowl, wild cats, jackals, lizards and animals that have died a natural death. They eat the leavings of all castes, except the Dakalwars. They freely indulge in strong drinks.

Occupation.—As acrobats, Mang Garodis perform in the streets and entertain their audience by vaulting, tumbling, throwing summer-saults and exhibiting other physical feats. They also make bamboo mats, brooms and ropes and are occasionally engaged as farm labourers and in sinking wells. As already mentioned, they are looked upon by the police as cattle lifters and highway robbers and are not allowed to move from one place to another without a surveillance pass. This stringent measure seems to be producing the desired effect, as great numbers of them have repressed their criminal habits and are settling down to peaceful pursuits.

LXIX

MARATHA

(Titles:—Ji, Patel, Rao.)

Maratha—the chief fighting, landholding and cultivating caste of the Deccan, Berar and the Central Provinces, are confined, in Hyderabad Territory, to the Districts of Aurangabad, Bir, Parbhani and Usmanabad, parts of Nander and Bidar, and the Talukas of Sirpur and Rajura in the Adilabad district. Settlements of Marathas are also found in Telangana at Arégoi (a colony of Arés or Marathas) in the Tekmal taluka and its neighbourhood, where they are supposed to have come with the armies of Raghoji Bhosala early in the eighteenth century.

The Term Maratha.—The term Maratha, like the cognate terms Bengali, Telanga, Gujarathi and the like, is the titular designation of a people embracing all classes of society in Maharashtra, from the high caste Brahmans and Parbhus and the low caste Nhavis and Parits, to the lowest unclean classes of Mahars and Mangs. But within the people themselves the name is borne, as their special designation, by the large fighting and landholding community; while the name 'Kunbi' is popularly applied to those among them who are actually engaged in agricultural operations.

Concerning the derivation and origin of the name Maratha there has been much discussion and the question cannot be considered as having been finally settled. Some authorities derive it from the words '*Mara hatta*', occurring in Sanskrit dramas, and construe it as '*Marata*' *tab* '*hatatha*' meaning 'repulsed after death' and having reference to the proverbial tenacity of the Maratha race. Others hold that it is a corruption of the word Maha Rathod and accordingly trace the origin of Marathas to the Rathod family of Rajputana; but this derivation seems to be fictitious, as among the Rajputs there is no such family or gotra as Maha Rathod. Dr. Bhagwanlal, followed

by Mr. Fleet, derives it from Maharashtra, the great country, a name which the early Sanskrit-knowing settlers in Upper India are supposed to have given to the unknown land to the south of Hindusthan. On the other hand, Dr. John Wilson thinks that neither in its ancient geographical extent nor in its historical importance is any very good reason found for such a designation. He proposes to trace Maharashtra to Mahar-rashtra, the country of the Mahars (*Indian caste* ii—48). "But though the Mahars are a large and important class in the Marathi speaking country, their depressed state makes it unlikely that the country should have been called after them." According to Dr. Bhandarkar, Maharashtra is the Sanskritised form of Maharattah, that is the country of the Mahratthis or Maharatths (the great Ratthis), a tribe mentioned by Ashoka in the copy of his rock-cut edicts (B. C. 245) preserved at Girnar, in which the Mouryan Emperor states that he sent ministers of religion to the Rastikas or *Rattas* (Sansk: *Rashtrikas*), the people of Maharashtra. The suggestion that a branch of the Rattas, in very early times, took the name of *Maharatthas*, or Great Rattas, is supported by the practice of the Bhoja rulers of the Konkan and West Deccan, who are styled *Bhojas* in Ashok's thirteenth edict (B. C. 240) and *Mahabhojas* in rock-cut inscriptions in the Bedsa caves in Poona of about the first century after Christ. In the Telugu and Canerese districts the Rattas seem to be now represented by the Reddis, one of the leading classes of husbandmen.

Traditions of Origin.—The Marathas have no traditions which will throw light upon their origin. It would appear that the Maratha race was formed by the fusion of two great tribes represented, at the present day, by the Maratha (proper) and the 'Kunbi.' The high class Marathas are a fine manly race, as fair-skinned as Brahmans of the higher castes, of lofty stature, with the delicate Aryan type of features. They carry themselves with great native dignity and there is an indescribable air of refinement and high breeding in all they do or say. Their traditions are essentially warlike and the surnames they bear, Shirke, More, Mhosle, Mohite, recall many a stirring incident in Maratha history. They claim to be of Rajput descent, a claim which is undoubtedly based on historical grounds. "In 1836

the Raja of Satara sent a Shastri to the Rana of Udaipur to make enquiries regarding the origin of the Bhosles, a leading Maratha family. The Rana sent word that the Bhosle and his family were one and despatched with a messenger, Raghunath Sing Zale, a letter to the same effect, written by Raja Shahu in 1726 A. D. to Vaghi Sisode of Pimple, in Mewar (Udaipur). Raghunath Sing is reported to have satisfied himself, by enquiry at Satara, of the purity of blood of certain Maratha families, viz :—The Bhosles, Savants, Khanvilkars, Surves, Ghorpades, Chavans, Mohites, Nimbalkars, Sirkes, Ahirraos, Salonkhes, Manes, Jadhavs and several others. They profess to be divided into 96 (ninety-six) families or *kuls*, many of which, such as Chavan (Chohan), Pavar (Parmar), Salonke (Solanki), are corruptions of the names of well known Rajput clans, while the families More, and Cholke seem to represent the Maurya and Chalukya dynasties of ancient history. The members of this class profess to practise infant marriage, forbid the remarriage of widows and wear the sacred thread, being entitled, as they say, to the rank of Kshatriyas. The common Kunbi, on the other hand, is of medium height, sturdy, with dark skin and irregular features. He does not claim to be a Kshatriya, allows both adult marriage and the remarriage of widows and wears no thread to indicate the twice born status.” (Bombay Census Report 1911).

The Kunbis, on the whole, represent those in whom the Scythian, (Rioley's People of India) and the Marathas those in whom the Aryan, element predominates. Although the distinction between high class Marathas and humble Kunbis is thus well marked, it gradually fades away and the ordinary Marathas cannot be distinguished from the Maratha Kunbis, with whom they interdine and intermarry freely. There is, in fact, no hard and fast line of demarkation between the two classes and there are instances of well-to-do Kunbis rising to the higher rank as their means increased and adopting finally the title of Kshatriya.

Early History.—“The earliest mention of the name ‘Maratha’ occurs in an inscription of about 100 B. C., which runs *Maratha graniko Viro* meaning ‘the leader of the Marathas.’ Four other inscriptions in the Poona district mention gifts by a Maratha queen

and by persons who called themselves Maharathas. The country of the Maharatha was first mentioned in Mahavanso, a Ceylon Chronicle of the 5th century (480). Hiwen Tshang, the Chinese pilgrim (629-645), describes the warlike Maharathas as tall, boastful and proud. 'Whoever does them service (he says) may count upon their gratitude, but no one who offends them will escape their vengeance. If any one insults them, they risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If any one in trouble applies to them, forgetful to themselves they will hasten to help him. In battle they pursue fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves 'up.' About 1020 the Arab geographer, Ali Biruni, mentions Marath Des as a country south of the Narbada. In 1340 the famous Arab traveller Ibn Batuta notices that the people of Devgiri modern Daulatabad, were Marhathas." (Bombay Gazetteer).

It is not known under what form of Government the Marathas anciently dwelt. Early in the Christian era, Maharashtra is said to have been ruled by the great Shalivahan, whose capital was at Paithan on the Godavari. At a later period, a powerful dynasty of Chalukyas reigned over a large part of Maharashtra. The Chalukiyas rose to great power under Talap Dev in the 10th century and became extinct about the end of the 12th century, when the Yadav Rajas of Devgiri became supreme and were ruling at the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 1294. The Yadav dynasty was finally extinguished in 1312.

The Marathas are often mentioned by the historian Ferishta in his history of the Deccan (1290-1600). In his account of the Musalman Turk conquest under Ala-uddin Khilji and his generals, Ferishta refers to the Marathas as the people of the province of Maharat or Mherat, dependent on Daulatabad and apparently considered to centre in Paithan or, as it is written, Mheropatan. In 1318 Harpal, the son-in-law of the Devgiri chief, rebelled and forced the Musulmans to give up several districts of Marath. In 1370 Jadhav Maratha, the chief of the Naiks, revolted in Daulatabad and collected a great army at Paithan. Till the end of the Bahmani supremacy (1490), some Maratha chiefs, among them the Rajas of Jalna and Baglan in Nasik, were practically independent, paying no tribute for

years at a time; and even after this period, under the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur kings, one or two Maratha chiefs remained nearly independent. It appears in fact that prior to the time of Shivaji, the Maratha country was divided into little principalities and chieftanships, many of which were independent of the Mahomedan princes and never completely brought under subjection. Towards the close of the 17th century, they suddenly started on a career of conquest, during which they obtained control over a great portion of India and established governments of shorter and longer duration at Satara, Kolhapur, Gwalior, Nagpur, Indore, Gujarath and Tanjore.

* **Characteristics.**—As a class, the Marathas are simple, frank, independent, liberal and courteous and, when kindly treated, trustful. They are a manly and intelligent race, proud of their former greatness, fond of display and show and careful to hide poverty. Maratha women are kind, affable and simple and, with few exceptions, are good wives and managers.

Internal Structure.—The Marathas have no endogamous divisions, but a sort of loose, not properly developed, hypergamy prevails among the caste. The Marathas proper are allowed to marry the daughters of Kunbis, but the latter could on no account secure a girl in marriage from their social superiors. The line between these is not, however, well defined and, excepting the rich Marathas and poorer Kunbis, intermarriages among them are freely allowed. For the purpose of exogamy the Marathas are divided into ninety-six 'kuls' each of which is further sub-divided into a number of surnames. Besides these surnames, Maratha families have 'Devaks', or sacred symbols, which appear to have been originally totems and affect marriage to the extent that a man cannot marry a woman whose 'Devak', reckoned on the male side, is the same as his own. They are totems, worshipped during marriage and other important ceremonies.

The following are the chief *devaks* :—

The *panch pallav*, or five leaves of :—

1. Wadh :—*Ficus indica*.
2. Pipal :—*Ficus religiosa*.
3. Hariali :—*Cynodon dactylon*.
4. Apta.—*Brauhimia racemosa*.

5. Jambul :—*Eugenia jambolana*.—also

Kadamb :—*Anthocephalus Cadamba*.

Lotus :—*Nelumbium speciosum*.

Conch shell.

Turmeric tubers.

Gold.

Keora, Kedgi :—*Pandanus odoratissimus*.

Umbar, Guler :—*Ficus glomerata*.

Nag champa :—*Mesua ferrea*.

Rui :—*Calatropis gigantea*.

Peacock's feather.

Lamps :—360 in number.

Sword.

Mango leaf :—*Mangifera indica*.

Bhardwaj :—Feather of a crow pheasant.

Bamboo.

Wreath of Onions.

Rudrāksha :—*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*.

Surya Kant :—*Crystal*.

Shami :—*Prosopis spicigera*.

Eagle's feathers.

Nirgur, or Santhalu Sanbhatu :—*Vitex Negundo* or *trifolia*.

Marvil :—*Andropogon scandens*—(*Bauhinia racemosa*?)

Aghada :—*Achyranthes aspera*.

Marriage.—A man may marry his maternal uncle's daughter. He may also marry two sisters, provided that he does not marry the younger first. Polygamy is permitted and, in theory, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Practically, however, the standard of living of the caste limits him to two.

The Marathas marry their daughters either as infants or as adults; but the former usage is regarded as more respectable from the social point of view. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type. The first step towards initiating proposals for marriage is taken by the father or guardian of the bridegroom. After the preliminary negotiations, as regards the bride or bridegroom price have been completed, both parties being satisfied with their mutual inspection,

it is ascertained whether the horoscopes of the bridal pair agree and that there are no objections to the marriage on the ground of the sameness of Devak; auspicious days are then fixed by consulting a Brahmin for—

1. Besmearing the bride and bridegroom with turmeric and oil.
2. The wedding rite.
3. 'Sade' or procession to bring the bridal pair to the bridegroom's house.

The wedding takes place at the girl's house and the boy is conducted in procession from his own to the girl's village. The *mandap*, or marriage pandal, made of Mango, Umbar and Jambul leaves and supported on five pillars, is erected at the houses of both parties, with the difference that at the girl's house an earthen platform (Bohola) is built under the marriage booth.

The following observances make up the marriage ceremony as celebrated by the Marathas :—

1. *Kunku Lavne* :—(betrothal) the boy's father goes to the girl's house and presents her with two pieces of bodice cloth and jewels, smears her forehead with Kunku (red aniline powder) and puts sweetmeat in her mouth.
2. On the next day the girl's father and friends visit the boy and is entertained by his father.
3. Turmeric ceremony :—Two or three days previous to the wedding the bride and her mother are besmeared with turmeric powder mixed with fragrant oil and are bathed by five married women whose husbands are living. The bride is then dressed in yellow clothes and presented with jewels by the boy's mother. The 'Muhurta Medh,' or wedding post, is planted at the entrance of the marriage pandal. A part of the turmeric prepared for the bride is sent, accompanied by music, for the use of the bridegroom, who has to undergo the same process of besmearing as the bride.
4. Worship of the Devak, or marriage guardian :—This ceremony is performed by both parties each in their own house. A day or two previous to the wedding a branch of the tree, representing the 'Devak' of the family, is placed in a

winnowing fan and brought in procession to the house. It is placed near the family gods and worshipped with offerings of flowers. In the meanwhile girls wash a grinding stone (jate), daub it with sandal paste and offer flowers and sweetmeats to it.

5. *Simant Pujan*, or the ceremonial reception of the bridegroom at the boundary of the girl's village :—A procession is formed conducting the bridegroom on horse back to the girl's village where, on arrival, they stop at the temple of the village Maruti. One of the company, a relative of the boy and known for the occasion as Wardhava, is sent to the girl's house to intimate to her father that the boy and his party have arrived. Thereupon the girl's father, with friends and music, goes to meet the bridegroom's party. The combined parties then proceed to the girl's house.
6. On arrival the boy dismounts; a ball of cooked rice is waved over his head and thrown aside and his eyelids are touched with water. After this he is conducted to a seat under the wedding canopy and near the earthen platform (Bohola). At the auspicious moment the bride joins him and is seated on the left of the bridegroom.
7. *Antarpat* :—The bridal pair are made to stand in bamboo baskets facing each other and a curtain is held between them. The priest repeats *mantras*, or sacred texts, and the guests throw red coloured rice over them. This is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony.
8. *Kanyádan* :—The girl's maternal uncle puts the girl's right hand into those of the bridegroom and her father pours water over their hands. This symbolises the giving away of the bride by her father and the acceptance of the gift by the bridegroom. After Kanyadan has been performed, the bridegroom ties the *Mangal sutra*, or the string of black beads, round the girl's neck.
9. *Hom*, or sacred fire :—The bridal pair, with their garments

knotted, are seated on the earthen platform, the bride to the left of her husband. Hom, or sacred fire, is kindled before them and ghi is thrown over it. When the fire is well ablaze, the bridal pair walk round it seven times, keeping it always to their right.

10. *Kankān bandhanam* :—Thread bracelets are tied on the wrists of the bridal pair.

The next three days are spent in feasting and merry-making. On the fourth day *Sade* takes place, that is the bridal pair return in procession to the bridegroom's house. This ends the marriage.

Even though a girl has attained puberty, the consummation does not form part of the marriage ceremony. The consummation ceremony is put off till the girl's first menopause after the marriage. In performing the ceremony of puberty the girl is seated in a separate room. She is dressed in a new sari and bodice, her forehead is besmeared with vermilion on which rice grains are stuck and lines of vermilion are drawn on her feet. Female friends and relatives present her with sweet dishes, and musicians are engaged to play at the house, while the ceremony lasts. The girl is unclean for three days. On the fourth she is smeared with turmeric and oil and bathed and a lucky day between the fourth and the sixteenth is named for the performance of the *Garbhadan* ceremony (purification of the womb). On the morning of the auspicious day, the girl and her husband are besmeared with turmeric and fragrant oil and bathed while music plays. After exchanging clothes the couple make obeisance to the family gods and the elders. At noon a feast is given to women. In the evening the ceremony called *Otibharan*, or lap filling, is performed. The pair are seated on two low wooden stools set in a square of rice or wheat, the girl to the left of the boy, and the foreheads of both are bedaubed with vermilion. Grains of rice are stuck on the vermilion and married women fill a fold of the girl's sari with a bodice cloth, wheat, cocoanut, fruit and betelnuts. The couple are presented with clothes and jewels by their respective fathers-in-law, after which they retire.

The remarriage of widows is strictly forbidden nor is divorce permitted among the high class Marathas; but the Kunbis allow

their widows to marry again. The ceremony is very simple. The bride is presented with one rupee by the bridegroom for the purchase of bangles. On a dark night the bridal pair are seated side by side and the Brahmin officiating at the ceremony ties their garments in a knot and daubs their foreheads with *Kunkum* (red powder). Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the caste panchayat and divorced wives may marry again by the same form as widows.

Religion.—The rich and high class Marathas follow the Brahmanic religious usages, observing almost all the sixteen sacraments (*Sanskaras*) and conducting their daily worship in a Brahmanic fashion. The religion of kunbis in general is a sort of Animism with a veneer of Hinduism. Their chief objects of worship are Bhairav, Bhavani, Khandoba, Mhasoba, Maroti, Vaghoba, Vithoba, Munja, Vir, and the sisters Jokhai, Janai, Kalkai, Metisai, Mukai and Navlai.

Bhairav, the usual village guardian, has two forms, 'Kal Bhairav' and 'Bal Bhairav.' Kal Bhairav is represented as a man standing with a *damaru* (drum shaped hour glass) in one hand and a trident in the other. A slab of stone daubed with vermilion and oil represents Bal Bhairav. Bhairav is supposed to cure snakebite and foretell, by signs, whether an undertaking will prosper or fail. Twice a year, at the time of reaping and sowing, he is worshipped with offerings of goats and cocks. Children are dedicated to this god by Kunbis in fulfilment of a vow and enrolled subsequently into the Bharadi caste.

Bhavani (consort of Shiv) is worshipped in the form of a rude image, sword in hand, with offerings of goats and cocks. The goddess is the tutelary deity of all Marathas, high as well as low, and has a shrine at Tuljapur in the Usmanabad District, to which all her devotees have to make pilgrimage at least once in their lives.

Khandoba, an incarnation of Shiv and guardian deity of the Deccan, has a three-fold aspect. As a horseman, with sword in hand and his wife Mhalsabai sitting by his side, he is Malhari, the form he took when he destroyed the demons Mani and Malla. As an animal, he is the dog who runs besides his horse and is called Khandi. As a plant, he is turmeric powder, under the name of Bhandar. The god is universally worshipped in the Deccan and has

a temple at Jejuri which is said to be very rich, 50,000 rupees being expended yearly in the expenses and establishment for the deity. The god and his spouse are bathed in Ganges water, perfumed with l'tr of roses, and decorated with gems. The revenues are derived from houses and lands given by pious people and from presents and offerings constantly made by all descriptions of votaries and visitors, according to their means. To this god, as to Bhavani, children are devoted, the boys after dedication being called 'Wagh'es' and the girls 'Murlis'. The image of his horse is made of metal and not of stone or wood.

Mhasoba, or Mhaskoba, the most widely feared of all the evil spirits, is represented by an unhewn stone smeared with vermilion and oil. He is believed to be instigated, by evil minded men, to terrorise and black-mail people and a kunbi fearing the wrath of the deity will make any offering to appease him.

Maroti, also called Hanuman, is worshipped in the form of a rudely engraved figure of a monkey. No village in Marathawada is without a temple of Maroti, which is situated either inside or outside the village, but generally at the gate. He is a kindly god, saviour of those possessed by evil spirits and very fond of cocoanuts.

Vaghoba, the tiger god, is worshipped as the guardian of village cattle from the attacks of tigers.

Munjas are the spirits of male ancestors who die unmarried, while the spirits of the married are called 'Vir'. These are worshipped in every Maratha household.

The sisters, Jokhai, Janai, etc., or local mothers as they are called, represent the terrible character of Bhavani and are supposed to do much mischief. They blast crops, plague men with sickness and carry off travellers.

When cholera breaks out, the members of the caste make a variety of offerings to Mari Ai, while Sitala, or the goddess presiding over small pox, is propitiated when an epidemic rages. Besides these minor deities, the Marathas reverence the greater gods of the Hindu pantheon, such as Shiv, Ramachandra, Ganpati, Krishna, Dattatraya and others. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The tools of the craft are honoured

on Dasera, or the 10th of the light half of Asin (October).

The principal festivals observed are :—

1. Holi or Shimgá :—This begins on the full moon of Falguna (March) and ends on Rangapanchmi, or the 5th of the dark half. At night a great bonfire of cowdung cakes is made and men and children gather round it vociferating violently and making a great noise. The night is spent in singing and dancing, in which boys, dressed like dancing girls, play the part of women. Next day the people give themselves up to boisterous mirth, giving full vent to their passions and a regular saturnalia ensues, during which boys forget their reverence for elders and men their respect for women. Women take no part in these proceedings.
2. Nág Panchami, observed in honour of the cobra snake on the fifth of the light half of Shrávan (July). The women of the village, after feasting, resort in the afternoon with music to a white-ant hill in which a cobra is believed to be and offer milk and sugar before the hill while the priest recites prayers. They join hands and dance round the ant-hill in a ring, alternately stooping and rising and keeping time to a song sung in chorus. At intervals they take parched rice and throwing it on each other's heads inquire their husband's name.
Note.—In most castes a woman will not pronounce her husband's name.
3. Mahalaxmi festival: This takes place in Bhádrapad (August-September). A figure of Laxmi is painted on paper and worshipped by women with offerings of flowers, fruit and sweetmeats.
4. Polá :—This also takes place in August. The oxen are allowed rest on this day and worshipped by their masters. Their horns are decked with tassels of Palas fibre (*Butea frondosa*), garlands of flowers are put round their necks and they are fed with sugar. In the evening they are driven round the village Maroti's temple. The day ends with a feast.

5. Pitra Puksha :—Feast to the manes of male ancestors.
6. Dasera :—Commemoration of the fight between Ram and Ravan, or of the defeat of the buffalo-demon Mahisasur by the goddess Bhavani. Horses are bathed and decorated with flowers, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled over them. In the evening the villagers cross in a body the village boundary, worship the Aptatree (*Bauhinia racemosa*), offer its leaves to the village gods, exchange them among friends and then return home.
7. Divali :—Illuminations in honour of the event of Mahadev killing the demon Narkasur. It continues for three days, spent in feasting, illuminations and fireworks.
8. Shivratra :—Fast in honour of Shiv.
9. Padva :—New year's day.
10. Akshatritiya :—Offerings of water are made to three generations of dead ancestors and field operations for the new year begin.

In the Holi, the Pola and Dasera festivals, one great point is the acknowledgment of seniority in the village. At Holi, a heap of cow-dung cakes is made and the senior man worships before it first and then the others in turn. At Pola, a rope is held up and the cattle pass in procession underneath it according to the position of their owners. At the Dasera the senior man in the village tells the Mang to bring a male buffalo or sheep. He then wounds it on the neck and puts some of the blood on the threshold of the village temple; the buffalo or sheep is then taken before the idol and decapitated and its head is buried in front of the idol.

Spirits, Sorcery and Superstitions.—The Kunbis have a strong belief in spirits (Bhut) and the black art. Women who die in childbirth, persons who are murdered, or die a violent death or with their desires in this world unfulfilled, are liable, after death, to reappear as 'Bhuts,' or malevolent ghosts, and trouble the living. The male ghosts are called 'Zotings' and the female ghosts 'Hadal'. Among the worst female ghosts are the seven water nymphs called Jaldevatas, or Asras, who carry off handsome youths. The Asras are the ghosts of young women, who, after giving birth to one or more

children, commit suicide by drowning themselves. Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder (*kunkum*) and bodice cloth. Ghosts haunt large trees, lonely places, empty houses and old wells and are generally seen or heard at noon or midnight. They take many forms—a deer, a tall figure, or a strange ox or goat. The ghost enters into the body of a person, maddens him, destroys his cattle, kills his family and turns his joy into sorrow. In such cases an exorcist (Jhanta) (wise 'man) is called in to identify the spirit at work and to appease it by gifts of money, goats and fowls. Gethal, the leader of ghosts, is also approached by the patient and promised a fowl or a goat if he will order his spirits to cease troubling. The services of Jhantas (exorcists) are also called in to ascertain whether the misfortunes or ailments from which a man is suffering are due to the displeasure of deities or to witchcraft and to prescribe the cure. The evil eye is believed in and its influence is attributed to inordinate appetite on the part of the person who has overlooked any object. Its effects may be averted by mixing red mustard seeds and salt, waving the mixture round the head three times and then throwing it into the fire. To ward off the evil from the crops, a blackened earthen pot, with rude devices scrawled on it in white paint, is stuck up in the fields. A Kunbi will never congratulate a friend on his prosperity, his fine oxen or his handsome wife. If he does, ill luck may befall, and the friend be deprived of his good fortune.

Child-Birth.—A Maratha woman is unclean for ten days after childbirth, during which time no one except the midwife is allowed to touch her. When labour approaches, a detached room in the house is prepared for her, to which she retires and from which fresh air is excluded as far as possible. The duty of the midwife is to make the patient walk to and fro so as to increase the pains and, when the child is born, to cut the navel string with a knife and announce the event to the relatives of the woman. After the cord has been passed over the face of the child and buried, the mother and child are smeared with turmeric and oil and bathed in hot water. The mother is given butter and myrrh pills and the child is dosed with three or four drops of castor oil. The mother is fumigated by burning 'Vavading' (*Embelia*

Ribes), 'Owa' or Ajwan (*Carum copticum*) and 'Baluntshcp or Soya, Dill (*Peucedanum graveolens*), in the room and is laid, with her child, on a cot with a small fire of live coal set under it. That no evil spirit may enter the room, an earthen pot of cow's urine is placed at the door and all visitors are required to sprinkle a few drops of the urine on their feet before they enter. An oil lamp, placed within the room, is kept burning throughout the night. On the fifth and the sixth days after birth, Mother Satwar is worshiped, in the form of an armless image, with offering of flowers, fruit and cooked food and invoked to protect the child from evil influences. On the 10th day the house is plastered with cowdung, the mother bathes and is free from child impurity. On the 12th day after birth the child is named and a feast is given to relatives and members of the caste in honour of the event. The ceremony is called Bârsi. The child receives two names, one after the star under which it is supposed to have been born, and the other a familiar name by which it is called. Prayers for the child are offered to Kul Swami and to the household gods and Brahmins are sometimes feasted. In the second year the child's hair is cut, the ceremony being called 'Jaiwal'.

Disposal of the Dead.—When a Maratha dies, a small piece of gold is put in the mouth of the deceased. The body is bathed, dressed in a white sheet and laid on a bier, to which it is tied fast with strings. After betel leaves, flowers and red powder have been thrown upon it, it is carried to the burning ground on the shoulders of relatives and friends. On arrival there, the corpse is again bathed and laid head southward on the funeral pyre, which is composed generally of cowdung cakes. When the body is nearly consumed, the party bathe and return home. In the meanwhile the women smear the whole house of the deceased with cowdung, spread rice flour on the spot where the deceased breathed his last, set a burning lamp on it and cover the lamp with a bamboo basket. On their return the funeral party examine the spot where the rice flour is spread to see if there are any marks resembling the prints of an animal's foot. If any mark bearing resemblance to an animal's foot print is seen, it is believed that the spirit of the dead has passed into the animal indicated by the foot-

print. On the third day after death, the ashes are collected and, except a few bones which are buried somewhere near the burning ground, are taken to a river and thrown into the water. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death when *pindās*, or balls of rice, are offered to the spirit of the deceased. On the eleventh day the mourners, who have been impure since the death, are cleansed and present Brahmins with money and clothes. A feast, on the thirteenth day, to the relatives and members of the caste concludes the funeral ceremony. Libations of water are offered for the benefit of departed ancestors in general in the dark half of the month of Bhadrapad (August-September) and on the third day of the light half of Vaishak (May).

Social Status.—The social status of Marathas differs according to the different grades of society. The high class Marathas, especially those related to ruling families, claim to be Kshatriyas, profess to follow Vedic rites and eat cooked food only from the hands of Brahmins and from no other castes. The middle classes among the Marathas are not so punctilious in their observances and will eat from those castes who abstain from flesh and strong drinks. The ordinary Kunbi, on the other hand, has no scruples to eat with a Mali, Koli, Dhargar, Hatkar or with other communities holding the same social position. As regards diet, a Maratha will eat fowl and fish and the flesh of goats, deer, hare, pigeon and quail and indulge occasionally in strong drink.

Occupation.—The bulk of the Marathas follow agriculture as their chief occupation. They are occupancy and non-occupancy raiats, some have acquired substantial tenures, while a few earn a livelihood as landless day labourers. Many of the caste are employed as personal servants in the households of the higher castes. Many of them are Patels, or village headmen, holding service lands. Some of them are Deshmukhs who were formerly the superior officers of Pargana or revenue divisions. They were employed by the earliest Mohamedan governments and acted as middlemen between the cultivators and the State. In course of time they rose to great local importance and became landed proprietors and Zamindars. The Deshmukhs have now no official duties; but their families enjoy certain allowances

which are charged against the land revenue. A small proportion of the Marathas have taken to other pursuits and are either members of learned professions or of Government service. The Maratha regiments of the Indian army are mainly recruited from the members of this caste.

Maratha Kunbis are excellent cultivators and in the management of the staple food crops they show remarkable talents. In gardening, they are less skilful than the Malis. To ensure an abundant crop of sugarcane the following custom is observed by the Maratha Kunbis. Some pieces of cane are arranged in the form of a tiger and the planter, squatting before the figure, worships it with offerings of flowers, sandal paste, wheat-cakes and parched rice.

The Marathi speaking cultivators, found in the northern part of the Adilabad district, are popularly supposed to be an offshoot from the Maratha Kunbis. Very little is, however, known concerning their origin, nor have they any traditions which will throw light upon the subject. They are divided into three sub-castes. Khaira, Dhanojia and Tirole, who interdine but do not intermarry. The Dhanojias are dark in complexion and coarse featured while the physical characteristics of the other two are much the same as those of Maratha Kunbis.

Their exogamous sections are mostly of the territorial character with a little admixture of totemistic names. The following are given as specimens :—

Territorial.

Rajurkar (Rajura).
 Machankar.
 Lonare (Lonar in Berar).
 Nagpurya (Nagpur).
 Bonkar.
 Malikar.
 Kondhekar.

Totemistic.

Gadgya (earthen pot).
 Pippal Shendya (Pipal tree).
 Kakdya (cucumber).

Aswalya (bear).

Maske (butter).

Marriage within the same section is forbidden. Infant marriage is in full force, girls being married between the ages of one and five and the boys between three and ten years. Polygamy is permitted without limit, but a man cannot marry more than one unmarried girl, the others must be widows or divorced wives.

The marriage ceremony is partly of the Maratha, and partly of the Telugu type. After the inspection of the bride and the bridegroom by their respective parents, the question of brideprice to be paid to parents is settled. The amount varies from fifteen rupees to thirty rupees according to the circumstances of the bridegroom's party. Marriage pandals are erected at the houses of both parties, with the exception that at the girl's house a circular earthen platform, with a post of Sal planted in the centre, is built under the wedding booth. The wedding takes place at sunset. As among Maratha Kunbis, *Antarpat* is deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Widows may marry again and are bound by no conditions in their choice of a second husband, except that they must not infringe the rules regarding prohibited degrees. The ceremony in use at the remarriage of a widow is the same as is described in the article on the Barai caste. Divorce is permitted on various grounds, and divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same form as widows. In matters of religion the members of the community affect to be orthodox Hindus, and regard Kuddhan with special reverence. Among their other gods are Bhavani and Balaji. Ancestral worship is in full force and the souls of all departed ancestors are worshipped in the form of silver plates with embossed figures. The dead are burned and libations of water are poured forth for the propitiation of ancestors in the month of Bhadrapad. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. Agriculture is believed to be their original occupation and in point of social status they hold the same position in Adilabad as Maratha Kunbis in the Marathawada districts, ranking below the Brahman, Komti, Lingayat, Marwadi and other castes who abstain from flesh and drink.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Marathas in, 1911 :—

				Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	...	...	...	3,200	3,096
Atraf-i-Balda	...	...	...	4,223	4,064
Warangal	...	...	...	4,814	4,640
Karimnagar	...	...	...	8,710	8,014
Adilabad	...	...	...	42,990	42,861
Medak	...	...	...	1,781	1,693
Nizamabad	...	...	...	3,154	3,148
Mahbubnagar	...	...	...	905	888
Nalgunda	...	...	...	2,824	2,023
Aurangabad	...	...	...	158,453	158,490
Bir	...	...	...	122,095	122,088
Nander	...	...	...	77,459	77,452
Parbhani	...	...	...	136,523	137,597
Gulbarga	...	...	...	20,040	19,917
Usmanabad	...	...	...	123,672	118,578
Raichur	...	...	...	3,959	3,654
Bidar	...	...	...	58,076	57,793

LXX

MARWADI (Bania)

Marwadi Bania, Mahajan, Sahukar—a term denoting the commercial classes that came from Marwar and settled in these dominions. They are found all over the country, but chiefly abound in the cities of Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Jalna, Parbhani, Nander, Gulbarga and other centres of commercial activity. Among native traders they occupy a pre-eminent rank, being mill-owners, bankers, brokers, money-lenders, grain and cloth dealers and shopkeepers. The majority of these settlers keep in communication with their native land, visiting it from time to time, and many return home in old age to pass the remainder of their days in peace. They are fine looking, tall, strongly built men with affable manners and industrious habits. Their thrift and love of money is proverbial.

Internal Structure.—The Marwadi Banias include (1) Mesri or Mahesri, (2) Agarwal, (3) Oswal, (4) Porwal, (5) Shrawak and several other sub-castes.

LXX-A

MARWADI-MESRI

Mesri or Mahesari—profess to trace their descent from the Rajputs of the Chauchan, Panwar and Salunki clans and owe their name to the following legend :—A Rajput prince of the Chauchan clan went out one day on a hunting excursion accompanied by seventy-two followers. While wandering in the jungles, they saw some Rishis performing a sacrifice and, under the influence of intoxication, disturbed the sacrificial rites. The enraged sages pronounced a curse upon them and turned the whole party into stones. At the entreaty of Párwati, Mahesha (Mahadeo) restored them to life and enjoined them, under the name of Mahesari (devotees of Mahesha), to follow in

future the occupation of Vaishyas, or traders.

Internal Structure.—The Mahesaris are divided into 72 exogamous sections or 'Khamps' each being founded by one of the followers of the Rajput prince. These sections are said to be further divided and subdivided into 989 sub-sections or 'Nakhas.'

The following is the list of the 22 'Khamps':—

Mundada.	Chatadangya.	Jakhatya.
Malu.	Buba.	Kahaliya Banali.
Adal.	Jaju.	Padtati.
Soni.	Chopada.	Nayati.
Malpani.	Kantadi.	Bindala.
Daga.	Heda.	Gatani.
Chandaga.	Baladi.	Bhandari.
Tapadiya.	Lada.	Tawari.
Kayara.	Bayani.	Lakhotya.
Lavari.	Bajaj.	Somani.
Bangar.	Sajada.	Sodhani.
Inani.	Luya.	Sara.
Kankani.	Bangdya.	Kalani.
Navandhar.	Bharad.	Barla.
Baldava.	Totala.	Chapparwal.
Khatur.	Asava.	Agiwal.
Malanialani.	Bhujada.	Randada.
Darak.	Mudani.	Banali.
Mantri.	Zumavar.	Hurkat.
Rathi.	Mandhanya.	Girila.
Navagaja.	Tusaniwal.	Kabra.
Bhura.	Magad.	Ajmera.
Bayati.	Manyar.	Gagrani.
Karwa.	Khadloya.	Agsor.

The gotra rule, or the prohibition of marriage into one's own gotra, is elaborately supplemented. Thus a man is forbidden to marry a woman (1) descended from his paternal or maternal grandfather, great-grandfather or great great-grandfather, (2) descended from his maternal or paternal aunt. He is allowed to marry the younger sister of his wife but not when the latter is alive.

