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MYSORE

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SPECIAL STUDY
REPORT ON BHUTA CULT
IN SOUTH KANARA DISTRICT

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OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
DIRECTOR OF CENSUS OPERATIONS
MYSORE

FOREWORD

It has been one of the traditions of the Census Organisation to study and present material regarding social, cultural and economic facets of the population as part of the total census activity. Very authoritative and informative publications have often been brought out by the Census Organisation in the States and in the country almost since the time the census came to be established as a regular feature of administrative activity in the country. In keeping with this tradition, we are happy to present this study on the Bhuta Cult in South Kanara District of Karnataka.

This study was undertaken by Shri K. Sanjiva Prabhu who was till recently a Deputy Director of Census Operations in the State more as a love of labour. At the time I had suggested that Deputy Directors could bring out monographs on subjects of personal interest, he readily agreed to prepare a monograph on this subject and, even after reversion to the State Government after his term in the Census Organisation was over, he continued to enthusiastically carry out field work and research work for the completion of this monograph.

This monograph represents the result of local enquiry and reference to available published material. Shri Sanjiva Prabhu had the assistance of many experts in the preparation of this monograph and I would like to thank them also on behalf of the Census Department.

I need scarcely mention that this monograph is presented as a preliminary study of a fascinating subject. The views expressed herein are those of Shri Sanjiva Prabhu and do not represent the official views of the Census Department.

If the monograph stimulates interest in the subject and results in further expertise being brought to bear on this facet of our culture, the labour of Shri Sanjiva Prabhu would have been more than amply rewarded.

P. PADMANABHA

BANGALORE,
Dated: 4*th Oct.* 1976.

Director of Census Operations
Karnataka

PREFACE

Bhuta worship is quite common in South Kanara District. One commonly comes across a *Bhuta* shrine, a *Naga Bana* with serpent stones and a *Ashwatha Katte* (pipal tree with a platform) in villages. Almost all people, among the Hindus and Jains and some among Christians and Muslims also believe in this cult. In a large number of ancestral households, *Bhuta* has a place of its own in a corner or a separate room of the house. In almost every village, there is some kind of *sthana* for the *Bhuta*. There are *Bhutas* attached to estates and property. There are *Bhutasthanas* for *Bhutas* which are conceived as tutelary *Bhutas* in respect of specific groups of Villages called *Maganes* and *Simes*. The *Bhuta* worship plays a prominent part in social and economic fields of the village life. Agricultural operations are associated with it. No marriage or other religious function takes place without first offering oblations or *puja* to *Bhutas*. On festival occasions too, *Bhutas* are worshipped. *Bhutas* are invoked to ensure a good crop and secure protection for the cattle wealth. *Bhutas* are propitiated to beget children, to appease and commemorate the departed souls and to cure diseases. Lastly, *Bhutas* are invoked to settle disputes in the family or in the village. Thus, *Bhuta* cult pervades the various fields of day-to-day life of the village rustic in this coastal district of Mysore State (Karnataka).

In the propitiation of *Bhutas* almost all the castes in the village are actively involved and there are functionaries who get into a trance or get 'possessed' and speak as oracles, thus personifying the *Bhutas*. These impersonators, in a state of trance, provide solutions to the problems submitted to the *Bhuta* by the votaries.

In the District Gazetteer of South Kanara District compiled in the 1890s by J. Sturrock, I.C.S., this cult

is referred to in passing and is treated as demonolatry. Somewhat earlier to the compilation of the Gazetteer, Rev. A. Manner, a German Missionary at Mangalore had taken pains to collect and print a few *Pad-danas* in Kannada script. (*Pad-danas* are Tulu folk-songs sung at the time of *Bhuta* worship when the impersonator gets into trance). His object to get these printed was to circulate them amongst the missionaries to enable them to understand the religious beliefs of the natives (*i.e.* Indians) and to provide the missionaries with the necessary material to preach the 'hollowness' of this belief and entice them to embrace Christianity.

Belonging to the coastal district, as I am, and finding that the *Bhuta* worship is widely popular in towns and villages, this cult having contributed not a little to several aspects of socio-economic and socio-cultural activity of the rural society, I thought it worthwhile to collect and compile the customs, manners, beliefs and rituals relating to this cult. I find that it dominates the life of the lowest rungs and fills the thoughts of the higher strata of society. It appears to have been the pivot round which the primitive society has been built up and it is interesting to note that it continues to animate the beliefs and ideals of the advanced people even to the present day. So, when an offer came from Shri P. Padmanabha, I.A.S., Director of Census Operations in Mysore, Bangalore, that the Divisional Deputy Directors of Census Operations may bring out a monograph on any interesting subject, I offered to bring out one on the *Bhuta* cult as obtaining in South Kanara District. While doing so, I knew my limitations as a lay-man, but at the same time in view of my considerable experience and contacts in the rural parts of the South Kanara gained over a period of 20 years while working in various executive capacities in the district, I was confident of collecting the material. Despite this initial confidence, many a time I wavered when it came to brass-tacks. I should confess here

that it is our Director, Shri P. Padmanabha, I.A.S., who gave me timely encouragement and infused in me the necessary enthusiasm to proceed with the write-up and complete it. But for his encouragement this monograph would not have seen the light of the day. I remain ever grateful to him.

Further, I consider it my foremost duty to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Registrar General, India, for having provided me with an opportunity to offer this humble contribution of mine to the illustrious Census tradition.

I visited many important villages and places of *Bhuta* worship during the course of this investigation in 1972-73 as well as in my executive capacity in the Revenue Department in the past. I prepared my own notes of the places, shrines and festivals. In highlighting the several customs, manners, rituals and ceremonies relating to the *Bhuta* worship, I should say, I have described them as witnessed by me personally or as information gathered by me through informal interviews and discussions with responsible elders of the place. I took particular care to cross-check my notes with several other well-informed persons conversant with *Bhuta* rituals living in different villages. I may however add that I have not hazarded to express any expert opinion or draw any definite conclusions but have largely confined myself to the presentation of facts so that the reader may draw his own conclusions.

In the course of my tours I developed contacts with knowledgeable local persons who not only helped me to obtain relevant information but also encouraged me to write about the subject by asuring me all help and assistance in the matter. The following are the gentlemen, among them, who assisted me greatly in this behalf and guided me and therefore deserve a special mention.

1. Shri K. S. Upadhyaya, Printer and Journalist, Siddartha Press, G.T. Street, Mangalore.
2. Shri Yerea Laxminarayana Alva, Amtady Village. Bantwal Taluk.
3. Shri Amrutha Someshwar, Kannada Vidwan, Vivekananda College, Puttur.
4. Shri M. R. Prabhu, M.A., Lecturer, Canara College, Mangalore.
5. Shri M. M. Prabhu, Mangalore.
6. Dr. P. Gururaja Bhatt, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Principal, Milagres College, Kallianpur, South Kanara and President, Association of Indological Studies (Regd.), South Kanara.
7. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.
8. Shri P. K. Misra, Regional Officer, Anthropological Survey of India, Mysore.

I offer all of them my sincere thanks.

I express my thanks to Shri M. S. Ramachandra, S.T.A., who has taken great pains to go through the text and assist me in drafting this monograph with his personal suggestions.

I am thankful to Shri Amar Singh, Photographer, Social Studies Division, Office of the Registrar General, India, for his valuable services with regard to the photographic coverage of the subject dealt with in this study. Regarding the line drawings I gratefully acknowledge the timely help so gladly offered by Shri K. Chakraborthy, Director, All India Handicrafts Board, Regional Design Centre, Bangalore. Shri K. Vittala Bhandary of the A.I.H.B., Regional Design Centre, Bangalore, Shri H. Vijayendra Rao and Shri S. Raman

both of the Directorate of Census Operations, Mysore, Bangalore are the artists who prepared the line drawings included in this volume and to all of them I offer my thanks.

I avail of this opportunity to thank Shri B. N. Ramamurthy, Director of Printing and Stationery, Government Press, Bangalore for his keen interest in the subject and in the preparation of the blocks. The services of Shri H. R. Keshava Murthy, Senior Technical Assistant (Printing), of the Directorate of Census Operations, Mysore, Bangalore in expediting this publication are also gladly acknowledged.

I wish to place on record my sincere thanks to Shri B. B. Banerjee, Manager, Government of India Press, Coimbatore and to his staff, for the keen interest they have evinced in printing this volume neatly and expeditiously.

K. SANJIVA PRABHU,

MYSORE

Divisional Deputy Director of Census Operations, Mysore

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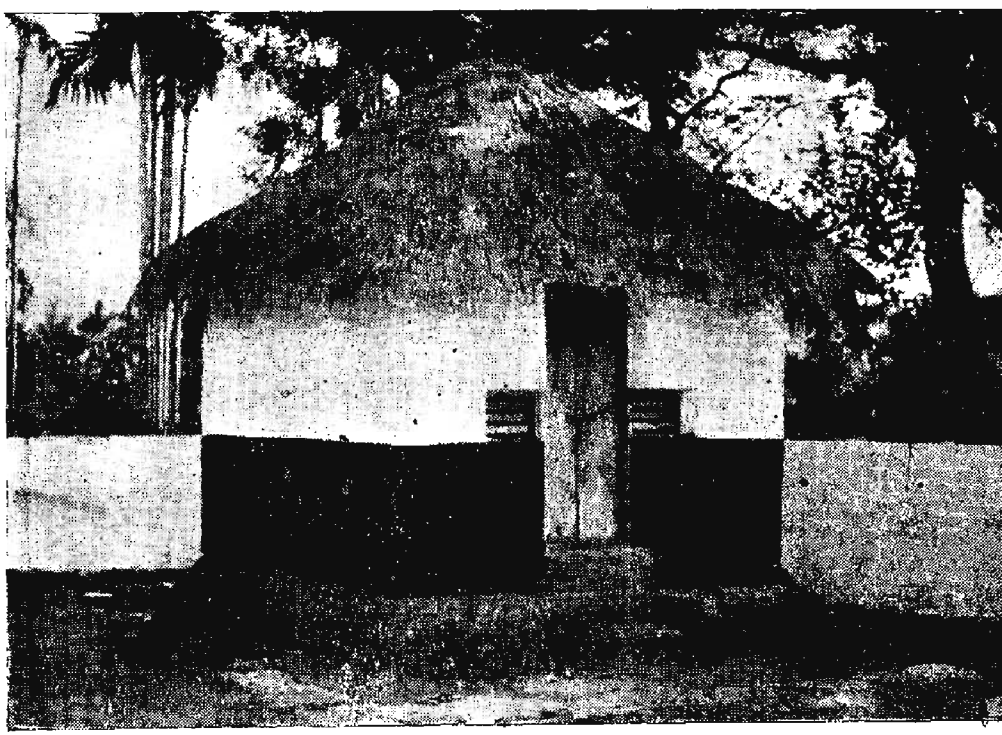
[*Cover: Impersonation of Kodam.ntaya at Narai.i*]

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Plate 1

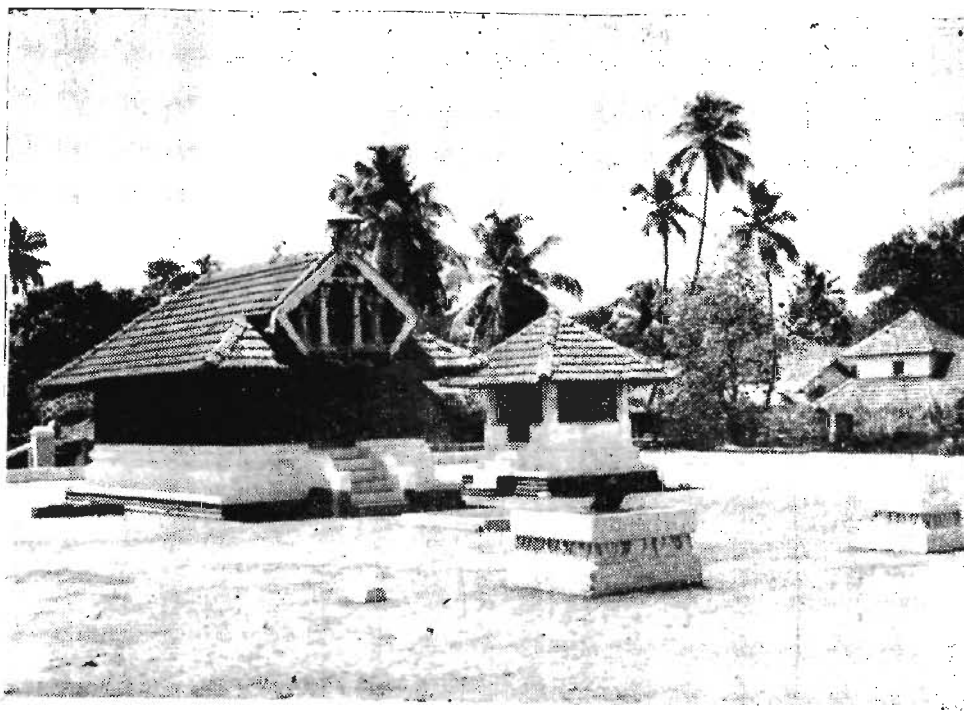


1. A typical *Bhuthasthana* in rural areas of South Kanara. This small, mud-walled and thatched structure at Agaravelu enshrines Panjurli.

Plate 2

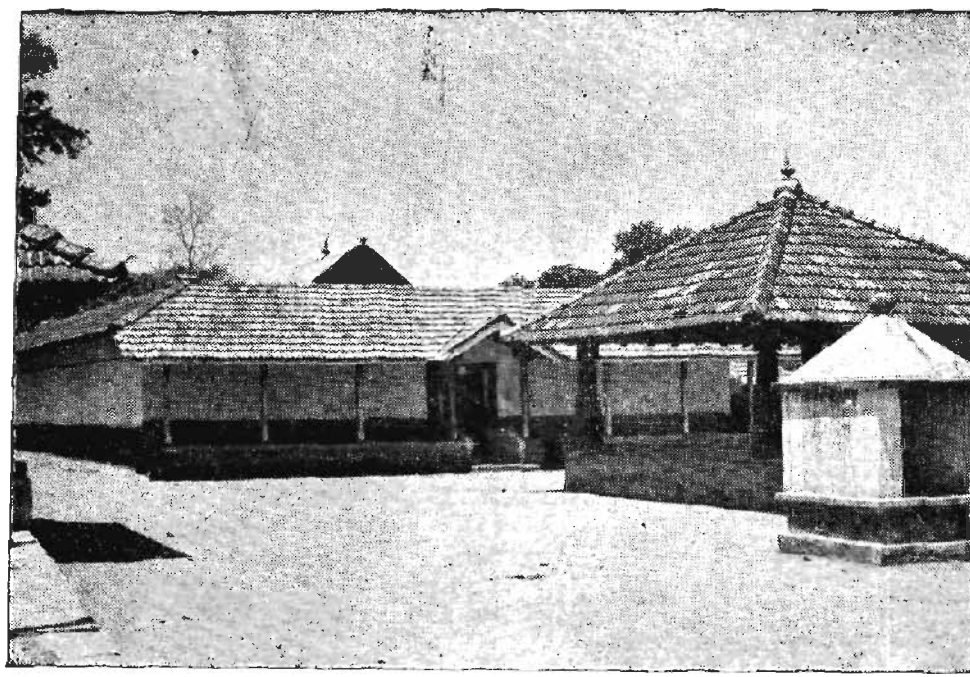


2. Sirigala *Sthana* at Kavatharu. This structure is situated close to the Mahalingeshvara temple and like the latter, has its roof covered with copper sheets.



3. A view of the Bhagavati shrine at the Guthyamma-sthana in Mangalore City. The Malayalam-speaking Tiyans are closely associated with the management of this shrine. This Mangalore-tiled structure has a decorative *Kirtimukha,* an embellishment which is a characteristic feature of Kerala architecture.

Plate 4

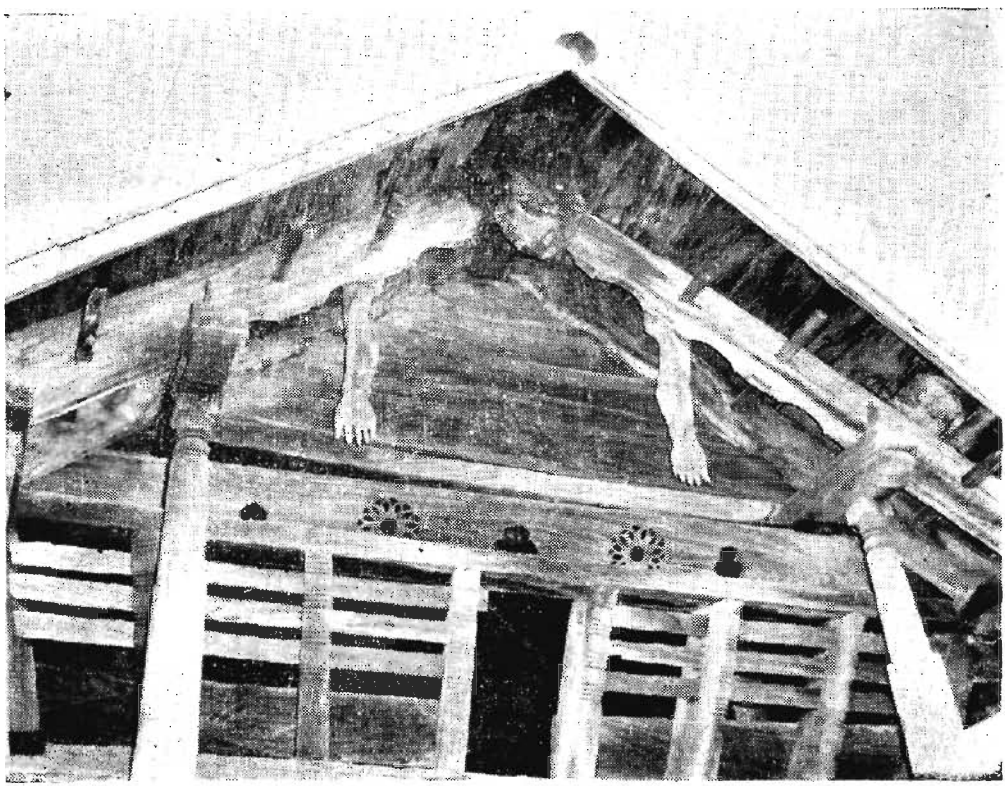


4. Ardhanareeshvara shrine in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri. The sanctum sanctorum, of which only the top portion is visible in the photo, is enclosed by a *Pauli* with a main entrance seen in the fore. Around this shrine there are numerous structures enshrining the symbols or idols of various *Bhutas*.



5. A view of some of the shrines around the Ardhanareeshvara shrine in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.

Plate 6



6. Entrance to the sanctum sanctorum of the Ardhanareeshvara shrine in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri. Above the lintel, woodwork comprising of a grotesque human face and arms is noteworthy.

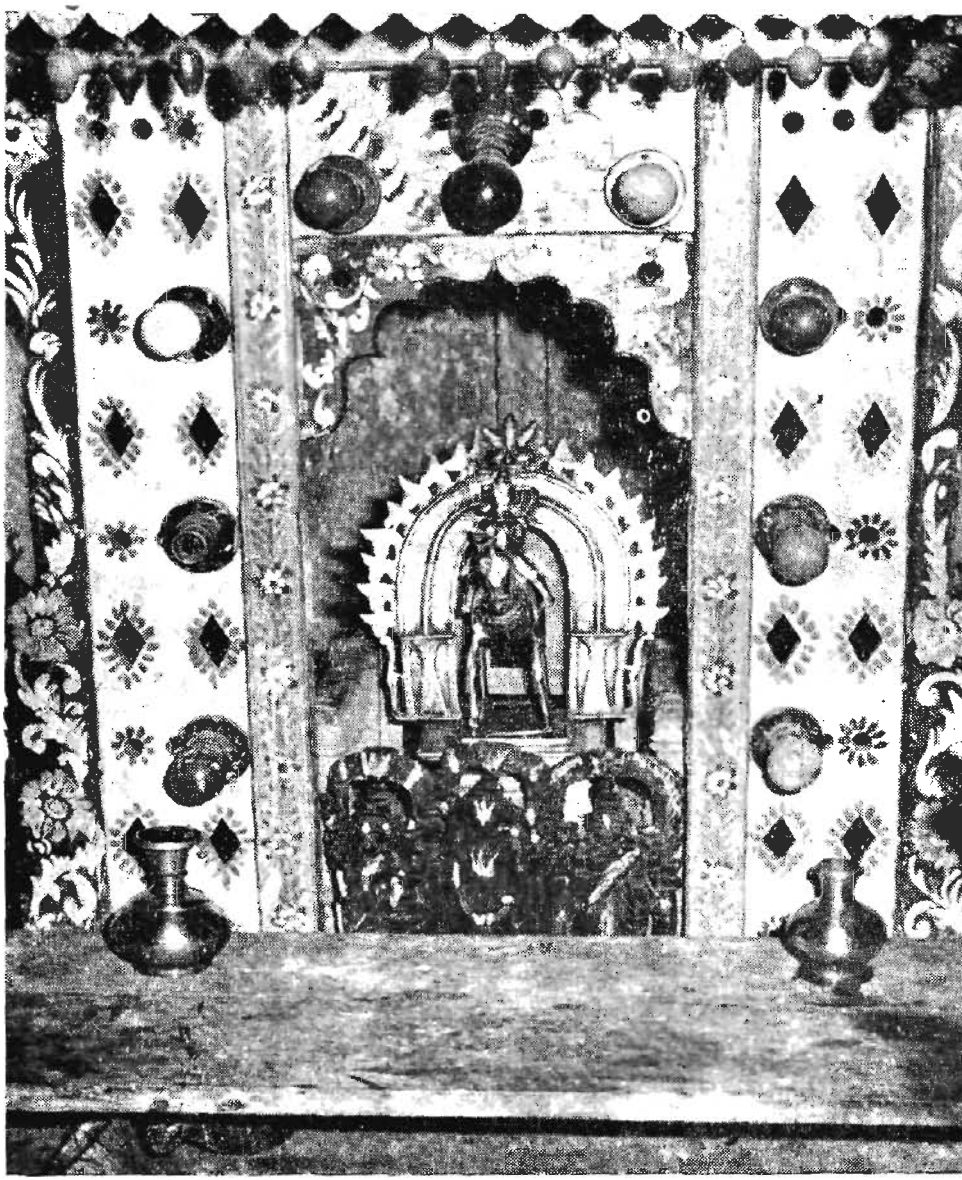


7. Adkataya shrine in the Veerabhadra shrine-complex at Hiriadka. A glimpse of the *ratha* (temple-car) may also be had in this picture.

Plate 8



8. Decorative wooden *mantapa* called *Gunda* in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.



9. Brahmara Gunda at the Beidarkala Garadi in Basrur. The rider on horse-back represents Brahma.

Plate 10



10. An octagonal granite pillar set up on a stone platform has a pyramidal stone at its top. A wooden mallet or mace is placed on the platform and the whole thing represents the *Bhuta Bagila Bobbarya* at the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex, Hebri.



11. Granite pillar set on a stone platform has a pyramidal stone at its top. This represents Bobbarya at the Veerabhadra shrine-complex, Hiriadka.

Plate 12



12. Granite pillar found in the precincts of the Amriteshvari shrine at Kota represents Rakteshvari. The sacrificial animals and fowls are slain in front of this *Bhuta* symbol.

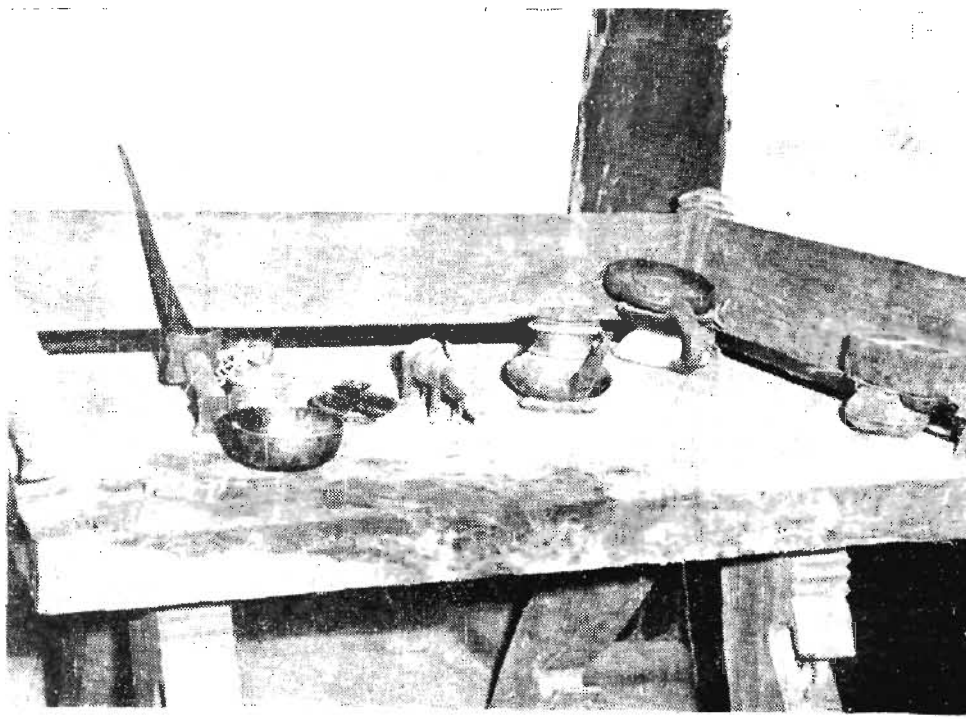


13. This granite pillar with a pyramidal stone at its top represents Kshetrapala's at the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex, Hebri. The small structures, called *gudi*, seen nearby enshrine idols and symbols of *Bhutas*.

Plate 14

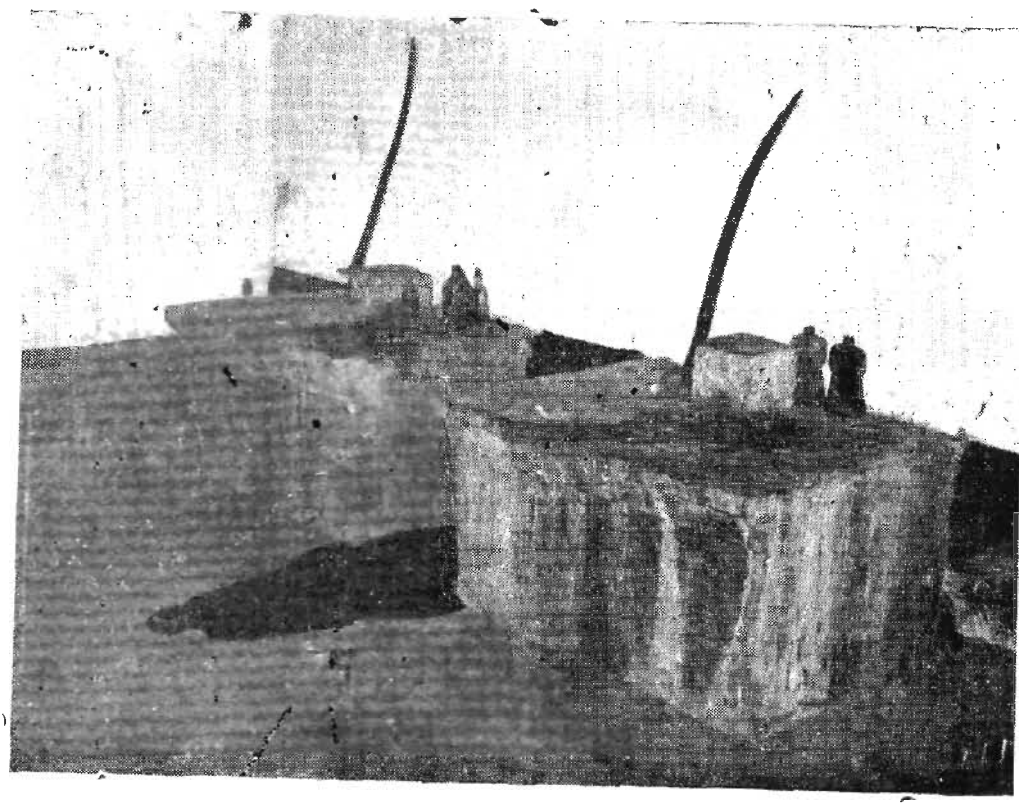


14. Sprouting stones seen in the precincts of the Amriteshvari shrine, at Kota. According to local belief these stone tablets are *lingas* and are growing taller and taller, though imperceptibly, as they are emerging from underneath the surface of the earth.

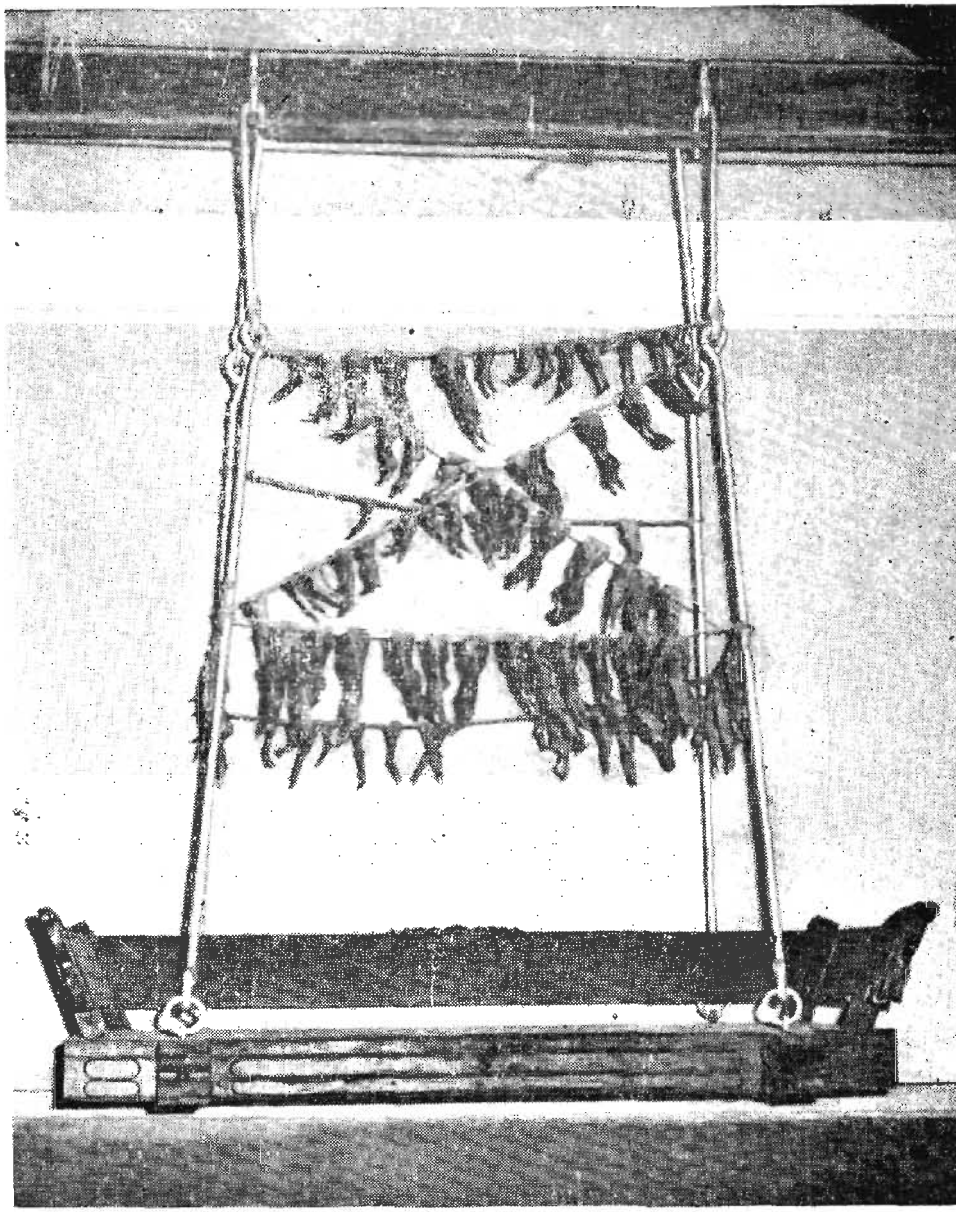


15. The symbols representing *Bhutas* and associated paraphernalia in the house of the Ballalas at Hebri.

Plate 16

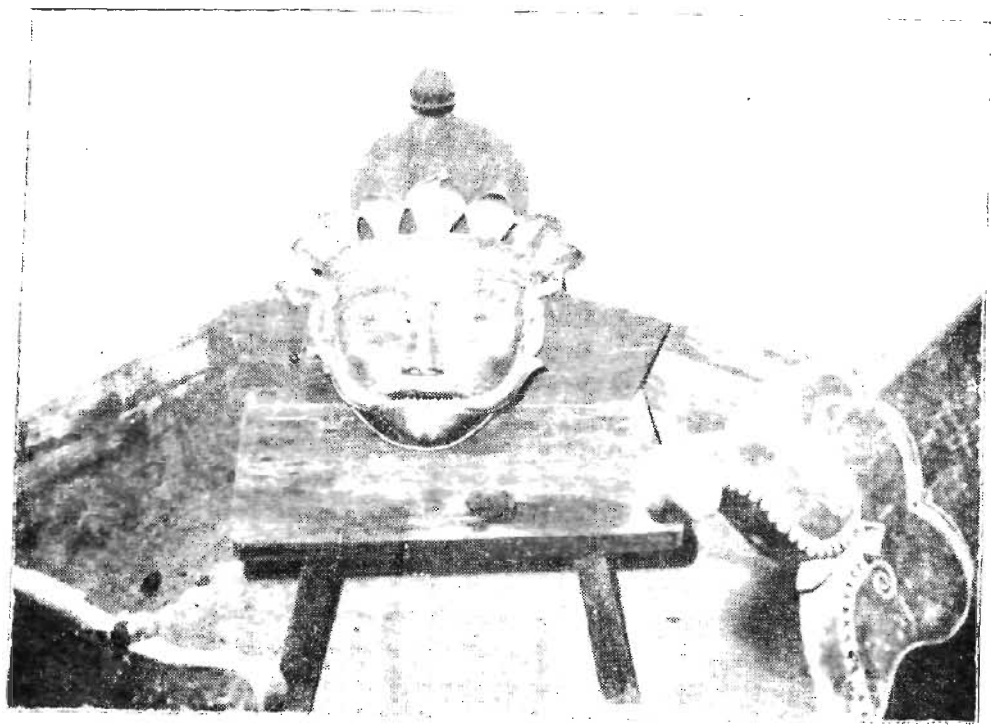


16. Altars dedicated to Jumadi and Panjurli Bhutas in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.

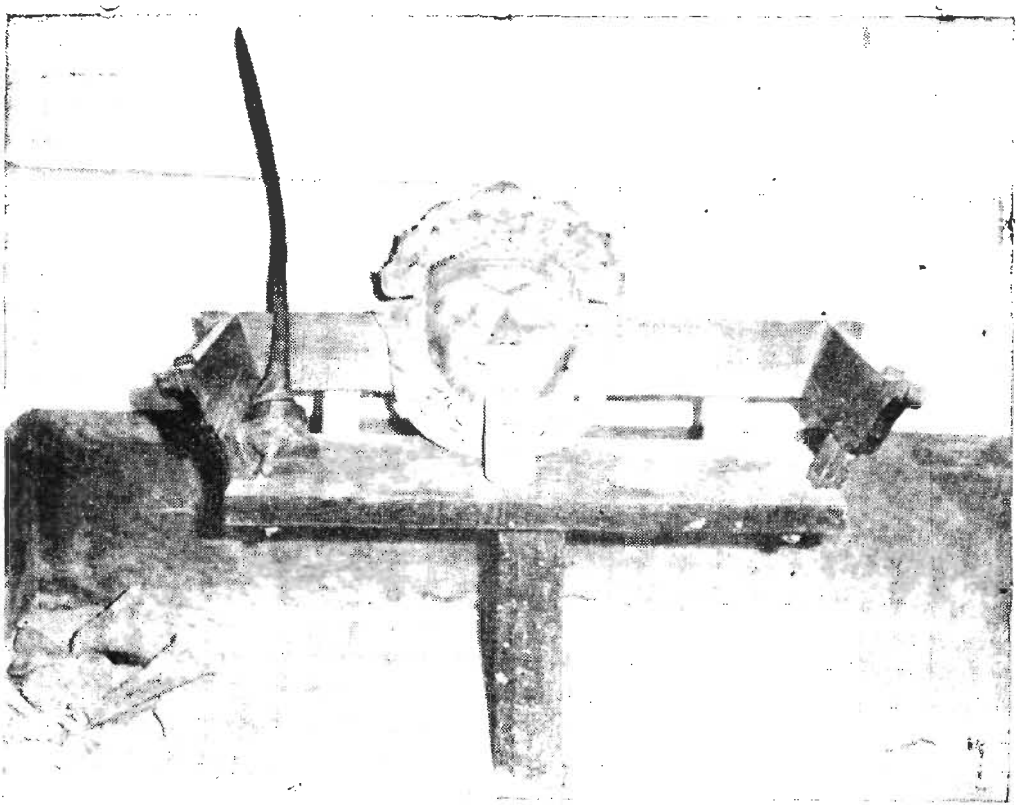


17. The swinging cot representing Dhumavati at Padre.

Plate 18

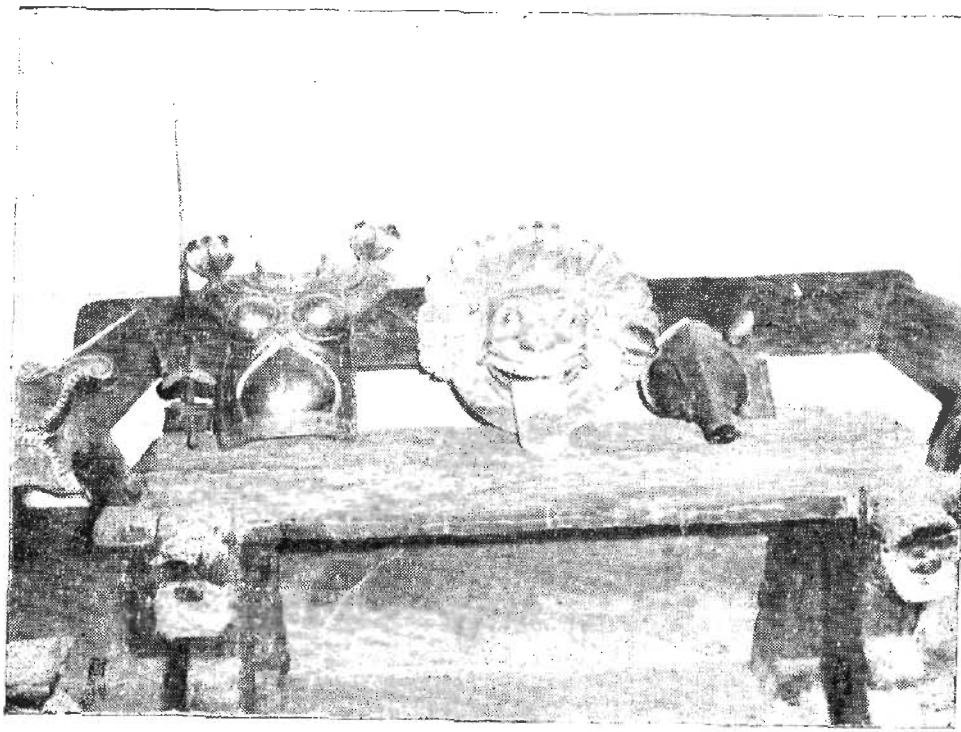


18. The mask resting on the low wooden stool with a back-rest represents Devapunja in the Kaverasthana at Kodipady Village.

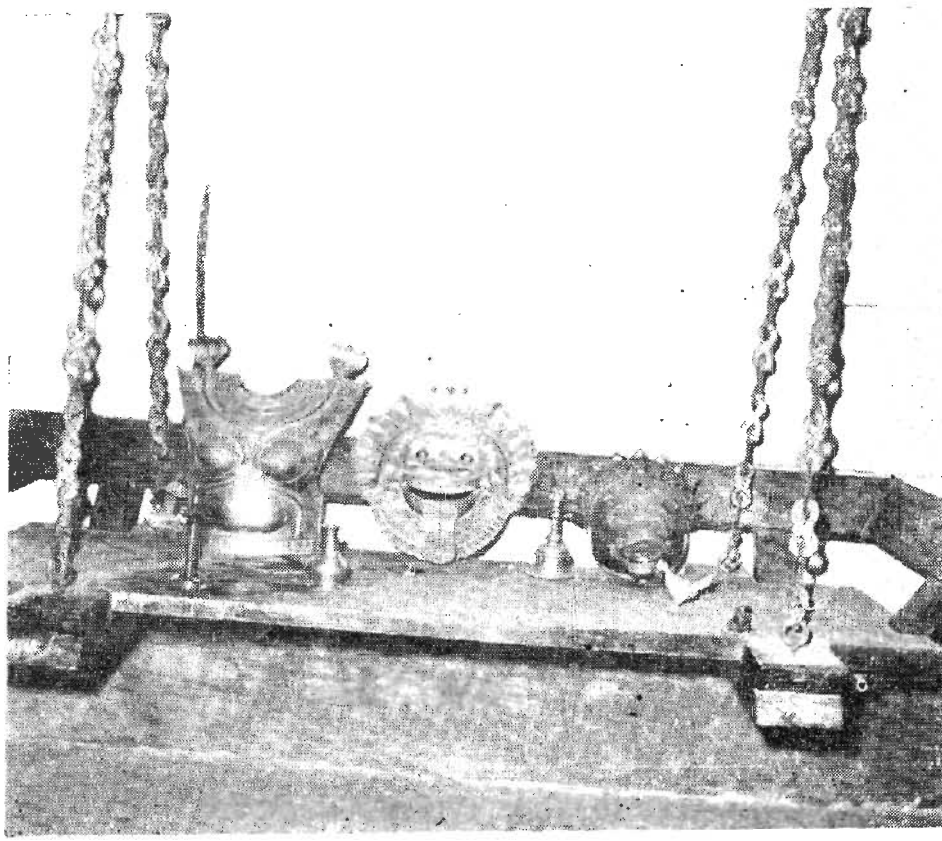


19. The mask and the sword placed on the wooden plank with back and side rest represent Kodamantaya in the Kaverasthana at Kodipady Village. The plank is mounted on a small wooden pillar.

Plate 20

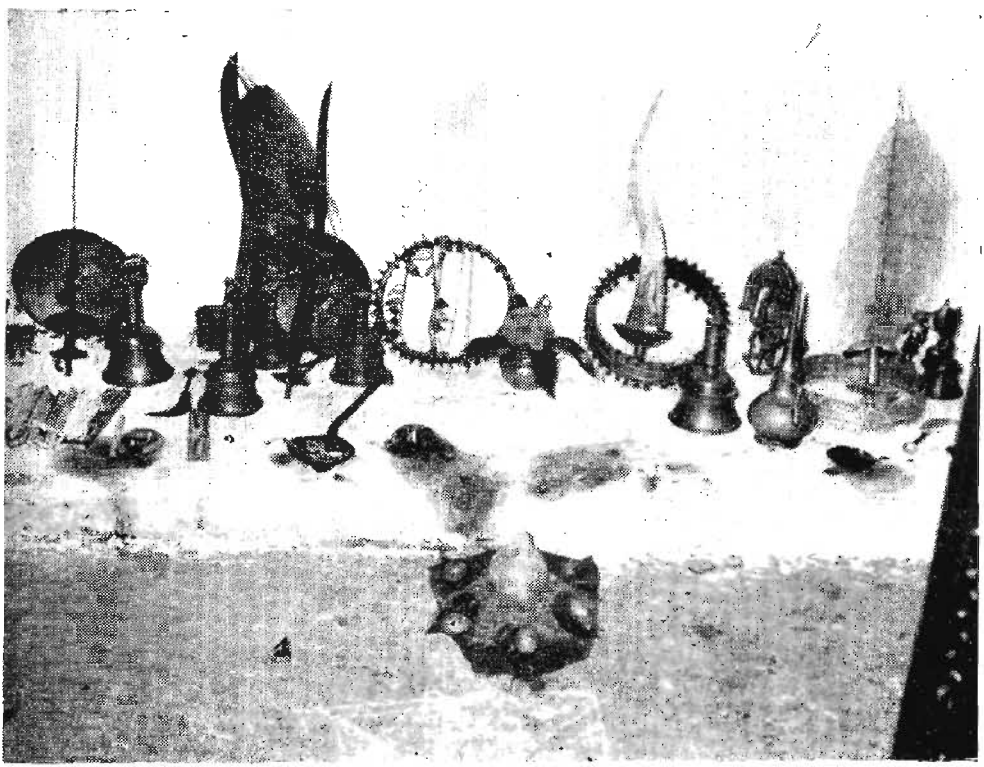


20. The sword, the breast-plate and the facial mask resting on the low stool together represent Sarala Dhoomavati while the mask resembling the face of a pig represents Panjurli Bhuta in the Kaverasthana at Kodipady Village.

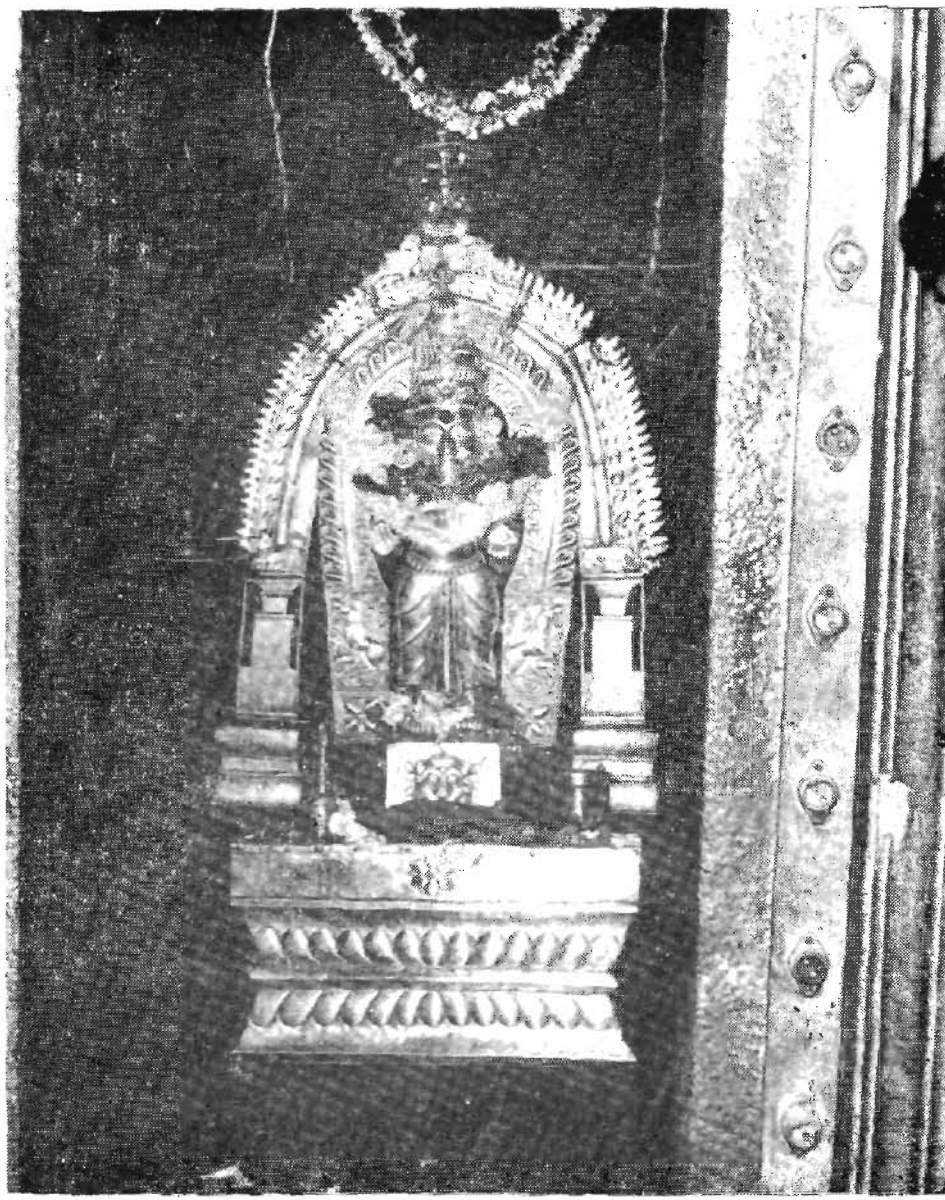


21. The sword, the breast-plate and the facial mask placed on the suspended wooden plank (swinging cot) together represent Kanthana Dhumavati, while the mask resembling the face of a pig represents Panjurli Bhuta in the Kaverasthana at Kodipady Village

Plate 22

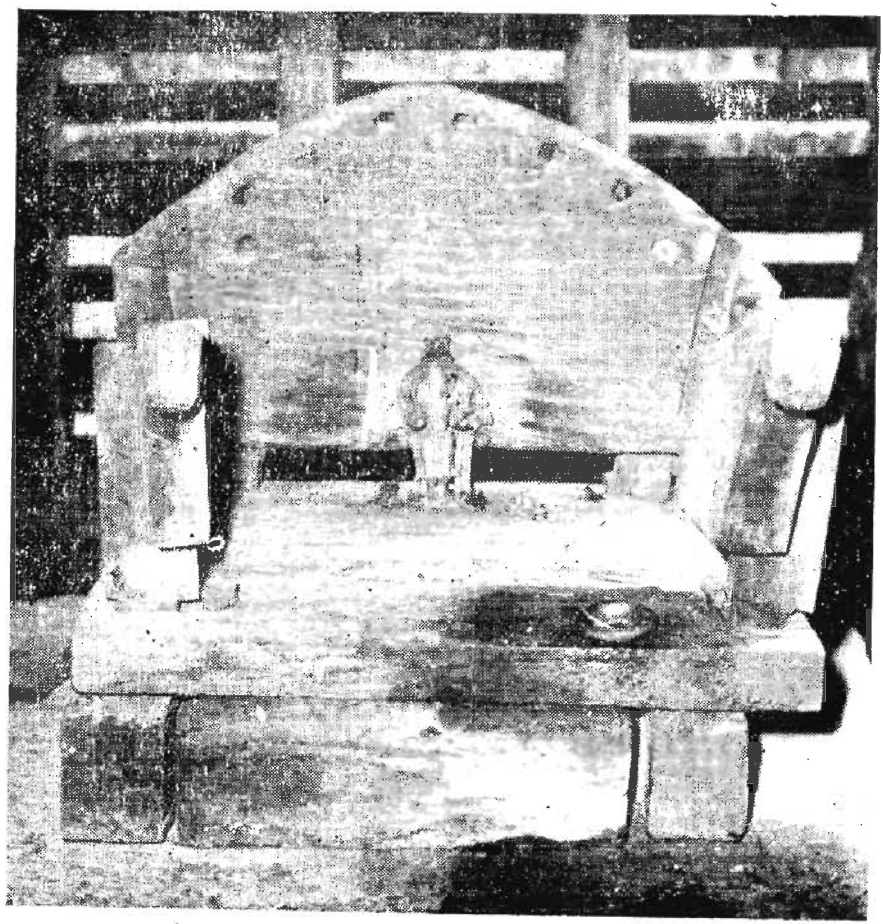


22. Bhuta symbols such as sword, dagger, idols etc., and paraphernalia like bells, *Chamara* (fan) etc., seen inside Koddabbu Bhutasthana at Kulasekhara near Mangalore City.

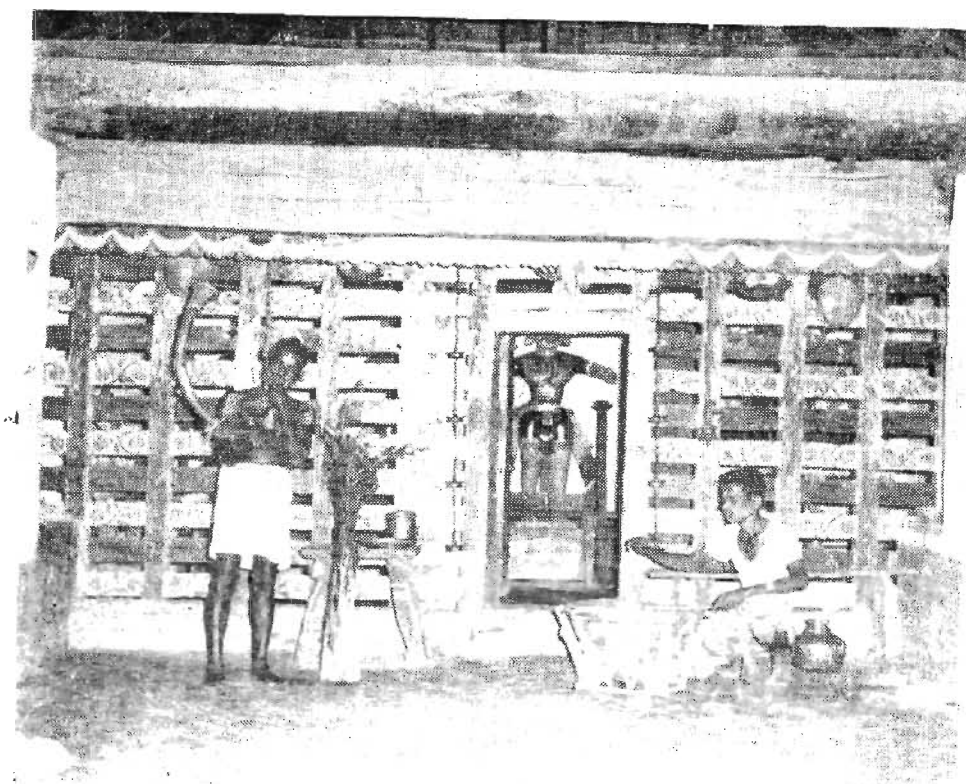


23. Decorated stone idol of Amriteshvari or Halavu-makkala tayi, in the shrine at Kota.

Plate 24

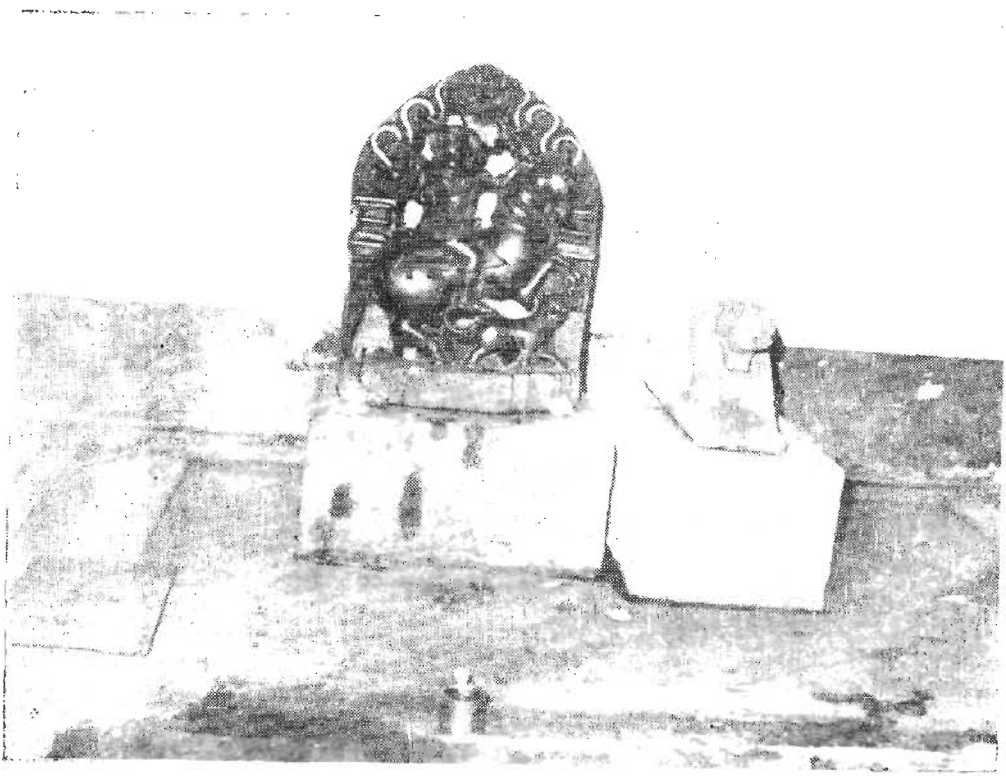


24. The idol placed on the wooden seat with side and back rest is that of Brahma in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.

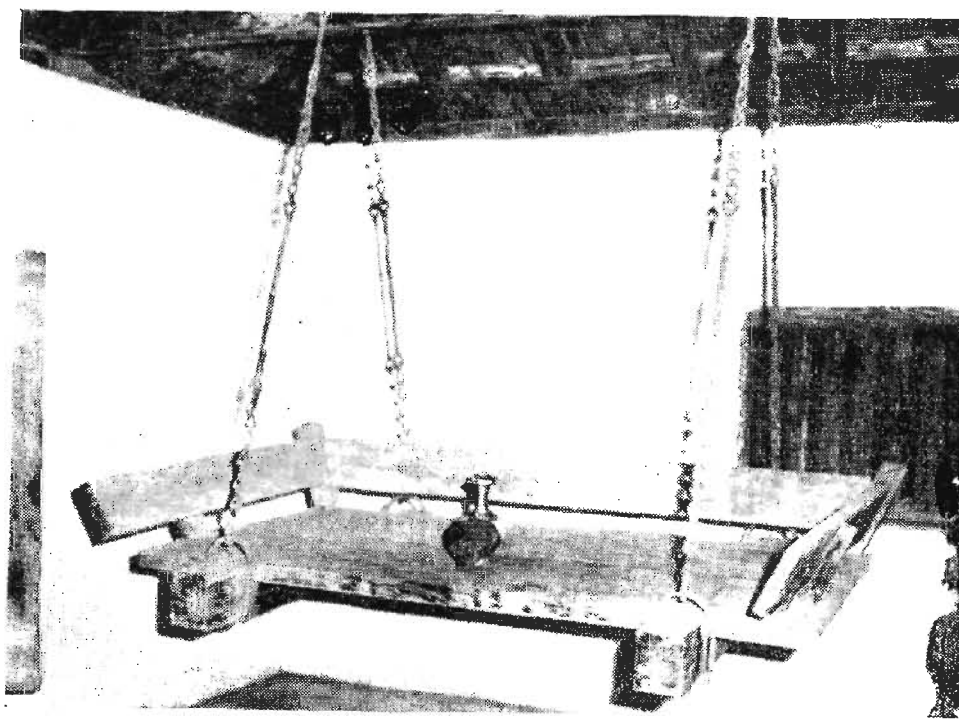


25. A close-up view of the inner shrine of Beidarkalu (with the idols of Koti, Channayya etc.,) at Hebri. The priest is seen blowing a trumpet while a Devadiga is seen manipulating a percussion instrument.

Plate 26

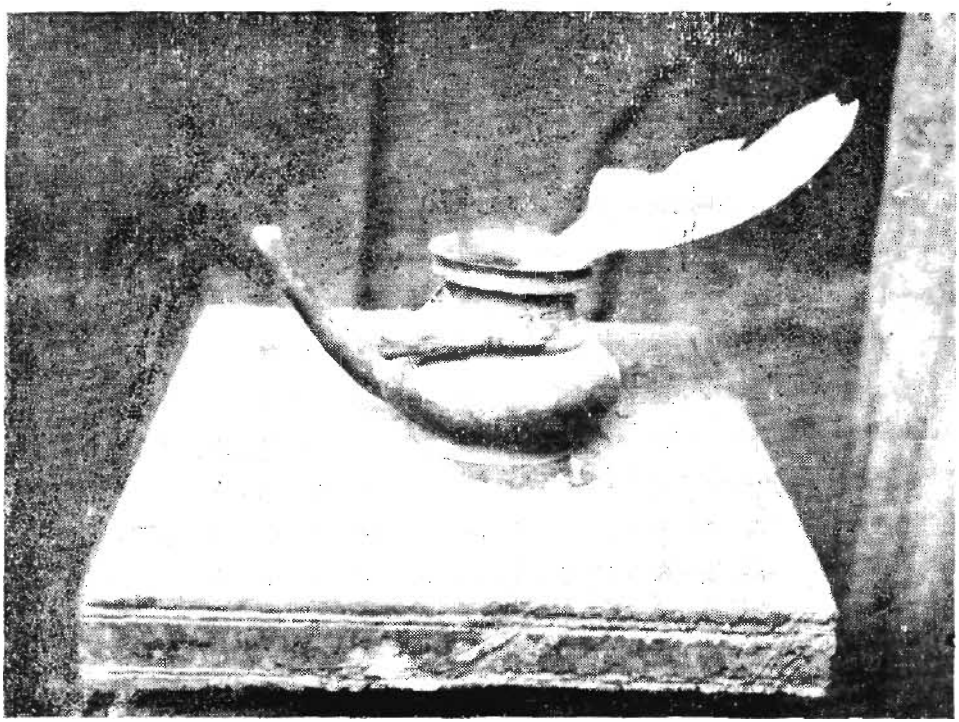


26. The idol which depicts a horse-rider represents Kumdedara Bhuta in Barkur.

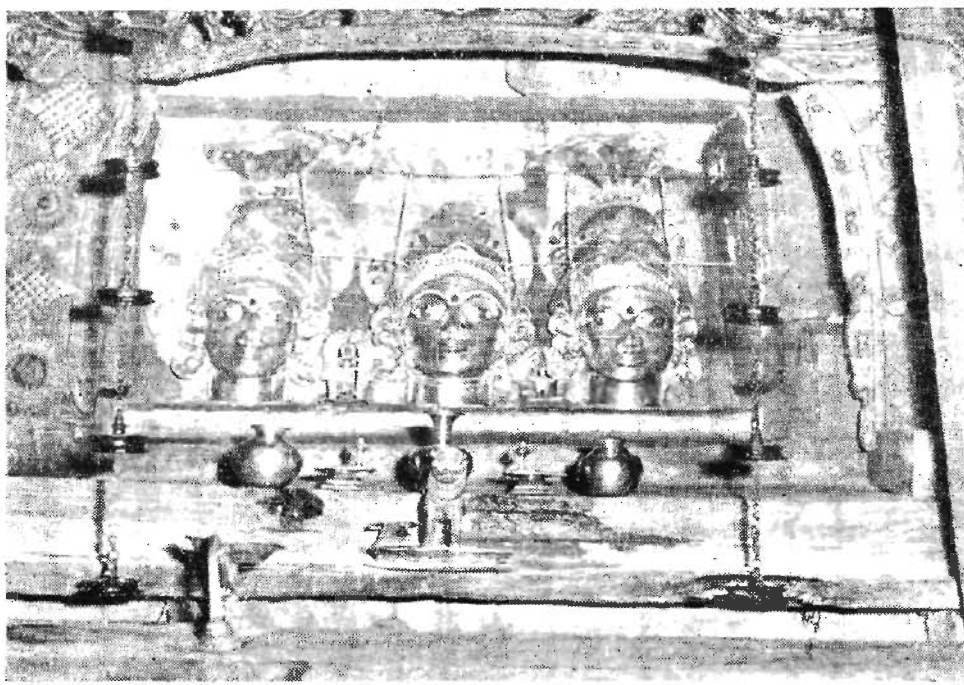


27. This suspended wooden plank represents the *Pattada mancha* (coronation cot) at Kavatharu. In times of yore the Ajila chiefs used to sit on this swinging cot on the occasion of their coronation.

Plate 28

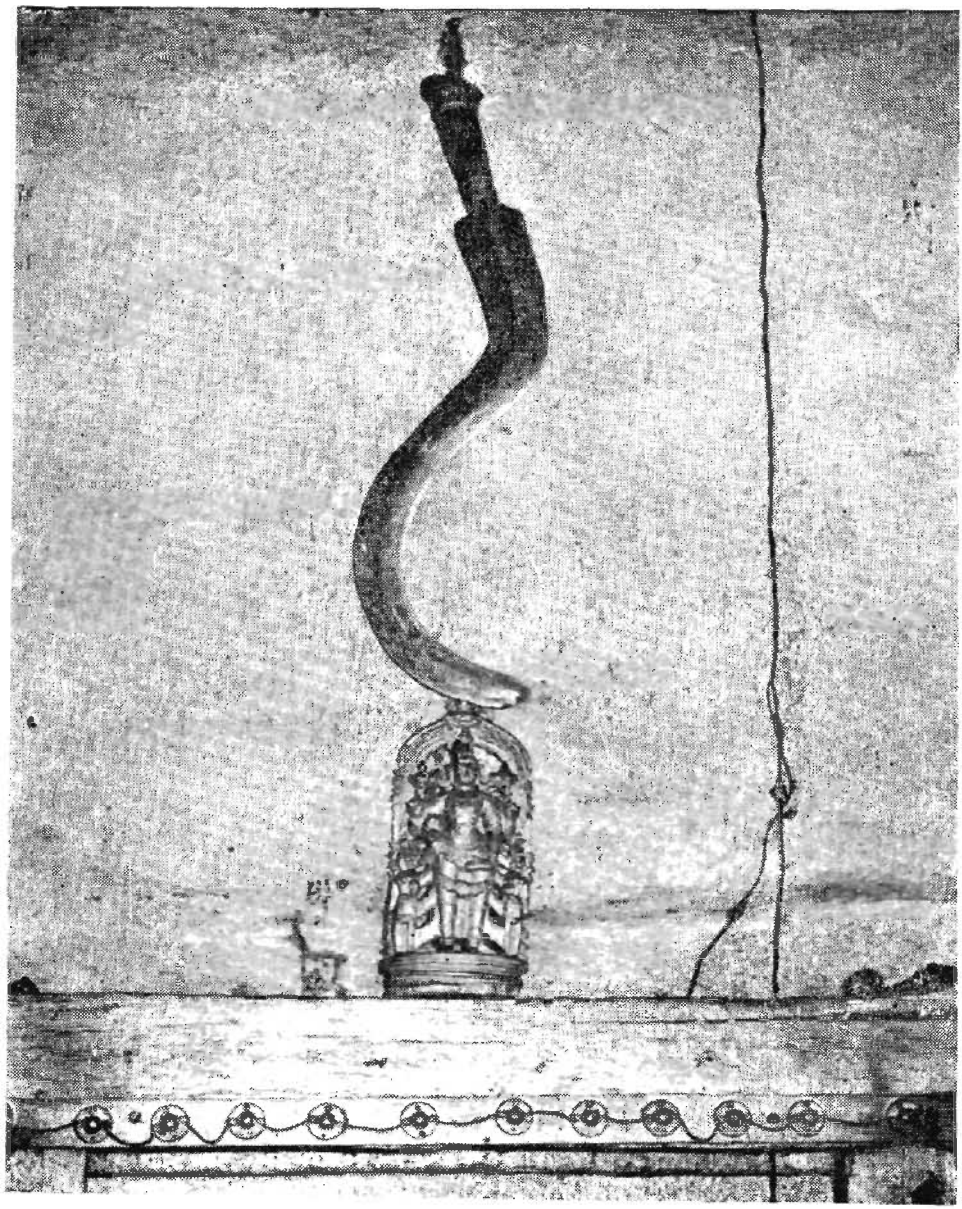


28. A goblet or the spouted metallic vessel containing water is customarily kept always on the *Pattada mancha* (coronation cot) of the Ballalas at Hebri.



29. The stucco figures of Mahakali, Mahalakshmi and Mahasaraswati decorated with facial masks in the Devi shrine at Basrur.

Plate 30

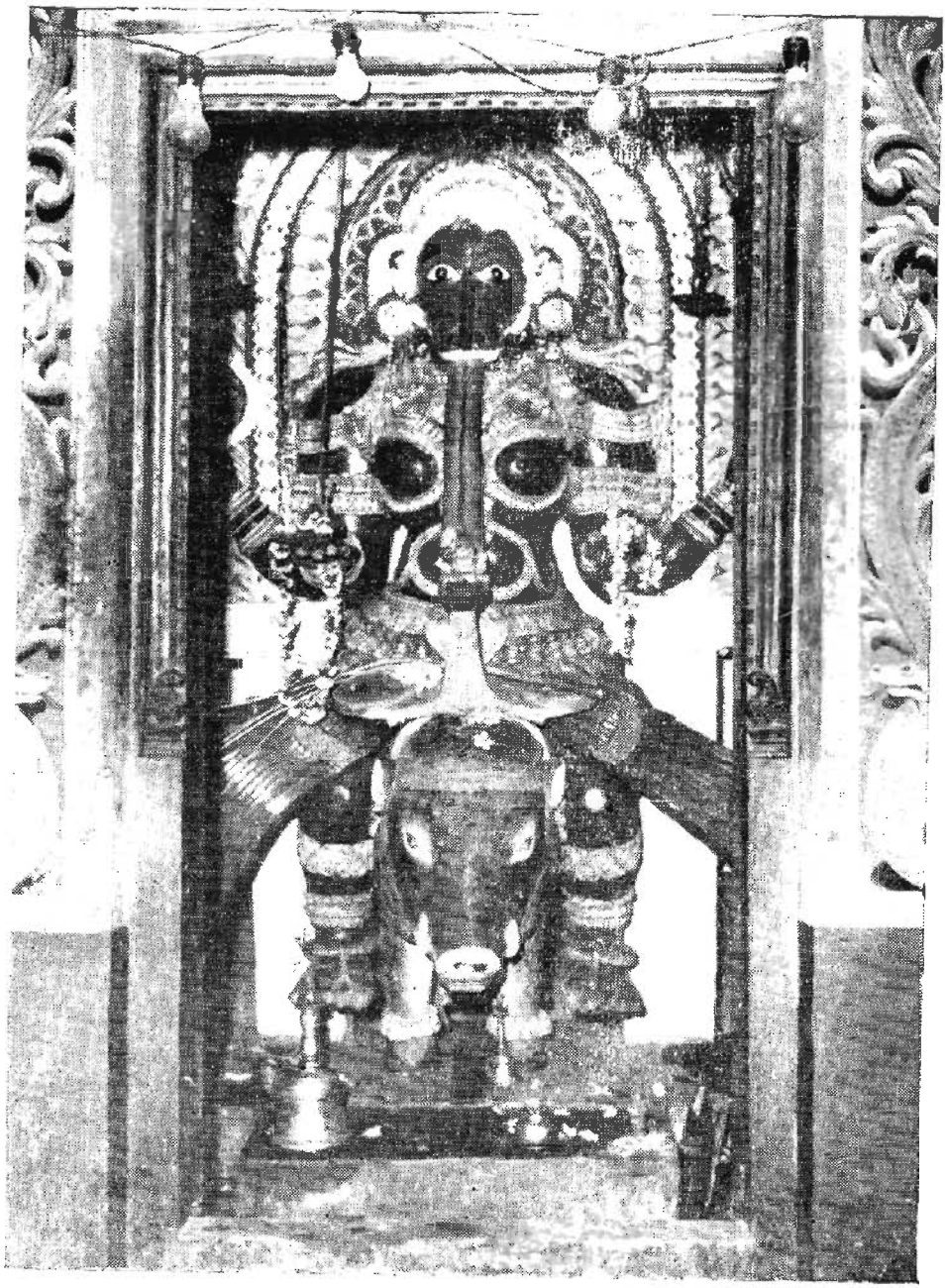


30. The sickle hung from a peg above a decorative idol on the lintel of the sanctum sanctorum enshrining the stucco figures in the Devi shrine at Basrur is the implement prescribed for severing the head of the sacrificial animal.



31. The idols of Veerabhadra and Bethala in the Devi shrine at Basrur.

Plate 32



32. Varaheshvari represented as riding a boar in the Kaverasthana at Surathkal. Notice the image of Vishnu which has been carved on the *out-stretched tongue of Varaheshvari.*



33. *The wooden idol representing Maidalamma in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.*

Plate 34



34. The wooden idols representing Abbakke and Dharakke in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.



35. The wooden idol representing Malavali Bobbarya in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.

Plate 36



36. The smaller wooden idol found by the side of Malavali Bobbarya is that of *Banta* (assistant) of Malavali Bobbarya in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.



37. The idols of Koti and Chamayya in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.

Plate 38

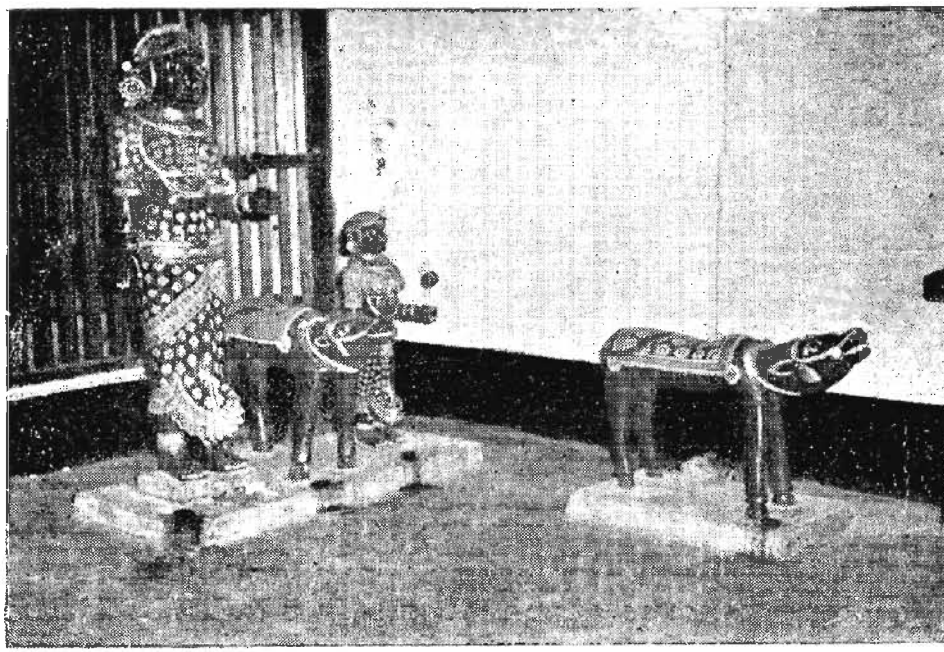


38. The idols of Pilichavandi Bhuta in two different postures as seen in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.