Marriage.—Girls are married both as infants and as adults between the ages of 9 and 16. Immediately after the ceremony, an adult girl is sent to her husband's house. If married as an infant, the girl has to wait until the performance of a ceremony, which may be deferred till the girl attains the age of maturity, but which is generally performed one year, three years, or five years after the marriage ceremony. If a girl goes wrong before marriage she is turned out of the caste. Polygamy is permitted to any extent theoretically, but is rarely practised in actual life and is resorted to only if the first wife is barren or incurably diseased. It is not unusual for girls to be married to boys who are younger than themselves. The Mahesaris are said to pay prices for brides which sometimes amount to Rs. 5,000. The marriage ceremony is celebrated on the model of that of Marwadi Brahmins and comprises many and complicated rites. The family priest, with a barber, is employed as match-maker and his first care is to see if the horoscopes of the couple agree, so that their matrimonial union may prove fruitful and happy. The marriage ceremony begins with Haldi, or the ceremonial besmearing of the bridal pair with turmeric paste and oil. Earthen pots are next brought in procession from the potter's house by each party separately and placed near the household deities. Previous to the wedding, the guardian and village deities, the nine planets and the souls of departed ancestors are propitiated and invoked to attend the ceremony. On the wedding morning bridal presents, consisting of the bride's clothes, ornaments and other articles are conveyed to her house. The wedding takes place at night. Towards evening the bridegroom, dressed in a costly robe wearing two Bashingams and holding a sword in his right hand, is seated on a richly caparisoned mare. Before the procession starts to the bride's house the bridegroom's mother feeds the mare, washes her feet and bedaubes them with Kunkum.

On the arrival of the procession at the bride's house, a festoon of mango leaves (*toran*) and a wooden sparrow are hung at the entrance door and are struck by the bridegroom with the sword in his hand or with a twig of Nim (*Melia indica*). After the bride's mother has washed the mare's feet and smeared the bridegroom's eyes with lamp black, he is made to dismount and stand on a wooden stool outside the

entrance door. The bride is brought by her maternal uncle in his arms and carried three times round the bridegroom. She is then made to stand to the right of the bridegroom and their garments are knotted by the officiating priest. This over, the bridal pair enter the house, the bride leading the way, and are seated side by side before the marriage deity (*dewak*), the bride to the right of her husband. After the deity has been worshipped, the lucky string (*mangalsutra*) is tied about the bride's neck, and ivory bracelets are put on her wrist, by the officiating Brahmin. *Homa*, or sacrificial fire, is kindled and the bride's parents perform *Kanyadan*, or the formal entrusting of their daughter to the care of her husband. The bride, followed by the bridegroom, walks six times round the sacred fire, and resumes her seat, the bridegroom being seated on her left. Here, in the presence of all the relatives, the bridegroom offers to take the bride to his left side on condition that she promises to be ever faithful, obedient and loving to him. The bride, on exacting a like promise from the bridegroom, gives her consent and the happy couple circumambulate the fire the 7th time, the bridegroom on this occasion leading the way. This last round is deemed the essential or binding portion of the ceremony and cements their alliance, the bride in future being privileged to sit to the left of her husband. Neither widow marriage nor divorce is recognised by the caste.

Religion.—The majority of the Mahesaris are Vaishnavas both of the Vallabhacharya and the Ramanand sects. A few belong to the Digamber sect of Jains. These sectarian differences, however, offer no bar to intermarriages and the girl after marriage is admitted to the sect of her husband. The special deity of the Vaishnavas is Balaji, or the juvenile form of Shri Krishna worshipped in the month of Aswin (October-November). Those who are Jains worship the 24 Tirthankars, among whom prominence is given to the last Tirthankars, Parasnath and Mahabir. Channyati Brahmins are employed as priests. Besides these, they worship all the Hindu deities and keep all Hindu festivals. Their special festival, however, is Holi, celebrated on the 15th of Falgun (March-April). On this occasion men and women give themselves up to devilish mirth, abandoning all ideas of modesty and decency. An obscene figure of Nathuram

is set up and its worship forms the order of the day. Women, wishing to be fertile, are said to strip themselves naked and embrace the figure.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt in a lying position. The ashes are thrown into the river Ganges. Daily *Shradh* is performed in honour of the deceased from the 3rd to the 12th day after death and on the 13th a grand feast is given to which all the caste people are invited. Children dying under five years of age are buried. When a Mahesari dies all the male members of his family are required to shave their heads and moustaches.

Occupation.—Whatever may have been their original occupation they are now engaged as shop-keepers, money-lenders and in other commercial pursuits. None of them are Zamindars; and their relation to land extends to mortgages of lands and jagirs.

Social Status.—Socially the Marwadi Baniyas rank next to Brahmins and all the inferior castes accept food from their hands. Brahmins eat *pakki* prepared by these people. The members of the sub-caste abstain from eating flesh or drinking wine. They are even said to abstain from the use of garlic, carrots and onions.

LXX-B

MARWADI-AGARWAL

(Titles :—Set and Lal.)

The Agarwals take their name from Raja Agarsen, who is supposed to have been a descendant of Raja Dhanpal, the original ancestor of the sub-caste. According to a legendary account, Kumud, king of the Nagas (serpents), gave his beautiful daughter Madhavi in marriage to Raja Agarsen in preference to Indra who was one of her suitors. The Raja performed seventeen sacrifices, each being attended with the birth of a son to him. Before the eighteenth sacrifice was completed, the Raja was so filled with disgust at the animal slaughter it involved that he stopped it when half-finished. The seventeen sons became the founders of the 17 gotras, while the son born in virtue of the 18th sacrifice represented the half gotra Govin.

The names of the eighteen sections are as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| (1) Gargya | (10) Airan |
| (2) Govil | (11) Tairan |
| (3) Gawal | (12) Thingal |
| (4) Batsil | (13) Tittal |
| (5) Kasil | (14) Mitral |
| (6) Singhal. | (15) Tundal |
| (7) Mangal | (16) Tayal |
| (8) Bhaddal | (17) Gobhil |
| (9) Tingal | (18) Govin. |

The snake is regarded as the maternal uncle by the members of these sections and is held in great honour, being neither killed nor molested.

The Agarwalas are divided into two classes, (1) Bisa Agarwala and (2) Dasa Agarwala, the latter being the illegitimate offspring of an Agarwala by a Sudra woman. These two classes will neither interline nor intermarry.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue. Polygamy is theoretically permitted but is rarely practised. Divorce is unknown. Widows are not allowed to marry again. A woman taken in adultery is expelled from the caste. The marriage ceremony does not differ from that of the Mesris except that the bride is not carried round the bridegroom at the *Torana* but both make all the 7 *pheras* (circumambulations) round the sacrificial fire.

Religion.—In matters of religion the Agarwalas are either Hindus of the Vaishnava sect, or Jains of the Digamber sect. As among the Mesris, intermarriages between the members of these two sects are freely allowed. Their special goddess is Laxmi, worshipped in the Divali festival. Chunnayati (Marwari) Brahmins serve them as priests.

The Agarwalas are an enterprising people and have spread all over the country. They are bankers, shop-keepers, money-lenders. The social status of the Agarwalas is as high as that of the Mesris and other mercantile classes of Marwar.

LXX-C

MARWADI-OSWAL

The Oswál, like the Mesris, claim a Rajput descent, and derive their name from Osia or Osa Nagar in Marwar. The bulk of Oswáls follow the tenets of the Shwetambar sects of Jains. They pay homage to Parasnath, Mahabirs and other Tirthankars or Jain prophets. Their priests are Jatis, or Jain mendicants, who perform all the religious ceremonies for them. Girls are married as infants or adults. The marriage ceremony closely corresponds to that of the Agarwal caste. Widows are not allowed to remarry nor is 'divorce permitted. The dead are burnt, but no *Shradha* is performed to propitiate the souls of the deceased. They have several endogamous divisions, while their exogamous groups are unusually large. Only a few of the Oswáls are Vaishnavas. They have the title 'Sing' attached to their names.

LXX-D

MARWADI-PORWAL

The Porwals are not so numerous in H. E. H. the Nizam's Domions as are the foregoing classes. They are said to have been originally Rajputs of Pal in Gujarath, but converted to Jainism some 700 years ago. They are principally traders and advance loans to the cultivators at exorbitant rates. In this respect they are a curse to their debtors. Their marriage ceremony resembles that of Oswáls. High prices are sometimes taken by Porwals for their daughters, and if they can but get a high price they give away their daughters even to old men. Their women are not secluded as among the Agarwals, Oswáls and Mahesari castes.

Besides these mercantile classes, other castes coming from Marwad are found in the Hyderabad territory and are generally included among the Marwadi groups. They are (1) Marwadi Sonar, (2) Marwadi Darji, (3) Marwadi Lakhera, (4) Maha Brahmin. Marwadi Sonars—a gold-smith class who are said to have originally come from Bhenial in Marwad. They are divided into two sub-castes : (1) Med Sonar, (2) Brahman Sonar. These do not intermarry nor eat or drink together.

LXX-E

MARWADI-MED SONAR

Med Sonars have a legend according to which they are the descendants of one Siksu, who was created by their family goddess from the dirt off her body in order to kill the demon Kanakasur. They have several exogamous groups, of which the following may be noticed as specimen :—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| (1) Saidewada | (10) Sunalya |
| (2) Agroya. | (11) Buradya |
| (3) Midya | (12) Gogana |
| (4) Soluwar | (13) Babirwal |
| (5) Khajawanya | (14) Jilojya |
| (6) Kadal | (15) Kulatya |
| (7) Dhuwad | (16) Mosan |
| (8) Jambenda | (17) Soliwal |
| (9) Sintawat | (18) Bhama. |

The Med Sonars allow their widows to marry again. On a dark night, between 12 and 1, the bridegroom with his friends goes to the bride's house. After they have been entertained by the bride's people, the bride and the bridegroom are seated side by side on a bed with a sacrificial fire kindled in front of them. Oblations of ghi are offered to the fire goddess and the ends of their garments are knotted by the officiating Brahmin, whereupon the couple become husband and wife. They immediately repair to a Hanuman's temple where they stay till morning. Divorce is allowed and is effected by a divorce deed. The marriage expenses are recovered by the first husband.

In matters of diet they have few scruples and eat flesh and drink spirits.

LXX-F

MARWADI-BRAHMAN SONAR

The Brahman Sonars allege that they were originally Kshatriyas who, having adopted the profession of a gold-smith, were degraded from the parent caste. They are believed to have been the offspring

of a man born of a Brahman father and a Sonar mother. They are Vaishnavaites and abstain from eating flesh and drinking liquors.

Widows are not allowed to marry again. They have 84 exogamous groups. A few of which are given below :—

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| (1) Bucha | (7) Madora |
| (2) Bahar | (8) Lhajayora |
| (3) Meda | (9) Mutaria |
| (4) Katta | (10) Ladunwad |
| (5) Jalora | (11) Mewachya |
| (6) Shukadiya | (12) Chiturora. |

Brahman Sonars formerly intermarried with Oswál Mahajans. Both infant and adult marriages are recognised by the caste. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type prevalent among the higher Marwadi castes. Formerly the Sonar bridegrooms were not allowed to strike the *Toran* on horse back, but this right they have now secured in a court of law. Chunnayati Brahmins are employed as priests in the marriage ceremony. Their special goddess is Chamunda, worshipped in the month of Aswin and on the first eight days of the light half of Chait. Brahmins are employed for religious services. The dead are burnt and the ashes are thrown on the 3rd day after death into the river Ganges. Their original occupation is that of goldsmith. They are also traders and follow various other professions. They are said to have a dialect of their own which is not understood by outsiders.

LXX-G

MARWADI-DARZI

Marwadi Darzis are mostly found in places where the Marwadi mahajans have settled. Their number is very small. They are divided into two sub-castes. (1) Pipa or Maru Darzi, (2) Namdeo Darzi. These two classes eat together but do not intermarry. The Pipa Darzis trace their descent from Pippaji, a Rajput, who is said to have adopted the profession of a Darzi. The Namdeo Darzis are the followers of Namdeo, who lived in the time of Aurangzebe. They also allege that they were formerly Rajputs (Kshatriyas) but

adopted their present profession after having escaped the extirpation of the Kshatriyas by Parashuram. In their customs they differ little from the Marwadi Sonars.

LXX-H

MARWADI-LAKHERI

The Lakheris are so called because they deal in lac and make lac bangles. They appear to have originally been Rajputs, who were degraded for following the low occupation of bangle making. This view derives support from their worship of the Rajput deities and from their exogamous divisions, which bear the Rajput names of Panwar, Rathod, Chavan, Hattada, Bagdi, Padyar. Regarding their origin a legend says that the first Lakhera was produced by Mahadeo at Parwati's desire from the dirt off his body in order to make bangles. Mahadeo cut his finger and sprinkled the blood oozing from the wound on a Pipal tree. The blood immediately changed into lac and thus supplied materials for the bangles. The Lakhera women never use glass or ivory bangles, but only those made of lac, or sealing wax. They do not wear nose rings nor are their noses bored. In their customs and usages the Lakheris resemble the Marwadi lower castes. Widows are allowed to marry again. Divorce prevails. Their profession is to make lac bangles, which they embellish with ornamental designs. Many have taken to agriculture. They use animal food, eating fowl, fish, mutton, etc. They do not eat the leavings of other people. Married women wear bodices with laced borders which distinguishes them from widows.

LXX-I

MARWADI MAHA BRAHMAN

Mahá Brahman, or Great Brahman—a contemptuous epithet applied to those Brahmins who officiate at the funeral ceremonies of the respectable castes, claim the clothes thrown over the dead bodies when carried to be burnt and eat the food given in charity at the close of the period of mourning. It is said that a mourner is never pure from funeral impurity unless he feeds a Mahá Brahmin with his own hand

and unless the Maha Brahmin strokes his back. No other caste will eat from the hands of these Brahmins. Their touch also is regarded as unclean by the higher castes. They have got the same eponymous groups as other Brahmins, such as Shandilya, Bharadwaja and others. Polygamy is allowed. Widows are forbidden to remarry, and divorce is not recognised. They are the followers of the Shaiva sect and worship Mahadeo as their patron deity. They abstain from the use of liquor and meat.

MENDICANT TELEGAS

Mendicant Telagas.—A term selected to denote the low class of beggars originally recruited from the Munnurs, Mutrasis and other Telagā castes, but found, at the present day, to be completely separated from them. They comprise several groups, each bearing a distinct name based upon the particular device which its members have adopted for the purpose of extracting alms. The members of these different classes intermarry and eat together, follow the same system of exogamy as the parent castes and imitate, as far as possible, the higher Telugu castes in marriage and other customs. Although they profess to be Saivāits or Vibhutidharis, in actual worship more reverence is accorded to the animistic deities than to the great gods of the Hindu pantheon. After being ceremonially initiated into their respective orders, they are enjoined never to cut the hair of the head and beard. They are periodical wanderers, leaving their homes after Divali (October-November) and returning to them before the rainy season has set in. It is remarkable that these different classes show a tendency towards complete dissociation from one another and may, in course of time, be developed into distinct castes.

Some of the more important of these beggar castes deserve separate description.

Masan Jogi.—Known as Katibaglodū, or Katipappla in Telingana, are religious jugglers and conjurors who beg alms by exhibiting wonderful tricks of jugglery. Their dress of mendicancy consists of a long flowing ochre-coloured gown (Kalibatta) and a crown-like turban, decorated with peacock feathers and small brass cubes one inch long and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. The crown is studded all round with brass plates, each four inches in length. Round their necks they put on a number of garlands, one being of Rudraksha

beads (*Elæocarpus Ganitrus*), another of jingling bells and a third consisting of circular brass plates, the middle plate being embossed with the image of Krishna or Hanuman. They smear their foreheads with Vibhuti or cow-dung ashes. Thus equipped they go on their rounds ringing a large iron bell (Dhanman) to attract attention. When a sufficient number of spectators have assembled they take out from their 'zoli' (alms bag) a cowrie shell and two pieces of sheep bone. Holding the cowrie in one hand and making dexterous passes with the bones by the other, they produce from their mouths, as if by magic or charm, all the gods of the 'Pancháyatan' and, amidst the amusement and wonder of the beholders, deposit them on a small stool and worship them with befitting solemnity.

Regarding their origin the Masan Jogis tell the story that once upon a time a Munnur boy died and his parents, being too poor to defray his burial expenses, were in great distress. Shiva and Párvati, happening to visit the place, took pity on them, recalled the boy to life and made him a Masan Jogi, or the guardian saint of the cremation ground. Since that time, it is said that the descendants of the boy have claimed the burial clothes of corpses.

Masan Jogis marry their daughters either as infants or as adults. Polygamy is allowed without any limit in theory. Widows may marry again and enjoy full freedom in their selection of a second husband. Divorce is recognised for adultery and divorced women are permitted to marry again by the same rite as widows.

The characteristic deity of the caste is Pochamma, to whom goats are sacrificed when any sickness befalls a family. On the Sivaratri, or the last day of Mágh (middle of February), they observe a fast and offer a Puja to their head-gear, the emblem of their subsistence. They do not employ Brahmins for ceremonial and religious observances and the duties of the priest are executed generally by Jangams and, failing them, by selected members of the caste. The dead are buried in a sitting posture with the face to the east. No *Sradha* is performed, but the funeral ceremony consists of only a feast, given to the members of the caste on the third day after death.

The caste ranks lower than all the respectable classes of Telangas and eat cooked food from the hands of Bhois, Kolis,

Kalals, Telis and other castes higher than these. They eat fowl, fish and mutton, but abstain from pork and beef. They indulge freely in liquor. They have a caste *Panchayat* which is appealed to in cases of social disputes.

Sháradákani:—Another vagrant class of Telugu beggars who live by chanting songs in praise of Shri Ramchandra to the sound of two hollow brass rings called 'Andalu' worn on the left thumb, and an 'ektári' or one stringed musical instrument held in the right hand. They wear a necklace of 'rudraksha' beads round their neck. Like Masan Jogis, Sháradákanis also claim to be descended from the Munnur caste. Another story makes them the descendants of Jangams who took to eating flesh and drinking wine and were consequently degraded from their community. Sháradákanis admit into their caste members of Kapu, Golla, Munnur and other higher castes. Their daughters are married as infants as well as adults. Courtship prevails to a certain extent and if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her lover is called upon to carry her. Adultery with a member of a higher caste is condoned by a fine and the girl is married to a member of the caste by the 'Odaki' rite. Polygamy is permitted to any extent in theory. In the marriage ceremony an elder of the caste officiates as priest. Widow marriage is permitted and divorce is recognised. Neither Brahmins nor Jangams are employed for religious or ceremonial observances and the priestly functions are discharged by the elders of the caste. Special reverence is paid to Pochamma, Ellamma and other animistic deities. The dead are buried in a sitting posture, but no *Sradha* is performed for the benefit of the deceased. During the eight dry months they lead a wandering life, living in palmyra huts wherever they sojourn, but returning to their homes before the wet season sets in. Socially they rank very low, eating pork, fowl, fish, rats, lizards and the flesh of animals which die a natural death, and drinking strong liquors. They eat *kachi* from the hands of all castes except Dhobis, Hajams, Panchadáyis, Jingars, Málás, Mádigas and other unclean classes. Only Malas and Madigas eat from the hands of the members of the caste.

Bálasantoshá—literally 'those who please children'—are beggars and story-tellers, who go about wearing a long patchy gown decked

with glass pieces and solicit alms by ringing a bell, blowing a conch and singing songs which end monotonously in the word 'balasantosh.' They claim descent from Lakshman, the brother of Rama, and allege that they wear the same garb in which Lakshman was clothed while amusing Lava and Kusha, the sons of Rama. For the transport of their burdens from place to place they use Ká vadis (bamboo sticks with slings at either end) carrying them on their shoulders.

Adult marriage is practised and the marriage ceremony closely resembles that in use among the Sanyási caste. A price, amounting to Rs. 9, is paid for the bride. Having bathed and dressed in new clothes the bridal pair are seated face to face and the bridegroom ties the *Nalla-poosulu* (chain of black-beads) and 'Rudrákshá' necklace about the bride's neck, which constitutes the essential portion of the ceremony. The functions of the priest are performed by caste elders. Polygamy is allowed, a widow may marry again and divorce is recognised. The dead are taken in baskets to the place of burial. No *Sradha* is celebrated. Pochamma is their principal deity, worshipped with the sacrifice of sheep and offerings of cooked rice. Socially they rank with Sanyási, Masan Jogi and Sháradákáni and eat the flesh of jackals, field rats, crocodiles, wild cats, pigs and animals that have died a natural death.

Bahurupyá:—Jathikartha (lit. one who puts on many forms), recruited from the Mutrasi caste, are vagrant beggars who collect alms by assuming various disguises and characters. Sometimes they appear in the disguise of a Lambáda or a Márwádi and sometimes they are dressed up as an old woman or a dancing girl. Some of them are very skilful actors and earn a great amount of money and clothing. There are two classes of these beggars—Turki Jathi-Kartha, who are Mahomedans, and Telaga Jathi Kartha or Hindu Bahurupyas. In their customs and usages the Hindu Bahurupyas differ little from the other beggar castes. They are Saivas and worship Pochamma as their special deity. The dead are buried in a sitting posture, being carried to the grave in a gunny bag.

Gorpalwád:—These are said to have been recruited from Puja Gollas. They beg alms exhibiting the goddess Amlawáru or El-lamma, whose image they carry on their heads in a bamboo basket.

Putting on female attire and decked from head to foot in brass jewels, they sing songs in honour of their patron deity and, filled with the spirit of the goddess, they pretend to unfold the past and reveal the future.

Tolubomalawaru :—Also called Badgi Jangam, earn money by exhibiting idols of leather and by a skilful contrivance making them dance to the music of cymbals and drums. They are recruited from the Munnur caste. They are also said to be the illegitimate descendants of a Jangam father and a Golla mother.

Katti Bomalawaru :—So named because they exhibit wooden instead of leather idols. The word 'Katti' means wood in Telugu.

Katbo :—A class of Carnatic beggars, identical with the Tollu Bomalawaru of Telingana and following the same pursuit. They trace their origin to the attendants of Pandawas who, being unable to accompany their masters in exile, were advised to maintain themselves by making the idols of Kauravas dance before the public. The Katbos are divided into two sub-castes, Katbo and Deshwar Katbo, between whom neither interdining nor inter-marriage is allowed. They admit into their community members of higher castes. Their special goddess is Ambábái, to whom mutton and cooked rice are offered, the offerings being subsequently partaken of by the members of the household. At the Daséra festival they offer worship to leather dolls, the symbols of their profession. The dead are buried. No 'Sradha' is performed but relatives are fed on the third day after death. Their social rank is as low as that of the other mendicant castes described under this section.

Mandá Bucháwad :—Beg only from Gollas by dancing round their herds of cattle to the sound of a 'Tutari,' or a musical pipe, and a 'Nagara,' or large drum.

Bhágwat :—Entertain the public with dramatic performances based upon the life of Sri Krishna, as detailed in the Bhágwat Purána. These simple religious dramas are in great favour with the masses.

Vipranoru :—Are jugglers, performing their tricks only when a Brahman is present. They beg only from the Brahmin caste.

Bairagis :—Are beggars who receive alms by performing on an 'Ekatári,' or one stringed fiddle. They dress in ochre coloured clothes.

LXXII

MOCHI

Mochi, Machigar, Chambhar, Chammar, Samgar—an occupational caste of shoe-makers cobblers and leather workers, probably of Maratha origin, but at the 'present 'day distributed in varying numbers all over the Dominions. The synonyms above given represent names by which the caste is known in different localities. In the Telugu Districts the members of the caste are called Mochis or Machigar, a name derived from the Canarese word 'Machi' meaning shoes. Carnatic leather workers are designated as Samgars, or Chamgar, supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit 'Charmkar' while the shoe-makers of Maharashtra bear the name Chambhar, or Chammar, also a variant of the Sanskrit 'Charmkar.' It should be borne in mind that the term Chammar is applied, in common speech, to all leather working classes including 'Dhors, who tan hides, and Madigas (Mangs), who make sandlès; but these two are not to be confounded with Maratha Chambhars, or Mochis, who stand on a higher social level than either of them. Both the Dhor and the Madiga are ranked among the most unclean classes of Hindu society by reason of their skinning the carcasses of dead animals, tanning raw hides and eating carrion; but the Chambhar abstains from these, and works up leather already tanned; this circumstance has greatly helped to raise his social position, his touch not being regarded so impure as that of the Madiga or Dhor.

Origin.—A tradition traces their origin to Rohidas or Harliyanoru, a great religious reformer who flourished at the end of the fourteenth century. Another legend, current among them, states that in the days of Basvanna there lived one Samgar Kalayya, who was a devout worshipper of the god Siva, and made shoes for his votaries. Pleased with his devotion the god bestowed upon him a boon by which a son was born to him. Samgar Avaliya, as the boy was named, grew up and had three sons Bandeshat, Konduji and

Tamaji, from whose descendants the present Samgar race is alleged to have sprung.

Internal Structure.—The main endogamous groups of the caste are Chambhar, Mochi, and Samgar corresponding to, and dwelling respectively in Maharashtra, Telingana and the Carnatic, the three great ethnic divisions of H. E. H. the Nizam's territory. Other sub-castes have arisen either by intermarriages between the members of different main groups, or by the immigration of the members of one group into the locality of another. The sub-caste Aré Samgar may serve as an illustration. The members of the sub-caste are either descendants of Maratha Chambhars settled in early time in the Carnatic, or the result of intermarriages between Carnatic Samgars and Maratha Chambhars. The Telugu Mochis are divided into, Mochis and Jar Machigars, the latter mostly found in the Districts of Raichur and Gulbarga. The Maratha Chambhars have two sub-divisions, Chambhars and Vidur Chambhars, or the illegitimate offspring of the Chambhars. In the Carnatic the Samgar sub-caste is broken up into two hypergamous groups, Lingayit Samgars and Hindu Samgars, the former claiming social precedence over the latter from whom they take girls in marriage, but to whom they will not give their own daughters. Besides these there is a sub-caste named Boya Samgar, which is probably recruited from such Boyas or Bedars as have taken to shoe-making.

The sections of the caste appear, for the most part, to be borrowed from the higher castes and throw no light upon their original affinities.

The exogamous sections of Mochis are of the territorial type. They are :—

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Vangantawaru | (8) Diganoi |
| (2) Gogisagarwaru | (9) Damgatimadi |
| (3) Kotkundawaru | (10) Garkantadoru |
| (4) Talikotawaru | (11) Nalwardon |
| (5) Kodamarolu | (12) Palkaltawaru |
| (6) Atindaliwaru | (13) Yadgirwaru |
| (7) Devkar | (14) Digaiwaru |
| (15) Chincholiwaru | |

The exogamous sections of the Maratha Chambhars are :—

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| (1) Kavale | (9) Dhadve , |
| (2) Aswar | (10) Gadkar |
| (3) Gaikwad | (11) Soruse , |
| (4) Khandare | (12) Inkare |
| (5) Apnuroni | (13) Jundade |
| (6) Patel | (14) Landge |
| (7) Waghmare | (15) Waghe |
| (8) Khatave | (16) 'Desmane. |

The Samgars profess to follow a 'double system of exogamy comprising gotras and family names.

The gotras are as follows :—

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| (1) Dantawati | (6) Shoundaliya |
| (2) Nagawati | (7) Dhanpala |
| (3) Amaratavila | (8) Badarkottawaru |
| (4) Namishetti | (9) Shringari |
| (5) Patavila | (10) Chanpala |
| | (11) Neerla |

Family Names.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Chalawaru | (7) Narayenpurwaru |
| (2) Chandragiriwaru | (8) Badarkottawaru |
| (3) Badarpurwaru | (9) Gona Ayanaltuwaru |
| (4) Dichpalliwaru | (10) Kanitkartawaru |
| (5) Elchirwaru | (11) Devarkundawaru |
| (6) Kotapalliwaru | (12) Dentlawaru. |

It is not clearly understood how this double system serves to regulate their marriages.

As a rule the section name goes by the father's side. Marriages within the section are strictly forbidden, and to supplement this rule of exogamy, the same table of prohibited degrees is observed by Mochis as by other castes. The daughter of a mother's brother or father's sister may be married. A man may marry two sisters provided the elder is married first. So also two brothers are allowed to marry two sisters.

Mochis admit into their caste members of other castes higher

than themselves in social standing. No special ceremony is performed on this occasion.

Marriage.—Mochis marry their daughters either as infants, or after they have attained the age of puberty. In the latter case sexual indiscretion before marriage is said to be tolerated and should a girl become pregnant she is allowed to marry, but her progeny are not admitted to the full rights of the caste. Sexual intercourse before puberty is allowed subject, however, to the performance of a ceremony at which the bride's father entertains the bridegroom and his relations. Mochi girls are not devoted to temples, nor dedicated to deities. When an adult girl goes, for the first time, to her husband's house, she is presented with zinc pots and her husband with a silver ring. A procession or 'Mirongi' is then formed to conduct the bridal pair to the bridegroom's house, the bridegroom riding on a bullock and the bride following him on foot. Polygamy is permitted and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain.

The marriage ceremony in vogue varies with the locality, but scarcely differs from that of other castes of the same social status. At a 'Panawala', or betrothal ceremony in Maharashtra, the caste Panchas are regaled with drink, which is regarded as confirmation of the marriage. Previous to marriage, village deities including Sitala Devi (the small-pox goddess) and their patron saint Rohidas are invoked to bless the couple. The wedding takes place under a booth, at the bride's house, *Kanyadan*, or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom, forming the essential portion of the ceremony. The marriage of Telugu shoe-makers is an imitation of the ritual followed by other Telugu castes. On the fourth day after wedding, when the bridal pair circumambulate the 'Nagbali' circle, the Telugu bridegroom holds in his hand a nut-cracker, or some implement of husbandry.

The Carnatic ceremony includes the following rites :—

- (1) 'Hogitoppa' or the fixing of an auspicious date for the celebration of the wedding.
- (2) 'Devata Puja,' or the invocation of family and tutelary deities.
- (3) 'Uditamba,' or the betrothal ceremony.

- (4) 'Yaniarshani' :—the smearing of the bride and the bridegroom, previous to the wedding, with turmeric paste and oil.
- (5) 'Maniavana' :—which corresponds to the Telugu, Mailapolu. Four vessels are arranged in a square and a raw cotton thread is wound round them. The bridal pair are seated inside and bathed.
- (6) 'Matinoru' :—at which pearl water is sprinkled on the bridal pair.
- (7) 'Pancha Kalasha' :—five brass vessels are arranged on the ground, and encircled with thread. The bride and the bridegroom are seated inside side by side and wedded by a Jangam officiating as priest. This ceremony includes 'Bashingam', 'tali,' 'kankanam' and other rites of secondary importance.
- (8) 'Akikal' : The wedded pair throw rice on each others heads.
- (9) 'Bhum' :—Married women, whose husbands are living, are feasted in front of 'Panch Kalash.'
- (10) 'Mirongi' :—the bridal procession which conducts the pair to the bridegroom's house.
- (11) 'Nagvely' :—Same as the Telugu Nagvely.
- (12) 'Chagol' :—Bridal feast at which a goat is sacrificed.

Among Canarese shoe-makers 'Teru' or the bride price, varying in amount from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, is paid by the bridegroom to the bride's father.

Widows may marry again. They are not restricted by any condition in their selection of a second husband, provided they strictly conform to the rule of exogamy. The ceremony is very simple. On a dark night the bridegroom goes to the widow's house, ties *pusti* or *Mangalsutra* round her neck, makes her a present of clothes and bangles and early the next morning brings her home. A singular custom is observed when a bachelor marries a widow. Before going to the widow's house he is formally married to a 'ruchaki' or 'rui' plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) as if it were his bride. Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's unchastity or the husband's in-

ability to maintain her. It is effected by sending the woman out of the house in the presence of the caste council. If the wife claims divorce she is made to pay to her husband half the expenses incurred by him upon her marriage. A woman having an intrigue with a man of a low caste is punished by expulsion from her own caste. Adultery with a man of her own caste or of a higher caste may be tolerated, the woman being punished, in the latter case, by a small fine, while in the former her paramour is compelled to pay her husband half the expenses of her marriage with him.

Inheritance.—The Mochis follow the Hindu law of inheritance. In making a division of property the eldest son gets an extra share or 'Jethang'. According to custom, a sister's son, if made a son-in-law, is entitled to a share in his father-in-law's property, and in case the latter dies without issue, he inherits the whole property subject, however, to the claims of his father-in-law's widows.

Religion.—The Mochis are almost all Vibhutidharis, but Tirmidharis or Vaishnavaitis are occasionally found among them. Most of the Carnatic shoemakers belong to the Lingayit sect. Special reverence is paid by the members of the caste to their saintly ancestor Rohidas, to whom offerings of sweetmeat, wine and goats are made every Sunday. On the Dasera day goats are offered to the implements of their trade. Pochamma and Ellamma are appeased when epidemics of cholera or small-pox break out. The Maratha Chambarhs worship Mari Amma and Sitala. Previous to a marriage, they proceed on foot to the shrine of the goddess Sitala which they circumambulate five times. At the Divali festival, females adore Gauramma, the goddess who presides over married life. In the Carnatic, Jangams officiate as priests, but in other districts Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. These Brahmins bathe before they join their own community. A girl on attaining puberty is ceremonially unclean for five days. A child is named on the thirteenth day after birth.

Funerals.—The dead are buried, married persons in a sitting posture with the face turned towards the north and the unmarried in a lying posture with the head to the south. Women, dying in pregnancy or in child birth, are burned. In the case of agnates

mourning is observed ten days for adults and three days for children. On the third day after death a Jangam is called in to worship the mound erected over the remains of the dead person. Rice, curds, sweetmeats, flowers and roasted grain are offered, whereupon the chief mourner shaves his moustaches and becomes ceremonially clean. On the Pitra Amawasya day, a feast is given to caste brethren in the name of the departed person. No regular *sradha* is celebrated by Mochis, either during mourning or on the anniversary day.

Social Status.—In point of social standing the Mochis occupy a very low position in the Hindu caste system. No caste except the Madiga or Mala will eat food cooked by them, while they themselves will take food from any Hindu caste, except the Jingar, Hajam, Dhobi, Panchadayi and the specially unclean castes of Dhors, Malas, Madigas and a few others. Their touch is held to be unclean and hence they are obliged to live on the outskirts of villages. Although the village barber occasionally shaves their head and the village washerman washes their clothes, both have subsequently to undergo ablution owing to the defilement caused by the Mochi's touch. The Mochis eat pork, fowl, fish, mutton and even the flesh of animals dying a natural death, and indulge freely in strong drinks.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste is to make shoes and other leather articles such as boxes, harness, saddles and portmanteaux. In their trade they use the hides of the cow, bullock, buffalo, deer, sheep and goat. They never dress freshly skinned hides of any of the animals except the deer, sheep and goat; but purchase them ready curried from Dhors or Madigas. The shoes worn at Hyderabad are generally of red leather. The patterns employed vary and are sometimes ornamented with beautiful spangles and designs. Their price is from one to four rupees per pair. Boots of European pattern are also made by the members of the caste. Some of the Mochis cob old shoes, but the work of making sandals brings social disgrace and is relegated to Madigas or Mangs. The implements of their trade are the 'rapi,' knife, 'kudti,' 'kurpi,' 'avali' and 'kalibatta' the last being used in shaping shoes.

The Mochis are one of the predial servants of the village and claim, from villagers, 'baluta' or allotments of corn at harvest time. A few members of the caste have taken to cultivation and are engaged as farm and day labourers.

LXXIII

MONDIWADU

Mondiwádu, Landáwádu—wandering Tamil beggars, chiefly to be found in the Nalgunda and Warangal Districts. They move from place to place, carrying their baggage on donkeys and living in huts of palmyra leaves whenever they happen to make a halt. The word *Mondi* means a troublesome fellow, and is applied to the members of this caste because they are importunate beggars, and are regarded with so much fear and disgust, that none dare drive them from their doors. They endeavour to excite the pity and wonder of the beholders by beating their chests, cutting their tongues or hands with knives, and vomiting and pretending to swallow the ejected matter.

Internal Structure.—They are divided into three sub-castes (1) *Tetga Mondliwadu*, (2) *Gondala*, (3) *Sakandiwaru*. The last are also called *Aghoris* and are known to eat human ordure, or besmear their bodies with it. These different groups neither intermarry nor eat together. Very little is known regarding the nature of their exogamous sections. Some of them appear to be of the eponymous type. They are as follows :—(1) *Martondalu*, (2) *Boyaniwaru*, (3) *Chalawaru*, (4) *Pagartiwaru*, and (5) *Anganoriwaru*. The rule of exogamy is strictly observed by the members of the caste and a man is forbidden to marry outside the sub-caste or inside the section to which he belongs. A man may marry the daughter of his sister or of his maternal uncle, but he cannot marry the daughter of his mother's sister. Two sisters may be married to the same man.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are practised by the members of the caste. It is customary to dedicate girls to temples or offer them to deities. Adultery with high caste members is tacitly permitted. Only in the case of exposure is a nominal fine of Rs. 2 imposed on the offending woman or her parents. Should she become pregnant before marriage her lover is compelled by the members of

the caste to marry her. The father of the bride receives for his daughter a sum of money which usually amounts to Rs. 10. When the bridegroom is too poor to pay the bride price, he is allowed to marry the girl on condition that he lives with her at her father's house and works for his father-in-law until he has by her as many children as are stipulated in the marriage contract. This custom is said to be gradually dying out. When the bride goes for the first time to her husband's house, she is presented with a donkey or a pig. Polygamy is permitted and, theoretically, no limit is imposed upon the number of wives a man may have. Mondis admit into their caste members of other castes higher than themselves in social standing.