39. *The wooden idol representing Shivaraya in the Durga Parameshvari shrine-complex at Hebri.*

Plate 40

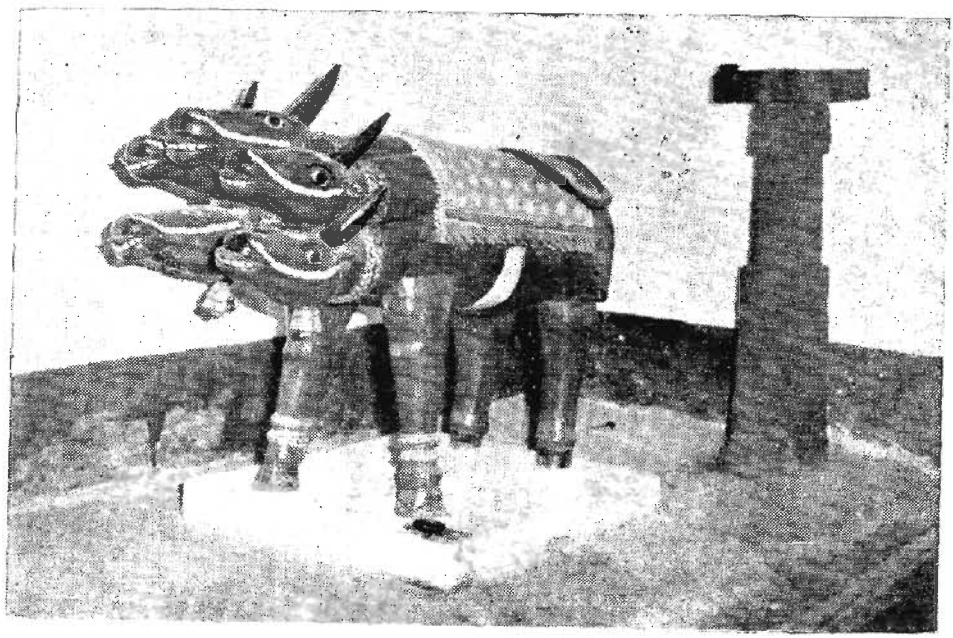


40. The wooden idols of Masti Chikku and Nandi in the Kundodara Bhutasthana at Barkur.

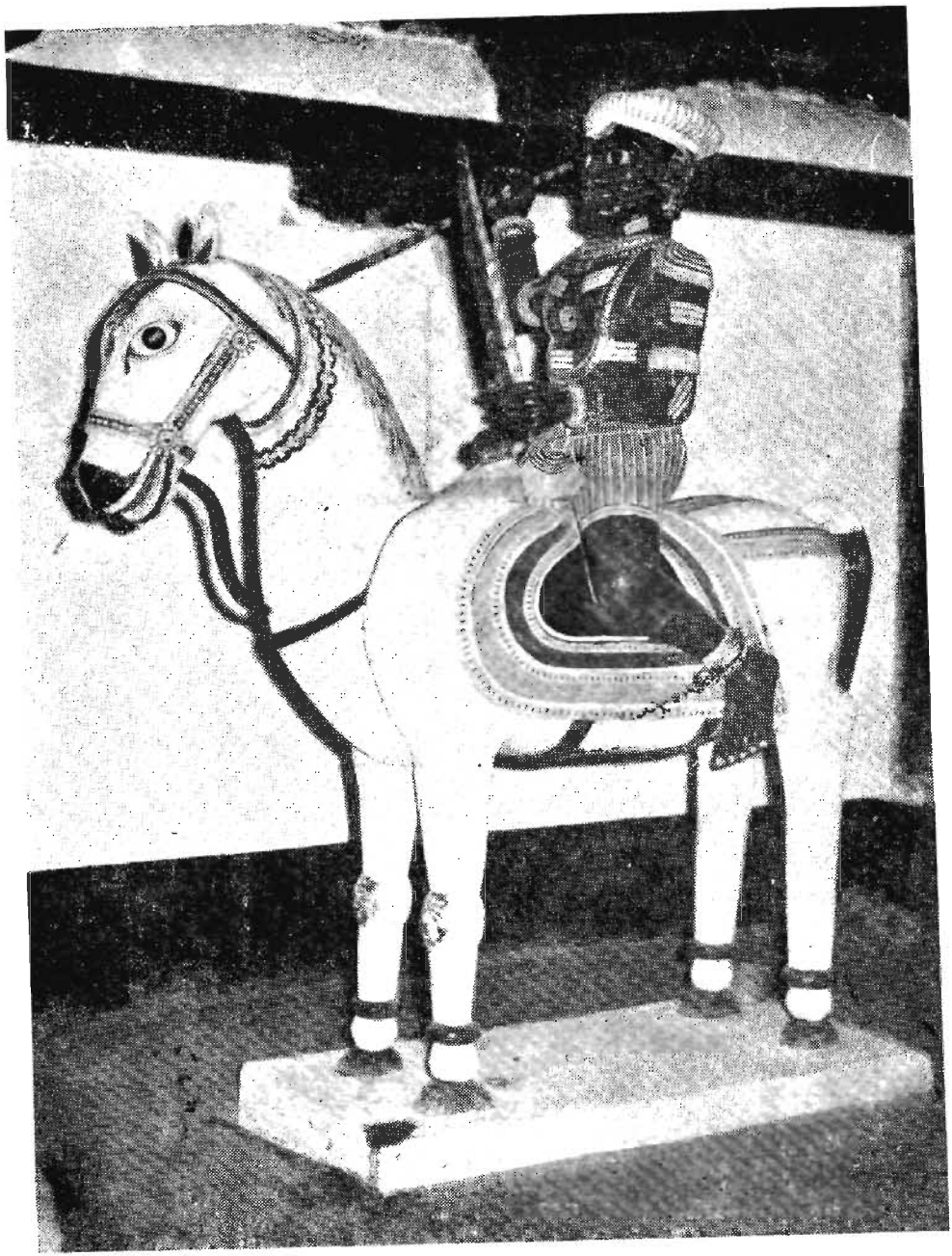


41. Wooden idols representing Sonne and Abbakke respectively in the Kaverasthana at Surathkal.

Plate 42

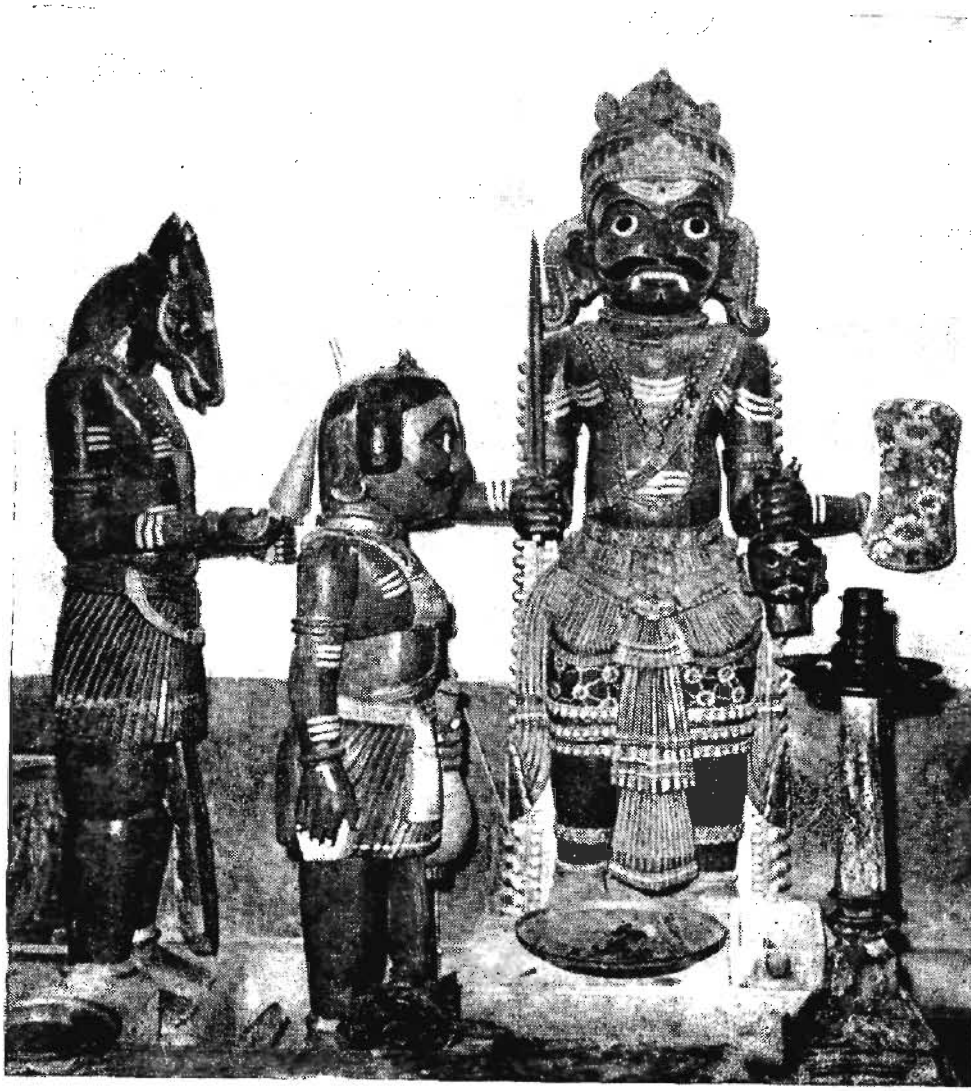


42. *Panchamukha Nandi* (wood) in the Kundodara shrine at Barkur.



43. Rahuta (wood), in the Kundodara shrine at Barkur.

Plate 44



44. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Bringi, Shringi and Veerabhadra seen in the hall in front of the sanctum.



45. *Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Jogipurusha and Hanumantha seen in the open Veranda attached to the main hall.*

Plate 46

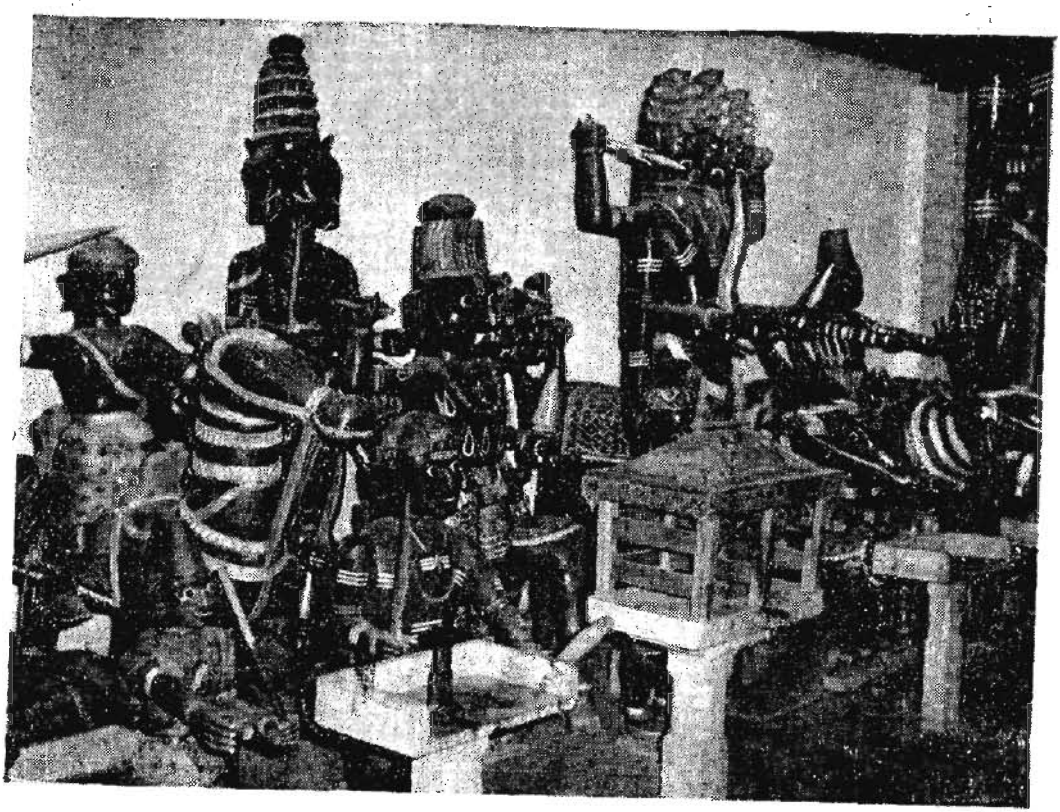


46. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Some of the idols found in the first floor.

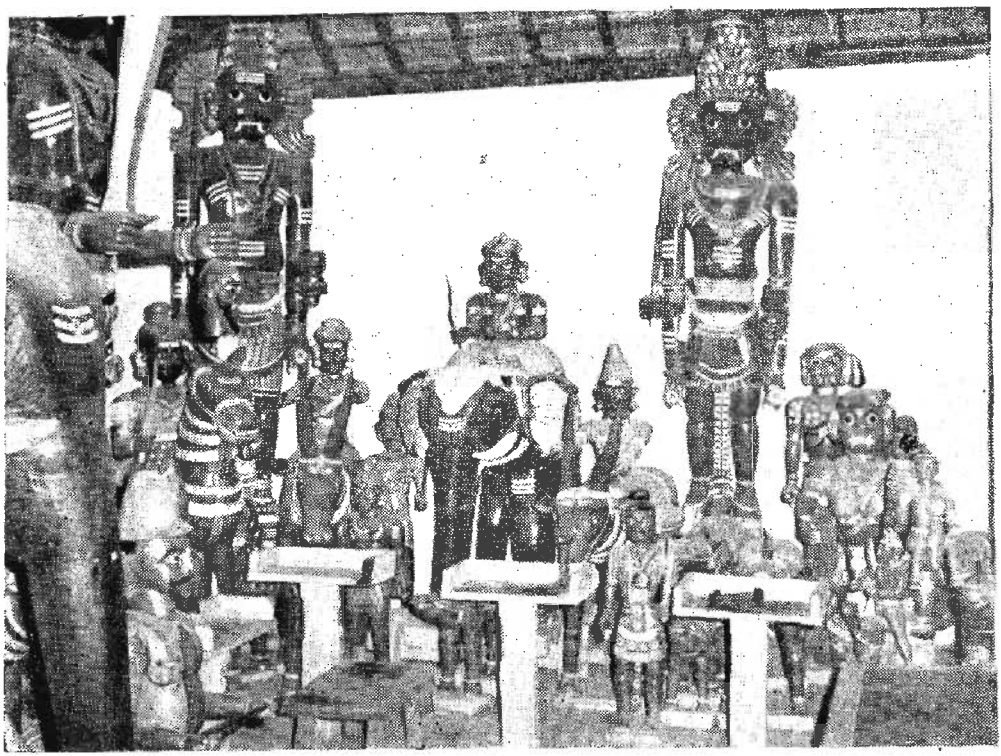


47. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Some of the idols seen in the large quadrangle.

Plate 48

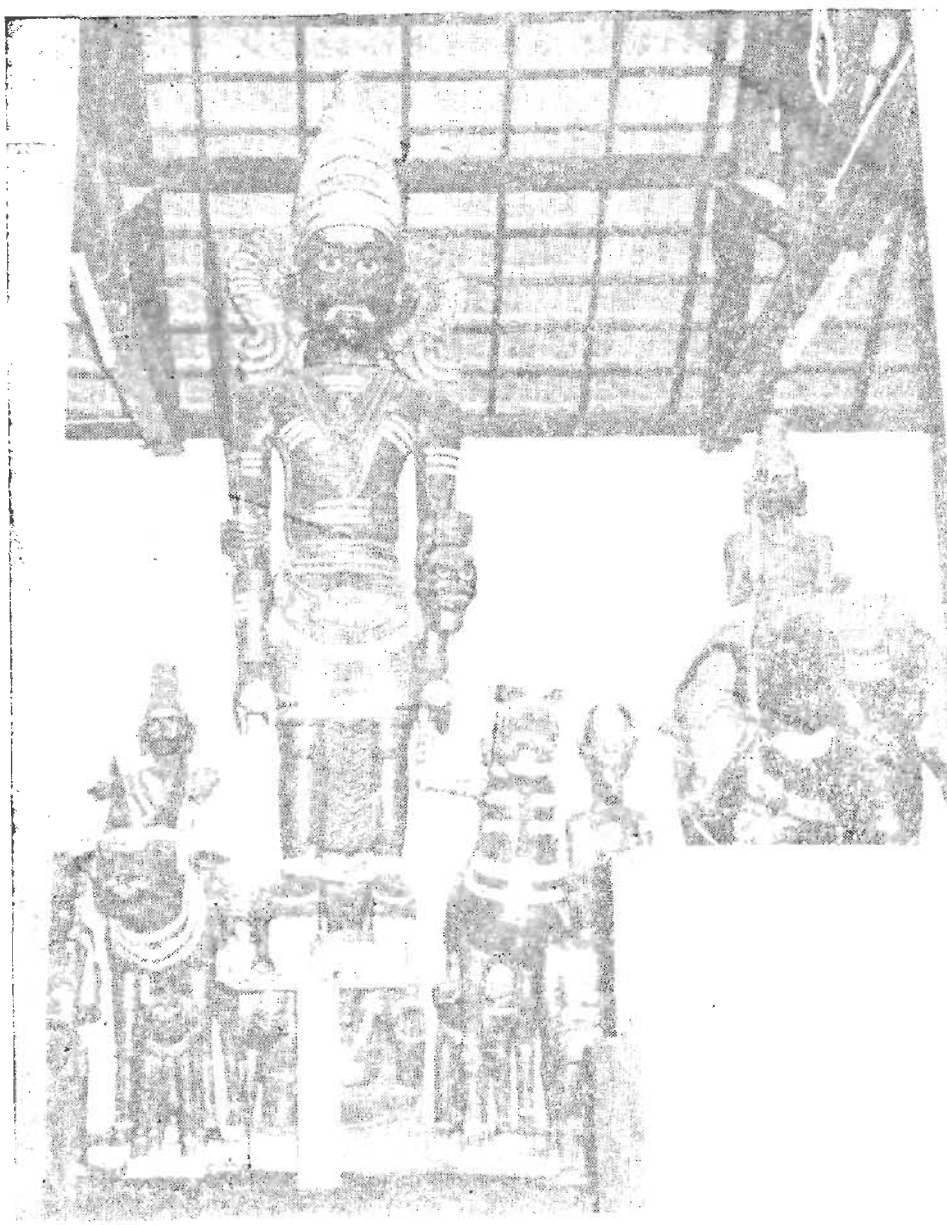


48. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Some of the idols seen in the large quadrangle.

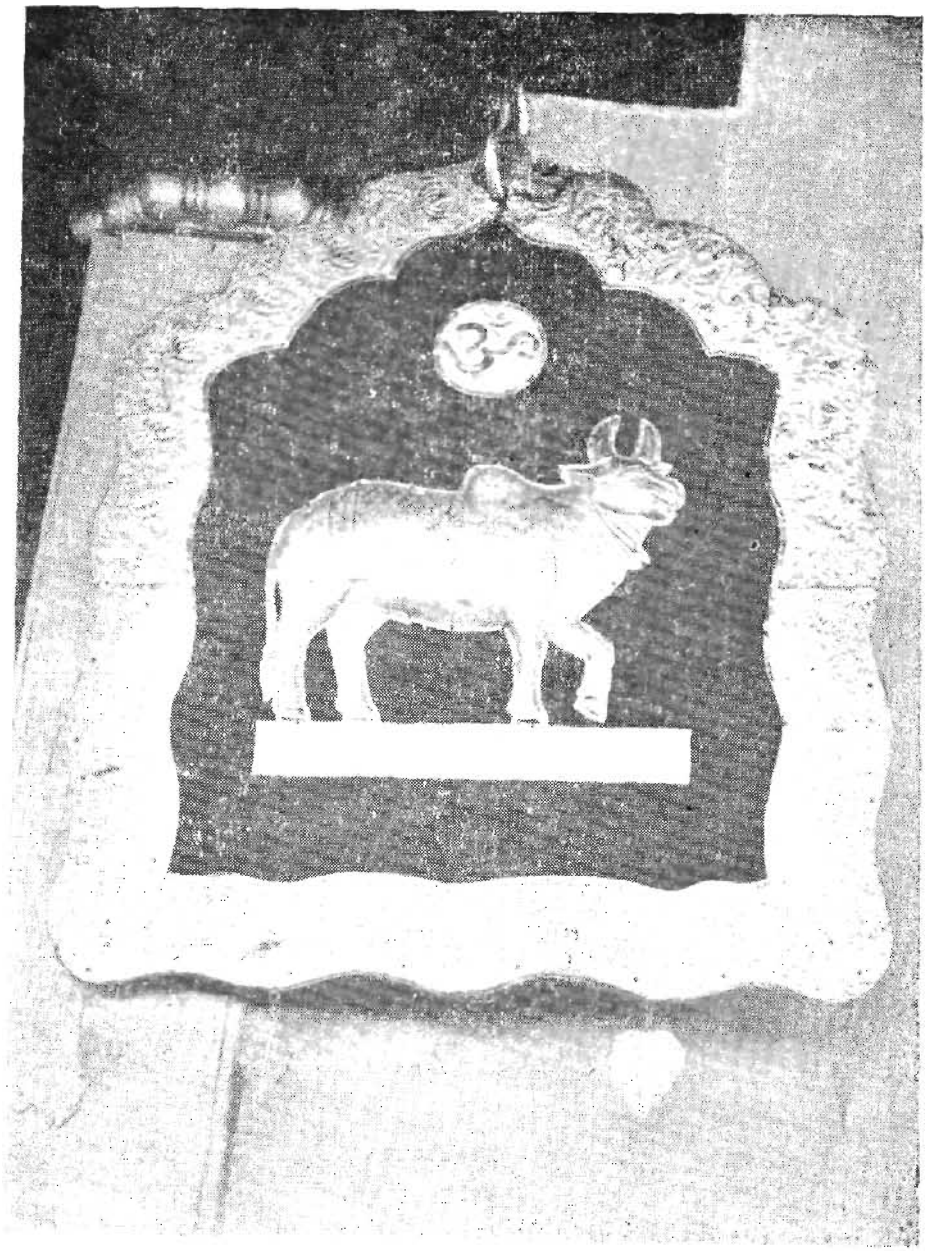


49. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Some of the idols seen in the large quadrangle.

Plate 50

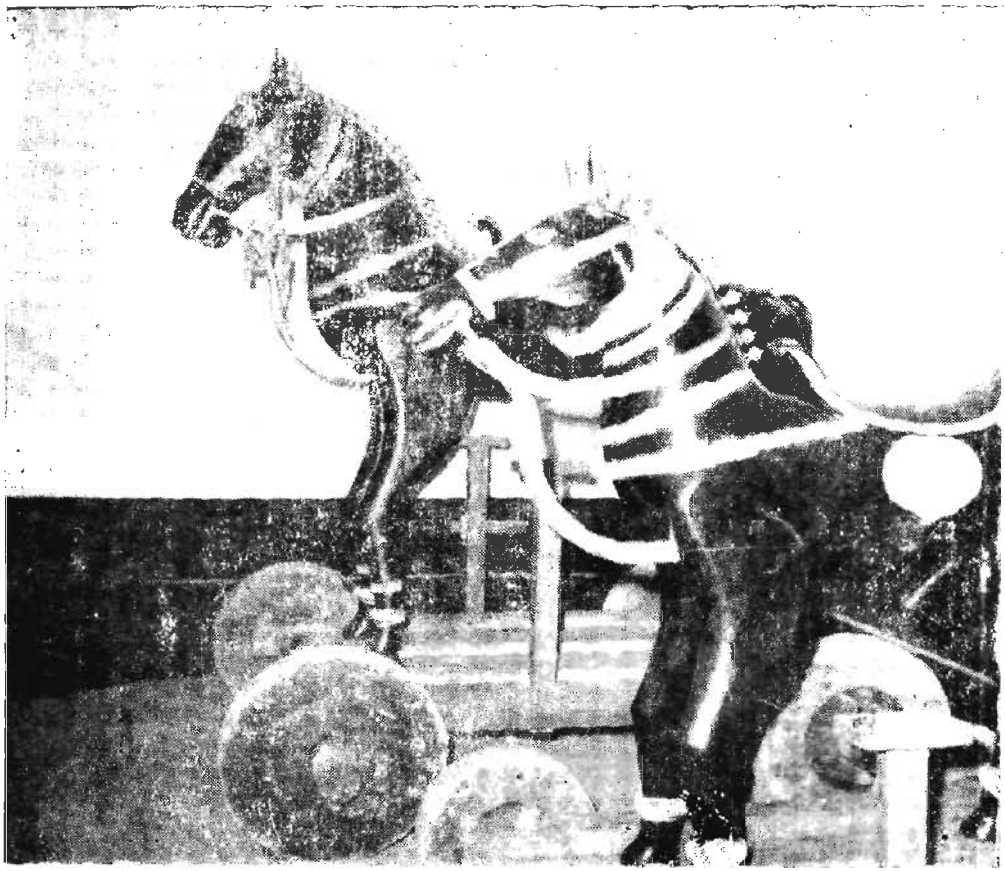


50. Wooden idols in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu: Some of the idols seen in the large quadrangle.

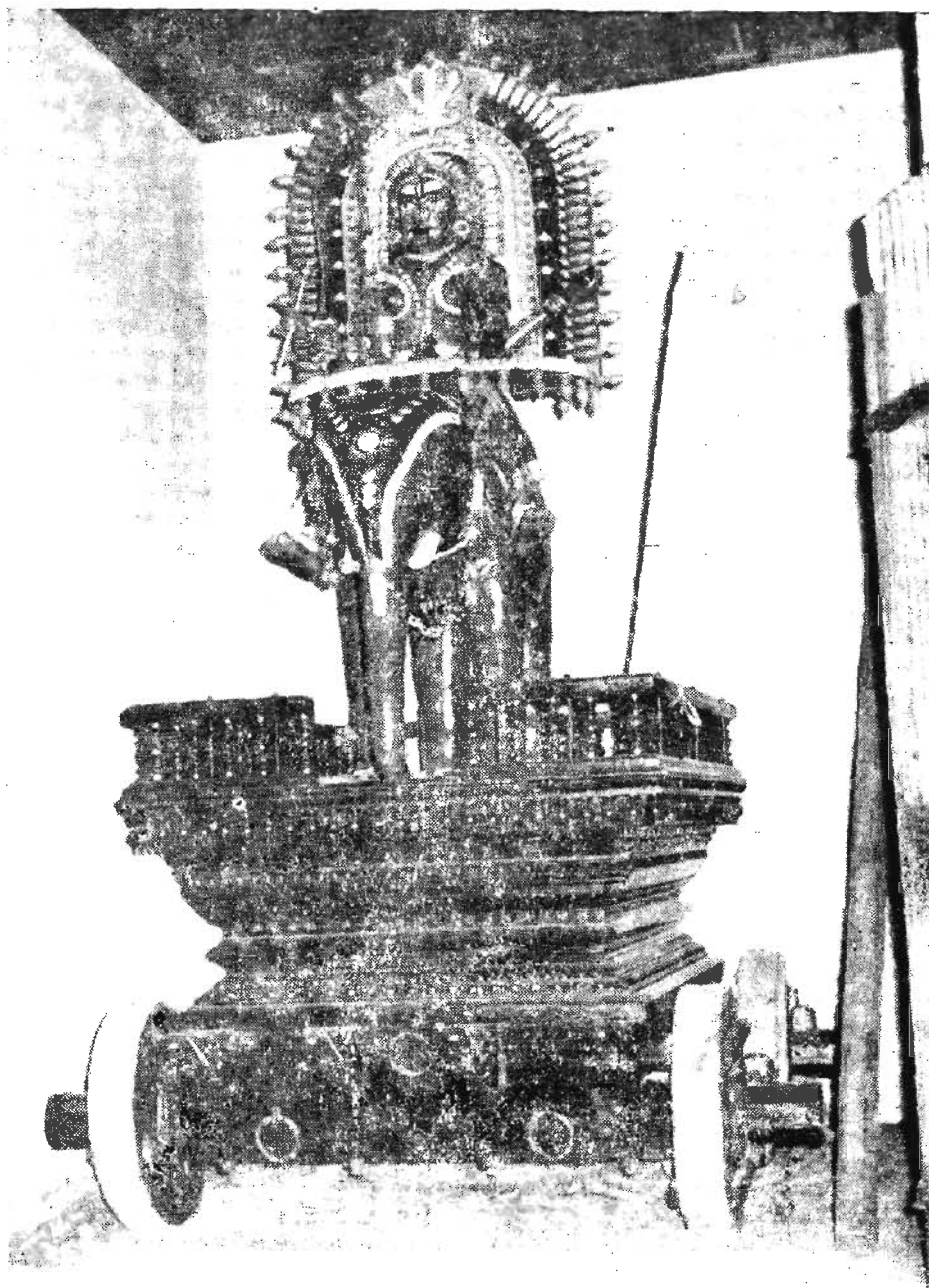


51. This silver plaque bearing the emblem of a bull in the Veerabhadra shrine at Hiriadka is *hoisted on a flag-post, on* all important festive occasions.

Plate 52



52. Wooden horses mounted on wheels seen in the Panjurli shrine at Agaravelu. On certain occasions the impersonator of Jarandaya is seated on the horse and is drawn around the main shrine by the devotees.

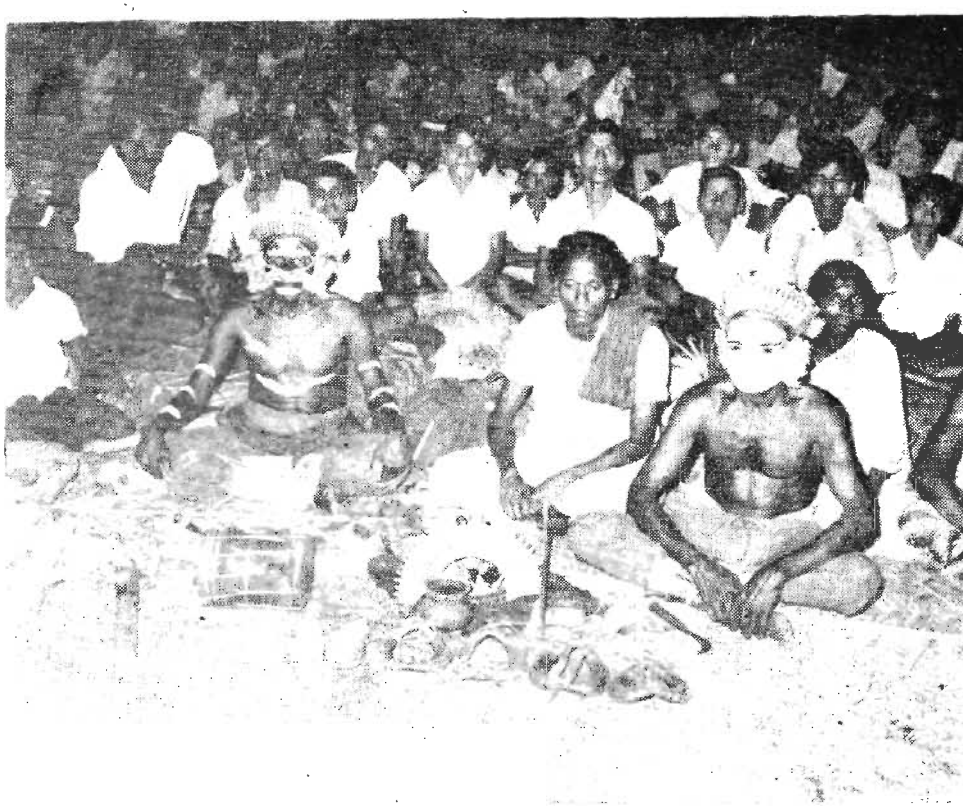


53. A small but attractively designed and executed *ratha* of Dhoomavati at Parde. Dhoomavati is represented as riding an elephant. Both the idols are painted with pleasing colours and are fixed to the platform of the *ratha*.

Plate 54



5-1. At the time of a field visit to Veerabhadra shrine at Hiriadka these three artisans were found engaged in repainting some of the wooden *Bhuta* idols.

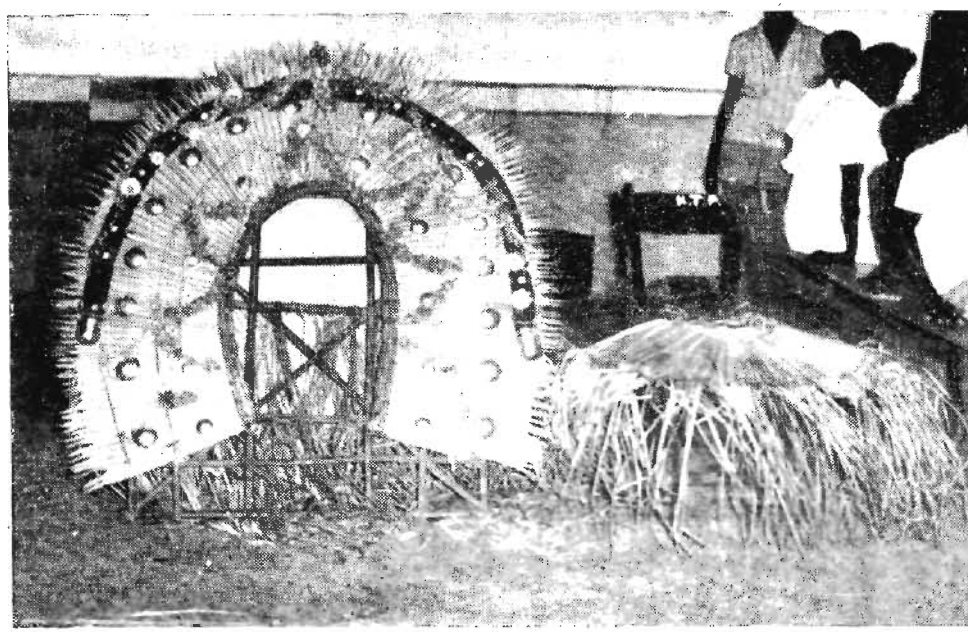


55. At Kulasekhara near Mangalore City two impersonators of Nalke caste are getting ready to represent Panjurli and Guliga. A drum, silver armlets and *gaggare* (anklets) are noticed in the foreground.

Plate 56



56. At Kulasekhara near Mangalore City the two impersonators are sitting on a bench while two of their assistants stand behind them and sing *Paddanas*.



57. At Kulasekhara Panchayat Office the *ani* (halo) and the palm-leaf skirt have been kept for the time being and will be donned by the impersonators at the appropriate moment.

Plate 58



58. At Kuloor near Mangalore City a Nalke impersonator is seen adorning himself with ornaments. He has already painted his face with red ochre and the *ani* as well as skirt are also kept ready for his use at the appropriate moment in his representation of *Koddabhu*.



59. Impersonation of Ullalthi at Anantadi. (Personal collection).

Plate 60



60. Impersonation of Mecheri Bhagavati at Adka. (Personal collection).



61. The decorated processional idol of Bhagavati is being carried on his head by the priest on a ceremonial occasion at Adka. (Personal collection).

Plate 62

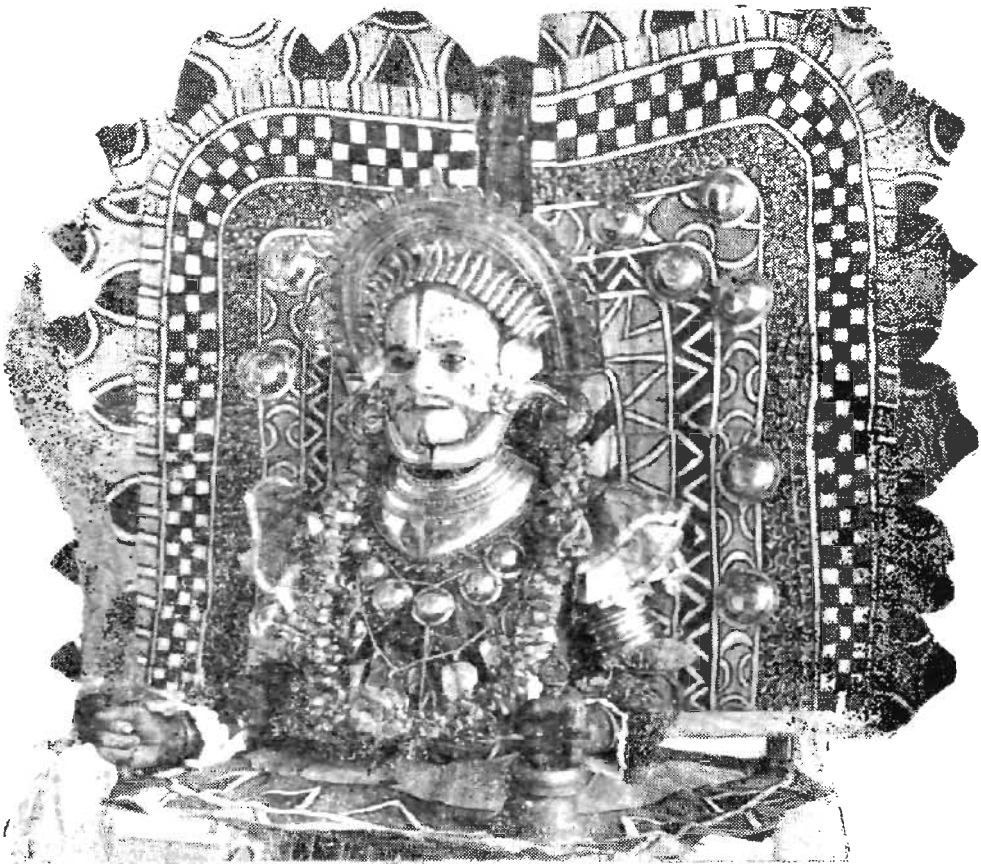


62. The procession of Bhagavati at Adka. The cloth canopy represents a sail and commemorates the arrival of Bhagavati in a ship to the Somanatheshvara temple nearby. (Personal collection).



63. Impersonators dressed in the costume of Kodamantaya and Kukkinantaya respectively (Place: Karkala).

Plate 64



64. At an advanced stage of ecstacy the impersonator of Kodamantava puts on the *ani* (decorative arch) and continues to dance (Place: Karkala).



65. Impersonators dressed in the costume of Koti and Channayya (Place: Karkala).

Plate 66

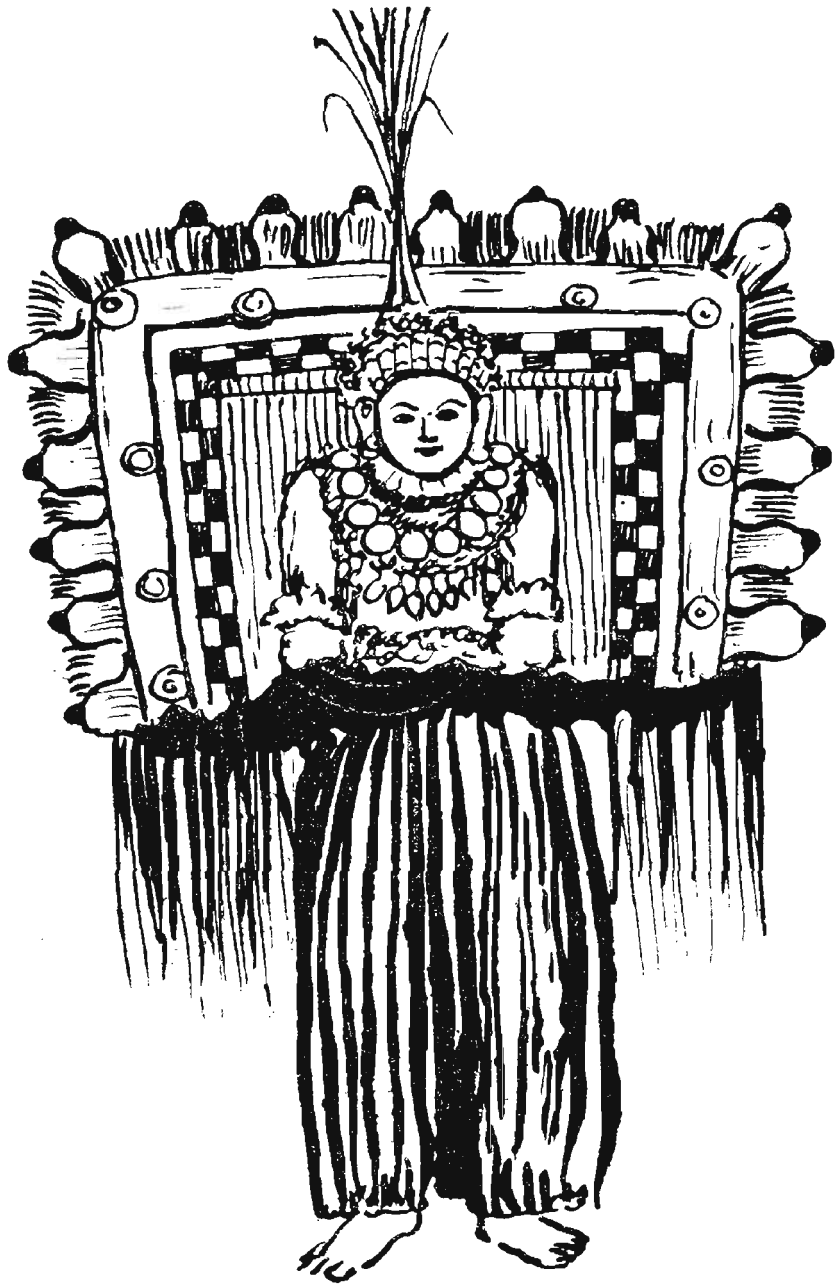


66. Impersonators of Koti and Channayya are dancing in a state of frenz (Place: Karkala).



67. Nalke devil-dancer (Sic)
(Based on the plate published in *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. V. 1909, Government Press, Madras; facing page 141).

Plate 68



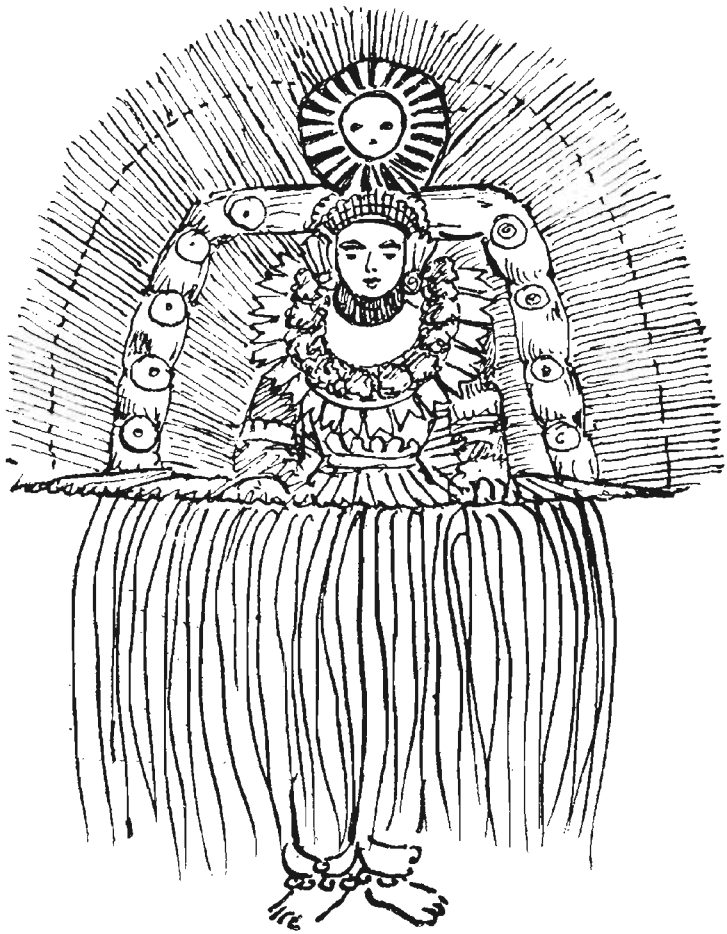
68. Nalke devil-dancer (Sic)
(Based on the plate published in *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. V, 1909, Government Press, Madras; facing page 143).



69. Nalke devil-dancer (Sic)

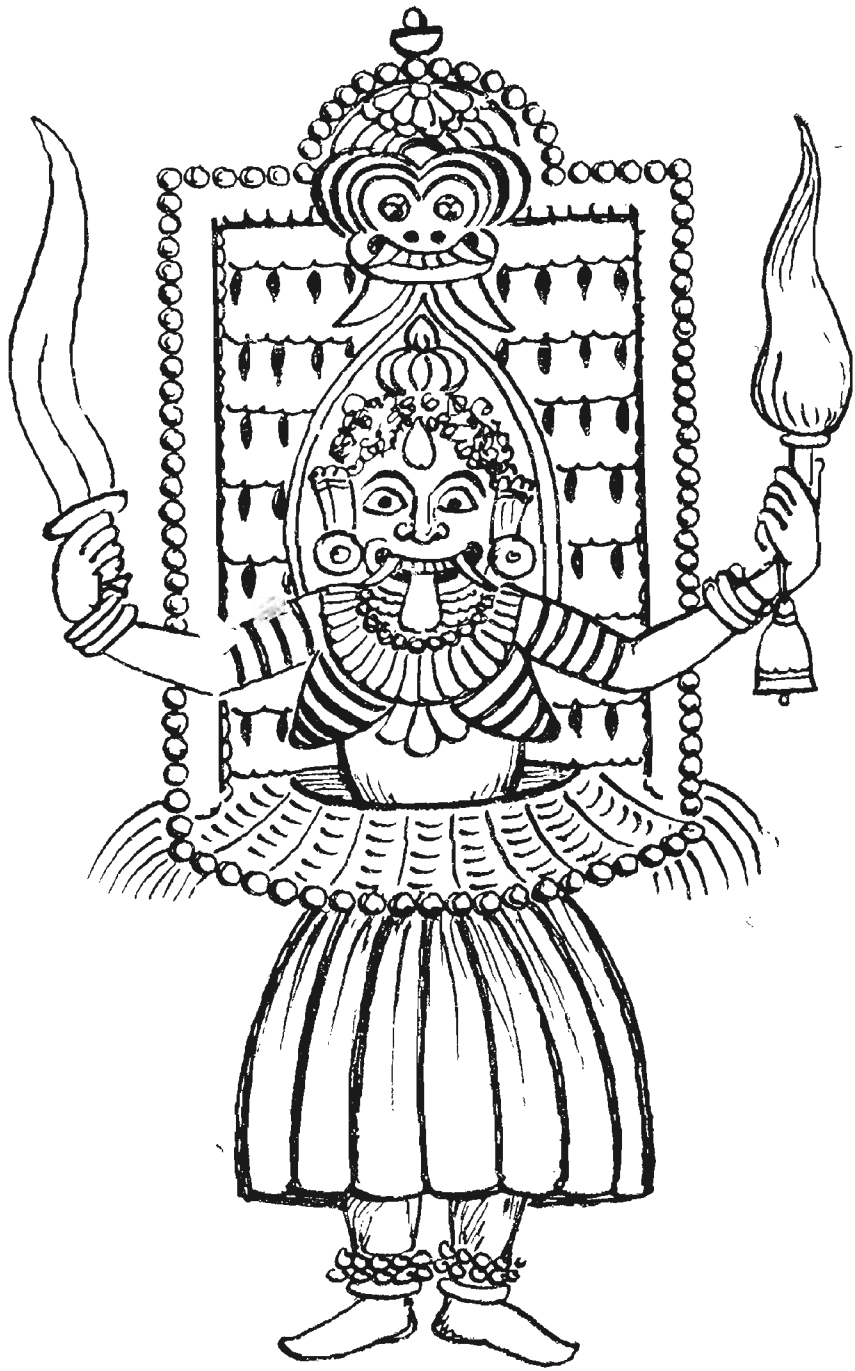
(Based on the plate published in *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India,* Vol. V, 1909. Government Press. Madras: facing page 145).

Plate 70



70. Paraya devil-dancer (Sic)

(Based on the plate published in *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, 1909. Government Press, Madras; facing page 139).



71. *Jumadi*

(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894: Fig. 1, facing page 19).

Plate 72



72. *Panjurli*

(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894: Fig. 2, facing page 19).



73. *Koti*
(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894: Fig. 1, facing page 38).

Plate 74

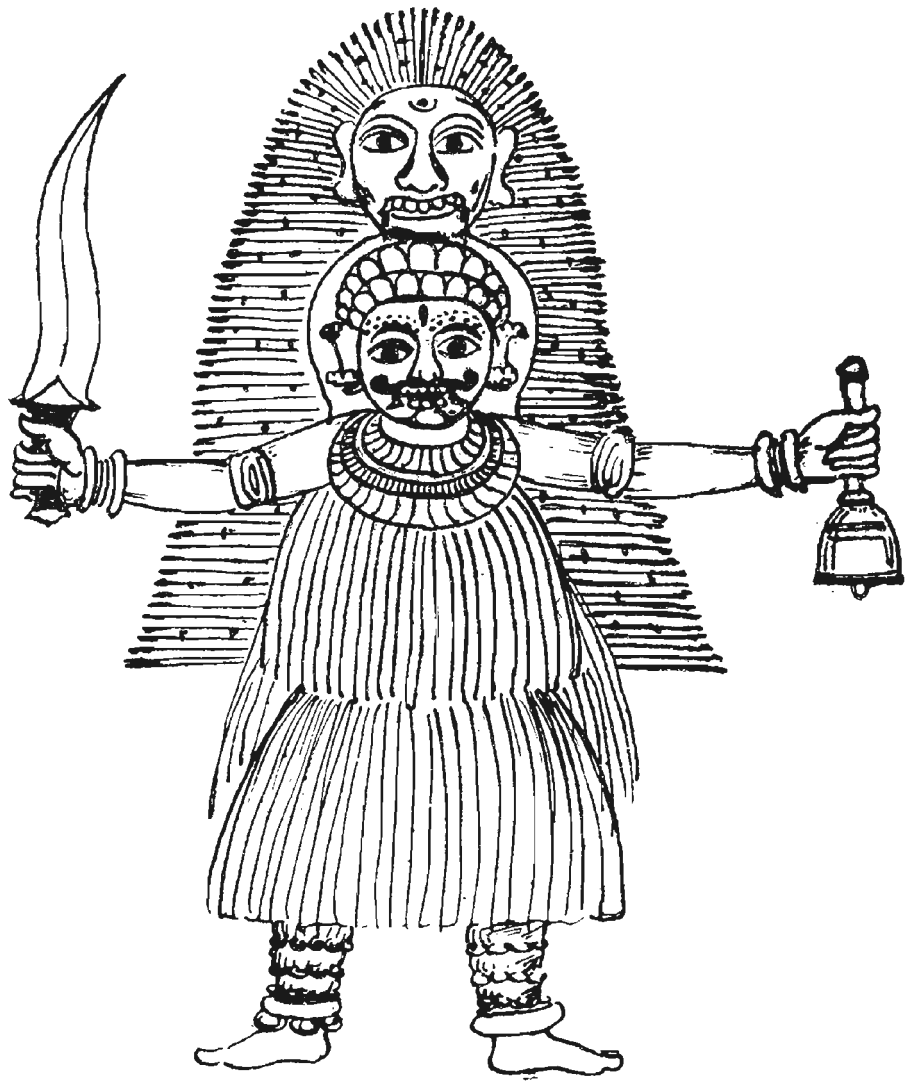


74. *Kannaya (Sic) i.e. Channayya*
(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894; Fig. 2, facing page 38).



75. *Todakinar*
(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894: Fig. 1, facing page 186).

Plate 76

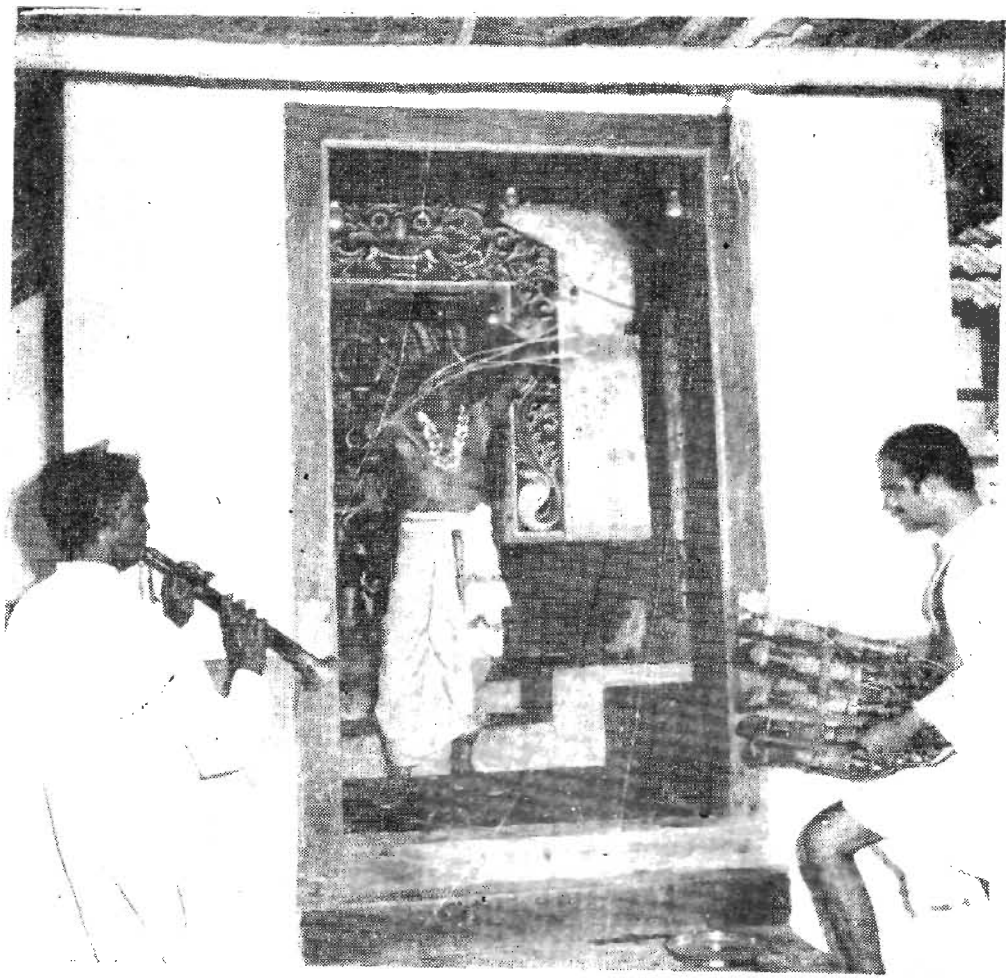


76. *Mudader* (Kalabhairava)
(Based on the plate published in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, 1894: Fig. 2, facing page 186).



77. The *Patri* (not in trance) of Amriteshvari shrine at Kota. He belongs to Balegara (bangle-seller) caste. He is seen clad in a dhoti and is exhibiting pink coloured pyjamas and an upper cloth of the same colour. Observe the dancing bells fastened to the ends of the ceremonial garments.

Plate 78



78. The *Pathi* in a state of trance is standing inside the sanctum of the Varaheshvari shrine at Surathkal. He is beating himself with a bunch of canes. Outside the sanctum a piper is playing on a pipe and an assistant is holding a *Pancha divatige* (Five pronged country torch).



79. The *Patri* at Surathkal has come out of the sanctum in a state of ecstasy and is seen beating himself with an iron bar.

Plate 80

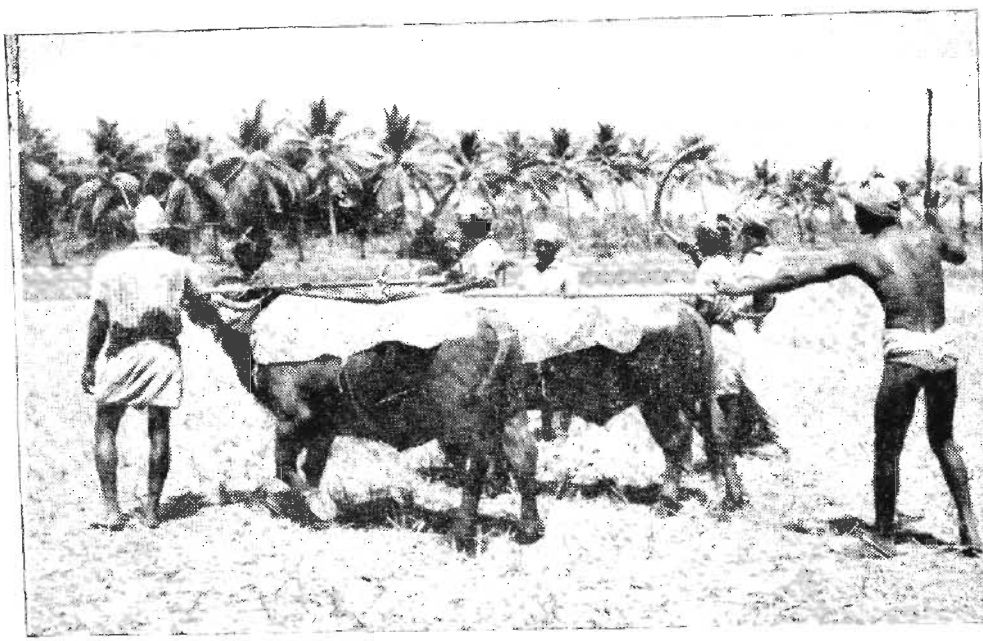


80. The mode of offering *sedisevae* at Kundodara Bhutasthana, Barkur: A boy is seated in the cradle which is being rotated high up in the air. This is a substitute for the Hook-swinging rite of the former days.



81. A pair of he-buffaloes maintained by a landlord at Kodipady for participation in *Kambula* (buffalo racing).

Plate 82



82. A pair of he-buffaloes being lead to a *Kambala* field. Observe the country musicians heralding the procession of the he-buffaloes.



83. Typical costume of an Yakshagana artiste.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Bhuta aradhana or the cult of *Bhutas* is a feature peculiar to the coastal district of South Kanara in Mysore State (Karnataka). Adherents to this cult are found in remote villages as well as in the densely populated urban areas and they hail from all walks of life. In fact the entire fabric of the socio-cultural and religious life of the community bears an impact of this cult which appears to be quite ancient in its origin. The worship of *Bhutas,* observed as a village-level community festival at several places, has built up a tradition of bringing together in close co-operation men belonging to different castes and economic levels. The erstwhile untouchable castes too are assigned an important function in the successful celebration of the festivals which aim at placating the Unseen for ensuring the welfare of the local community. This volume represents a modest attempt to describe some salient features of *Bhuta* worship at the present times in general and in certain selected centres. In order to help the reader in appreciating the subject matter in its proper perspective, the historical background and also the salient socio-cultural aspects of the district have been presented in this chapter.

Location Of South Kanara District And Its Physical Features

The district is situated on the western coast of India about half way between Bombay and Cape Comorin. It lies between 12° 30′ and 13° 58′ North Latitude and between 74° 35′ and 75° 40′ East Longitude. It extends over an area of 8441 square kilometres. Its western fringe is washed by the waters of the Arabian sea. To its north lies the other coastal district of the State viz., North Kanara which, prior to November 1956, formed part of the erstwhile Bombay State. The eastern edge of the district is formed by the Western Ghats (*Sahyadris*) which are partly in the districts of Shimoga Chikmagalur and Hassan. To its south-east lies the Coorg district while to its south-west is situated the Kasargod taluk of Kerala State. It may incidentally be pointed that prior to re-organisation of States in November 1956, Kasargod taluk was included in South Kanara district, and, that it shares many of the characteristics, not excepting the cult of *Bhuta* worship, with its former parent district. For purposes of

administration the district is now divided into 8 taluks; Buntwal, Belthangady, Coondapur, Karkal, Mangalore, Puttur, Sullia and Udipi. The district headquarters is at Mangalore, a city which in 1971 returned a population of 1,65,174. Udipi with its 29,753 inhabitants is the next most populous town. Besides, there are as many as 15 smaller towns. Most of the urban areas are situated near the coast.

Physiographically the district is usually regarded as consisting of three longitudinal strips: the coastal strip in the west, the dissected hilly region in the centre and the mountainous zone in the east with its difficult passes. The coastal zone is densely populated while the population in the mountainous zone is quite sparse. The settlement pattern is diffused as against the concentrated settlements in the *maidan* areas. Each village consists of numerous isolated homesteads and small clusters, situated at convenient places close to agricultural holdings, spread all over the revenue area of the village. The sense of loneliness is highly accentuated during the rainy season when communications are rendered difficult due to swollen rivers and blocked roads.

Some of the important rivers of the district which flow in a westerly direction and form estuarine creeks along the border are: Netravathi, Gurpur, Mulki, Suvarna-nadi, Sitanadi, Halady, Chakranadi and Kollur river besides a few rivulets known after some important places along which they flow to the sea. In the historical past, Barkur on the banks of the Sitanadi was a famous river port and a popular legend associated with the launching of a navigational vessel from here by a monarch is narrated elsewhere in this report. The ports in South Kanara are mostly situated at the confluence of rivers with the Arabian Sea. An all-weather deep-sea major harbour is presently being built at Panambur near Mangalore.

The climate of this district is marked by heavy rainfall, high humidities and oppressive weather in the hot season. The average annual rainfall ranges between 2000 mm to 3800 mm. The precipitation occurs mostly during the period of the south-west monsoon which breaks out during the first week of June along the coast and lasts till the end of September. From about mid-June to about mid-August the rainfall is heavy and continuous. During this period most of the rivers are in floods for days at a stretch and occasionally, these floods destroy life and crops.

The district abounds in forest wealth. Most of the forests are now found in the eastern and the middle sectors. These forests are generally lofty, dense and evergreen. The principal timbers in these forests are teak, blackwood, *matti, maravu,* benteak, jack and wild jack. Plants and shrubs of comparatively lesser value are abundant. In recent years rubber, cocoa and such other plantations have been raised in certain tracts by the Forest Department. In the remote past the forests of the district appear to have been more dense and almost impregnable. The inhabitants of the district of those early days must naturally have been greatly impressed by the awe-inspiring spectre and the bounty of the flora and fauna that abounded in the region wedged between the sea and rising mountain ranges. The fauna of the district is also quite rich. The large extent of forest affords a safe home to wild animals such as bison, tiger, cheeta or leopard, wild boar, spotted deer, porcupine etc. Crocodiles are found in some of the rivers. Python and cobra are quite common. A variety of harmless snakes are also found.

The odds faced by man in the district in the remote past such as his struggle for survival against the fury of the elements and the wild animals must have been really great. The conditions, it may be conjectured, were ideal for him to take to Nature worship, the traces of which have survived till to-day in the Hindu religion and the cult of *Bhutas*. Serpent worship is very widely prevalent in the district and, as will be seen later, it is closely linked with the worship of *Bhutas* also. To kill a cobra even inadvertently is regarded as a sinful act which requires atonement. Local custom enjoins the observance of a few obsequial rites in case any person were to come across a dead cobra and demands that its dead body be disposed of in a ritualistic manner failing which, it is believed a curse would befall. *Nagabanas* (serpent groves) and serpent stones usually under the pipal trees, are found in every nook and corner of the district.

History

Though South Kanara is a land of great antiquity very little is precisely known about its pre-history. According to a legend its creation (or more properly the creation of the entire West Coast) is attributed to Parashurama, the sixth Incarnation of Lord Vishnu. According to Hindu mythology, after vanquishing the Kshatriyas all over the country several times Parashurama retired to the Sahyadri mountain (Western

Ghats) from the peak of which he threw his battle-axe and forced the Lord of the Sea to recede as far as the present coast line. A large part of the district where Tulu has been the predominant spoken language, bears the historical name of *Tuluva* from ancient times.

Dr. B. A. Saletore is of the view that the Western coast of India had transoceanic trade about the beginning of the second millenium B. C. It is also asserted by scholars that trade between Tyre and India (about 900 B. C.) was by Sea, and that the cinnamon and cassia, as well as the apes, peacocks and Ivory, said in the Bible to have been imported by King Solomon, are common west-coast products. The trade between the west coast and Mediterranean countries has frequently been alluded to by Greek and Roman writers. The author of the Periplus states that the Egyptians exported woollen and linen cloth, wine and bullion to India and received in turn spices, gems, pepper, ivory, tortoise-shell and betel. Some of these probably went from South Kanara[1].

The earliest reference to Tuluva in historical records may perhaps be traced to the 3rd century B.C. According to Dr. Ramesh[2] the Kingdom of *Satiyaputra* mentioned in the second Asokan Rock Edict as a neighbouring state of Asoka's empire corresponds to the Tuluva. He opines that *Satiya* is a corrupt form of *Sahya* (i.e. Sahyadri mountains) and that the word *Putra* connotes "belonging to a race or community" and also states that the renowned historian Vincent Smith was the first to suggest the identity of Satiyaputra with Tuluva.

Greek travellers of the early Christian era seem to have been familiar with this coastal tract. Nitrias and Barace mentioned by Pliny (23 A.D.) have been identified by scholars as corresponding to Mangalore on the banks of Netravati and Basrur port near Coondapur. Ptolemy (150 A.D.) while describing the ports on the western-coast mentions a city called Maganur and also speaks of one of the inland centres of pirates which he calls Oloikhora. Maganur is held to be none other than Mangalore and Oloikhora has been interpreted to mean Alva-kheda Kingdom with its capital at Udyavara. That the Tuluva coast was well known to the Greek geographers of the 2nd century is clear from a Greek farce containing some

1 Gazetteer of India, Karnataka State, South Kanara District; Bangalore-1973.

2 Dr. K. V. Ramesh *Tulu Nadina Itihasa;* 1968 Mysore.

passages in *Hale Kannada* and a reference to *Malpe Naik*, the administrative head of Malpe.

Tamil literature of the *Sangam* period (first 3 centuries A.D.) contains several references to *Tulunadu* and its people belonging to the Koshar community. Poet Mamulnar mentions that the Koshars helped a Konkan king against the King of Mogur in Tamil Nad and further relates that subsequently their relations became strained to such an extent that Nannan, the Konkan king drove the Koshars away from their home-land and annexed their territories.

South Kanara was under the sway of the Alupas for about 1200 years from early Christian era. The word Alupa is held to be a variant of *Aluka* which stands for *Sesha* and denotes the *Naga* origin of the dynasty. It is also considered to be a derivative of *Aal* meaning 'to rule or govern' and the dynastic name occurs as *Aaluka, Aalupa, Aaluva* and *Aalpa* in epigraphs. They belonged to *Somavamsha* and, like the Pandyans of Tamil country had adopted fish as their emblem. Dr. Ramesh avers that though the Alupas professed Shaivism they were tolerant of other sectarian and religious faiths and extended equal royal patronage.

On the basis of references to Alupa Gananayaka Pashupathi as a *Samanta* (underlord) or Kakustha Varma in the Halmidi and Talagunda inscriptions it has been concluded that the Alupas had by the middle of the 5th century become feudatories of the Kadambas of Banavasi (Mysore Archaeological Report 1936, quoted by Dr. Ramesh). Chalukyan Emperor Kirtivarma (566-596) is said to have conquered the Kadambas and the Alupas among others. From that period as long as the Chalukyan empire lasted in Karnataka, the Alupas continued to owe their allegience to the Chalukyas. Aluvarasa I (650-680) is believed to have whole-heartedly supported Chalukya Vikramaditya I during his decade-long struggle in re-establishing himself by driving the Pallavas out of Karnataka in 655 and thus earned the gratitude of the Emperor. The Maraduru grant of Vikramaditya I dated in the year 693 invokes *Akshaya-phala* upon Aluka Maharaja and mentions him as having traversed a long way from Mangalapura. He was succeeded by his son Chitravahana I (680-730) who had the privilege of marrying Kunkumadevi, a sister of Chalukyan Emperor Vijayaditya. The next king Aluvarasa II (730-60) it appears accepted the sovereignty of the Pallavas and lost his governorship over Kadamba mandala and had his capital at

Udyavara near Udipi. In 753, the Rashtrakutas established their supremacy all over Karnataka and during this period of transition some of the feudatories tried to carve out independant kingdoms. Chitravahana II (760-800), the ambitious Alupa, it seems, left his brother Ranasagara on the throne at Udyavara and himself moved over to Pomburcha (i.e., Humcha in Tirthahalli taluk) principality, which too was all along under the control of the Alupas, and founded a capital at Pergunji with a view to expanding his territories. But as he refused to accept the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas, the governor of Kadamba-mandala under royal orders attacked and drove him out of Pergunji. Left with no alternative Chitravahana II returned to Udyavara and, as Ranasagara refused to vacate the throne, there followed a period of civil strife punctuated with bitter battles which were later on taken up by their sons also. Peace returned finally after the death of Śvetavahana (son of Chitravahana II) when Prithvisagara (son of Ranasagara) alone was left with as the unquestioned heir to the Alupa throne. He was succeeded by Maramma Aluvarasar (840-870). He was also called Vijayaditya-Alupendra and Uttama Pandya and, taking advantage of the political situation of the period, he assumed titles like Parameshwara and Adhiraja. The Gangas who had taken up arms against Rashtrakutas were assisted by the Alupa ruler and, as a consequence, Rashtrakuta King Krishna II (878-914) subsequently sent an expedition to chastise the Alupas who had helped the rebellious Gangas. The Alupa ruler Vimaladitya died in the battle and Rananjaya was crowned by the Rashtrakutas. It is interesting that Rananjaya was succeeded by his son-in-law Chagi Santara (900-930). Dattalapendra (930-950), Kundavarma (950-980) and Jayasimha I (980-1010) were the next rulers in succession. The Cholas attacked the Alupa kingdom in about 1010 and in the fight that ensued Jayasimha perhaps lost his life. The Cholas appear to have established themselves at Barkur for some time. A decade later when they thought it prudent to retreat from the Tuluva, Bankideva I (1020-50) re-established himself on the Alupa throne.

During the region of *kavi* Alupendra, (1110-60) Hoysala King Vishnu Vardhana conquered the Tuluva but permitted the Alupas to govern the country with some degree of political independence. About 2 centuries later the Hoysalas attacked Chandavara (of North Kanara district) which was then under Alupas. Soyideva Alupendra (1315-35) rushed to the assistance of his subordinate at Chandavara but soon realised the futility of his attacking the Hoysala forces. He accorded cordial

welcome to Viraballala III, the Hoysala King and offered Chikkayi Tai, a princess of the Alupa family, in marriage to his Sovereign. By this royal alliance the Alupas retained their independence in the Tuluva and, the Hoysala interests and nominal supremacy came to be represented by Queen Chikkayi Tai [described as *Pallada Piriyarasi*' (senior crowned queen)] with her capital at Barkur. In fact, following the death of Viraballala in 1342, his widow assumed all his royal titles and exercised Hoysala control over Tuluva till 1348. Soyideva was in turn succeeded by Kulasekhara II (1335-46), Bankideva III (1346-55), Kulasekhara III (1355-90) and Virapandyadeva (1390-1400) who is regarded as the last of the Alupa kings.

In the meantime the Vijayanagara empire had been founded and before long the Tuluva too came under its imperial influence. Historians are of the view that this transition was smooth and gradual. The Vijayanagara monarchs permitted the Alupas (and subsequently the chiefs of minor principalities such as Chauta, Banga, Ajila and Bhairasa Wodeyars) to rule over their patrimony but under their Viceroys placed over Barkur and Mangalore divisions. These monarchs evinced great interest in Tuluva in view of the facilities it offered for the import of horses from the Arab countries and had stationed one of their fleets under an admiral designated *Navigada Prabhu* at Mangalore. Barkur became a place of greater importance as it was made the capital of the province which comprised not only Tulunadu but also the Haiva and Konkan districts. The primary function of the Viceroys, it appears, was to ensure general subservience by the various local chiefs or *Arasus* to the Vijayanagara cause with a policy of non-intervention in the day-to-day administration of the tract. This sort of semi-independence, in a way created conditions favourable for the Arasus to strengthen themselves and, besides fighting among themselves frequently to disown the authority of the Empire on a few occasions. The first such revolt occurred in about 1398 and Vikra Chauta, the rebel, had to be subdued by Mahapradhana Mangappa *Dandanayaka* (General) with the assistance of Haivarasa, the Chief of Nagire principality. Perhaps the most serious rebellion took place during 1515 when Emperor Krishnadevaraya himself marched on Bhairava V of Kalasa-Karkala principality. Though Bhairava was defeated and at first deprived of his powers the magnanimous Emperor, before leaving the Tuluva, reinstated him as a feuda-

tory and restored the principality. It may be mentioned in passing that Krishnadevaraya belonged to Tuluva dynasty.

With the decline of the Alupa power, during and immediately prior to the Vijayanagara supremacy, a number of chiefdoms arose in the district. These minor chieftains may be divided into two categories: the more powerful rulers of Gerusoppa or Nagire, Haduvalli or Sangeethapura of the present North Kanara district, and Karkal forming one group and, the local chiefs of the Chauta, Banga, Ajila, Surala, Mallara, Savanta, Vittala, Ellura, Binnani, Nandalike, Kadaba-Tingala, and Kumbala (presently in Kerala State) chiefships forming the second group.

The Nagire principality with its capital at Gerusoppa comprised of the northern-most and south-eastern territories of the present South and North Kanara districts respectively. These chiefs, claiming descent in the Saluva dynasty, were Jains and were adherents of *Aliyasanthana* law of inheritance especially during the later period of their rule. They rose to prominence during the early 14th century and retained power and prestige till the middle of the 16th century. Their territories were annexed by the Keladi Kings.

The chiefs of Haduvalli too were Jains and followers of *Aliyasanthana* law of inheritance. They had matrimonial alliances with the chiefs of Gerusoppa. One of the early rulers, Sangiraya rebelled in 1415 but was soon subdued by the Vijayanagara Viceroy of Barkur. These chiefs too were finally ousted by the Keladi rulers in early 16th century.

The rulers of Karkala (the neighbourhood of Kalasa of present-day Chikmagalur district was also included in it) were more powerful than either the Arasus of Gerusoppa or Haduvalli. These kings claimed to be of the Santara stock and of the Ugra-Vamsha. The Santaras had their earliest capital at Patti Pomburcha (Humcha of Tirthahalli taluk) and extended their sway into Tuluva in about the 9th century although they failed to obtain a firm footing in the district till the beginning of the 14th century. These chiefs also professed the Jain religion and generally followed the *Aliyasanthana* law of inheritance. The Santaras ruled, for over three centuries, an area which became known as Santalige 1000 and their influence began to decline by the middle of the 13th century. About 1400, when Bhairava I ascended the

throne, their territory was quite small and was in the neighbourhood of Kalasa. It was during his reign that Karkala was annexed and Keravase of Karkala taluk became a prominent seat of administration. According to an inscription at Varanga dated 1523 Bhairava I constructed the Nemisvara Chaitya at Karkala. His successor Pandya I or Abhinava Chamundaraya caused the carving and erection of the huge monolithic Bahubali at Karkala at the behest of his preceptor Lalitha Keertideva in 1432. The next ruler Pandya II is credited with having set up the *manastambha* (pillar) in front of the Nemisvara shrine. An inscription of 1461 at Keravase gives details of a military or security pact between Pandya II and Kamiraya Arasa, the chief of Bangavady. He and his successors were powerful monarchs who owed only nominal allegiance to the Vijayanagara empire and that too when it was found beneficial to them. One of them, Bhairava V (1510-35), tried to flout the paramountcy of the Vijayanagara empire and was immediately cut to size by Emperor Krishnadevaraya himself. The rulers of this dynasty later accepted the suzerainty of Keladi Sadasiva Nayaka and thus retained power for a couple of decades on the eve of and immediately after the fall of Vijayanagara. During the reign of Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka I in about 1598, they were completely destroyed.

The origin of Bangas is not definitely known. According to one version they came from Gangavadi to find shelter under the Alupas. They settled down at Bangavady in Belthangady taluk. Veeranarasimha, Chandrasekhara (1208-24), Shankara Devi I (1325-50), Lakshmapparasa I (1401-30), Kamiraya I (1461-80), Lakshmapparasa II (1481-1500) and Kamiraya II (1565-95) are some of the rulers of this dynasty. A Banga chief had married the famous Chauta princess. Abbakka to whom a reference is made in a subsequent paragraph. At the time of Shankara Devi II (1630-50) the Keladi King took Mangalore from the Bangas. In 1763, when the Banga Chief failed to pay the tribute Haidar Ali's Governor annexed his territory to Mysore.

Venooru, presently a village in Karkal taluk, was the capital of Ajilas (also spelt as Ajalas), who too were Jains and claimed to be a branch of the Saluvas. They flourished during 15th and 16th centuries. Venoor has the remains of some 12 Jain temples besides the huge monolithic statue of Gommata. This statue was installed in 1604 by Thimmanna Ajila IV

(1550-1610) at the request or direction of his preceptor Charukirti. When Thimmanna Ajila got this Gommata ready for installation, his neighbour, the Bhairarasa of Karkala demanded that it should be made over to him for being installed at Karkala. The Ajila Chief refused and consequently, was attacked. In the battle that ensued, despite his superior strength, the Karkala Chief was worsted and driven back. The statue which had been kept buried in a river-bed for reasons of security was then brought out and installed. Perhaps a reference to this historical fact has been woven into the legend of *Kalkuda* or *Kallukutiga* (Sculptor) *Bhuta* which is narrated elsewhere in this volume. The Ajilas became the feudatories of Keladi kings and subsequently of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. The family has its descendants and residence even now at Aladangadi near Venooru.

The Chautas (also spelt as Chowters) have been an old family originally belonging to Puttige. They had their capital at Ullala near Mangalore city and rose to prominence during the 12th century. They retained power upto the commencement of the British period. Later their capital was shifted again to Puttige and finally to Mudabidri. They appear to have been Shaivites, though in the later half of their reign they had matrimonial alliances with the royal Jain families of Bangavady. Somanatha was their family deity and the town of Someswara which is adjacent to Ullala and takes its name from this deity was the residence of Tirumala Raya Chauta (1160-79). He was succeeded by his nephew who annexed Mijar-Magane and later shifted his capital to Puttige. One of these chiefs, Chennaraya II (1403-70) helped the Banga Raja of Nandavara against Kollattiris of Nileswar and in turn received several villages. It was during his reign that the *Tribhuvana Tilaka Chudamani basadi* of Mudabidri was built by Jain Settis of the place (1429). His successor Bhoja Raya II (1470-1510) is said to have visited Emperor Krishnadevaraya at his capital and on his return built a Mariyamma temple at Mudabidri to placate his palanquin bearers and another temple at Kadandalai to enshrine the idol of Subbaraya which he had brought with him from Vijayanagar. Towards the end of his reign, with the appearance of the belligerent Portuguese on the coast, the importance of Ullala as one of the Capitals began to decline. Queen Abbakka II of this family (1544-82) had married Banga Raja Lakshmappa Arasa who had his capital at Mangalore. On his death in 1566 he was succeeded by his nephew Kamiraya. To put an end to the frequent disputes that arose between himself and the Queen.Kamiraya sought the help of

the Portuguese. At first the attacking Portuguese forces were beaten back by the Queen but, during a later incursion Ullala was captured and the Queen was forced to conclude a treaty with her enemies. Her daughter Tirumala Devi (1582-1606) was defeated and killed by Karkala Chief and to avenge her death, her son Chikkaraya (1606-28) sought the help of Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi. Chikkaraya extended his kingdom under the patronage of Keladi. During the reign of Bhoja Raya III (1630-44) a new palace was built at Mudabidri and the capital shifted from Puttige. Ullala Magane, with the exception of Someswara, was attached to Keladi. The rulers of this family continued to hold office till the commencement of British rule and the British, on acquiring their territories, granted them an annual allowance.

Mulki, about 30 kms north of Mangalore was the seat of Savantas and their territory lay between the Mulki and Pavanje rivers. The capital was shifted to nearby Hale-angadi (formerly known as Olalankai) where the remains of their old palace may now be seen. In a field called *Bakkimaru* in front of the palace there are the 20 tombs of Savanta Chiefs implying that there had been 20 successors in the family after the capital was moved to Olalankai. Dugganna Savanta, who was hailed as *Deenajana Chintamani* and *Bhavya Shiromani* was ruling in about 1542. It appears to have been a prosperous centre from 12th to the 16th century. As a result of the inquisition at Goa in 16th century several Hindus, mostly Gowda Saraswath Brahmins, arrived at the port of Mulki. The Savanta Chief gave them lands for their habitation and also had a temple constructed for enshrining their god Narasimha, the idol being a present from the Chief himself. This accounts for the tradition which enjoins that the procession of this deity be taken as far as the palace site (royal residence) and worshipped there during the illumination festival[3].