The bride-price being fully paid and the bridegroom having consented to give four wedding feasts to the caste people, a wedding booth is erected at the girl's house, where the ceremony takes place. At the ceremony of Mentakula, which confirms the betrothal, the caste people are entertained, each with a cup of shendi, or the fermented juice of the wild date palm. On the wedding day, after the bride and the bridegroom have been seated side by side on two wooden stools placed in the centre of a rice square, their feet are washed and the *mangalsutra* or auspicious thread is tied round the bride's neck by the bridegroom. Then follow the usual ceremonials in practise among the other Telaga castes. On the occasion of circum-ambulating the 'polu' the bridegroom is equipped with iron bangles and the bride with two pieces of sheep's or goat's bones.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—Widows are allowed to marry again. The price for the widow is only half the amount paid for a virgin. The ceremony of a widow-marriage is very simple. On the appointed day the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, pays the bride-price to her parents, distributes liquor to the assembled guests, presents the bride with sari and choli and brings her home with him. Divorce is recognised, the divorced woman being allowed to marry again by the same rite as a widow.

Inheritance.—In the matter of inheritance the members of the caste follow their own customs. Sons inherit in equal shares. A daughter, devoted to the gods, is entitled to the same share as her brothers and inherits with succession to her children. Wills are un-

known and adoption is rarely resorted to. An extra share is given to the eldest son.

Religion.—All the Mondiwads profess to be Vibhutidharis, or the worshippers of the god Shiva. Special reverence is paid to El-lamma, an animistic deity to whom offerings of sweetmeat are made by the elder member of the family and subsequently partaken of by the whole family. Pochamma, Mari Amma, Mutyalamma and other minor deities are also propitiated in due seasons.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried face downwards, with the head to the south. On the 3rd day after death, birds are fed and on the 11th day the caste people are feasted in the name of the deceased. No mourning is observed nor any *sraddha* performed for the benefit of the departed soul. Every second year the departed souls are propitiated, being represented by burning lamps before which pigs are sacrificed, the flesh being cooked and eaten by the members of the family. Ganta Jangams officiate at their funerals.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste is very low. They eat cooked food from the hands of all castes except Malas, Madigas, Waddars, Erukalas, Panchadayis, Jingars, Hajams and Dhobis. They indulge in strong drink and eat mutton, pork, fowl, the flesh of animals, cloven-footed or hoofed, 'Ghorpad' (Iguana), fish (all varieties) and rats. They eat the flesh of animals that have died a natural death. Malas, Madigas and other low unclean castes eat *kachi* from the hands of the members of this caste.

Occupation.—As has already been mentioned, begging is the original and characteristic occupation of the caste. The male members beg with iron bangles and knives to cut their hands or tongues with, while the females carry two bones of a sheep which they strike against each other when begging. They also breed pigs and donkeys and sell them in the open market. Some of the members have settled down to agriculture.

LXXIV

MUNUR

Munnur, Munnurwád, Munnud Kápu—a widely diffused cultivating caste, probably an offshoot from the Kápu and indigenous to H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The Munnur caste may be regarded almost as a nursery from which many mixed classes scattered all over the Dominions, as, Telagas and other mendicant and menial castes, are propagated.

Origin.—The name Mun-nur, which is Telugu for three hundred, has been made the subject of several legends which, more or less, explain the origin of the caste. One of the legends traces their descent from the Raja Bhartrahari and his three hundred wives of different castes. The Raja, says another, was so disgusted with his faithless wives, that he left his kingdom and retired into seclusion and the sons, born of the licentious women after the retirement of their husband, were called Munnur. A third story represents the Munnurs to be the descendants of a Kápu woman, who was confined in a dungeon, with three hundred male prisoners, where she conceived and was delivered of a son. The mother could not, however, point out the father of the boy and as she was associated with three hundred males, the boy was named Munnur, meaning born of three hundred. These legends tend to support the mixed origin of the caste, a view which respectable members of the community appear to be very reluctant to entertain.

Internal Structure.—The internal structure of the Munnur caste is simple, the entire community being formed into one endogamous group. They have only one *gotra* 'Pasnur' which is obviously inoperative for the purpose of controlling marriages. The marriages are governed by exogamous sections based upon family names of 'Vanshams.' A few of the sections are totemistic, the others are of a territorial or eponymous character, the eponym being the name

of the founder of the section. Some of their sections are given below :—

Totemistic Sections.

Akulollu (leaves).	Gondalálollu (Gondalalu— chain of a door).
Ambátolu (conji-water).	Puvulu (flowers).

Territorial Sections.

Kondapurmothu.	Pasuladuwandlu.
Bakaramothu.	Darpalliwandlu.
Rachapalollu.	Palnawandlu.
Medikondollu.	Baswadwandlu.
Sangayapelollu.	Domatollu.
Koilkondollu.	

Eponymous Sections.

Modisetollu.	Singamsetollu.
Balsetollu.	Bhojrajwandlu.

The Munnurs are said to form a hypergamous group with the Tota Baljas, to whom they give their daughters in marriage, but they themselves do not enjoy the same privilege in return. The Munnurs observe the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own section and supplement this by a simple table of prohibited degrees. Thus a man is allowed to marry a woman of any other section, provided that he abstains from marrying his maternal aunt and any of his first cousins except the daughter of his own mother's brother. A man may marry two sisters, provided the elder is married first. So also he is allowed to marry the daughter of his elder sister. The Munnurs do not, in general, marry their daughters in families from which they have already taken girls in marriage.

Marriage.—The Munnur girls are married as infants between the ages of five and ten. Should a girl attain puberty before marriage, her parents are disgraced and have to undergo 'Prayas-chitta' (expiation). Connubial relations may commence even before the girl attains sexual maturity, but not until a special ceremony has been performed, when guests are feasted and the pair are presented with clothes and jewels. Polygamy is allowed, but is seldom resorted to unless the first wife is barren or incurably diseased.

The marriage ceremony resembles that of the Kápu caste. The first proposal of marriage is made by the boy's father who, on the choice of a suitable girl for his son, pays a formal visit to her house and presents her with clothes and half of the jewels she is to receive as a wedding gift from her husband-elect. A council of the caste *Panchayat* being called, a Brahman examines the horoscopes of the parties and if they are found to agree, he finds an auspicious day for the wedding. Sixteen rupees are paid to the father of the bride as her price, whereupon the Brahman is dismissed with *Dakshna* (his fees). Wine is circulated among the guests in token of the confirmation of the match and after distribution of *Pán-supári* and perfumes the assembly disperse to meet again at night for dinner. The bride's people also visit and inspect the bridegroom. Invitation letters, sprinkled over with saffron water, are sent to relatives and friends calling upon them to attend the ceremony. A fortnight before the wedding, *Pinnamma*, the goddess of fortune, is worshipped by both parties separately in their houses. *Vyankatswámi* and *Rájá Bhartrihari* are also honoured, the latter being represented by five unmarried boys, to whom dresses are presented and a feast given. A marriage *pandal*, supported on twelve posts, is erected in front of the boy's house and is tastefully decorated with young plantain trees, mango and coconut leaves and flowers. The *Devada* (wedding) post, which consists of a branch of a *Salai* tree, is cut and brought by the maternal uncle or brother-in-law (sister's husband) of the bridegroom. It is ceremonially set up in a pit in the centre of the wedding booth and is surmounted with a lighted lamp which burns throughout the ceremony. On the day previous to the wedding, five married women, whose husbands are alive, proceed with five pots to a well or a river, and having offered *puja* to *Gangá*, or the water goddess, fill the pots with water and return to the wedding canopy. One of the pots, with its mouth covered with mango leaves, is placed in the gods' room and the water from the other pots is sprinkled all over the ground which has been previously plastered with cow-dung. The ceremonies that follow correspond, in all respects, to those observed at a *Kapu* marriage and have been fully described in the article on that caste. The essential, or the chief feature, of the ceremony is believed

to be Kanyádán, or the formal gift of the bride by her father to the bridegroom and the bridegroom's formal acceptance of her. It is performed thus. The parents of the bride wash the feet of the bridegroom and place in his hands areca nuts, pieces of cocoanut kernel and some coin. The bride places her hands over those of the bridegroom and her father holds them in the cavity of his hands while her mother pours water over them. The priest then makes the father of the bride repeat three times that the girl is given as a gift to the bridegroom who formally and ceremonially accepts her by thrice reciting Mantras to that effect. The tying of the pusti, or lucky string of black beads, round the bride's neck, 'Jilkarbium,' or exchange of cumin seed and jaggery, and 'Padghattanam,' treading of each others feet by the bridal pair, are also deemed as important parts of the ceremony. It is said that the pair are wedded standing in bamboo baskets with a leather strap placed in each.

Puberty.—A Munnur girl, on attaining puberty, is regarded as ceremonially impure and has to occupy a separate room for three days. At the end of this period a purificatory ceremony is performed, at which the girl has to leap, first over a leaf-plate containing boiled cakes and then across a line of burning charcoal spread on the ground. Food is given to a Dhobi and the ground which the girl may have occupied during the period of her impurity, is cleansed with cow-dung.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again, but not her late husband's brother. The ritual in use at the marriage of a widow is simple and consists in presenting the widow with a new sari, glass bangles and toe-rings and tying the 'Tali' round her neck.

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised on the ground of the wife's adultery or the husband's infidelity or inability to support her. The divorce is effected by the wife breaking a piece of straw in the presence of the caste *Panchayat* as a symbol of separation. Divorced women are allowed to marry again and the ceremony is the same as that of a widow's marriage.

Inheritance.—The Munnurs follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and the sons share equally in their father's property. The tribal usage of Chudawand possesses full importance among them.

Child-Birth.—A Munnur female in child-birth is unclean for

ten days. On the birth of a child a pit is dug near the cot, in which all the impurities of parturition are buried. On the third day after birth the midwife keeps small stones on the brim of the pit, paints them with chunam and red lead and offers them food which she subsequently claims as her due. A sword is kept near the cot on which the mother is lying, avowedly for the purpose of warding off evil spirits. On the 11th or the 21st day the woman has to daub the brim of a well with kunkum-turmeric powder and to draw water, whereupon her impurity ceases.

Religion.—In their religion the Munnurs differ very little from the other Telugu castes of the same social standing. They belong to both the Shaiva and Vaishnava sects and under the titles of Vibhutiháris and Tirmanidháris are followers of Arádhí and Shri-vaishnava Brahmans. In the religious and ceremonial observances Smártha Brahmans serve them as priests. At funeral ceremonies Sátánis are engaged by Tirmanidháris and Jangams by Vibhutiháris.

The popular deities, Pochammá, Idammá, Maisammá, etc., are duly appeased with animal offerings. The Munnurs are a ghost-ridden people and ascribe every disease or calamity to the influence of some malevolent spirit. Erkala and Erpula women are consulted as experts in identifying these airy forms which are, thereupon, pacified with various suitable offerings.

Rajā Bhartrihari, the deified founder of the caste, is honoured before marriage. On the full moon day of Kártik (October) women worship 'Kedári Gaurammá with offerings of sweets and flowers.

Disposal of the Dead.—As a rule the Munnurs burn their dead in a lying posture with the head to the south. After death the body is washed and borne on a bier to the burning ground. Bodies of persons who die unmarried are, however, buried, being carried to the burial ground suspended on a bamboo pole and disposed of in a pit without any ceremony. Members of the caste who cannot afford to pay the cremation expenses also bury their dead. On the third day after death the ashes and bones are collected and thrown into a river by Vibhutiháris and are buried under a platform by Nám-dháris. On the same day fowls are sacrificed in the name of the deceased and the flesh is cooked by a Satani. A portion is thrown

to the birds and the remainder is partaken of by all the mourners. The period of mourning for adults is ten days and for children three days. The mother-in-law, paternal and maternal aunts, maternal uncles and married daughters are mourned for three days. On the tenth day after death libations of water are offered to the deceased, represented by small stones. The 'Shradha' ceremony is performed only once a year on the Pitra Amáwasya day (middle of September).

Social Status.—The social rank of the Munnurs is much the same as that of Kápus, Reddis, Velammás and Gollás, with whom they exchange cooked food. They eat pork, fowls, lizards, mutton and fish of all varieties and indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors.

Occupation.—Agriculture is said to be the original occupation of the caste and the bulk of them still cling to this. A few are village patels and have risen to high status as landlords and Zamindars; but the majority are ordinary cultivators, holding lands on permanent tenure. Some of them are landless day-labourers and are employed as menial servants in rich families. A considerable portion of the Munnurs have, from recent date, given up their original occupation and have either entered Government service or become traders. Members of this caste do not wear the sacred thread.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Munnurs in 1911 :—

					Males.	Females.
Hyderabad City	...	...	...	...	6,262	6,582
Atrafi-Balda	...	...	...	...	4,222	4,078
Warangal	...	...	...	...	1,026	976
Karimnagar	...	...	...	...	23,242	21,656
Adilabad	...	...	...	...	18,540	18,405
Medak	...	...	...	...	8,040	7,920
Nizamabad	...	...	...	...	23,008	23,466
Mahbubnagar	...	...	...	...	5,539	5,577
Nalgunda	...	...	...	...	4,273	3,793
Aurangabad	...	...	...	...	79	68
Bhir	...	...	...	...	10	1
Nander	...	...	...	...	14,535	14,748

					Males.	Females.
Parbhani	...	...	...	...	118	137
Gulbargah	...	...	...	...	2,380	2,216
Usmanabad	...	...	...	...	10	...
Raichur	...	...	...	...	1,953	1,757
Bidar	...	...	...	...	1,875	1,854

LXXV

MUTRASI

Mutrasi, Mut-Raj, Mōdi-Raj, Koli, Naik, Bantu, Telgaund, Tengaud, Telaga—a large cultivating, hunting and labouring tribe of Dravidian descent, members of which are engaged as village watchmen under the title of Mannepod. They were, in ancient times, engaged as soldiers, which has won for them the military title Bantu. Their numerical preponderance in all the Telugu-speaking districts, their wild aboriginal physiognomy and the absence of any traditional occupation among them, suggest the inference that they are the oldest inhabitants of the country. This view is also borne out by the fact that throughout Telingana members of this tribe are popularly designated as Telagas (inhabitants of Telingana, or the Telugu-speaking districts).

Origin.—The origin of the word Mutrasi is uncertain. The Mutrasis themselves derive their name from Mut-Raj, a corruption of Modi-Raj (old king), a term applied, as they say, to the king Yayati's youngest son who took upon himself his father's old age. The legend, evidently taken from the Mahabharata, is thus related :—

Dewyani, daughter of Shukra Charya, preceptor of demons, was married to the Kshtriya king Yayati of the solar race and was accompanied to her husband's house by the Daitya princess Sharmistha as her life-long attendant. After Dewyani had borne two sons, she discovered that the king had maintained an illicit connection with the charming Sharmistha, by whom he had had three sons. Dewyani appealed to her father, who cursed the king and doomed him to decrepitude. Instantly the king was seized with extreme old age, his hair became grey, his teeth fell from his head and every sign of infirmity came upon him. Yayati appealed, in vain, for mercy, but Shukra was relentless. "Your daughter is still in the prime of youth," remonstrated the king at length, "who will enjoy her now that you

have brought this old age upon me?" These words had the desired effect and Shukra ordained that the king might be restored to youth if he could induce one of his sons to take the curse on him. The sons were asked, but none consented except Sharmistha's youngest son, who volunteered to help his father out of the difficulty. The father's old age descended upon the son, who was subsequently nick-named Modi-Raj and whom the Mutrasis regard to be their progenitor. The Mutrasis also claim that they figured prominently in the wars of the Mahabharata and their relations with the Pandayas and Kowravas have formed the subject of many a curious and interesting legend among them. Another tradition states that Yayati had four wives (1) Dewyani, (2) Sharmistha, (3) Nilawati, (4) Padmini. From Dewyani's sons sprang the Gollas, from Sharmistha's the Mutrasis, while the Bestas and Naikalu castes were the offspring of the sons of Yayati by Nilawati and Padmini respectively. This may be an attempt to show that the four groups enumerated above at one time belonged to a single tribe.

Internal Structure.—The Mutrasis, like the Munnurs, have been very prolific in increasing branches, and numerous sub-divisions of the tribe are known to exist, of which the following deserve special mention :—

- (1) Mutrasi.
- (2) Parikiti Besta.
- (3) Jathi-Kartha.
- (4) Dewar-wandlu, or Padmal-wandlu, or Ellama-wandlu.
- (5) Pana Katoda, or Pandava Kathawandlu, or Pandola-wandlu.
- (6) Kaki-padgawadu.
- (7) Budbudke.
- (8) Gajjal Balja.
- (9) Butti Telaga.
- (10) Naik Mutrasi.
- (11) Telaga Mushti.
- (12) Chaudhari.
- (13) Idiga.

Mutrasis :—Mutrasis represent the original nucleus from which other divisions of the tribe are derived. Members of this sub-

tribe pride themselves on being called 'Bantus' (sepoys), and cherish a tradition that the ancient armies were composed of soldiers recruited mostly from their caste.

Parikiti :—Parikitis take their name from Pargi Taluka of the Mahbubnagar district. They have adopted the profession of fishing and have been, in consequence, separated from the parent stock.

Jathi-kartha :—Jathi Kartha, also called Bahurupias, or those who assume various characters and disguises and beg alms from door to door, amusing people by their mimicries, humorous dialogues and gestures.

Padmal-wandlu :—Dewarwandlu or Ellamawandlu, a class of beggars who wander from village to village carrying on their heads the image of the deity Ellama, set up in a painted wooden box. They attire themselves fantastically, wearing a long flowing gown, putting jingling anklets on their feet, their foreheads and the upper parts of their bodies smeared with stripes of various colours and grasping in their hands a long whip. Thus they represent the terrific form of the goddess Ellama, and dancing, singing and lashing themselves with the long lash, they move from house to house soliciting alms.

Pana-katoda :—Pandava Kathawandlu, or Pandolawadlu, claim to be the descendents of those Mutrasis who accompanied the Pandavas in their wanderings and sang, in princely courts and noble assemblies, of their heroic deeds, especially their escape from the lac prison house at Wárnawati. These minstrel beggars are frequently seen sitting by the side of public roads and attracting a large audience by their songs in praise of the Pandavas, which they sing in a sonorous voice to the sound of a one sided earthen drum and to the music of a sort of one wired harp and a jingling hollow brass ring worn on the thumb.

Kaki-padgawadu, or Kaki Puta Kunna-wadu (literally crow-catchers), a low class of beggars, degraded from the parent tribe for a profane act in which their ancestor was alleged to have been fortuitously involved. "In the days of Sri Ramchandra," says a legend current among them, "a Shabari, or fruit-vendor of the

Mutrasi caste, once happened to go to a Panchdayi's house, when the mistress of the house took a fruit from the basket and gave it to the child playing in her lap. While the price of the fruit was being settled, the child ate a portion and threw the remainder into the basket, thus spoiling all the rest. The Shabari flew into rage and vehemently attacked and abused the Panchdayani who, in revenge, sent a big iron crow to destroy the Mutrasini's orchard. The crow was wounded and while effecting its escape, was pursued by the Shabari's second son for nearly three months and was at last taken with great difficulty and brought home. Meanwhile the Shabari, thinking her son dead, performed his funeral obsequies. The boy could not be admitted into the family as he was theoretically dead, nor could he be admitted into the caste as he had degraded himself by touching the most impure bird. Fallen and forlorn, the unhappy youth wandered about begging alms and bemoaning his fate in plaintive notes. His descendants have since followed the same occupation.

Budbudke :—Beggars who collect alms by playing on a small drum of the shape of an hour glass.

Butti Telaga, separated from the Mutrasis by reason of their adopting the occupation of liquor-drawing and liquor-selling. Though they call themselves 'telagas' their pretensions to this name are denied by the other Telaga castes. The etymology of the word 'Butti' is uncertain, unless it be *butti*, a bottle. The members of the sub-tribe now follow the occupation of manufacturing and selling fermented and spirituous liquors.

Idiga :—Another sub-tribe, said to be degraded from the Mutrasis for having taken to the occupation of liquor-vending and liquor-drawing. They have of late formed a distinct caste.

Marriages among the Mutrasis are governed by a rule of exogamy based upon sections, which are almost all of the totemistic character, a few being of the territorial type, while eponymic sections are scarcely met with among them. The totems, which consist of the names of trees, animals and other objects, are not taboos to the members of the sections bearing their names. This important omis-

sion may be due to the Brahmanical influences to which the Mutrasis have been subjected for generations. If questioned regarding their *gotras* the Mutrasis say that they have got only one *gotra*, which is evidently inoperative in the regulation of their marriages.

As with other castes, so with Mutrasis, the section name descends in the male line. The simple rule of exogamy that a man may not marry a woman of his own section, is observed and is supplemented by the table of prohibited degrees common among the other castes of Telingana.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is the rule with the tribe. Girls are dedicated to temples and married to swords. Such girls, under the name of Basvis, become prostitutes afterwards. It is also believed that the girls are sold to rich Zamindars as concubines. In the former case they are permanently attached to the households of their masters as 'Adipapa,' or hand-maids; in the latter case they are trained as dancing girls and take subsequently to prostitution. Polygamy is permitted theoretically to any extent, but is restricted in actual life to not more than four wives. Widows are allowed to marry again. Divorce is granted on the ground of the wife's unchastity. Divorced wives are permitted to marry again by the same form as widows. Sexual morality among the tribe is very low; adultery with members of high caste is tolerated, while with those of inferior castes it is punished only by a small fine.

The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and comprises the rites that are in vogue among Telaga castes of the same social standing. No price is paid either for the bride or for the bridegroom; but a *Voli*, ranging in amount between Rs. 20 and Rs. 25, is paid to the bride's mother. Kanyadan, or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom, is regarded as the binding and essential portion of the ceremony.

Religion.—Very widely diffused as the Mutrasis are, their religion varies with the locality which they happen to live in. Thus the Mutrasis of the Adilabad district worship Bhimdeva, the animistic deity of the Gonds, and celebrate festivals in her honour. In other districts, primitive animism predominates among the lower classes of the community, while the upper classes are Hinduised and divided

between Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidharis, the worshippers of Vishnu and Shiva respectively. Padma is worshipped at the end of Kritika and Rohini and at the beginning of Mriga, when fowls and sheep are sacrificed to her. In the month of Shravan (July and August) Pandawas are honoured with the offerings of sweetmeats and wine. The animistic deities Pochamma, Ellama, Maisamma and Idamma are duly propitiated with the offerings of fowls and rice, a man of the Kummara or Bhoi caste officiating as priest on the occasion and taking away a portion of the offerings as his perquisite. In the worship of Maha Kamma, Madigas are employed who sacrifice male-buffalos to the goddess and claim the entire offerings for themselves.

When an epidemic breaks out 'bindlas' (a sub-caste of Madigas) are called in to identify and to allay the malevolent spirit that has caused the scourge. They invoke the invisible and mysterious powers by the beating of drums and the blowing of horns. One of them becomes possessed and grows alternately drowsy and wild assuming in the end a very frightful appearance. When this stage is reached, he reveals the name of the harassing spirit and prescribes certain worships and offerings for its pacification.

Brahmins are engaged in religious and ceremonial observances. For the performance of funeral rites Satanis are employed by Tirmanidharis and Jangams by Vibhutidharis.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burnt in a lying posture with the head to the south; the ashes are collected in an earthen pot and are either buried under a tree or thrown into a river. Infants, unmarried persons, and persons dying of cholera and small-pox are buried. Burial is also resorted to if the expenses of cremation cannot be borne by the family of the deceased. 'Sradha' is celebrated on the 10th day after death. On the Pitra Amawasya day (middle of September) all departed souls are propitiated with offerings of Til libations.

Social Status.—The social position of the Mutrasis is as high as that of Kapus, Velamas, Gollas and Munnurs, with whom they will exchange 'Kachi' food. Brahmins, Komatis, Baljas, &c., will eat pakki and sweetmeats prepared by a Mutrasi. The members of the tribe indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors and eat fowls,

fish, lizards, pigs and certain birds. They do not eat the leavings of any people.

Occupation.—Military service was supposed to be the original occupation of the tribe. Most of the Mutrasi are engaged in cultivation, as' occupancy, non-occupancy and landless day-labourers. They are traders, grain-dealers, cart drivers, fishermen and collectors and sellers of jungle produce. In short, they take to any means of earning a livelihood, provided that it does not entail social disgrace.

LXXXVI

OTARI

Otári, Watári—a very small caste of smelters, found scattered all over the Dominions. They take their name from the Marathi verb *otane* which means to pour or to smelt. They are a functional group, probably recruited from the respectable middle classes, but now hardened into a rigid caste. The caste was known, under the name 'Uttarak,' to the ancient Hindu Legislators, by whom they are described to be the offspring of a Karmar father and a Chitrakar mother. According to this account, the Otaris are Pratilomaja (born against the heir) the father being of a lower caste than the mother. They look like Maratha Kunbis and speak the Marathi language.

Internal Structure.—Six sub-castes of Otáris are found in these Dominions :—They are (1) Bedari, (2) Ghátoli, (3) Nizámsi, (4) Yadáli, (5) Kancháli and (6) Kolwána. These are mostly territorial groups, based upon the names of the countries they occupy. As, for example, Bedaris are found in the District of Bidar, Ghatolis dwell on the Ghats, or in the District of Aurangabad, Nizamsis are to be found in the Districts of Bir and Parbhani, and Kanchalas in the Gulbarga District, Kolwáns are said to be Akarmasis, or illegitimate descendants of the abovementioned sub-castes, and are to be met with in the Deglur Taluka of the Nander District. Neither interdining nor intermarriage is allowed among members of these different groups. Their exogamous sections bear witness to their Maratha origin. Some of them are as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| (1) Kambale. | (5) Tate |
| (2) Gadekar. | (6) Khambe. |
| (3) Chaudhari. | (7) Upare |
| (4) Diwate. | (8) Dande. |
| (9) Lad. | |

The family name descends in the male line and a man is for-

bidden to marry within his section or outside his sub-caste. He may marry the daughter of his sister or of his maternal uncle, but he cannot marry the daughter of his mother's sister. Two sisters may have the same husband, provided the elder is married first. Adoptive brotherhood is practised by the caste.

Daughters are married before they have attained the age of puberty. Polygamy is permitted without any limit being imposed upon the number of wives.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony closely resembles that in vogue among the other Maratha castes. An earthen platform is built under a booth made of five posts. To the Muhurta Medha (wedding post, usually of the Umbar or *Ficus glomerata*) is tied a piece of turmeric with raw cotton thread. After the bride and the bridegroom have been smeared with turmeric paste and oil and bathed, each separately in their houses, 'warlis,' or earthen vessels are ceremonially brought from a potter's house by married females whose husbands are living, and deposited under the wedding pandal. One of the pots is placed close to the Muhurta Medha and covered with a lamp, which continues to burn throughout the ceremony. As the auspicious moment for the wedding draws near, the boy is taken, on a bullock, to the Maruti's temple where he is formally welcomed by the bride's party. A grand procession, formed of the members of both parties, conducts the bridegroom to the bride's house. Under the marriage booth the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand facing each other, a cloth is held between, and the family priest chants mantras and sprinkles rice over their heads. The curtain is withdrawn and the couple exchange garlands of flowers and become husband and wife. Kanyádán, Kankan-bandhanam, Hom and Sádé follow and on the performance of the last rite the ceremony is brought to a close.

Religion.—Otáris allow their widows to marry again, recognise divorce and follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Their favourite goddess is Káliká-devi, to whom goats and sheep are offered at the Dasera festival. The image of the goddess is kept in the house and worshipped daily by each member of the house-hold. Their other gods are Bhairoba, Bhavanai, Dánái, Janái, Khandobá, Maruti and Nagóba. The animistic deities Mari Ai and Sitala are appeased when an

epidemic of cholera or small-pox breaks out. They observe all Hindu fasts and festivals and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri and Pandharpur. Deshastha Brahmans are engaged for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Child-Birth.—When a child is born, its navel cord is cut, laid in an earthen pot and buried somewhere in the house. For the first two days after birth the child is fed on honey and castor oil and the mother on rice and butter. On the fifth day the knife with which the navel cord was cut is placed on a 'Pátá' (stone-slab) and worshipped with offerings of rice, pulse and cakes. On the 12th day the mother becomes free from child-impurity and the child is named after being presented to Satwai, represented by seven pebbles arranged in a row. The mother worships the pebbles and invokes their blessing upon the child.

Disposal of the Dead.—Otáris burn their adult dead in a lying posture and if burial is resorted to, poverty is the cause. On the third day after death the ashes of the burnt are collected and thrown into a stream or pond, while the bones are enclosed in an earthen jar and buried. Mourning is observed for ten days and the chief mourners shave the head and moustaches. On the 12th day relatives are feasted. 'Sradha' is performed in the latter half of the month of Bhádrapad. Children under five years old are buried.

Social Status.—Otáris claim for themselves a higher social standing than the Maratha Kunbis. They eat only from the hands of Brahmans, Komatis, Jangams and Rajputs, while Maratha Kunbis eat 'Kachi' from the hands of these people. They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, hare, deer and fowl and drink spirituous and fermented liquors.

Occupation.—The principal occupation of the caste has been the making of toe rings or 'jodavis,' from bell metal, which they carry for sale on an iron ring or leather band. A few make molten images of Hindu Gods. The men and women hawk the jodavis (toe-rings) from door to door and village to village or they squat along the road-side and find customers generally in women of low castes. The implements of their craft are 'Hátodi' (hammer), 'Sándsi' (pincers), 'Kánas' (file) and 'Danda' (rod). Both men and

women are very hard-working, the women preparing earthen moulds and blowing the bellows.

Otáris háve a caste Panchayat presided over by a headman called Chaudhari, or Naik, who settles social disputes in consultation with the members of the caste council.

LXXVII

PADMA SÁLE

(Male Titles :—Ayya, Appa. Female Titles :—Ammā, Akka.)

Padmā Sále, Sále, Sálewar, Channevar, Júláhá, Tantu-náyakadu—a very large and widely diffused caste of Telugu weavers, wholly distinct from the Devangas or Carnatic weavers, and Patkar Sáles, or Khattris, who hail from Gujarath and Malva, and weave silk cloths. In their original affinities they may be regarded as Dravidians, the view being suggested by their physical characteristics and by the fact that a great number of their exogamous sections bear totemistic names. The name Sále is of Sanskrit origin, being a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Sálīka'—a weaver, while the title 'Padma' seems to be prefixed as a mark of distinction.

Origin.—According to the authority of Hindu Legislators, the Sáles are the offspring of a goldsmith father and a potter mother. A legend, current among them, ascribes the creation of the first weaver to the god Shiva who, with a view to supplying the want of clothing which gods and men had experienced since the beginning of creation, ordered Markandeya Muni to perform a sacrifice. From the sacrificial fire sprung Bhávaná Rishi, the celestial weaver, and with thread obtained from Vishnu's navel lotus (Padma) he proceeded to make clothes for gods. He married Bhadráwati, the daughter of the sun, who bore him 101 sons that became the eponymous founders of one hundred and one sections of the caste. For the benefit of mankind the latter were initiated into their father's trade, which they transmitted to their descendents. One of the sons, who was lame, became the progenitor of the class of beggars known as Sadhanasuras, who are said to subsist by begging from the Padma Sále-caste only.

The members of the caste have spread almost all over the Dominions. In the Marathawada Districts they have assumed the name Channevar. The origin of this name is obscure. A legend, probably of the late invention, states that when Narsinha, the 'man-lion' incarnation of Vishnu, assumed the form of a youthful hunter and went to woo Chanchita, the maiden daughter of a Chanchu (hunter) prince, the ancestors of these people accompanied him and thereby got the name 'channewar'. Obviously the story fails to account for the name satisfactorily.

Internal Structure.—Widely scattered though the caste is, it has no endogamous divisions. Its social customs, however, are found to vary, being based everywhere upon the degree of ceremonial purity the members have attained in different localities. In the District of Medak some of them engage priests from among themselves, instead of Brahmins, for all religious and ceremonial observances. In other Telugu Districts a tendency is observed towards conformity to Brahminical rites and the members of the caste are striving to abstain from flesh and liquor, looking upon widow marriage as a degraded act, and wearing the sacred thread. This last innovation is said to have been brought about some twenty years ago by a wandering Brahman who promised them social elevation if they only conformed to the rites initiated by him.

A few of the Padma Sâles have embraced Lingayitism and formed, on that account, a hypergamous group under the name of Sâle Jangam. These take girls in marriage from ordinary Sâles but do not give them their own daughters in return. It is said that the ancestor of the Jangam Sâles found a Siva Lingam besmeared with *vibhuti*, in a pit under his loom and this was interpreted as the god's command to him to become a Lingayit.

The section names of the caste are of two distinct types, the one based upon family names, which are partly of the totemistic and partly of the territorial character, and the other eponymous, the eponym being a Vedic Rishi or saint.

A list of only a few of the section names of both types is given below as a specimen :—

Family Name.	Corresponding Gotra.	Meaning of the section name.
(1) Kotollu	Kapila	Fort.
(2) Gurramollu	Paundrika	Horse.
(3) Chakkalollu	Valakhilya	Bark.
(4) Chintaginjala	Swayambhu	Tamarind seed.
(5) Kodollu	Sramsai	Hill.
(6) Thummalollu	Durwasa	.
(7) Bajjollu	Sindhu	.
(8) Gujjarollu	Kousila	Dwarf.
(9) Sudallu	Rikshibha.	.
(10) Allodollu		Name of a place.
(11) Nilliwandlu	Bhargava	Indigo.
(12) Gajulollu	Bharati	Bangles.
(13) Yinjamurollu		Name of a place.
(14) Devasaniwaru	Daksha	
(15) Garantalawaru	Kutsa	A kind of plant.
(16) Gaddamollu	Koundilya	Chin.
(17) Gundollu	Digwasa.	.

The eponymous sections, nearly 101 in number, are evidently the names of Brahmanical gotras. In the regulation of their marriages the Padma Sâles follow the family names, and the authority of the gotras is practically disregarded. It is also found that the latter system is not completely diffused throughout the caste, many illiterate members are even utterly ignorant of their existence. This circumstance seems to show that the Brahmanical gotras have been borrowed in comparatively recent times by the advanced members of the community for the simple purpose of satisfying their aspirations to rise in the social scale.

The family name descends in the male line. A man is forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his own section. The Sâles follow the ordinary rules as to prohibited degrees. Thus a man cannot marry the daughter of his maternal aunt, paternal aunt or sister. A man may marry two sisters and also the daughter of his maternal uncle. Exchange of daughters is permitted. A boy is adopted, provided he belongs to the same section as that of his adop-

tive father. A sister's son cannot be adopted. The adopted boy is prevented from marrying in both the sections, that of his natural father and of his adoptive father.

Marriage.—The Padma Sáles marry their daughters as infants between the ages of four and ten and it is said that a girl for whom a husband cannot be procured before she has reached the age of puberty is turned out of the caste. Such a girl either becomes 'Adipápá' (a hand maid in a rich zamindar's house) or takes to concubinage. The consummation of 'marriage' before puberty is tacitly recognised. Polygamy is permitted, subject to such restrictions as are in force among other Telugu castes. Usually a second wife is not taken unless the first proves barren or incurably diseased.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or guardians of the parties. The initiative is taken by the bridegroom's father, who finds out a suitable bride for his son, visits her house and, in the presence of the caste Panchayat, makes her a present of clothes and money. Among the Channevars of Maharashtra the betrothal is confirmed by 'khusháli,' when each of the guests present, including the father of the girl, is offered a cup of spirit at the expense of the boy's father. The wedding day is fixed on consulting a Brahman astrologer. Previous to the wedding, both parties perform a great many ceremonies constituting what are called Stri Achár (woman's usage) and Kula Achár (family usage), such as the worship of Pochama and Pinnamma, invocation of Márkandeya (their patron saint), propitiation of the spirits of ancestors, Kotanam, Airani Kundalu, Mailápolu, and a number of others with due regard to their order. On the appointed day, the bridegroom is taken in procession, riding on a horse or bullock, as the fashion may be, to the bride's house, where, on arrival, he is conducted to the wedding booth, made of nine or eleven posts, with a branch of salai, standing for 'muhurta medha' or milk post. After the bridegroom has been invested with the sacred thread, the bride's parents wash his feet and make him the gift of their virgin daughter by the ceremony known as 'kanyádán' (the gift of the virgin). The bridal pair are then made to place a mixture of cumin seeds and molasses on each other's head and to tread upon each other's feet. After this the bridegroom ties a *pusti* or *mangalsutra*

round the bride's neck and puts silver rings on her toes. After Kankanam, or thread bracelets, have been fastened upon their wrists they throw 'talwál,' rice grains, on each others heads and have their garments fastened in a knot. The rites that follow are of minor importance and closely resemble those of other castes of the same social standing. Throughout the ceremony the couple wear Bashin-gam, or head ornaments made of paper.

The marriage ceremony of the Channevars neither resembles the type above described nor the one in use among the Maratha castes, but it is a curious mixture of rituals 'borrowed from both.'

Widow-Marriage.—Widow-marriage is practised by the caste, but a widow is not required to marry her late husband's brother or cousin. Beyond this she is not bound by any restrictions in her selection of a second husband, except that she has to avoid the prohibited degrees binding upon her before marriage. The ritual used at the marriage of a widow is very simple. An auspicious day is selected and late at night the widow is taken by the bridegroom's people to his house. The bridegroom presents her with a sari and choli and ties an old pusti of gold round her neck. Early next morning the pair visit Hanuman's temple. The proceedings conclude with a feast to the friends and relatives of the newly married couple. When a bachelor marries a widow he is first formally wedded to a *Rui* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) as if to a virgin bride. A movement towards the abolition of widow marriage has been set on foot by some members of the caste.

Divorce.—A woman is divorced for adultery with the permission of the caste Panchayat, in whose presence she is driven out of her husband's house. Divorced women are allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows; the ceremony, in both cases, being known as 'Udkhi' or 'Marmannu.'

Inheritance.—The Sáles follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. A sonless father usually adopts his sister's son or makes him son-in-law whereupon the latter is entitled by a tribal usage 'illatum' to inherit his father-in-law's property. Sometimes the eldest son is granted an extra share, or Jethánga.

Child-Birth.—After delivery a Sále mother is impure for ten

days, during which she is kept in a closed room from which fresh air is excluded as much as possible. The worship of the goddess Satwai is performed on the fifth day after the birth, when goats and sheep are sacrificed and married females are feasted in honour of the occasion. The mother is free from child impurity on the eleventh day in Marathawada and on the twenty-first day in Telingana. When the child is named a grand feast is given to relatives and members of the caste.

Puberty.—A Sâle girl, on attaining puberty, is seated on a white 'chadar' (sheet of cloth), bedaubed from head to foot with turmeric powder and gracefully adorned with jewels and garlands of flowers 'Suwasinis', or women whose husbands are living, present her with betel-leaves, areca-nuts and pieces of cocoa-nut kernel, and feast her with sweet-meats of various kinds. The adult male members of the caste honour the occasion with khusali, or drink, in which they freely indulge at the village liquor shop at the expense of the father-in-law of the girl. Connubial relations commence on the performance of the 'Utibharan' ceremony, which generally takes place within sixteen days from the day of the girl's first menstruation.

Religion.—The religion of the Padma Sâles is orthodox Hinduism. They are divided between Tirmanidharis (worshippers of Vishnu), and Vibhutidhari 'Siva worshippers,' according as they are under the spiritual guidance of Shri Vaishanava, Aradhi Brahmins. These sectarians are to be distinguished by the different marks on their foreheads, Tirmanidharis wearing two vertical marks of sandal paste while Vibhutidharis besmear their foreheads with Vibhuti, or cowdung ashes. Their special god is Markandeya, to whom worship is offered on the full moonday of Vaishaka (May-June) with offerings of flowers, sweetmeats and milk. In the month of Kartika (November-December), women reverence Bhadrawati—the female progenitor of the caste, whose image is set up under a 'Badh' (banian) tree. In addition to Bhadrawati, females worship Gauramma in Kartika, the cobra on Nagpanchami and the Tulsi plant, the Bad and Pipal trees occasionally. Narsinha, Balaji, Rajrajeshwara and Hanuman are other objects of worship. Reverence is paid to Pochamma, Yelamma, Mahisamma, Mari Mata, and other minor village deities

and also to Muhamedan pirs. On the Ganesh Chauth, or fourth of the waxing moon of Bhádava, the loom, shuttle and other implements of weaving are adored by the members of the caste. Brahmins are employed for religious observances, while in the worship of animistic deities Kumbhars or Dhobis officiate as priests and claim a part of the animal offerings made to the deity. The Sále Jangams follow the tenets of Lingayitism and observe all the ceremonies and forms of worship prescribed by the sect. •

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned by Tirmanidharis and buried by Vibhutidharis with the head to the south. In the case of the former the Ayyawars conduct the obsequies, while the latter engage Jangams to officiate as funeral priests. The ashes, in the case of cremation, are collected on the 5th day after death, and thrown into any sacred stream, while the bones are buried under a platform of earth. Sále Jangams bury their corpses sitting upright and facing the east. Unmarried persons, persons dying of cholera or small-pox and children are also buried. Agnates are mourned five days by Tirmanidharis and three days by Vibhutidharis, during which the mourners abstain from flesh, sweetmeats, and milk. Tirmanidharis perform 'Shradha' on the 10th day and afterwards repeat the ceremony on the anniversary of the death, when balls of rice and libations of 'til' water (tilodaka) are offered for the propitiation of the departed soul. Caste people are entertained at a funeral feast on the 10th day after death. Offerings to ancestors in general are made on the Pitra Amawasya, or the last day of Bhadrapad (middle of September).

Social Status.—In point of social standing the Padma Sáles rank immediately below the Kapus, Gollas, Welmas, Munnurs and Kurmas and eat cooked food from their hands. They claim to be superior to Hajams and Dhobis and will partake of no kind of food with them. They eat pork, fowl, vension, mutton, goat's flesh, all kinds of fish and the flesh of the 'ghorpod' (Iguana lizard) and drink spirituous and fermented liquors. They do not eat the leavings of other castes. Many of the Padma Sáles wear the sacred thread. They have a caste Panchayat, the headman of which is called 'Mehtarya', Mahajan or Chaudhari.

The Channevares do not wear the hair lock but shave their heads clean.

Occupation.—The Padma Sáles follow weaving as their traditional profession. They weave only cotton cloth and manufacture saris of different patterns with silk or cotton borders, cloth dyed in the thread for women's petticoats, dhotis for men and other coarse but strong fabrics. The women assist the men by spinning the yarn and preparing the warp.

Padma Sáles are very industrious, but although they work continually from morning to night they are seldom able to earn a moderate subsistence for their families; their coarse, hand-loom made cloth cannot compete with foreign piece-goods, which are extensively imported into this country and which, from their comparative fineness and good quality and their moderate prices, are more acceptable to the masses of the people. Many of the caste have, therefore, been compelled to give up weaving and betake themselves to other pursuits. Thus they are agriculturists, holding land both as occupancy and non-occupancy raiats, farm labourers, personal servants, shop-keepers, masons and, in short, follow any occupation that is compatible with their notions of social purity.

LXXVIII

PANCHAL

(Titles :—Mar. Náik. Potdár, Ráo.)

Páñchál, Panchadáyi, Punyavachan, Kamsále (Telugu), Kammalan, Achárji—a numerous caste which comprises the five artisan classes of the Dominions whose names, with their equivalents in Telugu, Canarese, Marathi and Urdu, are mentioned in the following table :—

	Telugu.	Canarese.	Marathi	Urdu.
Ironsmith.....	Kamnará.	Kambará.	Lohár.	Lohár.
Carpenter....	Vadla.	Badagi.	Sutár.	Sutár.
Brass-smith.....	Kanchará.	Kanchugará.	Kásár or Támbatgár.	Támbatgár.
Stone Masons....	Kási.	Kásigaru.	Gaundi or Silpi.	Sangatarásh.
Goldsmith.....	Ausalá or Kamsáli.	Akasáli or Agásarlu.	Sonár	Sunár.

In the Máháráshtra these five classes are becoming endogamous, but in the Carnátic and Telingáná they are merely occupational divisions, there being no restriction preventing intermarriages or interdining among them, or disallowing a man from following more than one occupation or changing his sub-division.

Origin.—The physical characteristics, the invariably dark complexion and rough features of the Panchals, appear to mark them as of South India origin. This view derives strong support from the fact that the members of the caste carefully taboo the fruit of the Phanas

tree (Jack) neither eating, plucking, cutting nor injuring the tree in any way. The Panchalas are even believed to have originally borne the name of the tree, although at the present day they have dropped it altogether. Regarding their origin, various traditions are current. According to one they claim to be descended from five 'Brahma Rishis' (divine sages), Manu, Máyá,* Twashtá, Silpi and Daivadnya, who sprung from the five faces of Vishwakarmá (lit. the creator of the universe) the celestial architect of the gods. From Manu—the divine ironsmith, descended the Kamnara class, from Máyá, the Vadlas, or carpenters, from Twashtá, the Braziers, or Kancharas, from Silpi Rishi, the stone-cutters and from Daivadnya, the Ausalas, or goldsmiths. Another story states that the above named Rishis, the progenitors of the Páñchál caste, came out of Siva's five mouths, viz., Sadyojat, Wamadeo, Aghor, Tatpurusha and Ishana and that Manu married Kanchana, daughter of Angira Rishi; Máyá's wife was Sulochana, daughter of Parashara; the wife of Twashta was Jayanti, daughter of the sage Koushika; Bhṛigu's daughter Karuna was the wife of Silpi and the last, Daivadnya, was married to Chandrika, daughter of the great sage Jaimini (Skanda Purana, Nagar Khanda). A third tradition says that Prabhas, son of Prajapati and grandson of Pitamaha Muni, had a son with five mouths and ten hands, called Vishwakarma, to whom were born the five mythical ancestors of the Panchal caste.

As the progeny of Vishwakarma, the Panchals call themselves Vishwa Brahmins, deny the sacerdotal authority of Brahmins and employ their own Pandits as priests to conduct their religious ceremonies. They go so far as to assert that they are superior even to Brahmins in origin, for whereas the latter are descended from Rishis of mongrel tribes, they themselves can claim a divine parentage, being sprung from Brahma Rishis, born of the god Vishwakarma. This advancing courage of the Panchals to claim superiority over all existing castes has occasioned many riots and led to many a case in the law courts. It will not be therefore out of place to review, in brief, the grounds on which the Panchalas base their claims of superiority to the rest of the community. These grounds are:—(1) Decisions in courts of justice, (2) some

sentences in the Vedas, (3) certain passages from the Mula Stambha and the Silpa Shashtra (two works on architecture), the Vajra Suchi and Kapildwipa (two Buddhist controversial books on the abolition of caste) and the poems of Vemana, a Telugu Shudra poet. The "decisions in courts" merely state that Panchals (Tamil, Kamalans) are to be allowed to perform such rites as they choose without molestation. As to the Vedas it is not only the Panchalas who can quote scriptures for their purpose, and these writings were, moreover, compiled long before the present caste system originated, so that chance sentences in them are of little weight in the controversy. The other books adduced in evidence are not authoritative or sacred works.

"There can be no doubt that the Panchala's claim is of comparatively recent origin. The inscriptions of 1013 A.D., referred to in paragraph 464 of the 1891 Census Report, show that at that time they had to live outside the villages in hamlets of their own like the Paraiyans and other low castes and a later translation (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part I, "page 47) gives an order of one of the Chola kings that they should be permitted to blow conches and beat drums at their weddings and funerals, to wear sandals and to plaster their houses, and so shows, by implication, that these luxuries were previously denied to them. The stone-masons are spoken of in the inscriptions as 'Silpachari,' but the stone sculptors had, some of them, to carve images of gods, and so earned a certain degree of recognition, and 'silpachari' may only mean a sculptor. At the present day other Shudras do not treat them as Brahmnis, neither accepting food nor water from their hands nor calling them in as Purohits at their religious ceremonies." (Madras Census Report, 1901, page 166.)

It should be observed, however, that this movement towards elevation has been set on foot by the wealthy and learned members of the community, while the lower strata are still plunged in utter ignorance, regulate their marriages by family surnames, indulge in flesh and wine and employ Brahmins at their religious ceremonies. Many of these latter do not even wear the sacred thread. It may be that, in course of time, the more advanced and educated Pan-

chalias will form themselves into an independent caste.

Internal Structure.—The endogamous divisions of the Panchalias differ in different localities. In the Carnatic they appear to have four sub-divisions, Panchanan, Patkari, Vidur and Shilwant, the last being formed of those who are converted to Lingayitism. Vidurs are the illegitimate offspring of Panchal fathers and mothers of other castes. Patkaris allow their widows to remarry and consequently form a separate group. In Telingana the caste is divided into four sub-castes bearing the names Panchdayis, Baiti Panchdayis, Balja Panchdayis, and Chontikulam, of which the first represent the original stock. Baiti Panchalias are said to have been sprung from illicit connections between the members of the Panchal caste, while the Chontikulam are the progeny of Panchala men and women of Munnur, Mutrasi and other lower castes. Balija Panchalias are proselytes to Lingayitism, wear both the sacred thread (the emblem of Brahmins) and the Lingam and acknowledge Jangams as their priests. Besides these there are two other classes, who are mendicants and beg only from the caste. Pansas are said to be descended from Komatis who lost their caste, having had to eat the leavings of Panchadayis, as they could not pay their debts and were forced to undergo this humiliation. Unjawaru are alleged to derive their name from 'Unja,' their professional musical instrument, so named after a demon who was killed by Vishwakarma while in the act of playing upon the instrument. The main divisions of the Maratha Panchals are identical with the occupational groups comprised in their names, viz., Sonar, Sutar, Lohar, Tambatkar (kasar), and Goundi. Some of them are further subdivided into smaller divisions, which are also endogamous. Thus Sonars are divided into Konkani, Daivadnya and Rathkar; Sutar into Panchal and Lingade, the latter being the illegitimate descendants of the former sub-caste; Tambatkar into Konkani Kasars and Tambatgars. These several classes do not intermarry.

The exogamous system of the Panchals is of the eponymous type and consists of five Brahminical gotras, each branched into twenty-five divisions, making up a total of 125 sections. The principal gotras, with Shakhas and Pravars pertaining to each, are illustrated in

the following table :—

No	Gotra Shakhe	Sutra Shakha	Sutra	Pravara.
1	Sanaga	Rikashakha	Ashwalayana	Sanatana, Shakkar Raivata.
2	Sanatana	Yajushakha	Apastambha	Vishwakarma, Siya, Ahabhuta.
3	Ahabhuta	Samashakha	Dakshayana	Pratna, Sasatwinka.
4	Supurna	Atharvana	Baudhayana	Swami, Nishka, Supurna.
5	Pratna	Pranava	Katyayana	Savagisha, Dhrita- jiva.

These Brahminical gotras are recognised only in theory and few, save a very limited section of the so-called Vishwa Brahma Shastris and bhikshukas, practise them. Inter-marriages are really regulated by a number of exogamous sections, mostly of the territorial or totemistic type. A few of these are of the tutelar character.

Exogamy is regularly practised and supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees corresponding to that current among other castes of the locality.

Marriage.—The Panchals marry their girls between the ages of five and eleven and social reproach attaches to the parents if they allow their daughters to outgrow the age of puberty before marriage. Consummation is tolerated even before the girl is physically mature. After she has attained puberty the 'garbhadan' ceremony (purification of the womb) is celebrated at her husband's house, when the pair, dressed in new clothes, are seated side by side and presented with betel-leaves, areca-nuts, almonds and cocoa-nuts, and auspicious lights are waved about their faces. They are then taken round to make obeisance before the gods and elderly members of the household. Polygamy is permitted, but a second wife is taken only when the first wife is barren or incurably diseased.

The marriage ceremony is supposed to be in the Brahma form, referred to by Manu. The preliminary negotiations for a marriage are opened by the parents of the boy and, after the selection of the

girl is approved of on consultation of the horoscopes of the couple, the day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. The upper classes employ priests from their own community while the lower ones, who are not within the reach of this innovation, still cling to their old methods, depending upon Brahmins for the performance of the ceremony. The ceremony begins with the invocation of their tutelary deity Kalika, to whom wheaten cakes and vegetables are offered and in whose honour the priests are feasted. Wedding booths, consisting generally of thirteen pillars, are erected at the houses of the bride and the bridegroom separately and to the central pillar of 'gullar' is tied an earthen pot smeared all over with lines of Kunkum (aniline) and lime and containing cotton seeds. The mouth of the vessel is encircled with kankanam (cotton thread) and covered with a burning lamp maintained throughout the ceremony. Another lamp, also burning throughout, is placed near the family gods. A few days before the wedding the bride and bridegroom are besmeared, in their own houses, with turmeric paste and oil, bathed with warm water by married women whose husbands are living and thread bracelets are fastened on their wrists. Early next morning the bridegroom with his party starts on horseback to the bride's village where, on arrival, they are temporarily accommodated at the Hanuman's temple. The bride's party, including her parents, meet them and accord a ceremonial welcome to the bridegroom, upon which a grand procession is arranged which conducts the bridegroom with music and singing to the bride's house. Under the booth the couple, both dressed in silk and adorned with paper 'Bashingams', are made to stand facing each other. The 'Antarpat' is held between them and they are wedded by the family priest chanting benedictory verses and sprinkling 'Akshata,' or turmeric coloured rice, over them at the end of each verse. It is customary among some Panchalas to make the couple sit in bamboo baskets when the 'Antarpat' is held between them. The rituals that follow are Jiraguda, Kankanbandhanam and Kanyadan, which correspond in every detail to those of other high castes. The boy is invested with the sacred thread and required to make offerings to 'Homa,' or the sacrificial fire kindled on the earthen platform built for the purpose.

'Saptapadi,' or the seven steps, form the essential portion of the ritual. After this, the Mangalsutra (lucky necklace) is tied about the bride's neck by the family priest and the bridal pair, with their clothes knotted, worship the family gods, have a drink of milk and curds and are taken round to make obeisance before the elderly members of the family. The day's proceedings terminate with an entertainment to the caste people. The next day the wedded pair go in procession to the Hanuman's temple and after worshipping the god return home. At the entrance to the house two leaf-plates containing rice and curd, coloured yellow with turmeric powder, are waved about their faces and thrown away to the evil spirits. A 'Homa' is performed and a feast is given to the caste. On the 3rd day after wedding the 'Bhuma' rite takes place. A basket containing 'puris' (wheat cakes) and flour balls is covered with a winnowing fan on which a lamp of dough, smeared with lines of kunkum (aniline powder) is kept burning. The basket is placed near the god's shrine and worshipped by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. It is then removed to the marriage booth. A puri is taken out of the basket with the point of a sword and thrown on the top of the booth, the ceremony being observed by none but the members of the household, for it is generally believed that outsiders, beholding it, bring on them the loss of their children and other calamities. A curious rite is performed at the Hanuman's temple on the 3rd day after wedding. Twenty-five small heaps of rice are arranged in front of the god and the bride, with her forehead, collects them in one mass; the bridegroom, all the while throwing on her head grains of rice one by one. 'Barat' or the return procession, on the 4th day, concludes the marriage. When the bridegroom returns with the bride to his house he is obstructed at the entrance door by his sister who demands his daughter in marriage to her son and on extracting the promise from him she allows him to enter the house with his young wife. The marriage booth is removed on the 11th day after the wedding and the 'muhurta medha' (wedding post) is removed on the 21st day, the pit in which it was planted being filled with earth mixed with jaggery.

Widow-Marriage.—Widows are not allowed to marry again,

nor is divorce permitted. It is said that some of the Panchals practise widow-marriage, but these are turned out of their caste.

Religion.—The favourite object of worship of the Panchals is the goddess Kalika, also called Ambika, to whom sheep, goats, fowls and wine are offered on the first day of the bright half of Chait and again in the month of Shravana (August-September). No priests are employed for the worship of the goddess and the offerings are eaten by the members of the household. Fridays and Tuesdays are believed to be the most propitious days for this worship. Offerings of sweetmeats are also made to the goddess Kamakshi of Kanchi, who is held to be one of their patron deities. Most of the Panchals are Shakti worshippers, but a few are either Vibhutidharis or Shaitavits and Tirmanidharis, or Vishnu-worshippers. A number of them have adopted the tenets of Lingayitism and wear both the Lingam and the sacred thread on their person. Devotion is also paid to Rama, Dattatraya, Hanuman, Ganpati and the Sun, whose worship is conducted in the orthodox fashion. Besides these they revere the animistic deities Pochamma, Mari Amma, Nagamma, the deified saint Manik Prabhu of Humanabad and a host of evil spirits and malignant divinities. Special respect is paid to the implements of their craft, the higher classes of the Panchals, especially members of the priesthood among them, observe all the sixteen sacraments of Brahmins and conduct their whole ceremonial according to the Vedic rites. These, like Brahmins, invest their sons with the sacred thread when 8 years old.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are disposed of by burning, except in the case of boys who are not invested with the sacred thread and girls who are unmarried. If the body be that of an adult man it is bathed and clothed in silk and smeared with sandal paste. In the case of a married woman whose husband is living it is covered with a silken sari. The corpse is borne to the cremation ground on a bamboo bier by four men and the chief mourner, with moustaches shaved, leads the way with an earthen pot, containing fire, in his hand. The dead body is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south and the chief mourner walks five times round the pile and sets fire to it. Ashes and bones are col-

lected on the third day after death and the ashes are thrown into a sacred river, while the bones are buried and over them a platform is built as a monument to the deceased. 'Sradha' is performed on the 11th and 12th days after death and on the 14th a feast is given to the caste people of the neighbourhood. Libations of water and balls of rice are offered on the occasion. Ancestors in general are propitiated in the last fifteen days of Bhadrapad.

Social Status.—Except those who maintain a high standard of ceremonial purity, the Panchals eat the flesh of goats, sheep and fowl and drink spirituous liquors. Their social standing is, no doubt, highly respectable, although none of the Hindu castes, not even the lowest ones, eat food from their hands, nor do the members of the caste eat kachi even from the hands of Brahmins.

Occupation.—The Panchals are, by occupation, artisans and work in gold, brass, iron, wood and stone. Their work in India attained a high position in early ages and has been fostered by generations of diligent men who, from father to son, have devoted their hearts and minds thereto, completing it with taste and fitting details. In the carving of wood and the chasing of metal and filagree work they excel their brethren of other countries. Specimens of their work were purchased for the Exhibition of 1851 as models of tasteful design and careful work and introduced into the Schools of Arts of Europe for imitation. It is a pity that the fine arts of India are gradually dying out for want of proper encouragement. Some of the Panchals have entered Government service and risen to posts of honour by their talents and diligence. They are also members of learned professions. A few of them, more particularly the gold-smiths, are landlords and wealthy merchants.

Exogamous Divisions of the Panchal Caste

1. Sanaga Gotra :—

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|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1) Manu. | (7) Manno. |
| (2) Sanaga. | (8) Bhubala. |
| (3) Kashyapa. | (9) Virupaksha. |
| (4) Mann. | (10) Samantha. |
| (5) Vishwatama. | (11) Swathamsada. |
| (6) Mamanu. | (12) Pravodhaka. |

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|---------------------|-------------------|
| (13) Pawanjaya. | (19) Chaturhasta. |
| (14) Bhammathy. | (20) Vanajaya. |
| (15) Jayathakumara. | (21) Sathyaka. |
| (16) Vanaja. | (22) Vasuyagna. |
| (17) Bhaswantha. | (23) Sutava. |
| (18) Madhu. | (24) Vasulochana. |

2. Abhawanasa Gotra :—

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|-------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Abhawanasa. | (13) Vithaksha. |
| (2) Abavanasa. | (14) Medhamathi. |
| (3) Bhadradatha. | (15) Viswamaya. |
| (4) Vishwarupa. | (16) Bodhayana. |
| (5) Kandawa. | (17) Jatharupa. |
| (6) Samawastha. | (18) Chitrasana. |
| (7) Yadnyapala. | (19) Jayasana. |
| (8) Pratyaksha. | (20) Vidnyan. |
| (9) Athidhatru. | (21) Prabhunath. |
| (10) Tamragarbha. | (22) Dewala. |
| (11) Lokasha. | (23) Vinaya. |
| (12) Dhatru. | (24) Brahmādikshita. |

(25) Haridharma.

3. Prathanasa :—

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|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Prathanasa. | (13) Vasudharma. |
| (2) Silpi. | (14) Vajrachatha. |
| (3) Vasthaphathi. | (15) Vishwabhadra. |
| (4) Ruchidhatta. | (16) Dnyanabhadra. |
| (5) Sanabasa. | (17) Devabhadra. |
| (6) Pramarahana. | (18) Ighanika. |
| (7) Lokavatha. | (19) Virasana. |
| (8) Sitadanda. | (20) Sakpara. |
| (9) Samashrabhana. | (21) Mumuksha. |
| (10) Vasthuka. | (22) Sakpara. |
| (11) Indrasana. | (23) Bhokthaya. |
| (12) Vasthudharma. | (24) Vedapala. |

(25) Sahasthabahu.

4. *Suvarnasa Gotra* :—

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|--------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Om Vishwagnya. | (13) Architha. |
| (2) Vishwagnya. | (14) Aryantha. |
| (3) Karmasakshi. | (15) Kardama. |
| (4) Swarnasana. | (16) Myathraya. |
| (5) Paritha. | (17) Thagodharma. |
| (6) Manibhadra. | (18) Sudarshana. |
| (7) Munisuvrata. | (19) Yadnya. |
| (8) Udara. | (20) Sandhya. |
| (9) Devapalaka. | (21) Bodhaka. |
| (10) Sadvartan. | (22) Davaasana. |
| (11) Adityasana. | (23) Aditya. |
| (12) Davaniya. | (24) Vijadana. |

(25) Hpayadnya.

5. *Sanatana Gotra* :—

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|-------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Sanatana. | (13) Sayandawadi. |
| (2) Maya. | (14) Ananta. |
| (3) Vidnya. | (15) Vishwatomukha. |
| (4) Vishwadaksha. | (16) Sthapaka. |
| (5) Sudaksha. | (17) Yadnnasha. |
| (6) Mamesha. | (18) Vipala. |
| (7) Sanatkumara. | (19) Pumadha. |
| (8) Dharmini. | (20) Jana. |
| (9) Vidhatya. | (21) Jahanu |
| (10) Dwijadharma. | (22) Jayada. |
| (11) Vardhaki. | (23) Rewatha. |
| (12) Bhavabodha. | |

(25) Shantimati.

LXXIX

PANGUL

Pangul—a small caste of Maratha beggars and buffalo-dealers, found scattered all over the Maratha country. They represent themselves to be descended from a lame man (Mar-Pangla) who, in fulfilment of a vow, was devoted to the service of Mahadeva by his parents. They seem to be an off-shoot from the Maratha Kunbis, whom they resemble in physical character and habits. They have no sub-divisions. Their exogamous sections, modelled upon those of the Maratha Kunbis, are as follows:—

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|---------------|----------------|
| (1) Gire | (11) Pawle. |
| (2) Himgire. | (12) Mohite. |
| (3) Pawade. | (13) Gawane. |
| (4) Gadekar. | (14) Shingare. |
| (5) Bedare. | (15) Jaste. |
| (6) Chake. | (16) Sinda. |
| (7) Viraker. | (17) Jadhava. |
| (8) Mote. | (18) Hingmire. |
| (9) Ghatwal. | (19) Dhamale. |
| (10) Gadeker. | (20) Waghmode. |

Their marriages are regulated by the rule of exogamy common to all the Maratha castes. A man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section nor one who falls within the prohibited degrees of kinship.

Marriage.—Panguls practise both infant and adult marriages and allow polygamy without imposing any limit on the number of wives a man may have. Sexual indiscretions before marriage are leniently dealt with. Widows may marry again and enjoy full freedom in their choice of a second husband. Divorce is permitted for adultery and divorced wives may marry again by the same rites as widows. The marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with the orthodox

usage. After the bride has been selected and the bride-price paid, the actual wedding is celebrated under a booth made of nine posts. 'Antarpat' and 'Homa' are believed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Brahmins officiate as priests at their marriages.

Religion.—The religion of Panguls shows little divergence from the standard form current among other Maratha castes. Khandoba and Bhavani are their favourite deities to whom offerings are made on festive occasions. The former is worshipped with great ceremony on 'Sati,' or the light sixth of Margashirsha (December), and the latter, on Dasera day, or the light tenth of 'Aswin' (October). 'Birs' and 'Munjyas' or spirits of adult and child ancestors, are represented by silver embossed plates and by circular vermilion balls respectively, and worshipped every day by the members of the caste. Brahmins serve them as priests on ceremonial and religious occasions. They keep Hindu festivals and make pilgrimages to Tuljapur, Pandharpur and other holy shrines in the Deccan. The dead are both buried and burnt and the ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into any sacred stream. Mourning is observed for ten days and 'Sradha' ceremony is performed on the 10th day after death. On the 12th day a funeral feast is provided to the caste people. Ancestors in general are propitiated on Pitra Amawasya, or the last day of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status.—In point of social standing Panguls rank lower than the Maratha Kunbis, from whose hands they take Kachi. Their rules regarding diet are the same as those of Maratha Kunbis. They eat fish and the flesh of fowls, sheep, hare and deer and drink spirituous and fermented liquors.

Occupation.—Begging is believed to be the original occupation of the caste, although some Panguls style themselves as 'gawalis' (herdsmen) and deal in buffalos and their milk. They are, however, precluded, on pain of social degradation, from selling cow's milk. Their mode of beginning the day is rather uncommon. Early in the morning the Pangul spreads his blankets at the foot of a tree and getting high up on a branch calls out loudly the names of Vithoba and other Hindu gods shouting for alms to the passersby. He gets down from the tree at 10 a.m., collects the alms and returns home. Often

the Panguls are seen early in the morning wandering through the streets, calling out the names of gods and collecting alms in their names. Some of the Panguls have now become petty traders and cultivators. They have a caste panchayat to which all social disputes and intricate questions are referred for solution.

LXXX

PARDHI

Párdhi—game snarers and fowlers to be found in the Districts of Aurangabad, Bir, Parbhani, Nander, Raichur, Usmanabad and Gulbarga. They are also frequently met with in Hyderabad city, where they are engaged chiefly as fruit-sellers and bird-snarers. They belong to the great predatory Bawari tribe of Gujerath, scattered under different appellations all over India.

The Párdhis are a fine race of men with a physiognomy peculiar to themselves and very similar to that of the Northern India people. They cut the hair of their head only once when quite young and never again touch it with razor or scissors. About their necks they wear necklaces of onyx beads. The dress of the men is very scanty, consisting of a piece of cloth round the loins and a turban on their heads. Occasionally a white sheet is thrown over their shoulders. The females used to wear 'laingas' (skirts), but time and intercourse with Marathi speaking people have brought about a gradual change in their dress, and they now wear the sari and choli of the Maratha type. They have their bodies tattooed in different designs.

The Párdhis of the Hyderabad Dominions are divided into two classes, (1) Pal or Langotá Párdhis and (2) Chitewale or Phansi Párdhis, the former regarding themselves superior to the latter and never intermarrying or interdining with them. The Pál or Langoti Párdhis are a wandering people, so called as they wear a 'langoti' or loin cloth sufficient only to cover their nakedness, and put up under pæls or huts made of coarse cloth. They snare birds, deer, jackals, peacocks and other small game, but to snare 'chitas' or leopards is regarded by them as derogatory. To catch animals and birds they use horse hair nooses and bird-lime.

Chittawale Párdhis, or snarers of 'chetas' (hunting leopards), are also a wild-looking vagrant group with extremely untidy appear-

ance and live under trees. They catch 'chetas' with nooses and sell them to Rajas and chiefs, by whom they are often engaged for the purpose of supplying them with these animals.

Internal Structure.—Párdhis are broken up into exogamous sections based upon the pattern of Maratha family names. Some of them are—Pawar, Dongle, Jadhava, Chavana, Kare. Marriages within the same section are forbidden. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. Two sisters may be married to the same man, provided that the elder is married first.

Marriage.—Párdhi girls are married after they are fully grown up. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised and if a girl becomes pregnant, arrangements are made to marry her to the father of her child. A bride is purchased for a price which sometimes amounts to Rs. 80. Polygamy is recognised and, in theory, no limitation is imposed upon the number of wives a man may have. The wedding takes place at midnight at the bride's house in a booth made of Jambul (*Eugenia jambalanum*) posts, covered with mango (*Magnifera indica*) leaves, underneath which an earthen platform is built. The initiative is taken by the bridegroom's father and, after preliminary negotiations have been completed to the satisfaction of both parties, a cup of spirits is given to each of the company present as a symbol of confirmation of the match. The ceremony begins with the sacrifice of a sheep to their patron goddess Mari Ai (the deity presiding over cholera), a portion of the blood is sprinkled over the stone representing the goddess and the remainder is drunk by the persons present. On the wedding day the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their own houses, their hands, feet and faces are daubed with turmeric and their foreheads are adorned with 'Bashingams' which are made of 'pipal' leaves (*Ficus religiosa*) and decked with 'ketaki' and cotton blossoms. In the shades of night the bridegroom proceeds on foot to the bride's house under a moving canopy of cloth held aloft by four men on bamboo sticks. He is accompanied by his friends and relations and immediately behind him march his sisters bearing, in their hands, earthen jars covered with lighted lamps. On their arrival at the bride's house, a sort of resistance is offered to them by the bride's party, who hold a long pole transversely to bar their progress. After

a mock fight of a few minutes the bridegroom is allowed to slip in and get hold of the bride by the hand. Immediately after this a barber ties the garments of the bridal pair in a knot, which constitutes the essential portion of the ceremony. This highly primitive usage is followed by rituals of an ordinary character. A Brahmin is called in for their celebration and ties thread bracelets on the wrists of the couple and '*mangalsutra*' (auspicious string of black beads) round the bride's neck. Last of all the bridegroom marches five times round the bride and smears vermilion on the parting of her hair. Both the bracelets and the knot are then solemnly untied by the barber and the wedded pair return in procession to the bridegroom's house.

Widow-Marriage.—Widow marriage is permitted and it is incumbent on a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or failing him, the nearest younger agnatic relative of her husband. The ceremony is simple and consists in tying the clothes of the pair in a knot by a barber.

Divorce.—Divorce is allowed and, in the case of a divorced woman marrying a second time, her first husband is entitled to recover from her second husband the amount he paid to her parents as bride-price.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance and succession the Párdhis affect to follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and the property is divided into equal shares among the sons.

Religion.—Párdhis are still animistic in their creed and worship Mari Ai, the cholera goddess, as their favourite and characteristic deity. On the 10th of the light half of Aswin (October) the goddess is worshipped with offerings of goats and the offerings are subsequently divided among the worshippers. They also worship the forms of their departed ancestors engraven on silver or copper plates. The tiger is held in special reverence by the members of the tribe.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying posture with the head to the south. After life is extinct, the body is washed and borne, on hands, to the burial ground. The grave is filled in after the corpse has been laid into it. Along with the corpse are buried a quantity of sugar, rice and tobacco with a view to the disembodied soul feeding on them and not returning to earth. Two flat

stones, daubed with red lead, are laid on the grave, one at the feet of the corpse and the other at its head. Two days later, the relations move to another locality and then perform a sort of ceremony resembling the Hindu *śradha*. Five earthen pots, each filled with water, and covered with a concave earthen lid, are smeared with *kunkum* and connected by a cotton thread. On each of these vessels is placed a ball of wheaten flour and the whole is worshipped in the name of the deceased and subsequently thrown away. Some time within two years from the date of death, as suits his convenience, the chief mourner is required to visit the grave and offer a goat as a sacrifice to the spirit of the deceased. After this the form of the departed person is engraved on a silver plate, added to others of a like nature and worshipped on every festive occasion.

Social Status.—Being a wandering tribe of foreign origin, the rank of Párdhis in the local social system cannot be definitely placed. Their touch, however, is not regarded as unclean by the higher castes and they are allowed to draw water from the wells used by high caste people and to get their heads shaved by the village barber. They eat the leavings of Brahmins.

Occupation.—Since the game laws came into force, the Párdhis have been compelled to abandon their original profession and follow other pursuits. They never cultivate lands but work as day-labourers.

LXXXI

PENTA

Penta—Tamil cultivators, found in large numbers in the Nalgunda District, especially at Srirangapur, and believed to have originally come with the Contingent forces from the Trichinopalli District of the Madras Presidency. The men of this caste are noted for their criminal propensities and are often involved in cases of petty thefts and fraudulent transactions, such as cheating people by selling brass ornaments for gold. Their houses, which do not, however, resemble those of the wandering tribes, are constructed of grass and palm twigs. The males dress like the ordinary cultivators of the country, but the females still cling to the dress of their former home. Like the Tamil women they wear, in their elongated ear-lobes, huge rings of rolled and twisted palm leaves. They do not wear bodices, nor glass bangles on their wrists, nor nose-rings in their nostrils. A very singular custom has survived to this day among the Pentas of Nalgunda. A bride, suspected of having been unchaste, is forced to undergo an ordeal on her wedding day. This is effected by placing a bracelet in an iron pot containing boiling *ghi*, and asking the bride, after she has purified herself by a bath, with her clothes still wet, to pick out the bracelet with her hand. Should no blisters appear on her hand her innocence is proved beyond all doubt. But if she hesitates to plunge in her hand, or if it is blistered when put in, she is pronounced guilty and as a punishment is driven out of the caste.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into four sub-castes. (1) Palli, (2) Wanir ‘gardeners,’ (3) Padayachi, (4) Gandamaru. Amongst these interdining is permitted. The members of the first and second sub-castes intermarry, as also those of the third and the fourth. The exogamous sections appear to be of the eponymous type, being perhaps based upon the names of their founders. The rule of exogamy differs very little from that in vogue amongst the Telugu castes. Thus a man cannot marry outside his sub-caste nor

inside his section. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided one does not marry his aunt, or any of his first cousins, with the exception of a maternal uncle's daughter.