The Tolahas or Tolars ruled over the greater part of Udipi and Coondapur taluks with their capital at Surala (hamlet of Pejamangur), on the banks of Sitanadi, about 10 kms. west of Barkur. During the Portuguese invasion of the coast the Tolars fought them valiantly and despite some initial successes were later forced to agree to pay a subsidy and to allow the Portuguese to build a fort of their own at Basrur in 1571. In about 1608 Venkatappa Nayaka of Keladi

3. Statistical Appendix together with a supplement to the two District Manuals of South Kanara; Krishnaswamy Ayyar; Ed. Hall J.F.; Madras, 1938 P. 384

established his supremacy and allowed the Tolars to rule over their territories as his subordinate chiefs. These chiefs were in a prosperous condition until Haidar Ali overran the district in about 1763. Even after the advent of the British they, however, retained their high status in the region and continued to celebrate their coronation ceremonies and Navaratri (Dasara) festival in accordance with their ancient royal tradition though on reduced scale and with less pomp and granduer.

The Mulars had their seat at Bailangadi and held sway over 12 *maganes* which included among other places the villages of Charmadi, Mundaje, Ujire, Dharmasthala, Neriya, Kokkad and Sisila—most of which are now in Belthangady taluk. One of the queens of this family had married Vira Narasimha Lakshmappa Arasu, Chief of the neighbouring Banga country. It is said that when this Queen Somala Devi (Sankara Devi) and her husband were jointly administering the Bailangadi and Banga territories, on a particular occasion of performing the Anantha-Vritam she refused to sit by the left side of her husband, to which the king objected. She left the place of worship in anger and reached Bailangadi where she built a *basti* within a month and performed the Anantha-Vritam without her husband. This was too much to bear for the Arasu. He attacked Bailangadi but was slain in the battle at the head of the steps leading to Bailangadi palace. The Queen was struck with remorse and committed suicide on the spot and, the people built two tombs for them in black-stone. Subsequently, the relationship between the two families became cordial. During the Keladi period the Mulars used to supply cardamom in large quantities and on that account were known as Elakki-Mularu[4].

A passing reference may be made to Honnakambali Chiefs who ruled from Hosangadi, and held sway over an area that included Kollur and an adjoining area above the *ghats*. In several parts of the district there were minor chiefs called Ballalas and Heggades under the petty rulers. The notable among such chiefs are the Ballalas of Chittupadi, Nidamburu and Kattapadi.

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4. Statistical Appendix together with a supplement to the two District Manuals of South Kanara, Krishnaswamy Ayyar; Ed. Hall J.F.; Madras, 1938. P. 389

In about the beginning of the 16th century, the Vijayanagara King conferred the title of Nayaka on Chaudappa Gauda (1500-40) of the Keladi family and appointed him as the chief of that area which incidentally lay on the borders of South Kanara. His successor Sadashiva Nayaka (1544-65) was a great warrior and rendered valuable military service to the Vijayanagara Kings. The territory governed by him included Barakuru and Mangaluru i.e., the entire South Kanara district. In about 1613, Venkatappa Nayaka I (1586-1629) of this dynasty became independent of the Vijayanagara Kings. Venkatappa Nayaka I was very powerful, and he has been described in epigraphs as 'a diamond elephant-goad to the lust elephants' alluding to his taming of the Tuluva rulers of Gerusoppa, Karkala and Ullala. When the Chiefs of Gerusoppa and Bhatkal acknowledged the suzerainty of the Adil Shah of Bijapur, Venkatappa Nayaka attacked them in order to preserve the territory assigned to his family. He also wanted to stem the advance of the Portuguese. Therefore he readily responded when the Queen of Ullala requested for his aid against her divorced husband Banga Raja and the Portuguese. The construction of the forts of Barkuru, Kallianapura, Kandaluru and Mallikarjunagiri are attributed to him. Venkatappa Nayaka was succeeded by his grandson Veerabhadra Nayaka (1629-45) and it was during this period that the capital was shifted from Ikkeri to Bidanur. He had no issue and abdicated the throne in favour of Shivappa Nayaka. Even before ascending the throne, Shivappa Nayaka had subdued the powerful Bhairarasa Wodeyar of Karkala. He proved himself to be the strongest amongst the contemporary local rulers and firmly established his control over South Kanara: after repelling the repeated incursions of the Portuguese, he became the undisputed master of the coast. During the period of Keladi rulers, it may be mentioned, there were constant and sustained efforts by the foreign powers (Dutch, Portuguese and British) to acquire a foothold along the coast and capture trade in commodities like rice, pepper, cardamom and forest products. Of the subsequent rulers of this line mention may be made of Basavappa Nayaka II (1739-54), to whom the forts of Dariyabadgad near Malpe, Manohargad at Kapu, Malluru, Tonse, and Coondapur as well as the palace of Bennegere are attributed.

In 1763, Haidar Ali captured Bidanur and finally annexed Keladi Kingdom to Mysore. Haidar Ali regarded Mangalore as a naval station of great importance and established a dockyard and an arsenal there. He was succeeded by Tippu Sultan

who too evinced keen interest in the administration of this coastal district. Ultimately in 1799 with the fall of Mysore this district also became part of the British territory. For a greater part under the British rule this district formed part of the Madras Province. Subsequent to Independence also it continued to be a part of Madras State until 1956, November when the States were re-organised in the country on linguistic basis.

Any reference to the history of South Kanara would be incomplete without a reference to Nandu Raya, Hobakoosa (Habashika according to Buchanan's Travelogue) and Bhutala Pandya who are believed to have ruled over the territory in the remote past. Nandu Raya, a man belonging to Holeya Caste (Scheduled Caste) is credited to have introduced currency reforms by bringing into circulation leather pieces with stipulated values during his reign, the duration of which is however not known. A saying *"Nandu Rayana Bhandara Nayi Nari Tindu Hoyitu"* is current among the local people even to this day. If literally rendered it means that the treasury (i.e., currency) of Nandu Raya was eaten away by dogs and foxes. Perhaps it is spoken of in derision to suggest the way in which he squandered the royal treasure. Either way, there is no dispute regarding the fact that he did rule the country. As regards Habashika he is said to have belonged to Koraga community which is now one of the most backward Scheduled Tribes of the district. According to tradition, he invaded Tuluva and ruled for 12 years, at the end of which he was murdered and then his followers were attacked by the Kadambas and were forced to retreat to the interior forests. This also shows that South Kanara was under the rule of the Chiefs belonging to a caste or tribe which now occupies the lowest place in the social hierarchy. The name of Bhutala Pandya is more widely known all over the district and he is credited to have introduced *Aliyasanthana Kattu,* the law of inheritance and succession according to which it is the sister's son that inherits property and titles and succeeds to the *gadi.* According to a legend when Devapandya (mother's brother of Bhutala Pandya) the king wanted to launch a newly built ship laden with valuable cargo, Kundodara Bhuta demanded a human sacrifice. His wife refused to offer any of her sons while his sister Satyavati offered her son Jayapandya for the purpose. When the sacrifice was about to be performed the *Bhuta* waived its demand, allowed the ship to sail and saved the boy. Henceforth Jayapandya became known as Bhutala Pandya. On a subsequent occasion too when the *Bhuta* demanded a human sacrifice the Queen refused to

offer any of her sons. Taking notice of this lack of devotion, or attachment, evinced by the Queen to the King and his fortunes, the Kundodara Bhuta demanded that she and her sons should be disinherited and that the King should bestow his property and rank to Bhutala Pandya, his sister's son. Accordingly Bhutala Pandya succeeded Devapandya and decreed that his own example should be followed by his subjects. It may be of interest to know that according to M. Govinda Pai[5], who believes in the historicity of Bhutala Pandya, the name of this King is derived from the three words Bhuta, Alupa and Pandya. He opines that Bhutalapandya was perhaps a product of the matrimonial relations between a Pandya prince and an Alupa princess and that he came to Tulunadu because it was his mother's place and became a king after the death of his mother's brother according to the prevailing custom of the land.

Most of the local communities of this district, not excluding the Bunts and Jains who have all along been the major land holding groups, are even today following the *Aliyasantana* law of inheritance and succession. The fact that the medieval ruling chiefs such as the Chautas, the Savantas, the Bhairarasas, the Ajilas, the Bangas, the Tolars etc., and the local chiefs of the lesser order such as Ballalas, Heggades etc., are historically known to have ardently practised this system lends support to the view that even in the remote past most of the people including the ruling classes were matriarchal. Since the origin of this system or, at least the act of accrediting it with a royal decree, is associated with the worship of a *Bhuta* it may not be off the mark if one were to suggest that from the very early times *Bhuta* worship was perhaps the most popular religious faith that prevailed in this region. Whether *Bhuta* worship which has definite overtones of mother-goddess cult bears any specific association with matriarchate is a matter for deeper study.

Religion

A brief review of the religious faiths pursued in the district indicates that along with *Bhuta* cult the worship of cobra stones or serpents and trees (especially the pipal tree) has been prevailing from ancient times. It appears that as in most

5. Gazetteer of India, Karnataka State, South Kanara District; Banga'ore, 1973. P. 38.

other parts of the country here too, Buddhism became fairly popular during the early centuries of the Christian era and that there was a monastery at Kadri. According to historians Buddhism never became the religion of the local rulers. Subsequently, Shaivism and Jainism became prominent and during the 10th century the Nath cult had also spread to a considerable extent with its principal seat at Kadri. The Alupa kings were Shaivates. Jainism gained ascendency from about the beginning of the 13th century though it is known to have been in vogue from the ninth century itself. This religion received royal patronage and the monuments at Mudabidri, Karkal etc., stand testimony to the strong influence it exerted in this district. The influence of *Vaishnavism* was also quite powerful during and after the 13th century. Madhvacharya, the exponent of *Dvaita* Philosophy belongs to this district and he lived for about 79 years spending a long period in writing and in preaching *Dvaita* and the doctrine of *Bhakti*. He established 8 *mathas* (monasteries) and appointed eight of his disciples to be in charge of these and to administer the Krishna Temple at Udipi. The influence of *Veerashaivism* is not quite impressive. However, it is known to have spread a little during the reign of Keladi Kings and a few followers of this faith are found here and there even now. In the district there are quite a large number of Christians and Muslims of different denominations. In summing up it may be stated that despite diversity in their religious faiths the people here are leading a harmonious life. The relationship subsisting between Hindus, Jains, Muslims and Christians is marked by utmost cordiality.

Salient economic and socio-cultural characteristic

The population of the district is mostly rural. In rural areas the chief economic resources are land, livestock and the sea in the case of coastal villages. The agricultural lands are either wet or garden, for though there are very large extents of dry lands these are seldom cultivated due to their unfavourable situation (usually slopes, ridges and high land which cannot retain water). The wet lands are generally of three classes: first class or *Bail* yield three or two wet crops, irrigation ordinarily being by direct flow: second class or *Majal* yield two wet crops, the second, irrigated mainly by baling; third class or *Bettu* lands are less favourably situated and yield only one crop. Paddy (rice) is the most important wet crop. Cultivation is mainly dependent upon the rains during the south-west monsoon.

Though there are three classes of land those yielding only one crop a year are the most extensive and it is such lands that provide work and sustenance to the bulk of the population. The first crop called *Yenel* is raised during the period June to October in all the 3 classes of land; the second crop called *Suggi* is raised in irrigated fields during the period October to January and the third crop called *Kolke* is produced in very small extents of irrigated lands between February and May. Arecanut and coconut, raised in gardens are the other most important crops of the district. Next in the order of importance there are the garden crops of cardamom, pepper and fruits such as plantains. The district is also well known for its forest produce which include timber of high quality.

In this district most of the agricultural land-holdings have all along been held by communities which have traditionally been following the *Aliyasantana* system of inheritance and succession. These landlords usually leased out parts of their holdings to *Moolagenidars* (permanent tenants) and *Chalagenidars* (tenants-at-will) for effective cultivation and retained considerable extents for home-farm-cultivation. These families used to be quite large as they almost always tended to be matrilineal joint families. The members of such families used to participate in the day-to-day activities associated with agriculture and in most of the cases this type of home-farm cultivation was carried on with the additional assistance of the dependent families of field labourers who were called *Moolada Holeyas* and were attached to the land-lords' families from times immemorial. The *Aliyasantana* system of inheritance has all along prevented fragmentation of property and in the past the families which held very large extents and had numerous members in them enjoyed certain amount of economic power, prestige and leadership.

Livestock rearing is an adjunct to cultivation and the animals reared are generally cows, bullocks, buffaloes, and poultry. Pigs are also reared but mostly by Christians and a few of the Hindu caste-groups. The cows are mostly of an indigenous stock, short in stature and yield only small quantities of milk. They are kept in large numbers for the valuable manure that they provide. Bullocks are used as draught animals for ploughing the fields and rarely for drawing carts. As elsewhere, she-buffaloes are reared for milk. But, in South Kanara, it may be specially mentioned, he-buffaloes are in great demand for being used as draught animals, preferred especially for puddling the rice fields.

He-buffaloes have all along been regarded as prized possessions in this district by the prestigious landlords, for *Kambala* (buffalo race) has been a popular rural sport which has over the centuries acquired some ritualistic value also. Poultry rearing is a common practice among almost all the land-holders who are conventionally non-vegetarians. The non-vegetarian tenant and labour communities too patronise poultry raising. *Koli-anka* (cock-fight) has been one of the popular sports in the district. Both *Kambala* and *Koli-anka* are associated with *Bhuta* worship.

Marine fishing is an important economic activity prevailing from very ancient times all along the coast, while fishing in inland waters is confined to only such of the villages as are located on the banks of rivers and streams. Unlike agriculture this is a specialised occupation which is usually pursued by members belonging to the traditional Hindu fishermen castes such as the Mogaveera (also spelt as Mogeyers or Mogers and called Marakala in Tulu), Boyi, Mukkuvan, Kharvi etc., besides some Muslims and Christian communities. Of these the most widespread, numerous and important group is that of Mogaveeras who speak Tulu and Kannada in the southern and the northern halves of the district. The Boyi (Besta or Ambiga) speak Malayalam and are found in larger numbers in Mangalore taluk. The Kharvis speak Konkani and are immigrants from Goa and Konkan Coast. Muslims are more interested in buying fish from these fishermen in bulk and exporting to distant places. These fishermen communities are also engaged in transportation of goods and passengers by maritime and water-borne routes from ancient times. Toddy-tapping (from coconut and palm trees) is another age-old profession in this district. It is the hereditary occupation of Billavas who are also called *Pujaris* and *Baidyas*. The practitioners of functional occupations such as those pursued hereditarily by the village priest, barber, oil-monger, potter, musician (piper, drummer), blacksmith, carpenter, washermen etc., are spread over in villages and towns of the district. It is a unique feature that all these castes and communities are associated with *Bhuta* worship and each community has been traditionally assigned a specific ritual to perform at the time of periodical *Bhuta* festivals.

CHAPTER II

Definition, Attributes And Classification of Bhutas

In South Kanara, the term *Bhuta* connotes an essentially divine spirit which deserves worship and periodical propitiation. The cult is not confined to any particular *Bhuta,* or to any particular area or to any particular caste or to any particular set of families in any given community. There is a veritable pantheon of the *Bhutas* whose number is very large. Among the local people any reference to *Bhutas* and their worship evokes a sense of reverence and, places, persons and objects associated with *Bhutas* are regarded as sacred. *Bhutas* are believed to be capable of shaping the welfare of votaries and in the control or regulation of the elements, especially the rain. If propitiated properly in the prescribed manner these spirits confer good health and wealth on the votary and his family members. The people of the district have from a long time been observing certain periodical festivals in honour of various *Bhutas* at family-level, at community-level and at village-level. Though there is a sense of overwhelming devotion in these celebrations it has to be noted that there is a feeling of apprehension or fear as well. The traditional practices are regarded as inviolate. Any deviation or break or non-conformity may displease the *Bhutas.* When displeased they are believed to cast their evil influence and cause misery to the deviants until they acknowledge the powers of the *Bhutas* concerned and revert to the prescribed ways of propitiation. Quite often *Bhutas* are referred to as *Daivas* (and *Deyya* in Tulu), a general term meaning divine beings including gods. Thus the cult of *Bhutas* involves essentially the worship of a number of super-natural beings which are generally of a benign temperament but are also capable of causing hardships to reassert their power and influence on human affairs. In short, *Bhuta* cult is being practised here as a religion and has its own rituals and beliefs.

Several centres of *Bhuta* worship have assumed importance in the district as places of pilgrimage. *Bhutas* play an effective role in the personal and family life of the individuals and also in the social cultural, economic and recreational aspects of the collective life of the human beings. Like gods and benevolent deities the *Bhutas* are also accorded an altar in the

residential house or in a small but separate structure in the proximity of the residential house of the votary, and, shrines of varying dimensions are dedicated to separate *Bhutas* in hamlets, villages and towns. There are *Bhutas* that are attached as protective spirits to certain lands and estates as well as those which exert influence over larger territories such as *gramas* (villages), *maganes* (circle of a few villages) and *sime* (a group of 2 or more *maganes*) and are respectively designated as *gramada Bhuta, magane Bhuta* and *sime Bhuta.* Most of the local castes and communities of the district have their own tutelary *Bhutas.* Very often *Bhutas* are invoked to secure general prosperity; to secure protection of ones' cattle wealth; to ward off the impending attack of epidemic diseases and pestilence; to ensure good seasonal condition and bountiful yield of paddy; to settle family and village disputes; to secure offspring for the childless couple and to appease the manes. The *Bhuta* cult has its own institution of professional priests and impersonators who act as oracles for conveying the command of the *Bhutas* to their votaries. *Bhuta* worship has in it an inseperable element of music and dance as well. The idols of *Bhutas,* the dance, the trance and the rituals combine together to arouse a feeling of devotion coupled with fear among the devotees.

Several foreigners who came in superficial contact with this cult during the last century have expressed their own views on *Bhutas* and the forms of worship. These are reproduced in appendices I and II to this volume.

Some attempts have already been made to define the term *Bhuta.* According to William Crooke[1], "the word *Bhuta* is derived from the Sanskrit root *Bhu* meaning to 'become', which in Vedas denotes a created being and in later times an uncanny being, spirit or ghost or goblin". Proceeding on the same premise Aravamuthan[2] explains that the word *Bhuta,* "means what is, what exists, what is formed or created, a being; so it includes everything inanimate and animate. It means also what has been, what has gone, what is past, what has ceased to exist, so it includes corpses and the 'spirit' that has departed. These meanings by themselves are enough to have brought in about that the word was applied indifferently to gods and beasts, to the living and to the dead. Here we may have a starting point for an identification not only a comparison of the spirits of the dead with gods on the one

1 Religion and Folklore of Northern India.

2 Origin and Growth of Religion: Indian Evidence; Transactions of the Archaeological Society of India. Vol. I, 1955.

hand and with beasts on the other. But the word also means 'the elements' and especially 'the gross elements': Fire, Air, Ether Water and Earth. It is the activities of the Elements that, in a sense, the Rg-Vedic people may be deemed to have seen in those of the gods Agni, Surya and Rudra; in those of Vata, Vayu and the Maruts; in those of Varuna, and of Prithvi in those of others of their deities. The Fathers, being frequently spoken of as gods, may be deemed to have also had a hand in the ordering of the working of natural forces. So the word 'Bhuta' should have grown in significance to include reference to the elements, to what is inanimate, to the animate, to the living, to all beings, to all that is created, to all creatures that have ceased to exist, and there are dead, to fathers, to demons and to gods. In the welter of these significances, it may be that the word came to be applied to a cult which presented spirits of the dead in association with bio-morphous and even lifeless objects. A suggestion, however of an etymological origin of a cult may be entertained only when every other explanation fails signally."

Evidently the etymological meaning of the word encompasses a very wide field and includes several categories which do not correspond to the spirits of the departed souls that are being worshipped in the district. No doubt amongst the *Bhutas* there are quite a few which are the departed souls of the dead (eg. Koti, Channayya, Kodadabbu etc.,) especially warriors and those who perished in a violent manner; there are a few which represent the elements (eg: Maleraya is supposed to be the rain-spirit, walking on fire in the form of burning cinders is also a form of worship) and a few which represent animal species [*Nandi* (bull), *Mahisandaye* (buffalo), Panjurli (pig), Pili (tiger), Naga (cobra) etc.,] But these categories do not cover all, for there are quite a large number the origins of which cannot be traced to either the souls of a departed man or the elements or any particular animal. The term is much more comprehensive and eludes any precise definition. For example there are quite a large number of *Bhutas* representing the Mother and this fact in a way suggests close association subsisting between the cult of *Bhutas* in general and the cult of the mother-goddess. It may not be out of place here to mention that in almost all the shrines dedicated to *Bhutas* there would invariably be a pipal or a banyan tree as well as one or more *naga* (serpent) stones, for both of which also offerings are made regularly. Thus, worship of *Bhutas* is also linked with worship of trees and

serpents. Perhaps all these are the sources of the folk-religion of the area.

A legend regarding the origin of *Bhutas* narrates that soon after the creation of the Universe and division of duties among the Hindu Triad (Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara) Maheswara or Isvara, the Lord of destruction came to have one thousand *Ganas* and another thousand *Bhutas* as His attendants. In order to punish the wicked among men, the Lord created one thousand diseases and when the *Bhutas* demanded food He directed them to descend on earth and by inflicting diseases and hardships on the sinners and non-believers obtain food by way of propitiation. The legend also brings in the soothsayers and astrologers as persons capable of divining the causes for disease and hardships and directing the sufferers to propitiate the *Bhutas,* in a way, to act as the human agents for supplying food to the *Bhutas.* The legend proceeds to state that the Lord Himself assigned various names to the *Bhutas* and also allotted definite tracts such as the southern countries and kingdoms as their abode and promised to send a few more *Bhutas* later on from the northern and eastern parts of the country. It is said that goddess Mahakali, god Virabhadra and goddess Mari were dissatisfied with this divine dispensation and demanded that they should also be likewise provided with an opportunity to obtain their food. Thereupon the Lord is said to have commanded them to move over to the region around Moodabidri of Tulunadu (where Bhuta Dhumavati had her abode) belonging to the Chautas and show their prowess and receive *Kolas* and other forms of offerings.

An objective assessment of this legend indicates that it is an attempt to integrate the pre-existing concept of *Bhutas* into the Hindu religious fold. In the Hindu Mythology one of the names of Isvara or Pasupathi is given as *Bhutanatha,* the Lord of all *Bhutas* and *Ganas.* This, in a way, supports the above mentioned view that *Bhuta* cult was assimilated into Brahmanical Hinduism by treating the *Bhutas* as spirits which are subordinate to Lord Ishvara.

There are numerous *pad-danas* or folk songs narrating the exploits of particular *Bhutas* either in their human or animal forms or subsequent to their attaining the status of *Bhutas.* But very little or nothing is generally stated in these songs about the manner in which the *Bhuta* attained that status. Several *pad-danas,* however, describe the arrival of *Bhutas* at particular places and the construction and dedication of

shrines at such places. According to Aravamuthan, in one of the tales there is a reference to the manner in which the spirit of a demon is transformed into *Bhuta*. The story states that the deadman's spirit goes to Brahma, returns to the mortal world to fetch the spirit of his brother who commits suicide, and at the behest of Brahma the two undergo purificatory rites on earth and are finally admitted to Brahma's council whereupon they become *Bhutas*. In this form they return to the world and ask for performance of the raising of Vishnu's flag and the figure of *Garuda* and then become known in their villages as *Bhutas*. It may incidentally be noted that an example which corresponds broadly to the above tale may be found in the legend of Koti and Channayya according to which one of these twins died in the battle-field while the other, overcome by grief, committed suicide immediately thereafter. But, as there are quite a large number of *Bhutas* which do not represent the spirits of deadmen, such as for example, Panjurli, Haiguli, Nandikeshvara, Chikku, Chaundi, etc., it is obvious that the foregoing explanation is incomplete in that it fails to account for the manner in which the numerous *Bhutas* prevailing in the district came into being.

The *Bhutas* Koti and Channayya are related to each other as brothers and of them one dies a natural death in a battle-field having been slain by his foster guardian while the other committed suicide on the spot. A similar legend is related by Hasalars (a Scheduled Tribe found in Chikmagalur district and belonging since generations to South Kanara) regarding Mudda and Kalala, their culture heroes. There are, however, numerous *Bhutas* which are not so related and some are females while the names of quite a few appear to be identical with those of Hindu gods and goddesses.

The legend regarding Kalkuda (Kallukutiga or Sculptor) states that during his tenure as a human being he carved the beautiful image of Gommata at Karkala and the jealous king had the left arm and right leg of the master-artist cut off with a view to preventing him from taking up similar assignments elsewhere so that the Gommata in his kingdom would be unrivalled for all times to come. The king was sadly mistaken for, the deformed artist did accept and carve out another Gommata for the Ajila chief at Venooru. But Kalkuda's sister who was in some distant place did not know that the king of Karkala had deformed her brother until she came to Venoor and saw him. She was enraged and vowed that after their death she and her brother would torment the king

of Karkala and make sure that he paid dearly for his folly. Little is said about the way in which the two died; whether they committed suicide or met with a natural death in course of time is not clear. Anyway, they became *Bhutas* and compelled the King of Karkala to offer them proper worship and propitiation.

Names of Bhutas

The *Bhutas* worshipped in the district are very numerous and each one of them has a specific identity by way of name, sex, symbol, place of origin or *mulasthana* and habitation, the functions it can discharge, usual mode of offerings etc. The very first attempt to enumerate the names of *Bhutas* was made by Dr. Burnell, on whose death in 1872 his friend Reverend A. Manner, edited the manuscripts and subsequently published in the Indian Antiquary, Volume XXIII, 1894 and ff. along with transliteration and translation of several Tulu *pad-danas* in a series of articles. The following list, which does not purport to be exhaustive, indicates the names of various *Bhutas* phonetically rendered into English and arranged in alphabetical order. Such of the names which were listed by Dr. Burnell are indicated by an asterisk mark.

Abbage and Darage* (two female *Bhutas* which usually occur together; also spelt as Abbakka, Dharakka).

Adkata Bhagavati (i.e., Bhagavati of Adka).

Adkataya

Aita mame

Akkarasu Punjide*

Ali Seitane* or Ali Bhuta

Amadadi Panjurli (Panjurli of Amadadi)

Ammitti Bhagavati

Amriteshwari

Angara Bhuta

Annapoorneshvari

Annappa (sometimes used as prefix to Panjurli)

Annara Kalkude*

Arasu

Arasula*

Arbhakeshvara

Ardhanareeshvara

Armaraya

Ati Kadanje

Babbare* (Bobbarya, Bagila Bobbariya)

Baduraye

Baggu-Chikku

Bairagi

Bakudti (Bakudeulaye) (feminine form of Bakuda, a caste name)

Bala-Chikku

Balaya

Bale Barage

Banjanataye*

Bantandi* (feminine form of Bante)

Bante*

Barbarika

Barkur Haiguli (Haiguli of Barkur)

Bawane* (Bhavani)

Beinali*

Beirawe* (Bhairave)

Bemmalaya

Bemmalti

Berme* (Berma, Bermer, Brahma)

Betala

Betegara Isvara

Bhadrakali

Bhagavati

Bhasmamurti

Bheiya Baya

Bhringi

Bhuta-nage

Bhuta-raja

Bira Putran (Vira Putran)

Bolangala-taye

Bommara-taye*

Bradahmani

Brahmani

Brahmarakshasa

Brahmaraya

Buddan-taye

Bydyanatha

Chakreshwari

Chamuki*

Chamundi*

Chandi*

Chikkasdayi

Chikku

Chinikara-daiva

Chiruma Bhagavati

Choundi (also spelt as Chaundi)

Chumadi* or Jumadi

Damshtra-mukha

Dande-rajavu

Darakeshwari

Dargandaye

Deiyare*

Devu-punje

Deyi-Baidyati (Deyi Bydeyi)

Dharmadaiva*

Dharmadi*

Dhumamati* (Dhumavati)

Dhumrahuti

Dhumraksha

Dhumre*

Doota

Dotte-Kalamma

Dotte-Kal-Chikku

Duggalaye*

Duggentaye

Durda-masare

Durgi*

Dustali*

Eleya Bhagavati

Gana

Gandhari*

Gejjemalle*

Gidi-rawate*

Giligannaye

Ginde*, Ginne

Giravu Bhuta

Grama Panjurli

Gulige* (Gulge or Guliga)

Gummata malla

Guramma

Gurikara Bhuta

Guru-Chikku

Hadi-Chikku

Haiguli

Hakkerlu

Halavu-makkala-taye (i.e., Mother of several children)

Hasala (Hasla or Hasla Timma)

Hosa-Bhagavati

Hosaligamma

Huli-devaru

Indrani

Isara Kumare*

Istadevate*

Jadettar

Jadraye

Jakani

Jandarga-taye

Jarandaye*

Jathadhari*

Jattige*

Jattiti

Jakki

Jogi Purushe* (Yogi Purusha)

Jumadi* (same as Chumadi)

Jumbure*

Kachchara Maldi

Kadankuli

Kadaru Kali

Kala Beirawe*

Kalamma (Kali)*

Kalarahu*

Kalaratri*

Kalarkayi*

Kalastri*

Kaleswari*

Kalkude* (Kallukutiga)

Kalla Bhuta*

Kallingere Bhagavati (Bhagavati of Kallingere)

Kalura-Chikku

Kallurattaye*

Kallurti*

Kamberlu* (Kumberlu)

Kanantaya

Kanapadittaye

Kanchina Deyi

Kanchiraye

Kandakarna

Kandela Jumadi

Kanhat Haiguli

Kantabare*

Kantetri Jumadi

Kanthana Dhumavati

Kanthanna Baidya

Kanya-Kumare*

Karala-mukhi

Kargolu Daiva

Kechcha-rahuta

Kenehikelttaye

Kenjalattaye

Khadga Ravane*

Khadgesvare

Kinnimani (Kinnidaru)

Kirata Nandi

Kodadabbu* (Koradabbu, Kote Babbu, Koddabbu)

Kodamantaye*

Kodambadaye*

Kodidajje

Kole Bhuta

Kolluramma

Kondalathare*

Korage* (Kurave)

Korati* (Kurati; feminine form of Korage)

Koti-Channayye*

Koti-Punje*

Koumarini

Kshetrapale*

Kudpalu*

Kujambu Kanje*

Kukkilattaye*

Kukkisandaye

Kule

Kumaraswami*

Kundaye (Kundaya)

Kundodara

Kuntunekri

Kuppe Panjurli*

Kurkallaye

Kuriyattaye (Kuriyaditaye)

Kutti Chatan
Lekkesire* (Lakkesari)
Lingamma
Maddadka-taye*
Modlaye
Madmal-taye
Maheshvare*
Maheshvari*
Mahisandaye*
Mahishasura
Makala Nandi
Malayala Bobbarya
Malayala Chamundi
Malini
Mallaraya*
Mallesvari
Mammayi* (Mahamayi)
Mandi*
Manjatinaye
Manji Bomme
Mankali (Mahakali)
Mantragana
Maragandaye (Magrandaye)
Maralamma
Marandaiva
Mari-amma
Marlu Chikku
Marlu Jumadi*
Marmalaittaye

Masti

Mastikatte Chikku (Chikku of Mastikatte)

Mayaldi*

*Mayandalu**

Mecheri Bhagavati

Melkarattaye

Mittantaye

Moda

Mude*

Mudiltaye*

Mudipadittaye

Mudi Punnaye

Mudradi Paditaye

Mukkambe*

Munda-taye*

Murtilaye*

Muttappe

Mydali (Maidali), Maidalti

Nadu*

Nadu Ballandi

Naga-brahma

Naga-devate

Naga-Kanne

Naga-nandi

Naganatai

Nagara Bhuta

Nagesvari

Nalkaitaye

Nandi

Nandigone

Nandini

Naralataye*

Narnataya

Negala

Nellirutaye*

Netra Mukkuli*

Nettar Bhairavi

Nettar Chaundi*

Niche*

Padangere Bhagavati

Padkantaye*

Palakattaye

Pancha Jumadi

Panchamukha Nandi

Pandondinaye

Panemade

Panji Giravu

Panjintaya

Panjurli*

Pantraye

Parasu Pani

Patala Bhairawe*

Patala Gulige*

Patkantalaya

Patikondaye*

Payya Baidya

Pejirenaye
Perumale Ballala
Pili Chamundi*
Pili Chandi*
Pisuvai
Pollaipini
Pollurli
Posa Bhuta
Posralataye
Potic
Poyikantaye*
Pudabare
Pulandaye*
Pulikanda
Pullura Kannan
Purulaya
Purshe
Puttu Giravu
Rahu Gulige*
Rahuta
Rakta Chamundi
Rakta Haiguli
Raktakshi
Raktesvari*
Raya
Renjakasure
Revanta
Roudra Sudumahesha
Rudra Chaundi*

Rudra Panjurli*
Sampige-taye*
Sankale Gulige
Sanyasi
Sarala Dhumavati
Saralu Jumadi*
Saramahakari*
Sarata-Mallu
Sastare
Satya Devate
Savadada Haiguli
Shiradi Daiva
Shivaraya
Shoolapani
Shringi
Somavedi
Sonne*
Subyamma*
Sukotteri*
Swami
Tadyadajji
Tanni-Manige*
Tarikatte Haiguli
Timmappa
Tiryanmukha Nandi
Todakinara
Tomajji
Trimukha Bana
Ubara Kallurti

Uchchandi*
Udpi-Shanaye
Ullaldi (Ullalti)*
Ullaye*
Ummalaya
Ummalti
Varahi
Varmalataye*
Varna Panjurli
Vikalini
Virabhadra
Virakali
Virakali Bhagavati
Vishnumurti
Vodiltaye*
Vokkodu Nandi
Vokku Ballala*
Vori Ullaye
Vormukhattaye
Vormulaya
Vorte*
Vøtte Kallurti
Yaksha
Yakshi
Yellamma
Yenmannaye*

Evidentally, all these three hundred and odd Bhutas are not worshipped at each and every village or town in the district. Secondly, there are considerable differences in the degree of influence exerted by each of these Bhutas on different

sections and caste-groups. Some are of purely local importance, while quite a few are of regional and a few are of district-wide importance. Those corresponding to gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, though reported here as Bhutas, have a wider spread encompassing the entire country in certain cases (e.g. Durgi, Chamundi etc).

A glance at these names shows that quite a few are of Sanskritic or traditional Hindu origin corresponding to gods and goddesses. Among such cases are Bhavani, Bhairave or Kala Bhairava, Bhadrakali, Kali, Mahankali, Bhagavati Chamundi, Durgi, Maheshware, Maheshwari, Nagabrahma, Nagadevate, Nandi, Parasupani, Shoolapani etc., Some of the names correspond to the masculine and feminine forms of addressing persons belonging to certain castes such as Bante and Bantandi, Korage (Korava, Kurave) and Korati (Kurati, Koravati), Bakuda and Bakudti, Nalkai-taye (Taye means mother and Nalke is a caste of Bhuta impresonators), Hasla and Hasligamma (spelt in the above list as Hosaligamma) and so on. It may also be seen that a few names correspond to the names of *Bali* or exogamous septs (eg. Padakannaye) found among several Tulu-speaking caste-groups. It may also be seen that quite a few are repetitive except for the addition of a prefix denoting the name of a particular village or place. In a few cases the male *Bhutas* have their female counterparts as in Maheswarc and Maheswari etc., while many do not.

Categories of Bhutas

Sex differentials: As already mentioned, the Bhutas are differentiated by sex. But during this study the sex of each of the *Bhutas* listed above could not be ascertained. By way of illustration it may be stated that Annappa, Ali Bhuta, Kalkuda, Bobbarya Kod-dabbu, Korage, Koti-Channayya (together called Baiderukalu) etc., are males while Kallurti, Deyi Baidyati, Tannimaniga, Unmalti, Ullalti, Korati and almost all names ending with Taye (meaning mother) are females. A few are bi-sexual eg. Jumadi considered as female above the waist and male below (compare with the concept of Ardhanareeswara, of the Hindu tradition). The sex differentials are highlighted in idols, mode of dress and also the form of addressing the *Bhutas* concerned.

It is believed that affinal or consanguineous relationship subsists between some of the *Bhutas*. Koti and Channayya are brothers (twins as a matter of fact) and Deyi Baidyati is their

mother and all the three are being worshipped as *Bhutas*. Koti-Channayya's system Kinnidaru is also regarded as a *Bhuta*- Kalkuda and Kallurti are supposed to be related to each other as brother and sister whereas Korage and Korati, Bante and Bantandi, Bobbarya and Ummalti and such other pairs are regarded as husband and wife. Tannimaniga, the tulelary *Bhuta* of Mera community, is believed to have saved Koddabbu or Kote Babbu, the tutelary *Bhuta* of the Mundalas as a result of which she has come to be regarded as a sister of Koddabbu. Most of the *Bhutas,* however, appear to be quite unrelated to others.

Bhutas and the aspects they govern or control

It is a common belief that each *Bhuta* controls or governs particular aspect or aspects conducive to human welfare and by propitiating the concerned *Bhuta* favourable results may be secured. Pilichandi (Pilichavandi) guards agricultural fields and effectively prevents crop-thefts and it also protects cattle from being lifted away by tigers. Kodamantaye protects crops against depradation by wild animals and ensures a good yield of agricultural produce. Korage or Nicha is supposed to be the protector of cattle, especially against catile diseases. Bobbarya exercises control over marine-fishing and by placating the *Bhuta* one can be sure of a plentiful catch. Abbage-Dharage, Kanapaditaye etc., when propitiated bless their votaries with offspring. Mariamma controls epidemic diseases. Panjurli is regarded as the protector of *Dharma* or righteousness and would not tolerate (i) persons treating their mothers with utter negligence, (ii) persons who neglect to take care of their aged parents and collaterals who are in need of help and proper care, (iii) persons who are subservient to their wives, (iv) those men who indulge in extra-marital affairs and so on and this list includes those who discriminate against the lowly on the basis of caste, creed and such other social factors. There are *Bhutas* called *Chinikara Bhutas* which came to Basrur area in sailing vessels from China and, as they made fun of a local Bhuta, were held there in captivity for ever. Barmer or Brahma is supposed to be the supreme *Bhuta* that exerts influence on all aspects and on all the *Bhutas* as well.

Hierarchy among Bhutas

A hierarchical system among the *Bhutas* appears to exist with Barmer or Brahma at the top. The term *Daiva* or *Daivangalu* is usually applied to those of the higher order

which do not partake of animal food by way of sacrifice. Kodamantaye is one such *Daiva* which is also popularly referred to as *Arasu Daiva* or *Rajan-Daiva* and is honoured at several places with royal ornaments, gold plated sword, gold plated mask and golden *prabhavali* (halo). The *Rajan-Daivas* were patronised by the ruling chiefs like Ballalas, Ajilas etc. The two sons of *Nagakannika* (mermaid) who are believed to have attained *Bhuta* status are also regarded as of a higher order and are simply referred to as *Daivangalu*: one of them is represented as riding an elephant and the other, a horse. A categorical listing or even a classification based on broad consensus can be attempted in respect of the numerous *Bhutas* only after a deeper investigation which is clearly beyond the scope of this volume.

Apart from status-hierarchy there exists some sort of a spatial or geographic hierarchy as well. Some of the *Bhutas* can be influential only in the houses or families where they are offered a place and are periodically worshipped. Some can remain attached to estates or fields and, irrespective of the changes in the ownership or tenancy, they continue to be powerful and demand periodical propitiation. Others can raise to the status of presiding *Bhutas* at settlement, village, *magane* (group of villages), *sime* (region) or *hobli* (group of *maganes* constitute a *hobli*) levels. It is also supposed that some of the *Bhutas* are not fit to be offered a place within the premises of one's household.

Symbols and other forms of representation

Since *Bhutas* are regarded as ethereal spirits, in several cases mere space provided in a niche in one of the walls of the premises or in the platform raised in the court-yard or a plank supported on a wooden leg is sufficient to symbolise certain *Bhutas* according to the tradition of the head of the family who initially provided a niche or a plank for the family *Bhuta*. In other words an empty niche in one house may represent one *Bhuta* and in another, quite a different *Bhuta*. This apart, in houses and shrines empty seats such as trestle, stool, suspended plank or an earthen or masonry seat with or without back-rest are set apart for *Bhutas* and it is usually on these seats that one or more objects symbolising the *Bhutas* are kept. Sometimes crude stones of irregular shape, usually small in size are chosen for representing certain *Bhutas*. Such stones may be either implanted in the earth or placed underneath a tree according to tradition. The other objects in use for

symbolic representation of the *Bhutas* are wooden or metallic arrows, swords, rods (either wooden or metallic); bows with or without strings, metallic images representing human or animal forms such as pig, buffalo, bull etc., or a combination of both presenting sometimes a fearful appearance, mounds including ant-hills and earthen or masonry platforms or pillars. Wooden images in animal, bird or human forms which are usually of various sizes and of grotesque shapes are also placed in *Bhuta* shrines for worship.

Some idea regarding these may be had from the description furnished in the pages that follow, of the numerous idols and objects representing *Bhutas* and *Daivas* in the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu and a few other shrines. Aravamuthan's interpretation (article reproduced in Appendix-IV) of a few *Bhuta* idols makes an interesting reading.

Paraphernalia

The objects which are commonly used in the *Bhuta* shrines for day to day worship are the *mani* (Ghante) or bell, the goblet and the oil lamp besides in some cases *deeparathi* for burning camphor, stand for fixing joss-sticks, *chamaras* or fans and the like. These may be kept in the shrine itself constantly if there is proper protection. Otherwise, these may be placed in the *Bhandara mane* to be taken out for use whenever there is a need. The other objects consist of swords, wooden and or metallic masks, plaques and banners, ceremonial dress and ornaments (such as *talepatti talemani, thurayi, chowkuli-naga,* necklaces, bangles, waist band etc.,) meant either for the *Bhuta* idol or the priests and the impersonators or both. These are usually deposited safely in a small but separate structure which may be either near or quite far away from the shrine (but usually near the house of the *Gurikar* or administrator of the shrine). This is called *Bhandara mane,* a Kannada term which when translated, means a 'treasure house' or more properly a strongroom. It is customary to offer worship at the Bhandara mane periodically on occasions such as Sankramana or on a fixed day in a week. The *Bhandara* of the Bhuta are taken out with pomp on all ceremonial occasions for being used in the worship. In view of their association with the *Bhutas* these articles are also held as sacred and, very often, are invested with all the attributes of the *Bhuta* to which they belong.

Some of the *Bhuta* shrines of importance have palanquins, *theru* or wooden cars and *bandi* or wooden carts which may be either plain, wheeled structures or may be in the form of some animal (tiger, horse etc.) with wheels. During the annual or periodical fairs the *Bhuta* idols are placed on these palanquins and carried round. Similarly, on occasions the idols (or sometimes the impersonators) are placed on the cars and dragged for short distances as part of the festival.

Bhutasthanas

The shrines dedicated to *Bhutas* in general are called *Bhutasthanas* or *sanas* in Tulu. Since the word *Daiva* is occasionally used for denoting certain *Bhutas* some of the shrines are also known as *Daiva-sthana*. Such of those which are dedicated to Koti and Channayya are generally called *Garadi*. The places enshrining Barmeru or Brahma are known as *Gunda* and also as Brahmarasthana (or its corrupt form Barmerasthana). Occasionally *Bhuta* shrines are met with in close proximity of certain renowned Hindu temples and in all such cases they are called *gudi*, a common word meaning a temple, and along with deities in the temple the *Bhutas* also receive worship daily by the temple priests. The stone slab representing Jattiga in the precincts of the Maruti Temple near the Inspection Bungalow at Coondapur may be cited as an example of this type and there are many more such cases all over the district.

In case one or more *Bhutas* are provided accommodation within the premises of any household, of which there are innumerable cases, that particular area is called *Bhuta Kotya*. The Holeyas worship their own or tutelary *Bhuta* called Kumberlu and the place set apart for this *Bhuta* is generally termed *Kumberlu Kotya*. In several families, especially of an aristocratic or noble lineage, a small but separate structure is built in the courtyard or in close proximity for enshrining the family *Bhutas* represented in the usual manner by empty seats (stool, trestle or suspended plank or a cot), idols, swords, rods, and the like. These are called *samimane*. The shrine belonging to the descendants of the Ballalas of Hebri who even at present own large extents of agricultural lands may be cited as a typical example of this kind. The place where this ancestral house is situated is called Hosurmane. The house is surrounded by an expansive paddy field on all sides. In a separate room leading to the main hall are placed a sword, a small metallic idol of Panjurli in the form of a pig and a brass goblet on a small wooden cot and this room is known as "Samimane".

Some idea regarding the *Bhutas* of the common man may be had from the fact that when enquiries were made of the *Bhutas* worshipped, a Panar*, who lives in a thatched hut near Barkur, brought out a wooden plank on which were to be seen a small metallic idol of Panjurli, a small bell and a goblet.

Before examining the type of buildings in which *Bhutas* are housed it may be recalled that this district is subject to heavy and incessant rainfall during the south-west monsoon. This factor appears to have cast its influence on the construction of *Bhutasthanas* in the past. Before the turn of this century almost all the *Bhutasthanas* were mud walled dwarf structures roofed with hay or *mulihullu* (grass) supported on a framework of bamboo. The plan of the shrine is usually rectangular and the roof slopes steeply on all sides to permit instant draining out of rain water. However in the case of some of the prominent *Bhutasthanas* the temple architecture of the district has also been adopted in the past as borne out by the substantial structures witnessed in Anantadi (Ullalthi sthana), Kallige (Kanapaditayi sthana) and Mekkekattu (Nandikeshvara sthana) to quote only a few.

The village *Bhutasthanas* may enshrine a particular *Bhuta* or a group of *Bhutas* and may consist of a single structure or a cluster of small structures. These are generally located at some distance from the residential houses, usually in the proximity of woods or near paddy fields. The sequestered location amidst woods, the path which is unfrequented and the old fashioned structures along with the fearful-looking masks and images enshrined therein generally infuse a sense of reverential fear in anybody who approaches these shrines. A typical example of this type of shrine is to be seen at Manikal in Udipi taluk. In some cases the very approach to the shrine would be awe-inspiring. In the proximity of the shrine there is usually a large pipal or banyan tree with a few serpent stones underneath. In some places one may come across *Nagabana* or serpent grove in the form of a wild grove formed of a large shade-bearing tree with numerous creepers and one or more ant-hills at its foot. The following description in the District Manual[4] by and large holds good in the case of the present day typical *Bhutasthana*. "The *Bhutasthana* is generally, a small plain structure 4 or 5 yards deep, by 2 or 3 yards wide, with a door at one end and covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The roof is of

*Panar is a caste in the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy.

4. J Sturrock, 1894, Madras P. 137, See Appendix I.

thatch and the building is without window. In front of it, there are usually three or four T shaped pillars the use of which is not clear*. The temples of the more popular *Bhutas* are often substantial buildings of considerable size". It may, however, be added that in recent years the old structures, in several places, are being gradually modernised using the latest construction materials and investing appreciable sums on renovation. The roofing material is quite often changed to Mangalore tiles and so also the one time mud walls and mud flooring are being replaced by brick or laterite stone walls and cement floor. In any given village there may be one or more *Bhutasthanas* of varying importance, the caste-composition and history of the place being relevant factors in this regard.

In the northern areas of the district where Kannada speakers are preponderant the *Bhutasthana* generally has a narrow *veranda* instead of the usual portico. It may also be observed that in the frontyard of many of these *Bhutasthanas* there would be an altar for *tulsi* (sweet basil) in addition to the symbol (pillars) representing the Kshetrapala.

Some of the *Bhutasthanas* in the district are substantial structures resembling temple architecture. For example, those dedicated to Ullalthi, Kanapaditaye and Nandikeshvara at Anantadi, Kallige and Mekkekattu respectively belong to this category. These structures have two elements which are the *pouli* or the rectangular roofed portion which surrounds (though detached) the main or inner shrine (sanctum) and the inner shrine itself. The *pouli* is provided with one *hebhagilu* or main entrance in the front and, a side door. The inner portion of the *pouli* has a number of pillars which are joined by beams to the outer wall and provide support for the roofing. The floor-space in this roofed area is usually a raised platform which serves as a sitting place for the devotees though quite frequently a few images or other paraphernalia of the *Bhutas* are also accommodated here by putting up walls to form a few rooms. The intervening space between the pillars of the *pouli* and the outer walls of the sanctum, which varies in width from 15 to 30 feet or even more in certain cases, is utilised for circumambulation.

The sanctum is a simple structure decorated with wooden latice work in the front and provided with a door. None except the priests usually enters this portion. As already mentioned there is a cot or a suspended plank which serves as the seat for

*Present study reveals that these represent Kshetrapalas.

the *Bhutas* in this room. The other symbols such as swords, rod, idol, etc., and paraphernalia like bell, fans, mask, lamp etc., may not necessarily be found here since in many places the traditional practice is to keep them in safe custody in the *Bhandara mane*. In front of the sanctum a few yards away from its door towards the *hebbagilu* there is a flag-post, either permanent or planted only on festive occasions.

The Veerabhadra shrine at Hiriadka accommodates Abbage-Dharage, Mahankali, Adkataya etc., within its precincts. Here the space between the sanctum walls and the *pouli* is 50 to 60 feet wide. Close to the shrine there is a tank which is provided with steps allround. The shrine dedicated to Abbage-Dharage at Kavatharu has a copper-plated roof for its sanctum just like the Mahalingewara temple which is close to it. It may be noted in passing that Kavatharu was once the seat of an Ajila Chieftain. Recently, the Dhumavathi *sthana* at Padre near Surathkal was renovated at a cost of Rs. 60,000 utilising modern construction materials to a considerable extent. The roof of the sanctum is now made up of re-inforced cement concrete.

Modes of Worship

The day-to-day worship of *Bhutas* at home as well as in most of the shrines consists of offering water in goblet. This water is discarded on the following day by emptying the vessel at the foot of a coconut palm or any other plant or by throwing away the water on the roof of the house, Oil lamps and joss-sticks are also lit. The person who offers the worship is usually an adult male (the priests are invariably married men). Prayers when offered are muttered in an inaudible manner with folded hands and the worship ends when the person bows or sometimes prostrates.

In some of the prominent *Bhutasthanas* the priest worships in an elaborate manner. The *patri* ministering to the *Bhuta* enters into a trance and acts as medium for those who want to consult the *Bhuta* regarding their ailments or problems. The local pipers and drummers offer their services at such shrines and are duly recompensed.

Most of the caste-groups in South Kanara follow the solar year and for them monthly *Sankramana* (ie., day of sun's transit from one constellation to the next) is an important day for offering worship at the *Bhutasthanas* as well. It may be mentioned

in passing that each solar month has its Tulu and Kannada equivalents and the festivals at *Bhutasthanas* are held on auspicious days reckoned according to this local system.

In addition to the ordinary forms of worship mentioned above there are several periodical celebrations locally known by different names in different places. *Mechchi, Ayana, Bandi, Jatre, Kola, Nema, Dompadabali, Pudar mechhi, Agelu, Agelu-tambila, Volesari, Vottekola* and *Dakkebali* are some of the important names of such celebrations and a description of these celebrations as observed in the shrines covered during this field study forms the subject matter of the following chapters.

CHAPTER - III

Bhuta Shrines And Associated Particulars

In the course of the field study visits were paid to several prominent centres and details on *Bhutasthanas,* worship and related matters gathered by holding informal discussions with local people. It is now proposed to present a brief and impressionistic description of the shrines so visited and follow it up later by a description of the periodical festivals, rituals, etc., reported at some of these places.

(i) Amtady (Buntwal taluk)

In this village there is the *Bhutasthana* of Mangalathamaru besides several other smaller shrines of Jumadi, Guliga, Koraga-Korati etc. The sanctuary of Koraga-Korati *Bhuta* perhaps represents the most primitive form of a shrine. These *Bhutas* are worshipped with all reverence and respect mainly by the Moolada Holeyas who have traditionally been agricultural labourers attached to a Bunt family owning vast agricultural lands, called the Alvas. The *Bhutas* are represented in the form of two unchiselled stones, found mostly buried at the foot of an old banyan tree. The local belief is that these *Bhutas* can prevent the incidence of diseases among cattle and also cause the cows and buffaloes to yield larger quantities of milk. With this end in view people of all communities in the village offer coconuts to propitiate these *Bhutas.* The Billavas (toddy tappers), according to custom, offer a small pot of toddy to these *Bhutas* once a year. The coconuts and toddy thus delivered to the Holeya are reverentially offered to these Koraga-Korati *Bhutas* by him. Later he takes them back to be used by him and his family members.

At some distance from the Koraga-Korati *sthana* and in the area surrounding Alva's house there is a small thatched shed which enshrines Guliga, represented by a *mundya* (wooden plank resting on a small wooden pillar). A little farther, there is Jumadi *sthana.* This is situated in the *veranda* of a thatched house. Here too the *Bhuta* is represented by a *mundya* on which are placed a pair of bronze buffaloes (2" high), a goblet and a lamp. The annual offerings to propitiate this *Bhuta* is called *Agelu* and consists of rice, fowl

and toddy. It is in the house of Alva that the *Bhandara* of the principal *Bhutasthana* of the village is kept. This *Bhandaramane* is a small structure with an open *veranda* and is in a way detached from his residential apartments. The *Bhandara* consists of several masks, idols (including a few of silver, gold and brass representing Annappa, Jumadi, Marla Jumadi, Marlu Maisandaya, Jumadi *Banta* etc), Chamara (fans), head ornaments (*tale patti, talemani, turayi* of silver), *chowkulinaga* (an ornament for the ear), gold bangles, armlets and a number of necklaces. Inside this room, on an altar comprising a wooden plank, with 3 of its sides raised a little, the silver facial mask of Annappa is placed. This mask is flanked on its left side by the mask of Jumadi and a bell-metal buffalo idol of Banta; on its right side there is the mask of Marlu Jumadi and the bull's head representing Marlu Maisandaya. As part of daily worship a lamp is lit at this *Bhandaramane* and milk and water are offered. On every Tuesday and Sunday, a Brahmin priest performs *puja* and, it is customary to perform a *homa* as part of worship by the Brahmin once a month on the day of *Sankramana*. Thus in this village one may observe the most elementary form of a shrine and also of offering of *puja* prevailing side by side with the more elaborate form of shrines and of worship accorded to *Bhutas*. The details how this *Bhandara* is taken to the village shrines and how the festivals are observed in the village are explained elsewhere.

(ii) **Anantadi**

Anantadi village is about 12 Kms south-east of Buntwal and 40 Kms east of Mangalore city. The important *Bhutasthana* here is locally known as the *Chittarige* and is dedicated Ullalthi and her attendant, the Malaraya. In the *Chavadi* (veranda) of what was once the ancestral house of the former Ballalas of the place a suspended wooden cot represents the seat of Ullalthi while another cot placed on the floor is the seat of Malaraya. A legend has it that the *Bhuta* came to Anantadi on a particular evening at dusk in the guise of a woman and first encountered a Billava who was busy in tapping the juice of a palm tree. She enquired of him whether she could secure accommodation for the night in the village. The Billava suggested that she could partake of the hospitality of their Ballala. Thus the *Chavadi* came to be regarded as her original place at Anantadi. A new shrine was built later on for her closeby. In this shrine, called *Bantrinja*, too there are 2 wooden cots: one suspended and the other on the floor.

The property which once belonged to the Bunts is, for the past 175 years, being held by the family of a Gowda Saraswath Brahmin which has kept up the traditional form of worship. The *Bhandara* of Ullalthi is located in the *Chavadi* of the ancestral house of this Brahmin family (of which the present head is Dr. M. P. Pai, Principal, Kasturba Medical College, Mangalore). Two masks, one of wood and the other of silver, besides jewellery, sword and mask of Malaraya, a mask representing the face of a pig, a few swords, fans, jewels and bells meant to be worn by the impersonators etc., are the objects that constitute the *Bhandara* of Ullathi. The field in which this house, and consequently the *Bhandara,* is situated is called *Dandethimaru* and it is used for the *Kambala* (buffalo-racing). It is believed that it is protected by Ananta (a cobra). The annual festival held here is called *mechchi* and the one held once in 12 years is called *Dharmanema.*

(iii) **Bennekudru (Udipi taluk)**

This is a small island near Barkur and is known for its Masti shrine. This shrine is of special significance to the Mogaveeras and both the priest and the Gurikara (Trustee) here belong to the Mogaveera community. It is said, long ago the two *Bhutas,* Abbakke and Dharakke of *Hiriadka,* quarrelled and the former moved over to this island along with Malesvari, Trisula and Masti. The *Bhandara* or paraphernalia of the *Bhuta* are stored in a safe in the shrine itself and as usual these consist of masks, swords, bells and jewellery. The shrine is an old structure with tiled roofing. Though named after Masti, the sanctum has a seat for Abbakke as well. In the antechamber there are a few effigies which represent the succession of the preceptors of this caste. At the entrance is the image of Bobbarya along with a plank resting on a small wooden pillar. Close to it is a small shrine dedicated to Venkataramana. At some distance are 2 shrines: one dedicated to Hasala wherein may be seen a few metallic replicas of fowls (Hasala is regarded as the chief attendant of Masti), and the other to Malesvari (supposed to exercise power over 1000 *Ganas*). Animal sacrifices are usually held at these two shrines. A granite pillar nearby with a niche for keeping a goblet and a lamp, represents Kshetrapala. There is also a large pipal tree and a *tulasikatte* The *sedimara,* a wooden post to serve as a pivot for the hook-swinging ceremonies of the bygone days, found implanted in front of the shrine, is broken and is not in use over quite a long period.

(iv) **Barkur (Udipi taluk)**

This place has innumerable shrines dedicated to gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, *Bastis* and *Bhutasthanas.* Kundodara Bhutasthana, locally called *Chittari,* is one such. The structure is roofed with tiles and consists of an inner window-less room (sanctum), a hall and a *veranda.* The principal *Bhuta* is represented here, in stone. The other *Bhutas* enshrined here are those of Mahishasura (stone statue of a horserider), pig with 5 faces (wooden image) and a serpent-stone. In the *veranda* may be seen wooden idols representing:— Masti, Chikku, Nandi (2 pieces), Khadgamriga, Rahuta (man on horseback with a sword and dagger) and Haiguli (a plank resting on a pillar). In the outer precincts, two granite slabs, called *Sarva Bhutasthanas,* planted at an angle represent all the *Bhutas,* known and unknown, while another erect stone pillar nearby represents Kshetrapala. In front of the shrine there is a concrete pillar about 10 feet high with an arrangement at the top for holding a long wooden beam which may in turn be rotated horizontally. This is called *sedimara* and the beam which at one end has a cradle and at the other, a coir rope is poised on the pillar only on annual festival days.

A Brahmin priest offers daily *puja* to Kundodara and Mahishasura. The other *Bhutas* are placated once a month on the day of *Sankramana* by the offering of cooked rice rendered ochre by the addition of coloured water. The annual festival here is called *sedi* and it is accompanied by fire-walking ceremony also.

(v) **Basrur (Coondapur taluk)**

This ancient river-port and seat of administration is situated 6 Kms east of Coondapur. In times of yore this place had developed trade contacts with distant countries. A local legend connects it with China as well. The Mudukeri Panjurli *Bhutasthana* here, which belongs to Billavas, has 5 wooden figures representing Chinikara Daivas. A horde of Daivas hailing from China, it is said, were roaming about in this vicinity and, on a particular occasion, made fun of Panjurli. The enraged Panjurli retaliated by seizing 5 of them and caused them to remain in this shrine permanently. These *Bhutas* are offered periodical worship along with Panjurli. This *Bhutasthana* is situated right on the bank of a river and is quite spacious, consisting as it does an inner shrine as

well as an outer hall. A decorated wooden *mantapa* called *gunda* enshrines the bell-metal idol of Brahma represented as a rider seated on horseback. This apart, the other images found in the inner room are those representing Koti, Channayya, Deyi Baidevi, Payya Baidya and Perumale Ballala besides Negala Bhuta (crocodile) with a crown of serpents. The outer portion of the inner shrine accommodates the Panjurli, installed in a *moda* (wooden *mantapa* resting on a 4′ high wooden pillar) as the principal *Bhuta* besides the representation of the following:—

(i) Chaundi (ii) Dhumavati, (iii) Balaya, (iv) Maidali (mother of Balaya), (v) Dotte Kal Chikku, (vi) Nandikesha (human figure with a bull's head), (vii) Haiguli, (viii) Hanuman, (ix) Bobbarya, (x) Ummalti, (xi) Mastikatte-chikku, (xii) Rakta Haiguli, (xiii) Yogi Purusha, (xiv) Kaduvina chikku (Kadavu means ferry and this *Bhuta* is the lord of a ferry which is closeby), (xv) Haiguli and (xvi) Chinikara Daivas already alluded to. Outside the main structure, in the outer rooms attached to the *veranda* there are the idols of Mahakali, Veeramasti, Haiguli, Shivaraya, Swami and Nagadevate. A *tulasikatte* and a small structure representing Kshetrapala are also found. At the doorway on the *veranda* there is an idol of Bagila Bobbarya. Since this shrine is controlled by the Billavas, for whom Brahma, Koti and Channayya are more important, *pujas* are offered first at the inner shrine followed by *pujas* to Panjurli and subsequently to the other *Bhutas* installed in this *Bhutasthana.*

The local temple dedicated to Devi is also of interest. In the sanctum there are stucco faces and busts representing Mahakali, Mahalakshmi and Mahasaraswati which, however, are always covered with silver (silver-plated) masks. It is said, these figures are part and parcel of an ant-hill and an attempt long ago to renovate the shrine by digging out this ant-hill proved futile as serpents issued forth and the plan had to be abandoned. The other idols found in the shrine are those of Bhadrakali (5′ high, wooden), Mariamma (5′ high, wooden) with a headgear of serpents, and Annapoorneshvari. At the foot of the Kali image there is a small metallic image of a lion said to be of the species found in China. A pair of images here are pointed out as Virabhadra and *Bettale* Parameshvari: the former has one of its legs chained to a peg while the latter is represented as entirely nude. Perhaps this male *Bhuta* belongs to a local tradition and represents a character who during his life-time tormented a number of women due to his over-sexual tendencies, for the reason

for such a representation is as follows:—Virabhadra used to torment the local prostitutes even during their dreams causing death in several cases. Perturbed at this the prostitutes consulted the *patri* (medium) of the shrine who advised them to chain Virabhadra and place before him a naked woman so that he may not divert his attention to others.

In this area, the *Bhutasthanas* remain closed during the month of *Ati* (July-August) which is generally considered as inauspicious. During this month no marriage takes place and even pregnant women do not undertake any journey. *Bhuta* worship is also suspended during this period.

(vi) **Dharmasthala (Belthangady taluk)**

This is a renowned place of pilgrimage where the chief object of worship is Manjunatha. On a hillock close to the Manjunatha temple and not far from Nelyadi-Beedu there are separate tiled, mud walled structures accommodating Kalarahu, Kalarkai, Kumaraswamy and Kanyakumari Bhutas represented in the usual form of wooden cots and pillars. A flight of steps leads to these *Bhutasthanas* which are usually opened only at the time of offering *pujas*. The way in which these *Bhutas*, popularly called Daivas, are associated with the place may be gleaned from the following psuedo-historical account[1].

During the 15th century this place was known as Kuduma and the neighbourhood was being administered by a chieftain named Birmanna Heggade whose wife was Ammudevi Ballalti. Their royal residence (*beedu*) was at Nelyadi. They were Jains by religion and had patronised the already existing *basti* of Chandranatha. On a particular occasion the four guardian angels of *Dharma* assuming human forms and accompanied by their retinue visited this royal family and were overjoyed at the hospitality they received. The *Daivas* appreciated the exceptional quality of the couple in offering charities to one and all, and, before vanishing addressed the Heggade thus: 'We are attracted by your pious conduct and charities, offer this Nelyadi-Beedu to us and build another house for yourself nearby and worship us and we will ensure that your wealth and charity would be unbounded and eternal'. The Heggade and his wife readily accepted, considering

1 Based on the brochure *Shri Kshetra Dharmasthala* prepared by Shri Seshacharya and Published by the Trustee of Dharmasthala in 1969.

themselves as most fortunate in having met the *Daivas* face to face. Suspended wooden cots were immediately provided for the *Daivas* in the *beedu* and arrangements made for their propitiation. Thenceforth *Nelyadi-Beedu* became a sanctuary. Periodical worship takes place here also according to tradition. In order to preserve the sanctity of the place women, children and inquisitive visitors are not normally allowed to enter the *Beedu*. A *Kambam* or pillar was also set up in the Chandranatha *basti*, which is closeby, so that the *Daivas* may dwell there also. Subsequently in a dream experienced by the couple the *Daivas* commanded thus: 'We are powerful *Daivas*: *Kalarahu, Kalarkai, Kumaraswamy* and *Kanyakumari;* build separate shrines for us at the places we point out; hold festivals at appointed periods; choose for us two mediums of noble birth so that, we may speak through them; our commands will be carried out by our vassal Annappa to whom also you should provide some space; appoint 4 persons to assist you in ensuring the proper observance of the prescribed rituals; we shall reward you and your posterity with health, wealth and longevity so long as you worship us with faith and devotion; we shall spread our glory far and wide; on your part ensure that *dana* and *dharma* (charity and righteousness) are extended to one and all equally at all times; we shall back your wishes with support, your word with fulfilment, and crown all your efforts with success; if you act against this behest you shall suffer; do not be afraid; we are here to protect you'. Thereupon the couple lost no time and arranged for a great festival and invited Brahmins also. The Brahmins declined on the grounds that none of their own gods was associated with the proposed offerings. The Heggade felt depressed at this non-participation and at that juncture the *Daivas*, it is said, intervened by causing their vassal Annappa to bring forth the Linga representing Manjunatha from Kadri and instal it besides their own shrine. The Heggade soon built a shrine for this Linga and a smaller one facing it for Annappa. Since then it has become a tradition to propitiate Annappa and the other *Daivas* on every *Sankramana* day, when the officiating Pambada impersonator, donning the costumes including *ani*, headgear, fillet etc., sings, dances and moves into a trance. These rites, typical of *Bhuta* cult, take place in a *chavadi* (outer *veranda*) to the left of the sanctum.

Later on during the period of Devaraja Heggade Sri Vadirajaswamy pontiff of Sodematha (one of the 8 *mathas*

of Udipi) paid a visit to this place but declined to accept *Bhiksha* (alms) stating that he would not accept alms at a place where Lord Manjunatha was installed by a *Daiva*. Thereupon the Heggade requested the *Swamiji* to reconsecrate the idol to which the latter readily agreed. Pleased at the tradition of charities of the place the *Swamiji* bestowed it the present name of Dharmasthala. Since then the priests are Brahmins though this shrine-complex is owned by a Jain and the deities and the *Bhutas* here are worshipped by all sections among Hindus. The tradition of the place requires that a visitor to Dharmasthala should invariably partake of the food (meals) served free at the shrine before departing so that his pilgrimage is deemed fruitful.

It may be mentioned in passing that in this Nelyadi family which has all along been following the *Aliyasanthana* law of inheritance and succession there has been an unbroken line of Heggades (Yajamana) and some of the royal customs have survived to this day though in a diluted form. Their position or seat is called *Gaddi* or *Pattam* and the assumption of this office is a major event parallel to coronation of a king. The Heggade is regarded as the god-head. The shrines and all the properties associated with them are regarded as the private property of the Nelyadi family and Heggade is its lawful manager. This traditional position has been accepted by the High Court of Mysore which had an opportunity some years ago to examine the concerned documents in depth and make observations to the following effect. 'The properties of the institution are to be treated as those of the Heggade and Heggade has no personal property of his own; there is no right of partition in the family but the junior members have the right of maintenance from these properties; only a male member of the family can be installed as Heggade; worship in the shrines may be done only with the permission of the Heggade and all offerings should reach him; when there is pollution in the family of the Heggade, *pujas* should not be performed at these shrines; the custom and usage of Dharmasthala is the custom and usage of Nelyadi family for, there is no distinction between the properties of the institution and that of the family and the head of the institution is the head of the family and he is entitled to *Pattam* by virtue of which he becomes an integral part of the institution. No rituals can be performed in Dharmasthala without the Heggade'.

(vii) **Hebri (Karkal taluk)**

This interior village about 40 Kms north of Karkal was once a seat of administration. The local chieftain, was known as Ballala and the remnants of the *beedu* or royal residence of his family are extant even now. A decorative small cot, kept in a room of this *beedu* is pointed out as the *pattada mancha* (coronation cot) and on it are seen a sword, a metallic water container with a spout, a spear and a mirror with metal frame, all of which are perhaps the ensignia of chieftainship. The coronation ceremony of the Ballala used to take place at this spot in the presence of a large gathering of his subjects, leaders and administrative assistants. On such occasions it used to be customary to invoke the *Bhutas* and seek blessings. Until recently, the *pattada mancha* and the objects placed thereupon were being shown due reverence by the descendants of the family by way of offering water in a goblet and lighting an oil lamp daily. At present, however, the place is in a totally neglected condition.

About 2 Kms away from this *beedu,* there is the temple complex named after Durga Parameshvari. Though the goddess has given her name to the temple, it may be noted, her image is enshrined not in the sanctum but is found installed near the *hebbagilu* (main entrance) along with the *Bhuta* idols of Abbakke and Dharakke. The temple has an inner shrine, a number of small but separate structures enshrining various *Bhutas* and a *pouli* with a *hebbagilu.* The main sanctum consists of two rooms and in the innermost room there is an idol of *Ardha-Nareeswara* (Lord Ishwara represented in half male and half female form) while in the outer room there are the symbols representing the *Bhutas* Abbakke, Dharakke, Maisandaye and Nandikona. Entrance to both these rooms is restricted to only the officiating priests (Brahmin). In the *prakara* the following *Bhutas* are installed: Dhumavati (trident with glass bangles), Brahma (metallic idol on a wooden pedestal), Bagila Bobbarya (wooden sword), Kshetrapala (trident); there are also separate platforms with stones representing Adkataya, Nandikesha, Bobbarya, Ummalthi, Panjurli and Varahi and some of these are covered with small structures. There is a separate serpent shrine also in this *prakara.* A room nearby has the wooden idols of Malayalee Bobbarya, his horse and his servant. Close to this shrine there is a separate structure called Beiderkala Garadi wherein are found installed the wooden idols of Koti, Chennayya, Payya Baidya and Yogi Purusha. It is interesting to note that the priest

in this *garadi* belongs to Devadiga caste (Musician) and proves an exception to the general rule that the priests of *garadis* are always Billavas. It is explained that once when the place was attacked by a gang of robbers (or alien soldiers) the erstwhile Billava priest ran away while the Devadiga, a shrine servant, concealed himself underneath a cot and thus protected himself. After the departure of the gang and return of normalcy the Devadiga assumed the priesthood. Since then the office is vested with his descendants to the displacement of the run-away Billava. In the outer room of this *garadi,* Maidalti (with a child in her hand), Pillichavandi and Shivaraya have also been installed for periodical worship.

(viii) **Hiriadka (Udipi taluk)**

This place is situated about 15 Kms east of Udipi en-route to Karkal and is also known as Adkataya Kshetra. The name of the revenue village is Bommarabettu. It is said, in ancient times, sage Adkataya performed penance at this place and, pleased at his devotion and austerities Ishvara appeared before him with Parvati and a host of their *Ganas.* The entourage of Ishvara consisted of Virabhadra, Virupaksha, Bringi, Somesha, Chandaka, Siddesha, Thanakesha, Jaleswara, Vyagresha, Bhutikesha, Pingalaksha, Soma, Nandi etc., while that of Parvati consisted of a thousand *Rudra Kannikas* such as Abbage, Dharage. Cromchi, Chandike, Kapardike, Karali, Bhimeshi, Bhimachandi, Guharani, Manjikeshi, Gunjapadi, Gorakshi, Guhyakeshwari, Yekapadi, Padachooli, Bhoorikeshi, etc. When Ishvara and Parvati, were coming down the *ghats* with their retinue, two servants stationed at the checkpost by the king to collect tax from the travellers, demanded a golden coin for each person. Thereupon Virabhadra transformed them into *Bhutas* and admitted them to his own entourage. On reaching Hiriadka, the Lord and his retinue accepted the offerings of beaten rice, gur, coconuts, plantains, betel leaves etc., and blessed Adkataya. Then Adkataya entreated the Lord to indicate the place where he could establish the entourage that accompanied the Lord. At the bidding of Ishvara, Virabhadra made out numerous wooden images investing each with the essence of a particular *Bhuta* or *Gana* and set them up in the northern portion of the village. Virabhadra also built a shrine for Adkataya. He also appointed the recently transformed *Bhutas* of the two servants to serve as *dwarapalakas* of the entire shrine-complex. Subsequently, Virabhadra himself sought the permission of the Lord to stay

at Hiriadka along with Abbage, Dharage, Mahankali, Lakshmi and Saraswati. Finally, the Lord himself was persuaded to stay at this place rendering it sacred forever.

The main temple here is known after Virabhadra. In the sanctum however, there are the idols or representations of Adi-Brahma (Brahmalingeshvara), Virabhadra, Naga, Abbage, Dharage and Mahankali. There is also a serpent shrine close-by. On the northern side, in a separate building, there are 5 wooden images representing *pramathiganas* (4 female and one male) and, in addition there are the wooden images of Dhumavati, Varahi, Kechcha Rahuta (3 numbers) and Nandi (4 numbers). In front of the temple, there is a flag post (*dwajasthambha*) which is about 76' high. This wooden post is covered with brass plates as a device for protection, as well as, as a form of decoration. At the time of the annual festival, a flag with the insignia of a bull is hoisted. It may also be noted that the cloth flag of the former days has been replaced by a silver plaque on which the figure of a bull is embossed.

Abbage and Dharage of this shrine are of some special interest, in that they induce a state of trance among a large number of women votaries during the annual festival.

A Brahmin priest performs *puja* at this shrine everyday and the *patri* or the person who falls into a trance on all festive and other occasions is also a Brahmin. The managing trustee however is a Bunt landlord. In this shrine animal sacrifice is not resorted to. The vesting of priesthood among Brahmins and the absence of animal sacrifice are noteworthy features of this shrine.

(ix) Kallige (Buntwal taluk)

This place, situated at a distance of 5 Kms west of Buntwal, was once the headquarters of a *magane* comprising the villages of Buntwal *Mooda,* Buntwal *Nadu* and Thumbe besides itself. The presiding *Bhuta* at the *magane* level was Kanapaditaye and the *Bhandara* of the *Bhuta* was, in former days, being kept in a room in the *beedu* of the *Ballala.* With the exit of the old feudal order and efflux of time the property of this old Ballala family has now passed into the hands of the family of a Gowda Saraswath Brahmin of Mangalore. The remains of the *beedu* are now being used as a residential house by another Brahmin who incidentally is the priest of Kanapaditaye *Bhutasthana.* The hierarchical order of *magane* and village

Bhutas is preserved here even to this day, for during the *Ayana* festival the *Bhandaras* of the village *Bhutas* viz., Panjurli of Buntwal Mooda; Jumadi of Buntwal Nadu and Pilichavandi of Thumbe are first brought to the *Bhandaramane* of Kanapaditaye and from there along with that of the *magane Bhuta* the procession starts in a ceremonial manner to the shrine.

The *Bhutasthana* here consists of a *pouli* and an inner shrine both having tiled roofs. A bell-metal idol depicting a rider on horseback represents Kanapaditaye in the sanctum. The bell-metal idols of buffalo (2 pieces), a pig and a bull are also found here.

The arrival of Kanapaditaye to this place from her original residence at Kumbala (of Kasargod taluk, Kerala), it is said, was noticed by a Holeya woman who heard the sound when the *Bhuta* entered a bamboo shrub nearby and called out 'Kanapa, Kanapa', in distress, to her husband. Henceforth that *Bhuta* came to be called Kanapaditaye. It is also said that Nalkataya Daiva of the adjoining Sajeep *magane* (across Netravati) once wanted to move to Kallige and settle in the domain of Kanapaditaye and started to cross the river. At this the latter protested describing her territories as a *Kudigrama* which was fit for foxes only and managed to send Nalkataya back to his own domain by supplication and trickery. Kanapaditaye then appointed guardian *Bhutas* for the villages of Buntwal Mooda, Buntwal Nadu and Thumbe, as above, to ward off future incursions by Nalkataya.

(x) Kavatharu (Mangalore taluk)

This village, situated at about 10 Kms east of Mulky town, is somewhat interior and was once the seat of Ajila chiefs. The remains of their place and descendants of the family line are both extant. The original or the most ancient place of worship in this village is Nagabrahma, a *linga,* in a *nagabana* or serpent grove consisting of a cluster of trees and creepers. (Serpents are believed to live in such *banas.*) In course of time, the Ajila chiefs, on accepting Jumadi as their *Daiva,* established the *Bhutasthana* for *Jumadi.* Subsequently, the *Bhutas* Abbakke and Dharakke came and implored Jumadi to provide them some place. When Jumadi refused, the twin *Bhutas* requested for mere place to stay on and promised that they would not infringe on the offerings, made to Jumadi but would obtain their own offerings from outside ie., people of other villages. At last, their wish was

granted and thus the Abbakke and Dharakke shrine came to be established here. The Mahalingeshvara temple of this village appears to be a much later addition.

During this study the festivals connected with Abbakke and Dharakke are mainly covered. The main shrine of Abbakke-Dharakke here has a copper-plated roof and the structure has a ground floor and a first floor. This is called Sirigala Gunda. Two cradles (or suspended cots) here represent the *Bhutas*. In an adjoining structure there are wooden images of Nandigona (bull), two human figures (representing the Ajila chiefs), another couple and a bull. A suspended wooden cot here is pointed out as the *pattada mancha* (coronation cot) and on it are seen a goblet (in which water is offered daily) and a mirror of bell-metal. Ullaya Gunda nearby is a wooden pillar with a peculiarly shaped roof at its top. It is provided with a flight of steps which the priest has to climb in order to offer *puja*. Near about this main shrine there are a few smaller ones either enshrining or representing the following *Bhutas*:

(i) Brahma (tiled structure; stone inside represents Brahma).

(ii) Jumadi (cot inside serves as the seat).

(iii) Jarandaya (cot inside serves as the seat).

(iv) Panjurli (a niche in which an image of a pig is placed).

(v) Rakteshvari (pillar with a small *mantap* at the top and in it is seen a small wooden cot).

(vi) Maisandaya (laterite pillar).

(vii) Bhutaraja (laterite pillar).

(viii) Naga (serpent stone).

(ix) Four female figures (said to represent Abbakke, Dharakke, and their mothers Sonne and Ginne).

The Mahalingeshvara temple is situated in the precincts of the Abbakke and Dharakke shrine. The roofs of both the shrines are covered with copper plates. To denote that Mahalingeshvara was installed subsequent to the establishment of Abbakke and Dharakke shrine there is a local tradition according to which a few rice grains are sprinkled everyday over the idols of Abbakke and Dharakke before the doors of Mahalingeshvara shrine are opened.

(xi) Koni (Coondapur taluk)

This place, situated at a distance of about 6 Kms south-east of Coondapur, is known for its shrine dedicated to Katkere Kalamma. The wooden idol of Kalamma here is about 12 feet high and it is endowed with 4 hands:—two hands wield swords while the third and the fourth are represented as holding an axe and a human skull. The severed head of a *rakshasa* (demon) is held suspended from her mouth and her *vahana* (mount) is a bull. On the whole the image of Kalamma evokes awe and a sense of fear in the onlookers. The local people equate Kalamma with *Rana Chandi* and believe that in days of yore a desparate battle must have been fought in this locality and by placating this *Bhuta* (or goddess according to some) the local chief must have achieved victory. To substantiate this contention a set of 20 to 25 wooden images dressed in various manners (some resembling the Arabs) and some wielding swords, is pointed as representing the spirits of the dead soldiers on either side. The idol near the door of the shrine is pointed out as Haiguli, the local hero who fell in the battle after a display of extra-ordinary courage and valour. During the annual festival in honour of Kalamma, the *patri* walks on fire and unlike in many other places he handles burning cinders as if they were pebbles, holding them in his hands for several seconds, putting them in his mouth and so on. *Dakkebali* form of worship which is common in this Kannada-speaking tract of the district is adopted in this shrine also.

(xii) Kota (Udipi taluk)

It is situated on the west coast road about 25 Kms directly north of Udipi town. The important shrine here is that of Amriteshvari, also called *Halavu-makkala-tayi* (mother of several children). The idol is of stone but its front portion is usually covered with a silver mask. Outside the sanctum and within the compound there are a large number of stone slabs implanted in the ground in a helter-skelter manner. These are regarded by the local people as *lingas* and the belief is that such lingas have been, and are at present also, sprouting forth from the ground. These are worshipped, mostly by women with the main objective of begetting offspring or to secure cure from skin diseases by way of anointing them with coconut oil or throwing some grains of horsegram on them. In the proximity of this shrine are also installed *Bhutas* like Bobbarya, Nandi, Mari, Ummalthi and Sanna Chikku.

According to a tradition Kota was an important central place in respect of a neighbourhood consisting of 14 villages together called *Kota Jagathu* (which perhaps has been corrupted into Kotathattu, the present name of the revenue village). The priest and the *patri* of this deity are entitled to visit and receive 1 to 7 *seers* of paddy soon after the November harvest from each and every house of agriculturist of this traditional neighbourhood. The paddy so collected is shared between them and is converted into rice. It is the duty of the priest to offer cooked rice in small quantities as *neivedyam* everyday at the shrine. The food so consecrated is subsequently consumed by members of his family. The Billavas who are traditional toddy tappers have the custom of offering toddy to this deity in small quantities. This offering will subsequently be used by the Balegar priest as a beverage. The fishermen too are accustomed to set apart for Amriteshvari a share of their catch, especially when they operate *maribale* in large groups. The fish so offered is usually sold in auction and the amount realised is credited to the temple funds. It therefore appears that Amriteshvari has all along been reckoned as the presiding deity in this neighbourhood. The trustee of the shrine who is a Kota Brahmin, it may be incidentally noted, has adopted Amriteshvari as his family deity. Even Muslims are known to offer fowls and arrange *Bayalata* to propitiate Amriteshvari.

(xiii) Mandarti (Udipi taluk)

This place, situated about 20 Kms east of Barkur is famous for its Durga Parameshvari shrine. The main deity enshrined in the sanctum, which is a stone idol, is said to be known as Katyayani as well. It is said that in the sanctum just behind the pedestal of Durga Parameshvari there is an ant-hill where serpents are known to dwell always. In the outer precincts of the shrine there are idols representing Bobbarya (brass), Virabhadra (wooden, about 9′ high), Nandi, Pilichavandi, Chikku, Kallukutiga and Haiguli. Besides, there is a granite pillar with a *moda* at its top representing Kshetrapala. Close to the shrine there is *nagatirtha,* a pond with a flight of steps on all the 4 sides and a serpent shrine with a large ant-hill, called Adi-Subramanya. The priest in this shrine complex is a Brahmin. It may also be noted that Brahmanical form of worship has been adopted at the main shrine and no animal sacrifice is resorted to. The institution of trance is there but it does not include Durga Parameshvari. The Kallukutiga and Haiguli found in the precincts of the temple have separate

impersonators who belong to Madivala (washerman) and Viswakarma (goldsmith) castes respectively.

About a hundred yards east of the Durga Parameshvari shrine, there is a shrine dedicated to Chamundeshvari, the elder sister of Durga. The officiating priest here is of Balegara (bangle-seller) caste. It is not uncommon for the votaries to offer fowls and sheep in fulfilment of their vows to appease this *Bhuta*. On the occasion of Maripuja, every year animal sacrifice is also an essential ritual here. The head of the sacrificed bird or animal is apportioned by the Balegara priest and the flesh of the remaining portion is converted into curry and distributed along with cake as consecrated food among the votaries and their near and dear. On the following day the flesh in the head is separated and cooked by the Balegara who offers it as *neivedyam* to Chamundeshvari and consumes it thereafter.

Thus though the Brahmanical influence is much in evidence at the Durga Parameshvari shrine there is an unmistakable element of the *Bhuta* cult as evidenced by the large number of Bhuta idols found in its precincts, the institution of inspirational priest and the practice of sacrificing animals at an associated shrine dedicated to Chamundeshvari.

Dr. Gururaja Bhat[2] observes that this has been a centre of *Sakti* worship from early times and while conceding that the "structure is modern and environment is surcharged with modernism" he ascribes the idols to 9th or 10th century A.D. The following extract will be of interest:—

"Image of the present *mulasthana* deity is of Katyayani and may be ascribed to circa 15th-16th centuries A.D. It is 3′ high and is chiselled out of black soap-stone and holds *trisula* and *chakra* in the upper right and left hands respectively. The lower two hands are in the *Abhaya* and *Varada* pose. The three conspicuous features of this image are: (i) head of the elephant and human head being the right and left ear ornaments, (ii) *Kirita* formed out of *nagabandha* and (iii) *rundamala* (a beautiful garland of skulls). The figure is in the *samabhanga* pose.

"Almost belonging to the same period is the image of Chamundeshvari, 2′ high and carved out of the same kind of

2 'A Monograph on Sri Durga Parameshvari Temple, Mandarti' Published by Durga Parameshvari Temple, Mandarti, 1971.

stone and bearing almost the same features and depicting the same sculptural style. Here the attributes are different: *trisula* and *chakra* in the upper right and left and *khadga* and *panapatra* in the lower right and left respectively. This figure is installed in a small shrine just half a furlong to the east of the main shrine.

"Another interesting figure in the temple of Mandarti is that of Virabhadra which is made of wood and is nearly 9′ high. It is four-armed, bears a garland of skulls and holds the usual attributes of Virabhadra. The most significant aspect about this sculpture is the representation of bull (*nandi*) as the *vahana* of Virabhadra.

"The wooden sculpture of Bobbarya too is attractive; but now the metallic figure of this devil, 4′ 6″ high, is installed at the entrance of the temple and is rightly known as Bagila Bobbarya.

"The temple has stone-slabbed flooring; the sub-shrines of Kallukutiga and Pilichamundi and Nandigona are reconstructed; the tank called Naga-tirtha is renovated; a solid modern structure is being raised in front of the temple; the *dwajastambha* is copper-plated; the frontal of the *navaranga* is covered with brass plates with designs of considerable workmanship."

(xiv) **Manikal**

This place is about 5 Kms distant from Kakkunje village of Udipi taluk. It is situated quite close to Halady, located on Coondapur-Hosanagar road at a distance of about 30 Kms from Coondapur. The important *Bhutasthana* here is that dedicated to Abbakke, Dharakke and Virabhadra where a Brahmin priest officiates. The two female *Bhutas* are represented by bell-metal idols. Another old structure in its proximity has the following wooden images of *Bhutas* (regarded as attendants of the former): —

(i) Rahuta (about 20′ high), (ii) Doota [servant of (i)], (iii) Yaksha (on a bull), (iv) Mantragana (on a horse), (v) Raktakshi (on an elephant), (vi) Kallukutiga, (vii) Nandikeshvara, (viii) Haiguli (bull with one horn), (ix) Nandigona, (x) *Sanyasi* (*yogi* or an ascetic).

In another structure nearby are found the images of Chikku, Bala Chikku, Marla Chikku, Jattiga, Hulidevaru

(tiger), Panchamukha-Nandi and Moda (T shaped wooden stool), besides there is a pillar in the foreground representing Kshetrapala. There are two small shrines for Naga and Bobbarya respectively. Closeby there is a pipal tree.

The Beiderkala Garadi here is also an independent but small structure. It has in addition to Koti and Chennayya (in the form of idols), bell-metal idol of Brahma, the images of Kanthanna Baidya, Deyi Beideyi, Yakshi (only a cot), Huliraya, Panjurli, Dhumavathi and Jogipurusha. The priest is a Billava. Special *pujas* are performed on every *Sankramana* day when 9 coconuts and *panyara* are offered.

The guardian spirit of the village is Shivaraya, enshrined in a separate structure. There is yet another structure nearby which is dedicated to Maidalti and Balaya (Maidalti is regarded as capable of blessing the barren women with fertility). It may be mentioned in passing that a common *patri* (medium) serves the main *Bhutas* as well as all the others severally. He belongs to Billava caste.

(xv) **Marankatte (Coondapur taluk)**

This place is at a distance of about 22 Kms from Coondapur and is well known for its Brahmalingeshvara shrine. The other *Bhutas* that are worshipped here are (i) Yaksha, (ii) Malayali Yaksha, (iii) Chikku, (iv) Haiguli, (v) Hasala Timma and (vi) Huliraya. There is an idol called Chini Bhuta which is said to represent a *Bhuta* that was captured and retained here by Haiguli. Amongst the various *Bhutas* worshipped here it is Hasala Timma which partakes of animal sacrifice for its propitiation. *Dakkebali* form of worship coupled with fire-walking is a special feature of worship in this place. It is also of interest to know that here a Brahmin, a Bunt and a Gowda impersonate Yaksha, Chikkamma and Haiguli respectively.

(xvi) **Mekkekattu**

This place is in Shiriyara, a revenue village about 6 Kms north-east of Barkur in Udipi taluk. Besides three temples dedicated to Mahalingeshvara the village has the Nandikeshvara *Bhutasthana* which is also called *Daivasthana*. According to a legend, sage Jambukeshvara while engaged in doing penance at this spot established Nandi (Bhuta), the vehicle of Lord Ishvara as the guardian spirit in order to protect himself from disturbances likely to be caused by wild and wicked beings. Subsequently, a large number of *Bhutas* came to be established

in this shrine under various circumstances. In a spacious hall near the sanctum there are a number of wooden images which, it is said, represent the vanquished soldiers, horses and elephants of Keladi Kingdom. In this connection, the following story is narrated. One of the Keladi kings on a particular occasion marched on Barkur, the wealthy capital of a chiefdom, and encamped near Mekkekattu before the final assault. The chief of Barkur apprehending defeat invoked Nandikeshvara to protect the country by his divine intervention. His prayers were heard and Nandikeshvara by his supernatural powers immediately caused dumbness and immobility among the Keladi soldiers. The perplexed leaders consulted the astrologers and were promptly told to retreat in view of the wrath of Nandikeshvara on account of their attempt on Barkur. Accordingly, the Keladi army retreated and in commemoration of the event their king presented the above images to the shrine.

The shrine which was renovated in about 1966, consists of a sanctum and a detached hall about 50′ × 20′. A notional sketch of the lay-out indicating the position of various *Bhutas* is furnished on the facing page. The former *pouli* and *hebbagilu* have been demolished and the foundation for the new have been laid. The chief priest of this temple is a Brahmin of Shivalli sub-caste. *Patri* or chief impersonator belongs to Viswakarma (goldsmith) caste.

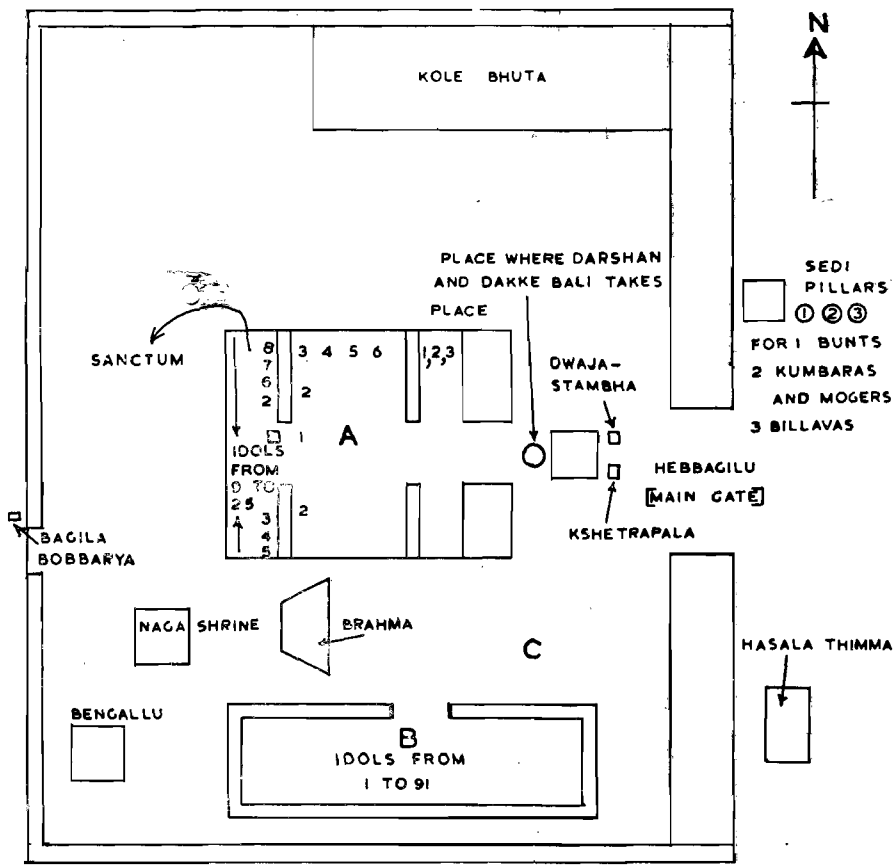
This shrine has about 150 idols or representations of *Bhutas,* perhaps the largest number possessed by any single shrine in the district and it must be mentioned here that a few years ago the All India Handicrafts Board removed several old idols to Delhi and to Bangalore for preservation and provided replicas to be reinstalled in the shrine. Besides, a few pieces pertaining to this shrine were donated by the trustee to the University of Mysore some time ago.

A brief description of the idols etc., of this shrine is given below (the numbers indicated in the sketch correspond to the serial numbers of this list). All the *Bhuta* idols including the main deity Nandikeshvara are of wood.

Even as one approaches the *hebbagilu,* an idol of Hasla Timma with two dogs may be noticed to one's left and 3 *sedi* pillars to one's right. The *sedi* pillars are in a line and the one closer to the shrine is reserved for Bunts, the next for Kumbaras (potters) and Mogers and the last (i.e., farthest from *hebbagilu*) for the Billavas. (Top of the *sedi* pillar serves as a

Plate 84

LAY OUT SKETCH OF NANDIKESHWARA
DAIVASTHANA, MEKKEKATTU (NOTIONAL)



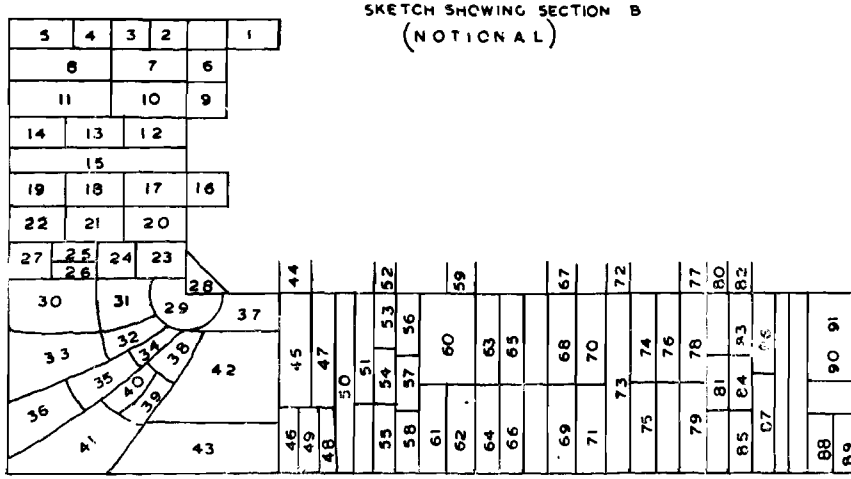
A MAIN SHRINE [GROUND FLOOR AND 1 FLOOR]

B LARGE HALL IN THE QUADRANGLE—FOR DETAILS PLEASE TURN OVER

C OTHER PORTIONS IN THE PRECINCTS OF THE SHRINE

NANDIKESHWARA DAIVASTHANA, MEKKEKATTU

SKETCH SHOWING SECTION B
(NOTIONAL)



COPY OF AN OLD SKETCH SHOWING THE PLACEMENT OF BHUTA IDOLS IN THE BIG SIZED HALL [SECTION B] AT THE TIME OF SECOND INSTALLATION CEREMONY PERFORMED IN 1906 (ON SUNDAY, VAISHAKHA SHUDDA THRAYODASI OF PRABHAVA SAMVAT)

pivot for a long wooden beam at one end of which would be a cradle and at the other, a rope holding which the cradle can be rotated). Beyond these pillars and nearer the entrance there is a small platform. On this platform the impersonator stands for a while when the *Bhuta* is invoked on the final day of the annual festival, and receives the offerings.

Main shrine (Groundfloor).

1. *Nandikeshvara*—Idol of a bull about 3′ high: it has 2 horns as usual but its face is drawn upwards with an outstretched tongue. This is the principal object of worship. To its left there is another idol of a bull about 18″ high in a similar posture but with only one horn.

2. *Parshvamukha Nandi*—As the name indicates the face of this idol is tilted to its left. This bull, about 18″ high, has 2 horns.

3. *Durgaparameshvari mounted on Panchamukhi Nandi*—Durgaparameshvari has 4 hands of which one is held in the *abhayamudra* and in the three others are held a *trisula,* a *damaru* and a *khadga* respectively. She wears a crown. The hood of a serpent peeps out from behind. On her body several jewels have been carved out neatly and a holy thread is also carved out. Her mount, the bull, has 5 heads on a single trunk arranged in such a way as to face upwards, downwards, left hand side and right hand side besides the normal straight looking posture. Of these, the heads facing sideways have only one horn each.

4. *Akasha Nandi*—An ordinary bull represented as facing upwards directing its gaze to *akasha,* the sky. Its tongue is protruding.

5. *Vishnu on Trimukha Nandi*—Vishnu idol is represented here with *Vibhooti* (holy ashes) marks on the forehead and as having only two arms, the palms of which are joined together as if he is offering obeisance. He is seated in a cross-legged posture. His mount, the bull, has 3 heads on a single trunk; the central one facing vertically upwards and the other two facing sideways.

6. *Barbarika*—An idol about 30″ high representing a female with bulging eyes. In one of her hands a mace is held while in the other there is the bowl of *vibhooti.* Just above her head is the raised hood of a cobra intertwined with her hair-locks.

7. *Yakshini*—This is a pleasing idol of a smiling female who holds a *damaru* in one hand. Her coiffure resembles the pony-tail style with a knot on the left side.

8. *Tottilu Devi*—This is a cradle in which are laid 2 small idols representing a male and a female child. During *sediseva* this *Bhuta* receives special offerings.

Behind No. 1, *in rows*

9. *Jattiga*—A male figure in a standing posture; has naked swords in both the hands; presents a virile look in view of the moustaches and beard as well as the head-gear.

10. *Nandini*—A female figure, about 4′ high with a gentle smile. She is represented as wearing a frilled skirt and a blouse. Both her hands are stretched downwards. Her coiffure too resembles the pony-tail style.

11. *Malini*—A female figure about 5′ high with a gentle smile resembling Nandini just described.

12. *Bradahmani*—Similar to Malini both in height and style.

13. *Dwimukesha*—A male figure about 7′ high, with 4 hands and 2 faces; the hairs on one head are gathered into a top-knot while those on the other are covered with the hood of a cobra; two of the 4 hands hold a sword each while in the other two are a *chakra* (discus) and *damaru*. He wears a holy thread across his trunk.

14. *Nageshvari*—A female idol about 5′ high represented as holding a *damaru* in one of her hands.

15. *Dhumraksha*—A human size male figure with a sword in one hand and a lamp (dhoopa) in the other. His hairlocks are tied upwards.

16. *Koumarini*—A damsel about 2′ high, represented with smiling features and as holding flowers in one of her hands.

17. *Indrani*—A damsel with a lotus in one hand.

18. *Roudra Sudumahesha*—A fierce looking male, about 6′ 6″ high holds a dagger in one hand and a sword in the other; the headgear consists of the hood of a cobra; general expression is that of anger; upper teeth are exposed; has a beard and moustache.

19. *Damstramukha*—Another fierce looking male figure; holds *damaru* in one hand; has *naga* headgear and his teeth are also exposed as if in anger.

20. *Nageshvara*—A male figure with a sword in one hand and the hood of a cobra as headgear.

21. *Lingamma*—A female figure wearing a frilled skirt and a blouse; expression is that of chuckling smile; hair style resembles pony-tail.

22. *Kalikamba*—A fierce-looking female figure.

23. *Arbakeshvara*—The face of a bull is fixed on a human trunk; it has the usual pair of horns; one of the hands is suspended vertically downwards while in the other, which is raised, is held a sword.

24. *Darakeshvari*—Same as Arbakeshvara above.

25. *Brahmani*—A pleasing female figure about 2′ high: hair-style resembles pony-tail; her left hand is stretched out in front as if she is extending an open offer to fulfil the desires of the votary.

In The Hall In front Of The Sanctum

1 & 2. *Dwarapalakas*—On either side of the entrance to the sanctum are the 2 identical male figures; they are represented as holding a mace, a trident, a *damaru* and a serpent in their hands; one of their feet rests on the hood of a serpent. They bear the symbolic marks of Vishnu.

3. *Bringi*—A male human body with the head of a bull; a mace is held in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other; the idol is about 6′ high; wears a holy thread.

4. *Shringi*—A male figure represented as holding a vase in the left hand; has matted hair hanging down on the right side; wears a sacred thread.

5. *Virabhadra*—This idol is about 8′ high and presents a fierce appearance. The attributes in its 4 hands are: sword, trident, *runda* (severed human head) and a shield; headgear consists of 2 coiled serpents; and the jewels such as *udyana* (waist belt), *kalu kadaga* (anklets), ear-rings and necklaces besides the holy thread have also been beautifully carved.

6. *Bethala.*—A small mace of wood placed in a small wooden *mantapa* fixed to a wooden pillar about 3'6" high. A light is lit in an earthen lamp in front of this every evening.

Open Veranda Attached To The Hall

1. *Jogi Purusha.*—An ascetic (*yogi*) in a sitting posture; his right leg touches the ground and the left leg is held across and rests on the right thigh; palm of the right hand rests on the right knee.

2. *Hanumantha.*—A monkey with its right hand placed on its head and the left meddling with its private parts.

3. *Moda.*—A wooden stand; *mantapa* on a pillar.

First Floor Right Above The Sanctum

1. *Mahesvari.*—The idol is seated on a buffalo which has turned its face upwards and has held out its tongue. Mahesvari holds a sword in one hand and flowers in the other.

2. *Gummata Mallas.*—These consists of 5 idential idols (which differ only in height) with a bull's head with horns on a human body.

3. *Avatara Chikku.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

4. *Karala Mukhi.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

5. *Baggu Chikku.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

6. *Guru Chikku.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

7. *Antarmukhi.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

8. *Dottekala Chikku.*—A female figure with flowers in one hand and a bowl of *Vibhooti* in the other.

9. *Vikalini.*—Repeat as at 8 above.

10. *Navilu.*—Image of a pea-fowl (a pair).

11. *Hunja.*—Image of a cock (a pair).

12. *Huli.*—Image of a tiger.

(B) *Large Hall In The Quadrangle*

1. *Trimukha Bana.*—A human figure with 3 heads holding a naked boy and a naked girl in its arms; close to it is a female figure with four hands in two of which are held *damaru* and in the other two, a sword and a spear.

2. *Ummalti.*—A fierce-looking female figure exposing the frontals and canine teeth; the hands are held forward as if to lift anything; the headgear consists of a basket.

3. *Bemmalti.*—Another fierce-looking female figure.

4. *Bemmalaya.*—Male figure supposed to be the husband of Bemmalti; represented shorter than his wife.

5. *Ummalaya.*—Male figure supposed to be the husband of Ummalti; represented shorter than his wife.

6. *Kechcha Rahuta Moda.*—A wooden *mantapa* on a wooden pillar (2′ high).

7. *Haiguli Moda.*—A wooden *mantapa* on a wooden pillar (2′ high).

8. *Tuduvina etthu mathu* and *mahuta.*—A male figure on a bull with long horns represented as wearing a conical cap.

9. *Moda.*—A wooden *mantapa* on a wooden pillar 2′ high.

10. *Kechcha Rahuta.*—A gigantic male figure (20′ high) standing on a tiny bull (1′6″ high); has 4 hands in which are held *damaru* (2 hands) a sword and a human skull. He has a beard and whiskers and 2 of his canine teeth are protruding.

11. *Yakshini.*—A female figure about 3′ high, wears a frilled skirt and blouse; hair style is in pony-tail fashion.

12. *Kaskar* (*horse-rider*).—A male figure holding a cane in one hand; headgear consists of a conical cap.

13. *Kudu*[illegible]*e mathu kaskar.*—A rider on horse-back.

14. *Vokkodu Nandi.*—Bull with only one horn facing upwards.

15. *Chikku.*—A female figure wearing frilled skirt and a blouse; hair style is in pony-tail fashion.

16. *Moda.*—A wooden stand; *mantapa* on a pillar.

17. *Mahutana Doota.*—A male figure representing an attendant of a *Mahuta.* He wears a typical conical cap.

18. *Ane Mahuta.*—Mahut seated on an elephant (5′ high) and holding a trident.

19. *Nandi.*—A bull with two horns.

20. *Ane Rakshaka.*—An elephant rearer.

21. *Savara.*—An elephant rider.

22. *Nandi.*—A bull with only one horn.

23. *Javana.*—Soldier.

24. *Tuduvina ettu mathu* and *Savara.*—A male figure seated on a bull.

25. *Nandi.*—A bull with 2 horns.

26. *Nandi.*—A bull with only one horn.

27. *Bringi.*—A male figure with a bull's head.

28. *Kechcha Rahuta Moda.*—Same as Sl. No. 6.

29. *Kechcha Rahuta.*—Same as Sl. No. 10.

30. *Yettina Mahuta.*—A male figure riding a bull.

31. *Bringi.*—Same as Sl. No. 27.

32. *Vokkodu Nandi.*—Same as Sl. No. 14.

33. *Varc Kuttige Vokkodu Nandi.*—A bull with a twisted neck and having only one horn.

34. *Panjurli.*—An image of a pig.

35. *Bringi.*—Same as serial number 27.

36. *Kundali.*—A male figure.

37. *Balachikku.*—A female figure.

38. *Kudure Mahuta.*—A horse rider.

39. *Kudure Mahuta.*—A horse rider.

40. *Bolu Nandi.*—A bull.

41. *Rakshaka.*—Male figure; guard.

42. *Rakshaka.*—Male figure; guard.

43. *Nandi.*—Bull with 2 horns.

44. *Dvishira.*—A male human body with 2 heads and 4 hands; expression on the faces are different and so are the ornaments and headgear; wears holy thread.

45. *Nandi.*—A bull with one horn.

46. *Kechcha Rahuta Moda.*—Same as Sl. No. 6.

47. *Kechcha Rahuta.*—Same as Sl. No. 10.

48. *Nandi.*—Bull with 2 horns.

49. *Rakshathi.*—A female figure.

50. *Tiryajnamukha Nandi.*—Bull with its head (and neck). twisted backwards.

51. *Nandi.*—A bull with one horn.

52. *Ane mathu Moda*—A wooden *mantapa* on an elephant.

53. *Mahuta.*—A mahut.

54. *Heri-ane Mahuta.*—Mahut of a senior (ie., huge) elephant.

55. *Vokkodu Nandi.*—Bull with one horn.

56. *Mavuta.*—A mahut (male).

57. *Mavuta.*—A female figure representing an elephant rider.

58. *Rakta Panjurli.*—Same as Sl. No. 34.

59. *Haiguli Moda.*—A wooden *mantapa* on a wooden pillar.

60. *Kechcha Rahuta.*—Same as Sl. No. 10.

61. *Nandi.*—Bull with 2 horns.

62. *Nandi.*—Bull with one horn.

63. *Savara.*—Horse-rider.

64. *Nandi.*—Bull with one horn.

65. *Armaraya.*—Male figure.

66. *Brahmaraya.*—Male figure.

67. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

68. *Trishira.*—A male human figure endowed with 6 hands, 3 heads but only 2 legs; facial expressions are dissimilar; holds drum, flowers and dagger in the hands.

69. *Nandi.*—Bull with one horn.

70. *Ettu mathu Rakshaka.*—A bullock and its guard.

71. *Ettu mathu Rakshaka.*—A bullock and its guard.

72. *Moda.*—Same as Sl. No. 6 (there are 6 pieces).

73. *Haiguli.*—A bull.

74. *Moda.*—Same as Sl. No. 6.

75. *Tiryanmukha Nandi.*—A human figure, represented as standing on a bull, having 2 hands and 3 bull-heads instead of the ordinary human face; a single headgear (crown) encompasses the 3 heads; wears holy thread.

76. *Haiguli.*—Same as serial number 73.

77. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

78. *Brahmaraya.*—Same as serial number 66.

79. *Brahma Rakshasa.*—A male human figure.

80. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

81. *Ettu.*—Bullock.

82. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

83. *Garudana Uru.*—*Garuda,* the vehicle of Lord Vishnu represented as a human figure with wings; stands on a peacock; facial expression is fierce; and the canine teeth are protruding; in one hand a snake is held while in the other there is a spear; *Vaishnava mudras* (emblems) of *Dvaita sampradaya* are branded on the body.

84. *Sanni.*—A female figure.

85. *Sannamma.*—A female figure.

86. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

87. *Moda.*—Same as serial number 6.

88. *Jattiti.*—A male figure with a mace in one hand and a sword in the other.

89. *Jatti.*—A male figure with a mace in one hand and a sword in the other.

90. *Chikku.*—A female figure standing on a cock.

91. *Huli.*—Image of a tiger mounted on 4 wheels.

At Other Places Around The Shrine

1. *Bagila Bobbarya.*—A granite figure found at the rear door of the shrine just outside the *pouli.*

2. *Brahma.*—A trapezium shaped box-like structure in granite enshrining a linga.

3. *Kole Bhuta.*—A detached small structure; has 6 wooden teapoys each fitted with two planks one above the other forming two tiers. These represent the ancestors of the Kolkebail family and, on occasions, lighted torches are struck on these stands as a mark of offering to ancestors.

4. *Naga.*—A cobra-stone behind the sanctum at the south-western corner; a little farther towards the corner there is *Benagallu,* a stone on which coconuts are dashed and broken into pieces.

5. *Kshetrapala.*—A small pillar of stone.

6. *Dwajastambha.*—A flag-post (wooden).

(xvii) Surathkal.

(Mangalore Taluk: 20 Kms north of the city).—The Varahi shrine here is also known locally as Kavera Daivasthana. The idol installed here was formerly at Panambur village, which was recently acquired for the Harbour Project. It is made of wood and is said to be at least a couple of centuries old. The *Bhuta* which is about 5′ high has a protruding tongue on which may be seen a carving that represents Vishnu. Varahi is shown as squatting on a *Varaha* (boar) of appropriate size. The *Bhutasthana* consists of the main shrine and the *pouli,* and, the outer portion of the *pouli* is provided with two small rooms. In one of these rooms are found the wooden images of Abbakke, Dharakke, Sonne and Gindi while in the other are seen suspended planks for (i) Kanthana Dhumavati, (ii) Panjurli (metal mask, bell, image of a cock and a vase), (iii) Sarala Dhumavati (sword, mask etc), (iv) Kodamantaya (sword) and (v) Devapunja (mask). Close to this *sthana* there is a *naga*-shrine also; The *patri* of this shrine offers his services as a medium to the votaries on every Sunday afternoon and has earned a reputation for efficacy in the region. The shrine is receiving an annual *tasdik* grant of Rs. 20. from the State Government.

(xviii) **Adka**

This place is in Ullal town of Mangalore taluk and is about 12 Kms south of Mangalore city. The Bhagavati

shrine here belongs to Bovis, a fishermen community speaking Malayalam. Evidently they are immigrants from Malabar. The temple enshrines *Pancha Bhagavatis* known as Padangere Bhagavati, Ammitti Bhagavati, Veerakali Bhagavati, Mecheri Bhagavati and Kallingere Bhagavati besides the following *Bhutas*: Annappa Panjurli, Bermeru, Guliga, Betegara Ishvara and Viraputran.

(xix) **Kodiyala Bail**

(Part of Mangalore city)—The Guthammasthana here, which is also called the Bhagavati shrine, belongs to Tiyans. The mother-tongue of Tiyans is Malayalam and their hereditary profession is tapping of toddy from the palm trees. Unlike the other *Bhutasthanas* commonly found in the district, the Guthammasthana has a decorative *kirtimukha* with an umbrella in the front portion of its tiled roof. The *daivas* worshipped here are: (i) Cherumba Nalva Bhagavati, (ii) Padangara Bhagavati (three swords, a bell and a small bell-metal goblet are placed here in a manner similar to that noticeable in several *Bhutasthanas* belonging to the Tulu or Kannada speaking sections of population of the district), (iii) Pollurali Bhagavati (granite idol set up in about 1967 in a separate shrine; formerly this deity was alongside Padangara Bhagavati), and (iv) Doomarahuti. In the precincts of this shrine there is a granite pillar with carved panels of human figures on all the four sides depicting them in a fighting spree. This is called a Virastambha. According to a local legend this *stambha* came to this area afloat the Arabian sea and the attempts of persons belonging to the various castes here to take hold of it did not succeed. Finally, the Tiyans caught hold of the *stambha* and installed it at its present place. At the time of commencement of the annual festival here it is customary to hoist a flag on which the figure of a naked man is depicted. According to the Tiyans, this figure represents one Neelakanta, son of Pandi Raja of yore. A person of Tiyan caste serves as the *patri* of this shrine and he moves into a trance on all important occasions of worship. It is he who, in a state of trance, beheads the sacrificial animals offered by the votaries.

CHAPTER IV

Forms Of Worship And Periodical Festivals

The description of the various *Bhutasthanas* and names of *Bhutas* mentioned in the preceding chapters amply indicates the close links subsisting between *Bhuta* cult and the worship of Naga or serpent. In fact some of the *Bhuta* idols are depicted with the headgear of coiled serpents with outstretched hoods. Nagadevate, Nagakanne, Nagabrahma etc., have also been reported as *Bhutas*. Furthermore, a common feature observed during this field study is the existence of *Naga* shrines either within the precincts of the *Bhutasthana* itself or in its close proximity. In all such places along with the Bhutas the Naga also partake of worship regularly. In the predominantly Kannada speaking area, which lies to the north of Udipi, the propitiation of Naga is quite common. When invoked in the prescribed manner the *patri* moves into ecstasy and gets "possessed" by the concerned divinity. One such propitiation which is made on an elaborate manner goes by the name of *Nagamandala* and, *Dakkebali* is one of its essential elements. The preliminaries include the selection of a spot for the ritual, its purification and the drawing of a design of a serpent in an intricate manner using *rangavalli* and colour powders. This representation is called the Nagamandala and usually the design is so large as to encompass an area of about 100 square feet. After due ceremonies a *Kalasa* is installed at its centre. *Dakkebali* usually starts around 10 O'clock in the night and the worship lasts till the daybreak. *Dakke* is the Kannada term for a drum (percussion instrument) and *bali* connotes "offerings". In *Dakkebali* there are two participants; the *vaidya* and the *patri*. It may be incidentally noted that both of them belong to a particular subcaste among Brahmins. The ceremonial dress of the *vaidya* consists of a saree and a blouse (the regular attire of women), besides a turban (head dress of a male). He, when so dressed, represents half man and half woman. He also puts on dancing bells at his ankles. The dress of the *patri* consists of a silk cloth usually of a red or pink colour. He leaves his locks loose. The *vaidya* holds the *dakke* which he beats rhythmically, sings and also dances to its tune. The main purpose of his actions is to attune the *patri* to completely sublimate his personality and aspire for the full possession by the spirit that is being invoked. In the initial stages of the dance the *vaidya* sings, gesticulates

and beats the drum in such a way as to arouse in the *patri* the anger of the *Naga* and draw out the dormant force which soon manifests by way of hissing, twisting of the body and such other gesticulations. The *vaidya* changes the mood and starts to praise, supplicate and win over the *Naga* thus inducing him to emerge in his full splendour. The *vaidya* and the *patri* move round and round the *Nagamandala* during this entire sequence which lasts for several hours. The song, the rhythmic beat of the drum and the dance together combine to inspire the *patri* to become fully possessed by the spirit of the serpent that is being invoked. At this stage he also acts as a medium and blesses those who are instrumental for that invocation.

In this tract a similar procedure is adopted for invoking and propitiating *Bhutas* also. The design drawn with *rangavalli* represents the specific *Bhuta* that is to be invoked and the *vaidya* sings only such songs as are associated with the concerned *Bhuta*. The *patri* in all such cases happens to be the one who usually officiates in that capacity for the specific *Bhuta* in its shrine. The main elements of *Dakkebali*, namely, beating the drum, singing and dancing besides going round and round the *rangavalli* design are thus retained. In this case too the *patri* moves into a trance and acts as a medium. Evidently, singing, dancing and the rhythmic beat of the drum are instrumental in attuning the impersonator and in invoking the supernatural forces to emerge and manifest themselves. The entire atmosphere around the place of the ritual gets surcharged with sanctity. The efficacy of forces so generated, especially in the impersonator and the devout votaries is so great as to render them immune to injury by fire. At several places, during *jatras*, the *Dakkebali* is either followed or preceded by *kendaseve* in which the impersonator walks on burning cinders. At a few places the votaries (both men and women) also follow the impersonator in this fire-walking ritual.

As part of *kendaseve*, inside the shrine all the *Bhuta* idols are decorated with flowers and, oil lamps are also lit. This is followed by burning of incense. At night the *patri* enters the shrine after a bath and wearing wet clothes. Here he smears himself with holy ashes and applies sandal paste and puts on the ceremonial dress which consists of a silk dhoti (*patte*), gold necklace and gold bangles. He does not comb his hair but allows them to remain loose and hanging. At this stage incense is burnt and *arati* is waved in front of the *Bhuta* idols to the accompaniment of the beating of drums, playing of pipes and

ringing of bells. Simultaneously, the *patri* experiences a quivering sensation. Soon thereafter, the priest who comes out of the sanctum sprinkles *tirtha* on the *patri* and hands him a bunch of areca flowers. The shivering intensifies and the *patri* begins to circumambulate the shrine. While doing so he is assisted to put on *gajje* (dancing bells) and in some places, *challanagajje* (a red half pant to which also dancing bells are fastened). He then takes hold of two country torches and comes out of the shrine only to stand in front of it and continue to quiver, howl and indulge in frenzied movements for a while. Gradually, the quivering gets reduced and the *Bhuta* speaks out to the *moktessar* and enquires about the welfare of the votaries and demands to know why it has been invoked. The *moktessar* in reply states that in accordance with the annual practice this time also the *Bhuta* has been invoked to be propitiated with due offerings, pleads that errors of omission and commisison, if any, on their part be excused and lastly prays that the *Bhuta* be pleased to bless the votaries with prosperity. The *moktessar* also makes a reference to the *kendaseve* and requests the *Bhuta* to accept the offering. Meanwhile, a trench will have been got ready and in that the Viswakarma functionary will have prepared the fire on which the impersonator has to walk. The *patri* in a state of trance, accompanied by the *moktessar,* the piper and the dummer reaches this spot. Here, the priest sprinkles *tirtha* on the burning cinders. A few flowers are also strewn on cinders. Then the *patri* fearlessly treads on burning red-hot cinders and comes out unscathed.

In the predominantly Tulu-speaking areas also a more or less similar technique is adopted in invoking and propitiating the *Bhutas.* The man who aspires for full possession by the *Bhuta* in these parts, usually belongs to Pambada, Parava or Nalke caste. His ceremonial dress is rather elaborate and includes red pyjamas. He paints his face with ochre pigment prepared afresh out of leaves of certain plants. As the rites usually commence at night at the spot where the *Bhuta* is being invoked he has to start his preparations a few hours earlier at a place nearby. After taking bath, he squats and starts his preparations such as preparing the paint, daubing it on his face etc., while a close associate (may be his wife, brother or any other related or unrelated person) sits by his side and goes on singing *paddanas* in a low voice to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beats of a *tamare* (percussion instrument). These songs usually relate the heroics or doings of the *Bhuta.* Sometimes, the impersonator also joins in singing the song aloud but it is very probable that though he may not sing aloud all the time, he

keeps on memorising the song in its proper sequence and sings to himself. Gradually, he moves into a state of ecstasy and at the appropriate time dashes forth to the place where the *Bhuta* has been installed and is being invoked. There he starts to move backwards, forwards and sideways as if he is fully possessed. Soon, a state of complete trance envelops him. Thus, in this case also music and the beat of the drum infuse in the impersonator the spirit of the divinity that is being propitiated.

At the time of annual and such other periodical festivals organised at the *Bhutasthanas* it is very common to invoke and propitiate the various *Bhutas* in the manner described above. A description of the important festivals and rituals observed at the centres of *Bhuta* worship visited during this study is presented in the following paragraphs. The festivals held at different places and to propitiate different *Bhutas* are known by different names. For example the annual festival held in honour of Ullalthi of Anantadi is known as *Mechchi* while a similar festival held at Kallige in honour of Kanapaditaye is known as *Ayana*. It may perhaps be necessary at the outset to mention that the festivals covered here are not exhaustive and the omission to describe certain periodical festivals at some of the centres visited does not mean that these are not observed at that place.

(I) Mechchi at Anantadi

The annual festival held on the full-moon day in the month of *Kumbha* (February) in honour of Ullalthi at Anantadi is popularly known as *mechchi*. It may incidentally be pointed out that this is a general term meaning 'to appease' or 'to please' and is in some places used as a suffix, as in *puddar mechchi* etc.

The chief organiser of this festival at present is Dr. M. P. Pai, the head of the Gowda Saraswath Brahmin family which owns in this village large extents of paddy fields and gardens as well as the ancestral house of the former Ballalas of the place. It may be recalled that it is very close to the *chavadi* of this house that the original shrine of Ullalthi is situated. Both in the shrine and the *chavadi* which together go by the name Chittarige, there are symbols (hanging wooden cots) representing Ullalthi. The *Patel* of the village, who belongs to Bunt community, also has an important role in the conduct of this festival and he too is a leading landlord of the place. Persons of several other castes are by tradition actively involved in the observance of several rites and rituals associated with *mechchi*.

Though the final or the most important day of the festival falls on the full-moon-day the preliminaries start off, a few days in advance, on an auspicious day. The first event which marks the commencement is *bale-muhurta* or the plucking of plantain fruits. The Brahmin priest, at an auspicious time previously decided in consultation with the persons involved, after due prayers to Ullalthi visits the garden which has been traditionally supplying a bunch of plantains of a specific variety each year. A Billava selects a suitable bunch and cuts it. The plantain bunch so plucked is used for subsequent ceremonies.

The next important event is the fixing of four wooden pegs near the Bantrinja (newly built shrine of Ullalthi which is at some distance from Chittarige) to mark off the arena for cock-fighting. Immediately thereafter a ceremonial cock fight takes place. Then a pendal is put up in front of the Bantrinja.

About 3 days prior to the full-moon, the Parava impersonator, after offering prayers at the shrine, proceeds ceremonially to an areca garden in *Kedila* locality and cuts out areca spathe, areca nuts and areca flowers which are necessary for the preparation of *ani* (*prabhavali* or halo) and for offerings to the *Bhuta* respectively. He then brings them all to Bantrinja and hands over to the priest for being stored in the shrine. The same evening, after due prayers at Bantrinja, the chief organiser and several others headed by a drummer (of Mari-Holeya caste) proceed to a fallow paddy field, called *bakimaru gadde*, nearby. The chief organiser carries with him a *chandu* (leather ball stuffed with coir). On reaching the field where a banana sapling is already planted at the centre, and standing by its side the chief organiser throws the ball thrice, high into the air. After it descends on the ground the assembled men play with it by kicking it hither and thither as if they are playing a game of foot-ball. The popular belief is that this ball represents the head of Chanda-Munda, a *rakshasa* (demon) who was killed by Ullalthi. After sometime it stops and the party gets back. In a similar manner this ritual of playing a ball is repeated on the two successive days also.

On the following day the Parava visits Bantrinja and after receiving the spathes of areca from the priest proceeds to fashion *ani*, headgear and other ornaments of spathe. He kindles a fire nearby and heats the spathes upto the necessary degree, cuts them and stitches the pieces into proper shapes. He also paints these with suitable colours. The *ani* will be usually of horse-shoe shape, and, when worn covers the back

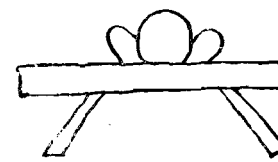
and raises well above the head of the impersonator besides extending a couple of feet on his either side. A lengthy piece painted red is set apart to represent the protruding tongue of Ullalthi which, on the final day, will be fastened to the facial mask of the impersonator.

On the succeeding day the *Bhandara* is opened and all the jewels are cleaned. The palanquin is also cleaned and got ready. In the evening, after the game with the ball is over the party proceeds to the cock-fight arena and in the presence of the chief organiser the pegs are removed. After the removal of pegs no cock-fight should take place in the village till the festival is formally concluded. The entire party now moves over to Bantrinja where, in the meanwhile, the local carpenter (of the Badagi caste) will have given final touches to the *muhurta kabe* (a decorative wooden insignia) and *makara thorana* (a decorative arch) the designs of which are indicated below by a notional diagram. The flag post, about 30′ high, covered all over with green leaves and foliage is then raised in front of the pendal (ie., Bantrinja) by the joint effort of several men.

MUHURTA KABE



MAKARA - THORANA



The same night at about 9 O'clock prayers are offered at the *Bhandara mane* and two youngmen of Gowda caste get possessed by *Malaraya* and *Pilichavandi,* the attendants of Ullalthi. They are called *manyas.* The *chandan* or sandal wood mask and other silver masks of the *Bhutas* are then laid by the chief organiser in the decorated palanquin which is then carried in a procession at first to the *Chittarige* of Ullalthi. The palanquin is taken round the shrine thrice. All the while the Gowda youths with swords in hand keep close to the palanquins and so do the chief organiser and the *patel.*

The masks are then placed one each, on the suspended cot of Ullalthi and the cot of Malaraya respectively, for a while. *Pujas* are performed and after distribution of *prasada* the procession is resumed with the masks in the palanquin and the Gowda youths in attendance. Enroute to Bantrinja, as the proecssion moves near their homes, the cultivators offer tender coconuts and wave lighted wicks as a token of their offerings and receive blessings.

On reaching Bantrinja the palanquin is taken round the platforms of pipal trees (*ashwathakatte*) three times. By now the Gowda youths would be completely exhausted and they faint at almost every step. Others rush to fan them and lend support to them to keep on moving. After this, the group enters the main shrine and here again the palanquin is taken round as many as nine times.

It may incidentally be mentioned that the Devadigas and Mari Holeyas of the village provide their services as pipers and drummers respectively and move a few paces ahead of this procession. It is also the traditional practice to lead a decorated bull at the head of the procession.

After the 9th *pradakshina* is taken the flag is hoisted on the flag-post raised earlier in the evening. The flag has at its centre the figure of a naked man, with his genitals prominently exposed. Thereupon, the mask of Ullalthi is laid on the suspended plank in the shrine and the mask of Malaraya is placed outside the sanctum on a decorated bench. Thereafter the people disperse to reassemble a few hours later, for already it would be well past midnight and the next day's programme commences in the early hours of the morning.

Early next morning, the Parava dresses himself with the ceremonial dress and attunes himself for possession by Ullalthi. His head and back are covered with a decorative *ani* of huge dimensions. He then receives and puts on the *chandan* mask and fastens to it the protruding tongue (made of areca spathe). He then holds two lighted torches (made by the pith of palmyra tree) in his hands and on meditation falls into a deep trance. He speaks to the chief organiser first and ascertains from him as well as the *patel* whether all the customary rituals and *dharma* have been observed properly. He would remain in this state for about 4 or 5 hours at a stretch and receives all offerings which are usually: replicas of cradle, serpent or ornaments in silver; a cow or a calf; cash etc., meant for the *daiva*. During this trance, he acts as a medium and issues directions and solutions for dispelling difficulties and problems submitted by

the votaries. In this task he is assisted by a *gurikara* whose function is to present the case of the votary to the *daiva* and in turn convey the commands to the votaries concerned. The *chandan* mask is then laid aside and the silver mask is put on for a while. Local custom enjoins that no female should be present in the vicinity of the *daiva* as long as the impersonator is donned with its silver mask. Donning this silver mask and in a state of trance the Parava circumambulates the shrine. While he goes round thus it is the duty of the Madivala to spread white cloth all along the path for him to tread on. When the *daiva* departs from the person of Parava, it manifests itself in the Gowda for a short while before it finally passes out. Then, the masks are replaced at the proper places in the Bantrinja and the rituals formally come to an end. However, the temporary market that would have come up the previous day would continue to remain active and the place would be thronged by carefree and happy crowds. A community feast is held on this day when all persons, irrespective of their caste distinction, are fed. The size of the gathering varies between ten to twelve thousand every year.

A noteworthy feature of this festival is the absence of animal sacrifice during the occasion. Another feature is its integrating function which may be perceived in the division of labour (ie., rights and responsibilities) it entails among persons belonging to different castes. The following traditional arrangement is being scrupulously followed: —

1. *Brahmin:* The chief organiser and the chief priest belong to Gowda-Saraswath and Shivalli Sub-castes among Brahmins.

2. *Bunt:* The *Patel* of the village who has a prominent role, and a *gurikar* belong to this caste, Moreover, it is only a Bunt who is entitled to hold the plate and show it around among the assembled devotees so that, they may drop their *kanike* (cash offerings) in it.

3. *Billava:* A Billava selects the plantain bunch to be offered to the *Bhuta;* he selects the areca palms for plucking out flowers and nuts; fixes the pegs at the cock-fighting arena; conducts the ceremonial cock fight and finally removes the pegs; bears torches during the procession; bears the palmleaf umbrella above the *daiva.*

4. *Ganiga:*	Ganigas participate in the game played with the ball on 3 days.
5. *Kumbara:*	(Moolya or potter); The Kumbaras carry the palanquin.
6. *Madivala:*	(Dhobi):-Madivala supplies washed clothes for the *Bhutas* (to be spread on the cots); holds the mask of Malaraya whenever necessary; holds a five pronged country torch during the procession; spreads out washed cloth along the path for the impersonator to walk on during his circumambulation of the shrine.
7. *Gowda:*	(Peasant):-Two youngmen of this caste get possessed by Malaraya and Pilichavandi.
8. *Kelasi:*	(Barber):- It is his duty to give a ceremonial shave to the chief organiser as part of the ceremony; to hold an umbrella over the chief organiser at the time of processions.
9. *Viswakarma:*	The village goldsmith cleans the various jewels of the *daiva.*
10. *Devadiga:*	The Devadigas offer their services as pipers.
11. *Mari Holeya:-*	They offer their services as drummers.
12. *Parava:*	The impersonator and the medium of Ullalthi belongs to this community.

It may be noted that during the observance of the festival all prejudices regarding the statuses of various castes are set aside and the persons concerned work together as a team and also take food in a row without any caste reservations at Doddamane, the house of the chief organiser.

(II) Ayana At Kallige

At Kallige the annual festival is known as *ayana.* It is held in honour of Kanapaditaye and its attendant or subordinate *Bhutas* of the villages constituting the *magane.* The details of the celebrations are more or less similar to the foregoing description in respect of *mechchi.* Here too the *bale muhurta,* fixing the pegs in the arena for cock fighting, the ritual game with a ball on three days in succession, the erection of a pendal in front of the shrine, raising of the flag-post, pre-

paration of ani, etc., out of spathe by the impersonator (in this village a Pambada is the impersonator) etc., take place in the same sequence. According to local custom when once the arena for cock fights is inaugurated none in the village shall kill a fowl or engage himself in cock fights elsewhere until the festival is concluded and the pegs are removed. On the day of the festival (more properly, late evening) the *Bhandaras* of Panjurli, Jumadi and Pilichavandi from Buntwal Mooda, Buntwal Nadu and Thumbe respectively arrive in a procession to the *Bhandaramane* of Kanapaditaye. Immediately thereafter the *Bhandara* of Kanapaditaye (masks etc.) are brought out and placed in a palanquin to be carried in procession to the shrine. Meanwhile 4 youngmen fall into a trance and get possessed by the 4 *Bhutas*. They are called *manyas* and belong to different castes; Moolya or Potter caste (Kanapaditaye), Gatti caste (Panjurli), either a Bunt or a Billava (Jumadi), and another of Gatti caste (Pilichavandi). They hold the swords in their hands and remain close to the palanquin carrying the respective *Bhutas*. Here too at the head of the procession there would be a decorated bull and the Devadigas and Mari Holeyas would provide services as pipers and drummers. Enroute, the cultivators offer tender coconuts and wave wick lights. On reaching the *Bhutasthana* the procession enters the main shrine after a specified number of circum-ambulations. The mask of Kanapaditaye is placed on the prescribed seat. Thereupon the flag (called *garude*), or banner in the form of a silver plaque, with an embossed image of a naked man at the centre, is hoisted. The Pambada in the meanwhile attunes himself by wearing the ceremonial dress and ornaments and a little later the *Bhuta* transmigrates from the Manya to the Pambada. He then acts a medium and converses with the chief organiser, the *gurikara* and others.

In this shrine too animal sacrifice is a taboo on this occasion. There are 16 *balis* and the materials used for the *bali* are coloured cooked rice, chops of ash-gourd etc. The main offering consists of *aralu* (puffed rice), plantains, tender coconuts and jaggery served on plantain leaves laid out in front of a basket prepared out of green coco-palm leaves and containing a heap of cooked rice resembling the shape of a *linga*. On the top of this heap is placed an earthen oil-lamp with a lighted wick. The non-food items offered include cash, ornaments and in a few cases a cow or a calf which, however, is reared as a property of the *Bhutasthana* or sold away and the amount realised credited to the shrine funds. This *Bhutasthana* has considerable landed property which yields a rent of 60 *muras*

of rice (24 quintals) besides ornaments and other paraphernalia worth about Rs. 40,000.

As at Anantadi here also this festival brings together men of various castes who set aside all their prejudices and function as a well-knit team. The chief organiser is a Gowda Saraswath Brahmin businessman of Mangalore and the priest is a Tantri [Brahmin] while the impersonators belong to such castes as Moolya, Bunt, Billava, Gatti and Pambada and the pipers and drummers belong to Devadiga and Holeya castes. The head of the *Kallige guthu* family (Bunt agriculturist) functions as a conversation medium between votaries and the *Bhuta* which manifests itself in the impersonator.

On the occasion of *ayana,* a temporary bazar comes up near the *Bhutasthana* to cater to the needs of the rejoicing crowd. This *Bhutasthana* is associated with *Kambala* (buffalo race) which is organised in the village during *Vrishchika masa* (November-December). Kanapaditaye is invoked and the officiating *manya* who gets possessed conveys the formal command of the *Bhuta* thus "let the buffaloes enter the *Kambalagadde*". It is only after this invocation is made that the *Kambala* can take place. After the Kambala, *Pookare* (a pole) will be planted in the middle of the *Kambala gadde.*

(III) Annual Festival At Adka

The Bhagavati shrine here belongs to Malayalam speaking Bovi fishermen. The annual festival lasts for 3 days and is organised by the elders of Bovi caste. The preliminaries commence a fortnight earlier with a meeting of the elders where, at an auspicious moment, they start the fund collection drive, this being called *hanada muhurta (hana* means money). Each household contributes its share either equal to or more than the minimum contribution fixed in the council. The next event is called *marada muhurta (mara* means a tree) and it consists of selecting a suitable jack-fruit tree by the caste elders and the *patri* (medium). Turmeric dust is smeared on the tree trunk and a few flowers are also thrown at it as a mark of offering *puja* or of consecration. Subsequently, the tree is cut down into logs of suitable size for being used to make the fire for the fire-walking ceremony. On an auspicious day, *balemuhurta (bale* means plantains) is performed by cutting out a suitable bunch of plantains and carrying it to the shrine for offering to the divinities during the festival.

When the festival day is just 2 days ahead, a big pendal of coconut palm leaves is put up in front of the shrine with

the cooperative effort of the caste people. The villagers contribute freely the cocopalm leaves required for the pendal and also coconuts for offerings. This event is called *ane-pandala*. The shrine has as many as eight *patris*. On the following day all these eight men move over to and stay in the pendal abjuring non-vegetarian food and intoxicants besides practising continence till the festival is over.

During the evening hours on the festival-day the *patris* dress themselves in the ceremonial dress after a purificatory bath and soon move into a trance at the *Bhandaramane*. The masks etc., are laid on the palanquin which is then taken out in a procession, along with the *patris*, first to the Somanatheshvara temple, where *arata utsava* will be going on. This procession also participates in the *utsava* and on its way back, the house-holders enroute offer tender coconuts, flowers and cash and, wave lighted wicks at the palanquin. Bhagavati blesses these devotees through her medium viz., the *patris* in trance. After reaching the shrine the party circumambulates *katte deepa* (an altar, beneath a pipal tree) illuminated with a number of wick lamps and gradually the *patris* gain normalcy. Meanwhile a fire will have been lit in front of the shrine at the specified spot. By about 4 a.m. of the succeeding day the *patris* are once again possessed and in their ecstasy they carry the Bhagavati idols on their heads. The fire, viz., the cinders, are properly fanned and evenly arranged and, shortly thereafter the *patris* walk on the fire treading on the cinders as if they are mere pebbles of no consequence. Subsequently, the votaries offer a large number of fowls to the Bhagavati. A few birds are slain by the *patris* who continue to be in a trance and during these moments a Vannan (washerman caste) sings specific sacrificial songs called *thottam*. The fowls that are offered but are not immediately sacrificed are sold by auction and the sum so realised is used to meet the expenses of the festival. Tender coconuts, coloured cooked rice and toddy are then offered to the *Bhutas* and accepted by the *patris*. Lastly, coconuts are broken on a slab fixed in front of the shrine (called *ayangai*) and this concludes the day's deliberations.

On the following day the fire would have automatically died out. At dawn once again the *patris* move into a trance and, accompanied by others, visit the fire place. The charcoal and ashes are then removed in a cermonial way from the fire pit.

After the conclusion of Bhagavati festival the same night *Panjurli nema* is held. At this ceremony a Pambada imperso-

nates the *Bhuta* though the chief *patri* representing Bhagavati also becomes possessed by Bhagavati. Fowls are sacrificed and the impersonator acts as a medium conveying the answers or remedies suggested by the *Bhuta* to the questions or problems of the votaries. With this, the festival comes to an end. On all these festival days people are fed at a community mess. Non-vegetarian food is served only on the day that follows the sacrificial killing of the fowls.

Once in 60 years, it is said, a special festival called *kaliyata* is held at this shrine in a manner more or less similar to the annual festival. On this occasion a *kalasa* is carried by a Tiyan (toddy-tapper caste) on his head. This *kalasa* appears to be unique in that it consists of an earthen pot on which is placed a pillar at the top of which there is a bell-metal figure of a cock. The *Daivas* and *Bhutas* associated with this festival are the *pancha* Bhagavatis and Annappa, Bermeru, Guliga, Betegara Isvara and Viraputradaiva. About 20 functionaries get possessed on the occasion. The festival lasts for 8 days. It is customary to a hoist a flag bearing the emblem of a naked man. Latest festival of this type was observed during 1970.

(IV) Annual Festival At Kavatharu

The annual festival in honour of Abbakke-Dharakke here is celebrated during the full-moon-day in the month of Mesha (April-May). The ceremonial felling of a suitable mango tree, a few days preceding the full-moon, marks the beginning of the festival. The firewood obtained from this tree is reserved for use in cooking food to be offered to the *Bhutas* during the festival. After a few more preliminaries, on the evening prior to the full-moon, the flag ie., a silver plaque with an emblem of a bull at the centre, is hoisted on the flag post. Prior to 1956 the flag in use was that of silk cloth bearing the figure of a naked man at its centre. It is said that such an emblem had been adopted in times of yore due to the influence of Jainism.

On the full-moon-day after night fall *mahapuja* is performed at the shrine. Thereafter the representative of the ancient ruling family of the Ajilas, living in the remains of what was once a palace is brought to the shrine ceremoniously, in a palanquin carried by men. The *golaka* (sealed box or vessel with a slit for dropping coins in it) which is always kept in the palace is also brought along. After his arrival, the insignia

and idols of the *Bhutas* are laid in a separate decorated palanquin and carried round the sanctum in circumambulation and *bali* also takes place. In the meanwhile, a number of men and women votaries, after bathing, fall into a trance *en masse,* and they continue to remain in that state from the evening for several hours.

Shortly after midnight *ambody,* a mock fight between two groups of Holeya community, is arranged in the adjoining fallow field. The Ajila stands on a bund and supervises the fighting while a few village leaders move about and ensure that the mock fight does not turn into a real fight. They fight with *lathis* or bamboo sticks about 4 or 5 feet long. After some time the Ajila intervenes and brings the fighting to an end advising the men to see reason and be peaceful. Thereupon the Ajila and others move to the shrine. The palanquin with the *Bhutas* is taken round the sanctum for the second time and *bali* is offered. By then, the signs of dawn would have appeared. The palanquin is taken out in a procession first around the pillar representing Kshetrapala and then to Brahmara Gunda—a shrine of coconut leaves specially put up for the occasion, after which it is again taken back and placed in the shrine. With this, the mass trance of the votaries comes to an end.

The main votaries who make offerings during this period are those who belong to other villages and regard Abbakke and Dharakke as their family *Bhutas* and also those barren couple who are desirous of begetting children. The latter offer replicas of a child and a cradle to the *Bhutas* in the hope they in turn would be blessed with offspring. In recent years, it is said, the persons who work as beedi-rollers and are suffering from one ailment or other in their fingers or hands have started offering a silver replica of a beedi in the hope of getting relief. The articles offered by devotees include silver footwear, silver chains and ropes, calves, tender coconuts, horsegram and cash. Women in fulfilment of vows, taken earlier, clean the ground in the yard of the shrine and smear it with cow dung wash. This is called *varesari.* After the offerings cease, the masks of the *Bhutas* are laid ceremonially in cradles and the cradles are rocked.

On the following day the *Bhandara* of Jumadi, the royal *Bhuta* (which, it may be recalled, offered resting place to Abbakke and Dharakke according to local tradition) is brought in a procession to the Abbakke-Dharakke shrine. On arrival,

it is received with great honour and soon thereafter, the flag is lowered. This act indicates the formal culmination of the festival. That evening a *nema* is held at the shrine of Jumadi when a Pambada gets possessed and acts as a medium. The expenses for this *nema* are met by the local people only. After thus placating Jumadi, *Puja* is offered at the Brahmasthana which is a cluster of trees and creepers with a linga and few cobra-stones underneath.

(V) Festivals at Amtady

The annual festival in honour of the *Bhutas* here is celebrated during the Tulu month of *Paggu* (corresponding to *Mesha* (April-May) of the Solar Calender). As at Anantadi, Kallige etc., here too the arena for the ceremonial cock-fighting is got up by fixing the pegs. From then onwards until the festival is over and these pegs are removed no marriage or such other auspicious ceremony should take place in the entire village. The ritual of playing with a *chandu* (coir stuffed ball) also takes place. On the appointed day the *Bhandara* is carried in a procession to the accompaniment of band from the *Bhandaramane* located in the house of the chief organiser (an Alva landlord at present) to the shrine. Here too the flag-hoisting ceremony is gone through and in this village the flag bears the image of a naked ascetic said to be a Jain Tirthankara. On the first day of this three day festival, *nema* is held in honour of Maralu Jumadi and Maralu Maisandaya when *homa* is performed. On the second day, *nema* is held in honour of Annappa. On this occasion a group of young children carrying plates with areca, coconut and a lighted wick-lamp in their hands circumambulate the sanctum. This ritual is known as *kanchala pattave*. On the third day, during the forenoon, a *nema* is held in honour of Jumadi. There is a special ritual at which women offer their services by sweeping the yard of the shrine. At night Annappa is carried in procession to a tank nearby for being worshipped there. The tank and its surroundings are kept illuminated all through the night. On the succeeding day a *nema* is held to honour *Jumadi Banta*—the attendant of Jumadi and this completes the annual festival.

At this place a few other seasonal festivals are also held each year. *Thudara bali* is one such and is observed on the day of *Sankramana* in *Sona* (corresponding to mid-August) and marks the culmination of the Tulu month *Ati*, during which *Bhuta* shrines remain closed and no worship is offered.

This marks the driving away of the dark month and the beginning of the days of light and festivity. On this occasion the *Bhandara* of the *Bhutas* are taken in a procession from the *Bhandaramane* to the shrine, a distance of about 2 furlongs across paddy fields. A Parava, a Billava and a Moolya who are the traditional impersonators, don the masks of Annappa, Jumadi and Marlu Jumadi respectively and hold the sword and the bell in their hands. The metallic masks and other paraphernalia are laid in the palanquin which is then carried in a procession. The impersonators, locally called *manyas*, keep close to the palanquin till they reach the shrine. At the shrine the masks are placed on wooden cots and there is an offering by way of *homa*. Then food is served on plantain leaves separately for the *Bhutas*. The entire shrine and its vicinity are illumined with numerous earthen oil lamps. At the shrine the impersonator of Jumadi gets fully possessed by the *Bhutas*. Thereafter *prasada* (consecrated stuff) is distributed to the assemblage and the *Bhandara* is taken back and placed at *Bhandaramane*.

During the Deepavali festival in November Balindra *puja* is performed and the rituals mentioned in the foregoing para are repeated. The first event of this *puja* is the offering, to be made by a Mari Holeya, of rice, paddy, beaten rice, arecanut, betel leaves and a lighted wick lamp; all these are laid in a winnowing basket. The offering is made in a paddy field nearby. A coconut is also broken. Then all these articles in the winnowing basket are brought to the Bhandaramane and an offering is made to Balindra. Here sweet dishes made of gur and tender coconuts are offered as a *bali*.

Puddar Mechchi is held soon after the paddy harvest and it lasts for 3 days. On this occasion an arena for cock-fight is got up and a fight between pairs of cocks representing Jumadi and Annappa respectivelv is held thrice. From the moment the arena is got ready till the completion of the festival the local custom enjoins that in the entire village no auspicious ceremony including festivals and marriages should take place. On the first day Marlu Jumadi and Maisandaya are placated. On the second evening a community feast is held in the village wherein only vegetarian dishes are served. Thereafter, a *nema* is held to appease Annappa at night. Fowls, cakes, fried rice and *shyavige* (vermicelli preparation) are offered by the votaries. On the following morning a *nema* is held to appease Jumadi Banta.

Dompada bali is yet another festival observed in this village. *Dompa* in Tulu means a pendal and this festival is arranged in a large pendal put up for the occasion in a vacant paddy field chosen for the purpose. It is also called *madu puddar* (return feast). The *Bhandara* of the *Bhutas* is taken out in a palanquin to the pendal and impersonators representing Jumadi Banta, Annappa etc., get possessed and, in a sequence, offerings are made to propitiate Marlu Jumadi, Marlu Maisandaya, Annappa and Jumadi Banta.

(VI) Festivals at Manikal

The annual festival held in honour of Abbakke-Dharakke, Virabhadra and other *Bhutas* here is called *Jatre* (fair) and the deliberations are spread over 3 days, after a few preliminary rites performed earlier. On the first day of the festival *kala sannidhi homa* is performed by the Brahmin priest. It is followed by *abhisheka* (ceremonial bath) to the metal idols of Abbakke-Dharakke and Virabhadra after which holy water so obtained is sprinkled on the other *Bhuta* idols of wood in the shrine. Afterwards the idols are decorated with flowers. The same evening plantains and coconuts are offered to Virabhadra, Abbakke and Dharakke by the devotees and the priest. At about this time, the *patris*, one belonging to Brahmin community and another to Viswakarma caste, fall into a deep trance and soon get possessed by Virabhadra (Abbakke and Dharakke in a sequence) and Nandikeshvara respectively. This state of ecstasy lasts for a couple of hours. The media provide answers and remedies to the numerous queries and afflictions submitted to them for guidance by the votaries. This is followed by *Rangapuja*. Then the idols of Abbakke-Dharakke are brought out of the shrine by a Brahmin who carries them on his head, and are laid on a seat prepared on a *katte* (altar). The *puja* now performed is called *Vasantha puja*.

On the second day at noon *mangalarathi* is performed in the shrine. At night once again the 2 *patris* become possessed by the respective *Bhutas* and in this state they walk on fire got up in front of the shrine for the occasion. This fire-walking is called *gendaseva* (or kendaseve). Votaries who have vowed earlier also walk on the fire. In this shrine a number of female votaries fall into a trance *en masse* just as in Kavathar and Hiriadka. Later in the night, in fact at dawn, *Dakkebali* is performed by the *vaidya* and the *patri* who impersonate the spirit of a serpent. This is called Nagadarshana.

On the third and final day at the dawn of which the *Dakkebali* takes place there would be *pujas* at the Abbakke-Dharakke shrine and also at the Beidarkala *garadi* nearby. At the former the two *patris* already referred to get possessed, this time by Abbakke-Dharakke and Haiguli (Viswakarma patri). Meanwhile at the latter shrine two Billavas get possessed by Koti and Channayya and move in a procession to the Abbakke-Dharakke shrine. Here, all the four impersonators begin to dance in a frenzy and after some time begin to act as a medium between the *Bhutas* they represent and the devotees. All the other *Bhutas*, then in turn take possession of the *patris* for short intervals and receive offerings. When Shivaraya takes its turn a sheep and a number of fowls are sacrificed on the spot and the Billava impersonator gesticulates as if he is drinking the blood of these animals. The implement used for the purpose is a sharp sickle. It is necessary that the neck of the sacrificial fowl is severed from its body at a single stroke. If for any reason this does not happen the belief is that it is a bad omen implying the ill-luck in store for the person who offered that fowl. The head of the sacrificed fowl is retained by the Billava priest while the body is handed over to the votary. The votary then gets the flesh cooked into a curry. This preparation, called *manja*, together with balls of cooked rice is offered to Shivaraya.

As elsewhere here too the division of labour entails the cooperation of persons belonging to different castes. It may be seen that the chief priest and one of the impersonators is a Brahmin; a Viswakarma also acts as an impersonator while his fellow-castemen are responsible for preparing the trench of fire and keeping the fire alive till the fire-walking ceremony is over and it is also their duty to arrange for the supply of 21 wooden planks or low stools (on which plantain leaves are spread and offerings are made at the time of *Rangapuja*); the chief organiser is a Bunt; the Billavas get possessed by their *Bhutas;* the Devadiga serves as the musician; the Madivala is responsible to light the lamps in the shrine and serve food to the *Bhutas;* and the Kumbara serves as a torch bearer.

A variety of offerings are customarily made to various *Bhutas* with specific objectives as follows: —

(i) *Maidalti*—To obtain offspring the barren women offer a new saree, blouse piece, miniature replica of a cradle and a child, fruits etc.; Maidalti is regarded as a fertility deity.

(ii) *Dhumavati*—To prevent (and cure) the occurrence of diseases among poultry birds reared at home; those desirous of obtaining the *Bhuta's* help offer coconuts and plantains in the shrine and receive *tirtha* (sanctified water) from the priest which they sprinkle on the poultry birds on reaching home. A similar treatment is recommended for eradicating the menace of bed-bugs in any house, in this case the *tirtha* sprinkled in the house causes the death of all the bugs. The offerings consist of coconut and flowers and at times fowls as well.

(iii) *Jogipurusha*—Those who suffer from sleeplessness offer *bhang,* cigarettes and other narcotics in the hope of being blessed with proper sleep.

(iv) *Hulidevaru*—Those who rear livestock in large numbers and occasionally lose a few due to the attack of wild animals (especially tigers) are more prone to propitiate this *Bhuta* with beaten rice and copra. Others seeking protection of their cattle also do likewise.

(v) *Bagila-Bobbarya*—Cultivators offer *Kadabu* (steam-boiled preparation with the dough of rice and *urd-dhal*) and pray for a plentiful yield of crops.

(vi) *Brahma or Barmeru*—Plantains are offered by cultivators who pray for a plentiful yield of crops.

(vii) *Koti-Channayya—Ageluseva* to these *Bhutas,* which in essence consists of offering food on 5 plantain leaves, is supposed to appease the spirits of one's ancestors. The other offerings to these deities are (a) beaten rice and jaggery, (b) green gram and jaggery (after Ugadi but before the rains commence), (c) *Pancha Kajjaya,* coconut, plantains, vegetables and, *panyara* during *Bara* month to ensure a good agricultural season.

(viii) *Panjurli*—Animal sacrifice (mostly fowls) is resorted to in order to ensure general prosperity.

(ix) *Shivarava*—Live bull-calves are sometimes offered by those suffering from chronic diseases seeking the help of the *Bhuta* in their recovery. Such bulls when grown up serve the village as stud bulls and roam about unmolested by the villagers since they are regarded as the property of the *Bhuta.*

(VII) Festivals at Barkur

The annual festival held in honour of Kundodara (locally considered as identical with Mahishasura) here is called *sedi utsava* in view of the prevalence of the hook swinging custom, though at present in its modified form which is explained later. Here too the festival lasts 3 days and the occasion is *Kumbha Sankramana (mid-February)*. The main event that marks the beginning of the festival is the fixing of the wooden beam, with a cradle at one end and a rope at the other, on the *sedi* pillar and the beating of drums by Koragas. The same night *Dakkebali* form of worship is offered to the *Bhuta,* and 3 persons belonging to Stanika (a sub caste among Brahmins), Bunt and Kumbara castes get possessed by Kundodara, Masti and Haiguli *Bhutas* respectively. In their state of ecstasy they walk on fire got up in three trenches (each about 4 feet broad and 4 feet long) separately for each *Bhuta.* A notable feature of *kenda seve* here is that unlike in several other places, the votaries too walk on fire in fulfilment of vows taken earlier and are not at all affected by the live charcoal on which they fearlessly tread. It may be surprising to know that most of such votaries are barren women who seek offspring and also those who have realised their desire by the grace of the *Bhuta.* The latter carry their infants in their arms while they fulfil their vow. Men and women who have been cured of chronic diseases due to the grace of the *Bhuta* also walk on red hot cinders and thus fulfil their earlier vows if any. At the end, the *naga* is also invoked and the *patris* act as medium between the *Bhuta* and the votaries. To appease all the *Bhutas, dandi bali* is offered. It consists of cooked rice rendered red by the addition of vermilion and turmeric dust, and pieces of ash gourd. This mixture is strewn all around the outer periphery of the shrine.