The typical exogamous sections are given below :—

- (1) 'Sanyasirao Kottam.
- (2) Kari Kottam.
- (3) Kata Kottam.
- (4) Ramakaru Tanda Kottam.
- (5) Woolapatti Kottam.
- (6) Nachan Karupen Kottam.
- (7) Wandi Karin Kottam 'cartmen.'
- (8) Padadasin Kottam.

NOTE :—The word "Kottam" means multitude.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are practised, and the fact of a girl attaining the age of puberty before marriage places no slur upon her family. In the case of infant marriages, care is taken to guard against premature consummation. Polygamy is allowed. The marriage ceremony, with slight differences, is of the standard type. After *Tambul*, *Papuawanam*, *Lagnam Nischaya* and other ceremonies preliminary to the wedding, an auspicious day is fixed for the wedding, when three married female relatives of the bridegroom form a procession, and, with music, go to a white-ant hill for worship; there they break cocoanuts and afterwards fill baskets with the ant-earth which is carried to the bridegroom's house. With this earth, mixed with water, a platform is built, under the marriage bower, by the maternal uncles of the bridal pair, for which each receives a cup of spirits as a present. This ceremony being over, three earthen vessels, painted externally, are brought by the married females from a potter's house and, being filled with water, are deposited close to the platform. Near these earthen pots, which are called 'Ravi Reni,' a twig of the Pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) is planted and worshipped, with offerings of cocoanuts. The twig is then daubed with scented oils and perfumes and washed with warm water. This ceremony is called Nalgu. The bridal pair are then anointed and bathed, and are wedded according to the rites of Kapu marriage. The tying of a *tali* round the bride's neck by the bridegroom forms

the binding and essential portion of the ceremony. No price is paid for the bride; but a dowry to the amount of Rs. 50 is paid by the parents of the bride to the bridegroom.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry again. The ceremony opens by the bridegroom tying a turmeric coloured string round the bride's neck, and ends with a feast to the relatives and other caste brethren.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted on the ground of the wife's adultery and is effected by driving the woman out of the house, in the presence of the caste people.

Religion.—Yedchamma is the characteristic deity of the caste, and is worshipped on Fridays by the eldest male member of the household as the officiating priest. A fast is observed during the day and, at dusk, all male members of the household resort to a jungle and there worship the deity with offerings of fowls, sheep and spirituous liquors, which are afterwards partaken of by the worshippers. The Goddess Kali is worshipped on Sundays. The local divinities, Karnappa, Swami and Madrawala Swami are propitiated on Tuesdays and Fridays respectively. In addition to the animistic deities mentioned above, the members of the caste duly honour Venkamma, Hanuman and other gods of the Hindu Pantheon, and observe all Hindu festivals. Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes and incur no social disgrace on that account.

Funerals.—The dead are buried in a lying posture with the head towards the south. On the third day after death milk, mixed with gingelly (*Sesamum indicum*) seeds, is placed on the grave and offered to the deceased ancestor. On the 10th day, the mourners perform ablution and become purified. Balls of cooked rice are offered, and libations of water mixed with *til* seeds are poured out in the name of the departed soul.

Social Status and Occupation.—Socially the Pentas rank with Kapus, Velamas and Mutrasis, with whom they eat cooked food and drink water. They do not wear the sacred thread, nor do they eat the leavings of higher castes. Their ostensible means of livelihood is gardening and agriculture.

LXXXII

PERIKA

Perika, Perike Shetti—a Telugu caste of gunny bag weavers. The word Perike is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Vyaparaka*, meaning traders, but the literal meaning of the word is bullock-saddle.

Origin.—Regarding their origin, the Perikas say that, originally, they were Kshatriyas, but when Parshuram commanded the slaughter of the Kshatriya race, they saved themselves from the avenging Brahmin by declaring that they were traders.

Internal Structure.—There are no endogamous divisions of the caste, but they have 101 *gotras* or exogamous sections, of which some are given below :—

Gotras.

Golandla Srimalu.	Malakashteri Malu.
Shri Malu.	Kuvaganti Malu.
Chuttapalla Malu.	Ula Malu.
Kanaka Shrimalu.	Vatasri Malu.
Shambu Lingam Malu.	Agaram Malu.
Upparala Malu.	Agasri Malu.
Karpuri Malu.	Peddapori Malu.

The suffix *Malu* is supposed to be a diminutive form of *Mallanna*, the patron deity of the caste. In addition to the *gotras*, the Perikas have family names which are almost all of the territorial type, but have no bearing upon the regulation of their marriages.

Sankerwaru.	Achiwaru.
Balliwaru.	Anakatwaru.

In marriages the *Aré* tree (*Bauhinia racemosa*) is worshipped by keeping a burning lamp on one of its branches.

Marriage.—A man can marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. A niece may be taken in marriage. Exchange of

daughters takes place. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Infant marriage is the rule of the caste. Girls are not dedicated to temples or gods. A girl is sent to her husband's house immediately after her marriage by performing the 'Vapaginta' ceremony. Polygamy is permitted. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type and includes :—

"Worship of Veeramalu, Idamma, Venkateah, Parihanam and Vadibiyam.

"*Kotnam Gona Puja*—or worship of a bag of flax:

"*Ravireni Puja*—or the worship of mother earth. They light a sacred lamp in the house and keep it burning near the consecrated earthen pots for 16 days.

"*Myalapolu, Lagnam, Kanyadan, Jiraguda, Padghattan, Nilapusalu, Kankanam, Brahmamodi, Bashingam, Arundhatidarshan*—Snake worship.

"*Pasupota*—On this day the bride and the bridegroom are seated each on a bullock-saddle, designated respectively *Ganta* and *Tara* and besmeared with turmeric and oil.

"*Lagnam* :—The bridegroom ties round the bride's neck a small black bead necklace and puts rings on her toes.

On the *Nagvelly* day the milk post '*Polu*' is circumambulated by the wedded pair. The boy is equipped with a net and a stick, which symbolise his occupation of catching fish and the girl has an earthen pot placed on her head. A well, or a tree, is approached, where the boy and the girl exchange betel-leaves and areca-nuts. Clothes are presented to the bridegroom by his father-in-law on the *Nagvelly* day. Previous to marriage, the Perikas observe the following ceremony :—Five married men observe a fast for a whole day. Next day a *goni* (the badge of the caste) is worshipped and the five men are feasted. The father of the bridegroom presents a turban and Rs. 5 to the bride's father. Widow marriage is not allowed, but divorce is permitted. A woman accused of adultery with a man of low caste is punished by expulsion, but with one of higher caste by a small fine. They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. In default of male issue the property descends to females.

Religion.—They are either Vibhutidharis or Namdharis. An

Aradhi Brahmin is the Guru of Vibhutidharis. Men take spiritual advice from Aradhi Brahmins. Mahadeva is their tutelary deity. Malanna and Veeramalu are specially worshipped with offerings of sweet meats. Almost all the gods of the Hindu pantheon are worshipped. The *Goni*, gunny bag, is regarded with special reverence and worshipped in marriages and at the Divali festival. Minor deities, as Pochamma and Ellamma, are also appeased. Implements of their occupation are worshipped on the *Ganesh Chouth* (the 4th day of the light half of Bhadrapad). No priests are employed for the worship of the gods, but the functions are discharged by the elder members of the household. Smartha Brahmins are called in at marriage and funeral ceremonies.

Disposal of the Dead.—Married persons after death are burnt and the unmarried are buried, with the head pointing to the south. The ashes and bones of those burnt are thrown into a river. Mourning is observed 19 days for the married, 5 days for the unmarried and 3 days for infants. On the 10th day after death the caste people are feasted. Jangams, Brahmins and Satanis are offered rice in the name of the departed. Tirmanidharis perform the annual Sradha. A Satani is called in and offered food in the name of the dead, and water in which his feet have been washed is drunk by all the members of the household.

Occupation.—The original occupation of the caste is that of making ropes and gunny bags. They were also engaged as grain and salt carriers. At the present day they have taken to trade and deal in cows and bullocks. Some of them are cultivators and contractors and deal in forest wood and mahua flowers. A few are small bankers, advancing money at interest.

Social Status.—They do not wear the sacred thread. In social status they rank with Velmas, Kapus and Mutrasis. They eat from the hands of Komatis, Brahmins, Jangams, Satanis, Baljas and Kapus, while all castes, except Brahmins, Komatis and Baliyas, eat '*kachi*' from their hands. They eat the flesh of sheep, goat, wild pig, fowls, fish and indulge in strong drink.

Women wear all kinds of ornaments except the '*pusti*.'

LXXXIII

PICHAKUNTALA

Pichakuntala, Pichagunta, Bhaktollu, Gollakulam—a Telugu caste of wandering beggars, genealogists and mat-makers who are supposed to derive their name from *Bhiksha kuntalu* (*Bhiksha*, begging, *Kunta*, lame) probably an opprobrious epithet denoting a lame beggar. They beg only from Kapus and Gollas by reciting their gotras and family history, of which they are believed to be the custodians.

Origin.—In explanation of their origin and occupation, the quaint story is told that on the occasion of the weddings of the three primeval pairs, Vishnu and Laxmi, Brahma and Saraswati, and Siva and Parvati, a *gotra* reciter was in great request and one was created from a clay-image with a maimed leg. He repeated the *gotras* at the divine nuptials and largess was bestowed upon him as recompense for his services. The descendants of the lame man have since been designated as Pichakuntala, or lame beggars, and follow the profession of genealogists or *gotra* reciters to the Kapu and Golla castes. Another more romantic version of the legend is that seven Golla women, being childless, invoked the god Shiva for progeny and were given a lame male infant whom they were ordered to bring up. In course of time the females conceived, by the grace of God, and were delivered of seven daughters whom, at the god's command, they gave in marriage to the lame boy. He was, thereupon, provided with a *Shankha* (conch-shell), *ghanta* (bell), *yedu* (bull) and *gajasulam* (an iron bar) and enjoined to lead a mendicant's life, going his rounds on the bullock's back. He is claimed to be the procreator of the present Pichakunta caste. Whatever light these legends may throw upon the origin of the caste, it seems not improbable that the Pichakuntalás were the illegitimate descendants of members of the Kapu and Golla castes.

Internal Structure.—The Pichakuntalás are divided into the following seven sub-castes :—

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Golla. | (4) Thuruka. |
| (2) Telaga or Bhiksha. | (5) Thogaru. |
| (3) Gantá. | (6) Manda. |
| (7) Thitti. | |

Concerning the origin of these sub-divisions, it should be observed that the names Golla, Telaga and Thurka denote the castes from which members of these sub-castes were drawn. *Gantá* is said to refer to the musical bell and *Thitti* to the musical pipe upon which the members play while begging. The Ganta sub-caste beg only from Kurmas. Manda Pichakuntalas are so called as they beg only from Gollas, who keep herds (in Telugu, Manda, herd). These different groups occupy different social positions, the Golla Pichakuntalás holding the highest and the Thogarus the lowest social rank. Members of these sub-castes do not intermarry nor eat together.

The exogamous sections are of two distinct types; one, the *gotra* system, is probably borrowed from the higher castes, and the other is based upon family names, which are partly territorial and partly totemistic. Section names of both types are given below :—

Gotras

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Itla. | (7) Singamollu. |
| (2) Thimollu. | (8) Sandravalollu. |
| (3) Ganthedollu. | (9) Yirgethollu. |
| (4) Bandarollu. | (10) Paranthollu. |
| (5) Yirlollu. | (11) Pidamollu. |
| (6) Abbavanthinollu. | (12) Anthugulollu. |

Family Names.

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Kumadawaru. | (7) Batoniwandlu. |
| (2) Tadlawaru. | (8) Chalukaniwaru. |
| (3) Bhanamwaru. | (9) Kunkulawaru. |
| (4) Tapiraniwaru. | (10) Marpuwaru. |
| (5) Gandisariwaru. | (11) Katiyalawaru. |
| (6) Atkalwaru. | (12) Popalawaru. |

It has been ascertained that exogamous divisions, based upon *gotras*, are inoperative for matrimonial purposes, as marriages between

members of the same *gotra* are not forbidden. Inter-marriages are regulated by the second system, which consists of family names. The law of exogamy is carefully practised, for a man cannot marry within his section or outside his sub-caste. This simple rule is supplemented by prohibited degrees, according to which a man is prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's or father's sister. He may marry his wife's sister, the daughter of his sister and of his mother's brother.

Members of the Golla, Kurma, Kapu and still higher castes are admitted, by Pichakuntalas, into their community. No special ceremony is appointed for such occasions except that the novice is smeared with Vibhuti by a Jangam and a feast is given to the caste people in which he eats with his adopted brethren.

Marriage.—Girls are married either as infants or adults, but the former practice is deemed the more respectable and is gradually coming into favour. Girls, for whom husbands cannot be procured, are dedicated to the deities Elamma, Mallanah and Rajeshwar. In theory, polygamy is allowed without any restriction, but is limited, in actual life, to not more than two wives.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or guardians of the parties, the initiative being taken by the bridegroom's father who, on settlement of the match, entertains the bride's party with meat and arrack. A bride-price (*voli*) of Rs. 20 is paid to the bride's father. The marriage ceremony opens with *Chupáwidam* at which the girl is presented with a new *sari* and *choli*, five areca nuts, five betel-leaves and one piece of cocoanut kernel, and her forehead is besmeared with *Vibhuti* (holy ashes) by a Jangam. Prior to the wedding the bridegroom is besmeared with turmeric paste and oil, while the bride also goes through the same ceremony at her own house. Before the arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house, he is formally received by the bride's people at the Maruti's temple and thence taken on a bullock or on foot to the girl's house. At the entrance to the house he dismounts and is conducted to the wedding canopy made of twelve posts and erected in the court-yard of the house. A feast is then given to the bridegroom's party. Towards sun-down the bride and bridegroom, dressed

in new clothes, are seated side by side facing the east, the bride being to the right of the bridegroom. A Jangam puts the *mangal sutra* (auspicious string of black beads) round the bride's neck, ties the garments of the couple into a knot and sprinkles turmeric coloured rice over their heads. This is the binding portion of the ritual. The proceedings conclude with a feast.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again and is under no restrictions in her choice of a second husband, provided she avoids all consanguineous relations. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery or inability to agree. The ritual observed consists in breaking her string of black beads (*mangalsutra* or *pusti*) and turning her out of the house. Divorced wives may marry again.

Religion.—In matters of religion the Pichakuntalas are almost all Shaivas (Vibhutidharis) and worship Mallikarjuna as their patron god with offerings of sweetmeats. Pochamma, the goddess who presides over small-pox, is worshipped on Wednesdays with sacrifices of goats and fowls. Their other animistic deities are (1) Elamma, to whom they sacrifice fowls on Thursdays and Fridays, (2) Idamma, appeased with the offerings of goats on Wednesdays and (3) Maisamma, to whom goats and fowls are offered every Sunday. These offerings are eaten by the members of the household. They strongly believe in witch-craft and spirits and when illness befalls a family, the members seek the assistance of an Erkala woman to identify the troubling spirit and appease it with a variety of animal and other offerings. The functions of the priest are performed by Jangams, to whom great reverence is paid by the members of the caste.

Disposal of the Dead.—As a rule Pichakuntalas bury their dead, the corpse being laid in a grave in a sitting posture facing the north, with *vibhuti* in one hand and a *lingam* in the other. After the grave is filled in, a temporary earthen platform is built over it with *nandi*, or the figure of a bull, at each of its corners. On the 10th day after death the chief mourner worships the bulls and afterwards gets himself shaved. Jangams conduct the funeral service and receive presents of rice and money. Departed ancestors in general are propitiated in the latter half of the month of Bhadrapad. Female ancestors are honoured by the women of each family in the form of

earthen vessels designated Bálammá.

Social Status.—Pichakuntalas rank socially with Viramushtis, Sanyasia, Sharadakanis and other low beggars. They eat mutton, pork, all kinds of fish, domestic fowls, ghorpod and the leavings of Jangams, and indulge freely in strong drink.

Occupation.—Begging is believed to be the principal occupation of the caste and, as has been already mentioned, they receive alms only from the Kapu and Golla castes. They also earn a livelihood by making mats of leaves of *Shendi* (wild date palm). Some of them are now engaged in agriculture as non-occupancy rajats and landless day-labourers. They are also said to be engaged in pig breeding.

LXXXIV

RAJPUT

Rajput, Pardeshi, Kshatriya—a fighting, landholding and cultivating caste found in all parts of the Dominions, but especially numerous in the districts of Aurangabad, Gulbarga and Raichur and in the Hyderabad city. The members of the caste claim descent from the ancient Solar and Lunar dynasties, who once ruled India, and form themselves into *Suryavanshi* (solar) and *Chandravanshi* (lunar) races. There is also a race styled Agnikula from having sprung from the sacred fire (*Agni*) which was kindled on Mount Abu by Agastya. Their traditions say that they came into the Deccan from Upper India, and the earliest settlers are supposed to have been soldiers with the Mohamedan armies that overran the Deccan between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is known from inscriptions that a Rajput family of the Chalukya tribe reigned at Kalyani, west of Bidar, on the borders of the Carnatic and Maharashtra, from the end of the 10th to the end of the 12th century. According to Sir Walter Elliot the Rajputs once possessed the whole of Maharashtra to the Nerbada. Professor Wilson thinks they were also superior lords of the west of Telingana. Another branch of the tribe of Chalukhyas ruled over Kalinga, which is the eastern portion of Telingana, extending along the sea to Orissa. Their dynasty certainly lasted through the whole of the 12th and 13th centuries and perhaps began two centuries earlier.

Internal Structure.—The Rajputs, as has been already said, are divided into two endogamous divisions, *Suryabansi* and *Chandrabansi*, the members of which do not interdine nor intermarry. The number of exogamous sections into which each is divided is very large and a few of these are noticed below :—

Chandail.

Bais.

Dikkhat.

Chavan.

Parihar.	Harha Thakur.
Rahekwar.	Rathor Thakur.
Raherwar.	Sangir Thakur.
Kachhwah.	Ujain Thakur.
Sulankha.	Waghel Thakur.
Gautam.	Surajbansi.
Jadhav.	Chandrabansi.
Rana.	Raghubansi.
Pawar.	Sengar.
Bisene Thakur.	Sakharwar.
Kaseb.	Pamar.
Bhudaria.	Kapur.
Janwar.	Sirmia.
Somavanshi.	Chaubaria.
Chamargaur.	Kanwar.
Brahmangaur.	Sisodhia.

In addition to these the Rajputs use Brahmanical *gotras*, of which the following are given as specimens:—Haridwar, Sandilya, Bharadwaj, Kasyapa, Kausika and Parashar.

Where the original sections are held to govern intermarriage, the rule is that a man may not marry a woman who belongs to the same section as his father or his mother. A man may marry two sisters, but he must take them in the order of age and he cannot marry the elder sister if he is already married to the younger.

Marriage.—Rajputs marry their daughters both as infants and as adults, usually between the ages of eight and eighteen. Polygamy is allowed without any restriction being laid on the number of wives. In actual life, however, it is unusual to find a man with more than two or three wives.

The preliminary negotiations leading to marriage are opened by the father or guardian of the bridegroom. If the father of the girl agrees to the match and it is found that the parties do not belong to the same section, an astrologer is asked to fix an auspicious day for the celebration of the wedding and preparations are made accordingly. A few days before the wedding, departed ancestors are propitiated with oblations and invoked in order to procure their

blessing on the couple. After *Dengan Barola* has taken place, two earthen pots filled with parched rice and hung from the end of a bamboo pole are sent to the bride's house. Two days before the wedding, a mango post is planted in the courtyard of the house of the bride and an earthen vessel, filled with wheat and crowned with a burning lamp, is tied to the top of the post (*Bohori*). On the next day, or the day before the wedding, the bridegroom is smeared with turmeric and oil and offerings are made to Ganpathi, the deity presiding over success in life. A part of the turmeric prepared for the bridegroom is sent for the use of the bride and the same ceremony, consisting of Ganesh worship, is gone through in her house. On the wedding night the bridegroom goes in procession to the bride's house where, on arrival, he is received by the bride's brother and conducted to a seat under the wedding canopy. After his feet have been washed by the bride's brother, he is invested with the sacred thread by the officiating priest. The Brahman kindles the sacred fire (*hom*) near the wedding post and the bride entering, walks six times round the fire. At this stage the bridegroom joins her at the request of the guests. On the consent of the bride's parents being obtained, the bridal pair take the seventh round, Brahmans reciting appropriate *mantras* in the meanwhile, after which the bridegroom ties the *Mangal Sutra* (auspicious string) round the bride's neck. This is deemed to be the binding portion of the ritual. *Kanyádan*, or the gift of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of her, and *Kankābandhan*, or the tying of the thread bracelets on the wrists of the wedded couple, follow and the ceremony ends with a feast to the members of the caste.

Widow-Marriage.—The re-marriage of widows is strictly prohibited among the Rajputs. Divorce is also forbidden and if a woman is taken in adultery she is expelled from the caste. In certain cases, however, where a married couple find themselves unable to live in harmony together, a separation is arrived at by mutual consent. In such cases the wife returns to her father's house and the husband marries again.

Religion.—Rajputs are orthodox Hindus and worship all the Hindu divinities of the locality in which they happen to have settled.

Special reverence is, however, paid by them to Durga, and Mahalaxmi, whose effigy, as seated on an elephant, they worship with a variety of offerings in the month of Bhādrapad (September). Brahmans are employed on religious and ceremonial occasions. If an epidemic of cholera or small-pox breaks out in the family, the house-holders make offerings of goats to Mari Ai or Sitala.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south and the ashes are collected on the third day and thrown into the Ganges. Under the guidance of the family priest, *Sradha* is performed on the eleventh day after death, when oblations of rice are offered for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. On the 13th day a feast is given to the members of the caste. *Sradha* is also performed on the first anniversary of the death, when *pindas* (oblations of rice) are offered to the deceased, while the Brahmans recite *mantras*. On the last day of Bhādrapad, offerings of water are made to all deceased ancestors. Children under three years of age are buried.

Social Status.—In point of social standing, the Rajputs profess to rank immediately below Brahmans and cannot take *kachi*, that is, food cooked with water from any one but a Brahman. In respect of diet, the members of the caste eat the flesh of the goat, deer, hare, pigeon and quail. Fish is lawful. Wine is supposed to be forbidden.

Occupation.—The Rajputs regard Government service and the profession of arms as their proper occupations. Many have, however, taken to tillage and are holders of various land tenures.

LXXXV

SALE

Sále, Sáli—a weaving caste found chiefly in the Marathawara districts of these Dominions. It is a functional group, comprising several heterogeneous elements drawn from the different classes of Hindu society. These of course form distinct sub-castes and are not admitted to a *jus connubii* with one another. The following sub-castes of Sális are recognised in this territory :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sukal or Sukla Salé. | 7. Sukin Salé. |
| 2. Ahir Salé. | 8. Padma Salé. |
| 3. Gujar Salé. | 9. Chabhár Salé. |
| 4. Lakul or Nakul Salé. | 10. Tikley Salé. |
| 5. Sukha Salé. | 11. Patolgár Salé. |
| 6. Aré Salé. | 12. Jain Salé. |

Origin.—The Sukla or Sukul Salé claim to be descended from a Kshtriya of the Salunka clan and allege that when their country of Anihalpur in Gujrat was conquered by the Mohamedans, they left it to avoid persecution at the hands of their conquerors. They came over to Jagnath, where there was a great demand for weavers, and this fact induced them to take to their present occupation. At the present day they have been so far assimilated into the indigenous castes, that nothing beyond some faint traces of physical characteristics seems to bear out their pretensions to a Kshtriya origin. The Ahir Salé sub-caste was evidently recruited from Ahirs when that tribe was broken up into several occupational groups, such as Ahir Sonár, Ahir Sutár, Ahir Shimpi and others. Gujar Salés, as their name denotes, hail from Gujarath, the original habitat of the sub-caste. Lakul, or Nakul, Salés are bastards, being descended from intrigues between Salé men and women of other castes, and hold, at the present day, a disgraced low position. Aré Salés are probably those who have migrated to Telangana, where all Maratha castes are distinguished by the name

of Are, from Arya meaning Maratha. The Sunkun Salés have a tradition tracing their descent from one Jivaji, who is said to have sprung from the tongue of the god Mahadev. According to them, their original place was Konkan whence, they say, they spread to different parts of India. They are said to be periodical wanderers, going from village to village offering to weave cloth, or hawking articles that are already made. Padma Salés have been fully described in a separate article. Chambhar Salés are recruited from among the Chambhar caste, while Jain Salés are those members of the Jain community, who have adopted weaving as their special occupation. The origin of Sukha, Tikley and Patolgar Salés is unknown.

Internal Structure.—The exogamous sections of these sub-castes are of the type common among other local castes and tend to support the view of the mixed character of their origin. The following sections of the Sukla Salé will serve as specimens :—

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|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Tarang. | 21. Panibhate. |
| 2. Kogle. | 22. Tujar. |
| 3. Sarwade. | 23. Chohar. |
| 4. Yunde. | 24. More. |
| 5. Sore. | 25. Talal. |
| 6. Bhandari. | 26. Musale. |
| 7. Lonkar. | 27. Tope. |
| 8. Dagle. | 28. Lodkar. |
| 9. Yedke. | 29. Lokhande. |
| 10. Kapse. | 30. Ukhalale. |
| 11. Dajge. | 31. Firange. |
| 12. Ekbote. | 32. Gaikwade. |
| 13. Gipar. | 33. Gole. |
| 14. Maleka. | 34. Kambale. |
| 15. Masakare. | 35. Sakhare. |
| 16. Barud. | 36. Shingade. |
| 17. Bisalkar. | 37. Padinkhe. |
| 18. Divate. | 38. Kandole. |
| 19. Harnade. | 39. Folker. |
| 20. Dhotre. | 40. Dhole. |

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|-----------------|---------------|
| 41. Malekar. | 45. Dandhete. |
| 42. Menkar. | 46. Ukhade. |
| 43. Dharle. | 47. Sonke. |
| 44. Kshirsager. | 48. Solge. |

49. Padge.

The rule of exogamy followed by the caste is very simple. A man cannot marry a woman of his own section; no other section is a bar to marriage, provided that he excludes the daughter of his maternal aunt. A man may marry two sisters, but he must follow the order of age and may not marry his wife's elder sister. Polygamy is permitted, and in theory a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain.

Salés marry their daughters as infants.

Marriage.—The marriage, as celebrated by Sukla Salés, differs to a certain extent from that in use among other Salé sub-castes. After *terá*, or a bride price, varying in amount from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, has been paid to the parents of the girl the following usages are observed :—

1. *Sohrak* or *Hogiloppa*.—Caste people are feasted and an auspicious day for marriage is fixed by consulting a Brahman versed in astrology.
2. *Gandeda*.—The girl is presented with new garments and a cocoanut.
3. *Yeniarsham*.—The bridal pair, in their own houses, are besmeared with turmeric and oil.
4. *Lagnam*.—On the wrists of the bride and bridegroom are tied thread bracelets (*kankanam*) and each places on the head of the other *jira* (cumin seeds) and *guda* (molasses). Finally a *Mangal Sutra*, or an auspicious string of black beads, is put round the bride's neck. This last ritual is deemed to be the binding and essential portion of the ceremony.
5. *Akshatá*.—The wedded pair are seated in baskets and turmeric coloured rice is thrown over their heads.
6. *Mironji*.—The couple, mounted on a bullock, are taken in procession to the temples of Basava and Hanuman.

7. *Nagol*.—The couple are bathed and the *kankānams* are untied.

8. *Chagol*.—Caste brethren are entertained at a feast.

The marriage ceremony continues for five days and Brahmins are employed as priests.

Among other sub-castes the ceremony is of the standard type and comprises the following observances :—

1. *Wagnishchaya* (betrothal).—The girl is presented by the bridegroom's parents with new clothes and jewels.

2. *Haldi*.—The bridal pair are smeared with turmeric and oil. On the completion of these ceremonies, a *mandap*, or wedding booth, supported on five pillars and covered with mango leaves, is erected at the bride's house and an earthen platform (*bohale*) is built under. On the wedding day the bridegroom goes in procession to the bride's house. On arrival he is received by the bride's parents and conducted to a seat under the marriage canopy. This is followed by the ceremony known as *Antarpat*, which has been fully described in the article on Maratha Kunbis. A feast to the caste people concludes the marriage.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow may marry again. She is not, however, allowed to marry any relative, whether younger or older, of her late husband, nor any one belonging to his section. The ritual in use at the remarriage of a widow is a simple one. The consent of the *panchayat* being obtained to the proposed match, a Brahmin is called in. The bride is presented with a new *sari* and bangles and the officiating Brahmin ties, in a knot, the garments of the couple, who then retire to consummate the marriage. In the early morning the couple bathe and go to Maruti's temple and worship the god with some offerings. Until this is done, no married female whose husband is living will see the widow's face. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce may be effected with the sanction of the caste *panchayat*, at the wish of the parties or on the ground of the wife's adultery. If the liaison be with a member of the caste or

with one of a higher caste it is atoned for by a small fine. Adultery with a member of a lower caste is punished with excommunication. Divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the same rite as widows and they hold the same social status as the latter.

Religion.—Salés are orthodox Hindus and worship all the Hindu divinities of the locality. Special honour is done to Shankar, whom they regard as their eponymous ancestor. Among minor gods Khandoba, Bhairoba, Kánhohā and Mallana are worshipped with offerings of goats on every festive occasion. The victims are subsequently eaten by the votaries. When an epidemic of cholera or small-pox breaks out, animal offerings are made to the goddess Mari Ai or Sitala, as the case may be. At the *Dassera* festival (the 10th of the light half of Aswin) implements of their craft are worshipped with offerings of flowers, rice and sweatmeats. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes.

Disposal of the Dead.—Salés burn their dead in a lying posture, with the head pointing to the south, and on the third day after death, the ashes and bones are collected and thrown into a river or stream that is handy. Bodies of children under five years of age are buried. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th day after death when *pindās* (rice balls) are offered to the deceased, while the Brahman priest recites *mantras*. On the 13th day a feast is given to the caste people. Mourning is observed 10 days for adults and three days for children. During the last fifteen days of Bhadrapad (September-October) the *pitra pakṣha*, or ancestors' fortnight, is observed with offerings of water to all deceased ancestors.

Social Status and Occupation.—The Salés rank socially below Marathas, Lingayits, and Malis, and above Nhavi (Mangala), Parit (Chakla) and other unclean classes. The Sukla Salés claim to be superior in rank to other sub-castes and it is said that while Nakul and Padma Salé sub-castes will eat *Kachi* from the hands of Sukla Salés, the latter will decline to eat food cooked by a member of other sub-castes. Members of the caste eat fish, fowl and mutton and indulge in strong drink. Most of the Salés combine cultivation with their hereditary pursuit of weaving and some of them are occupancy and non-occupancy raiats. They weave either cotton or silk clothes.

LXXXVI

SANYASI

Sanyasi, Elagandal Sanyasi, Harnam Sanyasi, Gudse, or Sansari Sanyasi—an order of religious mendicants found in great numbers in Elgandal and Gunirwaram in the Elgandal District. It was founded by one Nilkantha Harnam, a devotee of Narsinha, who flourished in the seventeenth century A.D. It is said that Harnam came into the Deccan with the forces of the Emperor Aurangzebe and established a *math* at Tigul Galtu (ancient name of Elgandal). The first disciples he made were Maya Harna and Devi Harna from the Telaga castes. In course of time great numbers joined him, being chiefly drawn from the Munnur and Telaga castes. After the name of their founder, they were called Harnam Sanyasi and also Elgandal Sanyasi, as the order was originally founded at Elgandal. They are also known as Sansari Gosavis for, contrary to the obligations that attach to the name Sanyasi (a celibate), they take wives and follow secular pursuits.

The Sanyasi mendicants dress in orange coloured clothes, wear *rudraksha* necklaces, smear their foreheads with *Vibhuti*, or holy ashes, and carry a piece of deer skin and a hollow gourd. They mostly subsist on alms, begging till noon by reciting the names of all Hindu deities in a *dohara*, or couplet. This fraternity has now closed its ranks to outsiders.

Every Sanyasi boy, when ten years of age, has to undergo an initiatory rite before he is enrolled as a mendicant. At this ceremony, which takes place on the Shivaratri day, the boy is seated on a wooden stool, covered with a white sheet, and his father, who officiates as his *guru* or spiritual adviser, cuts his hair with a pair of scissors, invests him with a *rudraksha* necklace and a *zoli*, (alms bag), whispers in his ear the characteristic *mantra* of the sect, and takes him round a few neighbouring houses begging alms. He

is then enjoined not to shave his beard or head during life. The ceremony concludes with a feast to the members of the community.

Internal Structure.—The caste is broken up into three endogamous groups (1) Harnam Sanyasi, (2) Badgi Sanyasi, (3) Gudsamma Sanyasi. These are all wandering beggars and neither intermarry nor eat together. It is said that intermarriages are allowed between Masan Jogis and Sanyasis. Their exogamous sections are as follows:—

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Mathamwaru. | (9) Gondamolu. |
| (2) Galtawaru. | (10) Ningodolu. |
| (3) Baltarwaru. | (11) Pastamolu. |
| (4) Kundawaru. | (12) Mainodu. |
| (5) Pastamwaru. | (13) Erlodu. |
| (6) Challawaru. | (14) Kondapiledu. |
| (7) Vilukundawaru. | (15) Rudrakshalodu. |
| (8) Kalle Mollam. | (16) Kadmanlod. |

(17) Rasrodu.

It is a remarkable fact that though the Sanyasi caste is of recent formation, it has had a fully developed system of exogamous sections. Marriage with a sister's daughter is allowed. It is not allowed with a mother's sister's or father's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters at a time. Adoptive brotherhood is practised by the caste. Polygamy is permitted.

Marriage.—Girls are married when of full age. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not recognised, but if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant she is required to atone for her fault by sipping water from the feet of the *guru* or spiritual adviser, and paying a fine to the caste people. Arrangements are then made to get her married. *Oli*, or the bride-price to the amount of Rs. 8, is paid to the girl's father. The marriage ceremony is of the low-caste type and may take place on any day of the year excepting Wednesday. At *chupwidam*, betrothal, the relatives and friends of both parties meet at a liquor shop and drink each a cup of arrack in confirmation of the match. No Brahmin is engaged either for fixing an auspicious day or at the celebration of the wedding. The duties of a priest are discharged by the elders of the caste. The ceremony is performed at the bride's

house and is of a very simple character. The bride and bridegroom are seated face to face on a mat of wild date palm, their garments are knotted together and rice is thrown over their heads. The proceedings end with a feast. The married couple then repair to the husband's house. Widows are allowed to marry again, no restriction being imposed on their choice of a second husband. A faithless wife is divorced, if her guilt is established before a *Panchayat*.

Religion.—The members of the caste profess to be Vibhutidharis and regard Sirkarswami or Nilkanthaswami as their patron god whom they are bound to worship and offer sweetmeats to every Saturday. On every Tuesday they honour the goddess Elamma with offerings of *kunkuma* and cooked rice, which is afterwards eaten by the members of the family. On the *Dassera* the goddess is worshipped with great pomp; when one of them becomes possessed with the goddess and pretends to give a glimpse into futurity.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture. The corpse, washed with water and smeared with *Vibhuti* or ashes, is borne to the burial ground on a litter and, after the grave has been filled, the mourners and bier bearers resort to a liquor shop and have a drink. No *Sradha* is performed, but on the third day a funeral feast is provided for the members of the caste. Jangams generally officiate at the funeral ceremony.

Social Status.—In point of social standing the Sanyasis rank with Balsantus, Masan Jogis and other low mendicant classes. They eat *kachi* from the hands of all the castes, except Dhobi, Hajam and the lowest unclean classes. They eat the flesh of goats, swine, fish, fowl, ghorpor and cloven-footed animals and drink wine and shendi. A few members of the caste have taken to agriculture.

LXXXVII

SATANI

(Titles : Śwāmi, Achāri.)

Sátāni, Chātāni, Ayyawar, Vira Vaishnava, Vighas (born of Vighas Rishi), Vishnu Archaka—a sect of Vaishnawas, some of whom are engaged as temple servants, while others minister to the spiritual needs of the lower Telugu classes and officiate as priests at their religious and funeral ceremonies. The male members of the sect do not wear the sacred thread and hair-locks on their crowns, while the females are prohibited from wearing glass bangles on their wrists, strings of black beads about their necks or rings of bell metal on their toes. The name Satani is supposed to be a corruption of 'chyatani' or 'chyati' which is said to mean acting according to prescribed rites.