On the following night the three *patris* again become possessed and move from the inner shrine to the *sedi* pillar to receive the offerings in cash and kind meant for the *Bhutas* and remain there for quite some time. The votaries in fulfilment of their vows sit in the cradle one by one and are swung around thrice by a few people who hold the rope at the other end. While being so rotated they throw coins and fruits on the ground which any one may pick up. It may be incidentally noted that for such *sedi seve* a cradle has been in use for about a hundred years only. Formerly, instead of the cradle there used to be an iron hook which would pierce the back of the

person offering the *seve* and hold him high while the beam was rotated. The blood that was spilled during such a *seve* was believed to appease Kundodara immensely.

In all likelihood this form of offering blood appears to be a substitute for the full fledged human sacrifice that might have once been prevalent here. It is said that about 100 years ago there was a fatal accident involving the death of one such votary and from then onwards the Government prohibited such hook-swinging rituals.

On the third and final day during morning hours the *patris* become possessed and begin to circumambulate the outer compound of the shrine. The local leaders follow these personators and in propitiation of all *Bhutas*-known and unknown-they break (offer) coconuts at the stone pillar representing the seat of all *Bhutas,* called *Sarva Bhutasthana.* Subsequently, the wooden beam is dismantled from the *sedi* pillar.

This festival is financed by the funds raised for the occasion and each household is, according to the prevailing custom, expected to contribute a minimum of one measure of rice, a coconut and 50 paise. The Brahmin households offer on the festival day, a special dish called *kabala bakshya* to Kundodara. It is a sweet dish made out of rice, green gram dhal, gur, coconut and ghee corresponding to what is popularly known as *pongal* or *huggi* in other parts of the State.

Another special feature associated is that the women suffering from menstrual disorders undertake a vow and in fulfilment of it sweep the yard of the *Bhutasthana.*

During the observance of this annual festival, the beginning of which is marked by the fixing of the cross beam on the *sedi* pillar no marriage or any other auspicious ceremony should take place in the village until the festival formally concludes with the dismantling of the cross beam. For about 3 days immediately after the festival cock-fights are arranged in the open field facing the *Bhutasthana.*

The annual festival entails the active participation of men belonging to various castes. The customary duties assigned to, and performed scrupulously by, different castes are as follows: —

(1) Brahmins: Priestly duties, (2) Stanika: Assisting the priest; the impersonator of Kundodara Bhuta is of this caste, (3) Bunt: Chief organiser of the festival, (4) Viswakarma:

Arranging the fire-pits and maintaining fire for *kenda seve*, (5) Kumbara: Supplies earthen lamps for the occasion, (6) Billava: Attend to fixing of the beam on the *sedi* pillar and dismantling it subsequently, (7) *Kelasi*: to provide ceremonial services as barber to prescribed persons, (8) Madivala: Supplies a cloth canopy for Nagamandala and Dakkebali, (9) Devadiga: Provide service as pipers, (10) Koragas: Provide service as drummers.

(VIII) Festivals at Basrur

Of the festivals held here to appease Panjurli and other *Bhutas*, *halu-habba* which comes off in December, needs a special mention. On this occasion beaten rice, prepared out of the paddy just harvested, is mixed with suitable quantity of milk and offered to Panjurli. During January, in this place too, *kenda seve* or fire-walking is performed by the impersonator who incidentally is a Billava. At the time of Maripuja which is performed to ward off the attack of small pox and other epidemics, a sheep or a goat and fowls are sacrificed. At other times too in fulfilment of vows devotees may offer animal sacrifices to any of the *Bhutas* in this shrine.

In case an animal or fowl is offered in sacrifice to Panjurli the same night there would be a special worship at which *kadabus* are offered and the *Bhuta* is invoked. The *patri* gets possessed and acts as an oracle. In case an animal or fowl is offered in sacrifice to Mahankali, Shivaraya, Haiguli etc., the flesh of the sacrificed animal is subsequently cooked into a curry and served along with rice on plantain leaves to the concerned *Bhuta* at night. This preparation and mode of offering is called *manja*.

Though this *Bhutasthana* belongs to Billavas who are toddy-tappers it may be noted that the offerings do not include toddy.

(IX) Festival at Surathkal

Surathkal which lies about 20 Kms north of Mangalore city has a *sthana* dedicated to Koddabbu, the tutelary *Bhuta* of the Mundalas. The priest belongs to Mundala community, but persons of all castes including Brahmins share belief in the powers and efficacy of this *Bhuta* and consequently make their offerings. On every *Sankramana* the *Bhuta* is offered toddy and a light is also lit. A special rite to prevent thefts of coconuts

from coconut palms is known as *kodi kattisuvudu* and consists of fastening a green coconut-palm leaf around the trunk of the palm after invoking this *Bhuta*. Every year a *Kola* is arranged to propitiate Koddabbu.

At some distance from this shrine there is Kamberlu sthana to which once a year the Koddabbu Bhuta pays a visit. The origin of this custom according to a local legend is that once Kamberlu, soon after returning from a visit to Tirupati, went over to a tank for bathing and kept the packet containing *prasadam* on the tankbund before entering the tank. Koddabbu who happened to be closeby noticed the packet and out of curiosity took and opened it. Immediately when Kamberlu demanded an explanation from Koddabbu he was told that it was only due to curiosity that the packet had been opened. Then Kamberlu allowed Koddabbu to retain the *prasadam* on a condition that once every year Koddabbu should visit the Kamberlu sthana. It is also generally held that Kamberlu is superior to Koddabbu and that it does not partake of animal sacrifice.

(X) Annual Festival at Bennekudru

The annual festival which is a 5 day affair here is held during *Dhanu Sankramana* (mid-December) to honour Masti and other *Bhutas*. It may be recalled that the *Bhandara* of the *Bhutas* are kept within the shrine itself at present. On the first day the *Bhandara* articles and ornaments are removed from the safe, cleaned and are arranged in the shrine properly and bedecked with flowers. At noon and night *pujas* are offered. By midnight necessary arrangements will have been made for fire-walking ceremony by the persons of Viswakarma caste. At the appointed time the *Bhuta* impersonator of the Mogaveera caste walks on live charcoal and along with him a few votaries also do so in fulfilment of their vows. Before doing so, such persons are expected to offer half a *seer* of rice and a coconut to the Viswakarma officiant and also areca flowers and some cash to the *Bhuta*. In case a woman who had taken a vow is prevented from walking on fire in view of her being presently suffering from her monthly sickness, custom allows her husband to act as her substitute and offer *Kendaseve* on her behalf. It is common for the *Bhuta* ie., the impersonator, during this period of trance to act as an exorcist and provide relief to the victims, of course on payment of suitable offerings.

On the following morning *Dakkebali* is offered and this is followed at noon by *mahabali* (offering of cooked rice rendered red and pieces of ash gourd) and *pujas*. In the evening

sedibali is offered. Since the pillar here is broken the custom of *sediseve* has been given up from a very long time. However, the impersonator moves to the pillar from the shrine and receives offerings.

At about 4 a.m. on the succeeding day the *Bhutas* are placed on a big raft and kept afloat on the river waters for a couple of hours. The river bank and the raft are illuminated with numerous country torches. This rowing excursion of the *Bhutas* is called *hole-ayana*. Soon after sunrise the *Bhutas* are brought back to the shrine and *pujas* are offered in the following sequence: *Vasanthaseve, Bali, Bhajana* and *Dakkebali*. At noon the *patri* gets possessed by Virabhadra and, it is said, the former custom of walking bare-foot on *mulluhavige* (sharp spikes fixed to a plank) has recently been given up. Later in the day the other *Bhutas* of the place such as Bobbarya, Dwarapalakas and Bagilapurushas take possession of the *patri* and receive offerings.

It is on this day that those who have taken a vow offer rice, coconuts, plantains or flowers the quantity so offered corresponding to their weight. This offering is called *tulabhara* and the votaries get themselves weighed in a balance set up in front of the shrine for the purpose.

On the fourth day a Brahmin priest performs *puja* at this shrine. The same night *Kolas* are held to propitiate several *Bhutas*: Nandi, Haiguli, Panjurli, Kalkuda, Bakudti etc. The dancers are usually of Panar caste. Side by side animal sacrifice takes place at a separate structure nearby.

On the fifth and final day *puja* is performed in the ordinary manner and in the evening the articles of *Bhandara* are formally replaced in the safe which is kept in the shrine itself.

It may be recalled that this shrine belongs to Mogaveera fishermen who hold Masti in high esteem. For ensuring success in fishing activities they promise (usually in groups) a sheep or a goat to the *Bhuta* periodically. This *Bhuta* accepts toddy as well.

Digressing from the subject under discussion for a moment, it may be mentioned that the *Guru* (preceptor) of the Mogaveera caste resides at this place and that he is the trustee of the *Sthana*. The post, it is said, has always been held by the successors in a particular family though the selection of the individual is made by the community. The eligible candidate puts on the symbolic jewellery of the preceptor and stands before

the shrine where all the caste elders have also assembled. If he gets into a trance it signifies that the choice is correct and is approved by their deity. Eversince 1966 the position is vacant for want of a heir. Among them the preceptor may lead a married life; the community has provided the incumbent with a rent-free house to live in and the right to the enjoyment of lands yielding 20 quintals of rice per annum; he is regarded as the highest authority in matters of dispute and his adjudications are accepted without demur; he is entitled to be carried in a palanquin during festivals; his duties include the administration of the *sthana* and he has to look after the welfare of the community.

(XI) Festival at Hebri

The annual festival held here in honour of Durga-parameshvari and other *Bhutas* is called *Jatre*. Till about 1940s it was customary for the merchants of this region to establish and run temporary shops dealing in a large variety of articles for over a month. But with the growth of permanent shops in rural areas and expansion in transport and communication facilities this mercantile aspect of the *jatre* has been undermined in recent years.

The most important religious rites of the festival are held on *Mesha sankramana* ie., the solar new year day (mid-April). A noteworthy feature of the day is that Koragas, who are a Scheduled Tribe and are regarded as very low in socio-economic status, are accorded priority over all others in offering their worship to Durga-parameshvari, the presiding deity. The Koragas offer plantains kept in newly woven baskets. Another feature of the day is *Kanchalaseve* (which is same as *Kanchaia pattave* already described) in honour of Ardhanareeshvara. On the following day the descendant of the former Ballala chiefs accompanied by the Holeyas, Billavas, Koragas etc., arrives at the shrine, borne on a palanquin. Each of his attendants carries a staff to which *kepula* flowers are fastened. From there, the group moves to a nearby field called *ambody gadde*. At about the same time another group of similar type moves to the same field under the leadership of *Vokuda*, who is the Brahmin landlord of Hosuramane. In former days it is said there used to be a mock fight called *ambody* and the maxim that tradition dies hard is proved by occasional skirmishes that are said to occur here despite best preventive efforts.

Maidalti here receives special attention by the barren women seeking offspring and mothers whose children are seriously ill. Usually a saree is offered though it is not uncommon to offer coins in both hands or to arrange a *Kola*. Shivaraya is another *Bhuta* propitiated to overcome all sorts of troubles. Koti and Channayya in the *garadi* of this place are periodically propitiated by the offering of *panyara* for seeking a good harvest. If any disease or its initial symptoms were to attack paddy crops *kuruntu seve* is offered here. [*Kuruntu* is that small quantity of paddy which each agriculturist preserves in a small *mude* (hay pack)]. At the time of commencing harvest, coconuts and plantains are offered. So also whenever buffalo-racing is organised at the instance of the Ballala, sandal paste and flowers are taken from the *garadi* before they start the *Kambala*. In the month of April, a special worship is offered to propitiate Koti-Channayya.

(XII) Car festival at Hiriadka

The annual car festival in honour of Abbakke-Dharakke is the most important event here. The car in use here is a wooden structure comparable to the *rathas* found in such temples as that of Krishna at Udipi, Subramanya at Kukke Subramanya etc. The decorations for the occasion too are quite elaborate and compare favourably with those noticeable at the places just mentioned. A somewhat unique feature of this occasion is that a large number of women, mostly belonging to other than Brahmin community, become possessed by Abbakke-Dharakke. It is said that after bathing in the evening the women devotees sit in groups near the shrine, with their uncombed hair and offer prayers. Gradually they become hysterical and the involuntary tossing of their heads and twisting of their bodies indicate the state of their trance. They continue to remain in this state till midnight when the *utsava* of Virabhadra and the *Daivas* is taken round the shrine. These women also follow the procession and recite the name of Lord Narayana, a spell which ultimately relieves them of their 'possession'. According to a local tradition Abbakke-Dharakke are the spirits of two damsels deputed by Indra for disruption of the penance that was being performed by one Nara-Narayana. It is said, the sage transformed these women into infants by sprinkling some water on them and they had, later on, to pray to Lord Ishvara and secure their release from the mortal bondage into which they had thus been thrown. Ishvara advised them that the utterance of the divine name of Narayana in the *kaliyuga* would provide them permanent relief and elevation

to their rightful place. The mass trance on this occasion and the utterance of Narayana's name at the end are associated with the foregoing legend.

(XIII) Festival at Kota

The presiding deity of the place is Amriteshvari, also called *Halavu-makkala-tayi*. An annual festival is held here when fire-walking ceremony and *Dakkebali* also take place.

There is an *yakshagana mela* (dance-drama troupe) attached to this shrine. The *daiva* through its medium occasionally demands that *yakshagana* performances be arranged at the shrine as a propitiatory measure. The demand is generally addressed to the votaries who frequent the shrine to seek the guidance or blessings of the *daiva* for their specific problems. During a year a good number of such performances are arranged by the votaries.

A reference to the frequent worship of the ever-sprouting *lingas* here by womenfolk has already been made.

It is claimed that even Muslims, at least a few of them if not the entire community, offer fowls to appease this deity and sometimes arrange for the performance of a *yakshagana*.

(XIV) Festival at Mandarti

Durgaparameshvari or Katyayani and Chamundeshvari are the presiding objects of worship at this place. A car festival is held here every year on an impressive scale. The fire-walking ceremony takes place on the first day of these festivities and it is followed by the dragging of the car on the next day. Car and its decoration here are comparable to those of Hiriadkda, Udipi, etc. On the following night the shrine as well as the tank nearby are illuminated with innumerable oil lamps and all through the night there would be the performance of *Dashavatara*, open air drama depicting the exploits of Lord Vishnu in His ten different incarnations.

As elsewhere here too the celebration of the annual festival calls for the co-operation of several castes, and a brief indication of the duties assigned are given below:—

(i) *Brahmin*: Priest and also acts as an impersonator.

(ii) *Bunt*: The *Moktessar* (managing trustee) of this temple is a Bunt and he is the traditional chief organiser. At present there is an executive officer (appointed by the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment Board) heading a committee of non-officials.

(iii) *Viswakarma*: To supply fuel and arrange for the *gendaseve* by taking proper care of the fire.

(iv) *Mogaveeras*: Decoration of the temple car.

(v) *Madivala*: Supplies cloth which is wound round the wooden pieces to serve as country-torches.

(vi) *Patali*: Palanquin-bearers; assist Brahmin priest; and also hold the canopy or umbrella above the palanquin.

(vii) *Kumbara*: Supplies earthen pots for constructing the *kalasha* and earthen lamps; kindles the earthen lamps arranged in and out-side the shrine on the occasion of *rangapuja, deepotsava* and *kere deepa* (illumination of the tank).

(viii) *Devadiga*: Serve as musicians (pipers).

(ix) *Koraga*: Serve as drummers.

On the occasion of this car festival there would be a *rangapuja* in honour of Durga-parameshvari. Sixty plantain leaves are laid out and on each, offerings consisting of cooked rice, plantains and *vodas* are placed. This offering is called *agelu* and after its *neivedyam* it is distributed in small quantities to the assembled devotees. The *rangapuja* is followed by *Dakkebali*. On the day following the dragging of the car those who have taken a vow offer *tulabhara* in terms of rice, coconut or plantains.

This shrine has a famous *yakshagana mela* which was established several decades ago. Though the artistes may change from time to time the control of the *mela* vests with the shrine and the right to function as the manager of the *mela* is put to auction every year. The shrine possesses the dress and ornaments as well as the other paraphernalia and allows the manager, and the troupe of artists selected by him, to make use of these articles. A number of devotees of this shrine are accustomed to arrange for the performance of *yakshagana* shows in fulfilment of their vows and pay the requisite cost to the *mela*. The troupe of artists tour the villages and towns of this neighbourhood during the period of May to November in order to fulfil

the engagements. There is a great demand during this period for their services in order to propitiate the *Daivas* and the votary has to seek their aid much in advance. The income earned by the troupe is an important source of income to the shrine.

(XV) Festivals at Maranakatte

Under the auspices of the Brahmalingeshvara shrine there is one *yakshagana mela* and the people of this neighbourhood too share the belief that to arrange for performance of a show would greatly appease the god as well as the *Bhutas* enshrined in this temple.

The Haiguli Bhuta of this place is known to be very efficacious in helping the recovery of costly stolen goods and punishing those who by breach of oral contracts try to deceive the innocent. The lodging of a complaint is called *hoyalu* and for doing so the plaintiff is required to pay Rs. 9 as contribution along with a coconut, betel leaves, betel nuts etc. The priest splits the coconut into two and places the halves upside down contrary to the usual practice of offering such pieces with the hollow parts facing upwards. If the offender is known, a written notice is issued to him asking him to appear before the *Bhuta* within a specified date and explain his case. If he responds to this call the case will be heard by the *Bhuta* (*patri* in trance) and a decision is given. If the offender dishonours the call or if his identity is not known the *Bhuta* will suggest ways in which the matter can be pursued further or, ultimately curses the offender. The curse so inflicted can be revoked only by the *Bhuta* when the culprit realises his folly and makes due offerings.

The main deity of the shrine here is Brahma-lingeshvara. Associated with it there is a practice, called *prasada noduvudu,* which helps in taking decisions regarding marriage alliances. The idol is bedecked with flowers, especially of areca palm, and a few flowers are placed on the head of the deity. The priest offers prayers and presents the case seeking divine guidance on behalf of the party which is also present. When *arati* is waved, if flowers drop from the head of the idol it signifies the assent of the deity for the proposed alliance. Sometimes it may so happen that the flowers do not fall at all even if one were to wait and pray for a long period. In such cases, the priest, after praying and waving the *arati,* picks out some petals from the areca flowers which have been placed on the head of the idol.

These petals are then counted. If the number of petals is odd the fact indicates the divine approval and the party proceeds to finalise the alliance. If the number of petals is even the matter is dropped then and there.

(XVI) Bandi at Padre

(Mangalore taluk, situated near Surathkal): The annual festival held here to propitiate Dhumavati is known as *bandi*. The preliminaries and the main forms of worship are almost identical with the practices already mentioned while describing *mechchi*. An additional feature here is the dragging of chariots locally called *bandi*, on which the *Bhuta* idol and the two impersonators are seated. The shrine has one wooden chariot (ie., a platform set on 4 wheels) on which a wooden elephant has been fixed so as to form the seat for Dhumavati. The idol which is seated on the elephant is also of wood and, the elephant and the idol are painted with suitable colours. There are two more wheeled wooden platforms and on one of these there is the wooden idol of a pig while on the other there is the wooden idol of a horse. These are also painted with suitable colours. On the occasion of the festival, coir-ropes of sufficient length are fastened to these three chariots and these are parked in front of the shrine. At the appropriate time the chariot in which Dhumavati is seated on her elephant *vahana* is dragged first. Closely behind, the main impersonator on his *vahana*, the pig, and his assistant (Banta) on his *vahana*, the horse, follow in the other two chariots. The votaries who drag these chariots are the local cultivators including landlords of higher castes even though the impersonators are either Paravas or Pambadas who are generally accorded a status in the lower rungs of the caste hierarchy. Evidently, for this occasion the caste prejudices are set aside and all the people unite together for a common weal.

(XVII) Volesari at Sajeep Nadu

This village in Buntwal taluk is, according to local reckoning, the headquarters of a *magane* and is part of a larger territory known as *Nandavara sime*. The main *Bhutasthana* here is the one dedicated to Nalkataya and the important annual festival associated with it is called *volesari*. The salient details relating to this festival are more or less similar to those already described while dealing with *mechchi* at Anantadi *Volesari* is celebrated on the occasion of *Vishu Sankramana*. On this day, the *Bhandara* ie., symbols representing Nalkataya

are arranged in a decorated palanquin and, as usual, the procession that starts from the *Bhandaramane* is heralded by pipers and drummers. The *manyas* in a state of trance keep moving by the side of the palanquin. A caparisoned humped bull, it may be noted, is lead in front of the procession. In its course this procession passes through *Mithamajalu,* the agricultural fields situated on a higher plane in Sajeep Mooda village. It has been the custom of the agriculturists operating or owning these lands to put up welcome arches and buntings of green mango leaves and also to illuminate the entire route with earthen wick lamps. They also offer tender coconuts to the *Daiva* and in turn they are assured of a plentiful crop by the *manya* on behalf of Nalkataya. After crossing *Mithamajalu* and covering some distance the leaders of Mannur village receive the *Daiva* with due honours and they also join it on its way to the shrine where the festival is being celebrated.

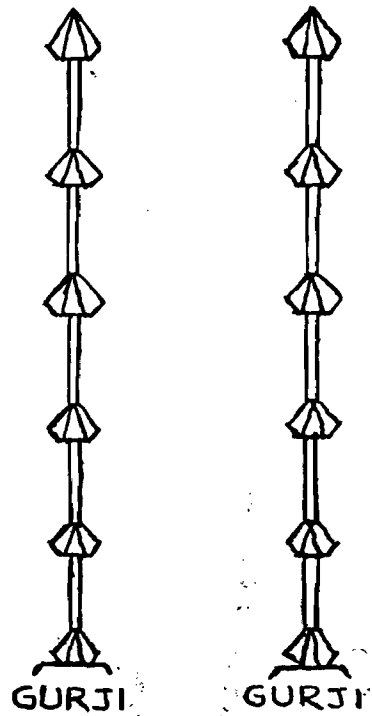
Another important ritual celebrated at Sajeep to propitiate Nalkataya is known as *sooleda avara* and it is said to be a substitute for *Maripuja* which is common in other villages. It signifies the annual driving away of evil spirits from the village limits. On the appointed night the Pambada impersonator gets possessed by Nalkataya and performs a ritual dance attended by the Holeyas of the village. Each of the Holeya participant holds a burning country torch in his hand and flourishes it very close to the impersonator. In his state of trance the Pambada gesticulates as if he is devouring the flames emanating from the torches. After a while the assembled villagers who have been a witness to the dance raise a cry uttering the word *hum* in unison. Soon thereafter the Holeyas with their torches run and on reaching the river at the boundary of the village extinguish the firebrands by dipping them in the river.

(XVIII) Annual Festival at Kodipady

(Mangalore taluk): The village has a *garadi* dedicated to Koti and Channayya. At the time of the annual festival held here to propitiate the departed souls of these Billava heroes it is customary to implant a pair of *gurjis* in the paddy field that lies in front of the *garadi* and forms the venue of the celebrations. The *gurji* consists of a wooden post about 8′ long to which bamboo strips are so fastened as to form 6 cone shaped protrusions at intervals. These cones are then covered with pieces of white cloth and when duly implanted the *gurji* represents a tomb. This pair of *gurjis* are also worshipped

along with the other emblems and symbols representing Koti and Channayya.

Notional representation of *gurji*.



(XIX) Kola at Kaup (Udipi taluk)

Malur, a locality of this village, is regarded as the *mulasthana* of Bobbarya and consequently its shrine dedicated to Bobbarya is well known in the region. Bobbarya is the tutelary *Bhuta* of Mogaveera fisherman who are found here in large numbers. In conformity with the usual pattern, here also the *Bhutasthana* (locally called *Gunda*) and the *Bhandaramane* are two independent structures separated by some distance. Propitiation of Bobbarya by way of *Kola* ceremony is organised twice a year during February-March and August-September. The *Kola* is performed in the shrine and the pendal put up in front of it for the occasion. As elsewhere the procession of the *Bhandara* from the *Bhandaramane* to the venue of the festival is an important feature. The procession is accompanied by pipers, drummers and the impersonator in trance.

Bobbarya is represented here as riding an elephant and wielding an implement, called *danya,* which resembles a mace. His attendant *Bhuta* called Banta is represented as riding a horse and wielding a *danya*. Close to this *Bhutasthana* there is a Nagabrahmasthana. Before offering *Kola* to Bobbarya it is customary in the village to offer *tambila* and thus propitiate Nagabrahma at the outset. It may be incidentally noted that wherever Bobbarya occurs together with Nagabrahma, the former is known as 'Jain-Bobbarya'. Also, Bobbarya does not usually partake of any animal sacrifice. The Mogaveeras accord a high status, slightly below that of gods, to Bobbarya. The impersonator of Bobbarya dons a crown instead of a *talekattu* and *ani* as is usually the case while representing other *Bhutas.* On the occasion of the *Kola* ceremony first of all, beaten rice, coconut and fruits are offered to Nagabrahma, Bobbarya and Banta in a specially prepared 3 tier cloth rack called *singadana.* The proprietors of boats among Mogaveeras prepare a special dish out of the dough of rice and coconut and this, when baked, resembles the mace in shape. For this purpose, it may be noted, a oven is put up in the precincts of the shrine. When the dish is ready, the *patri* holds it in his hand and perambulates the shrine. This is called *danyada bali.* Another special feature of *Kola* is that at about 4 A.M. the *Bhuta* is taken in a procession to the seashore where prayers are then offered for obtaining a plentiful catch of fish. A coconut and some flowers are offered to the sea. An atmosphere of jubilation marks this occasion and there would be a display of fireworks and bursting of crackers. While the procession is on its way back to the shrine, Mogaveera youngmen throw lighted country torches at one another and this playing with fire is known as *sootedara.* On reaching the shrine the *patri* circumambulates the shrine thrice, this time holding *trisula* (trident) in his hand. This ritual is known as *trisula bali.* Thereupon he acts as a medium, accepts the offerings and provides solutions to the problems submitted by the votaries to the *Bhuta.*

(XX) Dompada Bali at Kuloor

Dompada bali is a general term that connotes offerings made to *Bhutas* underneath the canopy of a pendal. A brief description of one such event held here on 25-3-1973 to propritiate Koddabbu is given below. It may be recalled that Koddabbu is the tutelary *Bhuta* of Mundalas, a Scheduled Caste.

As part of the celebrations, a cock fight had been organised at a place close to the pendal and the arena was full of spectators and participants all through the evening as fighting bouts were going on till about 7 P.M. A Billava and a Mugera were functioning as match-makers and umpires at these cock fights. Immediately after the ceremonial cock fight the arena here becomes the venue of this popular sport in which side-betting is also said to be prevalent to some extent.

On this particular day several preliminaries had been gone through well before nightfall. The pendal put up for the occasion had been duly decorated with green mango leaves. Inside this pendal there was a bench under a cloth canopy to serve as an altar and in front of it was *bali mukkalige,* a tripod stand. On this decorated bench there were the insignia of the *Bhuta,* consisting of a silver mask, a sword, a bell and a vase, which had been ceremoniously brought earlier from the *Bhandaramane.* The *bali-mukkalige* too was decorated artistically with pieces of cocopalm leaves. Close to the altar, *panyara* (tender coconuts) had been offered to the *Bhuta* on plantain leaves and nearby, there were a few earthen pots full of water. An oven had been put up nearby and rice had been cooked on the spot for offering to the *Bhuta* at appropriate time.

Meanwhile two men belonging to Nalke caste were getting ready for the trance. They were painting their faces with ochre coloured indigenous paint. Their ceremonial dress (red pyjamas and red shirt) and ornaments [*talekatta* (headgear), *kebina-chowkuli* (ear-ornaments) silver bangles and armlets, *gaggare* (anklets with bells)] were kept closeby. Two of their associates were singing *paddanas* to the accompaniment of the *tamare,* handled by another. These songs, it was explained, narrated the heroics of Koddabbu. The two impersonators were gradually attuning themselves to the role they had to play shortly and an occasional shiver ran through their bodies. Especially their legs often trembled involuntarily. By about 9.30 P.M. they had put on their dress and ornaments except for their headgear, *ani* and *gaggare.*

In front of the pendal about 75 yards away, a few chairs and benches had been arranged to provide seats to the local leaders. When the preparations were complete, the *moktessor* of the main shrine of the place was fetched from his house ceremoniously and was seated on a chair. It may be noted that here the *moktessor* is a Brahmin while the votaries of Koddabbu

are mainly Mundalas. Soon after the arrival of the *moktessor,* the Mulva (officiating priest) waved burning incense in a *dhuparati* in front of the *Bhuta,* simultaneously ringing a bell in his left hand. In this process he himself moved into a state of semi-trance. The Nalke impersonators then came in front of the pendal and stood facing the mask of the *Bhuta* with folded hands. The *gaggares* were placed on plantain leaves laid out on the floor near their feet. At this moment the piper and the drummer played on their instruments in a high pitch, suggestive of a climax. The Nalkes began to shiver intensely and after touching the foreground in obeisance they went round with folded hands and in a way sought the permission of the assembled leaders. Then the priest offered each of them a *veelya* (2 betel leaves folded with a piece of betel nut) and some flowers. Once again the *dhupa* was taken round by the priest at the end of which the Nalke impersonators showered the flowers on the mask and took up the *gaggares* in their hands. Two country torches were held in front of them by torch-bearers. Meanwhile, after circumambulating the *bali mukkalige,* the piper and the drummer came out of the pendal and approached the seated leaders. The impersonators with the *gaggares* in hand, followed the musicians and were soon left free in the open space separating the pendal and the chairs. Here, in a state of trance they began to move heavily with jerks forwards and backwards as well as in circles for about half an hour. Their frenzied movements were quite often accompanied by shrill cries and also by the sounds emanating rhythmically from the *gaggares* held by them.

The impersonators then put on the *gaggares* and were helped to wear the coco-palm-reed skirt. The leaders showered a few flowers on the impersonators. The impersonators took up burning torches and once again started their frenzied movements with greater vigour. They also swayed the torches in such a way as to hold the flames close to their breasts and appeared to be quite immune to injury by fire. After some time their trance ceased gradually and they rested for a while.

About an hour or two later, once again they moved into a state of trance and at this juncture one of the impersonators was helped to wear *ani*. Their movements were now not as violent as they were on the former occasions. The priest then offered *prasadam* (areca flowers) to the assembled leaders who were then spoken to by the impersonator in the set order of precedence. The welfare of the people and the conformity to tradition in observance of the rituals were thus ascertained by the *Bhuta*.

In fulfilment of their vows the votaries then offered tender coconuts and several of them also submitted their problems for guidance and relief. This went on for a couple of hours at the end of which *pujas* were offered to the *Bhuta* and the impersonators gained normalcy. A little later the *Bhandara* was taken back in a procession to the *Bhandaramane* marking the end of the celebrations.

(XXI) Vottekola

Vottekola is generally celebrated to propitiate Vishnumurthy Bhuta. The people of the entire village, as for example at Sullia, contribute for the festival which lasts for 2 days. On the first day the *Bhandara* of the *Bhuta* is brought ceremoniously in a procession to a newly erected pendal and placed on the altar. At this place (Sullia) a Madivala (Washermen caste) who moves into a state of trance at the *Bhandaramane* leads the procession which as usual is heralded by pipers and drummers. Same night the Parava functionary impersonating the *Bhuta* and also a batch of 10 to 15 persons belonging to Belchappada caste get possessed. The dress and ornaments put on by the Parava resemble those generally ascribed to Vishnu. On this occasion a few fowls are offered in sacrifice to propitiate the *Bhuta*.

On the following day about 4 to 5 lorry loads of firewood, especially logs of jack-fruit tree, are collected in an open area near the pendal. The Belchappadas arrange these logs in a large heap resembling a cone in shape. In the evening the Parava in his state of trance orders that the heap may be set on fire and this is done accordingly by the Belchappadas. Thereafter the Parava and the Belchappadas visit the households nearby and they are accompanied by a person bearing a country torch and another carrying *prasada*. On returning the Parava and the Belchappadas are given some beaten rice to eat and coconut juice to drink. By now it would be well past midnight and the heap of wood would have been converted into a heap of burning cinders. The raising flames would have died out and the area around the heap would be intensely hot. The Parava and the Belchappadas bathe, put on their dress and each of them, holding a sword appear before the altar of Vishnumurthy Bhuta. The piper and the drummer begin to play on their instruments in a high pitch and soon the functionaries get possessed. In this state, they strike their foreheads with the sword and offer the blood that flows out from the wounds to the *Bhuta*. This group, then moves near the heap of burning cinders where the Parava as well as the

Belchappadas try to climb on the heap as if it is made up of harmless pebbles. They walk on fire and wallow in it. However, the curious fact is that none of them exhibits any sense of suffering or pain while walking on the fire and any signs of injury by fire after they revert to normalcy from their state of trance. Even the dress they wear for the occasion remain untouched by fire. On the following day the festival comes to an end when the *Bhandara* is taken back in a procession from the pendal and replaced in the *Bhandaramane.*

This form of worship, it may be seen, is akin to *kendaseve* described already and is prevalent to some extent in the southern-most part of the district (Sullia taluk) as well as in Kasargod taluk of Kerala State. One of the important differences between *vottekola* and *kendaseve* of the Kannada speaking tracts is that in the former a larger quantity of logs of wood are piled upon one another so that the resultant burning cinders will be in the form of a large heap of burning cinders whereas in the latter, a trench is dug up and more or less a level path of burning cinders is obtained.

Concluding Remarks

A consideration of the foregoing description of various forms of worship known by different names at different places such as *Mechchi, Ayana, Jatre, Bandi, Kola, Volesari, Vottekola,* etc., clearly points out the underlying similarity which essentially consists of offerings made reverentially to a divine spirit. There are, however, some differences if one were to examine the details. These differences are mainly due to linguistic and regional factors and may be preceived in the architectural features of the *Bhutasthanas,* idols and symbols, forms of worship and so on. In the northern and north-eastern tracts of the district where Kannada is the predominantly spoken language, the *Bhutas* are represented as wooden idols and generally there would not be any separate *Bhandaramane.* Most of the prominent shrines have a *sedi* pillar in front and poising of the beam on this pillar marks the commencement of the festival. There is only one set of impersonators who may not belong to the castes of either Parava, Pambada or Nalke. The impersonators may be drawn from higher castes including Brahmins and Viswakarmas. Here the medium speaks in Kannada while in a state of trance. The worship generally includes *Dakkebali* and *Kendaseva* and it is customary for the avowed votaries also to walk on fire. Finally, at the end of the festival there would be one *yakshagana bayalata* performance which provides free

entertainment to the villagers. In the central and southern tracts where Tulu is the predominantly spoken language the *Bhutas* are generally symbolised in the form of masks, swords, rods, bows and arrows. Wooden idols occur very rarely. The shrine and the *Bhandaramane* are usually two distinct structures separated by some distance and the fetching of the *Bhandara* to the shrine or the pendal in a ceremonial manner forms an essential ritual of *Bhuta* worship. The commencement of the festival is marked by the fixing of pegs for a cock fight arena and at several places a game with a *chandu* (leather ball stuffed with coir) is also organised on three evenings successively as an essential ritual. There are two sets of impersonators, namely, the *manyas* who belong to Bunt, Gowda, Billava and such other castes and the others belonging to either Parava, Pambada or Nalke caste. It is the latter that function as a medium and converses in Tulu with the votaries. On the occasion of the annual festival there is the custom of raising a flag on which the figure of a bull or a naked man is embossed. The *Paddana* songs (Tulu incantations) are invariably sung by the associates of the Parava, Pambada or Nalke impersonator. In certain Tulu areas, there are a few *Bhutasthanas* worshipped mainly by Malayalam speaking Hindu castes such as Bovi, Tiyan etc. The *Bhutas* worshipped by them are generally various forms of Bhagavati and the architectural features of their shrines are a little more artistic in that they usually have a *kirtimukha* unlike the ordinary *Bhutasthanas* of this region. The custom of hoisting a flag, on which the figure of naked man is embossed, is prevalent at these places also. The services of impersonators are generally procured from Kerala. These impersonators too perform the fire-walking rite as part of the festival. While in trance they speak in Malayalam.

In spite of the apparanet differences enumerated above the core of *Bhuta* worship is same throughout the district. The most common features are the invoking of the *Bhuta* and its impersonation by a professional functionary, the offerings of food and drinks (including animal sacrifice at certain places), the bringing together of the various functional castes of the village, the absence of caste feelings and prejudices, the divine guidance sought by the local leaders for the welfare of the villagers and the solutions sought by the votaries themselves in respect of their personal problems. Besides, these festivals constitute an important event in the village in which all people irrespective caste, sex and age participate as votaries or as spectators and quite a large number among them make

offerings in cash or kind. Thus, there is apparently nothing which connects *Bhuta* worship with any unrighteous or unworthy practices or manners of behaviour. Though some of the scenes of worship are awe-inspiring and may evoke an element of fear amongst the onlookers the essential theme of worship is the sense of confidence derived by conformity to traditional practices and a feeling of reverence towards the divine spirit that is being propitiated.

Though the articles offered may vary from place to place and from person to person, offering of food and drinks, fruits and nuts, animals and birds, and cash and services constitute an integral part of *Bhuta* worship. Likewise the purpose may differ but it would be generally one or more of the following: to propitiate the *Bhuta* and thus ensure prosperity; to request for a special favour or success in an endeavour; to get a good agricultural crop; to beget children; to avert some impending calamity; to get relief from incurable diseases; to appease the souls of ancestors; to atone for an impious act; and lastly, to be in conformity with the traditional practices. The occasions for rendering the offerings are also very many. It is a common practice at homes and shrines to offer water in a goblet everyday to the *Bhutas*. There are shrines where it is customary to offer raw or cooked rice, plantains, coconuts and betel leaves every day. These food items are generally laid out on a plantain leaf and the rice is arranged in the form of a heap. On occasions such as the annual festival *charu* (cooked coloured rice, mixed with pieces of ash-gourd rendered red by the addition of turmeric and vermilion dust) is laid out on or near the *bali kallu* stones and *ganas* according to practices prevailing at particular shrines. Such stones are usually set up in the *pradakshina* around the shrine. In some places, it is necessary that the rice for the offering is cooked on a newly set up hearth in the proximity of the shrine or the pandal. Even with regard to the use of water some restrictions may exist. One such example is the case at Anantadi with regard to the celebration of *Dharmanema*. This festival is held once in 12 years and the water required for cooking has to be obtained from a shallow tank sunk anew in a paddy field nearby. The water of this tank should not be used by anybody else for any other purpose. After the conclusion of the *nema* the tank is filled up. As regards the other items of cooked food offerings, mention may be made of *voda* and *kadabu*. There are a few shrines where it is customary to make offerings of ghee and cooked rice through fire. Water, tender coconuts and toddy (at some places only) are

the drinks offered to the *Bhutas*. The cash offerings are generally known as *kanike*. To appease some of the *Bhutas* credited with the power of granting offspring to the sterile couple it is customary to offer wooden or silver replicas of of cradle, silver replicas of children and silver replicas of the hood of a cobra. Live animals such as calves, cows, bulls and fowls are also offered at several shrines. Lastly, animal sacrifice, especially of fowls, is a common feature at most of the *Bhutasthanas*, where, however, separate altars would have been set up for the purpose. For example, it may be recalled that at the Masti shrine of Bennekudru the fowls are sacrificed near the shrines of Malesvari and Hasla; at Mekkekattu fowls are sacrificed near the tiny shrine of Hasla; and at Amriteshvari shrine of Kota the fowls are sacrificed near the stone pillar that lies outside the shrine and represents Rakteshvari. Nowadays, it is generally the fowls that are sacrified, though in addition, at some places pigs, goats and he-buffaloes are also offered. In the remote past human sacrifice also seems to have been prevalent in this region for propitiating certain *Bhutas*. There are such references in legends and *paddanas* associated with *Bhutas*. Hook-swinging rituals and offering of human blood seem to have been more common and prevalent till recent decades. Thus in *Bhuta* worship offering of blood, either human or animal, appears to be an important element. The manner in which the sacrificial animal has to be held or tied to the altar and the way in which its head has to be cut off as well as the mode of distribution of several parts of the sacrificed animal are all well defined by local custom. At several places, it is necessary that the flesh of the sacrificed animal be cooked then and there and offered to the deity.

CHAPTER V

Priests and Impersonators

Generally every *Bhutasthana* has its own priest. It is the duty of the priest to perform *pujas* according to custom and local practices at specified hours either daily or on appointed days in a week and also on other periodical occasions in the prescribed manner. The caste to which the priest of any *Bhutasthana* belongs depends on various factors such as the presiding *Bhuta* or *Daiva* enshrined therein, caste composition of the village, historical background of the shrine and also of the place where it is located. By and large it may be observed that the priests of Beidarkala *garadis* are Billavas; those of Koddabbu *sthanas* are Mundalas; those of Masti and Bobbarya *sthanas* are Mogaveeras and those of Brahma or Naga Brahma *sthanas,* Durgaparameshwari shrines etc., are Brahmins. In addition to these priests each *Bhutasthana* has one or more impersonators, who discharge the functions of an oracle or 'inspirational priest'. Such impersonators too may belong to different castes. As already noted, they are known as *patri* in the Kannada-speaking areas. In the Tulu-speaking areas there are two categories of impersonators: the first, called *manyas,* consists of men belonging to Bunt, Billava, Gatti, Gowda and such other castes while the second category which bears no specific name, consists of men belonging to Pambada, Panar, Parava and Nalke castes. The *patri* and the second set of impersonators just mentioned are, while they are in a state of trance, regarded as the very personification of the *Bhuta* or *Daiva* concerned. In view of their occult powers these functionaries are held in high esteem amongst their fellow castemen as well as in the society as a whole. Furthermore, they lead a life of restraint and of interdictions which also help them to secure a higher status. The offices of the priest and the impersonator usually run in particular families from generation to generation, though the hereditary principle is not always observed scrupulously. In the selection of an impersonator, the *Bhuta* or the *Daiva* also participates in a way and makes known its divine will by transmigrating to the right person amongst the eligible candidates. A few case histories regarding the selection of impersonators would illustrate the point clearly.

Selection of impersonators

The *patri* at the Naga-Brahma-sthana of Nandavara, Buntwal taluk is a Gowda Saraswath Brahmin. He is holding this office eversince his selection in 1970. On the death of his predecessor, also of the same caste, the local elders arranged for the selection of a *patri* on an appointed day, from among the men who considered themselves as eligible for the office. The elders assembled at the shrine and so did the candidates after taking a purificatory bath as required by custom. The elders offered prayers and sought the divine power to pick out the suitable *patri* for itself by taking possession of the man. The institutional priest then waved the *arati* (wick-lights) before the idol five times in a clockwise direction to the sounding of bells and music (pipe and drum). Then followed a state of expectation and it was found that none of the proffered candidates showed any signs of possession. On the other hand, the present *patri,* who was amongst the spectators, as if by intuition hurried to a water source, finished his bath and returned to the shrine. Moments later he began to quiver, which is an unmistakable sign of possession, and the elders who noticed it, caused the burning torch and a bunch of canes (the insignia of the *Bhuta*) to be given to him. Immediately he became fully possessed though, despite the prayers by the elders, he could not speak out the commands of the deity. The elders subsequently noticed that he had not been branded with the Vaishnava emblems by their pontiff and ascribed to it his failure to talk while in trance. At the earliest opportunity he was taken to the pontiff of the Kashimatha and the *mudra dharana* (branding) was performed. Thenceforth he obtained the power of speech while in trance and to act as the medium between Naga-Brahma and its votaries. In his private life he is a teacher in a local school and is highly educated in the sense that he is a graduate. It is reported that the previous *patri* was accustomed to have coconuts struck and broken on his head while he used to remain in a state of trance.

The *manya* of Malaraya *Bhuta* at Anantadi is a Gowda by caste and in his private life he works as a village postman. He is holding the office since 1971 only. On the demise of his predecessor the elders assembled at the shrine on an appointed day and asked the eligible youngmen related to the deceased *manya* to appear before the *Bhandaramane* of the *Bhuta* for selection. Accordingly after a purificatory bath they stood and prayed. The elders too offered prayers and the pipers and drummers too were busy in offering their services. However

none of those who considered themselves eligible was selected and when the elders were on the verge of disappointment the present *manya* who was at some distant place came running to the *Bhandaramane* in a frenzy. After all, the *Bhuta* had selected its inspirational priest and the people felt satisfied.

The *patri* of Brahmalingeshvara of Gopady (8 Kms south of Coondapur town) is a resident of Bombay where he works as a clerk in some Bank. He is the youngest son of the previous *patri* of this shrine. His father died years ago even as he and his 4 elder brothers were still teenaged boys. They took the help of their relatives elsewhere and in course of time carved out different careers for themselves. After completing his school-final the present *patri* left for Bombay and there secured a clerk's job in a Bank. Nothing of importance happened for 3 more years. Subsequently, while working in the Bank he suddenly became possessed and hysterical. He was given medical aid and taken to his home. It marked the beginning only, for thereafter the attacks became a frequent affair. Efforts to treat the symptoms as those of epilepsy, hysteria etc., proved a failure and he was forced by circumstances to tender his resignation. He then came to Shimoga to join his elder brother who too under the erroneous impression of a physical malady arranged for medical treatment which he thought fit. This way about 3 years elapsed with no positive results. Then an elderly relative suggested to his brother that since their father was a *patri* at Gopady-Brahmalingeshvara shrine all these troubles may be the workings of the *Bhuta* itself which perhaps needs the priestly services of this youngman. As a last resort he was taken to Gopady by his brother and other elders. There he fell into a trance and his relatives vowed that this man would become the *patri* and offer services at the time of the annual festivals if he be cured of his ailments. The prayer was answered favourably and he could assume the office of the *patri*. He was taken to Dharmasthala and formally initiated into priesthood. Thereafter he began to offer his priestly services to Brahmalingeshvara during the annual festivals. After sometime he went back to Bombay and once again secured a clerical job in a Bank and set up his family there. He however comes down to Gopady every year for the festival and serves as a *patri*.

The *patri* of Kodi Ammanavaru at Coondapur is a Billava and he is holding the office from the middle of 1971. His predecessor served the *Bhuta* for over 40 years continuously and expired early in 1971 and was related to the present incumbent

though in a distant manner. After the demise of the old *patri*, for a few months despite efforts no successor could be selected. At this juncture the present *patri* came to the village from Bombay to spend a holiday. On a particular occasion one more attempt was made at the shrine by the elders for selection of the *patri* in the usual manner and among the eligible candidates this person too was included. At the appropriate time, following prayers, he became possessed and the divine intention was thus made known to the elders. In a short period he got married so that he could assume the office and was duly initiated at Dharmasthala. Thereafter in view of the onerous duties attached to the *patri* of this place he had to tender resignation to his job at Bombay. He is a matriculate and has accepted the wholetime profession of a *patri* at this shrine.

It may be somewhat surprising to know that the *patri* for Halavu-makkla-tayi of Koni village is a Brahmin woman aged about 60 years and that she has been holding this office continuously from 1962. Prior to her assuming the said office it is stated that she was an ordinary woman who of late had been given to hysterical behaviour and had been regarded by her relatives as a mental patient. Her relatives tried to cure her of the malady they imagined to be afflicting her but their attempts proved futile. On a particular occasion in 1962 a Brahmin, who visited the house and came to know the details of the case, suggested that if the woman could be initiated as a priestess to the Halavu-makkala-tayi (whose shrine is located about 30 metres away from her house) all her troubles would cease. This suggestion was accordingly carried out and soon she became a normal being to the astonishment of all concerned. Since 1962 she is officiating as the *patri*. She frequently and easily moves into a state of trance and acts as a medium between the *Bhuta* and its votaries. It may be noted that she has a defective leg and usually limps while walking. But when she moves into a trance curiously enough the limping gait vanishes and she walks straight.

The *patri* of Nandikeshvara at Mekkekattu is an youngman of Viswakarma community. His hereditary occupation is carpentry. Before his selection in about 1968, for about 12 years there was no *patri* at this shrine. The previous incumbent and his predecessor were closely related to each other (mother's brother) but only remotely to the present *patri*. This man hails from Jenyadi (a place in Hardalli Mandalli village close to Mekkekattu) and while still in his teens moved over to Narasimharajapura town of Chikmagalur district to work as a

carpenter there. He flourished as a good carpenter of the town until on a particular occasion he noticed a swelling on his left palm. The swelling increased to such an extent that he could no longer wield his tools and attempts to treat or diagnose the disease were unsuccessful. Moreover the intensity of the swelling and pain used to vary: if he did not handle the tools and had no intention of working the swelling and pain would be insignificant but, on the assumption that he has been cured, if he took up the tools the swelling and pain would intensify. In other words he was effectively prevented from attending to his normal avocation. At this juncture one of his relatives suggested that he should visit his native place and seek the help of a diviner to diagnose and suggest a remedy. Accordingly he came to Jenyadi and when he visited the Nandikeshvara shrine at Mekkekattu all of a sudden he became 'possessed'. Observing this event, the *moktessor* and other elders made enquiries and told him that by implication the *Bhuta* had selected him as its *patri* and suggested that (since he was yet a bachelor) he should marry at the earliest so that he could be formally initiated into the priestly duties. He was pleased at the new development and scrupulously followed the instructions and became a *patri* within a short period. On assumption of the office he gave up his traditional occupation of carpentry and became a farmer, for the temple management gave him the right to enjoy the yield from one hectare of wet lands as a remuneration for his services. His office has provision for a few perquisites in kind and cash. Once a month on the day of *sankramana* he gets possessed and functions as a medium between the deity and its votaries. A significant fact noticed is that the swelling on his palm has vanished altogether.

Functions of impersonators

Those who impersonate *Naga* are known as *Naga patris* and generally they belong to Brahmin or Viswakarma community. They are invited to the serpent shrines at the houses and *Bhutasthanas* whenever the spirit of *Naga* has to be invoked and propitiated. The manifestation of the spirit in the *patri* is known as *Naga Darshana*. In this state of possession the *patri* acts as a medium and communicates the commands and suggestions of the Naga to its votaries. The *patris* representing other *Bhutas* and divinities in the Kannada speaking tracts of the district too function mainly as oracles of the divine spirit. On all important festival occasions they move into a state of trance and communicate with the spirit for the benefit of its

votaries. In some places such services are offered at more frequent intervals and it has become a weekly affair in a few shrines detailed below for purposes of illustration.

(i) The patri at Kodi Ammanavara *sthana* near Coondapur functions as a medium on every Sunday afternoon. The priest and the *patri* both belong to Halepaika caste. On the day of this field visit about 25 persons had assembled at the shrine to utilise the services of the *patri*. When the arrangements for *puja* were got ready by the priest, the *patri* bathed at a well outside the shrine and entered the shrine. Here, he put on his ceremonial dress, which consisted of a tight-fitting knickers of red cloth to the bottom of which a number of dancing bells are attached. He also wore a pair of dancing bells at his ankles. Then holding a bunch of areca flowers he stood before the deity in the outer hall. The piper and the drummer began to play on their instruments at a high pitch and simultaneously the priest waved *arati* before the deities. This instrumental music and waving of *arati* lasted for a few minutes and at the concluding stage the *patri* experienced a quiver. His legs began to tremble involuntarily and he rubbed the areca flowers on his face. Then he rushed into the sanctum from the outer hall and again came back. This sort of movement occurred more than once. He took up 2 country-torches and held them in such a way that the flames almost touched his bare chest. It was noticed that the *moktessor* of the shrine stood behind the *patri* to prevent the latter from falling down in the height of ecstasy. After some time the *patri* became fully possessed, walked out of the sanctum and went first to the piper. Here he gave a few areca flowers to the piper and moved on towards other people to whom also he gave areca flowers. With this, the oracle started and with the assistance of an intermediary (local leaders) the votaries began to put forth their problems seeking solution and divine guidance. Most of the qusetions on this day related to physical ailments of children and aged persons and the remedies suggested included: (i) continuation of medical treatment with the same doctor who had been already approached by the votary, (ii) medical treatment from some other doctor, (iii) propitiation of *preta*, the dissatisfied soul of an ancestor, (iv) propitiation of family deity and (v) early fulfilment of vows that had been taken earlier by the votaries. A few sick persons had also been brought along by the votaries and in all such cases the *patri* sprinkled *tirtha* on the patients' head and face. Two women patients, supposed to have been possessed by some evil spirits, reacted sharply when the *patri* sprinkled *tirtha* on their faces. They became possessed and began to talk and

twist their bodies convulsively. They, that is, the evil spirits, provided answers to the questions posed by the *patri*. Finally the *patri* suggested some relief measures to the relatives of the afflicted women and when he sprinkled *tirtha* once again on them they regained their normal self. Another interesting case reported was that of the recovery of a gold ornament. An elderly woman of Bunt community whose son is a practising doctor at Coondapur, submitted that as predicted by the oracle a fortnight ago in response to her *hoyalu* (complaint) the gold waist-string of her grandson had been recovered. It was ascertained that the oracle had suggested that on her return to her home she should suspend a coconut (offered to her by the oracle) prominently at the entrance to her house and then proclaim loudly in the neighbourhood the fact that she had lodged a *hoyalu* at the Kodi Ammanava a *sthana*. She had obeyed the instructions dutifully. On the third day thereof everyone in her house was surprised to find the ornament lying in a room as if it had been just thrown in from outside. She had now brought the waist-string to the shrine to offer one-fourth of its value, in gratitude, to the deity. She wanted to know the identity of the culprit. The *patri* simply mentioned that one of those who takes water from the common well had stolen the ornament. He went on to say that her effort to identify the culprit and take vindictive action on him would prove painful to the complainant herself and advised her not to pursue the matter any more.

Some of the votaries made anxious references to the prevalence of measles and chicken pox in their neighbourhoods and prayed that its spread be controlled. The *patri* gave necessary assurances.

It was noticed that in some cases the *patri* listened to the afflictions of the votaries while holding some areca flowers in his hand. While listening, occasionally one of his hands would involuntarily break off a few pieces of the petals and deposit the pieces on a plate nearby. At the end of the submission and explanations the pieces of petals accumulated thus far are counted and if the resultant number is odd immediate relief is assured. If the number is even, the *patri* suggests some propitiatory measures to ensure relief.

The session was in progress for nearly 2 hours and all the time, it was noticed, the legs of the *patri* were trembling. At the conclusion of the session the piper played on his pipe in a high pitch and the *patri* dashed into the sanctum, came out

with areca flowers which he offered to the piper, the intermediaries and other important persons and ran back to the sanctum. Here he rubbed his face with areca flowers. Gradually the intensity of his shivering reduced and in about 5 or 6 minutes he was his usual self. He came out after changing his dress and sat on a wooden bench in the hall and began to chat with the votaries.

(ii) The *patri* at Kavera *sthana* of Surathkal belongs to Viswakarma caste. The deity enshrined here is known as Varaheshvari. On every Sunday afternoon the *patri* moves into a state of trance and offers his services to the votaries. Here too, when the arrangements for *puja* were got ready the *patri* entered the shrine after bathing. He changed over to his ceremonial dress consisting of a pink-coloured silk dhoti and a shawl fastened round his waist. He then moved to a place near the room which enshrines Panjurli and Dhumavati. (This room is immediately to the left of the sanctum.). The priest waved *dhupa* around Varaheshvari and at this moment the *patri* moved close to the idol and stood with folded hands. Then he prostarted, got up and circumambulated the shrine with folded hands. All of a sudden the piper and the drummer began to play on their instruments at a high pitch. Bells in the shrine were also rung simultaneously and soon the *patri* began to shiver and became possessed. In that state he went round the shrine and approached the *Bhuta* idols or symbols representing Panjurli, Abbakke-Dharakke. Dhumavati. Naga etc. and sprinkled holy water on them. On his return to the sanctum he took up a bunch of canes at first and beat himself. Laying it aside he took up an iron rod and struck upon his head several times with that rod. He then took up a *Pancha divatige* (five pronged country torch) and played with the flames making symbolic gestures of devouring the flames and burning several parts of his body. With this torch in hand, held in such a way as to have the flames almost touching his body, he circumambulated the shrine once again. Then he handed over the torch and took up the bunch of canes with which he began to beat himself as before. After these preliminary actions he began to pace forwards and backwards in front of the sanctum. All the while he continued to be in a state of trance. Moments later, he distributed flowers to the leaders and assembled votaries and proclaimed that he would do good to everybody. The author, who was witnessing all the foregoing events was then invited, given *prasadam* (vermilion dust, flowers and sandal paste), blessed by touching his head with the bunch of canes and was assured of success in his endeavour. Thereupon

the votaries began to submit their problems one by one. An emaciated woman was presented before the oracle seeking relief. The *patri* questioned the companion of the sick woman whether medicines had failed to cure her of her ailments. The answer was in the affirmative. The *patri* stated that the affliction was due to the intervention of a dissatisfied ancestral spirit and promised to provide proper relief. He asked the votary to visit the shrine again on the following Sunday and gave *prasadam*. There was another case of a similar type and the *patri* directed them to visit the shrine again. At the end of the session, the *moktessor* was consulted as to whether the trance may cease. With this formality completed, the *patri* entered the sanctum, touched the idol, came out and began to beat himself with the bunch of canes. Minutes later he circumambulated the shrine and went near the *Bhuta* idols and the *naga* stone as before. Finally he came back and prostrated himself in front of Varaheshvari. The priest sprinkled *tirtha* on the *patri*. A few minutes later the *patri* was assisted to stand up and was led out of the sanctum and was seated. During this transit he moved violently and his movements were kept under control by 2 or 3 men who constantly implored him to become his normal self. He groaned and made convulsive gestures and gradually in about 10 minutes, the trance ceased and he sat down calm and quiet.

The main function of the *patri*, however, is to render services at the periodical rituals and festivals got up to propitiate the spirits. At the appropriate time the *patri* bathes, dresses himself in ceremonial robes and appears before the concerned *Daiva* or the *Bhuta*. The symptoms of his being possessed manifest soon after the *dhupa* is taken round the deity by the priest inside the sanctum and when pipers and drummers play on their instruments. Gradually he moves into a state of complete trance. As soon the *patri* is fully possessed the first function he performs is to ascertain from the organisers and local leaders whether all the rituals and traditional prescriptions including the performance of *Dharma* have been scrupulously followed. The *patri* would also enquire and ascertain whether all the persons traditionally associated with the festival have arrived for the occasion and lastly queries as to why the spirit has been presently invoked. The leaders then request the spirit concerned to accept the offerings made by the votaries, provide them adequate relief and also state that they have invoked the spirit in pursuance of the customary practice for propitiating it. In his conversation with the leaders the *patri* observes the rules of precedence set by tradition and later, while

conversing with the votaries, utilises the services of one or more intermediaries or interpreters. In his role as the divinity personified, the *patri* accepts the offerings which may include food, drinks, cash, live animals, fowls for instant sacrifice etc. In his capacity as the medium he listens to the afflictions and problems of the votaries and communicates to them the divine will regarding the future course of actions and remedies; sprinkles *tirtha* on the faces of children to cure them of the fear complex and also of common physical ailments; sprinkles *tirtha* on the sick persons seeking relief: proffers coconuts imbued with divine power as a charm to recover stolen articles; ties knotted black silk threads to the upper arm of men to serve as a curative measure and thus provides relief to one and all. In several places the *patri* walks on burning cinders as part of his ritual functions. At times the spirit voices its demand for the performance of a *Yakshagana bayalata* as a propitiatory measure in the following words ನನಗೆ ಒಂದು ಬೆಳಕು ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. (*nanage ondu belaku kodabeku*). The sessions of such possessions usually last for several hours at a stretch. At the end the spirit takes formal leave of the leaders. Thereafter *pujas* are performed, pipe and drum are played and *dhupa* is waved before the deity. At this juncture the *patri* experiences the possession with greater intensity which becomes visible by the violent trembling of his body. Gradually he regains his normal self.

Finally it may be mentioned that in some of the *sthanas* only one person officiates as *patri* for more than one *Bhuta* enshrined therein. He impersonates more than one *Bhuta* either in succession on the same day or on successive days according to local usage. Some shrines have 2 or more *patris* to serve different *Bhutas* simultaneously on the same day or on different days. In these cases too if the number of *Bhutas* enshrined is large the same *patri* may impersonate different *Bhutas* in a sequence.

The functions of *manyas* of the Tulu area are slightly different from those of *patris* just described. The *Bhutasthanas* usually have 2 or more *manyas* depending upon the number and importance of *Bhutas* enshrined. The *manyas* move into a state of trance at the *Bhandaramane* and accompany the *Bhandara* which is carried in a palanquin ceremoniously to the shrine or the pendal. At the appointed time the *manya* arrives at the *Bhandaramane* after bathing at a place nearby. Here he puts on his ceremonial dress which consists of a white *dhoti* with

red border, a *shawl* tied round the waist, an upper cloth thrown loosely on the nape so that its ends dangle about on the bare chest, and a turban. His ornaments include silver bangles and a silver waist-string worn prominently. At the appropriate time the priest or the *moktessor* after due *puja* takes out the ornamental sword, bell and the *chamara* (fan) of the *Bhuta* and hands over one by one to the *manya*. The *manya* holds the sword upright in his left hand, the bell in his right hand and suspends the *chamara* from his left shoulders. Soon, the *manya* begins to shiver and to move forwards and backwards in front of the *Bhandaramane*. Thus he moves into a state of ecstasy. Two or three attendants remain by the side of the *manya* who faints frequently as the intensity of possession increases and revive him by sprinkling cold water on his face, by washing his eyes and by lending support so that he may stand upright. It is in such a state that the *manya* walks by the side of the palanquin carrying the *Bhandara* of the *Bhutas*. In some places an ornamental umberlla is held above the *manya* as a mark of honour during this procession which ends up at the shrine or the pendal. Enroute, as the procession passes through fields the local agriculturists offer light and tender coconuts to the *Bhutas*. The *manya* who personifies the *Bhuta* accepts such offerings and blesses them with a plentiful yield by reciting certain couplets which are in vogue and are suitable for the occasion.* After the procession reaches its destination and the symbols of the *Bhuta* are deposited on the altar the Parava impersonator appears in his ceremonial attire and stands in front of the shrine. At this stage it is the *manya* who is fully possessed. He keeps on pacing to and fro with jerks and soon the Parava begins to dance. After some time when the priest gives him a betel-leaf fold and some flowers the *manya* throws these articles on the Parava and by doing so transmits part of his 'possession' to the other impersonator. Thereafter the *manya* remains in a state of semi-trance for several hours. Finally when the trance of the Parava is to be revoked the *manya* experiences an intensified state of possession and moves into a complete trance. This time however, the trance lasts for a short period only and ceases soon after the *manya* hands over the sword, the bell and the *chamara* to the priest or the *moktessor*. Thus, it is evident that the *manyas* accept offerings to a limited extent and do not generally function as full-fledged oracles but convey the blessings of the *Bhuta* they impersonate. The role of an oracle and the right to accept all sorts of offerings is generally reserved in these areas for the impersonator who belongs to either Pambada, Parava, Nalke or Panar caste.

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*See next chapter for one such couplet.

The second set of impersonators of the Tulu area referred to above are professionals in that it has been their traditional duty to function as impersonators of various *Bhutas* at public as well as private ceremonies. In any given area there is a tacit understanding among the various persons engaged in this profession and each impersonator, irrespective of his caste, has a particular set of patron institutions and families. As already mentioned these impersonators too observe certain restrictions regarding food, drinks and sexual life besides social intercourse with men of certain castes on the eve of the festivals at which they have to participate. The impersonator has to prepare the ornamental *ani* (halo), head-gear of reeds and also paint his face with ochre. Thus, on the appointed day he bathes, squats at a place near the shrine or the pendal and starts his preparations sufficiently early to keep time with the rite at which he has to appear. While his preparations are afoot one or two of his associates sit nearby and go on singing *paddanas* in a low tone to the rhythmic beats of a drum. Once he sets about his job the impersonator does not usually talk with his associates or any other person and, keeps himself aloof. Slowly, even as he listens to the songs his legs begin to tremble and a semblance of trance becomes evident as time passes by. After painting his face he puts on the red pyjamas, red shirt (with full sleeves), ornaments etc. However, he would not put on the *ani* yet. When everything is set properly, at the appropriate time, the impersonator along with his associates moves to the front yard of the shrine or the pendal. Here after offering obeisance to the *Bhutas*, receiving *prasada* from the priest or the *manya* the impersonator moves into a state of frenzy. He paces forwards and backwards with jerks, howls in a shrill voice and shivers all over. In this state he takes hold of burning country torches and holds these in such a way that the flames almost touch his bared chest for several minutes at a time. As explained earlier this dance-like movement, playing with the flames and howling continue for quite some time. Later, the impersonator is helped to wear the *gaggares* (anklets with dancing bells), the *ani*, the facial mask, the breast-plate and so on at the appropriate moments according to the local custom. When he is fully 'possessed' and personifies the *Bhuta*, he speaks out in a tone of authority to the chief organisers of the festival, the *gurikaras* or the trustees of the *sthana* and enquires whether all the rites and rituals have been properly attended to and whether feasts to the village community and propitiations of the *Bhutas* have been arranged in accordance with the traditional practices. The answers for such queries would usually be in the affirmative. The *Bhuta* would then express satisfaction in the following words ತಿಂಡ ವುಂಡಿನ ನಿಕಲ್ಲ ಪಚ್ಚಿ ಉರಿನ ಎನ್ನ (*tinda undina*

nikalna hecchu urina enna) which mean 'that which you have feasted is yours; the balance is mine'. The *Bhuta* then enquires about their welfare and about the welfare of the votaries and the public at large. He also ascertains whether all the leaders associated traditionally with the ceremony have arrived on this occasion also and demands an explanation if any of them were to be absent. The important persons from amongst the outsiders are also enquired about, summoned to the presence and offered areca flowers, sandal paste or vermilion dust. With the completion of these preliminaries the village leaders and the votaries present their problems and seek solutions. The *gurikara* or the *moktessor* acts as an interpreter and explains the submissions of the votary and in turn conveys the commands of the *Bhuta*. If there are any disputes the *Bhuta* holds a public discussion with the *gurikara* and gives out its final decision which is generally accepted by the disputants. Sometimes fines are also imposed, directions for the recovery of stolen articles are issued, remedial measures are suggested in case of the physically afflicted and, those who submitted their offerings in fulfilment of vows are blessed. Thus, the *Bhuta* discharges the functions of a judge, a diviner, a physician and an administrator looking after the welfare of the general public. The impersonator accepts all the offerings and in turn gives *prasada* (vermilion dust, sandal paste, areca flowers etc.) to the votaries. Generally, the impersonator remains in a state of trance for 4 or 5 hours either continuously or intermittently according to local usage. Finally, the *Bhuta* calls out the leaders as before according to their rank and status and seeks formal permission to retire. Once again the impersonator moves into a frenzy as *pujas* are started at the shrine and thereafter he collapses on the ground when some of his assistants take hold of him and lead him to a resting place. Gradually he regains his normal self. At private ceremonies also the impersonator functions in a more or less similar manner. These would be somewhat simpler and the duration of trance would also be much less.

Certain details relating to personal life of the impersonators interviewed during this study.

(i) Pakru of Aanantadi belongs to Parava caste and is about 65 years old. He is well built and appears to be quite active despite his age. He speaks Tulu. He serves Ullalthi of Anantadi and also the *Bhutas* worshipped at Vittala village and the surrounding areas. He owns and cultivates agricultural lands and pays an annual land revenue of Rs. 60 to the Government. His father was also functioning as an impersonator. However,

ne stated that he took up the profession in view of the honour it confers on the functionary. He has served the village community in that capacity for about 33 years. On ordinary days he has no objection to consume non-vegetarian dishes. But, on the eve of an impersonation ritual for a specified number of days he consumes only vegetarian food. He bathes everyday. He does not speak with women during their periods and does not plough a field where such women may be working.

He was initiated as an impersonator by a ritual anointing ceremony called *Kalasha snana* on which occasion as part of the ritual he broke an ash-gourd by dashing it on the ground and tore a piece of cloth signifying the breaking away of his connection with his family members and consecrating himself for the services of the *Bhuta*. He did not visit Dharmasthala at the time of initiation as no such custom is prevalent in this area. His ancestral house is at Kepu near Vittala and here they have a mask of Ullalthi which is supposed to have been given to his ancestors by the chiefs of Vittala.

(ii) Pujari Ranga of Hebri who is aged about 70 years now is a retired postman. Formerly he used to impersonate Mari Shivaraya Bhuta found in the Durga Parameshvari shrine here. He recounted an incident that occured some 30 years ago. While in service it was customary for him to apply leave and serve at the shrine during the period of the annual festival. On that occasion he was working at Naravi, a village at a distance of about 50 Kms from Hebri. As usual he had applied for leave but as no reliever came, the sub-postmaster of the place refused to relieve him. At last on the day of the festival after about 4 P.M. the substitute postman came to Naravi and, on his request, Pujari Ranga was relieved. Already he had been contemplating on the *Bhuta* he had to impersonate at midnight of that day and, deeply engrossed, he started for Hebri. He covered the intervening distance on foot and reached the particular spot where his presence was necessary at the appropriate moment. He felt elated on that occasion and even now recounts how by the grace of the *Bhuta* he could accomplish the impossible task of walking ceaselessly such a long distance in such a short time.

(iii) Venkataramana of Viswakarma caste is the *patri* at the Nandikeshvara sthana of Mekkekattu. The maner in which he came to hold this office has already been described. He is 26 years old and is somewhat short of stature. His normal dress consists of a *dhoti*. He also puts on a towel as an upper-cloth.

He has matted hairs on his head which cannot be combed at all. On the *dhoti* he usually fastens the silver waist belt. In view of his profession the local practice enjoins that he should not attend to any manual labour; he should not move out of the village; he should not bathe in a sea; should take bath daily before having his meal and on the festival days when he impersonates the *Daivas* he should take food after discharging his duties. In lieu of his services the *moktessor* of the *sthana* has granted him one hectare of land as *inam*. The villagers, soon after the harvest of paddy, offer to him 3 to 6 *seers* of rice per household. He renders services at least once a month as a medium at the *sthana*. On each such occasion he is entitled to receive Rs. 2 in cash. The annual festival however fetches him about Rs. 40 in cash. The insignia of his office consist of a pair of gold bangles, silver waist-band and a silver waist-chain. These ornaments are for constant use. At the time of trance he wears red, silk pyjamas (to the bottom of which dancing bells are sewn), silver anklets and holds *singara* (areca flowers) in his hands.

(iv) Madhava, M. Billa is the *patri* at Kodi Ammanavara sthana. He is an young man and the manner of his selection has already been explained. Like the other *patris* he too has certain rules of discipline to be observed. His status in the society is high. Even as he usually sits and chats at the shrine before and after his trance some of the votaries pay their respects by touching his feet while almost everyone pays obeisance by raising his folded hands. During such informal sittings, ie., while he is not in a state of trance, people approach him and obtain black threads which work as protective charms. He takes a piece of thread about 15 inches long and puts about half a dozen knots while chanting some prayers. Such threads are then tied round the neck by the *patri* himself. He explained that the thread derives its power as a result of the devotion and belief that the wearer has towards the goddess and also towards the *patri*.

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CHAPTER VI

Bhuta Worship and Folk-Lore

In the preceding chapter references have been made to the practice of singing as a prelude to the impersonator's passage into a state of trance. In the *dakke bali* form of worship the *vaidya* sings to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beats of a *dakke* and cymbals and at the same time dances as well. These songs are usually in Kannada. The tune and the beats however are set by the *vaidya* himself to meet the special needs of the occasion. The different songs they make use of for various occasions of impersonation, the sequence, the tune, the beats and the art of dancing associated with it are the preserve of the *vaidyas*.

The form of worship prevalent in Tulu areas involves the singing of *paddanas* by the associates of the impersonator and by the impersonator himself at times. These songs are in Tulu which is a spoken language, and constitute a treasure preserved as oral tradition by members of Parava, Pambada, Panar and Nalke castes. It would be too much to expect all the members of these castes to be conversant with all the songs associated with *Bhuta* worship. Each impersonator serves specific *Bhutas*, in a specified territory inherited as it were from his ancestors, and as a result specialises himelf with such *paddanas* as are necessary for the carrying out of his profession. Generally in his family his wife as well as other adult members would also be well versed in such *paddanas*. These persons are accustomed to sing, whenever they feel an inner urge to do so, especially during late evenings in their homes. Such sessions provide the much needed recreation and also create suitable opportunities to the youngsters to learn the various *paddanas*. Singing of *paddanas* is usually accompanied by *tamare* (drum). The *paddanas* are set to suitable tunes and beats of the drum.

Generally the *paddanas* narrate the origin or arrival of the *Bhuta* at a particular place, the life history and or important feats accomplished by the *Bhuta* either in its human or ethereal form, the manner in which it secured *sthanas* and honours from the votaries of the bygone generations and such other details. Some *paddanas* are quite brief while certain others, especially that relating to Koti-Channayya, are very lengthy.

About a hundred years ago a few *paddanas* were collected by Dr. A. C. Burnell and these were subsequently edited and published by Major. R. C. Temple in the volumes of the Indian Antiquary. The transliteration and translation of one such song published in volume No. XXIII, (pages 17 to 20) during 1894 is reproduced below.

"The Song of *Jumadi*."

"(Mr. Manner notes that Jumadi is a *Bhuta* feared and worshipped in every house. This song is recited by the dancer at a *kola* i.e. a festival in honour of *Bhutas* held at the expense either of a single family or a whole community).

(Original in the Kanarese character from the Mss. of Dr. Mogling, Mangalore, March, 1872,—transliteration by Mr. Manner, translation from Burnell's Mss. checked by Mr. Manner).

JUMADI PAD-DANA

TEXT

Puraluda paramesri deveregu, muppa dinata ayana
Yelu dinata chenduda bara,

Muji dinata Korida Katta, muppa dinata bajjeida ambodi; Korida dudu,

Muppa dinata utchaya, Muppa dinata todaru,

Kodi yeri ayanada minadana utchayo tuwodandudu,

Adura Dere Beide powo danpe,

Eiku nalu yenma kori tankaye,

Tana jewu aru watterenu madyanada murte Kallyawelyodu muraye.

Korida kottogu powodandudu kurigu niru baru dipaye.

Madyanda unasu bega aruvatteregu unpaye:

Unpadu tanu jotra tuttiye,

Pully bannada taretra kattiye;

Karugu nuralita mayana muttu padonde,

Dombugu kalakude patonde,

Tana jewu aruwattere keitu katti korinu bududu koriye

Kori kattu baluda sudinu keitu patonde.

Tana *Adura stanada illaller* "Puraluda korida kottodu kori gendudu batunda,

Korida Tammana addye tududu balmana malpave".

Andudu Jumadi Bhutogu kei muggidu pandonde.

Kori patta wonudu Addura stana illu jatte.

Sarakala Birmana illada keitadegu batte.

Apaga tari kariyadu tari muruwe *Birmana Baidye,*

"Puraluda deveregu muppa dinata ayana apundu tuware poya ande"

"Eiku aye tuwere powere powoliye kattere kori ijji.

Kapudu ittina waperade sari ande"

"Apaga yenklu popa ikulla". Andudu mokulu beri padondu ponage Kappdu itti pera de Keletundu.

Mokulu anchane puralugu poyeru.

Ane kattu attasa kadateru.

Kudre kattu kinnigoli kadateru

Meilu nalipu meire pade kadateru.

Keipe kay eru kadteru sipe kukku kadateru

Maralura kinni-muggeru kadateru

Beilsal sandalige kadateru.

Pu mudupi Madumale kallu kadateru.

Gurupurada beilu kadateru.

Manela beilugu ayeru.

Ammunja beilu kadateru

Purulugu mutta mutta ayeru.

Puraluda Bakimarudu maneluda einusaralu.

Puraluda muji sara alu.

Puraluda gopurodu pakkongullaye chikkarayeru mini kududeru.

Dere Baidye poyinaye tana jewu aruwatterenu nirelu tudu kori kattaye.

Dombu kalkude kerpudu diyeru, karuda muttu alpa kadete,

Pakkongullaye Chikkarayeregu taggudu nelatu untiye.

Solme-pude padiye, apaga akulu battana "Dere Baidya nina jatidakulu

Kudduеru akledoppapodu kulla anderu,"

Imbe podu, jatidaklu, kalludara andudu kei muggiye.

"Balle appa kulle andudu" mujisaralu kulliyere jage bundudu koriyeru

Akuledopane kulliye.

Tanukule sukha dukkonu pateriyeru.

Ita portanage dombartudu gali bijindu.

Apaga nana gali bujundu dane tipim.

Korilenu woddaga anderu?

Nirmargodu lakki-kumpali Kubala Dere poye,

Apaga Kubala Dere Korigula i Adura Dere Baidya korigula jodu pati andu.

"Apaga korinu mata dandedu padudu balu suttaga buduka"

Andudu paterudu budiyeru.

Adura Dere Baidyagu kori tikkundu, katta diti baludula suttu diti nuludula korinu mata kattiyeru.

Mata imbyage tikkundu.

Apaga Manelida einusaralu puraluda muji saralu Pakkongullaye Chikkaraya wottugu kududu panderu:—

"I Adura Dere Baidya keitu kalla balu kalla nulundanderu".

Kalla balula pinaye kalla nulandudula pinaye,

I jageda gentula Rawuda gontula pimbe: nina balu luwodu dewere.