Origin.—The Satanis claim to be descended from those Brahman disciples of Ramanujacharya who were deprived of their sacred thread and hair locks, and degraded from the sacred order. Concerning their fall a story is told that during the life-time of Ramanuja a quarrel arose among his disciples over the distinction between *Karma* (self retributive action) and *Dnyana* (divine knowledge). One party held that *karma* was essential to obtain *moksha* (salvation). The other party opposed the view and contended that *Dnyana* alone secured final beatitude. The issue was left to an ordeal and it was decided that one man from each party should dive into the river 'Tamraparty' and the result should depend upon the state in which each of them emerged from the water. One of the divers came out with his head clean shaved and his sacred thread lost in the water and his descendants have been known as Satani (chatani) Vaishnawas. Another account of their origin states that Markandeya Muni performed a sacrifice on Shri Shailya and out of the sacred fire sprang four sages (1) Alwar, (2) Yambir Manar, (3) Jiyyar, (4) Tirwadhi and it was

to Yambir Manar that Satani Vaishnawas trace their descent. The Mahbubnagar Satanis have a tradition that they came into the District nearly three hundred years ago and settled at Keshavapattan. Satanis are also said to be the followers of Chaitanya, a religious teacher of the 15th century, and of his disciple Sanatana. This origin of Satanis was probably suggested by the fact that they have views similar to those of the Baishnawa reformers of Bengal.

Internal Structure.—The Satanis have three endogamous divisions (1) Adi Satanis, or first converts to Vaishnavism, (2) Madhya Satanis, or subsequent converts who were mainly recruited from among Sale, Darji, Golla, and other castes of the same social standing, (3) Sale Dasris, or Vaishnawa mendicants from the Sale caste who are in a state of transition into the Satani caste. Satanis are also divided into four more divisions : (1) Ekakshari, (2) Chaturakshari, (3) Ashtakshari, and (4) Kulshekhar. The Ekaksharis (*Ekā*—one and *Akshara*—syllable) hope to get salvation by reciting the one mystic syllable 'Om'; the Chaturaksharis believe in the religious efficacy of the four syllables Ra-ma-nu-jah; the Ashtaksharis hold that the recitation of the eight syllables 'Om-na-mo-na-ra-ya-na-ya' (Om salutation to Narayan) will secure the eternal bliss; and the Kulshekharas, who wear the sacred thread, claim to be the descendants of the Vaishnawa saint Kulshekhar Alwar, formerly a king of the Keral country. The first two sections make umbrellas and flower garlands and are also priests to the Baliyas and Sudra castes of the Vaishnawa sect, while the members of the other two have taken to temple service. In their social and religious customs all the sub-divisions closely imitate the Tengalai Vaishnawas Brahmans (Census Report, Madras, 1901).

Satanis profess to follow a double system of exogamous sections, the one consisting of Brahmanical *gotras* and the other of family sur-names, either totemistic or territorial. But the totem is not observed as taboo by the members bearing the section name.

<i>Gotras</i>	Family Sur-names.
Gargya	Parostuwaru, Revriwaru, Taruna Hari.
Koundinya	Nistalapuriwaru, Namamwaru, Sripuramwaru.
Angirasa.	Talwiwaru, Namatiwaru, Puramwaru.
Kousika.	Vijapuramwaru, Pandatamwaru.

Gotras	Family Sur-names.
Namalwar.	Gulbargawaru, Matkapurwaru.
Kurma Alwar.	Dharmapuriwaru, Ibaliwaru.
Shekhar Alwar	Yadulapurwaru, Akunoruwaru.
Tondavapalli Alwar	Devadargawaru, Parnakamwaru.
Paya Alwar	Vakatabharnamwaru, Kanthaipalan.

But the gotra system, probably borrowed from Brahmans, is falling into desuetude, and the Satanis say they have only two *gotras* at the present day, viz., Alwar and Yambarman; the former is the *gotra* of the disciples of Alwar and the latter that of the disciples of Ramanujacharya. The *Tantrani* tree (?) is the totem of the Alwar gotra and the Pogda or Molsari tree (*Mimusops elengi*) that of the Yambarman. These totems are worshipped as patron deities before marriage. In the regulation of marriages the family names are in operation. Inter-marriages in the same section are forbidden. Two brothers may marry two sisters. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or his elder sister. Outsiders are admitted by Satanis into their caste, but they have first to become 'Sale' Dasris and then Satanis. At the time of admission they are branded by the *Gurus* and clean shaved and the sacred thread, in case they are Brahmans, is removed.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is practised by the caste. The marriage ceremony does not differ materially from that in vogue among the Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans. *Kan̄kbandhanam*, or the tying of wedding bracelets on the wrists of the couple, is deemed to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Sri Vaishnawa Brahmins usually attend at their marriages, but occasionally the functions of the priest are discharged by the members of the caste themselves.

Widow-Marriage.—Satanis forbid widows to marry again and do not recognise divorce. Polygamy is permitted, but is not practised on a large scale. A woman taken in adultery is turned out of the caste in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*.

Religion.—Satanis belong to the Vaishnawa and Shakta sects and no Saivas are found among them. The Vaishnava Satanis worship Vishnu and his consort Laxmi and take spiritual advice from Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans. The members of the caste pay homage to

their reputed saints, the twelve Alwars, (1) Senamadhyaalwar, (2) Paryalwar, (3) Namalwar, (4) Podthalwar, (5) Peyalwar, (6) Kalashekharalwar, (7) Tondarpurialwar, (8) Tirmanagalwar, (9) Tirmadshialwar, (10) Tirpanialwar, (11) Andal and (12) Parmal. Each of these is worshipped annually on the anniversary of his birth with offerings of cooked mutton and spirit and the offerings are partaken of by the members of the household. Their daily worship is offered to the foot-prints of their *gurus* (spiritual advisers) which are impressed on a cloth and enshrined in the sacred part of the house. Before taking his first meal every Satani offers *tulsi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) leaves to the foot prints and burns frankincense before them. The chief ceremony of the Vira Vaishnavas (Saktas ?) is *Goshti* performed in strict privacy. A man of the Parastwar caste officiates as *Guru* at the ceremony and is styled *Āchārya* on the occasion. His feet are washed in water and dusted with sandal wood. Each one present makes adoration to the feet, kisses them and sips a little of the water in which they are washed. Flesh and spirits are then placed before the *Āchārya* and after he has tasted them they are distributed among the company. It is said that no distinctions of rank or sex are recognised and a great deal of licentiousness prevails on the occasion. Each Satani, male or female, is required to take spiritual advice from a *guru* and to be marked with the *Shankha*, or conch shell of Vishnu, on the left shoulder and the *chakra*, or wheel, on the right shoulder.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are generally burnt. Infants having no *chakrant* and Sanyasis are buried. In the former case the corpse is placed in a lying position with feet towards the north while in the latter the dead body is seated with the face to the east. The ashes and bones of the cremated are either thrown into a river or buried and a tomb is erected over the grave. Before being carried to the cremation ground, the dead body is washed and its forehead marked with a sandal spot. The nearest relative observes mourning for 10 days. On the 10th day after death the chief mourner shaves his head and moustaches, and becomes ceremonially pure. *Punyawachan* is performed on the 11th day. On the 12th at night *Tolkam* takes place at which two chapters of *Dravida Prabandha* are read. The

remaining eight chapters are recited on the 13th day after death. On the same day the *veel* ceremony is performed at which Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans, with garlands of flowers and *tulsi* leaves round their necks and sugar canes in their hands, proceed to the grave, singing praises in honour of Vishnu and are worshipped there by the relatives of the deceased, under the impression that this will enable the soul of the deceased to attain salvation. A feast, given to caste brethren, concludes the ceremony. During the first year *Másakam* is performed every month for the benefit of the departed soul. The *Sradha* is performed every year on the anniversary day.

Origin.—The Sukla or Sukul Salé claim to be descended from servants. They also officiate as priests to the Namdhari (Vaishnawa) members of the lower Telugu castes, especially Kapus, Salewars, Kolis, Sanis, Mangalas, Chaklas, Gollewars, Velmas, Goundalas, Gandlas, Bestas and Namdeva Darjis. They act as spiritual advisers to the people of these castes and attend at their funeral ceremonies. No corpse is carried to the cremation ground unless an Ayyawar has put a leaf of *tulsi* (sweet Basil) and *tirtha* (water into which his toe has been dipped) into its mouth. He accompanies the funeral procession and after the dead body is consumed he purifies the mourners with *tirtha*. On the 3rd day after death the Ayyawar cooks rice at the cremation ground, offers it to the brass effigy of Shri Krishna and exposes the consecrated food to be touched by a crow. On the 5th day he prepares meal at the house of the deceased and after a portion of the food has been offered to the soul of the deceased the mourners are feasted. Most of the Ayyawars are beggars and collect alms by singing songs in honour of Shri Krishna. They are skilled in weaving flowers into beautiful garlands and are engaged in preparing *Kunḡum* and *Vibhuti undaloo* or balls of *gopichandan*, for the use of Tirmanidharis. Some of them have entered Government service and are members of the learned professions. They also keep private schools in which a rudimentary knowledge of Telugu is imparted to little boys. A few of them hold lands on *inam* and other tenures.

Social Status.—Socially Ayyawars rank below Brahmans and eat *kachi* only from the hands of Shri Vaishnawa Brahmans. They eat mutton, fowl and fish and drink spirits.

LXXXVIII

SINGE

Singe—a low class of mendicants who beg only from Haters and Devangas and take their name from *Singa*, a horn or trumpet which they blow at every religious ceremony of their patrons! Their traditions say that they were formerly *Deekshwant* and were in charge of the store department of the Emperor. It once so happened that the whole stores were looted and the Emperor ordered their heads to be cut off. He relented, however, and agreed to their release on condition that the loss he suffered should be made good. The Devanga weavers undertook to stand security for them. The Emperor was pleased and not only released them but decreed that they should be ever attended with a drum, a flag, a bugle, a lighted torch even in day light and the image of *Choundeshwari*, the paraphernalia of great men.

They have no endogamous divisions and their exogamous sections are of the Maratha type as, Jirge, Wale, Kole, Sontake, Mirje. These are the only exogamous divisions of the caste which have now expanded into many.

Girls are married either as infants or as adults between the ages of 5 and 12. Immediately after marriage the girl is sent to her husband's house. Adultery before marriage is condoned by purificatory rites, which consist in making the girl drink water in which the toe of the chief man of the caste council has been washed. If she become pregnant before marriage, she is purified similarly and married to her lover. Polygamy is permitted. The marriage of the caste is of the Lingayit type and Jangams are called in for the performance of the ceremony. The *Antarpat* ceremony is performed after the Lingayit ritual of *Panch Kalasha* has been celebrated. The tying of the black bead necklace round the bride's neck forms the essential portion of the ceremony. They follow the Hindu Law of

inheritance. Their favourite object of worship is *Choundeshwari*, the tutelary goddess of Devangas. They are Lingayits in creed, and engage Jangams for religious and ceremonial observances. They daily worship Siva Linga, whose symbol they wear in a casket upon their bodies. Socially, they rank immediately below the Devangas and, as Lingayits, abstain from flesh and wine.

LXXXIX

SONAR

Sonár, Potadár, Shet—a goldsmith caste found scattered all over the Dominions. Very little is known regarding their origin, nor do their traditions throw much light upon the question. The caste is clearly a functional group, formed from the members of respectable castes who, in different parts of the country, adopted the profession of working in gold and silver.

Internal Structure.—Sonárs are divided into the following subcastes :—Vaisya, Páñchál, Lád, Málvi, Ahir and Kadu, the members of whom neither interdine nor intermarry. The name Vaisya suggests that they might be the modern representatives of the traditional Vaisya caste mentioned in 'Manu. The members of this subcaste claim to be of higher rank than the others and support their claim by saying that they conform more to the Brahmanical usages than the others, viz :—wearing the sacred thread, not allowing widows to remarry and abstaining from flesh and strong drink. They observe all the sixteen sacraments of Brahmans and the fact that they perform *Upanayana*, or invest their boys with the sacred thread before they are nine years old, confirms the belief that they were originally Brahmans and were degraded because they adopted the profession of goldsmiths. The Panchals have been treated fully in a separate article. Lád Sonárs, as their name denotes, have probably come from the country of Lat, the ancient name of Southern Gujarath. They claim to be Kshatriyas and say that they are descendants of the Lunar King Shantanu, who had nine sons by the river Ganges, out of whom two only survived, one being the celibate Bhisma and the other a mad one. The latter was cured of his insanity by the grace of Jwálá mukhi, the patron goddess of the subcaste. Out of gratitude, the goddess was presented with a variety of jewels and his descendants, the Sonars in question,

took to their present occupation in honour of the event. The Málvi Sonárs take their name from Málvá, their original habitat, and aver that they were originally Brahmans and were degraded for having stolen gold. They have two sub-divisions, Bute Málvi and Shire Málvi. Ahir Sonars are no doubt formed from the Ahir caste. Kadus, or bastards, are illegitimate descendants of Sonar men and women of other castes.

The character of the exogamous sub-divisions of Sonars differs in different sub-castes. The Vaisya Sonars recognise the Brahmanical system of *gotras* and forbid a man to marry a girl who belongs to the same *gotra* as himself. The section names of Lád and Málvis are mostly of the territorial type. The following will serve as specimens :—

Dahale.	Moregaonkar.
Halikar.	Patharkar.
Chilkharkar.	Rajurkar.
Nagarkar.	Ambegaonkar.
Pedgaonkar.	Shahane.
Jinturkar.	Ashtikar.
Lolage.	Shingnapurkar.
Kulthe.	Tak.
Tehare.	Udawan.

Udekar.

With few exceptions they have reference to localities where the members of the sub-castes may have settled after their immigration into these dominions. Lád and Málvi Sonars allege that they have also Brahmanical *gotras*, but these are only ornamental appendages and have no part in the regulation of their marriages. A man may not marry a woman of his own section. No other section is a bar to marriage, provided that he does not marry his sister's daughter or any of his first cousins.

Marriage.—Except among Ahir Sonars, infant marriage is in full force and it would be deemed an indelible disgrace for a girl to be unprovided with a husband before she reaches the age of puberty. Polygamy is permitted so far that if a man's first wife is barren or incurably diseased or proves faithless he is allowed to take a second.

The marriage ceremony of Vaisya Sonars is of the Brahmanical type, the binding and essential portion being *Satapadi*, the taking of seven steps by the bride along with the bridegroom. Lád and Málvi Sonars marry their girls by the rites in use among the Maratha Kunbis. *Antarpat* and the carrying of the bridal pair round the sacred fire make the marriage binding and irrevocable. Some interesting usages in connection with the marriage ceremony among Málvis and Láds deserve mention.

On the wedding morning the bride is smeared with turmeric and oil and bathed and, while she stands wet from head to foot and surrounded by a number of married females, her maternal uncle covers them all with a sheet of cloth and walks five times round them encircling them, at the same time, with a cotton thread. The females, in the meanwhile, upbraid him violently calling him by the vile name of *Takkochoya* and repeating the abusive formula '*Takkar Makkar Kona fire, Mama Chhinal Ka fire.*' After this the females withdraw leaving the bride alone under the cover. In this condition she is carried by her maternal uncle to a seat under the wedding canopy and dressed in a boy's garment with a turban on her head. A procession (*Varat*) of friends and relatives is formed conducting her, on horse-back and attired in a male garb, to the bridegroom's house. On arrival at the entrance she is taken down from the horse and carried back alone by her maternal uncle to her own house. The same procession, then joined by the bridegroom's party, escorts him on the same horse to the bride's house. After the usual rites constituting the marriage have been performed, a fish is made of wheaten flour with its nose bored and a string passed through the nose. The bride holds the fish by the string and turns it round and round in water contained in a vessel while the bridegroom, taking a bow in his hand, hits it with an arrow. A garland of *jawa* grains is put round the bride's neck and the bridal pair worship a mango tree, after which the garland and the fish are both buried under the tree.

Widow-Marriage.—Among Vaishya Sonars widow marriage is strictly prohibited and divorce is unknown. If a woman commits adultery with a man of the sub-caste, or with one of a higher caste, the matter is generally hushed up. An intrigue with a low caste man

is punished with instant expulsion from the caste.

Other sub-castes allow their widows to marry again by the meagre ritual known as *Pât*. New clothes and bangles are presented to the bride and either the officiating Brahman or a widow ties the garments of the bridal pair in a knot and daubs the bride's forehead with *kankum* (red aniline powder). This completes the ceremony. The widow must not marry any one belonging to the same section as her late husband.

The sub-castes, which permit widow marriage, also allow divorce, when a woman is suspected of unchastity, which is effected with the sanction of the elders of the caste.

Religion.—The religious and ceremonial observances of the Sonár caste exhibit no features, of special interest, distinguishing them from castes of the same social standing. Káli, in her various forms, is regarded with special reverence by all sub-castes as watching over their welfare. Vaishya Sonars pay respect to Gopal Krishna and observe the *gokulashtami* festival in his honour. Lád Sonárs regard Ingala or Jwalamukhi as their tutelary deity, whom they worship on the eighth of, the light half of Asin (October) with offerings of goats. The animals are sacrificed on that day and eaten by the votaries themselves after the worship. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. *Tulsi* and *gouri* are worshipped by the women of the caste. Among their minor gods may be mentioned the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur, Khandoba of Jejuri, and Vyankoba of Tirupati.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burned in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south. Bones are collected on the 3rd day after death, and thrown into the river Ganges or Godavari. Bodies of children under three years of age are buried. *Sradha* is performed on the 10th and 13th days after death, when caste brethren are entertained at a feast. It is also celebrated every year on the anniversary of the death. Libations for the benefit of the departed ancestors are offered in the dark half of the month of Bhadrapad (September).

Social Status.—The social status of the caste, on the whole, is respectable. Vaishya Sonars rank immediately below Brahmans, from

whose hands alone they eat cooked food. Lát and Málvi Sonárs occupy a lower position and are inferior not only to Brahmans but also to Vaishya Sonars and other castes of the same social standing. All the sub-castes rank socially above Maratha Kunbis, from whose hands; however, they accept water. All Sonars, except Vaishya and Panchal, drink wine and eat fish and fowl and the flesh of goats, hare, deer and sheep. Vaishyas and Panchals wear the sacred thread and perform *Upanayana*, or thread investiture of their boys.

Occupation.—The chief occupations of the caste are working in metal, mostly in gold and silver, and money lending, or *saraf*. A few of them are land holders and cultivators. Some have, of late years, entered Government service. In the Maratha districts the Sonar is a member of the village system, claiming Baluti, or a share, in the corn and garden produce of a village.

Among the natives the Sonar is proverbially considered untrustworthy. He is suspected of substituting base metal for the gold or silver supplied to him to be made up into ornaments. As a money-lender he is charged with extorting money from his clients. A fair idea of the opinion held of him may be derived from the Marathi proverb :—

Sonár, Shimpi, Kulkarni Appá,

Hyanchi Sangat Nokore Báppá.

O man, avoid, by all means, the company of a goldsmith, a tailor and the village clerk.

TAMDI AND GURAVA

A—TAMDI

Tamdi, Tamboli, Phulari, Tamliwandlu—a small Telugu caste of beggars, temple servants and musicians, also called Shiva Brahmans, or Shivarchaka, from being engaged as the priests of the god Shiva and the guardians of his temples. They are scattered, in small numbers, all over the Dominions, so that there is scarcely a village of importance which has not, at least, one Tamdi house.

The Tamdis present a striking resemblance to the Guravas of Maharashtra. Both are employed as servants of village temples, sweeping them, decking the village idols and claiming offerings made to the village deities. Both are professional worshippers of the god Shiva. Both make music at temple festivals and at the weddings of higher castes, playing on the *Sanai*, or flute, blowing the temple conch and horn, in which they are very skilful. Both make leaf platters and flower garlands and supply every household with these articles, also *Bél* leaves (*Ægle marmelos*) and flowers for the worship of household idols. Finally both occupy a high social level in the Hindu community, ranking next to Brahmans and conforming to the latter in all their rites and ceremonies. These facts may warrant the conjecture that both are branches of the same parent trunk, apparently differentiated by reason of their fortuitous occupation of different localities.

Origin.—The word Tamdi is supposed to be derived from *Tamboli*, or dealers in betel-leaf—Sanskrit *Tambul*. They are said to be the offspring of a Kshatriya by a Brahman widow, being thus *Pratilomaja*, or born against the hair. According to another account, they are the descendants of a Brahman father and a Dhobi mother and are *Anulomaja*. Regarding their origin, a legend is current which states that a Brahman, a Saivait priest, fell in love with a Sudra

woman who used daily to visit the temple of Siva to offer her devotions. The woman became pregnant and was abandoned by her husband. But Siva, pleased with her devotion, ordained that her son and his descendants should, in future, officiate as priests to the god and claim the offerings made to him.

Internal Structure.—The Tamdis are divided into two classes : Tamdi and Phulari (Telugu) who neither interdine nor intermarry. The Phularis are Lingayits in creed, having embraced the religion subsequent to its foundation by Basava. They are broken up into Brahmanical *gotras* some of which are given below :—

Kasyapa.	Bharadwaja.
Parashara.	Sanakasanandana.
Tapaswi.	Pandana.
Koundinya.	Janaka.
Goutama.	Pandit.

They have also family names of the Telugu type as :—

Yerapalliwaru.	Balariwaru.
Kaldhariwaru.	Pannugondawaru.
Yeldandiwaru.	Parpalliwaru.
Ispalawaru.	Anandamwaru.
Kondawaru.	Yenkatapuramwaru.

These surnames, which are almost all of the territorial character, bear no part in the regulation of their marriages, which are said to be governed by the *Gotras*. A man must marry within his sub-caste and outside his section.

Marriage.—Tamdi girls are married as infants between the ages of seven and nine. Immediately after her marriage a girl is sent to her husband's house by performing the ceremony known as Wadibiyam. When the marriage is under consideration a Brahmin astrologer (Joshi) is consulted to see if the horoscopes of the bride and the bridegroom agree. If his opinion is favourable, mutual visits of inspection follow, at which presents of clothes, betel leaves and areca-nuts are exchanged. A Brahmin is then called in to fix an auspicious date for the wedding. The marriage ceremony is celebrated in the form followed by Brahmins of the locality, the duties of priest being discharged by a Brahmin. On the appointed day, the bridegroom goes in proces-

sion to the bride's house and the wedding takes place under the marriage pandal erected in front of the bride's house. As among the Brahmins, the *Saptapadi* forms the essential portion of the ceremony. At the *Nagbali* ceremony the bridegroom takes a *dhol* (drum) when he circumambulates the *Polu*.

Polygamy is recognised and a man may take a second wife if the first is barren or incurably diseased. Widows are not allowed to marry again and divorce is not recognised. It is said that widow marriage is still practised by some, which may indicate that the usage once prevailed in the caste. Phularis allow their widows to remarry, and recognise divorce. A woman taken in adultery is expelled from the caste.

Religion.—Tamdis are Saivaites by creed, and their favourite deity is Raja Rajeshwar of Yamalwad, in the Karimnagar District. Any offerings made to Siva are claimed by the members of this caste as their perquisites. Aradhi Brahmins officiate as Gurus, or spiritual advisers. Among their minor gods are Pochamma, Yelamma, Mahisamma, and other animistic deities of Dravidians, to whom sacrifices of goats, fowls, sheep and sweetmeats are offered, Kumbhars act as priests in the worship of these deities of diseases and claim the offerings made to them. Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. Their females worship Kedari Gauramma (the consort of Siva) in the lunar half of Kartika with offerings of flowers and sweetmeat. They pay daily devotion to the Tulsi plant (sweet Basil). Phularis worship Siva in the form of the Lingam which they wear on their persons.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are buried in a lying or sitting posture, as the custom of the family may be, with the face downward in the former case, and pointing to the north in the latter. The period of mourning extends from three to ten days, according as the dead relations are cognates or agnates, or as they are married or unmarried. The Shradha ceremony is performed on the 11th day after death, when balls of rice are offered and libations of water are poured out for the benefit of the deceased.

Social Status.—In point of social standing, Tamdis rank next to Brahmins, from whose hands alone they eat Kachhi or cooked food.

They are vegetarians and abstain from liquor.

Occupation.—A few Tamdis have abandoned their original occupation as temple servants, and have taken to other pursuits. Some hold Inam land from temple endowments. Others are excellent musicians and make music at the ceremonies of higher castes. They also sell leaf plates and cups, flowers and Bel leaves. Phularis deal in flowers, betel-leaves and areca-nuts, in which capacity they are called Tambolis.

B—GURAVA

Gurava, called also Shiva Gurava—found in Maharashtra and engaged in making garlands and leaf-plates and providing flowers and Bel leaves for the worship of Hindu Gods.

Origin.—Like Tamdis they claim to be descended from a Brahman by a Sudra woman who, being in criminal intimacy with him was abandoned by her husband; but the god Siva, to whom she was fervently devoted, announced that for the future she, her illegitimate son and his descendants should make their subsistence on the offerings made to the deity. They are very few in number, but in every village there is at least one family who provides daily offerings of flowers to the village temples and leaf-plates and Bel leaves to village householders.

Internal Structure.—The Guravas are divided into five sub-castes, (1) Maratha Guravas, (2) Malvi, (3) Varhadi, (4) Phulari, and (5) Vidurs, who neither interdine nor intermarry. The second and third divisions refer to the countries from which they have come. The Gurava Phularis are semi-converts to the Lingayit sect and wear both the Lingam and the sacred thread. Vidur Guravas are illegitimate offsprings of Gurava fathers and mothers of lower castes. The members of the caste profess to have one *gotra* only, *Sankhyayana*, which is obviously inoperative in the regulation of their marriages. Their exogamous sections are of the Maratha type, as the following names will illustrate :—

Dange	Lokhande
Gadge	Malekar
Gharjale	Bomale
Naikwadi	Kshirsagar.

Intermarriages within the section and outside the sub-caste are avoided. A man may marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. Two sisters may be married to the same man.

Marriage.—Guravas marry their daughters as infants between the ages of seven and eleven. The marriage ceremony is performed in accordance with orthodox usage, and extends over three or five days according to the means of the parties. On the first day, early in the morning, after a marriage pandal, made of five posts, one of the post being of Umbar, has been erected, two earthen pots are ceremonially brought by married females from the potter's house, filled with water and placed under the booth. These pots are called *Manjal Matham* and are worshipped, Brahmins being feasted in their honour. This ceremony is called '*Deva Brahman*.' On this day the bride and the bridegroom are first smeared with turmeric paste and oil, the procedure being afterwards repeated daily till the ceremony ends. On the auspicious day fixed for the wedding the bridegroom is conducted on horseback to the bride's house where, on arrival, he is made to stand opposite to the bride, a cloth is held between them and the Brahmin priest, reciting benedictory stanzas, sprinkles turmeric coloured rice on their heads. This is followed by Kanyadan and Kankana-bandhan, after which the bridegroom ties the *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck. Saptapadi is said to form the binding portion of the ceremony. Polygamy is permitted, but the Guravas are too poor to maintain more than one wife. Widows are allowed to marry and divorce is granted on the ground of the wife's adultery.

Religion.—The Guravas are Saivaites, Mahadeva and his *vahan* (vehicle) and 'Nandi' being the favourite objects of their worship. On the twelfth of the light half of Ghaita, gruel (*ambil*) and parched gram are offered to the god and subsequently eaten by the votaries. Besides this they pay reverence to all the gods of the Hindu pantheon and duly appease the minor deities with a variety of offerings. They employ Brahmins on religious and ceremonial occasions. Phularis engage both Jangams and Brahmins at their marriages.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are burnt in a lying posture with the head to the south. The ashes are collected on the third day after death and thrown into any stream that is handy. The Shradha

is celebrated on the 10th day after death. Ancestors in general are propitiated on the last of Bhadrapad (Oct.) with offerings of rice balls and libations of water mixed with 'til' or jingelly seeds.

Social Status.—Socially Guravas rank as high as Tamals and higher than the Maratha Kunbis. They abstain from flesh and liquor.

Occupation.—Many of the Guravas have now taken to cultivation and are engaged as carters and day labourers. Some of the Guravas are very skilful in playing upon the *mridanga* (an elongated drum) and the *tabla* and during singing performances attend upon dancing girls of the Patharker caste. It is said that if they serve Therker dancing girls they are excommunicated. Their services are also sought after by male musicians or 'Gawayas' and 'Haridasas.'

(Titles : 'Náidu' and 'Ráo.)

Telaga—a generic term applied to Munnurs and Mutrásis and also to the classes that are sprung from them. But the term particularly denotes the aggregate of individual units derived by crossing between members of different castes, and united together by bonds of mutual interest and sympathies. Thus the illegitimate offspring of Kápu, Mutrásí, and Munnur women by the members of higher castes, the progeny of such girls of agricultural and pastoral classes as are dedicated to temples and, being debarred from marriages, have taken to prostitution, the issues of girls who are sold in rich families, or to dancing girls and brought up as prostitutes—all these have been included among Telagás.

Internal Structure.—The Telagás comprise the following groups, arranged in accordance with their social grades, as far as they are known :—

- (1) Ráchá Telagá.
- (2) Hajári Telagá.
- (3) Bobbili Telagá.
- (4) Telagá Chetti.
- (5) Telagá Totá Baljá.
- (6) Chalká Telagá.
- (7) Chambu Telagá.
- (8) Sevak Munnur.
- (9) Kásá Telagá.
- (10) Telagá Uppará.
- (11) Munnur Telagá.
- (12) Mutrásí Telagá.
- (13) Sanáiwád.

- (14) Sadalwád.
- (15) Waral Wándlu.
- (16) Butti Telagá.

This list is in no way complete and several other branches are said to exist which cannot, however, be traced nor identified. Nor is the process of development complete, fresh groups being still evolved from the same sources and made to occupy the lowest rank in the social organisation of the Telagás.

Ráchá Telagá (Titles, 'Hajári' and 'Rao')—These are found in large numbers in the Nalgunda District. The name 'Ráchá,' which is derived from the word 'Rájá' (king), is probably given to the members of this group in consideration of the highest rank they are supposed to have held among the Telagá classes. Their supposed descent from those who served the ancient Telugu sovereigns on military tenure or as personal attendants, may also account for their dignified name. The members of the group still maintain the dignity of their rank by observing 'Goshá' (seclusion) among their women and by taking girls in marriage from the other Telagá sub-castes but not giving their own maidens in return. Sentiment against widow marriage is also seen growing among them. Originally born of mixed parentage, the acquirement of wealth and respectable social status appears to have enabled the Ráchás to detach themselves from the masses and gradually to attain to the high and domineering position they, at present, occupy among the Telagás. The Ráchás admit among their community the illegitimate issue of the higher castes, such as Brahmans, Komatis, etc. Their original calling was soldiering, but they have now taken to agriculture and are landholders, Pattedárs, Vatandárs, etc. Several are Government servants, pleaders, merchants and follow other respectable professions. They practise infant marriage. A few of the Ráchá families profess not to allow their widows to remarry.

Hajári Telagás :—They are so called because their ancestors rendered service to the great zamindars and other rich people, in the capacity of "Khánsámás," errand boys and personal servants. The Hajári Telagás are believed to have been the offspring of the men of higher castes by the women of Mutrási, Munnur and Kápu castes. It

is said that they have the surnames of their mothers, but the gotras of their fathers, the former regulating their marriage ceremony. In marriages the branches of the 'mango' and 'gullar' are held in special reverence. Bastards born of Munnur, Mutrásí and Sále women by Brahmins, Kápu, Velamá or Komati men are freely admitted by them into their group. They practise both infant and adult marriage and allow their widows to remarry. They bury their dead with face downwards. In point of social standing the Hajáris rank with the Ráchás and the Bobili Telagás. They are now either cultivators or tailors. Some have entered the Government service.

Bóbbili Telagá :—These take their name from a village 'Bobbili' in the Godáveri District where their forefathers rendered both personal and military service to the Velamás who were once the sole occupants of the village. It is said that they were originally Mutrásí-born, but being soldiers and commanders of armies, they were elevated, in social rank, above the common folk and are at present known to enjoy as high a social position as the Hajari and Ráchá Telagás. They veil their females and admit among them members of castes higher than themselves in social standing. Unlike other Telagás, they practise both infant and adult marriage. Some of the members follow the occupation of Patwegars, or silk weavers. They make good soldiers and are enlisted in the native armies.

Telagá Chetti :—These claim their descent from the Rájá Bhartrahari's numerous wives whose infidelity disgusted their husband and drove him to seek a secluded life. They are divided into ten exogamous groups, which are entirely borrowed from the Kápu castes. They marry their girls as infants or after they attain puberty.

Chalká Telagás :—As their name implies, the Chalka group are the cultivators of dry land (chalká—dryland), and as such are distinguished from Totaá Baljás, who are gardeners. This group has two sub-divisions, those who complete their marriage ceremony in three days and those whose marriage ceremony extends over five days. These two classes interdine but do not intermarry. This is really very interesting, as it furnishes a curious example of the process by which fresh endogamous divisions are formed. The Chalká Telagás are as hypergamous to Sevaks and Kásá Telagás as the Rachas and other

superior classes are to the Chalkás. Thus a Ráchás, Bobbli or Hajára may take a wife from the Chalká class but cannot give his own daughter to a Chalká. A Chalká on his part, may marry a Sevak or Kásá girl but is prevented by social rules from returning the obligation. The natural consequence is that Kásá girls being married into higher groups produce scarcity of women among their own group, so that the number of marriageable boys is in excess of the marriageable girls. The Kásás, therefore, have to look for wives from other sources and either marry, or keep as mistresses, women of higher castes who are degraded from their own caste in consequence of indiscretions. The issues of such unions are regarded legitimate and admitted to the full privileges of the group. It may be observed that if any member of the Chalkás becomes rich and adopts the high standard of ceremonial observances adopted by Ráchás or Bobbilis, he can be enrolled into the latter groups. The Chalká branch, whose marriage ceremony lasts for five days, are believed not to recognise widow marriage.

Chambu Telagá :—These are a servile class attached to the houses of rich landlords and zamindars and are so designated because the members of the group are supposed to have been engaged to wait upon their masters with *chambus* (water-pots) when the latter went to relieve nature. While the male members are so employed, the females serve, in rich families, as 'Adipápá' or 'Dási' (hand-maids). Such women remain unmarried and lead lives of doubtful morality, being generally considered the sole property of their masters. Their children, as well as the children of such Chambu women as are in incestuous intercourse with high-born males, enjoy the full rights of the legitimate members of the group. The Chambus admit members of superior castes into their community. They recognise both infant and adult marriages and allow their widows to remarry.

Sevak Munnur :—(Synonyms Ghulám, Khidmatgár). The word Sevak means 'ghulam' or 'slave.' During the prevalence of scarcity or famine, individuals who, in the extremity of hunger, sold themselves, or were sold, as slaves, as also persons who were enslaved in consequence of their inability to pay their debts, originally composed this group of the Telagás. Their ranks are still recruited by the progeny of girls who, under the name of 'Dásis' (hand-maids), contri-

bute portions of dowry bestowed by the brides' fathers upon the bridegroom of rich families. So far as the connubial relation is concerned these Dásis remain with their masters in the capacity of quasi-wives or mistresses and are known to be notorious for immorality and licentiousness. The ranks of the Chalká Telagás are open to the members of this division provided the latter adopt the same standard of ceremonial purity followed by the Chalkás. Persons of superior castes, who lose their own castes for some social offence, are admitted by the members of this division into their community.

Kásá Telagás :—These derive their name from the word 'Kásalu,' meaning born of prostitutes. The Kásá sub-division is mainly composed of individuals, either sprung from prostitutes or from girls who are dedicated by their parents to temples and to trees and who subsequently become prostitutes. It is said that a Kásá girl, committing herself with a Brahmin before marriage and becoming pregnant, can find a husband in her own caste. Girls are dedicated to temples and to trees and their sons take the family names of their mothers. Members of the Brahmin, Komati, Baljá, Kummará, Gollá, Kápu, Vellama and Bhat castes are admitted by Kásás in their castes. The Kásá girls are married into Chalká or even in Ráchá families but no Chalká girl, on the other hand, will go down into the Kásá household. The Kásás recognise both adult and infant marriages and allow their widows to remarry. They are good cooks and, as such, are in great request in the rich Velamá and Kápu families. The respectable and educated members of the community are known as Náidus. One remarkable point in connection with the 'Channágiri' section of the Kásá Telagás may be mentioned. The girls of this section are married to trees and swords and the children of such girls take the family names of their mothers as already mentioned.

Totá Baljis :—Cultivators and gardeners probably a branch of Chalká Telagás who are tillers of dry land. They affect a high standard of ceremonial purity, marry their daughters as infants, forbid their widows to remarry and do not admit strangers into their community. These considerations have completely severed their connections with the parent groups and have transformed them into a full blown caste, superior, in social rank, not only to all the Telagás but to the

Kápu and Munnur castes from whom the Telagás originally sprang. It is really curious to mark the stages of development through which the Totá Baljis have passed. The fact, that all the Totá Baljis belong to one gotra, Paspunollu, supports the inference that a number of families of the same gotra raised their social level by imitating the usages of Brahmins, and that other classes, who could not come up to their standard of ceremonial purity, were looked down upon as inferiors and, in course of time, their sense of superiority grew so strong as to cause their complete dissociation from their brethren. The Totá Baljis are industrious cultivators.