Dambe kalluda didu pirmana malpodanderu.

Apaga dambe kalludu didu satya bendu.

Balu gettonde, badalu irwara yanu pope andudu appane nattiye.

Korinu tana aruwattere keitu tumbaye.

Kori tumba wonudu sarane Atrela kadapugu bette.

Kadapudaye kori korla ande.

A dumbu tikkudi korinu koriye.

Tana illadegu dandu padudu tumbawonudu batte.

A marakale korinu tolludu badedi keitu koriye

Molu bisaledu didu ulai poyalu.

Apaga atutu poti kori jiwadu dana illada kubaludu keletundu.

A Addura Dere Baidya illadegu parundu.

Dere Baidyaga dumbu tikki koridu Addura Sandaillalu tammana malpanuta imaltuja,

Woda kadapudi marakalagu kordu batta andudu panundu.

Ayagu rasa sankada andu Debegu kanra kattundu dane endunda,

Awa battundala chinte ijji, ananda arpada tirgandu tirimei awu.

Nina tagegu sankuda tuwere popujana andudu tangadi.

Debegu irku kana kattundu:

Molu kudutu lakkiyalu

Kandanya keitalu yanu taggegu sankada tudu barpe andudu kendalu

"Apaga natta nadirlu jamada portuga pope andudu panpana ande"?

"Andu pandudu podu tage sankada" tuyalu.

"Addura sanodu kori adudu addye sududu tammana malpayalu.

Apaga batti appattu niltundu.

Translation

Thirty days in honour of the Goddess Paramesri of purala:

Seven days play with balls;

Three days fighting with cocks:

Thirty days play with areca nuts, and gambling with coconuts.

Thirty days festival: Thirty days illumination of the *gudi*:

The ceremony of raising Vishnu's flag and the figure of Garuda:

Adura Dere Baidya intended to go.

With this intent he had four to eight cocks fed.

At an auspicious hour he sent for his young nephews,

Intending to fight the cocks, he had water and grain served to them,

He gave an early dinner to his little nephews,

And, after dinner dressed himself in his full dress.

He tied a red turban on his head.

And put his best slippers on his feet.

He held a palm leaf umbrella in his hand.

He put his best fighting-cocks into his nephew's hands.

A number of spurs for the cocks he held in his own hands.

In his house at Adura (Jumadi's) *stana* he swore:—

"If I win the fight at purala,

I will celebrate a feast with cock's flesh and baked meat".

Thus did he vow to Jumadi Bhuta.

With the cocks in his hand, he left his house and went to Adura (Jumadi's) stana.

And reached the house of Sarakala Birmana.

Birmana Baidya was drawing toddy from the coconut trees in the garden.

"Thirty days feast in honour of the goddess of purala.

Let us go and see it:"

"I should indeed be glad to go: but I have no cocks for the fight

I have only hens at Kapi"—replied the other.

"Then we will go, you stay away," said the company and turned their backs on him, just then the hens at Kapi crowed:

However, they walked on to purala.

They passed the asvatta tree, to which they tie elephants.

They passed the little banyan tree, to which they tie horses.

They passed the rock Meile, on which peacocks were dancing.

They passed the bitter nux vomica tree, and the sweet mango tree.

They passed the village Kinni-muger in Maralur.

They passed the sandalika avenue by the side of the paddy fields.

They passed the rock Madumala, where the people dress their heads with flowers.

They passed the Gurapura paddy fields and came to Maneli.

They passed the paddy fields of Amunja,

And drew nearer and nearer to purala.

In the field Bakimara at Purala were five thousand men of Maneli.

And three thousand of purala.

At the gate of purala, Pakkangollaya, Chikkaraya and others were assembled.

Dere Baidya arrived with his little nephews and secured the cocks in a shady place.

Laid down his umbrella and took the slippers from off his feet.

A little below Chikkaraya, Pakkongollaya stood on some low ground.

Said solmapuda Padiya and others: —"O Dere Baidya, hast thou come?

People of thy caste are assembeld, go and sit in their company".

He went and saluted them and said: "Are my caste-fellows assembled?"

Then all the three-thousand exclaimed: "Come and sit among us:" and they made room for him.

He sat down among them.

They told each other their stories.

By that time the noon heat had gone and cool wind began to blow.

And now they said to each other: "The breeze is blowing, why should we longer delay?

Let us array the cocks for fighting".

Now arrived the Lakkikumpali Kubala Dere from Nirmarga.

Then they tried if the cocks of Kubala Dere would match that of Adura Dere Baidya, and then said:—

"Let us arm our cocks with spurs and put them to fight".

And they did accordingly.

Adura Dere Baidya's cock won the fight and the cock which had belonged to the opposite party.

Fell to the lot of his party.

Then the five thousand men of Maneli and the three thousand of purala and Pakkongollaya and Chikkaraya complained:—

"Adura Dere Baidya hath a charmed spur and a charmed thread:"

"I know neither charmed spur nor charmed thread:

"(But) what place is most favourable and when Rahu is most auspcious, This I know."

"We must see your spur and you must put it on the long flat rock in front of the god and swear to us".

Then he put the spurs on the rock and swore.

Taking his spur back he twice asked leave to go home.

The cocks he put into his nephew's hands.

Thus they went straight to the Atrela ferry.

The ferry-man begged a cock of him.

He gave him the one that came first.

The remaining he put on a stick and brought home,

The ferry-man gave the cock to his wife.

She put it in an earthen pot and went inside.

The dead-cock revived, and going to the house-top, began to crow

It flew to the house of Adura Dere Baidya.

(Adura) Dere Baidya vowed a feast in his house to Adura Jumadi, but he gave none.

(For he) gave (the cock) to the ferry-man. So he became sick.

Then his sister Debe had a dream about it, and she heard a voice saying:—

"Care not for the misfortune that has befallen him, for he will soon be free from it.

Go not to see your sick brother".

This was the dream of Debe in the night.

Startled by the dream she suddenly got up,

And asked her husband's leave to visit her sick brother.

"At this dread hour of the night you say that you will go?"

"Yes, I will go and see my sick brother", and she went away.

Then she prepared a cock in the Adura Stana, baked bread and made a feast.

Then he was at once relieved of his sickness."

The *pad-dana* of Malar Panjurli collected during this study is reproduced below in Kannada characters.

ಮಲಾರ್ ಪಂಜುರ್ಲಿ

ತೆನ್ಕಾಲ ಬತ್ತಂಡ್ ಬಡೆಕ್ಕಾಲ ಬಾರಂಡ್, ನಾಲೂರ ಪದಿನೆಮ್ಮ ಮಾಗನೆಡ್ ಬಾಳೊಂದುಳ್ಳೆರ್

ಭೂತದಪ್ಪೆ ಪಣ್ಣಾಗ.....ಭೂತದ ಅಮ್ಮೆ ಪಣ್ಣಾಗ.....ನೂತ್ತಿರುವ ಭೂತೊಲು

ಪುಟ್ಟಿದಿ ಬಾಲೆಳಗ್ ಪುದಾರ ಲೆಪ್ಪುವೆರ್.....ಪಿಲಿ ಭೂತ ಪಿಲಿ ಚಾಮುಂಡಿ,

ಮಲ್ರು ಭೂತ, ಮೈಸಂದಾಯೆ ಬಬ್ಬರ್ಯೆ ಭಾವನೊ

ಪರ್ದಿಗ್ ಚಾಮುಂಡಿ, ಮೆಗ್ದಿಗ್ ಜೂಮಾದಿ,

ಕೇಂಡೆ ಕುಮಾರ ಇಂಚನೆ ಇತ್ತಂಡ್ ಜೆಯಿತ್ ಬರ್ಪುಜ

ತಿರ್ತಾಂಡ ತೀರಿ ಲೋಕೊಡ್ದು, ಮಿತ್ತಂಡ ಮೂರಿ ಲೋಕೊಗು

ಪಂಡೆ ಕುಮಾರ ತಿತ್ ತೀರಿ ಲೋಕೊಡ್ದು, ಮಿತ್ತಮೂರಿ ಲೋಕೊಗು...

ಮಿತ್ತ್ಮೂರಿ ಲೋಕೋಡು ನಾರಾಯಣ ದೇವರೆ, ಕೈತಾಳ ಕುಮಾರೆ ಒಲತ ಕೈ ಗಂಟೆಬೊಟ್ಟೆ

ಕುಮಾರೆ ಎಡತ ಕೈಟ ಆವಾರೊ ಕೇಂಡೆ ಕುಮಾರೆ, ಆನೆಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಆನೆದ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರ್ಕೆರ್

ಕುದ್ರೆ ಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಕುದ್ರೆದ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರ್ಕೆರ್

ಕುಮಾರಗ್ ಎಡ ಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಎಡದ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರಿಯೆರ್

ಕುಮಾರಗ್ ಒಂಟೆ ಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಒಂಟೆದ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರ್ಕೆರ್

ಕುಮಾರಗ್ ಪಸುಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಪಸುತ್ತ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರಿಯೆರ್

ಕುಮಾರಗ್ ಪಸುಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ಪಸುತ್ತ ಬಿಂದ್ ಕೊರಿಯೆರ್

ಕುಮಾರಗ್ ನರಮಾನ್ಯ ಕಡ್ತೆರ್, ನರಬಿಂದ್ ಆವತಿ ಕೊರ್ಕೆರ್

ತನ್ನ ಒತ್ತಿನ ಬೊಳ್ಳಿ ಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಪೂಂಜನ್ ಬಲಿವಾರಣೆ ಕೊರಿಯೆರ್

ಬಂಜರಾಂಡ ಕುಮಾರ, ಬಾಯಾರುಂಡ ನಿಕ್ಕ, ಉತ್ರೊಗುಮಣ ಕೋಪೊ ಬಿರಿಂಡೊ, ಕುಮಾರ ಕೇಂಡೆರ್

ಮಿತ್ತಿ ಮೂರಿ ಲೋಕೊಡು ನಾರಾಯಣ ಜೇವೇರ್, ಬಂಜಾರ್ ಜೀ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ, ಎಂಕ್ ಬಾಯಾಯಜಿ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ

ಪತ್ತಿ ಕಡ್ತಲೆ ಪುಂಡಿಯೂರು ಜಿ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ, ಎಂಕ್ ಉತ್ತೊಡು ಮನಕೋಪೊ ಒರಿಜಿ ಎಂಕ್

ಈರೆನ ಬಲತ್ ಕೈತ ಕಿನ್ನಿ ಬರೆಲ್ದ ಉತ್ತೊಬಲಿ ಕೊರೊಡು ಪಂಡೆ

ಮಿತ್ತಿಮೂರಿ ಲೋಕೊಡು ನಾರಾಯಣ ದೇವೆರೆಡ ಕುಮಾರೆ ಪಂಡೆ

ಯೆನ್ನ ಬಲತ ಕೈತ ಕಿನ್ನಿ ಬರೆಲ್ದ ಉತ್ತೊಬಲಿ ಕೊರೋಡಾಂಡ, ಕುಮಾರ ಯಾನ್ ಪಂಡಿನ

ಜೋಡಾಣೆ ಮತ್ತೇ ಸೊಕೊಂಡೋದು ಬರೋಡು

ಆಕಾಸೊಗು ಮುಟ್ಟಿಬಿ ಮಣಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಲ, ಪಾತಾಳಕೆಕ್ಕುಬಿ ದೂಜಿ ಕೊಂಡುಬಲ, ಉಜ್ಜಿರದ

ಉಳನಾರ್, ತಡ್ಪೆದ ಬಂದಣಿಗೆ ಕೊಂಡುಬಲ, ಪೊಯ್ಕೆದಪಿರಿ ಮಲ್ತೊಂದು ಬಲ, ಸಮುದ್ರ ಅಳಿಪಿನ

ಬಲ್ಲ ಕೊಂಡು ಬಲ, ಈರ್‌ಪಂಡಿನ ಜೋಡಣೆ ಮತ್ತೇನೊ

ಎಂಕ್ ತಿತ್ಕೆರಲ ಇಜ್ಜೆಸ್ವಾಮಿ, ಎಂಕ್ ಅಡಿತ್ತಿನ ಅವುತಿ ತಿಕ್ಕೆರಲ ಇಜ್ಜೆಸ್ವಾಮಿ, ಎಂತಾಂಡ ಮಿತ್‌ಮೂರಿ

ಲೋಕೊಡ್ಡು, ತಿತ್ತಿನ ತೀರಿ ಲೋಕೊಗು, ರಾಗು ಜೋಗೊ ಬೆನ್ಕಾರ ಅಪ್ಪಣೆ ಕೊರಲೆ ಅಪಗ....

ಒಲೆಗೂ ಆಪಕುಮಾರ, ಬೊಳ್ಳಿ ಕುದ್ರೆಬೋಡೊ ಕುಮಾರ, ಬೆಳ್ಗೂಡೆ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆ ಬೋಡೊ ಕುಮಾರ.

ಕಾರಿಕುದ್ರೆ ಬೋಡೊ ಕುಮಾರ, ಕಲ್ಕುಡ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆ ಬೋಡೊ ಕುಮಾರ

ಬೊಳ್ಳಿ ಕುದ್ರೆಲ ಬೊಡ್ಡಿಸ್ವಾಮಿ, ಬೊಳ್ಗೂಡೆ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆಲ ಬೋಡ್ಡಿ, ಕಾರಿಕುದ್ರೆಲ ಬೊಡ್ಡಿಸ್ವಾಮಿ

ಕಲ್ಕುಡೆ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆಲ ಬೊಡ್ಡಿ, ಕತ್ತಲೆಕಾಸಗ್ ಕಡಲೆ ಕರ್ಗಲ್ ನರಿಪಾಲೆ. ಕರ್ಬಂಟಿದೆಚ್ಚದ ಬೇಲೆ

ಮಲ್ಪಾಲೆ. ಬೊಲ್ಲುಕಲ್ ನರಿಪಾಲೆ, ಬೊಳು ಪಂಜದ ಬೇಲೆ ಮಲ್ಪಾಲೆ. ಮಾಯುದ ವರ್ಗಾ

ಲಿಟ್ಟದ ಪಂಚಿದ ಮೇಲ್ಡ್ ಓಲೆಗಾವೆಯಾನ್

ಮಿತ್ತ್ಮೊರಿ ಲೋಕೋಡ್ದು, ತಿತ್ತಿನ ತಿರಿ ಲೋಕೊಗು, ಜತ್ತ್ ಪಯಣ ಆವೆ ಪಂಡೆ, ತಿರ್ತ್ ತಿರಿಲೋಕೊಗು.

ಜತ್ಪಯಣಾನಗ ಮಲಾರ್ಡ್, ಬಾಳೊಂದು ಳೈರ್ ಮಲಾರ್ಡ್, ಪತ್ತ್ಮಾನಿ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು ಮಾಪು ಪಂರ್ದೆರ್, ಮಾಪಾಣ ಪಂರ್ದೆರ್, ದುಗ್ಗು ಪಂರ್ದೆರ್, ದುಗ್ಗಣ್ಣ ಪಂರ್ದೆರ್, ಆಣ್ಣೀರುಗಡೆ ಜತ್ತಾಡೆ, ಬಾರಿ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು, ಬೇಂಗ್ರ್ ಕಾವೊರಿ ಬಲ್ಲಾಳ್, ಮಾಯಿಡ್ ಬರ್ಪುಂಡು ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳೆಗ್, ಮಾಯದ ಮಾಪೆ, ಸುಗ್ಗಿಡೆ ಬರ್ಪುಂಡು, ತುಳುವೆರ್ ಕನ್ಯಾತಿರ್ತೊ ಆಪ್ಪೆಮೊ ಆರಾಟೊ, ಮುಪ್ಪದಿನೊ ಕನ್ಯಾತೀರ್ತೊ, ಆಪ್ಪೆನ ಮಿರೆ ಪೇರ್ ಪರ್ನಕಾಲೊಡು ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳೆಗ್ ಆಪ್ಪೆರೆಗ್ ಆಳಿಯಂತ್ರೊ ಬತ್ತಂಡ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳೆಗ್ ಆಮ್ಮೆರೆ.....ಉಳ್ಳು..... ಕಾಲೊಡು ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳೆಗ್, ಆಮ್ಮೆರೆಗ್ ಆಳಿಯಂತ್ರ ಬತ್ತಂಡ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳೆಗ್, ಆಪ್ಪೆರೆ ಆಮ್ಮೆರೆ ಪಾಪೊ ಪರಿಯಾರೊ ಮಲ್ಪೊಡು ಪಂಡೆರ್ ಸುದ್ದೊಗು ತೀರ್ತೊಮಿಯೋಡು ಪಂಡೆರ ಓಲು ಕೂಡುನೆ ಓಲುಬರಿಪುನೆಂದ್ ಪಂಡೆರ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು ತುಳುನಾಡತಲೋಟು ಕೂಡೋಡು ಎಳ್ನಾಡು ತಲೋಟು ಬಿರಿಯೋಡು ಪಂಡೆರ್ ಪುತ್ತೂರು ಬಾರಿ ಅಜಲೆರ್ ನಾಕುಳು ಕಮ್ಮಂಜೆ ಬಾರಿಬಾಲೆ ಜಂತ್ರಿಲು.....

ಕೂಡಿಯೆರ್ ಕೂಡ್ಕ, ಮದಿತ್ತೆರ್ ಮದಿಪು, ಎಣುತ್ತೆರ್ ಎಣೆಕೆ, ಪಿದಾಡೊಂದು ಪೋಯೆರ್ ಓಡೆ ಒರಿಯರ್ ಓಡೆಕರಿಯೆರ್ ಇಡೆ ಮುಂಡೊಕರಿಯೇರ್ ಬಂಟಕೇವುಳ ಬೈರಿಕಟ್ಟೆಕರಿಯೆರ್ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಮಠ ಕರಿಯೆರ್, ಆಯಿಡ್ದ ಎದುರಾದ್ ಪೋಯೆರ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು, ಗೋಣತಡಿ ಕಾಯೆರ್ ಕರಿಯೆರ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು, ದಾರಂದ ಕುಕ್ಕು ಕರಿಯೆರ್

ಬೊಳಂತಿಲ ಚಡಾವು ಕರಿಯೆರ್. ಉಬಾರ್ ಕನ್ಯಾತಿರ್ತೊಗು ಪೋಯಿರ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು.

ದೊರಂಪಾಯಿ ನೀರ್‌ಗ ಜತ್ತೆರ್

ಅಪ್ಪೆರೆ ಪಾಪ ಪರಿಬೂರ್ ದುಲ್ತೆರ್ ಸೊಂಜಬಾಯಿ ನೀರಗ ಜತ್ತೇರ್. ಅಮ್ಮೆರೆ ಪಾಪ

ಪರಿಬೂರ ದುಲ್ತೆರ್. ಮಿತ್ ಬತ್ತದ್ ಉದ್ದರ ಕಲ್ಪೆಚ್ಚಿದ್ ಅಯಿರ್.

ತರೆ ಕುಡ್ಲು ಚಂಡಿದೂಳು ಪಾರಾನಗ. ವುಳು ಬಡೆಕ್ಯಾ, ಕೇಪಾಡಿ ದೇವರೆ ಅಂಗಣೊ

ತೋಜುಂದು ದೇವೆರೆನ್ ತೂಯೆರ್ . ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು ಮೆಚ್ಚಿಯೆರ್.

ಕೇಪಾಡಿ ದೇವರೆ ರಾಜಾಂಗಣೊಗು ಪೋವೆರ್ ಮಲಾರ್‌ಡ್ ಪತ್ತ್‌ಮಾನಿ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು
ಪೋವೆರ್, ಉಳಾಯಿ ಅಂಗಣೊಡು ದೇವೆರೆ ಬಲಿ ಬರ್ಪುಂಡು

ಪಿದಯಿ ಅಂಗಣೊಡು ಭೂತ ಬಲಿ ಬರ್ಪುಂಡು

ದೇವೆರೆಡ ಕೂಡಿಯೆರ್ ದೇವಬಲಿ ಒತ್ತೆರ್. ಭೂತೊಡ ಕೂಡಿಯೇರ್

ಭೂತ ಬಲಿ ಬತ್ತೇರ್, ದೇವೆರೆನ್‌ತೂದು. ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು ಮೆಚ್ಚಿಯೆರ್.

ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳಿನ್ ತೂದು ದೇವೆರ್ ಮೆಟ್ಟಿಯೇರ್

ಎಂಕೈನ ಊರುಡು ದೈವೊಲು ಇದ್ದಿ, ಎಂವೆರ್‌ಲ ಇದ್ದಿ ಪಂಡೇರ್

ತರೆಟ್ ದೇವೆರನ್ ದೀಯೆರ್. ಪುಗೆಲಡ ಭೂತೊನು ದೀಯೆರ್.

ದೇವೆರೆನೊ ದೈವೊನೊ ಒಪ್ಪಕೊಂಡು ಒರ್ವೆರ್ ಬಲ್ಲಾಕುಳು

ಬತ್ತ್ ಬತ್ತ್ ಬರ್ವೆರ್ ಪುತ್ತೂರುಗು

ಬರ್ವೆರ್ ಪುತ್ತೂರುಗ ಬನ್ನಾಗ ಮಾಲೇರ್ ಮಾಲಿಂಗೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವೆರ್ ಪಣ್ಪಾಯಿರ್ !

ದೈಯೊ ಅಂಗಣತ್ಪಾಯೆಂದ್ ಪಣ್ಪಾವೊಂಡೆ!!

The *paddanas* contain references to local events, social customs and practices, legends associated with places and a wealth of material of antiquarian interest and thus constitute an independent field for exploration. Incidentally it may be noted that being the preserve of a few, the *paddanas* do not form a common heritage shared equally by all or even most of the indigenous caste groups of the district. However the legends or tales they narrate are widely known especially among the rural elderly folk of most of the important castes. It is quite likely that there may be certain variations with regard to details in their contents from place to place and from person to person.

By way of illustration a few folk-tales based on *paddanas* are furnished in the following paragraphs. It may be incidentally noted that the Kannada versions of a number of such folk-tales have been published during the recent past in some of the local periodicals and also in a book form. In this connection a mention may be made of (i) *Tulu Paddanada Kathegalu;* Amrita Someshvara; Sahitayanjali Prakashana; Kotekar (S.K.); 1962 and (ii) *Bhutaradhaneya Kategalu,* Ed. Sevanamiraja Malla; Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore; 1970.

(i) Bobbarya

According to one of the folk-tales, based on a *pad-dana,* Bobbarya was one of the seven children of Sulikalla Murave Beary, a Moplah Muslim, who lived on the coast in days of yore. Bobbarya's mother's name was Belia Bibi Pathuma (Fathima). Along with his brothers and sisters Bobbarya also received the basic education according to their custom. He and his brothers subsequently took up their hereditary profession of traders on a small scale but could not amass wealth despite consistent efforts. Then they thought of making money as transport operators by moving cargo from place to place on the high seas. With this resolve the brothers converted all their wealth into cash and embarked on their new venture. The first thing they had to do was to obtain a suitable tree for the construction of a boat. They combed the neighbourhood and selected a tree which belonged to a local Brahmin who readily agreed for its sale. But they soon found that the tree could not be felled whereupon, on the suggestion of a local astrologer whom they consulted, they vowed to erect a *sthana* for Berma as a propitiatory measure. (By implication, Berma dwelt in that tree and agreed to quit it if a new

shrine was provided to him). The tree was then cut easily and a large boat was made out of its wood. The brothers engaged a crew of Marakalas (hereditary fishermen and seafarers) and obtained a large cargo for transhipment to a place in the South. They set sail on an auspicious day and according to subsequent reports reached their destination safely. At that place they flourished for a couple of years and amassed considerable wealth. They, then thought of their home and embarked on their return journey with all their amassed wealth laden in their sailing vessel. On the high seas they encountered another ship, laden with stones and manned by Moplahs, which was proceeding South. The two groups fought with each other and at the end both the vessels were sunk. The Marakala crewmen swam to the shores while all the Moplahs, except one, met with watery graves. This lone Moplah survivor was one of the seven children of Murave Beary. With great effort he reached the seashore near Kaup (of Udipi taluk) but soon disappeared having become the *Bobbarya Bhuta.*

The *Bhuta* was eager to make its presence known to the people. So in its human form Bobbarya sat underneath the shade of a tree at Malur nearby. A few moments later a Billava toddy-tapper on his way to work happened to notice the imposing personality of Bobbarya. He came nearer and respectfully offered his saluations. Bobbarya was pleased and in turn blessed the toddy-tapper with a plentiful yield of toddy and instructed that the Billava should not disclose this meeting to anybody else in the village. The Billava was astonished to obtain a very large quantity of toddy on the day. He could not resist the probing enquiries of his wife and ultimately told her of his meeting with an imposing man who was resting under a tree and his blessings. On the following day the Billava left the house as usual but was soon caught by Bobbarya and held suspended with his head down above a tank nearby. All the villagers thronged the scene and the Billava's wife soon brought along the *gurikaras* (leaders) as well. They soon realised that this must be the punitive action of a *Bhuta* and promised to construct a *sthana* if the *Bhuta* would release the Billava. This was exactly what Bobbarya wanted. So, the Billava was released and shortly thereafter a *sthana* was built for Bobbarya and arrangements were made for periodical propitiations. Malur near Kaup thus became the *mulasthana* of Bobbarya. Later on, the *Bhuta* secured *sthanas* at several other places in the district.

(ii) Koddabbu or Kote Babbu

The Mundalas of the district consider Kote Babbu (herein after called Babbu for brevity) as their tutelary *Bhuta*. Gudda Mukhari, one of their caste-elders at Surathkal, narrated the legend, based on a *pad-dana* as follows. Babbu was born at Kodanga Bannur in Kachur village of Udipi taluk. His father and mother, named Bommu and Maldi respectively were attached to a local Bunt landlord as agricultural servants. Babbu lost his parents at a tender age and the Bunt landlord taking pity on the orphan took upon the responsibility of bringing him up and bestowed an affectionate care. As he grew up Babbu helped the family by tending cattle. Simultaneously he developed a rare ability for divination and prognostication. He was always ready to offer his services to the people and soon endeared himself to one and all in the neighbourhood of Kachur. His reputation (and, by association, that of his master) aroused the jealousy of a few here and a few there and, the Bunt landlord of Padubidri (coastal village about 30 kms southwest of Kachur) was prominent among them. With an evil design he sent an invitation to Babbu seeking the latter's services for divining a suitable place in his field for sinking a well. Babbu's master who knew the evil nature of that Bunt landlord advised Babbu to reject the invitation outright. But Babbu convinced his master that such a step would be an act of cowardice and that it was his duty to offer his services even under challenging circumstances. He then proceeded to Padubidri. The wealthy landlord received Babbu in a befitting manner. As if he ignored the difference in rank and status he offered a chair to Babbu. But Babbu politely rejected the undue honour and as was his usual wont squatted on a plaited cocopalm leaf which was spread on the floor. The landlord brought forth some grains of rice made of gold on a plate of silver and gave them to Babbu for purposes of divination. Babbu rejected these articles and demanded that ordinary rice may be given to him in a winnowing basket. His demand was accordingly fulfilled and he sat down for divination. In a moment he realised that he himself was to die shortly and that this landlord who had already sunk a deep well for burying an innocent man had no intention of sinking any other well at that moment. When queried he spoke out fearlessly causing displeasure to the scheming landlord, who immediately ordered his servants to forcibly remove Babbu to the deep pit and drop him there. Babbu submitted himself to this harsh treatment and he was thus

buried alive in the deep pit which was sealed off by a huge granite slab.

Sometime thereafter Tannimaniga (the tutelary *Bhuta* of Mugera caste) and her brother Dere who happened to pass through in the vicinity of this well heard curious sounds resembling sometimes the crowing of a cock and at others the belching of a buffalo. In the course of their efforts to find the source from which the sound was emanating, Tannimaniga stood on the granite slab and immediately heard a human voice from below imploring her to remove the slab and help to release the suffocating man in the well. Babbu promised that he would treat his saviour as his own sister and that he would set apart a portion of the offerings that may be made to him in future by his votaries. Pleased at this promise, Tannimaniga swore on her chaste and righteous life and drew 16 lines on the slab with her sickle and invoked the divine spirits to cause the slab to be split into 16 pieces. She then set forth to help the man out of the well but, as she could not find a creeper or a rope nearby, she decided to lower one end of the very saree she wore. When she asked whether Babbu would refrain from looking up, until she lifted him out, he readily agreed. Despite this assurance Babbu chanced to look up at the final moments and in sheer disgust she cursed him and demanded that he should offer 16 drops of blood from his body to her whenever a celebration were to be held to propitiate him. To absolve himself of the sin i.e. as a mark of atonement, Babbu agreed to the proposal and, according to the informant, even today it is customary for the impersonator to cut his forehead slightly and offer a few drops of blood in fulfilment of the promise.

After his release Babbu proceeded towards Udipi and was accompanied by Tannimaniga, his new-found sister. Enroute he visited the tavern run by one Kunhi Pujarti of Billava caste and asked for some toddy and snacks. While this woman was busy inside her house he disappeared, presumbly by drowning himself in a river closeby. The Billava woman came out with the dishes in her hand and was surprised to note the disappearance of her customer. While searching with her eyes here and there she noticed the *muttale* (cap of areca spathe) of Babbu floating in the river and at that moment she also saw Tannimaniga with 2 dogs jumping into the river. When she turned her attention to the place where Babbu had sat soon after his arrival, she was confounded to observe a stone pillar that was emerging from the underground. The

news spread like wild fire and soon a large crowd assembled at the spot and subsequently a shrine was built to enclose the stone pillar representing Babbu. That particular spot is reckoned as the *mulasthana* or the original abode of Babbu and later on Babbu moved to several places and shrines came up at all these places.

The *paddana* further narrates how Babbu fought with Bobbarya and cut off one of his opponent's legs. Bobbarya was proud of his strength and demanded that any *Bhuta* which entered the district should crawl between his parted legs, stradling the western Ghats and the Coastal plain. When the *Rajan daivas* of Kodamantaya and Jarandaya were commanded to do so they got wild and requested Babbu to teach a lesson to the belligerent Bobbarya and promised certain offerings. Koddabbu wielding a sickle severed one of the legs of Bobbarya and threw him into the sea. Bobbarya accepted the defeat and craved for restoration of his place as the tutelary *Bhuta* of the Mogaveeras.

At last Babbu came to a place called Doddana-gudde near Udipi and there he met Jumadi which was suffering from unquenchable thirst. He offered this *Bhuta* a tender coconut and cured it of its thirst and accepted it as his own attendant. Subsequently the two came over to Surathkal and a shrine was built for them.

(iii) Kalkuda (or Kallu Kutiga) and Kallurti

These two *Bhutas* are conceived as brother and sister and and the folk-tale runs as follows. Once upon a time Shambu, a renowned sculptor, lived with his wife Iravati at a place called Kallata Marnadu. He had 4 sons and was leading a happy life. On a particular occasion the chief of Sravanabelagola summoned Shambu and ordered him to build a thousand-pillared *basti* with 120 idols in addition to seven smaller ones and a monolithic image of Gommateswara at his capital. At that time as Iravati was in the family way Shambu made suitable arrangements for the continued stay of his family at Marnadu itself and he alone left for Sravanabelagola. Soon he immersed himself body and soul in the great architectural feat he was commissioned to achieve and failed to communicate with his family.

Sometime after his departure, his wife gave birth to twins, a son and a daughter, named Kalkuda and Kallurti,

respectively. These children grew up without having any occasion to meet their father. Kalkuda's playmates very often teased him, calling him a boy without father and a time came when he could no longer stand the taunts. He bitterly complained to his mother and it was then that she told him of the likely whereabouts of Shambu. Kalkuda immediately obtained his mother's permission and set forth to Sravanabelagola in search of his father. In the meantime Shambu had accomplished his task and become homesick. He received presents from the Chief and, bidding him farewell, was on his way to Kallata Marnadu. Father and son, as chance would have it, chose the same place for spending a night in the course of their journey. On knowing each other's identity they were immensely pleased. Kalkuda was proud of his father and on hearing the vivid details of his sculptures implored his father to show him all the carvings and the *bastis* immediately. Disregarding his fatigue and eagerness to meet his wife and other children Shambu took Kalkuda back to Sravanabelagola and took him round. At the sight of a particular artifact Kalkuda instinctively pointed out a fault committed by the carver. Shambu could not bear the slighting remarks of his own son, who, he could see, was just an young lad and, as far as his knowledge went, yet uninitiated into the art of stone-carving. While reprimanding his son for his audacity Shambu committed suicide by severing his own head with a knife. Kalkuda was in a helpless situation and he took up his father's chisels, hammers and other tools. The Chief, on learning about this incident, was convinced of the rare abilities of this gifted young artisan and soon commissioned him to build a few more temples and carve a number of beautiful statues. Apparently Kalkuda also forgot his mother, brothers and sister at Kallata Marnadu and took up the assignment.

Later on from Sravanabelagola he proceeded to Kollur and built the Mookambika temple. Next he went to Nagar (Bidnur, the capital of Ikkeri kings) and built a large number of temples. Bhairarasa of Karkal, the adjoining kingdom, having heard about Kalkuda's rare abilities invited him to Karkal. Kalkuda accepted the invitation and in fulfilment of the King's wishes built a beautiful thousand-pillared *basti* enshrining as many as 120 idols in it and carved out a huge monolithic Gommata besides a manasthamba (stone pillar). The installation of Gommata was a great event. The joint efforts of hundreds of men to lift the idol for being placed in a proper posture proved futile. At this juncture, to the astonishment of all, Kalkuda himself lifted it, set it properly and thus made way for the installation

ceremony. Bhairarasa was immensely pleased and felt proud, for the beautiful *bastis* and the Gommata at Karkal had no rivals in the entire region. Suddenly a sinister thought crept into his mind and he decided that he should not allow this sculptor to work for anyone else. He wanted that the art-treasure of Karkal should remain unrivalled forever and, as a means to secure this end, he decided to cut off the limbs of the master-sculptor. Thus when the unsuspecting Kalkuda came to him for bidding farewell, Bhairarasa had him seized and ordered that his right leg and left arm be chopped off then and there. Kalkuda bore this ghastly reward with equanimity and told the king that the king was sadly mistaken if he thought that by crippling him (i.e. Kalkuda) thus he had been rendered an useless beggar. He swore that he would not accept even a drop of water in the Karkal territory and left the place.

Timmanna Ajila of the neighbouring Venoor Chiefdom was greatly pained at the ghastly treatment to a master artist and soon sent out his own men to trace Kalkuda and bring him to his court. This was accordingly done and the Chief, expressing sympathy for Kalkuda, asked him to guide and supervise the construction of temples which he (the Chief) intended to build. Kalkuda assured the Chief that despite his deformity he could work as before and that he would not like to impart teaching or training to others as a mere supervisor. The Ajila was immensely pleased and asked him to carve out a monolithic Gommata, a *manasthamba* and a beautiful *basti*.

Several years had elapsed since Kalkuda's departure from home and his anxious sister had developed an irresistible desire to see him. She had made enquiries and, on an auspicious day, set out in search of her brother. After a prolonged journey she ultimately reached Venoor. By this time Kalkuda had almost completed his assignment. On seeing the crippled body of her brother Kallurti broke down and enquired about the way in which Kalkuda lost one his arms and legs. Kalkuda then told her of the ghastly treatment meted out to him by the Bhairarasa of Karkal in total disregard for the beautiful works of art he had produced at Karkal. Kallurti became wild with anger and swore that she would wreck vengeance on the wicked chief. She then asked her brother to abandon all his tools and implements and she herself discarded all her ornaments. Then she circumbulated the Mahadeva temple thrice with her brother and both of them vanished.

In a bodiless state the two went to Ganges and purified themselves; visited Timmappa of Tirupati (Lord Venkatarama) and obtained occult powers. Returning to Karkal they set fire to the bed of Bhairarasa; concealed the jewels; set fire to the town and began to cause all sorts of havoc. Added to it, these spirits entered into the bodies of some 5000 persons rendering them mad. This mob carried away the mother of Bhairarasa and threw her into a tank.

Bhairarasa became greatly annoyed and asked his diviners to find out the cause for the misfortune. The remedies proposed by the diviners and astrologers were futile and Kallurti was adamant that the perpetrator of the heinous crime (meaning the Chief) should be adequately punished. At last a Brahmin diviner named Voyalaya offered prayers at the behest of Bhararasa. Kallurti took pity on Voyalaya and told him that she and her brother would be subservient to Voyalaya if he desisted from the black art of witch-craft and offered both of them suitable *sthanas* (shrines) and arranged for periodical offerings. Voyalaya readily agreed to these conditions and conveyed the same to Bhairarasa who immediately granted certain lands for the erection and maintenance of the proposed shrines at Uppinangadi. Then the spirits told Voyalaya that they would enter an arecanut and asked him to carry the same safely to Uppinangadi and promised to reside with him and his successors. With this, all the sufferings at Karkal ceased and even the drowned mother of Bhairarasa came back to life.

After establishing their *mulasthana* at Uppinangadi these two *Bhutas* moved to other places and made their presence felt in mysterious ways and secured *sthanas* and worhip by a large section of the local population.

(iv) Koti-Chennayya

A summary of the legend as related during this study is given here in brief. Perumale Ballala the Chief of Padumale while on a hunting expedition got struck by a poisonous thorn. His entire leg became swollen and it caused him unbearable pain. The efforts of the local Vaidyas (medicine-men) proved futile and the condition of Ballala worsened day by day. It was suggested by one of his servants that Sayana Baidya of a neighbouring place who had not yet been tried may be able to relieve the Ballala of his pain. Accordingly messengers were sent to fetch Sayana Baidya. But as he was quite old and was practically blind he in turn suggested, on hearing the symptoms of the

ailment, that his sister Deyi Baidyati (Deyi Bedeyi) would be able to dispense proper medicines and asked the messengers to take her to the Ballala. Despite her being in an advanced stage of pregnancy Deyi accompanied the messengers and gave necessary treatment to the Ballala. Within a short period the Ballala began to recover his health completely and offered valuable presents to Deyi praising her for her proficiency in medicine. As fate would have it, the Ballala had an evil minister named Mallaya Budyanda who belonged to Bunt community. This minister did not approve of Ballala's action in obtaining treatment at the hands of a Billava woman, for in those days the Billavas were accorded a low social status. Anyway since her medicines were effective he kept quiet waiting for a suitable opportunity. When finally Deyi felt that there was no further need for medicines she told the Ballala of her intention to get back to her home and obtained his leave. But a few moments after she left the *beedu* (royal residence) she began to suffer from the pangs of child birth. Ballala arranged to call her back and made suitable arrangements for her continued stay in the *beedu*. Soon she gave birth to twin boys who were subsequently named Koti and Chennayya. She died in child-bed but obtained a promise from the Ballala that he would take care of her orphaned children as a compensation for her services to him.

The boys accordingly grew up under the overall care of the Ballala. On several occasions they used to mix with and play with the children of Mallaya Budyanda. This caused much displeasure to the minister. On a particular occasion when his children had a fight with Koti and Chennayya over the possession of a ball, Budyanda intervened and wrongfully deprived Koti and Chennayya of the ball. The twins swore then and there that one day they would wreck vengeanace for the injustice done to them. Thereafter there used to be frequent conflicts between the twins and members of Budyanda's household. Ultimately Budyanda complained to the Ballala about the undesirable activities of the boys and wanted that they should be punished. But Ballala called the twins to his presence and in a paternal attitude advised them to behave as decent men, now that they had grown up into manhood and, he also allotted them some rice-fields for personal cultivation. Unfortunately this land was adjacent to that of Budyanda. Sometime later during a peak agricultural season the twins noticed that Budyanda was about to wantonly damage their seedlings and asked him to desist from that act. Then followed a wordy duel and unable to bear any longer Chennayya manhandled Budyanda and chopped

off his head. The twins then entered Budyanda's house and recovered the ball which they had been deprived of a few years ago. On learning about the incident Ballala too got angry and banished them from his kingdom.

Koti and Chennayya then proceeded to Enmur (Edamboor) and sought the patronage of its Chief, Manju Pergade. This Chief was in need of young and brave men in view of his enmity with Kemara Ballala of the neighbouring chiefdom. Later on, a full-fledged war ensued between the forces of Manju Pergade and Kemara Ballala Perumale Ballala of Padumale took sides with Kemara Ballala. In the raging battle the two brothers displayed exemplary courage and effectively countered the numerical superiority of their opponents. While engaged in a pitched duel with Kemara Ballala, Koti was slain from behind by none other than his foster parent, the Ballala of Padumale. He fell down fatally wounded and bemoaned the unbecoming act of the Ballala. Ballala too repented but was now in an helpless position. Chennayya who was fighting at a different front, rushed to the spot on hearing about the fall of his brother. The battle was immediately stopped and the Chiefs and their commanders assembled at the death-bed of Koti. Then, Koti, as his last act joined the hands of the Ballalas and the Pergade and asked them not to indulge in warfare any more and to follow the principle of live and let live. The death of Koti was too much to bear and proclaiming that since they had come together to this earth it was now his duty to depart with his brother, Chennayya dashed his head against a rock and killed himself before anyone could prevent him. In commemoration of these two heroes shrines called *garadi* were built and they soon became objects of worship, especially for the Billavas.

(v) Panjurli

The legend relating to this *Bhuta* as published in the Indian Antiquary* is reproduced below.

"It is said that Panjurli was born on the *ghats,* and the story runs thus: A sow gave birth to a twin brother and sister.

"Now we must descend the *ghats*: what god shall we serve? If we serve the god Siddalinga in the South, he will probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not allow that.

*Indian Antiquary: Vol. XXIII; 1894. '*The Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*' Burnell's Manuscript No. 1.

If we should offer to serve the god Mahalingeshvara in the North, he may probably accept our services, but his male attendants will not let us serve him. Now there is the god Timmappa in the East, mightier than all the gods and *Bhutas*. He is remarkably powerful, but his male attendants will interfere. There is the god Subraya on the *ghats*. He will permit us to serve him but his male attendants will not allow that". Such were the contending thoughts of Panji Gujjare, King of the pigs, blacker than the berry called *Kar* and of Panji Kali, Queen of the pigs whiter than the flower called *jambe*.

"Now they resolved to become the servants of the god Subraya, giving him offerings, in case the male attendants should interfere. Intending to descend the *ghats* they consecrated five or six offerings to the god, bathed their heads and bodies and starting from the eastern gates, came to the western, and humbly asked blessings of the god thus: 'up to this day we were brother and sister, and now we descend the *ghats*, and will become husband and wife'. The god said 'be it so' and they walked down the *ghats*.

"The wife became pregnant, and when they reached the low country she was 7 months big with child. The colour of her breasts faded and her head became dirty.

"As she was completing the 7th month of her pregnancy she felt the peculiar desire occasioned by pregnancy, and to satisfy it, her husband brought her yams (*kene*), plantains and creepers. When she was in the 10th month of her pregnancy, the time of giving birth was near and it became necessary to build a shed and to dig a pit.

"Go thou and find me out a branch of *Karya Karata* tree, and another of the plant called *simulla*. The pit I shall dig myself", said the wife. The husband went and brought the medicines, and in the meanwhile she dug a pit and built a shed, sat within it possessed. While there she began to feel the pangs of the child-birth, she ground her teeth with pain and her hairs stood on end. Her groans were heard in the 4 worlds. But in her back and in her womb she felt rueful throes, and at each pang she brought forth a pig.

"Three or six days after giving birth to her young she descended into the low country with them. She could not find a good garden anywhere and so she entered the pleasure garden

of the god Iswara, and having entered it, she laid waste the plantains, the creepers and the plant called *kene,* and then returned to her own place, in the forest.

"When Iswara awoke in the morning and looked at his garden he found the whole garden laid waste and spoke to his servants thus: "Some wild beast has entered the garden, and has destroyed everything in it. Go you and find it out". They searched every part of the forest, every pit, street, lane and house and at last found the sow sitting possessed within a shed under a *Simulla* plant. The people of the whole town joined together, and shot the pig and the sow dead. The young ones, the god Iswara took up in a blanket and carried to his palace.

"His wife Parvati had no children and he said to her, 'you have no children, therefore bring up these young ones, with great care and attention' and he gave them into her care, and, she brought them up. And four or five months afterwards, they began to lay waste the garden. The god Iswara saw this and said, "These evil ones I shall not allow to live, but will shoot them dead". Then Parvati wept bitterly and said to her husband, "To this day have I taken care of them and you shall not kill them before my very eyes". Then the god Iswara cursed them thus: 'No more be *Panji* (pigs), but be known to the world henceforth as *Panjarli (Bhuta)*, descend into the country and get tribute from the people', and, on account of the curse of Iswara, they became the Bhuta Panjarli."

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CHAPTER VII

Bhuta Worship and Community Life

A household constitutes the basic unit of community life and, as already noted, *Bhuta* worship is prevalent at this level. In several residential houses or in close proximity of such structures, idols or symbols of *Bhutas* are found installed. By way of propitiation one or the other member of the household offers water, lights a lamp and burns incense. Whenever an event of any importance occurs in the household, such as commencement of agricultural operation, sickness, birth, death, marriage, etc., it is customary to propitiate the *Bhuta* by offerings which may at times include fowls as well. Several households may constitute a family and at this level also there are occasions for the propitiation of *Bhutas*. For instance *tambila* is a ritual held in the ancestral family houses every year during April-May. On this occasion a fire is lit at the place where the cot and other symbols of the family *Bhuta* have been kept. Thus the spot is purified first. The offerings consist of a powdered mixture of fried rice, gur and coconut. This mixture is heaped separately on 2 plantain leaves laid on the cot of the *Bhuta*. Tender coconuts are also placed on the cot. Then a small stool is laid in front of the cot. A plantain leaf is spread on it and soon thereafter a ball of cooked rice, rendered yellow by the addition of turmeric dust, is placed on the leaf. Thereupon a lighted country torch is struck in the rice ball. Above the flame a fowl is held and its neck is cut off so that drops of blood fall on the rice ball. At this moment some incense is burnt and the ritual ends. To find out whether the *Bhuta* is satisfied, there is a device. In this, the coconuts placed on the cot are, after the ritual, dashed to the ground and if the broken pieces lie on the ground with the kernel portion facing upward it is a sure indication that the *Bhuta* is pleased. A similar ritual held in Kannada areas is called *Jakani*. This is of particular importance to matrilineal families and it is customary to send out invitations in advance. Such members representing different branches of the family arrive on the appointed day with *Panyara* (mixture of beaten rice, green gram, coconut, gur and ghee) and fowls for the offerings. At the ancestral house the *Bhuta* symbols are arranged according to custom, worshipped and, in front of them food is laid out on plantain leaves. The flesh of the fowls sacrificed on the day is

cooked and served on plantain leaves along with *panyara*. When these servings are ready the elders offer prayers requesting the *Bhutas*, as well as the spirits of their ancestors to accept the food. They then turn round and stand still for a few moments with their backs to the *Bhuta* and the food. After a few minutes they face the *Bhuta*, prostrate themselves and receive the food as *prasadam* which is then consumed by all the members of the family. At Hebri in the house of the Ballalas (now in the possession of a Bunt family) an annual ritual called *Kole Bhuta* is held to commemorate the ancestors and appease their souls. For this occasion, a sweet pudding called *halasu-kadabu* is prepared out of rice and jack-fruit. Food is offered to the *Bhutas* and ancestors on 5 plantain leaves laid out for the purpose. Fowls are also sacrificed on the occasion. At the *Bhutasthana* attached to this house a *Kola* is held every year. The members of the family who may be residing at distant places due to exigencies of work and such other reasons make it a point to participate at both these events and partake of the *prasada* and blessings. Yet another instance involving the coming together of family members from distant places is worth reporting, for it pertains to the family of a Gowda-Saraswath Brahmin of Someshwara village. About ten yards from the residence of this household there is the small family *Bhutasthana* which enshrines Panjurli, Patkantalaya and Duggalaya. This family originally hails from Goa and it is not known when it came and settled here. The annual *Kola* organised by the household to propitiate the *Bhutas* is an occasion that attracts all the members of the family who are living away. Instances of this type are very numerous all over the district and suffice it to say that *Bhuta* worship at family level is an unifying force which strengthens the kinship bonds.

Above the family there is the institution of caste. Some of the castes have their own tutelary *Bhutas* and periodically arrange propitiation ceremonies at the *sthanas*. It may however be noted that such ceremonies are performed as community festivals in which members of other castes also participate.

Bhutas are supposed to function as guardian spirits of estates. In other words there are several estates to which one or the other *Bhuta* is attached from times immemorial. Despite changes in the ownership of the estate the customary practices in propitiating the *Bhutas* are honoured to this day. In Kodipady village (near Surathkal) for example a Gowda Saraswath Brahmin owns an estate comprising 30 acres of land. In this estate there are two *Bhutasthanas* containing the symbols of

Panjurli and Vorte respectively. Despite his beliefs and practices as an orthodox Vaishnava Brahmin he has continued to propitiate the 2 *Bhutas* according to local usage. The annual offering, called *agelu,* consists of coloured cooked rice balls and fowls. Functionaries traditionally associated with these *sthanas* are invited to perform the ritual and are duly recompensed.

Considered as a geographical unit the village is made up of several estates, large and small. Just as there are guardian *Bhutas* attached to the estates, there are presiding *Bhutas* in respect of villages. As a socio-economic unit the village consists of persons belonging to different castes and following different occupations. Thus it constitutes a compact community. In the former days, it formed the smallest administrative unit. Every village had 4 *gurikaras* and each of them would wield considerable power in the administration of a specific quarter of the village. The *gurikaras* functioned as the local representatives of the rulers of the day. It was their duty to organise village level *Bhuta* festivals periodically. Propitiation of the *Bhuta* invariably included impersonation by a professional functionary. On such occasions after due preliminaries, the *Bhuta* in its temporary incarnation would speak in a commanding tone and ascertain from these *gurikaras* whether they are functioning in conformity with the traditions regarding *dana, dharma,* feasting, arranging the rituals at proper times for the well-being of the village community and so on. It would dispose of many complicated disputes and cases involving violation of village rules, caste rules, and such other problems as may be submitted to it for adjudication. Thus, it helped in proper administration of the village. The *Bhuta* would also tell the *gurikaras* that it was responsible for their individual welfare and that the inhabitants of the village should be governed in accordance with its direction. stating that it would come again and again. whenever invoked, in order to render assistance and solve all sorts of problems, the *Bhuta* would take leave of the *gurikaras.* Further, if there be any disputes amongst the *gurikaras* themselves and these could not be solved amicably it was customary to invoke the *Bhuta* and submit the matter for its adjudication. At the time of investiture of a successor *gurikara* too it was necessary to invoke the *Bhuta,* propitiate it and in a way obtain its sanction by holding the ceremony in its presence.

With the changed socio-political conditions, the institution of *gurikaras* and the administrative set up in the village

have undergone a change. The term *gurikara* is however still in vogue and vestiges of the system may be found at some places. At present, the village leaders such as the *patel,* and others including *gurikaras* if any, take active part in organising village level *Bhuta* festivals. As a result, village level *Bhuta* festivals are being observed at several places without any break. As described elsewhere the village *Bhuta* is invoked and the impersonator functions as an oracle and solves many of the problems with which the villagers are confronted. Celebration of such festivals is an affair that demands the active co-operation of men belonging to various castes. The ritual functions and functionaries have been set down by tradition and these are being honoured to this day. Thus, as in the past, now also *Bhuta* worship at village level is an unifying force.

In former days *magane* was an administrative unit and consisted of a group of contiguous villages. The administrative head of a *magane* was generally known as *Ballala* and his headquarters was called *beedu.* Each *magane* had its own presiding *Bhuta,* and in view of its association with the *Ballala* it enjoyed greater honour. The *magane Bhutas* exercised same rights and shared the burden of administration of *magane* as did the village *Bhutas* at the level of villages. On important festivals organised in honour of *magane Bhutas* it was customary for the *Bhandaras* of the *Bhutas* of the constituent villages to be brought here in processions at appropriate moments in accordance with the local usage. The *gurikaras* and the impersonators would also accompany the *Bhandaras* and participate in the propitiation of *magane Bhuta.* At the time of coronation of a *Ballala,* the rites used to be held in the presence of the *Bhuta,* invoked to preside and receive offerings. The Ballala had under his command 4 *magane gurikaras* and of them 2 were known as *Bavada Gurikaras.* It was the privilege of the latter to lead the *Ballala* on this occasion to his *gadi* (seat) and put on the gold signet ring on his finger. The third and fourth *gurikaras* respectively presented the sword and made proclamations of his assuming the office of Ballala.

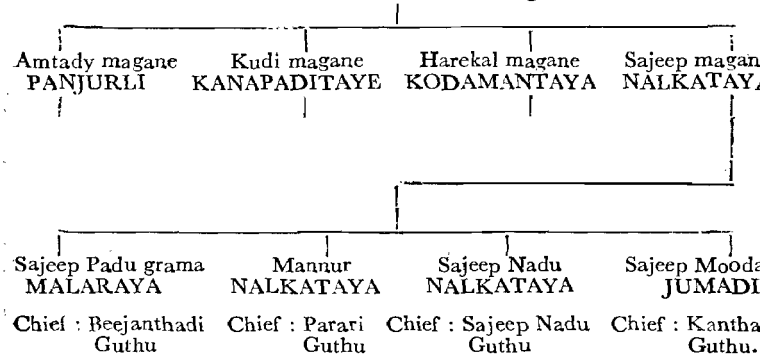
A group of *maganes* constituted the larger territory known as *sime* and administered by an *Arasu.* The headquarters of the *Arasu* was called *Aramane.* The *sime Bhuta* enjoyed royal patronage and consequently held a place of honour and at many places came to be called *Arasu Daivangalu* as a mark of respect. On all important occasions the *Arasu* took part in

the propitiation of the *Daiva*. Adjacent to the *Chavadi*, where he would sit for the conduct of his royal duties, it was customary for the *Arasu* to provide a *sthana* for the *sime Daiva*. Just as the village *Bhutas* participated in certain propitiatory festivals arranged for the *magane Bhutas* it was necessary for the *magane Bhutas* to associate themselves with certain festivals organised in honour of the *sime Daivas*. Such a territorial division of the country into *sime, magane* and *grama* (village) is now outmoded, especially with regard to the present administrative set up. However, vestiges of such divisions in their social aspects may even now be discerned in certain areas. The following details gathered during the study provide an illustrative example.

Nandavara Sime

(Ruled by Bangarasus in the Past)

Nandi Bailu Arasu Daivangalu



During the celebrations of certain festivals to honour the *magane* and *sime Bhutas* it is even now customary to take the *Bhandara* of the constituent village or *magane Bhutas* as the case may be, to the place of ritual in a ceremonial procession. The leading persons associated with village and *magane Bhutas* would also participate on such occasions and thus conform to the tradition to the extent possible under these changing circumstances.

The coronation of the Arasu, the chief of *sime,* is called *patta*. In former days this ceremony also involved propitiation of the *sime Daiva* and offering of prayers by the new incumbent before he ascended the throne. At the beginning of the rites it

was customary to receive the *Bhandara* of the *Daiva* at the entrance to the *aramane* and instal it for worship. Then one of the leaders conducted the *Arasu* to the *pattada mancha* (coronation cot) while another helped him to sit on it. Yet another leader gave him the signet ring. This was followed by the ceremonial delivery of *pattada katti* (sword) and offering of some milk to drink by two other leaders. The *Daiva* would then bless the *Arasu* whereupon a few leaders proclaimed his formal assumption of office and paid their respects to the *Arasu,* followed by the rest. Thus, in the administration of the *sime, Bhuta* worship was intimately associated. Under the present changed conditions also such coronation ceremonies are held occasionally among the descendants of the erstwhile ruling chiefs of the *simes.* These are now more or less family affairs at which important local people and descendants of the former subordinate chiefs if any would also participate.

At this juncture it may not be out of place to narrate the details furnished by Sri Shantiraja Arasu Maramma Hegde relating to his own coronation ceremony which took place during 1955. Born in the year 1906, he had his collegiate education. He is the *patel* of Yermal village (16 Kms south of Udipi town) and has been living in his ancestral house called *aramane.* He is a Jain by religion. His family owns large extents of lands. *Aramane* is an imposing structure in this entire neighbour-hood. The *chavadi* attached to it, called *sime chavadi,* overlooks an open courtyard beyond which there is an extensively paddy field. This *chavadi* is a two-storey tiled structure. In the ground floor, which is an elevated platform, there is an ornamental wooden chair, eminently placed. This chair is called the throne and none except the Arasu sits on it. The precincts of the *chavadi* are held sacred and none enters it with his footwear on. Towards the right hand side of the throne, a few yards away, there is an old room, with doors on 2 sides, enshrining the symbols of *Bhutas.* One of the doors overlooks the throne while the other leads to the inner quadrangle of the *aramane.* At the other end of this quadrangle there is another *chavadi* (*pattada chavadi*), in which there is a swinging cot (*pattada mancha*). At the other end of this *chavadi,* in a way diagonally opposite to the *Bhuta* shrine of the *sime chavadi,* there is a small room. This room is utilised for depositing the dead body of the predecessor *Arasu* until it could be disposed of following the completion of the coronation ceremony. Facing the inner quadrangle, on the other side, there are the living apartments and also a small room enshrining Jain Tirthankaras.

When Sri Nabiraja Arasu (the predecessor of Shantiraja Arasu) died in 1955, his dead body was soon shifted to the room adjoining the *pattada chavadi*. According to the custom the successor should not look at the dead body of his predecessor, should avoid any physical contact with it and also desist from taking part in the funeral rites, though he is closely related to him. On learning about the death of the Arasu important local leaders from all over the *sime*, relatives and *purohits* soon gathered at the *aramane* to participate in the coronation of the successor. Thereupon Shantiraja Arasu, was given a ceremonial shave which was followed by a holy bath. He was taken straight to the *Bhuta* shrine overlooking the throne where he offered prayers. He was then lead through the inner quadrangle to the *pattada chavadi* by the *purohits* (priests of the Yermal Janardhana swamy temple) and was helped to sit on the *pattada mancha*. One end of a long piece of string was then tied to his ring-finger. The other end of the string was then connected to the ring finger of the dead body of his predecessor lying out of his sight, in an adjacent room. Then the signet ring was removed from the dead body and passed on to him through the connecting string by some persons. This device of linking up the fingers of the predecessor and successor chiefs for transferring the symbol of sovereignty perhaps signifies vividly the intention to see that no vacuum in royal sovereignty is created even at the final moment of transfer of power from one to the other. On getting hold of the ring he gave it to the *purohits* who sat before him and were performing *homas*. After the ritual purification of the ring it was taken by the chief of *Baddunje guthu*, who then ceremoniously put the ring on the fore-finger of Shantiraja Arasu. A leader of the Brahmin community of the *sime* then proclaimed that Sri Shantiraja had been duly coronated as the new Arasu. Shantiraja Arasu's wife then gave him some milk to drink and, along with some maidens performed *arati*. After this, he was lead to the *sime chavadi* and enroute he once again went inside the *Bhuta* shrine and offered obeisance. Here he ascended the throne. On either side *arasus* of neighbouring *simes* were provided seats. The chief of *Baggadi guthu*, belonging to Bunt community, handed him the *pattada katti*. Thereafter the leaders gave him some presents, such offerings being known as *pattada kanike*. A document regarding the coronation was then drawn up and the leaders present on the occasion affixed their signatures to it (copies of this document it is stated, were sent later to the Tahsildar of the taluk and Deputy Commissioner of the district for information).

It was only after the completion of the above mentioned ceremonies that somebody announced about the dead body, lying in the room, and sought for the orders of the *Arasu*. In his capacity as the *Arasu,* Sri Shantiraja then ordered that the dead body may be disposed of in accordance with the customary practices. This was done accordingly. However, in keeping with the tradition, he did not take part in either the cremation or the funeral rites of Nabiraja Arasu even though he was very closely related to him.

Incidentally it may be noted that in the *Bhuta* shrine which adjoins the *sime chavadi* there is a wooden idol called Vishnudevate and 6 wooden cots. These are collectively called *pattada daivangalu* or *Ivaru daivangalu.* The wooden idol is endowed with 4 hands and, of these, two wield a sword each while the other two have a trident and a dagger respectively. On the cots there are brass water vessels, the water in which, it is said, is replaced once a month on the day of *sankramana.* The priest for this shrine is a Bunt.

Lastly, it may be noted that though the Arasu is a Jain and there is a Tirthankara shrine in the *aramane,* Jain divinities are not associated with the coronation ceremony.

The foregoing amply indicates how *Bhuta* worship worked as a cementing force and wielded influence in administration of village community. At the time of periodical festivals the village functionaries such as the piper, the drummer, the barber, the carpenter, the washerman, the toddy tapper, the priest and so on worked together and discharged their respective duties as laid down by tradition. In an earlier chapter the manner in which this division of labour is functioning even at present has been brought out. It continues to be a cohesive force in the village society.

Bhuta worship has permeated the sphere of economic activity and its impact may be noticed in agricultural practices, rearing of livestock, fishing etc. It has already been mentioned that at the time of periodical *Bhuta* festivals, the people render offerings and in a general way request for good seasonal conditions and a plentiful yield of crops. This apart, certain special rituals are held at the time of commencement of agricultural operations like, ploughing, sowing, harvesting etc. Particulars relating to such rituals reported during his study are given below.

(i) **Hooti muhurta**

Among the cultivators of the northern tracts of the district it is customary to consult a *purohit* and fix up an auspicious day and moment for commencing the ploughing operations at the beginning of the season. On that appointed day the head of the household prays before the *Bhuta* (enshrined in his house or in its proximity), offers a coconut and then proceeds to the field for ploughing.

(ii) During the month of *Ati* (July-August) all the *Bhutasthanas* remain closed for worship and it is believed that *Bhutas* move out of their abodes and roam about. Thus there is some sort of a vaccum and if evil may befall the people cannot invoke *Bhutas* for help. As a precaution and to drive away evil forces, certain things are offered to a pair of Nalkes in disguise who visit every house. An young boy of Nalke caste puts on red pyjamas, dons a hat made out of areca spathes, wears dancing bells as anklets, paints his face with white powder and affixes whiskers (made of fibres) to his upper lip. He holds an umbrella of palmyra leaves. Accompanied by an elderly man with a *tamare* (drum), he visits each and every house and dances to the beats of the drum. The householder gives him some paddy or rice, chillies, *dhal,* etc., in addition to some pieces of char-coal. As soon as this pair moves out, the householder cleans that spot by sprinkling turmeric water. The belief is that this pair takes away all the evils.

(iii) **Balindra**

This is celebrated at Anantadi during the Deepavali festival at the shrine of Ullalthi *Bhuta.* The *Bhandara* of *Bhutas* are brought in a procession and installed at *Chittarige.* In the field that lies in front of the *Chittarige* the trunk of a *dhupa* tree is planted by the Billavas and the other villagers in a joint effort. This tree trunk, it may be noted, would have been worked upon by the village carpenter whose duty it is to scoop out a number of crevices to hold earthen oil-lamps. At the appropriate time, after planting this pillar, the Billavas would place oil-lamps in all these crevices with the help of a scaffold. The *manya* impersonators in a state of trance would implore Balindra to drive out evil forces from the village and yield a good harvest. Thereafter some Billavas will light all the lamps. A number of villagers also participate in this ritual,

(iv) **Holi Kooguvudu**

This ritual is more common in the northern areas of the district and is usually held during November when paddy crop is standing in the fields. For this purpose the cultivator prepares 50 to 60 *dondis*. *Dondi* consists of a splinter of bamboo to one end of which is tied a piece of cloth dipped in oil. Around 8 O'Clock in the night these *dondis* are taken to the paddy field and after lighting, these are planted on the bunds all round. At the foot of each *dondi* a few flowers, betel leaves and grains of beaten rice are also placed. This is to appease Balindra who is believed to have given the crop of paddy. On returning home, the cultivator offers a coconut to the *Bhuta* and then takes his food.

(v) **Hostu**

This is observed usually during October on the eve of commencing the harvest of the *yenel* crop. For this occasion, on the previous night some of the labourers would pluck out a few ears of paddy from the fields and deposit them at the *tulsi-katte* of the landlord's house. On the festival day, the landlord gets up quite early, bathes, approaches the ears of paddy at the *tulsi-katte* and after offering obeisance transfer them into a plate which is then carried by him on his head to the accompaniment of blowing of a conch or the banging of a *jagante*. At the threshold of the house his wife sprinkles a few rice grains on the new corn and washes his feet. On entering the house the plate is kept in the prayer hall and lighted wicks are waved before it in devotion. A coconut is offered to the *Bhuta* being worshipped in the house. Thereafter a few ears of corn, folded in green mango leaves, are tied to auspicious objects and places in the house including *mundige* or *samimane*. Then the corn is threshed, pounded and with the rice so obtained a sweet dish called *payasam* is prepared. It is only after observance of this ritual that the new crop may be used.

(vi) **Ritual observed while harvesting paddy in 'dandethimaru' field at Anantadi.**—When the first crop of paddy is ready for harvest and the workers are assembled, the two *manyas* impersonating the Malaraya and Pilichavandi *Bhutas* are fetched to the field in a state of trance. Here they pluck out a few ears of corn, place them on a green leaf of jack tree and pour milk on the corn so that it finally falls on the field. It is only after this ritual that the workers set about the task of harvesting.

(vii) **Pookare or Kambala-kori at Anantadi.**—This ritual is held after the harvest of the first crop of paddy in the *dandethimaru* field on an auspicious day chosen for the purpose. About a week prior to the appointed day a man belonging to Nalke caste disguises himself as a Koraga and by visiting the houses of the Billavas he invites them formally in the following way: "*Pujaris* (Billavas) are invited to attend to hold Pookare pillar". He also visits the houses of cultivators and all others and invites them to attend the ritual with their plough and plough-animals. At each house he gets a *seer* of paddy for his service. The *Pookare* is held at about 9 O'Clock in the morning. By this time the field would have been properly ploughed, watered and got ready for transplantation of paddy. The *pookare* pillar would have been got ready by the carpenter and decorated with mango leaves by the village barber. (At present this pillar, about 30′ high, consists of several pieces which may be pieced together whenever necessary and dismantled soon thereafter. Formerly it appears, a new *dhupa* tree used to be cut every year and its trunk used as *Pookare*.) Then, this pillar is taken to the middle of the paddy field and planted there. Meanwhile, the *manya* impersonating Malaraya *Bhuta* moves into a state of trance at *Doddamane* (the house of the chief organiser of the festivals associated with the local Ullalthi stana) and from there he is fetched to the *dandethimaru* field. Here the *manya* blesses the villagers by reciting the following couplet.

ಪತ್ತ ಬಿತ್ತ ಪಾಡಲ್ಪ ಮುತ್ತು ಬಿಳಿಪಾದ ಕೊರ್ಪೆ
ಏರಿಚ ಪೊಕರೆಪ ೨ಲ ದೋಷ ಇಜ್ಜಾಂದೆ ನಡಪಾದ ಕೊರ್ಪೆ
ಆಕಚ್ಚಿ ಕಂಬಳಾಡ ಎರುಕ್ಕಾವೆಡ ಮೊಣಿಗಾವೆಡ
ದಾಲತೊಂದರೆ ಬರಾಂದ ಲೆಕ್ಕತೂವಂದ ಬರ್ಪೆ.

(Patta bitta padalpa muttu bilipada korpe;
Ericha pookareda kaladosha ijjande nadapada korpe;
Aakacchi kambalada erukkavada manigavada;
Dala tondare baranda lekka tuvanda barpe).

"Wherever paddy is sown I shall reward you with a bumper yield comparable to a crop of pearls; I shall ensure for you good seasonal conditions so that you may carry out the agricultural operations at proper time and thus prevent losses; I would also assure you that I shall protect the children and livestock against all types of afflictions and ills."

Then he throws some flowers on the *pookare* pillar. The assembled villagers also do likewise. Thereafter the *manya* and the villagers go round the *pookare* thrice. While doing so the Billavas start cooing as a mark of joy. Then the assembled villagers lend a hand for transplanting the paddy seedlings in the field. Later, all the participants are fed at *Doddamane*. It is only after the celebration of this ritual that the villagers may take up transplantation in their own fields.

Rearing he-buffaloes is closely associated with paddy cultivation in this district, for it is these animals that provide the necessary draught power. In this regard, it may be noted, a healthy tradition has been handed down from generation to generation amongst the landlords and the agriculturists. Rearing he-buffaloes has a prestige value in the village society as a result of which people compete with each other and look after the animals with great care and take pride in doing so. *Bhuta* worship has cast its beneficial influence on this noteworthy feature. Several places in this district have an unbroken tradition of celebrating *Kambala* once a year. The fields associated with this ritual have come to be known as *Kambala gadde*. At almost all these places *Bhutas* are worshipped on the occasion either as a public ceremony or by individual landlords at their homes as a private worship or as both. The following details relating to Yermal and Vandar illustrate the manner in which *Kambalas* are being observed now-a-days at these places.

The household of the aforementioned Arasu of Yermal has a pair of he-buffaloes, reared with special care, for participation in the *Kambala* ritual which comes off during December. These are sturdy animals and are not usually yoked to the plough. On the day appointed for celebrating *Kambala,* the Arasu with his chief assistants (*gurikaras*) offers prayers to the "Ivaru Daivangalu" enshrined in the *Bhuta* shrine that adjoins the *sime chavadi*. The pair of he-buffaloes are then harnessed to the yoke and stationed in the front yard of the *aramane*. Holy water taken out from the brass vessel laid in front of the *Bhutas* is then sprinkled on these animals and sandal paste, similarly taken out from the idol or symbols of *Bhutas,* is applied to their foreheads. Then the he-buffaloes are taken in a procession to the *Kambala gadde*. A large gathering of villagers, with several pairs of decorated he-buffaloes, follows this procession. The Arasu is seated on a special cot which is then hoisted on their shoulders by Bovis (palanquin bearers)

and carried along with the procession to the *Kambala gadde* and lowered on the ground at a prominent place. The *Arasu* sits here and witnesses the *Kambala*. First of all the pair of consecrated he-buffaloes enter the field and ceremonially plough a few furrows. The other pairs of he-buffaloes then do likewise and soon the entire field is ploughed. Thereafter all get back in a procession to the *sime chavadi* and here, sitting on the throne, the Arasu holds a *durbar* (audience). At this juncture a person belonging to Nalke caste impersonates a *Bhuta* and, attired in his ceremonial dress, performs a dance after which he receives a *veelya* from the Arasu. The chief assistants who took part in the *Kambala* are also given a *veelya* each as a mark of great honour. With this, the ritual concludes. According to local custom in this neighbourhood it is only after the celebration of this ritual that the villagers can start their agricultural operations for the *suggi* crop.

Vandar is situated at a distance of about 30 Kms. east of Coondapur town. This was once an important seat of administration. The *beedu,* with a large agricultural holding attached to it, belongs since generations to a family of Bunts which bears the title of "Heggade". A descendant of this family is living at the *beedu* and is keeping up the traditional practices to the extent possible under the changing socio-economic conditions. This ancient house is an impressive structure and over-looks a plain stretch of paddy fields measuring about 12 acres. It is in this field that *Kambala* is held every year, usually on the day of *Dhanu sankramana* (December). As in several other places here also there are *Bhuta* shrines attached to the *beedu.* On one side of the *beedu* there is a structure enshrining Tulsiamma and close to it there is a raised platform, with a roof atop, which is called *Ambagilu.* This platform adjoins the paddy field and it is here that the chief guests are seated to witness the *Kambala.* On the other side of the *beedu* a small structure enshrines a small earthen mound (with several ridges at the top) called *Negala* (crocodile), the guardian spirit that protects cattle. In the inner courtyard there is an ant-hill called *Swami hutta,* and a stone representing Haiguli *Bhuta.* Every day water is offered and a lamp is lit in front of the ant-hill and the *Bhuta.* A detached room in this courtyard has a *mundige* (wooden stool) which represents Kallukutiga and behind it, a brass manikin called *Pattada murti.* According to a local legend, one of the Heggades of yore collapsed and died prematurely soon after the ritual circumambulation of the *Kambala gadde.* In order to prevent the recurrence of such an event, his successor installed this *Pattada murti* representing the

deceased Heggade and introduced the practice of having this *pattada murti* at the head of the procession that circumambulates the field. This idol as well as Kallukutiga also receive daily offerings of water and light. The foregoing details help one to follow the description of Kambala given below.

About 20 days in advance, the village leaders assemble at the Heggade's *beedu* and formally fix up the day for the celebration of *Kambala.* From that day onwards the Heggade should not consume non-vegetarian dishes till the ritual is over. Three days prior to the day of *Kambala* about a hundred pairs of he-buffaloes and ploughmen from the neighbourhood assemble at the *beedu* and plough up the *Kambala gadde* voluntarily. This ritual is called *ukkiluduvudu.* On the day of *Kambala,* the Heggade offers coconuts, plantains etc., to the *Bhutas* and gods and prays. There is a wooden pillar, at the centre of the 12 acre plot of *Kambala gadde,* as a more or less permanent structure. On this day it is decorated and at its top a piece of coloured cloth is so wound as to resemble a *kalasha.* In this neighbourhood it is customary for people suffering from skin diseases to take a vow to the effect that on the morning of the *Kambala* day they would circumambulate the *Kambala gadde* and sprinkle rice grains along the path and also offer coconuts and plantains at the Negala shrine. Every year a large number of votaries perform this ritual in fulfilment of their vows. The *Kambala* starts around 3 O'Clock in the afternoon by which time about a thousand pairs of he-buffaloes and thousands of villagers would have assembled near the spot. The animals are caparisoned and decorated according to the means and taste of the owner and these are brought in processions heralded by banners and the music of pipers and drummers. The entire neighbourhood hums with festive activity and presents a joyous spectacle. At the *beedu,* the agriculturists who arrive with their he-buffaloes are received with honour and are given tender coconuts, *veelya,* sugarcane etc. Then, at the appointed moment the pair of he-buffaloes, reared at Heggade's house for the purpose, is consecrated by the sprinkling of holy water and application of sandal paste. The pair is then ceremoniously taken round the *Kambala gadde* and around the central pillar also. The other animals that have been brought along are then similarly taken round the field and the pillar. The Heggade and the chief guests watch this ceremony from their seats laid out at Ambagilu. As a concluding part of the *Kambala,* the *pattada murti* is placed on a small wooden car to which a length of rope has been fastened, and is drawn around the *Kambala gadde.* The Heggade, other leaders and villagers walk behind

this car and thus go round the field. The Heggade distributes *prasadam* to those who approach him during this circumambulation. This concludes the ritual of *Kambala* proper only, for on the same night *rangapuja* is held to honour Tulsiamma and on the following day there would be *kenda seve* when a *patri* in a state of trance performs the fire-walking *ritual.* On the third day after the *Kambala,* the paddy field is sown broadcast. The seed paddy is placed on the western bund of the plot and worshipped by Brahmin priests and the Heggade. Thereafter the Stanikas sow the seeds of paddy, for it has been their customary duty to do so on this occasion. The *Kambala* and the subsequent sowing of paddy accords formal permission to the villagers in the neighbourhood to start their operations for the *suggi* crop of paddy.

Another notable feature about the *Kambala* at Vandar is that the people of the area are accustomed to take a vow whenever the animals they rear suffer from illness to the effect that if cured early they would take the animal around the pillar in *Kambala gadde* on the occasion of *Kambala* and offer coconuts and plantains to Negala. Evidently, healing powers have been traditionally ascribed to this *Kambala gadde* and the Negala Bhuta. The field is held sacred and nobody treads on it with his footwear on. Its sanctity is all the more intense during the *Kambala* ceremony. For this reason, during the period intervening the circumambulation of the field and the sowing, women as well as persons belonging to the erstwhile untouchable castes and fowls are not allowed to enter or tresspass into it.

The *Kambala* at Vandar is an important community festival and this calls for the co-operation of persons belonging to different castes. The participant castes and their duties are as follows: —

Koraga (Scheduled Tribe).—Drummers.

Koosa (Scheduled Caste).—Bearers of banners (*torana*) and other decorations.

Panar.—Put on the disguise of *Bhutas,* grotesque masks and colourful dress so as to provide recreation to the public and also function as impersonators.

Kumbara.—Supplies 5 new earthen pots for use during the ceremonial bathing of the *pattada murti.*

Visvakarma.—Collection of necessary firewood and preparation of fire for the ritual of fire-walking.

Barber.—Bearer of palmyra leaf umbrella over the Heggade at the time of procession round the *Kambala gadde.*

Madivala (*Washerman*)—Decorates the pillar at the centre of the field and fastens the *Kalasha*-like cloth at its top.

All communities lend a hand in dragging the car carrying the idol of *pattada murti.*

During the pre-independence days the Vandar Kambala was a major event at which a large market used to gather and encamp for about a month at this site. As a result of improvements in communications and expansion of marketing facilities and such other modern trends the importance of the market has greatly declined.

Poultry-keeping is a secondary source of income to Bunts, Billavas, Mogaveeras, Holeyas etc., who are non-vegetarians. They are in the fore amongst the numerically dominant communities of the district and are ardent *Bhuta* worshippers. Frequently they offer fowls in sacrifice at home as also at *Bhutasthanas* to propitiate *Bhutas.* It is cheaper to rear poultry than buy fowls at frequent intervals. Moreover cock-fight is supposed to appease *Bhutas* and a reference to the ritual has already been made. As an adjunct to the ceremonial cock-fight, either preceding it or immediately thereafter, for 2 or 3 days men assemble in small groups in the vicinity of the festival site and organise cock-fights in innumerable informal arenas as a pastime. The cocks fight with steel spurs fastened to their legs in a ferocious way and fatally wound each other. The blood that drops on the ground is believed to appease the *Bhuta.* In order to ensure victory it is common for owners of cocks to invoke the help of the favourite *Bhuta* and promise propitiation. Enough care is taken to ensure a fair fight by two referees who act as the custodians of the two cocks and also by scores of spectators. Generally, cocks of comparable size are paired for the fight. In the district cock-fighting has assumed the form of a widespread pastime and there are experts to function as referees. They have developed a system called *koli panchanga* of matching the birds for a fight by reckoning the colour of the cock, the day of the week and the moon's phase. According to the rule of the game the cock that gets killed or fatally wounded becomes

the property of the keeper of the victorious bird. Thus *Bhuta* worship has for generations fostered the practice of rearing poultry birds, especially cocks and also the rural sport of cock-fighting.

Some of the prominent shrines in the district have founded *yakshagana melas to* cater to the needs of the votaries who arrange for the performance of *yakshaganas* in fulfilment of vows. Such performances, called *harake atagalu* not only appease the *Bhutas* or *Daivas* but also provide free entertainment to the people of all sections. The votary meets the cost and entrance is free. As part of the periodical festivals the management of the shrine also arranges for one or two free performances and thus provide much needed encouragement to this form of folk-art. The dress and ornaments of *yakshagana* artists bear some resemblance to those put on by the Parava or Pambada impersonators and also to those depicted on wooden and metallic *Bhuta* idols. As in *Bhuta* rituals, music and dance are the main elements in *yakshagana* though the themes chosen for *yakshagana* plays almost always relate to the epics and *puranas* but not to the stories related to *Bhutas.*

Before closing this chapter a reference to the contemporary features of *kambala* and *yakshagana* appears to be necessary. The word *kambala* now stands for the popular sport of buffalo racing with an accent on the recreational as well as the prestigious aspects. Those who are keenly interested in such races rear at considerable cost one or two pairs of he-buffaloes for the exclusive purpose of racing. At current rates the price of a pair of well-bred, sturdy animals is about Rs. 4000. Such animals are seldom yoked to the plough or the cart. They confer social prestige on their owners and, by winning in racing events secure trophies for the owners. It may be incidentally mentioned that the State Government has recently instituted a rolling shield in connection with the buffalo-race that is organised every year at Surathkal near Mangalore city. It is now a common practice to invite State and local dignitaries to preside over the race-meetings and, even in this, a sort of healthy competition and local pride have come to prevail. For purposes of the race, a special track about 10 metres wide and 200 metres long is prepared in a plain, fallow paddy field or by the side of a river course. The track is watered at intervals and is kept inundated for the event so that the soil is sufficiently slushy. Wide publicity is given beforehand about the date, time and venue so that the desirous participants may arrive from distant places and participate in the race. In the presence of

judges and spectators the buffaloes are allowed in pairs to run the course and the time taken by each pair is duly recorded. Thereafter the two pairs which took the shortest time i.e., those which ran fastest, are allowed to run along the track side by side and that which reaches the destination first in declared as the winner. Along the track sometimes cloth banners are tied to posts planted on either side at some height with a view to assess the force with which the animals dash ahead. That pair is judged the best which while running, splashes the muddy water to a height so as to discolour the white banner. In these buffalo races the pair is yoked to a plank which rests on the ground and provides space for the driver to stand. The driver holds the reins loose and is drawn along the course in great speed. Sometimes the animals are simply yoked and the reins are held by the driver who runs closely behind to keep pace with the dashing animals. These features provide a lot of entertainment to the assembled men and excitement to the participants.

Yakshagana* has developed into a theatrical art and it is essentially a dance-drama combined with music. The themes of these plays are *puranic* and have a popular appeal to the masses as they generally depict the victory of gods over demons or the triumph of the good over the evil. Each *prasanga* (story) contains two to three hundred verses which are sung by the *Bhagavatha* to the accompaniment of *chande* and *maddale* (percussion instruments). The minimum time required for a *prasanga* is usually 4 hours though it may be extended to 5 or even 6 hours by the artists to suit the tastes of the audience. The main feature of music which is set to various *ragas* is its power to arouse the emotions amongst the spectators. While the Bhagavatha sings a stanza the actors dance and when he stops they interpret and elaborate extempore each stanza either as a monologue or a dialogue as the case may be. Female roles are invariably played by male actors. The dance form highlights human emotions and passions, especially fury and terror. Although there are *lasya* movements, the dance may be said to be of *tandava* variety. The costume is colourful, bizarre and at times frightening. Different characters have different facial make-ups and the most terrifying to behold is that of a *rakshasa* (demon). Likewise there are different types of headgear for different characters. The items used in the make-up

*For further details see, *Yakshagana Bayalata* by K. S. Upadhyaya in *Sangeet Natak*, January 1969, Pub : Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi (reproduced in Appendix V)

such as the headgear, the armbands, waist-bands and ornaments are made from indigenous materials such as light wood hay, spathe of areca, bamboo, waste cotton etc. Dress material is generally of deep colours and the patterns consist of alternating squares. The main feature of the costume and ornaments is the colour and the glitter. The most important person in the play is the Bhagavatha, for it is he who controls, guides and directs every movement. Apart from the *melas* attached to some of the famous shrines in the district such as Mandarti, Amriteshvari, Dharmasthala etc., there are a number of amateur as well as professional troupes which have commercialised this traditional art to some extent at least. The *prasangas* are enacted in theatres in cities and large towns and in tents in rural areas and admission is regulated through tickets. The rates however are quite moderate. Such performances tend to take shorter durations by doing away with the non-essential items and, by doing so, give up tradition with an eye on popular appeal. These troupes move from place to place during the fair season and give out a number of performances. They spend appreciable sums of money on advertisements in local newspapers, pamphlets and posters and also towards the maintenance of equipment and salaries of artists. It may be summed up that *Yakshagana bayalata* continues to be one of the most popular forms of recreation all over this district and has come to be recognised as a cultural trait peculiar to South Kanara.

It may also be mentioned at this juncture that in this district there were several troupes engaged in the exhibition of *Gombeyata* comparable to *Yakshagana* wherein instead of men, stringed puppets appear on the stage. These puppets, made of light wood and measuring about two to three feet only in height, were being adorned with the costumes and jewellery of the type in use among the *Yakshagana* artists. As in *Yakshagana*, in this case too the Bhagavatha would sing to the accompaniment of cymbals, *shruti* and *maddale* while the *Sutradhara* holding the strings and concealed behind the screen would manipulate the puppets so as to make them dance to the tunes. A monologue or dialogue, as the case may be, by way of an exposition of the songs or verses sung by the Bhagavatha would then follow and entertain the audience. This art is now on the verge of extinction and in the entire district only one troupe is functioning now.

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CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

Amongst the religious faiths found in South Kanara, Bhuta cult, it appears, is the oldest and there can be little doubt regarding its indigenous origin. It is the folk-religion of this region, especially in respect of the earliest inhabitants among whom may be included the Holeyas comprising a number of functional and localised sub castes, the Koragas, the Billavas and the Mogaveeras, all of whom, are even to-day staunch votaries of this cult. A legend states that one Nanduraya of Holeya caste reigned over this district in times of yore. A psuedo-historical account mentions about Hoba Koosa or Habashika of Koraga tribe as having ruled this territory for a period of about 12 years during the early Christian era. The Billavas, who even now constitute the most numerous single community have also been known all along as Halepaika (old or earliest settlers), Baidya (medicine-men) and Pujari (priest). They are toddy-tappers by profession. The Mogaveeras, also known as Marakkalas who are fisherman and seafarers appear to have inhabited the coastal tract from very early times. It is quite likely that prior to the advent of more developed caste groups of agriculturists, traders and professionals, these indigenous communities, especially the Holeyas, enjoyed undisputed right to the enjoyment of lands, forests and such other natural food resources found in their traditional habitats. The survival of the name Moolada Holeya (*Moola* means origin and *Holeya* is supposed to be a derivative of *Hola* which means an agricultural field) lends support to the antiquity generally ascribed to these people in the district. The folk religion of the society in those early times, it may perhaps be presumed consisted primarily of propitiating the *Bhutas* in various ways and included the mother-goddess cult in its primitive form as well as the worship of animal forms such as the bull, pig, serpent etc., trees and plants. Their religion appears to have been quite simple consisting mainly of certain periodical rituals providing an occasion for the people to assemble together at a place, to partake of sacrificial food and solve many of their personal, familial and such other problems by invoking the assistance of the divine spirits being propitiated. Animal sacrifice, singing, dance and impersonation seem to have been the most essential elements of this folk

religion. On such occasions the impersonator functioned as an oracle and a divine counsellor and thus helped his fellowmen in solving several of their problems. Thus this folk religion exerted an all-pervading influence on community organization of those early days based on the concept of *Dharma* (righteousness) and provided a moral and social order besides functioning as an unifying force.

Most of the sub castes among Holeyas, the Billavas and the Mogaveeras besides several other castes of the district are matrilineal. Whether there is any association between matriliny and the *Bhuta* cult in general, the fertility cult forming part of the *Bhuta* worship as well as the Mother Goddess cult in particular deserves a deeper examination. It may be mentioned that the inhabitants of Minicoy & Amindivi Islands who are now Muslims are matrilineal and their religious practices include several customs and rituals akin to *Bhuta* worship. A special mention may be made of singing and dancing as well as moving into a state of trance and achieving immunity to physical injury (Please see Appendix VI).

Some of the practices associated with this folk religion bear a resemblance to the practices noticed in respect of Harappa Mohanjedaro civilization as well as the religious practices reported from ancient Egypt, Europe, China and such other countries. The Indus people worshipped animals, trees, phallus and the Mother Goddess of early period. They revered the bulls and worshipped "Pasupati" represented as "Mahayogin". In *Bhuta* cult it is customary to offer worship to various animal forms, to have a caparisoned humped bull at the head of processions of *Bhandara* of *Bhutas*, and of hoisting flags or plaques bearing the figure of a bull or a naked man with the genitals prominently displayed. Whether there existed any link in remote times between the Harappan religion and the early phases of *Bhuta* cult deserves a deeper study.

From pre-historic times the inhabitants of this maritime district had trade contacts with their counterparts in trans oceanic countries like Greece, Egypt, Syria, Mesapotamia, Babylonia, Europe and China. Side by side with the exchange of goods it is very likely that there occurred an exchange of ideas, beliefs and practices also. In other words it may not be wrong to conclude that as a result of such contacts the folk religion of this district (viz, the *Bhuta* cult) and the folk religions of the countries mentioned above influenced each other at least to some extent. Worship of various animal forms

like the bull, the ox and the pig, singing and dancing as a means of propitiation and getting into a state of trance, oracles, offering of sacrifice, performance of extra-ordinary feats like walking bare-foot on burning cinders etc., are reported to have existed in those countries in ancient times. The following few examples would throw light on some of the parallels.

(i) In *Bhuta* cult, Nandikeshvara and Haiguli are represented in the form of bulls and as noticed in Mekkekattu shrine and elsewhere, some of the representations consist of a human body fitted with the head of a bull, the trunk of a bull fitted with two, three or five heads of bulls; flags with the emblem of bull are hoisted at several shrines at the time of *Bhuta* festivals and bulls are lead in front of processions. In Europe the bull has been regarded as an embodiment of Dionysus in his character as a god of vegetation. In China the divine husbandman has been represented with a bull's head on the body of a man. Hittites worshipped the bull and similarly the Greeks conceived the vine god Dionysus in the form of a bull. Osiris the corn-god was regularly identified with the bull Apis of Memphis and the bull Mnevis of Heliapolis. The worship of the city bull was common in Egypt and the Sudan at all periods[1].

(ii) Panjurli Bhuta represented as a pig is worshipped all over the district. In European folk-lore the pig is a common embodiment of the corn-spirit. The Egyptians who regarded pig as a sacred animal sacrificed pigs to the moon and to Osiris once a year[2].

(iii) In *Bhuta* cult worship of Naga (serpent) is very common, for almost every *Bhutasthana* has a naga shrine associated with it. In North America the Delaware Indians paid great respect to the rattlesnake whom they called their grand father. In central Africa even an accidental killing of a snake involved solemn burial of the dead serpent and the performance of a purificatory rite on the following day[3].

(iv) To appease the *Bhutas* it is very common to sacrifice cocks and at annual *Bhuta* festivals cock-fighting is an essential

1 See Appendix VII for the relevant excerpts from *The Golden Bough* and *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt.*

2 See Appendix VIII for the relevant excerpts from the Golden Bough.

3 See Appendix IX for the relevant excerpts from the Golden Bough.

ritual at several places. In certain parts of the world corn spirit is represented as a cock[4].

(v) Pilichavandi represented in the form of a tiger is one of the *Bhutas* worshipped in this district. It may be interesting to note that in Sumatra tigers were greatly venerated by Minangkabauer tribes. If any tiger which had wrought much harm in the village had to be killed the tribals would catch the tiger alive in order to beg for his forgiveness before actually killing him[5].

(vi) The sprouting stones in the Amriteshvari shrine at Kota, it may be recalled, are anointed with oil generally by the female votaries. The following extract from Frazer[6] shows that such a custom was prevalent in several parts of the world:.

"In a like manner, a cone was the emblem of Astarte at Bablus, of the native goddess whom the Greeks called Artemis at Perga in Pamphylia, and of the sun-god Heliogabalus at Emesa in Syria. Conical stones, which apparently served as idols, have also been found at Golgi in Cyprus, and in the Phoenician temples of Malta; and cones of sandstone came to light at the shrine of the 'Mistress of Torquoise' among the barren hills and frowning precipices of Sinai..... It appears to have been customary to anoint the sacred cone with olive oil at a solemn festival, in which people from Lycia and Cariya participated. The custom of anointing a holy stone has been observed in many parts of the world; for example, in the sanctuary of Appollo at Delphi. To this day the old custom appears to survive at Paphos, for "in honour of the Maid of Bethlehem the peasants of Kukila anointed lately, and probably still anoint each year the great corner-stones of the ruined Temple of the Paphian Goddess".

(vii) The custom of dedicating a rice field (*Kambalagadde*) to appease the Bhutas and to perform certain rituals at the time of the commencement of important agricultural operations including the planting of a pole in the midst of the field have parallels as for example among Kayans who

4 See Appendix X for the relevant excerpts from the Golden Bough,.

5 Frazer J. G. The Golden Bough, III Edition, 1912 Reprint 1955, Macmillan & Co., London Vol. I, Part V, Page 215.

6 The Golden Bough, III Edition, 1912 Reprint 1955, Macmillan & Co., London, Vol. I, Part V, P. 93

have such consecrated fields and in the widely celebrated Harvest May Festival[7].

(viii) As part of the *Bhuta* festival it is customary to play a game of ball. The Natchez Indians and Yerchi Indians too had a similar practice in connection with their Festival of New Corn and the Festival of New Fruits respectively[8].

(ix) The ritual of Kendaseve (fire-walking) has its parallel in several parts of the world according to Frazer[9] who states, "At all events, a religious rite of this sort has been and is still practised in many parts of the world: the performers pace through a furnace of heated stones or glowing wood-ashes in the presence of a multitude of spectators. Examples of this custom have been adduced in another part of this work. Here I will cite only one. At Castabala, in Southern Cappadocia, there was worshipped an Asiatic Goddess whom the Greeks called the Persian Artemis. Her priestesses used to walk barefoot over a fire of charcoal without sustaining any injury."

(x) The importance of music, dance and ecstasy in *Bhuta* cult has been emphasised in the previous chapters. Likewise at Jerusalem[10] "music of the lyre or harp was not a mere pastime designed to while away an idle hour, but formed part of the service or religion, the moving influence of its melodies being perhaps set down, like the effect of wine, to the direct inspiration of a deity. Certainly at Jerusalem the regular clergy of the temple prophesied to the music of harps, of psalteries and of cymbals; and it appears that the irregular clergy also as we may call the prophets, depended on some such stimulus for inducing the ecstatic state which they took for immediate converse with the divinity.....

"In a like manner the Hebrew prophets were believed to be temporarily possessed and inspired by a divine spirit who spoke through them, just as a divine spirit is supposed by West African Negroes to speak through the mouth of the dedicated men, his priests..... they were consulted not

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7 See Appendix XI for the relevant excerpts from *The Golden Bough*.

8 See Appendix XII for the relevant excerpts from *The Golden Bough*.

9 Frazer, J. G. *The Golden Bough* III Edn. 1912 (Reprint 1955) Macmillan & Co., London Volume I, Part IV, Page 115.

10 *Ibid* Pages 52, 74—76.

merely in great national emergencies but in the ordinary affairs of every day life, in which they were expected to give information and advice for small fee.....prophecy of the Hebrew type has not been limited to Israel, it is indeed a phenomenon of almost world-wide occurrence; in many lands and in many ages the wild, whirling words of frenzied men and women have been accepted as the utterances of an indwelling deity."

(xi) At the time of impersonation the Parava or Pambada impersonator puts on red or pink garments and paints his face with red ochre. Similarly according to Hambly[11] the distinctive dress of a well minded Shaman of the Arctic is a red coat and the 'wind maker' of the Torres Strait smears himself with red ochre.

(xii) Sacrificial offering of animals as well as inanimate objects is an essential feature of *Bhuta* cult. On certain occasions the flesh of the animal sacrificed has, according to custom, to be cooked on the spot and offered to the *Bhuta* immediately. The place at which the animal is to be killed, the implement to be used, the manner in which several parts of the animal are to be apportioned are all well defined by custom. Semitic sacrificial customs[12] bear a strong resemblance to those in vogue in respect of the *Bhuta* cult.

(xiii) Lastly, it would be of interest to know that the animals like pig etc., the forms of which receive worship in *Bhuta* cult have been adopted as clan emblems in some of the trans oceanic countries and strongly suggest the existence of cultural contacts (or even migrations of people) between South Kanara and such countries in the remote past. The following quotation from J.J. Cornelius[13] illustrates the point.

> "1. Pig symbolises the Iron clan who conceived the sky as made of iron ceiling because of their acquaintance with meteoric iron. This may be designated as the Dolmen clan of the Western Mediterranean lands such as Balearic Isles, Sardinica, Spain, Portugal, Canary Islands and Libya.

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11 W. D. Hambly, *Origin of Education Among Primitive Peoples* Chapter III. Particulars about Shamanism in Arctic regions are furnished in great detail in this work.

12 *Sacrifice* (Semitic) Article by R. A. S. Macalister, in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI Ed. James Hastings, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, New York, 1920. See Appendix XIII.

13 Archaelogical Society of South India; Transactions for the year 1956-57 Madras; 1957. P. 19-20; Article entitled *Dravidian Origins*.

"2. Cock stands for the warrior tribe of the Iron clan.

"3. Bull with the rider represents the sea clan of pearl fishers whose ancient habitat was the Persian-Gulf, Bahrein, Asia Minor and Sicily.

"4. The Buffalo is the totem of the copper clan representative of Cyprus and Crete, the megalithic builders of the rock-cut cave tombs of Eastern Delta of Egypt.

"5. The Horse is the representative of the 'Gold-smith' tribe of the clan of the Land of Punt, S. W. Arabia and Elam as gold mining was one of the chief occupations of the bearers of the archaic civilization."

In summing up it may be added that most of the beliefs and practices of the ancient people of the other countries mentioned above are perhaps no longer in vogue whereas in South Kanara, these age-old beliefs and customs, associated as they are with the *Bhuta* cult, are living realities even to this day. It may be suggested here that it would be interesting to find out how similar religious practices could prevail in distant parts of the world simultaneously and to trace their linkage.

Reverting to the *Bhuta* cult it may be observed that this folk religion too has not remained static. On the other hand it has been influenced to some extent at least by other religious faiths prevalent in the district and in turn has also influenced the people following the advanced religious faiths. With the passage of time, people from different areas and belonging to different communities moved into this district also and gradually there came about a decline in the monopoly enjoyed by the indigenous or the earlier settled communities like Holeya, Koraga, Billava, etc., in the matter of utilisation of land and other economic resources. In fact, in course of time they became the agrestic serfs or tenants of new-comers such as Bunts (warriors and landlords), Jains, Brahmins and such other land holding classes. In view of their relatively small numbers and varied interests, the new comers had by and large to depend upon the whole-hearted participation of the earlier settlers for an efficient exploitation of agricultural lands as well as for the protection of cattle wealth. Perhaps with a view to ensuring such co-operation on the part of their serfs and tenants, they soon began to patronise the folk religion and keep up the traditional rites and rituals associated with particular places, fields, estates, villages etc. In this way the

folk religion seems to have assumed greater importance and infused a sense of contentment among the Holeyas, Koragas, Billavas etc., who by force of circumstances had taken up serfdom or tenancy as a means of livelihood. Members of these castes were actively involved in the successful celebration of the periodical *Bhuta* festival and on such occasions they were accorded an equal or a superior status. They were soon imbibed with a feeling that they too are an integral part of the village community. In course of time the village communities also developed into larger units comprising of several functional castes besides those of the Brahmin (priests), Jain (merchants, landlords and administrators), Bunt (warrior and landlord), Mogaveera (fishermen) and so on. The services of the potter, the carpenter, the smith, the barber, the washerman, the musician, the drummer and the priest which were integrated in the *Bhuta* worship were also essential for a proper functioning of the social life of the village. At the time of *Bhuta* festival it became the religious duty of an officiant of each such functional caste to offer his specialised services. At other times, he would render service to the village folk.

Further, the emphasis on righteousness and the tradition of *Bhutas*. Everyone is accordingly to be treated as an equal and rank differences at the time of observing the festivals in honour of *Bhutas*. Everyone is accordingly to be treated as an equal and men who in their day-to-day life are treated as inferior are permitted to discharge such functions as an oracle of the divinity, holding an umbrella above the chief organiser and the symbols representing the *Bhutas* etc. Thus, the folk religion helped in the formation of a well knit and cohesive village community. The services of the oracle on these occasions came to be utilised for solving various personal, interpersonal, familial and such other problems confronting various sections of the village community. It is perhaps on account of this beneficial function it discharged in the society that it has survived as a living force even to this day.

In the preceding paragraph it has been stated that the new comers patronised the folk religion. It has to be conceded at the same time that they had to preserve their own religious traditions, beliefs and practices. Naturally therefore there must have been some close interaction between their own religious beliefs and practices on the one hand and those pertaining to the folk religion on the other. For example, Jainism was widely prevalent in this district during the medieval period and many of the chieftains and kings professed that faith.

These Jain rulers as well as the Jain landlords a
have been ardent patrons of *Bhuta* cult and the shr
at Dharmasthala stands out as a classic example of
age. Perhaps it was on account of the influence
that in the worship of certain *Bhutas* at least the
animal sacrifice was given up in due course of ti
the divinities of the Jains came to be included
Bhutas (eg. Yaksha, Yakshi etc.,) and some of the
Vokku Ballala) are believed to belong to the Jain
At the time of the coronation of the Jain rulers,
explained in a previous chapter, it was customary
the *Bhutas* and not the Jain Tirthankaras. Se
Jains have been traditionally associated as chief
with the performance of *Bhuta* festivals. In severa
is customary to provide *sthana* for their family *B*
inside their residential house or in its close proxi

The Brahmin priests, who may be rega
custodians of Brahmanical Hinduism, also came to
associated with the *Bhuta* cult in course of time.
of Iswara as Bhutanatha came in handy for exp
all the *Bhutas* were in fact the vassals of Lord Iswa
the mother goddess of yore was equated with
manifestations of *shakti*. Brahmin priests came to
about the auspicious time for holding the festiv
propitiation of *Bhutas* at other times as well. T
as astrologers and priests were utilized by the village
as such. In due course Brahmin priests came to be
officiate at some of these shrines and gradually t
of Sanskrit verses, offering of oblations to fire (*ho*
of the ceremonies, construction of shrines in
resembling Hindu temples, observance of car fest
to those observed in Agama temples etc., came
Some of the prominent shrines dedicated to Mot
of the *Bhuta* cult were gradually transformed int
Shakti worship in an elaborate Brahmanised form b
tion of Brahmins. Similarly, some of the promi
formerly associated with *Bhuta* worship have
popular centres of pilgrimage. In turn, it is in
note, the Brahmins too were influenced by the f
and several among them adopted certain *Bhutas* as
deities. According to local beliefs, agricultural
gardens are protected by tutelary *Bhutas* from tim
rial. Thus when a Brahmin comes to own such a
perforce to propitiate the *Bhuta* concerned in ord
a good yield and a contented labour force. Th

Kalkuda and Kallurti states that the *Bhutas* agreed to be subservient to one Voyalaya if he would procure a shrine for them and desist from black magic. It seems therefore the proficiency in tantric cult and priesthood were also responsible for some of the Brahmins to take to *Bhuta* worship. Perhaps it may not be wrong to infer that at least some among the Brahmins became the votaries of *Bhuta* cult on account of their involvement in the discharge of their professional duties. Even now symbols and idols representing *Bhutas* are accommodated in several Brahmin houses and the *Bhutas* are propitiated periodically according to family traditions. Among Brahmins, perhaps the Gowda Saraswaths are the most recent immigrants who moved into the district from Goa during the 16th century. Along with them several other Konkani speaking castes also moved into the district. Several among these castes soon began to patronise the *Bhuta* cult. As a result, among them there are now several families which have the tradition of propitiating the family *Bhutas* or *Bhutas* attached to their estates at periodic intervals. In some of the Hindu temples, where Brahmins are the chief priests. the institution of trance and oracle has come into vogue. One cannot be certain as to whether this practice has anything to do with the institution of trance and impersonation of the *Bhuta* cult. It may, however, be emphasised that despite the influence of Brahmanical Hinduism, the *Bhuta* worship continues to retain its independent identity and *Bhutas* can, and also are being, propitiated without the help of Brahmin priests by persons belonging to non-Brahmin castes themselves in a good number of places.

With the exception of Brahmins perhaps most of the other Hindu castes as well as the Jains of the district have all along been following the matrilineal system of descent according to which the title to land and property vests with the eldest female member of the family. Thus in the past women enjoyed a high economic status. However the actual management of the estate was customarily the duty of the *ejamana* (mother's brother, brother or son of the eldest female member, as the case may be, in that order). The inheritance to the rank and status of the *ejamana* devolved on eligible males. Thus though the title to property was enjoyed by women, the right to manage it vested with the men. In the religious sphere, it may be noted, many of the *Bhutas* were, and even now are conceived as mother goddesses. But the ministrants of the *Bhutas* in *Bhutasthanas* and elsewhere were generally men. Thus, men actively participated in the economic and socio-religious life of the community. It therefore seems that the

economic power and prestige of women was counter balanced by the socio-religious power and prestige of the men in the rural community.

As elsewhere in this district too the village community was, and also is, composed of numerous castes each having its own hereditary occupation or profession. In the former days the social order was more rigid and the occupational monopoly of each caste was generally not encroached upon by others. The folk religion of *Bhuta* cult helped to promote a sense of economic and social security among persons belonging to various castes. Functionaries of each caste forming part of the village community had specific duties to perform at the time of *Bhuta* festivals. This infused among the caste fellows a sense of self importance with regard to the service they rendered to the community. At the time of the observance of periodical *Bhuta* festivals the equality of all castes was reasserted, as it were, for on all such occasions the differences in rank and status were ignored. The institution of trance and oracle provided to one and all a sort of psychological security, for all those affected by problems, irrespective of the nature of such problems, could obtain divine guidance from the *Bhuta*. Contravention of caste rules, inter-caste disputes and intrigues could also be brought up before the presiding *Bhutas* and solutions obtained. Thus, *Bhuta* cult established in the rural community a stable equilibrium economically, socially and culturally. Furthermore it provided encouragement for the continuance and development of certain rural sports as well as fine arts. The ritual cock fight gradually became a popular sport. Similarly, the ritual of *Kambala* has developed into a popular sporting event of the district. The general belief among the votaries that Yakshagana Bayalata would appease the *Bhutas* provided much needed sustenance and encouragement to the art of Yakshagana. Perhaps it is this folk religion which initially inspired the growth and early development of Yakshagana.

In summing up it may be stated that the main elements of the *Bhuta* cult are: (i) providing suitable space or place (*sthana*) to a divinity either inside one's own residence or in a separate shrine, (ii) offering of water, light, incense, flowers and food periodically, (iii) celebration of propitiatory rites and festivals in honour of divinities in order to ensure the welfare of the individual, the family and the community and lastly, (iv) to provide a medium for the divinity (impersonator in trance) to speak out its divine will and dispensations. Evidently

these are religious practices which are entirely different from the practices generally ascribed to witchcraft, black magic or the propitiation of devils. Therefore, the rendering, by foreigners, of the term *Bhutaradhane,* i.e. worship of *Bhutas,* into demonolatry or Devil Worship, to say the least, is incorrect. This folk religion has survived from ancient times mainly on account of its intrinsic vitality. The encouragement or patronage it is receiving from the general public in the recent years appears to be quite impressive. Renovation of *Bhutasthanas* has been taking place at numerous places all over the district and the zeal and enthusiasm exhibited by the people is comparable to those exhibited in renovating or establishing temples dedicated to popular Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. A number of *sthanas* built in days of yore with cheap and locally available material have been replaced by structures resembling temple architecture. Parapharnelia like palanquins, arches, flags etc., too have been greatly improved by using finer metals and materials as is the case with regard to similar articles in use at important Brahmanical temples. Silver plaques are replacing the cloth flags. On the occasions of *Bhuta* festivals, the size of the gathering is getting larger and larger and tends to consist of persons from comparatively distant areas. The increase in the number of votaries and also in the amount of contributions the *Bhutasthanas* are receiving are pointers to the growing popularity of the *Bhuta* cult. These trends definitely indicate that this folk religion has continued to retain its vitality intact.

In recent years with the ushering in of the Welfare State ideal several far-reaching changes are taking place with great rapidity in the social, economic and political spheres. A sense of awareness has been created among the masses and all out efforts are being made by way of legislative and administrative measures to root out poverty and to create a casteless and classless society and to bridge the gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Educational facilities have greatly improved and the urge towards acquiring higher education is getting more and more pronounced. South Kanara district is no exception to the general trend and the masses are well aware of the changes that are taking place. Those with higher education, are now to be met with in larger and larger numbers in almost every caste and sub-caste found in the district. If quite a few of them have retained their faith in *Bhuta* cult, it has to be conceded, there are others who are ultra-rational. The set of such ultra-rationals may increase in due course and may be they would denounce this folk religion as a mere superstition and

refuse to believe in the occult powers ascribed to the impersonator in trance. On the other hand it is also likely that in the near future, researches in para-psychology may provide a rational explanation regarding the phenomenon of trance which is the most outstanding feature of *Bhuta* cult, and thus convince such ultra-rationals. Such persons may therefore take to *Bhuta* cult with renewed vigour. Like-wise the Land Reform measures which aim at granting ownership rights to the erstwhile tenants besides fixing a ceiling on the extent of agricultural lands that may be held by a family are bound to undermine the undisputed leadership enjoyed in rural areas by the landlords. It may also generate a conflict of interests and the landlords who were hither-to-fore functioning at most of the places as chief organisers of *Bhuta* cult may not be able to command the co-operation in future. They may thus be forced in a way to participate less and less in the celebration of *Bhuta* festivals. At the same time it is noteworthy that it is these masses who have for long been a tenant and agricultural labour class that are staunch votaries of the *Bhuta* cult. In course of time it is more likely than not that a new leadership would emerge among them and once again these leaders would be able to organise the village community to perform the traditional tasks associated with *Bhuta* festivals and thus strengthen the cult. With the improvement of the economic condition of the common man it is likely that he would be able to contribute more and more for the preservation of traditional religious practices which include the celebration of *Bhuta* festivals at community level on specified occasions. In conclusion, the study strikes an optimistic note about the increasing popularity of this folk religion which has developed into a religion of the common man in South Kanara.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Extract from the District Manual of South Kanara, Compiled by J. Sturrock, ICS, Madras, 1894; Vol. I; Chapter IV; THE PEOPLE; Page No. 137

Of the Hindus, rather over 10% are Brahmins and all other nominally Hindus are really worshippers or propitiators of tutelary deities or 'Bhutas' or demons, usually the spirits of deceased persons. This they share with Dravidian population of South India generally, but it is most marked in the West Coast Districts which have been free from outside marked in the West Coast Districts which have been free from outside

Every village in Canara, has its Bhutasthanam or demon temple in which the officiating priest or pujari, is usually a man of the Billava Caste, and shrines innumerable are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land for the propitiation of the malevolent spirits of the deceased celebrities who in their life time had acquired more than usual local reputation whether for good or evil or had met with sudden or violent death. In addition to these, there are demons of the jungle, demons of the waste, demons who guard the village boundary, demons whose only apparent vocation is that of playing tricks such as throwing stones on houses, causing mischief generally. The demons who guard the village boundaries seem to be the only ones who are credited with even indirectly exercising a useful function. The others merely inspire terror, by causing sickness, misfortune and have to be propitiated by offerings which often involve the shedding of the blood that of a fowl being the more common.

There are also family Bhutas, and in every non-Brahmin house, a room or sometimes, a corner is set apart for the Bhuta and called 'Bhuta Kotya'.

The Bhutasthana is generally, a small plain structure, 4 or 5 yards deep by 2 or 3 yards wide, with a door at one end and covered by a portico supported on two pillars. The roof is of thatch and the building is without windows.

In front of it, there are usually three or four 'T' shaped pillars the use of which is not clear. The temples of the more popular Bhutas are often substantial buildings of considerable size.

Inside the Bhutasthanam there are usually a number of images, roughly made in brass, in human shape, or resembling animals, such as pigs, tigers, fowls etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the Bhutas, on various ceremonial occasions.

A peculiar small goglet or vase made of bell metal, into which from time to time, water is poured is kept before the Bhuta, and on special occasions, Kepula flowers (Ixora coccima) and lights are placed before them. In the larger 'Sthanas', a sword is always kept near the Bhuta to be held by the officiating priest when he stands possessed and trembling with excitement before the people assembled for the worship-

A bell or gong, is also found in all Bhutasthanas. In the case of Bhutas connected with temples, there is a place set apart for them, called a 'gudi'. The Bhutasthana of Baiderlu is called 'Garadi'.

The names of Bhutas are legion. One of the most dreaded is 'Kalkuti'. Two others commonly worshipped by the Bunts and Billavas are Koti Baidya and Chennaya Baidya who have always Billava Pujaris. These two Bhutas are the departed spirits of 2 Billava heroes. The spirit of Kujumbu Kanje, a Bunt of renown, belongs to this class of Bhutas. Amongst the most well-known of the others may be mentioned Kodamanthaya and Mudalthaya and the jungle demons of Hakkerlu and Bramerlu. The Holeyas worship a Bhuta of their own, who is not recognized by any other class of people. He goes by the name of Kumberlu and the place where he is said to reside is called Kumberlu Kotya.

Very often, a stone of any shape or a small plank is placed on the ground or fixed in a wall and the name of a Bhuta is given to it. Other representation of Bhutas, are in the shape of an ox (Mahisandaya), a horse (Jarandaya), pig (Panjurli) or a giant (Baiderlu).

The Bhuta worship of South Canara is of 4 kinds: Kola, Bandi, Nema and Agelu—Tambila. Kola or devil dancing is offered to the Bhuta, in the sthana of the village in which they are supposed to reside. The Sudras of the village and those adjacent to it assemble near the sthana, and witness the Kola ceremony in public, sharing the cost of it by subscriptions raised among the Sudra families in the village in which the ceremony is held.

Bandi is the same as Kola, with addition of dragging about a clumsy kind of a car on which the Pambada priest representing the Bhuta is seated.

Nema is a private ceremony in honour of the Bhuta held in the house of any one who is so inclined. It is performed once in 10, 15 or 20 years by the well to do Billava or Bunts. The expenses of the Nema amount to about Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 and borne by the master of the house, in which the Nema takes place. During the Nema the Bhutas i.e. things representing them, are brought from the sthana to the house of the man giving the feast and remain there till it is over.

Agelu-tambila is a kind of worship offered only to the Baiderlu and that annually by the Billavas only.

It is seen that Kola, Bandi and Nema are applicable to all the Bhutas including the Baiderlu but Agelu-Tambila is applicable to Baiderlu only. Good accounts of a devil dance are given by Mr. Walhouse in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. V and a detailed description by the late Dr. Burnell was published by Major Temple in the Indian Antiquary for January and February 1894.

The following account of Canara Devil Dancers and exorcists is given in Mr. Lavie's MSS History of Canara. It is their duty to carry a beautiful sword, with a handsomely carved handle, and polished blade, of the finest steel. These they shake and flourish about in all directions jumping, dancing, tumbling in a most frightful manner. The hair is loose and flowing and by their inflamed eyes and general appearance I should suppose they are prepared for the occasion by intoxicating liquor or drugs.

Their power as exorcists is exercised on any person supposed to be possessed with devils. I have passed by the house in which an exorcist, has been exercising his powers. He began with groans, sighs, mutterings, and broke forth into low-mournings. Afterwards, he raised his voice and uttered with rapidity and in a peculiar tone of voice certain Mantrams or charm all the while trembling violently and moving his body backward and forward.

The performance always takes place at night, commencing at about 9 O'Clock. At first the Pujari with the Bhuta sword and bell in his hands, whirls round and round, imitating the supposed mien and gestures of demon. But he does not aspire to full possession; that is reserved for a 'Pambada' or 'Nalke' a man of the lowest class who comes forward when the Billava pujari has exhibited himself for about half an hour.

He is naked save for a waist band, his face is painted with ochre and he wears a sort of arch, made of cocoanut leaves and a metal mask. After pacing up and down, slowly for some time he gradually works himself up to a pitch of hysterical frenzy while the tom tom are beaten furiously and spectators join in raising a long monotonous howling cry with a peculiar vibration. At length he stops and every one is addressed according to his rank. If the Pambada offends a rich Bunt, by omitting any of his numerous titles he is made to suffer for it. Matters regarding which there is any dispute and then submitted for the decision of the Bhuta are settled amicably as his award is generally accepted. Either at this stage or earlier the demon is fed, rice, and fruit being offered to the Pambada, while if the Bhuta is of low degree flesh and arrack are also presented. These festivals last for several nights and Dr. Burnell states that the devil dancer receives a fee of Rs. 8 for his frantic labours.

Mariamma, the small-pox goddess of South India, is also greatly venerated in Canara, and a temple dedicated to her service is to be found in many important villages at which, in addition to minor offerings, the blood of goats and fowls and, on special occasions, that of the buffaloes is freely offered, the victims in the case of smaller animals being decapitated at a single blow.

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APPENDIX II

Extract from the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland—Volume V December 14, 1875 London, 1876

The following paper was read by the author: "On behalf of the Bhutas—Devil and ghost worship in Western India" by M. J. Walhouse, F.A.R.A.S.

"Although the lower castes and classes in India acknowledge and reverence the Brahmanical Gods, their familiar household cult is much more especially addressed to inferior supernatural beings analogous to the evil spirits, devils, ghosts, and goblins of European superstition. According to Hindu doctrine there are ten types of such beings, the first seven of which are demons, created originally with the world, or by acts of higher Gods, on whom they wait as attendants or servants, receiving some share of their worship, and avenging any omission or neglect of ceremonies due..... But the last three classes, of whom more particularly it is now intended to speak are of exclusively human origin, being malignant, discontented beings, wandering in an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, intent upon mischief and annoyance to mortals, chiefly by means of possession and wicked inspiration, every aspect of which ancient idea, as well as the old doctrine of transmigration, they exemplify and illustrate. They are known by the names of *Bhuta, Preta, and Pishacha*..... The precise distinction between the three classes is that the Preta is of a child dying in infancy, or one born deformed, imperfect, or monstrous. Pisacha, on the other hand, is derived rather from mental characteristics, and is the ghost of madmen, habitual drunkards, the treacherous and violent tempered as though realising the idea that the evils that men do live after them in the guise of malicious spirits. Bhutas however emanate from those who die in an unusual way, by violence, accident, suicide, or sentence of law; or who have been robbers, notorious evil-doers, or dreaded for cruelty and violence.

In their haunts and modes of appearance Bhutas repeat the popular beliefs of many countries. They wander borne upon the air, especially in uninhabited, dry, and desert places and, tall trees are a favourite abode.

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The Gods of Arabian Superation closely resemble Bhutas assuming monstrous shape of men or animals, frequenting desert places and burial grounds, and feeding on carcasses.

In proceeding now to give some account of the ceremonies and worship paid to the Bhutas, I shall confine myself principally to those current in Canara, on the Western Coast of India. The same cultus, with some variations obtains, however, all over India and Eastern and Northern Asia, the Bhuta belief being found everywhere under different names and forms.

The edificies and observances connected with Bhuta worship are both domestic and public. In villages, and very generally in towns, there is in every house a wooden cot or cradle, placed on the ground or suspended by ropes or chains, and dedicated to the Bhuta of the spot. On these are placed a bell, a knife, or sword, and a pot filled with water, all of which are collectively called the Bhandara of the Bhuta and kept either in a part of the house itself, or in a small separate building. The idea seems to be of placating the spirit that haunts the spot by making a sort of abode for it much in the same way as the creak-bowl was rightly set for the 'drudging goblin' or brownill, in England. On the last day of every lunar month flowers are laid on the cot, and perfume burnt under it, and once a year, towards the end of April, a ceremony called Tambila is performed. First, a fire is lit on the spot where the cot and paraphernalia stand, to make it 'Shoodha' i.e., clean; then fried rice, mixed with coarse sugar and grated cocoanut kernel, is heaped on two plantain leaves, which are placed on the cot, together with some young cocoanuts, pierced ready to drink from. A ball is then formed of boiled rice, coloured yellow with turmeric, and laid on a piece of plantain leaf on a small stool, which is placed before the cot, and a lighted torch struck on it. A fowl is held above the riceball and torch, its throat cut, and the blood let drop upon the ball; some perfume burnt, and the ceremony ends. The cocoanuts placed on the cot are then taken and dashed on the ground, or cloven in half. If the pieces fall with the kernel upward, it signifies the Bhuta is pleased with the offering; if with kernel downward, the reverse. Should a member of a family be stricken with any unusual attack such as apoplexy, paralysis, cholera etc., or should disease break out amongst the cattle, it is at once ascribed to the anger of the Bhuta and a propitiatory sacrifice is offered. A fowl is turned three times round before the patient's face, its neck twisted, and the blood let fall upon him, and some rubbed on his forehead and joints, the meaning being to offer life for life—the fowl in lieu of the man. Powdered sandalwood is then sprinkled over the Bhuta's cot, and the water from the cot kept there dashed upon the sick man's forehead and eyes. The family priest is then consulted, who, after much grave meditation, usually recommends alms, to be given to himself to satisfy the hostile stars, with a promise to perform a special ceremony to the Bhuta, and give a banquet to all the patient's casteme if should he recover. Medicine is not neglected, but in event of recovery, the credit is ascribed to the influence of the Bhuta.

The general buildings dedicated to these demons are called Bhutasthanas, and when dedicated to one of the superior, or very popular Bhutas, sometimes of considerable size; but far more commonly a small plain structure, four or five yards deep, by two or three yards wide, with a door at one end, covered by a portico, supported by two pillars, with a thatched roof, and windowless. In front of it there are usually three or four "T" shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. They are said to denote that the building is a Bhuthasthana, and flowers are placed, and cocoanuts broken on them at ceremonies. It may be worth noticing, that pillars of exactly the same shape are found accompanying the mysterious Balearic Talyots, the purpose of which has hitherto baffled antiquaries. Inside the Bhuthasthana there is usually a number of images-roughly made in brass in human shape, or resembling animals, such as pigs (in the British Museum there are some marble images of swine, sacred to persephone, found in the lemenos of the temple of Demeter at Cnidos, which may have been offerings, like

these Indian ones of brass), tigers and fowls etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of Bhutas on various ceremonial occasions. The Bhutas themselves are usually represented by mere rough arches. Some of the brass figures are now on the table, and the difference between the Turanian and Aryan mind will appear on comparing these rude village idols with images of the Brahmanical Gods. Brass basins, bells, peculiarly shaped sword, and some other articles used at ablutions are also kept within. These rustic stones are thickly scattered over the face of the country in very various situations-under a green tree, on hill sides, down in hollows, in jungles, on plains, by road sides, in villages, amid rice fields, but always on a small plot of waste ground, which is kept uncultivated, like the "Guild-man's craft" in Scotland. A rough drawing of one of ordinary size and appearance is annexed.

Once a year, a festival called Kola is held at the village Bhuthasthanas in honour of the local Bhuta, at which all the villagers attend. There is no fixed time for this, but the village priest, after consulting the principal inhabitants, determines an auspicious day. This being settled, a tall pole is fixed upright in the ground before the Bhutasthana and a flag, that is always kept within, hoisted upon it. The Bhuta's or paraphernalia, and the images etc., are brought out and cleaned, and a large fire kindled to purify the spot. The festival always takes place at night. At about 9'O clock, all the villagers assemble in their best attire, the women wearing all their ornaments, and their hands, as well as often the man's, thickly garlanded with flowers. Tomtoms and drums are beaten, and the Pujari or priest, takes the Bhuta sword and bell in his hands, and whirls round and round, imitating the supposed mien and gestures of the demon. But he does not aspire to full possession, which in aboriginal rites like these is only given to a representation of the aboriginal tribes, now the lowest castes. A Dher, one of the slave caste, at other times regarded with contempt, but now advanced to the foremost post, comes forward, naked, save a waistband and with all his head and body grotesquely and frightfully besmeared with white, yellow, and red paint. Over his head, and tied to his back, there is a sort of an arch, termed Ani, made of green cocoa-tree leaves, with their ends radiating out. For sometime he paces up and down, within a ring formed by the crowd, flinging about his arms, gesticulating wildly, keeping and shaking his body, furiously. Meanwhile a dozen or more tom-toms and drums are beaten incessantly and stunningly with a continually increasing din; and the Dher presently breaks into a maniac dance, capering, bounding and spinning vehemently, whilst the instruments redouble the noise, the power of the Bhuta being estimated by the fury and persistence with which the Dher dances. The multitude around joins in raising a long, monotonous, howling cry, with a peculiar vibration. At length the Dher stops, he is full of the demon, and stands fixed and rigid, with staring eyes, presently he speaks from him, in loud, hoarse, commanding tones, wholly unlike his own, or indeed any natural voice. He addresses the headman of the village first, and then the principal inhabitants in due order, for any neglect of etiquette on this point by the Bhuta would infallibly give rise to great resentment. After thus speaking to the principal villagers and asking whether all the people are present the possessed Dher goes on to say that the Bhuta is pleased with the performance of the ceremony, and exhorts all the people to behave justly and charitably to one another. Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and sub-

mitted to the decision of the Bhuta, and his award, pronounced through the Dher, is generally, though not always, submitted to. After this the demon desires to have food, and the Dher eats fried rice, and drinks the milk of young cocoanuts; or, if the demon he represents be one of low degrees, he eats animal food and drinks arrack. He then distributes areca-flowers and pieces of cocoanut to all assembled in due order of precedence, and the Bhuta passes away from him, he loses his commanding mien and tones, and relapses into the servile drudge. The assembly then addresses itself to festivity; there is much drinking of arrack, and drumming and wild music go on vehemently, interminable songs are sung, and at the first dawn the people disperse on all sides to their homes. The houses and farm-steads comprising a village in Canara lie widely scattered over a surface picturesquely diversified with hill and hollow; and not unfrequently, when riding over the country before sunrise, as Anglo-Indians do, I have met long files and troops of people returning from those nightly celebrations. They are a tall and comely race on that western coast, and looking at the women, with their many coloured, classically adjusted garments and garlanded heads, I have thought that troops of Bacchantes or Meenads descending from the valleys of Citaron, when all night long all the tambour and cymbals had been resounding and torches flaming beneath the pine trees, might not have been so dissimilar to them, and that had we exact details of the wild Bacchic origines and rites of the mighty mother, manifestations might be disclosed not distantly akin to these now witnessed in the East (Circe, whose name is derived from the whirling magic dance, with her herd of transformed Bhuta-like votaries, may be also cited: and the Salii, or leaping priests of early Rome. Compare too, the Arabian storm, the striking picture in Southey's "Thalaba" (Cantix) of the terrible witch Khawla, possessed by Eblis, and uttering inspired warnings after wild gyrations and a bloody sacrifice; a shadow of such rites may survive in the spinning Dervishes today).

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It is indeed striking to survey how ancient and how widely spread are the ideas and observations already described. In Tinnevelly, the extreme South province of the Indian Peninsula, the popular cultus is devil worship, essentially the same as the Bhuta worship of Canara, and has been described minutely by the Rev. Caldwell of the Tinnevelly Mission. The devil-dancer, as the officiating person is called, grotesquely arrayed and bedizened, dances, with gradually increasing frenzy, to the quickening clamour of drums and cymbals, whirling and leaping till the afflatus descends, then, when under full control of the demon, he is worshipped as a present deity, and consulted by the bystanders respecting their diseases, wants and the welfare of absent relations. Mr. Caldwell has also pointed out that all such observances are identical, point for point, shamanite worship of Siberia, the hill-tribes, of South Western China and of the Northern Asia, as the subjoined passage will show:

"When the Shaman, or Magician, performs his rites, he puts on a garment trimmed with rattles and bells, he cries horribly, shakes his robe, beats a drum, whilst the bystanders, increase the din by striking on iron kettles. When the shaman by his contortions, yells and whirling has succeeded in assuming the appearance of something preternatural, the assembled multitude are impressed with the belief that the demon has taken possession of him, and regard him with wonder and dread. When quite exhausted he makes a sign that the spirit has left him, and then imports the people the intimation he has received".

I have witnessed oracular responses given under the supposed control of a demon, after gesticulatory dances amongst that peculiar tribe, often mentioned before this society, the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills. In Siam, spirit dances are held in a shed built for the purpose, in which offerings are set out for the demon, who is invited by the usual wild music to come down to the dance; but there is this peculiarity, that there a demon always enters a woman, which is scarcely ever heard of in India. In New Zealand the Tohunga, or priests, evoke after certain wild ceremonies the spirits of the dead, who speek through them in strange, unearthly tones. Nearly the same practices have been described as prevailing amongst the greenland eskimos.

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Very often Bhutas become a sort of house-spirits, such as are heard of in many popular mythologies, more or less mischievous and delighting in Robin Good fello's pranks.

Roman Catholics are very numerous in Canara, but quite as subject to these demonical annoyances as the Hindus. Amongst published accounts it is enough to mention the "Stockwell Ghost", and the "Demon of Tedworth".

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Charms or amulets against the evil influence of Bhutas are: wearing the tooth or nail of a tiger on the neck or near the loin, or an iron ring set with pearls on the finger. A lime in the turban, or a figure of Hanuman, the monkey God, engraved on any ornament, are also efficacious, especially in Sundays and Tuesdays But the most powerful remedy must have been when, in the days of the Rajahs of Coorg, a principality bordering on Canara, it was customary for the Amaldars, or native heads of division, to issue notices and orders to the Bhutas, in the name of the Rajah, not to molest any particular individual, to quit any tree they haunted which was required to be felled, and to desist from any particular act or annoyance. It is stated that these behests of the Government were never disobeyed, which, indeed, is not unlikely, as the last Coorg Rajah was not a man who understood being trifled with, either by man or demon.

To conclude this subject, the idea is quite familiar that Bhutas may be perturbed ghosts, "doomed for a certain term to walk the night" but longing to escape from their thraldom and be laid to rest. For the repose of any such unhappy spirit the following ceremony is prescribed:

An image of Vishnu must be engraved on a gold plate, arrayed with a yellow cloth, and washed with water from a holy stream. Around this, placed in the centre, similar images of other principal Gods must be arranged, arrayed and washed in like manner. Then a sacrifice of all manner of perfumes, and quantities of ghee and milk, must be offered, and all the funeral ceremonies in honour of the deceased should be gone through and the funeral cakes offered anew in presence of the golden images of the Gods. Next, a banquet must be given to thirteen pure Brahmans, presenting each a mattress, a horse, and a gold pot full of milk. Their united mantrams (i.e., incantations) will then release the soul from its unclean Bhuta state and remit to the salvation. But all this seems to be a device of later times, invented by Brahmans to increase their influence and the authority of their Gods over the low caste deities. It would also be a costly ceremony, and I never heard of its having been actually performed.

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APPENDIX III

Extract from Census of India 1891—Volume XIII—Madras Part I—The Report H. A. Stuart I. C. S., Madras 1893—Page 53 Chapter III—Religion: An Account of Chief Religion

(Para 93, Devil Worship)

The beginning of Dravidian religious ideas can be traced, with but little doubt, to a belief in spirits and the fear of the evils they inflict. As to their origin and nature I cannot do better than quote the following from an article on *Demonolatry in South* by the Bishop Caldwell.

"The majority of the devils are supposed to have been originally human beings, and the class of persons most frequently supposed to have been transformed into devils are those who had met with a sudden or violent death, especially if they had made themselves dreaded in their life time. Devils may, in consequence, be either male or female, or low or high caste of Hindu or foreign origin. Their character and mode of life seems to be little, if at all, modified by difference of this nature. All are powerful, malicious, and interfering, and all are desirous of bloody sacrifices and frantic dance. The only difference apparent are in the structure of the altar or image built to their honour, the insignia worn by their priests, the minutiae of the ceremonies observed in their worship, the preference of the sacrifice of a goat by one, a hog by another, and a cock by a third, or in the addition of libations of ardent spirits, for which some low caste demons stipulate. As for their abode, the majority of the devils are supposed to dwell in trees, some wander to and fro, and go up and down in uninhabited wastes, some inhabit old wells, and some skulk in shady retreats, sometimes they take up their abode in the rude altar erected in their honour or in houses, some inhabit palmyara palms, the leaves of which have never been cut" (on Demonology in South India, by the Right Rev. R. Caldwell D. 'D. LLD., Bishop of Tinnevelly, in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. I P. 96).

Many diseases, especially severe and obstinate maladies, are ascribed to possession by devils; hysteria is always attributed to this source. The devils cause cattle diseases, failure of crops, accidents, and in fact misfortunes generally. They are believed to beat people, to throw stones on houses, to fire the thatch. Sometimes they content themselves with frightening the timid. "In short the demons do much evils, but no good. They often cause terror, but never bestow benefits, or evince any affection for their votaries. They must be placated by sacrifice, because they are so mischievous but there is no use in supplicating their favour. If in any case, the hope of obtaining a benefit seem to be their votary's motive in worshipping them, further inquiry proves that it is under the supposition that the demon's malignity stands in the way of what would otherwise be obtained as a matter of course". (Caldwell, Op. Cit. P. 100).

When the 'doctor' attending a sick person finds that the malady is unknown to him or will not yield to his remedies, he certifies that it is a case of possession, and the exorciser is then called in to expel the demon by his charms and incantations. After expulsion a sacrifice of a fowl or a goat is frequently made to the devil to placate him, or as a species of compensation for disturbance. From time to time, sacrifices are made to the demons to induce them, to abstain from inflicting calamities or to remove evils which they have already inflicted. The usual victim is a goat which must be black. To ascertain whether it is acceptable, water is thrown on it, and if it shakes it is regarded as fit for sacrifice. (Caldwell, Op. Cit. p. 103. The existence of a similar practice amongst the Thugs is mentioned in Lyall's Asiatic Studies page 14, and in a footnote he refers to the use of this test among the Greeks at the sacrifice of a goat which preceded the interrogation of an oracle.) The object of the devil dances, which are so common in parts of the presidency, is not to propitiate the devil but to consult it. After the dancing and music have proceeded for sometime the devil enters the body of the dancer, and is interrogated by the persons attending the performance respecting their present ills or their desires for the future. I give below the names of a few of the principal devils:—

Katteri: A female devil, who sets fire to houses

Munishwaran: A male demon said to be the husband of Katteri.

Ratta Chamundi: i.e. Bloody Chamundi—a female; frequents the burial ground of the low castes.

Shudalaimadan: The devil of the burning ground.

Shulaimadan: The 'Furnace devil' particularly dreaded by the potters, as he breaks their pottery which is being burnt in the Kiln.

Mallan: "The Giant"

Muchandimuppan: The old man of the three roads; said to lie in wait for people at places where three roads meet.

Maduraivtran: Described to me as "The Inspector of the devils".

The role of devils, however, is by no means closed, and the spirit of any person who died a violent or sudden death or was of malevolent disposition is believed to haunt the place of his dissolution and to do as much injury as possible to living people. ("Man-eating tigers are always believed to be 'informed' by the souls of human beings, generally those who have died from violence. Shortly after the Rampa Disturbances of 1880, man-eating tigers caused many deaths in a part of the neighbouring district of Vizagapatam, to which the little rebellion had extended, and I was frequently informed that these dreaded brutes were the spirits of men who had been killed fighting or executed by the authorities, and who had taken these form in order to be revenged on the human race for their misery".)

APPENDIX IV

Extracts from "Transactions of the Archaeological Society of India", Vol. I, 1955. Madras.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION: INDIAN EVIDENCE

By T. G. Aravamuthan

1. Tulu-Nad Religion : General features

The eminently factual report on the antiquities of Tulu-Nad which Mr. P. R. Srinivasan has presented..... contains so many pointers to the beginnings and to the course of culture in this country, and the discoveries that he has made at Barkur are so singular and so instructive, not only with regard to growth of religious ideas in this country but also with reference to religion in general, that it is necessary to attempt, on the basis of the material which he has discovered, ..., to sketch the lines along which primitive thought, as evidenced in Tulu-Nad, could have risen in this country to the higher levels which have been stages in the progress of an enlightened culture, and to endeavour to discover what the origins of religious thought in general could be.

Tulu-Nad has lain so much in the shadows that it is all too little known. Of traces of pre-historic remains in the region there seem to be few. Of primitive institutions the only one known is that of descent of property through the sister's son, known as the Aliya-Santana Kattu,—System of Devolution through the Nephew (by a Sister),—but this is only a variant of the much better known system of Maru-Makkat-Tayam which obtains in Malabar, the territory immediately to the South.

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Mr. Srinivasan's discoveries at Barkur, however, are revelations of great significance. They enable us, in looking at the growth of religion in the various regions of the world in the light of its origin in India, and at the origins in India in the light of the facts found in Tulu-Nad, to trace unrecognised stages in the development of religion in India and to investigate whether such stages are unknown among primitive cultures in general.

Four of the finds at Barkur are queer animals, of carved wood, which are in worship by Brahmanas whose philosophical tenets are far from primitive. These figures and their worship are not known to have parallels elsewhere in India. No tradition, no literature and no sculpture of figurine or painting of the past twenty-five centuries attests to the vogue of such cult objects or of the offering of worship to them. But, parallels are to be found in the Harappa Culture and there is enough in the Rg-Veda to justify an assumption that the cult and the cult-objects could not have been unknown to that culture and to that hymns. These figures appear, therefore, to be of unique value to a study of the nature of the religions of the Harappan and Rg-Vedic cultures and of the transition to modern Hinduism. They stand up

silently calling on us to determine their significance, to account for their survival, to identify their ancestors and to trace their collaterals. What is more, they present themselves in a milieu which is held to be one of a very primitive system of religion,—the worship of Bhutas, taken to be the worship of spirits of the dead imagined in animal forms. The challenge is, therefore, all the more provocative. Indeed, the challenge to us is to justify current notions on what is primitive, especially in India, and what is modern, and on what is 'Dravidian' and what is 'Aryan'.

This paper is a response to the challenge. An elucidation of the mystery of these figures necessarily involves both a study of the milieu in which the mystery has had its home and of the cultures in which the mystery could have originated. So it is that the special characteristics of the classic Hinduism of the region and the possibility of Vedic and Harappan associations with the Bhuta cult are given much attention here as what may be deemed to be the feature of the Bhuta cult.

2. *Classic Hinduism in Tulu-Nad*

Emphasis appears to have come to be laid on the worship of Subramanya and of Vishnu in the Vyuha form, in the age which we may call the classic period of Hinduism.

Karkal has a temple to Vishnu, with Ananta Padmanabha in the Holy of Holies, and with Samkarshana (Balarama), Pradyumna and Aniruddha in niches in the outer faces of the Holy of Holies. Clearly, this is a temple to Vishnu in his Vyuha manifestation, exemplifying the acceptance in Tulu-Nad of a practice of dedicating temples in conformity with the Pancharatra cult of a four-fold manifestation of Vishnu-Narayana. .....

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3. *Bhuta Cult Tulu-Nad*

Ubiquitous in Tulu-Nad is the cult of Bhutas. Bhutas are believed to be disembodied spirits or ghosts of the human dead; while not incapable of malignant evil they are not incapable of good as well. Such characteristics of ghosts, ghouls, goblins, demons and devils in other complexes of belief as that they practise unholy arts, delude men, lure them to destruction, animate dead bodies, feed on them and frequent cemetries, are not absent. A small stone is placed on the ground or a little plank of wood is inserted in the wall of a house, and it represents a Bhuta forthwith. On a low stand placed on the floor of a house or on a plank suspended from the roof are placed a vessel of water, a bell and small sword, as apparatus of domestic worship. There are also images of men and beasts of birds, cast in metal, or carved of wood or stone, and set up with modest ostentation in small shrines raised in glades or groves or annexed to temples of the well-known gods of Hinduism. The ritual of worship includes the slaying of beasts and birds and had, for sequel, the deliverv of prophesies or the utterance of oracular dicta by an officiant whose spirit attains a state of exaltation for the nonce. So popular is the cult that Tulu-Nad has often been branded as among the most be-devilled lands of the wide world.

The Bhutas, in their innumerable hordes, are accepted as the spirits of the dead of people of the 'lower' castes, only one, Brahma, or

Brahmara of Kemmule, being said to be the spirit of a Brahmana. Bhutas have their devotees in the 'lower orders', and the officiants too belong to those orders, only the Bhuta of Brahman antecedents having Brahmana worshippers and a Brahmana priest.

Many of the Bhutas bear names that are Samskritic: Bhavani, Bhoja-Maharaja, Brahman, Bhairava, Dharma-deva, Dhumra, Dhurmati, Durgi, Gandhari, Isvara-Kumara, Ishta-devata, Jathadhari, Kalahasti, Kanya-Kumara, Khadaga-Ravana, Kshetrapala, Kumarasvami, Mahesvara, Mahesvari, Patala-Bhairava, Raktesvari, Rudra-Chaundi and Varmalataya.

The folk-tales we have of the Bhutas of Tulu-Nad are replete with particulars about them and the cult that centres round them. One of the legends is cast very much in the form of a Purana of Samskritic literature, but the difference in spirit is pronounced. No tale is typical of the series, but the tenor of the tales is not markedly different from that of the tale which tells of the Bhuta Jarandaya who, committing murders, enters the bodies of men and calves, but settles down to a comparatively stationary life, though not to respectability, when a shrine is built for him.

Pistols and guns flourished by hunters, in addition to bows, arrows and darts, a European chair with four legs for a king to sit on, English as the script which, and the pen as the tool with which children conceived a preference for learning to write, abandoning palm leaves and iron stylus, and used stamp-papers for superior writings find mention in these tales. Records engraved on stones and grants given by deeds executed on copper plates are spoken of. A Posa-Maharaja (Bhoja-Maharaja) as a Bhuta, a Bil-Sultan, the reign of an Akkaji-Mamuji, a sculptor who, having sculptured the giant image of Gomata at Sravana Belgola, killed himself as he could not bear the criticism of a youth who, all unknown, was his son, and the son, who, for the people of Karkal and Venur, carved better sculptures than that father, have active roles. Pilgrimages to the Ganga for baths in it for washing off sins, the merit of consigning the ashes of the dead to the waters of that river, the heinousness of killing cows, especially at Kasi, the magnitude of the sea of Rama-Samudram, the sanctity of the eastern mountain, Tirupati, which is reached by a vovage, and the sanctity of the taking of vows standing besides the Lord Venkata-Ramana of Tirupati, are mentioned and expatiated on. Narayana, as Vishnu's distinctive form and name, Narayana's creation of the lotus, his bed of flowers and the sleep into which he falls when on that bed, Surya-Naravana as one of his manifestations, Isvara as his Saivite counterpart, the thirty-three crores of gods, and the Asuras as terrible beings are well known. Kailasa is spoken of as Siva's abode, Vaikuntha as Vishnu's, and Brahmaloka or Satvaloka as Brahma's. The Mappillas and their mosques, the Christians, and Mecca and Maccao as ports are not unknown.

Of how a man on death becomes a Bhuta we are told little; only in one tale do we have a reference to the process. The dead man goes as a spirit to Brahma, but he is asked to go back and bring his brother: the brother commits suicide so that he may become a spirit: they both go to Brahma as spirits, but they are asked to get themselves purified: they come to earth and ask for purification: thereupon, their ashes are collected on the ninth day and the salva performed on the tenth, three posts being planted on the burial ground, and each wrapped with cloth of different colours: the brothers return to Brahma's world.

take their stand to his right and become members of his Council; they are, ever afterwards, honoured in the world, as greatly as Brahma himself. Bhutas ask for the performance of the raising of Vishnu's flag and the figure of Garuda and, then, become known in their villages as Bhuta and they establish themselves there. A Bhuta, apparently of the common kind, becomes the family god of a Bhatta, who was the master of a village. A Bhuta pushed with his dagger a stone which could be drawn only by seven and seven elephants. Bhutas have attendants, apparently of their own kind. A Brahma Bhuta had attendants without legs and attendants who were headless and had only torsos. The altar of a Bhuta shrine is a Tiru-Ayana. It is not proper at all to hold a feast for a toddy-drawer's Bhuta with all musical instruments playing; one horn and a drum should be enough. A Sudra would not take a flower or sandal from a toddy-drawer's Bhuta. A Bhuta could be transferred from the person to another by flowers and rice being thrown on the priest personating the Bhuta. An appropriate offering to a Brahma Bhuta is a figure of Brahma himself. Bhutas fight with vigour on their daggers being placed in the field of battle. Bhutas ask for shrine, then for a bell and a sword in the shrine and, then, for great festivals in their honour. A Bhuta declares himself to be one of the five Bhutas of Saira, while another proclaims himself the Three Bhutas of that place, perhaps because, at the time, he had had three shrines to him in the place. The highest honours a Bhuta could ask for are the honours given to a god,—a bell and a sword, such as are given to Brahma. The Bhuta Jumadi, settling down in a place where a high god of the name of the eternal God is enshrined, calls himself the Eternal Jumadi. Bhuta went to visit the Siva of Somesvara, circumambulated the god at noon, and then became a cock and crowed on the top of the temple. In the exuberance of vigour Bhutas set themselves, sometimes, against one or other of the gods: a Bhuta, finding the Siva Mahalingesvara of Pandesvar walking round his temple at noon, became a cock and crowed on the top of the temple, much to the annoyance of the god: a couple of lads, brothers, apparently on the way to becoming Bhutas, walked three times round the famous temple of Kukke-Subbaraya (Subrahmanya), but arranging for a battle between them and that God, shot arrows which broke that god's flagstaff and shattered the top of his fane to three pieces. The male attendants of the gods prevent Bhutas from entering the service of their gods, but sometimes the interference of these attendants has a contrary effect, Bhuta seeking service under the gods for securing protection. In answer to a prayer, the Bhuta of Brahmana descent, Brahmara of Kemmule, descended from the seventh story of his temple to the third, riding a white horse, holding a silver umbrella, breast covered with a white shield wearing a garland of white conch-shells on his right shoulder and a garland of black shells on his left, and holding a discus on his head: receiving offerings, he gave prasada.

How far may we, on data such as these, venture on speculations on the characteristics of the Bhuta cult and on its origins or growth, in Tulu-Nad and in other regions where it flourishes in analogues and variations?

Being tales told to large audiences at celebrations in honour of Bhutas it is inevitable that the tales should include much of material which though introduced for the moment as of topical interest for the delectation of the audiences, might have caught public fancy and, therefore, got incorporated in what may be called the standard texts of the

stories. Such would be the reference to pistols, guns and the European chair, to writing in English characters and on 'stamp papers', and to voyages to Mecca and Macao. The mention of Christians and of Mappillas and their mosques is but allusion to facts contemporary with the narrators of the stories who, even if they knew what an anachronism means, would not have avoided it if by singing against it they could have made the audience laugh. The references to personages like Bhoja-Maharaja, Bil-Sultan and Akkaji-Mamuji are, in all probability, survivals from days when mention of them might have been topical: they have been retained, perhaps, because they serve to impart that air of other-time-ness which is essential to a folk-tale, and not because they mark the tale as the narration of an event of a particular date. The rising of the statues of Gommata at Sravana-Belgola, Karkal and Venur are deteable with more or less accuracy, but the tales of the sculptors of these great monuments may not, in fact, pertain to those sculptors, for the currency of a story involving the builder of the Great Temple at Tanjore and his son, suggests that a fictional Motif of Sculptor-Father-contra-Sculptor-Son was not unknown.

Vishnu, Siva, Brahma and their kind are admittedly the high gods of the Bhutas: Surva-Narayana and Subrahmanya are also to the fore among the major gods: the plebian divinities number thirty three crores; the Ganga is sacred: cow-killing is inexcusable sin; service under the great gods is what Bhutas hanker for, they being apprehensive of being excluded by the well-established attendants; great is the yearning of the Bhutas for a sojourn in Brahmaloka; Vaikuntha, Kailasa and Satyaloka are the worlds to which even Bhutas should ultimately go: they too require a gathering unto the fathers through a sa-pindi-karana, for the three stones of which ritual are substituted the three be-flagged posts set up at their funerals; the names of Bhutas are frequently Samskritic. Such are the side lights we get of the milieu in which folk literature places the Bhutas and of the feelings they endow them with.....

That Bhutas do not recognise themselves as having become such till Vishnu's flag, with Garuda emblazoned on it, has been raised in front of their shrines appears to suggest more than that Bhutas have an affinity to Vishnu, the Garuda flag ordinarily floating only in front of the shrines to Vishnu himself..... The folk literature is otherwise clear that Bhutas aspired only to service under Vishnu.....

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We find, thus, that in Tulu-Nad the 'lower orders' to whom alone the Bhutas were the 'gods' of a cult were also imbued with the religious beliefs and sentiments of the 'higher orders', and virtually in the same degree. The Bhuta cult was valid as a type of religion but it was low in the scale because of its marked association with the cult of the dead. Higher doctrines and faiths are found together with lower beliefs and practices among the lower orders. While the higher orders hold with understanding and conviction to the higher doctrines and the nobler faith.....and while they look indulgently on, accept the superiority of the higher doctrines and faith or to endeavour to guide their lives by them to the extent they can. A stratification which is social but not religious, and a religious compatibility between the higher and the lower religious beliefs and practices, though not a homegeneity, mark faith and life, in Tulu-Nad as everywhere else in India.

That there is a lack of a uniformity in the texture of belief and practice in religion in India is not to be denied, but whether this arises from past and present differences in religious outlook or whether it has its origin in differences in culture levels and whether these differences spring from differences in 'races' are the questions that interest the student of the growth of religion.

4. The Unique Images at Barkur

In a region full of shrines to Bhutas we find, at Barkur, certain places of worship the images in which are so much out of the common run that they deserve close study for the light they throw both on Bhuta worship and on cults which appear to be greatly different.

The Rangan-Kere Bhuta-sthana contains the images of tigers and other beings familiar in Bhuta shrines, but along with them are other images which are of interest. A carved head of the 'Two Sisters' (the Elder Sister and the Younger) is apparently the representation of one composite personality who,—in the all too clear absence of other parallels—may be taken to be compounded of the Goddess of Misfortune and Fortune,—the Elder Sister and the Younger,—known to the Samskritic cultures as A-Lakshmi and Lakshmi. Perhaps they are but personifications of the principles of the diti (wealth) and the aditi (want) which, in the Rg-Veda, Agni is prayed to grant and to ward off, respectively,—personifications which entered into the composition of the Diti and the Aditi of Vedic mythology. Though we do not come across an integration of these two goddesses it is yet not unlikely that they were occasionally brought together in recognition of life being a complex of ups and downs. A figure of Purusha (Man) and another of Hen ('woman') found also in the shrine may not be treated as Bhutas, for the presence of mirror in the hand of the 'Woman' suggests that she represents a Sati,—one who gave up her life along with her husband, the 'Man' being the Hero-Husband. But we cannot be quite sure that a mirror in the hand of a woman, though sculptured and set up in such a shrine, need mark her as a Sati. In the ambulatory passage are two figures of Nandi-Konas, (Nandi-Gonas) which will be referred to presently.

In the Shedigudde temple to Revanta, a complex of a shrine opening out into a hall, we find a number of curious figures. In the hall, we have a pair of Nandi-Konas, 'Bull-He-Buffaloes' each being shaped into a composite form appropriate to the name, the buffalo element being apparent in the characteristic posture of the head. Such Nandi-Konas are not unknown in Bhuta shrines, but the two here are unique for being known, severally, as Akasa-Nandi-Kona and Antariksh-Nandi-Kona. Notwithstanding the difference in the names the two animals look quite alike. Near by, in the same hall is a third figure, which goes by the name of Urddhva-Sringi, 'the Upward Horned', which, fashioned just like a Nandi-Kona, differs in that it bears only one horn which, in shape like a bull's, rises in solitary state from almost the crown of the buffalo-head. In the shrine itself, beside the principal image, Revanta, are two curious figures. One of them, is a composite figure, human above and buffalo below, carved to show it kneeling. It is believed to represent the family that founded the Aliya-Santana-Kattu, the Law of the 'lower orders' of the region. The other is a five-headed Nandi-Kona, each head being that of an Urddhva-Sringi,—a creature with one torso for five Urddhva-Sringi heads,—and it bears appropriately the name Gana, 'Group'.

The figure associated with the Aliya-Santana-Kattu is a riddle. That it represents a family and not an individual may not be above question especially as the traditions relating to the Kattu are not clear about its founder or founders. The family of the Kattu is not a unit markedly distinct from the family subject to the same type of law, Maru-Makkat-Tayam in neighbouring Malabar, which does not claim to have had a family for founder. An identification of the figure with Mahisha-Asura, the Buffalo-Demon, cannot be sustained, for the Kattu does not betray the least trace of an Asura element. Were the human component in the figure that of a woman, it could be suggested, that woman, as the conduit for descent of property in the Kattu, was 'the powerful one', or 'mahishi', that by a transference of ideas the 'mahishi was taken to have founded the Kattu, and that as 'mahishi' means also the 'she-buffalo', the Woman Founder was figured as half-woman and half-buffalo. But the figure of the Kattu incorporates, and all too clearly, a man, and not a woman. Kattu, or Law, is Dharma, and Dharma is frequently equated to Yama, and Yama's symbol is the Mahisha, Buffalo. It is, therefore likely that our figure of Purush-Mahisha, Buffalo-man, is no other than the author and the enforcer of the Law, Yama-Dharma-raja.

Nandi-Konas, known also as Nandi-Gonas, being said to be not uncommon in Bhuta shrines all over the region, must be presumed to be forms of Bhutas or of kindred beings, though Bhutas are not usually represented in forms compounded of those two or more animals. Nandi-Konas lacking the humps characteristic of bulls and, not infrequently, their horns being those of the nandi, bull, and they holding their heads as buffalos do theirs,—craned and low,—there can be little doubt but that the Nandi-Kona figures do really represent the combination of animals that the name 'Bull-He-Buffalo' implies. The explanation of why there are no integrations of other animals to represent Bhutas is perhaps two-fold. The bull and the buffalo, both noted for their strength, might have been deemed to be the most appropriate of animals to be brought together in symbolic emphasis of the surpassing strength of the Bhutas. The Bull, Nandi, being the foremost of Siva's attendants, and Siva being Bhuta-isvara and Gana-isvara, Lord of Bhutas and of Ganas (groups of the lesser powers or beings) and the Kona (Gona), Buffalo, being the 'powerful one', mahisha, the two animals exhibit, in conjoined form, the virility of Bhutas as the following of Siva. But, Vishnu too has claims to be represented as a Bull: he is Vrisha-paksha, Vrisha-pria and Go-pati: he too is Bhuta-isvara and Gana-isvara. Nandi-Konas may, therefore, be representations of Vishnu as appropriately as of Siva. Perhaps, however, the evidence weighs the scales, as we have seen, in favour of Vishnu being, in Tulu-Nad, the well accepted over-lord of Bhutas.

The two Nandi-Konas in the Reventa shrine at Shedigudde go severally by the names, Akasa-Nandi-Kona and the Antariksha-Nandi-Kona, the former getting, thus, associated with the sky, and the latter with the Intermediate Region,—two of the three rajamsi". The Bull and the Buffalo being, each of them, apt comparison, in the figurative language of the Rig-Veda, to Agni, Indra, Parjanya, Soma and Vata-Vayu, all of these gods could appropriately be figured in an integration of the Bull and the Buffalo, that is, in a Nandi-Kona. Indra, Parjanya and Vayu-Vata being of the aerial, or the intermediate, region, according to an ancient classification of the gods, could be represented in Antariksha-Nandi-Kona. Agni and Soma being of the terrestrial region could be Nandi-Konas of the earthly region, but no Nandi-Kona called after the earth is found in the shrine. At the same time, no god assigned to the celestial region appears to be qualified to be a Nandi-Kona, none of

these gods being compared, in the Rg-Veda to both Bull and Buffalo. It may, therefore, be that components of the Nandi-Konas are not to be found among the higher gods of the Rg-Veda. The Fathers, Pitris, are said to be of three classes, being of the three regions: those mortals whose departure has been recent are still of the terrestrial region, whereas those of the middle and of the upper regions are those Fathers who have attained to higher lives. So, the Antariksha and the Akasa Nandi-Konas might severally stand for the Fathers of the Middle and the Upper regions. Apparently, the Bhuta figures commonly set up all over the land represent the third, or the terrestrial, class of the Fathers.