Munnur Telagás :—An illegitimate branch of Munnurs admitting children of Munnur mothers and Brahmin fathers. They are divided into two classes: (1) those who allow their widows to remarry, (2) those who do not recognise this practice. These two classes interdine and intermarry, but a tendency towards complete separation is discernible. It is also said that the Munnur Telagás are a socially elevated branch of Chambu Telagás.

Mutrásí Telagás :—The origin of this group is uncertain. They may be either Mutrásís or the illegitimate descendants of the Mutrásís. They have adopted the trade of liquor vendors and toddy drawers.

Sadalwád Telagá :—These claim to be a branch of Munnurs who follow the occupation of weaving *Navár* (tape) and appear, on this ground, to have been degraded from the main caste. They themselves insist on being called Telagás, but the latter deny their claims to this name. Men of the Gollás, Kápus, Komatis, etc., are admitted by them. Widows are not permitted to marry again. They have no Nág-beli ceremony. In other respects, their wedding ceremonials correspond with those of the other Telagá castes. Veerabhadra is their favourite deity. It is said that they carry their dead in baskets to the cremation ground. Their principal occupation is the manufacture of lac bangles and the weaving of *Navár* (tape) and *Pardás* (curtains).

Sanáiwád :—So called because they play on the *sanái*, a sort of musical pipe. Although they are classed as Telagás, their origin is involved in obscurity. They are Vibhutidhárís and prefer the worship of Máhádeva to that of any other deity. Their girls are married as infants and widows are permitted to marry again. Arádhi Brah-

mins serve them as spiritual guides. At the time of going round the *polu* the Sanáiwád bridegroom holds in his right hand a *sanái* of musical pipe. The dead are cremated with faces downwards.

Uppari Telagás :—As their name indicates they are dealers in salt.

Marriage.—The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type current among the other Telagá castes. Brahmins are called in to conduct the ceremonial and incur no disgrace on that account. Widow marriage is permitted by Ráthá, Hajári, Bobbili, Sevak, Chambu and Kásá Telagás, while it is not recognised by the Totá Baljis, Telagá Chetti and Sadalwád sub-divisions. The ceremony is simple. On a dark night the bridegroom presents the widow with a *sári*, *choli* and *mettalu*, ties *pusti* round her neck and provides a feast to his relatives and friends. Divorce is permitted by those divisions who recognise widow marriage, the divorced women being permitted to marry by the same rite as widows.

Inheritance.—In matters of inheritance some of the Telagás differ from other castes of the same social standing. Where a girl is married to a sword or dedicated to a temple she shares her father's (or mother's) property equally with her brothers. In default of male issue, the daughter's son becomes heir to his grandfather's property (Totá Balji). "Jetháng", or an extra share, is given to the eldest son by some Telagás.

Religion.—The Telagás are divided into Tirmanidharis and Vibhutidhárís and are the followers of Shri Vaishanava and Aradhi Brahmins respectively. The Hajari Telagás are exclusively Namdharis. For the rest the Telagás entirely conform to the religion of the Kapu castes. They honour all the Hindu gods and keep the Hindu festivals. Narsinhalu, Shiva, Ramkrishna Pochamma and a host of minor deities receive due reverence from them. Gouramma is worshipped by females in Kartika (September-October) with offerings of sweets. Bana Devi and Maisamma are worshipped on Sundays and Thursdays, the Kumbhars officiating as priests of the deities. Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. In funeral ceremonies the Satanis are employed by Tirmanidharis and Jangams by Vibhutidhárís.

Disposal of the Dead.—Both burial and cremation are resorted to by the Telagás, the dead being disposed of in a lying posture with the head pointing to the south. The ashes are either thrown into a river or buried under a platform raised as a monument in memory of the deceased. The adults are mourned for ten days and children for three days. No regular *śradha* is celebrated but on the 12th day after death *Pindas*, or balls of cooked rice or wheaten flour, are offered to the soul of the deceased. On the *Pitṛa Amavasya* day (middle of September) libations of water are poured out in the name of the departed ancestors.

Social Status.—As has been adverted to, the social status of the Telagás admits of no precise definition. As a general rule amongst themselves, it varies with the degree of ceremonial purity and the standard of ceremonial observances which each particular group is believed to have prescribed for itself. Their pretensions to a high origin and high social status are not, however, admitted by the agricultural and pastoral castes, such as Panchi Reddi Kápus, Velamas, Gollás, &c., below whom they rank socially in these dominions. Telagás eat food cooked by Kápus, Velamas, Gollás, &c. They eat mutton, pork, fish, fowls and lizards and drink spirits. They do not eat the leavings of other castes.

Occupation.—The wealthy and educated members of the community are known as Naidus, who follow learned professions and have distinguished themselves in all branches of the Government service. The great majority of Telagás are cultivators and hold all sorts of land tenures. Some, however, earn their livelihood as landless day labourers. Members of this caste do not wear the sacred thread.

Note re Kasa Telagás:—"Members of this caste (Kasa or Dasilu) are chiefly to be found in attendance on the Zamindars and other rich people and report says they are not unfrequently their illegitimate children. They are not always proud of their caste and sometimes endeavour to pass themselves off as Telagás." (Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, 1879).

Gándla, Gánigáru, Tilwan, Teli, Tilghatak—a very large functional caste of oil-pressers and traders found almost in every village of the Hyderabad territory, but especially numerous in the Warangal District, which produces oil-seeds in great abundance. The members of the caste call themselves Gándlas in Telingana, Ganigaru in the Carnatic and Tilwans in Maharashtra, while the names Teli and Tilghatak are used by outsiders. It appears that the Telugu designation 'gandla' is simply a variant of the Carnatic 'ganigaru,' both being derived from the Canarese 'ganiga,' the oil mill.

Origin.—According to Manu, the Gandlas are the off-spring of a 'parashava' father and an 'ugra' mother. Other authorities make them the descendants of a Brahmin father by a Tamboli mother. Their own traditions bear mostly an imaginative character. One of these traces their origin to Paulastya, a descendant of the king Kramaganth Manu of the lunar race. Another legend describes that the Gandlas were originally Kshatriyas of the solar race and, as devout worshippers of the God Siva, visited his temple daily with their *guru* Kapil Mahamuni. Once upon a time Kapil Muni, being unable to pay his customary visit to the temple, desired them to offer sesame seeds to the god and bring him a portion of the offering. The Kshatriyas made the offering but consumed the whole themselves reserving no share for the sage. The Mahamuni, much offended at this wilful disobedience of his disciples, cursed them and condemned them to a degraded existence on *til* produce. These legends are instructive for their attempt to show how the caste was recruited from the respectable members of the Hindu community.

Internal Structure.—In Telingana the caste is divided into the following endogamous groups. Deva Gándlá, Balijá Gándlá, Telkula Gándlá, Reddi Gándlá, Vanliyaddu Gándlá, Siva Gándlá, Lád

Gándlá, and Chalká Gándlá. Deva Gándlás are Shaivaites, acknowledging Arádhi Brahmins as their spiritual guides. Like Lingáyits they wear the *lingam* on their body but unlike them they retain their hair-locks. The Balijá Gándlás are Lingayits in creed and have Jangams for their priests. They wear the *lingam* but do not wear the hair lock. These two groups claim social precedence over the other Gándlá sub-castes. Telkula Gándlás were originally oil-pressers, but prosperity and wealth have bettered their position and they have now exchanged their hereditary calling for shop-keeping and deal in oil and oil-cakes. Opinions differ regarding the origin of the Reddi Gándlás. The members of this sub-caste profess to be descended from Reddis, as the respectable members of the Kapu caste are styled; but by some authorities they are believed to be the same as the Randu-eddu sub-caste (*Randu*—two and *Yeddu*—bullock) of Madras, whose name has reference to their custom of using two bullocks to turn the oil-mill. Vanti-Yeddus (*Vanti*—one and *Yeddu*—bullock) are so called as they use only one bullock for their oil-press. Chetti Gándlás appear to have assumed the title 'chettí,' or trader, to denote that they belong to the respectable class of traders. Shiva Gándlás are said to extract oil only from *til* seeds and consider it derogatory to use other seeds for the purpose.

The Telis of Maharashtra have three sub-divisions, Tilwan Telis, Lad Telis, and Mirje, or Lingayit, Telis. Tilwan Telis profess to trace their origin to the demon Tilasur, but the story appears to be a mere play upon the word *til*. The sub-caste is doubtless evolved from the Maratha Kunbis by reason of their having followed the humble occupation of oil-pressing. Tilwan Telis use both one or two bullocks, or even bull-buffaloes, to turn their mills. Lad Telis seem to have originally come from Lat Desh, or southern Gujerath, and are identical with the Lad Gándlás of Telingana. In their social standing they are inferior to other sub-castes of Telis. Mirje, or Lingayit Telis, are either immigrants from the Carnatic, or descendants of the local Telis who, in some past time, adopted the creed of Lingayitism.

In the Carnatic, where the predominant faith is Lingayitism, the majority of Telis are Lingawants and are designated as *ganigararu*.

Their social rank in the Lingayit community is determined by the test whether they are entitled to the Ashtawarna rites, or eight-fold sacrament of the Lingáyit sect (this is fully described in the report on that sect).

In the District of Adilabad is found a community of oil-pressers by name 'San' Telis, who have a tradition that they were originally residents of Berar and the Central Provinces, but were compelled by famine and intestine disputes to abandon their country and seek a new home. Their home speech is Marathi and their customs and usages are hardly distinct from the Khaira and Dhanojya Kunbis, to whom they are inferior in social rank.

The Telis of the Dominions might, therefore, be more appropriately described as a collection of castes than as one caste. There is, for instance, nothing in common, beyond occupation, between the Tilwan Telis of Maharashtra and the Deva Gándlās of Telingana. These several sub-castes neither eat together nor intermarry.

It is said that the Gándlās have, in all, one thousand exogamous sections, of which nearly four hundred are known at the present day. It is curious to notice that these section names all end in the termination '*nullu*' which means gingelly seed in Telugu. The sections are mostly of the eponymous type, a few of them only being totemistic. The totems are not revered by the members of the caste holding their names.

The sections given below will illustrate the nature of their formation :—

Eponymous Section.		Totemistic.	
(1) Munnu	Nullu.	(1) Gampa	Nullu.
(2) Sanak	„	(2) Nelaga	„
(3) Sambha	„	(3) Bukka	„
(4) Savitri	„	(4) Konda	„
(5) Guru	„	(5) Pala	„
(6) Vithya	„	(6) Gujja	„
(7) Boja	„		
(8) Bhadra	„		
(9) Ishwara	„		
(10) Siva	„		

Eponymous Section.

- (11) Linga Nullu.
- (12) Thamaka „
- (13) Chandra „
- (14) Dhanaka „
- (15) Kshema „

Besides the gotras the Gándlās have family names which, however, are not concerned in the regulation of their marriages.

The sections of the Tilwan Telis are the same as those of the Maratha Kunbis. They are as follows:—

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (1) Sakare. | (6) Waghmare. | (11) Shinde. |
| (2) Gaikawad. | (7) Barkase. | (12) Pendhare. |
| (3) Bansade. | (8) Kshirsagar. | (13) Raut. |
| (4) Date. | (9) Masure. | (14) Gavali. |
| (5) Takpire. | (10) Dharaka. | (15) Sarphale. |

Sections of the San Telis.

- | | | |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1) Somanker. | (4) Satpute. | (7) Tikale. |
| (2) Koharya. | (5) Pipre. | (8) Bopate. |
| (3) Dhedbarya. | (6) Chapare. | (9) Chalakhe. |

No member of the caste can marry within the section or outside the sub-caste to which he belongs. Marriage with the daughter of a father's or mother's sister is not allowed. It is allowed with the daughter of a maternal uncle.

Marriage.—Except among the San Telis of Adilabad, who recognise adult marriage, girls are married before they attain the age of puberty. Among Gándlās sexual intercourse before puberty is enjoined on pain of social degradation, a special ceremony called *Nashika* being performed on the occasion. By other sub-castes it is tacitly tolerated. Polygamy is permitted without any restriction being imposed on the number of wives a man may have.

The Gándlá marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and conforms closely to that of the higher caste Hindus of the locality. After a suitable bride has been selected and the betrothal or *chupavidam* has been performed, a marriage booth, made of *salai* leaves (*Boswellia thurifera*) with a *salai* post planted in its centre, is erected at the girl's house. Round the central post is dug a circular

pit in which are ceremonially thrown pearls, flowers, and other auspicious articles (*bali*). On the wedding day the bridegroom, riding usually on a bullock and sometimes on a horse, is escorted in procession to the bride's house where, on arrival, the bride's people welcome him and wave rice and curds round his face to avert the evil eye. He is then taken to the wedding *pandal* where the bride joins him and both are made to stand face to face screened from each other by a curtain held between them. The officiating Brahmin recites *mantras* and throws grains of rice, coloured with turmeric, on their heads. This is followed by *Kanyadan*, *Jiragudam*, *Padghatanam*, *Pusti-metalu*, and *Kankābandhanam*, the first being regarded by the caste as the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. On the fourth day the *Nagbali* is celebrated, when the bride and bridegroom are seated side by side on two wooden stools, facing the east, and surrounded by conical heaps of rice crested with lighted lamps. The parents of the young couple, with five other married couples, march five times round them and make them presents of clothes, money and other articles. After the bride and bridegroom have retired inside the house, the *bali* is claimed by a *Dhobi*, who removes the rice and cleanses the ground. The Gándlās do not allow their widows to marry again; but it is observed that the Gándlá widows of the Nirmal Taluka are permitted to remarry by the rite current among other Telugu castes of the same social standing. Divorce is recognised, a divorced woman being simply turned out of her husband's house and subsequently forbidden to marry again.

The marriage ceremony of the Maratha Telis differs little from that of the Maratha Kunbis, except that the wedding procession of the former is made on a bullock and that their marriage guardian deity, or Devaka, is represented by a beam of scales with a wheaten or jawari cake tied to it. Widows are allowed to marry again and divorce is recognised by the caste.

The San Telis of the Adilabad District perform their marriage ceremony at midnight, on the model furnished by the Khaira or Dhanojya Kunbis. Widow-marriage is permitted and divorce is recognised by the members of the caste.

Religion.—Almost all Gándlās, except those who are brought within the fold of Lingayitism, are Vibhaidhāris, or devotees of the God Siva, whom they worship every day with a variety of offerings. All Gándlās, male and female, are invested before marriage with the Lingam by Aradhi Brahmins, who act as their *gurus*, or spiritual advisers. Special reverence is paid by the whole caste to their tutelary deity Veerbhadra, to whom offerings of flowers and sweetmeats are made every Monday in the month of Shravana (July-August). Raj Rajeshwar, Nārsinh Swami and other Hindu gods are also revered by the caste. On *Ganesh Chouth*, or the fourth of the light half of Bhadra, they worship oil mills, wooden rollers and other implements of their trade. A man of the Tamadi caste daily visits their houses, offers *pūja* to the oil mill and claims as his due eight tolas of oil from them. The patron deity of the Gándlá females is Gauramma, the consort of Mahadeva, to whom clothes, flowers and other sacred objects are presented in the month of Kārtika (October-November). Telugu Brahmins are employed as priests for the performance of marriage and other religious ceremonies. The priests of Baliya, or Lingayit Gándlās, are Jangams, under whose presidency all their sectarian and ceremonial observances are conducted. The Maratha Telis pay devotion to Mahadeva, whose sacred shrine is at Shinganapur in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency. Deshastha Brahmins are engaged for religious and ceremonial purposes.

The religion of San Telis is animism combined with ancestor worship. Kurbhan (a form of Tuljapur Bhavani) and Waghoba (the deity presiding over the tiger demon) are their principal deities, represented by small slabs of stone set up generally outside the village. Before the celebration of the marriage ceremony the souls of departed ancestors are propitiated, in the form of wheaten flour balls bedaubed with vermilion, with various offerings and sacrifices.

Disposal of the Dead.—The Gandlas burn their dead and throw the ashes in a sacred stream that is handy. Children dying before they have cut their teeth, persons dying of cholera and small-pox and those that die unmarried, are buried in a lying posture. A tomb is usually erected on the spot where the dead body

is buried or burnt. On the thirteenth day after death *Sradha* is performed and rice balls are offered for the benefit of the departed soul. Lingayat, Gandlas bury their dead in a sitting posture with the face turned towards the north. After the corpse has been seated in the niche made in the side of the grave, Bilava leaves and a Lingam are placed in the left hand, which is closed by the right hand. The grave is then filled in and a Jangam priest, standing on it, announces, with the blowing of his conch, that the departed spirit has reached *Kailas*, the blessed abode of *Siva*.

The Maratha Telis, both San and Tilwan, usually burn the dead bodies; but when they cannot afford to bear the expenses of cremation they bury them. *Sradha* is performed on the thirteenth day after death and subsequently in the months of Vaishakha and Bhadrapad. Brahmins attend their funeral obsequies.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste varies in different parts of the country and for different sub-castes. The Gandlas, for instance, rank higher than Kápus, Welmás, Gollas, Sales and Munnurs, and eat cooked food (*kachi*) only from the hands of Aradhi Brahmins and sweetmeat prepared by the Komati and Balija castes. They abstain from liquor and from all kinds of animal food and it is for this abstinence that Kapus, Gollas and other low castes will take cooked food from their hands. The Deva Gandlas claim to be of higher social standing than other Gandla sub-castes. The Tilwan and San Telis stand on a lower social level than Kunbis, Malis, Hatkars, Wanjaris and Dhangars, eating goats, sheep, fowl, deer, hare and fish and drinking fermented and spirituous liquors. Lingayit Gandlas, or Telis, do not eat food cooked even by a Brahmin but they take it when prepared by Lingayit Vanis or Balijas. They are vegetarians and consider it a blessing to eat *Prasad*, or the leavings of their priests or Jangams. No members of the caste wear the sacred thread.

Occupation.—The traditional occupation of the caste is to express oil from oil-seeds, the chief seeds being *Til*, (*Sesamum indicum*), *Bhuimug*, ground-nuts, (*Arachis hypogaea*), *Karad*, safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), *Ram Til*, (*Guizotia abyssyrica*), *Karanj* (*Pongamia glabra*), *Arandi*, castor seeds (*Ricinus*

communis), *Ambadi*, brown hemp, (*Hibiscus cannabinus*), and *Moha* (*Bassia latifolia*). The oil press consists of a wooden mortar and a heavy pestle to crush the seeds and is driven by bullocks or bull-buffaloes with blinkers to blind their eyes. It is of two kinds, the one, known as Kolhu with a hole at the bottom through which the oil trickles out and the other of primitive pattern having no hole for the removal of the oil, which is taken out by a cocoanut shell or a small metal cup on the pestle being withdrawn. The increase of oil traffic, since the introduction of railways, is bringing the former machine into extensive use at the present day. To extract the oil from safflower the seeds are ground and husked and, after being sifted, thrown into the press. The castor seeds yield the castor oil in use for burning and medicinal purposes. This oil is obtained by roasting the seeds and thoroughly pounding them in a hand-mill. The *Arad* or crushed product is put in a pan containing boiling water and the whole is boiled slowly over the fire until the straw-coloured oil has risen to the surface. The oil refuse, *Khalli* or *Penda*, is used in feeding cattle.

The pressing of oil is one of the most important industries in the Hyderabad Territory, vast quantity of oil being annually exported from the Dominions, and has given occupation to numerous families of oil-pressers. The Deva Gandlas use two bullocks to turn their mills while other sub-castes practically observe no restrictions. A few members of the caste have given up their original profession and become traders and shop-keepers. Some have taken to agriculture and are occupancy and non-occupancy raiats and farm labourers. They have a caste *Panchayat*, the headman of which is called a *Chaudhari*. The sight of a Teli, when starting on a journey or at the outset of any undertaking, is popularly regarded as an evil omen causing failure in the business.

XCIII

UPPARA OR GAVANDI

Uppara, Matadi, Memar, Chunnar, Beldar, Sagar, Sagarollu—a Telugu caste of earth-workers, identical with Gavandi of the Maharashtra, and Uppara of the Carnatic. The name Uppara or Uppar comes from the Telugu word *Uppu*, salt, and was applied to these people with reference to their original occupation; but as this has been prohibited, the members of the caste have taken to earthwork, lime-burning and daily labour.

Origin.—Several legends are current concerning the origin of the caste. According to one, they claim to be descended from the 60,000 sons of Raja Sagar, the son of Bahuka of the Solar dynasty. Another legend ascribes the creation of the first Uppara to the God Vishnu who, feeling the want of salt in his meal, created a man from the sweat of his arm-pit and endowed him with the power of making salt from earth. Ancient authorities regard Upparas as a mixed caste, descended from an Ayogava father and a Kaivartaka mother.

Internal Structure.—The internal structure of the caste is very complicated. The Telugu Upparas have two chief endogamous divisions, Matti Uppara and Telaga Uppara. Chetti Upparas and Telanga Upparas are also mentioned as two other sub-castes in Telangana, but nothing is definitely known regarding them. In the Carnatic the caste is divided into four sub-castes : (1) Uppar, (2) Katanewaru, (3) Lingayit Uppar and (4) Kadai Uppar. Two more sub-castes are found existing in the Carnatic (1) Pakutras and (2) Trinamdharis. Pakutras claim descent from a king named Tirmalroy. The Pakutras are further subdivided into three curious groups. They are (1) Yedu Wannuwaraha, (2) Yantu Wannuwaraha and (3) Ayalu Wannuwaraha, the names being derived from the amount of the bride-price paid by the bridegroom to the bride's parents. With Ayalu Wannuwarahas (*Ayalu*—seven, *wannu*—gold and *waraha*—a coin worth Rs. 4) the bride-price

claimed is seven gold coins, with Yantu Wannuwarahas (eight) it is eight gold coins, while Yedu Wannuwarahas pay only five gold coins as the price of the girl. These three sub-castes are said to eat together but not to intermarry. In Maharashtra the caste is divided into three endogamous divisions: (1) Gavandi, (2) Wad, (3) Sagar or Kamathi. The first two appear to be recruited from among the Maratha Kunbis and to be separated from the parent caste by adopting the profession of earth-workers. The Sagar, or Kamathis, claim to be originally Kshatriyas and still wear the sacred thread and eat in silk clothes. The caste seems, on the whole, to be a heterogenous group formed by the members of different castes who took up the profession of manufacturing salt.

The exogamous system of the caste does not differ from that of other castes of the locality. The section names are shown at the end of this article. Marriages are forbidden within the same section. A man may marry two sisters. He may also marry the daughters of his maternal uncle, paternal aunt and elder sister.

Polygamy is permitted and in theory there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have.

Marriage.—Infant marriage is generally practised by the caste, the girl's age being between two and eleven years. But in the Carnatic girls are sometimes married after they have attained the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony closely corresponds to that in practice among other castes of the same social standing. In Telangana it comprises several rites which have been described in the Kapu article and may be briefly stated to be, *Tambul*, *Pagdimodpu*, *Myalapolu*, *Pidapolu*, *Ravireni*, *Lagnam*, *Kanyadan*, *Padghattan*, *Jiraguda*, *Pusti Mittal*, *Kankān*, *Talwal*, *Brahmamodi*, *Bashingam*, *Arundhatidarshan*, *Myalapolu*, *Nagvelly*, *Bhum*. At the time of *Polu*, the bridegroom is presented with *Karu Byaralu*. In Maharashtra the marriage ceremony is of the Kunbi type. An earthen platform is built and a marriage booth is erected, made of 5 posts, one of them being of the *Umbar* tree (wild fig). These posts are encircled with raw cotton thread. The posts are 6 feet high and on their tops 5 earthen pots are placed covered with lighted lamps. For the *Haldi* ceremony a separate booth is erected and under it the bridal pair are smeared with

turmeric paste and oil. The ceremony extends over five days. On the first morning the *mandap* (booth) is erected and in the afternoon the boy and the girl are smeared with turmeric and oil and bathed at their houses. On the second day 10 pots are ceremonially brought from a potter's house, five of which are kept on the five posts of the booth and the remaining five are arranged in a square in the *mandapa* and encircled with a raw cotton thread. On this day Mandapa Daivata and the family gods are installed and worshipped and the caste people are feasted. On the third day, the boy is first taken in procession to the Maruti's temple, where he is ceremonially received by the bride's party. This is called '*Simant Pujan*,' after which he is conducted either on a bullock or a horse to the marriage *mandap*. The usual ceremonies of waving a lamp, breaking a cocoanut and throwing cooked food at the bridegroom having been performed, he is taken inside the booth and made to stand opposite the bride, a cloth being held between them. The Brahmin priest repeats *mantras* and benedictory verses and throws coloured rice over their heads. The cloth is then removed and cotton thread is wound five times round the pair. It is then made into two bracelets which are fastened to their wrists. The marriage string (*mangalsutra*) is handed over to the boy, who ties it round the neck of his wife. Their garments are knotted together and they bow before the family gods and the elders of the family. The fourth day is spent in feasting and merry-making. On the 5th day *Sade* is performed, by which the wedded pair are conducted in procession to the bridegroom's house.

Widow-Marriage.—A widow is allowed to marry, but not her husband's brother. On the wedding day the widow is presented with a new *sari* and *choli* and one rupee for bangles. She is taken to the Maruti's temple by other widows and made to sit by a knife which represents the bridegroom. A man of the Golla Dasri caste ties a *pusti* round her neck. This ceremony completes her marriage. In Maharashtra, Brahmins are engaged to conduct the ceremony.

Divorce.—Divorce is permitted and enforced by turning the woman out of the house in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*. The divorced woman is allowed to remarry by the same rite as widows. Adultery on the part of a woman, if with a member of higher caste, is

condoned by a fine ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25, but if with a member of a lower caste it is punished by expulsion from her caste.

The members of the caste follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. Females inherit in default of males. In Telangāna the eldest son gets an ox in addition to his share, while in the Carnatic he receives a few rupees more than his brothers.

Religion.—The religion of the Upparas presents no features of special interest. They all belong to the Saiva sect. Spirits are appeased in sickness. They have strong belief in sorcery and evil spirits. Venkateshwar is specially worshipped on Saturdays and in the month of Shravan with offerings of sweet meats, which are afterwards consumed by the votaries. All Hindu deities are honoured by the caste. Among their minor deities are Pochamma and Ellamma, who are appeased with offerings of meat. Brahmans are employed in marriages and on ceremonial occasions and Satanis and Dasaris attend at the funeral ceremonies. The favourite deities of the Maratha Gavandis are Balaji and Bhavanai of Tuljapur.

Disposal of the Dead.—The dead are usually burnt, but occasionally buried, specially in the case of persons who die unmarried or of cholera or smallpox. The Saivaitis bury their dead with the face downwards. The ashes and bones are either thrown into a river or buried under a 'tarwad' tree. Mourning is observed for 11 days. The chief mourner abstains from salt for the first five days; but those in the Carnatic eat meat on the 3rd and 9th days after death. On the fifth day a pot is placed on the spot where the person expired and worshipped by sacrificing a goat. On the third and fifth days cooked meat and wine are offered at the tomb for the benefit of the departed soul. No regular *Sradha* is performed by the members of the caste. On the *Pitra Amawasya* day rice and money are offered to the Brahmans in the names of dead ancestors in general.

Occupation.—The members of the caste are by profession salt workers. The salt manufactured by them is called '*Atupa*.' It is bitter to the taste and generally used by the poorer classes. In the hot season they make salt-petre. Some of them are cultivators and hold lands on different tenures. Now that the manufacture of salt is forbidden, they are engaged as masons and in hewing stones, building

walls and houses and sinking wells and tanks. A few deal in images of Hindu gods and saints made of earth and lime. The poor Gavandis work as day labourers.

Social Status.—The social status of the caste is immediately below the Kapus or Kunbis and other castes occupying the same social rank. They eat the flesh of sheep, deer, hare, pigs, fowl and fish and drink spirituous and intoxicating liquors.

XCIV

VAIDU

Vaidu.—a class of wandering herbalists who derive their name from the Sanskrit *Vaidya* meaning a physician. They are dark in colour, strong and well made and speak a corrupt Marathi abroad and a dialect of Telugu at home. The men wear ochre-coloured clothes including a loin-cloth or a pair of short drawers (*chaddis*), a shoulder cloth, a waist-cloth, and a Maratha shaped turban. The women wear glass bangles on their right wrist, tin bracelets on their left and strings of coral beads round their neck. In other respects the dress of the women resembles that of Maratha women. The habits of the people are very unsettled. They collect herbs and medicinal roots in the forests of Amarabad, Paloncha and other places, and wander from village to village hawking medicines to the villagers, calling out '*Nadi Pariksha Vaidya*' (the pulse feeling doctor) or '*Mander Matra Vaidya*' (the medicine vending doctor). The women also dabble in medicine and affect to cure children's diseases. If they are called into any house, they prescribe some healing drug, or bleed the sick with a conical copper cup. The children play on the '*Nagsur*,' a bamboo flute, and dance through the streets begging alms. Their huts are made of bamboo or grass matting and have the appearance of tents. Vaidus generally use no beasts of burden but carry their huts themselves.

Internal Structure.—Vaidus have the following four subdivisions :—Jingá Bhoi, Koli, Dhangar and Máli, which have reference to the castes from which they were originally recruited. Members of these neither eat together nor intermarry. Each is further broken up into a number of exogamous groups. It is said that Jinga Bhois have only two sections, Maro and Rambaru, and Kolis only Amanchi and Asanna Lod. The derivation of these names is very obscure, nor is any information available regarding other section names,

or the precise form of exogamy practised by the people. It appears that Vaidus habitually transgress the rule of exogamy implied in the recognition of a section name.

Marriage.—Girls are married usually as adults, but infant marriages are not unknown. Their women have a certain reputation for chastity and sexual indiscretions before marriage are said to be rare. When anything of the kind occurs, the woman is turned out of the caste. Polygamy is allowed, but is rarely resorted to owing to the poverty of the caste.

At Madhi, in Ahmednagar District, a great fair is held in honour of Kanhoba on the fifth of the light half of Falgun (March). All Vaidus meet at this festival and advantage is taken of this occasion to settle marriages. The preliminary negotiations are opened by the father of the bridegroom and, if his offer is accepted, he presents the bride with one rupee for the purchase of oil and distributes betel leaves and areca nuts among those present. After this ceremony the match cannot be broken on pain of loss of caste. Vaidus do not employ Brahmins nor have they any special priests of their own. The marriage ceremony is therefore very simple and takes place at the bride's house. The bridal pair are seated, side by side, on a mat, the bride to the left of the bridegroom, and an elderly person of the bride's family ties their garments in a knot. A garland of flowers is put round the bridegroom's neck and the bride's cheeks are smeared with turmeric paste and her forehead, with vermilion. A feast to caste people at the expense of the bride's parents concludes the ceremony. Widows are allowed to marry again, but divorce is unknown and a woman, taken in adultery, is simply turned out of the house and remains either with her lover or with her parents.

Religion.—The religion of the Vaidus presents no features of special interest. Their special deities are Venkoba of Giri, Tirupati in North Arcot, or Chatarsingaji of Poona. They offer goats to Mari Ai (cholera goddess) and Sitala (goddess of smallpox), when those epidemics prevail, and afterwards eat the offerings. Brahmins are not employed either for religious or ceremonial purposes.

Disposal of the Dead.—Vaidus bury their dead in a sitting posture facing the north. After death the body is placed in a sling

hung from the middle of a pole which is carried to the burial ground by two men on their shoulders. On arrival the corpse is laid in the grave, which is filled with salt and earth. Ambil, or rice gruel, is boiled on the spot, a portion is offered to the soul of the deceased and the rest is partaken of by the funeral party. No impurity is observed nor *shradha* performed; but on the 12th or 13th day after death the caste people are feasted in the name of the deceased.

Social Status.—The social status of Vaidus is very low and no one, except a member of the lowest unclean classes of Mhars and Mangs, will take food from their hands. They eat all flesh except beef and pork and drink fermented and spirituous liquors. They will eat jackal and porcupine, but not the flesh of a she goat, which they regard as their mother-in-law. Their touch is regarded ceremonially unclean and they are not allowed to draw water from village wells.

Occupation.—The Vaidus sell medicinal drugs to villagers and profess to cure their ailments. They also beg alms from door to door and eke out their limited means by hunting small and large game. They never work as labourers or domestic servants.

The Vaidus are bound together by a strong caste feeling and settle social disputes at meetings of the castemen under their headman or Patil, who resides in these dominions and goes every year to meet them at Madhi during Phalgun (March). Breaches of social rules are condoned by caste feasts, or fines which generally take the form of caste feasts. The decisions of the Patil are final and no one but he is allowed to meddle with caste matters. It is said that Vaidus who keep a grind stone (*jate*) or patched quilts (*godhadis*) in the house, are expelled from the community.

Vanjári—carriers, cultivators, cart-drivers and labourers, found scattered almost all over the dominions.

History.—In the districts of Parbhani and Bhir, where they muster strong, they have a tradition that they came from the north about three hundred years ago. They are believed to be descended from the migratory tribes who, under the general name Banjárás, carried grain, tobacco, &c., on pack bullocks, from market to market, and from the interior to the sea-shore, whence they brought back salt to inland towns. They probably came into the Deccan with the forces of the Moghul Generals, by whom they were engaged to carry provisions and supply the armies with corn and fodder. Owing to the opening of cart roads and railways, their occupation as grain carriers has suffered during the last seventy years and although a few of the Vanjáis still follow their original calling, the bulk have settled down as peaceful cultivators and are now hardly distinguishable from the local Kunbis. Their early settlements in the Deccan were probably the highlands of the Bálágháts, whence colonies appear to have spread over the low lying plain as far east as the District of Warangal.

The word Vanjári is only a variant of the Hindi Banjárá (Sanskrit, Ban—forest, char—to wander), the Hindi 'ba' being changed into the Marathi 'wa' as in the cases of the Hindi 'Bana' into Marathi 'Wana,' Baidya into 'Vaidya,' 'Banía' into 'Wáni' and so on. The Vanjáis, however, resent this origin and claim to be a branch of the Maráthi Kunbis. Their striving after social distinction has not yet proved successful, as they are still looked down upon by the Maratha Kunbis.

Origin.—Regarding their origin Mr. Kitts, (the Berar Census Report, 1881), says :—"The Vanjáis claim to be of Maráthá origin.

They are a race of Kshatriya origin, belonging to the east of India, and mentioned by Manu as among those who, by the omission of holy rites and neglect to see Brahmins, had gradually sunk to the lowest of the four classes. They assert that, with other castes, they were allies of Parshurám, when he ravaged the Harihayás and the Vindhya mountains, and that the task of guarding the Vindhya passes was entrusted to them. From their prowess in keeping down the beasts of prey which infested the ravines under their charge, they became known as the 'Vanya Shatru,' subsequently contracted into Vanjári." To confound them with the Banjárá carrier castes, whose name 'Vancharu' means 'forest wanderers' is to give them great offence. In religion they are often Bhágwatás. They practise early marriage and in nearly every point resemble Kunbis. The caste is, in the main, agricultural."

The ingenuity displayed in deriving the name Vanjári from 'Vanájári' (*Vanaja*—wild beasts and *Ari*—enemy or destroyer), or Vanya Shatru is remarkable, but fails to explain satisfactorily the connection of the caste with the Maráthás. Their legend also throws no light upon their origin and is apparently devised to raise the caste in social estimation.

Internal Structure.—The Vanjáris of the Hyderabad Territory are divided into two sub-castes: (1) Ládjin Vanjári and (2) Ráojin Vanjári, the members of which eat together but do not intermarry.

The Lad Vanjáris, like the other Lad castes of the Dominions, probably hail from 'Lat' the ancient name of the southern Gujarath, which included Broach, Ujjain and Nasik. How wealthy and opulent these people were and how extensive was the trade they carried in their palmy days will be perceived from the following quotation. (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI):—

"The Vanjari story of the great Durga Devi Famine, which lasted from 1396 to 1407, is that it was named from Durga, a Lad Vanjari woman, who had amassed great wealth and owned a million pack bullocks which she used in bringing grain from Nepal, Burmah and China. She distributed the grain among the starving people and gained the honourable title of 'Mother of the world,'

‘*Jagachi Mata.*’ With the construction of the Railways and the increased use of carts these nomadic trade guilds broke down and the Lad Vanjaris settled as cultivators on the soil of the Deccan.”

The Lads are chiefly found in Aurangabad and Parbhani Districts. Ráojin Vanjaris are found in the districts of Bhir and Nander. The derivation of their name is uncertain, nor have the members of this sub-caste any traditions which will give a clue to their origin or to the period of their immigration. In physical appearance the members of both the sub-castes resemble each other and differ little from the Maratha Kunbis, to whose manners, customs and usages they now mostly conform. A portion of the Ráojin Vanjáis have migrated to, and settled in, the Telugu Districts of Indur, Warangal and Nalgundah and though they have adopted the local customs, manners and language, they have still preserved their Maratha names (with the affix, ‘ji’ as, Rámaji, Vyankoji, &c.), and Maratha sur-names and the worship of the Maratha deities. There are indications, however, that these new settlers, like brethren in the Maráthawadá, are fast losing their tribal identity and, in a generation or two, will be entirely absorbed in the mass of the people by whom they are surrounded.

Each of the sub-castes, above referred to, is further subdivided into two endogamous groups, Baramásis and Akarmásis, the latter being composed of the illegitimate descendants of the former. Intermarriages and community of food are prohibited between these two classes.

The Vanjáis profess to have twelve gotras, each of which is again sub-divided into four sub-septs or family groups.

The *gotras* with sur-names attached to each are given below :—

<i>Gotra.</i>		<i>Sur-names.</i>
Atma Rishi	...	Dhátراك, Parad, Pindike, Ranmále.
Rangu Rishi	...	Hamandi, Naváthe, Mole, Dahithe.
Bagama Rishi	...	Kanganti, Apale, Kanare, Korde.
Vashistha Rishi	...	Kále, Kole, Sánkale, Tidke.
Kásypa Rishi	...	Karipe, Náik, Lálgotte, Bharashanker.
Katipa Rishi	...	Korike, Rangte, Ramanwi, Sángle.
Amba Rishi	...	Lavánge, Bodke, Pandarbate, Avade.

<i>Gotra.</i>	<i>Sur-names.</i>
Kambalana Rishi ...	Yamike, Porukanē, Butte, Kakide.
Kapila Rishi ...	Kapkaru, Katolu, Yelmāmole, Sonthē.
Ekamahā Rishi ...	Varāde, Nimāde, Rāvooth, Saklāñi.
Kapi Rishi ...	Salvi, Badange, Yavale, Multādge.
Vishwāmītra Rishi ...	Kahāle, Karāle.

The *gotra* system is peculiar to the Vanjāris and serves to distinguish them from the Maratha Kunbis. It is still observed in the Telugu Districts, but in Marathawāda it is falling into disuse and giving way to the exogamous sections based upon family names. Thus with the Maratha Vanjāris the *gotras* are exogamous only in theory for, in actual life, families bearing the same sur-name are debarred from intermarriages. The fifty family names (*kulis*), which comprised the early exogamy of the Vanjāris, have been, of late, developed into numerous others, a list of some being attached to this article. This development probably deranged the *gotra* system and was, no doubt, due to the multiplication of the original families and their consequent distribution over a wider range of country. The Vanjāri sur-names, with a few exceptions, have evidently been borrowed from the Maratha Kunbis. These facts clearly mark the stage of transition through which the Vanjāris are rapidly passing, so that in course of time they will be so completely welded with the Maratha Kunbis as to obliterate all traces that distinguish the two races from one another.

A man must marry within his sub-caste, but cannot marry within his section. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or a father's sister's daughter is not allowed. It may be allowed with the daughter of a maternal uncle. A man may marry two sisters, but two brothers cannot marry two sisters. Adoption is practised, in which case the adopted boy must belong to the same section as his adoptive father. Subsequent to his adoption the boy is not allowed to marry in the sections of both families.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are in force. Sexual indiscretions before marriage are not tolerated and should an unmarried girl become pregnant she is turned out of the caste.

Polygamy is permitted theoretically to any extent.

The negotiations towards marriage are opened by the father of the boy and if the results are satisfactory an astrologer is requested to compare the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom and to see if the proposed match will be auspicious and happy. On an auspicious day the betrothal of *Kunḡu Lavane* ceremony is performed at the girl's house, when the gods Ganesh and Varuna are worshipped, clothes and cocoanut pieces are presented to the girl and a mark is made, with *kunḡum*, upon her forehead. The same ceremony having been gone through at the boy's house, a date is fixed for the celebration of marriage and invitations are sent to kinsmen and friends. A few days before the wedding, *Bir Kárya* is solemnised. Deceased ancestors, represented by embossed plates, are placed in a *doli* (a sort of litter) and carried to the Maruti's temple, the procession being headed by a man dancing fantastically and flourishing naked swords. To the god Máruti are offered two pounds of cooked rice, the offering being thrown by handfuls on either side of the way as the procession returns home. The ancestors are restored to their seats and caste people are feasted in honour of the occasion. Generally, between one and five days before marriage, the bride and the bridegroom and their parents are smeared with turmeric and oil. Among the Vanjaris the wedding precedes *Devaka Kárya*, or the enshrinement of the marriage guardian deity, which is represented by *Páñch Pallavi*, or the leaves of five trees, viz., the Mango (*Magnifera indica*), *Jámbul* (*Eugenia jambolana*), *Umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *Saundad* (*Prosopis spicigera*) and *Rui* (*Calotropis gigantea*). A married couple, related to the bride or bridegroom, have the skirts of their garments fastened in a knot and are taken under a canopy of cloth to the Maruti's temple. The woman bears in her hand a bamboo basket containing a winnowing fan, uncooked articles of food and a wheat cake coloured with turmeric, while her husband holds a rope and an axe. At the temple, the pair are received by the *Gurava*, or the god's priest, who takes the god's offering contained in the basket and ties the *Panch Pallavis* with the rope to the axe. This done the party return home and fasten the sacred twigs to the wedding post. On this day the couple bringing the *Devaka* are required to observe a fast.

On the wedding day the marriage procession is formed at the house of the bridegroom who is conducted to the house of the bride. There, under the wedding canopy, the betrothed pair are made to stand face to face on bullock saddles and a curtain is held between them by the family priest. After the recital of auspicious mantras, the priest weds the couple by throwing grains of rice over their heads. This is followed, on the removal of the curtain, by the *Kanyadán* ceremony, or the presentation of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of the gift. The bridegroom then puts the *mangalsutra* round the bride's neck and the priest fastens *kanṅanams*, or thread bracelets, on their wrists. Here a singular ceremony is performed. A washerwoman sprinkles oil over the wedded couple with betel leaves tied to an arrow. She afterwards dips two areca nuts into water, bores a hole into each and binds them, each with a woman's hair, on the right arm of the bride and the bridegroom respectively. The newly wedded pair are next seated on the earthen platform built under the canopy and throw clarified butter into the sacred fire (*Homa*) kindled by the priest. After this they are presented with clothes and coins by the assembled guests. With the corners of their clothes knotted together, the young couple then pass round, make obeisance to the family gods and elderly relatives and finally bow to the bride's mother who unties the knot of their garments. On the performance of the *zál* ceremony, at which the bride is entrusted to the care of the bridegroom's parents, the bridal pair are seated on horseback and taken in procession, first to the Hanuman's temple and thence to the bridegroom's house. A grand feast to the caste people terminates the proceedings.

The Telugu Vanjāris marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and twelve. They allow their girls to cohabit prematurely, a practice which is not tolerated by the Maratha Vanjāris. Their marriage ceremony is modelled after the fashion of the Telugu castes and comprises :—

The worship of patron deities and deceased ancestors; *Prathānam*, *Kottanam*, *Airani Kundalu*, *Mailāpolu*, *Lagnam*, *Kanyádán*, *Pádghattanam*, *Jilṅkar Bellam*, *Kanṅanam*, *Talwál*, *Brahmāmodi*, *Báshingam*, *Nágvelly*, *Pánpu*, &c. All these cere-

monies have been fully described in an article on the Kápus. At the performance of the *Nágvelly* ceremony goats are sacrificed and caste people are feasted. No *pusti* is worn by the Telugu Vanjáris females who, it is alleged, were deprived of it by *Wayu*, the god who presides over air.

Widow-Marriage.—Widow-marriage is permitted, the widow being expected not to marry any member of her late husband's family. She is also not to marry a bachelor unless he is previously wedded to a *Rui* plant. The ritual used at a widow marriage (*Mohtar*) is very simple. On a dark night the widow and her proposed husband are seated side by side with their clothes knotted by a Brahman. Five areca nuts are placed on a wooden stool in front of them and on the bridegroom pushing them away, with the end of a sword, from off the stool the pair become husband and wife.

Divorce.—Divorce is allowed on the ground of the wife's adultery, or if the couple cannot live in harmony. It is effected by the expulsion of the adulterous woman in the presence of the caste *Pancháyat*.

Inheritance.—The Vanjáris follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

Religion.—The Vanjáris worship all the Hindu divinities but special reverence is done by them to their patron deity Khandoba of Jejuri, in whose honour a Gondhal dance is performed after the completion of a marriage. Other deities, Bhavani of Tuljapur and Mahur, Bhairoba, Mhasoba, Mari Ai, are also honoured with a variety of offerings. They observe all the Hindu festivals principally *Akshatritiya* in Vaishakha (May), *Nagapanchami* in Shravana (August), *Dassera* in Aswin (October) and *Shimga* in Falgun (March). Their priests are Deshastha Brahmans and their *Gurus*, or spiritual guides, are Gosavis.

The Telugu Vanjáris are Vibhutidharis and the followers of Aradhi Brahmans. (A few of them have been converted to Lingayitism and conduct their religious observances under the guidance of Jangams, the Lingayit priests). They appease Pochamma, Ellama and other minor gods of Telingana with offerings of fowls, goats and sweetmeat; but the cult of Khandoba and the worship of deceased

- ancestors, which are characteristics of Maratha Vanjaris, still prevail among them and play a prominent part in their religion.

Funeral Ceremonies.—Vanjaris usually bury their dead. Cremation is also resorted to and is becoming more general. Children and persons dying of accident are buried. A male corpse is borne to the cemetery in white and a female in green clothes. On the 10th day after death the chief mourner shaves his moustaches, offers rice balls for the benefit of the deceased and provides a funeral feast for the caste people. On the 13th day he is required to feed a Gosavi. The Lingayit Vanjaris bury their dead in a sitting posture with legs folded and with a Lingam placed in the hands. The manes of ancestors are propitiated on the 3rd day of the light half of Vaishakha (May) and on the *Pitra Amavasya* day (middle of September).

Social Status.—The social status of Vanjaris is nearly as high as that of Maratha Kunbis and Telugu Kapus, from whose hands they eat cooked food. In respect of diet they eat mutton, fowl, fish, deer, hare and indulge in strong drinks. They abstain from pork, deeming the pig the most unclean of animals. They do not eat carrion or the leavings of other people.

Occupation.—Originally grain carriers and cattle merchants, most of the Vanjaris have now taken to cultivation, and hold lands on permanent and other tenures. They are patels of villages, but a few have risen to the status of zamindars or landlords. The poorer members of the caste are personal servants, cart-drivers and landless day labourers. A few still cling to their original occupation as carriers of grain and cattle merchants and rear bullocks and sell them at a profit in distant markets. The Vanjaris have caste *Pancháyats* to whom social disputes and caste quarrels are referred for settlement. The decisions of these bodies are enforced on pain of loss of caste. The members of the caste do not wear the sacred thread.

XCVI

VELMA

(Titles : Dhora (master), Ayya, Anna, Raolu, Rahida,
Naidu, Naik.)

• Velmá, Yelmá—a land-holding and cultivating caste, many of whom are also traders, cotton-dealers, dyers and weavers. They are said to have once borne a very high character as soldiers and filled the armies of the kings of Warangal and Vijayanagar and when those great kingdoms fell, the disbanded soldiers appear to have taken to different occupations. Those who acquired fame and renown and were rewarded with permanent jagir estates settled down as Zamindars, and have been known as Racha Velmas; those who became traders and cotton dealers have been called Eko Velmas; while others who took to weaving and dyeing, have been designated Gune Velmas.

Origin.—Little is known regarding the origin of the caste. The word Velma is supposed to be derived from *Velli Male* which means 'Hillbred' and probably has reference either to their original habitat or to their ancient occupation as sentinels of hill forts. The word is also derived from *Velli Mala*, the two together meaning 'sprung from Mala (Dher)!' This derivation, so highly derogatory to the Velmas, is due to a somewhat amazing custom, long in use, by which some Velma families cannot celebrate a marriage without first paying the cost of a Mala wedding.

Tradition says that the Velmas were a ruling race of Kshatriyas who once held sway over the country lying north of the Nerbada river. Being vanquished by a mightier people, and expelled from their possessions, seventy-seven of them crossed the river Nerbada and came over to Warangal. Their fine physique and com-

manding features attracted the attention of the Raja Pratap Rudra of Warangal (1162 A. D.) who at once conferred on them the command of seventy-seven forts in his kingdom.

The Velmas explain the loss of the sacred thread, which it is the proud privilege of the higher castes alone to wear, by resorting to a legend. They say that after the great disaster, while they were crossing the river Narbada, the waters began suddenly to swell; the fugitives, in their great distress, appealed to the river goddess for help, making a vow at the same time that should they safely reach the other bank they would offer her their sacred threads. The floods subsided in a moment; but by this act the Velmas lost their social status, as the local Brahmins declined to perform any religious ceremonies at their houses on account of their loss of the sacred thread. The Velmas accordingly appealed to the king, who interceded on their behalf and offered large sums of money to the Brahmins if they would administer to the spiritual needs of the Velmas. The cupidity of some poor Brahmins was aroused at the sight of gold and, in spite of the social disgrace that awaited them, as a consequence, they undertook to officiate at all the religious ceremonies of the Velmas, but being degraded from the sacred order of Brahmins for their unworthy action, they had to form themselves into a separate community under the name of Bhat-raj, or Bhat Murti. Since their degradation they have been content with earning their livelihood by begging alms from Velmas, Kapus and other cultivating classes. The Velmas, the legend further says, freely intermarried into the Kapu castes and thus became the progenitors of the modern Velmas or Yelmas.

Divested of its mythical character, the legend suggests the following facts :—

- (1) That the Velmas are a people not indigenous to the tracts where they are found at the present day.
- (2) That they came from the country north of the Narbada river.
- (3) That they came during the reign of the Raja Pratap Rudra.
- (4) That they brought with them no women and had to take wives from the local Kapus.

No historical evidence is, however, available, to affiliate the

Velmas to any of the castes of Northern India; nor is any authentic record known to exist of their immigration into the country of the Telangas. On the other hand, their tall muscular frame, fair complexion and fine features readily distinguish them from the surrounding mass of the dark skinned Dravidians and seem to bear out their claims to a Kshatriya origin. If the theory of their foreign origin is tenable, there can be no great difficulty in accounting for the close resemblance of their customs and usages with those of the Kapu castes; for the Velmas, coming without women, were compelled to take to themselves the Dravidian daughters which led, as a matter of course, to their adoption of the local customs and manners and to their gradual absorption into the indigenous population.

Internal Structure.—Some of the sub-castes into which the Velmas are divided are given below :—

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Racha Velma. | (4) Eko Velma. |
| (2) Tarkasati Velma. | (5) Gune Velma. |
| (3) Shikhamani Velma. | (6) Naik Velma. |

The first three, Racha, Tarkasati and Shikhamani, are different local names of one and the same sub-caste, Racha Velma. The Rachas are a highly respectable class; their females observe the Gosha; widow marriage is not allowed nor divorce recognised; they are hypergamous to the Eko Velmas, whose girls they take in marriage but to whom they do not give their own maidens in return. Several of the leading Velma Zamindars are the members of this sub-caste. The Eko Velmas deal in cotton, from which they derive their name. The Gune Velmas are weavers and dyers and take their name from the large pots into which they dip the cloth to be dyed. The members of this sub-caste are educated and have consequently greatly risen in social status. The Naik Velmas, on the other hand, are still primitive in their habits and make their living by hunting and snaring small game and birds. Their huts are made of grass and bamboo wattles. But for their names, the members of this sub-caste have nothing in common with the great Velma people.

The Velmas are said to have seventy-seven *gotras*, or exogamous groups, the number curiously corresponding with that of the first

emigrants of the community. A few of these *gotras* are noticed below :—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Arelli. | (5) Anagdalū. |
| (2) Podanollu. | (6) Kunapalli (tiger cub). |
| (3) Mudanollu. | (7) Miriya. |
| (4) Paspunollu. | (8) Cheshalla. |

These sections, which are of the totemistic type, are common to this caste and to the Kapus. Each of these sectional groups is sub-divided into families, *Vanshams*, which have, however, no bearing upon the regulation of marriages. Those of the Velmas, who migrated to the Marathawada Districts, have adopted local customs and usages and have so assimilated themselves with the Marathawada Kunbis that even their exogamous sections are either entirely those of, or fashioned on the model of, the sections of the Maratha Kunbis. The following section names are given as a specimen :—

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| (1) Handge. | (6) Karande. |
| (2) Gonale. | (7) Rachmide. |
| (3) Kasale. | (8) Patange. |
| (4) Nalwe. | (9) Akargire. |
| (5) Jamale. | (10) Balgire. |

(11) Yajne.

The Maratha Velmas have now formed themselves into an independent community and have broken off all connection, either by intermarriage or by interdining, with the parent caste.

Marriage.—The form of exogamy practised by the caste is the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept. Outside this, the prohibited relationship is reckoned by the law common among the other Telugu castes. The girls are married both as infants and as adults between the ages of seven and twenty years. Sexual

gamy is unlimited theoretically but limited in practice to two wives only. The girls are said to be dedicated to gods in fulfilment of vows and are, therefore, called *Joginis*.

The marriage ceremony does not differ materially from that in vogue among the *Kapus*. At the wedding, and on the occasion of going round the *Polu*, the Velma bridegroom holds in his hands *Banak*, the characteristic dagger of his caste. It is also said that in the case of the bridegroom being unavoidably absent, the dagger is regarded as his proxy and the girl is wedded to it, the marriage being afterwards regarded as irrevocable. One usage, however, deserves special notice. In the marriage ceremonies of a Velma, the members of the *Rachadlu* family claim special privileges. Before a wedding a *Rachadlu* couple are invited and after being fed are presented with new clothes and their permission for the performance of the ceremony is solicited and obtained. The Maratha Velmas invite *Wagh*es and *Murlis* at the commencement of the marriage ceremony, and feed them.

Widow-Marriage.—Widow marriage, which prevails among the *Naik* and the Maratha Velmas, is not allowed by the *Racha*, *Tarkasati* and *Shikhamani* Velmas. Amongst the former the widows are married by meagre rites. On the day when the match is settled the widow is presented with new bangles, a *sari* and a *choli* (bodice). On the wedding night the bridegroom ties a *pusti* round the neck of the bride in the presence of an assembly of widows. The garments of the bridal pair are then fastened in a knot, which forms the binding or essential portion of the ceremony.

Divorce.—Divorce is only recognised by such sub-castes as admit the remarriage of widows. The divorced woman is simply turned out of the house in the presence of the caste people.

Religion.—The religion of the Velmas offers no points of special interest. They are either *Tirmanidharis* or *Vibhutidharis*, acknowledging *Shri Vaishanava* or *Aradhi Brahmins* as their spiritual guides respectively. Their patron deity is *Narsinha Swami*, worshipped at the commencement of the marriage ceremony. Minor deities also receive due homage. Brahmins are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes. The adult dead are burnt. Children below ten years of age and persons dying of cholera and small-pox are

buried. The *Sradha* ceremony is performed on the 11th day after death.

Occupation and Social Status.—The Velmas claim the profession of arms as their original occupation. They have now taken to agriculture and hold lands as tenants or sub-tenants. Many of them are agricultural day-labourers. A few are large land-holders and have risen to the importance of Patel, Jamedars and Jagirdars.

In point of social standing the Velmas rank with Kapus, Munnurs, &c., the Racha Velmas rank higher than Eko or Naik Velmas.

XCVII

VIRAMUSHTI

Viramushti, Virabhát, Bhádrapad—a low caste of Telugu beggars who accept charity from the Komati and Baliya communities only. They are mostly to be found in the Districts of Nalgunda, Warangal, Karimnagar and Atráf-i-Balda. Once a year they go on their begging excursions, visiting places where Komatis and Baliyas have settled to trade.

Origin.—The word Viramushti is derived from Sanskrit *Vir* warrior and *Mushti* fist, and is said to refer to the proficiency of their ancestors in boxing. Traditions, current among the caste, trace their origin to the soldiers of fortune who served the Rajput king Vishnu Vardhana, who ruled at Rajmahendri (11th century A. D.). The legend says that when Vishnu Vardhana was marching into the town of Penugundspattan to seize the beautiful daughter of Kusumashetti, these soldiers, at the earnest entreaty of the girl, delayed his entry and gave her relatives time to throw her on the funeral pyre and thus save her honour. Since that time the Komatis in gratitude have helped this caste. According to another legend, Viramushtis represent themselves as having sprung from the drops of perspiration which fell from the body of Virabhadra, when he destroyed the sacrifice of Daksha. Virabhadra was created by Siva from his *Jhatá*, or pubes, which he dashed on the ground in a moment of frenzy, on learning that Sati, his wife and Daksha's daughter, had burnt herself in Daksha's sacrificial fire.

Internal Structure.—The Viramushti caste has no sub-divisions. They profess to have three *gotras* (1) Virbhadra, (2) Dikshákula, (3) Vibhuti Pindala Gotra, which, however, appear to have no bearing upon their matrimonial relations. Their intermarriages are governed by surnames which are very numerous. A few of these

are given below:—

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) Mankalidaru. | (11) Kashamwaru. |
| (2) Miryaladaru. | (12) Kandkoriwaru. |
| (3) Katawaru. | (13) Davalaru. |
| (4) Rawalaru. | (14) Sarangawaru. |
| (5) Pusampattiwaru. | (15) Chivawaru. |
| (6) Bamalaru. | (16) Agolaru. |
| (7) Chikondala. | (17) Matapalliwaru. |
| (8) Gomalapuramwaru. | (18) Bontapalliwaru. |
| (9) Monalaru. | (19) Malloriwaru. |
| (10) Gondakirawaru. | (20) Pinaliwandlu. |

Most of the sections are of the territorial type: The rule of exogamy is carefully observed. A man is allowed to marry his elder sister's daughter. He may also marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or paternal aunt, but on no account the daughter of his maternal aunt. Two sisters may be married to the same man at the same time, or successively.

Marriage.—Viramushtis marry their daughters before they have attained the age of puberty, but adult marriages occasionally take place if the girl's parents are too poor to arrange her marriage before puberty. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated, and if a woman goes wrong with a man of her own caste, her seducer is compelled to pay a fine to the caste people and take her as his wife. If he is already married, and declines to fulfil his obligations towards her, he is required to maintain her until she finds some one in the caste who would marry her by the rite of *Marmanna*. Polygamy is permitted theoretically to any extent; but is practically limited to four wives at a time.

After the preliminary negotiations have been concluded, and the horoscopes of the couple have been found to tally, an auspicious day is fixed for the celebration of the wedding. A marriage pandal of six pillars is erected before the bride's house and another before that of the bridegroom. The ceremonies of *Prathanam Yadurukodlu*, *Kotnam* and *Ravireni* follow and need no separate description, as they closely correspond with those of the other Telugu castes. In the *Mylapolu* the pair are bathed and seated in the centre of a square

formed of unhusked rice, having at its four corners four water pots encircled five times with cotton thread. The next ceremony is *Mutyalpolu* which resembles *Myalapolu*, except that the bridal pair, seated inside, are made to worship their tutelary deity, Virabhadra. After *Jiragudam*, *Kankanam* and *Padghattanam* have been performed, as is customary among the other Telugu castes, the *pusti*, or the auspicious necklace is tied round the bride's neck and *mettallu* are put on her toes. Then comes *Kanyadan*, or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom by her parents, which constitutes the essential portion of the ceremony. Under *Pota*, the caste people are entertained at a feast, while under *Tota*, the bridal pair are entertained at a garden party and subsequently carried in procession to the temple of the village Hanuman. On the *Nagvelly* day, the bridegroom is handed a sword, and the couple walk three times round twenty-one leaf plates arranged circularly, each containing a heap of cooked rice with a dough lamp on its top. A Brahmin usually officiates as priest at the ceremony, but failing one a Jangam's services are engaged for the purpose.

Widow-Marriage.—Widows are allowed to marry again by the Marmannu ritual. This ceremony takes place at night. The bridegroom visits the bride's house, presents her with *sari*, *choli* and bangles and brings her with him to his house. Next day a feast is given to relatives and friends.

Divorce.—Divorce is recognised and effected, with the sanction of the caste *panchayat*, by tying a rupee in the woman's garment and expelling her from the house. Divorced wives may marry again within the caste by the same rite as widows. A woman, taken in adultery with a member of the caste, is punished with a fine, which goes to provide the caste people with a feast. Adultery with a man of low caste entails expulsion from the caste.

Inheritance.—Viramushtis follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. It is said that, failing male issue, the females are entitled to inherit the property.

Religion.—The religion of the Viramushtis is of the type current among the low Telugu castes and has no features of special interest. They are all Vibhutidharis and acknowledge Aradhi Brahmins as

their *Gurus*. Some of them are converted to Lingāyitism and wear the Lingam on their arms. Their characteristic god is Virabhadra, worshipped every Monday and on *Shivaratri* day (14th of the dark half of Magh corresponding to the middle of March) with a variety of offerings. A fast is also observed in honour of the god. In addition to this the member of the caste revere Pochamma, Mutyalamma, Mari Amma and other minor deities. They have a strong belief in witchcraft and spirits and an Erkala woman is occasionally consulted in cases of sickness or calamity.

Funerals.—The dead are disposed of by burial, being laid in the grave in a sitting posture, but unmarried persons are buried in a lying position. In the former case a *Lingam*, *Vibhuti* (ashes) and “*Bel*” leaves are placed in the hands of the corpse. No mourning is observed nor *śradha* performed; but on the 10th day after death caste people are fed in honour of the deceased. In the dark half of the month of Bhadrapad (September) offerings are made to departed ancestors in general through the agency of Jangams, who are fed and receive presents.

Social Status.—The social rank of the caste is very low and none except the lowest unclean classes will take food from them. It is said that they accept cooked food only from Brahmins, Jangams, Komatis and Baliyas. They eat fish, fowls, pigs (both varieties) and sheep and drink spirituous and fermented liquors.

Occupation.—The Viramushtis believe their original occupation to be begging from Komatis and Baliyas and dealing in balls of *Vibhuti* (holy ashes). They extort alms by beating their bodies, cutting them with a sword and pricking them with needles. They carry, as a badge of their mendicancy, a sword, a needle, an image of Virabhadra and the head of Daksha. At a Komati marriage they claim one rupee from the boy's party and eight annas from the girl's party as their perquisites. Some of the members of the caste have settled down to agriculture and are engaged as farm labourers. Their women are skilful tattooers and make mats of leaves of the wild date (*Phoenix sylvestris*).

After initiation into this order, the Viramushti men are enjoined not to cut the hair of their heads or beards.

XCVIII

WADDAR

Waddar, Ode, Wadu Rajlu, Odewandlu, Kalkola (Carnatic)—wandering navvies and earth workers, found all over the Hyderabad Territory.

Origin.—Tradition ascribes their origin to one Ramudi, the son of a beautiful queen Balanagu and the king Ode Raj of Gulpattan. One day while the queen was standing on the threshold of the door, a Fakir came to solicit alms and was so smitten with the matchless beauty of the queen that he became enamoured of her and carried her off to his dwelling in a mountain cave. The king and his brothers had been out hunting and, on their return when they heard the sad news, they set out in pursuit of the *Fakir*, following the track marked by pearls which the queen had dropped, on the way, from her necklaces. The *Fakir* was a great conjurer and, as he saw the men approaching, he turned them all into stones. Ramudi, then only a baby, was brought up by his aunts and, when he was twelve years old, came accidentally to know of the sad condition to which his parents and uncles had been doomed. The gallant boy resolved to be avenged and making his way, unperceived, to the *Fakir's* den he killed the magician and set his mother free. Learning from her that the Fakir had possessed two enchanted rods, one to petrify human beings and the other to revivify them, he found them out and using the latter, restored his father and uncles to life. Ramudi was married in great pomp and was crowned king by his father. The spirit of mischief seized him, however, and he began to abuse the power of the rods. Every person he met with was turned into stone and with the stones thus formed he commenced the building of a ladder which, he thought, would lead to heaven. As he began to ascend it the great god, in his anger, hurled him down, broke his

adder to pieces, and condemned him and his descendants to the profession of stone cutters and stone-excavators. As regards the uncles who were restored to life by their nephew, it is said that their wives remarried them after twelve years of widowhood during which they had put away their glass bangles and bodices, the emblems of the married life. The women, even after their remarriage, wore glass bangles only on the right arms putting on pewter bracelets on the other, while they discarded bodices altogether. All Waddar females have, as a respect to their memory, followed this example to this day.

The Pangul Waddars of the Nalgunda district claim their descent from one king Masgar who had a hundred sons. The king's horse was missing one day and some of his sons went to heaven in search, while others began a search in the nether world by digging into the earth. These digging operations ruined the tombs of the great Munis and Rishis who, incensed thereby, cursed the offenders, condemning them and their progeny to the occupation of diggers of and workers in earth.

It may be worth while to remark that the scenes of the legends are laid in the Nalgunda District, which may favour the view that the Waddars are indigenous to the Nizam's Territory or at least that a Waddar dynasty ruled somewhere in the Nalgunda District.

Internal Structure.—The caste is divided into eight sub-castes :—

- (1) Chilka or Kasi Waddar.
- (2) Kunda.
- (3) Lagolla.
- (4) Godandala.
- (5) Matti.
- (6) Bandi or Gadi.
- (7) Satarwaru.
- (8) Uppara.

(1) The *Chilkas* claim to be of the highest rank following, as their name suggests, the profession of agriculturists (*Chilka* meaning pickaxe or land). Making mill-stones and digging earth are held in low esteem by the members of the caste and entail social degrada-

tion. They are also employed as day labourers. It is incumbent on the members of the caste that they should wear 'Langotis' (loin cloth) of the 'maltadu' (?) plant.

(2) *Kunda* (stone) and *Bandi* (carts) Waddars are stone quarriers, making mill-stones and selling them.

(3) *Lagolla* Waddars are so called because they wear trousers in the Mohamedan fashion. They work in mud and build walls. Their huts are made of grass and carried from place to place on donkeys.

(4) *Godandala* Waddars are so called because they dig earth with an implement called "*Godali*."

(5) *Matti* Waddars :—Members of this sub-caste are earth diggers and earth-workers. They sink wells and dig tanks. They are reported to be pick-pockets.

The members of the above classes interdine but do not intermarry.

(6) *Satarwaru* and *Upparawaru* Waddars are supposed to be the illegitimate offsprings of the *Kunda* Waddars by prostitutes. They work as masons, and stone cutters. The members of these two classes interdine but do not intermarry and are regarded as degraded by the other sub-castes of Waddars.

In addition to these sub-castes there are two more who follow no definite occupation and are reputed to be inveterate criminals. They are *Sanki* and *Man* Waddars.

The Waddars have got seventy-two exogamous sections and observe a very complicated system of exogamy. The following will serve as an illustration :—

Intermarriage is forbidden between members of the *gotra* under I and of those of *Gotras* under II.

I. *Magdiwaru*—

1. *Konchapuwaru*.
2. *Dandugollawaru*.
3. *Pallapuwaru*.
4. *Alakantuwaru*.
5. *Narawaru*.
6. *Pattawaru*.
7. *Mandiwaru*.

II. Sambhangwaru—

1. Wallepuwaru.
2. Busawaru.
3. Arga Dandalwaru.
4. Battalawaru.
5. Aigottiwaru.
6. Aragottiwaru.
7. Madangottawaru.
8. Challawaru.
9. Mekdallawaru.

III. Dandugolla—

1. Yellapawaru.
2. Konchapuwaru.
3. Nadawaru.
4. Malakuntawaru.
5. Sallawaru.
6. Madgiwaru.

IV. Aursawaru—

1. Danduluwaru.
2. Alakantawaru.
3. Madgiwaru.
4. Mamdiwaru.
5. Pallapuwaru.
6. Konchapuwaru.

V. Alakanta—

1. Pallapuwaru.
2. Dondugollawaru.
3. Kunchappawaru.
4. Narawaru.
5. Pattalawaru.
6. Magdiwaru.

VI. Konchapuwaru—

1. Alakantuwaru.
2. Pandigottiwaru.
3. Dandugollawaru.
4. Bathalawaru.
5. Pallapuwaru.

VII. Makala—

1. Valupugu.
2. Gunji.
3. Sampangi.
4. Argadandulu.
5. Budras.
6. Darangala.

Most of the sections are totemistic, though the totems do not appear to be held in special reverence by the members bearing their names. The rule of exogamy is of the standard type that a man may not marry a woman of his own section or of the sections which come under the prohibited degrees. He may also marry the daughter of his sister.

Marriage.—Both infant and adult marriages are recognised by the caste, but the former is deemed the more respectable and is resorted to by all well-to-do members. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated and if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her lover is required to pay a fine of between Rs. 25 to Rs. 600 and to marry her.

The marriage ceremony takes place on a Saturday after sunset. A bough of *Jasmine* or *Pipal*, planted near *Ravi Reni* vessels, is worshipped. The bridegroom, dagger in hand, goes with his friends to the bride's house, taking with him a pig to furnish the wedding feast. The bride and bridegroom walk five times round a wooden post struck in the ground near the *Jasmine* bough, and the bridegroom ties a necklace of black glass beads round the bride's neck, this last ritual forming the essential part of the ceremony. The bridal pair are then bathed in turmeric water and *kankanam* (thread bracelets) with mango-leaves are fastened on their wrists. The married couple are seated face to face and eat out of the same dish. The proceedings are concluded by a feast given to the assembled guests. Polygamy is permitted. A man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain.

Widow-Marriage and Divorce.—A widow may marry again, but not her deceased husband's brother, the marriage contracts being effected by the payment to the widow of one rupee for the purchase of bangles and toe-rings and eight rupees to her parents. Divorce is per-

mitted and is effected, in the presence of the caste *Panchayat*, by removing the upper garment from the woman's head and driving her out of the house with five rupees tied in her cloth. If the husband claims divorce on the ground that she has committed adultery, he is entitled to receive Rs. 60 from the man whom she afterwards marries. If the husband abandons his wife without sufficient reason being given for his act, the wife claims from him alimony to the amount of Rs. 10. Adultery with a member of a higher caste may be tolerated, but with one of a lower caste is punished with expulsion from the caste.

Inheritance.—In the division of property the eldest son gets an extra share.

Religion.—The Waddars profess to be Hindus and worship Hindu gods and observe Hindu festivals. They are divided as Vibhutidharis and Tirmanidharis, the latter besmearing their foreheads with ashes and the former with streaks of sandal-wood paste.

Their favourite and patron deity is 'Gorappa', worshipped every Thursday with offerings of goats and sweetmeats. Balanagu, Pochamma and Vyankatesh are propitiated on Mondays and Saturdays, when goats and fowls are sacrificed before the deities and partaken of by the worshippers. The females of the household preside at the worship of these animistic deities. On the *Til Sankrant* day (when the sun enters the tropic of Capricorn) a pig is sacrificed and cooked and the pork distributed among all the household members, who are supposed to be blessed thereby. Brahmans are not engaged either for ceremonial or religious purposes. Mohamedan saints and *Pirs* are also duly honoured by the members of the caste:

Disposal of the Dead.—Waddars bury their dead with face downwards and head towards the south. The corpse is washed and being enveloped in a cloth is carried to the burial place. On the third day after death, rice mixed with the flesh of a field rat is cooked and placed on the grave of the deceased as food for crows and other birds. On the 10th day mutton is thrown to the birds, the principal mourner is shaved and a *Matangi* (mala woman) sprinkles water by means of a *nimb* bough (*Azadirachta indica*) on all the mourners who, thereupon, become ceremonially clean. No *shradha* ceremony is performed to propitiate the deceased.

Occupation and Social Status.—The caste regard the excavation of stone from quarries, and working in earth to be their original occupation. They are also engaged in tank digging, well-sinking, road making, making mill-stones, building mud walls, filling tank embankments and in all kinds of out-door labour. A few have taken to agriculture and trading and have secured occupancy rights. The social status of the caste cannot be clearly defined. They are supposed to rank higher than Erkalas and lower than all the castes whose touch is regarded as clean by Brahmans. They eat field rats, pork, fowl, porcupine and carrion and indulge in Ganja and opium and in fermented and spirituous liquors. They eat the leavings of the higher castes. They do not eat kachi from the hands of Mangalas, Dhobis, Panchdayis and Jingars.

Characteristics.—Waddar females, when married, wear pewter bracelets on the right and glass bangles on the left arm. No head ornaments are worn. In their nostrils they wear a peculiar nose-ring called *wadi mukeda*. The wearing of bodices by women and shoes by men is strictly forbidden on pain of social disgrace. The traditional memory of Balanagu's capture has been preserved and a *Fakir* is not given alms. If the sound of a jackal is heard at a night meal, it is at once abandoned. Caste *Panchayat* exists and the decision of the *panch* is thoroughly binding.