The Urddhva-Sringi, 'the Upward Horned', which is also Eka-Sringi, 'the One-Horned', may not be an adaptation of the Nandi-Kona, for the animal has a face that is pronouncedly that of a bull, and it holds its head up, without craning forward abjectly like a buffalo. In ancient description of the Hall of Audience of Prajapati-Brahma we have an enumeration of those who assemble in it to be received in audience. Along with the Gods are 'the Rakshasas, the Pisachas, the Danavas, the Guhyakas, serpents, birds and various other animals and all other mobile and immobile great beings; as also groups, seven in number, of the Fathers, among whom figure the 'One-Horned', Eka-Sringas, who form a group which, having become embodied, receive worship from Kshatriyas. If the One-Horned figure of Barkur is an image of the Eka-Sringa group of Fathers, it is appropriately placed, for it stands in the immediate presence of the five-headed Gana, who, as we shall immediately see, is Prajapati-Brahma, but, there can be no accounting for providing such representation at Barkur for only one group of the Fathers ignoring the other six groups. Much better known is Eka-Sringi as a name of Vishnu, and Vishnu, as we shall also see, is the god in whose presence it is that the Fathers get released from the bond of earthly existence. So, the probabilities appear to be in favour of the Barkur-Eka-Sringi being a representation of Vishnu.

The Gana, being a Bull with five Eka-Sringi heads, could be well taken for what may popularly be said to be a Vishnu the essence of whose personality is quintupled in the figure. It is problematical, however, if this interpretation would conform to that of other figures we know of with five heads, such as Pancha-Mukha-Hanuman or Pancha-Mukha-Vinavaka. Prajapati has as many as five mouths. In an advice given to a childless person to worship the Moon as Soma on the full-moon day, Soma is directed to be invoked as Prajapati who is five-mouthed,—the mouths being, severally, Brahmana, King, Hawk, Agni, and an unspecified one, with which, though he eats up kings, the people, birds, the world and all beings, respectively, he is still prepared to make of his devotee an eater of food by that mouth. Prajapati has given himself five-mouths for creating and destroying everything and feeding his devotees. He is Lord of Creation, but as whatsoever is created must after a period of sheltered existence, perish,—the uncreate alone being eternal,—he is also Preserver and Destroyer. That the five mouths implied five heads and that Prajapati was penta-cephalic may be presumed from his Puranic personality being that of Brahma who started his career with five heads though, later, one of the heads was nipped off by Siva. Prajapati readily offers himself as victim in sacrifice for the due consummation of the purpose he has in his three-fold office. In token, perhaps, of the sacrifice being of all that he has created, he becomes the horse, of the human lord of all that is create, the Emperor, Chakravarti, and immolates himself in the sacrificial fire,—thus performing the Asvamedha, the sacrifice of the Horse of the Chakravarti. In far away Cambodia, in a

great monument, the Angkor-Vat, built in the great days of the sway of an ancient line of 'Hinduised' monarchs,—whether in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. or at the close of the twelfth does not matter for the present purpose,—was set up, among other sculptured figures, that of a gigantic animal with five heads, each head being a horse's. Mace-bearers clearing the way, dancers capering besides, attendants running between legs with broom to gather up the 'ambrosial' dung which the animal may let fall, triple parasols rising high, right and left, great necklace rolling on common chest swollen with assurance, bridle running up to each eye, lock of hair wound round each ear, passed through pearl-set rings and terminated in a little pointed horn, a regal crown rising with triple loti-form embellishments from each head—thus does the five-headed animal present itself as the Horse of the Asvamedha, the symbol of the self-sacrifice of five-headed Prajapati. And Prajapati is the Supreme Being, that is, Vishnu.

The five-heads of the Barkur Gana are those of Unicorns, Eka-Sringis,—those of Vishnu who is Eka-Sringi. Is it probable that the Barkur Gana represents a transformation of Prajapati into Vishnu who is preserver and, as Narayana, Creator of the Creator (Brahma) and, ergo, Destroyer with the Discus? It is unlikely that this Gana stands for Siva, though Siva is either Prajapati himself or the creator of Prajapati, for though he has five heads in his form of Sadasiva, those heads are not those of Eka-Sringis. It is equally improbable that he is Vishnu, for, then, a Vishnu will be in the sanctum sanctorum keeping a Vishnu waiting in the audience hall to gain audience. The probabilities seem, therefore, to be that this Gana is Prajapati-Brahma. The Revanta in the temple would, then, be in the temple as the head of another group of demi-gods, the Guhyakas, Wardens of concealed treasure, who are usually in attendance on Prajapati.

These identifications, being self-consistent, seem to be highly probable. There appears to be no other basis on which the figures could be accounted for. The Shedigudde temple would, thus, be one dedicated to Prajapati-Brahma, with Yama-Dharma and Guhyaka-isa in immediate attendance, with Vishnu and the Fathers of the upper and Middle regions waiting in the audience chamber for audience, and with the common Bhuta figures all the land over representing the 'terrestrial' Fathers waiting to be called in for audience in due course.

5. *Evidence of Harappan and Rg-Vedic Cultures*

The Harappan Culture is one in which animals are in the limelight. The best known of the antiquities brought up by excavation in the sites of that Culture are seals bearing designs of animals which, conceived of statically and sketched frigidly, have an appearance of standing coldly aloof. While there is a plethora of representations of animals in low relief in the seals, figurines of animals are not equally numerous. Human figurines of terra cotta are in plenty, while human figures are very rare in seals, being confined, where they appear, to scenes of combat with animals and to manifestations with three faces: occasionally, beast is fitted out with human face. That all these figures are inseparably connected with a cult or cults, with mythology to match, is obvious from the emphasis on formality which the engraved figures

betray, from the attentive provision of trappings for the animals which may have as much of a ritual as of an ornamental purpose, from the placing before them of what may be offering vessels or standards, from the carrying of an animal on high in state and from natural and composite beasts being shown as engaged in combat more attentive to execution than the modellers in clay have ordinarily been and, curiously, the appearance of the human figures in clay is not consonant with that of the men and the women carved in the seals. Still, there can be no denying the general harmony of the art of these objects and of the homogeneity of the ideas pervading the representations in low relief and in the round.

The brahmani bull, the gaura-bull, the buffalo, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the tiger and the antelope are among the larger animals represented; the goat and the dog are among the smaller ones, the crocodile and the serpent among those that crawl or creep, are depicted; the Garuda is one of the few birds figured.

These are all nature's creatures, and these exhibit themselves in the seals in no mood which calls for notice. There being no evidence of their representation having met any special need or served any special purpose, it has been inferred that the seals are no more than amulets, charms or talismans and that the figures in them have only a protective virtue.

No less characteristic of the remains of the culture are the representations of composite creatures, in seals or in the round. A bull is lifted out with wings, or is integrated with an elephant and a goat, or with an elephant and a tiger. A dog and a rhinoceros are fused in one; so are a rhinoceros and an antelope. More complicated creatures are not wanting, such as a beast incorporating in itself as many as six, if not seven, elements, —man, bull, elephant, goat, horse and tiger and perhaps, a scorpion.

The Unicorn is perhaps the most popular and significant of the beasts: it is a composite animal, the components differing variously, but including the bull, the horse and the camel invariably, the horse lending it the arched neck and the attitude, and the camel lending the eye sometimes and the horizontal pose of the head invariably. The torso of a bull bears three heads, —those of the brahmani bull, the gaura bull and the antelope, or of brahmani bull, the antelope and the unicorn, —and each head looks in a different direction. The integrations have been explained as due either to the idle working of Indian imagination or to a desire to create 'deities' of manifold powers. The inscrutable Unicorn has been dubbed a character in a folk tale.

There are a few seals in which animals are depicted as involved in what may be called 'scenes', such as a Tiger-Bull struggling with a Bull-Man. These animals have been treated as genii and the scenes have been taken to evidence the growth of mythology. It has, however, been confessed, though with reservations, that there may be esoteric or other ideas lurking behind the animals.

The human being in his natural form is represented freely in figures, but only rarely in the seals. In just a few seals he is a suppliant before an animal or a god. Duplicated forms are also found, as where two human heads are joined Janus-like. Other figures there are in

which one element or other of a human being is compounded with the elements of a bull and a tiger, of a bull, and a lion, and of a bull and a goat or ram.

Human beings, besides figuring in integrations with animals, are occasionally represented either in their natural shape, in a kind of multiplication, or intensification, of the natural shape, as for instance with three faces, and attended on by serpents. A figure of a three-headed man, seated in a Yoga pose, on a base bearing a representation of a deer in a cult-situation, and in the midst of a fore-gathering of animals, has been treated as the most revealing of the remains of this Culture and accepted as a representation of Pasupati, who is as much the Lord of Cattle as of Yogis. A figure in the round, many-headed in all probability, appears as a dancer.

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The poets of the Rg-Veda are on friendly terms with the creatures of the earth and the air, including the beasts and birds which they offer in sacrifice. So observant and appreciative of them are the poets that they are fond, not only of comparing the gods of whom they sing to beasts and birds, but even of speaking of the gods as beasts and birds in very truth.

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It must now be clear that the biomorphous, natural and fanciful, of the Rg-Vedic poets, —wherein we have to include representations combining human and bestial forms, —are replicas of the zoomorphs, of the Harappan seal engravers, modellers and sculptors. Harappan seal designs and figurines are virtually embodiments of the fancies of the Rg-Vedic poets. The Rg-Vedic and the Harappan minds have worked on the same lines, as much in accepting animals and birds and human beings as they naturally are as in integrating them into 'Chimeras'. Seer-Poet and Modeller-Sculptor have fancied and fashioned alike.

6. *The Origin of Religion: On Indian Evidence*

The Tulu-Nad evidence shows that Bhutas are believed to be spirits of human dead of various sorts, but mainly of those of evil or violent lives, who settle down in shrines when they are invited to do so and, thereafter, keep themselves active among men. The Bhutas are figured in wooden effigies of animals, birds or human beings. When a devotee desires to propitiate the spirit, he holds a festival at which the Bhuta manifests himself, in the presence of the Bhuta figure, through the officiant, chiefly in responses given by the officiant in the form of prognostications, prophecies and oracular pronouncements. The presence of the natural animal corresponding to the Bhuta beast is ineffective to produce any of these responses.

So, what speaks through the officiant is not the power or spirit of the natural animal represented in the figure. Nor can it be some power, or spirit, of the wood or the metal plus the animal form that speaks, making a mouthpiece of the officiant, for, then, the invoking of the spirit of the deadman is a superfluity. The figure is not a spring-board from which the spirit takes a leap on to some one in the festive gathering to manifest itself, for ordinarily the spirit chooses to vivify only the officiant. The figure having, then, no active function in this cult, its presence in it must be only that of a passive catalyst in whose presence occur spiritual reactions in the mouth-piece. The

presence of power, or life, or spirit, or soul, or other active principle, whether in the biomorphic figures or in the beasts in flesh and blood which those figures counterfeit is, thus, an irrelevancy, with no bearing on the impulsions to religious activity.

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The Bhuta cult could have been reached along a philological route if a word could be so powerful as to suggest the fundamentals of a cult and to put them on the move to a concretisation in the Cult. The word 'Bhuta' is a Samskrita word taken over into Tulu where it is as good as native. It means 'what is, what exists, what is formed or created, a being; so it includes everything inanimate and animate. It means also 'what has been, what has gone, what is past, what has ceased to exist'; so, it includes corpses and the 'spirit' that has departed. These meanings by themselves are enough to have brought in about that the word was applied indifferently to gods and to beasts, to the living and to the dead. Here we may have a starting point for an identification, —not only a comparison, —of the spirits of the dead with gods on the one hand and with beasts on the other. But, the word means also 'the elements', and especially 'the gross elements', Fire, Air, Ether, Water and Earth. It is the activities of these elements that, in a sense, the Rg-Vedic people may be deemed to have seen in those of the gods Agni, Surya and Rudra, in those of Vata, Vayu and the Maruts; in those of Varuna, and of Prithvi and in those of others of their deities. The Fathers, being frequently spoken of as gods, may be deemed to have also had a hand in the ordering of the working of natural forces. So, the word 'bhuta' should have grown in significance to include reference to the elements, to what is inanimate, to the animate, to the living, to all beings, to all that is created, to all creatures that have ceased to exist, and there are dead, to fathers, to demons and to gods. In the welter of these significances it may be that the word came to be applied to a cult which presented spirits of the dead in association with biomorphs and even lifeless objects. A suggestion, however, of an etymological origin of a cult may be entertained only when every other explanation fails signally.

The Dead are, in general, conceived of, in the Rg-Veda, as ancestors, Fathers, Pitrs, and are referred to with regard and are honoured with at least monthly oblations. Placed on a level with the gods they are deemed to be immortal. They are held to be kindly in disposition and beneficient in their activities. They support the germ..... That Fathers may take the shapes of birds and flit about is an idea found in another late Vedic work..... The eligibility of the good Fathers to be represented biomorphically cannot be gainsaid.

The belief, however, is that the Bhuta figures stand for spirits of the evil spirits, even which are capable of good acts. Perhaps this belief is to be imputed to a feeling that no one is irretrievably bad.....

We may now conclude that the more significant of the beings which the Rg-Veda speaks, of, —the Gods, the Demons and the Fathers—are thought of in terms of human, animal or bird forms compounded variously of those, as also in the forms of rivers and mountains.

The process that turns a god into the appropriate beast, for instance, is as we have seen, for the poet's thought of the god to get lit up by

a simile and for the simile to get moulded into the similitude of the simile.....

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The Bhuta figures of the Bhuta Cult are the off-spring, not of symbols, but of Simile-Similitudism. They are products of the process of thought and fancy which we find at work in the Rg-Veda. Equally likely is it that the biomorphic figures we find so plenteously in the Harappan Culture answer to the Simile-Similitude pattern.

The manifestation of the Bhutas through pronouncements made through a human mouth-piece has its origin in man's reactions in the earliest days of his history to his surrounding.

A man finds himself confronting a hungry tiger eager to make a meal of him. In the poignant moments of apprehension in which he lives an age in the few seconds left to him before the impending denouement, his reactions may be violently varied. He stands numbed and becomes a meal, in moments in which a religion of utter helplessness before the other-than-ordinary is born in him, but in his death it comes by its death too. As his legs get palsied and he kneels to support himself better, a wish flits across his mind that the beast would spare him: the animal walks away deeming him too paltry for a full meal: the cult of prayer-cum-kneeling is born. The beast walks away because of sighting a fuller meal in a bull that strays on to the scene; the bull becomes a cult-animal for drawing off the menace of the other-than-ordinary. The man's agony goes up in an unpremeditated shout and the tiger, astounded, turns tail; here is the genesis of a belief in a shout to drive away the other-than-ordinary and it may grow into a shout-rite. The man thinks of a super-ordinary to intervene and overcome the other-than-ordinary: a spirit or 'god' is born. The man's hopes rise twofold in the moment of peril: one line of hope is that the animal would spare him, while another is that the super-ordinary would send him reinforcements in the person of a friendly neighbour; that neighbour turns up at the nick of the moment and shouts 'Here I am': the beast responds to the hope and the friend voices the reactions of the super-ordinary; here we have the beginnings which take us to the Bhuta figure and the officiant's pronouncements.

It is in situations so stark in their simplicity, so poignant in their menace and so automatic in their urgency that religion could be born and it is in such rituals that it could stereotype its expression. What scholars conceive of as primitive religion is a complex of developments from such primary reactions and which have travelled through many a stage, and in many a direction, from the starting point.

The officiant's pronouncements at Bhuta festivals and developments from the neighbour's shout, 'Here I am' corresponding to the wish wafted to the super-ordinary that the neighbour would turn up opportunely. For instance, the neighbour, realising the possibilities of such situations, develops a faculty for sensing the imminence of such situations and of presenting himself in time with words of cheer. He turns out to be the first of a line of officiants whose qualification for the role is an ability to cultivate the faculty needed to make a mere man enraptured with the super-ordinary.

The intervention of a belief in spirits and the like in the earliest stages of the development of the religion appears to be wholly unnecessary. But at the same time man's mind being busy with Similes and Similitudes of Similes, there must be at least an unconscious integration of them with such responses of man to the situations we have pictured. These give rise to a variety of religious beliefs and of spiritual beings and to many a principle of representation of those beliefs and beings.

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What we usually have in mind when we think of the origins of religion is different: we want to know what the earliest forms are in which the other-than-ordinary or the extra-ordinary was concretely conceived, what the earliest notions of their superiority to man and what the ideas are which man, in the earliest infancy of his race, had of being on good terms with that other-than-ordinary or that extra-ordinary and what the policy and the conduct are, which he believed, in those days, to be appropriate to the establishment of desirable relations. To seek for the origins of religion has, thus, been to look for the very first images, the most ancient rituals and the most primitive beliefs about the super and hypernaturals and their forms and potencies. But all the beginnings, all the roots, which we may thus look for, may be brought together, but we would still be without even a picture of the plant grown from so many roots The origins of Religion could be only in man's mind.

7. *Growth of Religion: Indian evidence*

The history of the growth of Indian religion is, in a sense, the story of the development of Indian thought and art through the medium of ..... simile-similitudism,—what is usually called Symbolism.

The Maha-Bharata, epic though it is, contains much of symbolism even if it is not symbolic throughout. The earliest rituals are honeycombed with 'symbolism'. Sacrificial altars fashioned to reproduce concretely speculations that are philosophical or theological, temples fashioned on the formulary patterns of those altars, images fashioned to match the formulae embodied in those temples, forms of worship devised to suit the forms of those images, modes of feeling attuned to those forms of worship, sects grouping themselves in disparate knots round each distinct mode of worship,—such has been the tale of development of Indian religion in the centuries that followed the first manifestations of religion in the ancestors of the poet-seers of the Rg-Veda. Thus has 'symbolism' suffered every aspect of life.....

The process of 'symbolism' finds illustration in the concretization of the idea of the five mouths of Prajapati. A significant factor in the idea was that of Prajapati with five mouths sustaining the devotee,—a duty which Prajapati as creator owes Man whom he has created. By extention it is a duty also to man when he, being dead but still hovering about as a 'terrestrial' Father, is in dire need of sustenance. This terrestrial Father, conceived of as serpent,.....has therefore to be fed by Prajapati, the Five Mouthed.....

The acceptance of a tradition anterior to both the Harappan and the Rg-Vedic culture will explain only a part of the close resemblance which we have observed to subsist between the modes of the symbolism

in two cultures. For a complete explanation we shall have to grant a substantial similarity between, if not an identity of, the two cultures.

The tradition represented in the Rg-Veda ran in later times in two streams, the Vedic and the Agamic. The Vedic tradition is one of sacrifice in which concrete representations of the gods, though not necessarily in images, are optional. The Agamic tradition, however, is one of representation in images..... In the Rg-Vedic and in the Harappan modes the forms of the gods conspicuously and predominantly in evidence are of animals. The Barkur figures, which belong to the Vedic 'School', confirm the view that in the Vedic line of thought the Fathers and high gods like Prajapati and Vishnu could be figured in animal forms, even without the admixture of a human element. A further inference appears, therefore, to be probable that when in early Vedic culture the worship of images rose into importance one school stuck consistently to the animal form, while another school fashioned images that were mainly human in form, though the gods represented by both schools were the same. In course of time, the 'Vedic' mode went out of vogue while the Agamic gained in popularity and has stayed on.....

'Symbolism' being a mode of representation of only characteristics and of combinations of them, the symbols are free from the association on which sectarianism fastens itself. So it is that it is possible, in the cold light of symbolism, to see, for instance, that the impulses to the drawing of the distinctions that separate Vishnu and Siva from Prajapati are merely sectarian.

If Indian society presents itself to the outsider as an aggregate of disparate elements it is because of the persistence of the variations in physical characteristics of its several peoples and of an emphasis on sectarian elements both of which are apparent on the surface. But no on-looker who could see beyond appearances fails to see the essential unity of India's culture and India's social genius..... The Bhuta Cult approximates so closely to Vedic notions that it is obvious that if the two had pertained to different cultures, there has been a steady endeavour to bring them together .....

Tulu-Nad has been believed to be a sequestered part of India, so cut off from the rest of India by natural barriers that not even marauding Muslim hordes broke through into the land. The falsity of the belief is quite patent to all except to those who need archaeology to prove it. The narrator of the Bhuta tale who told of how Tirupati was voyaged to, apparently because of the difficulties and the hazards of the natural land route, and the narrator of the tale of the Gopichandana cake with its contents reproducing in Tulu-Nad, of the west coast, the constituents of a cult which has its primary focus at Jagannatha on the east coast have spoken eloquently to the subsistence of culture contacts between parts of the country separated by distance, time and hazards. By way of archaeological demonstration we had the discovery, now almost half-a-century old, of a Greek Farce the scene of which appears to have been located in Tulu-Nad or in its immediate vicinity. We have now the discovery of the four wooden figures of Barkur which turn out to be symbols pertaining to the earliest form of Vedic culture.....

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The four images of Barkur, apparently the sole survivals in India of a very ancient mode of thought, seem to take us back in spirit to

very early days. The Harappan people in the Punjab and in Sindh and the Rg-Vedic people, in possibly the same region and in probably an earlier age, appear to have been bowing before images of animals and birds fashioned to a pattern set by Simile-Similitudism. At the same time they were not inappreciative of the virtues of anthropomorphism. These images have enabled us to go beyond guesses and to visualise confidently an important process in early Rg-Vedic thought and, in doing so, have helped us to appreciate how fully the genius of that thought has permeated all the peoples of the land and has brought about the homogeneity of Indian feeling, emotion and thought. The discovery of these images has taken us to a better appreciation of the lines along which Indian culture has developed. The testimony of these images is conclusive: from Rg-Vedic and Harappan times and regions India has derived the ideals and the modes of life reflected in the Rg-Veda in accordance with which she has sought to live, and has succeeded in living, a life that is firmly based as much on a cultural freedom to develop a harmony with everyone around as on a passion for achieving cultural homogeneity.

APPENDIX V

Excerpts from the article "YAKSHAGANA BAYALATA" by K. S. Upadyaya published in the quarterly Journal— Sangeet-Natak January-March 1869; Sangeet Nataka Akademi, Ravindra Bhavan, New Delhi

The main features of Yakshagana Bayalata—

Firstly, it is a dance-drama combining dance and music. It must, therefore, have a story, a theme. The story is taken from the Puranas mainly dealing with the ten incarnations of Vishnu and that is why this is otherwise called Dashavatara Aata. The theme is the triumph of good over evil, of right over wrong, of the gods over the demons. Each story is in the form of a minor epic containing about two or three hundred stanzas in the various metres mentioned earlier. These are set to music and sung by the Bhagavath to the accompaniment of two percussion instruments called Chande and Maddale. The Maddale is a variation of the Mridanga but the Chande or Chande vaadya, is peculiar to Yakshagana and is especially used in war-like scenes and scenes of terror. Each of such stories set to music is called a Prasanga and there are today about 125 such prasangas.

Devidasa, Parthi Subba, Venkata, Nagappaya, Rama Bhatta and other folk writers have composed a number of well known prasangas, influenced as they were from poetical works of Kannada poets, Kumara Vyasa, Kumara Valmiki and others. All these writers belonged to the 17th Century and after.

So far as the music is concerned, though a few ragas are at present in vogue, 80 known ragas have been identified by experts as having been used. The main feature of these is their emotional appeal. There are different ragas to express the emotions of anger, heroism, pity, horror, fear, etc. An 'angry' raga accompanied by the frenzied beating of the Chande and the appropriate dance of the actor may resemble the challenging roar of a lion in a burst of fury and have a blood-curdling effect on the spectator. The minimum duration of a prasanga is about 3 to 4 hours.

Although these ragas bear the same names as those in Karnatak music, they are entirely different in the mode and style of singing. The derivation of the raga is so vastly different from that of Karnatak music that Yakshagana music is distinctly a separate system altogether.

Desi raga lakshanas have been touched by almost all musicologists. They opine that in desi the panchamaswara is a little inferior and that it is a chaya of the Marg ragas. The lakshanas of Yakshagana is referred to in the Kannada Chandra Prabha Purana (11th Century). According to it desi ragas do not possess the refinement required to be sung to the accompaniment of the veena and other instruments. But this style has its own refinements. These ragas are known as chaya ragas according to some old scholars. These are 'Savam Geya' in the view of

Ahobila and "Saayante giyate Iyam Shadavaa", says Sangeetha Saramrita-karata. The distinct features of Yakshagana music is that, though the swara prasthara may be the same as either Karnatak or Hindustani style of classical music, the gamaka and alapana style here is unique. We have to be proud that the Shudha Yakshagana music remains evergreen only in the Kanara Districts.

This system is transmitted by the guru to the disciple, who has to devote a lifetime of labour in order to master it. As already noted, the main feature of this system of music is its emotive power.

The second feature of the Yakshagana dance-drama is that there is no premeditated prose dialogue. It is improvised by the actors and is based on the musical stanza, sung by the Bhagavatha. While the Bhagavatha sings a stanza, the actors dance and when he stops singing they interpret the stanza in the form of dialogue or a monologue as the case may be. Thus each stanza of the prasanga is elaborated and expounded by extempore dialogue. It may also be noted in passing that all female roles are played by male actors.

Thirdly, the dance form of the Yakshagana is peculiar to this art. It is more primeval than refined. Like the ragas, it highlights primitive human passions and emotions, especially fury and terror. These two emotions are more constantly evoked as the stories deal mostly with battles and scenes of violence and carnage. There is various foot-work and movements which appropriately express these emotions. The actors dance to the music sung by the Bhagavatha and to the resounding beat of the Chande. In Bharata Natya terms, the dance form can be said to be more of the tandava variety, although there are lasya movements also.

Bharata's natyashastra has in itself the various special features of the different dance traditions of this great country, in more or less a codified form. The 108 karanas, the 33 pindibandhas, 32 varieties of charis, niraalamba charis, six sthanas, the pravoga nyayas—Bharath saathwa, vaarshajanya and Kaishiki, while using the weapons, the ati-kranta, vichitra, lalitha-shankara, suchividdha, dandapada, vihritha, alaatha and other mandalas expounded in jumps, the face-to-face battle movements and other gati pracharas are also identified in Yakshagana by Bharata Natya experts. These features are still preserved in the various Yakshagana troupes here even to this day. Instances like, Gaya on his gagana sanchara, Kaurava entering the dwaipayana sarovara, Arjuna starting out on the chariot for his vijaya yatra in Ashwamedha Parva, Kaurava on his ghoshayaatra and game-hunting expedition, Sita-Rama-Lakshmana fording the river, Arjuna climbing the Indrakeela mountain, Babhruvahana getting down into the Patalaloka, lust ridden Keechaka entering his sister's vanithavihara, the last day's ratharohana scene of Karna, who at the same time is griefstricken at the loss of his son and roused with the revengeful spirit against Partha, depicting the contrary feelings of veera and roudra and such other scenes which are exhibited in different footwork by the Yakshagana artistes, are some examples. This will apply also to the trivida rechakas. The Yakshagana artistes, it may be noted, did not become adept in the art by a thorough study of the Shastra from books but learnt the art by hereditary talent and also by keen observation and practice.

The theme for the prasangas having been drawn from Purana stories, in Yakshagana there is a special feature known as voddolaga, which presents the important characters to the audience. There are voddolagas both for nayakas (heroes) like Rama, Dharmaraja and also for prathinayakas (villains) like Kaurava, Ravana and other rakshasas. The classical mudras and footwork displayed by the important characters during this voddolaga scene and partially hidden behind a curtain is something significant. Shivabhaktas like Hiranyakasipu, Ravana etc. very effectively display in tune with the tala, the various daily ablutions and pujas offered to sivalinga. Hastamudrika plays a significant role in this type of abhinaya: Shikhara mudra to denote heroism and authority, Mrigashirsha and Kataka mudra to denote Danta Dhavana; pallava mudra for Bhasmadharana; pataka mudra for looking at the mirror; mushti mudra for displaying strength; kartari mukhamudra to denote assurance of protection, are among the six important mudras that could be noticed in the voddolaga scene. The various characters push aside the curtain and enter the rangasthala (stage) with footwork of the mixed type of tandava and tandavalasya depending on the character of the hero or villian whom the actor wishes to portray and also to depict the essence of the story. A very special feature of the voddolaga dance is the bidithige (Chande beats), which is different for each character who makes his entry into the rangasthala. This feature of bidithige helps a spectator to identify the character in voddolaga, even from a long distance just by hearing the beats. An experienced artist of Yakshagana who might be an adept in the various techniques of the dance form, learnt by either hereditary instinct or by observation, many a times, may not be aware of the names or the characteristic intricacies of the various mudras, steps or footwork. They are ignorant of the laksanas or its history.

A very important feature of Yakshagana, however, is the costume and aaharya abhinaya—make-up of the actors. It is at once beautiful, colourful, bizarre, as also frightening. The art of facial make-up or mukha varnik, as this art is called has a long tradition. Different characters have a different facial make-up. The most terrifying to behold is that of the rakshasa character. The effect of fear and horror instilled in the observer is to be appreciated only by seeing it. Words cannot adequately express the effect of make-up of such characters. Head-gears and dress also play a distinct role in the make-up. There are different types of headgears for different characters, such as the hero, a king, a prince, a minister, a rakshasa, a kiratha, a gandharva, etc. The kore turban of Kiratha, Gandharva's red turban, the impressive varnike of Rakshasa, Karna's black turban, the kedige mundale (small turbans) of characters like Arjuna, Babhruvahana, Sudhanwa which are prepared afresh on each occasion, beautiful crowns (mukuta) of Hamsadhwaja, Kalambabhoopa, and such other headgears have resulted in a valuable contribution of Karnataka—like Chalukya and Hoysala shilpa —to Indian art and cultural traditions. Dr. V. Raghavan, a great authority on Indology has this to say: "Yakshagana make-up is decidedly more graceful, richer and more closely related to the ornamentation found in our sculpture than the Kathakali make-up".

A unique feature of the items used in the make-up is that they are made from purely indigenous material—light wood, paddy stalk, areca nut bark, bamboos, waste jute and cotton, etc. There are different kinds of bhujakirti, arm bands, kataka, waist-bands, virakaccha etc. In fact, the make-up is so devised that characters like Lord Krishna, Arjuna, Babhruvahana, Ravana, etc., can be distinctly identified by their make-up.

Dress is generally of deep colours with patterns consisting of squares with alternating colours. The most essential feature of the costume and ornaments is the colour and glitter. The mere sight of it is thrilling to the spectator who is transported to the glittering puranic world of gods and heroes and rakshasas. The Gudigars, a class of craftsmen of South Kanara and Shimoga districts, of Mysore State, have excelled in this art.

The total effect produced by the rousing music of the Bhagavatha, the rattling beats of the chande, the frenzied dance of the actors and their brilliant costume and colourful make-up combine to transport the spectator in a rising crescendo of music and dance to the din of ancient battle-fields and deeds of valour. As the name itself suggests, Yakshagana Bayalata (bayalu-field; aata—play), is a play staged in open fields of paddy after the monsoon and the harvest has been carted home. The stage—rangasthala as it is popularly known—is a square ground with a bamboo pole stuck in each corner to mark off the outer edge, its only decoration being bunches of fresh mango leaves, green and tender, festooned from pole to pole. About 30 to 40 feet from this is the green room, chowki, in popular language. Here, in the blaze of torches—now fast being replaced by petromax lights—the characters do the make-up. It is a peculiar charateristic of Yakshagana Bayalata that each actor acts as his own make-up man and serves to impart an individualistic stamp to the traditional pattern of design. The torches and the brown soil and the deep green vegetation around, canopied over by the dark blue sky, provide a most enchanting backdrop for the play.

The play is preceded by a few traditional dances to keep the audience engaged as well as to allow enough time for make-up. In fact, the Yakshagana Bayalata is the only traditional dance-drama which is still observing almost all the details given for poorvaranga abhinaya by Bharata in his Natyashastra. Here it is called subhalakshana. The first of these dances is the dance of the Kodangis, or trainees, and begins after sunset. This is followed by a prayer to Lord Ganesha. After puja in the chowki, the man who plays the Jester in the drama (Vidushaka) carries the image of the deity to the rangasthala, accompanied by the Bhagavatha and drummers and offers it ceremonial arati. The argument of the drama to be enacted is given at this moment through recitation of one or two brief songs. The stage is then engaged by two small boys made up as cowherds (Bala Gopalaka), and they dance for a while, and when they make their exist two female characters come on the stage and do some fine lasya dance.

After these preliminary dances, the voddolaga begins. Most of the important characters make their appearance in this scene, but they stand with their backs to the audience and dance behind a curtain which only half reveals them. Female characters do not show themselves in this scene. After the Nayaka who gives the voddolaga finishes his dance along with his retinue and is seated on an improvised dais, the Bhagavatha very respectfully elicits a self-introduction of each character as also the background of the story by putting questions.

The stellar role in Yakshagana is known as Eradane vesha (second role), because traditionally, the Bhagavatha plays the first role. Besides this, generally there are five other roles: Purusha vesha (hero), Sthree-vesha (female role, heroine) Rakshasa vesha (demon), Hasya (jester) and Moorane vesha (third or minor roles). All these roles require intense

training in dance and diction and background knowledge of the Puranas. The training is mostly by observation and by an expert in the art passing it on to someone in the family.

The most important person in the play is the Bhagavatha. It is he who runs the whole show. He controls, guides and directs every little thing. He is Sutradhara without whose approval nothing can happen. It is he who sings the songs of the prasanga and it is on his rendering of them and on his appreciation of the subtleties and conflicts in the play that the success of the show depends. Every character makes obeisance to him on entrance.

The play ends shortly before sunrise, with the rise of the morning star in the distant horizon. The Bhagavatha sings the final benediction. mangala, offers arati to the gods and returns to the chowki for prayer and thanksgiving to Lord Ganesha.

Every Yakshagana troupe is generally sponsored or patronised by a temple. Sometimes, to propitiate the deity for begetting a child, in time of trials and stress, devotees offer to organise a dance-drama by the troupe of the temple. A show is organised sometimes by public subscription also. Usually, however, some rich man in the village invites the troupe to perform for the public on his account.

We have quite a large number of these troupes, or melas, performing at different places in two Kanara districts. Only the following, however, have taken pains to keep alive the beauty and grandeur of the traditional style; Mandarthi, Amritheswari, Maranakatte, Kolloor, Perdoor, Kateel and Dharmastala melas of South Kanara district and Idagunji, Karkee, Ankole, Kondada Kuli and Gundibail melas of North Kanara district.

Those troupes which are mostly maintained by the several temples in the two Kanara Districts are today finding it a strain to maintain the tradition. On an average an artiste in a troupe is paid about Rs. 1,500 for the six months he is engaged by the contractor of the mela (troupe). This is hardly sufficient for him to maintain himself and a family. The owner-temple can make up the losses. But the temples are prevented from spending more on this account by the Mysore Government's Religious Endowment Act. So the artistes are either giving up this profession or turning to troupes who perform solely with an eye to popular appeal.

APPENDIX VI

Extracts from "Marriage and Kinship in an Island Society" by Dr. A. R. Kutty; National Publications, Delhi; 1972

Chapter Two—The People

The islanders are a matrilineal people within the fold of Islam. Descent is traced through the mother and property is divided equally among the children of a woman. The traditional pattern of residence is duolocal, which ordinarily excludes the possibility of husband, wife and children living in one domestic unit. This kind of elementary family, either forming a separate domestic unit or as a part of the larger matrilineal household, is not a feature of the social organization of these people. Neither the bridegroom nor the bride is required to leave his or her natal home on marriage. The socially approved sexual relationship between the two spouses which the marriage establishes is effected through the pattern of night visits of the husband to his wife. The usual practice is for the man to spend the night with his wife and to leave early morning.

A child belongs to its mother's lineage by matrilineal descent. The word used for the lineage is Taravad. A Taravad traces descent from a common ancestress through a number of generations. It is exogamous; sex relations being prohibited with it. In some cases the Taravad is also a matrilineal household unit, but it may not always be so. It may comprise a number of household units or domestic groups within it. The Taravad is also not always an economic unit. It may form one property group operating as one production and consumption unit or as one production unit but with more than one consumption unit in the form of domestic groups, or it may have split up into more than one property group. The oldest male member in a Taravad acts as the Karanavar or head of the matrilineal group. Each property group has its effective Karnavar and so also does each household unit. At its minimum, when a Taravad does not function as a domestic group or even as a property group, it operates as a unit in many socio-religious matters.

Chapter Four—Religion

Apart from these general Islamic beliefs and practices there are a variety of rituals and festivals observed by the people. It is mainly around the avoidance and curing of diseases and the propitiation of various saints that the system of rituals and festivals has been built. There are two types of rituals and ceremonies: those conducted by a Taravad or a segment thereof, and the communal religious festivals. The former are held at the time of sickness and possession, to initiate economic activities such as fishing, sailing and construction of boats and houses, and sometimes merely to propitiate various saints and commemorate the death of a person in the matrilineal line or even from among the paternal kin. The communal religious festivals on the other hand are mainly held at various mosques to celebrate death or birth anniversaries of various saints.

Religious activities connected with diseases are in the form of magical rites and vows. Most of the diseases are attributed to evil spirits and invariably a cure is sought by invoking saints. For minor ailments the patient is asked to drink the water which has been ritually purified by the priest either by blowing into it after reciting Arabic verses or by writing some verses in the pot which contains it. Sometimes—this is more common as a measure of avoidance of disease—he gives a gold or silver amulet which is worn by the patient either around the waist or on the upper arm. In some cases he ties only a thread, which is supposed to contain magical powers, around the waist, upper arm or ankle of the patient. For curing some other diseases such as those believed to have been caused by the evil eye, a priest, after reciting Arabic verses, blows from the mouth upon the body of the patient. This is more common in the case of children.

Possession by an evil spirit is believed to cause hysteric outbursts and movements on the part of a person. He may run wildly and may fall into a state of unconsciousness. To rid a person of the spell cast upon him by an evil spirit, rites, vows and use of amulets are the usual methods. At the time of an attack a person is forcibly taken to a mosque in order that he be relieved of the spell.

Vows in the name of various saints are another method of curing diseases. As a matter of fact it is common for the islanders to resort to vows in times of crises, for the success of economic activities and also for the fulfilment of a specific desire such as one for offspring. A vow can be taken either by the person concerned or by some one else on his behalf. Practically every mosque in the island is associated with a particular saint. Upon deciding to take a vow in the name of a particular saint, the person concerned goes to the mosque with which the saint is associated. The priest burns some incense and the vow is strengthened by an oath. It is fulfilled usually on the day of the annual ceremony conducted in the mosque in connection with the saint. Usually vows involve promises to give to the mosque money, gold or silver, things such as an eye, nose, leg, or hand made of silver, and items like oil, rice, sugar, food, cloth, a cow or a goat. This is given only in the event of fulfilment of the expressed desire; otherwise only one-third of what has been promised may be given, while sometimes nothing may be given.

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Ratib, which is an important rite, is performed only by the disciples of Abdul Qadir Jilani and Ahmad Ar-Riffai, known popularly in the island as Mohiddin Sheik and Riffai Sheikh respectively, the saints who lived in Bagdad in the twelfth century. The two Orders, i.e., the followers of these two saints, are known respectively as Quadiriyya and Rafaiyya. They are the segments of the two bigger Orders widely found in the Islamic world, described by some writers as secret societies or Howling Darwishes. The practice is confined to the mosque associated with these two saints, but in a few instances it is also held at some places which are supposed to be sacred.

Both these Orders have much in common with each other in their way of organisation. The main difference is in the verses recited during the rites in praise of the respective saints. These saints are considered to be intermediaries between Allah and man, whose spirits can still help their followers in times of distress. People mention them with

different names such as Wali (friend of God, Qutb (axis around which the greatness and grandeur of the world revolve), and Sheikh (spiritual head). The local spiritual leader of an Order is known as the Kalifa These groups are further known in the island as Dhikar-kar and Daffkar, the former deriving this name from the rite of chanting verses known as Dhikr and the latter so known because of the use of tambourines (Daff) in their rites. The Kalifas derive their authority from being the follower-representatives of the Sheiks at Kavrathi island who are the spiritual heirs and descendants of the grand masters of the Orders.

The Sheiks visit the island once or twice every year. They are received and welcomed ceremoniously by their respective followers. Upon the arrival of a Sheik on the shore of the island one of his men would first get down and inform the Kalifa of the particular Order. With his followers the Kalifa reaches the sea-shore and amidst the beating of tambourines and recital of Dhikar takes the Sheik to the mosque. During his stay Ratib is regularly held on Monday and Friday nights. On Fridays the Sheik is taken ceremoniously to the Juma Mosque. The oil from the liver of Skates, which has been collected in the mosque, belongs to him. He distributes a small portion amongst the priests and servants of the mosque, the Kalifa and the Amin.

Membership of a particular Order is voluntary and is conferred by the local spiritual head. A neophyte gains admission to an Order without elaborate ritual, though afterwards it demands physical hardship and some amount of ascetic training. He takes sweets to the mosque and asks permission of the head for membership. He is introduced to the group which enables him to take part in Ratib. He learns to dance by using small wooden club and to play on a kind of tambourine. Such a person is known as Murid and is supposed to have staunch faith in Kalifa.

Formerly each group used to perform the rite in its respective mosque on each Saturday and Thursday night (Sunday and Friday nights according to Islamic computation). But at present only when the Sheiks from Kavrathi are present the practice is undertaken regularly. Members sit in two rows facing each other, each holding a tambourine. At one extreme end the sacred book of the Order is placed on a pillow. The Kalifa sits at the beginning of a row. All persons begin to recite verses in praise of the saint and also dance for some time, bending forward and leaning sideways and beating on tambourines at regular intervals. When this activity is in full swing some persons get up, leaving their tambourines on the spot, and go to the Kalifa. Each of them is given two clubs and each exchanges salutes with those sitting. Caught in fits they dance in steps up and down between the rows at times pushing the pointed head of the club into the abdomen. After some time they go to the Kalifa one by one and leave the clubs in front of him. They salute him, respectfully touch the cloth on which the sacred book is kept and, kissing the Kalifa's hands move backwards and take their seat.

Getting into a paroxysm of excitement and devotion, some one among them comes forward and sits facing the sacred book. Turning aside he kisses the hands of the Kalifa and starts calling aloud the saint. When he receives from the Kalifa long needles with wooden handles, he holds one of them straight on the ground and bending towards it allows it to pierce through the scalp. He continues this process, piercing the needles through different parts of the body. Sometimes a person may

have as many as seven to eight needles pierced through different parts of his body such as the scalp, lips, tongue, cheeks, neck and the skin on abdomen. With the needles thus pierced he leaps forward and backward for a few minutes uttering loudly the name of his saint. He then turns towards the Kalifa, who slowly takes out the needles one by one and massages his back. The person salutes the Kalifa and takes his place. Soon another is on the scene and the activity continues for some time. Finally the rite closes with a joint recital of verses in praise of the saint. The needles are always rusty but, surprisingly enough, not a drop of blood comes out and only on close observation can one make out a trace of the wound. Sometimes a person may even receive on his abdomen strokes with swords.

The spread of an epidemic like small-pox may be an occasion for a communal rite. People remember to have witnessed such a rite only once in the last fifty years or so. For this rite a miniature of a big Odam was built and in it were kept rice, provisions, water and a chicken. The Odam was then taken in a procession to all the houses and mosques. Everywhere prayers were offered and the Odam was finally driven into the sea.....

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APPENDIX VII

Excerpts from 'The Golden Bough' By Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition 1912; Macmillan and Co., London. [Reprint 1955.]

Part V Pages 3-5:—

Dionysus Represented in the Form of a Bull:

A feature in the mythical character of Dionysus, which at first sight appears inconsistent with his nature as a deity of vegetation, is that he was often conceived and represented in animal shape, especially in the form or at least with the horns, of a bull. Thus he is spoken of as "cow-born", "bull", "bull-shaped", "bull-faced", "bull-browed", "bull-horned", "horn-bearing", "two-horned", "horned". He was believed to appear, at least occasionally, as a bull. His images were often, as at Cyzicus, made in bull shape, or with bull horns; and he was painted with horns. Types of the horned Dionysus are found amongst the surviving monuments of antiquity. On one statuette he appears clad in a bull's hide, the head, horns, and hoofs hanging down behind. Again, he is represented as a child with clusters of grapes round his brow, and a calf's head, with sprouting horns, attached to the back of his head. On a red-figured vase the god is portrayed as a calf-headed child seated on a woman's lap. The people of Cynaetha in north-western Arcadia held a festival of Dionysus in winter, when men, who had greased their bodies with oil for the occasion, used to pick out a bull from the herd and carry it to the sanctuary of the god. Dionysus was supposed to inspire their choice of the particular bull, which probably represented the deity himself; for at his festivals he was believed to appear in bull form. The women of Elis hailed him as a bull, and prayed him to come with his bull's foot. They sang, "Come hither, Dionysus, to thy holy temple by the sea; come with Grace to thy temple, rushing with thy bull's foot, O goodly bull, O goodly bull'. The Bacchanals of Thrace wore horns in imitation of their god. According to the myth, it was in the shape of a bull that he was torn to pieces by the Titans: and the Cretans, when they acted the sufferings, and death of Dionysus, tore a live bull to pieces with their teeth. Indeed, the rending and devouring of live bulls and calves appear to have been a regular feature of the Dionysiac rites. When we consider the practice of portraying the god as a bull or with some of the features of the animal, the belief that he appeared in bull form to his worshippers at the sacred rites, and the legend that in bull form he had been torn in pieces, we cannot doubt that in rending and devouring a live bull at his festival the worshippers of Dionysus believed themselves to be killing the god, eating his flesh and drinking his blood.

(ii) Part V—Page 10:—

The Ox As A Personification of the Corn Spirit in China:

Still more clearly does the ox appear as a personification of the corn-spirit in a ceremony which is observed in all the provinces and

districts of China to welcome the approach of spring. On the first day of spring, usually on the third or fourth of February, which is also the beginning of the Chinese New Year, the governor or prefect of the city goes in procession to the east gate of the city and sacrifices to the Divine Husbandman, who is represented with a bull's head on the body of a man.

(iii) Part IV—Page 123:—

The Horned God of Hittites and Greeks:

Among the attributes which mark out the deity of Ibreez as a power of fertility the horns on his high cap should not be overlooked. They *are probably the horns of a bull;* for to primitive cattle-breeders the bull is the most natural emblem of generative force. At Carchemish, the great Hittite capital on the Euphrates, a relief has been discovered which represents a god or a priest clad in a rich robe, and wearing on his head a tall horned cap surmounted by a disc. Sculptures found at the place of Euyuk in North-Western Cappadocia prove that the Hittites worshipped the bull and sacrificed rams to it. Similarly the Greeks conceived the vine-god Dionysus in the form of a bull.

(iv) Part IV—Pages 34 and 35:—

Osiris Identified with The Sacred Bulls Apis and Mnevis:

Osiris was regularly identified with the bull Apis of Memphis and the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis. But it is hard to say whether these bulls were embodiments of him as the corn-spirit, as the red oxen appear to have been or whether they were not in origin entirely distinct deities who came to be fused with Osiris at a later time. The universality of the worship of these two bulls seems to put them on a different footing from the ordinary sacred animals whose worships were purely local. Hence if the latter were evolved from totems, as they may have been, some other origin would have to be found for the worship of Apis and Mnevis. If these bulls were not originally embodiments of the corn-god Osiris, they may possibly be descendants of the sacred cattle worshipped by a pastoral people.

(V) Excerpts from the book "From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt" by E. A. Wallis Budge,

Worship of Sacred Animals By Egyptians:

The principal sacred animals were;

The Bull APIS, in Egyptian Hap, was worshipped at MEMPHIS as an incarnation of OSIRIS and the second life of PTAHSEKER, the god of the underworld of MEMPHIS, was united to OSIRIS, who had become ASAR-HAP, i.e. SARAPIS or SERAPIS, and thus the Bull of MEMPHIS became PTAH-SEKER-ASAR, the truine god of the resurrection. AELIAN says (xi. 10) that the cult of APIS was established by MENA (MENES), and MENETHO says the Bull of HELIOPOLIS was established by KA-KAU (IInd dynasty). HERODOTUS in speaking of EPAHOS (iii, 28), i.e. APIS, makes a mistake about the blaze on the forehead of APIS the bull. He says that it was a white and four-sided 'Aeuko'v tetparwvov,' but on the bronze figures of APIS in our museums

(e.g. BRITISH MUSEUM, No. 54482) the blaze is triangular. For statements about APIS see PLINY, viii. 72, AMMIANUS, MARCELLINUS, xxii 14, STARBO, xvii. 31, DIODORUS, i. 85. PLUTARCH, De Iside, 56. The APIS bulls were buried with great pomp and ceremony in the Serapeum at SAKKARAH.

The Bull MNEVIS, in Egyptian NEM-UR, was worshipped at HELIOPOLIS as the 'Living Sun-god', and the repetition of the lives of both *RA* and *OSIRIS*. He was either black like *APIS*, or piebald, AELIAN states (xxii.11) that BOCCHORIS brought a wild bull to attack MNEVIS, but its horns became entangled in the branches of a persoa tree, and it was gorged to death by the holy Bull.

The Bull BKHA, in Egyptian, the BACIS, or BASIS, or PACIS of the GREEKS, was probably black and was famed for his strength, violence and pugnacity. The centre of his cult was HERMONTHIS of the South (ARMANT), some ten miles to the south of THEBES, and he was the incarnation of MENTU, the war-god of the town. Aelian calls him 'ONUPHARIS', which is probably a garbled form of UNNEFER, a title of OSIRIS. He was likewise the 'living soul of RA', and 'Bull of the Mountains of the Sunrise and Sunset'. In late times ASAR (OSIRIS) was added to his name, and so we have the form ASAR-BAKHA, i.e. OSIRIS-BKHA. The figure of a vulture was seen on his back, and the colour of his hair changed with every hour of the day.

The Bull of MIN, name unknown, was white and was worshipped at KHEMMIS, i.e. (AKHMIM), and COPTOS.

The Bull of the city of KA-KAM, i.e. the 'city of the Black Bull' was black, but details of his markings are lacking.

The worship of the city bull was common in Egypt and the Sudan at all periods. The dynastic Egyptians and the Romans made war on the MENTIU, or 'Cattle men', of NUBIA.

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APPENDIX-VIII

Excerpts from 'The Golden Bough' By Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition, 1912; Macmillan and Co., London. [Reprint 1955]

Part V—Page 16:—

Association of the Pig with Demeter:

Passing next to the corn-goddess Demeter, and remembering that in European folk-lore the pig is a common embodiment of the corn-spirit, we may now ask whether the pig, which was so closely associated with Demeter, may not have been originally the goddess herself in animal form?

Part V—Page 25:—

Annual Sacrifice of Pigs to Osiris and the Moon:

Yet once a year the Egyptians sacrificed pigs to the moon and to Osiris, and not only sacrificed them, but ate of their flesh, though on any other day of the year they would neither sacrifice them nor taste of their flesh. Those who were too poor to offer a pig on this day baked cakes of dough and offered them instead. This can hardly be explained except by the supposition that the pig was a sacred animal which was eaten sacramentally by his worshippers once a year.

Part V—Page 29:—

Pig—A Sacred Animal with the Egyptians:

The pig was probably at first a sacred animal with the Egyptians, and may have been regarded as an embodiment of the corn-god Osiris, though at a later time he was looked on as an embodiment of Typhon, the enemy of Osiris.

In the light of these parallels the beliefs and customs of the Egyptians touching the pig are probably to be explained as based upon an opinion of the extreme sanctity rather than of the extreme uncleanness of the animal; or rather, to put it more correctly, they imply that the animal was looked on, not simply as a filthy and disgusting creature, but as a being endowed with high supernatural powers, and that as such it was regarded with that primitive sentiment of religious awe and fear in which the feelings of reverence and abhorrence are almost equally blended. The ancients themselves seem to have been aware that there was another side to the horror with which swine seemed to inspire the Egyptians. For the Greek astronomer and mathematician Eudoxus, who resided fourteen months in Egypt and conversed with the priests, was of opinion that the Egyptians spared the pig, not out of abhorrence, but from a regard to its utility in agriculture; for, according to him, when the Nile had subsided, herds of swine were turned loose over the fields to tread the seed down into the moist earth. But when a

being is thus the object of mixed and implicitly contradictory feelings, he may be said to occupy a position of unstable equilibrium. In course of time one of the contradictory feelings is likely to prevail over the other, and according as the feeling which finally predominates is that of reverence or abhorrence, the being who is the object of it will rise into a god or sink into a devil. The latter, on the whole, was the fate of the pig in Egypt. For, in historical times the fear and horror of the pig seem certainly to have outweighed the reverence and worship of which he may once have been the object, and of which, even in this fallen state, he never quite lost trace. He came to be looked on as an embodiment of Set or Typhon, the Egyptian devil and enemy of Osiris. For it was in the shape of a black pig that Typhon injured the eye of the god Horus, who burned him and instituted the sacrifice of the pig, the sun-god Ra having declared the beast abominable. Again, the story that Typhon was hunting a boar when he discovered and mangled the body of Osiris, and that this was the reason why pigs were sacrificed once a year, is clearly a modernised version of an older story that Osiris, like Adonis and Attis, was slain or mangled by a boar, or by Typhon in the form of a boar. Thus, the annual sacrifice of a pig to Osiris might naturally be interpreted as vengeance inflicted on the hostile animal that had slain or mangled the god. But, in the first place when an animal is thus killed as a solemn sacrifice once and once only in the year, it generally or always means that the animal is divine, that he is spared and respected the rest of the year as a god and slain, when he is slain, also in the character of a god. In the second place, the examples of Dionysus and Demeter if not of Attis and Adonis, have taught us that the animal which is sacrificed to a god on the ground that he is the god's enemy may have been, and probably was, originally, the god himself. Therefore, the annual sacrifice of a pig to Osiris, coupled with the alleged hostility of the animal to the god, tends to show, first, that originally the pig was a god, and, second, that he was Osiris. At a later age, when Osiris became anthropomorphic and his original relation to the pig had been forgotten, the animal was first distinguished from him, and afterwards opposed as an enemy to him by mythologists who could think of no reason for killing a beast in connexion with the worship of a god except that the beast was the god's enemy; or, as Plutarch puts it, not that which is dear to the gods, but that which is the contrary, is fit to be sacrificed.

Part V—Page 32 :—

The havoc wrought by wild boars in the corn is a reason for regarding them as foes of the corn-god.

At this later stage the havoc which a wild boar notoriously makes amongst the corn would supply a plausible reason for regarding him as the foe of the corn-spirit, though originally, if I am right, the very freedom with which the boar ranged at will through the corn led people to identify him with the corn-spirit, to whom he was afterwards opposed as an enemy.

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APPENDIX-IX

Excerpts from 'The Golden Bough' by Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition, 1912; Macmillan and Co., London. [Reprint 1955]

Part V :—

The Delaware Indians also paid great respect to the rattlesnake, whom they called their grandfather, and they would on no account destroy one of the reptiles. They said that the rattlesnake guarded them and gave them notice of impending danger by his rattle, and that if they were to kill a rattlesnake, the rest of the species would soon hear of it and bite the Indians in revenge. The Potawatomi Indians highly venerated the rattlesnake for a similar reason, being grateful to it for the timely warning which it often gave of the approach of an enemy. Yet a young man who desired to obtain a rattle would have no hesitation in killing one of the snakes for the purpose; but he apologised profusely to the creature for the liberty he took with it, explaining that he required the rattle for the adornment of his person, and that no disrespect was intended to the snake; and in proof of his good will he would leave a piece of tobacco beside the carcass. The Cherokee regard the rattlesnake as the Chief of the snake tribe and fear and respect him accordingly. Few Cherokee will venture to kill a rattlesnake, unless they cannot help it, and even then they must atone for the crime by craving pardon of the snake's ghost either in their own person or through the mediation of a priest, according to a set formula. If these precautions are neglected, the kinsfolk of the dead snake will send one of their number as an avenger of blood, who will track down the murderer and sting him to death. It is absolutely necessary to cut off the snake's head and bury it deep in the earth and to hide the body in a hollow log; for if the remains were exposed to the weather, the other snakes would be so angry that they would send torrents of rain and all the streams would over-flow their banks. If a Cherokee dreams of being bitten by a snake, he must be treated in exactly the same way as if he had been really bitten: for they think that he has actually been bitten by the ghost of a snake, and that if the proper remedies were not applied to the hurt, the place would swell and ulcerate, though possibly not for years afterwards. Once when an Englishman attempted to kill a rattlesnake, a party of Ojibway Indians, with whom he was travelling, begged him to desist and endeavoured to appease the snake, addressing it in turns as grandfather, smoking over it, and beseeching it to take care of their families in their absence, and to open the heart of the British Agent so that he should fill their canoe with rum. A storm which overtook them next day on Lake Huron was attributed by them to the wrath of the insulted rattlesnake, and they sought to mollify him by throwing dogs as sacrifices to him into the waves. The Kekchi Indians of Guatemala will not throw serpents or scorpions into the fire, lest the other creatures of the same species should punish them for the outrage.

Part V—Page 219 :—

Ceremonies Observed in Kiziba at The Killing of a Snake:

In Kiziba, a district of Central Africa, to the west of Lake Victoria Nyanza, if a woman accidentally kills a snake with her hoe while she

is working in the field, she hastens in great agitation to the snake priest and hands him over the hoe, together with two strings of cowries and an ox-hide, begging him to appease the angry spirit of the slain serpent. In this application she is accompanied and supported by all the villagers, who share her fears and anxiety. Accordingly the priest beats his drum as a sign that no woman of the village is to work in the fields till further notice. Next he wraps the dead serpent in a piece of the ox-hide and buries it solemnly. On the following day he performs a ceremony of purification for the slaughter of the reptile.

Part V—Pages 80-81 :

Sons of Serpent God:

Thus in order to obtain offspring women used to resort to the great sanctuary of Aesculapius, situated in a beautiful upland valley, to which a path, winding through a long wooded gorge, leads from the bay of Epidaurus. Here the women slept in the holy place and were visited in dreams by a serpent: and the children to whom they afterwards gave birth were believed to have been begotten by the reptile. That the serpent was supposed to be the god himself seems certain; for Aesculapius repeatedly appeared in the form of a serpent, and live serpents were kept and fed in his sanctuaries for the healing of the sick, being no doubt regarded as his incarnations. Hence the children born to women who had thus visited a sanctuary of Aesculapius were probably fathered on the serpent-god. Many celebrated men in classical antiquity were thus promoted to the heavenly hierarchy by similar legends of a miraculous birth.

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APPENDIX-X

Excerpts from 'The Golden Bough' By Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition, 1912; Macmillan and Co., London. [Reprint 1955]

Part V—Pages 277-278 :—

The Corn Spirit as a Cock:

Sometimes the image of the cock is fastened to the top of a May tree on the last harvest-waggon. Elsewhere a live cock, or a figure of one, is attached to a harvest-crown and carried on a pole. In Galicia and elsewhere this live cock is fastened to the garland of corn-ears or flowers, which the leader of the women-reapers carries on her head as she marches in front of the harvest procession. In Silesia a live cock is presented to the master on a plate. The harvest-supper is called Harvest-cock, Stubble-cock, etc., and a chief dish at it, at least in some places, is a cock.

The Corn-Spirit Killed in The Form of A Live Cock:

In many parts of Westphalia, when the harvesters bring the wooden cock to the farmer, he gives them a live cock, which they kill with sticks, or behead with an old sword, or throw into the barn to the girls, or give to the mistress to cook. If the harvest-cock has not been split-that is, if no waggon has been upset the harvesters have the right to kill the farm-yard cock by throwing stones at it or beheading it. Where this custom has fallen into disuse, it is still common for the farmer's wife to make cockie-leekie for the harvesters, and to show them the head of the cock which has been killed for the soup. In the neighbourhood of Klausenburg, Transylvania, a cock is buried on the harvest-field in the earth, so that only its head appears. An young man then takes a scythe and cuts off the cock's head at a single sweep. If he fails to do this, he is called the Red Cock for a whole year and people fear that next year's crop will be bad.

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APPENDIX-XI

Excerpts from 'The Golden Bough' By Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition, 1912; Macmillan and Co., London. [Reprint 1955]

Part V, Page 15 :—

Analogy of the Chinese Custom to the Agricultural Rites at Eleusis and Elsewhere:

The 'sacred field' or 'field of God', in which the emperor of China thus ceremonially opens the ploughing for the year, and of which the produce is employed in sacrifice, reminds us of the Rarian plain at Eleusis, in which a sacred ploughing similarly took place every year, and of which the produce was in like manner devoted to sacrifice. Further, it recalls the little sacred rice-fields on which the Kayans of Central Borneo inaugurate the various operations of the agricultural year by performing them in miniature.

Part V, Page 93:—

The Sacred Rice-Fields (Luma Lai) on Which All Religious Ceremonies Requisite for Agriculture are performed :

All religious ceremonies for the cultivation of the ground take place in a small rice-field specially set apart for that purpose, called luma lai. Here the chief ushers in every fresh operation in the cultivation of the rice, such as sowing, hoeing, and reaping; the solemn actions there performed have a symbolical significance.

Part V, Page 70:—

Permanent May Poles:

In all these cases, apparently, the custom is or was to bring in a new May-tree each year. However, in England the village May-pole seems as a rule, at least in later times, to have been permanent, not renewed annually. Villages of Upper Bavaria renew their May-pole once every three, four, or five years. It is a fir-tree fetched from the forest, and amid all the wreaths, flags, and inscriptions with which it is bedecked, an essential part is the bunch of dark green foliage left at the top 'as a momento that in it we have to do, not with a dead pole, but with a living tree from the greenwood'. We can hardly doubt that originally the practice everywhere was to set up a new May-tree every year. As the object of the custom was to bring in the fructifying spirit of vegetation, newly awakened in spring, the end would have been defeated if, instead of a living tree, green and sappy, an old withered one had been erected year after year or allowed to stand permanently. When however, the meaning of the custom had been forgotten, and the May-tree was regarded simply as a centre for holiday merry-making, people saw no reason for felling a fresh tree every year, and preferred to let the same tree stand permanently,

only decking it with fresh flowers on May Day. But even when the May-pole had thus become a fixture, the need of giving it the appearance of being a green tree, not a dead pole, was sometimes felt. Thus at Weverham in Cheshire 'are two May-poles, which are decorated on this day (May Day) with all the attention to the ancient solemnity; the sides are hung with garlands, and the top terminated by a birch or other tall slender tree with its leaves on; the bark being peeled, and the stem spliced to the pole so as to give the appearance of one tree from the summit'. Thus the renewal of the May-tree is like the renewal of the Harvest May; each is intended to secure a fresh portion of the fertilising spirit of vegetation and to preserve it throughout the year. But whereas the efficacy of the Harvest-May is restricted to promoting the growth of the crops, that of the May-tree or May-branch extends also, as we have seen, to women and cattle.

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APPENDIX-XII

Excerpts from the 'The Golden Bough' By Sir James George Frazer, Volume I, Third Edition, 1912; Macmillan and Co., London., [Reprint 1955]

Part V—Pages 77, 78 and 79 : –

Festival of New Corn Among The Natchez Indians:

As a part of this ceremony they light a fire by friction..... The solemnity is concluded by a general dance by torch light..... Next morning, there is a game of ball.

Next morning no person is seen aboard, before the Great Sun comes of his hut and then upon a signal made by the drum the warriors make their appearance distinguished into two troops by the feathers which they wear on the heads. One of the troupe is headed by the great Sun and the other by the chief of war who begins a new diversion by tossing a ball of deer skin stuffed with spanish beard from the one to the other. The warriors quickly take part in the sport and a violent contest ensues which of the two parties shall drive the ball to the hut of the opposite chief. The diversion lasts two hours and the victors are allowed to wear the feathers of superiority till the following year.

Part V—Pages 75-76:—

Festival of New Fruits Among Yerchi Indians of Oklahoma who Belong To Greek Nation:

.....When it is over they all go to water and wash off the paint with which they were adorned; then returning to the places in the square, they feast on the new corn. After a rest for sometime, the men engage in ball play, not as a mere recreation but as a matter of ritual, sides are chosen and the aim of each side is to drive the ball through their opponent's goal.....

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APPENDIX-XIII

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Sacrifice (semitic)

In this section we consider the subject of sacrifice among the following peoples—Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramaen and Arab tribes (ancient and modern). Hebrews, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and Abyssinians. On the propriety of including (with reservations) the Egyptians in the foregoing list see the beginning of art. *Human Sacrifice (Semitic)*.

1. Occasion of Sacrifice

One of the most satisfactory classifications of sacrifices available is that which divides them into (a) periodic and (b) non-periodic or occasional. To the former belong sacrifices on feastdays recurrent at certain seasons or days of the year; to the later belong sacrifices offered on particular occasions, as at the birth of a son, the foundation of a building, the initiation of some military or other enterprise, etc.

(a) Periodic sacrifices may be daily, monthly or seasonal. In Egypt part of the daily temple services consisted in clothing and decorating a figure of the deity, and then setting before it an offering of food—bread, cheese, beef, wine, and water. These after standing a while before the god, were most probably appropriated by the priests (cf. the story of Bel and the Dragon). The dead were supposed to partake of this daily banquet. At certain great feasts—e.g., the anniversaries of the birthday of the god, or of his mighty deeds-there were increased offering, which the worshippers shared in a common feast.

In the fully developed sacrificial liturgy of the Hebrews we read of a variety of periodic sacrifices—the daily burnt-offering; the weekly offering on the Sabbath, double in number of the daily offerings; the monthly sacrifice, at the new moon; and certain annual sacrifices, as the passover (full moon first month), the day of the first fruits, the beginning of the second half of the year (first day of seventh month), and the full moon of the seventh month.

In Arab heathendom the annual sacrifices of the month Rajab must be mentioned; this was perhaps the most important ceremonial event of the pre-Muhammadan religion.

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2. The persons and materials involved:

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The person or persons offering the sacrifice may be any number of the tribe or any group of fellow-tribesmen (a family, clan, gild, secret society, etc.,). Foreigners are as a rule excluded from participation in the presentation of offerings; and the priest must be chosen by some special sign (e.g. heredity, as among the Hebrews) and set apart for his calling by ordination. The recipient of the sacrifice is as a rule a deity; but sacrifices, as we have just seen, may be offered to the dead, and may even be claimed as a mark of divinity by a king during his lifetime.

The materials involved (i.e., the object offered in sacrifice) can be grouped into a number of different classes. The object sacrificed is a kind of intermediary whereby the worshipper comes into contact with the divinity. Such contact as a rule is of this indirect kind; but there are cases when the worshipper offers a part or characteristic of himself, in which the contact is more direct-e.g., the numerous offerings of blood or of hair, and sacrifices of manhood or a female chastity. More commonly however, the offering consists of some object not a part of the offerer, though selected from his property; and in the vast majority of cases it is an animal. Vegetable offerings are also made, especially of the first fruits of the field or of the trees; but mineral offerings are rare except as a simple ex voto donation or as a concomitant of animal or vegetable offerings (especially salt).

The animal kingdom is divided by every tribe into beasts which may, and beasts which may not, be sacrificed. According to the totemistic theory of the origin of sacrifice (see below), the totem-animals would in the beginning be the normal, if not the only admissible, victims; and W.R. Smith saw relics of totemism in the sacrifices of swine, dogs, and mice reproved by the second Isaiah. The sacrifice of the totem-animal had already in pre-historic times given place to the practice of sacrificing the animals normally used as food, especially of the cow and sheep kind. Besides these the Herbrews admitted sacrifice of goats, turtle-doves, and pigeons. Fish, though eaten, was not sacrificed, nor were wild beasts. The Arabs added to these permissible animals the camel and gazelle (as a miserly substitute for a sheep). The same animals—cow, sheep, goat, and fawn—as well as some kind of domestic bird (cock and hen?) are enumerated on the Marseilles and Carthaginian sacrificial tablets. The Babylonians added fish and cream to the list. Human sacrifice is discussed under its own heading and need not be referred to here.

The vegetable offerings were those of the ordinary harvest produce, and need not be specially enumerated. Dates and other fruits were offered in Babylon. The burning of aromatic gums (see art. INCENSE) calls for passing notice here; it is found in sacrificial worship among all the Semitic peoples except, apparently, the Arabs. Wine-libations and the use of oils (like the holy ointment of which the prescription will be found in Ex 30.23ff) also belong to this category. These also are not found among the Arabs. Milk is the normal Arab drink-offering.

There is some inconsistency in the Herbrew documents as to the use of leaven in the sacrifice.

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3. *The purpose of sacrifice*

It may be taken that in all cases the purpose of sacrifice is to secure a benefit but the benefit may be for the donor, for the receipient, or for a third party.

The majority of sacrifices are for the benefit of the donor (whether an individual or a community) or of some third party. Such are the primitive communal sacrifices, in which the god and his worshippers partake of a common meal. Here the meal preserves the fatherhood of the tribal deity from suffering eclipse owing to neglect or transgression on the part of the tribe, and thus keeps the deity on friendly relations with his children. The offerings of first-fruits belong to the same category: the bounty of the tribal god is acknowledged by the gift and by that form of gratitude mainfested which has been cynically defined as 'a lively sense of favours to come'.

Such is, primarily, the purpose of the seasonal sacrifices. The deity is periodically fed by the gifts of his children, and thus is kept continually favourable towards them. But the non-periodic sacrifices are likewise meant to secure a favour of one kind or another. Special sacrifices, when the deity is for any reason supposed to be angry with his people, or cathartic or piacular sacrifices, designed to win for the offerer a deliverance from disease or from sin or its consequences, fall under the same category.

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4. *The method of sacrifice*

(a) *The place.*—Sacrifices must be offered at an appointed holy place. The killing of a sacrificeable animal elsewhere is a murder, to be expiated as such. Even in patriarchal times, as a rule, sacrifice takes place on a spot hallowed by a theophany: it is probably indeed a mere accident when specific mention of the theophany is omitted. Moses cannot allow his followers to sacrifice to their Lord in Egypt; he must conduct them to a place 'three days' journey into the wilderness for the purpose. The 'camp' of the wandering Israelites, owing to the presence of the Ark, is *ipso facto* a holy place, and therefore anything that defiles, such as the burning of the sin, offering the bodies of the sacrilegious Nadab and Abihu, a leper, the execution of a criminal, must not profane the sacred precinct. The same ideas are to be traced among the Arab tribes.

(b) *The altar.*—This has already been described, so that few words are necessary here. The necessity for the altar arose from two requirements—the need of something visible and tangible to which to apply a gift supposed to be made to a physically invisible and intangible deity, and the need of something to prevent the sacrilege of the holy blood falling on the level earth. For this purpose a heap of stones (such as, we may presume, the altar that Abraham built), a bank or mound of earth consecrated for the purpose, or a large stone would serve. According to the Book of the Covenant, a stone altar was not to be profaned with the touch of new-fangled metal tools, though doubtless this rule was not universally observed-*e.g.*, by Ahaz. An altar, however, is not absolutely necessary; Gideon offers his sacrifice on a rock (which may, however, have been an altar-like mass of rock). The altar of Elijah was apparently a cairn of stones surrounded by a circle of twelve monoliths outside which was a trench: it is the most completely described 'high place' altar mentioned in Hebrew history.

Among the Arabs the sacred stone (nusb) served the purpose of an altar. It was, however, more than an altar; rather it was a representation of the divinity, sometimes indeed hewn into a form to represent him. A curious series of rock-cuttings found some years ago at Petra may perhaps be a late Aramaean or Nabataen place of sacrifice, as has been supposed. But the rocks of Palestine are cut about in all sorts of ways, with quarries, wine-presses, tombs, etc; and, unless evidence were found confirming the explanation of these Petra cuttings as a kind of sanctuary, it would be rash to build very much upon them. For Egyptian altars, and the few facts known about altars of the other Semitic peoples, reference may be made to the artt. ALTAR.

(c) *The ritual.*—This naturally varied according to the character of the sacrifice. In the primitive communal sacrifice the animal was slaughtered, usually by having its throat cut (with an antique form of knife), and the blood was allowed to fall over the altar stones. This was the share of the deity, and its application to the sacred stone was equivalent to feeding the deity upon it. In the official Hebrew legislation sacrifice could be offered only by those of the house of Levi; but in the earlier history Jethro and Balaam offer sacrifices to Jahweh. The flesh of the animal was divided among the worshippers and eaten by them; thus they shared in the meal with their deity. Such a sacrifice is known in the Hebrew Scriptures as....., translated 'Sacrifice' and 'peace-offering' respectively in the RV. The etymology on which the latter translation is based is not absolutely certain. The former word like the modern Arabic..... includes the slaying of animals for food, after such an action had ceased to have any special sacrificial significance. The occasions for such a sacrifice, besides the periodic feasts, were numerous—any time of rejoicing, such as the end of a successful war, the cessation of a pestilence, and a family gathering. A preliminary sanctification was obligatory on the worshippers, with lustrations, continence, and change of garments. When the animal was slaughtered, the blood and the fat—the portion assigned to the divinity were consumed on the altar, and the rest was divided between the priests and the worshippers. Hophni and Phinehas in their greed seized more than their share, before the portion meant for the deity had been set aside. With the offering was unleavened bread. The flesh was boiled—Hophni and Phinehas offended the people's religious feelings by requiring it to be roasted. Similarly, Curtiss tells us, 'the ministers of some (modern Arab) shrines are inclined to frown upon the custom of preparing the sacrificial meal away from the shrine'.

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While in Hebrew and Arab theory the animal thus offered seems to have been regarded as a tribute, Babylonia preserves for us an older stage of the development which may well be totemistic in origin. Here the idea of tribute is secondary. The primary purpose of sacrifice, so far as the sacrifices are concerned, is divination, especially by markings upon the animal's liver (interpreted as modern charlatans interpret the markings on the human hand). This form of divination is referred to in Ezk. 21 21. The sacrificed animal seems to have been considered as having partaken of the divine nature, just as an animal whose flesh has been eaten by a man enters his organism and henceforth partakes of his nature; the various parts of its organism are therefore essentially the corresponding parts of the divinity, in tangible form; and on them are impressed signs of the divine fore-knowledge. This is conspicuously the case of the liver, which is regarded as the seat of the soul.....

The treatment of offerings other than animal victims (cereals, meal, etc.) was presumably similar to that of animal victims. Under the Levitical code, part was consumed by the altar-fire, and the other part was at disposal of the priests. Under the Levitical regime a sacred fire (perhaps kept burning perpetually from a flame-supposed to have been miraculously kindled) was used for these ritual purposes. To use other fire was sacrilege. The Arabs, on the other hand, scarcely offered fire-sacrifices at all.

Among the Babylonians, however, fire was essential to sacrifice: by fire the offering was brought near the presence of the gods, and fire symbolized the intermediation between the worshipper and the divinity. Owing to this fact the fire-god Girru-Nusku (a conflation of two ancient fire-or solar-deities) was present at every sacrifice.

For a discussion of some of the minutiae of Hebrew sacrificial ritual, such as the ceremony of 'waving' and 'heaving' the portions set aside for the priests, reference should be made to special works on Hebrew archaeology (such as that of Nowack or of Benzinger) or to the standard commentaries on the legislative parts of the Pentateuch. We must, however, note some peculiar rites which do not fall under the foregoing heads.

(a) The first of these is the rite of the scapegoat. In this very primitive rite, on the great Day of Atonement, two goats were brought to the sanctuary. One was slain, and the other, after confession of the people's sin had been made over it, was turned loose in the wilderness 'for Azazel' (AV 'for a scapegoat', a translation based on an analysis of the name now deemed untenable). Whatever Azazel (Q. V.) may have been—a question to which no certain answer can be given—the sacrifice evidently belongs to a well-known group of purificatory rites in which uncleanness is transferred to another man or animal.

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(b) Another form of sacrifice involving the liberation of an animal is recorded from Arabia in which a camel, stallion, etc., being dedicated to some deity, is allowed to go free and can never again be used. The milk of such a dedicated animal could be used only by the poor and by guests.

(c) *Libations.*—

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Smith cites libations of blood and milk. He might have added coffee, of which among the modern Arabs libations are poured at feasts in honour of a being called Shaikh Shadli. A libation presumably of wine and oil, was poured by Jacob on the stone at Bethel; and elsewhere throughout the OT we find passages which indicate that among the Hebrews, wine was the proper material for 'drink-offerings', and a regular accompaniment of animal sacrifice, *e.g.*, Ex. 2940. From these we learn that $\frac{1}{4}$ hin (about 3 pints) of wine was the proper drink-offering to accompany a lamb, 1/3 hin (2 quarts) of wine a ram, and $\frac{1}{2}$ hin (3 quarts) of wine a bullock. Drink-offerings of blood are condemned in Ts 164 as heathenish, but on the other hand a wine-offering to the deity Meni is referred to Is 65 11.

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